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THE BEOTHUCKS OR RED INDIANS

THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF
NEWFOUNDLAND

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NEWFOUNDLAND

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.

Edinburgh: 100 PRINCES STREET



Leeds: WILLIAM WESLEY & SON, 51 ESSEX STREET, STRAND

New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Madras: J. M. DENT AND SONS, LTD.

Calcutta: THE MARUZEN-KAWAUSHIKI-KAISHA

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20th December, 1920.

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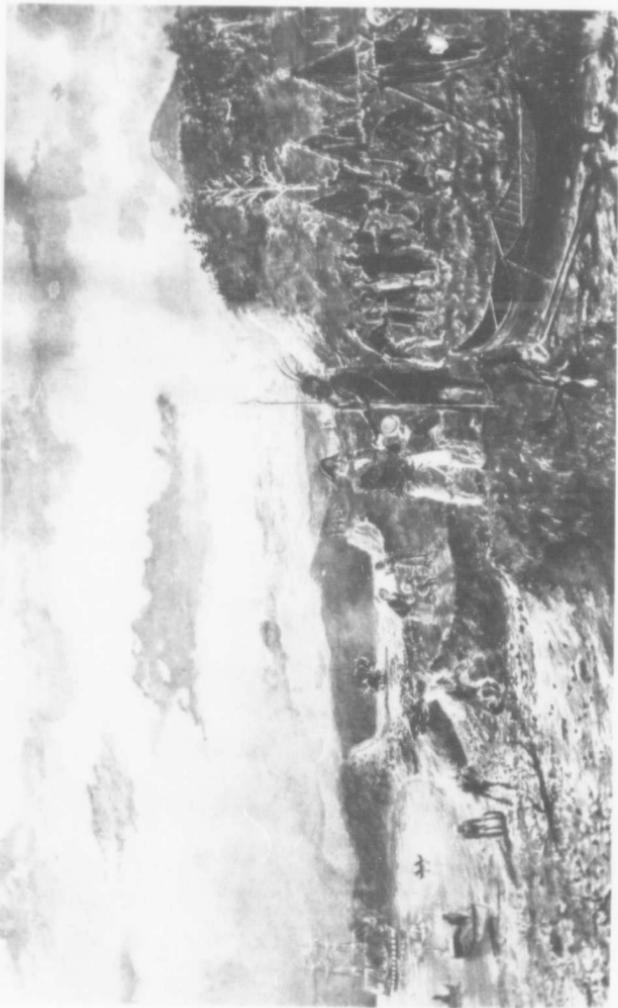
My dear Mr. Cursons,

I am sending you with this note for your acceptance a copy of a work on Newfoundland entitled "The Beothucks, or Red Indians, the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland", and with it my best wishes for a very happy Christmas and a glad New Year. They were the first inhabitants of our oldest Dominion, where the British flag first flew outside these Islands. Their disappearance and complete annihilation is a sad page in history. The work is by our late Geological Surveyor, Mr. James P. Howley, and I trust you will find it sufficiently interesting to look through from time to time. The most interesting chapter, I think, you will find is Lieutenant Buchanan's narrative of his journey up the exploits River, on pp. 72-90. I am quite satisfied that if you read this portion of the book it is so enthrallingly interesting that you will be tempted to read the whole work.

With every good wish for Christmastide, believe me

Yours very faithfully,





Reproduction from description of the picture painted for Governor Holloway in 1866, which was to be shown to the native Indians—Beechblacks—and which it was hoped would be the means of bringing about friendly relations with them.—By John W. Haystack.

THE BEOTHUCKS OR RED INDIANS

THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF
NEWFOUNDLAND

BY

JAMES P. HOWLEY, F.G.S.

Cambridge :
at the University Press.
1915

180491

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BIBLIOTHEQUE
DE
MONTREAL

PREFACE

FOR the past forty years I have endeavoured to gather, from every available source, all possible information bearing upon this subject. After a minute study of every detail obtainable, I have come to the conclusion that at this distance of time, with such meagre material as we possess, it would be utterly out of the question to attempt to write an accurate history of the aborigines of this island.

All that can be aimed at now is to gather together the various disjointed and disconnected references to those people that have appeared from time to time in print, arrange these in some sort of consecutive order, and relate the numerous traditions, anecdotes, etc., current amongst the fisher-folk, that I have gathered, and which have been preserved and handed down from generation to generation.

From this chaotic mass of material, I shall endeavour to sift as much of the truth as possible, and finally make such corrections as are deemed necessary, or offer such solutions of points in the narrations as seem to require explanation. Modern research in ethnological studies affords much new light upon such subjects, which was entirely beyond the reach of the earlier writers.

I am fully aware that all my efforts must still fall very short in many respects, and that there are probably, numerous unrelated traditions which have not come under my notice. I can only claim that I have used my best endeavours to preserve from oblivion, the principal facts relating to this interesting but unfortunate section of the human family.

I had long since intended publishing the result of these enquiries but various circumstances interposed to prevent my doing so, not the least of which was the hope that at any moment some additional or important fact might come within my reach; furthermore, I had cherished the hope of being able to trace certain documents known to have been in existence, but in this I have been but partially successful.

Every individual who was supposed to possess any information whatever, bearing on the subject, has been either interviewed or written to, with the view of making the work as complete as possible. Needless to say, much that has been so acquired is of a very dubious character. Fully

half of it referred to the same events as occurring to different individuals, at different times and places. It was no easy task to sift all these divergent stories, eliminate what was useless or unreliable, and get at the actual facts in each case.

It was my good fortune in the beginning of these researches to meet with a few intelligent persons, who had come into actual contact with some of the aborigines during their lifetime, and from whom the most valuable information was obtained. It would be unimportant to enumerate all the persons, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the more reliable authorities, whose authenticity is beyond question.

My old friend, the late John Peyton, Magistrate of Twillingate, his wife, and his son Thomas, were, without exception, the best informed persons of modern times, in fact, they were a fund in themselves from whence was obtained the most direct and trustworthy references in my possession. It was John Peyton who captured the Red Indian woman, called Mary March, in 1819, and in whose house another female, called Nancy, lived for several years after her capture in 1823. The widow Jure, of Exploits Island, who also resided in Peyton's house at the same time as Nancy, was a valuable informant. She not only gave me most minute particulars of the appearance and characteristics of the Beothuck woman, but having acquired some knowledge of their language, was able to pronounce, faultlessly, several words for me, which gave a clue to its phonetics which could not be otherwise obtained.

The late Rev. Phillip Tocque, author of a book on Newfoundland, entitled *Wandering Thoughts*, in which appeared an engraving of Mary March, kindly furnished me with full particulars of the source from whence the picture originated, and which was in every way authentic.

Another Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Silas T. Rand, of Hansport, Nova Scotia, well versed in the Micmac language, and author of a Micmac dictionary, related some interesting traditions of that people about the Newfoundland Indians.

Prof. Latham, an eminent English Ethnologist, who made a careful study of the Beothuck vocabulary, furnished me with a copy of his notes and comments thereon.

The late Sir William Dawson, Principal of McGill University, Montreal, was another gentleman to whom I am indebted in this connection.

But perhaps, above all others, my thanks are due to Prof. Albert S. Gatschet, of the Ethnological Bureau of Washington, for the most minute study and analysis of all the Beothuck vocabularies that have come to light. A correspondence, extending over several years, was kept up with this last named gentleman, who became very much absorbed in this, to him, entirely

new dialect, and in the manners and customs of this strange people, so unlike in many respects, those of the inhabitants of the mainland of the N. American continent. It was a revelation to him to find so much new material to work upon, of which he was previously unaware. From the moment I sent him the first instalment of the vocabulary, his interest in the subject was unceasing, and he kept constantly urging me to hunt up further information, while he, himself, set to work in his own sphere, and succeeded in unearthing much that was inaccessible to me. I had the good fortune to meet this gentleman in Washington in 1885, and had a long and most interesting conversation with him. He subsequently published several pamphlets bearing upon the ethnological and linguistic relations of this most interesting tribe.

Altogether, several vocabularies were obtained from various sources, some of them being mere copies of each other, made at different times, and by different individuals, yet each one contained a few additional words, or gave a different rendering of many terms. As might be expected this was the cause of much perplexity, nevertheless, by a most careful comparison of all the vocabularies, Mr Gatschet was enabled, in most cases, to cull out the errors and rectify the mistakes.

Unfortunately none of these vocabularies were extensive or of sufficient range to prove entirely satisfactory. Owing to the numerous copyists' and typographical errors in all of them, the task of unravelling them must have been a very difficult one. As however, we can never hope to add to our knowledge on this head now, the elucidation at the hands of such an eminent authority as Mr Gatschet can scarcely ever be looked for again. In its proper place I shall give, in full, the results of his investigations and the conclusions he arrived at.

More or less information was obtained from the Curators of the Bristol, Edinburgh, and British Museums, and from a host of private individuals too numerous to mention. In fact no possible or probable source that held out the remotest chance of affording any light on the subject was neglected.

There is one circumstance in connection with these researches I shall ever regret. I was not aware until the notice of his death appeared some thirty-eight years ago, that the philanthropic gentleman, Mr W. E. Cormack, was, for many years previous, residing at New Westminster, British Columbia. Perhaps this noble-hearted individual possessed a more intimate knowledge of the Beothucks than any other person living in recent times. He threw himself heart and soul into the attempt to ameliorate their hapless condition in the early part of the last century. He made two daring excursions into the then unknown interior, in the hope of finding or communicating with them, but alas! it was too late! they had ceased to exist, and so far

as we know with certainty, the last survivor, Shanawdithit (Nancy), was then residing with the Peyton family at Exploits Island. Cormack had her brought to St John's, after his return from his last expedition, and during the short remainder of her life, obtained from her many valuable and interesting facts relative to the history, etc., of her tribe. We have evidence of this from the few stray notes and references, in his handwriting, that have been preserved.

It would be inconceivable that an educated man like Cormack, who had evinced such a marked, aye, even enthusiastic interest in this unfortunate race, should have neglected the opportunity afforded him, during several months' close contact with Shanawdithit, to question her closely on all matters relating to the history and traditions of her people. He had then an opportunity such as never occurred before, as by this time the woman had acquired a very fair knowledge of the English language, in which she could make herself clearly understood. She was a full-grown woman when captured, and must have been well informed on all that pertained to her people. That Cormack published somewhere, the fullest particulars of all he learned from Shanawdithit, is several times hinted at in his manuscripts, but all my efforts to trace these have utterly failed.

Since then all chance of ascertaining anything further upon this, to me, most absorbing topic seems hopeless, it remains only to give the result of my researches to the public in as connected a form as possible, adding such comments or explanations as my own observations in the interior, during so many years, may enable me to offer.

JAMES P. HOWLEY.

August 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

"The proper study of mankind is man."—POPE.

WITH the many theories that have been advanced from time to time to account for the peopling of this vast Western Continent, by learned persons of historical and ethnological celebrity, I shall not attempt to grapple. I shall confine myself merely to a general *résumé* of such as bear the appearance of plausibility, and leave to others to draw their own conclusions therefrom.

The most generally accepted theory, and that which was held for a long time, is the supposition that the nomadic tribes of human beings found here by the first European explorers, must have originally crossed over from the Asiatic Continent, by way of Behring Strait, or the Aleutian Islands. Many circumstances seemed to lend colour to this theory. A great resemblance existed, both in customs and manners, between the inhabitants of the Asiatic Steppes and the American Indians; but subsequent investigations, and the light that modern ethnological science has brought to bear on this great question, seems to have considerably shaken this belief.

Others again hold, that as in comparatively recent geologic times, there is much evidence pointing to the existence of a continuous, or almost continuous, land barrier, extending across the northern region of the globe, connecting the eastern and western hemispheres, that possibly the immigration was in reality from Europe, and not from Asia.

That ingenuous writer, Ignatius Donnelly, in his story of the lost "Atlantis," has propounded the theory, that a great continent heretofore occupied the centre of the Atlantic Ocean, peopled by a numerous and advanced race of the human family, that during some great cataclysmic disturbance, this land entirely disappeared, becoming submerged in the bosom of Mother Ocean, leaving behind merely a few outlying fragments to show that it once existed¹. He holds that prior to its destruction emigration took place, both in an eastern and western direction, and that the inhabitants of at least central America and southern Europe had their origin from this source. Far-fetched as this theory may appear at first sight, there are circumstances surrounding it which would seem to give some colour to its probability. We know that a tradition long held place amongst certain European and African nations, notably amongst the Greeks, Egyptians and Phoenicians, of the existence of this mysterious continent.

¹ On one of the islands of the Azores, supposed to be a remnant of this "Atlantis," a life sized equestrian statue, in bronze, was found on the top of a mountain—James Stanier Clarke.

In two of Plato's dialogues, namely, *The Timæus*, and *The Critias*, he relates how Solon, a learned Athenian, travelling in Egypt, fell in with an Egyptian priest, a man of profound knowledge, who related to him that in times past, "All the western regions of Europe onward to Tyrrhenia, and of northern Africa including Lybia and Egypt, had been over-run and taken possession of by a people of redoubtable power, starting from the bosom of the Atlantic Sea. They came from a land facing the Herculean Strait (Gibraltar), being a territory larger than Asia and Lybia in one? Between this country and that strait," said the narrator, "there were several other but smaller islands. This Atlantean region was governed by a confederation of sovereigns. We, all of us," he said, "were enslaved by these Atlanteans, until the fleets of Athens defeated them and set us free. Yet," he continued, "a far greater evil befell them not long afterwards, for their land sank in the ocean, and thus a vast country, larger than all Europe and Asia together? disappeared in the twinkling of an eye!"

Again it is related of Himilcon, a Carthaginian rover, about the year 356 of Rome, that having ventured outside the "Pillars of Hercules" (Straits of Gibraltar) he was driven far to sea, and fell upon the new continent of "Atlantis," where he found a people well advanced in the arts and of a high degree of civilization, etc. Hamilcar and his people described the land they visited as "spacious and fertile, having great resources and magnificent forests." "The attractions of the country tempted part of his crew to settle there, and the rest returning to Carthage, and its Senate being apprised confidentially, of the discovery, and dreading its effect upon the people of Carthage, whom they feared might emigrate thereto, decided to bury the event in oblivion, by causing all who knew of it to be secretly put to death."

These traditions so universally cherished, in Europe and Africa, seem to have been the foundation for many subsequent expeditions in search of the mythical "Islands of the Blest," the "Seven Cities," the island of "St Brendan," etc., and the knowledge thereof may even have been the incentive which animated the breast of Columbus himself, in his search for new continents.

The latest theory, however, with regard to the peopling of America, and one that is gaining much ground amongst advanced thinkers, is that its inhabitants really originated on this continent, in fact, some would incline to the belief that it was the cradle of the human race itself.

What elements of truth may be contained in each or all of those theories, it is not my intention now to enquire into.

It is a pretty well established fact that the earliest European inhabitants, the so-called "Cave Men," bore a striking resemblance in anatomical structure, in the form of their rude implements of bone and stone, and in their skill in carving, to the Eskimos of the extreme northern regions of the globe. So much so, that Prof. Boyd Dawkins, in his valuable treatise on *Early Man in Britain*, believes them to be identical, or nearly so. This ancient race, known as the Mongolian type of man, includes some of the

¹ This latter statement refutes itself in as much, that the Atlantic Ocean could not hold so great a land area, unless, indeed, "Atlantis" were joined to the American Continent.

oldest civilized nations of the earth, especially the Chinese and Japanese. We have seen within recent times to what a height of advancement the latter people were capable of developing. Their struggle with the powerful Russian Empire has placed them in the van of modern nations in the arts of peace and war.

As already stated, the geologic conditions of our globe during the latter stages of the Post-Pliocene period, when it was supposed man first made his appearance, were such, that the land comprising the two great continents of Europe and America must have approached, in their northern latitudes, much nearer than they do to-day, if indeed they did not actually unite. It is not unreasonable therefore to imagine that these nomadic wanderers, whose remains prove them to have roamed over vast areas, spread themselves eastward and westward, from whatever centre they originated, over the whole northern part of our hemisphere. They were apparently accompanied in their migrations by many inferior animals, some long extinct, others like the Mastodon, and the Elephant known to have existed on this continent only by their fossil remains being occasionally exhumed from the soil. That a people contemporary with these animals inhabited America is attested from the fact that the "Mound Builders," whoever they may have been? represented the elephant most perfectly in the form of a gigantic mound of earth found in Wisconsin, also on carved stone pipes from some of their tumuli. It was their congeners in Europe who so faithfully represented another huge extinct mammal, the Mammoth, in carvings on the tusk of the animal itself. To this day the Eskimos of Labrador are very expert carvers and fabricators of bone ornaments, being a most ingenious people in many other respects.

May we not suppose then that this same race of people who showed by their earliest efforts the possession of much innate genius would under favourable climatic and other conditions develop a degree of culture and civilization in America, akin to that attained by the Chinese and Japanese in Asia. Might not the "Mound Builders" of the Mississippi Valley, the temple builders of central and southern America, represent higher and higher forms of development of this same race? It is an established fact that the few skeletons and fragmentary remains, discovered in the altar and temple mounds of these earlier inhabitants of America, bear a strong resemblance to the Eskimo in structure.

The eminent American poet, and author, William Cullen Bryant, in his *Popular History of the United States*, says, "Man is older on other continents than was till quite recently supposed. If older elsewhere, he may, by parity of reasoning, be older here. We are permitted to go behind the Indians in looking for the earliest inhabitants of North America, where-ever they may have come from, or whenever they may have lived."

Again, he says, "But behind these Indians who were in possession of the country when it was discovered by Europeans, is dimly seen the shadowy form of another people who have left many remarkable evidences of their habits and customs, and of a singular degree of civilization, but who many centuries ago disappeared, either exterminated by pestilence, or

by some powerful and pitiless enemy, or driven from the country to seek new homes south and west of the Gulf of Mexico."

Squier says, speaking of the "Mound Builders," "Their pottery far exceeded anything of which the existing Indian tribes are known to have been capable."

At some remote period, undefinable as to date, swarms of more savage and more warlike hordes seem to have come upon and overwhelmed the "Mound Builders." From whence these latter originated there is nothing known with certainty. If, as conjectured, they were an influx from the Asiatic continent, or otherwise, it is very clear they soon overran the northern portion of America. No doubt their numbers were augmented from time to time by fresh arrivals following in the footsteps of the first intruders. They quickly dispersed their less savage and more peace-loving predecessors, and pushing them back step by step, possessed themselves of the territory. The original inhabitants were driven to seek safety first towards the eastern sea-board, and when dislodged from there, finally retreated to the cold, inhospitable, northern regions, where they found rest and retirement for a time from their relentless foes. It is easy to suppose that during this long and harassing retreat, they were likely to relapse into much of their original barbarism, and lose all tradition of the height of civilization to which they once attained.

It must have taken a great series of years for the new-comers to have spread themselves over the entire continent, and occupy even the outlying islands in such numbers as we find them on the arrival of the first European explorers, but it is doubtful if their occupancy of our island dated much further back than Cabot's discovery. If we are to accept the Icelandic traditions of a pre-Columbian discovery of America, and there seems no adequate reason to doubt their genuineness, we find it recorded that those daring sea-rovers at first met with no sign of inhabitants on the coast, and when at length they did come in contact with human beings, they describe them as of diminutive stature (Skraelings or dwarfs), dark and swarthy in complexion, clad in (fishes) seal (?) skin robes, paddling skin canoes, etc. Could these be other than Eskimos? The question of the actual site of the Norse discovery and attempt at settlement being still an open one, we can only conjecture either, that they were speaking of the people of Labrador, or at that time the Eskimos, if not a fixed inhabitant of more southern latitudes, must have ranged along the coast much further south than in latter times.

The traditional enmity which existed between the Beothucks and the Eskimo, or for that matter, between all the Indian tribes of the surrounding territories and the latter, proves pretty conclusively there could be no kinship between them. Every man's hand appears to have been raised against the unfortunate Eskimo; they were, and still are, the prey of all the neighbouring tribes. It is known that the Beothucks entertained a special dislike for them, and in derision, designated them "the four-paws," presumably owing to their animal-like appearance and propensities.

It is not at all likely that two peoples bearing such antipathy for each other could have co-existed on the sea-board for any length of time. We

may, therefore, assume that at the time of the Icelandic discovery, the so-called Red Indians of Newfoundland had not yet reached the eastern shores of the continent, or at least, had not come into possession of this island, their future home. We may conceive then that subsequent to the Norse discoveries, and preceding the arrival of Columbus and the Cabots, the nomadic savages from the north-western territories came upon the scene, and dislodged the Eskimos, only in turn to be driven out themselves by subsequent arrivals of still more powerful tribes who pressed upon them from the rear.

On the authority of the late Sir Wm Dawson, Principal of McGill University, Montreal, a tradition existed amongst the Micmac tribe of Nova Scotia, that a previous people occupied that territory whom the Micmacs drove out, and who were, probably, allied to the Tinné or Chippewan stock¹. These, he thinks, may have passed over to Newfoundland, and become the progenitors of the Beothucks. This supposition appears to me to carry with it a considerable amount of probability. Here, isolated and undisturbed, for several centuries, untainted by intermixture with other tribes they could retain all their original traits of character, language, etc., which remained with them as distinctive features down to the last moments of their existence.

All this is, however, merely conjectural, and as there is now not the slightest probability of ever arriving at the real facts, it only remains for me to give, in consecutive order, the actual recorded history of this strange, mysterious race.

Following out Sir Wm Dawson's hint as to their probable derivation from the Tinné tribe, a branch of the great Chippewan family, we will next enquire what other authorities have to say on this head.

Professor Latham, the distinguished English Ethnologist, who made a close study of the Beothuck vocabulary many years ago, affirms that the "Beothucks were Algonkin, as opposed to Eskimo, and as Algonkins, they were not a mere branch of the Micmacs, Scoffies, and the like, of the main continent. They were members of a division of their own,—not a very distant one,—but still a separate one." Prof. Gatschet, however, does not agree with this view. He says, "The language proves that they were entirely 'sui generis.'" "It is a mistaken idea," he adds, "that the Beothucks are a branch of the Algonkin family yet they certainly were not the autochthons of the island." There are some writers who advanced the theory that these people may have derived their origin from a remnant of the Norsemen who attempted colonization in the tenth century, but this latter supposition has been long since disposed of. They were Indians of the typical continental type, though undoubtedly distinct in many respects from any of their near neighbours. Under all the circumstances surrounding this mysterious tribe, we must only fall back upon the suggestion of Sir Wm Dawson, as the most plausible theory to account for their presence here.

The real historic records of the Beothucks begin with the re-discovery of America in the latter part of the fifteenth century. When Columbus made his successful voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, thereby dispelling

¹ Mr Albert S. Gatschet does not agree with this conclusion.

all those gloomy terrors which this "Sea of Darkness" held for the ancient mariners, other venturesome spirits, seeking fame for themselves, and fired by a laudable desire to acquire some share in the rich spoils of this wonderful "El Dorado," for their own nations, were not long in following in his wake. Foremost among these were the Cabots, father and son, who, starting from England, and keeping a more northerly course, fell upon the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. It is not my intention to touch upon the much disputed question as to which of those lands Cabot first sighted. It will be sufficient to state, that he undoubtedly saw this Island, and also touched upon the main continent at least a year before Columbus sighted it.

The accounts of the Cabot discoveries are of such a meagre description, and are, moreover, so conflicting and unreliable in most respects, that we can cul very little from them that is really trustworthy, consequently, their references to the people met with on these shores, might apply to any of the inhabitants from Cape Chidley to Florida, all of which great extent of coastline the Cabots were known to have explored. We can only infer, then, from certain remarks attributed to them, by contemporary writers, and from other subsequently ascertained facts, how much may really refer to the Beothucks of Newfoundland.

It would appear that on the first voyage, curious as it may seem, they did not meet with any inhabitants at all, but had ample proof of their existence by finding, in several places, felled trees, snares for entrapping game, also some spear and arrow heads. It is highly probable that the Indians seeing Cabot's ships manned by pale-faced beings, and other indications of a supposed supernatural character, fled at their approach, and hid themselves in the woods and fastnesses.

But we will now leave it to the historians and biographers to relate the subsequent history of the poor benighted aborigines of this island. It is an unique story, and has no exact parallel in other parts of the American continent. The Beothucks were found here by the Cabots on the discovery of the island, and for nearly three and a half centuries continued to occupy this oldest British colony, living in their primitive ignorance and barbarism, under our vaunted civilization, not altogether unknown, but unheeded and uncared for, until this same civilization blotted them out of existence. It is a dark page in the history of British colonization in America, and contrasts very unfavourably with that of the French nation in Canada and the Acadian provinces, where the equally barbarous savages were treated with so much consideration, that they are still to be met with in no inconsiderable numbers, and in a very appreciable condition of civilization and advancement.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CABOT'S VOYAGES

VOLUMES have been written on the subject of the actual land-fall of the Cabots; in their first voyage in 1497, and as to whether the kudos of this great event was due to John, the father, or Sebastian, his son. Many lengthy discussions, frequently not devoid of considerable heat, have taken place from time to time, on these points, but so far as the object of this enquiry is concerned, very little can be gleaned of a tangible nature. About all that may be relied upon with any degree of certainty, is the fact, that the voyage took place in the year 1497, and that John Cabot commanded the expedition.

It is to the very meagre details of this discovery given by contemporary writers, we must look for such information as is at all worthy of consideration, and even this is hopelessly mixed up.

The only real authentic contemporary references to the first Cabotian voyage of 1497, are contained in three letters still preserved, in the archives of the respective countries. They were all written from London, shortly after Cabot's return, and there can be no question of their authenticity. The first of these letters was from Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian gentleman, residing in London at the time, to his brother in Venice, and is dated August 23rd, 1497, only seventeen days after Cabot's return to Bristol. It reads as follows:—

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol, in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence, he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham. He coasted for 300 leagues and landed: saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the King certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets: he also found some felled trees, whereof he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm."

The second letter is from Raimondo Soncino to the Duke of Milan, dated Dec. 18th, 1497. The third is from Pedro de Ayala, Spanish ambassador to the English Court, and addressed to his sovereign in Spain, dated July 25th, 1498. Only the first named has any reference to the inhabitants of the countries discovered, and this informs us that Cabot did not see any of them.

We have a little more detail of the second voyage of the Cabots in 1498, but still of a very unreliable character. It is quite evident that

the two voyages have been hopelessly mixed up and confused by almost all the historians and writers on the subject. All we can gather with certainty is that Sebastian Cabot drew a *mappa mundi* which was engraved by Clement Adams, in 1549, which map was hung up in the private gallery at Whitehall, and was also to be seen in many merchants' offices in London. This map, though apparently quite common at the time, has, for some unaccountable reason, disappeared, and were it not for the labours of the indefatigable chronicler, Hakluyt, we would to-day be ignorant of its ever having had an existence. Fortunately this same historian has preserved, and translated into English, a Latin inscription engraved on the map as follows:—

"In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son, Sebastian, discovered that country, which no one before his time had ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning. He called the land *Terra Primam Visa*, because, as I conjecture, this was the place that first met his eyes in looking from the sea. On the contrary, the island which lies opposite the land he called the *Island of St John*,—as I suppose, because it was discovered on the festival of St John the Baptist. The inhabitants wear beasts' skins, and the intestines of animals for clothing, esteeming them as highly as we do our most precious garments. In war their weapons are the bow and arrow, spears, darts, slings, and wooden clubs. The country is sterile and uncultivated, producing no fruit from which circumstance it happens that it is crowded with white bears, and stags of an unusual height and size. It yields plenty of fish, and these very large; such as seals and salmon: there are soles also above an ell in length¹; but especially great abundance of that kind of fish called in the vulgar tongue, *Baccalaos*². In the same island also, breed hawks, so black in their color that they wonderfully resemble ravens; besides, there are partridges, and eagles of dark plumage."

Another industrious chronicler, Richard Edens, in his work entitled *Gatherings from writers on the New World*, printed in London, in 1555, gives a somewhat similar version of Cabot's discovery, but after relating the main fact, nearly as above, he adds:—

"The inhabitants are men of good corporature, although tawny, like the Indies, and laborious. They paynte their bodies, and weare braceletts and hoops of sylver and copper. Their apparel is made of the skynnes of martennes, and dyvers other beastes, which they weare with the heare inwards in wynter and outwarde in soomer. This apparel they gyrdle to theyre bodies with gyrdels made of cotton or the synewes of fysshes and beastes. They eate fysshie more than any other thyng, and especially salmons, although they have fowles and fruit. They make theyre houses of timber, whereof they have great plentie; and in the steade of tyles, cover them with skynnes of fysshes and beastes."

Again he says of these lands,

"Jacobus Bastaldus wryteth thus:—The Newe land of *Baccalaos* is a coulede region, whose inhabitants are idolatours, and praye to the Soone and moone and dyvers idols. They are whyte people, and very rusticall, for they eate fleshe and fysshie and all other things rawe. Sumtymes also, they eate man's fleshe privily, so that they cacique have no knowledge thereof. The apparel of both men and women is made of beares skynnes, although they have sables and martennes not greatly esteemed, because they are little. Some of them go naked in the soomer, and weare

¹ Most probably Halibut which is quite abundant on these shores.

² Spanish name for Cod.

apparel only in wynter...Northward from the region of Baccalaos is the land of Labrador, all full of mountaynes and great woods, in which are manye beares and wilde boares? Th' inhabitants are idolatours and warlike people, apparelled as are they of Baccalaos. In all this newe lande is neyther cite or castell but they lyve in companies lyke herdes of beastes."

Fabian, another chronicler of contemporary date, mentions that Cabot brought away with him three of the natives, "which he presented to the King (Henry VII), in the fourteenth year of his reign," i.e. 1499.

The following account of this circumstance is taken from *Kerr's Travels*, Vol. vi, pp. 3-12:

"This year also were brought unto the King, three men taken in the Newfoundland, that before I spoke of in William Purchas' time. These were clothed with beasts' skins, and ate raw flesh and spoke a language that no man could understand them, in their demeanor like to brute beasts, whom the king kept a time after, of the which upon two years past after, I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen in Westminster Palace, which at that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I learned what they were. But as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word."

Peter Martyr, in his work, *The Decades of the Ocean*, which was partly written during the lifetime of Sebastian Cabot, with whom he says he was on intimate terms, gives pretty much the same account as the foregoing. Speaking of Cabot, he says, "He declared also, that in many places of these territories he saw plenty of latten¹ amongst the inhabitants."

The above extracts contain about all the really contemporary narratives of the Cabot voyages, in so far as they refer to the inhabitants of these regions. Numerous writers of a later date quote garbled versions of the same references, intermixed with those of subsequent explorers, all of which are attributed to the Cabots. As an example, we find it given in Anspach's *History of Newfoundland*, 1818, thus:—

"When Cabot first landed in the Bay of Bonavista (?), he saw some people painted with ochre and clothed with deer skins, formed into a sort of gown without sleeves, that reach about half-way down the legs and arms, and beaver skins about their necks. Their legs and feet were bare, and their heads uncovered. They wore their hair pretty long with a great lock plaited before; their hair was of different colors² and their clothes as well as their bodies were painted red. Broughton adds they had some knowledge of a supreme being; that they believed that men and women were originally created from a certain number of arrows stuck fast in the ground, and that the dead went into a far country to make merry with their friends."

So soon as the Cabot discoveries became generally known, Spain immediately set up a claim to the new lands found, on the ground of their forming part of the Indies which that nation considered its exclusive territory. Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador in England, writing to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, says,

"I have seen the course and distance he (Cabot) takes; think that the land they have found or seek is that which your Highnesses possess, for it is the end

¹ Webster defines this term "latten" to mean thin sheets of burnished brass, or tin-plate, but it is so improbable the natives should possess such things. I conclude it may have been sheets of mica (?).

² This is not correct. The hair was always black; presumably it was smeared with red ochre, which explains the mistake (?).

of that which belongs to your Highnesses, by the convention with Portugal... I believe the distance is not 400 leagues and I told him that I thought they were the islands discovered by your Highnesses, and I even gave him a reason, but he would not hear it."...Speaking of the map drawn by Cabot, he says—"I have it here; and to me it seems very false, to give out that they are not the same islands."

The cartographical delineations of all these newly discovered regions soon began to assume a more definite form, but for a long time subsequently, the latitudes and longitudes, more especially the latter, were extremely erroneously laid down. The new lands, found towards the north, were placed fully twenty degrees too far east. In consequence of this error, Portugal now set up a claim, based upon the celebrated *linha divisoria*, agreed upon between it and the Spanish nation. It was found that by extending this line towards the north pole, it, apparently, included the whole of the Terra de Bacalaos of Cabot¹.

On the strength of this claim the Portuguese king equipped and dispatched two caravels under the command of Gaspar de Cortereal, a distinguished and enterprising gentleman, "who was filled with an ardent desire for exploration, and thirsted after glory."

The expedition set out in the early part of the summer of 1500, from Lisbon, and returned in October.

First Voyage of Gaspar de Cortereal, in 1500.

For the fullest and clearest account of this voyage we are indebted to Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian ambassador at the court of Portugal, who wrote to his brother in Italy only eleven days after Cortereal's return. Fortunately this letter was preserved, and published at Vicenza, in 1501, in a work entitled: *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati et novo mondo da Alberico Vesputis Florentini Intitulato*.

The letter runs as follows:—

"On the eighth (8th) of the present month (October), one of the two caravels which His Most Serene Majesty despatched last year on a voyage of discovery to the north, under the command of Gaspar Cortereal, arrived here (Lisbon), and reports the finding of a country distant hence west and north, 2000 miles, heretofore quite unknown. They proceeded along the coast between 600 and 700 miles without reaching its termination, from which circumstance they conclude it to be the mainland connected with another region, which last year was discovered in the north but which the caravel could not reach on account of the ice and the vast quantity of snow, and they are confirmed in their belief by the multitude of great rivers which they found, which certainly did not proceed from an island. They say that this country is very populous, and that the dwellings of the inhabitants are constructed with timber of great length and covered with the skins of fishes.

"They have brought hither of the inhabitants, seven in all, men, women, and children, and in the other caravel, which is looked for every hour, there are fifty more. They are of like colours, figure, stature, and respect, and bear the greatest

¹ Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*.

² It was the same line extended southward, which gave Brazil to Portugal.

³ Damiano Goes, *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emanuel*.

resemblance to the Gypsies; are clothed with the skins of different animals, but principally the otter. In summer, the hairy side is worn outside, in winter the reverse, and these skins are not in any way sewed together or fastened to the body, but just as they come from the animal are wrapped about the shoulders and arms; over the parts which modesty directs to be concealed, is a covering made of the sinews or entrails of fishes¹. From this description they may appear mere savages, yet they are gentle, and have a strong sense of shame, and are better made in the legs, arms, and shoulders, than it is possible to describe. They puncture the face like the Indians, exhibiting six, eight and even more marks.

"The language they speak is not understood by anyone, though every possible tongue has been tried with them. In this country, there is no iron, but they make swords of a kind of stone, and point their arrows with the same material. There has been brought hence a piece of a broken sword, inlaid with gold, which we can pronounce undoubtedly to have been made in Italy; and one of the children had in his ears two pieces (todini) of silver, which as certainly appear to have been made in Venice,—a circumstance which induces me to believe that their country belongs to the continent, since it is evident, that, if it had been an island where any vessel had touched before this time, we should have heard of it. They have great plenty of salmon, herring, stock-fish, and similar kinds of fish. They have also abundance of timber, and principally of pine, fitted for the masts and yards of ships; on which account His Serene Majesty anticipates the greatest advantage from this country, both in furnishing timber for his shipping, of which he at present stands in great need, and also from the men who inhabit it, who appear admirably fitted to endure labour, and will probably turn out the best slaves that have been discovered up to this time. The arrival appeared to me an event of which it was right to inform you; and if on the arrival of the other caravel, I receive any additional information, it shall be transmitted to you in like manner."

From all the foregoing extracts, it will be seen that there is very little of a really reliable character, with regard to the aborigines of this island, and it appears very doubtful to me whether they refer at all to our Red Indians or Beothucks. Most certainly, the people who ate raw flesh were Eskimos, as their name implies²; all other inhabitants of North America that I have ever read of cooked their food. No others but the Eskimos use the intestines of animals for clothing. It is the dress worn while hunting seals in their kayacks, and answers the same purpose as our fishermen's oil-clothing.

Those who are opposed to the theory that Cabot's landfall, on the first voyage, was on some part of the Labrador, will find their contention considerably strengthened by these contemporary extracts. It is quite conceivable why Cabot did not see any inhabitants on this cruise, if, as is supposed, he coasted along the Newfoundland shore. It is more than probable that he merely sighted or touched at the outlying points and headlands, and made no attempt to penetrate into, or explore the great bays and deep indentations of the coast. In that case, it would be very unlikely that he should meet with the Red Indians, who usually spent the summer season at the mouths of the rivers, fishing for salmon and sea-trout, or otherwise paddling about amongst the numerous archipelagoes in the northern bays in search of sea-birds and eggs.

No one doubts that the Labrador was visited on the second voyage.

¹ Intestines of seals (?).

² "Esquimaux" is the Algonquin term for raw flesh eaters.

and, as we have seen, it was then Cabot took home the three natives. All the discussions that have arisen on these points might have been avoided, had not Sebastian Cabot, or some one for him, so mixed up the events of the two voyages as to leave a perpetual doubt on the minds of subsequent writers.

Possibly the people brought back by Cortereal may have been Beothucks; his description of the country, the abundance of timber, including pine, appearance of the natives, and mode of dressing themselves, with other particulars as to their dwellings, stone implements, etc., all seem to indicate the natives of this island. Had Pasqualigo only mentioned the custom of smearing themselves with red ochre, I would have considered it proof positive. All we can now look upon with any degree of certainty is the fact that this explorer undoubtedly visited the island, to which he gave his own name,—“*Tiera de Cortereal*,” as it appears upon Ribero’s and many other of the earlier maps.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CORTERREAL set out on a second voyage of discovery on the 15th of May, 1501; from which he never returned. It has been variously conjectured that either his ships were lost at sea with all their crews, or cast away on the far off rugged coasts; while some historians, with considerable show of reason, believe that the friends of those poor natives whom he so ruthlessly kidnapped, set upon, and murdered the Portuguese. His brother, Miguel, now besought the king to allow him to go in search of his lost relative, which request being granted, he sailed with two ships the following year. He also disappeared, and was never heard of again. In the following year, 1503, the king at his own expense, sent two armed ships in search of the brothers Cortereal, but did not succeed in learning anything of their fate.

A contemporary Portuguese writer, Damiano Goes, in his *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emanuel*, in relating the account of these voyages, gives some additional particulars about the inhabitants of the region, he says:—

"The people of the country, are very barbarous and uncivilized, almost equally so with the natives of Santa Cruz, except that they are white, and so tanned by the cold that the white color is lost as they grow older, and they become blackish. They are of the middle size¹, very lightly made, and great archers. Instead of javelins they employ sticks, burnt in the ends, which they use as missiles, to as good purpose as if they were pointed with fine steel! They clothe themselves in the skins of beasts, of which there are great plenty in the country. They live in caverns of rocks, and in houses shaped like nests (choipanasi). They have no laws, believe much in anguries, live in matrimony, and are very jealous of their wives,—in which thing they much resemble the Laplanders, who also inhabit a northern latitude under 70° to 80° subject to the King of Norway and Sweden!"

Bancroft, quoting from *Stow's Annals*, says, "It is granted natives of North America in their wild attire, were exhibited to the public wonder of England, in 1502." Probably those brought by Cabot(?).

Extract from the Chronicle of Eusebius, published in Paris in the year 1512, by Henri Estienne; translated from HARRISSE:—*Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre Neuve et des pays circonvoisins*.

"Some savages have been brought from that island which is called Newfoundland, to Rouen, (in 1509, by the French ship, *Bonaventure*,—six in all) with their

¹ Cantino, who examined closely the natives brought from this place in 1501, adds that "they were of a stature higher than ours with limbs in proportion, and well formed."

² This would seem to imply that he was writing of the Eskimos.

canoes, their clothes and their arms. They are of the colour of soot (fulginci)¹, have thick lips, are tattooed on the face with a small blue vein from the ear to the middle of the chin, across the jaws². The hair is thick and coarse, like a horse's mane. They have no beards nor hair on any part of the body, except the hair of the head and eyelids. They wear a belt on which is a kind of little bag to hide their private parts. They speak with their lips, have no religion, and their canoes are made of the bark of a tree. With one hand a man can place it on his shoulders. Their arms are large bows with strings of gut or sinews of animals, their arrows are of reeds pointed with a stone, or fish-bone. Their food is of cooked meat, and their drink, water. They have no kind of money, bread, or wine. They go naked or else in the skins of animals, bears, deer, sea-calves, or the like."

According to Charlevoix, savages from the north-east coast were brought to France in 1508. He says, "There is no profit at all to be obtained from the natives, who are the most intractable of men, and one despairs of taming them."

From the Miller map 1520, "Corte Real brought from this region savage men of the same colour as ourselves, living in the fashion of ancient forms and satyrs."

According to Anspach, quoting from Dr Foster, "One Thomas Hubert, or Aubert, sailed from Dieppe in this year, to Newfoundland and brought home some natives."

The spirit of enterprise and thirst for maritime discovery does not appear to have taken hold of the French, as a nation, till the reign of Francis I. This monarch, being imbued with the love of glory, caught the enthusiasm, and became eager to cope with his rivals of Spain, Portugal, and England. In the year 1523 he fitted out four ships under the command of a Florentine, one Giovanni Verazzano, to explore the new region. After a short while at sea three of the ships were disabled in a storm and put back. The commander then prosecuted the voyage alone in his ship the *Dauphin*.

Verazzano's Voyage, 1523.

The accounts of this voyage are rather obscure. It would appear, however, that on reaching the shores of this continent, Verazzano coasted along northward some six or seven hundred leagues, till he reached somewhere about the latitude of 50° N., when he returned to France. He speaks well of the savages, with whom he traded all along. At one place in particular, supposed to be about the position of Newport, he remained fifteen days. Here he says,

"The natives were the goodliest people that he had found on the whole voyage. They were liberal and friendly; yet so ignorant, that though instruments of steel and iron were often exhibited, they did not form a conception of their use, nor learn to covet their possession." (Hakluyt.)

¹ Hence our word, fuliginous, sooty, smoky, dusky.

² This is the only reference I know of as to the Beothucks tattooing themselves. I think it doubtful. Yet otherwise the reference seems to point clearly to the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

But when he approached his northern limits he found the savages much more hostile and jealous, for, says he, "They had learned the use of iron; but in their exchanges, they demanded knives and weapons of steel."

James Stanier Clarke, F.R.S., in his book entitled *The Progress of Maritime Discovery*, 1803, says, "He (Verazzano) entered between a great island and the mainland, and sailed to 50 degrees N. latitude, trading with the natives all along."

Other accounts assert that he did not proceed beyond Cape Breton Island, where, finding the Basque fishermen already in advance of him, he gave up the voyage, and returned home. It is very uncertain whether he fell in with the natives of this island or not, but if he really passed into the Gulf of St Lawrence, or sailed as far as 50 north latitude, it is most probable that he did so. It may be inferred that the people who were so "hostile and jealous, and so eager to procure knives and weapons of steel," were those who had already been visited by the Cabots and Cortereal, i.e. either the Beothucks or Eskimo.

Some historians think that Verazzano made a second voyage to these parts, but if so, there is no authentic record of it extant.

Extract from Antonio Galvano, taken from *Purchas' Pilgrims*: "In the year 1525, Stephen Gomez sailed from the Garonne to Cuba, then coasted North by Florida. It is reported that he came to Cape Razo in 46 degrees to the North, from whence he came back again laden with slaves. The news hereof ranne by and by through Spain, that he was come home laden with cloves (clavos) as mistaking the word, but when the truth was known, it turned out to be a pleasant jest."

Voyages of Jacques Cartier, 1534—1535.

On April 20th, 1534, Cartier set out from St Malo, and arrived on the Newfoundland coast, May 10th. He put into the harbour of St Catherine (now Catalina). Here he spent ten days, refitting, when he proceeded northward, touching at the Isle des Ouaiseaux (the Funks?), presumably to procure a supply of fresh food, eggs, and sea-birds. The island was one of the principal habitats of the Great Auk, or Penguin, commonly so-called, and it was resorted to by the fishermen on the coast, from an early date, for this purpose. Even to this day, though the Auk has long been extinct, our fishermen proceeding to Labrador, still continue the practise, other sea-birds, such as the Guillemot or Murres, the Puffin, Sea-Pigeon, etc., having usurped the place of the Great Auk, breed there in great numbers.

Cartier then proceeded to the northern extremity of the Newfoundland, and put into the Harbour of Rapont (Quirpon). Here he appeared to have first met with the aborigines, with whom he traded, as well as along all the shore on the back of the island, which he explored as he sailed up

the Gulf of St Lawrence. His description of the natives, taken from Hakluyt, is beyond question the first really reliable account of the Beothucks in existence.

"These are men," he says, "of indifferente good stature and bigness, but wild and unruly. They wear their hair tied on the top like a wreath of bay, and put a wooden pin in it, or other such thing instead of a nail, and with them they bind certain bird's feathers. They are clothed with wild 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. They paint themselves with certain roan colours. Their boats are made of the bark of birch trees, with the which they fish, and take great store of seals, and as far as we could understand, since coming hither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the mainland out of hotter countries, to catch the said seals and all necessaries for their living."

On his second outward voyage, in 1535, Cartier does not appear to have landed anywhere on the Newfoundland coast, though he touched again at the Funk Island. He then proceeded to Blanc Sablon, on the Labrador side of the Straüt of Belle Isle, from whence he cruised up the mainland side of the Gulf. Later on he is supposed to have run across from the Magdalen Islands, and sighted Cape Ray, which he called Cap. Lorraine(?), and may have harboured on some part of our southern coast. After this he sailed across the gulf, and up the river St Lawrence, where he wintered. On his return journey, in 1536, he touched at St Pierre Island, and also at Renew's Harbour, on the east coast of this island (Newfoundland), but there is no further reference to our native Indians. Cartier made two other voyages to Canada, or New France, in 1541 and 1543, but there is nothing to be learnt from them with reference to the Beothucks.

In the month of April, 1536, a Mr Hore, with a party of gentlemen, sailed from Gravesend with two ships, the *Trinity* and *Minion*, towards the New-founde-launde; they arrived at Cape Breton(?) Island, after being two months at sea.

"They then sailed towards Newfoundland, where they landed at Penguin Island¹, and found a prodigious quantity of white and grey birds, as large as geese², which they cooked and ate...Black and white bears were likewise numerous; some of them were killed, and proved to be eatable food. From this small island, they proceeded to the coast of Newfoundland, where they remained several days at anchor, without seeing any natives. At last some of them were observed rowing towards the ships: a boat was manned and sent after them, but they immediately retreated, and gaining the shore, fled to an island in the bay. This also, they left on the approach of the men who found there a fire at which the side of a bear was roasting on a wooden spit."

A more circumstantial account of the meeting with the aborigines by Mr Hore's party, was related to Richard Hakluyt by Oliver Dawbency, a merchant of London, who accompanied the expedition, and is extracted from Barrow's *Northern Voyages*, as follows:—

¹ There are two groups of Penguin Islands on our coast, one off the southern side, near Cape Lis Haine, the other at the entrance to Sir Chas. Hamilton's Sound.

² The Great Auk (?). *Alca Impennis*.

"After their arrival in Newfoundland, and having bene there certaine days at ancre, and not having yett scene any of the Natural people of the country, the same Dawbeney, walking one day on the hatches, spied a boat with sauages of those parts, rowing down the Bay towards them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking viewe of their coming aloofe, he called to such as were under hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the Naturall people of the country, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up and took viewe of the sauages rowing towards them and their ship, and upon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they, spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with main force and fled into an island that lay up in the bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the island, and the sauages fledde and escaped; but our men found a fire and the side of a beare, on a wooden spit left at the same, by the sauages that were fled.

"There, in the same place, they found a boot of leather garnished on the outside of the calf with certaine brave trails, as it were of raw silke¹, and founde a certaine great warme mitten, and these they carried with them; they returned to their ship, not finding the sauages, nor seeing anything else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were stores of firre and pine trees."

This ill-starred expedition afterwards came to grief, some of the people starved to death, others, it is said, even resorted to cannibalism to sustain life. Hakluyt, who had the relation thereof from one of the survivors, Mr Blatts, says, "He rode 200 miles to see this gentleman."

The following description is from the map of Sebastian Cabot, and was written by Dr Grajalís, of Port Saint Martin, in 1542:

"The inhabitants of this land are clothed with the skins of animals. In their wars they used bows and arrows, lances and darts, a kind of club, and slings."

From Johan Alphonse. According to Hakluyt:

"They are a people of goodly stature, and well made; they are very white, but they are all naked, and if they were apparell'd, as the French are, they would be as white and as fair. Instead of apparell they wear skins upon them like mantles, and they have a small pair of breeches with which they cover their privates, men as well as women. They have hose and shoes of leather excellently made, and they have no shirts, neither cover their heads, but their hair is trussed above the crown of their heads, and plaited or braided. Touching their victuals, they eat good meat, but all unsalted; but they dry it and afterward they broil it as well fish as flesh. They have no certain dwelling place, but they go from place to place as they think they can best find food, and they live very well for they take care for nothing else. They drink seal oil, but this is at their great feasts. The women nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skins of fur."

Account taken from the map of Terra Nova, in Ptolemy, published at Venice, in 1547-8, by Pietro Andrea Mattioli:—

"Terra Nova of the Codfish, is a cold place. The inhabitants are idolators, some worship the sun, others the moon and many other kinds of idols.—It is a fair (blanche) race, but savage (rustique). They eat all their food raw, meat as well

¹ No doubt an ornamented moccasin.

as fish). There are some who eat human flesh, but hide the fact from their chief (cacique). In this province of Baccalaos the men and the women are clothed in bear skins. During the summer they are naked, but in winter they clothe themselves with skins on account of the great cold, in the fashion of the inhabitants of Flanders (?), for they have the same climate. The coasts of this country have been discovered by the Bretons, that is to say the French of Brittany, who go there to fish and catch certain fish which they call Baccalaos."

In the year 1576, Sir Martin Frobisher "having been driven by ice to the coast of Newfoundland, found some of the natives to whom he made presents. He encouraged them to come on board his ship. The next day, five of his sailors, contrary to orders, went ashore with the natives in the ship's boat, but neither the boat or men were seen afterwards. Upon this, Frobisher seized, forcibly, one of the natives whom he carried home with him, but who died soon after his arrival in England?"

Sir Humphrey Gilbert arrived in the Harbour of St John's, in 1583, and took possession of the island for the Crown of England. He sent expeditions along the coast, north and south, to explore the country. The result of their observations (according to Hakluyt) was, "that the southern parts seemed destitute of any inhabitants, a circumstance which was probably owing to the frequent appearance of Europeans, whose presence might have intimidated the natives, and induced them to retire into the interior. Towards the north they met with some of them who approached without dread and appeared to be of gentle disposition."

Captain Haies, second in command to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the only surviving commander of that ill-fated expedition, writing about Newfoundland, says of the natives, "In the South parts, we found no inhabitants, which by all likely-hood, have abandoned these coasts, the same being so much frequented by Christians; but in the North are savages altogether harmless."

Sir Humphrey's fleet "consisted of five vessels, and 250 men". They were of all trades, etc.; Hobby-horses, Morris-dancers, and many like conceits were provided, to win the savage people by all fair means possible." (From Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*.)

Voyage of Rice Jones, 1594, to the Gulf of St Lawrence, etc.: "Went into St George's Bay, saw wreck of two Biskaine ships. Here we found the houses of the savages made of firre trees bound together at the top and set round like a Dobe-house, and covered with the barkes of firre trees. We found also some part of their victuals, which were deeres flesh roasted upon wooden spits at the fire, and a dish made of the rync of a tree sowled together with the sinews of the Deere, wherein was oil of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to have dressed, and then we found a wooden spoon of

¹ This again refers to the Eskimos, "Raw flesh-eaters."

² Some authors contend that Frobisher did not visit Newfoundland at all and that the people he refers to were inhabitants of the Labrador.

³ From Barrow's *Voyage*, 1818, Haies says, "For the solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety; not omitting the least toys, as Morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and many like conceits, to delight the savage people whom we intended to winne by all faire means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with the people."

their making,—and we discovered the tracks of some fortie or fiftie men, women, and children”....

“Went into Placentia Bay, 10 leagues up, found 60 odd sail of fishermen of St John de Luz, Siburno, and Biskay,—8 Spaniards only. Went to other side of Bay, place called Pesmarck (?), made stages, and fished until savages came and cut both their boats loose,—left and went to Farillon¹, where were 22 sail of Englishmen.”

1597.

“Leigh's voyage to Ramea,—attacked by French and Spanish vessels and about 300 savages.”

¹ Now Ferryland, site of Lord Baltimore's Colony.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In this century we at length come upon an era replete with information about the Beothucks in every respect trustworthy. It is not second hand as has been most of the preceding, but comes direct from the authors themselves, and might almost be looked upon as the beginning of the true relation of their sad history.

In the early part of this century, England began to awaken in reality to the value of this goodly heritage of Newfoundland, especially to the abundant resources of the fisheries. A company of nobles and gentlemen formed a great colonization scheme, and under the title of the "Council and Company of the New-found-land Plantation," obtained a charter from King James I, which conferred upon them very ample territory and no less ample powers. One clause of this charter reads as follows: "We being well assured that the same country adjoining to the aforesaid coasts, where our subjects use to fishe, remaineth so destitute and so desolate of inhabitants, that scarce any one salvage person hath in many years bene scene in the most parts thereof."

Again, in reference to commodities, the Company are allowed to carry thither free, the charter goes on to state:

"And all other things necessary and for the use and desoine and trade with the people there, if any be inhabiting in that country or shall come out of other parts, there, to trade with the 'Plantation,' and passing, and returning to and fro, all such commodities or merchandize as shall from thence be brought without paying customs, &c."

"And lastly, because the principall effects which one can desire of this action, is the conversion of the people in those partes, if any there be, inhabiting, unto the true worship of God, and Christian religion, &c."

In 1609, Mr John Guy, one of the company, published a pamphlet urging the settling of a colony in the island. The following year he was sent out by the company, and fitted out with everything requisite to establish the same. Guy selected "Cuper's Cove" (now Cupid's), in Conception Bay, for his plantation, and was appointed by the company, Governor of the new Colony. He spent the winter of 1610-11 at that place, erecting houses, stores; building boats, etc., and otherwise preparing for the permanent establishment of the settlement of the colony¹.

¹ In the instructions to John Guy, from the Association, amongst other items appears the following: "And we would have you to assay by all good means to capture one of the savages, of the country and to intreate him well, and to keep him and teach him our language, that you may after obtayne a safe and free commerce with them, which are strong there." *Froissee's History*, p. 96.

On the 16th of May, 1611, Guy wrote a long letter to the Treasurer of the Company, Master John Slaney, giving a full account of his proceedings. He (Guy) returned to England that same year, leaving one, Master William Colston, in charge during his absence. He arrived back in Cuper's Cove, June 7th, 1612, and shortly after proceeded on a voyage of exploration to the northward. During this trip, they fell in with the natives, and succeeded in establishing, apparently, friendly relations with them. His account of this meeting is contained in a second letter, in which he graphically describes all that took place. Fortunately, both these letters are preserved in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, and a copy of them was obtained from the Curator of the Bristol Museum some years ago.

John Guy's Narrative, 1612.

"In October, John Guy, with thirteen others, in the 'Indeavour,' and five in the 'Shallop,' went upon discovery. At Mount Eagle Bay¹, they found store of scurvey-grasse, on an island. In the south bottom of Trinitie Bay,—which they called 'Savage Harbor,' they found sauages' houses, no people in them; in one they found a copper kettle, very bright (you shall have it, adds Purchas, as one of them writ it in his own tearms), a furre gowne of Elke-skin², some scale skins, an old saile, and a fishing reele. Order was taken that nothing should be diminished, and, because the Sauages should know that some had been there, euery thing was remoued out of his place, and brought into one of the cabins, and laid orderly one upon the other, and the kettle hanged ouer them, wherein there was put some bisket, and three or four amber beads. This was done to begin to win them by faire meanes. This time of the yeare they live by hunting; for wee founde twelve Elk's hooles, that were lately killed. A little peece of flesh was brought away, which was found to be Beaver Cod, which is forth-comming to be scene. There houses were nothing but poles set in round forme, meeting altogether aloft, which they couer with Deere skins; they are about ten foot broad, and in the middle they make their fire: one of them was couered with a saile, which they had gotten from some Christian.

"All things in this manner left, eueryone returned by the moone-light, going by the brinke of the lake, into the entrance of the made-way; and a little before they came thither, they passed by a new sauage house, almost finished, which was made in a square form with a small rooffe, and so came to the bark. They haue two kinds of oars,—one is about fouer foot long, of one peece of firre,—the other is about ten foot long, made of two peece, one being as long, big, and round as a halfe pike, made of beche wood, the which by likelihood, they make of a Biskaine oare; the other is the blade of the oare, which is let into the end of the long one, slit, and whipped very strongly. The short one, they use as a paddle, and the other as an oare. The thirtieth, without any further

¹ Spread Eagle ?

² Caribon; no Elk in Newfoundland.

business, with the sauaiges, we departed hence to the northern side of Trinity Bay, and anchored all the night under an island. The one and thirtieth, we rowed into an harbour, which now is called, 'Allhalloves'; which hath adjoining unto it, very high land.

November the sixth, two canoes appeared, and one man alone, coming towards us with a flag in his hand, of a wolfe skin, shaking it, and making a loud noise, which we took to be for a parley; where-upon a white flag was put out, and the barke and shallop rowed towards them, which the sauaiges did not like of, and so took them to their canoes againe, and were going away: where upon the barke wheazed unto them, and then they staid: presently after the shallop landed Master Whittington with the flag of truce who went towards them. Then they rowed into the shoare with one canoe, the other standing aloofe off, and landed two men, one of them hauing the white skin in his hand, and coming towards Master Whittington, the sauaige made a loud speech, and shook the skin which was answered by Master Whittington in like manner, and as the sauaige drew neare, he threw downe the white skin on the ground the like was done by Master Whittington; whereupon both the sauaiges passed ouer a little water streame towards Master Whittington, dancing, leaping, and singing, and coming together, the foremost of them presented unto him a chaine of leather full of small periwinkles shels, a splitting knife, and a feather that stake in his care; the other gaue him an arrow without a head; and the former was requited with a linnen cap, and a hand towell, who put presently the linnen cap upon his head: and to the other he gaue a knife: and after hand in hand, they all three did sing and dance: upon this, one of our company, called Francis Tipton, went ashore, unto whom one of the sauaiges came running and gaue him a chaine, such as is before spoken of, who was gratified by Francis Tipton with a knife and a small peece of brasse. Then all four together, danced laughing and making signs of joy and gladnesse, sometimes striking the breasts of our company, and sometimes their owne. When signs were made that they should be willing to suffer two of our company more to come on shore for two of theirs more to be landed, and that bread and drink should be brought ashore, they made likewise signs that they had in their canoes meate also to eate: upon this the shallop rowed aboard and brought John Guy and Master Teage ashore, who presented them with a shirt, two table napkins, and a hand towell, giuing them bread, butter, and reasons of the sunne to eate, and beere, and aqua-vitae to drinke: and one of them, blowing in the aqua-vitae bottle, that made a sound, which they fell all into laughing at. After, Master Croote and John Crouther came ashore, whom they went to salute giuing them shell chains, who bestowed gloves upon them. One of the sauaiges who came last ashore, came walking with his oare in his hand, and seemed to have some command ouer the rest, and behaued himselfe ciully: For when meate was offered him, he drew off his mitten from his hand before he would receiue it, and gaue an arrow for a present without a head; who was requited with a dozen of points. After they had all eaten and dranke one of them went to their canoe, and brought us deeres flesh, dried in the

smoke or winde, and drawing his knife from out of his necke, he cut every man a peece, and that saoured very well. At the first meeting, when signs were made of meate to eate, one of the sauges presently ran to the bank side, and pulled up a roote, and gaue it to Master Whittington, which the other sauge perceiuing to be durtic, took it out of his hand, and went to the water to wash it, and after diuiding it among the foure, it tasted very well: hee that came ashore with the oare in his hand, went and tooke the white skin that they hailed us with, and gaue it to Master Whittington; and presently after they did take our white flagge with them in the canoe, and made signs unto us that we should repaire to our barke, and so they put off, for it was almost night.

"In the two canoes there were eight men, if none were women, (for commonly in every canoe there is one woman) they are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle size, they goe bare-headed, wearing their hair somewhat long but round: they have no beards; behind they haue a great locke of haire platted with feathers, like a hawke's lure, with a feather in it standing upright by the crowne of the head and a small lock platted before, a short gown made of stags' skins, the furre innermost, that raune down to the middle of their legges, with sleeues to the middle of their arme, and a beuer skin about their necke, was all their apparell, saue that one of them had shoes and mittens, so that all went bare-legged and most bare-foote. They are full-eyed, of a blacke colour; the colour of their hair was diuers, some blacke, some browne, and some yellow, and their faces something flat and broad, red with oker, as all their apparell is, and the rest of their body: they are broad brested, and bould, and stand very upright. Their canoes are about twenty-foote long, and foure foot and a half broad in the middle aloft, and for their keele and timbers, they haue thin light peeces of dry firre, rended as it were lathes: and instead of boards, they use the outer burch barke, which is thin and hath many folds, sowed together with a thred made of a small root quartered. They will carry foure persons well, and weight not one hundred weight: They are made in form of a new moone, stem and sterne alike, and equally distant from the greatest breadth: from the stem and sterne here riseth a yard high, a light thin staffe whipped about with small rootes, which they take hold by to bring the canoa ashore, that serueth instead of ropes, and a harbour, for every place is to them a harborough: where they can goe ashore themselves, they take aland with them their canoa: and will neuer put to sea but in a calm, or very faire weather: in the middle of the canoa is higher a great deale than in the bowe and quarter, they be all bearing from the keele to the portlesse not with any circular line but with a right line. They had made a tilt with a saile that they got from some christian, and pitched a dozen poles in the ground neere, on which were hanged diuers furs, and chains made of shels, which at that instant we fell not into the reckoning to what intent it was done, but after it came to our minde, as hereafter you shall perceiue. The seventh day we spent in washing, and in beginning a house to shelter us when we should come hither hereafter, upon a small iland of about five acres of ground, which is joined to the maine with

a small beech: for any bartering with the sauages there cannot be a fitter place.

"The eighth day it began to freeze, and there was thin ice over the sound; and because we heard nothing more of the sauages we began to return out of the sound, and coming to the place which the sauages had made two days before fire in, we found all things remaining there, as it was when we parted, viz. an old boat saile, three or foure shell chains, about twelve fures of beauers most, a fox skin, a sable skin, a bird skin, and an old mitten, set euery one upon a scuerale pole: whereby we remained satisfied fully, that they were brought thither of purpose to barter with us, and that they would stand to our courtesie to leaue for it what wee should thinke good, because we were not furnished with fit things for to trucke, we tooke onely a beauer skin, a sable skin, and a bird skin, leauing for them a hatchet, a knife, and foure needles threaded. Master Whittington had a pair of cizzars which he left there for a small beauer skin, all the rest we left there untouched, and came that night to the harbour that we were in at our entering, which we call Flag-Staffe Harbour, because we found there the flag staffe throwne by the sauages away. These sauages by all likelihood, were animated to come unto us, by reason that wee tooke nothing from them at Sauage Bay, and some of them may be of those which dwell there. For in no other place where we were, could we perceiue any tokens of any abode of them, etc."

Unfortunately this most favourable opening of friendly relations with the aborigines was doomed to be frustrated, for in the following year when it was agreed upon by signs between the Whites and Indians that they should again meet at the same place for traffic, there came instead another fishing ship. The master of this ship knowing nothing of Guy's arrangement with the natives, and seeing so many of them assembled on the shore, concluded that they were about to attack his company. Thereupon he fired a charge amongst them from a cannon on board his ship, which caused them to retire immediately into the woods. It is presumed that they mistook this new comer for the same parties they had previously met, and owing to the supposed treachery they would never after hold any intercourse with the settlers.

There are some points in the above extract worthy of special comment. The bold, fearless confidence which the Indians displayed, proved that they had not been tampered with before and that their natural disposition, when fairly treated, was one of trust and friendliness, by no means the blood-thirsty vindictive characteristics attributed to them by later writers. That they were a child-like innocent race is well exemplified by the reference to the bottle incident. Their exuberant mirth at the strange sound produced by blowing into the mouth of the bottle is very characteristic of Indians. I have seen some of our Micmacs equally affected by some trivial occurrence of that kind.

(From Bonnycastle.)

Guy, who went out with his colony in 1610, made friends with the Red Indians. He wrote a letter to a friend of his in England, a Mr Slaney. He returned to his colony in 1612, and re-arranged matters there. He undertook a survey of the coast, and met with two canoes of the Red Indians.

"Captain John Mason, Governor of Guy's plantation here, in 1618, wrote a tract entitled, *A Brief Discourse of the Newfoundland*. In 1617 he wrote to the Right Worshipful Mr John Scott, of Scottisterbatt(?), in Scotland, Director of His Majesty's Court of Chancery, then at his house on the cawsey of Edinburgh." Amongst other things he says,

"I am now setting my foote into that path where I ended last, to discover to the Westward of this land, and for two months absence, I have fitted myself with fourteen oares (having lost one former). We shall visit the Naturalls (Indians) of the country, with whom I propose to trade and hereafter shall give you a taste of the event, hoping that with all *Terra Nova* will produce *Dona Nova*, to manifest our gratification until which tyme, I rest and shall remayne,

Tuus dam saus,

John Mason."

In another place Mason says, "There are few savages in the North, none in the South by whom the planter as yet never suffered damage."

"I might here further discourse of our discoveries, conference with the savages by Master John Guye, their manner of life, etc."

He then goes on to describe the situation of the "plantations, strange forms of fishes, projects for various industries, Hope of trade with savages." (*Prowse's History*.)

Orbis Novus.

Joann de Laet (1633) writes of them as follows: "Statura corporis sunt mediocri, capillis nigris, lata facie, simis naribus, grandibus oculis; mares omnes sunt imberbes; uterque sexus non modo cutem sed et vestimenta rubrica quadam tingit...Mapalia (lodges) quæ dam atqua humiles casus incolunt e lignis in orbem dispositis et in fastigio conjunctis...Vagi sæ pius habitationes mutant."

Extracts from Captain Richard Whitbourne's Book, entitled

A Discourse and Discovery of the Newe-founde-lande,

(Relative to the Red Indians.)

(Imprinted at London, by Felix Kingston, 1622.)

Preface:—My first voyage thither, was about 40 years since (1582)... We were bound to the Grand Bay (which lieth on the north side of that land)¹—purposing there to trade then with the savage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill whales, etc.

¹ The Gulf of St Lawrence, inside Belle Isle Straits.

Relation of the Newfoundland, page 2: "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 of the continent, from whence (I suppose) they come; they live together 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 killing, cutting, and boiling of whales; and making the traine oyle, without expectation of other reward than a little bread or some such small hire."

Speaking of the Bay of Flowers (Bonavista Bay?), page 4, he says, "No shippers repaire to fish to this place; partly in regard of sundry rocks, and ledges lying even with the water, and full of danger; but chiefly (as I conjecture) because the savage people of that country doe there inhabe; many of them come secretly every yeare, into Trinity Bay and Harbour, in the night time, purposely to steale sailes, lines, hatchets, knives and such like, and this bay is not three English miles overland from Trinity Bay in some places; which people, if they might be reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinity indeed, no doubt but it would be a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God, an everlasting honor to your Majesty, and the heavenliest blessing to these poore creatures, who are buried in their own superstitious ignorance. The taske thereof would prove easie, if it were but well begun and constantly seconded by industrious spirits; and no doubt but God Himself would set his hands to reare up and advance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building."

He then urges on the establishment of a settlement at Trinity, and trade with the natives, etc., "and that a speedy and more certaine knowledge might be had of the country, by reason those savage people are so near; who being politically and gently handled, much good might be wrought upon them; for I have had apparent proofes, of their ingenious and subtle dispositions, and that they are a people full of quicke and lively apprehensions."

Page 14.—"For it is most certaine, that by a plantation there, and by that means only, the poor misbelieving inhabitants of that country may be reduced from barbarism to the knowledge of God, and the light of His truth, and to a civil and regular kind of life and government."

Page 46.—In advocating settlement, and speaking of the employment of the settlers during winter time in trapping and furring, he adds, "They may also settle a traffic with the savages for their furs of beaver, martins, seale, otter, and what else is of worth amongst them."

Page 49.—"Neither are there in that part of the country any savages to oppose and resist our men's planting, as it falls out in many other places. Those that are there, live in the North and West parts of the country (as hath been said), where our nation trade not; but on the East and South side of the land, where the English do fish, and which is the fittest place for a plantation, there is not the least sign or appearance that

ever there was any habitation of the savages or that they ever came into those parts southward of Trinity Bay; of which I could also give some reasons, if it were not a thing to trouble this discourse withall.¹

Page 56.—In speaking of the cold which he endeavours to make light of, he says, "The savage people of the country live there naked both winter and summer."

In his conclusion, speaking of various trades which might be established there, he says, "and also with the natives there not only with those who live in the north and westward parts of Newfoundland, but also with those which border on the main continent of America, near thereunto. For it is well known that they are a very ingenious and subtle 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 politically dealt withall; also they are a people who will seek to revenge any wrongs done unto them, *or their wolves*,² 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 these parts are not so violent and devouring as those in other countries, for no man that I ever heard of, could say that any wolf ...did set upon any man or boy...for it is well known that the natives of those parts have a great store of red ochre, wherewith they used to cover 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 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 terpentine, as pitch is used on the seams of ships and boats; and in like manner they used 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 at anchor by me, at the Harbor 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 other provisions, did the next day, seek after them, and happened to come suddenly where they had set up three tents and were feasting, having three such canoes by them, and three pots made of such kinds 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 also many such pots so sewn and fashioned like leather buckets, that are used for quenching of fire, and those are full of the yolks of eggs, that they had taken and boiled hard, and so dried small as it had been powdered sugar which the savages used in their broth, as sugar is used in some meats. They had great store of skins of deer, beavers, bears, seals, otters, and divers other

¹ In this, Whitbourne is entirely astray. They certainly did frequent the southern parts of the island. Their stone implements have been found in many places in Conception and Placentia Bays, and over the Peninsula of Avalon, even in the immediate vicinity of St John's city.

² Esquimaux dogs (?).

fine skins which were excellent well dressed; as also great store of several sorts of fish 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 seal-skins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely with narrow bands about them, set round with fine white shells, such as are carried from Portugall to Brasseile; where they passe to the Indians as ready money. All their three canoes, their flesh, skins, yolkes of eggs, *targets*, bows and arrows, and much fine ochre and divers other things they took and brought away, and shared it amongst those that took it; and they brought to me the best canoe, bows and arrows, and divers of their skins, and many other artificial things worth the noting which may seem much to invite us to endeavour to find out some other good trades with them."

Whitbourne's first voyage thither was in 1582, in order to trade with the natives, etc. He says, "The natives in it are ingenious, and apt, by discreet and moderate government, to be brought to obedience...."

"There is another motive also which amongst our ancestors, was wont to find good respect, namely, the honor of the action, by the enlarging of dominions, and that which will crown the work, will be the advancement of the honor of God, in bringing poor infidels (the natives of that country) to his worship and their own salvation."

Speaking of the friendship of their wolves and his Mastiff dog, he adds, "Surely much rather the people by our discreet and gentle usage, may be brought to society, being already naturally inclined thereunto." Talking of the fishermen destroying the trees, by rindling,—"For no other nation doth the like, neither do the savage people after such time as our countrymen come from thence, either hurt or harm anything of theirs which they leave behind."

"For I am ready with my life, and means whereby, to find out some other new trade with the natives of the country, for they have great store of red ochre which they use to colour their bodies, bows, arrows and canoes with, etc."

Notes from Various Sources between the date of Whitbourne's Book, 1622, and John Cartwright's Expedition up the Exploits River, in 1768.

Extract from Harrisse.

On October 10th, 1610.—The Procureur of St Malo made complaint that in the preceding year many masters and sailors of vessels fishing in Newfoundland, had been killed by the savages, and presented a request to Court that the inhabitants of St Malo be allowed to arm two vessels to make war upon the savages¹, so that they might be able to fish in safety. Permission was obtained, and St Malo fishermen fitted out every year, one or more vessels for this purpose. These vessels were stationed at the Northern Peninsula, or Petit Nord, which the St Malo fishermen frequented. The custom was continued at least until 1635.

¹ I have a suspicion that the savages here referred to were not Beothucks, but mountaineers from Labrador, who frequently came across the strait to hunt in Newfoundland.

In 1630 Charles I issued a proclamation prohibiting disorderly trading with the natives (presumably against supplying them with liquor).

From Kirke's Conquest of Canada'.

Speaking of Guy's attempt at colonization, he says, "He also established a means of trading with the Indians to their mutual advantage." In an account of Newfoundland, which Sir David Kirke sent to the English merchants about twenty years later (1640), he gives some curious information relative to Guy's transactions with the Indians. He says, in answer to an objection, that there was no trade with the natives, "First, say you, if there be a trade there must be somebody supposed with whom to trade, and there be noe natives, upon the island. How noe natives upon the island of Newfoundland? Have you left your eyesight in the foggess againe, and so blinded do you know at whom you strike? How comes it to pass, I pray you, that His Majesty, in the beginning of his patent makes it one of the principal reasons, for which he granted it, the hope of the conversion of these heathens to the Christian faith. And that you may be assured there are such creatures upon Newfoundland if your wisdoms consult but with our poore fisherman, that use to fish in Trinity Bay and more northerly, they will assure you by their own continuall and sad experience, that they have found too many bad neighbors of the natives almost every fishing season. And wee ourselves can assure you that there traded so many of them with the French, even this present year, that if you had been amongst them you had been confuted to the purpose with the hardest bargain that ever you concluded since you were men of business. The accident was thus:—In the harbor of Les Oyes (?), (St Julien) about eighty Indians assaulted a companie of French whilst they were plying up their fishinge, and slew seven of them; proceedinge a little further, killed nine more in the same manner, and clothinge sixteen of their company in the apparell of the slayne French, they went on the next day to the harbor of Petty Masters (Croc Harbor), and not being suspected by the French that were there, by reason of their habit, they surprised them at their work and killed twenty-one more¹. Soe, in two dayes having barbarously maymed thirty-seven, they returned home, as is their manner, in great triumph, with the heads of the slayne Frenchmen. Thus, it is too apparent there are Indians upon Newfoundland, by the mischief that they have done. But that you might be further informed of what good hath and might have been done amongst them, take notice of those which follows:—It is very well known that in times past many French and Biscaners have traded with the natives of the country for furs and deere skins. For some yeares they continued their traffique every fishing season, and it was sometimes intermitted as quarrells arose betwixt them. About twenty years since, Alderman Guy, of Bristoll, that had continued with his family two years in Newfoundland, and amongst his other designs aymed at a trade with the Indians, employed for that purpose, one Capt. Whittington, into the bottom of Trinity Baye, a place always frequented with the natives, and which the captaine havinge discovered a company ashore, commanded his

¹ By Henry Kirke, M.A., B.C.L., Oxon.

² I think it most probable Kirke is here referring to the same event as mentioned by Harris, but must have mistaken the date.

men to land him alone, upon a place where there was a fordable river betwixt him and them. After some signs made betwixt them on either side, one of the Indians waded through the water, and when he came near the captaine he threwe up his bow and arrows in token of peace, and upon that they mett and embraced, but the Indian feelinge a short fancion, which the captaine wore under a close coat, he retired, expressing signs of dislike and feare. And the captaine understanding his meaninge, threwe aside his sword alsoe, as the other had done before his bow and arrowes. Upon that more Indians upon the other side of the river were called over, and the captaine caused his servante aboarde the boat to bring ashore provisions of meate and drinke to entertayne them. They did eate and drinke together for the space of three or foure houres, and exchange furs and deere skins for hatchets and knives, and appointed a meetinge the next year by a signe (as is their manner in other parts of America) when the grass should be of such a height, to bring downe all their furs and skinnes for traffique with the English. Upon these terms they parted. And it soe fell out the next year, that at the time appointed for their meetinge in the same place, instead of Captaine Whittington or other agents for the Alderman, there came a fisherman to the place to make a voyage, and seeing a companie of Indians together, not knowing the cause of their coming, let fly his shott from aboard amongst them. And they, imagininge these to be the men in all likelyhood which agreed upon the meetinge the yeare before retyred presently into the woode, and from that daye to this have sought all occasion every fishinge season, to do all the mischief they can, amongst the fishermen. Yet are we not of hope, but if it be our fortune to light upon them, they may be brought by faire intreatie, to trade again, which we assure ourselves may be very profitable to the lorde, and other adventurers, when it shall be our good happ to make the natives acquainted with our good intentions towards them.

Sir David Kirke came to Newfoundland in 1638, and settled at Ferryland, taking possession of Lord Baltimore's deserted house. Here he remained till his death in 1656 (?), after which Lord Baltimore's son, Cecil, renewed his claim to the place.

In 1640, John Downing was sent out by the company to replace Kirke (?) at Ferryland. In the instructions to Downing is the following: "We would have you inform yourself in the best manner you can conferring with Sir David Kirke and other wise, what course is best to be taken for planting of people in ye country, and for the reducing the Indians that live in Newfoundland into civility, that soe they may be brot, in time to know God."

Captain Wheeler, Commander of an English Convoy, in 1684, says, "The French begin to fish eighteen leagues north of Bonavista for forty (40) leagues along the N.E. coast, and are at utter variance with the Indians, who are numerous, and so the French never reside in winter, and always have their arms by them."

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As settlement began to take place to the northward, more especially in the great Bay of Notre Dame, early in this century, it was only to be expected that the natives who frequented this section of the island more particularly, would occasionally be met with. There are numerous vague traditions of encounters between those first settlers and the Indians, in nearly all of which the whites would appear to be the aggressors. The tendency to appropriate small articles, such as hooks, lines, knives, axes, or in fact anything that might be useful to them, on the part of the poor untutored savages, was made an excuse for the most barbarous cruelties, and wholesale slaughter by the fishermen. Late in the century only did the authorities awake to the enormity of this inhuman barbarity, and then alas! the feeling of embittered enmity which had been created could not be allayed. The poor Beothuck, armed only with his bow and arrow and spear, was no match for the fisherman with his deadly fire-arms. He was ruthlessly shot down, wherever he made his appearance, just as any other wild denizen of the forest, but an even worse fate overtook him when the semi-civilized Micmacs from Cape Breton and Nova Scotia found their way across the Gulf and invaded his territory. The latter also were armed with the deadly fire-lock procured from the French settlers in Acadia. They spread themselves over the interior, in their hunting excursions, and waged war upon the aborigines, who became hemmed in on all sides, and were unable to contend successfully against such overwhelming odds. The latter retreated further and further into the interior, coming out to the coast only when driven by scarcity of food, and then in as stealthy a manner as possible. It was but natural under such circumstances that when an opportunity did present itself they would retaliate. Yet the instances of their having done so are very few and of a very doubtful nature.

A tradition existed amongst the Micmacs as related by Mr W. E. Cormack, who had it from some of themselves, that on their first coming over to this island, amicable relations existed between them and the Beothucks, until a certain act of diabolical treachery upon the part of the former, put an end for ever to all friendly intercourse. Mr J. B. Jukes, Geologist, had the relation of this event from Mr Peyton, to whom it was told by an old Micmac Indian. It was also confirmed by another Micmac whom Jukes met in the Bay of St George. He gives it in full in his work entitled *Excursions in Newfoundland*¹.

¹ By J. B. Jukes, F.G.S., F.C.P.S.; London, 1842. Vol. II, page 129.

According to this tradition, it appears that:—"When the Micmacs first visited the country, they and the Red Indians were friendly. About a hundred years ago, however, the French offered a reward for the head of every Red Indian. To gain this reward, the Micmacs privately shot some of them; and one day, in descending a river, near St George's Bay, they fell in with another party of them, while they had the heads of some of their nation concealed in their canoe. The Red Indians invited the Micmacs ashore to a feast, during which, some children playing about discovered the heads. No notice was taken till each Micmac was seated between two Red Indians, when, at a given signal, the latter fell upon them and slew them. After this they fought at the north end of the Grand Pond, and at Shannoc Brook, on the Exploits River, and, indeed, wherever they met. In these encounters, from the fact of their possessing fire-arms, the Micmacs were usually victorious. Mr Peyton said the Red Indians had a great dread of the Micmacs, whom they called Shannoc, and used to point to Shannoc Brook¹, a tributary of the Exploits River, as the way by which they arrived in their country. The woman, who lived with him some time, was greatly alarmed at the sight of two Micmacs who came once to visit him, and hid herself during their stay. They were acquainted with another tribe of Indians, whom they called the 'Shaunamunc', and with whom they were very friendly. These came from Labrador, but were not Esquimaux, whom the Red Indians also knew, and despised for their filthiness. The 'Shaunamuncs' were dressed in deer skins, not seal-skins, as in the case of the Eskimos, but their deer skins were not reddened. They answer, I believe, to the Indians called Mountaineers, on the Labrador shore. The Red Indians traded with these 'Shaunamuncs' receiving stone hatchets and other implements from them, and they mutually visited each other's countries. This fact, in some measure corroborates the supposition, that the total disappearance of the Red Indians, for the last ten or fifteen years, is not due to their utter destruction, but to their having passed over to the Labrador coast; and the same occurrence is mentioned in Sir R. Bonnycastle's entertaining book on the Canadas."

The above tradition of the Micmac's appears to me to be open to very considerable doubt in many respects. The statement that the French had offered a reward for the heads of any Red Indians brought to them, is at variance with the general treatment accorded the native tribes of America by that nation, and is hard to believe. The French, it is well known, always held that the Indians were human beings, with souls to be saved, not mere animals to be destroyed. Possibly, the French fishermen on our coast were a different, and more blood-thirsty class than the peaceable Acadian and Canadian settlers. What seems however, to lend some colour to this part of the story, is the fact related by Kirke, of the murderous onslaught made by the Indians, on the French settlements at St Julien and Croque. Such an occurrence as that might very naturally incite the French to acts of retaliation.

Possibly, the savages who perpetrated these massacres, were not Beothucks at all, but some of the Nascoppi, or Mountaineers, who came over hunting from Labrador. I am led to infer this from a statement made by Captain George Cartwright, of Labrador fame. He relates that on his way home from Labrador, to St John's, and while stopping at Hawke's Harbour, that, "Two French fishermen, having gone into the country shooting, were met by eight Mountaineers, men and women, belonging to Labrador tribes, who not only robbed them of their arms, but

¹ Noel Paul's Brook.

even stripped them almost naked." Again, in another place, he speaks of "the Mountaineers being at Quirpon Island."

In the ninth edition of the *Geographical Grammar*, published by Patrick Gordon, in 1722, it is said, "That the natives of this island are generally of a middle stature, broad-faced, colouring their faces with ochre, and for clothing using skins of wild beasts; that they live by ten or twelve families together; their cabins being made of poles in form of our arbour, and covered with skins."

"About the year 1760, one, Scott, with another shipmaster and a strong crew, went from St John's to the Bay of Exploits, which was known to be much frequented by the Indians, during the summer season. Scott and his party having landed at the mouth of the bay, built there a place of residence, in the manner of a fort. Some days afterwards, a large party of Indians appeared in sight, and made a full stop, none of them showing the least inclination to approach nearer. Scott then proposed to the other shipmaster to go among them; the latter advised to go armed. Scott opposed it on the ground that it might create alarm. They proceeded towards the Indians with part of their crew without arms. Scott went up to them with every sign of amity, that he could imagine, and mixed with them, taking several of them, one after another by the hands. An old man, in pretended friendship, put his arms around his neck; at the same instant, another stabbed Scott in the back. The war-whoop resounded, a shower of arrows fell upon the English which killed the other shipmaster and four of his companions. The rest of the party then hastened to their vessels and returned to St John's, carrying one of those who had been killed with the arrows sticking in his body." (Anspach.)

According to Mr Thos. Peyton, who had the story from one, Henry Rowsell, of Hall's Bay,—

"The first five men who attempted to make a settlement in that bay, were all killed by the Indians. A crew went up from Twillingate shortly afterwards, and found the bodies of those unfortunates, with their heads cut off and stuck on poles."

The above instances, if true, would seem to prove that the Indians were really of a very sanguinary disposition, but this is not borne out by other accounts, notably by Whitbourne's. There are some instances of individuals being killed by them, but it always appears to have been in retaliation for brutal murders committed upon them by the whites. On the other hand, there are numerous cases in which they could have wreaked vengeance upon their oppressors which they did not avail themselves of. Once an old Micmac remarked to me, "Red Injun not bad man, if he mind to he could kill every fisherman without letting himself be seen at all." There are no instances of their ever having attacked a white settlement, or of revenging themselves upon those who did not molest them.

From the Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, 1766.

Sir Joseph Banks was a naturalist who visited this country, and Labrador, in the summer of 1766, to study their fauna and flora. He has left a manuscript journal of his studies and observations, which is of a very interesting character. There is but a short reference to the aborigines of Newfoundland, but as it contains some entirely new information, I quote it in full.

"Of the Indians that inhabit the interior parts of Newfoundland, I have as yet been able to learn very little about them. They are supposed to be the original inhabitants, of that country. They are, in general, thought to be very few as I am told, not exceeding five-hundred (500) in number, but why that should be imagined, I cannot tell, as we know nothing at all of the interior parts of the Island, nor ever had the least connection with them, tho' the French we are told had.

"The only part of the island that I have heard of their inhabiting, is in the neighborhood of Fogo, where they are said to be as near the coast as four (4) miles.

"Our people, who fish in these parts, live in a continual state of warfare with them, firing at them whenever they meet with them, and if they chance to find their houses or wigwams as they call them, plundering them immediately, tho' a bow and arrows, and what they call their pudding (?) is generally the whole of their furniture.

"They in return, look upon us in exactly the same light as we do them, killing our people whenever they get the advantage of them, and stealing or destroying their nets, wherever they find them.

"The pudding, which I mention in the last paragraph is, our people say, always found in their huts, made of eggs and deers' hair to make it hang together, as we put hair into our mortar and bake in the sun. Our people believe it to be a part of their food, but do not seem certain whether it is intended for that or any other use. They are said to fetch eggs for this composition, as far as Funk or Penguin Island, ten leagues from the nearest land.

"They are extremely dextrous in the use of their bows and arrows, and will, when pressed by an enemy, take four arrows, three between the fingers of their left hand, with which they hold the bow, and the fourth notched in the string, discharge them as quick as they can draw the bow, and with great certainty.

"Their canoes, by the gentleman's account from whom I have all this, are made like the Canadians', of Birch-bark, sewed together with deer's sinews, or some other material, but differ from the Canadians' essentially, in that they are made to shut up by the sides closing together for the convenient carrying of them through the woods, which they are obliged to do on account of the many lakes that abound all over the Island.

"Their method of scalping too, is very different from the Canadian's, they not being content with the hair, but skinning the whole face, at least, as far as the upper lip.

"I have a scalp of this kind which was taken from one, Sam Frye, a fisherman, who they shot in the water, as he attempted to swim off to his ship from them. They kept this scalp a year, but the features were so well preserved, that when upon a party of them being pursued the next summer, they dropt it, it was immediately known to be the scalp of the identical Sam Frye, who was killed the year before.

"So much for the Indians: if half of what I have written about them is true, it is more than I expect, tho' I have not the least reason to think but that the man who told it to me believed it, and had heard it from his own people, and more of the neighboring planters and fishermen."

The Authorities, having at length come to the conclusion that it was about time to put a stop to the inhuman barbarities practised upon the poor defenceless Beothucks, took the matter seriously in hand. In 1768, the then Governor, Sir Hugh Palliser, sent an expedition up the Exploits River, under the command of Lieut. John Cartwright, of H.M.S. *Gacynsey* to try and open up communication with them, and establish a friendly intercourse. The expedition, unfortunately, failed to meet with any of them, but the account in Cartwright's own language, which is given in full below, is of a very interesting character.



Major John Cartwright

Who, in 1768, made a journey up the Exploits River in search of the Red Indians, and who wrote an account of his travels, addressed to Governor, Sir Hugh Palliser. At the time of this expedition, Cartwright was in the Navy, Lieutenant of H.M.S. "Cerberus." After retiring from the Navy, he became a great political agitator, was in favour of the various reforms put forward by the British Government. He was a vigorous writer, and on more than one occasion, got himself into trouble. He joined a corps of Militia, and became Major. His biography, written by his niece, F. D. Cartwright, was published in London, in 1826.

Plate II



Cartwright's sketch of Esphis River.



Imaginary picture of Red Indian camp, Mamateck, canoe, etc. Cartwright's narrative.

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, by Lieutenant John Cartwright of H.M.S. "Weymouth".

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind."

The journey in which the River Exploits was traced, and Lieutenant's Lakes discovered, 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 that island; and to acquire a more certain knowledge of the settlements of the natives or 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, in order to promote their civilization, and render them in the end, useful subjects to His Majesty.

The epithet "Red Indian" is given to these Indians, from their universal practise of colouring their garments, their canoes, bows, arrows, and every other utensil belonging to them with red ochre.

The situation of this tribe as part of the human species, with certain particulars relating to them is truly singular. Although they are the original native inhabitants of a country we have been so long possessed of, they have not now the least intercourse with us whatever; except indeed, sometimes the unfriendly one of reciprocal injuries, and murders. There are traditions amongst the English inhabitants of Newfoundland, which prove that an amicable intercourse once subsisted between them, and the natives; and at the same time afford sufficient evidence, that the conduct of the savages was not the cause that those social bonds were broken. In the course of those remarks, will be shown more at large, the reason for the continuance of this disunion; whence it will, perhaps, appear that there is no other method to restore the commerce between us, than that which was adopted by Governor Palliser, and attempted on the expedition which gave rise to those observations.

But before I mention anything that bears a reference to the sketch, or speak of the Indian manner of living, it may be necessary in order to prevent any confused ideas arising in the mind of the reader, to give previous descriptions of the whigwam or hut, distinguished on the sketch with red ink by the mark 'O'; of the square dwellings marked '□'; of the deer fences and sewels marked  and ; of the canoe;

and lastly of the bow and arrow, in which are at once comprised the whole of their arms, either offensive or defensive.

The whigwam is a hut in the form of a cone. The base of it is proportioned to the number of the family, and their beds form a circle

¹ *Life of Major Cartwright*, by his niece, F. D. Cartwright, in two volumes, published by Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street, London, 1826. The *Weymouth* must have been his last ship. That on which he served at the date of the expedition was certainly the *Governor* as appears from his original MS.

around a fire that burns in the centre. The beds are only so many oblong hollows in the earth, lined with the tender branches of fir and pine. Several straight sticks like hoop-poles, compose the frame of the whigwham, and the covering is supplied by the rind of the Birch-tree. This is overlaid sheet upon sheet, in the manner of tiles, and perfectly shelters the whole apartment except the fire-place, over which there is left an opening to carry off the smoke. The birch rind is secured in its place by outside poles whose weight from their inclined position is sufficient for that purpose. The central fire spreading its heat on all sides makes them quite warm; and notwithstanding one of these habitations where materials are plentiful, may be completed in less than an hour, yet they are extremely durable; for being always in the woods they are defended from the force of the wind, that would otherwise very soon overturn such slender fabrics.

Of the square habitations, only two were observed on the whole journey; one upon Sabbath Point, in Lieutenant's Lake, and the other in a small distance above Little Rattle'. They were much alike and examining the latter we found it to be rectangle, framed 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 about eighteen inches within this and parallel to it, there was another frame of slighter workmanship 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 the deficiency of skins; and rather so as this inferior side of the dwelling bore a S.E. aspect, which required less shelter than any other. The lodgements 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, being 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 whigwham, for a passage for the smoke, the fire-place, according to custom, having been in the centre.

The deer fences we found erected on the banks of the Exploits are situated in places the most proper for intercepting herds of these animals, as they cross the river in their route to the southward, on the approach of winter, and against the return of mild weather, when they wander back to the northward. They have the best effect when there is a beach about twenty feet wide and from thence a steep ascending bank. Along the ridge of this bank the Indians fell the trees without chopping the trunks quite asunder; taking care that they fall parallel with the river and guiding every fresh cut tree so as to coincide with and fall on the last. The weak parts of the fence are filled up with branches and limbs of other trees,

¹ Furrier's term for rapid.

secured occasionally by large stakes and bindings; in short, these fences and our plashed hedges are formed on the same principles, differing only in their magnitude. They are raised to the height of six, eight, or ten feet, as the place may require, so that, the steepness of the bank considered, they are not found to be forced or overlapped by the largest deer.

Those fences near Slaughter and Fatal Isles, and the other most frequented places, are from half a mile to half a league in length; only discontinued here and there for short distances where the ill-growth of the woods does not favour such works. The Indians are here at no loss, for their knowledge of the use of sewels' supplies this deficiency, and completes their toils. At certain convenient stations they have small half-moon breast-works, half the height of a man (by the furriers called gazes), over which it may be presumed, they shoot the deer passing between the water-side and the bank, deterred by the sewels, and disabled by means of the fence from entering the wood, until an opening clear of these obstructions may present itself.

Their sewels' are made by tying a tassel of birch rind formed like the wing of a paper kite, to the small end of a slight stick about six feet in length. These sticks are pricked into the ground about ten or a dozen yards apart, and so much sloping, that the pendant rind may hang clear of its support, in order to play with every breath of wind. Thus it is sure to catch the eye of the deer, and to make them shun the place where it stands.

The canoe peculiar to these Indians comes next to be considered, and so well deserves particular notice, that no pains will be spared to gratify the curiosity of the inquisitive reader; and it is hoped, that by the assistance of the perspective view exhibited in the sketch, the more so, as it may be observed that such descriptions in the best writers are too often loose and inaccurate, wanting that precision necessary to give a full and distinct idea of the general figure, the parts and proportions of the thing described. But perhaps, great indulgence is due to such writers, when we reflect on the very limited powers, for paintings of this nature, that are vested in the pen. Conscious of her weakness on this occasion, she has taken to her aid her elder sister, and faithful ally, the pencil; that by the assistance of the perspective view, exhibited on the same sheet with the sketch of the country, it is hoped the reader will be fully satisfied on this head. There also he will see representations of the whigwham as well as of the bow and arrow of this people. The principle on which the Red Indian's canoe is constructed, is, perhaps, nowhere else to be met with throughout the very great variety of these embarkations, known in the different quarters of the globe. It has, in a manner, no bottom at all, the sides beginning at the very keel, and from thence running up in straight lines to the edge or gunwale. A transverse section of it at any part whatever, marks an

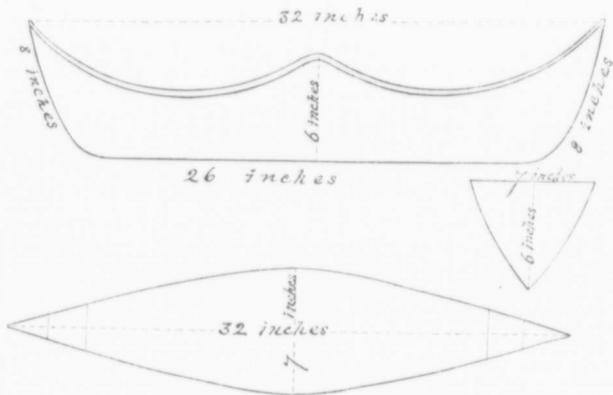
¹ "Hos non immissos canibus, non cassibus ullis;

Paniculae agitant pavidos formidine pennae."

Virgil has neglected the peculiar beauty of this passage by using only the general word toils, which gives no idea of a sewel formed with coloured leathers.

² This word is probably compounded from see and well; another example is Semore (Mt See-more) near Birchy Lake, Upper Humber River.

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 a keel. This rod is 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, be the same with the outline of the long section, it is evident, 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; for their difference is so very trifling as not be discernible to the eye, which will be clearly comprehended on recollecting that the side, as I said before, begins at the keel. The coat or shell of the canoe is made of the largest and finest sheets of birch rind that can be secured. Its form being nothing more than two sides joined together where the keel is to be introduced, it is very easily sewn 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 paved over with a sort of gum, appearing to be a preparation of turpentine, oil, and ochre; and which effectually resists all the efforts of 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 length 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, as occasion may require 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 to the shape of the canoe, their small ends terminate with those of the keel-rod, in the extremities of each stem. On the outside of the proper gunwale, 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 lengthwise, over which again others 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



Dimensions of Canoe, from model in Museum.

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

The bows are all sycamore¹, which being very scarce in this country, and the only wood it produces which is fit for this use, thence becomes valuable. The sticks are not selected with any great nicety, some of them being knotty, and of 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 exactly with the thicker edge of the bow. This seems to be essential to the true delivery of the arrow, but is a principle that appears not to be generally understood among archers. The bow is full five and a half feet long. The arrow is made of well seasoned pine, slender, light, and perfectly straight. Its head is a two-edged lance, about six inches long, and the stock is about three feet more. Like the famous arrow that pierced the heart of Douglas, it was feathered with the "Grey goose wing."

The country which the Red Indians now inhabit, is chiefly about the River Exploits, extending northerly as far as Cape John, and to Cape Frelhel in the southeast. They were formerly known to spread themselves much further, but it is thought they were then considerably more numerous than they are at present. In the winter it seems they reside chiefly on the banks of the Exploits, where they are enabled to procure a plentiful subsistence, as appeared by the abundance of horns and bones that lay scattered about their wigwams at the deer fences, Rangers River, Prospect Lake. The forbidden ponds, and other places may admit, no doubt, of a like residence, and afford them the same kind of food, though not in such plenty; for the channel of the Exploits, stretching itself directly across the regular and constant track of the deer, must necessarily insure to them abundance of venison, while all the other places may yield them no more than occasional supplies. In summer they live altogether, as is supposed, on the sea-coast. Between the boundaries I have mentioned, of Cape John and Cape Frelhel, is spread a vast multitude of islands abounding with sea-fowl, ptarmigan, hares and other game, besides seals in great numbers. On the largest of these islands are deer, foxes, bears and otters. Besides hunting all these, they used formerly to kill considerable quantities of salmon in the rivers and small streams; but the English have now only left them in possession of Charles's and another brook. During the egg season they are supposed to feed luxuriously; and by no means to want after the young have taken to wing; for in archery they have an unerring hand that amply supplies their wants. A kind of cake made of eggs, and baked in the sun, and a sort of pudding stuffed in a gut, and composed of seals' fat, livers, eggs, and other ingredients, have been found about their wigwams.

¹ Maple (*Fraxinus Americana*), called sycamore by the Newfoundland fishermen. Cartwright is not correct in stating that this was the only wood used for that purpose, they also used Mountain Ash and a hard tough species of fir.

These puddings, it is thought, are preserved by them, as a provision against times of scarcity, and when the chase may happen to fail.

The Red Indians, as I have observed before, have no intercourse with Europeans, except a hostile one; which there is great reason to think, is founded, on their part, upon a just, and, to any uncivilized people, a noble resentment of wrongs. On the part of the English fishers, it is an inhumanity which sinks them far below the level of savages. The wantonness of their cruelties towards the poor wretches, has frequently been almost incredible. One well-known fact shall serve as a specimen. A small family of Indians being surprised in their wigwam, by a party of fishermen, they all fled, to avoid if possible, the instant death that threatened them from the fire-arms of their enemies; when one woman being unable to make her escape, yielded herself into their power. Seeing before her none but men, she might naturally have expected that her sex alone would have disarmed their cruelty but to awaken in them still stronger motives to compassion, she pointed with an air of most moving entreaty to her prominent belly. Could all nature have produced another pleader of such eloquence as the infant there concealed? But this appeal, Oh, shame to humanity! was alas! in vain; for an instant stab, that ripped open her womb, laid her at the feet of those cowardly ruffians, where she expired in great agonies. Their brutal fury died not with its unhappy victim; for with impious hands they mutilated the dead body, so as to become a spectacle of the greatest horror. And that no aggravation of their crime might be wanting, they made, at their return home, their boasts of this exploit. Charity might even have prevailed in their favour, against their own report, and have construed their relation into an idle pretence only of wickedness, which, however, they were incapable of having in reality committed, had they not produced the hands of the murdered woman, which they displayed on the occasion as a trophy. Although I meant to confine myself to a single proof of my charge against the fishermen, yet, as that is general, and of so criminal a nature, it may not be amiss to bring more evidence against them, in order to satisfy the reader that their guilt has not been exaggerated. The following story will but too much confirm what has been already advanced. Some fishermen, as they doubled in their boat, a point of land, discovering a single defenceless woman with an infant on her shoulders, one of them instantly discharged at her a heavy load of swan shot, and lodged it in her loins. Unable now to sustain her burthen, 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 off her eyes from the helpless object she had left behind her. In this dreadful situation she beheld her child ravished from her by her murderers, who carried it to their boat. How the infant's cries, as they bore it off, must have pierced her fainting heart! How the terrors of its approaching fate must have wrung a mother's breast! A cruel death or an ignominious bondage among enemies the only prospects for a beloved son she was to see no more! Sure the arrow of death was now dipped in the keenest of all poisons! Assassinations but not the deeds of manly courage are the genuine effects of cruelty. The child was snatched away in all the hurry

and affright imaginable, and the most precipitate retreat made in the boat, till out of bowshot from the shore because this courageous crew just before they discovered the woman, had seen on an eminence at a considerable distance, two Indian men. Sentiments of horror and indignation will move no doubt the generous reader, when he casts his eye upon these shocking scenes; but what feeling, what mode of disgust has nature implanted in the human heart, to express its abhorrence of the wretch who can be so hardened to vice as to conceive that he is entitled to a reward for the commission of such bloody deeds! One of the very villains concerned in this capture of the child, supposing it a circumstance that would be acceptable to the Governor, actually came to the writer of these remarks at Toulouquet, to ask a gratuity for the share he had borne in the transaction. Had he been describing the death of a beast of chase, and the taking of its young, he could not have shown greater insensibility than he did at the relation above mentioned; but it was not to be heard without far other feelings, and in point of facts is here literally repeated. The woman was shot in August 1768, and to complete the mockery of human misery, her child was the winter following, exposed as a curiosity to the rabble at Pool for two pence apiece¹.

These Indians are not only secluded thus from any communication with Europeans, but they are so effectually cut off from the society of every other Indian people. The Canadians² have generally a strong hunt that range the western coast of Newfoundland, between whom and these natives reigns so mortal an enmity (as in the subsequent letter is more fully mentioned) that they never meet but a bloody combat ensues. This is the case with all savage nations; occasioned by mutual fears, and not being able to understand each other's language.

This is the only tribe from the continent that can now approach them; for the English settlements on the east coast keep back the Esquimaux, who are said formerly to have ranged far enough to the southward, to have fallen in with Red Indian canoes, and it is understood that, they then treated all they met as enemies. The Esquimaux in harrassing them kept to their own element the water; where their superior canoes and missile weapons, provided for killing whales, made them terrible enemies to encounter; but in getting rid of these they have still changed for the worse, meeting with foes more powerful, and to their experience, no less savage; who distress them everywhere alike; so that neither sea nor land can now afford them safety. To complete their wretched condition, Providence has even denied them the pleasing services and companionship of the faithful dog. This affectionate and social creature is partner in the joyous chase, fellow-traveller, protector, and domestic attendant, to every race of mankind that history has brought to my knowledge, except to those most forlorn of all human beings. May we not look upon this as one of the heaviest evils they endure? For the Indian that in his dealings with his fellow creatures will but too frequently, experience fraud and treachery, finds in his honest dog a friend

¹ This was the Indian (John August) mentioned by Capt. George Cartwright in his *Journal of Transactions and Events*, seen at Catalina, June 15th, 1785.

² Micmacs and other tribes from the Continent.

that never will forsake or betray him, and one that is not incapable of sympathising in his misfortunes and in his welfare. Their coming down in the spring to the sea-coast and the islands I have spoken of, may very properly be termed taking the field or opening the campaign, for they are obliged to observe all the vigilance of war. So inconsiderable are they in point of numbers, and subject to such an extreme dread of fire-arms, that they are ever on the defensive. Besides, the necessity of their separating into single families and small parties in order to obtain that subsistence which no one place would furnish to numerous bodies, renders them in general an easy conquest to a single boat's crew.

There is no cod-fishery, and consequently there are no inhabitants, within the very extreme verge of these islands; but they are often visited by boats that carry the salmon fishers, shipbuilders, sawyers, woodmen, and furriers, into the respective bays and rivers situated within them; as well as by such as run from isle to isle in quest of game. The Indians from their secret haunts in the woods, let not a motion of all these people escape them; and in order to be on their guard, 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, whenever an enemy's boat appears. Both day and night they keep an unremitting and wary lookout; so that to surprise them requires in general uncommon address and subtlety. Even to gain a sight of them is no small difficulty; for they enjoy in so much perfection the senses of sight and hearing, that they seldom fail to discover the advance of the fishermen early enough to make their retreat, without so much as being perceived. This is known to every one who has traversed these islands, as the traces of Indians are found by such persons wherever they land, and sometimes such fresh signs of them, as a proof they have not quitted the spot many moments, and these appearances are observable every day yet whole seasons sometimes pass without an Indian being seen by them. They cannot be too watchful for surprises in their wigwams have generally proved fatal to them, and upon sudden accidental meetings it has been the usual practice of the fishermen to destroy them unprovoked, while the terrified Indians have attempted nothing but to make their escape, of which the two cases I have mentioned are shocking instances. The fishermen generally even take a brutal pleasure in boasting of these barbarities. He that has shot one Indian values himself more upon the fact than had he overcome a bear or wolf and fails not to speak of it with a brutal triumph, especially in the mad hours of drunkenness.

A Red Indian in the summer season, may with too much propriety be compared to a beast of chase, such as the wolf or fox that preys on the smaller game, and in his turn is liable to fall himself a prey to hunters more destructive. He is like them endowed with a peculiar sagacity, in finding, watching and tracing his game, as well as with strength and activity, for the pursuit; and he subsists by the sole exercise of these powers. Like them he is a wanderer, roaming from place to place, as the revolving seasons vary his food, and point out each successive haunt of woods or

rocky shores, mountains or valleys, ponds or plains, in which it must be sought; and lastly he has to expect from the fishermen, exactly the same treatment as the brute creatures he is compared with; and it behoves him no less to seek his safety in the friendly covert of the forest, and in a vigilance equal to theirs.

From this view of the unsettled restless life of the Red Indians during the campaign, which breaks not up until the expiration of the summer season, it appears that their perpetual apprehensions of danger must entirely deprive them of that repose and security which is essential to the enjoyment of life.

But let us accompany them into their winter quarters where it is probable that, like the Indian tribes of the neighbouring continent, a general festival reigns amongst them. They are now free from alarm, and if any particular rites in their religious worship require time in the performance, this, and not the summer, is evidently the season for celebrating them.

From the undoubted original connection between the islanders and the tribes just mentioned, it is to be supposed that like them, they hold assemblies for deliberating on peace or war, and for promoting an early union of the sexes in nuptial bonds, as the grand support of the community. On these occasions the continental Indians pass the time in singing, dancing, and feasting, and in recounting perils in war and in the chase. But we may conclude that the first happy meeting of our Indians in the interior country cannot be of long duration for want of provisions to supply the feast. It must be soon necessary for them to form themselves into distinct and proper parties, for occupying the posts at which they kill the travelling deer, for their chief subsistence during a long winter.

Between Flat Rattle¹ and Rangers River², the banks of the Exploits bears marks of being well inhabited. Beyond Rangers River, as my letter to Governor Palliser mentions, the wigwams are thinly scattered. I have already ventured some conjectures of that river itself, and the country from which it flows, affording stations proper for affording the same subsistence, as is procured on the Exploits, though with less certainty, and that parties of the Indians accordingly betake themselves thither: for I cannot think that more than half or at most, two third parts of the Red Indian tribe dwell in the winter on the banks of this river. At the same time it must be allowed that we saw in our journey to the source of the Exploits, more wigwams than would be necessary for the use of the entire tribe, as its numbers are estimated by most people who have bestowed any thoughts upon them; but I think their estimates are all too low. Some are of opinion that they amount to 300, others suppose them not to exceed 200 souls; and no doubt their reasons for keeping within such narrow bounds, have considerable weight; they draw their conclusions chiefly from their so seldom seeing an Indian in the summer, and that always within the limits already noticed: to which if we add the certainty of their totally abandoning the interior parts to occupy the sea-coast at that season, it may be confessed that this estimate is plausible and perhaps just. But

¹ Local term for rapid.

² Badger Brook (?).

when we consider on the other hand that the two capes which form the bounds of their settlements are thirty leagues apart, that between them there is at least an island for every man in the largest of these computations, and that near twenty capacious bays and inlets deeply indent the intermediate part of the coast; we shall easily find shelter in the woods that overhang all these shores, for a much greater number of these savages, who have no temptation to expose themselves carelessly to sight. But the numerous habitations that appeared as we journeyed towards Lieutenant's Lake¹, are what incline me to add to the greatest of these numbers, one or two hundred souls more; and in that note upon the sketch which treats of the Forbidden Ponds² it may be seen that I have not allowed a winter settlement to the Indians in that part of the country, merely on conjecture; but from a fact which from its own nature and as it existed at the only time there was an opportunity of knowing it, may well be admitted in my opinion as general. But again, it is very certain that several of the wigwams we saw had been totally deserted, and possibly many more of them than I apprehended; that had all such been demolished we might from the standing ones have made an accurate calculation of the inhabitants; which would have probably have corresponded more nearly with that of other persons. But as in that respect we can have no certainty, and as I have such good authority for not confining their settlements to the Exploits alone, I must still retain my opinion; though with little confidence as it rests on so slight a foundation.

When the Indians assemble at their respective stations their habitations are soon put in order, their deer fences repaired, the necessary sewelling completed, and every preparation made for the ensuing slaughter. In the beginning of winter the deer of this country all resort to the southward, where the climate is more mild and the snow not so deep as in the northern parts, so that those which have spent the summer to the northward of the Exploits, have necessarily this river (running from west to east) to cross in their route. The country hereabout being one universal forest, it would be impracticable to find or kill many of them in such an unbounded covert. The wide opening made by this river, being as it were, a lane through these extensive woods, renders it the most commodious situation for that purpose.

The first fall of snow is sure to put the deer in motion, and when the earth is covered to a certain depth, the Indians know that their harvest is at hand. The deer, to defend themselves from the packs of wolves which for ever infest them on their road, seek as it were, protection from each other, and gather together in vast hordes, as birds of passage collect in flocks to make their journey. If the snow continues with the usual frost, they travel at an easy rate both night and day, without quitting the paths trodden by their leaders, and without any other food than what they crop or browse from the overhanging branches, as they pass along. In this case their journey is not of long continuance, and the killing season of the Indians must soon be over. But when the frost fails, and a thaw dissolves

¹ Red Indian Lake.

² Twin Ponds (?).

the snow, the deer no longer pursue their march with the same regularity, but spread themselves on the spot to feed, until fresh snow and new frost give the signal for re-assembling. These interruptions frequently happen, and must then always retard the operations of the Indians more or less. With plenty and happiness smiling upon them on one hand, and on the other hunger and misery staring them in the face, there can be no doubt but that they employ all their ingenuity in framing their toils, and that their utmost watchfulness, skill and alacrity are exerted in attending to them. We must remember that this extraordinary fatigue always happens in the worst weather; for it is the falling of the snow that urges the deer to move, and at this change of the seasons the weather is particularly tempestuous. So long as their wants continue, they must be strangers to sleep and repose; and even night can yield them no repose from watching and labour. To dispose of the weighty carcasses, as the deer are slain, must be a fatiguing part of their work; and care is to be taken to have them kept free from taint until the frost seizes them. They are then in perfect security the whole winter, except an unexpected thaw should happen; for so long as the frost holds there is no want of salt.

It may be presumed that their first meeting in winter quarters affords every delight and social enjoyment, that so hardfaring, rude, and uncultivated a people are capable of. Refinements in sentiment are not to be found amongst them, and they can be little acquainted with the rational pleasure of reflection; but whensoever mankind possesses plenty and are content with it, they must be happy; and that the full measure of this must sometimes fall to their lot, cannot well be doubted. If they know not the arts which embellish life, and those sciences which dignify humanity, they are ignorant also of the long train of vices that corrupt the manners of civilized nations and of the enormous crimes that debase mankind.

I cannot obtain the least insight into the religion of the Red Indians, and have thought it very remarkable, that in a journey of about seventy miles through the heart of their winter country, not a single object should present itself that might be looked upon as intended for religious purposes or devoted to any superstitious practices of those people; except indeed some small figured bones neatly carved, and having four prongs the two middle ones being paralleled, and almost close together, while the outer ones spread like a swallow's tail. Some of these have fallen in my way, and from the thong fixed to their handle, I have imagined them to be worn as amulets; and I am inclined to judge that the religion of this people rises but little above such harmless trifling observances.

The summer in this part of the world is tolerably long and pleasant, the autumn short and rough; when a hasty winter armed with stormy north-east winds, snow, sleet, and frost makes his furious onset, giving no quarter until he has bound the whole country in his icy chains, and overwhelmed it with a load of snow. But having once subdued all nature to his obedience, he then deigns to smile. A serene sky, a bright sun, and gentle breeze, show the mildness of his established reign.

On a supposition that our Indians might fall short in venison, it may not be improper to show what other resources they have to help them

out. Along all the shores, either of salt or fresh water, that we are acquainted with, which are well sheltered with wood, there is in winter the greatest abundance of ptarmigan, which is a species of grouse, though they are erroneously called partridges. These birds do not seek the warm woody vales until the snow and wintry blasts drive them off the open barrens where they are bred. They become in cold weather so tame as to appear deficient in the principle of self-preservation; so that they are killed at pleasure, and may be almost reckoned as a kind of domestic poultry to the Indians.

The martin or sable, next to be considered, is a creature with which the whole country abounds, and is of all others the most easily entrapped by the furrier. This animal follows every track made by men in the woods, and allured by the smell of provisions, haunts dwellings. This pilfering inclination is easily turned to the destruction of the animal, and is fortunate for the furrier.

The beaver is not wanting in these parts, and makes no mean addition to their store of provisions. The most luxurious epicure may envy them this dainty. The flesh has an exquisite flavour peculiar to itself, which together with a certain crispness in the fat is so grateful to the taste that it is preferred to the finest venison. No broth excels that which is made from the forequarters, which are quite lean. The hind-quarters, unseparated, are commonly roasted, being richly clothed with fat, of which the tail entirely consists. A dish of tails to eat as marrow is esteemed a great delicacy. The meat is remarkably easy of digestion, and its admirers say it may vie with turtle itself as a delicious, nutritive and wholesome diet. It is only in winter that beaver is in season, when a large one, as some report, will weigh sixty or seventy pounds. The much admired political, mechanical, provident and social operations of this animal have exercised many ingenious pens, which may be deservedly styled ingenious, as it is the property of ingenuity to invent. How could a traveller resist the temptation of applying the flat scaly tail, so admirably contrived for the purpose, as a trowel for spreading mortar in the erection of their dams and houses? Nor must it be disputed but that it must be equally serviceable as a sledge whereon to draw the materials. But I am well informed that the sagacious beaver himself is still ignorant that this singular tail was given him for either of these ends. Their sage maxims of government, their punishment of offenders and expulsion of slothful members from the community, have been all gravely related by authors who have gained no small credit from these curious discoveries, the result of their deep researches into nature; and these writers in transgressing the dictates of truth, have not however entirely lost sight of them; for the beaver will be readily admitted to be an equal favourite of Providence, and to be governed by as intelligent an instinct as the bee or ant, whose economy is so wonderful.

We may add to the animals above mentioned the bear, the wolf, the fox, hare and otter, besides two or three birds of prey, all of which are to be found in this wild forest, and may afford the Indians a casual meal now and then.

The white or water bear is not to be reckoned amongst the creatures that contribute to the subsistence of the Red Indians. Although this animal is found in Newfoundland in the winter and early in the spring, he is only a stranger from the northern continent. Stimulated at this season by hunger he will quit the shores and venture many leagues amongst the floating ice in quest of seals, and he preys indifferently by sea or land. He is of enormous size and strength, and no less fierce and voracious. The homes of the fishermen are sometimes broken open by him, and sometimes he will pursue a boat at sea, his attacks being always without craft or hesitation, for he knows no fear; but as he seldom or never goes any distance from the sea coast inland, I do not imagine that the Indians ever see him about their settlements.

Letter addressed to His Excellency, Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, by Lieut. John Cartwright. Dated Toulouquet, 19th September, 1768.

Presuming Sir, that you might have a desire to know what occurred on our journey worthy of observation, I have hurried over the inclosed unfinished sketch, to lay before your Excellency, and shall take the liberty to run over such particulars as may serve to convey an idea to you of the scenes that presented themselves to us.

On the twenty fourth of last month we rowed in the evening from John Cousen's house, near Indian Point, to Start Kettle, where we left the boat in the woods, and at sunrise next morning (Mr Stow¹, my brother and five seamen, being on the south side, Cousens myself and five more on the north side, of the river) we began our march, each person carrying his own provisions, consisting of fourteen pounds of bread, and seven pounds of meat. Our other burthens were also distributed as equally as possible.

Our heavy rifled guns we always carried ourselves, with plenty of apparatus for both those and our fowling pieces occasionally. The spare ammunition, hatchets and other implements, were proportionably divided among the seamen, our shot guns ready loaded, we put into the hands of the most trustworthy, and the rest had each of them a pistol for their defence. Early that day and throughout the same we discovered so many wigwams (most of which appeared to be the work of last winter) and other apparatus, that we were in high spirits; fully expecting to find parties of the Indians in a short time. Adjoining these large wigwams, we saw in one place, a slight frame made of sticks pricked into the ground and crossed with others, to which were hanging various shreds of split roots, small thongs and fine sinews all which gave it the appearance of a machine for drying salmon upon. For a whole mile or more, leading us to Sevel Point, we had a line of sewels as described in the reference to the sketch, and in the same place we saw a gaze². Not then having discovered the path whereby to avoid the rocks by the great falls we were obliged to scramble over them, which in some places was difficult, requiring a secure hold and sure foot to keep us out of the water, that was very deep. The river here is pent in between two rocks very near each other, which together with a descent of fourteen or fifteen feet, makes the water gush down with such fury as to form a beautiful cascade in a situation highly romantic. Towards night, having accommodated ourselves in a wigwam we spent what short time we had to spare in searching for such things as might enable us to form the least judgement of what might be before us. The many remnants of split spruce roots, and other materials led us to conjecture that this was a spot where the Indians stopped in their passage to the sea coast to repair and fit their canoes for their summer hunting among the islands.

¹ Rev. Neville Stow, Chaplain of the *Governor*.

² A construction of bushes or loose stones behind which a hunter conceals himself when watching for game.

The particular situation of the place, and the discovery of the path for conveying the canoes below the falls, confirmed us in our opinion; especially when we considered that they were here secure from any disturbance in this occupation, by boats coming up the river. The second day in the morning early we found a large raft lodged on the bank; it was of Indian construction, and composed with strength and ingenuity. We continued to see many wigwams without having the pleasure to find any appearance of a later residence in them than in those we had seen before; but the beautiful appearance of the river in Nimrod's pool¹, and afterwards a long line of swelling with a deer fence, raised in us at times fresh hopes. The shores on each side continued an entire wood as they had been from the first, still running chiefly upon birches and poplar, which I am informed is a certain indication of their having been once burnt. It is remarkable that when a wood of almost entire fir is destroyed by fire, those other trees should, as it were, spring from their ashes; while scarce one fir in a thousand is restored, that before exceeded the poplar and birch in the inverse proportion of a thousand to one. I could not at first very readily assent to this proposition; but observation has since reconciled it to my belief.

The searching of some brooks for beaver and other hindrances made our journey by the river but short for this day, as will appear by the figure 2, showing our evening's quarters; and 3, 4, 5, and 6 point out the distance travelled each corresponding day.

The third day throughout and first part of the fourth, we still perceived much the same traces of Indians as before, but nothing more. Ranger's River² being crossed the deer fence was seldom visible and all other vestiges discontinued very much in comparison of what we had hitherto seen. We now began to imagine that the savages wholly abandoned these parts, to resort to the sea coast, for the summer, only residing here in the winter, so long as they could subsist on the venison killed at the toils, and the furs taken in the course of the season; except indeed they might inhabit the shore of the large lake, which Consens' Indian had formerly reported, to lie at the head of this river, and to be the seat of their capital settlement. This prospect again revived our hopes, and the rivers course making every step we tried an advance towards the western coast, to which I was very anxious for finding a road, we determined to proceed as far as it were practicable. I believe it was not until the fourth day that we observed the woods to change from birch and poplar to firs, pines and larch. They now evidently wore the face of antiquity, and pointed out the bounds of the fire, that about seventy years ago consumed all the wood from the north and south heads of the bay, up the river on both sides, far beyond the knowledge of any person till now: the islands only and some other small spots escaping which all at this time bear the marks of such an exemption by producing in a manner nothing but their original spruce, fir, etc., while the rest, formerly the same, is now converted into one continuous scene of birch and poplar. This river has been such an Indian bug-bear that it was never before traced so high as Sewell Point, except by two furriers last winter, who seeing at that place a canoe half built, and other signs of Indians, retired with their best speed. Consens once came down Thunder Brook³, and no sooner arrived at the river than he retreated as precipitately, not daring to explore the course of it either up or down. The fifth morning my brother and four of his party, having worn out their shoes were obliged to return. But Mr Stow and one other attendant proceeded, soon after crossing the river to join us. It was early the same day we found the square house described in the reference. It seemed to have been a very comfortable winter quarter, and more than ever confirmed our suppositions, with regard to the Indians' change of residence, with the seasons. After this we saw very few other habitations for the day. Some very large pines and birches appeared now among the firs which latter we did not think so well grown as the former, in proportion. On setting forward the sixth day

¹ Junction of Rushy Pond Brook &c.

² Badger Brook.

³ Small brook near the Badger &c. Either Aspen or Leach Brook.

we were obliged to leave behind us one man, to repair his shoes and await our return; and ere we had travelled three hours, found ourselves deserted by two fellows more, who were so sick of the river that they never stopped to be overtaken until they got back to Cousens's house. Our whole party Mr Stow and myself excepted were nearly bare foot, the scarcity of game we had met with had reduced our provisions to a bare sufficiency for regaining our boat; our wish for lake might be still far distant, without any other prospect of seeing the Indians except there, besides very bad weather seemed now to be set in as it had rained the greater part of this and the preceding day, being now no less likely to continue. All these obstacles and discouragements conspiring, we had thought of giving up our pursuit of the lake, except we should reach it that day. That we might make the most of our time, we deferred stopping for refreshment until constant rain and a setting sun obliged us to seek for shelter. At the same place where we stopped the river had some remarkable mud beds; and there were decayed leaves that seemed but lately to have driven down and lodged in the coves, which appeared to me the most promising sign of a neighboring lake, that had anywhere presented itself, rendered my desire of proceeding so long as a ray of light remained, too powerful to be withstood. Leaving the rest of the party to erect a lodging and advancing about half a league, I had the satisfaction to discover an opening, which in a few minutes, gave me an extensive view of the object that had so strongly excited my curiosity to behold. A quickened pace soon gratified my solitude for arriving at this goal; and having at the end of six days labour reached Sabbath Point¹. I there sat down to rest; enjoying the thoughts of having at last explored thus much, and being able to return without so blank an account of our journey, as must necessarily have been given, to have remained in ignorance of the rivers source, Upon Tacamahacca² Point grew abundance of the aromatic shrub of that name; which in England is an exotic imported from America. It resembles the leaves and branches of a pear tree, and grows amongst the stones along the upper edge of the beach. This is the only spot in this Island where I have either seen it or heard of its being produced, so that I am inclined to consider the Canadians as the transplanters of it from the continent³. It is probably used by them in medicine; for I have been informed that the leaf of it, applied to a green wound, is a good remedy. Upon this point also I passed a vacancy in the woods, where the remains of wigwams appeared.

The morning following, having left another man behind to mend his shoes, the rest of us, being only five of the original fourteen went to view the lake; and walked about halfway to the bottom of June's Cove⁴ which was found to answer the description of such a place given by the Indian boy June, where he said his father dwelt. By his account it was the residence also of great part of his tribe which might have been very true for, reaching about 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, and almost hid with young woods and high weeds, which flourish here in great luxuriance, the soil being fruitful. From the circumstance of its large extent; being well filled with habitations; being cleared of wood and thrown open to the north west winds, as if for air and coolness; I should be inclined to think that it might have been a settlement for all seasons; the studded houses making it sufficiently warm in winter, without the shelter of the woods; could a method be assigned whereby the Indians might be able to procure their summers subsistence in such a place. But that appears improbable except that lake abounds in fish and fowl; the latter of which from appearances must I believe be very scarce. After

¹ Bloody Pt. Red Indian Lake.

² American name for the Balsam Poplar (*Populus balsamifera*); site of R. I. village.

³ The balsam or balm of Gilead, is quite common on the west coast along the rivers in Bay St George.

⁴ N.E. Arm of lake, where Millertown now stands.

allotting the shores at this end for a residence to his own tribe June made the Canadians possess those at the western end of the lake and related that the two nations did not see the least signs one of the other during whole winters. This in the main might also be true for, being mortal enemies, and never giving quarter on either side, their reciprocal fears might, naturally enough, keep them apart. We know that the Canadians range all the western coast opposite to those parts; and probably the same reasons prevail over them, that drive these savages into the interior parts of the country during winter. Between June's Cove and Tacamahacca Point are a few wigwams and one square house, that were occupied during last winter. Over the western part of the lake there hung such a fog and dark clouds, that we could not extend our view more than two leagues down. It is probably of much greater length, seeming to bend towards the southwest; but, from the form of the land I do not imagine it is anywhere very broad. This river and lake running for so long a distance in so convenient a direction; I had a strong curiosity of taking a view from the summit of Mount Janus¹ which I persuaded myself would have extended to the west coast, taking in at the same time a large tract of the journey we had made from the eastward. This was the highest land we had seen from our losing sight of Labour in vain Mountain². From the shores of the lake on the north side there is an easy ascent, until the land becomes pretty high; but all the way up the river the land is in general low, so far as we could discern, with here and there a small hill near the water side: The whole country that lay open to our view around the lake, as well as the shores of the river from end to end is one unvarying scene of thick woods. Leaving the lake about noon we travelled back with as much speed as broken shoes and very rainy weather, would admit of, reaching our boat the fifth afternoon.

The practicability of getting a whaleboat into the lake, to carry a stock of provisions for enabling a party to visit Mount Janus and the country beyond it, made me wish to have been so provided, and unconfined to time, that I might have returned immediately, and made an attempt to have found a way quite across the island. At all opportunities I cast an eye on the naked beds of the brooks and over the uncovered rocks, but without perceiving any indications of lead or copper that I was acquainted with: But in many places the water is strongly tinged with iron.

I fear Sir, I have trespassed on your time too far.

I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN CARTWRIGHT,

Postscript, dated November 8th, 1769.

Having endeavored to convey to the reader in the above remarks written in February 1768, the earliest idea in my power of the Red Indians in Newfoundland, and not doubting but he compassionates their unhappy life, while upon the sea-coast, it is with much satisfaction that I can now communicate to him the pleasure I felt on finding that the present Governor³, immediately on his arrival in the country last July, issued a proclamation, signifying that it was His Majesty's will and pleasure, he should express his abhorrence of such barbarities, as it had been represented to him, his subjects frequently exercised to the native savages and that they were required to live in amity and brotherly kindness with them; commanding the

¹ M'Enc and other continental tribes.

² Halfway Mountain.

³ Hodges Hill.

⁴ This was His Excellency, Capt. the Hon. John Byron, who succeeded Capt. H. Palliser in 1769.

magistrates at the same time, to use their utmost diligence in apprehending all persons, who might be guilty of murdering any of the said native Indians, that they might be tried for such capital crime by the laws of England. His Excellency has likewise adopted the plan of his predecessor, for the future civilization of these people, which though his first attempt has failed, yet as it happened by mere ill fortune, against a most flattering prospect at one particular juncture, it is to be hoped, may finally be crowned with success. Boonycastle says of him, "He was the first Governor who appears to have taken a lively interest in the aborigines, or Red Indians, who were ruthlessly massacred on every possible occasion by the barbarous furriers; he issued a proclamation for their protection which the lawless vagabonds on the north eastern coast cared very little about."

Proclamation issued by His Excellency Capt. the Hon. John Byron in 1769.

WHEREAS it has been represented to the King, that the subjects residing in the said Island of Newfoundland, instead of cultivating such a friendly intercourse with the savages inhabiting that island as might be for their mutual benefit and advantage, do treat the said 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 may be brought to due punishment, it is His Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that I do express his abhorrence of such inhuman barbarity, and I do strictly enjoin and require all His Majesty's subjects to live in amity and brotherly kindness with the native savages of the said island of Newfoundland. I do also require and command all officers and magistrates to use their utmost diligence to discover and apprehend all persons who may be guilty of murdering any of the said native Indians, in order that such offenders may be sent over to England, to be tried for such capital crimes as by the statute of 10 and 11 William III for encouraging the trade to Newfoundland is directed.

Given under my hand,

J. BYRON.

This proclamation was re-issued by Commodore Robert Duff, Governor, in 1775, and again by Rear Admiral Montague, in 1776.

Notes on the Red Indians from "A Journal of transactions and events during a residence of nearly sixteen years on the coast of Labrador," &c., by Capt. George Cartwright. (Newark, 1792.)

This work is in three volumes, commencing with the year 1770, and ending with the year 1786. The references to the Red Indians are all contained in the first and second volumes.

After a short autobiographical sketch, the author goes on to relate that, his brother John being appointed first lieutenant of the man of war sloop *Guernsey* of fifty guns, bound for Newfoundland, on board of which the present Sir Hugh Palliser, who was then Governor of that island, had his broad pennant. "Having," says Cartwright, "no particular engagement, and hearing that bears and deer were plentiful there, I felt so strong an inclination to be among them, that I accompanied my brother on that voyage.

"On our arrival in St John's the command of a small schooner was conferred upon my brother, and he was sent on some service to one of

the northern harbours, when I accompanied him; and it was then that I obtained my first knowledge of the wild or Red Indians."

"During the *Guernsey's* stay in St John's, I went upon an expedition against the wild Indians."

Having left the army he says he started for the Labrador on the 25th of May, 1770, and arrived in Fogo in July. While waiting here for his vessel to be refitted, he borrowed a small sloop from a merchant named Coughlan, and sailed on a cruise up the Bay of Exploits in hopes of meeting with the Red Indians, as numbers of them frequent this bay at this time of the year. (He passed through Dildo Run.)

"July 11th. As we towed towards Comfort Island, I discovered by the aid of a pocket Dolland a party of the Red Indians on a very small island which lies contiguous to the east end of little Coal Hall (Coal-All Id). They had two wigwams about 100 yards from the shore, with a fire in each, and two canoes lying upon the beach, one of which they seemed to be mending. I counted six people, and one of them appeared to be remarkably tall, but I could not distinguish of which sex they were. They did not seem to be alarmed at us, because their ignorance of the powers of the telescope made them not suspect we had discovered them at that distance. After going into a cove and anchoring for the night," he adds, "I had formed a plan for surprising the Indians &c. At midnight I proposed going off in the wherry with all the men, but I then found that my English Captain and Irish cooper did not choose to venture their lives upon an expedition which threatened some danger and no prospect of profit, so I had to give up the scheme."

These Indians are the original inhabitants of the Island of Newfoundland, and though beyond a doubt descendants from some of the tribes upon the continent of America, and most probably from the mountaineers of Labrador, yet it will be very difficult to trace their origin. They have been so long separated from their ancient stock, as well as from all mankind, that they differ widely in many particulars from all other nations. In my opinion they are the most forlorn of any of the human species which have yet come to my knowledge, the Indians of Terra del Fuego excepted, for these are not only excluded from intercourse with the rest of mankind, but are surrounded by inveterate enemies, and not even possessed of the useful services of the dog.

As far as I can learn there were many Indians on the island when first discovered by Europeans, and there are still fishermen living who remember them to have been in much greater numbers than at present, and even to have frequented most parts of the island. They are now much diminished, confining themselves chiefly to the parts between Cape Freels and Cape St John. The reason I presume of their preferring that district to any other is because within it are several deep winding bays, with many islands in them, where they can more easily procure subsistence, and with greater security hide themselves from our fishermen. I am sorry to add that the latter are much greater savages than the

¹ Cartwright says, "I saw no difference between the wigwam of the Mountaineer and Red Indians of Newfoundland."

trees, and others were raised behind the fence, along under the fence, some of these were, I observed, in large spreading stands, from whence they shoot their arrows as they pass.

He then goes on to say, "At certain intervals the Indians make that given by his brother John."

That these fences were of two kinds. (Here follows a similar description to that had made were convincing proofs that they knew their business. I observed by the number of winter to feed on venison and beaver, and if I may judge approach of winter to feed on venison and beaver, and if I may judge I concluded from thence that the Indians retire into the country at the was before, and I then saw a great number of the Indian houses uninhabited, which is the largest in Newfoundland, many miles higher than any European.

About two years ago I went on an expedition up the Exploits River, diminished.

the country than formerly, by which the breed of beavers is greatly increased in number, and much improved in skill, and venture further into

Not do they succeed better in the winter, for our furs are considerably provisions for the summer, and this difficulty will annually be greater.

poor Indians must now find it much more difficult than before to procure almost every river and brook which receives salmon is already occupied

totally extinct in a few years, for the fishing trade is continually increasing, they have been always hostile to Europeans. I hear that the race will be

as she furnished herself with what pleased her best. Since that time (One day a villain had himself near the deposit, and shot a woman dead,

resorted, who took what they were in want of, and left furs in return, used to lay a variety of goods at a certain place to which the Indians

hood of Bonavista, by some of the inhabitants of that harbour. They formerly a very beneficial barter was carried on in the neighbour-

since have been extirpated by cold and famine. Formerly a very beneficial barter was carried on in the neighbour-

furters. Indeed if they had not these resources, the whole race must long of our fishermen have too fatally experienced, and they are likewise good

which they are intended to carry. They are excellent archers, as many single headed paddles; they are in size according to the number of persons

with very thin light woodwork, covered with birch bark, and worked by They are extremely expert at managing their canoes, which are made

other tribes of Indians from the continent, have compelled them to adopt, which they have always experienced from strangers, whether Europeans or

themselves in the woods, keep an unremitting watch and are seldom seen; a conduct which their defenceless condition, and the inhuman treatment

in great plenty in various parts of the island; and with because they scorne selves and everything belonging to them with red ochre, which they find

These Indians are called Red from their custom of painting them- than a deer. With horror I have heard several declare they would rather kill an Indian

Indians themselves, for they seldom fail to shoot the poor creatures when- ever they can, and afterwards boast of it as a very meritorious action.

The wigwams were constructed of poles in the form of a cone about six or seven feet in diameter at the base, eight or nine in height, and covered with birch rind or skins, and often with sails, which they contrived to steal from the fishing rooms. We also observed several houses specially built of timber. (Here again he describes these houses in a similar manner to his brother.)

As they cannot always get a regular supply of provisions, in times of plenty they take care to provide for those of scarcity; this they do by jerking venison, seal's flesh, birds and fish; and by making sausages, several of which I have often found when I was formerly in Newfoundland. They consisted of flesh and fat of seals, eggs, and a variety of other rich matter, stuffed into the guts of seals, for want of salt and spices. The composition had the *Haut goût* to perfection.

It is a singular, almost incredible fact, that these people should visit Funk Island, which lies forty miles from Cape Freels and sixty from the island of Fogo. The island being small and low, they cannot see it from either of these places, nor is it possible to conceive how they get information from any other nation. The Indians repair thither once or twice every year, and return with their canoes laden with birds' eggs; for the number of sea-fowl which resort to this island to breed are far beyond credibility.

That our people might easily have established a friendly intercourse, and beneficial traffic with these Indians, the circumstances which I have already related renders highly probable; but vile murder at first produced a spirit of revenge, and that has been made a pretence for unheard of cruelties on the part of our fishermen.

The expedition in which I was engaged two years ago was undertaken at my instance, under the auspices of Commodore Palliser, the Governor of Newfoundland in 1768, with a design to explore the interior parts of the country and to endeavour to surprize some of the Indians. Our object was through these means, to establish an amicable intercourse with the natives for the purpose of trade. The party consisted of my brother John, first Lieutenant of the *Guernsey* man of war, the Flag Ship; the Rev. Neville Stow, Chaplain of the *Guernsey*; John Cousens, Esq., a planter, who lived in the Bay of Exploits; nine seamen belonging to the *Guernsey*; my servant and myself. (Here follows the same description of the journey up the river as related by his brother.)

He then continues, "What number of these Indians may still be left, no person can even hazard a conjecture, but it must decrease annually; for our people murder all they can, and also destroy their stock of provisions, canoes, and implements of all sorts, whenever a surprise forces them by a precipitate retreat to leave those things behind them. This loss has frequently occasioned whole families to die of famine. The Micmac Indians who came from Cape Breton, and are furnished with fire arms, are also their implacable enemies, and greatly an overmatch for these poor wretches

¹ It looks as though Capt. Geo. Cartwright not only assumed to himself the planning of the expedition up the Exploits river, but the carrying out of the same, thereby robbing his brother John of all the kudos, whereas it will be remembered by the latter's narrative, he merely formed one of the party and abandoned the enterprise when about halfway up the river. J. P. H.

who have no better defensive weapons than bows and arrows."—Speaking of the difficulty of seeing them, he says, "When I was formerly in Newfoundland, both in the years 1766 and 1768, I met with wigwams upon several of these islands (which are very numerous), in which the fires were burning, yet I never saw an Indian; nor should I have been gratified with the sight of one now, had they not supposed that we were at too great a distance to discover them."

Next day having proceeded across the Bay of Exploits to Charles's Brook to visit a salmon post there, he says, "The crew here consisted of three men only, and this was the first year they tried this brook. These people informed me, that this was the first season of an English crew being here, but that it had hitherto been constantly occupied by Indians, to whom it answers very well; that soon after they came here, several large canoes full of Indians came into the mouth of the brook, but immediately retired again; and that they still remained hid in the neighbouring woods, but had not yet done them any mischief: they however, added that the natives often made their appearance on the opposite side, and used threatening tones and gestures."

July 13th. "When the Salmoniers visited their nets this morning, they found that the Indians had stolen one fleet." On returning through Dildo Run, he says, "Upon the island where we had seen the Indians as we went up the bay, there still remained one wigwam with a fire in it, but the inhabitants were most probably on a cruise for provision, for I could not discern their canoe. I soon after discovered another wigwam upon an island near Solid Island which was not there on the 11th inst."

At page 49, Vol. 111, speaking of Catalina Harbour, he says, "This Harbour was formerly full of fishing rooms, but the very frequent deprivations of the American privateers, in the last war caused every merchant and planter to abandon it except Mr Child, who has now only two people here; one of whom is the Red Indian who was caught about seventeen years ago, by a man who shot his mother as she was endeavouring to make her escape with him in her arms; he was then about four years old."

Parliamentary Papers.

Extracts from the Report of Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Trade to Newfoundland, in March, April and June.

1793.

Examination of *Mr Jeffrey*, merchant of Newfoundland.

On being asked if he knew anything respecting the conduct of the inhabitants towards the Indians, he said, "He has heard in many instances

¹ This was the child mentioned by his brother John Cartwright, who was captured in August 1768, and called John August. He died in 1788, and was interred in the Churchyard at Trinity. The following notice of his interment is taken from the Parish Register of the Church of England at that place.

October 29th, 1788.

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

² I am indebted to Mr W. G. Gosling for this and much other valuable information which he had copied for me from the records.

of very inhuman treatment of individuals towards them in the North part of the island; he thinks it requires investigation."

George Cartwright Esq., being examined, informed your Committee, that he was an Officer of Foot in His Majesty's service. And being asked whether he has been in Newfoundland? he said, "Yes; several times." And being asked in what capacity? he said, "Twice on pleasure, five times on business, on his way backwards and forwards to Labrador; the last time he was there was in 1786; he has been much in that part of Newfoundland inhabited by the native Indians; he has reason to believe that their numbers are considerable, but he cannot state what the numbers are, as they have been so much chased and driven away by the Fishermen and Furriers." And being asked, How near to any of our settlements do the Indians come? he said, "They frequently come in the night into the harbours to pilfer what they can get, to supply their necessities."—And being asked, What were the articles which they mostly steal? he said, "Sails, hatchets, boats, kettles and such other things as they think will be of use; they use the sails as covering for their wigwams or tents." And being asked, Could he state any particulars respecting the condition of the Indians in Newfoundland? he said, "He thinks their condition is very wretched and forlorn indeed; our fishermen and furriers shooting at the Indians for their amusement." He said, "He has heard many say they had rather have a shot at an Indian than at a deer: A few years ago there two men, one of whom he knew personally, went up the Great River Exploits in the winter, on purpose to murder and plunder such Indians as they could meet with; when they got to the head of the river where it comes out of a great lake, they met with an Indian town, containing above one hundred inhabitants; they immediately fired upon them with long guns loaded with buckshot; they killed and wounded several, the rest made their escape into the woods, some naked, others only half clothed; none of them provided with implements to procure either food or fuel; they then plundered their houses or wigwams of what they thought worth bringing away, and burnt the rest, by which they must necessarily have destroyed the remainder, as they could not exist in the snow." And being asked, If he meant to state that the conduct of the Fishermen and Furriers towards the Indians was in general of that cruel nature, or that these were only particular instances? he said, "He has reason to believe from the conversations he has had with the fishermen of these parts, that there are very few who would not have done the same thing."—The witness having stated, that the Indians sometimes come down into the ports where our Cod-fishery is carried on, and steal various articles, he was asked, Whether he believes that was in consequence of any provocation or molestation that they might have received from the Fishermen and Furriers? he said, "Most certainly, and also from the impossibility of their ever getting anything they want by any other means; he has been well assured, that formerly a very beneficial barter was carried on between our people and

¹ This term in Newfoundland parlance has not exactly the same significance as elsewhere. It is applied to the trapper or hunter who procures the skins of fur bearing animals, rather than to the person who cures and dresses the furs.

the Indians, somewhere near the port of Bonavista, by our people leaving goods at a certain place, and the Indians taking what they wanted and leaving furs in return; but that barter was at length put a stop to by one of our fishermen hiding himself near the place of deposit, and shooting a woman dead upon the spot as she was suiting herself to what she wanted."—And being asked, Whether he believes, from what he has seen of the Indians, that any intercourse could be again established between them and the British Fishermen and Furriers in Newfoundland? he said, "He thinks it very possible and practicable that he gave in a plan several years ago to the administration for that purpose, and then stated generally these circumstances, and he offered to undertake the execution of it himself."—And being asked, from what he has seen of the Indians, did they seem to be of a more sanguinary and savage disposition than people in that state of society generally are? he said, "By no means, for he has heard many instances of their saving the lives of our people, when they might very easily have put them to death; he heard one man tell his master, that a few days before he left the Bay of Exploits, as he was going to land out of his boat to look at a trap that he had set for an otter, he was surprised by the voice of an Indian; and on turning his head, saw an Indian standing on the shore with an arrow in his bow ready to shoot him; the Indian made a motion with his hand for him to retire; he was then not above four or five yards from the Indian; he immediately pulled his boat round and made off as fast as he could; the Indian remained in the same posture until he had got some distance from the shore, and then retired into the woods; the Fisherman then added, that he regretted not having his gun with him, as he would have shot him dead upon the spot."—And being asked, Whether the Indians are large and stout men? he said, "From what few he had seen of them, he believes they are."—And being asked, Did the cruelties which he mentioned to be exercised by the Fishermen and Furriers to the Indians happen in summer as well as in winter? he said, "Yes, in both, but more opportunities happen in summer than in winter."—And being asked, Did the merchants and persons who go out from this country to Newfoundland use their influence and endeavours to prevent such practices? he said, "He did not recollect an instance of it."—And being asked, Had the Magistrates used any exertions to prevent those outrages? he said, "There are no Magistrates within that district, that he knew of, he means the district between Cape St John and Cape Freels."—And being asked, Whether the Magistrates resident within any of the other districts were capable of preventing these horrors if they exerted themselves for that purpose? he said, "He does not believe they could, because they reside at too great a distance."—And being asked, Did he conceive that those horrors could be prevented without the establishment of a regular Court of Judicature in Newfoundland? he said, "He thinks that if his plan, or something similar to it, was adopted, it would effectually prevent everything of the kind and the offender might be carried to St John's to be tried by any Court of Judicature established there for the trial of criminal offences."—And being asked, Whether there is not a trade at present carried on with the Indians? he said, "No; he knew not when the intercourse was

interrupted; it was twenty-seven years ago that he first heard of it."—And being asked, Whether there is any English merchant that carries on a Fishery North of Cape John? he said, "Not now he believes."—And being asked, Whether the people that he states to have committed those enormities were annual Fishermen from England or residents in Newfoundland? he said, "Generally the resident Fishermen."—And being asked, If that residence was prohibited, would not these enormities be in a great measure prevented? he said, "If residency within the district he alludes to was not permitted, it would in a great measure have that effect;" he means the district between Cape Freels and Cape John.—And being asked, Whether he thinks that the disposition of the Indians is such as to lead them to live upon good terms with our people, provided there were only a sufficient number left to take care of the fishing materials? he said, "He thinks our people would be in danger, unless some intercourse was first established."—And being asked, In what year did the enormities he represents happen, and who were the Officers of the Navy commanding in those parts at the time? he said, "He could not recollect."—And being asked, if he was conversant with the Coast of Labrador? he said, "Yes."—And being asked, Whether there is not an annual Fishery carried on there from Great Britain, without any residence? he said, "No, there are very few who go out for the summer there."—And being asked, How is justice administered in Labrador? he said, "There has been neither law, justice, nor equity there for many years."—And being asked, Whether there is not a more flourishing Fishery carried on there than in Newfoundland? he said, "He could not tell how flourishing it is, but he knew that numbers of people have suffered there for want of justice."—And being desired to state any instances he might have heard while he resided in Newfoundland, which might make a new Court of Judicature necessary, he said, "He could not pretend to say; he knew of none."—And being desired to state the outlines of his plan, he said, "It was to appropriate that part of the Coast from North Head to Dog Creek¹, including Chapel Island, and all other islands within that line, to the use of the Indians, and to have some person stationed there with a schooner and a sufficient number of people to protect them; by which means some acquaintance and connection might be formed betwixt the Indians and the English, and beyond all doubt a traffic would be established." There is no intercourse or barter between those native Indians he speaks of and our people. There are parts of the island where some intercourse is maintained with the Mickmack Indians, and in other parts with the Nescopite Indians.—And being asked, If he meant that all the residents should be removed from that part he has described, and that no person should land or go there without permission? he said, "He does."—And being asked, Whether he ever knew more than one man residing upon the River Exploits? he said, "He knew but of one."—And being asked, Whether the same cruelties were exercised against the Indians of the Coast of Labrador, as against the Red Indians? he said, "Not since the year 1770, since he went amongst them, and learned their language, and got upon terms of

¹ North Head is at the Western side of Exploits Bay. Dog Creek now Dog Bay.

friendship with them; previous to that period the cruelties were just as numerous as those exercised in Newfoundland. It appears to him that the Indians wish to be on terms of friendship with the English."—And being asked, Whether the inveteracy of the Indians towards the Europeans is not so great that they murder every European they are able? he said, "Yes."—And being asked, Whether he conceives that, if the traders, going in the summer to Newfoundland, use their influence to prevent the horrors that have been described, that they might not in some degree be prevented? he said, "He believes it would have a good effect, but in general they do not trouble their heads about the matter, for fear it should affect their own interests."—And being asked, Whether those Indians are not universally afraid of an Englishman? he said, "They are."—And being asked, Would they venture to come within sight of an European? he said, "They conceal themselves in the woods as much as possible, and very seldom show themselves."—And being asked, Did not the merchants going to Newfoundland receive the furs that are taken from the Indians without making any enquiry? he said, "Yes."—And being asked, Whether our trade and intercourse with Labrador was not very insignificant before the year 1770? he said, "Yes."—And being asked, Whether there is not a more flourishing trade carried on at Labrador than at Newfoundland? he said, "He could only say, with respect to himself, that his trade has been very flourishing, having cleared above one hundred per cent. for the last three years."—And being asked, If any fees were paid on that coast? he said, "Not that he knew of."—And being asked, If there were any restrictions under which that trade laboured? he said, "He does not know that there are."

The boundaries the witness proposed to be set apart for the Indian district are as follows:—

From the north end of Dog Creek, all along the shore of Newfoundland, to the north head of the Exploits; from thence to the nearest point of New World Island, keeping on the out or north side of Burnt, and all other Islands which lie between; from the aforesaid point along the west and south sides of New World Island, to the point nearest to Change Island Tickle; from thence to the south side of the said Tickle, along the west side of Change Islands, to the south point of the same, and from thence to the north head of Dog Creek. No person except those employed by his Majesty, to go within that circle (save only those who want to fell timber, or who are obliged to do so through stress of weather), without leave in writing from the person employed in the protection of the Indians. This was part of the plan the witness gave into Government.

Mr Ougier, merchant, examined, said, "A grand Jury would at this time have readily found a bill against the murderer of an Indian, and the Petty Jury on proof would have convicted him." On being asked whether he knew anything of the Island of Newfoundland, or the coast of Labrador? he said, "He knows there is at present a beneficial traffic with the Indians, both Esquimaux and Micmacs, which has been acquired from the humane treatment of His Majesty's subjects towards them; there are instances of two or three hundred coming together to traffic with the English merchants, and that there is no apprehension of fear between one party and the other.

It has been doubted whether there are any Newfoundland Indians or not; they are supposed to be of the other two descriptions, only who, at certain seasons of the year, inhabit Newfoundland. Some Esquimaux have been in the service of English merchants as boat-masters in the Cod Fishery¹, in which they have been very excellent; he has known an Indian who lived in Dartmouth some years; he returned to Labrador, and joined with his countrymen; he is now the cause of a considerable traffic between them.

Vice-Admiral Edwards, examined, said, "He was Governor of Newfoundland in 1757, 1758, 1759, and in 1789 and 1790." And being asked, Whether he knew anything of the manner in which the Indians are treated? he said, "He knew one instance, in 1758, of a murder committed by some Irish hunters on the north part of the island; they fired into a wigwam, killed a woman with a child, and brought away a girl of nine years old. Complaint was made to him by the Justices, and pains taken to catch the culprits, but without effect. The girl was brought home to England². If he had been found he would have tried them at the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Mr Cartwright never made any complaints to him of the cruel treatment of the Indians by the inhabitants, and he knows of no other instance of it."

John Reeves, Esq., Chief Justice of Newfoundland, being examined, said, "Another subject is the state of the Wild Indians in the interior parts of the island.

"At a time when the Legislature is manifesting so much anxiety for the protection and welfare of a people who do not belong to us (I mean the Africans while in their own country) I make no doubt of being heard while I say a few words in behalf of these poor people, who are a part of the King's subjects. These Indians inhabit a country the sovereignty of which is claimed and exercised by His Majesty. Unlike the wandering tribes upon the continent, who roam from place to place, these people are more peculiarly our own people than any other of the savage tribes; they and everything belonging to them is in our power; they can be benefited by none others; they can be injured by none others: in this situation they are entitled the protection of the King's government, and to the benefit of good neighborhood from his subjects; but they enjoy neither; they are deprived of the free use of the shores and the rivers, which should entitle them to some compensation from us; but they receive none; instead of being traded with, they are plundered, instead of being taught, they are pursued with outrage and murder.

"It seems very extraordinary, but it is a fact known to hundreds in the northern part of the island, that there is no intercourse or connection whatsoever between our people and the Indians but plunder, outrage and murder. If a wigwam is found it is plundered of the furs it contains, and

¹ I think Mr Ogier is mistaken in this, and that he really refers to the Beothuck men Tom June and John Angost, who acted in that capacity. Mr Ogier being evidently unacquainted with the northern parts of the island, easily makes this mistake.

² This is evidently the girl referred to by Mr J. Bland in his first letter to the Governor as having been taken when the father and mother were killed, and afterwards sent to Trinity where she was reared up. She was subsequently taken to England by a Mr and Mrs Stone and died there about 1795. She was probably the person named Oulbee from whom Rev. Clinch obtained his vocabulary?

is burnt; if an Indian is discovered he is shot at exactly as a fox or bear. This has gone on for years in Newfoundland, while Indians in all other parts of the King's dominions have received benefit from their connection with us, either in the supply of their worldly necessities by traffic, or in being initiated in the principles of morality and religion; but such has been the policy respecting this island, that the residents for many years had little benefit of a regular government for themselves, and when they were so neglected, it is not to be wondered that the condition of the poor Indians was never mended.

"When the Indians show themselves, it is in the Bay of Exploits and in Gander Bay, to the northward. They come down to get what the seashore affords for food. This is a lawless part of the island, where there are no Magistrates resident for many miles, nor any control, as in other parts, from the short visit of a man-of-war during a few days in the summer; so that people do as they like, and there is hardly any time of account for their actions. The persons who are best acquainted with the resort of the Indians, and who are deepest in the outrages that have been committed upon them, are the furriers of the bays I have just mentioned, and of the places thereabouts. Some of these men have been conversed with last summer, and I understand, if they were relieved from the danger of enquiry into what is past, they would open upon the subject, and make themselves useful in commencing any new system of treatment and conduct.

"What then do I propose to be done for these Indians, and what is the manner in which I propose it should be accomplished? In the first place, it seems they ought to be protected from violence, and that ought to be done by executing the present laws against offenders. I hope something is already begun towards attaining this, by what I said to the Grand Jury, last year, and the apprehension expressed, as I understand, by some furriers, who feared they should be brought to justice; but in so distant a part of the island the fear of the law is little security, and if it is really to be executed, I hardly know the means of doing it in the present circumstances of the island and its government.

"But supposing this attained, does our bare duty towards these people end here? Separated as they are from all the world but us, is it not incumbent upon us to use the means in our power to impart to them the rights of religion and civil society? or at least, does not our interest suggest an advantage that might be derived by a free and unrestrained trade with them, in which furs and other produce might be exchanged for British manufactures? Should any or all of these considerations be thought sufficient for endeavouring to conciliate the confidence of these people, and to open a friendly intercourse with them, there seems no difficulty or hazard in the undertaking. It is similar to what has already been done on the Labrador coast with a race of savages said to be more untractable, and under circumstances much less favourable. It is only to choose between holding out encouragement to the Moravians to send a Missionary, as they now do to Labrador, or employing the present furrier under the direction of some person who has a talent for such enterprises. In both cases, there should be some small force; and if one

of the sloops of war upon that station were to winter in the Bay of Exploits, or Gander Bay, for protecting such a project in the season that is most favourable to it, it would be as much force as would be needed; but the mode and manner of carrying into execution such a scheme is for the consideration of the Committee."

Letter of Mr John Bland addressed to Governor's Secretary.

BONAUSTA,

11th September, 1796.

Sir,

I have taken the earliest opportunity to reply to your letter of the 18th past on the subject of the native Indians, and feel great satisfaction in knowing that His Excellency coincides in opinion with me.

I am very sorry that it is not in my power to send the Governor a copy of my letter to Admiral Milbank. It was written without any premeditation at St John's, and the original left with Mr Graham. I had not the honour to see His Excellency, nor did I receive any answer, either verbally or in writing¹.

There was at that time in St John's a Mr Salter, who had been agent to a house in Fogo, and it was from him that I obtained the information which made the subject of my letter. I introduced this man to Mr Graham, that he might hear his story from his own mouth.

I have not at this distance of time any recollection of the names of the persons who were accused, but the Indians murdered, if I remember right, were a man and his wife. They had with them a girl, then a child, and in their solicitude to save her, they lost their own lives. The girl was not long afterwards carried to Trinity, and treated with great care and humanity by Mr and Mrs Stone, who took her with them to England, where she died about two years ago. I am not certain that the men charged with this murder were not in the employ of one Peyton, who for many years has possessed a Salmon Fishery in the Bay of Exploits, and at this time resides at some place near Poole in England. Peyton has rendered himself infamous for his persecution of the Indians. The stories told of this man would shock humanity to relate, and for the sake of humanity, it is to be wished are not true.

It almost always happens that the proposer of any public scheme is regarded as an intended projector—he is heard with suspicion and trusted with caution. Although I have never thoroughly digested any plan for procuring an end, which His Excellency appears to have much at heart, I will, in compliance with his request, suggest such hints as I conceive may be improved and acted upon.

The first object, in my opinion, is to obtain possession of some of the Indians. The use to be made of this advantage is obvious to every man who considers the nature of his own constitution. Kind treatment, trifling presents and a friendly dismissal, it can be hardly doubted, would open a way to further communication. But, then that barbarous spirit of hostility, manifested by our people upon occasions where the plea of personal safety cannot, in reason be admitted, will of course increase the difficulty of gaining this object. The question therefore, is what appears to be the most eligible scheme for obtaining it.

The persons I should prefer to employ upon this service would be soldiers selected from the garrison at St John's, and I should give this preference for obvious reasons. It would lessen the expense annexed to the measure, they would operate as a check upon the furrers and salmon catchers, who are the chief delinquents and the nature of the undertaking is suited to their profession. Where and how to station them would be a matter for after consideration. A small number of the

¹ I could not succeed in tracing the letter referred to, which I much regret as I have no doubt it must have been very interesting.

Esquimaux might probably facilitate the execution of the plan. It is likely that there may be an affinity between their language and that spoken by the Newfoundland Indian. Some opportunities have offered for ascertaining this point; but it has not, I believe, been yet determined.

An Indian pursued and hopeless of escape, and at the same time rendered desperate with the belief that his pursuers only seek his destruction would doubtless sell himself as dearly as he could; it might therefore be advisable that the men employed upon this duty be furnished with a covering for the body sufficient to resist the force of an arrow. This precaution might in most cases supersede the necessity of using fire arms. Guides should be chosen from amongst the furriers and winter residents who are all acquainted with the interior parts of the country, and these people liberally rewarded. His Excellency will perceive that the expense can never be an object of national consideration, but would be such as will ever be a bar to the undertaking by any individual in this Island.

In the summer season the Indians frequent the sea coasts, to provide a stock for the winter. They have been known to adventure as far as Funk Islands, a distance of thirteen leagues. The evident danger of so long a navigation in their brittle vessels (for the plank of their canoe is only a birch rind) is a presumptive proof that the winter stock is obtained with difficulty where there could be less risk. And indeed it is conjectured that they sometimes perish by hunger in the winter.

However inclined they may be to shun a people whom they regard as implacable enemies, there would be little doubt of falling in with them, while they were busied in the necessary pursuit of procuring subsistence. Those whom you select to interrupt them should be provided with fast rowing wherries.

But though it should be impracticable to obtain the desired profession, in the course of the summer, without mischief, which if possible, should be avoided, I can see no difficulty in tracing them to their winter quarters, from whence every description of them could hardly escape. You could, in the dreary season, have it completely within your power to show them that you are sincere in your offer of peace. To every prudent and wise man entrusted with the execution of the proposed plan, circumstances as they arose, would suggest considerations which cannot be detailed in the best digested scheme. Had Mr Peyton in some of his winter excursions, instead of marking his visit with desolation and plunder, and thereby exposing the wretched savages to perish by famine and the rigours of the season—had he deposited in their huts tokens that indicated a wish for peace, it is reasonable to suppose (for human nature is the same thing everywhere) that the repetition of such evidences of friendship and good will would ultimately have led to a better understanding. Perhaps to expel Mr Peyton from the Bay of Exploits and to bestow a right of such advantages as a better disposed professor might be able to reap from that tract of country, would be an essential point gained in the desired end.

I will, now, Sir, mention two objections which I have heard urged by persons in this country against the success of any conciliatory scheme. The one is; That the Indians of this Island are naturally of so untamable and malignant cast, that they will be always hostile to a strange people. The other (widely different); That the strong and deep sense of their injuries has so embittered their minds that they would reject every peaceful overture. The first scarcely merits a reply, for it cannot be supported by any experience of human nature hitherto had. And the second, if it will be well founded, is one of the best arguments that can be brought in favour of making the experiment. A strong and deep sense of injuries received certainly never yet resided in a human breast which had no place for gratitude for kindness conferred.

If I remember well, the natives of this island upon its first discovery, have been represented as tractable and ingenious; and their ingenuity is indeed discoverable in all they do. If upon any occasion they now seek your destruction, it is but a natural consequence of their ill-usage and by no means a proof of a malignant disposition.

It ought to be remembered that these savages have a natural right to this island and every invasion of a natural right is a violation of the principle of justice. They have been progressively driven from South to North, and though their removal has been produced by a slow and silent operation, it has nevertheless had all the effect of violent compulsion. In proportion as their means of procuring subsistence became narrowed, their population must necessarily have decreased, and before the lapse of another century, the English nation, like the Spanish, may have affixed to its character the indelible reproach of having extirpated a whole race of people. The Spaniard, indeed, was stimulated by a passion which only great virtue can resist; and the inhumanities inflicted by some of our countrymen, on many occasions, upon the poor savages of Newfoundland, can hardly be conceived to originate in any other principle than a cruelty of disposition.

It would, I am persuaded, be highly gratifying to His Excellency, that it was under his administration the humane plan of rescuing this people from oppression, was first put into a train for execution; and I will assure you, Sir, that it would yield me a very sensible pleasure, should any hints that I may have suggested, or may hereafter suggest, be ultimately employed to soften the rigours of their condition.

I am not much acquainted with that part of the island to which the Indians are confined, but I have a knowledge of residents there from whom essential information might be obtained. The part I should desire to have in so laudable an undertaking would depend chiefly on the encouragements and aids given by Government to carry it into execution. I must, nevertheless, beg of His Excellency to accept my sincere acknowledgements for his favourable opinion and good intentions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN BLAND.

J. P. Rance, Esq.

Second Letter of Mr Bland.

BONAVIDEA,

20th October, 1797.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 20th inst. to which I should now, at this time, have troubled Your Excellency with my reply, but that I wish to take some notice of the objection urged against the hint which I had suggested relative to the Esquimaux. I have before heard that there is no affinity between the languages spoken by those Indians and the Indians of this island, and that they are in perpetual hostility; but I am ignorant upon what ground this opinion has been entertained. Situated as both are at present, neither can with advantage, or convenience, visit the country of the other.

Before this quarter was possessed by the Europeans, there was nothing to separate these Indians but the natural boundary of the Straits of Bellisle; and then, like other barbarous nations who can find no interest in a friendly intercourse, they might have been at continual war. But a great many years have elapsed since the Esquimaux have had any footing to the Southward of Cape Charles, and it is not improbable that the present generation of the Newfoundland Indian may scarcely know that there is such a people as the Esquimaux.

In respect to an affinity between their languages, if there be no positive evidence against it, I should strongly incline to that opinion except in the instance of the girl mentioned in my former letter, there has not occurred any favourable opportunity of deciding this question for more than thirty years. It is not so long ago, as I am informed, since an Indian named June died¹.

¹ It has been said that June lost his life by the upsetting of his skiff while entering the narrow dangerous gut leading into Fogo Harbour.

This savage, the first remembered to have been in our possession was taken when a boy, and became uncommonly expert in all the branches of the Newfoundland business. An old man in this bay who knew June has told me that he frequently made visits to his parents in the heart of the country. If this story be true it is a proof that our people were not very solicitous to cultivate their friendship. Certain, it is however, that the Indian June, was never confronted with an Esquimau, though it is likely that he retained his native tongue for a considerable time after his capture. The language, religion and customs of the different nations of the world, have ever been objects of research with the enlightened of all countries: but looking at the state of this Island, it will not be matter of surprise if no person in it has hitherto felt his curiosity excited on such a subject. It is a common opinion here, that the Indians of this island have a singular veneration for the Cross, and the furrers, it is said, by erecting a cruciform figure upon their winter houses, have saved them from being destroyed during their absence in the summer. Thence it has been concluded that these savages have some obscure notion of the Christian religion. This wild conjecture and the opinion entertained of their language may probably rest upon the same foundation.

With the bulk of mankind, conjecture too often supplies the place of truth, and even the better-informed sometimes had us wrong by relating too confidently on the faith of others. The Esquimau is very little indebted to some of his historians, and yet I have heard Mr Cartwright declare (who must be allowed to have some judgement in this case) that he had always found them more deserving of confidence than his own countrymen.

Since the death of June, August who died a few years ago, has been the only Indian within our possession. This man was taken when an infant, and therefore could be no evidence on the point in question. August 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 August that he has frequently expressed a wish to meet the murderer of his mother, that he might revenge her death. I only mention this circumstance to show that a Newfoundland Indian is not destitute of filial affection.

But, Sir, how and when it has been decided, that there is no affinity between the two languages in question, is not undeserving of our enquiry. There is good reason to suppose that both these tribes of Indians are the aborigines of the countries they inhabited. Before these countries were possessed by the people of Europe, that they must have been very near neighbours, is hardly to be doubted, and their languages can have undergone no change from cultivation. Is it not therefore reasonable to suppose that there may be any affinity between them? There is, to be sure, no reasoning against experience; but, it is only to experience, in all such cases, that we can reasonably yield. For my part I cannot help holding an opinion that we know almost as little of the Newfoundland Indian as we do of the inhabitant of the interior of Africa.

Since I had the honour to submit to Your Excellency my former hints upon this subject, I have learnt that frequent opportunities occur of falling in with the Indians in Gander Bay. Mr Street, of Poole, has a fixed salmon crew in this Bay, who are also furrers in the winter season. His humanity I have reason to believe, while it would lead him to discountenance any improper conduct in his servants, would also induce him to second any effort of Government in a plan of reconciliation.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble, servant,

(signed)

His Excellency, The Hon. William Waldegrave.

JOHN BLAND.

In the year 1800 Governor Pole sent one, Capt. Le Breton, to examine the nature of the North coast of the island, and to inquire about the Aborigines. Capt. Le Breton returned without meeting the Indians, but in several places found very recent traces of them. (Cormack.)

Mr Bland's third letter.

BONAVISTA,

25th August, 1800.

Sir,

I have been honoured with Your Excellency's letter of the 16th instant by Lieutenant Scambler, who is yet detained at this place by contrary winds. I will assure you, sir, that it would give me much pleasure could I by any means contribute to forward your wishes in favour of the Native Indians of this island. Admiral Waldegrave did me the honour of his correspondence upon the same subject. My official letters to him contain all the information I could procure both in respect to the general conduct of our settlers towards those poor savages, and the means of conciliating their good will. But Your Excellency may rest assured that this desirable object will hardly be obtained without the earnest interference of Government.

My last suggestion to the late Governor, and which I repeat here, is a very simple one, and cannot in the prosecution be attended with any expense worth regarding. It is to station in the neighbourhood of Exploits a select military party commanded by an officer of discretion. A resident of that district, whose name is Rousel, sent me word that he would conduct such a party to the residence of the Indians. It is not likely, in a case of surprise, that every description of them could escape. The possession of one, or more, is assuredly the first step towards the end so much to be desired. Every man who has considered the nature of his own constitution will be at no loss how to improve such an advantage. It will be confessed unless we would deny one of the widest principles of human nature that benevolent and kind usage must excite sentiments of affection and gratitude in the most un instructed part of the human race. Could an opportunity be once afforded of showing those savages that we are really well disposed towards them, the chief difficulty, in my opinion, would be removed.

I do not think, sir, that a proclamation would have any good effect, unless it were followed up by some strong measure. Should Your Excellency resolve that a party shall be stationed near the resorts or residences of the Indians, in that case it would certainly be proper to issue a proclamation in the vicinity of Fogo, informing the inhabitants of the intention of placing such a party there, and holding out the most exemplary punishment to all who disobey it. I do not conceive any other mode of suppressing the spirit of hostility uniformly manifested by the furriers and other residents of that quarter.

I apprehend that the Indians are about this time withdrawing from the seaside with such winter stock as they have been able to collect. In this case Mr Le Breton may not so readily fall in with any of them unless he could make an inland excursion. But I do not think his party sufficiently numerous nor does he appear to be provided for such an enterprise.

Should nothing effectual result from the present attempt, I see no reason to be discouraged from repeating it. Indeed it is the general opinion of persons who must be allowed to have the best judgement in this case, that the thing is very

¹ Presumably Capt. Le Breton made a report to the Governor, but I have failed to find it amongst the records of Government House, or elsewhere.

practicable. And it is beyond all question that the most salutary and happy consequences would result from its success as well as to our settlers as Indians themselves.

The mind of man naturally leads to where his interest points. It is a principle too self-evident to be denied. But, to abstract, sir, from all motives of interest, of which you can have no share, and enlarge our view, how gratifying to Your Excellency the reflection, that you have been chiefly instrumental to a reconciliation which put an end to practices disgraceful to a civilized people, ameliorated the condition of an unfortunate race of human beings, and finally removed the cause of mischief and distrust both on their part and on ours.

I have the honour to be,

With very great respect,

Your Excellency's faithful, humble servant,

JOHN BLAND.

(signed)

His Excellency,

Charles Morice Pole, Esquire.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

The first quarter of this century witnessed the concluding chapter in the sad history of this poor child of Nature, the Beothuck. So far as can be learned or is ever likely to be known, this ill-treated race passed out of existence as mysteriously as they entered thereupon, at least within the first half of the century. Gone, no one knows whither. Gone,

"Like the cloud-rack of a tempest:
Like the withered leaves of Autumn."

To-day a few mouldering remains, hidden away under the sea-cliffs, in remote localities, some indistinct, almost obliterated circular hollows which mark the sites of their former habitations, and an occasional stone spear or arrow head are all that is left to attest that such a people ever had an existence.

Found here by the first European visitors in their primitive ignorance and barbarity, they remained in that condition to within the memory of some persons still living, then they disappeared for ever. Perhaps in the happy "Hunting Grounds" of the hereafter they are now enjoying that peace and rest denied them on earth. Who can say?

To quote from an admirable article in the *Maritime Monthly Magazine* of June, 1875, by the late Rev. Moses Harvey, entitled "Memoirs of an Extinct Race,"

"The friendly relations which at first existed between the White and Red men in Newfoundland, did not long continue. The savage people speedily began to exhibit a tendency to annex the white man's goods, when an opportunity offered; such objects as knives, hatchets, nails, lines or sails presenting a temptation which to them was almost irresistible. Their petty thefts were regarded by their invaders as crimes of the darkest dye, quite sufficient to justify the unsparing use of the strong arm for their extermination. The rude fishermen, hunters and trappers of those days were a rough lawless order of men, little disposed to try conciliation or kindness on a tribe of savages whose presence in the country was felt to be an annoyance. That they treated the poor Beothucks with brutal cruelty admits of no doubt. In fact, for two hundred years they seem to have regarded the red men as vermin to be hunted down and destroyed. We can hardly doubt that such treatment provoked the red men to deeds of fierce retaliation, and that at length 'war to the knife' became the rule between the two races. The savages, at first mild and tractable and disposed to maintain friendly relations, became at length the fierce and implacable foe of the white man; and sternly refused all overtures for peaceable intercourse, when at length such offers were made by a humane government. Deeds of wrong and cruelty were perpetrated by the invader, and followed by retaliation on the part

of the savages. In such a conflict the weak must go to the wall. Bows, arrows and clubs could avail little against the fire-arms of the white man; and gradually their numbers were thinned; they were driven from the best hunting ground—grounds where for centuries their forefathers had trapped the beaver and pursued the reindeer; war, disease and hunger thinned their ranks; and now not a single representative of the red race of Newfoundland is known to be in existence."

About this time a reward having been offered for the capture of a Red Indian alive, at length a fisherman contrived to seize a young female, who was paddling in her canoe to procure birds' eggs from an islet a short distance from the mainland. This woman was immediately conveyed to the capital, the fisherman received his reward, and the captive was treated with great humanity, kindness, and attention.

"The principal merchants and ladies of St John's vied with each other in cultivating her good graces; and presents poured in upon her from all quarters. She seemed to be tolerably contented with her situation, when surrounded by a company of female visitors; but became outrageous if any man approached, excepting the person who deprived her of her liberty; to him she was ever gentle and affectionate. Her body and hair were stained of a red colour; as it is supposed, by juice extracted from the alder tree: and from the custom of dyeing the skin and hair, the nation has acquired the appellation of Red Indians!."

The records of Government House contain the following reference to this woman, dated September 17th, 1803:

"William Cull having brought an Indian woman from Gander's Bay to this Harbour, I have for his trouble and loss of time, paid him the sum of fifty pounds. The said William Cull 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 remained with Cull the following winter, and was not brought back till the next season. Chappell is authority for the following statement, that

"The villain who deprived this poor savage of her relations, her friends, and her liberty, conceived, and actually carried into execution the diabolical scheme of murdering her on her voyage back, in order to possess himself of the baubles which had been presented to her by the inhabitants of St John's."

I do not think this statement has any real foundation on fact, as will afterwards be made apparent from Cull's narrative.

Anspach¹ gives the fullest and clearest account of this woman as she appeared before a large party of ladies and gentlemen at an entertainment given at Government House, as follows:

"Another remarkable occurrence assisted likewise in giving employment to the public curiosity, and attention. It was the arrival of a female native Indian of Newfoundland, brought in by the master of a vessel, who had seized her by surprise in the neighborhood of the Bay of Exploits. She was of a copper colour, with black eyes, and hair much like the hair of an European. She showed a passionate fondness for children. Being introduced into a large assembly by Governor Gambier,

¹ Voyage of H.M.S. *Rosamond* by Lieut. Edward Chappell, R.N., London, 1818.

² *History of Newfoundland*, by Lewis Amadous, Anspach 1818.

never were astonishment or 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 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 for retiring. She could not be prevailed upon to dance, although she seemed inclined to do so. She was every where treated with the greatest kindness, and appeared to be sensible of it. Being allowed to take in the shops whatever struck her fancy. She showed a decided preference for bright colours, accepted what was given her, but would not for a moment leave hold of her bundle, keenly resenting any attempt to take it from her. She was afterwards sent back to the spot from whence she had been taken, with several presents; and a handsome remuneration was given to the master of the vessel who had brought her with strict charge to take every possible care for her safety!¹

Bonnycastle says of this female: "She was stained both body and hair, of a red colour, as it is supposed from the juice of the Alder, and was not very uneasy in her new situation when in the presence of her own sex only, but would not permit any men to approach her, except her enslaver, to whom (which speaks volumes for him) she was ever gentle and affectionate."

Letter from William Cull to the Governor.

(Dated) Fogo, Sept. 27, 1804.

Addressed to Mr Trounseil,
Admiral's Secretary.

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 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 the winter. The people do not hold with civilizing the Indians, as they think they will kill more than they did before.

(signed)

WM. CULL.

Proclamation by His Excellency John Holloway, Esp., Vice-Admiral of the "Red," Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Newfoundland, etc.

It having been represented to me that various acts of violence and inhuman cruelties have been, at different times, committed by some of the people employed as Furriers, or otherwise, upon the Indians, the original Inhabitants of this Island, residing in the interior parts thereof, contrary to every principle of religion and

¹ She was first placed under the care of Mr Andrew Pearce, a gentleman at Fogo, who hired men to take her back to her tribe.

humanity, and in direct violation of His Majesty's mild and beneficial Instructions to me respecting this poor defenceless tribe. I hereby issue this my Proclamation, warning all persons whatsoever, from being guilty of acts of cruelty, violence, outrage and robbery against them, and if any Person or Persons shall be found after this Proclamation, to act in violation of it, they will be punished to the utmost rigor of the law, the same as if it had been committed against myself, or any other of His Majesty's Subjects. And all those who may have any intercourse or trade with the said Indians, are hereby earnestly entreated to conduct themselves with peaceableness and mildness towards them, and use their utmost endeavours to live in kindness and friendship with them that they may be conciliated and induced to come among us as Brethren, when the public, as well as themselves, will be benefited by their being brought to a state of civilization, social order, and to a blessed knowledge of the Christian Religion. And I hereby offer a Reward of Fifty Pounds to such person or persons as shall be able to induce or persuade any of the male Tribe of Native Indians to attend them to the Town of St John's, as also all expenses attending their journey or passage. The same Reward shall be paid to any person who shall give information of any murder committed upon the bodies of the aforesaid Indians and being proved upon the oath of one or more credible witnesses.

I therefore call upon all Magistrates and other Officers of Justice, to promote to the utmost of their power, the intention of this Proclamation, by apprehending and bringing to justice all persons offending against the same.

Given under my hand at Fort Townshend,

St John's, Newfoundland, the 30th July, 1807,

J. HOLLOWAY.

By Command of His Excellency,

G. MacBean,

Mr Bland's fourth letter.

BONAVISTA,

22nd September, 1807.

Sir,

Since my return hither I have learnt that an Indian Canoe had been taken on the North part of this Island and carried to St John's and that enquiries had been made respecting the manner by which our Fishermen had become possessed of this Boat. From all I can learn of this transaction, as the Fishermen concerned in it belong to Bonavista, no other mischief happened than that of depriving the poor Indians of their Canoe.

Government has frequently expressed a wish that some means could be suggested of effecting a friendly intercourse between our People and the Native Indians of this Island, but nothing serious has hitherto been attempted towards so desirable an end.

Without reference to correspondence with former Governors on this subject I will take the liberty to propose to Your Excellency that a small and select military party be stationed in the Bay of Exploits with a guide during the winter season and should it afterwards be found necessary one of the King's schooners during the summer months when the Indians resort to the sea coast in order to provide food for the winter. It is during this period that they are often met by the Northern Fishermen and unhappily interrupted in their endeavours to make this provision. There can be little doubt under present management that one at least of the two modes proposed would be successful in securing some of these savages, and common sense would then suggest what was further necessary to conciliate their good will and improve the intercourse.

The good to result from a successful attempt at conciliation must be an end to a long course of hostilities between our Savages and the native Savages of this

Island, in which many lives on both sides have been lost, and I am sorry to add, there is too much reason to believe that the mischief with respect to the latter has been more extensive than is generally known.

That the condition of these unfortunate Savages would be considerably ameliorated by an intercourse with us can admit of no doubt, for they are an ingenious people, as all they do plainly evinces.

It would be useless, Sir, to enter upon long descriptions of this question. Your Excellency I am sure, independently of the pleasure of doing good, must discover the general advantage of effecting the measure proposed.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BLAND.

His Excellency,
John Holloway, Esq., etc.

From Governor Holloway to John Bland, Esq.

October 5th, 1807.

I am favoured with your letter respecting canoe which some Fishermen had inhumanly taken from the Native Indians of this Island, and as the offenders are discovered, Lieut. McKillop has direction to bring them to this place where they will be tried for the same, and dealt with according to law. I feel much with you a desire to make some attempt to conciliate the minds of those poor wretches, and I have made a proposition to H. M. Ministers on that subject, which I hope will be attended to next summer, when I shall be happy to receive from you any further advice as to the best means of attaining an intercourse with these people.

Governor Holloway's letter to Viscount Castlereagh¹.

WARREN'S HOTEL,
20th May, 1808.

My Lord,

I have the honour to lay before Your Lordship, a copy of a Proclamation issued by me last year at Newfoundland respecting the Native Indians upon that Island. His Majesty's Instructions to the Governors have at all times directed that particular attention should be paid to these ignorant people, by endeavouring to bring them to a state of Civilization and friendly intercourse; and although every attempt to obtain this desirable end has hitherto failed on account of the cruelties that have heretofore been committed upon them I feel it imperiously my Duty to persevere in this humane attempt and therefore submit the following ideas which have occurred to me, for your Lordship's consideration, viz:—

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. These 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.

A Guide (who is well acquainted with the Country) also to be employed, the expense of whom would probably amount to Thirty Pounds, and the Blankets,

¹ *Records*, vide Vol. 19, p. 171.

Hatchets, etc. to fifty Pounds more. Should this conciliatory overture fail the first year I think it might be advisable to repeat it a second; because these poor wretches have been so long ill treated that it may perhaps take some time to wear their minds from the strong impression of mistrust which they have imbibed from suffering repeated cruelties.

I suspect that the parties hitherto employed on this *Service* have perjured the Articles intended to have been given to the Indians and have claimed remuneration for pretended endeavours of effecting a social intercourse and friendship, which they have never attempted; or certainly so great an Inveteracy and Warfare could not have continued for so many years, as we have had possession of that Island, without effecting the least step towards a good understanding between us and them?

Waiting Your Lordship's opinions and Determination on this subject.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

J. HOLLOWAY.

The Right Honourable,
Viscount Castlereagh, etc.

20th May, 1808. A similar letter to the preceding, which is addressed to Lord Castlereagh, was sent the same day to Sir T. Cottrell, to be laid before the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, with a copy of the Proclamation respecting the Indians of Newfoundland.

The Governor's suggestion as to the picture was carried out, and it appears from the Colonial Records that he received it at Portsmouth before leaving for Newfoundland.

June 13th, 1808. Governor Holloway writes to Mr Faulkener (Sec. of the Board of Trade) from Portsmouth. "Picture from Mr. Reeves not yet arrived." And on June 14th '08 "Picture arrived." (Col. Records.)

Governor Holloway's reference to this expedition.

June 8th, 1808. Sundries purchased for the use of the Native Indians of Newfoundland:

40 prs. Blankets @	10/	20 0 0
20 " " @	11/	11 0 0
24 yds. crimson coating	7/6	9 0 0
36 " baize	1/9	3 3 0
30 Red baize shirts	7/	10 10 0
6 doz. glass bead necklaces	3/	18 0
4 " " " "	4/	16 0
18 Tin pots	1/6	1 7 0
24 Helved Hatchets	1/9	2 2 0
12 " "	2/9	1 13 0
12 Pottery	2/	1 4 0
1 cwt. 7 in. nails		2 10 0
		<hr/>
		64 3 0
Unexpended		35 17 0
		<hr/>
		£100 0 0

Nov. 19th, 1808. The Governor writes: "I am concerned at being disappointed in my endeavours to open an amicable intercourse with the Native Indians of Newfoundland, and to show their Lordships what steps I have taken for this desirable purpose, I beg leave to annex a copy of my orders to Lieut. Spratt, together with a list of the articles thought necessary for this service, but the Native Indians have not been seen on the sea coast this year. The same Officer is now under my orders to proceed again to Bay of Exploits as early as the ice permits with the painting and the articles he carried this year, all of which were brought back and are now deposited in the Court House at St. John's. The Micmac Indians who frequent the Island of Newfoundland from Cape Breton or Nova Scotia are at enmity with this unfortunate race of Natives, but I have taken steps to forbid their coming at all, being only plunderers and destroyers of the Beaver and other animals to the extinction of the species by taking them at improper times."

To Admiral Holloway from M. Faukener, Dec. 2nd, 1808. I lament that the united efforts of our friend Reeves and Miss Cuoran could not tame and catch a single Indian.

"In 1809 Lieut. Spratt was again ordered by Governor Holloway to proceed in an armed schooner to the Bay of Exploits and neighbouring parts, in order to attempt a communication with the native savages of the Island. He carried with him several articles which were intended as presents for them, and a large painting¹, which represented an officer of the Royal Navy in full dress shaking hands with an Indian chief, and pointing to a party of seamen behind him who were laying some bales of goods at the feet of the chief. Behind the latter were some male and female Indians presenting furs to the officers. Further to the left were seen an European and an Indian mother looking with delight at their respective children of the same size, who were embracing one another. In the opposite corner a British tar was courting, in his way, an Indian beauty.

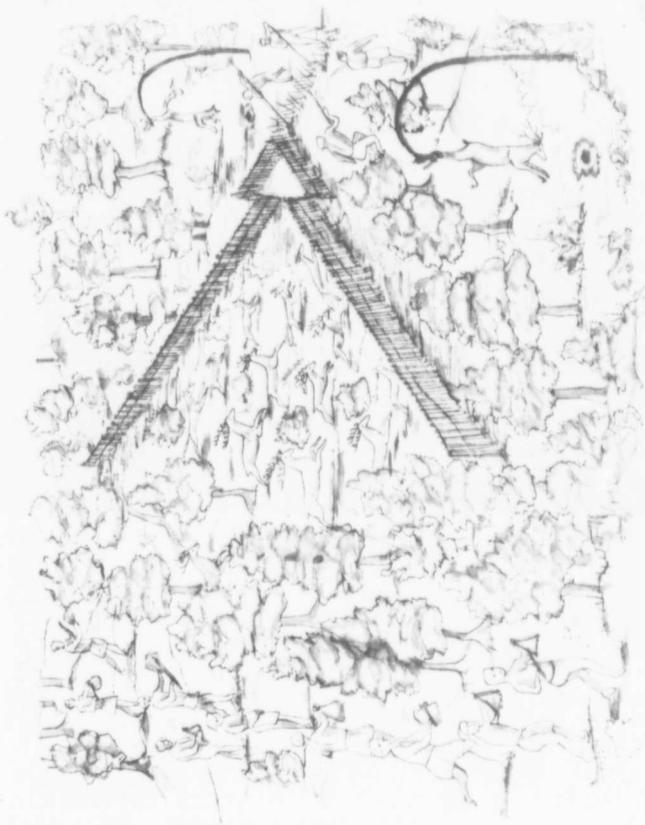
"The importance of this attempt, and promise of promotion were sufficient inducements to Mr. Spratt to use every possible exertion in order to bring the enterprise to a successful issue. He was however disappointed. Notwithstanding his zeal and activity, he could not meet with any of the tribe; and after having remained the appointed time on that station, he returned to St. John's." (Anspach.)

The picture referred to above was Governor Holloway's idea which he communicated to Lord Castlereagh, when he was appointed Governor. It was painted in England, and sent down in a coach to Portsmouth to the Governor, who brought it out with him. Lieut. Spratt carried it back to St. John's, where it was lodged in the Court House².

Before leaving the country in 1809, Governor Holloway employed William Cull and several other men to make a winter journey into the

¹ Referred to on preceding pages.

² I have used every effort to trace this picture, but without success. The accompanying sketch is a reproduction from a description by a local artist, Mr John Haywood.



Deer fence from Champlain, similar in construction to that used by Beothucks.

interior of the country in quest of the Red Indians. These men, though they did not fall in with any of them, yet came across some interesting evidences of their existing in some numbers in this island, also of their means of support and their modes of life. (Pedley!)

In 1810 Sir Thomas Duckworth, Governor, reissued the Proclamation of Commodore Duff. (Anspach.) Bonnycastle says "he published a new Proclamation for the protection of the Red Indians, and in the year following also another, offering a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should bring about a friendly understanding with them."

Substance of the Narrative of Wm Cull of Fogo.

On January 1st, 1810, Wm Cull, John Cull, Joseph Meww, John Waddy, Wm Waddy, Thomas Lewis, James Foster, and two of the Micmac Indians, set out upon the River Exploits, then frozen over, in quest of the residence of the native Indians, in the interior of the country. On the fourth day, having travelled about 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 rinds of trees and skins of deer. In this building they found in quantity about 100 deer, some part of which from its 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 rinds, each box containing about 2 cwt. The tongues and hearts of the deer were stowed in the middle of each package. The lean venison, or that more recently killed, was in quarters and stowed in bulk, some part of it, with the skin on. In this store they saw three lids of tin tea kettles, which Cull believes to be the same given by Governor Gambier to the old Indian woman, taken in the second year of his Government. They also found several martin, beaver and deer skins, some of which were dressed after the manner of our furriers. On the opposite bank of the river stood a second store house considerably larger than the former, but they did not examine it, the ice being broken and the passage across being attended with some risk. They believe the width of the Exploits in this place to be nearly two hundred yards. In exchange for three small beaver-skins and nine martins, they left one pair of swan-skin trousers, one pair of yarn stockings, three cotton handkerchiefs, three clasped knives, two hatchets, some small bits of printed cotton, needles, pins, thread and twine. They saw two of the natives on their way to this store-house, but unfortunately they discovered the party and retired. The two store-houses above mentioned are opposite each other, and from the margin of the river on each side there extended for some miles into the country a high fence for the purpose of leading the deer to the river, as these animals travelled south or north. Along the margin of the river in the neighbourhood of these store-houses were erected extensive fences on each side, in order to prevent the deer, when they had taken the water, from landing. It appears that as soon as a company of deer, few or many, enter the river in order to

¹ *History of Newfoundland* by Rev. Chas. Pedley, 1863.

pass south or north, the Indians, who are upon the watch launch their canoes, and the parallel fences preventing the relanding of the deer, they fall an easy prey to their pursuers, and the buildings above mentioned are depôts for their reception. From these store-houses the Indians occasionally draw their supplies in the winter.

Cull and his companions conjecture that the residence of the Indians could not be very remote from these magazines, but want of bread and some difference of opinion among the party prevented them from exploring further.

Governor Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K.C.B., visited the Labrador in the summer of this year 1810, and issued a Proclamation to the native inhabitants thereof, warning them to live on terms of friendship with the Indians of Newfoundland.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS, it is the gracious pleasure of His Majesty the king, my master that all kindness should be shown to you in his island of Newfoundland, and that all persons of all nations at friendship with him should be considered in this respect as his own subjects, and equally claiming his protection while they are within his dominions, as your brothers, always ready to do you service, to redress your grievances, and to relieve you in your distress. In the same light also are you to consider the native Indians of this island: they too are equally with ourselves under the protection of our King and therefore equally entitled to our friendship. You are entreated to behave to them on all occasions as you would do to ourselves. You know that we are your friends, and as they too are our friends, we beg you to be at peace with each other; and withall, you are hereby warned that the safety of these Indians is so precious to His Majesty, who is always the support of the feeble; that if one of ourselves, were to do them wrong he would be punished as certainly and as severely as if the injury had been done to the greatest among his own people; and he who dares to murder any one of them would be surely punished with death. Your own safety is in the same manner provided for. See therefore that you do no injury to them. If an Englishman were known to murder the poorest and the meanest of your Indians, his death would be the punishment of his crime. Do you not, therefore, deprive any one of our friends the native Indians of his life, or it will be answered with the life of him who has been guilty of the murder¹.

(signed)

JOHN DUCKWORTH.

At the same time Governor Duckworth offered a reward of £100 to any one who should zealously and meritoriously exert himself to bring about and establish on a firm and settled footing an intercourse with the natives. He further promised to such person that he should be honourably mentioned to his Majesty, and should find from the Governor such countenance and further encouragement as might be in His Excellency's power to give. (Pedley.)

This same year 1810 an armed schooner, the *Adonis*, was sent in command of Lieut. Buchan to renew the attempt to open up communication with the Indians. The schooner proceeded with a considerable

¹ This proclamation was evidently addressed to the Mountaineer or Nascoopi of Labrador or Northern extremity of Newfoundland.

Lieut. Buchan's expedition. Duckworth's proclamation 71

quantity of such articles as were supposed to be acceptable to them. Buchan remained in the Bay of Exploits during the months of August and September, without seeing anything of the Indians. (Anspach.)

Buchan decided to winter here, and proceed up the river on the ice in search of them. His vessel was anchored in Ship Cove (now Botwood) and made secure for the winter by heavy chains passed around the trunks of stout trees on shore. Some of these stumps were to be seen when first I visited the Exploits River now some thirty-four years ago. They were studded all around with brass nails to prevent the chains from chafing through.

NOTE. Anspach believes the Bay and River Exploits was probably so called, "from successful encounters with the native Indians who frequented this locality so much." He also says that Fogo Island was much frequented by them, in search of birds and eggs, especially the Penguin Rocks near it, where the great Auk formerly bred in such numbers.

In the name of His Majesty, King George the Third.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS the Native Indians of this Island have by the ill treatment they have received from mischievous and wicked Persons been driven from all communication with His Majesty's subjects and forced to take refuge in the woods and have continually resisted all efforts that have since been made to invite them to a friendly intercourse, and Whereas it is His Majesty's gracious pleasure that every exertion should still be used to accomplish an end so desirable, for the sake of humanity. All persons are hereby enjoined and required on meeting with any of these Indians or of those who may resort to Newfoundland to treat them with kindness so as to conciliate their affections, and induce them to come among us and live in friendship with us. And as a reward to any Person who shall zealously and meritoriously exert himself as to bring about and establish on a firm and settled footing an intercourse so much to be desired he shall for the great service which he will thereby have rendered to His Majesty and to the cause of humanity receive the sum of One Hundred Pounds and shall moreover be honourably mentioned to His Majesty and shall find such countenance from the Governor and such further encouragement as it may be in his power to give. Or if the exertions of any person shall so far only succeed as to afford the probable means of effecting this object and as inducing a single Indian to communicate with us, through whom something more might be accomplished, or if any one shall discover their place of resort so as that an attempt may be made to treat with them, such person shall receive such lesser reward as the Governor shall deem adequate, and his services shall be acknowledged as they may deserve. And all Officers and Magistrates are commanded and enjoined to maintain and support good order and behaviour towards the said Indians, and in case any Person or Persons shall murder or commit any outrage upon them to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such offenders and bring them to justice.

Given at Fort Townshend, St John's, Newfoundland, this first day of August, 1810.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

By Command of His Excellency,
R. C. Sconce.

¹ Governor's Proclamation respecting the Native Indians.

Narrative of Lieut. Buchan's Journey up the Exploits River In search of the Red Indians, in the winter of 1810-1811.

Saturday, January 12th, 1811.—On the eve of this date my arrangements were closed, and every necessary preparation made to advance into the interior, for the purpose of endeavouring to accomplish the grand object of your orders, relative to the Native Indians of this Island. For this service I employed William Cull and Mathew Hughster as guides, attended by twenty three men and a boy of the crew of his Majesty's schooner, and Thomas Taylor, a man in Mr. Miller's employ, and well acquainted with this part of the country.

The provisions, arms and other requisite articles, together with presents for the Indians, were packed on twelve sledges, and consisted of as follows:—bread 850 lbs., sugar 100 lbs., cocoa 34 lbs., pork 660 lbs., salt fish 30 lbs., spirits 60 gals., equal to 480 lbs., rice 30 lbs., tea 6 lbs., tare of casks and packages 500 lbs., ships muskets, seven; fowling pieces, three; pistols, six; cut lasses, six; with cartouch boxes and ammunition equal to 270 lbs.; ten axes, and culinary utensils, forty pounds. Presents for the Indians: blankets, 30, woollen wrappers nine; flannel shirts eighteen; hatchets twenty six; tin pots, ten; with beads, thread, knives, needles, and other trifles, equal to 180 lbs. The sledges with their lashings and drag ropes are estimated at 240 lbs. One lower studding sail and painted canvas covers for the sledges, 120 lbs., spare snow shoes, Buskins, vamps, cuffs and 28 knapsacks, eighty pounds; making independent of a small quantity of baggage allowed to each individual, 3,620 pounds.

Jan. 13th.—Wind NW., blowing strong; at 7 A.M. commenced our march; in crossing the arm from the schooner to Little Peter's Point which is two miles, we found it extremely cold, and the snow drifting, and the sledges heavy to haul from the sloppiness of the ice, but having rounded the Point we became sheltered from the wind until reaching Wigwam Point, which is two miles further up on the north side; here the river turns to the northward; a mile farther on is Mr. Miller's upper salmon station; the winter crew have their house on the south shore. 3 P.M., having reached the remains of a house occupied by Wm. Cull last winter we put up for the night, our distance made good being but eight miles in as many hours travelling. The night proved so intensely cold, with light snow at times, that none of our party could refresh themselves with sleep.

Jan. 14th.—Wind NW., with sharp piercing weather. Renewed our journey with dawn, not sorry to leave a place in which we had passed so intolerable a night. Having proceeded on two miles, we came to the Nutt Islands, four in number, situated in the middle of that river, a mile above these is the first rattle or small waterfall, as far as the eye could discern up the river, nothing but ridgy ice appeared, its aspect almost precluded the possibility of conveying the sledges along; but determined to surmount all practicable difficulties, I proceeded on with the guides to choose among the hollows those most favorable. 3 P.M. put

up on the north side, and fenced round the fireplace for shelter. This day's laborious journey I computed to be seven miles; the crew, from excessive fatigue, and the night somewhat milder than last, enjoyed some sleep. Left a cask with bread, pork, cocoa and sugar for two days, to be used on our return.

Jan. 15th.—Blowing fresh from WNW. to NNW. with snow at times; the river winding from W. to NW. At 3 P.M. stopped on the north bank for the night, one mile above the Rattling Brook, which empties itself into this river. On the south side, on the western bank of its entrance, we discovered a canoe which I observed to be one that belonged to the Canadians who had resided at Wigwam Point. This day's journey exhibited the same difficulties as yesterday, having frequently to advance a party to cut and level, in some degree, the ridges of ice to admit the sledges to pass from one gulf to another, and to fill up the hollows to prevent them from being precipitated so violently as to be dashed to pieces; but notwithstanding the utmost care, the lashings, from the constant friction, frequently gave way; and in the evening, most of the sledges had to undergo some repair and fresh packing. Fenced the fire-place in; at supper the people appeared in good spirits; the weather milder; fatigue produced a tolerable night's rest. The day's distance is estimated to be seven miles.

Jan. 16th.—Strong breezes from NNW. with sharp frost. Began our journey with the day. Several of the sledges gave way, which delayed us a considerable time. At 11 A.M. discovered two old wigwams on the north bank of the river; although they did not appear to have been lately inhabited, yet there were some indications of the natives having been here this fall. 2 P.M. Having reached the lower extremity of the great waterfall, we put up on the north side. While the party were preparing a fire and fence, I proceeded on, with Cull and Taylor, in search of an Indian path, through which they convey their canoes into the river above the overfall. Taylor, not having been here for many years, had lost all recollection where to find it; after a tedious search we fortunately fell in with it; there were evident signs of their having passed this way lately, but not apparently in any great number. Evening advancing, we retraced our steps, and reached our fire-place with the close of day. The night proved more mild than any hitherto, and our rest proportionably better. Here I left bread, pork, cocoa and sugar for two days, and four gallons of rum.

Jan. 17th.—South-westerly winds, with sleet, and raw cold weather. Began this day's route by conducting the sledges in a winding direction amongst high rocks, forming the lower extremity of the waterfall; having proceeded half a mile, we had to unload and parbuckle the casks over a perpendicular neck of land, which projecting into the rapid prevented the ice attaching to its edge, having reloaded on the opposite side, and turned the margin of coves for a third of a mile, we arrived at the foot of a steep bank, where commenced the Indian path; here it was also necessary to unload. Leaving the party to convey the things up the bank, I went on with Cull and Taylor, to discover the further end of the path; having come to a marsh, it was with difficulty we again traced it; at length we

reached the river above the overfall, its whole extent being one mile and a quarter; having gone on two miles beyond this, we returned. At noon, the wind having veered to the SE, it came on to rain heavily; sent a division on to the further end of the path to prepare a fire &c. 3 P.M. All the light baggage and arms being conveyed to the fire-place, the sledges were left for the night halfway in the path, so that after eight hours fatigue, we had got little farther than one mile and a half. It continued to rain hard until 9 P.M. when the wind shifted round to the westward, and cleared up, the crew dried their clothes, and retired to rest.

Jan. 18th.—Wind WNW. and cold weather. Leaving the party to bring on the sledges to the Indian Dock, and to repack them, I and the guides having advanced a mile, it was found requisite to cut a path of a hundred yards to pass over a point which the sledges could not round for want of sufficient ice being attached to it.

10 A.M. We now rounded a bay leaving several islands on our left; the travelling pretty good, except in some places where the ice was very narrow, and water oozing over the surface; most of us got wet feet. 2.30 P.M. Put up in a cave on the north shore as we should have been unable to reach before dark another place where good fire-wood was to be found; here the river forms a bay on either side, leaving between them a space of nearly one mile and a half, in which stood several islands, from the overfall up to these, the river in its centre was open. Having given directions for a fire-place to be fenced in, and the sledges requiring to be repaired, Cull and myself went on two miles to Rushy Pond Marsh, where he had been last winter; two wigwams were removed which he stated to have been there. The trees leading from the river to the marsh were marked, and in some places a fence-work thrown up; the bushes in a particular line of direction through a long extent of marsh had wisps of birch bark suspended to them by salmon twine¹, so placed as to direct the deer down to the river; we killed two partridges and returned to the party by an inland route; we reckon the distance from Indian Dock to this resting-place to be six miles.

Jan. 19th.—Westerly wind and moderate, but very cold. Most of this day's travelling smooth, with dead snow, the sledges consequently hauled heavy; having winded for two miles amongst rough ice to gain a green wood on the south shore, that on the north being entirely burnt down, we put up at 4 P.M. A little way on the bank of a brook, where we deposited a cask with bread, pork, cocoa and sugar for two days consumption. In all this day's route the river was entirely frozen over; we passed several islands; saw a fox and killed a partridge, estimated distance ten miles; rested tolerably during night.

Sunday Jan. 20th.—Wind WNW. and cold. Renewed our journey with the first appearance of day; at first setting out the sledges, in passing over a mile of sharp pointed ice, broke two of them repairing and packing delayed some time. At noon the sun shone forth, the weather warm, and a fine clear sky.

¹ The Seewells, described by Cartwright.

4 P.M.—Halted on an island situated two miles above Badger Bay Brook, which falls into this: on the north side; it appears wide, with an island in its entrance, and the remains of a wigwam on it. From this brook upwards, as also on the opposite side of the river, are fences of several miles, and one likewise extended in a westerly direction, through the island on which we halted, and is calculated to be twelve miles from the last sleeping place, and twenty miles from the Indian Dock: Hodge's Hills bearing from this ESE.

Jan. 21st.—Wind westerly, with bleak weather. At dawn proceeded on. At noon several difficulties presented themselves in crossing a tract of shelvy ice, intersected with deep and wide rents, occasioned by a waterfall: the sledges were, however, got over them, as also some steps on the north bank. Having ascended the waterfall, found the river open and faced with ice sufficient on the edge of its banks to admit the sledges. At 4.30 P.M. put up for the night, and fenced in the fire-place. This day's distance is estimated at eleven miles, allowing seven from the island on which we slept last night up to the overfall, and from thence four miles to this.

From the waterfall upwards, on either side of the river where the natural bank would have been insufficient, fences were thrown up to prevent the deer from landing, after-taking to the water, by gaps left open for that purpose. Repacked the sledges, two of them being unfit to go on farther, deposited a cask with bread, pork, cocoa and sugar, for two days. The party slept well.

Jan. 22nd.—SW. winds with mild hazy weather. Having advanced two miles, on the south side, stood a store-house: Wm. Cull stated that no such building was there last winter; it appeared newly erected and its form circular, and covered round with deer skins, and some carcasses left a little way from it: two poles were stuck in the ice close to the water, as if canoes had lately been there. Four miles from this, passed an Island, and rounded a bay, two miles beyond its western extremity, on a projecting rock, were placed several stag's horns. Wm. Cull now informed me that it was at this place he had examined the store-houses (mentioned in his narrative), but now no vestige of them appeared: there was, however, ample room cleared of wood for such a building as described to have stood, and at a few hundred yards off was the frame of a wigwam still standing; close to this was a deerskin hanging to a tree, and further on a trope with the name of "Rousell": the Rousells live in Sops Arm and in New Bay. On the south bank, a little lower down, also stood the remains of a wigwam, close to which Cull pointed out the other store to have been: a quarter of a mile below on the same side, a river, considerable in appearance, emptied itself into this; directly against its entrance stands an Island well wooded. We continued on four miles, and then the party stopped for the night. Cull accompanied me two miles farther and we returned at Sunset. During this day's journey, at intervals, we could discern a track which bore the appearance of a man's foot going upwards. One of the sledges fell into the water, but it fortunately happened to be a shoal part, nothing was lost. Our distance made good today we allow to be twelve miles, and the river open from the last overfall with scarcely

enough of ice attached to the bank to admit the sledges to pass on, and there are banks and fences in such places as the natives find necessary to obstruct the landing of the deer, some of these extending two or three miles, others striking inland. Divided the party into three watches, those on guard, under arms during the night.

Jan. 23rd.—Wind westerly, wild cold weather. At daylight renewed our journey: the river now shoaled and ran rapidly; I wished to have forded it, conceiving that the Indians inhabited the other side; but found it impracticable. At 10 A.M., having advanced six miles, and seeing the impossibility of proceeding farther with the sledges, I divided the party, leaving one half to take care of the stores, whilst the other accompanied me, and taking with us four days' provisions, we renewed our route, the river now winded more northerly. Having proceeded on about four miles, we observed on the south side a path in the snow where a canoe had evidently been hauled across to get above a rattle, this being the only sure indication that we had discovered of their having passed upwards from the store on the south side. The river narrowed, ran irregular, and diminished in depth very considerably. Having passed several small rivers on this side, we came abreast of an island, opposite to which, on the south side, was a path in the snow, from the water, ascending a bank where the trees were very recently cut, clearly evincing the residence of the natives to be at no great distance; but it being impossible to ford the river at this place, we continued on, but had not gone more than a mile, when turning a point, an expansive view opened out, and we saw before us an immense lake extending nearly in a N.E. and S.W. direction, its surface a smooth sheet of ice. We saw tracks but could not be certain whether of deer or men. We had lost for some miles the trace seen yesterday. On approaching the pond or lake we discovered on its N.W. side two bodies in motion, but were uncertain if men or quadrupeds, it being nearly three o'clock. I drew the party suddenly into the wood to prevent discovery, and directed them to prepare a place for the night. I went on to reconnoitre. Having skirted along the woods for nearly two miles, we posted ourselves in a position to observe their motions; one gained ground considerably on the other; we continued in doubt of their being men until just before losing sight of them in the twilight, it was discernible that the hindmost dragged a sledge. Nothing more could be done until morning; as it would have been impossible to have found their track in the dark; observing, on our return, a shovel in a bank of snow, we found that venison had been dug out, we however, found a fine heart and liver; this made a good supper for the party, whom we did not rejoin till dark. One third of the party were successively under arms during the night which proved excessively cold and restless to all.

Jan. 24th.—Wind N.E. and intensely cold. Having refreshed ourselves with breakfast and a dram to each at 4 A.M. commenced our march along the east shore with the utmost silence; beyond the point from whence I had the last view of the two natives, we fell in with a quantity of venison, in carcasses and quarters, close to which was a path into the wood. Conjecturing that the Indians' habitations were here, we advanced in, but found

it to be an old one; the party complained much of the cold, and occasionally sheltered themselves under the lee of the points. It at length became necessary to cross the pond in order to gain the track of their sledge; this exposed us entirely to the bitterness of the morning; all complained of excessive cold. With the first glimpse of morn, we reached the wished-for track, this led us along the western shore to the N.E., up to a point, on which stood an old wigwam; then struck athwart for the shore we had left. As the day opened it was requisite to push forth with celerity to prevent being seen, and to surprise the natives whilst asleep. Canoes were soon descried, and shortly wigwams two close to each other, and the third a hundred yards from the former. Having examined the arms, and charged my men to be prompt in executing such orders as might be given at the same time strictly charging them to avoid every impropriety, and to be especially guarded in their behaviour towards women. The bank was now ascended with great alacrity and silence, the party being formed into three divisions, the wigwams were at once secured. On calling to the people within, and receiving no answer, the skins which covered the entrance were then removed, and we beheld groups of men, women and children lying in the utmost consternation; they remained absolutely for some minutes without motion or utterance. My first object was now to remove their fears, and inspire confidence in us, which was soon accomplished by our shaking hands, and showing every friendly disposition. The woman embraced me for my attentions to their children; from the utmost state of alarm they soon 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 presented to them, and in return they offered us skins, I had to regret our utter ignorance of their language and the presents at a distance of at least twelve miles, occasioned me much embarrassment; I used every end-avowr to make them understand my great desire that some of them should accompany us, to the place where our baggage was, and assist bringing up such things as we wore, which at last they seemed perfectly to comprehend. Three hours and a half having been employed in conciliatory endeavours, and every appearance of the greatest amity subsisting between us; and considering a longer tarry useless, without the means of convincing them farther 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. James Butler, corporal, and Thomas Bouthland, private of marines, observing this, requested to be left behind in order to repair their snow shoes; and such was the confidence placed by my people in the natives that most of the party wished to be the individuals to remain among them, I was induced to comply with the first request from a motive of showing the natives a mutual confidence, and cautioning them to observe the utmost regularity of conduct, at 10 A.M., having myself again shook hands with all the natives, and expressed, in the best way I could, my intentions to be with them in the morning, we set out. They expressed satisfaction by

signs on seeing that two of us were going to remain with them, and we left them accompanied by four of them. On reaching the river head, two of the Indians struck into our last night's fire place. One of these I considered to be their chief; finding nothing there for him, he directed two of them to continue on with us, these went with cheerfulness, though at times they seemed to mistrust us. Parts of the river having no ice it was difficult to get along the banks occasioning at times a considerable distance between me and the hindermost Indian. Being under the necessity of going single, in turning a point one of the Indians having loitered behind, took the opportunity, and set off with great speed calling out to his comrade to follow. Previous precautions prevented his being fired at. This incident was truly unfortunate as we were nearly in sight of our fire place. It is not improbable but he might have seen the smoke, and this caused his flight, or actuated by his own fears as no action of my people could have given rise to his conduct. He had however, evidently some suspicions, as he had frequently come and looked eagerly in my face, as if to read my intentions. I had been most scrupulous in avoiding every action and gesture that might cause the least distrust. In order to try the disposition of the remaining Indian he was made to understand that he was at liberty to go if he chose, but he showed no wish of this kind. At 3 P.M. we joined the rest of our party, when the Indian started at seeing so many more men; but this was of momentary duration, for he soon became pleased with all he saw; I made him a few presents and showed the articles which were to be taken up for his countrymen consisting of blankets, woollen wrappers, and shirts, beads, hatchets, knives and tin pots, thread, needles and fish hooks, with which he appeared much satisfied, and regaled himself with tea and broiled venison, for we brought down two haunches with us in the evening. A pair of trousers and vamps, being made out of a blanket, and a flannel shirt being presented to him he put them on with sensible pleasure, carefully avoiding any indecency; being under no restraint, he occasionally went out, and he expressed a strong desire for canvass, pointing to a studding sail which covered us in on one side. He laid by me during the night, still my mind was somewhat disturbed for it occurred to me that the natives on the return of their comrade who deserted us, might be induced from his misrepresentation dictated by fear to quit the wigwams, and observe our motions, but I was willing to suppress any fear for the safety of our men, judging that they would not commit any violence, until they should see if we returned and brought their companion; I was moreover satisfied that the conduct of our men would be such as not to give occasion to any animosity, and in the event of their being removed they would see the impossibility of safety in any attempt to escape.

Friday the 25th of Jan.—Wind NNE, and boisterous with sleet. At 7 A.M. set out leaving only eight of the party behind. On coming up to the river head, we observed the tracks of three men crossing the pond in a direction for the other side of the river. The violence of the wind with the sleet and drift snow rendered it laborious to get on, and so thick was it at times that all the party could not be discerned, although at no great

distance from each other. When within half a mile of the wigwams, the Indian, who walked sometimes on before, at others by my side, pointed out an arrow sticking in the ice; we also perceived a recent track of a sledge. At 2 P.M. we arrived at the wigwams, when my apprehensions were unfortunately verified; they were left in confusion, nothing of consequence remaining in them but some deer skins. We found a quantity of venison packs conveyed a little way off, and deposited in the snow; a path extended into the wood, but to no distance. Perceiving no mark of violence to have been committed, I hoped that my former conjectures would be realized, and that all would yet be well. The actions of the Indian however, were indicative of extreme perplexity and are not describable. Having directed the fire to be removed from the wigwam we were now in to one more commodious; one of the people taking up a brand for that purpose, he appeared terrified to the last degree, and used his utmost endeavour to prevent its being carried out. He either apprehended that we were going to destroy the wigwams and canoes, (of which latter there were six) or that a fire was going to be kindled for his destruction. For sometime he anxiously peeped through the crevices to see what was doing, for he was not at liberty. Perplexed how to act, and evening drawing on, anxiety for the two marines, determined me to let the Indian go, trusting that his appearance and recital of our behaviour would not only be the means of our mens' liberation, but also that the natives would return, with a favourable impression. After giving him several things, I showed a wish that his party should return, and by signs intimated not to hurt our people. He smiled significantly, but he would not leave us. He put the wigwam in order, and several times looked to the west side of the pond and pointed. Each wigwam had a quantity of deers' leg bones ranged on poles (in all three hundred). Having used the marrow of some of these opposite that we occupied, the Indian replaced them with an equal number of others signifying that these were his; he pointed out a staff and showed that it belonged to the person that wore the high cap, the same that I had taken to be the chief; the length of this badge was nearly six feet, and two inches at the head, tapering to the end, terminating in not more than three quarters of an inch; it presented four plain equal sides, except at the upper end, where it resembled three rims one over the other, and the whole stained red¹. The day having closed in, it blew very hard, with hail, sleet and rain. It became necessary to prepare against any attack that might be made upon us. The following disposition was made for the night, the wigwam being of a circular form, and the party formed into two divisions, they were placed intermediately, and a space left on each side of the entrance so that those on guard could have a full command of it; the doorway was closed up with a skin, and orders given for no one to go out. The rustling of the trees, and the snow falling from them would have made it easy for an enemy to advance close to us without being heard. I had made an exchange with the Indian for his bow and arrows,

¹ This description seems to correspond with the sixth figure of Shownawditch's Sketch No. IX, "Mythological emblems." Ash-a-meet.

and at 11 o'clock laid down to rest; but had not been asleep more than ten minutes, when I was aroused by a dreadful scream, and exclamation of "O Lord" uttered by Mathew Hughster. Starting at the instant in his sleep, the Indian gave a horrid yell, and a musket was instantly discharged. I could not at this moment but admire the promptness of the watch, with their arms presented, and swords drawn. This incident, which had like to prove fatal, was occasioned by John Guiceme, a foreigner going out. He had mentioned it to the watch. In coming in again, the skin covering of the doorway made a rustling noise. Thomas Taylor, roused by the shriek, fired direct for the entrance, and had not Hughster providentially fallen against him at the moment, which moved the piece from the intended direction Guiceme must inevitably have lost his life. The rest of the night was spent in making covers of deer skin for the locks of the arms.

Saturday 26th Jan.—Wind E.N.E., blowing strong, with sleet and freezing weather. As soon as it was light the crew were put in motion, and placing an equal number of blankets, shirts and tin pots in each of the wigwams, I gave the Indian to understand that those articles were for the individuals who resided in them. Some more presents were given to him, also some articles attached to the red staff, all of which he seemed to comprehend. At 7 A.M. we left the place intending to return the Monday following. Seeing that the Indian came on, I signified my wish for him to go back; he however continued with us, sometimes running on a little before in a zigzag direction, keeping his eyes to the ice as having a trace to guide him, and once pointed to the westward, and laughed. Being now about two-thirds of a mile from the wigwams, he edged in suddenly, and for an instant halted; then took to speed. We at this moment observed that he had stopped to look at a body lying on the ice, he was still within half a musket-shot, but as his destruction could answer no end, so it would have been equally vain to attempt pursuit; we soon lost sight of him in the haze. On coming up we recognised with horror the bodies of our two unfortunate companions lying about a hundred yards apart; that of the corporal being first, was pierced by one arrow in the back; three arrows had entered that of Bouthland. They were laid out straight with their feet towards the river, and backs upwards; their heads were off, and carried away, and no vestige of garments left. Several broken arrows lying about and a quantity of bread, which must have been emptied out of their knapsacks; very little blood was visible. This melancholy event naturally much affected all the party; but these feelings soon gave way to sensations of revenge. Although I had no doubt as to the possibility of finding out the route they had taken, yet prudence called on me to adopt another line of conduct. As I could have no doubt that our movements had been watched, which the cross track, observed in coming up, evinced, my mind consequently became alarmed for the safety of those left with the sledges, and hence made it of the utmost moment to join them without loss of time. Prior to entering the river the people were refreshed with some rum and bread, and formed into a line of march, those having fire arms being in the front and rear, those with cutlasses remaining in the

Plate V



Bloody Point, Red Indian Lake, where Bichan's two marines were killed in 1831.

centre, and all charged to keep as close together as the intricacies would permit. On opening the first point of the river head, one of the men said he observed an Indian look round the second point, and fall back; on coming up, we perceived that two men had certainly been there, and retreated; we afterwards saw them at times at a good distance before us; the tracks showed that they had shoes on; this caused considerable perplexity; the guides (and indeed all the party) were of opinion that the Indians had seen the sledges, and that those two were returning down the river to draw us into a trammel; for they supposed a body of them to be conveniently posted to take advantage of us in some difficult pass. These conjectures were probable. They strongly urged my taking to the woods as being more safe; although this was certainly true, it would have been attended with great loss of time, for from the depth and softness of the snow, we could not possibly perform it under two days; and as the immediate joining my people was paramount to every other consideration—for our conjectures might be erroneous—and I was in this instance vain to suspect that curiosity had predominated over the obligations of duty, and that want of consideration had led our men up to view the pond, I therefore continued on by the river side. On seeing excrement recently evacuated it was found on examination to contain particles of bread, this relieved the mind for the Indians do not use this diet. At noon we arrived at the fireplace, and found all well after having spent four hours in unutterable anxiety for their fate. The two men that had acted so imprudently were easily discovered by the sweat that rolled down their faces; being made acquainted with the uneasiness they had occasioned, contrition for their misconduct was manifest. Whilst the party dined on pork, bread and rum, I pondered on the late events, and what in the present juncture was best to be done; my thoughts often wandered to the pond, but after half an hour's reflection, the following considerations fixed me in the resolution of proceeding down the river:—1st, it appeared to me next to a certainty that a numerous body of natives resided in the environs and outlets of the pond; taking this for granted, the hazard would have been greater than prudence would justify, for, after their perpetration, was it not to be supposed they would anticipate our conduct according to their diabolical system? I could not therefore entertain any hope of securing their persons without bloodshed, which would frustrate all future expectation of their reconciliation and civilization, the grand object in view. It will not be considered improper to remark that the very nature of the service intrusted to my care required the test of faith, and the danger increased by the sincere wish of rendering acts of friendship on our part whilst a malignant inveteracy subsists in the hearts and actuates the natives to deeds most horrid. 2nd, the state of the weather promising a rapid thaw, which would render our retreat down the river impracticable; this, with the local situation of this part of the Exploits, were cogent reasons to follow the plan of descending the river. The thawing of the ice and snow, and waters from the interior causing the ice already to founder from the banks, so as to render it impossible to conduct the sledges, the knapsacks were filled with as much provisions as

they could contain, and, taking with us rum for three days, we commenced our return, obliged to leave everything else behind. On reaching the point on which the old store has been stated to have stood, we observed on the island situated on this part of the river (as described on Jan. 22nd) nearly at its western end, the frame of an extensive store, apparently erected last summer, and not yet covered in; this island being well wooded, had obstructed our seeing it in passing upwards, and so surrounded with trees as to prevent our having a full view of it; this is a strong corroboration of Cull's statement. We continued our journey until dark, when we reached the fireplace occupied on the 21st; thus having performed four days' route, making in distance thirty-two miles, between this and where we left the sledges; the ice had become so much weakened as to give way several times, leaving some of the party for a short period on detached pieces from that bound to the banks.

Jan. 27th.—Wind ESE, with small rain. At daylight renewed our journey, taking with us the provisions that had been left here. Having descended the upper waterfall, we found the river open in many places, that we had passed over in coming up, and the water flooded considerably over the ice, indeed we were under apprehension of the river breaking up, as the drift ice under us made a great noise. We reached our fireplace of the 16th and halted for the night, having performed two days' journey, a distance of twenty-three miles. Here we had deposited two days' provisions in a cask well headed, and placed fifty yards in from the west bank of the brook (the fire-place being on the east) and covered over with bushes and snow, insomuch as to consider it perfectly secure from any beast. I was therefore much surprised to find the bushes removed, the head taken out, seven pieces of pork missing, and some of the bread lying by the cask. The rapid thaw obliterated any track that might have formed our judgment as to its having been done by men or beast. I am inclined to attribute it to the former. One of the pieces of pork was found about two hundred yards from the spot. Some of the party complained of swollen legs.

Jan. 28th.—Light winds from the SE., with rain during the night. The legs of several more of the party began to swell. The thaw still continued very rapid, with prospect of an immediate change. This circumstance, and the great probability of the river's bursting from the likelihood of the drift ice becoming pent amongst the shoals, determined me, notwithstanding our fatigue and pain, to push forward, and if possible, to reach our fireplace of the 16th immediately below the great overfall, as the depth of the river below this would make it less subject to break up, and should it become necessary to undertake the laborious and slow travelling in the woods, our distance would become considerably diminished. By dark my wish was accomplished, after a most harassing and uncomfortable march of eighteen miles, the greater part of this distance being nearly knee deep in water, in all the day's route we found the river opened in the middle.

All those with swollen legs had the parts effected rubbed with rum and pork fat.

Jan. 29th.—Fresh winds from the SE, with rain. At dawn renewed

our journey, the river still continuing to flood and open. On coming to the Rattling Brook, in addition to the canoe mentioned on the 15th we now found another. I knew them both to have belonged to the Canadians before spoken of, and as these were all they had, I supposed them to have travelled by land to St George's Bay. Halted at our fireplace of the 14th and refreshed ourselves; and took with us the provisions that had been left, and at 4 p.m. reached Cull's old house, where we had spent so intolerable a night on the 13th. Although my people were much fatigued and several of them with their legs much swollen and inflamed, yet they all solicited to proceed to the schooner, thinking they might get to her in a few hours. They were too sanguine, for I was sensible that many of them were in a state unable to perform what they so eagerly asked. I had also strong objections to approach the schooner by night, so we put up, having travelled this day twenty-two miles. It froze a little during the night.

Jan. 30th.—Wind E. with fresh gales and rain; at 7 a.m. proceeded for the schooner, all hearts elated. We found it extremely tiresome; the waters that had flooded over the ice being partially frozen, but insufficient to bear our weight, made it painful to all, but particularly to those with inflamed ankles; indeed, from the wet state our feet had been in for the last four days, no one escaped being galled. Abreast of Wigwam Point the river was considerably opened. At noon we arrived on board and found all well.

March 4th.—The people having recovered from the effects of the former excursion, and sledges and casks being made for the reception of stores necessary for a second journey, the day was employed in packing and making the requisite preparations for our departure.

March 5th.—Wind W. At 7 a.m. I left the schooner with a party of thirty men, having with us provisions and every necessary for twenty-two days. The day proved pleasant and mild, and hauling good, the ice being much levelled by the late thaws; halted for the night on the north side of the river, one mile above the second fireplace of the former journey.

March 6th.—Wind W. with falls of snow. At 4 p.m. having reached our former fireplace at the end of the Indian path by the great waterfall we put up for the night and repacked our sledges. I went with a small party to view the waterfall, which circumstances prevented me from doing before. The sight repaid the trouble of getting to it. The scene was truly interesting; the upper part was formed by a number of cascades, and at last joining their united streams, rolled down one stupendous height of at least eighty feet perpendicular. The sound of this waterfall was at times plainly heard on board the schooner when lying in Peter's Arm, from which ascended a vapour that darkened the atmosphere for a considerable extent. The cavity below exhibited a number of small islands originally formed by the torrent.

March 7th.—Wind S. with constant snow. At 10 a.m., having come up to the islands opposite Rushy Pond Marsh, we found a wigwam on one of them where the natives had lived last summer. At 1 p.m. put up on the north side, about three miles above our fireplace of January 18th and

¹ This is the Grand Falls of the Exploits River where is now situated the gigantic Pulp and Paper Mills of the Anglo-Newfoundland Company. (Harrisworth's.)

distant from the Indian Dock nine miles. Very heavy fall of snow. Killed five partridges.

March 8th.—Strong N.E. gales, with constant snow and drift; no possibility of hauling. One of the party received so violent a contusion on the shoulder as to render his arm useless, by a tree falling on him. The snow this day fell ten inches.

March 9th.—Wind W., blowing hard, with severe weather, rendering it unsafe to proceed.

March 10th.—Strong gales, with constant snow, and very sharp weather, which continued throughout the day, with considerable drift.

March 11th.—Wind W. with clear sharp weather. At 7 a.m. recommenced our journey. This morning four of our party were frost-burned. The hauling proved heavy, from the late snow and drift. At 2 p.m. put up on the north side, two miles below the Badger Bay Brook, and fourteen miles from our last night's sleeping place.

March 12th.—Cloudy weather; wind W. At 8 o'clock passed Badger Bay Brook. At noon Hodges Hill bore ENE. two leagues. At 2.30 p.m. put up on the north side, about half a mile below the waterfall (which we had passed on January 21st), and sixteen miles from our last resting place.

March 13th.—Strong gales from ENE., and constant snow and sleet. At 7 a.m. crossed over and ascended the waterfall on the south side; hauled the sledges through some Indian paths; found several places in the skirts of the woods that had been recently dug up, where something must have been concealed, for the vacuums were lined with birch rind. At 10 a.m. we came up to the storehouse mentioned on Jan. 22nd; the poles that were then seen in the ice still remained, but their position altered. This store was circular, and covered in with deer skins; it was not so large as their wigwams. It was evident that the natives had been there since our passing down in the former journey; they had taken all the prime venison away, and had left nothing but a few inferior haunches, and a number of paunches, which were frozen firmly together; but many of these had, notwithstanding, been removed for the purpose of digging up the ground, where it formed a place somewhat longer than necessary for containing arrows; it is probable that it held arrows, darts, and other implements used by them in killing deer. I was surprised to find that the skins covering in that part of the store fronting the river and the inland side, were perforated with many arrows; this circumstance led me to conclude that they had come down in their canoes, and that some of them had taken a station on the bank, and had shot their arrows at the store, to ascertain whether we might not be concealed in it. Seeing that they had acted with such cautious suspicion, and considering it as betraying an inclination for resistance, made me abandon any further pursuit. Leaving red shirts in the storehouse, as an exchange for such venison as we could take, I returned to our last night's fireplace, not feeling myself warranted to run any further risk. It continued to snow, hail, and sleet the whole of this day.

March 14th.—Wind W. At 9.30 a.m. set out on our return down the river, the hauling very heavy from the sleet and snow that had fallen

¹ Red Indian Fall.

yesterday. At 2.30 p.m. halted for the night, having travelled nine miles. Found John Weatherall deranged in mind.

March 15th.—Wind SW. At daylight renewed our march; halted two miles below Badger Brook, at our fireplace of the 11th instant. Found it necessary to have a guard over John Weatherall.

March 16th.—Wind N. with pleasant weather and good hauling. At 2 o'clock halted at the sleeping place of the 9th instant, three miles from Rushy Pond Marsh.

March 17th.—Moderate with snow. At 11 o'clock reached the upper part of the great waterfall; hauled the sledges to the further end of the path, and put up at the sleeping-place of the 9th instant, called Indian Dock.

March 18th.—Wind from the westward, with clear frosty weather. At noon heavy hauling; at dark reached Upper Sandy Point, and put up for the night at Millar's upper salmon station; the distance from the waterfall to this is reckoned twenty miles.

March 19th.—Fresh breezes and clear frosty weather. At 9 o'clock set out, and at 11 arrived on board the schooner and found all well.

Concluding Remarks by Lieut. Buchan.

It will not be expected that I can give much information respecting the Indians of Newfoundland. Of a people so little known or rather not known at all, any account, however imperfect, must be interesting. It appears then that they are permanent inhabitants, and not occasional visitors.

The wigwams of the Newfoundland Indians are of a circular and octagonal structure. The first of these is simply a few poles supported by a fork and common to the various tribes in North America, but this kind is used by the natives of this island as a summer residence whilst employed on the ponds and rivers in procuring food for winter. Considerable pains were employed on these I found them in, and which were of the octagonal structure, the diameter of the base being nearly 22 feet, and enclosed with studs of four feet above the surface. On these was affixed a wall plate from which were projected poles forming a conic roof and terminating in the top in a small circle sufficient for emitting the smoke and admitting light, this and the entrance being the only apertures. A right line being drawn to equal distances from each of the angular points, was fitted neatly with a kind of lattice work forming the points of so many recesses which were filled with neatly dressed deer skins. The fire was placed in the centre of the area around which was formed their place of repose, everyone lying with their feet towards the centre and their heads up to the lattice work somewhat elevated. The whole was covered in with birch bark, and banked on the outside with earth, as high as the studding, making these abodes with little fuel warm even in the inclemency of winter. The whole was finished in a manner far superior to what might have been expected.

According to the report of William Cull, the storerooms seen by him were built with a ridge pole, and had gable ends. The frame of the store seen on the island I conceive to have been of that description as it certainly had a ridge pole.

Their canoes were finished with neatness, the hoops and gunnel formed

of birch, and covered over with that bark cut into sheets, and neatly sewn together and lackered over with the gum of the spruce tree. Their household vessels were all made of birch or spruce bark. It did not appear that these were applied to any purpose of cookery. I apprehend that they do not boil any part of their diet¹, but broil or roast the whole; there were two iron boilers which must have been plundered from our settlers. To what purpose they may apply these is uncertain, but they set a value on these, as on leaving their wigwams they had conveyed them out of our sight. They were well supplied with axes, upon which a high value is set; these they keep bright and sharp, as also the blades of their arrows, of which we found upwards of a hundred new ones in a case.

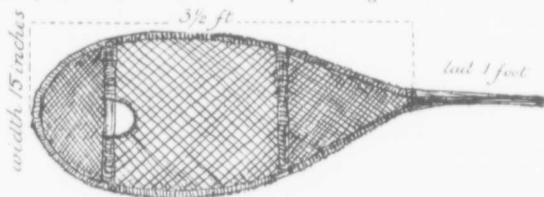
Report has famed these Indians as being of gigantic stature, this however is not the case as far as regards the tribe we saw, and must have originated from the bulkiness of their dress and partly from misrepresentation. They are well formed, and appear extremely healthy and athletic, and of the medium structure, probably from five feet eight to five feet nine inches and with one exception black hair. Their features are more prominent than any of the Indian tribes that I have seen, and from what could be discovered through a lacker of oil and red ochre (or red earth) with which they besmear themselves, I was led to conclude them fairer than the generality of Indian complexions. Conceive my astonishment at beholding a female bearing all the appearance of an European, with light sandy hair, and features strongly similar to the French, apparently about 22 years of age, with an infant which she carried in her cossack, her demeanour differing materially from the others. Instead of that sudden change from surprise and dismay to acts of familiarity, she never uttered a word, nor did she recover from the terror our sudden and unexpected visit had thrown them into. Their dress consisted of a loose cossack, without sleeves, but puckered at the collar to prevent it falling off the shoulders, and made so long that when fastened up around the haunches it became triple, forming a good security against accident happening to the abdomen. This is fringed round with cutting of the same substance. They also had leggings, moccasins, and cuffs, the whole made of the deer skin, and worn with the hair side next the body, the outside lackered with oil and red ochre, admirably adapted to repel the severity of the weather. The only discernible difference between the dress of the sexes, was the addition of a hood attached to the back of the cossack of the female for the reception of their children. Their males, in having occasion to raise their bows, have to disengage their right shoulder and kneel down on their right knee. The bow is kept perpendicular, and the lower extremity supported against the left foot. Their arrows display some ingenuity, for the blade, which is of iron, is so proportioned to the shaft that, when missing their object, if in water it does not sink; but the blade preponderates and the feathers which direct its flight now becomes a buoy, and they take them up at pleasure. The blade of the arrow is shouldered, but not barbed.

The snow shoes, or rackets as they are called by some, differed from all others that I have seen. The circular part of the bow, which was cross-barred

¹ This is a mistake, they certainly did boil some of their food, as attested by Whitburne and other authorities.

with skin thong, was in breadth about 15 inches, and lengthwise near three feet and a half, with a tail of a foot long. This was to counterbalance the weight of the front before the forecross beam. So far their make is like ours, with the difference of length, which must be troublesome in the woods, but if my conjectures are right, they travel but little in the woods when the snow is on the ground. Now this being placed on the ground and the foot on it, forms a curve from the surface, both ends being elevated. Their reason for this is obvious for the twofold purpose of preventing any quantity of snow from resting before the foot, and the other which shows a thought of effects tends to accelerate their motions, for it will appear that there will be a gaining on each pace equal to the distance between a straight line drawn from the centre of the foot to the front extremity, and the section of the curve contained between these two points. This together with the ease this form makes in walking must be considerable.

Fearful of raising suspicion prevented my ascertaining their exact number, but I shall be within bounds by observing that there could not be



Beothuck snowshoe according to Lieut. Buchan's description.

less than thirty-five grown persons. Of this number probably two-thirds were women, or it is likely that some of the men were absent. There could not be less than thirty children, and most of them not exceeding six years of age, and never were finer infants seen.

It has been conceived that want of sufficient quantity of nutritious food has prevented them from increasing, and the only thing connected with this idea is that they are not seen on the coast in such numbers as formerly. All else must be mere speculative reasoning, but it will be granted that my excursion has opened up a field from which to draw a fair conclusion. It will be readily admitted that a country intersected throughout with rivers and ponds and abounding with wood and marshy ground is well adapted for uncivilized life, and calculated for the vast herds of deer that annually visit it. This is proved by the incredible quantity of venison they had packed up, and there yet remained on the margin of the pond a vast number of carcasses which must have been killed as the frost set in, many being frozen in the ice. The packs were nearly three feet in length, and in breadth and depth fifteen inches, closely packed with fat venison cleared of the bone, and in weight from 150 to 200 lbs., the cases were neatly made of bark.

The ponds abound with trout, and flocks of wild geese visit them in the months of May and October, and their vigorous appearance points out, that

their exercise to procure food is only conducive to health. They are free from the pestilential attendants that await civil society also by war and disease brought on by intemperance. They can be subject to but few casualties and these only from the hazard of their canoes overturning passing down the rapids, which experience must in a great degree obviate.

To those entertaining an opinion of their numbers being few because of their not being seen so much as formerly, it may be proper to observe that formerly the disgraceful idea was conceived by many of our countrymen resorting to, and settling on the island, that their destruction attached merit to their persecutors and thus were they banished from their native haunts and looked upon as little better than beasts of the forest. Probably in those days they knew but little of the interior, and their chief dependence for food was on fish and sea fowl, for I cannot think that they were provided with the necessary implements for killing deer in sufficient numbers for their subsistence.

As our establishments and population advanced to the northward of Cape Freels, so were they obliged to retreat from the coast, but thus necessitated, the cause was rooted in their minds and the injuries they wantonly received were handed down from one generation to another. Providence bountifully supplied all creation according to their necessities, the evil that forced the natives to retreat brought with it the means whereby they led a more independent life, for as the fisheries increased and settlers became more numerous so were they enabled to procure iron and other articles by plunder, and from wrecks. We now find them with the requisites for their present situation, and the country shows that they have progressively fallen back and are now occupying the most central position from whence they can emerge without difficulty, in canoes, by rivers and a succession of ponds to either side of the island. Although it is still imagined that they from necessity, all come to the sea coast in the summer, as their canoes were seen last summer in various places between Cape John and Cape Freels, and at the same period. This only tends to satisfy me more strongly in the opinion that their population is considerably more than is generally admitted, for circumstances determine that the greater number remains in the ponds and rivers for the purpose of procuring venison for the winter, and that those who come out are but a small division compared to the whole, or that they are small parties sent from the distant bodies for the purpose of collecting what may be of use to them, and particularly for building canoes, as they have not, for the want of birch in the interior, the means¹.

I have already stated the party that I came up with to be about 75 in number but surely it would be absurd to suppose that the whole of their tribe resided there. I will venture my ideas on the subject satisfied of their knowledge and respect for individual property and the great number of deer skins which were neatly dressed being so much more than equal to their own consumption. This would naturally lead us to conjecture that the overplus of skins was intended for barter for instance to exchange

¹ This is not correct, there is plenty of birch in the interior.

for canoes, iron and other articles brought in by those who came out to the seacoast. This is by no means unlikely, and coincides with the supposition that they live in independent companies, but having one principal chief. My leading reason for this conjecture is that those who come out do not return in time to lay in winter provisions; various inferences might be drawn on the subject. To venture even a guess of their total numbers would be hazarding too much. I am however inwardly convinced that their numbers are considerable and from what has been said may in some degree be drawn data from which those conversant in the rise and progress of population may form a reasonable conclusion.

Opinions are various as to their origin, some conceiving them to be from the continent of America, others, that they are of Norwegian extraction, nor can the veil of obscurity be removed until a free communication is opened with them. I had persons with me that could speak Norwegian and most of the dialects known in the North of Europe, but they could in no wise understand them. To me their tongue was a complete jargon uttered with much rapidity, and vehemence, and differing from all other Indian tribes that I had heard, whose language, generally flows in soft melodious sounds.

How far a continuation of leaving things for them might in time bring them to a friendly intercourse with us is not at present my object to enquire. I cannot however but express my strong desire that the business may be followed up until an opportunity occurs by which we may convince them of our good intentions towards them, and though I sensibly know and feel the effects of a winter journey to their abodes, and that it is attended with extreme labour, difficulty and risk, yet if other means fail, this with all its dangers I would again cheerfully undertake, but as far as respects the mere obtaining some of them, and which appears to me the first consideration, from the months of April to September is a likely time to fall in with them when out among the islands, extending from the river Exploits to the Wadhams, and from the river Exploits to Cape John, but to pursue this with success it is necessary to employ several boats. (Here follows a description of the country timber, &c.)

Had it not been for the disastrous fate of the two marines I should have esteemed my journey fortunate beyond all expectations. But however much I lament this circumstance, it by no means diminishes my hopes that every effort will be made to bring the natives into civil society, for it should be considered as a national object and ultimate success would wipe away a certain degree of stigma brought on us by the former barbarity of our countrymen. My opinion of the natives is not the worse for the fatal circumstance that has occurred, for I do not think the deed to have been premeditated. It is nevertheless impossible for me to assign a reason so to be freed from all doubt of the real cause of this unfortunate accident, but I may be permitted to suggest my ideas arising from reflection on the subject. Let it be observed that I had left the two unfortunate men without small arms, that the natives might have no cause for distrust, and without liquor lest it might lead them into improprieties. They were steady and well behaved, and my cautious injunctions for the guidance of

their conduct, I flatter myself were not disregarded. Thus far I am satisfied that no offence was given to the natives. I therefore attribute to the flight of the Indian that was accompanying us to our sledges, the source from which sprung the misfortune. What could induce him but his own apprehensions it is impossible to say, but not so with his conduct afterwards, for it is reasonable to suppose that on joining his companions he told a tale of wonder but such as not to call his courage in question, for we know the actions of fear are narrated as those of boldness. I shall now turn the imagination to the wigwams; behold the natives thrown all into commotion and expressing themselves in vehement gesticulations and hasty preparations making for their departure. Our men view these motions with astonishment and are perplexed as to the reason; various ideas rush on the mind, they fancy me to have been attacked by another body of them, and in the skirmish suppose the Indian to have escaped. Their span of life is drawing to a crisis, the natives are now setting out, and of course taking them along with them. Courage heightened into madness by their critical situation, they determine to attempt an escape. Alas! fatal error, had cool reason been their guide she would have pointed out the impossibility, for the appearance of fear is certain death from an Indian, thus in looking for security we often rush into inevitable destruction, and thus we reason when secure from danger. This may be said to be the fancy of imagination but this is surely a foundation for her to work upon. Many other circumstances might have produced the same result, for instance, another tribe might have arrived at the wigwams and not having themselves seen, would not trust the recital of our friendly interview: be this as it may, on the first conjecture I rest as next to a certainty. I trust that in this dilemma my subsequent movements will be approved of, for any further attempt at that time, to a subsequent interview would in all probability have produced direful consequences, for their unenlightened minds would look to us for nothing but retaliation, the line adopted by me may tend to remove such an impression from their minds. To have urged them by pursuit to acts of defence would not only be highly unjustifiable in my own sight, but would have been acting diametrically opposite to the orders and object I was entrusted to execute.

Surveyor General Noad is authority for the statement, that Buchan made another expedition this same season (1811) and was to have undertaken still another the next spring, Noad says,

"Capt. Buchan, on his return to St John's, after his ill fated expedition, sought and obtained permission from the Governor to return again in the summer, in the hope of meeting with the natives who came, at that season, to the seacoast to fish, but he was disappointed in not meeting with them. He merely succeeded in finding some recent traces of them. He still solicited and obtained leave to winter in St John's and go in quest of them early the ensuing spring. This request was also acceded to."

We have no other record of either of these latter expeditions, and with the exception of Governor Keats' proclamation of 1813, there does not appear to have been any effort made for at least five years to renew the attempt at opening communication with the natives, yet many complaints

Plate VI



Demasduit or Waunatoake
(May Mach)

Beothuk woman captured on Red Indian Lake, March 3th, 1819.

From engraving on Miss Philip Taylor's "Hudson's Bay."

of their continued depredations were made from time to time, by the settlers on the northern parts of the island.

My own impression is that Buchan made a great mistake in taking along with him so many of the furriers, those inveterate enemies of the poor Red man, whose very presence was alone sufficient to cause their distrust. I believe were he to have taken instead some of those Canadians, whom he mentions, Micmac's, Alkanakie's, or Mountaineers but especially the latter, they would have probably succeeded in making themselves understood by the natives, and thus his interview, which at first promised so well, might have resulted very differently, if indeed it were not crowned with complete success.

Proclamation issued by Governor Keats 1813.

In the name of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty King George III.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, It is His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's gracious will and pleasure that every kindness should be shown and encouragement given to the native Indians of this island, to enter into habits of intercourse and trade with His Majesty's subjects, resident or frequenting this Government.—ALL PERSONS are therefore hereby enjoined and required, to aid by all such means as may be in their power, the furtherance of this His Royal Highness's Pleasure. Such as may hereafter meet with any of the said Indians inhabitants are especially called upon by a kind and amicable demeanour to invite and encourage communication, and otherwise to cultivate and improve a friendly and familiar intercourse with this interesting people.—If any person shall succeed in establishing on a firm and settled footing an intercourse so much to be desired, he shall receive One hundred pounds as a reward for his meritorious services. But if any of His Majesty's subjects, contrary to the expression of these, His Royal Highness's commands, shall so far forget themselves, and be so lost to the sacred duties of Religion and Hospitality, as to exercise any cruelty, or be guilty of any illtreatment towards this inoffensive people, they may expect to be punished with the utmost rigour of the Law.

Given under my hand at Fort Townshend
Saint John's Newfoundland, this 10th
day of August 1813. In the fifty third
year of His Majesty's Reign.
(signed) R. G. Keats Governor.

By Command of His Excellency
"countersigned" P. C. Le Geyt.

Capture of Mary March (Demasduit) on Red Indian Lake, in the month of March 1819.

Various versions of this event have appeared from time to time in our histories and other publications, but as numerous discrepancies characterize these accounts, I prefer to give the story as I had it from the lips of the late John Peyton, J.P. of Twillingate, himself the actual captor of the Beothuck woman¹.

¹ Note from Peyton's diary of date March 18, 1819. "On the night of the 15th of September, 1818, between the hours of 12 and 1:2 past 1, the wild Indians cut adrift from the wharf at Lower

The circumstance which lead to the capture of Mary March is related thus by Mr Peyton. While prosecuting the salmon fishery and fur trade in the bay and river of Exploits, he was much tormented by the depredations of the Indians, who came, usually in the night time, and pilfered everything they could lay hands upon. The articles stolen were not often of great value, and consisted generally of such things as knives, axes, traps, hooks, lines rope canvass &c. Annoying as this undoubtedly was Mr Peyton bore with it for a long time, and without using any retaliative measures. At length the Indians became so emboldened as to commit a theft and act of destruction of more than ordinary character, which he could not overlook. Mr P. was living at the time at Lower Sandy Point, in the Bay of Exploits, his house and stores stood upon the sloping bank of the river and a long wharf, built on piers, extended from the shore out to the deep water. On this occasion, his large open boat, loaded with the seasons produce, lay at the head of the wharf, ready to proceed down the bay to market. It was one of those old style of boats, open amidship, with a cuddy at the forward and after ends, somewhat on the lines of the ancient caraval. Besides the cargo of salmon and furs, Mr P. had stowed away in the cuddies his clothes, bedding, and several articles of value, including two silver watches, and some coins which were in his vest pockets, and there were also two guns and ammunition, culinary and other utensils aboard for use on the voyage.

Everything being in readiness, he and his crew were awaiting daylight and the turn of the tide to proceed on their journey. The night was very dark, and knowing that the Indians were about, a strict watch was kept, but seeing no prospect of a favourable time up till past midnight, he directed his men to lie down and take a rest while he himself would remain on guard. He took frequent turns up and down the wharf, and at one time said he thought he descried a dark object lying on the beach not far off which he was about to investigate, when one of his men assured him it was a splitting table that had been left there during the day, so he did not pay further heed to it. As the night drew on and everything appeared quiet, he concluded nothing would be disturbed during the few remaining hours before dawn, so feeling somewhat tired himself, he took one more thorough survey and then retired to the house to rest awhile. He threw himself down on a couch without removing his clothing, but he was so restless and uneasy that he could not sleep. An hour or so may have elapsed, when he jumped up and again visited the wharf. To his great mortification he found the boat with all its effects gone, and in the inky darkness could find no clue to the direction taken by the marauders.

He now called all his crew, and as soon as daylight made its appearance, started in pursuit. After many hours search they at length found the boat hauled up in a small creek at the mouth of Charles' Brook, away down on the other side of the bay. She was completely rifled, everything

Sandy Point, Exploits, a boat loaded with salmon. The boat was found the next day, stranded on an island near Grego, or gray gull Island, sails gone and considerable other property stolen or destroyed. Guns, pistols, watch, money and many articles of personal apparel too numerous to mention. Cargo but little damaged.

of a portable nature, including the cordage and sails being carried off. The guns alone, battered and broken, and otherwise rendered perfectly useless, were found in the bed of the brook not far away. To follow up the trail just then would be very difficult and most probably futile. Mr Peyton accordingly proceeded to St John's and laid the whole matter before the authorities whom, he said, were very reluctant to believe his story. The Governor, Sir Charles Hamilton, however, gave full credence to it, and empowered Mr Peyton to search for his stolen property, and if possible try and capture one of the Indians alive.

Armed with this authority he chose the following winter, 1819, to make the attempt. At that season of the year the travelling on the frozen surface of the river would be easiest, and the Indians who would then have retired to their winter quarters in the interior would be least suspicious of being disturbed. He chose the month of March to make the journey, this month being always considered the best for winter travelling, owing to the settled character of the snow and hardness of the surface. With half a dozen of his hardy furriers he set out to traverse the Exploits River, but instead of following its entire course to Red Indian Lake, as Buchan had done, he turned off to the right some distance below, rightly conjecturing that by so doing he would strike the lake near the head of the NE. Arm, where he expected the Indians would be encamped. His party reached the shore of the lake one afternoon late, but in time to observe the smoke of three wigwams on the north side, nearly opposite to where Buchan had found them encamped. Although the night proved intensely cold Peyton would not allow his men to kindle a fire lest the Indians should detect their presence. They sheltered themselves as best they could in a deep gully near the mouth of a small brook, and at the first appearance of daylight were on the move towards the wigwams, where they arrived before the occupants had yet awakened. They then surrounded them, but the Indians being aroused, darted forth and fled in all directions, some through the woods, others out on the frozen surface of the lake, before any of them could be secured. Being, as he said, a young active man at that time, Peyton determined to try and outrun some of them. Divesting himself of superfluous clothing, he gave chase to the nearest one on the lake, who seemed to lag somewhat behind the rest, and soon found that he gained considerably on this individual. After a while the Indian began to show evident signs of exhaustion, and finally stopped and made supplication for mercy. She, for it proved to be a woman, tore open her deer-skin cossack exposing her bosom in an appeal to his manhood. In order to reassure her and allay her fears, he cast his gun aside into a bank of soft snow and then leisurely approached her with signs of amity, he laid hold of her and endeavoured to lead her back. He was now considerably in advance of his party who were following on behind, and as he tried to drag the woman with him some of the Indians turned and approached him. One powerful looking fellow came up furiously brandishing a bright new axe with which he would certainly have killed Mr Peyton had not his men just then arrived on the scene and prevented it. The Indians then moved off and the party, taking the woman along with them

returned to the wigwams which with their contents they thoroughly overhauled. One of the three wigwams was covered with the stolen boat sails, the other two as usual with birch bark. Inside were found many of the pilfered articles belonging to Mr Peyton, besides several others similarly appropriated from other parties. They consisted of kettles, knives, axes, fish hooks and fishing lines &c. Some of the axes were quite new, and Mr P. afterwards learned that they had been stolen from a store in White Bay the previous fall.

The watches had been broken into small pieces, which together with the coins were strung on deer-skin thongs, passed through holes drilled in them, and presumably intended for necklaces, amulets or some such adornment.

Mr Peyton did not think there were more than fourteen or fifteen individuals in these three wigwams, but it was impossible to count them as they darted through the woods.

His party now retreated as they had come taking the woman with them, keeping a close watch all the time lest she should escape which she made attempts to do. Once while all were asleep she nearly succeeded. Taking off her outer deer-skin robe and placing it on the snow she noiselessly crawled along, dragging the skin after her to deaden the sound of her footsteps, or obliterate her track in the snow. She had gained a considerable distance when her absence was noticed, but she was soon recaptured and brought back. After this she made no further attempt but kept close to Mr P. all the time, as though for protection, no doubt recognising in him the leader of the party and a man superior in every way to his fellows.

The woman was successfully conveyed to the shore, and according to Pedley, "was placed under the care of the Episcopal missionary of Twillingate." She appeared to be about twenty-three years of age, was of a gentle disposition, and intelligent enough to acquire and retain many English words which she was taught. It was ascertained that she had a child of three or four years old; it therefore became an object, dictated by the first feelings of humanity to restore her to her tribe. She was first brought to St John's, where she remained several months, exciting a strong and kindly interest towards herself by her modest intelligent demeanour, she was everywhere treated with the greatest consideration and loaded down with presents by all parties. It is stated that she was allowed to go into the shops, select whatever she fancied, and take it away without question. Lieut. now Capt. Buchan was again selected by the Governor, and entrusted with the charge of returning her to her people, and great hopes were entertained that the recital of all she saw and of the kindly treatment meted out to her, would at last convince her tribe that nothing but amity and good feeling was desired by the whites henceforth.

Buchan proceeded to the Bay of Exploits with the woman in the autumn of 1820, in his ship the *Grasshopper*, which was again selected for the winter at the same place as the *Adonis* in Ship Cove, now Botwood. Here he awaited the freezing up of the bay and river, before making the attempt to ascend to Red Indian Lake. Unfortunately,

all his hopes were frustrated by the sad death of poor Mary March, on board his ship, Jan. the 8th 1820. Alas! this sad event was destined to frustrate the object of the expedition, and dash all the high hopes which it was expected to achieve. There was nothing left for him to do, but to convey the poor remains of the woman back to the place from whence she was taken. Her body was enshrouded in a neat deal coffin together with such trinkets as she had shown a preference for, including two wooden dolls much affected by her, a copper plate was also placed upon the coffin with her name, probable age, and date of her capture and death engraved thereon. While these preparations were in progress, the ship's armourer was employed in making a number of iron spear and arrow heads, all stamped with the broad arrow, to be presented to the Indians, should they be met with; or otherwise distributed along the banks of the river; where they could easily find them.

When the ice was sufficiently strong the party, consisting of 60 marines and blue jackets, with Mr Peyton and a few of his men as guides, set out on the journey up country. They dragged after them several sledges, constructed for the purpose, loaded with 32 cwt. of provisions, goods, and presents for the Indians. After passing the Grand Falls, twenty men were sent back, and afterwards batches of three or four, according as the loads grew lighter, and the men became fatigued. At a point on the river about 40 miles up, Mr Peyton, who was in advance, struck his snow-shoe against something buried in the snow, which on examination proved to be the fresh frozen liver of a deer. Judging from this circumstance that the Indians could not be far off, he wished to make a search in the neighbourhood with a few of his men, but Capt. Buchan would not consent to dividing the party. They therefore proceeded onward to the lake, but found it entirely deserted. The three wigwams of last year were still standing, but had not apparently, been tenanted for some time. Through the roof of one of the wigwams they stuck two stout poles, and hoisting up the coffin containing Mary March's remains, lashed it firmly to the projecting ends of the poles, so as to place it beyond the reach of wolves or other wild animals.

After an ineffectual search about the lake Capt. Buchan concluded to make a detour on his return journey, persuaded thereto by Mr Peyton. Instead of following the course of the river back to the bay the party struck into the country from the head of the NE. Arm of the lake, and made a circuit of Hodges' Hill, coming out on the shore of Badger Bay Lake. No further indications of the Indians were met with in this journey, and the men becoming wearied with the long toilsome tramp, began to murmur loudly particularly the blue jackets who accused Peyton of having led them astray, and lost them. In order to reassure them that he knew where he was he brought them to a place where he showed them some of his traps with his name stamped on them. They now abandoned the search and returning to the sea coast rejoined their ships.

There is another version of the capture of Mary March which was

¹ I have one of those iron spear heads now in my possession. Although modelled after the Indians' own spears, Peyton avowed they were not nearly so well made.

published in the *Liverpool Mercury* of date — written by an anonymous correspondent, who alleges that he accompanied Peyton's party and was witness to the whole transaction. This person appears to have been an agent for one of the mercantile firms at Fogo, and was on a visitation to some lumber camps belonging to his firm in the Bay of Exploits when the expedition was about setting out. He asked to be allowed to accompany it, which request was granted. His account coincides, in most particulars with that already given, except in some minor details, but it also contains some interesting particulars not there stated. It bears every evidence of being reliable; so without repeating what is unnecessary, I will give, in his own words, such further facts as are of interest in this connection.

Note.

Mr Peyton afterwards learned from the woman Shanawdithit, the full particulars of the manner in which his boat was stolen. She was present all the time and knew every incident connected with this event. As Mr P. rightly conjectured, it appears the Indians were watching all his movements very closely. There was a high wooded ridge behind his house, which from its peculiar outline had been named *Canoe Hill*. It bore some resemblance to a canoe turned bottom up. One tall birch tree on the summit of this ridge, still standing at the time of my first visit (1871), was pointed out by Shanawdithit as the lookout from whence the Indians observed Peyton's movements, during several days preceding the depredation. She also informed him, that when he paid his last visit of inspection to the long wharf, before the taking of the boat, that the Indians were actually hidden in their canoe beneath the wharf, but kept so perfectly motionless, that in the dense darkness he did not observe their presence.

TRIBE OF RED INDIANS.

To the Editor of the "Liverpool Mercury."

Sir,

Observing among the deaths in the *Mercury* of September 18th that of "Shanawdithit" supposed to be the last of the "Red Indians" or aborigines of Newfoundland, I am tempted to offer a few remarks on the subject, convinced as I am that she cannot be the last of the tribe by many hundreds. Having resided a considerable time in that part of the north of Newfoundland which they most frequented, and being one of the party who captured Mary March in 1810, I have embodied into a narrative the events connected with her capture, which I am confident will gratify many of your readers.

Proceeding northward, the country gradually assumes a more fertile appearance; the trees, which in the south are, except in a few places, stunted in their growth, now begin to assume a greater height and strength till you reach the neighbourhood of Exploits River and Bay; here the timber is of a good size and quality, and in sufficient quantity to serve the purposes of the inhabitants.—both here and at Trinity Bay some very fine vessels have been built.—To Exploits Bay it was that the Red Indians came every summer for the purpose of fishing, the place abounding with salmon. No part of the Bay was inhabited; the islands at the mouth consisting of Twillingate, Exploits island, and Burnt islands, had a few inhabitants. There were also several small harbours in a large island, the name of which I now forget, including Herring Neck and Morton. In 1820 the population of Twillingate amounted to 730, and that of all the other places might perhaps

¹ This is New-World Island.

amount to as many more;—they were chiefly the descendants of West England settlers; and having many of them been for several generations without religions or moral instruction of any kind, were immersed in the lowest state of ignorance and vice. Latterly, however, churches have been built and schools established, and I have been credibly informed that the moral and intellectual state of the people is much improved. While I was there the church was opened, and I must say that the people came in crowds to attend a place of worship, many of them coming 15 and 20 miles purposely to attend. On the first settlement of the country, the Indians naturally viewed the intruders with a jealous eye, and some of the settlers having repeatedly robbed their nets &c., they retaliated and stole several boats sails, implements of iron &c. The settlers in return mercilessly shot all the Indians they could meet with;—in fact so fearful were the latter of fire arms, that in an open space one person with a gun would frighten a hundred; when concealed among the bushes, however, they often made a most desperate resistance. I have heard an old man named Rogers, living on Twillingate Great Island boast that he had shot at different periods above sixty of them. So late as 1817 this wretch, accompanied by three others, one day discovered nine unfortunate Indians lying asleep on a small island far up the bay. Loading their guns very heavily, they rowed up to them and each taking aim fired. One only rose, and rushing into the water, endeavored to swim to another island, close by, covered with wood; but the merciless wretch followed in the boat, and butchered the poor creature in the water with an axe, then took the body to the shore and piled it on those of the other eight, whom his companions had in the meantime put out of their misery. He minutely described to me the spot, and I afterwards visited the place, and found their bones in a heap, bleached and whitened with the winters blast.

I have now I think said enough to account for the shyness of the Indians towards the settlers, but could relate many other equally revolting scenes, some of which I shall hereafter touch upon. In 1815 or 1816¹, Lieutenant, now Captain Buchan, set out on an expedition to endeavour to meet with the Indians, for the purpose of opening a friendly communication with them. He succeeded in meeting with them, and the intercourse seemed firmly established, so much so, that two of them consented to go and pass the night with Capt. Buchan's party he leaving two of his men who volunteered to stop. On returning to the Indians' encampment in the morning, accompanied by the two who had remained all night, on approaching the spot, the two Indians manifested considerable disquietude, and after exchanging a few glances with each other, broke from their conductors and rushed into the woods. On arriving at the encampment, Capt. Buchan's poor fellows lay on the ground a frightful spectacle, their heads being severed from their bodies, and almost cut to pieces.

In the summer of 1818 a person who had established a salmon fishery at the mouth of the Exploits River, had a number of articles stolen by the Indians: they consisted of a gold watch, left accidentally in the boat, the boats, sails some hatchets cordage and iron implements. He therefore resolved on sending an expedition into the country, in order to recover his property.

The day before the party set off I arrived accidentally, at the house, taking a survey of numerous bodies of wood cutters belonging to the establishment with which I was connected. The only time anyone can penetrate into the interior is in the winter season, the lakes and rivers being frozen over, even the Bay of Exploits, though salt water, was then (the end of January) frozen for sixty miles. Having proposed to accompany the party they immediately consented. Our equipment consisted of a musket, bayonet, and hatchet; to each of the servants, a pistol; Mr — and myself had, in addition, another pistol and a dagger, and a doubled

¹ This is a mistake in the date, it should have been 1810, 1811.

² As may be seen from Capt. Buchan's own narrative, the author is not quite correct here, only one of the Indians remained with Buchan's party.

barrel gun instead of a musket; each carried a pair of snow shoes, a supply of eight pounds of biscuits and a piece of pork, ammunition, and one quart of rum; besides, we had a light sled and four dogs, who took it in turns in dragging the sled, which contained a blanket for each man, rum and other necessaries. We depended on our guns for a supply of provisions, and at all times could meet with plenty of partridge and hares, though there were few days we did not kill a deer. The description of one day's journey will suffice for all, there being but little variation. The snow was all the time about eight feet deep.

On the morning of our departure we set off in good spirits up the river, and after following its course for about twelve miles, arrived at the rapids, a deer at full speed passed us; I fired, and it fell the next instant, a wolf in full pursuit made his appearance; on seeing the party he halted for an instant, and then rushed forward as if to attack us. Mr ——— however, anticipated him; for taking a steady aim and at the same time sitting coolly on an old tree, he passed a bullet through the fellows head, who was soon stretched a corpse on the snow, a few minutes after another appeared, when several firing together he also fell, roaring and howling for a long time, when one of the men went and knocked him on the head with a hatchet.

And now ye effeminate feather-bed loungers, where do you suppose we were to sleep? There was no comfortable hotel to receive us; not even a house where a board informs the benighted traveller that there is "entertainment for man and horse," not even the skeleton of a wigwam; the snow eight feet deep,—the thermometer nineteen degrees below the freezing point. Everyone having disencumbered himself of his load, proceeded with his hatchet to cut down the small fir and birch trees. The thick part of the trees was cut in lengths, and heaped up in two piles between which a sort of wigwam was formed of the branches; a number of small twigs of trees, to the depth of about three feet were laid on the snow for a bed; and having lighted the pile of wood on each side, some prepared venison steaks for supper while others skinned the two wolves, in order, with the deerskin to form a covering to the wigwam; this some opposed as being a luxury we should not every day obtain. Supper being ready, we ate heartily and having melted some snow for water, we made some hot toddy, that is, rum, butter, hot water and sugar; a song was proposed, and acceded to; and thus in the midst of a dreary desert far from the voice of our fellow men, we sat cheerful and contented, looking forward to the morrow without dread, anxious to renew our labors. After about an hour this spent the watch was appointed, and each wrapped in his blanket; we vied in convincing each other with the nasal organ, which was in the soundest sleep; mine was the last watch about an hour before daybreak. The Aurora Borealis rolled in awful splendour across the deep blue sky, but I will not tire my readers with a description. When the first glimpse of morn showed itself in the light clouds floating in the Eastern horizon, I awoke my companions, and by the time it was sufficiently light, we had breakfasted and were ready to proceed. Cutting off enough of the deer skin the night before, we proceeded on our journey, leaving the rest to the wolves. Each day and night was a repetition of the same; the country being in some places tolerably level, in general covered with wood, but occasionally barren tracts, where sometimes for miles not a tree was to be seen. Mr ——— instructed the men in which way he wished them to act, informing them that his object was to open a friendly communication with the Indians, rather than act on the principle of intimidating them by revenge; that if they avoided him, he should endeavour to take one or two prisoners and bring them with him, in order that by the civilization of one or two an intercourse might be established that would end in their permanent civilization. He strictly exhorted them not to use undue violence; everyone was strictly enjoined not to fire on any account. About three O'clock in the afternoon two men, who then led the party were about two hundred yards before the rest; three deer closely followed by a pack of wolves, issued from the woods on the left, and bounded across the lake, passing very near the men, whom they totally disregarded.

The men incautiously fired at them. We were then about half a mile from the point of land that almost intersected the lake, and in a few minutes we saw it covered with Indians, who instantly retired. The alarm was given; we soon reached the point; about five hundred yards on the other side we saw the Indians' houses, and the Indians, men, women and children rushing from them, across the lake¹, here about a mile broad. Hurrying on we quickly came to the houses; when within a short distance from the last house, three men and a woman carrying a child issued forth. One of the men took the infant from her, and their speed soon convinced us of the futility of pursuit, the woman however, did not run so fast. Mr —— loosened his provision bag from his back and let it fall, threw away his gun and hatchet and set off at a speed that soon overtook the woman. One man and myself did the same, except our guns. The rest, picking up our things followed. On overtaking the woman, she instantly fell on her knees, and tearing open the cossack, (a dress composed of deer-skin bound with fur, showing her breasts to prove she was a woman, and begged for mercy. In a few moments we were by Mr ——'s side. Several of the Indians, with the three who had quitted the house with the woman, now advanced, while we retreated towards the shore. At length we stopped and they did the same. After a pause three of them laid down their bows, with which they were armed, and came within two hundred yards. We then presented our guns, intimating that not more than one would be allowed to approach. They retired and fetched their arms, when one, the ill fated husband of Mary March, our captive, advanced with a branch of a fir tree (spruce) in his hand. When about ten yards off he stopped and made a long oration. He spoke at least ten minutes; towards the last his gesture became very animated and his eye "shot fire." He concluded very mildly, and advancing, shook hands with many of the party—then he attempted to take his wife from us; being opposed in this he drew from beneath his cossack, an axe, the whole of which was finely polished, and brandished it over our heads. On two or three pieces² being presented, he gave it up to Mr —— who then intimated that the woman must go with us, but that he might go also if he pleased, and that in the morning both should have their liberty. At the same time two of the men began to conduct her towards the houses. On this being done he became infuriated, and rushing towards her strove to drag her from them; one of the men rushed forward and stabbed him in the back with a bayonet; turning round, at a blow he laid the fellow at his feet; the next instant he knocked down another and rushing on—like a child laid him on his back, and seizing his dirk from his belt brandished it over his head, the next instant it would have been buried in him had I not with both hands seized his arm; he shook me off in an instant, while I measured my length on the ice; Mr —— then drew a pistol from his girdle and fired. The poor wretch first staggered then fell on his face; while writhing in agonies, he seemed for a moment to stop; his muscles stiffened; slowly and gradually he raised himself from the ice, turned round, and with a wild gaze surveyed us all in a circle around him. Never shall I forget the figure he exhibited; his hair hanging on each side of his sallow face; his bushy beard³ clotted with the blood that flowed from his mouth and nose; his eyes flashing fire, yet with the glass of death upon them,—they fixed on the individual who first stabbed him. Slowly he raised the hand that still grasped young ——'s dagger, till he raised it considerably above his head, when uttering a yell that made the woods echo, he rushed at him. The man fired as he advanced, and the noble Indian again fell on his face; a few moments struggle, and he lay a stiffened corpse on the icy surface of the limpid waters. The woman for a moment seemed scarcely to notice the corpse, in a few minutes however, she showed a little motion; but it was not until

¹ What I saw I should estimate at from three to four hundred, including women and children: of this however hereafter. This does not at all tally with Mr Peyton's estimate.

² Muskets.

³ The possession of a beard is very unusual amongst full blooded Indians.

obliged to leave the remains of her husband that she gave way to grief, and vented her sorrow in the most heartbreaking lamentations. While the scene which I have described was acting, and which occurred in almost less space than the description can be read, a number of Indians had advanced within a short distance, but seeing the untimely fate of their chief halted. Mr — fired over their heads, and they immediately fled. The banks of the lake, on the other side, were at this time covered with men women and children, at least several hundreds; but immediately being joined by their companions all disappeared in the woods. We then had time to think. For my part I could scarcely credit my senses, as I beheld the remains of the noble fellow stretched on the ice, crimsoned with his already frozen blood. One of the men then went to the shore for some fir tree boughs to cover the body, which measured as it lay, 6 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The fellow who first stabbed him wanted to strip off his cossack, (a garment made of deer skin, lined with beaver and other skins, reaching to the knees), but met with so stern a rebuke from —, that he instantly desisted, and slunk abashed away.

After covering the body with boughs, we proceeded towards the Indian houses — the woman often required force to take her along. On examining them, we found no living creature, save a bitch and her whelps, about two months old. The houses of these Indians are very different to those of the other tribes of North America; they are built of straight pieces of fir about twelve feet high, flattened at the sides, and driven in the earth close to each other; the corners being much stronger than the other parts. The crevices are filled up with moss, and the inside entirely lined with the same material; the roof is raised so as to slant from all parts and meet in a point at the centre, where a hole is left for the smoke to escape; the remainder of the roof is covered with a treble coat of birch bark, and between the first and second layers of bark is about six inches of moss; about the chimney clay is substituted for it.

On entering one of the houses I was astonished at the neatness which reigned within. The sides of the tenement were covered with arms,—bows, arrows, clubs, axes of iron (stolen from the settlers) stone hatchets, arrow heads, in fact, implements of war and for the chase, but all arranged in the neatest order, and apparently every mans' property carefully put together. At one end was a small image, or rather a board, carved rudely out of a block of wood, round the neck was hung the case of a watch, and on a board close by, the works of the watch which had been carefully taken to pieces, and hung on small pegs on the board; the whole were surrounded with the main spring. In the other houses the remainder of the articles stolen were found. Beams were placed across where the roof began; over which smaller ones were laid; on these were piled a considerable quantity of dried venison and salmon, together with a little codfish. On — taking down the watch and works, and bringing the image over to the fire the woman surveyed him with anger, and in a few minutes made free with her tongue, her manner showing us that she was not unused to scolding. When Mr — saw it displeased her, he rather irreverently threw the log on one side; on this she rose in a rage, and would, had not her hands been fastened, have inflicted summary vengeance for the insult offered to the hideous idol. Wishing to pacify her he rose, and taking his *reverence* carefully up, placed him where he had taken him from. This pacified her. I must here do the poor creature the justice to say, that I never afterwards saw her out of temper.

A watch was set outside; and having partaken of the Indian's fare, we began to talk over the events of the day. Both — and myself bitterly reproached the man who first stabbed the unfortunate native; for though he acted violently, still there was no necessity for the brutal act,—besides, the untaught Indian was only doing that which every man ought to do,—he came to rescue his wife from the hands of her captors, and nobly lost his life in his attempt to save her. — here declared that he would rather have defeated the object of his journey a hundred times than have sacrificed the life of one Indian. The fellow merely replied, "it was only an Indian, and he wished he had shot a hundred instead of one." The

poor woman was now tied securely, we having, on consideration, deemed it for the best to take her with us, so that by kind treatment and civilization she might, in the course of time, be returned to her tribe, and be the means of effecting a lasting reconciliation between them and the settlers.

After the men had laid themselves down around the fire, and the watch was set outside the door, Mr — and myself remained up and, in a low voice talked over the events of the day. We then decided on remaining to rest for three or four days; and in the meantime, to endeavour to find the Indians. I would I could now describe how insensibly we glided from one subject to another; religion—politics—country—home sweet home;—alternately occupied our attention; and, thus in the midst of a dreary waste far away from the haunts of civilized man, we sat contentedly smoking our pipes; and Englishman-like, settled the affairs of *nations* over a glass of rum and water—ever and anon drinking a health to each *friend* and *fair*, who rose uppermost in our thoughts. From this the subject turned to "specific gravity." Here an argument commenced. When illustrating a position I had advanced, by the ascension of the smoke from my pipe, we both turned up our eyes to witness its progress upwards; on looking towards the aperture in the roof what was our astonishment at beholding the faces of two Indians, calmly surveying us in the quiet occupation of their abode. In an instant we shouted "The Indians!" and in a moment every one was on the alert, and each taking his arms rushed to the door—no creature was to be seen; in vain we looked around;—no trace save the marks of footsteps on the snow, was to be discovered, but these seemed almost innumerable. We fired about a dozen shots into the woods, and then retired to our dwelling—and I then resolved to take alternate watch, and every half hour at least to walk around the house. During the night, however, we were not again disturbed, save by the howling of wolves and barking of foxes.

(signed) E. S.

Still another account of the capture and death of Mary March with added details of much interest, appears in a lecture delivered by the Hon. Joseph Noad, Surveyor General of the Colony, in 1859, before the Mechanics' Institute at St John's. There is internal evidence that Mr Noad derived most of his information direct from Mr John Peyton, also from Mr W. E. Cormack, with both of whom he must have been personally acquainted. Cormack again derived his information partly from the Beothuck woman Shanawdithit, which renders it all the more interesting.

After relating the circumstances which led to Mr Peyton's expedition up the Exploits in 1819, pretty much as already given, he goes on to state, that on the 1st of March, 1819, the expedition set out with a most anxious desire, as they asserted, of being able to take some of the Indians and thus through them, to open a friendly communication with the rest. The leader of the party giving strict orders not on any account to commence hostilities without positive directions. On the 2nd of March a few wigwags were seen and examined, they appeared to have been frequented by the Indians during spring and autumn for the purpose of killing deer. On the 3rd a fireplace on the side of a brook was seen, where some Indians had recently slept. On the 4th the party reached a storehouse belonging to the Indians and on entering it they found five traps, and recognised them as the property of persons in Twillingate, as also part of a boat's jib,

¹ This was probably some member of the Slade family, whose firm carried on an extensive mercantile trade all over Notre Dame Bay, their principal establishment being located at Twillingate, with branch houses in all the settled harbours.

footprints were seen about the storehouse and these tracks were followed with speed and caution. On the 5th the party reached a very large pond¹, and footmarks of two or more Indians were distinctly discovered and soon after an Indian was seen walking in the direction of the spot where the party were concealed while three other Indians were observed further off going in a contrary direction. The curiosity of the whole party being strongly excited the leader of them showed himself openly on the point. When the Indian discovered him she was for a moment motionless, then screamed violently and ran off—at this time the persons in pursuit were in ignorance as to whether the Indian was male or female. One of the party immediately started in pursuit, but did not gain on her until he had taken off his jacket and rackets, when he came up with her fast; as she kept looking back at her pursuer over her shoulder. He dropped his gun on the snow and held up his hands to show her he was unarmed, and on pointing to his gun which was some distance behind, she stopped,—he did the same, then he advanced and gave her his hand, she gave hers to him and to all the party as they came up. Seven or eight Indians were then seen repeatedly running off and on the pond, and shortly three of them came towards the party—the woman spoke to them and two of the Indians joined the English, while the third remained some 100 yards off. Something being observed under the cassock of one of them, he was searched, and a hatchet taken from him. The two Indians then took hold of the man who had seized the woman, and endeavoured to force her away from him, but not succeeding in this, one of them tried to get possession of three different guns, and at last succeeded in getting hold of one, which he tried to wrest from the man who held it: not being able to accomplish this the Indian seized the Englishman by the throat, and the danger being imminent, three shots were fired, all so simultaneously that it appeared as if only one gun had been discharged. The Indian dropped, and his companions immediately fled. In extenuation of this most deplorable event, to say the least of it, it is said, "Could we have intimidated him, or persuaded him to leave us, or even have seen the others go off, we should have been most happy to have spared using violence—but when it is remembered that our small party were in the heart of the Indian country a hundred miles from any European settlement, and that there were in our sight at times, as many Indians as our party amounted to, and we could not ascertain how many were in the woods that we did not see, it could not be avoided with safety to ourselves. Had destruction been our object, we might have carried it much further."

The death of this Indian was subsequently brought before the Grand Jury, and that body having enquired into the circumstances connected with it, made the following statement in its presentment to the Court. "It appears that the deceased came to his death in consequence of an attack upon the party in search of them, and his subsequent obstinacy in not desisting when repeatedly menaced by some of the party for that purpose, and the peculiar situation of the searching party and their men, was such as to warrant their acting on the defensive."

¹ Red Indian Lake.

Thus perished the illfated husband of poor Mary March, and she herself from the moment her hand was touched by the whiteman, became the child of sorrow, a character which never left her, until she became shrouded in an early tomb. Among her tribe she was known as "Demasdo-weet," her husband's name was "No-nos-law-süt."

In the official report Mary March is described as a young woman of about twenty-three years of age, of a gentle and interesting disposition, acquiring and retaining without any difficulty any words she was taught. She had one child, who, as was subsequently ascertained, died a couple of days after its mother's capture¹. She was taken to Twillingate where she was placed under the care of Revd. Mr Leigh, Episcopal Missionary; who on the opening of spring came with her to St John's. During the summer a small sloop was sent back with her to the northward. The commander was to proceed to the summer haunts of the Indians and restore her to her people, but he was unsuccessful in finding them, and he returned to St John's.

Capt. Buchan in the *Grasshopper* was subsequently sent. He left St John's in September 1819 for Exploits Bay to winter there. Poor Mary March died on board the vessel at the mouth of the river, and her remains were conveyed up to Red Indian Lake by Buchan as already related.

Mary March or "Demasluit," according to herself had another name, "Wannathoake."

It was subsequently learnt from Shanawdithit, that the Indians saw Buchan's party passing up the river with the body of Mary March. They were, as Peyton conjectured, camped at the time in the woods, not far from where he saw the fresh liver of a deer, but on seeing the white men they lay very close till the latter had passed on out of sight. They then immediately broke camp and proceeded cautiously down to the sea shore by devious routes, there they concealed themselves and remained till they saw Buchan's party return and go aboard the ship. They then went back again and visited the Great Lake where they found the body suspended from the poles struck through the roof of the wigwam. They took it down and opened the coffin with their axes, on seeing its contents, they prepared a grave in which they placed the body together with that of her husband and child. Mr W. E. Cormack afterwards saw this grave in 1827, and recognised the remains of Mary March from the plate that had been placed on the coffin by Buchan.

According to Bonnycastle, "Mary March, it is said, had hair much like that of an European, but was of a copper colour with black eyes. Her natural disposition was docile; and although fifty years old (?), she was very active, and her whole demeanour agreeable; in this respect, as well as in her appearance, she was very different from the Micmacs, or any other Indians we are acquainted with."

¹ This information was derived from Shanawdithit.

² Apparently Bonnycastle was misinformed, all other accounts represent her as a young woman some 23 or 24 years of age.

Further references to Buchan's Two Expeditions, taken from the London "Times," in the British Museum, copied by Engineer Lieut. R. A. Howley, 1906.

LONDON "TIMES," Nov. 27th, 1811.

Extract of a letter from St John's, dated Aug. 1, 1811.

"Lieut. Buchan returned from his expedition up the Bay of Exploits, about a month ago. It appears, that in the month of January he, with a party of sixteen or seventeen of the crew of the 'Adonis' in exploring the interior of the country, came up with three wigwams, occupied by about seventy of the native Indians, by whom he and his party were received in a friendly manner; that after staying with them some time, he endeavoured to make known to them his intention of returning, for the purpose of presenting them with such articles as he had been supplied with, and which he apparently made them understand, would contribute to their comfort and convenience. Four of the natives voluntarily went with him; and two of his marines, with equal confidence, agreed to remain with the Indians until his return. Three out of the four Indians, however, parted from him in the course of the first day; the other remained with him all night, and returned with him and his party, back to the wigwams the next morning, which, they found, had been totally abandoned, and at no great distance from which, they found the dead bodies of the two marines they had left behind, both of whom had been murdered and their heads severed from their bodies; upon discovering which the remaining Indian ran off with the utmost speed, and neither him, nor any of the others, were they able to come up with afterwards.

Thus, unfortunately, has ended our attempt to open a friendly intercourse with the natives of this Island. Lieut. Buchan says, that he clearly understood, by signs which they repeatedly made to him to cross over an adjoining lake, that their principal encampment was in that neighbourhood and that they were much more numerous than we had formed any idea of. He seems anxious to engage in a second expedition, but thinks it advisable to send a considerable augmentation of force to ensure success to the undertaking. Whether any further attempt will be made at present, or not, is uncertain."

LONDON "TIMES," July 10th, 1820.

"We learn by letters just received here from Newfoundland, dated June 5th that the expedition which left St John's in the autumn of last year, under the direction of Capt. Buchan of H.M.S. 'Grasshopper' having for its object, to open a communication with the aborigines of the island, by way of the Bay of Exploits, had failed, and that skilful and intelligent officer with his persevering companions, had returned.

It appears, that the 'Grasshopper,' having reached the river, from St John's, in December last, was housed over, and made secure, to enable the persons left on board to encounter the inclemency of a Newfoundland winter. Mary March the female native Indian prisoner, who was to have been the medium of communication with her native friends died on board the 'Grasshopper,' before the expedition could set out from the Bay of Exploits.

About the middle of January, Captain Buchan, Mr C. Waller midshipman, the Boatswain, and about sixty men, proceeded with sleighs on the ice, containing their provisions &c., as also the body of the female Indian; and the spot, having been pointed out by Mr Peyton, a merchant who accompanied the expedition, where the rencontre took place between his party and the Indians, when the husband of Mary March was killed, her body, ornamented with trinkets &c. was deposited alongside that of her husband.

Plot VII



John Peyton, J.P. Twillingate

The man who captured Mary March in 1839. He was then carrying on a fish and fur trade in Bay of Exploits. *V.P.H.*

Captain Buchan continued a research of 40 days, but was not able to discover the slightest trace of the native Indians. Whether they had fled to some other part of the island, or had been exterminated by the Esquimaux¹ Indians, who, to obtain the furs with which they are covered are known to invariably murder them at every opportunity, could not be ascertained; but it appeared useless to proceed any further in the search."

GRAND JURY ROOM.
25th May, 1819.

The Grand Jury beg leave to state to the Court that they have, as far as it was possible, investigated the unfortunate circumstances which occasioned the loss of life to one of the Red Indian Tribe near the River of Exploits, in a late rencontre which took place between the deceased and John Peyton, Sr. In the presence of Peyton, Jr., his son, and a party of their own men, to the number of ten in all, and in sight of several Indians of the same tribe. The Grand Jury are of opinion that no malice preceded the transaction, and that there was no intention on the part of Peyton's party to get possession of any of them by such violence as would occasion bloodshed. But it appears that the deceased came by his death in consequence of the attack on Peyton, Sr., and his subsequent obstinacy, and not desisting when repeatedly menaced by some of the party for that purpose, and the peculiar situation of the Peytons and their men, was such as to warrant their acting on the defensive. At the same time that the Grand Jury declare these opinions arising from the only evidence brought before them, they cannot but regret the want of other evidence to corroborate the foregoing, viewing it as they do a matter of the first importance, and which calls for the most complete establishment of innocence on the part of the Peyton's and their men, they therefore recommend that four of the party should be brought round at the end of the fishing season for that purpose.

(signed) NEWMAN W. HOYLES,
Foreman.

John Peyton's Narrative.

Sir,

I beg leave to lay before Your Excellency the following statements by which it will appear to what extent I have been a sufferer by depredation committed on my property by the Native Indians, and which at last drove me to the necessity of following them to endeavour to recover some part of it again.

In April 1814, John Morris, a furrier of mine, came out from one of my furrier's tilts in the country on business to me, leaving in the tilt his provisions, some fur, and his clothes. On his return to the tilt again he found that some persons had been there in his absence, and carried away and destroyed the provisions, and all the fur with many other little things but yet valuable to a furrier; the distance being 20 miles from the tilt to my residence he was obliged to sleep there that night, but the next day Morris came out and told me what had happened, and that he had every reason to suspect that it had been done by the Red Indians. On the following morning I, with Thomas Taylor, another of my furriers, and John Morris, went to Morris's tilt and found what he had told me to be correct, and near the tilt I found part of an Indian's snow racket and a hatchet, which convinced me that the depredation had been committed by them. We, after this followed their tracks to Morris's different beaver houses and found that they had carried away seven of my traps. The damage done and loss I sustained on this occasion cannot be estimated at less than £15 independent of losing the season for catching fur.

In June 1814 Mathew Huster and John Morris were sent by me to put out a

¹ More probably Micmacs.

new fleet of salmon nets consisting of two nets 60 fathoms long. On going the following morning to haul them, they were cut from the moorings and nothing but a small part of the Head Rope left. From the manner the moorings were cut and hacked, and the marks of Red Ochre on the Buoys, we were satisfied that it was done by the Indians, no other persons being near us at that season. In the following August some of my people had an occasion to land on a point often frequented by the Indians, they saw there had been two wigwams built there that summer, but the Indians had left it some time, there they found the cork and part of the head rope of the nets, which convinced us who it was had cut away the nets in June. The damage done me by the loss of the nets was £20 independent of the fish that might have been caught by them that summer.

In August 1815 the Red Indians came into the harbour of Exploits Burnt Island in the night, and cut adrift from my stage a fishing boat, carried away her sails and fishing tackle; they also the same night cut a boat adrift belonging to Geo. Luff, of the same harbour. The loss I sustained here was full £10. In October 1817 I sent Edward Rogers, an apprentice, to set a number of traps for catching marten cats, they being apparently very plenty at that time. On going to visit his traps he found that fourteen of his best traps were carried away, and an Indian's arrow driven through the roof of the cat-house, at the end of the path were two Indian paddles, the loss here, independent of the fur, was £4. 18s.

In September 1818 the Indians came to my wharf at Sandy Point, and cut adrift a large boat of mine which I had in the day loaded with salmon, &c., for St John's market, and was only waiting for a fair wind to sail. On my missing her at half past one in the morning, I took a small boat, and with a servant went in search of her. About seven O'Clock in the evening I discovered her ashore in a most dangerous situation. With great difficulty I boarded her, and found that the Indians had cut away her sails and part of her rigging, and had plundered her of almost every thing moveable. Her hull being much damaged, it was impossible to get her off without assistance. I proceeded to Exploits Burnt Island for a crew, and brought her into the harbour, the damage done to the boat and some part of her cargo, and the property stolen cannot be replaced under £140 or £150. Having so frequently suffered such heavy losses, on my arrival I waited on Your Excellency requesting permission to follow the property and regain it if possible, I made deposition of the truth of what I had asserted, and obtained Your Excellency's permission to go into the country during the winter.

On the first of March, 1819, I left my house accompanied by my father and eight of my own men with a most anxious desire of being able to take some of the Indians and thus through them open a friendly communication with the rest, everyone was ordered by me not upon any account to commence hostilities without my positive orders. On the 2nd March we came up with a few wigwams frequented by the Indians during the spring and autumn for the purpose of killing deer. On the 3rd we saw a fireplace by the side of the brook where some Indians had slept a few days before. On the 4th, at 10 O'Clock we came to a storehouse belonging to the Indians. On entering it I found five of my cat traps, set, as I supposed, to protect their venison from the cats, and part of my boat's jib, from the fireplace and tracks on the snow, we were convinced the Indians had left it the day before in the direction SW. We therefore followed their footing with all possible speed and caution—at 11 O'Clock we left the greatest part of our provisions in order to make the more speed, as we were expecting to come up with them very soon—at 1 O'Clock we came to a path where they entered the woods leading away about NNE. At 2 O'Clock we saw where they had slept the night before; we continued to travel till dark. On the 5th we commenced walking as soon as it was day. At eight we came to a large brook which ran about SW. We followed the course of the water which brought us into a very large pond. The wind blowing strong occasioned a heavy drift which destroyed all signs of the tracks; after travelling about one and a half miles I discovered the footing of two or more Indians quite fresh, we imagined they were gone into the

woods for the purposes of partridge shooting. I ordered the men to keep close together and keep a good lookout towards the woods. On proceeding a little further I saw a high point projecting on the pond, and on looking over it very carefully I discovered one Indian coming towards us, and three more going the contrary way at some considerable distance. I fell back and told our party what I had seen, their curiosity being excited I could not restrain them from endeavouring to get sight of the Indians. I was not then certain there were no more in the same course I saw the one in. I could not tell at this time whether the Indian I saw was a male or female. I showed myself on the point openly, when the Indian discovered me she for a moment was motionless. She screamed out as soon as she appeared to make me out and ran off. I immediately pursued her, but did not gain on her until I had taken off my rackets and jacket, when I came up with her fast, she kept looking back at me over her shoulder, I then dropped my gun on the snow and held up my hands to show her I had no gun, and on my pointing to my gun which was then some distance behind me, she stopped. I did the same and endeavoured to convince her I would not hurt her. I then advanced and gave her my hand, she gave hers to me and to all my party as they came up. We then saw seven or eight Indians repeatedly running off and on the pond, and as I imagined from their wigwams. Shortly after three Indians came running towards us—when they came within about 200 or 300 yds. from us they made a halt. I advanced towards them with the woman, and on her calling to the Indians two of their party came down to us, the third halted again about 100 yards distant. I ordered one of the men to examine one of the Indians that did come to us, having observed something under his cassock, which proved to be a hatchet, which the man took from him,—the two Indians came and took hold of me by the arms endeavouring to force me away. I cleared myself as well as I could still having the woman in my hand. The Indian from whom the hatchet was taken attempted to lay hold of three different guns, but without effect, he at last succeeded in getting hold of my father's gun, and tried to force it from him, and in the attempt to get his gun he and my father got off nearly fifty yards from me and in the direction of the woods, at the same time the other Indian was continually endeavouring to get behind our party. The Indian who attacked my father grasped him by the throat. My father drew a bayonet with the hope of intimidating the Indian. It had not the desired effect, for he only made a savage grin at it. I then called for one of the men to strike him, which he did across the hands with his gun; he still held on my father till he was struck on the head, when he let my father go, and either struck at or made a grasp at the man who struck him, which he evaded by falling under the hand, at the same time this encounter was taking place, the third Indian who had halted about 100 yards, kept at no great distance from us, and there were seven or eight more repeatedly running out from the woods on the look out, and no greater distance from us than 300 yards. The Indian turned again on my father and made a grasp at his throat—my father extricated himself and on his retreat the Indian still forcing on him, fired. I ordered one of the men to defend my father, when two guns were fired, but the guns were all fired so close together that I did not know till some time after that more than one had been fired. The rest of the Indians fled immediately on the fall of the unfortunate one. Could we have intimidated or persuaded him to leave us, or even have seen the others go off, we should have been most happy to have spared using violence, but when it was remembered that our small party were in the heart of the Indians country, one hundred miles from any European settlement, and that there were in our sight at times as many Indians as our party amounted to, and we could not ascertain how many were in the woods that we did not see, it could not be avoided with safety to ourselves. Had destruction been our object we might have carried it much further. Nor should I have brought this woman to the capital to Your Excellency, nor should I offer my services for the ensuing summer, had I wantonly put an end to the unfortunate man's existence, as in the case of success in taking any more during the summer and opening a friendly intercourse with them, I must be discovered.

My object was and still is to endeavour to be on good terms with the Indians for the protection of my property, and the rescuing of that tribe of our fellow-creatures from the misery and persecution they are exposed to in the interior from Micmacs, and on the exterior by the Whites. With this impression on my mind I offer my services to the Government for the ensuing summer and I implore Your Excellency to lend me any assistance you may think proper. I cannot afford to do much at my own expense, having nothing but what I work for, the expenses of doing anything during the summer would be less than the winter, as it will not be safe ever to attempt going into their country with so small a crew as I had with me last winter. Still these expenses are much greater than I can afford, as nothing effectual can be expected to be done under £400. Unless Your Excellency should prefer sending an expedition on the service out of the fleet, in which case I would leave the woman at Your Excellency's disposal, but should I be appointed to cruise the summer for them, and which I could not do and find men and necessaries under £400, I have not the least doubt but that I shall, through the medium of the woman I now have, be enabled to open an intercourse with them, nor is it all improbable but that she will return with us again if she can to procure an infant child she left behind her. I beg to assure Your Excellency from my acquaintance with the bays and the place of resort for the Indians during the summer, that I am most confident of succeeding in the plan here laid down¹.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's very humble
and obedient servant,
(signed) John Peyton, Jr.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,

May 27, 1819.

Resolutions of a Town Meeting respecting the Indians.

At the Court House (Charity School) Sunday, 30th May, 1819.
Mr Forbes in the Chair.

Resolved as follows:—

- 1st. That the gentlemen present do presently open a subscription for the purpose of defraying the expense attending the prosecution of the object before stated.
- 2nd. That a Committee of Five gentlemen be appointed by ballot to adopt the necessary measures in order to open a friendly communication with the Native Indians in the course of the ensuing winter, in the event of that object not being effected during the ensuing summer, and that the Committee be empowered to add to their number as they may deem fit, and that any three of their number be competent to act.
- 3rd. That the Rev. Mr Leigh be considered one of the Committee independent of the five to be elected by ballot, &c.

Letter to Rev. Mr Leigh.

FORT TOWNSEND,
ST JOHN'S,
31st May, 1819.

Sir,

I have to desire you will cause it to be made known in the manner you may deem most expedient to the Tribes of Micmac Esquimaux and other Indians frequenting the Northern parts of this Island,—That they are not under any pretence

¹ It is a pity Peyton's offer was not accepted, as he knew more about them and their ways than any other living person. With the aid of the woman it is probable he might have succeeded in opening communication with her tribe, of which he expresses himself so confident.

to harass or do any injury whatever to the Native Indians; for if they should be detected in any practices of that nature they will surely be punished and prevented from resorting to the Island again. But as they are all equally under the protection of His Majesty's Government, it is on the contrary recommended to them to live peaceably with the Native Indians, and endeavour to effect an intercourse and traffic with each other.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(signed) C. HAMILTON.

Rev. John Leigh,
Twillingate.

ST JOHN'S,
3rd May, 1819.

Sir,

I am requested to communicate to Your Excellency the resolutions of a meeting of certain of the principal inhabitants of this town which took place yesterday for the purpose of promoting a friendly intercourse with the Native Indians of the Island; and to lay before you an outline of the plan formed by the Committee of Gentlemen appointed for the purpose of carrying their wishes into effect; and at the same time to express the united hope of all, that Your Excellency will regard their proceedings as a sincere proof of the pleasure with which they view the benevolent work which has been commenced under your auspices, of extending to the Indians of this island the blessings of peace and the protection of law.

Having been informed by the Rev. Mr Leigh that the Indian woman was to return with him to Twillingate, and that Your Excellency would shortly after despatch a sloop of war to the same place for the purpose of communication with her country men, if possible, in the course of the summer, we cannot but sincerely sympathise in all those feelings which such an undertaking is naturally calculated to awaken, and we indulge in the heartfelt hope that it will be attended with all the success it so justly deserves, and as far as success may depend upon zeal and perseverance, we have the surest pledge in the character of the service to which the enterprise is committed. At the same time the great interest which we will take in the measure naturally suggests the apprehension of possible failure and it is principally with the view of providing for that event, should it unfortunately occur, that we have been led to form a plan for an expedition in the winter, upon a scale which with the benefit of past experience, and the countenance of Your Excellency, we are induced to hope, cannot entirely fail in its object.

It is proposed in consequence of the exposure of a winter expedition, to engage about thirty men at Twillingate, who from being inured to privations, and accustomed to fatigue in the woods, are supposed to be better fitted for a winter campaign, than men of more regular habits of life. And with this view Mr Leigh has promised to inform us of the best men for the occasion. At the fall of the year a certain number of persons in whom every confidence may be placed, will proceed from this place to Twillingate, with every suitable provision for the expedition, and being joined with the other party will proceed in a body up to the lake in the centre of the island where it is ascertained the Indians pitch their winter habitations. Upon meeting with the Natives they will deliver up the woman to her friends, as the offering of peace, and the best pledge of sincerity, together with such presents as may be deemed suitable, should they be able to induce two or three of the Chiefs to accompany them to Twillingate, they will return immediately, but should the Indians want confidence the party will secure themselves from attack, and remain some days in the country with the view of dissipating their doubts by daily acts of confidence and kindness.

As the success of every enterprise must in a principal degree depend upon the safe keeping of the Indian woman, we have to request that Your Excellency would

be pleased to direct her to be delivered over to Mrs Cockburn of Twillingate (the sister of Mr Hart of London) or Mr Burge, a respectable inhabitant of that place, where means will be provided for her instruction in as much of our language as time will allow, until the expedition may be ready to move in February or March.

Of course, Sir, all these arrangements are made in the contemplation of the possible event of not being able to effectuate any intercourse during the summer, and of its not being deemed proper to pursue the measure on the part of the Government in the winter. But in the meantime we are anxious to contribute our endeavours to promote the general object, and shall be most happy to be employed in any way that Your Excellency may think we can be useful.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

(signed) FRANCIS FORBES¹.

His Excellency

Sir Charles Hamilton.

Capt. Glascock, H.M.S. Drake. Orders to proceed to the Northward to endeavour to return an Indian woman to her Tribe.

By Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart, Vice-Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Ships and vessels employed and to be employed at and about the Island of Newfoundland, &c.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed without loss of time in His Majesty's Sloop Drake under your command to Greenspond, in Bonavista Bay, for the purpose of communication with His Majesty's Surveying vessel Sydney or the Scrub Tender, and on falling in with either you will put on board the stores and instruments brought out in the Drake for the surveyor, and discharge into her Mr Payne, Midshipman appointed to the Sydney.

You will then proceed forthwith to Morton's Harbour in New World Island, and on passing the Harbour of Twillingate in the island of that name you will make the signal (by firing two guns) previously concerted on to the Rev. Mr Leigh, who will meet you at Morton's Harbour with a female Indian who was recently taken and brought round to this place, and who it is an object of much interest and importance to return to her tribe, or to any of the settlements or wigwams of the Native Indians that may be seen on the coast during the summer, and you will concert with Mr Leigh and Mr Peyton, Jr., the measure best calculated for carrying this object into execution and act accordingly.

As the coast on which you are likely to find these Indians has never been surveyed, and is little known, but is represented as being very dangerous. You will leave His Majesty's Sloop at Morton's Harbour and proceed with your boats, entering such bays and rivers as may be most likely to be frequented by the Indians during the summer season. But this is not to prevent your proceeding in the Drake to some other port further to the Northward, if you can without unnecessary risk or hazard effect it with the assistance of any person acquainted with the coast. As the principal objects in view are to return the female Indian in question to her tribe and to establish a friendly communication with these aborigines, great care must be taken to select for this enterprise such persons of the crew as are most orderly and obedient, and every proper means you can suggest used to bring them to an interview, in doing which, as the greatest caution must be observed, it will be advisable to refrain from using fire-arms for any purpose before these objects are accomplished.

¹ Mr Forbes was the Chief Justice of the Colony at that time.

Notwithstanding these instructions, the best mode of returning this female Indian to her friends, and of effecting an amicable intercourse with them, must in a great degree depend upon local and unforeseen circumstances. It is therefore entirely left to your own discretion in conjunction with the Rev. Mr Leigh, under the fullest reliance upon your care and attention to her while she is under your protection, but it would be advisable that you should take that gentleman and Mr Peyton, Jr., with you in the boats, and none others except those who may be absolutely serviceable on such an expedition.

So soon as you shall have effected the object of these instructions, you will return immediately in the sloop you command to this port. Or in the event of your finding it impossible for you to return the female Indian without imminent risk to her or your own party before your provisions are exhausted you will consult with Mr Leigh on the best method of providing for her until I am informed of the result of your efforts and return hither.

Before you leave Morton's Harbour, as directed in the former part of these instructions, you will attend to the directions contained on the accompanying letter marked No. 2.

Given under my Hand on board the Sir Francis
Drake, in St John's Harbour, the 3rd June, 1819.
(signed) C. HAMILTON.

To William Nugent Glascock, Esq.,
Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Drake.
By command of the Commander-in-Chief
(signed) P. C. LEGEY.

Order to Capt. Glascock to search for Indians.

No. 2.

FORT TOWNSEND,
ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.
3rd June, 1819.

Sir,

Adverting to the circumstances attending a journey undertaken by Mr John Peyton, Jr., accompanied by his father and a party into the woods in the spring of this year for the purpose of endeavouring to recover some property which had been stolen from him during the last year, it appears that in a scuffle with some Native Indians, one of the latter fell,—and as the subject was during the stay of Mr Peyton at St John's brought before the Grand Jury, I send herewith a Copy of the Proceedings on that occasion, together with the copy of Mr Peyton's Narrative, and I desire that before leaving Morton's Harbour with the female Indian as directed by my order of this date, you do in conjunction with the Rev. Mr Leigh (Magistrate) call before you the persons engaged in that expedition, and take down their examinations touching this transaction, and if it should appear that any of the party are culpable you are to bring him or them to St John's to take their trial in the Supreme Court for the same, with such witnesses as may be necessary to establish the fact.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(signed) C. HAMILTON.

Captain Glascock, (Magistrate),
His Majesty's Sloop Drake.

*Gifts for the Indians**List of Articles delivered to Capt. Glascock for the Indians.*

No. 1. List of Articles delivered to Captain Glascock of His Majesty's Sloop Drake for distribution among the Native Indians pursuant to the foregoing order—viz.:

Blankets Double	30 in No.
Frocks Red	8 "
Cloaks	5 "
Looking-glasses, small	24 "
Knives	24 "
Strings of Beads	15 "
Dishes of Tin	3 sets of 6 Ea.
Small tin pots	12 in No.
Sail needles of sizes	72 "
Awls	24 "

(signed) C. HAMILTON.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.

3 June, 1819.

No. 2. *List of Presents intended for the Native Indians.*

41 yds. Blanketing	14 lbs. Soap
17½ yds. Red Baize	6 Pairs of Child's Hose
6 Single Hatchets	2 Lock Saws
6 "	6 Tin Pans
1 Doz. Clasp Knives	1 Tinder Box, complete
6 Boat's Kettles	1 Rand of Salmon Twine
1 Doz. Large Clasp Knives	3 Doz. Trout Hooks fitted
1 Doz. Men's Sanguahan Hose	400 Sewing Needles
6 Teapots with covers	4 lbs. Bohea Tea
6 tin Pints	6 " Shingle Nails
6 Hammers	12 " Mixed "
5 Pairs Scissors	2 " Thread of colours
1 Pair large ditto	1 Iron Saucepan (gal)
2 Doz. Iron tablespoons	1 " (quart)
1 gross Middle G. Hooks	12 Half pint tin cups
2 Doz. Long Lines	12 Pair of Blankets of Sizes
1 Rand of Ganging Twine	2 Doz. Red Shirts
1 Doz. Rands of Sewing Twine	30 lbs. Loaf Sugar
3 gin Traps	1 Iron pot
1 Pitsaw Files	9½ lbs. Cheese
1 Doz. Flat Files	1 Doz. Rack Combs
3 Tartan Caps	1 Oak Cask
4 Red Caps	1 Cask Butter

Copy. P. C. Geyt, Secy.

FORT TOWNSEND,

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.

3 June, 1819.

Sir,

You are aware that before you left St John's a meeting of the inhabitants took place respecting Shendoreth¹, the Native woman. The gentlemen who form the Committee appointed on that occasion have, through the Chief Justice, laid the

¹ This appears to be still another name for Mary March.

outline of their plan before the Governor and as that plan is chiefly formed upon the possibility of failure in the summer expedition they have expressed their wishes in such an event that the Indian may be delivered over to Mrs Cockburn, of Twillingate (the sister of Mr Hart of London) or Mr Burge, a respectable inhabitant of that place, to whom they will send instructions. I am therefore desired by the Governor to communicate the same for your information in consulting with Capt. Glascock respecting her disposal in the event of your not succeeding in the desired object.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(signed) P. C. LEGEY,

Secretary.

Rev. John Leigh,
Twillingate.

*To the Chief Justice in reply respecting the intended communication
with the Native Indians.*

FORT TOWNSEND,
ST JOHN'S,
5th June, 1819.

Sir,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 31st May enclosing the Resolutions of a meeting of the principal inhabitants of St John's, and I feel great pleasure in observing the liberality with which they have come forward in the cause of humanity and to the establishment of an intercourse with the Native Indians of this Island, and particularly their anxious solicitude towards the female herself, who was the immediate object of their meeting. I trust, however, that the measures I have been induced to adopt will be the means of returning her in safety to her tribe, and that her reception amongst us may produce the long desired object of an intercourse which cannot fail to afford them many of the comforts and benefits of civilization.

I have communicated to Capt. Glascock and the Rev. Mr Leigh the wishes of the meeting, respecting the Indian woman being left under the care of Mrs Cockburn in the event of their not being able to return her to her friends, as from the total want of the means of communication much has necessarily been left to their prudence and local knowledge in all cases that could not be absolutely foreseen.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
(signed) C. HAMILTON.

Francis Forbes, Esq.,
Chief Justice.

Report of Capt. Glascock.

HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP DRAKE,
ST JOHN'S HARBOUR,
20th July, 1819.

Sir,

I beg leave to report my proceedings relative to the manner in which I have executed your Order of the 2d ult. since I last communicated with you from Morton's Harbour dated the 11th June. From that period to the 14th I corresponded with the Rev. Mr Leigh on the subject of the Indian female joining at

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Morton's Harbour, when he, accompanied by her, arrived for the purpose of delivering her up to my charge. She being then in a delicate state of health, and as Mr Peyton, Jr., would be otherwise occupied by private business until the 17th ult. I took the opportunity of the lapse of time to open a Surrogate Court to transact the necessary business of the District. From having run through the ice on the 6th I had reason to suppose the cutwater and copper about the bows was damaged, and from the carpenter reporting to me he could repair the same by heaving the brig down three or four streaks, I, in consequence of his report lightened her of her guns, stores and provisions and hove her partly down alongside a schooner on the 15th ult.

The distance from Morton's Harbour to that line of coast on which the Indians frequent during the summer being too great for boats to communicate with His Majesty's Brig, I found it necessary to survey the coast from the above to Fortune Harbour, which port appeared to me to be the safest and most convenient for the Drake to remain during the absence of the majority of her crew who would be employed in the boats. On the 17th I sailed for Fortune Harbour and arrived there in the evening of that day, having on board Mr Peyton and the Indian female, and on the 18th after issuing the Edict marked No. 1, I proceeded with the cutter and gig accompanied by Mr Peyton and the Indian female to New Bay, and returned on the 20th without having seen any symptoms of newly cut paths to lead me to suppose the Indians had yet visited the coast.

On the 22nd ult., accompanied by Mr Peyton, I proceeded in the cutter up the Bay and River Exploits taking the precaution on the night of the 23rd to row with muffled oars as far as the lower waterfall¹ would allow a boat to reach, and at dawn on the morning of the 24th I entered the woods with Mr Peyton in search of the wigwams, but found none except those in which the Indians had resided in the last summer. After having rowed a Night Guard from the 23rd to the 25th I returned to the brig, confident the Indians had not fixed their abode in the lower part of the Exploits for a distance of forty-five miles which I thoroughly examined.

The Indian woman being indisposed I sent the Master on a week's cruise in the cutter for the purpose of making a sketch in order to enable us to row a Night Guard instead of wandering about it by day for want of local information as to the extent of those Bays most frequented by the Indians. He returned on the 4th instant, for the particulars of his cruise I refer Your Excellency to his log.

On the 28th ult. I again proceeded up the River Exploits with Mr Peyton in the gig a report (which proved false) having reached me of the Indians having arrived at the lower waterfall wigwams of last year, I as before rowed up at night with muffled oars, with the hope of surprising the Indians before daylight. But again, to my disappointment, after the boats' crew having suffered much from every description of insect, so much so as to cause blindness. I left Exploits for a new line of coast to the Southward of the above river called Indian Arm, a distance of forty miles, and returned as per log on the 30th sick with three of the boat's crew.

The Indians having been seen in Badger Bay, a distance of forty miles to the Westward of Fortune Harbour, I despatched the first lieutenant in the gig, accompanied by Mr Peyton, on the morning of the 1st instant, giving him the written Order marked No. 2. On the 5th instant finding myself equal to duty, I left Fortune Harbour in the cutter, accompanied by the Indian woman for Seal Bay, SW. distant 20 miles. About 7 in the evening of that day during a heavy thunder squall I perceived a canoe windward of me a mile, crossing from the Western Shore, but before I could come up with her, she disappeared round a point throwing overboard a paddle and a few live birds. From the first moment of my seeing her to the time she disappeared occupied a lapse of time of twenty minutes, and from the circumstance of not having seen her on the beach where the Indians landed, authorizes me to suppose they have some mode of concealing their boats, either by

¹ Bishop's Fall.

sinking them in the deep water, or folding them up in a portable shape for the convenience of conveying them quickly through the woods.

I immediately landed my party, the Indian female at the time remaining quiet in the cutter exhibiting an apathetic indifference as to the result of the fate of these unfortunate savages. I asked her on my return (not having seen any traces of either cause or Indians) whether she would follow them in the woods, or remain with me, the latter choice she preferred, and from the conversation I had with her, I have every reason to believe she never wishes to join them, unless either brought to the tribe she was taken from originally, or delivered safe up to some of the larger settlements of these aborigines.

At sunset on the 5th I left Seal Bay with an intention to enter it again at night so as to be exactly on the spot where the Indians landed by dawn of the morning of the 6th. I arrived there at that time and having examined well the woods about it, I determined upon withdrawing the three boats employed in the three Bays to preclude the possibility of the Indians supposing our intention was to harass them. On the boats joining me I took advantage of Mr Peyton's local knowledge of an Indian path which communicated from Charles' Brook, River Exploits, to the Southern Arm of New Bay, to concert a plan with Lieut. Mumbee to form a junction with my party at a pond off that brook, where I should be at 2 precisely on the morning of the 9th. In order to effect this the boats were unavoidably separated from each other a distance of thirty-three miles, merely to cross a neck of land about a mile and a half in breadth. At the appointed time each party entered the woods, taking the Indian paths on both sides, so that in the event of any settlement having been established there (as is customary every summer) we must inevitably by the plan adopted have surprised them before daylight. Our hopes, however, were disappointed by finding the old wigwams totally unoccupied.

From the circumstance of the Indians having deserted this favourite abode in which they have resided for the last seven successive summers, it appears almost conclusive that it is not their intention to visit the River Exploits so soon after the many depredations they committed in it last year. This conclusion may be strengthened by the probability of their dreading a premeditated punishment, a consequence their own guilt might teach them to expect, added to the fact of Mr Peyton's having taken an Indian female from their tribe; I returned on the evening of the 9th, as also did Lieut. Mumbee.

On the 10th I directed Lieut. Mumbee, accompanied by Mr Peyton and the Indian woman, to proceed into Badger and Seal Bays, and land with her together with Mr Peyton, soliciting her to convey them to the neighbouring wigwams, which she accordingly did through paths which they never could have discovered without her assistance. She gave them to understand the Indians had been there some few days back, but in consequence of her not having had a personal interview with them, she could not possibly be prevailed on to remain there. Lieut. Mumbee, after having left a few presents in the wigwams, returned with her and the two boats on the 14th.

Thus, Sir, have I accounted to you of the proceedings of the boats from the 18th June to the 14th July, during which time a continual Night Guard has been rowed for upwards of ninety miles along the coast, and the most zealous and active energy manifested by the officers and ship's company I ever witnessed.

They have suffered much in consequence of being exposed for upwards of a week at a time in open boats, but custom would have seasoned them to this, could they have taken their natural rest by sleep, of which they were totally deprived by the tormenting tortures of every description of insects which infest this coast.

I cannot, Sir, conclude this detail without mentioning to you the steady, zealous and ever active conduct of Mr Peyton, Jr., whose exertions were unexampled to accomplish the desired purpose for which he accompanied me. His whole time has been devoted to this service, and I don't hesitate to pronounce it to be my opinion that Your Excellency could not have selected a more proper person to assist me in the execution of your orders.

Instructions to Commander Buchan

Not having many days bread on board, I thought it expedient to return forthwith to St John's, delivering up on the 16th instant the Indian female into the charge of the Rev. Mr Leigh, who came on board off Twillingate for that purpose and I this day beg leave to report the arrival of H.M. Sloop under my command now safely moored in this harbour.

I have the honour, etc.,
(signed) WM. NUGT. GLASCOCK.
Captain.

To Sir Charles Hamilton, Bt.,
Vice Admiral of the Blue
and Commander-in-Chief,
&c., &c., &c.

Instructions to Commander Buchan, R.N.

By Sir C. Hamilton, Bart., Vice Admiral of the Blue,
and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships
and Vessels employed and to be employed at and
about the Island of Newfoundland, &c.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed in His Majesty's Sloop Grasshopper under command to Twillingate where you will deliver to the Rev. Mr Leigh the accompanying letter respecting an Indian woman taken in the spring of this year, whose return to her tribe (the aborigines of this island) it is an object highly desirable to accomplish, and you will therefore after consultation with him take such measures for affecting this purpose as in your judgment may appear to be most likely to lead to a favourable result; but as those measures must almost wholly depend upon local circumstances and considerations, it is entirely left to your discretion to adopt such course of proceeding as the information you will obtain may suggest; you will remain on the service herein directed until the decreasing state of your provisions shall render it necessary to return to St John's. If, on the contrary you should be of opinion that the object of returning this Indian before the winter season is impracticable, you will return forthwith to this place, making such arrangement for her disposal until that period as under all circumstances you may judge most convenient and desirable.

You will be supplied with some articles of use and interest to the Native Indians (a list of which you will receive herewith) which you will dispose of as may appear most advantageous in availing yourself of any occasion that may be presented of a friendly intercourse with those people, or that may open the door to so desirable an object.

You will, if it should not interfere with other arrangements, call at Trinity on your return to St John's, to transact such Court business as may be brought before you, and to enquire into such of the petitions herewith enclosed as opportunity may offer.

Given under my Hand on board the Sir Francis Drake
in St John's Harbour, the 8th August, 1819.
(signed) C. HAMILTON.

To David Buchan, Esq.,
Commander of His Majesty's Sloop,
Grasshopper.
By command of the Commander-in-Chief.
(signed) P. C. Legeyt.

Instructions to Commander Buchan

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List of Articles delivered to Captain Buchan of His Majesty's Sloop Grasshopper for distribution among the Native Indians pursuant to the foregoing order, viz.:-

Looking glasses	27	in No.
Knives	24	"
Strings of Beads	9	"
Dishes of Tin.....	3	sets of 6 ea.
Small Tin Pots	12	in No.
Boiling Kettles & Pots.....	5	"
Smaller ditto	6	"
Sail needles of sizes	72	"
Awl blades	36	"
Salmon Twine	6	lbs.
Ganging Twine	7	Rands.
Small Cod Lines	12	in No.
Thread	3	lbs.

(signed) C. HAMILTON.

Vice-Admiral & Governor.

St John's, Newfoundland,
8 August, 1819.

Instructions to Capt. David Buchan in his 2nd Expedition during the winter of 1819-20.

By Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart., Vice-Admiral of the White and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed and to be employed at and about the Island of Newfoundland, &c.

Whereas the establishment of an amicable intercourse with the Native Indians of this Island is an object to which my attention is particularly directed by His Majesty's instructions, and is highly to be desired as affording future means of extending to that miserable people the blessings of civilization. And whereas I have great confidence that from your known zeal, prudence and perseverance joined to the advantages arising from the previous local knowledge gained by you on a former expedition of the same nature, the best hopes may be entertained of a successful result to an enterprise of so much interest. You are therefore hereby required and directed to complete the provisions of His Majesty's Sloop Grasshopper under your command to ten months, and proceed the first favourable opportunity to Twillingate where you will receive on board the Indian woman with the circumstances of whose detention in the spring of this year you are already acquainted and the returning of whom to her tribe, is under every consideration of humanity, an object of special solicitude, and may also prove of the utmost utility in facilitating the ultimate end of these orders. You will then go on to the River Exploits and there take up such a situation as you may consider most appropriate and convenient in which to secure His Majesty's Sloop for the winter; when your attention will first be directed to cutting wood for housing her in and preparing the additional apparel and materials peculiarly adapted to the journey into the interior, for which purpose you will be supplied with whatever you may consider and point out as necessary or desirable, not only as regards the preservation of the health of your people in general, but as may tend to the accommodation and comforts in particular of the party who may accompany you.

You will also be provided with such articles as are considered of use and interest to the Native Indians, of which you will dispose of in such manner as you may deem best calculated to answer the intention.

With the knowledge and experience which you already possess, you may yet consider it desirable to be accompanied by some steady persons who from having lived long in the vicinity of the summer haunts of the Indians may be presumed to be well informed on many local points and you are therefore authorised to bear as supernumeraries for victuals only on the books of the Grasshopper any such persons as you may conceive may be of service to you in that character, provided that the number you may so bear shall not exceed the number of men she may be short of her established complement.

Having secured the ship for the winter and completed the necessary preparations for the journey, you will set out with such number of officers and men as you may consider advisable, adequately supplied with provisions and armed for defence according to your judgment and proceed in quest of the Native Indians with the object already promised, of returning to her people the Indian woman beforementioned and endeavouring by the best means in your power to open and establish a friendly intercourse with them.

In an undertaking of this nature it is impossible to give any specific instructions, where so much must depend on adventitious circumstances, but in leaving the execution of this enterprise wholly to the dictates of your own mind, with the object always in view of treating *amicably* with this people, I have the fullest confidence that in the sound exercise of your judgment and discretion the best hopes of a favourable result may be entertained.

As soon as the season is sufficiently advanced you will return to St John's unless you should consider that your remaining longer in the Exploits would be advantageous to the service in which you are employed, in which case you will transmit to me an account of your proceedings by the earliest opportunity.

Given under my Hand on board the Sir Francis Drake in St John's Harbour the 22nd September, 1819.

(signed) C. HAMILTON.

To David Buchan, Esq.,

Commander of His Majesty's Sloop GRASSHOPPER,

By command of the Commander-in-Chief,

(signed) P. C. Legeyt.

MORTON'S HARBOUR,

September 30, 1819.

To His Excellency

Sir Charles Hamilton,

I humbly beg leave to address Your Excellency stating that in the month of April 1817, I was plundered by the Red Indians in the bottom of White Bay, property to the amount of fifty pounds taken from the winter house, and the Micmac Indians infest White Bay in that manner that makes it impossible for me or any other person settled here to make a life of it by catching fur. I have 200 traps and used to catch three hundred pounds of a winter, but now I do not catch forty or fifty pounds in consequence of the Micmacs infesting that Bay. They also infest the Bay of Islands, Boon Bay and the Bay of St George's. I am informed by those that live there that they do a great deal of injury to the fur catchers in that quarter. Their principal resort is in St George's Bay where they are in the habit of selling their fur to Mr Philip Le Chewy, a Jersey Merchant. I am fully convinced that if an order was sent to the principal people of the above places, it would deter them in future, the name of a Man of War would make them keep off. If Your Excellency thinks proper to send any communications to the principal people of the above Bays, I will be the bearer, as I am in the habit of crossing the Island, the names of the principal

people living in the different bays are Ralph Blake, Bay of Islands, Philip Le Arvy, St George's Bay, and John Payne, of Boon Bay, I am fully persuaded that if those are empowered it will put a stop finally to their visiting the Island, which is much desired by all who are concerned in the fur business.

witness

(signed) Henry Knight

" Jno. Sarrel

I am,

Your Excellency's
most obedient and humble servant,

his
(signed) JOHN X GALE
mark

Colonial Correspondence. Newfoundland, Vol. 39.

Despatch from Governor Hamilton to Earl Bathurst.

FORT TOWNSEND, ST JOHN'S,
NEWFOUNDLAND. Sept. 27th, 1819.

My Lord,

With reference to the 11th article of the general instructions of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to me as Governor of Newfoundland, relative to the Native Indians of this Island. I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a statement of occurrences which I should have communicated at an earlier period, had I not hoped that from the measures I adopted on my first knowledge of the subject, I should at the same time have had to announce that the result had answered my expectations. Such however was not the case—but subsequent considerations have induced me to pursue a plan which I have a confident hope may essentially promote and ultimately effectuate the benevolent object of the instructions above mentioned the protection and civilization of that unfortunate Tribe.

The circumstances to which I allude are briefly these. A respectable person of the name of Peyton, who carries on considerable Salmon Fisheries in the River Exploits, and who is also a conservator of the Peace, had for the last four years been greatly annoyed and suffered extensive injury in his fishing Establishments, evidently (from traces which could not be mistaken) occasioned by the Indians, who, taking advantage of the temporary absence of his servants carried away or damaged his property to that degree that he was induced at last to go into the interior, with the view if not of recovering a part to endeavour by an interview to show that he was ready to barter with them for any articles of which they might stand in need, and he accordingly set forward on the 1st of March of this year, accompanied by his father and eight of his own men, and proceeded into the interior. Upon the 5th day on a frozen lake of some extent, he came in sight of a party of Indians who immediately ran off. Mr Peyton however, by throwing away his arms, and making signs of an amicable nature, induced one to stop, who upon his coming up proved to be a woman, and who interchanged with himself and his men, such expressions of a friendly disposition as appeared to be perfectly understood by her. The other Indians however did not seem to possess the same peaceable sentiments, but approaching in increased numbers from different parts of the lake, laid hands on some of Mr Peyton's men, when a scuffle ensued, in the course of which it is to be regretted that one of the Indians fell by a musket ball at the moment when the life of Mr Peyton Senr., whom the Indian had seized by the throat, was in imminent danger. The others then dispersed, and Mr Peyton returned accompanied by the woman, and proceeded immediately to the island of Twillingate in the vicinity of his establishment, where he placed her under the care of the Revd. Mr Leigh Episcopal Missionary, who, upon the opening of the season came with her to St John's to receive my instructions.

The circumstances of the transactions on the lake were by my desire laid before and minutely investigated by the Grand Jury, who were of opinion that the party were fully justified under all the circumstances in acting as they did, on the defensive.

I mention this as a proof to Your Lordship that no wanton act of cruelty was committed or attempted by Mr Peyton or his men.

This female appeared to be about 25 years of age, of a gentle and interesting disposition, acquiring and retaining without much difficulty any words she was taught; in the course of her residence at Twillingate Mr Leigh ascertained that she has a child 3 or 4 years old. It therefore became, under every feeling of humanity, independent of all other considerations, an object in my mind to restore her to her tribe; and I accordingly with this view sent a small sloop of war to that part with orders to her commander to proceed to the summer haunts of the Indians, and endeavour to fall in with some of them. From this attempt however he returned unsuccessful, not having met with any. Such was the state of the case, when the opportune arrival on this station of Captain Buchan in the Grasshopper who had before been employed on a winter expedition in search of the Indians (of the particulars of which Your Lordship is already in possession) determined me to avail myself of his voluntary service in an endeavour to return the Indian woman, and to effectuate an object for which he is so eminently qualified, as well from his previous experiences as from his cool judgment, zeal, perseverance, and conciliatory conduct, and when the condition of this miserable people, subject to the wanton attacks of the Micmac and other tribes of Indians frequenting and traversing this Island, who have an inveterate aversion to them is considered, I hope the measures I have been induced to adopt for their protection and with the view of obtaining their confidence and bringing about a friendly intercourse with them, will meet with Your Lordship's approbation.

Having made the necessary arrangements, Capt. Buchan sailed on the 25th inst., under orders of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.

The additional clothing for his crew, peculiarly requisite in such an undertaking and the necessary articles of traffic or presents for the Indians have occasioned an expense which I shall have the honour of laying before Your Lordship with my accounts for the present year.

I have the honour to be with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

C. HAMILTON.

Colonial Correspondence. Newfoundland, Vols. 40 to 48.

FORE TOWNSHIP, ST JOHN'S.
28th June 1820.

Governor Hamilton to Earl Bathurst.

Encloses Capt. Buchan's account of his journey in search of the Native Indians. The presence of the Indian woman had led them to hope for amicable intercourse with her tribe, and her unfortunate death may have a bad effect. However the conciliatory measures used by Capt. Buchan in the disposal of her remains will, he hopes diminish any hostile feeling.

An Officer of H.M. Sloop Drake has used fire-arms, during an attempt to fall in with some of the Indians in their summer haunts. This was a direct violation of orders. Believes he acted through an error in judgment.

Captain Buchan's Report of 2nd Expedition.

HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP GRASSHOPPER
IN PETER'S ARM, RIVER EXPLOITS,
10th March, 1820.

Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart.
Commander in Chief &c.

Sir,

My letter of the 8th of October stated up to that period the progress that had been made in preparation for wintering at this anchorage; and that Your Excellency may be put in the earliest possession of the more prominent events that have since occurred, I avail myself of an opportunity of conveyance to Fogo to state with brevity such particulars only as seem necessary to convey a general outline of my proceedings.

It was not until the 25th of November that I received Mary March, the Indian female, conducted hither by Mr John Peyton Jr. and notwithstanding that my first interview in August led me to conclude that she was in delicate state of health, I could not but grieve to see the progress that a rapid decline had made in the interval, and I observed that she had imprudently thrown aside the flannels which during the summer she wore next her body, and was otherwise thinly clad. Warm dresses were now provided for her and a woman to attend carefully on her; it however soon became too apparent that even should the skill and great care of the surgeon protract her existence through an inclement winter, it was utterly impossible that she could be in a state to travel into the interior; it therefore became a matter of much solicitude to commence the journey as soon as the weather would permit with the view if possible of opening a communication with her countrymen, and of inducing some of them to accompany me to her, as a meeting must in its consequence have operated most powerfully towards effecting the desirable object of producing to those poor creatures the blessings arising from civilization, every preparation was consequently made. She often would express to Mr Peyton and myself that we should not find the Indians, and said "gun no good" but would never hear of us going in without her, at the same time giving us to understand that she only wanted her child and that she would return with us. Nature gradually sunk, but she always continued cheerful until the 8th of January, when she suddenly expired at 2 P.M. A few hours before she had been looking over the track of my former journey which I had frequently got her to do, and which she latterly understood, and took delight in speaking of the wigwams. A short period before her death she was seized with a sort of suffocation, and sent for me and Mr Peyton who had that morning gone for a walk, she soon recovered and appeared as usual, but I had not left her more than a quarter of an hour when being again summoned, I hastened to her and beheld her lifeless, her last wish appears to have been to see Mr Peyton, and she ceased to respire with his name upon her lips. She seemed always much satisfied when he was near and looked up to him as her protector. Her mild and gentle manners and great patience under much suffering endeared her to all, and her dissolution was deeply lamented by us.

As the melancholy event had not been anticipated, it left me without instructions how to act, and as it was now out of my power to return to St John's, I considered it still desirable to prosecute the original design, and many reasons determined me to have the corpse conveyed to the place of her former residence.

The unusual openness of the season prevented my venturing to put this into practice until the 21st of January, when accompanied by Mr John Peyton Jr. (of whose unremitting zeal and attention and that of my officers no expressions of mine can do sufficient justice, but I shall feel it my duty to speak my sentiments more fully in a subsequent communication) I set out, the party fifty in number were amply provided with every necessary for forty days, that could with propriety be taken on such a service. In expectation of meeting considerable difficulty between this and the first

overall, twenty five miles from hence, an auxiliary party of ten men and an Officer was selected to accompany us so far, even with this additional reinforcement the impediments were so many and in some cases almost insurmountable that it was not until the 26th that we reached the Indian path only one mile beyond the lower part of the fall. On the 27th the auxiliary party set out on their return with the addition of one man that had got slightly burnt in the feet. We were until the 29th employed repairing the sledges which had become much shattered, and others totally useless were replaced with catamarans. We must otherwise have been delayed here, for until this morning there was not sufficient ice attached to the banks of this part of the river for conducting the sledges.

Former experience led me to expect that the greatest difficulties and most laborious part of our route was now over, but new and more serious obstacles occurred. The ice which covered the surface of the river, from former eruptions was exceedingly treacherous. On the 28th after halting the party for the day, I proceeded half a mile on to a point to observe the state of the ice beyond, when it suddenly lifted several feet attended with a rumbling noise, and the immediate overflowing of the ice near the bank made my return somewhat difficult. On the 31st many of the party with myself fell in, precautionary measures were instantly taken to prevent frostburn, and we put up on the South side of the river, about two miles and a half below the Badger Bay Ponds, and twenty three from the Indian path.

Mr Waller and Mr Peyton with one man were sent forward to a point a mile off to examine its sufficiency for the party to continue on in the morning, they crossed to the other side and Mr Peyton ascended a tree to obtain a more commanding view; just as they obtained this position the ice appeared in great agitation, and fearful of being totally cut off from us they made a desperate push to recross, the ice now ran rapidly, the paws coalesced and receded with great velocity, leaving them in great jeopardy, but they at length providentially reached the shore.

Towards the evening the river became pent and burst with repeated noise, not unlike the discharge of Artillery; it was with the utmost difficulty we were able in time to get our sledges which had been secured on a bed of Alders, sufficiently into the woods to ensure their safety, as their former position was so quickly overflowed that several of the bread packs upon them were unavoidably got wet. There being no immediate prospect of quitting this place, a store was thrown up for the reception of our provisions, ammunition, &c. whilst some of our sledges might undergo repair to enable us to proceed on. The Catamarans were broken to pieces, not being of a construction calculated for the description of travelling we had to contend with, which compelled me most unwillingly to send back a Midshipman and thirteen men, the necessary supplies of provisions, axes, &c. were got in readiness and on the morning of the 2nd of February they proceeded down the banks of the river, two of this party were considerably frost-burnt in the feet, and a third had a severe cut with an axe in the foot. They nevertheless got safe on board on the 6th. Four sledges out of twelve were all that could be put in a condition to proceed on, and lest these should give out, knapsacks were provided for each individual, in order to be able at anytime to abandon them. The frost had been very severe for three days which fastened the river above, where we reached by passing over two necks of burnt woods for three miles. On the 6th after halting for the night, Mr Peyton with a reconnoitring party observed evident signs of Indian snow-shoes going upwards but were soon lost on hard ice, and although a light fall of snow took place during the night a faint trace was visible next morning. The river was still very feeble, and a quantity of bread got wet by one of the sledges falling in.

On the 7th at noon we got to the north side about four miles below the second overall, which have nothing but burnt woods on its banks, obliged me in the face of great danger to cross to the south shore to reach a place fit to stop at for the night, to do so we were under the necessity of conveying each package separately about a mile and a half, the ice in many places so fragile as to admit with risk but one at a time to pass: every appearance indicated the probability of its again bursting and

this was soon demonstrated. Mr Peyton and myself leaving the party to prepare for the night proceeded on to the overfall, where from the deep and wide rents in the ice of great thickness, it appeared that not more than two hours before there must have been a great convulsion, the body of water that occasioned this found vent under, so that the surface was but little overflowed.

On the 8th after crossing this part and cutting a path through the woods, we ascended until reaching the level above the cataract, we again trimmed along the bank, many places having no more ice attached than merely to admit the sledges to pass.

On the spot where I had before found the small storehouse, was now erected a very large one with wall-plates; it was uncovered and appeared to have been left in haste and much disorder; coming opposite we found a raft of thirty feet in length and four and a half broad, this was formed of three logs of dry asp, eighteen inches in diameter, and secured together with much ingenuity. A great quantity of deer skins, some paunches, liver and lights were found concealed in the snow several wigwags appeared to have been inhabited in the early part of the winter, and one in particular must have had a fireplace in it a few days before. The marks of the sledges were yet distinctly seen, in which they had conveyed the venison, and some of that meat was scattered about some way further on. The Indians having had recourse to rafts, and the hurried manner in which they appeared to have removed their means of subsisting for the winter, strongly marked on my mind the improbability of at this time accomplishing an interview with them, and I could not but lament the unguarded proceedings of one of the officers employed in the *Drake's Boats*, after the recent and unhappy occurrence that took place at the taking of the Indian female which must have convinced this untutored race that a plan was laid for their destruction, it is not unlikely that they discovered us on our approach to the Badger Bay water; the dread of our intentions no doubt stimulated them and our long detention in that vicinity gave them time for the removal of their stores, and every appearance tended to convince that it must have been effected about that period. I shall here remark that a deposit of provisions was left at the great overfall to cover our retreat from that to the *Brig*, and at our store two miles below Badger Bay River, everything was left but what was considered essential to carry with us which consisted of nineteen days provisions, the remains of *Mary March*, and requisite presents to make our visit acceptable in the event of our falling in with the tribe; at the fireplace just below the second overfall, distant from Badger Bay River twelve miles and a half, was also left two days provisions to succour our return to the store just mentioned. Leaving the party to prepare a resting place for the night, Mr Peyton accompanied me four miles further and returned at dusk. The water oozed over the narrow sheet of ice that had adhered to the bank where the Indians hauled their sledges, from which circumstance all trace of their route was soon lost, it was not however, observed that the bank had in any place been ascended by them. The next morning continuing our journey, encountering many obstructions from the open state of the river, after abandoning one of the four sledges and passing several wigwags, we at length on the 11th reached the great Pond, a distance of twenty two miles from the second overfall, which we crossed in a NE. direction for five miles, and at three O'Clock arrived at the former residence of our deceased friend. The frame of two wigwags remained entire, the third had been used as part of the materials in the erection of a cemetery of curious construction where lay the body no doubt of the Indian that had fallen, and with him all his worldly treasure, amongst other things was linen with Mr Peyton's name on it, everything that had been disturbed was carefully replaced, and this sepulchre again closed up, some additional strengthening had been put to it this fall. The coffin which was conveyed to this spot with so much labour was unpacked and found uninjured, it was neatly made and handsomely covered with red cloth ornamented with copper trimmings and breast-plate. The corpse, which was carefully secured and decorated with the many trinkets that had been presented to her, was in a most perfect state, and so little was the

change in the features that imagination would fancy life not yet extinct. A neat tent that was brought for the purpose was pitched in the area of one of the wigwams, and the coffin covered with a brown cloth pall, was suspended six feet from the ground in a manner to prevent its receiving injury from any animals; in her cossack were placed all such articles as belonged to her that could not be contained in the coffin, the presents for the Indians were also deposited within the tent as well as the sledge on which they had been carried, and all properly secured from the weather.

A footing was seen here and considered that of a man; these wigwams were situated on the North-West side four or five miles from the North-Eastern extremity of the pond by which Mr Peyton formerly entered and nearly opposite to where I found the natives. Not doubting that ere long this place would be visited, and that the steps that had been taken might make some favourable impression I resumed my journey along the North-West side something more than forty six miles, and nearly in a West direction, when our view became obstructed by the intersection of two points from the opposite shores; here I halted at 2 P.M. on the 14th and despatched Mr Waller accompanied by Mr Peyton and a party to reach the extremity of the pond, if possible to do so and regain me by night. In our way to this place several places were observed where the natives had formerly resided and in one instance a temporary wigwam, such as would have been erected by a person on a march, had very lately been occupied, and I was induced to believe that in many spots were to be seen the almost obliterated impression of rackets and moccasins, but so indistinct as to make it extremely doubtful; these led to the eastward. At nightfall the party returned having reached the extremity of the pond which extended about five miles further on in a west and west by North direction, and terminated by a river fifty yards wide which continued in the same course as the pond; a wigwam was observed near its termination where still remained the apparatus for killing deer and preserving the venison and skins which had been used late in the fall. It was remarked that the Southern side of a ridge of elevated mountains on the opposite side to our fire-place, extending in a West North West direction, was clothed in snow whilst those parts facing the North were bare, this indicated our near approach to the sea, but the scarcity of my provisions and still more some of the party being unwell, forbade following my strong desire to ascertain this point, I therefore reluctantly yielded to the necessity of returning and with the rising Sun the following morning began to retrace our steps. At noon on the 16th we reached the head of the river Exploits the only one receiving its water from the great Pond, though several disembogue into it. My intention had been to return by a chain of marshes connected with the Eastern end of the pond and leading to the river halfway between its head and the first over-fall; but increasing indisposition of several of the party amongst whom was Mr Peyton, lame in one foot, and being left with only two days provisions rendered it expedient to lose no time in falling back on our deposits, we accordingly retreated down the river and slept on the 17th at our former fireplace opposite the Indians store, where we discovered a second raft similar to that before mentioned, which had escaped observation in going up from being covered with snow. A trap belonging to Mr Peyton found here was with some arrows suspended to a pole, and a red flag left displayed to attract notice. This was done at several places, and an Union Jack was shown at the tent that contained the coffin. On the 18th after winding along the banks and taking to the woods occasionally below the waterfall, we were enabled to cross to the South side some distance beyond our deposit, for the river had opened where it was formerly pent. A party was despatched to bring down the provisions, whilst the rest halted to take refreshments, and on their return we again proceeded, and by the 19th reached the store, where commenced preparations for extending the journey along the Badger Bay waters. The following day Mr Stanly midshipman with 13 men including all those that were indisposed was directed to proceed down to the brig by easy stages. Mr Peyton's feet had got so much better that he made one of my party on our new route which we began on the 21st, entered upon the Badger

Bay waters at 10 A.M. and soon discovered the track of a racket and sledge, but unfortunately could not trace it to any distance; we passed several uninhabited wigwams and a quiver that had lately been placed on the stump of a tree. We continued to follow up a succession of ponds laying generally in an ENE. direction, passed cutting of trees and other Indian marks; but none that appeared to be very recent until entering the fifth pond, where we found a tree upon a projecting point just above a cataract, about forty feet in height, the bark of which was stripped off leaving only a small tuft on the top and from that downwards were painted alternate circles of red and white, resembling wide hoops. There was also a temporary wigwam, and the whole had the appearance of a place of observation. Having penetrated four miles into the seventh pond and twenty four miles from our first entrance into these waters we crossed a ridge and took to a chain of marshes and woods and on the evening of the 25th reached a furrier's tilt of Mr Peyton situated on the New Bay Great Pond distant from the seventh pond before mentioned twenty miles ESE, nearly one day's march from Peter's Arm.

Desirous of gaining all information possible connected with the natives, on the morning of the 26th having previously seen Mr Waller with the rest of the party on his way to the Brig, I proceeded with Mr Peyton and two men only towards New Bay, and following the run of a river connected with ponds and marshes, &c. making nearly a NE. course for twelve miles we reached at midnight Mr Russell's house in the SW. Arm of New Bay, but not finding him at home we hastened our departure on Sunday morning the 27th for the ship, as rain and a rapid thaw had now set in. After five miles of very heavy travelling we reached Mr Skinner's South Arm, New Bay, and remained there until Monday, when, after crossing ridges, woods and marshes we came out on the Exploits opposite to Mr Peyton's establishment at Lower Sandy Point, five miles below Peter's Arm, and arrived on board the next morning after an absence of forty days. Found that Mr Waller and his party had reached the Brig on the day he left me; Mr Stanly from the weak state of his men that were with him did not arrive until the following day. Circumstances had obliged him to leave behind most of the stores. I trust, notwithstanding the haste with which this narrative is drawn up that the occurrences are set forth sufficiently clear to enable Your Excellency to appreciate the infinite labour and difficulty attending this journey and that nothing has been omitted within my power for the attainment of the desirable object of my mission, this plain detail will enable Your Excellency to determine if it be still an object to keep me employed longer on this service. In order to be perfectly ready for its continuance, I have two gigs finished, and two more will be in readiness ere the ice enables me to move.

It is impossible for me to hold out success when so much depends on fortuitous circumstances but I will venture to say that it is my opinion that there would be a great probability of it by following up the operations without intermission until the last of August, for I cannot but indulge a hope that the appearance of amity which we have left behind must manifestly tend to convince them of our friendly intentions in opposition to the unhappy event in the one case, and the unwarrantable conduct of Mr Trivick in the other. I therefore under these considerations shall continue to prosecute this enterprise until I receive your further instructions for my guidance, and to this end a party of fifteen in a few days will proceed agreeable to the enclosed order. I could have wished to go myself, but feel at present unequal to such an undertaking, and my presence on board becomes necessary for future arrangements. I am happy to report that an expedition where so much was necessarily hazardous that no individual of the party has received any material injury, and those that were indisposed are now recovered or in a state of convalescence. On the discharge of the nine men that were entered after my arrival here, for the winter only, the compliment of the Brig will remain nine seamen, one boy, and four marines short, this includes the three deserters on board the Sir Francis Drake; it would be desirable on a continuance of this service to be complete. The provisions to the

end of July are complete in all species, and the enclosed will shew what is wanted to make them so to the end of August.

I have the honour &c.,

(signed) D. BUCHAN,
Commander.

HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP *DRAKE*,
ST JOHN'S HARBOUR, NEWFOUNDLAND.
28th May, 1820.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. this day, requiring me to state what took place when I fell in with a party of Native Indians in Badger Bay, near New Bay, and the orders I received from Capt. Glascock on that occasion.

In reply I beg to state that on the 30th June last in pulling round a small point in Badger Bay I observed three Indians in a canoe about 150 yards distance, and 50 from the shore. I immediately made towards them endeavouring to make them understand that we wished to communicate with them, but they shewed no disposition to listen to us, were evidently getting away, and might if they got ashore easily escape into the woods, where it would be fruitless to follow them; under these circumstances I thought the only means left me to come up with them, was by firing a musket and thus throwing them into confusion, which it partially effected, but being by this time near the shore they unfortunately escaped as I anticipated.

I beg further to state that the almost certain hope of being able to intercept them before they got on shore, together with my anxiety and the utter impossibility of tracing them through the woods, could possibly have induced me so far to deviate from Capt. Glascock's orders not to fire.

We went into the woods after them, but found it in vain to pursue them; we left some presents in the wigwams near where the Indians landed, and afterwards pulled to some distance from this place and concealed ourselves in hopes of their returning but next morning when we went back we found everything in the state we left it; we came two days after and found they had returned and canoes, presents, &c., all taken away.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient servant,
(signed) JNO. TRIVICK,
Master,
H.M. Sloop *Drake*.

Vice-Admiral,

Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart.

¹ What a pity this man Trivick acted so injudiciously. It would appear from his letter that he had about the best opportunity ever presented, at all events of later years to intercept and capture the Indians.

Governor Sir C. Hamilton,

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th June last, transmitting Captain Buchan's detailed accounts of his journey in search of the Native Indians in the early part of the present year; and to acquaint you that the conduct of Capt. Buchan affords an additional instance of the zeal and judgment of that Officer in situations of no inconsiderable difficulty and delicacy, and although he has not succeeded in the actual object which he had in view, yet his failure is in no degree to be attributed to other than accidental causes.

I have, &c.,

BATHURST.

Further characteristics of Mary March (Wannathoakc).

The following particulars of Mary March were obtained from Revd. Mr Leigh, with whom she stayed, by Sir Hercules Robinson, Commander on H.M.S. *Favourite* on the Newfoundland station.

Sir Hercules's paper was written on board his ship at sea and is dated November 7th 1820. He says he is writing from memory of several conversations he held with Mr Leigh at Harbour Grace some weeks previously. He regrets he did not immediately note them down before many interesting facts had escaped his memory. He does not say whether he himself ever saw the Indian woman, but it is not probable he did, as she died on board Buchan's ship the *Grasshopper* at the mouth of the Exploits, on Jan. 8th 1820, and it is not likely Sir Hercules was then or previously in the country.

The first part of his paper is merely a reiteration of what has already been given relative to the relations subsisting between the Micmac's and the Beothucks, and the latter and the Whites (fishermen). Coming down to the actual capture of Mary March, and the shooting of her husband, the author goes on to state. "The anguish and horror which were visible in her intelligent countenance, 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 towards him, which only ended with her life.—To him alone she was all gentleness, affection and obedience, and the last act of her "brief eventful history" was to take a ring from her finger and beg it might be sent to him.

The tribe were in the neighbourhood of this disastrous meeting and it was necessary that the party should secure their retreat, they had a sleigh drawn by dogs in which Mary March, as she was afterwards named, and as we may now call her, immediately placed herself, when she understood 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 both here and subsequently, by her helplessness, by the attention she appeared habitually, to expect at the hands of others, and by her unacquaintance with any laborious employment, she indicated either a superiority of station, or that she was accustomed to a treatment of female savages very different from that of all other tribes. She was quite unlike an Esquimaux in face and figure, tall and rather stout body, limbs very small and delicate, particularly her arms. Her hands and feet were very small and beautifully formed, and of these she was very proud, her complexion a light copper colour, became nearly as fair as an European's after a course of washing and absence from smoke, her hair was black,

which she delighted to comb and oil, her eyes larger and more intelligent than those of an Esquimau, her teeth small, white and regular, her cheek bones rather high, but her countenance had a mild and pleasing expression. Her miniature taken by Lady Hamilton, is said to be strikingly like her; her voice was remarkably sweet low and musical. When brought to Fogo, she was taken into the house of Mr Leigh, the 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 clothes,—her own were of dressed deer-skins tastefully trimmed with martin, but she would never put them on, or part with them. She ate sparingly, disliked wine or spirits, was very fond of sleep, never getting up to breakfast before 9 O'Clock. She lay rolled up in a ball in the middle of the 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 she could express herself, her signs and dumb Crambo were curiously significant. She described the servants, black-smiths, Taylor, shoemaker, a man who wore spectacles, and other persons whom she could not name, with a most happy minuteness of imitation; it is a beautiful provision that savages and children who have much to learn, should be such good mimics, as without the faculty they could learn nothing, and we observe it usually leaves them when they no longer want its assistance. To this we should often ascribe family resemblances which we think are inherited, but to return to Mary March. She would sometimes though rarely speak fully to Mr Leigh, and talk of her tribe, they believed in a Great Spirit but seem to have no religious ceremonies—Polygamy does not appear to be practised. Mr Leigh is of opinion there are about 300 in number. I forget the data from which he calculated. They live in separate wigwams. Mary's consisted of 16—the number was discovered in rather a curious manner. She went frequently to her bed room 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 shewed about her trunk suspicion fell upon her, her trunk was searched and the cloth found nicely converted into 16 pairs of moccasins, which she had made in her bed, two pair of children's stockings were also found, made of a cotton night-cap, Mr Leigh had lost one, but Mary answered angrily about her merchandize. "John Peyton, John Peyton," meaning he had given it to her, at last in the bottom of the trunk the tassell of the cap and the bit marked "J.L." were found, when looking steadfastly at Mr Leigh she pointed to her manufacture said slowly—"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 anything that was given her and was fond of dividing them into 16 shares. 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 softly, her perception of anything ridiculous and her general knowledge of character showed much archness and sagacity. An unmarried man seemed an object of great ridicule to her, when she was taken into St John's on entering the harbour, she said to Messrs Leigh and Peyton, "You go shore, John Peyton, when go shore no Emamoose", ha ha. She was quite indifferent to music, did not seem to perceive it, liked exhibiting herself to strangers, and was very fond of putting on and taking off all the dresses, ribbons and ornaments that were given her.

Mr Leigh once drew on a bit of paper, a boat and crew, with a female figure

¹ Deothuck term for woman.

in it going up a river and stopping a moment at a wigwam, described the boat freighted as before returning—Mary immediately applied the hieroglyphic, and cried out—"no, no, no, no," She 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 the mode of communication. She remained a short time at St John's, and acquired such facility in speaking English that sanguine hopes of conciliating, and opening a communication with the tribe through her means were entertained and when Sir Charles Hamilton despatched Captain Buchan to the Exploits to make the attempt it was hoped for this poor devoted handful of Indians that the measure of their sufferings was full, and that they were at last to be brought within the influence and blessings of Christianity and civilization. It was ordered otherwise, the change of dress, or change of living or whatever it may be that operates so fatally on savages separated from their native habits, spared not poor Mary. She left St John's with a bad cough and died of consumption on nearing the Exploits, aged 24—Capt Buchan after a laborious journey reached the wigwams—but found them empty; and deposited there the coffin of Mary with her presents, dresses, moccasins, &c. The experiment I think was hazardous, the Indians on returning may perceive the truth, or they may fancy poison, insult, or any barbarities practised on their forefathers, which they carefully and immemorably record.

I have written these notes, from recollection of conversations with Mr Leigh at Harbour Grace several weeks ago, and I regret that I neglected to note them before many interesting particulars had escaped my memory.

(signed) "HERCULES ROBINSON."

His Majesty's Ship "Favourite"

at sea, November 7th 1820.

The author then gives a vocabulary of the Beothuck language, obtained by Mr Leigh from Mary March, during her stay with the latter. As this is fully dealt with in one of Prof. Gatschet's papers I need not give it here. I might observe, however, that any vocabulary obtained from this woman can scarcely fail to be defective. She could not in so short a time have acquired so perfect a knowledge of English as to make herself clearly understood, whilst her interlocutors could not have so fully mastered the phonetics of her own language as to be able to render the sounds correctly. As much of the interpretation also had to be conducted by signs, it is but reasonable to suppose misunderstandings must have occurred between the parties, as to what was really meant at times.

In 1822, Mr William E. Cormack, a philanthropic gentleman, who had conceived an intense desire to communicate with the Red Indians and endeavour to ameliorate their hapless condition, undertook a journey on foot across the interior of the Island, accompanied only by one Micmac Indian. He failed in finding any trace of them, but his daring undertaking and the intensely interesting character of his journal of the trip across country, in its then, utterly unknown condition, warrants me in giving it a place here.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY ACROSS THE ISLAND
OF NEWFOUNDLAND IN 1822.

BY W. E. CORMACK, ESQ.

PART I.

Training and preparation.

To accompany me in the performance, I engaged into my service, first, a Micmack Indian, a noted hunter from the south-west coast of the Island, and next a European, whom I thought fitted. For an undertaking involving so much uncertainty, hazard, and hardship, it was difficult to find men in every respect suited—of volunteers there were several.

In the month of July I trained myself with my Indian, and tried his fidelity by making an excursion from St John's to Placentia, and back by way of Trinity and Conception Bays, a circuit of about one hundred and fifty miles; I thereby also ascertained the necessary equipment for my intended expedition¹; and discovered that it would be impossible to travel in the totally unknown interior, until subsistence could be there procured, the supply of which is extremely precarious until the berries are ripening, and the wild birds and beasts have left their birth-places to roam at large and are likely to fall in the traveller's way.

I now resolved to penetrate at once through the central part of the Island; and the direction in which the natural characteristics of the interior were likely to be most decidedly exhibited, appeared to lie between Trinity Bay on the east coast and St George's Bay on the west².

In the latter end of August I equipped my two men with everything necessary for three months' campaign, and considered my party, under circumstances, sufficient.

August 29th.—It is necessary to mention that the chief Government authority was opposed to the project,—and with which he was made acquainted,—of obtaining a knowledge of the interior of the country. In consequence of this, I was deprived of the services of the European, who was, unfortunately for me, a Stipendiary by local appointment³. I could not add to my party either by hiring or obtaining a volunteer.

¹ At Placentia there lived at this time Josiah Blackburne, Esq., an interesting old gentleman, a magistrate and patriarch of the place, a Scot by birth, who related with the greatest delight the event of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence His present Majesty William the IV. at this place in the year 17... in His Majesty's ship. * * * *

In remembrance of His Royal Highness's visit, Her late Majesty Queen Caroline sent to Placentia the sum of four hundred pounds to build a chapel—accompanied with a model, and church service of plate, in trust, to Mr. Blackburne. The chapel was erected, and is now an extremely chaste building. The model was probably of one of the Royal Chapels in England.

² Captain Buchan's interesting narrative of his journey by the way of the river Exploits to the encampments of the Red Indians, and of his interview with these people on the banks of the Red Indian Lake in the interior, during the winter season, when the face of the country was covered with snow and ice, could not throw much light upon the natural condition of the country upon the banks of that river and lake.

³ The late Hon. Chas. Fox Bennett, in 1822, informed me that he was the person referred to who was to have accompanied Cormack but that business interfered and prevented his doing so. He said he was well acquainted with W. E. Cormack, who was a particular friend of his.

PART II.

Passage from St John's to Trinity Bay.

The proper season had arrived in which to set off, and I embarked at St John's for Trinity Bay, previously taking with me my Indian only. Uncertainty of result wavered over my determination, now more settled (by opposition) to perform at all hazards what I had set out upon. That no one would be injured by my amihilation was a cheering triumph at such a moment.

Mineralogy.—The sea coast at St John's, and twelve or fifteen miles northward, as well as thirty miles to the southward, is formed of brown sandstone of a highly silicious quality approaching to quartz-rock, alternating with beds of conglomerate and breccia—the latter rocks consist of a mechanically formed basis of sandstone—in some parts amygdaloidal—with rolled agates, jasper, fragments of felspar, clay slate, &c. imbedded. The highest hills of this formation are entirely, and both sides of the entrance of the harbour of St John's are partly, formed of these. The sandstone is traversed in all directions by tortuous veins of quartz, generally white, and vertical, and it includes within it some minor beds of stratified sandstone, with a dip to the south east. The whole line of coast presents a precipitous and mural front to the sea, varying from a hundred to nearly five hundred feet in height. In many parts the veins of quartz are of a green colour, indicative of copper, and which metal is here found in the form of gray copper ore of a very rich quality.

There was a copper mine opened about forty years ago, at Shoal Bay, fifteen miles south of St John's, by a late Earl of Galloway, a Mr Vance Agnew of Galloway, and a Mr Dunn of Aberdeen, the Collector at that time of H.M. Customs at St John's. The mouths of two shafts, one in the side of the solid rock, the other on the acclivity fifty or sixty feet above the level of the sea, as well as other remains of the works, are still to be seen. It is said to have been worked two years; and the ore, sent to England, yielded 80 per cent. of copper. The richer veins took a direction under the level of the sea; and owing to the *reported* difficulty of keeping the mine dry, the undertaking was relinquished after an expenditure of £9,000. Cornish miners were brought purposely to the country. There are other parts of the coast adjacent, as well as inland, that exhibit the same proofs of abundance of copper as this close assemblage of veins—of six feet wide at Shoal Bay.

From the termination of the sandstone northward of St John's, the coast to Cape St Francis is formed of gray quartz rock, gray wacke, felspar, porphyry, and a series of transition clay slate rocks—alternating in strata, the prevalent of the slate formation being green stone and flinty slate compact—long splintering, and friable, blue clay slate—with patches of red and green, gray quartz is the highest; and having sulphuret of iron disseminated in some spots—oxidation gives it a brown colour externally. Chlorite and epidote enter more or less into the composition of all the hard rocks, inclusive of the quartz. The green stone passes into varieties; some of which are of yellowish green colour, translucent at the edges, and seem to be composed of talc, approaching more or less to serpentine: these, and all the slate rocks, have a perfect double oblique scanned structure: the whole of them are in nearly vertical strata with an inclination to the north west. The line of junction of the slate formation with the sandstone runs NNE, and SSW, and intersects the harbour of St John's. The rocks are sometimes distinctly separated, sometimes pass gradually into each other, and again the slate rocks are extremely tortuous, with conforming veins of white quartz intermixed. In some low spots are beds of horizontally stratified blue and gray gritty slate, in tables or flags.

Cape St Francis is formed principally of gray quartz rock and green stone. The hoary receding front manifests the thousands of years it has defied, and still

defies more sternly than ever, the shocks and chafings of the hundreds of square miles of ice which are forced against it every winter by the constant current and north-west wind from the Arctic seas. The hills behind are from three to five hundred feet in height.

On the 30th August we sailed past Conception Bay, the most populous and important district in Newfoundland. It was in this Bay, according to history, that the first settlement of the *New-found-land* was attempted by the English in 1620—through Sir George Calvert (father of Lord Baltimore) who had obtained a grant from Charles I of the south-east part of the island. Sir George pitched upon *Porte-de-Grave*, a harbour on the west side of the bay, as the spot best suited to his purpose, there being in its immediate vicinity an extensive tract of flat prairie land. It is said he was at great expense and pains to introduce European animals, plants, &c. He was lost at sea in returning to England, and the scheme was abandoned. Some shrubs and small fruits grow here that have not been met with any where else on the Island, and were no doubt originally brought by Sir George. Mill-stones were until lately in existence at a spot where there had apparently been a mill; but it is supposed the mill was never finished¹.

On the promontory between Conception and Trinity Bays is the Point of Grates, and close to it Baccalao Island.

The Point of Grates is the part of North America first discovered by Europeans. Sebastian Cabot landed here in 1497, and took possession of *The Newfoundland*, which he discovered in the name of his employer, Henry VII. of England. He recorded the event by cutting an inscription, still perfectly legible, on a large block of rock that stands on the shore.

Baccalao Island, formed of a horizontally stratified rock, apparently gritty slate, is famous for the numbers of sea fowl that frequent it in the breeding season, principally the puffin, called on this coast the *Baccalao* or *Facalieu* bird. The Island has one landing-place only, on its east side, and no resident inhabitants; but is visited by men in boats and small schooners called *Eggers*, who carry off cargoes of new laid eggs. The end of the profession of these men will be the extermination of the sea fowl of these parts for the sake of a cruelly-begotten temporary subsistence. The destruction by mechanical force of tens of thousands of eggs, after the commencement of incubation, precedes the gathering of a small cargo of fresh-laid eggs. Penguins, once numerous on this coast, may be considered as now extirpated, for none have been seen for many years past.

The wind having been unfavourable, it was not until the 31st August we arrived at Bonaventure, a small fishing harbour on the west side of Trinity Bay. It has a narrow entrance, and is surrounded by steep craggy hills of 400 to 600 feet in height.

None of the inhabitants here or in the vicinity, as at other parts of Newfoundland, could give any information about the interior, never having been further from the salt water than in pursuit of animals for their furs, and for wool-stuff to build vessels and fishing boats.

From the summits of the hills immediately around the harbour, there is a view of the country in all directions inland for 20 to 30 miles, encompassing part of Random Island in the south-west. The whole is a continued succession of groups of rugged hills (mountains except in height,) all apparently of a similar description to those on which we stood, with some small patches of black fir woods, and a few lakes interspersed. It presented a prospect of at least a week's hard labour overland, before we could reach what we could only hope might be the verge of

¹ Judging from the above, Cormack does not appear to have been well posted in Newfoundland history. It was not Sir George Calvert who founded the first Colony in Conception Bay, but John Guy, of Bristol, one of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London and Bristol. It took place not in 1620, but in 1621. Sir Geo. Calvert (Lord Baltimore's) settlement was at a place called Ferryland, on the eastern seaboard 40 miles south of St John's, in 1621. It was not he, but Sir Humphrey Gilbert who was lost at sea.

the interior. This suggested to me the plan of going nearer to the centre of the Island by water, in order to save all our strength and resource for the main object of the undertaking, as it was impossible to know what difficulties and necessities we might have to contend with. This was to be effected by taking a boat from hence to the west part of Random Sound, which lay to the west-south-westward. The country we now saw was within the reach of any one to explore at any short interval of time, and was therefore of secondary moment to me.

The west side of Trinity Bay is composed of rocks of the transition clay slate formation, similar to those on the east. The hills, frequently of 400 to 600 feet in height, are chiefly of greenstone and hornblende slate, the out-goings of the nearly vertical strata and dykes, which sometimes present a perfectly mural front to the sea; blue clay slate alternates, and has cubical iron pyrites often imbedded, some of which are several inches in diameter. In the vallies are beds of horizontally stratified gritty slate of the tabular structure, similar to that noticed at other parts of the east coast. The tables or flags are often several yards in length, formed under a double oblique intersecting cleavage, and admirably adapted for many purposes of building. The beds are traversed in all directions by dykes several feet in thickness, of a dark coloured green stone, also of the seamd structure, the splinters of which are translucent at the edges.

The plants met with at this part of the north-east coast of America, although only 48° 20' N. lat. or nearly in the parallel of Brest, and the highest hills not exceeding 600 feet, seem to be similar to those of Norway and Lapland in the north-west of Europe, under the Arctic circle. On the sea beaches the common plants are the sea plantain, *Plantago maritima*, the sea pea, *Pisum maritimum*, *Campanula rotundifolia*, *Elodea campanula*, *Eupatium parviflorum*, *Syrupus virginicus*, *Mentha Canadensis*, &c. The trees immediately at the coast, are nearly all of the pine tribe, principally firs. In the more sheltered spots a few birches are met with. On the activities are the raspberry, *Rubus idaeus*, bramble, *R. fruticosus*, *Viburnum pyrifolium*, bearing clusters of a wholesome blue berry—and *V. coccineoides*; *Cornus coccinata*, bearing clusters of a white berry considered unwholesome, *C. stricta* or red rod; strawberry; *Epilobium angustifolium*, *E. tetragonum*, *E. oliganthum*, *E. latifolium*; *Solidago Canadensis*, *S. flexuans*, *S. virginea*; *Eupatium purpurum*; *Prenanthes serpentina*, everlasting *Antennaria margaritacea*; *Potentilla horvata*; *Lysimachia stricta*; *Scutellaria galericulata*; *Polygonum sagittatum*; *Micropetalum gramineum* or *Stellaria graminea*; *Cerastium viscosum*; *Thlaspi bursa pastoris*; *Gallium polidre*; white spinach; *Cheopodium album*; *Salsopus terahab*; *Veronica serpyllifolia*, *Lythodan taraxacum*; *Aparogium autumnalis*; *Saxum elongatum*; *Sonchus oleraceus*; *Cnicus arvensis*, &c. Several varieties of whortleberry, *Vaccinium tomentosum* being the most common, partridgeberry, *V. Paxifolium*; juniper, *Juniperus communis*. On the summits of the hills, *Empetrum nigrum*, on the black watery berry of which curlew and other birds feed; *Vaccinium uliginosum*; *Arbutus uva ursi*, *A. nudo*; *Potentilla tridentata*, &c.

The inhabitants of Bonaventure, about a dozen families, gain their livelihood by the cod fishery. They cultivate only a few potatoes, and some other vegetables, which were of excellent quality, amongst the scanty patches of soil around their doors; obtaining all their other provisions, clothing, and outfit for the fishery, from merchants in other parts of Trinity Bay, or elsewhere on the coast, not too far distant, giving in return the produce of the fishery, viz. cod fish and cod oil. They collectively catch about 1,500 quintals, or 300 tons of cod fish, valued at 12s. per quintal, £9000; and manufacture from the livers of the cod fish about twenty-one tons of oil, valued at £16 per tun, £336; which is the annual amount of their trade. The merchants import articles for the use of the fisheries from Europe and elsewhere to supply such people as these, who are actually engaged in the operations of the fishery. The whole population of Newfoundland may be viewed as similarly circumstanced with those of Bonaventure.

September 3rd.—Having engaged a boat to carry us to the most inland part of Random Sound, we left Bonaventure. On the passage to the north-east entrance, about six miles south-west of Bonaventure, we witnessed the phenomenon of the very great transparency of the sea which it assumes here during the time of change of wind from West to East. The fishes and their haunts amongst the rocks and luxuriant weeds at the bottom were seen to a fearful depth. Every turn of the Sound presents a different aspect of rugged, and in some parts, grand scenery. Both sides are formed of steep and perpendicular hills of greenstone, and of rocks of the transition clay slate formation, of 500 to 600 feet in height, the nakedness of which displays, as at the outer parts of Trinity Bay, the skeleton of the earth. The strata are of various thickness, and lie in different directions. Patches of fir trees, *Pinus balsamea*, principally grow where the steepness does not prevent debris from lodging. The appearance of both sides of the Sound or gut correspond so remarkably, that it might be inferred Random Island is a break off from the main island. There are no inhabitants here, but fishermen of the neighbouring parts come hither in spring for the rinds of the fir tree, *Pinus balsamea*, which they peel off, spread and dry in the sun, and afterwards use chiefly to cover the piles of cod fish to protect it from the wet weather and dew—in the process of curing. The North Arm of the Sound, that which we came through is about thirty miles in length, and varies from one-eighth to one-third of a mile in width. Within two or three miles of its west extremity it expands and becomes shallow, and here the scene of gloom and barrenness is suddenly contrasted with a pretty, small sheet of water, surrounded by a flat thickly wooded country, as inviting as the past was forbidding.

Random Bar, at the west extremity of the Sound, caused by the meeting of the tide here, in the form of two considerable bores from the north and south arms, is dry except for an hour or two before and after high water, and there is then about two feet only of water upon it. It is in 48° 15' north latitude, and 53° 40' west longitude, (by Steel's chart, published in 1817).

The land adjacent to the bar is low, and the soil is good. Westward towards the interior it rises from the water's edge very gradually, and is entirely covered with wood. In consequence of black birch, *Betula lenta*, and white pine, *Pinus sylvestris*, having been produced in this part in considerable quantities fit for ship-building, it appears to have been formerly much resorted to, and vessels have been built there. A spot of ground near the bar had been appropriated to the interment of those who had died while employed in the vicinity. Most kinds of the pine tribe are met with here, viz., *Pinus nigra*, *P. alba*, *P. rubra*, *P. balsamea*, *P. microcarpa* or *Larix*, and *P. sylvestris*, already noticed; also white birch, *Betula populifolia*, of the rinds of which the Indians cover their canoes; poplars, *Populus tremula* and *P. grandidentata*; maples, *Acer rubrum* and *A. striatum*, or moose wood of Canada; mountain ash, *Sorbus Americana*; choke cherry, *Prunus borealis*, and small wild cherry, *P. pennsylvanica*; hazel *Corylus Americana*; elder *Sambucus*; and some other shrubs.

September 5th.—Our boat having lain dry on the bar nearly all night, we slept in her in preference to encamping in the woods. Wild geese and other birds were flying to and fro over us during the whole time, most industriously and fearlessly, in search of food. This is a favourite resort of ducks, herons, and other aquatic fowls.

Sunrise announced that adieu was to be taken for a time to the routine habits of civilization. My travelling equipments being landed, the boat with the party which brought my Indian left us on her return to Bonaventure. On her disappearance into the gloomy gut, and when the reports of our farewell guns were no longer echoed to each other along its windings, an abyss of difficulties instantly sprang up in the imagination between the point where we stood and the civilized world we had just quitted as well as between us and the centre of the *Terra Incognita*. That we might be eaten up by packs of wolves was more than probable to the farewell forebodings of the inhabitants we had last seen, if we should escape the Red Indians. My Indian was also at this juncture sensibly affected; contrasting no doubt the

are sometimes mixed. On the surface of the vegetation with which others are covered, huge masses or boulders of very hard and sienitic granite often apparently lie,—but on examination are found to rest on their parent nucleus underneath, as it were deserted by the more perishable portions of the original bed. Green-stone of a very perfect double oblique seamed structure, which owes its green colour to an intimate association in various proportions with chlorite, alternates in the clay slate formation and appears next in elevation to the granite; it presents plain weathered surfaces resembling yellow-grey sandstone, owing to the decomposition of its chief component part—felspar. The clay slate rocks are distinctly seen at all the brooks and lakes within eighteen or twenty miles of the sea. Beyond that the primitive rocks prevail.

The Forest, it may be useless to repeat, is composed almost entirely of trees of the pine tribe, firs, in general fit for small spars, the black and red spruce, *Pinus nigra* and *P. rubra* predominating. In some favoured spots a few birches, larch, and *Pinus sylvestris*, attain a considerable size. Birch is the only deciduous timber tree met with in Newfoundland; there being here neither beech, maple, (except the two diminutive species already noticed,) oak, nor ash, all common on the neighbouring islands and continent.

Marshes and lakes lie hidden in the forest. Every marsh is accompanied almost invariably by a lake, and every hill also by a lake of proportional extent at its foot, and the three are frequently found together. We travelled on the rising ground in order to avoid the lakes.

On the skirts of the forest, and of the marshes are found the following trees and shrubs:—Poplar, *Populus tremula*; Alder, *Alnus crispa*; Birches, *Betula nana* and *B. glandulosa*; Willow, *Salix* —; Indian Pear, *Pyrus botryatrium*, and *P. arbutifolium*; wild gooseberry, *Ribes glabre*; and wild currant, *R. prostratum*; Raspberries, *Rubus occidentalis* and *R. saxatilis*, *Potentilla fruticosa*; yellow-flowering honey suckle, *Lonicera alpigena*?; *Rhodora Canadensis*; *Andromeda calyciflora*, and *A. angustifolia*; *Kalmia glauca*; Indian or Labrador tea, *Ledum latifolium*, *Myrica gale*; Roses, *Rosa nitida*, and *R. frainifolia*, &c.

The marshes consist of what is termed marsh peat, formed chiefly of the mosses, *Sphagnum capillifolium* and *vulgare* S. or *S. glabre* Mich?; and are for the most part covered with grasses, rushes, &c., of which the following predominate: *Elychalis sanguinolenta*, the roots of which are thickly matted in bunches; cotton grasses, *Eriophorum virginicum*, *E. angustifolium*, and *E. cespitosum*; *Carex parviflora*, *C. tenella*, *C. stipata* of Mecklenberg, *C. foliolata* and *C. bullata*; sweet scented grass, *Anthoxanthum odoratum*, &c. Some portions of the marshes retain more water than others, and here the prevalent plants are a variety of rushes; *Juncus acutifloris* and *effusus* and *bufonius* and *campestris*, *Luzula campestris*, *Pogonia ophioglossoides*, red and a yellow kind, *Habenaria dilatata*, and *H. clavellata*; lark-spur, *Prosera rotundifolia*; Indian cup, *Sarracenia purpurea*; cranberry, *Oxycoccus macrocarpus*; and marsh berry, *O.* —; bog apple, *Rubus chamaemorus*?; ladies' slipper, *Cypripedium humile*; gold thread, *Coptis trifolia*; *Rhynchospora alba*, *Stachys aspera*; *Windsoria poe formis*; *Arundo Canadensis*;—the two last grasses being five or six feet in height; *Mecklenbergia erecta*, *Iris virginica*; white violet, *Viola Selkirkia*, and blue, *V. palustris*; *Lyopopus virginicus*, &c. Other spots of the marshes are raised above the common surface, owing generally to the projection of the underlying rocks, and consequently retain less moisture. Here the *Kalmia angustifolia* sometimes occupies entire acres, and in the flowering season displays (as may be seen in the vicinity of St John's) a very brilliant appearance. The *Rhododendron punctatum* Pursh, which puts forth its delicate lilac blossoms before its leaves, is also common. The pools and lakes shone brilliantly with white and yellow water-lilies—*Nymphaea odorata* and *N. advena*, *Cladon obliqua*, &c. At and in the running waters are *Pirca salicifolia*, columbine, *Thalictrium cornuti* and *T. pubescens*; *Lobelia Dortmanna*, *Epipactum*

? This is not correct.

sylvaticum; *Aster nemoralis* and *A. radula*; *Potamogeton natans*; *Hippuris vulgaris*; *Fontinalis squamosa*; *Ranunculus filiformis*, and *R. scleratus*; *Atricularia vulgaris*, *Spergularia arvensis*; Buckbean, *Mercurialis trifoliata*, *Oxoclea sensibilis*; dock, *Rumex*, several species; water-aven or chocolate root, *Goum urvale*, &c.

Under the shade of the forest the soil is light, dry, very rocky, of a yellow-brown colour, and covered every where with a beautiful thick carpet of green moss, formed principally of *Polytrichum commune*. As there are few or no deciduous or leaf-shedding trees, decay of foliage adds little or nothing to ameliorate or enrich the soil, and the velvet-like covering remains unsoiled by fallen leaves. The surface is bespangled and the air perfumed by the *Marchantia polymorpha*; *Trientalis Americana*, *Smilacina borealis*; *S. Canadensis*, *bifolia*, and *S. trifolia*; *Linnaea borealis*; *Vaccinium hispidotum*, the white berry of which is convertible into a very delicious preserve; *Pyrola secunda*; *Cornus Canadensis*, bearing a cluster of wholesome red berries, sometimes called pigeon berries; *Malaxis unifolia*, *Habenaria daveolata*; *Bianca bulbifera*, or *cornuta*; wild celery, *Ligusticum Sotianum*; *Streptopus distortus*, bearing pendulous red berries under its large palmated leaves.

The plants enumerated are not limited to the situation described, but frequently range on several of them. There being neither browse, grass, nor berries in any quantity in the pine forest, even traces of any kind of game are seldom seen. Hence the necessity of carrying a stock of provisions to last while travelling through such woods, yet a heavy load prevents expedition and observing much of the natural condition of the country. The brooks are only visited by otters: the pools and small lakes by beavers and musk rats. The martin, *Muscia martin*, is sometimes seen on the trees. Of the feathered tribe, the jay, *Cornus Canadensis*, and sometimes the titmouse followed us, chattering and fluttering, shewing that their retreats were never before invaded by man. A woodpecker, of which there are two or three kinds, is now and then heard tapping, and sometimes the distant croak of a raven catches the ear. These are the only interruptions to the dead silence that always and everywhere reigns during the day in such forests. Man alone forces his way fearlessly onward, scarce a sound being heard except he is directly or indirectly the cause. The loud notes of the loon, *Columbus Arcticus* and *Columbus glacialis*, discovered to us at night, as we lay in our camp, in what direction the lakes lay that were near, and we thus avoided them, if in our course next day. The loon, like the other aquatic birds of passage, geese and ducks, is most alert in the night time, when the permanent inhabitants of the country are at rest. Almost every lake is occupied during the breeding season by a pair of these nocturnal clamourers. The wild, varied and significant responses to each other, as they swim about in search of food, sometimes like the bleating of sheep, and again like the lowing of cattle, keep the imagination awake all night.

It is impossible in an unknown country, and one into which for centuries admission was in a manner denied, to reconcile oneself with certainty as to who are fellow occupants around. Aborigines might have wandered from the more central parts of the island to our neighbourhood and spy our fire from a distance and steal upon us unawares. No civilized being had been here before, nor was any now expected. Apprehensions and thoughts of no ordinary kind occupy the mind unaccustomed to the untrodden boundless wilderness. Sleep is not looked for.

We had as yet shot only a few braces of grouse, *Tetrao albus*, while crossing the open rocky spots in the woods, and our stock of provisions was nearly consumed.

The heat in the woods was very oppressive, and there being no circulation of air under the trees, myriads of mosquitos, with black and sand flies, annoyed us.

We lodged at nights under the thickest of the woods, encamping or bivouacking in the Indian manner. As the weather was fine, this was agreeable and cheerful. Familiarity with this transient system of sheltering, adopted from expediency, is soon acquired. It may be shortly described: Continuing our journey, about an

hour before sunset a dry firm spot of ground on which to make a fire and to sleep under the thickest of the trees for shelter is pitched upon as near as possible to water, and an easy supply of wood for fuel. Care should be taken that the spot selected be not hollow underneath the moss that covers the ground, for in that case the fire, which always consumes its own bed, may sink before the night so far below the surface as to be useless, and expose a cavity amongst blocks of granite into which the firebrands have fallen, and sufficient to swallow up any slumberer that might chance to slide into it. Arms and knapsacks are then piled; as much wood is cut and brought to the spot as will serve to keep up a good fire all night. Tinder is made by pulverizing a small piece of dry rotten wood and a little gunpowder together between the hands, and ignited by a spark from the lock of a pistol or fowling piece, or by any other means; the smoke of the fire affords instant relief from the constant devouring enemy, the flies. Boughs are broken from the surrounding spruce trees, two or three arms full to each person, to serve to lie and sleep on; they are laid on the ground at the windward side of the fire to be free from the smoke, tier upon tier, as feathers upon the back of a bird, the thick or broken ends placed in lines towards the fire, and form a kind of mat three or four inches in thickness. A few light poles are then cut and stuck in the ground along the windward side of the bed, inclined in an angle of about 45° over it towards the fire, on which to stretch a blanket to serve as a roof-screen in the event of rain during the night; the upper ends of the poles rest on a horizontal ridge pole, which is suspended at each end by a forked stick or a post. The camp being now ready for the general accommodation, wet clothes are taken off, and supper is prepared accordingly. The labour of exploring and hunting is such that the clothes are always wet from perspiration. A forked stick stuck in the ground is used for roasting by, and some pieces of rind of a birch or spruce tree serve for table cloth, platter, and torches. To make a camp after a day's hard fatigue requires about an hour, and the whole should be done before it is dark. Then and not till then is it proper to sit down to rest. After supper, each when disposed rolls himself up in his blanket and reposes on his fragrant bed of boughs, placing the soles of the feet near the fire. This precaution the Indian strictly adheres to, as a preservation of health, the feet being wet all day.

September 10th.—From the first we had now and then crossed over marshes and open rocky spots in the forest. As we advanced these latter became more frequent. The change of sylvan scenery as we passed from one to another was enlivening and interesting, and afforded the luxury of a breeze that freed us from the host of blood-thirsty flies.

Early in the day, the ground descending, we came unexpectedly to a rivulet about seventy yards wide, running rapidly over a rocky bed to the north-east, which we forded. The bed and shelving banks are formed of granite, mica and transition clay slate rocks. Some of the latter inclined to serpentine, greenstone, red sandstone of the coal formation, sand, and beds of fine yellow clay. The water was in some parts brought into a very narrow compass by the rocks projecting from the sides. Large birch and spruce trees overhung the banks, and rendered the scenery pretty. It abounded with fine trout, some of which we caught. The sand was everywhere marked with tracks of deer. The roaring of a cataract of some magnitude was heard in the north-east. From the position and course of this stream, we inferred that it was a branch of the river which runs into Clode Sound, in Bonavista Bay; and my Indian supposed, from his recollections of the reports of the Indians concerning Clode Sound River, that canoes could be brought up from the sea coast to near where we were.

Leaving this rivulet, the land has a considerable rise for several miles. The features of the country then assume an air of expanse and importance different from heretofore. The trees become larger and stand apart; and we entered upon spacious

tracks of rocky ground entirely clear of wood. Everything indicated our approach to the verge of a country different from the past.

We soon found that we were on a great granitic ridge, covered, not as the lower grounds are with crowded pines and green moss, but with scattered trees, and a variety of beautiful lichens or reindeer moss, partridge berries, *Vaccinium Uxifolium*, and whortleberries loaded the ground. The *Xylosteum villosum*, a pretty erect shrub, was in full fruit by the sides of the rocks; grouse, *Tetrao albus*, the indigenous game bird of the country, rose in coveys in every direction, and snipes from every marsh. The birds of passage, ducks and geese, were flying over us to and fro from their breeding places in the interior and the sea coast; tracks of deer, of wolves fearfully large, of bears, foxes, and martens, were seen everywhere.

On looking back towards the sea coast, the scene was magnificent. We discovered that under the cover of the forest we had been uniformly ascending ever since we left the salt water at Random Bar, and then soon arrived at the summit of what we saw to be a great mountain ridge that seems to serve as a barrier between the sea and the interior. The black dense forest through which we had pilgrimaged presented a novel picture, appearing spotted with bright yellow marshes and a few glossy lakes in its bosom, some of which we had passed close by without seeing them.

PART IV.

First view of the interior—Our advance into it—Its description— Reach the central part of the island.

In the westward, to our inexpressible delight, the interior broke in sublimity before us. What a contrast did this present to the conjectures entertained of Newfoundland! The hitherto mysterious interior lay unfolded below us, a boundless scene, emerald surface, a vast basin. The eye strides again and again over a succession of northerly and southerly ranges of green plains, marbled with woods and lakes of every form and extent, a picture of all the luxurious scenes of national cultivation, receding into invisibleness. The imagination hovers in the distance, and clings involuntarily to the undulating horizon of vapour, far into the west, until it is lost. A new world seemed to invite us onward, or rather we claimed the dominion and were impatient to proceed to take possession. Fancy carried us swiftly across the Island. Obstacles of every kind were dispelled and despised. Primitiveness, omnipotence, and tranquillity were stamped upon everything so forcibly, that the mind is hurled back thousands of years, and the man left denuded of the mental fabric which a knowledge of ages of human experience and of time may have reared within him. Could a dwelling be secured amid the heavenly emotions excited by the presence of such objects.

It was manifested on every hand that this was the season of the year when the earth here offers her stores of productions; land berries were ripening, game birds were fledging, and beasts were emerging to prey upon each other. Everything animate or inanimate seemed to be our own. We consumed unsparingly our remaining provisions, confident that henceforward, with our personal powers, which felt increased by the nature of the objects that presented themselves, aided by what now seemed by contrast the admirable power of our fire-arms, the destruction of one creature would afford us nourishment and vigour for the destruction of others. There was no will but ours. Thoughts of the aborigines did not alter our determination to meet them, as well as everything living, that might present itself in a country yet untrudden, and before unseen by civilized man. I now adopted, as well for self-preservation as for the sake of accomplishing the object of my excursion, the self-dependent mode of life of the Indian both in spirit and action.

But to look around before we advance. The great exterior features of the eastern portion of the main body of the island are seen from these commanding heights. Overland communication between the bays of the east, north and south coasts, it appears, might be easily established. The chief obstacles to overcome, as far as regards the mere way, seem to lie in crossing the mountain belt of twenty or forty miles wide, on which we stood, in order to reach the open low interior. The nucleus of this belt is exhibited in the form of a semi-circular chain of isolated paps and round-backed granitic hills, generally lying north-east and south-west of each other in the rear of Bonavista, Trinity, Placentia, and Fortune Bays. To the southward of us, in the direction of Piper's Hole, in Placentia Bay, one of these conical hills, very conspicuous, I named Mount Clarence, in honour of His Royal Highness, who, when in the navy, had been in Placentia Bay. Our view extended more than forty miles in all directions. No high land, it has been already noticed, bounded the low interior in the west.

September 11th. — We descended into the bosom of the interior.

The plains which shone so brilliantly are steppes or savannas, composed of fine black compact peat mould, formed by the growth and decay of mosses, principally the *Sphagnum capillifolium*, and covered uniformly with their wiry grass, the *Uphrasia effinis* being in some places intermixed. They are in the form of extensive gently undulating beds, stretching northward and southward, with running waters and lakes, skirted with woods, lying between them. Their yellow green surfaces are sometimes uninterrupted either by tree, shrub, rocks, or any inequality, for more than ten miles. They are chequered everywhere upon the surface by deep beaten deer paths, and are in reality magnificent natural deer parks, adorned by woods and water. The trees here sometimes grow to a considerable size, particularly the larch; birch is also common. The deer herd upon them to graze. It is impossible to describe the grandeur and richness of the scenery, and which will probably remain long undefaced by the hand of man. In vain were associations; in vain did the eye wander for the cattle, the cottage, and the flocks.

Our progress over the savanna country was attended with great labour, and consequently slow, being only at the rate of five to seven miles a day to the westward, while the distance walked was equivalent to three or four times as much. Always inclining our course to the westward, we traversed in every direction, partly from choice, in order to view and examine the country, and partly from the necessity to get round the extremities of lakes and woods, and to look for game for subsistence.

It was impossible to ascertain the depths of these savannas, but judging from the great expanse of the undulations, and the total absence of inequalities on the surfaces, it must often be many fathoms. Portions of some of the marshes, from some cause under the surface, are broken up and sunk below the level, forming gullies and pools. The peat is there exposed sometimes to a depth of ten feet and more without any rock or soil underneath; and the process of its formation is distinctly exhibited from the dying and dead roots of the green surface moss descending linearly into gradual decay, until perfected into a fine black compact peat, in which the original organic structure of the parent is lost. The savanna peat immediately under the roots of the grass on the surface is very similar to the perfected peat of the marshes. The savannas are continually moist or wet on the surface, even in the middle of summer, but hard underneath. Roots of trees, apparently where they grow, are to be found by digging the surfaces of some of them, and probably of all. From what was seen of their edges at the water-courses they lie on the solid rock, without the intervention of any soil. The rocks exhibited were transition clay slate, mica slate, and granitic.

One of the most striking features of the interior are the innumerable deer paths on the savannas. They are narrow and take directions as various as the winds, giving the whole country a chequered appearance. Of the millions of acres here,

there is no one spot exceeding a few superficial yards that is not bounded on all sides by deer paths. We however met some small herd only of these animals, the savannas and plains being in the summer season deserted by them for the mountains in the west part of the island. The Newfoundland deer, and there is only one species in the island, is a variety of the reindeer, *Cervus tarandus*, or Caribbo; and, like that animal in every other country, it is migratory, always changing place with the seasons for sake of its favourite kinds of food. Although they migrate in herds, they travel in files, with their heads in some degree to windward, in order that they may, by the scent, discover their enemies the wolves; their senses of smelling and hearing are very acute, but they do not trust much to their sight. This is the reason of their paths taking so many directions in straight lines; they become in consequence an easy prey to the hunter by stratagem. The paths tend from park to park through the intervening woods, in lines as established and deep beaten as cattle paths on an old grazing farm.

The beaver, *Castor fiber*.—Owing to the presence of the birch tree, *Betula nigra*, all the brooks and lakes in the basin of the interior have been formerly and many are still inhabited by beavers, but these have in many places been destroyed by Indians. The bark of the birch tree, together with that of a dwarf willow which abounds at the edges of the waters, is the favourite food of the beavers. They also subsist on the large roots of the white waterlily, *Nymphaea odorata*, called by the Indians beaver-root, which they detach in pieces from amongst the mud at the bottom of the lakes and pools. They sometimes, although seldom here, eat of the bark of the spruce fir, *Pinus balsamea*. They obtain the bark from the trees by gnawing the trunks through about two feet above the ground, and thus causing them to fall. The side on which a tree is intended to fall is cut two-thirds through, the other side one-third. Sometimes, as happens with the most experienced wood cutter, a tree slips off the stem and will not fall to the ground owing to the support from the branches of adjacent trees. The work has then to be performed over again above the first cutting, as we saw had happened with the beavers in several instances. Some of the trees thus brought to the ground were fifteen inches and upwards in diameter. The tree being felled, every branch by additional gnawing becomes accessible, and by subdividing, portable.

The sagacity displayed by the beavers in constructing their houses has been often described; but it is in their damming operations that their reason is evinced. They frequently dam up such brooks as have birch trees growing plentifully along their margin and build their houses—with one always immersed or dip into the margin of the lake thus formed. They also, by damming, raise the level of natural lakes, to accommodate the surface to some eligible site near the margin, or on an island or rock, chosen to build their house upon. On first witnessing the extent of work performed on some of these dams, it is difficult to persuade oneself that it has not been done by man. The materials used are trunks of trees—gnawed down by the beavers themselves for the purpose—mud, sticks, stones, and swards. Their houses are formed of the same materials and resemble in their exterior a hemispherical mud-hovel, of from eight to ten feet in length, such as human beings, in some parts, dwell in, but without a visible door or aperture for the escape of smoke. They have different abodes for summer and winter, occupying the former for four or five months, and the latter seven or eight months of the year, according to the temperature of the seasons. Those are sometimes several miles apart. A winter house differs from a summer one, principally in being larger and more substantial. The chief entrance of both is under the surface of the water in the lake; that of the summer house about two feet, that of the winter about three feet. A house has often another entrance at the back or land side if the ground will permit, also under water for egress and ingress to and from the adjoining woods. If the entrance of the winter house was placed nearer to the surface than is stated, it might be frozen up from the outside during the severity of the winter, and stop the egress

and ingress into and out of the lake. In summer the beavers can travel up and down the brooks, swim round the lake, go into the woods in search of food, and return to their houses to rest. In winter the whole surface of the country, land and water, being sealed under snow and ice, instinct directs these animals to concentrate at one accessible spot underneath a stock of provisions to subsist on during that season. It is easier for them to build a house close to where a winter stock of food is to be procured, than to carry this to the house occupied in summer, around which much of the food has probably been consumed. A family, which consists generally of two old and two, three or four young, will commence early in September to build a house for the winter, and soon afterwards to collect a stock of provisions. They fell trees after trees in the manner described as near as possible to the winter house, gnaw the branches into the portable pieces, carry them one by one to the margin of the lake, swim with them to near the front entrance, then dive and deposit them at the bottom; if the piece is inclined to float they sink one end in the mud and even lay stones upon it. In October or November, by the time the lakes are frozen over, and snow covers the ground, the house is completed and the winter's stock of bark wood, with the bark on, placed around the entrance. Now in retirement, they draw through to the bottom of the lake, and bring up at pleasure to within the house a piece to eat of the bark; at the termination of it, when the ice disappears, the hundreds of pieces of wood, that seven months before were covered with bark, are now to be seen deposited on the dam spot entirely peeled. The senses of hearing and smell, especially of the former, of the beaver, are exquisitely fine. It requires the utmost precaution and vigilance of the hunter to steal within shot of them without detection, and this must be always done from the leeward. Their sense of sight is weak, and they seldom appear abroad during the day. On account of the value of its skin the beavers are the chief object of chase with the Indians. These people having made themselves acquainted with the different spots throughout the island where these valuable animals abound most, hunt over these places alternately and periodically, allowing the beavers three years to regenerate. We shot many of them for provision.

Geese, *ans canadensis*, and ducks (the black duck) *chas borealis*, are met with in great numbers in the interior, the ducks in particular in the central parts of the island. They, remote from man, they breed undisturbed on the edges and islands of the ponds and lakes. The geese moult soon after their arrival in the marshes, and, owing to the loss of their pinion feathers, are unable to fly during the summer or breeding seasons; but they can then run better than a man on the water which their bills only above the surface to permit of breathing, until the coming has passed by. They feed on berries, preferring that of the *Lapponum myrica*, and as soon after that as the food affords the berries and causes the seeds of the grasses on the marshes and savannas to fall to the earth, or otherwise when the snow falls and covers the ground, they collect in flocks, and fly off to the southern shores of the island and from thence to the fall of St. Lawrence. They remain in the interior for the sea coast so early as the geese—that is, not until the pools and ponds in which they obtain their food are frozen over, and they are the last of every lake, as observed nearer to the sea coast, being occupied during the summer season by a part of them. Likewise the common sea-gull, early in the spring, which fly off to the sea in July and August. Curlews breed on the barren hills, which are a kind of geodet called yellow meadows, and winters on the marshes; but the red-legged thrush, *tarfus migratorius*,

breed in the scanty woods, near to where berries abound; they fly off in flocks to the coast in September, and from thence to the more southern countries. There are several species of hawks and owls here; of the former genus, one species was very small.

The rivers and lakes abound with trout of three or four kinds, differing in size and colour. In one of the source branches of Gander River, which we crossed, we caught some small fish, apparently salmon fry. A species of fish larger than the trout is said by the Indians to be found in several of the large lakes.

We were nearly a month in passing over one savanna after another. In the interval there are several low granitic beds, stretching, as the savannas, northerly and southerly. During this time we shot only a few deer, but many geese, ducks, and beavers, which, with trout, constituted our principal food. When we had no game to subsist on, the killing of which though certain was irregular, we subsisted on berries, which some spots produced in prodigious abundance. I longed for bread for about ten days after our stock was consumed, but after that did not miss it.

When we met deer in a herd, we seldom failed in shooting the fattest. The venison was excellent; the fat upon the haunches of some of them was two inches in thickness. We shot them with ball or swan shot, according to distance. The leading stag of a herd is generally the fattest, he is as tall as a horse, and must sometimes be shot at full speed, sometimes by surprise. The ball having pierced him, he bounds, gallops, canters, falters, stands, and tosses his antlers; his sinewy limbs quiver, unwillingly bend, and he stretches out his graceful corpse. Should the ball have passed through his heart, he falls at once probably balanced on all fours. There is regret as well as triumph felt in taking possession of the noble vanquished. The broad spreading hoofs of the deer are admirably formed for preventing their sinking into the marshes. A single deer on the plain, when there are no others near to give the alarm, may be approached and knocked down by a blow on the head with an axe or tomahawk from a dexterous hunter. We happened to see a solitary stag amusing himself by rubbing his antlers against a larch tree on a plain; my Indian, treading lightly, approached him from behind, and struck him on the head with his axe, but did not knock him down; he of course galloped off. The flesh of the beaver is by the Indians esteemed the finest of all quadrupeds of the chase, and that of the young beaver justly so—in taste it is more like lamb than any other meat. In butchering it, with the skin is flayed off the lining of fat, which is sometimes two inches thick round the body. Beavers are commonly shot on the water; they seldom come out of their houses by day, but are abroad all night. Before sunset the hunter posts himself undiscovered as near as possible to the leeward side of their house; the beavers at that time come out, one following another. Directly any of their heads appear above the water, it is fired at either with ball or shot, and sometimes a whole family is thus killed in succession. If any escape, their return to their house is watched before sunrise next morning, in like manner as their departure was in the evening. Their bodies float to the shore. The black duck shot in the interior, remote from the sea, is the finest bird for the table in Newfoundland. The trout are so easily caught in the rivulets in the interior, they being unacquainted with enemies, as to take the artificial fly, merely by holding out the line in the hand without a rod. No country in the world can afford finer sport than the interior of this island in the months of August and September. The beasts of the chase are of a large class, and the cover for all game excellent.

The waters which we crossed contributed sometimes to the rivers of the north, and sometimes to those of the south-side of the island. We occasionally crossed some of the large lakes on rafts, when our course lay across them and the wind happened to be fair, and there appeared nothing to induce us to go round their extremities. We accomplished this by fastening together three or four trunks of trees with withes, and he'd up a thick bush for a sail, and were blown over. There was of course considerable risk to our accoutrements attending this primitive mode

of navigation. The proportion of water to land in the savannas country is very great. In some directions northward one-half seems to be lakes, of every size and form; in other directions one-third, and seldom less. The marbled glossy surface, as it appeared from the rising ground, was singularly novel and picturesque.

In some of the forests stripes of the trees are all borne down in the same direction flat to the earth by wind, and the havoc displayed is awful. Such parts were almost impassable. The way through the woods elsewhere, except by the deer paths, is obstructed by wind-fallen trees and brushwood. There are extensive districts remarkable for abundance of berries towards the centre of the island, which attract great numbers of black bears. The paths or beats of these animals throughout their feeding grounds are stamped with marks of antiquity seemingly co-eval with the country. The points of rocks that happen to project in their way are perfectly polished from having been continually trodden and rubbed. Although we had seen fresh tracks of wolves every day, and were sometimes within a few yards of them in the thickets, yet we only caught a glimpse of one of them. They lie in wait amongst the bushes and listen for the approach of deer and rush upon them. When they saw man instead of deer they immediately fled. There are two kinds of wolves here—one large, that prowls singly or in couples, another small, sometimes met with in packs.

Taking a general view of the mineralogy of the savanna territory, the rocks of the savannas are granite quartz, and chlorite greenstone, the same as already noticed, mica, chlorite, and transition clay slates. The granite is pink and grey, and sienitic. It throws itself in low beds lying northerly and southerly, higher than the savannas, and also appears with the greenstone and slate rocks at the edges of the lakes, and other water courses. It occurs of a globular structure on the verge of the savanna country westward of that branch of Clode Sound river which we crossed. The balls are round, and vary in size from a few inches to a fathom and upwards in diameter. In the whole of this savanna territory, which forms the eastern central portion of the interior, there rises but one mountain, which is a solitary peak or pap of granite, standing very conspicuous about forty-five miles north from the mouth of the west Salmon River of Fortune Bay on the south coast. It served as an object by which to check our course and distance for about two weeks. I named it Mount Sylvester, the name of my Indian. The bed of granite, of which Mount Sylvester is a part, is exposed in a remarkable manner to the north-east of that pap near Gower Lake. Here are displayed the features of the summit of an immense mountain mass, as if just peeping above the earth; huge blocks of red, pink and grey granite—often very coarse grained, and of quartz—but compact and granular, lie in cumbrous and confused heaps, "like the ruins of a world," over which we had to climb, leap, slide and creep. They sometimes lie in fantastical positions—upon an enormous mass of gray granite may be seen, as if balanced on a small point of contact, another huge mass of red granite more durable in quality, and this crowned by a third boulder. Their equilibrium invites the beholder to press his shoulder to them to convince him of his feebleness. These masses seem to be the remaining nodules of strata or beds that once existed here; the more perishable parts having long since crumbled and disappeared, thus evincing the power of time. Quartz rock, both granular and compact, the latter sometimes rose-coloured, occurs, associated with granite. On the summit of a low bristly ridge, formed principally of granular quartz, nearly half way across the Island, are two large masses of granular quartz, standing apart at the bottom, and nearly meeting at top; seen at a distance from the North or South, they have the appearance of one mass with a hole through it. Hence this spot is called Rock Hole by the Indians¹. Plates of mica, six inches and upwards in length, are found attached to the quartz when the latter is associated with granite. Rolled agates, sometimes transparent, are found on the shores of some of the lakes; mica slate often occurs; and at Carson Lake it immediately joins coarse red granite. Chlorite slate of a peculiar granular texture is met with to the north of Mount

¹ Or, Through Hill.

Sylvester. The series of clay slate rocks alternates everywhere with thick strata of the chlorite greenstone, which, owing to its greater durability, projects in outgoings above these, and is therefore oftener seen; the clay, alum, and roof slates have iron pyrites imbedded.

Throughout this great Eastern Division of the interior we did not see even the signs of an alluvial soil. This province of savannas, although of no territorial value at present, is destined to become a very important integral part of Newfoundland. Judging from their countless paths, and from the size and condition of the few deer we met, it is already seemingly amply stocked with that kind of cattle of which no part of North East America possesses so peculiar a territory. What superficial drainage and tilling might effect towards raising the green crops here remains to be proved. Many of the savannas exhibit proofs of being once wooded; and in some places with a much larger growth of trees than that at present in their vicinity. Roots of large trees, with portions of the trunks attached, and lying near, are sometimes seen occupying evidently the original savanna soil on which they grew, but are now partially, or wholly covered with savanna fires, originating with the Indians, and from lightning, have in many parts destroyed the forest; and it would seem that a century or more must elapse in this climate before a forest of the same magnitude of growth can be reproduced *naturally* on the savannas. It is observed of peat, that "burning, and the turning of the surface by agricultural implements are the chief means by which the vegetation of these soils is exchanged for more profitable plants. To these must be added the growth of larch, under which the original covering is gradually extirpated and replaced by a green and grassy surface, applicable to the pasturage of cattle." Larch, of all other trees, is that to which this climate and the savanna soil are most congenial. The savannas are almost invariably skirted with it, and it grows from the wettest swamp to the summits of the highest hills where the fir cannot live. The fruit of the sarsaparilla, two kinds, *Smilax rotundifolia*, and *S. Sarsaparilla* were ripe and vegetating in the beginning of October. Wild currants, gooseberries and raspberries were plentiful in many places; the latter, as in all other parts of North America, only where the woods have been recently burnt. The berries here are much superior to the berries of the same species near the sea coast. They appear to grow for little immediate purpose; as the quantity which the bears, foxes, and the birds fatten upon is comparatively inconsiderable to that produced. The different varieties of whortleberry are very distinctly marked; some of them grow to a size and perfection that would render them esteemed rather than a fine fruit in any country.

Fogs are not frequent in the interior. There was not a foggy day until the fourth of October, which came with a southerly wind. There was no frost to hurt vegetation materially until the third of October, and that unaccompanied with snow. But the frost of that night changed one-half of the vegetation of the savannas from a light vegetable green to a yellow colour. Our attention was arrested twice by observing the tracks of a man on the savannas. After a scrupulous and minute examination, we concluded that one of them was that of a Mickmack or mountaineer Indian, who had been hunting here in the preceding year, and from the point of the foot being steep that he was going, laden with furs, to the Bay of Despair. The other track was on the shores of Gower Lake, of an Indian who had passed by this season apparently from the Bay of Despair towards Gander Bay. We saw no traces however of the Red Indians. The print of a foot remains distinct on the soft surface of the savannas for years or longer. Any track of course differing from those of the deer, in their usual undisturbed walks, is detected by the eye at once.

October 7th.—The nights and mornings were now frosty; and the vegetable kingdom had put on its autumnal colouring of various tints. The waters as well as

¹ By Dr. McCulloch in his valuable paper "On Peat" in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, No. 3, and 4, 1820.

the air were becoming more chilly every day. A favourable change of wind did not now bring the accustomed mildness of temperature.

We have been occupied since the eleventh September in traveling the savanna country.

A hilly ridge in the westward, lying northerly and southerly, which had been in view several days, and about the centre of the Island, on our near approach bore an aspect different from any we had yet seen, appearing of a bright brown colour along the summit—bristly and castellated. The rocks for some miles to the eastward were often various colours, and impregnated with iron, and the shores of the lakes presented remarkable coloured stones, resembling pieces of burnt clay and broken pottery. On arriving on it this ridge proved to be a serpentine deposit, including a variety of rocks, all lying in nearly vertical strata alternating. The conspicuous points were the large angular blocks of quartz rock, lying on out goings of the same, ranged along the summit. This rock was very ponderous, owing to much disseminated iron pyrites, the oxidation of which, externally, gave it the brown colour. The fresh fracture exhibited a metallic reddish grey. The mineralogical appearances here were altogether so singular that I resolved to stop a day or two to examine them. All the highest parts of the ridge were formed of this metalline rock, and were extremely sterile. The other rocks were, noble serpentine—varying in colour from black green to a yellow, and from translucent to semi-transparent, in strata nearly a yard wide—steatite, or soap stone, *verde antique*, *diallage*, and various other magnesian rocks. Sterile red earthy patches, entirely destitute of vegetation, were here and there on and adjacent to the ridge, and on these lay heaps of loose fragments of asbestos, rock wood, rock cork, rock leather, rock horn, rock bone, and stones light in the hand, resembling burnt clay—*Cum multis alis*, the whole having the appearance of heaps of rubbish from a pottery, but evidently detached from adjoining strata and veins. I could not divest myself from the feeling that we were in the vicinity of a quiescent volcano.

The beaches of many of the lakes of the neighbourhood, as already noticed, are formed of disintegrated fragments of those rocks. At one lake in particular, which I in consequence denominated Serpentine Lake, the beauty and interesting appearance of some of the beaches, composed entirely of rolled fragments of those rocks of every kind and colour, the red, yellow, and green prevailing, may be fancied better than described. A part of the eastern shore is formed of a hard greenish gray rock, in large loose flags, indented straight grooves, which, when struck as we tread upon them, emitted sound like pieces of metal¹. Serpentine Lake is comparatively small, being about two miles and a half in length by one in breadth. It is known to the Mickmack Indian by the Indian name for it, or Stone Pipe Lake, from their procuring here verd antique, and other magnesian rocks, out of which they carve or chisel tobacco-pipes, much prized by them. This people then, like the ancients of the old world, are not unacquainted with the incombustible nature of the magnesia minerals.

In the woods on the margin of Serpentine Lake we found an old birch-rind canoe of the Mickmack Indians, the same as those used by those people at the sea coast. It had been brought up from the Bay of Despair at the south coast of the Island, by them of the Cod Roy River, which runs through this and intervening lakes. From the circumstance of finding this canoe here, we inferred that the portages between Serpentine Lake and the sea coast were not very extensive or difficult. Here then is a route of the Indians by which the centre of the Island may be approached with the same canoe, and close by are the sources of rivers that flow to the north coast. There was an inhabited beaver's house at the south end of Serpentine Lake, and we shot three of the family that occupied it for food. There were several herds of deer around. The white headed eagle was also an inhabitant of this part.

This interesting ridge and district, which forms the centre nearly of Newfoundland, I designated in honour of an excellent friend and distinguished promoter of science and enterprise—Professor Jameson, of Edinburgh—Jameson's Mountains. Judging from the

¹ Phonolite.

rise in the land for about thirty miles to the eastward, they are about twelve hundred feet above the level of the sea. Future travellers may easily reach Jameson's Mountains by the route mentioned; and I hope some may soon follow the first there, for they deserve a much more perfect examination than could be given on a first visit by a half worn-out pedestrian traveller.

October 10th.—Being now near the centre of the Island, upwards of one hundred and ten miles from the most inland part of Trinity Bay, about ninety miles of the distance being across the savannas—we had not yet seen a trace of the Red Indians. It had been supposed that all the central parts of the Island were occupied by these people, and I had been daily looking out for them. They were however more likely to be fallen in with farther to the westward. Taking a retrospective, as well as a prospective geological view from Jameson's Mountains, the serpentine deposit of which they are formed separates the low slate country, covered with savannas, through which the granite rocks occasionally peep, in the east, from a high and entirely granitic country that appears in the west. It was now nearly five weeks since with my Indian I left the sea coast, and was just halfway to St George's Bay. We had for some time past felt severely the effects of continued excessive exertion, of wet, and of irregular supplies of food. My Indian, and only companion, complained much of the never-ending toil, and would willingly have gone out to the sea, if I had yielded to his wish. But with me it was "now or never"; and I had apprehensions of being overtaken by the winter ere we could reach St George's Bay. To keep my Indian at the toilsome task, I had sometimes to encourage him by promises of future reward, sometimes to excite his emulation by allusions to the fame of the Indian hunters for enduring fatigue and hardships beyond what the white man could bear; and again to picture the shame consequent on his leaving me in the country to perform alone what we had set out to do together.

PART V.

Continue the journey into the western interior.

In the West, mountain succeeds mountain in irregular succession, rugged and bleak. Encumbered with many additional mineralogical specimens, we took our departure from the interesting central mountains, for my part hoping that I might yet see them again. Immediately on the west, they are succeeded by *gneiss*, and next to that comes the hungry granitic territory, still almost as barren to imagination as at the creation. Wacke, or conglomerate, is associated with the *gneiss* in tortuous strata, veins, and stripes, indicative of metalline qualities. We were sometimes compelled to climb and creep our way over confused heaps of granite and white compact quartz. There are occasional marshes, and some of the less exposed spots produce stunted spruce and larch trees; other spots produce ground berries in great plenty. A species of *Ledum* or Indian tea is met with here, different from that commonly found at the sea coast. It is a more perfectly formed shrub, with smaller, rounder, and more numerous leaves; lichens grow everywhere, from the edge of the lake to the mountain top, and deer now begin to appear in small herds in every direction.

October 11th.—While surveying a large lake in the south-west we descried a faint column of smoke issuing from amongst islands near the south shore, about five miles distant. The time we hoped had at last come to meet the Red Indians. Rivers rise here, as they had throughout our journey, owing to our track being central, that run to both sides of the Island, but it could not be seen to which side this lake contributed its waters. The Red Indians had been reported not to frequent the south side of the Island. It was too late in the day to reconnoitre; and my Indian went in pursuit of a herd of deer in another direction, we having no provision for supper. At sunset he did not meet me at the appointed wood in a valley hard by, nor did he return by midnight,

nor at all. I dared not exhibit a fire on the hill, as a beacon to him, in sight of the strange encampment. His gun might have burst and injured him; he might have fled, or been surprised by the party on the lake.

October 12th.—At daybreak the atmosphere was frosty, and the slender white column of smoke still more distinctly seen. There were human beings there, and, deserted, I felt an irresistible desire to approach my fellow creatures whether they should prove friendly or hostile. Having put my gun and pistols in the best order, and no appearance of my Indian at noon, I left my knapsack and all encumbrances, and descended through thickets and marshes towards the nearest part of the lake, about two miles distant. The white sandy shore, formed of disintegrated granite, was much trodden over by deer and other animals, but there were no marks of man discernible. The extent of the lake was uncertain; but it was apparent that it would require two days at least to walk round either end to the nearest point of the opposite shore to the occupied island. I therefore kept on my own side to discover who the party were. By firing off my gun, if the party were Red Indians, they would in all probability move off quickly on hearing the report, and they having no firearms, my fire would not be answered. If they were other Indians my fire would be returned. I fired. By and by the report of a strange gun travelled among the islands from the direction of the smoke, and thus all my doubts and apprehensions were dispelled. The report of this gun was the first noise I had heard caused by man, except by my Indian and myself, for more than five weeks, and it excited very peculiar feelings.

In about an hour my lost Indian unexpectedly made his appearance from the direction where we had parted on the preceding evening, brought to the spot by the report of my gun. He accounted for himself, "that after having shot a stag about two miles from the spot appointed for our encampment, he attempted to get round the west end of the lake to reconnoitre the party on the island, but found the distance too great, and getting benighted, had slept in the woods."

Soon afterwards, to my great delight, there appeared among some woody islets in front, which precluded the view of the other side of the lake, a small canoe with a man seated in the stern, paddling softly towards us, with an air of serenity and independence possessed only by the Indian. After a brotherly salutation with me, and the two Indians kissing each other, the hunter proved to be unable to speak English or French. They, however, soon understood one another, for the stranger, although a mountaineer from Labrador, could speak a little of the Mickmack language, his wife being a Mickmack. The mountaineer tribe belongs to Labrador, and he told us that he had come to Newfoundland, hearing that it was a better hunting country than his own, and that he was now on his way hunting from St George's Bay to the Bay of Despair to spend the winter with the Indians there. He had left St George's Bay two months before, and expected to be at the Bay of Despair in two weeks hence. This was his second year in Newfoundland; he was accompanied by his wife only. My Indian told him that I had come to see the rocks, the deer, the beavers, and the Red Indians, and to tell King George what was going on in the middle of that country. He said St George's Bay was about two weeks walk from us if we knew the best way, and invited us over with him in his canoe to rest a day at his camp, where he said he had plenty of venison, which was readily agreed to on my part.

The island on which the mountaineer's camp was, lay about three miles distant. The varying scenery as we paddled towards it, amongst innumerable islands and inlets, all of granite, and mostly covered with spruce and birch trees, was beautiful. His canoe was similar to those described to have been used by the ancient Britons on the invasion by the Romans. It was made of wicker-work, covered over outside with deer skins sewed together and stretched on it, nearly of the usual form of canoes, with a bar or beam across the middle, and one on each end to strengthen it. The skin covering, flesh side out, was fastened or laced to the gunwales, with thongs of the same material. Owing to decay and wear it requires to be renewed once in from six to twelve weeks. It is in these temporary barks that the Indians of

Newfoundland of the present day navigate the lakes and rivers of the interior. They are easily carried, owing to their lightness, across the portages from one water to another, and when damaged easily repaired. There were innumerable granite rocks in the lake a little below and above the surface; on one of these our canoe struck and rubbed a hole through the half-decayed skin, and was attended with some risk to our persons and guns. His wigwam was situated in the centre of a wooded islet at which we arrived before sunset. The approach from the landing place was by a mossy carpeted avenue, formed by the trees having been cut down in that direction for firewood. The sight of a fire, not of our own kindling, of which we were to partake, seemed hospitality. It was occupied by his wife, seated on a deer skin, busy sewing together skins of the same kind to renew the outside of the canoe we had just found, which required it. A large Newfoundland dog, her only companion in her husband's absence, had welcomed us at the landing-place with signs of the greatest joy. Sylvan happiness reigned here. His wigwam was of a semicircular form, covered with birch rind and dried deer skins, the fire on the fore ground outside. Abundance and neatness pervaded the encampment. On horizontal poles over the fire, hung quantities of venison stakes, being smoked dry. The hostess was cheerful, and a supper, the best the chase could furnish, was soon set before us on sheets of birch rind. They told me to "make their camp my own, and use everything in it as such." Kindness so elegantly tendered by these people of nature in their solitude, commenced to soften those feelings which had been fortified against receiving any comfort except that of my own administering. The excellence of the venison, and of the flesh of young beavers, could not be surpassed. A cake of hard deer's fat with scraps of suet, toasted brown, intermixed, was eaten with the meat; soup was the drink. Our hostess after supper sang several Indian songs at my request. They were plaintive, and sung in a high key. The song of a female and her contentment in this remote and secluded spot, exhibited the strange diversity there is in human nature. My Indian entertained them incessantly until nearly daylight with stories about what he had seen in St John's. Our toils were for the time forgotten. The mountaineer had occupied this camp for about two weeks, deer being very plentiful all around the lake. His larder, which was a kind of shed, erected on the rocky shore for the sake of a free circulation of air, was in reality a well-stocked butcher's stall, containing parts of some half-dozen fat deer, also the carcasses of beavers, of otters, of musk rats, and of martens, all methodically laid out. His property consisted of two guns and ammunition, an axe, some good culinary utensils of iron and tin, blankets, an apartment of dried deer skins to sleep on and with which to cover his wigwam—the latter with the hair off; a collection of skins to sell at the sea coast, consisting of those of beaver, otter, marten, musk rat, and deer, the last dried and the hair off; also a stock of dried venison in bundles. Animal flesh of every kind, in steaks, without salt, smoke-dried on the fire for forty-eight hours, becomes nearly as light and portable as cork, and will keep sound for years. It thus forms a good substitute for bread, and by being boiled two hours recovers most of its original qualities.

The Red Indians' country, or the waters which they frequented, we were told by the mountaineer, lay six or seven miles to the north of us, but at this season of the year these people were likely to be farther to the northward at the Great Lake of the Red Indians; also, that about two weeks before there was a party of Mickmack hunting at the next large lake to the westward, about two days walk from us, and that the deer were very plentiful to the westward. He also described the nature of the country, and made drawings upon sheets of birch-rind of the lakes, rivers, mountains, and woods that lay in the best route to St George's Harbour. He kept a register, ascertaining when Christmas Day would arrive; having ascertained at St George's Bay the number of days intervening, he cut a notch on a stick every morning to the number of that holiday. He had missed a day and now rectified the mistake. This lake, called Meelpegh, or Crooked Lake, by the Indians, I also named in honour of Professor Jameson. It is nine or ten miles in length, by from one to three in breadth,

joined by a strait to another lake nearly as large, lying south east, called Burnt Bay Lake, and is one of the chain of lakes connected by the East Bay River of the Bay of Despair, already noticed as running through Serpentine Lake which forms a part of the great route of the Indians.

October 14th.—We left the veteran mountaineer (James John by name) much pleased with our having fallen in with him. He landed us from his canoe on the south shore of the lake, and we took our departure for the westward, along the south side. Truly could this man proclaim:

"I'm monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute;
From the centre all round to the sea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute."

October 15th.—There is a considerable quantity of fir woods on the borders of Jameson's Lake. We fell in with a summer as well as a winter beavers' house, both of them inhabited, evidently by the same family, this being the time when they are changing their abodes. We found none of them however at home. The houses were about half-a-mile apart, the summer one on the edge of an artificial dam, and the winter one in the middle of a small pond, surrounded with birch trees on the acclivity of a hill. The first snow fell this afternoon with a gentle wind from the north-north-east, and so thick as to compel us to shelter and encamp in a wood that happened fortunately to be near. It continued to snow so heavy that at midnight our fire was extinguished and firewood buried; but the silent uniform fall and pressure of the snow over our screen, and the blankets in which we were wrapped, kept us warm.

October 16th.—In the morning three feet of snow covered the ground in the woods, and on the open ground it was deeper. Our provisions were exhausted, nor could we get through the snow to look for game. Weakened and miserable, we looked anxiously for a change of wind and thaw. The trees were loaded with snow. At night a thaw came, but with it a southerly wind that brought both the snow and many of the largest trees to the ground together. There being no frost in the ground, the roots of the trees were not sufficiently bound in the earth to stand under the extraordinary pressure of snow and wind. Our fire was buried again and again by the snow from the trees, and as we were as likely to be killed while standing up as lying down, by the trees that crashed and shook the ground around us all night, we lay still wrapped in our blankets amidst the danger, and providentially escaped unhurt. The birch had attained a pretty large size in this sheltered spot, under the lie of a hill, which I called Mount Misery. In the forest, while the storm rages above, it is calm at the foot of the trees.

October 17th.—We were still storm-stayed, and could only view the wreck of the forest close to us. Our situation was truly miserable; but the snow was fast melting away. I felt alarmed at the winter setting in thus early, for the consequences ere we could reach the sea coast.

October 18th.—The snow having shrunk a foot at least, we left our wretched encampment, and after a most laborious walk of six or eight miles through snow, thickets, and swollen brooks, and passing many deer, scraping holes in the snow with their hoofs to reach the lichens underneath, without however being able to get within shot of them, we not only reached the lake to the westward, but to our great joy also discovered, in consequence of meeting with some of their marten traps, the encampment of the Indians of whom we had been told by the mountaineer. My dress, once gray, now bleached white, was seen by some of the Indians as we emerged from a spruce thicket, a great distance off. The party were encamped in one large wigwam, or kind of hut. We entered with little ceremony, my Indian kissing them all male and female. None of them could speak English, and only one of them a little French. A deer skin was spread for me to sit on, at the

innermost part of the dwelling. My Indian interpreted, and introduced me in the same particular terms as before. They were Mickmacks and natives of Newfoundland, and expressed themselves glad to see me in the middle of their country, as the first white man that had ever been here. The Indian amongst his fellows is a purely self-dependent being—an innate power of self-denial raises him above dependence upon others, and keeps him beyond their interference even in distressing wants, which yields mental triumph and glory. Want implies inability in the hunter. I observed these people bestow, and my Indian receive attention, with seeming indifference. He smoked the pipe given to him with the same composure as after a feast, although starvation and unconcealable hunger were depicted in his countenance. Supper was soon ready, which consisted entirely of boiled venison. All seated around the fire, in the centre of the wigwam, partook at once—although, enfeebled by want of sustenance, I could eat only a few mouthfuls. The jaws would not perform their office without great pain from want of practice. Fortunately the stomach sympathised, for it could bear but little. They told us that we might reach Saint George's Bay in about ten days; that they had left that place in the middle of summer, and had since then been hunting in the western interior,—several weeks latterly having been spent at this lake, where deer were plenty; and that they intended in a few weeks hence, before the lakes and rivers were frozen over, to repair to White Bear Bay, to spend the winter, that place having been always celebrated for immense herds of deer passing by in the winter season. The Indian idea of a road is to Europeans little else than a probability of *reaching* a distant place *alive*; and I foresaw, from their report, much suffering before we could reach St George's Bay. Here were three families amounting to thirteen persons in number. The men and boys wore surtouts made of deer skins, the hair outside, buttoned and belted round them, which looked neat and comfortable. Their caps were of mixed fur; they had not procured much fur for sale, only a few dozen marten, some otter and musk rat skins; of beaver skins they had very few, as beavers are scarce in the western interior, it being too mountainous for woods, except on the sheltered borders of some of the lakes. In the woods around the margin of this lake the Indians had lines of path equal to eight or ten miles in extent, set with wooden traps, or dead falls, about one hundred yards apart, baited for martens, which they visited every second day. They had two skin canoes in which they paddled around the lake to visit their traps and bring home their game. The Red Indian country we were told was about ten or fifteen miles northward of us, but that at this time, as the mountaineer had likewise informed us, these people were all farther to the northward at the Great Lake, where they were accustomed to lay up their winter stock of venison. These people corroborated previous as well as subsequent inquiries, respecting the number of their own, and of the other communicating tribes in the Island.

PART VI.

Of the Red Indians and the other tribes.

All the Indians in the Island, exclusive of the Red Indians, amount to nearly a hundred and fifty, dispersed in bands, commonly at the following places or districts:—St George's Harbour and Great Cod Roy River on the west coast; White Bear Bay, and the Bay of Despair on the south coast; Clode Sound in Bonavista Bay on the east; Gander Bay on the north coast, and occasionally at Bonne Bay and the Bay of Islands on the north-west coast. They are composed of Mickmacks, joined by some of the mountaineer tribe from the Labrador, and a few of the Abenakies from Canada. The Esquimaux, from Labrador, occasionally, but seldom, visit the Island. There are twenty-seven or twenty-eight families altogether,

averaging five to each family, and five or six single men. They all follow the same mode of life—hunting in the interior, from the middle of summer till the beginning of winter in the single families, or in two or three families together. They go from lake to lake, hunting all over the country, around one before they proceed to the next. They paddle along the borders, and the men proceed on foot up every rivulet, brook, and rill, beavers being their primary object of search, otters, martens, musk rats, and every living thing; secondly, when the lakes are connected by rivers, or when the portages between them are short, they proceed in or carry their canoes with them; otherwise they leave these, and hold others on arriving at their destination. The hunting season, which is the months of September and October, being over, they repair to the sea coast with their furs, and barter them for ammunition, clothing, tea, rum, &c., and then most of them retire to spend the winter at or near the mouths of the large rivers, where eels are to be procured through the ice by spearing, endeavouring at the same time to gain access to the winter paths of the deer. A great division of the interior of Newfoundland is exclusively possessed and hunted over by Red Indians, and is considered as their territory by the others. In former times, when the several tribes were upon an equality in respect of weapons, the Red Indians were considered invincible, and frequently waged war upon the rest, until the latter got fire-arms put into their hands by Europeans. The Red Indians are even feared yet, and described as very large athletic men. They occupy the Great or Red Indian Lake, and many other lakes in the northern part of the Island, as well as the great River Exploits. Along the banks of this river, and at the Great Lake, they are said to have extensive fences or pounds, by which they ensnare deer, and thus procure regularly in every fall a supply of venison for winter provisions. Two of the Indians here had several times fallen in with the Red Indians, and on one occasion obtained possession of their camp, in which they assert they found some European blankets and other articles of clothing, which it is presumed they must have pilfered. They also stated that the Red Indians use the same kind of skin canoes in the interior as they themselves do, and that they paint themselves all over. The ancient Britons painted their bodies blue at the period they used canoes of a similar description in the interior of the Island. The tribes, exclusive of the Red Indians have no chief in Newfoundland, but there are several individuals at St George's Bay to whom they all pay a deference. The Mickmacks, although most of them born in this Island, consider Cape Biston, where the chiefs reside, as their head-quarters. Their several tribes intermarry. These people might be rendered useful if some of the leaders were noticed by the British Government. Had this been earlier done it might have saved that tarnish on humanity, the butchery of the interesting aborigines, the Red Indians, by Englishmen. The communicating tribes consume their share of British manufactures, and mainly contribute to the support of the fur trade of the Island. The French have their principal confidence and affection. The most important subject to the Indians at present, connected with His Majesty's Government, relates to beaver-hunting. They are most anxious that King George, as they call His Majesty, should make a law to prevent the hunting of beavers in the spring season. They acknowledge the practice of hunting them then, and also that the practice will soon destroy them altogether, as the animals are then with young. But they cannot desist of their own accord, being by nature hunters. They state that a considerable traffic has been carried on in venison between some of the Indians at White Bear Bay and the French at the Island of St Peter's. In one instance a single Indian had been known to convey over forty carcasses at once, and sell them for twenty shillings each. The capabilities of some of the Indians in hunting seem almost incredible to those who have not seen their powers tried. Some single Indians will run down a stag; when the stag is fat, he is sometimes worth such an arduous pursuit, and it is then only he is liable to be fatigued to exhaustion. The hunter will commence the chase early in the day, and by following it up without intermission, will before night make the stag his prey without firing a shot. The

stag at first easily outstrips his pursuer, but after a run of four or five miles he stops and is by and bye overtaken; again he sets off, and again he is overtaken; again, and again, he is overtaken; he lies down fatigued but is again surprised; thus the chase is kept up, until the poor stag, in despair of eluding his pursuer, plunges into a pool or morass to escape. Man at last winning the day. The Indians find their way through the forests by marks with which they are familiar. Thus moss grows on the north not on the south side of the trees; the tops and branches of trees have an inclination for stretching to the south-east; wind-fallen trees point to the northward, &c. They have a call or toll for every kind of beast and bird to bring them within shot—for the deer an outward snort, to imitate the stag; for the beaver a hiss, &c.; for the otter a whistle, &c. They are Roman Catholics, but their religious ceremonies, of which they are observant, consist of a combination of that church and their own primitive ceremonies blended together, to suit their convenience and tastes. The inmates of the camp, by the earliest dawn of day, all joined in prayer; and nearly the whole of a Sunday, on which it happened I was with them, they spent in singing hymns. They had in their possession a French manuscript of sacred music, given to them they said, by the French Roman Catholic clergyman at the Island of St Peter's, whom they consider their confessor, and endeavour to see once in two years. One of the Mickmacks of this party, named Paul, boasted of maternal descent from a French Governor of Prince Edward Island.

The Indians seldom carry salt with them into the interior, nor, with very few exceptions, do they require it. They never carry spirits, the excessive use of which, by a few of them, when at the coast, enervates and renders them incapable for the time of undergoing the fatigue, abstinence, and exposure to weather, which they afterwards bear to a surprising degree, as a duty, without any immediate ill effects. The Red Indians are, of course, unacquainted with salt, as well as with all foreign luxuries; when their food is altogether animal salt is not desired, nor does it seem to be necessary. Supper is the chief repast with the hunter; in the evening he enjoys the fruits of the day's chase, and recounts in his turn his adventures. Most of the Indians, when they would otherwise be in the prime of life, have broken constitutions by over-exertions, casualties, and exposure to weather. Their perilous mode of life also leads them to be more subject to some kinds of bodily infirmities than men in more dense societies. They have most of their remedies within themselves. The following plants, among others, are used medicinally by them—

PLANTS	PART USED	PREPARATION	HOW ADMINISTERED	DISEASE
<i>Geum nivale</i> , or chocolate root	Root	Strong decoction	Drank, a gill two or three times a day or oftener	Dysentery, colds and coughs, particularly for children
<i>Sarracenia purpurea</i> , or Indian cup	Root	Strong decoction	A table or teaspoonful drunk frequently during the day, with abstinence for several days	Spitting blood and other pulmonary complaints
<i>Havermaria dilatata</i>	Root	Expressed juice	Drank, a gill at a time with a little water	Gravel
<i>Smilacina borealis</i>	Root	Expressed juice	Drank, a gill at a time	Gravel
<i>Sorbus Americana</i>	Bark	Infusion	Drank	Cholera
<i>Nymphæa odorata</i>	Root	Expressed juice	Drank	Coughs
Ditto Ditto	Root	Boiled	Poultice	Swellings
<i>Nuphar advena</i>	Root	Bruised with flour or meal		Swellings and bruises
<i>Mergantnes trifolia</i>	Root	Very strong decoction	Drank	
<i>Salix (vulgare)</i>	Root	Scrape into spirits	Poultice	Bruises, sprains and broken bones

PLANTS	PART USED	PREPARATION	HOW ADMINISTERED	DISEASES
<i>Kalmia angustifolia</i>	Leaves	Hot water with very weak infusion—poison, if strong	Drank	Stomach complaints
<i>Pinus balsamea</i> , <i>P. strobus</i> , Young, and <i>P. microcarpa</i>	Inner bark	Boiled		Sores, swellings &c.
<i>Cornus stricta</i>	Bark	Dried	Mixed with tobacco for smoking	
<i>Taxus Canadensis</i>	Leaves	Very strong concentrated decoction	As a green dye	
<i>Salix (vulgaris)</i>	Root		As a black dye	
Ditto Ditto	Leaves	Bruised with hot water		Sprains and bruises
<i>Vaccinium hispidulum</i>	Leaves or the plant	Decoction	As a tea	
<i>Ledum latifolium</i>	Leaves	Decoction	As a tea	Diuretic
<i>Pinus microcarpa</i>	Boughs	Decoction	As a tea	Diuretic
<i>Sorbus Americana</i>	Bark	Infusion	As a tea	

The lixivium from the ashes of deer's bones is drunk as an astringent. The yolk of eggs and turpentine, equal parts, or var: the proportions with the nature of the sore, applied as a salve, is said to have effected cures in desperate cases of ulcers.

October 21st.—The weather having been mild for the last few days, much of the snow had dissolved, it lay chiefly on banks. The Indians put us across the lake, and we took our departure for the westward, refreshed by our two days' stay with them. The country now became mountainous, and almost destitute of wood, deer became more numerous, berries were very plentiful, and mostly in high perfection, although the snow had lately covered them. Indeed the partridge berries were improved, and many spots were literally red with them.

October 22nd.—On our march to-day we discovered a black bear feeding on berries on a hill about a mile off, and stole upon him unawares by a circuitous route from the leeward. We fired a shot each at him, both of which had effect; but he ran a mile before he fell. He was very fat, weighing about three hundred and fifty pounds. The fat round his body was four inches in some parts. We rested two days to feast on him, leaving the remainder, except what we could conveniently carry, with regret, from a lively apprehension of the future want of it. Bear's flesh is by many of the Indians esteemed next to that of beaver's, and it has the peculiar quality of not clogging the stomach, however much of it is eaten. My Indian apprised me of this circumstance before hand, and availed himself of the fact, for on the night of the death of bruin, after we had both began, as I thought, to sleep, about two o'clock, a.m. I found him busy roasting, frying, and devouring as voraciously as if he had eaten no supper.

October 24th.—The winter had now fairly set in, the ponds were all frozen over, the birds of passage had deserted the interior of the sea coast, and the grouse had got on their white winter coats; many hardships now await the traveller.

PART VII.

General features of the Western interior, etc.

October 27th.—The western territory is entirely primitive. No rocks appear but granitic. The only soil is peat, which varies in quality according to situation. In the valleys some patches are very similar to the savanna peat in the eastward, but as the peat ascends, it becomes shallower and lighter until it terminates at the summit of the mountains in a mere matting; lichens occupy every station, on the peat, among the other plants, and on the bare rock. The *Arbutus alpina*, *Potentilla tridentata*, *Eupetrum nigrum*, and the lichens, occupy the highest resting places for vegetation on the mountain tops. The trees, all vegetating upon peat, are often forced in this region to assume new features. The larch in particular will grow in spite of the nipping blasts, and where it is not permitted to rise erect on the mountain top as it does on the lower stations, it creeps along the ground to leeward, where neither the birch nor spruce can exist. It is thus sometimes only a few inches in height, and many feet in length. The spruce fir-thickets are often only a few feet in height, the trees hooked and entangled together in such a manner as to render it practicable to walk upon, but impossible to walk through them. In an extensive flat, barren track, that lay on our left, there are a number of small conical-shaped granite hills, clad with sombre spruce, which resemble islands in an ocean of meagre vegetation. Yet there are here the remains of extensive forests, destroyed by fire, where now there is not a tree within many miles. Neither reptile nor serpent of any kind had yet fallen under our notice, nor had the Indians ever seen or heard of any noxious animal being in the island. It may therefore be concluded that there are none of this class, common on the neighbouring islands and continent, here.

Were the agriculturalists of the coast to come here, they would see herds of cattle, fat on natural produce of the country, sufficient for the supply of provision to the fisheries, and the same animal fit, with a little training, to draw sledges at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Nature has liberally stocked Newfoundland with herds, finer than which Norway and Lapland cannot boast. Some of the reindeer here attain the size of six or seven hundred pounds weight, and even upwards. These natural herds are the best adapted for this climate and pasture; and it is evident on witnessing their numbers, that all that is required to render the interior, now in waste, at once a well-stocked grazing country, could be done through the means of employing qualified herdsmen, who would make themselves familiar with, and accompany these herds from pasture to pasture, as is done in Norway and Lapland with the reindeer there, and in Spain with the sheep. When taken young these deer become very domestic and tractable. Were the intelligent *resident* inhabitants of the coast, who have an interest in advancing the country internally, to adopt a plan for effecting this object, under their own vigilance, benefits and comforts now unthought of could be realized. Norwegians or Lapland Finns could be easily introduced into the interior, if the Indians were unwilling or unfit.

We met many thousands of the deer, all hastening to the eastward, on their periodical migration. They had been dispersed since the spring, on the mountains and barren tracts, in the west and north-west division of the interior, to bring forth and rear their young amidst the profusion of lichens and mountain herbage, and where they were, comparatively with the low lands, free from the persecution of flies. When the first frosts, as now in October, nip vegetation, the deer immediately turn towards the south and east, and the first fall of snow quickens their pace in those directions, as we now met them, towards the low grounds where browse is to be got and the snow not so deep over the lichens. In travelling herd follow herd in rapid succession over the whole surface of the country, all bending their course the same way in parallel lines. The herds consist of from twenty to two hundred each, connected by stragglers or piquets, the animals following each other in single files, a

few yards or feet apart, as their paths show; were they to be in close bodies, they could not graze freely. They continue to travel south-eastward until February or March, by which time the returning sun has power to soften the snow and permit of their scraping it off to obtain lichens underneath. They then turn round towards the west, and in April are again on the rocky barrens and mountains where their favourite mossy food abounds the most, and where in June they bring forth their young. In October the frosts warning to travel returns. They generally follow the same routes year after year, but these sometimes vary, owing to irregularities in the seasons and interruptions by the Indians. Such are, in a general view, the courses and causes of the migrations of the deer, and these seem to be the chief design of animated nature in this portion of the earth. Lakes and mountains intervening, cause the lines of the migration paths to deviate from the parallel; and at the necks of land that separate large lakes, at the extremity of lakes, and at the straits and running waters which unite lakes, the deer unavoidably concentrate in travelling. At those places the Indians encamp in parties, and stay for considerable intervals of time, because they can there procure the deer with comparatively little trouble.

After the first great fall of snow, although the activities had been for a few days laid bare by the mild weather, the summits of the mountains remained covered, and the snow lay in banks in the valleys. Light snow-showers afterwards occasionally fell, spreading the veil, and thickening the white mantle of winter in every direction. We suffered much at night from the inclemency of the weather. The trees were here generally so stunted and scanty, that we could hardly collect enough of brushwood and roots to keep a very small fire alive, and then we were unavoidably exposed. At one time, for three nights in succession, we could not find a dry spot of ground to lie upon. In such situations the want of sleep attended the want of shelter, and it was a contest between frost and fire which should have the supremacy over our bodies. Although we could shoot deer at intervals every day, no supply of food was adequate to support the system under the exhaustion and load of painful fatigue which we had to undergo. For my part I could measure my strength—that it would not obey the will and drag along the frame beyond two weeks more. Still it was cheering to hope that that space of time would carry us to the west coast. Ever since we left the last party of Indians, my Indian disputed with me about the course we should pursue, he obstinately insisting upon going to the southward. Perhaps he had a secret desire not to pass too near the Red Indian country, or he may have heard that some of his tribe were encamped in the direction he was inclined to go. As a separation might have led to serious consequences, I submitted from necessity.

October 28th.—The small lakes were sufficiently frozen over for us to walk upon them. As we advanced westward the aspect of the country became more dreary, and the primitive features more boldly marked. Pointed mountains of coarse red granite, standing apart, lay in all directions northerly and southerly of each other. Most of them are partially shrouded with firs, bald, and capped with snow. As we neared the south end of an extensive lake in order to get round it, we observed a low islet near the middle entirely covered with a large species of gull. Those birds seemed as if they had congregated to take flight before the lake was frozen over. I named this lake in honour of a friend at the bar in Edinburgh, "Wilson's lake." At the extreme south end we had to ford a rapid river of considerable size, running to the southward, which, from its position, we inferred was "Little River," and which discharges at the south coast.

October 29th.—Drawing near to a mountain-ridge, higher than any we had yet crossed, and which from appearance we supposed might be the last between us and the sea coast, we had great satisfaction in discovering smoke rising from a wood on the opposite side of a lake near the foot of it. We indulged in the hope that some timber party from the settlements at St George's Bay was encamped here. Our

toils were in fancy ended. On reaching the lake, the party encamped seemed to distrust us, not venturing to show themselves openly on the shore. After a time, however, they were convinced by our appearance, gestures, and the report of our guns, that we were not Red Indians nor enemies. A canoe was then launched and came across to us. The canoe was of the kind already described, of wicker-work, covered with skins, and paddled by two pretty Indian girls. I unceremoniously saluted them in the Indian manner and we accompanied them to their camp. They were of a party of Mickmack Indians, encamped at this lake because deer and firewood were plentiful. One man only belonged to this encampment, and he was out hunting when we arrived. None of the party understood a word of English; my Indian however explained. They told us, to our no little mortification, that we were yet sixty miles from St George's Harbour, or about five days walk if the weather should happen to be favourable, and that it lay in a north-west direction. The last information proved that my Indian had of late pertinaciously insisted on a wrong course. This small party consisted of eight individuals—one man, four women, and three children; one an infant, was strapped or laced to its cradle, and placed upright against the side of a wigwag, as any piece of domestic furniture might be. They had left St George's Harbour three months before; since then, had been in the interior, and intended to spend the winter at Great Cod Roy River in St George's Bay. As every hour was precious towards the final accomplishment of my object, I proposed to my Indian host to accompany me to St George's Bay; my offer was agreed to, and a stipulation made to set off in two hours. In the absence of this Indian, who told me his name was Gabriel, his family—consisting, as already observed, of females and children—were to provide for themselves. For this purpose two guns and ammunition were left with them. One of the young women was a capital shot; during our halt with them she left the camp and shot a fat deer close by. Having partaken of the best piece of venison the interior could produce, together with smoked deer's tongues, we set off. Owing to our enfeebled condition, this man's vigour and strength were enviable.

October 30th.—Rain, snow, and wind, in the early part of the day compelled us to stop and encamp. We shot a hare, the first we had killed; it was white, except the tips of the ears and tip of the tail, which always remain black. The hare of Newfoundland is the Arctic hare, *Lepus arcticus*. It sometimes weighs fourteen pounds and upwards. There is no other kind in the Island. The grouse, during severe snow storms at night, allow the snow to drift over them, and thus covered, obtain shelter. While in this situation a silver thaw sometimes comes on, and the incrustation on the surface becomes too thick for them to break through in the morning, and immense numbers of them perish by being in that manner enclosed. When we were crossing a lake on the ice my Indian fell through and with great exertion saved himself. While he was struggling my new friend Gabriel stood still and laughed; Joe did not look for assistance, nor did the other evince the least disposition to render any, although he was, compared with my position on the lake, near to him. Upon my remonstrating with Gabriel about his manifesting a want of feeling towards Joe, when perishing, Joe himself replied to me, "Master, it is all right; Indian rather die than live owing his life to another." The other had acted in sympathy with the self-dependent sentiment.

October 31st.—We travelled over hills and across lakes about twenty miles, fording in that space two rivers running north-easterly, and which are the main source branches of the river Exploits. This large river has therefore a course of upwards of two hundred miles in one direction, taking its rise in the south-west angle of the Island, and discharging at the north-east part. The Indians are all excellent shots, and the two men now with me displayed admirable skill in killing the deer at great distances and at full speed, with single ball. Nearly a foot of snow had recently fallen, which cast a monotonous sublimity over the whole country, and in a great measure concealed the characteristics of the vegetable as well as the mineral kingdoms

We encamped at night at the southern extremity of what is said by my Indians to be the most southern lake of the interior frequented by the Red Indians, and through which was the main source branch of the River Exploits. At the same lake, the Micmacs and the Indians friendly with them commence and terminate their water excursions from and to the west coast. They here construct their first skin canoes upon entering the interior, or leave their old ones upon setting off on foot for the sea coast. The distance to St George's Harbour is twenty-five miles or upwards, which part of the journey must be performed on foot, because no waters of any magnitude intervene. I named the lake in honour of His Majesty George the IV.

November 1st.—For nearly twenty miles to the westward of George the Fourth's lake, the country is very bare, there being scarcely a thicket of wood. During this day we forde¹ two rapid rivelets running south-west to St George's Bay. Deer had hitherto passed us in innumerable straggling herds. But westward of George the Fourth's lake, and particularly as we neared the coast, very few were to be seen. While ascending a mountain, I felt myself suddenly overcome with a kind of delirium, arising I supposed from exhaustion and excessive exertion, but fancied myself stronger than ever I was in my life. It is probable, under that influence, that if the Indian who last joined had not been present, I would have had a rencontre with my other Indian.

PART VIII.

The West Coast.

In the evening (1st November) about eighteen miles west of George the Fourth's lake, from the summit of a snowy ridge which defines the west coast, we were rejoiced to get a view of the expansive ocean and St George's Harbour. Had this prospect burst upon us in the same manner a month earlier, it would have created in my mind a thousand pleasures, the impression of which I was now too callous to receive; all was now however accomplished, and I hailed the glance of the sea as home, and as the parent of everything dear. There was scarcely any snow to be seen within several miles of the sea coast, while the mountain range upon which we stood, and the interior in the rear, were covered. This range may be about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the snow-capped mountains in the north-east are higher. The descent was now very precipitous and craggy. A rapid river called Flat Bay River, across which we were to ford, or if swollen, to pass over upon a raft, flowed at the foot of the ridge. It threatened rain, and sun was setting; but the sight of the sea urged us onward. By sliding down rill courses, and traversing the steeps, we found ourselves with whole bones, but many bruises, at the bottom, by one o'clock on the following morning. We then, by means of carrying a large stone each on our backs in order to press our feet against the bottom, and steadying ourselves by placing one end of a pole, as with a staff or walking-stick, firmly upon the bottom on the lawn or lee side, to prevent the current from sweeping us away, step after step, succeeded in fording the river, and encamped by a good fire, but supperless, in the forest on the banks of the river.

November 2nd.—Upon the immediate banks of Flat Bay River, there is some good birch, pine, and spruce timber. The soil and shelter are even so good here that the ground spruce (*Taxus Canadensis*)¹ bearing its red berries, constitutes the chief underwood, as in the forests of Canada and Nova Scotia. In the afternoon we reached St George's Harbour. The first houses we reached, two in number, close to the shore, belonged to Indians. They were nailed up, the owners not having yet returned from the interior after their fall's hunting. The houses of the European residents lay on the west side of the harbour, which is here about a mile wide, and near the entrance; but a westerly gale of wind prevented any intercourse across

¹ Ground hemlock.

Having had no food for nearly two days, we ventured to break open the door of one of the houses,—the captain or chiefs as we understood from my last Indian, and found what we wanted—provisions and cooking utensils. The winter stock of provisions of this provident man named Emanuel Gontgont, the whole having been provided at the proper seasons, consisted of six barrels of pickled fish, of different kinds, viz. : young halibuts and eels, besides dried cod fish, seal oil in bladders, and two barrels of maize or Indian corn flour.

November 3rd.—We were still storm-stayed in the Indian house, in the midst of plenty. It seemed remarkable that the provisions were entirely free from the ravages of rats and other vermin, although left without any precaution to guard against such. There was a potato and turnip field close to the house, with the crops still in the ground, of which we availed ourselves, although now partly injured by frost.

November 4th.—A party of Indians arrived from the interior, male and female, each carrying a load of furs. Our landlord was amongst them. Instead of appearing to notice with displeasure his door broken open and house occupied by strangers, he merely said, upon looking round and my offering an explanation, "Suppose me here, you take all these things."

We crossed the harbour, and were received by the residents—Jersey and English, and their descendants—with open arms. All European and other vessels had left this coast a month before, so that there was no chance of my obtaining a passage to St John's, or to another country. There were too many risks attending the sending to sea any of the vessels here at this season, although I offered a considerable sum to the owners of any of them that would convey me to Fortune Bay on the south coast, from whence I might obtain a passage to Europe by some of the ships that had probably not yet sailed from the mercantile establishments there.

After a few days I parted with my Indians—the one, who had with painful constancy accompanied me across the Island, joining his countrymen here to spend the winter with them, and return to his friends at the Bay of Despair in the following spring; the other, having renewed his stock of ammunition and other outfits, returned to his family which we had left in the interior. Having now crossed the Island, I cannot help thinking that my success was in part owing to the smallness of my party. Many together could not so easily have sustained themselves; they would have multiplied the chances of casualties, and thereby of the requisition of the attendance, and detention of the able. It is difficult to give an idea of, or to form an estimate equivalent to, the road-distance gone over. The toil and deprivations were such that hired men, or followers of any class, would not have endured them. At St George's Bay, as at all other parts of Newfoundland except the towns, the country is nearly as destitute of paths and roads as at the time of the discovery of the Island; the intercourse between the settlements, being by water, during bad weather is entirely suspended. I remained at St George's Bay Harbour under the hospitable roof of Mr Philip Messervey, the principal inhabitant, to rest and recover from the fatigues and deprivations of my journey, and from a hurt received while descending the mountains to the coast. At St George's Harbour there are about twenty families, amounting to one hundred souls, most of the parents natives of England and Jersey. Their chief occupation is salmon fishing and furring; a little cod fish is also cured. They catch annually three or four hundred barrels of salmon, according to the success of the fishery, and procure fur, including what is obtained from the Indians by barter, to the value of nearly four hundred pounds. They possess four schooners, three of them being built by themselves and one by the Indians, in which most of the male inhabitants make one voyage annually, either to Halifax, Nova Scotia, or to St John's, Newfoundland, to dispose of their fish and fur. Some of them barter their produce with trading vessels from Canada and New Brunswick, or with the vessels of any other country that may come to the coast, receiving provisions and West Indian

produce. They all cultivate potatoes, and some keep a few cows. The harbour is six or seven miles in length. On the east side the soil is good; red, white, and blue clays are found here. Along the banks of the several rivers which flow into the harbour, are strips of good land; some good pine spars and birch timber fit for shipbuilding are also to be found there. The young black birch¹, as far as my observation went, is called here the "witch hazel." St George's Harbour, although barred, may be entered by vessels of any burthen. There is no other ship harbour between Cape Ray and Port au Port; but there is good anchorage in the roadstead between Cod Roy Island and the main Island near Cape Anguille. None of the other harbours can be entered even by small craft when the wind blows strong westwardly. The trade and pursuits of the inhabitants of the other parts of St George's Bay, and, it may be observed, of all the other parts of the French Shore, are very similar to those of the other parts of St George's Harbour. To the southward, at what is called here the Barasways, are seven or eight families, amounting to nearly sixty souls, who catch annually from 150 to 200 barrels of salmon, and obtain fur to the value of one hundred pounds. They have one schooner which carries most of their produce to St John's Newfoundland, or to Halifax, Nova Scotia; they bartering a part with trading vessels at Cod Roy. At the Great and Little Cod Roy rivers, towards the southern extremity of St George's Bay, there are twelve or fourteen families, amounting to seventy or eighty souls, who catch annually four or five cwts. of cod fish, about fifty barrels of salmon, and obtain a little fur. The salmon fishery of St George's Bay, under which head are included, with few exceptions, all the able men, are in summer divided into about thirty fishing crews of two or three men each, with boats and nets, and occupy the salmon fishery at the shores and rivers all over the bay. At the Bay of Islands, north of St George's Bay, there are six— and at Bonne Bay, still further north, there are several families; north of that, on the west coast, there are no inhabitants. At the north-east part of the French Shore, between Quirpon Island and Cape John, there are a few stray settlers, whose value cannot be reckoned upon, further than that their occupations are in aid of the French fisheries. Taking an aggregate view of the French Shore, there are resident upon it upwards of fifty British families, consisting of about three hundred souls, who catch annually nearly seven hundred barrels of salmon; fur, to the value of six hundred pounds; cod fish and herrings, four hundred pounds; making, together with the shipping built, the total value of the exports of the British residents on the French Shore, £2400 or £2500. The usual mode of paying servants on the west coast is, allowing them one-third of the fruits of their industry, salmon, fur, or otherwise, the employer providing diet. The principle is well worthy of imitation on the east coast. St George's Harbour, locally called Flat Bay, as well as the estuaries of all the rivers on the west coast, is famous for abundance of eels. The Indians take them in great quantities by spearing in the mud, and pickle them for winter use. If there was a market, they might be, as indeed they have been to a limited extent, exported. The French Shore of Newfoundland is one of the most valuable in the globe for fisheries. At this day it is nearly in a primitive state, although in summer occupied by hundreds of French ships, which send forth their thousands of *hatteraux* and men brought from France, all eager in the pursuit of the cod fishery. Mackerel might be taken at St George's Bay in any quantity in the fall of the year only, but none are caught now.

This fishery, were it pursued, would succeed that of the salmon in the order of season, and the process of curing is similar. Herrings might likewise be caught to supply and suit any demand and market, as they are of all sizes. Whale and seal also abound in their respective seasons, but none are killed. The British residents on the French Shore feel very insecure in the enjoyment of their Salmon fishery and in any extension of their property, by reason of the peculiar tenure in regard to the French. A satisfactory solution of the mystery as to their rights has not yet

¹ Yellow birch.

been communicated to them, although they have made repeated applications at head quarters at St John's. But the French are at present friendly disposed to them, although their rights are treated as a mere sufferance. There is here neither clergyman, school-master, church nor chapel. Yet during my short stay, there was one wedding (an Indian couple, Roman Catholics, married by a Protestant resident, reading the Church of England service from a French translation) and four christenings, celebrated by the same person, with feasts and rejoicings suitable to such events.

November 16th.—Being now much recovered by the various attentions at St George's Harbour, during my stay of ten days, I set out on foot to the southward along the sea shore, accompanied by two of the young Jersey residents, in hopes, by walking and boating, to reach Fortune Bay, a distance of upwards of two hundred miles, before all the vessels for the season had sailed for Europe. We slept, as intended, in a deserted salmon fisher's hut on the shore, being unable to reach any habitation.

November 17th.—We forded the mouths of several minor streams, and that of the north of third Barasway river, it having no harbour at its estuary. In the evening reached the second Barasway river, a distance of twenty-four miles from St George's Harbour, and where reside the nearest inhabitants. Our walk all the way was on a sandy rocky beach at the bottom of cliffs washed by the sea. The cliffs are formed chiefly of red sand-stone, red ochre, blue clay, and gypsum, sixty or seventy feet and upwards in height, with a deep bed of red alluvial earth everywhere superimposed. The gypsum is of the compact kind, with hard nodules throughout; the beds extend into the sea, in which stand water-worn projections, sometimes of grotesque forms. A few miles north of the Barasway river there is a vertical stratum of a dark green-coloured rock resembling *verde antique*, running through the gypsum deposit, owing to the great hardness and durability of which its entering resembles a wall running into the sea. Gypsum also abounds inland, at the Rattling Brook, Flat Bay River, &c.

In the immediate vicinity of the Barasway rivers, as well as elsewhere in St George's Bay, there are both sulphurous and saline springs. One of the former, strongly saturated, occurs near the sea shore about a mile north of the second Barasway river; another is said to exist about seven miles from the sea up the Rattling Brook, which runs into the sea, a short distance north of the second Barasway river. Of the saline springs, one is situated about two miles up the second Barasway, another up the Rattling Brook, and a third is said to be on the neck of land at Port au Port, westward of Fall Mount. Coal of excellent quality lies exposed in strata in the bed and banks of a rivulet between the first and second Barasway rivers, about seven and nine miles from its mouth. The harbour at the mouth of the second Barasway river, as well as that of the first, is barred, having only eight or nine feet of water on the bars at high tides. The vicinity of the Barasway rivers, as of all the river courses in Newfoundland, is an interesting and untrodden field for the geologist, and for the naturalist generally. The inhabitants at the Barasway rivers were now in their winter houses under the shelter of the woods, having recently left their summer residences at the shore. Like the people at St George's Harbour, they are industrious and frugal; the extent of their salmon fishery and furring has been already noticed. The following animals are entrapped and shot here for their furs:—Martens, foxes, otters, beavers, musk rats, bears, wolves, and hares. Although ermines are numerous, the inhabitants do not preserve their skins, because they are *small*, their value not being known. Some of the residents have well-stocked farms, the soil being good. Oats, barley, potatoes, hay, &c., are produced in perfection, and even wheat. As evidence of the capabilities of portions of Newfoundland for agricultural purposes, notice must be taken of the farm of my hostess, Mrs Hulan, at the second Barasway river. The stock on it consisted of six milch cows, besides other cattle; the dairy could not be surpassed in neatness and

cleanliness, and the butter and cheese were excellent; the butter made, exclusive of what was kept for her comparatively numerous domestic establishment, was sold, part to the residents at other places in the bay, and part to trading vessels that come to the coast in summer. The cellar was full of potatoes and other vegetables for winter use. She was also an experimental farmer, and exhibited eight different kinds of potatoes, all possessing different qualities to recommend them. Of domestic poultry there was an ample stock. Mrs Hulan, although not a native, had lived in St George's Bay upwards of sixty years, and remembers the celebrated navigator, Cook, when he surveyed the coast. She is indefatigably industrious and useful, and immediately or remotely related to, or connected with, the whole population of the bay, over whom she commands a remarkable degree of maternal influence and respect. The coast southward from hence to Cod Roy, a distance of upwards of thirty miles, and where the nearest inhabitants in that direction were, was too rugged and bold to admit of our walking along the shore. The inhabitants here, or at St George's Harbour, were ready to exert themselves to get me forward. A forced march, which might occupy ten days, over a snow-covered mountainous country in the rear of the coast, had few attractions just now, and on

November 19th, the weather proving favourable, two young men of Mrs Hulan's establishment launched forth with me in a small skiff to row and sail close along the shore, as wind and weather might permit. My kind hostess, aware of the probable detention we might meet, provisioned the little bark for two days.

November 20th, 21st, and 22nd.—While passing in a boat, the formation only of the coast could be viewed, not examined. Between the south Barasway river and Cod Roy the coast is a continued range of cliffs, along which there is neither harbour nor shelter of any kind for even a boat. A light skiff or punt is therefore the safest mode of conveyance along this horrid coast in the inclement season of the year; for here and there between the cliffs there is a spot of beach with a ravine well known to the inhabitants, at which, although far apart in the event of being overtaken by bad weather, a skiff can run ashore, and the crew at the same instant jumping out, haul her up beyond the reach of the surf. This we were forced to do several times, and to clamber to the top of the cliffs until the weather moderated. The cliffs to within three miles north of Cape Anguille are formed chiefly of old, red, and variegated sandstone and sandstone of the coal formation. Then, at a narrow opening called Snake's Bight, another formation succeeds, and from thence southward to Cape Anguille the coast is principally formed of dark bluish stratified rocks, with an inclination of about thirty degrees. Beds of a narrow strata of a red rock, presenting a series of stripes to the sea, alternate. This latter portion of the coast has many irregularities and shiftings in the strata, and single vertical strata of a reddish brown rock, seemingly trap or green-stone, pervade it in different directions, sometimes presenting an extensive smooth mural front to the sea.

November 23rd.—We doubled Cape Anguille and reached Cod Roy. Cape Anguille seems to be formed of quartz rock in front and granite in the rear, it being a projection of the granitic ridge that defines the west coast. Cod Roy—and here there is an island of the same name—is close to Cape Anguille on the south. The inhabitants, as at the Barasway rivers, were in their winter houses in the woods, and their boats laid up for the winter. I, however, soon obtained a volunteer in the principal resident, named Parsons, to convey me as soon as the weather would permit in his skiff round Cape Ray, and to the next place where a boat could be procured. Owing to the shelter and anchorage for shipping at Cod Roy, as already noticed, and to its immediate proximity to the fine fishing grounds about Cape Ray, it is the central point of the French fisheries in summer. Many square rigged vessels are here loaded with dried cod fish for France; and hundreds of batteaux brought from France in the fishing ships scatter from hence in all directions over the fishing grounds. There are here five resident families, Gypsum abounds at Cod Roy.

November 28th.—Having awaited at Cod Roy five days in vain for an abatement of the strong north-west wind to permit of our putting to sea in a skiff, I set out with Parsons on foot to the southward by the sea shore. Great Cod Roy River is about six miles south of Cod Roy Island. We crossed the gut or entrance between the sea and the expansive shallow estuary of this river in a boat of one of the residents. The entrance is barred with sand, and has only about six feet of water. There reside here five families with their servants, amounting to twenty-eight souls. They catch about forty barrels of salmon annually, which, with herring, and a trifling cod fishery, are their chief means of subsistence. Coal is found on the south bank of Great Cod Roy River, six or seven miles from the sea. The land between Cod Roy and where the coal occurs is low and flat; so that in the event of the coal being raised, it could be conveyed by means of a railroad from the mines to the shipping. There were at this time ten Indian families encamped for the winter on the banks of Great Cod Roy River, about ten miles from its mouth. The chief attraction for the Indian here is the abundance of eels and trout. Little Cod Roy River is about six miles south of that of Great Cod Roy, and has also a gut at its estuary, which we in like manner crossed in a boat. Its entrance is likewise barred, and has only three feet of water; but forms, like Great Cod Roy River, an expansive harbour inside. There are here two resident families only, amounting to, with servants, seventeen souls. They exist by furring, and a small cod fishery, the quantity of salmon caught being very trifling. Both the Great and Little Cod Roy Rivers have their friths protected from the sea by sand hills or downs. The residents of Cod Roy and at these rivers, with the exception of Parsons, and one or two others recently settled there for the sake of the cod fishery, are extremely indolent and ignorant, differing in these respects from the rest of the inhabitants of St George's Bay. The extent of the occupation collectively of the inhabitants of St George's Bay. The coast between Cod Roy and Great Cod Roy River is formed chiefly of mural cliffs of horizontally stratified sand-stone of the coal formation, with alternations of red earth, blue clay, and gypsum. From Cod Roy River to Cape Ray it presents downs to the sea. The downs near the sea shore are raised into hillocks, and in the rear they are level. In the vicinity of Cod Roy there are also downs, and here are numerous funnel-shaped hollows, some of them twenty yards wide across the mouth and many yards deep. Most of the hollows are dry; they are caused, as is known to geologists, by fresh water springs dissolving the beds of rock salt and gypsum underneath, and by the earth, sand, and other superimposed substances thus falling in¹. They sometimes assume the shape of an inverted funnel, having a small aperture only at the surface, and a hole below. Cattle have fallen into the latter description and been lost. The sand composing the downs is of a yellow white colour, with minute shells of various kinds and minute radiated brown pyrites abundantly intermixed. They produce only sand-hill grass, *Carex arenaria*, and the sea pea or vetch, *Pisum maritimum*.

The soil in St George's Bay is the best, and at the same time forms the most extensive tract of good soil any where on the coast of Newfoundland. It is a low flat strip nearly the whole length of the Bay, lying between the sea shore and the mountains in the rear, interrupted only by Cape Anguille, which juts into the sea. It seldom exceeds two miles in breadth except at the rivers, and there it extends many miles up the country along the banks. The granite mountains behind appear generally clad with firs, except along the summits, which are bare. Iron pyrites of various forms occur in abundance on the west coast, particularly at Port au Fort and that neighbourhood. They are generally of the radiated and kidney-shaped structure, encrusted with a white earthy substance. Some of them weigh several pounds, and many of them have garnets embedded. Pure hornblende rock in large masses, some four or five feet in diameter, is met with at the Cod Roy Rivers; coal is

¹ Known locally as plaster holes.

reported to exist at other places on this coast, besides being at the Barasway and Cod Roy Rivers. The Indians say it lies exposed in such abundance on the surface of the earth near the mouth of a brook on the west side of Port au Port that they have made fires of it on the spot; and this is an excellent harbour for shipping. *Verde antique*, of a dark green colour, spotted or mottled with white, is found at the north of Port au Port on the bed of what is called the Coal river, a few miles from the sea, and brought down in pieces by the Indians for the manufacture of tobacco pipes. The natural productions of the west coast, viewed in relation to the neighbouring countries are well deserving the attention of Canada in particular. Coal and the other valuable minerals are here in abundance, and may be considered at the very threshold of that country by means of steam navigation, to the extension and support of which that material so directly contributes. Iron is probably to be found in more profitable forms than pyrites. By means of steamships, the countries bounding on the Gulf and River St Lawrence could defy foreign aggression and command an extension of commerce.

November 26th.—Cape Ray.—Having slept the previous night in the winter house of one of the families at Little Cod Roy river, we to-day walked round Cape Ray, here leaving the French Shore and entering upon American Newfoundland, or that division of the coast on which the Americans have a right of fishing and of drying their fish. On the shore north of Cape Ray lay several wrecks of ships and their cargoes of timber. Cape Ray is a low point formed of dusky coloured trap rock, intersected in some places with vertical strata of green trap, running in an east and west direction. The coal formation of St George's Bay adjoins. On the very Cape there resides during summer a person of the name of Wm. Windsor, with his family. We found him in his winter hut in a spruce wood two or three miles to the eastward of the Cape. The most perfect contentment, cheerfulness, poverty, and hospitality were the characteristics of the monarch of Cape Ray. His resources, through the means of fishing, enabled him to procure a sufficiency of coarse biscuit, molasses, and tea, by which, together with fowling, he supported his family. He wore no covering on his head, even when exposed to the inclement weather—Nature, aided doubtless by habit, providing him with an extraordinary mat of hair, as she does the inferior animals here with fur. The high lands of Cape Ray lie several miles inland, north-east of the Cape, and consist of a group of granite mountains seemingly nearly two thousand feet in height. The scenery among them is sublime; the steep sides of the wedge-shaped valleys appear smooth and striped at a distance, owing to the crumbled rocks and blocks detached by frost being hurled from the very summits to the bottom, where they lie in heaps of ruins. I had reluctantly to behold only the treasures laid open to the mineralogist. Snow and ice lie in beds on these mountains all the summer. The vicinity of Cape Ray is remarkable for great numbers of foxes, induced here by the abundance of their chief food, viz., the berries of the *vaccinium* or partridge berry and that of the *vaccinium* or hurtle berry. We were several days storm-stayed by winds and snow, and the inefficiency of the ice to bear us across the rivulets, at a boat harbour called the Barasway, six or seven miles east of the Cape. The person in whose winter house we here stopped, his summer residence being at Port au Basque at the eastward, had now entrapped and shot about eighty foxes, black, silver gray, patch, and red, in less than two months; all those colours are produced at one litter. The foxes are mostly caught in iron spring-traps, artfully concealed (not baited) in the path-ways along the seashore. It may be noticed that on the west coast of Newfoundland, there is neither Scotchman, Irishman, nor rat to be met with; nor, it is said, has any member of these European families taken up an abode west of Fortune Bay.

PART IX.

American portion of Newfoundland.

December 5th.—Port au Basque, the nearest harbour to Cape Ray on the East, about twelve miles distant therefrom, we reached by boat from the Barasway. It had a fine open entrance, and good anchorage, and is sufficiently capacious for any number of ships to ride in safety. The rendezvous for fishing vessels, small craft and boats, is a long narrow passage, immediately adjoining the west side of the harbour, formed by a chain of Islands which lie close along the coast, and is called Channel. Four families reside here during the summer, pursuing the cod fishery at that season, and the furring in winter. A small safe basin called Little Bay, with a narrow entrance, adjoins Port au Basque immediately on the East. There are no summer residences here, but two persons engaged in the cod fishery at the Dead Islands in summer were encamped in the woods for the winter. They undertook to convey me in their little skiff to Dead Island, the next harbour to the east; and in consequence, I here parted with my faithful and daring attendant, Parsons, from Cod Roy.

December 7th.—*Dead Island.*—Reached this place from Little Bay. The harbour, here called Pass, is fit for any ships, and like Channel, is a narrow passage between a string of Islands and the main Island. Port au Basque and Channel, and the Dead Island or Pass, are both excellent stations at which to carry on the American fisheries. The fishing grounds in the vicinity of Cape Ray are probably the best on the Newfoundland coast for the resort of fishermen from a distance, they being peculiar in this important point, that the cod are always to be found in abundance upon them, and caught at all seasons when the weather is not too boisterous, and then the neighbouring harbours mentioned afford shelter to the fishing craft. The fishery may be commenced here six weeks or a month earlier than at any other part of the coast, and continued in the fall of the year until Christmas. Many industrious fishermen within a hundred miles eastward, do not leave these grounds until the end of December. The cod caught in October, November, and December is called winter fish. At Fortune Bay to the eastward, on the same coast, winter fish is caught by means of the smaller boats in the months of January, February, and March, in deep water close to the shores. The winter-caught fish is of a better quality than that taken at any other season. It is allowed to remain in dry salt during the winter, and dried in the first warm weather in spring; being then sent to a foreign market, it arrives at an early season of the year, when there is no other newly-cured fish to compete, and brings fifty per cent. or upwards more than the fish dried in the preceding year. There is no winter fish caught at Newfoundland except at the south-west coast. At the Dead Islands three families reside in summer, whose chief pursuit is the cod fishery. These Islands are composed chiefly of mica slate. I was here fortunate in finding a very respectable industrious inhabitant, named Thomas Harvey, still occupying his summer house at the shore, and his fishing boat or shallop not yet dismantled for the winter. Although no ordinary remuneration was equivalent to the risk at this inclement season on so dangerous a coast, Harvey unhesitatingly manned and provisioned his boat to enable me to reach Fortune Bay.

It would have been impossible without the probability of being either frozen or starved to walk along this coast at this season of the year, it is so indented with deep bays and rivers, and in a manner uninhabited and unexplored.

December 8th.—We set sail from the Dead Islands, passed by a harbour called Burnt Island, where reside two families who pursue the cod fishery. The weather being stormy, we were forced afterwards to put into the Seal Island, some

fifteen miles to the eastward. Seal Island is a fine safe harbour with two entrances, one east, another west. There is one resident family only here, seemingly in good circumstances by means of the cod fishery. The prevailing rock here is mica slate.

December 11th.—Strong winds and snow had compelled us to remain all night at Seal Island. We now got under weigh, with a fair wind, cheerfully passing by Harbour le Cou, uninhabited; Garia, with one resident family in summer; Indian Island, with one resident family; La Poile, a noble deep bay with two resident families; and reached Grand Brit, a good little harbour with two entrances, the west being the better, and where reside two families in summer, whose habitations were now locked up and deserted.

December 12th.—Set sail, and reached Cingserf, a good harbour for vessels of any size; the best anchorage is on the east side. Within the harbour there are many small inlets. It has no summer residents, nor could we discover any signs of winter occupants. Trap rock prevails here.

December 13th.—Having passed the night at Cingserf, we set off again with a fair wind; touch at and pass through amongst the Burgeo Islands. Here is a sheltered roadstead with good anchorage. At Burgeo Islands there are eleven or twelve, and in the vicinity, five or six resident families. Burgeo Islands are formed of gray granite, and very barren. The part of the main Island opposite to them, as well as that for some miles westward, presents steep and perpendicular cliffs of old red sandstone to the sea. In the evening we reached the Rameo Islands, the east extremity of that portion of the Newfoundland coast at which the Americans have a right of fishing and of curing fish. There are only two resident families here. The Americans have, by the treaty of Ghent, a right of fishing and curing their fish in common with British subjects, on the coast between Cape Ray and the Rameo Islands, an extent of about seventy-five miles. This portion of the coast, although possessing many fine harbours besides those noticed here, contains scarcely forty resident families, or two hundred and fifty souls on the whole of it. The chief pursuits of these people are the cod fishery in summer, and entrapping foxes and other wild animals for their skins in the fall. The salmon fishery is a very minor object, as the rivers are not so large nor numerous as on the west coast. The fishermen, or planters as they are called, obtain their outfits to enable them to carry on the fisheries from the merchants at Fortune Bay. They annually catch about three thousand cwts. or quintals or upwards of cod fish, make about forty-five tuns of cod oil, and obtain fur to the value of one hundred pounds. The approach to many of the fine harbours here is dangerous from the want of surveys of the outer coast. Thousands of valuable lives have been lost by shipwreck, particularly to the eastward of Cape Ray, in consequence of most dangerous currents and sunken rocks that exist here, being unnoticed upon any chart; and until the colonists themselves take up the cause of humanity, it is not likely these dangers will for a long time be made known or a light-house erected on the coast. The residents here, as at St George's Bay, and at most of the north and west harbours of the Island, have both summer and winter houses. They retire to the residences or huts in the woods on the setting in of the winter, for facility of firewood and shelter; the labour attending the conveyance of fuel to their summer residences at the shore, which are exposed to every inclemency of the weather, being very great. They sometimes remove to a distance of thirty miles and even farther to the sequestered woods at the heads of bays and harbours, and on the banks of rivers, taking with them their boats, furniture, and provisions, and re-appear at the coast in the month of April. The habits and imperative performances of the beaver for preservation of self and kind, are at least equally perfect with those of the European settlers or Indians on the coast. Each have their summer and winter abodes, and respectively provide for their retirement, &c. Sea fowl and birds of passage resort to the south-west

coast in great numbers in the fall of the year; and during that season, as well as in winter, constitute a considerable portion of the provisions of the inhabitants. The dogs here are admirably trained as retrievers in fowling, and are otherwise useful. The smooth or short-haired dog is preferred, because in frosty weather the long-haired kind become encumbered with ice upon coming out of the water. They are fed on fish, purposely cured for them. The *Leop Cerrier*¹, a common animal in all the adjacent countries, is not considered to be a native of Newfoundland, although one was caught last year in La Poile Bay, and another killed in the same neighbourhood a few years ago. In these instances it is probable that the animals have either crossed or been blown over upon the ice from some of the neighbouring countries. Neither squirrel, porcupine, or racoon have been met with on the Island. Penguins were once numerous at this coast, their breeding place having been the Penguin Islands, about fifteen miles north-east from Rameo Islands. They have been extirpated by man, none having been seen for some years past. Halibuts abound more at the south-west coast than elsewhere. The young² in the fall, is one of the finest fishes on these coasts; but its excellence seems to be little known except to the fishermen and their families. It may be cured in several ways.

PART X.

South coast of Newfoundland—Termination of journey.

December 14th.—The coast was now everywhere clad in its white winter mantle, and most of the birds of passage had left the shores for a more genial climate. Having spent the night at the Rameo Islands, we set sail eastward, entering now upon the British Newfoundland coast. This part may be considered out of the province of the present narrative, although, except to the immediate residents, little better known than the coast just gone over. The coast at the entrances of White Bear Bay and Old Man's Bay is formed of trap rocks and red sandstone alternating. Pass by Little River, a good harbour; Cape La Hune, where two families reside; Bay François, with three resident families; New Harbour, three resident families; Rencontre, four families; and reach Richard's Harbour, where several families reside in summer.

Cape La Hune, as well as the coast thence to Richard's Harbour is formed chiefly of trap rock. Richard's Harbour is a complete basin surrounded on all sides by steep trap hills, of four hundred feet and upwards in height. The entrance is very narrow and deep, rocks on the west side overhanging to that degree as to render it awful to behold while passing under.

December 16th.—Having been wind-bound one day in Richard's Harbour, a favouring breeze now carries us to the Bay of Despair, and in sight of the whaling and cod fishery establishment of Messrs Newman, Hunt & Co., of London. The few inhabitants, and their pursuits, between Rameo and the Bay of Despair, are similar to those farther to the westward. The rock formation of the coast between Cape Ray and the Bay of Despair may be noticed in a general view as follows: red sandstone, of the coal formation, is found next to the trap rock, six or eight miles east of Cape Ray. Then we come to primitive rocks, mica slate, gneiss, and granite; next are trap and old red sandstone alternating, which, with the granitic rocks, form the coast all the way eastward, presenting little else than most barren and precipitous hills, half clad with stunted firs, and indented everywhere with harbours, bays, and rivers. Few of the harbours have any soil at those parts nearest the sea, there being merely debris in small patches. At the head, however, of most of the harbours and bays, and along the margins of the waters that discharge into them, some good

¹ Lynx (*Lynx Canadensis*).² Called Chicken Halibut.

soil and spruce timber are to be found. Rock crystals of different colours are stated by the inhabitants to occur in quantities at Harbour le Cou and Diamond Cove in that neighbourhood. Several of the inhabitants possessed transparent specimen cases of curiosities.

Upon reaching the establishment of Messrs Newman & Co., at the Bay of Despair, I learnt with satisfaction that the last ship for England this season from this coast was to sail within a few days from another of their establishments in Fortune Bay. Harvey's boat and men now went back to the Dead Islands, but not without apprehension on my part for their safety, contending against westerly winds on this inhospitable coast at such a season. For while we were coming, with a fair wind, every drop of water and spray that came into our boat congealed as it fell, thus binding together boat, ropes and sails in one mass of ice.

Here ended a four months' excursion of toil, pleasure, pain, and anxiety, succeeded by the delight of being again restored to society, which was enjoyed with the gentlemen and families of the mercantile establishments at the Bay of Despair and Fortune Bay.

It was impossible to reach St John's, and I took passage at Little Bay, in Fortune, by the ship "Duck," sailing on the 28th December, and arrived in Dartmouth, in England, on the 10th February, 1823.

REGISTER OF THE WEATHER IN THE INTERIOR FROM 4TH SEPTEMBER TO 31ST OCTOBER, 1821.

	Winds	Bright days	Rainy days	Foggy and drizzly days	Snowy days
September, 4th to 30th inclusive	W. & S.W.	19	3		
	N.W.	1	1		
	S.	2	1		
		22	5		
October, 31 days	W. & S.W.	9	1	2	1
	N.W.	3			2
	N.	2			7
	S.	2	2		
	S.E.	2			1
	E. N.E.	1		2	
		19	3	4	5
Sept., as above		22	5		
Weather of 48 days		41	8	4	5

Capture of three Beothuck women.

In the spring of 1823, a party of Indians was seen on the ice in New Bay, an arm of the Great Bay of Notre Dame, by some furriers. On the first meeting, these amiable whites shot a man and woman who were approaching them, apparently for food. The man was first killed, and the woman in despair, remained a calm victim. (Bonnycastle.) Three other women afterwards gave themselves up. They were in a starving condition. Cull who captured them brought all three and placed them in charge of Mr Peyton who was the Magistrate for the district. Peyton deemed it the best thing he could do to bring the women to St John's. On their arrival there, however, it soon appeared that one of them was far gone in consumption, and the health of the other two was precarious. It was, therefore, judged proper to hasten the return of two of them.

The service of conducting them back devolved upon Mr Peyton who was furnished with a large number of presents, consisting of such articles as were calculated to gratify a barbarous tribe. These his instructions directed him to use as circumstances and his own discretion might render most suitable as "an incitement to those poor creatures to repose confidence in our people in that part of the coast they frequent." (Pedley¹.)

GRASSHOFFER,
ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.
10th June, 1823.

Sir,

I grieve to have it to report that information has reached me of the violent death of an Indian man and woman natives who were shot by two of our people early this spring in Badger Bay; the particulars of this melancholy event have not yet reached me, but I am in hourly expectation of Mr Peyton's arrival here with one of the offenders. Since this unfortunate occurrence took place, Mr Cull and a few men with him fell in with an Indian man and an old woman, the former fled, but the latter approached and joined our people. Some days after this she led Mr Cull to where her two daughters were, the one about twenty, the other about sixteen years of age. I am much pleased to find that these interesting females are under the care of Mr Peyton, and I understand he brings them with him; as a vessel sails today for England I am desirous that you should be made acquainted with these events, as it may again induce His Majesty's Government to hold out their protecting hand to this unfortunate race of human beings whose blood seems to be shed without remorse. I shall take the first opportunity of presenting you with every information connected with these transactions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(signed) D. BUCHAN, Comm.

Copy (signed) P. C. LEGEY.

To His Excellency

Vice Admiral Sir C. Hamilton, Bt.,

&c. &c. &c.

¹ *History of Newfoundland*, 1863.

Copy

P. C. Leggett, Secy.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
18th June, 1823.

Sir,

I beg to inform you that I have now in my charge three women natives of this island who were taken in March and April last by Wm. Cull and others who consigned them to my care, being a Magistrate, and as I have reason to suppose that an amicable intercourse with these people is much desired by Government, I considered it best to bring them here in order to place them under the direction of His Excellency the Governor, but as I find that Sir Charles Hamilton is not yet arrived, I would most strenuously advise that they be immediately returned, and what renders this step most pressing is that one of them is far gone in a consumption, and the health of the other two has been very precarious since I have had them. That this object may be accomplished with the least possible delay I shall be happy to take them to the Bay of Exploits, whither I return immediately, and place them so near their people that they may readily rejoin them; and if this project meets your approbation, I would take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of providing such presents to be sent with them as will best promote the effect desired, and the cause of humanity.

As the schooner I brought them here in requires repair, it is desirable to provide them with a more eligible place of abode for the few days I remain at this place both on account of the general comfort of all, and the critical situation of the sick one who requires medical aid and attendance which can best be procured through your influence.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

(Signed) JOHN PEYTON, Jr., J.P.

Capt. D. Buchan

Copy

P. C. Leggett, Secy.

GRASSHOPPER,
ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
18 June, 1823.

Sir,

Your letter of this day's date communicating the circumstances of your having brought with you three Native women of this Country, has been perused by me with much interest and consideration, and I hasten to acquaint you that Mr Bland, the High Sheriff, is instructed to see that these objects of our solicitude be instantly provided with every requisite comfort suitable to their condition. Mr Watt, Surgeon of the Grasshopper, will pay every attention in his power to promote the recovery of their health. The desirable object of endeavouring to open an amicable intercourse with their tribe shall have my fullest consideration.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(signed) D. BUCHAN,

Comm.

Mr John Peyton, Jr.,

Magistrate.

The most circumstantial account of the capture, &c., of these three women is contained in a work entitled *Newfoundland and its Missionaries*, by the Rev. Wm Wilson, Methodist Minister, who gives an extract from his journal as follows.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
June 23rd, 1823.

Last week there were brought to this town three Red Indians so called, who are the aboriginal inhabitants of this island. They are all females and their capture was accomplished in the following manner.

In the month of March last a party of men from the neighbourhood of Twillingate were in the country hunting for fur. The party went two and two in different directions. After a while one of these small parties saw on a distant hill a man coming towards them. Supposing him while at a distance to be one of their own party, they fired a powder gun to let their friend know their whereabouts. The Red Indian generally runs at the report of a musket, not so in the present instance, the man quickened his pace towards them. They now, from his gait and dress, discerned that he was an Indian, but thought that he was a Micmac and still felt no anxiety. Soon they found their mistake and ascertained that the stranger was one of the Red Indians. He was approaching in a threatening manner with a large club in his hand. They now put themselves in a posture of defence and beckoned the Indian to surrender. This was of no use, he came on with double fury, and when nearly at the muzzle of their guns one of the men fired and the Indian fell dead at their feet. As they had killed the man without any design or intention, they felt deeply concerned, and resolved at once to leave the hunting ground and return home. In passing through a broke of woods they came up with a wigwam which they entered, and took three Indian females, which have since been found to be Mother and her two daughters. These women they brought to their own homes, where they kept them till they could carry them to St John's and receive the Government reward for bringing a Red Indian captive.

The parties were brought to trial for killing the man, but as there was no evidence against them, they were acquitted.

The women 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 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 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. She seemed about 22 years of age. If she had ever used red ochre about her person, there was no sign of it in 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. 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 most surprising, she began at the tip of the tail. One person pointed to his fingers and counted ten; which she repeated in good English; but when she had numbered all her fingers, her English was exhausted, and her numeration if numeration it were

was in Beothuck tongue. This person whose Indian name is Shanawdithit, is thought to be the wife of the man who was shot¹. 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 on every one that entered the Court house. When we came away, Shanawdithit, kissed all the company, shook hands with us and distinctly repeated good bye.

June 24th.—Saw the three Indian women in the street. The ladies had dressed them in English garb, but over their dresses they all had on their, to them, indispensable deer-skin shawls; and Shanawdithit 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 around 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 in these valuable treasures.

GRASSHOFFER,
ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
28th June, 1823.

Sir,

In reference to my letter of the 10th instant I now have the honour to inform Your Excellency that Mr Peyton arrived here on the 18th, bringing with him three Native females of this Island, their respective ages are apparently about 43, 24 and 20. There is reason to believe that the eldest is the mother of the others, and she bears all the marks of premature old age. The second is labouring under an affection of the lungs, which it is much to be apprehended may soon terminate her existence. The youngest is of a very lively disposition and quick apprehension.

Captain Roberts having declined all interference in matters not immediately connected with the squadron, I have on this occasion considered it my duty to pursue the steps as detailed in the accompanying documents; I also transmit for Your Excellency's information a copy of the legal proceedings taken relative to the murder of the two Indians. I trust that the measures taken by me in so important a crisis may meet with your approbation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(signed) D. BUCHAN,

Comm.

His Excellency

Vice Admiral Sir C. Hamilton, Bt.,
&c., &c., &c.

Copy (signed) P. C. LEGEYT,

Secretary.

Copy

P. C. Legeyt,

Secy.

GRASSHOFFER,
ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
28th June, 1823.

Sir,

As it appears to me in every point of view of the first consideration that the three female Aborigines should be conducted with the least possible delay to such station as may enable them with the less difficulty to rejoin their tribe, I feel

¹ Not so, he was her uncle.

most desirous on behalf of His Excellency the Governor to facilitate this pleasing object, and it is particularly gratifying to me that my personal knowledge of your humanity, zeal and ability qualified you in an eminent degree for this confidence and trust which I impose on you under a perfect conviction that your proceedings herein will prove most satisfactory to His Majesty's Government. You will, therefore, again take charge of the three native females with the presents enumerated in the annexed schedule, which you will use as circumstances and your discretion may render most suitable as an incitement to these poor creatures to repose confidence in our people on that part of the coast they frequent¹.

It is impossible to give adequate written instructions on a subject that must even vary according to the circumstances of the moment, and as you are perfect master of what were my intentions and views in the expeditions of 1819 and 1820, it renders it altogether unnecessary for me to say anything on these heads. Should you, however, find it necessary to carry your operations to any part of the coast not included between the NW. entrance of the Exploits, tracing up the Western side of that Bay by Charles's Brook to the River Exploits, you will leave at Exploits Burnt Island, as also at Twillingate, a letter of instruction where you may be found in the event of His Excellency wishing to communicate with you. You will likewise acquaint the Governor with your proceedings as opportunities may offer.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) D. BUCHAN,

Comm.

To John Peyton, Jr.

EXPLOITS BURNT ISLAND,

July 23, 1823.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you for the information of the Governor that I left the three Indian women on the 12th instant at Charles' Brook and that they appeared perfectly happy at our leaving them. I called there again on the 14th instant, when I gave them a little boat, at which the young woman was much pleased, and gave me to understand that she should go to look for the Indians and bring them down with her. I am sorry to add the sick woman still remained without hopes of her recovery.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

(signed) JNO. PEYTON, Jr.

Copy (sgd) P. C. LEGG,

Secretary.

To Captain D. Buchan,
H.M.S. Grasshopper.

¹ In a list of disbursements for the district of St John's from the 20th of October, 1822, to the 20th October, 1823, I find the following entries:

"Elizabeth Bryan, for attendance upon three Indian women, per order of Sessions" £1. 10s. 6d.

"Paid Hunters & Co. for sundries for the use of the Indian women" £3 7s. 6d.

These were Shanawdihit, her sister and mother.

June 29th, 1825.

Extract of a disputation from R. A. Tucker, Esq. Administering to the Government of Newfoundland, to R. W. Horton, Esq.

"You are doubtless aware that three of the Aborigines of this Island were brought to St John's about two years ago, and two of them died very shortly after their return to the Bay of Exploits, the third, a woman about 18 or 19 years of age is still alive, and from the person under whose charge she has since continued I understand that she has acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English language to communicate that information respecting her tribe which we have so long been desirous to obtain. She states that the whole number of her tribe did not exceed fifteen persons in the winter of 1823, and that they were obliged by the want of food to separate into three or four parties. Of these fifteen, two were shot by some of our settlers, one was drowned and three fell into our hands, so that only nine at the utmost remain to be accounted for, and Mr Peyton (the person in whose house the Native Indian resides) tells me that from the circumstance of his not being able to discover the most distant trace of any of them for the two last winters he is convinced that they must all have perished!

If such be the fact, this woman is the sole survivor of her race and of course whatever curiosity may be felt regarding it can be gratified by her alone.

Among other conjectures which have been formed relating to this tribe, it has I believe been supposed by a gentleman¹ of talent and learning that they were the remains of Icelandic Colony, and an opportunity is now afforded of ascertaining the truth of this hypothesis, as the language will determine whether they are of Norwegian origin or not. It must also I conceive be interesting to learn from her what notions they had of a Supreme Being, to examine into the present state of her mental faculties and to try how far they are susceptible of improvement by education. Regarding her therefore in these and in many other particulars as an object of considerable interest, I have been irresistibly compelled by my feelings to draw your attention to her.²

An old man named James Wheeler, well known about St John's a few years ago, told me that he distinctly remembered, when a mere lad, seeing these three women passing along the street as described by Rev. Wm Wilson. He said the people stopped everywhere to look at them, especially the young folk, himself amongst the number, and when the children would crowd around them, Shanawdithit would make a pretence of trying to catch some of them. They would immediately scatter in all directions, child like, then she would give vent to unbridled laughter. Their fear appeared to be a matter which greatly pleased her, nor did she seem the least abashed at anything.

We are indebted to Mr W. E. Cormack and to Mr John Peyton for the subsequent history of the three women. Cormack relates the story of their capture pretty much as above, except that he says the husband of the old woman ran away, and in attempting to cross a creek on the ice fell through and was drowned³. Also that about a month before this event, and a few miles distant, the brother of this man (Shanawdithit's uncle), and his daughter belonging to the same party, were shot by two other English furriers, one or two more of the party escaped to the interior.

¹ Peyton frequently expressed the same belief to myself.

² Presumably Mr W. E. Cormack.

³ Some accounts state that a second man accompanied the three women who was drowned also by falling through the ice in an attempt to escape.

After remaining a few weeks in St John's the women were sent back to Exploits with many presents in the hope that they might meet and share them with their people. They were conveyed up the river Exploits some distance by a party of Europeans and left on the bank with some provisions, clothing, &c., to find their friends as they best might. Their provisions were soon exhausted, and not meeting any of their tribe, they wandered on foot down the right bank of the river, and in a few days again reached the English habitations. The mother and one daughter here died shortly afterwards, and within a few days of each other. The survivor, Nancy, or Shanawdithit, was received and taken care of by Mr Peyton, Junior, and family.

Mr Peyton informed me that after the Indian women came back he had a tilt built for them on the shore of the bay near his own dwelling and supplied them with food, &c., but that the sick girl quickly grew worse, and soon died. He said the old mother used to treat her to a vapour bath frequently, by heating stones and dropping them into a pail of water in the room till a dense vapour of steam was created, somewhat after the manner of a modern Turkish bath. When the old woman died he took Shanawdithit into his house where she acted as a kind of servant, doing, however, pretty much as she liked.

An old woman, Mrs Jure, of Exploits Island, whom I met in 1886, and who resided with the Peyton family at the same time as Nancy, gave me the following particulars concerning her. Nance, as she was familiarly called, was swarthy in complexion but with very pleasing features, rather inclined to be stout¹ but of good figure. She was bright and intelligent, quick to acquire the English language, and of a retentive memory. She was very pert at times, and when her mistress had occasion to scold her, she would answer very sharply, "what de matter now Missa Peyton, what you grumble bout." At times she got into sulky fits, or became too lazy to do anything. When such moods were upon her she would go off and hide in the woods for days together, only returning when the sulks had worn off, or when driven back by hunger. She would allow no familiarity on the part of the fishermen who frequented Peyton's house, but on one occasion, when amongst others, an individual possessing an extremely red beard and hair was amongst the number, she showed the greatest partiality to this man, even going to the length of sitting on his knee and caressing him; to the no small confusion of the big shy fisherman, and to the great amusement of his companions'. She was very ingenious at carving and could make combs out of deers' horns and carve them beautifully. She would take a piece of birch bark, double it up and bite with her teeth into a variety of figures of animals or other designs, i.e. to say when the bark was again unfolded, the impressions thereon would be such.

I have seen myself, a Micmac Indian perform this same feat. He would select a piece of thin clear inside bark, which was soft and pliable,

¹ This does not accord with Rev. Mr Wilson's description of her appearance, but she may have fallen into flesh as she grew older.

² Presumably the red hair of the individual was the attraction, red colour being held in great esteem amongst the natives.

then fold it several times tightly. By some peculiar way of manipulating his teeth, he would leave their impress in the bark, upon unfolding which the figures were distinctly recognizable.

According to Mr Peyton, she exhibited the greatest antipathy to the Micmacs, more especially towards one Noel Boss, whom she so dreaded that whenever he, or even his dog made their appearance, she would run screeching with terror and cling to Mr P. for protection. She called this man *Muddy Noel* ("Bad Noel"). She stated that he once fired at her across the Exploits River, as she was stooping down in the act of cleaning some venison. In proof of this she exhibited the marks of gunshot wounds in her arms and legs; one slug passing through the palm of her hand. Mr W. E. Cormack, to whom she also showed these marks, confirms this statement.

The remainder of poor Shanawdith's story is soon told; she remained in obscurity at Peyton's house, Exploits, till the autumn of 1828 when the "Beothuck Institute," at the instance of Mr Cormack, its President, had her brought to St John's. She then resided with Mr C. until he left the country some time in the spring of 1829, she was then transferred to the care of Mr Simms, Attorney-General of the Colony, and died in the month of June of that same year.

In 1824, two Canadian Indians (Micmacs?) reported seeing a party of Red Indians, with two canoes, on the right bank of the Exploits River, about half way between the coast and the great lake. Friendly gestures were exchanged across the river and no collision took place (so Cormack was informed by the two Micmacs themselves).

In 1827 Mr Cormack undertook a second expedition into the interior, with the same object as formerly. His account of this journey is best told in his own language.

Captain David Buchan, R.N.

Captain David Buchan who figures so prominently in Newfoundland history, more especially in connection with the attempts to open up communication with the Beothucks, is worthy of an extended notice here.

David Buchan was born in Scotland in 1780. In 1806 he held a Lieutenant's commission in the British Navy. Exactly when he first came to Newfoundland I have been unable to ascertain, but Lieut. Chappel in his *Voyage of the Rosamond* speaks of Buchan in 1813 as having been several years engaged in surveying the coast line¹. In 1810 he was sent by the Governor, Sir John Thomas Duckworth, to winter at the Bay of Exploits and ascend the river next spring to search out the abode of the Indians. His narrative of that journey gives full details of the expedition, and of the murder of his two marines, &c. He was at the time in com-

¹ In 1826 in the spring, recent traces of the Red Indians were seen by some Micmacs at Badger Bay Great Lake. Cormack.

² I find the name of Capt. David Buchan, J.P., together with the names of R. Parry, Surrogate, and Josiah Blackborne, J.P., signed to a decree of the Surrogate Court at Placentia, Sept. 12th, 1808, in a suit of Maurice Power versus Thos. Baily, agent for Saunders, Sweetman & Saunders.

Plac VIII



Capt. David Buchan, R.N.

Who made the memorable expeditions to Red Indian Lake
in 1716, '17, and again in 1720.

mand of the armed schooner *Adonis*. In 1813 his ship, together with the *Rosamond*, Capt. Campbell, convoyed the Newfoundland fishing fleet home to England. They left St John's in December, and had a very stormy passage. When nearing the English Channel the ships became separated in a violent gale, and the *Rosamond* did not again rejoin the fleet, but the *Adonis* picked up the convoy after a while, and accompanied it, till in the vicinity of the Scilly Islands when it was attacked by a large fleet of French ships. Buchan's small vessel being unable to cope with such a superior force, had to run for safety, and barely escaped being captured by throwing overboard all her heavy guns¹.

In 1816 he was promoted to Commander, and was again on this station. During the absence of the Governor that winter he acted as his deputy in command here. It was a winter of much distress and misery brought about by a great conflagration in which most of the town of St John's (the capital) was destroyed. This was followed by famine, and consequent lawlessness. Buchan acted throughout with such cool, courageous and humane conduct as to succeed in averting worse calamities. He was then in command of H.M.S. *Pike*, and during the winter he put all his crew on short allowance to relieve the distress of the inhabitants. For his humane and praiseworthy conduct during this trying season, he was presented with a most flattering address of thanks by the Grand Jury, and also with a service of plate by the inhabitants.

Again during the following winter of 1817-18 still more disastrous fires, accompanied by even worse disorders occurred, Buchan again saved the situation, and by his courage and discipline, succeeded in preserving order and tranquillity, for which he was again the recipient of much deserved praise².

During the summer of 1818 two celebrated Arctic expeditions were undertaken, the one in command of Ross and Parry, was sent in search of a North West Passage, the other in command of Capt. Buchan and Lieut. Franklin, proceeded towards the pole by way of Spitzbergen. Capt. Buchan in the *Dorothea* was in chief command, while Lieut. Franklin in the *Trent* was second. This was the celebrated, and ill-fated Sir John Franklin's first expedition into Arctic waters. Other heroes of Arctic fame took part in this expedition, Beechey was First Lieut., and Back, Admiralty Mate on board the *Trent* with Franklin. Early in June they reached Spitzbergen, and after being beset with the ice for a while, they sailed again on June 7th and succeeded in passing the NW. boundary of that island, but were stopped beyond Red Bay, and remained fast in the floe 13 days, when they took shelter in Fair Haven. On the 6th of July they again sailed North and succeeded in reaching Lat. 80° 34' North, but could not proceed further.

Buchan now turned towards Greenland, but while sailing along the edge of the ice, encountered such a sudden and furious gale, that in order to save his ships, they had to run before it into the ice pack, thereby

¹ The *Adonis* only mounted 10 guns in all.

² From the records we learn that Buchan had the distribution of £10,000 sent by the British Government for the relief of the distressed.

greatly injuring them by the violent contact with the heavy floe. Beechey describes the scene in vivid colours, he says the impact was terrific. "It threw every man off his legs prone on the deck, the crunching of the timbers, bending of the masts, and tolling of the ship's bell, was enough to arouse the utmost apprehension on the part of the officers and crew, yet," he adds, "the conduct of all under such trying circumstances was admirable." "I will not conceal," he says, "the pride I felt in witnessing the bold and decisive tone in which orders were issued by the commander (Franklin) of our little vessel and the promptitude and steadiness with which they were executed by the crew."

The ships were greatly damaged, and when the gale abated, and the pack broke up sufficiently to release them, the *Dorothea* was in a sinking condition; but they made their way back to Fair Haven and partially repaired them. They then sailed home, arriving back in October.

The next year Buchan was again on the Newfoundland Station and it was in the fall of this year (1819) that he was sent North with poor Mary March, who, as we are aware, died on board his ship the *Grasshopper* at Peter's Arm, Exploits Bay, in January 1820.

In 1822, Buchan was tried by court-martial, at St John's on board H.M.S. *Albion* for some alleged disobedience of orders, but he was honourably acquitted. The charge was brought against him by Capt. Nicholas.

In 1825 he was appointed Surrogate, and at the first term of the Supreme Court in 1826, High Sheriff. Previous to this date he had been made a Justice of the Peace for the Island. His name appears as far back as 1813, amongst a number of other naval officers in the Court Records, who were similarly appointed as J.P.'s, for the Island generally¹.

During the year 1820 Buchan acted as floating Surrogate in the *Egeria* at Harbour Grace, and administered justice in conjunction with the Rev. Mr Leigh, resident Episcopal Missionary of that place. Two men named Butler and Lundrigan of Harbour Main were summoned before them for some offence, but as they refused to obey the summons, Buchan sent a posse of marines to arrest them. They were brought to Brigus where they were tried for contempt of Court and sentenced to be publicly flogged. This action aroused public indignation all over the country, especially in St John's, and a tremendous furor was raised. The leading citizens took the matter up and subscribed funds for the accused to bring the case before the Supreme Court. The case went against Buchan, who was fined and severely censured. It was then brought to the notice of the British Government, and Buchan's cruel and arbitrary conduct was made the subject of a special investigation². It resulted in the doing away with the Surrogate Courts, and the substitution of properly trained legal gentlemen to administer justice thereafter.

I learn from Barrow's *Arctic Voyages*, that Buchan was lost in the

¹ A custom which is carried out to this day by the Colonial Government, who every year appoints the commander of the station a Justice of the Peace.

² In 1824 (?) Buchan was examined before a Committee of the British Parliament, presumably about the Butler-Lundrigan case.

Upton Castle, coming from India, a ship that was never heard of after the 8th of December 1838. His name was removed from the list of living Captains in 1839.

Buchan is described by those who remember him, as a man of about 5 ft. 7 in. in height, of slight active build, and as being a regular martinet. He married a Miss Maria Adye about 1802-03. From his granddaughter, Miss Eva Buchan of 17 Kidbrooke Park Road, Blackheath, S.E., England, I have learned some few further particulars of Capt. Buchan, and have been also kindly furnished with a photograph of him copied from an oil painting.

She says Capt. B. married a Miss Maria Adye about 1802-03. Her father was his eldest son and was with him on his Arctic Expedition, and she often heard him describe it. He died when she was quite young. She does not say what other descendants Capt. B. left. On her grandmother's side, two of her great uncles were distinguished officers, the one under Wellington, and the other as Flag-Lieut. with Nelson.

There is still preserved in the family some silver plate presented to Capt. Buchan in 1817-18 by the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

I learn from a letter of Mr W. E. Cormack that Buchan was in Newfoundland as late as 1828. Again from the records, a letter from Col. Secretary, Mr Joseph Crowdy of date Sept. 1, 1835 acknowledges receipt of a letter from Capt. Buchan tendering his resignation of the High Sheriffship, dated Aug. 27th, 1835. He probably left the country for good that year.

The following interesting particulars relative to the capture of Mary March, also of Nancy, her mother and sister, &c., were procured for me some years ago by the Rev. J. St John, P.P., of Salmonier, from a very old inhabitant of that place named Curtis.

Substance of Mr Curtis's Story.

"In the October of 1810, I left St Mary's to go to Twillingate where Mr John Peyton wanted me to build a schooner. In the spring of that year Peyton had brought Mary March from Grand Pond¹ to Twillingate. The Indians had the summer previous robbed his boat and he went with 7 or 8 armed men to recover whatever he could from them. When they came upon the Indians one of them having proved troublesome and threatened to use the hatchet with which he was armed, Peyton's men were forced to shoot him. Mary March returned willingly with them to Sandy Point, where the women took care of her, washed the ochre from her person, and clothed her. She was of medium height and slender, and for an Indian, very good looking. Then he brought her to St John's to the Governor. Governor Hamilton sent her back by Peyton to Twillingate where she remained with Parson Leigh, who wished to learn her language. Capt. Buchan of the *Grasshopper* was employed searching for Red Indians in the fall of 1810 to civilize them. Peyton brought Mary March from the Parson's house to the Man-of-war lying in Peter's Arm of the river Exploits, where Capt. Buchan took charge of her. She died on board this vessel in the spring of 1820. I saw Peyton and others bring the corpse, decked out with all the presents and trinkets she had, back on the ice to the Indian camp about 130 miles up the river. Captain Buchan and several of his men went

¹ Not Grand Pond Lake but Red Indian Lake.

on this expedition, in all about 30 men. They were very unsuccessful having seen no Indians nor any trace of them. They afterwards went in by Badger Bay but found none there either.

In the month of March (?) 1823, I lived at Indian Point in the *Exploits*. W. Cull brought three Indian women, mother and daughters to my house expecting to meet Peyton there. Not finding him there, he started, after having been detained 7 or 8 days at my house by unfavourable weather, to bring the women down to Burnt Island to Peyton, who was commissioned by Government to look after them. We brought these Indians to St John's in the new schooner *Anne*, which I had just finished. The Government sent them back again with us to the *Exploits*. They lived in a hut outside our door until Peyton gave them their liberty and furnished them with a small flat boat for the summer. They paddled up the river and landed at Point of Bay where the mother died¹. Here the daughters buried her in the following manner. They laid a sheet of birch bark on the ground, upon which they placed the corpse, which they covered with more rind. Upon this they placed stones and the burial was finished. They left then for Lower Sandy Point where cooper Pike lived. Here the elder sister died in about a week. The remaining sister Nance paddled in the flat, back to us at Burnt Island, and lived with Peyton and myself until Cormack took her to St John's, where she died.

Whilst she lived with Peyton she acted, freely and without being obliged, the part of servant, and a very industrious and intelligent servant she was. She made the fire, prepared the tea, swept and scrubbed the floor, washed the clothes, cooked &c. She never made the bread. I never saw her with a needle, but I often saw her stitch by passing the thread through a hole made with a sharp point or awl. I never saw anything in the conduct of the woman to indicate a belief in God. Peyton's religion was very unobtrusive, and he never had prayer in common in his house, in which Nance might join. I am unable to say whether she or the others were baptised, certainly they showed no knowledge of christianity. I am doubtful even as to whether they believed in a future life. Speaking with Peyton on this subject I was told by him that when the elder daughter was sick, he saw the mother light a fire in the tent and hold the girl in the smoke, throwing in certain weeds, and at times raising her hands and eyes imploringly as if in prayer, to some supernatural Being. After her mother's and sister's death, Nance never spoke any more of them, and seemed to forget them altogether. They were much given to theft. Nance and her sister played a trick on a poor fisherman. They opened a barrel of pork belonging to him, and having selected the fattest pieces, cut off the fat and then cut the vamps off a fine pair of boots to contain it. They could use no salt, very little pork, no sweeting, no butter—in fact they ate very little of anything. We understood from 'Indian Nance' that it was her mother, who died at Point of Bay, that scalped² (beheaded) the marines in 1811. Certainly her appearance showed her capable of any cruelty. We called her 'Old Smut.' She was thought to be the instigator of every wicked act the Indians did.

Wm. Cull told me that he was employed as principal guide by Capt. Buchan in his first expedition to the Indians in the *Adonis*, when two of his marines were killed by the Indians. These two men were left by Buchan as hostages at the Indian camp whilst he took three Indians with him to where he left some presents and trinkets the night before. The three Indian hostages fled from Buchan and the two marines were stripped naked by the Indians and when they were flying naked down the river the Indians fired at them and shot them. An old Indian woman took their scalps³.

¹ Apparently old man Curtis makes a mistake about the mother's death, it was the eldest daughter who died first.

² Does not agree with Mrs. Jure's statement.

³ The Beothucks did not scalp their victims, they cut off the heads.

Another old man of Exploits Bay, named Gill, gave me some further particulars about Nance and her companions. Gill's mother was also a servant in Peyton's employ at the time Nance lived with him, and he stated that he often listened with deep interest to his mother talking of her and relating other stories of the Indians.

"Nance was a married woman, according to her own account and left two children in the interior, which she used to express great anxiety about. She said her tribe were very strict about the moral law, and visited severe penalties on any one who transgressed. Burning alive at the stake being the fate of the adulterer, which was witnessed by the whole tribe who danced in a circle around the victim. Nance was fired at by a Micmac Indian once as she was engaged washing venison in the Exploits River. He waited till she turned to walk up the bank when the old ruffian deliberately fired at her across the river wounding her severely in the back and legs. The poor creature dropped the venison and lumped off into the woods. In describing the incident she would act the part, limping away after being shot at. She was perfectly aware who the perpetrator of this diabolical act was,—one Noel Boss, by name, and ever afterwards entertained the greatest fear at sight of this villain or even his dog. It is said of this Noel Boss, that he boasted of having killed 99 Red Indians in his time, and wished to add one more to the number so as to complete the hundred. He afterwards fell through the ice on Gander Lake while laden with six heavy steel traps, and was drowned, by far too good a fate for such a monster.

Nance was very pert at times and openly defied Mrs Peyton when the old lady happened to be cross with the servants. Nance would laugh in her face, and say, 'well done Misses, I like to hear you jaw, that right'; or 'jawing again Misses.' They had named her Nance Apri from the month in which she was captured, they did not then know her Indian name. Her elder sister was named Easter Eve, that being the day of their capture, whilst the old mother was named Betty Decker, because the party who captured them were engaged at the time decking a vessel. In personal appearance Nance was very similar to the Micmacs, being about the same colour and broad featured. Her hair was jet black, and her figure tall and stout. She was a good worker, and performed the usual household avocations, such as washing, scrubbing &c. with satisfaction. At times she fell into a melancholy mood, and would go off into the woods, as she would say to have a talk with her mother and sister. She generally came back singing and laughing, or talking aloud to herself. She would also frequently indulge in the same practice at night, and when asked what was the matter would reply, Nance talking to her mother and sister. When told not to be foolish, that they were dead and she could not talk to them, she would say, 'a yes they here, me see them and talk to them.' She was very gentle and not at all of a vicious disposition, was an adept at drawing or copying anything. Capt. Buchan took her on board his man-of-war, gave her drawing paper and materials &c., he then showed her a portrait of his mother which she copied very accurately. She made very neat combs out of deers horns and carved them all over elaborately. She would take a piece of birch bark fold it up, and with her teeth bite out various designs representing leaves, flowers &c. Her teeth were very white and even. She was strictly modest and would allow no freedom on the part of the opposite sex. Once when an individual attempted some familiarity he was so rudely repulsed that he never afterwards dared to repeat the offence. She would not tolerate him near her. He was a Muddy man (bad man). She seemed well aware of the difference between right and wrong, and knew if a person cursed or swore he was doing wrong, 'muddy man' she would say. She is described as a fine worker, was a good clean cook and washer. When first taken

¹ I have seen a Micmac Indian perform this same feat.

the woman had quite a job to wash off the red ochre and grease with which her person was smeared.

When she fell into one of her melancholy moods and ran off into the woods she would turn round saying, 'All gone widdun (asleep) Nance go widdun too, no more come Nance, run away, no more come.' She was fond of colours and fine clothes. Capt. Buchan sent her a pair of silk stockings and shoes from St John's in which she took great pride."

The widow Jure, whom I met at Exploits, Burnt Island, in 1886, and who was also a servant at Peyton's, during Nancy's time gave me much information about the Indian woman. She confirmed all the above particulars. This Mrs Jure had learned some of the Beothuck language from Nance who used to compliment her on her pronunciation. Unfortunately she had now forgotten nearly all of it. But on my producing a vocabulary of the language and reading it over for her she remembered several words and pronounced them for me. She also corrected some which were misspelt, etc.

Formation of the Beothuck Institution.

From the *Royal Gazette* of November 13th 1827.

At a numerous meeting of the friends of this Institution in the Court House at Twillingate, on Tuesday the 2nd day of October 1827, the Honourable Augustus Walle Des Barres, Senior Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court, and Judge of the Northern Circuit Court, of Newfoundland, in the Chair.

The Honourable Chairman briefly eulogized the object of the Institution, when the following statement, in support thereof, was made by W. E. Cormack, Esq., the founder:

"Every man who has common regard for the welfare of his fellow beings, and who hears of the cause for which we are now met, will assuredly foster any measures that may be devised to bring within the protection of civilization that neglected and persecuted tribe—the Red Indians of Newfoundland. Every man will join us, except he be callous to the misfortunes or regardless of the prosperity of his fellow creatures. Those who by their own merits, or by the instrumentality of others, become invested with power and influence in society, are bound the more to exert themselves—to do all the good they can, in promoting the happiness of their fellow men: and if there be such men in Newfoundland, who say there is no good to be gained by reclaiming the aborigines from their present hapless condition, let them not expose their unvirtuous sentiments to the censure of this enlightened age.—Is there no honest pride in him who protects man from the shafts of injustice?—nay, is there not an inward monitor approving of all our acts which shall have the tendency to lessen crime and prevent murder?"

We now stand on the nearest part of the New World to Europe—of Newfoundland to Britain; and at this day, and on this sacred spot, do we form the first assembly that has ever yet collected together to consider

the condition of the invaded and ill-treated first occupiers of the country.— Britons have trespassed here, to be a blight and a scourge to a portion of the human race; under their (in other respects) protecting power, a defenceless, and once independent, proud tribe of men, have been nearly extirpated from the face of the earth—scarcely causing an enquiry how, or why. Near this spot is known to remain in all his primitive rudeness, clothed in skins, and with a bow and arrow only to gain his subsistence by, and to repel the attacks of his lawless and reckless foes: there on the opposite approximating point, is man improved and powerful:—Barbarity and civilization are this day called upon to shake hands.

The history of the original inhabitants of Newfoundland, called by themselves Beothuck, and by Europeans, the Red Indians, can only be gleaned from tradition, and that chiefly among the Micmacs. It would appear that about a century and a half ago, this tribe was numerous and powerful like their neighbouring tribe, the Micmacs: both tribes were then on friendly terms, and inhabited the western shores of Newfoundland, in common with the other parts of the island, as well as Labrador. A misunderstanding with the Europeans (French) who then held the sway over those parts, led, in the result, to hostilities between the two tribes; and the sequel of the tale runs as follows.

The European authorities, who we may suppose were not over scrupulous in dealing out equity in those days, offered a reward for the persons or heads of certain Red Indians. Some of the Micmacs were tempted by the reward, and took off the heads of two of them. Before the heads were delivered for the award, they were by accident discovered, concealed in the canoe that was to convey them, and recognized by some of the Red Indians as the heads of their friends. The Red Indians gave no intimation of their discovery to the perpetrators of the unprovoked outrage, but consulted amongst themselves, and determined on having revenge. They invited the Micmacs to a great feast, and arranged their guests in such order that every Beothuck had a Micmac by his side, at a preconcerted signal each Beothuck slew his guest. They then retired quickly from those parts 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 amongst such tribes as continued to hold intercourse with Europeans. This circumstance gave the Micmacs an undisputed ascendancy over the Beothucks, who were forced to betake themselves to the recesses of the interior, and retired parts of the island, alarmed, as well they might be, at every report of the fire-lock.

Since that day European weapons have been directed, from every quarter, (and in latter times too often) at the open breasts and unstrung bows of the unoffending Beothucks. Sometimes these unsullied people of the chase have been destroyed wantonly, because they have been thought more fleet, and more evasive, than men ought to be. At other times, at the sight of them, the terror of the ignorant European has goaded him on to murder the innocent, at the bare mention of which civilization ought to weep. Incessant and ruthless persecution, continued for many generations, has given these sylvan people an utter disregard and abhorrence of

the very signs of civilization. Shawnawdithit, the surviving female of those who were captured four years ago, by some fishermen, will not now return to her tribe, for fear they should put her to death; a proof of the estimation in which we are held by that persecuted people.

The situation of the unfortunate Beothuck carries with it our warmest sympathy and loudly calls on us all to do something for the sake of humanity. For my own satisfaction, I have for a time, released myself from all other avocations, and am here now, on my way to visit that part of the country which the surviving remnant of the tribe have of late years frequented, to endeavour to force a friendly interview with some of them, before they are entirely annihilated; but it will most probably require many such interviews, and some years, to reconcile them to the approaches of civilized man.

Several gentlemen of rank, in England and elsewhere, have viewed with regret the cruelties that have been exercised towards those people; and have offered to come forward in support of any measures that might be adopted, to offer them the protection and kindness of civilization.—Amongst the foremost of those are His Lordship the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and amongst ourselves, the Hon. Augustus Wallet Des Barres, I lay his Lordship the Bishop's correspondence upon that subject on the table.—After this day we shall expect the co-operation of many such independent and enlightened men.

I hope to be able to effect, in part, the first objects of the Institution that of bringing about a reconciliation of the Aborigines, to the approaches of civilization. I have already commenced my measures, and am determined to follow up, in progression, what steps may appear to be the best for the accomplishment of the object I have long had in view. I hope to state to the public, in a few weeks, the result of my present excursion; on which I am to be accompanied by a small party of other tribes of Indians.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

It was then proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by Charles Simms Esq. and unanimously resolved.—That a Society be formed to be called the "Beothuck Institution," for the purpose of opening a communication with, and promoting the civilization of the Red Indians of Newfoundland.

1st.—Proposed by Charles Simms Esq., seconded by Joseph Simms, Esq. and unanimously resolved.—That the affairs of the Institution be conducted by a Vice Patron, President, Treasurer, and Secretary who shall perform the duties of their offices gratuitously.

2nd.—Proposed by Joseph Simms, Esq.—seconded by John Stark, Esq. and unanimously resolved.—That this Institution shall be supported by voluntary subscriptions and donations; and that persons be appointed at different places to receive the same.

3rd.—Proposed by John Stark, Esq.—Seconded by Doctor Tremlet— and unanimously Resolved.—That the funds to be raised in support of

this Institution, shall be at the disposal of the Vice Patron, President, Treasurer, and Secretary; and that an account of the receipts and disbursements shall be made out, and exhibited at the annual Meetings.

4th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack Esq.—seconded by Joseph Simms, Esq. and unanimously Resolved.—That the officers of this Institution shall meet on the 1st of June, in each year, at St John's, and oftener, if necessary, upon special summonses.

5th. Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by John Stark Esq. and unanimously resolved.—That the Honourable and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia be requested to accept the office of Patron to this Institution.

6th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by Doctor Tremlet and unanimously Resolved.—That the Honorable Augustus Wallet Des Barres be Vice Patron.

7th.—Proposed by the Reverend John Chapman,—seconded by Thomas Slade, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That W. E. Cormack Esq. be President and Treasurer.

8th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by John Stark, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved.—That John Dunscomb Esq. be Vice President.

9th.—Proposed by the Reverend John Chapman,—seconded by Andrew Pierce, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That John Stark Esq. be Secretary.

10th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by John Stark Esq. and unanimously Resolved.—That the following gentlemen be Honorary Vice Patrons —

Professor Jameson, President of the Wernerian Society,

John Barrow, Esq. one of the Secretaries to the Admiralty.

11th.—Proposed by Mr Bell,—seconded by the Reverend John Chapman,—and unanimously Resolved.—That no additional officers be appointed, with the exception of Honorary Patrons, Vice Patrons, and corresponding Members, who may be chosen from time to time at the meetings of the Institution.

12th.—Proposed by Charles Simms, Esq.—seconded by David Slade Esq.—and unanimously Resolved.—That annual subscribers, to any amount, shall be entitled to a copy of the Report of the proceedings of the Institute.

13th.—Proposed by Joseph Simms, Esq.—seconded by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved.—That every subscriber contributing an annual payment of Ten Pounds, or a donation of One Hundred Pounds, shall be Honorary Patrons; and that every subscriber contributing an annual payment of Five Pounds, or a donation of Fifty Pounds, shall be Honorary Vice-Patrons of this Institution.

14th.—Proposed by the Reverend John Chapman,—seconded by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved.—That the Treasurer

shall receive all monies collected in aid of the funds of this institution, and from time to time invest the same in Exchequer Bills except a competent sum for current expenses.

15th.—Proposed by Thomas Lyte, Esq.—seconded by the Reverend John Chapman—and unanimously Resolved,—That Shownawdithit¹ be placed under the paternal care of the Institution; the expense of her support and education to be provided for out of the general funds.

16th.—Proposed by Doctor Tremlet—seconded by Thomas Lyte, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That the best thanks of this meeting are due, and hereby given to W. E. Cormack, Esq. the founder of this Institution, for the deep concern and great interest he has already taken in attempting a communication with the Red Indians, in his perilous journey across this Island, in the year 1822; and for his praiseworthy perseverance to establish, on a solid basis, the means of attaining the objects of this Institution.

17th.—Proposed by James Slade, Esq.—seconded by Andrew Pearce, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That John Peyton, Esq. be Resident Agent and Corresponding Member at Exploits.

18th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by Chas. Simms, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That the thanks of this meeting are due, and hereby given, to John Peyton, Esq. for the valuable information afforded by him; and that he be requested to continue to use his best endeavours to promote the humane objects of this institution.

19th.—Proposed by Joseph Simms, Esq.—seconded by the Honorable the Chairman—and unanimously Resolved,—That the proceedings of this meeting, together with the statement made by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—be published in the Newspapers of the Colony.

20th.—Proposed by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—seconded by John Stark, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be corresponding Members of this Institution:

The Reverend John Chapman, Twillingate.
 Benjamin Scott, Esq., Harbour Grace.
 Charles Simms, Esq., St John's.
 John Peyton, Esq., Exploits.
 Thomas Slade, Esq., Fogo.
 Robert Tremlett, Esq., Twillingate.
 Joseph Simms, Esq., Twillingate.
 Andrew Pearce, Esq., Twillingate.
 James Slade, Esq., Twillingate.
 David Slade, Esq., Fogo.
 Thomas Lyte, Esq., Twillingate.
 The Rev. Mr Sinnott, Kings Cove.
 Capt. Hugh Clapperton, R.N., the traveller in Africa.

¹ Cormack always spelt her name thus, and he should be considered the best authority.

² According to Mr Thos. Peyton this gentleman was married to a sister of Wm E. Cormack.

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21st.—Proposed by the Honorable Chairman—seconded by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That an opportunity be afforded to such gentlemen as may be desirous of expressing their wish to support the objects of this Institution, of entering their names with the Secretary.

(signed) A. W. DES BARRES,
Chairman of the Meeting.

The Honorable Judge Des Barres having left the chair, and the Reverend John Chapman having been called thereto, It was proposed by Joseph Simms, Esq.—seconded by W. E. Cormack, Esq.—and unanimously Resolved,—That the thanks of this meeting are eminently due to the Honorable A. W. Des Barres, for his able conduct in the Chair.

(signed) J. CHAPMAN.

The substance of Cormack's narrative of his second expedition is contained in McGregor's *British America* and was obtained direct from Cormack himself, according to the author. Bonnycastle copied it from McGregor, *verbatim et literatim*.

Extracts from the Edinburgh "New Philosophical Journal."

Dec. 1827, pp. 205 206.

Civilization of the Aborigines of Newfoundland.—Our active and enterprising friend Mr W. E. Cormack, whose interesting journey across Newfoundland appeared in a former Number of the Journal, is about to embark on another undertaking, which will, we hope, prove successful. He writes to us as follows: "Exploits Newfoundland, October the 27th 1827. I have been looking forward to communicate with you on the condition of the Beothucks or Red Indians, the aborigines of Newfoundland. I am here with three Indians,—a Micmack, a Mountaineer, and a Bannakee (Canadian)—equipped and ready to set off into the interior, in search of some of the Beothucks, to endeavour to obtain a friendly interview with them as a step to commence bringing about their civilization. I leave the sea coast to morrow and intend to devote a month in traversing those parts of the country where they are most likely to be met with. The season of the year will not admit my traversing every place where they may be found, but I expect to come up with some of their encampments within a month hence. Government made one vain attempt to reconcile this tribe to the approaches of civilization about sixteen years ago; but to civilize a long persecuted tribe of savages requires repeated attempts of this kind.

"*New Philosophical Journal*," Jan. 1828, pp. 408-9-10.

Mr Cormack's Journey in search of the Red Indians.—The following particulars of the expedition of our friend Mr Cormack are extracted from the Newfoundland Journal (*Ledger*) of December last.—"The enterprising gentleman, W. E. Cormack, Esq., who, it will be remembered, left this place about the middle of Sept. last, for the purpose of taking an excursion into the interior of the country, with a view to discover the retreat of the Red Indians, and with the ultimate object of introducing them to civilized life, returned to this town on Wednesday last, in a small schooner, from Twillingate. We have had some conversation with Mr Cormack, and the following may be regarded as a brief outline of the route which this gentleman has taken.—Mr Cormack accompanied by three Indians, entered the mouth of the river Exploits, at the North West Arm, and proceeded in a North-westerly direction, to Hall's Bay, distant about forty or fifty miles. At about half way, namely, at Badger Bay, Great Lake, he was encouraged by finding some traces, indicating that a party of the Red Indians had been at that place sometime in the course of the preceding year. From Hall's Bay, a Westerly course into the interior was taken, and about thirty miles were traversed, towards Bay of Islands, and to the Southward of White Bay, when discovering nothing that could assist him there, Mr Cormack proceeded Southwardly, to the Red Indians' Lake, where he spent several days, examining the deserted encampments, and the remains of the tribe. At this place were found several wooden cemeteries, one of which contained the remains of Mary March and her husband, with those of others; but discovering nothing which indicated that any of the living tribe had recently been there, Mr Cormack rafted about seventy miles down the river, touching at various places in his way, and again reached the mouth of the Exploits, after an absence of thirty days, and having traversed 200 miles of the interior, encompassing most of the country which is known to have been hitherto the favourite resort of the Indians. Mr Cormack is decidedly of opinion that the tribe have taken refuge in some sequestered spot in the neighbourhood of Bay of Islands, west of White Bay, or in the South west part of the Island; and having found where they are *not*, he apprehends very little difficulty in finding where they really are; Mr Cormack has engaged three of the most intelligent of the other Indians to follow up his search in the ensuing year; and he feels persuaded that the pursuit will be ultimately attended with complete success."

A much fuller account of this last expedition of Cormack is contained in the *Journal* for March 1829, and as it is Mr Cormack's own report I give it here in full.

"Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal," March 1829.

Report of Mr W. E. Cormack's Journey in search of the Red Indians of Newfoundland. Read before the Beothuck Institution at St John's, Newfoundland. Communicated by Mr Cormack.

Pursuant to special summons, a meeting of this Institution was held at St John's on the 12th day of January 1828; the Hon. A. W. Desbarres, Vice Patron, in the chair. The Hon. Chairman stated, that the primary motive which led to the formation of the Institution, was the desire of opening a communication with, and promoting the civilization of, the Red Indians of Newfoundland; and of procuring, if possible, an authentic history of that unhappy race of people, in order that their language, customs and pursuits, might be contrasted with those of other Indians and nations:—that in following up the chief object of the Institution, it was anticipated that much information would be obtained respecting the natural productions of the island; the interior of which is less known than any other of the British possessions abroad. Their excellent President keeping all these objects in view, had permitted nothing worthy of research to escape his scrutiny, and consequently a very wide field of information was now introduced to their notice, all apparently highly interesting and useful to society, if properly cultivated. He was aware of their natural anxiety to hear from the President an outline of his recent expedition, and he would occupy their attention further, only by observing, that the purpose of the present meeting would be best accomplished by taking into consideration the different subjects recommended to them in the Presidents report, and passing such resolutions as might be considered necessary to govern the future proceedings of the Institution.

The President, W. E. Cormack, Esq., then laid the following statement before the meeting.

Having so recently returned, I will now only lay before you a brief outline of my expedition in search of the Beothucks, or Red Indians, confining my remarks exclusively to its primary object. A detailed report of the journey will be prepared, and submitted to the Institution, whenever I shall have leisure to arrange the other interesting materials which have been collected.

My party consisted of three Indians, whom I procured from among the other different tribes, viz. an intelligent and able man of the Abenakie tribe, from Canada; an elderly Mountaineer from Labrador; and an adventurous young Micmac, a native of this island, together with myself. It was difficult to obtain men fit for the purpose, and the trouble attending on this prevented my entering upon the expedition a month earlier in the season. It was my intention to have commenced our search at White Bay, which is nearer the Northern extremity of the Island than where we did, and to have travelled Southward. But the weather not permitting to carry our party thither by water, after several days delay, I unwillingly changed my line of route.

On the 31st of October 1828 last, we entered the country at the mouth of the River Exploits, on the North side, at what is called the Northern Arm. We took a North-westerly direction to lead us to Hall's Bay, which place we reached through an almost uninterrupted forest, over a hilly country, in eight days. This tract comprehends the country interior from New Bay, Badger Bay, Seal Bay, &c., these being minor bays, included in Green or Notre Dame Bay, at the North-east part of the island, and well known to have been always heretofore the summer residence of the Red Indians.

On the fourth day after our departure, at the East end of Badger Bay Great Lake, at a portage known as 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 root of trees used 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 strewed about here, were a spear shaft, eight feet in length, recently made and ochred; parts of old canoes, fragments of their skin-dresses, &c. For some distance around, the trunks of many of the birch and of that species of spruce pine called here the Var (*Pinus balsamifera*) had been rinded; these people using the inner part of the bark of that kind of tree for food. Some of the cuts of the trees with the axe, were evidently made the preceding year. The traces left by the Red Indians are so peculiar, that we were confident those we saw were made by them.

The spot has been a favourite 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 North-east, and a chain of lakes extending Westerly and Southerly from hence, and discharging themselves by a rivulet 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 winter *manatecks* 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 summer wigwams. Every winter wigwam has close by it a small square mouthed or oblong pit, dug in the earth about four feet deep, to preserve their stores, &c. in. 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 Beothucks to raise the steam, was by pouring water on large stones made very hot for the purpose, in the open air, by burning a quantity of wood around them; after this process, the ashes were removed, and a hemispherical framework closely covered with skins, to exclude the external air, was fixed over the stones. The patient then crept in under

the skins, taking with him a birch rind bucket of water, and a small bark dish to dip it out, which by pouring on the stones, enabled him to raise the steam at pleasure¹.

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

In five days we were on the highlands south of White Bay and in sight of the highlands 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, extending in a southerly direction more than thirty miles. In this direction lies the famous Red Indians' Lake. It was now near the middle of Nov. and the winter had commenced pretty severely in the interior. The country was everywhere covered with snow, and for some days past, we had walked over the small ponds on the ice. The summits of the hills on which we stood had snow on them, in some places, many feet deep. The deer were migrating from the rugged and dreary mountains in the north, to the low mossy barrens, and more woody parts in the south; and we inferred, that if any of the Red Indians had been at White Bay during the past summer, they might be at that time stationed about the borders of the low tract of country before us, at the deer-passes, or were employed somewhere else in the interior, killing deer for winter provision. At these passes, which are particular places in the migration lines of path, such as the extreme ends of and straits in, many of the larger lakes,—the foot of valleys between high or rugged mountains,—fords in the large rivers, and the like,—the Indians kill great numbers of deer with very little trouble, during their migrations. We looked out for two days from the summits of the hills adjacent, trying to discover the smoke from the camps of the Red Indians; but in vain. These hills command a very extensive view of the country in every direction.

We now determined to proceed towards the Red Indians' Lake sanguine that, at that known rendezvous, we would find the objects of our search.

Travelling over such a country, except when winter has fairly set in, is truly laborious.

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 on the lake, from the hills at the northern extremity, with feelings

¹ Since my return, I learn from the captive Red Indian woman *Shawnawdithit*, that the vapour bath is chiefly used by old people, and for rheumatic affections.

Shawnawdithit is the survivor of three Red Indian females who were taken by, or rather who gave themselves up, exhausted with hunger, to some English furriers, about five years ago, in Notre Dame Bay. She is the only one of that tribe in the hands of the English, and the only one that has ever lived so long amongst them. It appears extraordinary, and it is to be regretted, that this woman has not been taken care of, nor noticed before, in a manner which the peculiar and interesting circumstances connected with her tribe and herself would have led us to expect.

of anxiety and admiration:—No canoe could be discovered moving on its placid surface, in the distance. We were the first Europeans who had seen it in an unfrozen state¹, for the three former parties who had visited it before, were here in the winter, when its waters were frozen and covered over with snow. They had reached it from below, by way of the River Exploits, on the ice. 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 every where around us, that the Red Indians, the terror of the Europeans as well as 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 when they had enjoyed peace and security. But these primitive people had abandoned it, after being tormented with parties of Europeans during the last 18 years. Fatal encounters had on these occasions unfortunately taken place.

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 have been an unoffending and cruelly extirpated race. At several places, by the margin of the lake, small clusters of winter and summer wigwams in ruins. One difference among others, between the Beothuck wigwams and those of other Indians, is, that in most of the former there are small hollows, like nests, dug in the earth around the fire place, one for each person to sit in. These hollows are generally so close together, and also so close to the fire place, and to the sides of the wigwam that I think it probable these people have been accustomed to sleep in a sitting position. There was one wooden building constructed for drying and smoking venison, in still perfect condition; also a small log house, in a dilapidated condition, which we took to have been once a store-house. 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. We supposed that the violence of a storm had rent it in the way it was found and that the people who were in it had perished; for the iron nails, of which there was no want, all remained in it. Had there been any survivors, nails being much prized by those people, they never having held intercourse with Europeans, such an article would no doubt have been taken out for use again. All the birch trees in the vicinity of the lake had been rinded, and many of them and of the spruce fir or var (*Pinus balsamifera*) Canadian balsam tree, had the bark taken off, to use the inner part of it for food as noticed before.

Their wooden repositories for the dead are in the most perfect state of preservation. These are of different constructions, it would appear, according to the character or rank of the person entombed. In one of them, which resembles a hut ten feet by eight or nine, and four or five feet high

¹ Not so:—Cormack appears to have been unaware of Lieut. Cartwright's expedition in 1768.

in the centre, floored with squared poles, the roof covered with rinds of trees, and in every way well secured against the weather inside, and the intrusion of wild beasts, there were two grown persons laid out at full length on the floor, the bodies wrapped round with deer skins. One of those bodies appeared to have been placed here not longer ago 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 end, 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 muslin. After a long pause of conjecture how such a thing existed here, the idea of *Mary March*¹ 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 representation of the property, and utensils, and of the achievements, of the deceased. There were two small wooden images of a man and woman, no doubt meant to represent husband and wife; a small doll, which was supposed to represent a child (for *Mary March* had to leave her only 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

¹ It should be remarked here, that *Mary March*, so called from the name of the month in which she was taken, was the Red Indian female who was captured and carried away by force from this place by an armed party of English people, nine or ten in number, who came up here in the month of March 1719. The local government authorities at that time did not foresee the result of offering a reward to *bring a Red Indian to them*. Her husband was cruelly shot, after nobly making several attempts, single handed, to rescue her from the captives, in defiance of their fire arms and fixed bayonets. Her tribe built this cemetery for him, on the foundation of his own wigwam, and his body is one of those now in it. The following winter, Captain Bichuan was sent to the River Exploits, by order of the local government of Newfoundland to take back this woman to the lake, where she was captured, and if possible, at the same time, to open a friendly intercourse with her tribe. But she died on board Capt. B.'s vessel, at the mouth of the river. Captain B. however, took up her body to the lake; and not meeting with any of her people, left it where they were afterwards likely to meet with it. It appears the Indians were this winter encamped on the banks of the River Exploits, and observed Capt. B.'s party passing up the river on the ice. They retired from their encampments in consequence; and some weeks afterwards, went by a circuitous route to the lake, to ascertain what the party had been doing there. They found *Mary March*'s body, and removed it from where Capt. B. had left it to where it now lies, by the side of her husband.

With the exception of Captain Bichuan's first expedition by order of the local government of Newfoundland in the winter of 1718, to endeavour to open a friendly intercourse with the Red Indians, the two parties just mentioned are the only two we know of that had ever before been up to the Red Indian lake. Capt. B. at that time succeeded in forcing an interview with the principal encampment of these people. All the tribe that remained at that period were then at the Great Lake, divided into parties, and in their winter encampments, at different places in the woods on the margin of the lake. Hostages were exchanged; but Capt. B. had not been absent from the Indians two hours, on his return to a depot left by him at a short distance down the river, to take up additional presents for them, when the want of confidence of these people in the whites evinced itself. A suspicion spread amongst them that he had gone down to bring up a reinforcement of men, to take them all prisoners to the sea-coast; and they resolved immediately to break up their encampment and retire farther into the country, and alarm and join the rest of their tribe, who were all at the western parts of the lake. To prevent their proceedings being known, they killed and then cut off the heads of the two English hostages; and on the same afternoon on which Capt. B. left them, they were all in full retreat across the lake, with baggage, children, &c. The whole of them afterwards spent the remainder of the winter together at a place twenty to thirty miles to the south-west, on the south-east side of the lake. On Capt. B.'s return to the lake next day or the day after, the cause of the scene there was inexplicable; and it remained a mystery until now, when we can gather some facts relating to these people from the Red Indian woman *Shamovdithit*.

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 some of which we did not know the use or meaning

Another mode of sepulture which we saw here was, where the body of the deceased had been wrapped in birch rind, and with his property, placed on a sort of scaffold about four feet and a half on 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 feet and a half in length by four in breadth, with a floor made of small squared 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, on the ground. The box was made of small squared 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 up, 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 the graves.

These people appear to have always shewn great respect for their dead; and the most remarkable remains of them commonly observed by Europeans at the sea-coast, are their burying places. These are at particular chosen spots; and it is well known that they have been in the habit of bringing their dead from a distance to them. With their women they bury only their clothes.

On the north side of the lake, opposite the River Exploits, are the extremities of the two deer fences, about half a mile apart, where they lead to the water. It is understood that they diverge many miles in north-westerly directions. The Red Indian makes these fences to lead and scare the deer to the lake, during the periodical migration of these animals; the Indians being stationed looking out when the deer get into the water to swim across, the lake being narrow at this end, they attack and kill the animals with spears out of their canoes. In this way they secure their winter provisions before the severity of that season sets in.

There were other old remains of different kinds peculiar to these people met with about the lake.

One night we encamped on the foundation of an old Red Indian wigwam, on the extremity of a point of land which juts out into the lake, and exposed to the view of the whole country around. A large fire at night is the life and soul of such a party as ours, and when it blazed up at times, I could not help observing that two of my Indians evinced uneasiness and want of confidence in things around, as if they thought themselves usurpers on the Red Indian territory. From time immemorial

none of the Indians of the other tribes had ever encamped near this lake fearlessly, and, as we had now done, in the very centre of such a country; the lake and territory adjacent having been always considered to belong exclusively to the Red Indians, and to have been occupied by them. It had been our invariable practice hitherto to encamp near hills, and be on their summits by dawn of day, to try to discover the morning smoke ascending from the Red Indians' camps; and to prevent the discovery of ourselves, extinguishing our own fire always some length of time before daylight.

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.

The Red Indian's Lake discharges itself about three or four miles from its north-east end, and its waters form the River Exploits. From the lake to the sea-coast is considered about seventy miles; and down this noble river the steady perseverance and intrepidity of my Indians carried me on rafts in four days, to accomplish which otherwise, would have required probably two weeks. 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, Great Lake, towards the beginning of our excursion. During our descent, we had to construct new rafts at the different water-falls. Sometimes we were carried down the rapids at the rate of ten miles an hour or more, with considerable risk of destruction to the whole party, for we were always together on one raft.

What arrests the attention most, while gliding down the stream, is the extent of the Indian fences to entrap the deer. They extend from the lake downwards, continuous, on the banks of the river at least thirty miles. There are openings left here and there in them, for the animals to go through and swim across the river, and at these places the Indians are stationed and kill them in the water with spears, out of their canoes, as at the lake. Here, then, connecting these fences with those on the north-side of the lake, is at least forty miles of country, easterly and westerly, prepared to intercept all the deer that pass that way in their periodical migrations. It was melancholy to contemplate the gigantic, yet feeble efforts of a whole primitive nation, in their anxiety to provide subsistence, forsaken and going to decay.

There must have been hundreds of the 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 purpose intended; and now the deer pass the whole line unmolested.

We infer, that the few of those people who yet survive have taken refuge in some sequestered spot, still in the northern part of the island and where they can procure deer to subsist on.

On the 29th November we again returned to the mouth of the River Exploits, in thirty days after our departure from then having made a complete circuit of about 200 miles in the Red Indian territory¹.

¹ Mr Peyton informed me, that he saw Cormack before he entered upon this journey, that he was a lithe, active, robust man. When he returned from the expedition and revisited Mr Peyton's house, the latter did not recognise him at first, he had changed so much. He presented such a

I have now stated generally the result of my excursion, avoiding for the present, entering into any detail. The materials collected on this, as well as on my excursion across the interior a few years ago, and on other occasions, put me in possession of a knowledge of the natural condition and production of Newfoundland and, as a member of an institution formed to protect the aboriginal inhabitants of the country in which we live, and to prosecute enquiry into the moral character of man in his primitive state, I can at this early stage of our institution, assert, trusting to nothing vague, that we already possess more information concerning these people than has been obtained during the two centuries and a half in which Newfoundland has been in the possession of Europeans. But it is to be lamented that now, when we have taken up the cause of a barbarously treated people, so few should remain to reap the benefit of our plans for their civilisation. The institution and its supporters will agree with me, that, after the unfortunate circumstances attending past encounters between Europeans and Red Indians, it is best now to employ Indians belonging to the other tribes to be the medium of beginning the intercourse we have in view; and indeed, I have already chosen three of the most intelligent men from among the others met with in Newfoundland, to follow up my search.

In conclusion, I congratulate the institution on the acquisition of several ingenious articles, the manufacture of the Beothicks, some of which we had the good fortune to discover on our recent excursion;—models of their canoes, bows and arrows, spears of different kinds, &c. and also a complete dress worn by that people¹. Their mode of kindling fire is not only original, but as far as we at present know, is peculiar to the tribe. These articles, together with a short vocabulary of their language, consisting of 200 to 300 words, which I have been enabled to collect, proved the Beothicks to be a distinct tribe from any hitherto discovered in North America. One remarkable characteristic of their language, and in which it resembles those of Europe more than any other languages do, with which we have had an opportunity of comparing it—is its abounding in diphthongs. In my detailed report, I would propose to have plates of these articles, and also of the like articles used by other tribes of Indians, that a comparative idea may be formed of them; and when the Indian female *Shawnawdithit* arrives in St John's I would recommend that a correct likeness be taken, and be preserved in the records of the institution. One of the specimens of mineralogy which we found in our excursion, was a block of what is called *Labrador Feldspar*; nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, by about three feet in breadth and thickness. This is the largest piece of that beautiful rock yet discovered anywhere. Our subsistence in the interior was entirely animal food, deer and beavers which we shot.

Resolved.—That the measures recommended in the President's report be agreed to; and that the three men, Indians of the Canadian and Mountaineer tribes, be placed upon the establishment of this Institution, to

gaunt, haggard and worn out appearance from the excessive toil and privation he had undergone, accompanied by hunger and anxiety, that he did not look much like the stalwart individual he saw depart for the interior a month previously.

¹ It is to be regretted that these relics have all been lost to us.

² Labradorite.

be employed under the immediate direction and control of the President: and that they be allowed for their services such a sum of money as the president may consider a fair and reasonable compensation: That it be the endeavour of this institution to collect every useful information respecting the natural productions and resources of this island, and, from time to time, to publish the same in its reports: That the instruction of *Shawnawdithit* would be much accelerated by bringing her to St John's, &c.: That the proceedings of the institution since its establishment be laid before his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, by the President, on his arrival in England.

(signed) "A. W. DES BARRES,
Chairman and Vice-Patron."

Letters of W. E. Cormack, Esq., addressed to John Stark, Esq., Secretary of the Beothuck Institution, relative to affairs of the Institution, &c.

Mr Peyton's Exploits,

26th October, 1827.

John Stark, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

Since you left me I have been at Gander Bay, and engaged two more Indians into my service, a Micmac and a Mountaineer. They are all here now ready and equipped for the expedition and I expect to sail from here to Half's Bay tomorrow, to enter the country there; traverse from thence to White Bay, thence traverse towards the Red Indian's Lake, thence return traversing to and about Badger Bay Ponds and River. The season will be too late to go over any more of the country in search of the Red Indians, but I expect to discover them in this circuit. Whether I succeed now or not in forcing a friendly intercourse with any of them, I am determined to bring about in a few years an intercourse between them and the Europeans.

Enclosed is a copy of the statement I made for the meeting of the friends of the Beothuck Institution at Twillingate. I sent Judge Des Barres a copy of the same by the last opportunity for St John's. In it there was a mistake in the first page,—nearest part of the New World to the Old, "say nearest part of the New World to Europe &c."—at the beginning of page fourth for "more independant &c. say such independant &c." You know what place in the report of the proceedings to put my statement. I give the Indians I have employed five pounds per month, and five pounds each if we succeed in obtaining an interview with the Red Indians. To carry objects into effect, the Beothuck Institution will require about £250 per annum. All the officers must exert themselves in raising funds sufficient. I am in hopes of meeting some of the Red Indians within a fortnight hence. Dr Tremlett has come to Exploits with me and is here now.

The *Gazette* has seemed to take more interest in Indian affairs than any of the other N.F.L. papers, and I think you should give the report of the proceedings of the meeting at Twillingate to it for insertion.

I hope you have introduced Capt. Clapperton as a corresponding member of the Boeothuck Institution. I have employed John Lewis, who you saw on board the Dewsbury, to visit the Red Indians after he returns with me from this visit, to take them in some presents, and otherwise make advances to them to come out to some of the European settlers. I will by degrees have them civilized.

I remain

My dear sir,

Yours truly,

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

Second Letter (in reply to Mr Stark 21st December).

St JOHN'S,
24th December, 1827.

John Stark, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

I have regretted day after day, before as well as since the receipt of your esteemed letter of the 21st inst. that occupations sometimes of one kind and sometimes of another have prevented me the pleasure of telling you that I had returned from my visit to the territory, the ancient territory, of the Boeothucks. You have seen the gleaming of outline of my route in the newspapers. We found traces at Badger Bay Great Lake, convincing us that they had been there last year, a party of them with two canoes: It buoyed us up with expectations; but at the Red Indians' Lake, between two and three weeks afterwards, we had to suffer bitter disappointment from the loss of hopes of seeing any of them alive on that excursion: They had totally deserted their favorite Rendezvous, the Great Lake,—five or six years appeared to have had elapsed since any of them had been there: their wooden cemeteries—tombs—deserted wigwams: The banks of the noble River of Exploits we afterwards also found abandoned.—Again referring you to the *Gazette* I have the strongest hopes that next summer will tell us how many and where they are: I have employed three Indians to go direct to White Bay and Bay of Islands next spring in search of them; they are not to relinquish the pursuit until they succeed in making brothers of them; and when they bring a Red Indian man to Peyton's or other English house, as a brother, they are to receive £100: Before they succeed in this, some expense will necessarily be incurred. Reports about the Red Indians I now set aside. The Indians employed now know where to go for them, putting reports and assistance from any but ourselves at defiance.

Accept my thanks, and I was much pleased at the report of the formation of the Boeothuck Institution, as well as, for your other services, subsequent to that event. Judge Des Barres has been so occupied lately, that I have hardly seen him; but we are to meet to-morrow morning on business. Boeothuck is the pronunciation of the word in question,—or Boe-thuck, or Boe-thuck, the emphasis being on the diphthong oe and almost dropping the o. The report is yet only in embryo, but in a few days will have this pleasure again with something on that point. &c. &c.

Remaining my dear sir, in the meantime,

Yours very truly,

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

P.S. I sail for England on the 10th prox. in the Brig. Geo. Canning.

Third Letter written after his return from England 1828.

ST JOHN'S,
20th May, 1828.

My dear Stark,

I am, &c.....then follows a lot of personal matters of no importance, and references to various friends &c., Only one paragraph refers to the affairs of the Beothuck Institution, as follows, "I have read with great interest the proceedings relative to the Beothuck affairs, during my absence. We may expect to here from John Louis, from North part of the island in August or September. I have every expectation, that an interview, as desired would be obtained.

Enclosed are two Liverpool papers, besides in these, the Beothuck Institution and its objects were noticed in several other English and Scotch papers, *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* &c. &c."

I remain my dear sir,
Yours very truly,
(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

Fourth Letter to Mr Stark.

dated May 21st, 1828.

(This contains no references to the Beothuck Institution or its affairs.)

Fifth Letter to Mr Stark.

dated ST JOHN'S,
May 24th, 1828.

My dear Sir,

He first refers to the previous letter and then goes on to say, "It gives me much pleasure now to tell you that I received this morning from Fortune Bay a very agreeable report of the progress of our Indians; John Louis had been joined by the two Indians we were so desirous of getting into our service." The following is extract of Mr Crudes letter (Mr C. of Newman & Cox, Gaultois) "John with two other Indians (Peter John and John Stevens) left this 27th March in pursuit of the Red Indians,—they seem to be almost confident of finding them." Please to communicate this to our worthy member Mr Scott. I expect to hear from the party themselves in a month or so.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

P.S. I will see Judge to-morrow and write you on the subject of our meeting on 1st June.

26th May, 1828.

In anticipation of the first of June, Judge Des Barres and I had some conversation on the subject of our meeting on that day: It is not imperative that our Secretary be here on Monday next, but it will be imperative on him to attend when a meeting of the Beothuck Institution is called in consequence of the Beothucks having been met with by the party in search of them. We intend to have a meeting on that day, and will thank you previously to send in a list of subscriptions to the future welfare of the Institution, that we may publish them.

In truth my

Dear Sir,

Yours &c.

W. E. C.

*The Beothuck Institution**Sixth Letter to Mr Stark.*

ST JOHN'S, N.F.L.D.
21st June, 1828.

My dear Stark,

The three Indians John Louis, John Stevens and Peter John returned here last night, in a schooner from river Exploits. They travelled from Bay of Despair to St George's Bay (Harbour)—thence W. 70° N. to Bay of Islands—over the Bay of Islands Lake¹—thence S.E. to the Red Indian Lake, and down the River Exploits: the only place left unsearched (and that above all others where they are most likely to be found is White Bay). They ought to have gone there before they returned. We think of sending them now, in a vessel going that way, to White Bay and settle the question as speedily as possible, whether any of the Boethucks survive or not. This vessel goes hence on Tuesday. We are to have a consultation to day &c.

I remain my dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

Letters of John Stark, Esq., Secretary of the Beothuck Institution.

Addressed to W. E. Cormack, President.

First Letter (in reply to W. E. C.'s of 26th October).

HARBOUR GRACE,
21st Dec., 1828.

My dear Sir,

I congratulate you most sincerely upon your safe return to your friends and am very glad to find from Mr Lilly that you are in good health and spirits, which I hope you will long continue to be blessed with. You will have seen the *Gazette* of the 13th ulto. I regret that being so very busy prevented my more close attention to the publication of our proceedings. I have sent one copy to Mr Barrow, privately, and one copy to a Liverpool Newspaper, also a copy to Sir Charles Hamilton², but I have not, nor shall I, take any steps publicly to gain subscriptions without your advice. I think when you have had time to sound the St John's folks you should appoint some one to go round for subscriptions, apprise me of that fact and I shall instantly set about it in Conception Bay. I shall on the other hand, most readily attend to any suggestion of yours to further your views and ultimate proceedings which every nerve of mine shall be strained to promote to the very summit of your wishes, and to the best of my ability. You will also I suppose write to the Bishop, Doctor Jamieson, and Mr Barrow, and if necessary a memorial should be drawn up to Government after we shall be able to shew to the world what our subscriptions are. News I have none to communicate, notwithstanding which I shall hope to hear from you when you have had a little respite.

I remain
My dear sir,
Yours most faithfully,
(signed) JOHN STARK.

P.S. Pardon this hasty scrawl.

If the word "Boothick" is wrong and should be Boethick, pray tell Mr Winton and see him correct it before his Almanack comes out &c.

¹ Deer Lake or Grand Lake (?).

² The then Governor.

Second Letter (in reply to W. E. C.'s 26th May).

26th May, 1828.

Dear Cormack,

I last night received your kind letter of the 26th. I have only time now to say that I delayed calling for subscription for the Beothuck Institution in the hope of a successful Seal-fishery, thinking by that mode to get more money than I now can reasonably expect.—I last night wrote Mr Cozens and to Mr Pack on the subject, and I shall myself go round Harbour Grace one day this week and get all I can, but I beg you will not publish anything till all our lists reach you. I cannot possibly come to St John's till after the 7th June, but I shall be with you soon after that day. I am proud, very proud to hear of Lewis' success so far and I augur much good from his exertions.

I shall leave no stone unturned to serve you in the pursuit of the benevolent object you have in view. Judge Des Barres is also a warm friend of the cause.

In great haste

(signed) J. STARK.

Third Letter. (Reply to W. E. C. June 21st.)

23rd June.

My dear Cormack,

I duly received your letter of the 21st and regret very much indeed the result of the trip of the Indians. I think with you that it is the duty of the Society to try the only spot remaining unsearched, and you are surely the best judge of the means that ought to be adopted, for my own part I will second any measure you may propose in order to carry into full effect the designs of the Society. &c.....

Yours very truly,

(signed) J. STARK.

Fourth Letter.

TWILLINGATE, FRIDAY EVENING,

12th September, 1828. 8 P.M.

Dear Cormack,

We proceed to Peyton's at One o'clock to-morrow in Mr Pearce's Yacht for the express purpose of bringing Shawnawdithit down with us and if we arrive back in time I hope she will accompany this letter in Clarke's schooner to sail on Monday. The more I thought of her deplorable and dark situation, the more I have been impressed with the great importance of her education being proceeded in forthwith, in addition to every other consideration, I feel that individually and collectively the Beothuck Institution are doubly called upon to take that unfortunate creature under our own immediate protection for shall it be said that we have held out to the public hopes which cannot be realized, or shall we permit ourselves to be accused of lukewarmness in a cause likely to be so glorious in the results, nay but setting aside these propositions, shall we not as members of society do all in our power to reclaim a very savage from the verge of continued ignorance. I am sure you will heartily join with me in the opinion I have now expressed of her speedy removal to St John's not only as a measure calculated to do her a real service, but a measure which will

afford you and me the satisfaction of knowing that we have contributed our mite in the general cause of humanity. I find I am running on and classing myself with you, in your efforts to reclaim from ignorance a portion of your fellow creatures, but when I reflect I deny that I have any right whatever to do so, I leave you all the credit and may the palm be thine, &c.....

Believe me to continue,

Your sincere friend,

(signed) JOHN STARK.

W. E. Cormack, Esq.

Fifth Letter.

TWILLINGATE, TUESDAY NIGHT,
11 P.M. 16th September, 1828.

My dear Cormack,

As I advised you by Mr Clark's schooner, we came away without her. Mrs Peyton however very kindly sent us a boat with her this day. She is now at Mr Chapman's, both Mr and Mrs C. have been very kind to her indeed. This will be handed to you by Mr Abbott who carries round Shawawdithit for you. Mr Abbott if he charges anything for her passage will not demand more than twenty shillings, but I have not paid him anything, you can therefore arrange with him, I think if he gets credit for 20/- subscription that will pay her passage, I proposed this and he did not seem to object. Thus you have at last arrived at something tangible, and I should by all means recommend her being immediately placed under the care of some steady woman, and placed at school every day, by the bye have her vaccinated at once. She wants new clothes but I thought it better to send her to St John's for there she can get clothes much cheaper than here. Let me suggest that a stout watch should always be kept over her morals and that no one should be allowed to see her without special permission. You will I dare say tell me it is in vain for me to suggest these things to a man of your sound sense and discriminating knowledge of human nature, yet I feel that if I were to neglect doing so, I might perhaps blame myself when it would be too late. The great interest taken in this unfortunate creature by the Attorney General renders him peculiarly well fitted, being a married man, to advise you what to do upon the occasion. I ought to say that Mrs Peyton was quite willing for her to come away and I hope Mr Peyton will not be displeased. To please Nancy I shall give her a separate note for you. She says the found arrow never could have been made by an Indian. An old fellow named Dale of Exploits says positively that he saw the smoke of the Red Indians' wiggams last winter, but I fear that if there are any left they must be very few indeed in number.

Mr Willoughby has generously subscribed Ten pounds to form a fund for the support of Shawawdithit, but exclusively for that purpose. I think if we cannot find out any more of the Aborigines she ought at all events to be educated and supported for life by the public, and an annuity might be purchased and settled upon her, of this however more when we meet or when I shall have more leisure to write you. Nancy sails at 8 to-morrow morning if the wind is fair. We also sail for Fogo early to-morrow morning but I shall see her first if possible. Judge Des Barres sends her a little sea stock on board, &c.....

Yours very faithfully,

(signed) JOHN STARK.

Sixth Letter.

TWILLINGATE,
16th September, 1828.

Dear Cormack,

This note will I trust be handed to you by the Red Indian Shawnawdithit herself. She asked me if you had any family, I told her that when I left St John's you were single but that I could not tell how long you would remain so. Above all things I request you will get her vaccinated by Doctor Carson upon the very day she reaches Saint John's, pray let nothing prevent this.

Yours faithfully,
(signed) JOHN STARR.

The following letter from the Micmac Indian, John Lewis, to Judge Des Barres, is so characteristic of those people, I deem worthy of insertion here.

CLOD SOUND March 6th 1828.

Sir The Barer Peter John he could not go Without any assistance from that you or your order which is much in need of want few Articles one Barrill of flour and 1st Bread and some Clothing 3 yds. of Braud cloth

10 yds. of Bleue Sarge
4 " of Callico
30 lb. Sugar

and sended first opportunity in Silvage or in Clod sound if possible because it will be no body it in Clod sound but Peter Johns wife & 4 Chielderens all the rest of Indians be in the country for Beaver hunting or other thing else Family and all

and it will be no body saport or stay with peters wite childrens, as for John Stevens-s-family the father he tak care of.

Sir your humble servant
JOHN LEUIS.

Letter from Prof. Jamieson.

(Enclosing copies of letters from John Barrow, Esq. and Lord Bathurst.)

Dear Sir,

I send for the information of your brother? copies of letters I have received in regard to his Newfoundland journey which you may have some opportunity of forwarding to him. I am pleased to find both Lord Bathurst and Barrow interested and think their good wishes may be of service to your brother in Newfoundland. Pray present to him my kindest remembrance and tell him from me that we expect from him on his return still more information in regard to Newfoundland.

I am dear sir
Yours faithfully,
(signed) R. JAMIESON.

*Dr Barrow's Letters**From Dr Barrow to Prof. Jameson.*

ADMV. 18th September.

My dear Sir,

I have sent the chart, memoir and letter of Mr Cormack together with your letter to Lord Bathurst, who however is just now out of town, and when he has seen them I have desired to have them again for the purpose you mention of making them public; they appear to be very creditable to the zeal and enterprise of Mr Cormack in a difficult country of which we know little or nothing.

I am dear Sir,

very truly yours,

(signed) JOHN BARROW.

From Dr Barrow to Prof. Jameson.

ADMV. 22nd Sept.

My dear Sir,

I now send you Lord Bathurst's letter to me in return to Mr Cormack's communication through you, which I hope will encourage him to add to the information he has already procured. I am strongly for making public every addition to our knowledge of the globe.

I am my dear Sir,

very truly yours,

(signed) JOHN BARROW.

Letter from Lord Bathurst to Dr Barrow.

My dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for having transmitted to me Mr Cormack's account of his Route through the interior of Newfoundland—a country of which we are very ignorant, as I think that with one exception it has not been traversed before. The state of the Red Indians had attracted my attention many years ago, as there was reason to believe that our people had frequently put them to death without sufficient provocation, and in some instances I am ashamed to say, they were shot at in mere sport. There was no wonder that they flew from all our approaches, and it is not impossible that the Micmac Indians may have contributed to this indisposition to accept the advances which have been made them. Mr Cormack's attempts to conciliate them could not be otherwise than interesting, and you will have the goodness to desire Professor Jameson to convey to Mr Cormack my thanks for the communication.

I can have no objection to the publication of the account particularly under so respectable an editor as Professor Jameson.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) BATHURST.

*Letter to Mr Cormack relative to his journey across country
and his reply thereto.*

My dear Sir,

Will you oblige me by informing me in what year you made your journey into the interior, and whether the particulars were transmitted to the Secretary of State.

Very faithfully yours,
(signed) W. A. CLARKE.

31st July, 1827.

Reply.

My dear Sir,

I made my excursion across the interior of the Island in the months of September and October 1822: A few general remarks and an outline of my route, were in the following year transmitted to Earl Bathurst, by my friend Prof. Jameson of Edinburgh. My journal with particulars, I have not yet been either contented or at leisure to revise.

Yours very truly,
(signed) W. E. C.

31st July, 1827.

Letter from Judge Des Barres.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
6th August, 1827.

My dear Sir,

I have just heard from good authority that the Northern Circuit Court will be opened at Twillingate on the 11th of September ensuing and I can only repeat that I shall be most happy in offering you a passage or in any manner to facilitate the very humane and praiseworthy expedition which you have in contemplation.

I am my dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully
(signed) A. W. DES BARRES.

*Letters from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr Inglis, to
W. E. Cormack and replies.*

H.M.S. ALLIGATOR,
PLACENTIA, August 10th, 1827.

My dear Sir,

You expressed a wish that I should communicate to you the result of my reflection upon an attempt to have a friendly conference with the remnant of the Red Indians, if after due search, it shall be ascertained that such remnant exists.

I cannot hope to offer anything worth your consideration, but fulfil my engagement by occupying part of the leisure which a thick fog has given me, in writing this letter.

That an attempt at such conference is due to any of the unhappy tribe that may have survived all the efforts for their destruction by English, French, Esquimaux, Micmacs and Mountaineers, must be granted by all who have any feeling; in the hope that they may be brought into the neighbourhood of protection from their numerous destroyers; and cherished and instructed.

It has appeared to me that no pains should be spared in giving immediate instruction to Shawawdithit or Nancy that she may thoroughly understand the object of the proposed conference, and be well prepared to explain it in her native language—and this may be more difficult than she imagines, in consequence of her long disuse of her own dialect.

The party attempting the conference should not be so large as to create much alarm. Yourself, Mr Peyton, Shawawdithit, your Mountaineer and one other, would in my opinion, be sufficient, but great pains should be taken in selecting such a person as could be depended upon for coolness and discretion. As the Beothucks have only bows and arrows a defence might easily be provided by light shields, which might be so constructed as to form good pillows. Two folds of skin, with light wadding between them would be sufficient, but they should be proved. Shawawdithit should be dressed and painted, as when she was first taken, and the sound of their own language from her, would probably induce any of them to stop. But I repeat she is not yet sufficiently instructed to be a good interpreter. She must learn more English, and keep up a knowledge and practise of her own language.

Although your services are kindly offered gratuitously, Peyton has lost so much by the Indians that it would be unreasonable to expect the same from him. I would therefore recommend that a plain statement should be drawn up of the intended rational attempt, and subscriptions would be obtained here and in England to defray the expense and recompence Peyton, and any balance might be appropriated to the Instruction and provision for Shawawdithit if none others should be found, and if others should happily be found, I would place them near their best hunting ground, and under protection, intelligence of which should be communicated with unsparing pains, to our own people, the French, and Mickmacks and all other Indian tribes. A little assistance in clothing, food, fishing gear and arms; and ammunition to be periodically issued, would enable them to live. The expense would be small, and Government would defray it. Civilization we may hope would gradually follow. Capt. Canning and Mr McLaughlin of the Rifle Brigade, who can endure more fatigue in forest walking than any persons I know, and are alike cool and intrepid would delight to share in the undertaking, and if you will let me hear from you particularly of your plan, I think it would be greatly assisted, if it should be possible to have their personal aid.

It is needless to say that I shall be glad to hear from you and that you have the best wishes of my dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

W. E. Cormack, Esq.

Second Letter.

HALDAX, September 11th, 1827.

My dear Sir,

I was glad to learn from your letter of the third that you were so near the commencement of your benevolent journey, to which I cordially wish the fullest and most gratifying success.

Your plans appear to be judicious, and I wish it were in my power to assist them by any suggestions worth your attention. All savage Nations, whose language

is necessarily defective, are accustomed to symbols; ingenious in the use of them, and quick in ascertaining their meaning. Some are of a general character, and could be suggested by Mountaineer or Micmac. Any that more particularly belong to the Beothuck may probably be painted out and explained with Mr Peyton's help by Shawnawdithit. She may also assist in depicting her own tribe and their dress and habits as she is clever with a pencil. Friendly feasts between the Europeans and the different Indians—paddling in the same canoes—presentation of gifts—laying down or burying offensive implements.—A marriage ceremony if they have one.—Feeding their children, occur to me; but they seem so obvious that you will hardly have passed them over; but I should have more dependence on anything suggested by Shawnawdithit as known, and in use among her tribe.—She can also perhaps supply peculiar marks on trees, and the shores of lakes and rivers.

I shall be very anxious to hear of your progress, and shall feel an interest in the whole of your undertaking—repeating my best wishes, and my prayers for your preservation, and a blessing on your efforts. I remain my dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

(signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

W. E. Cormack, Esq.

Third Letter.

HALIFAX, Dec. 21st, 1827.

My dear Sir,

I was much gratified to receive your letter of Oct. 25th written at Mr Peyton's. You have excited my warm interest in the expedition in which you were just embarking, and great anxiety for its success. Your plans seem to have been formed with great judgement, but it is certainly to be regretted that Mr Peyton could not attend you. In case of severe trial, I should fear the steadiness of your Indian companions would not be sufficient, and when they fancied their own lives in danger, I should be equally afraid of their firing and flying.

Should the Beothuck be found and not brought in, I should think Shawnawdithit might very well go to them on the second visit.

The report of your expedition will I hope be printed immediately. It might be well to add to it a detail of expenses to be defrayed by the Institution. If a few copies are sent to me, I will endeavour to make them useful both here and in England. I shall request my friend Mr Dunscomb to do my part for me.

Allow me to thank you for the honour I have received in being nominated as Patron of your benevolent Institution; but I would beg to suggest the propriety of leaving this office open for His Excellency Sir Thomas Cochrane, who will promote our object. I shall be sufficiently distinguished if I may be permitted to occupy a part of the Vice Patron's chair, where I would hope to find myself near the Chief Justice.

If you should see Mr Peyton after you receive this, be so good as to assure him I enquired &c.....

I hope this letter will find you safely returned to St John's, where as well as elsewhere you have my best wishes for every success and blessing.

I remain my dear Sir, with much esteem

your faithful servant,

(signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

Fourth Letter.

RIVER ST LAWRENCE,
Sept. 18th, 1828.

My dear Sir,

I was happy in receiving your letter of August the 8th a few days ago at Quebec. That which you were so good to write from Liverpool has not yet reached me, owing probably to my absence from Halifax since the early part of May.

You have my best thanks for an account of the efforts already made for the discovery of the Beothick, if any remain. The good work should be continued, until it becomes morally certain that none remain, and I have requested our excellent friend Mr Dunscomb to do all that may be proper for me in the renewal of subscriptions as they may be expedient. The prospect of success seems clouded, but however late the effort, it will be a consolation to have done all that was now possible.

I am now on my way to Boston, and will make the enquiries you desire respecting Fisheries, with the result of which you shall be duly acquainted.

You speak of a change of profession, but do not name the line to which you look forward. I can only say you have my wishes and my prayers for right direction, and a blessing upon your course; and that I am with much regard and esteem,

Your faithful servant,
(signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

W. E. Cormack, Esq.

Cormack's Letter in reply.

ST JOHN'S, N.F.L., 26th October, 1828.

My Lord,

I was favoured by yours of Sept. 18th from the River St Laurence, and I hope since that time your journey has been as agreeable to you as you could wish. I regretted you had not received my letter of April written in Liverpool, England, because I stated to you therein the reason that I for one, could not name either our Governor or Chief Justice Patron or Vice Patron of the spontaneous Beothuck Institution.

The party of Indians sent in search of the Beothucks have again returned, without finding any traces of these people so recent as those I met with last year. The Red Indian woman Shawnawdithit has been at length brought to St John's, and for the present is staying in my house: I really apprehend since the return of the party, and from Shawnawdithit's testimony, that the tribe of the Red Indians not only reduced to a mere remnant, but are on the very verge of extinction. Reports of some European settlers, make them to have been seen this summer at a place called Nippers Harbour in Notre Dame Bay about 20 miles S. of Cape St John. The instructions of the party sent in search were that they should not return to us, without unequivocally ascertaining that the Red Indians were or were not totally extinct and not having done so, to save themselves from further censure, one or two of the party have volunteered to go to Notre Dame Bay again without reward to put the matter at rest. It is a melancholy reflection that our Local Government has been such as that under it the extirpation of a whole Tribe of primitive fellow creatures has taken place. The Government and those whose dependence on it overcame their better feelings still withhold their countenance from the objects of the Institution, and protection from the unfortunate female dropped off among us

from the brink of the extermination of her tribe. Most of the Officers of Government and respectable civilians however feel humanely.

Shawnawdithit is to leave me in a week or two to stay with Mr Simms the Attorney General. This gentleman has been one of the warmest advocates here for humanity towards her people and I know it will be a gratification to him to take care of her and have her instructed. As she acquires the English language she becomes more interesting; and I have lately discovered the key to the Mythology of her tribe, which must be considered one of the most interesting subjects to enquire into. Looking forward, I entreat you to learn from time to time how she is coming on; for it is to such feelings as yours and Mr Simms' that this unprotected creature will owe her value, and be prevented from sinking into abject dependance. She is already a faithful domestic servant. I say these things merely from the fear that she might be cast on the mercy of the Local Government of N.F.L., under which all the rest of the tribe have suffered.

To have this pleasure again soon I remain my Lord with the highest esteem,

Yours faithfully,

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

To His Lordship,

The Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Bishop Engli's fifth letter.

HALIFAX, Nov. 13th, 1828.

My dear Sir,

Upon my return to this place on Saturday last, I found your missing letter from Liverpool, and I have since been favoured with that of Oct. 27th.

I am greatly obliged by your interesting accounts of the search that has been made for any remnant of the Beothucks, and although there is too much reason to apprehend that no remnant is left there is some little satisfaction in having caused the best possible search for them, however late. I am glad that poor Shawnawdithit is in such good hands, where due regard will I trust be given to her moral and religious instruction. I shall enquire for her with interest, and shall be glad if I can contribute to her welfare.

While at Boston I made the enquiry respecting the fisheries. I found generally that upon an average of five years the value of fish caught has been about 1,500,000 dollars, the export about 600,000 so that nearly two thirds are consumed in the country. The reports I forward will I hope supply the greater part of the details you wished.

With sincere wishes for your happiness, and with kind regards to many friends around you

I am

My dear Sir,

Your faithful servant

JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

W. E. Cormack, Esq.

Cormack to Bishop of Nova Scotia.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,

10th Jan., 1829.

My Lord,

According to promise I now enclose you an unfinished paper on the value of Newfoundland and its fisheries. If you take the trouble to read it, and will make any suggestions or corrections I will be glad to receive them. The source of information on the French Fisheries are the most defective, but I may be enabled to rectify what is wanted here when in England this winter.

Shawnawdithit is now becoming very interesting as she improves in the English language, and gains confidence in people around. I keep her pretty busily employed in drawing historical representations of everything that suggests itself relating to her tribe, which I find is the best and readiest way of gathering information from her. She has also nearly completed making a dress of her tribe.

Herewith you have the commencement of a compendium with the Natural History Society of Montreal, left open for your perusal or use. It may be unnecessary to beg the favour that it might afterwards be put into the printing office.

I expect to sail for England about the end of this month, and may not return here again. My address is at John McGregor Esq. 56 Chapel Walks Liverpool.

I remain My Lord,

with the highest esteem

Your obedient servant

(signed) W. E. C.

To the Hon. & Right Revd. Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Manuscript of W. E. Cormack's, apparently written after his last expedition in search of the Red Indians.

On reflecting after my expedition in search of them that this primitive nation, unknowing and unknown to civilization, were so nearly extirpated, and that perhaps at that moment the remnant of them were expiring in the clothing armour and circumstances similar exactly to what such might have been previous to the discovery of America by Europeans, and for fear impressions I had received on my expedition might wear off, I lost no time in gathering together every fact and relic in my power relating to such a purely sylvan race. Most fortunately with the assistance of two gentlemen similarly interested in the subject as myself, I obtained the guardianship of the last survivor of them, a female who had been taken prisoner in a state of starvation some years before by several English fishermen at the seacoast, but which interesting individual had remained until that moment in obscurity in an outport at a distant part of the island. Having given her the confidence that she was to be protected and kindly treated by every white person as long as she lived instead of being illtreated, I elicited from her most interesting facts, and a history of her people which together with my own observations when in search of them in the interior, form nearly all the information that can ever be obtained relating to these aborigines.

They have been a bold heroic and purely self dependant nation never having either courted or been subdued by other tribes or Europeans. But what early mind—a power—could face gunpowder and firelocks? Hence their annihilation.

To connect primitive man with civilization, refinement and the arts—is more immediately the object of this moment, and here we can come directly to facts the most interesting.

That they have been a nation superior to all others adjacent to them is evident from the remains we have of them, and is admitted by the other tribes on the continent of America. Indeed the fear of the other tribes of them, even felt at this very moment, although it is only of their shadow speaks for itself.

Every fact relating to this isolated nation similar or dissimilar to what has been met with amongst other tribes is interesting because it concerns man at a time more remote than any history.

Commencing with their dwellings we see the first remove from a few poles stuck in the ground and meeting at the top, and a skin or riad of trees laid on under which to lie down to sleep, from that we see the remove to the upright wall for a dwelling, in which to stand and move in comfort, next we see the remove from the simple circular to the angular and straight walled dwelling, from the octagonal to the five sided.

Then in their style of adorning the posts or poles outside of their doors, we can evidently trace the corinthian? a complete order in architecture, different countries producing animals with different kinds of horns, will cause variations in the capital.

Mamateek or Wigwam.

Their Mamateeks, or wigwams, were far superior to those of the Micmac's. They were in general built of straight pieces of fir about twelve feet high, flattened at the sides, and driven in the earth close to each other; the corners being made stronger than the other parts. The crevices were filled up with moss, and the inside lined with the same material; the roof was raised so as to stand from all parts and meet in a point in the centre, where a hole was left for the smoke to escape. The remainder of the roof was covered with a treble coat of birch bark, and between the first and the second layers of bark was placed about six inches of moss, about the chimney clay was substituted for the moss. The sides of these mamateeks were covered with arms, that is, bows, arrows, clubs, stone hatchets, arrow heads, &c. and all these were arranged in the neatest manner. Beams were placed across where the roof began, over which smaller ones were laid; and on the latter were piled the provision—dried salmon, venison &c.

¹ This is the first and only reference I have ever met with of the Beothucks using carved doorposts to their dwellings. It is to be regretted Cornack does not give us fuller particulars as to the character of those carvings. I presume they must have been somewhat similar to those grotesque figures used by the natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands off the west coast of British Columbia.

Beothuck Dress.

This was peculiar to the tribe, and consisted of but one garment,—a sort of mantle, formed out of two deer skins, sewed together so as to be nearly square,—a collar also formed with skins, was sometimes attached to the mantle, and reached along its whole breadth. It was formed without sleeves or buttons, and was worn thrown over the shoulders, the corners doubled over at the chest and arms. When the bow was to be used the upper part of the dress was thrown off from the shoulders and arms, and a broad fold, the whole extent of it, was secured round the loins, with a belt, to keep the lower part from the ground, and the whole from falling off, when the arms were at liberty. The collar of the dress was sometimes made of alternate stripes of otter and deer skins sewed together, and sufficiently broad to cover the head and face when turned up, and this is made to answer the purpose of a hood of a cloak in bad weather. Occasionally, leggings or gaiters were worn, and acm coverings, all made of deer skins. Their moccasins were also made of the same material; in summer, however, they frequently went without any covering for the feet.

Beothuck Arms.

These whether offensive or defensive, or for killing game were simply the bow and arrow, spear and club. The arrow heads were of two kinds viz.—stone, bone or iron, the latter material being derived from Europeans, and the blunt arrow, the point being a knob continuous with the shaft. The former of these was used for killing quadrupeds and large birds. Two strips of goose feathers were tied on to balance the arrow, and it has been remarked by many persons who have seen the Red Indian arrows, that they have invariably been a yard long; the reason of this would seem to be that their measure for the arrow was the arm's length, that is from the centre of the chest to the tip of the middle finger, that being the proper length to draw the bow;—the latter was about five feet long, generally made of mountain ash, but sometimes of spruce¹.

The spears were of two kinds, the one, their chief weapon, was twelve feet in length, pointed with bone or iron, whenever the latter material could be obtained, and was used in killing deer and other animals. The other was fourteen feet in length and was used chiefly, if not wholly, in killing seals,—the head or point being easily separated from the shaft,—the service of the latter being indeed mainly, to guide the point into the body of the animal, which being effected, the shaft was withdrawn, and a strong strip of deer skin, which was always kept fastened to the spear head was held by the Indian, who in this manner secured his prey. This method of taking the seals may be compared to that of taking the whales. The handle of the harpoon being chiefly to guide the point, to which the

¹ Also of a species of fir called boy's fir, a hard grown, tough, springy wood, so I have been informed by the Micmacs.

cord is attached, into the body of the animal and then hauling against it until the fish is exhausted. The Esquimaux adopt a similar plan the point of their harpoon or spear being somewhat different in form¹.

Canoes.

These varied from sixteen to twenty two feet in length, with an upward curve towards each end. Laths were introduced from stem to stern instead of planks. They were provided with a gunwale or edging which, though slight, added strength to the fabric—the whole was covered on the outside with deer skins sewed together and fastened by stitching the edges round the gunwale².

Language.

The language of the Bocothucks, Mr Cormack is of opinion, is different from all the languages of the neighboring tribes of Indians with which any comparison has been made. Of all the words procured at different times from the female Indian Shawnaudithit, and which were compared with the Micmac and Banake (the latter people bordering on the Mohawk) not one was found similar to the language of the latter people, and only two words which could be supposed to have had the same origin, viz., "*Kuis*"—Bocothuck—and "*Kuse*" Banake—both words meaning Sun, and "*Moosin*" Bocothuck, and "*Mocasin*" Banake and Micmac shoe, or covering for the foot. The Bocothuck also differs from the Mountaineer and Eskimo languages of Labrador. The Micmac, Mountaineers, and Banake, have no "r" the Bocothuck has; the three first use "l" instead of "r." The Bocothuck has the diphthong "sh"—the other languages have it not. The Bocothucks have no characters to serve as hieroglyphics or letters, but they had a few symbols or signatures.

Method of Interment.

The Bocothucks appear to have shown great respect for their dead, and the most remarkable remains of them commonly observed by Europeans at the sea coast, are their burial places. They had several modes of interment. One was when the body of the deceased had been wrapped in

¹ I believe the Bocothucks derived the idea of this harpoon from the Eskimos, who are adepts in its use, are known to have possessed it a long time, and who moreover, depend more upon the seal and walrus for their livelihood than the former had any occasion to do. It is a most ingenious weapon, and while the general structure is the same, that of the Bocothuck was slighter and more neatly constructed. It was called by them *u-shah*.

² This statement does not tally with that of any of the other authorities on the subject. Whitbourne, Cartwright, Buchan and even Cormack himself all affirm that the outside of the canoe was invariably covered with birch rind.

Possibly, they may have on some occasions, when pressed for time or when birch bark was difficult to obtain, resorted to deer skins for that purpose, as the Micmacs sometimes do, but it certainly was not the usual covering, and this is the only instance I have met with where such is mentioned.

birch rind, it was then, with his property, placed on a sort of scaffold about four feet from the ground, the scaffold supported a flooring of small squared beams laid close together, on which the body and property rested.

A second method was, when the body bent together and wrapped in birch rinds was enclosed in a sort of box on the ground,—this 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 high, three feet broad, and two feet and a half deep, well lined with birch rind, so as to exclude the weather from the inside,—the body was always laid on its right side.

A third and most common method of burying among this people was to wrap the body in birch rind, and then cover it over with a heap of stones on the surface of the earth; but occasionally in sandy places, or where the earth was soft and easily removed, the body was sunk lower in the earth and the stones omitted.

The marriage ceremony consisted merely in a prolonged feast which rarely terminated before the end of twenty four hours. Polygamy would seem not to have been countenanced by the tribe.

Of their remedies for disease, the following were the most frequently resorted to.

For pains in the stomach, a decoction of the rind of the dogwood was drunk.

For sickness amongst old people—sickness in the stomach—pains in the back, and for rheumatism, the vapour bath was used.

For sore head, neck &c. pounded sulphuret of iron mixed with oil was rubbed over the part affected, and was said generally to affect a cure in two or three days.

For sore eyes,—woman's milk as a wash.

Proclamation to the Micmacs.

This was evidently written by Cormack to be submitted to the Governor for approval, but I cannot learn that it was ever issued.

KING GEORGE is sorry his children the Red Indians live for no good, his children the Micmacs hunt and sell fur to the English. King George wants to tell Red Indians not to hunt beaver always, but to come to the salt water to catch fish: to leave the beaver for the Micmacs because English know Micmacs a long time. Any Micmac who brings Red Indian to St John's to speak to Governor or to me will receive a reward of £20 a year each, as long as he or they live, a silver medal each, and a grant of Red Indian Lake for six years. But if Micmacs kill Red Indians King George order all Micmacs to go away from Newfoundland.

Part of another manuscript of Cormack's written after his last expedition into the interior.

In this he states that he has acquired several ingenious articles of the Beothuck manufacture, some of which were discovered on his last journey, models of canoes, bows and arrows, spears of different kinds, &c. and also a complete dress worn by that people. Their mode of kindling

fire by striking together two pieces of iron pyrites is not only original, but as far as we at present know, peculiar to the tribe'. These articles together with a short vocabulary of their language, which I have been enabled to collect, prove the Beothucks to be a distinct tribe from any hitherto discovered in North America. In my detailed report, I would propose to have plates of these articles and also of the like articles used by other tribes of Indians, that a comparative idea may be formed of them, and when the Indian female Shawawdithit arrives in St John's, I would recommend that a correct likeness of her be taken and preserved in the record of this Institution'.

Resolved that the measures recommended in the President's report be agreed to; and that the three men John Louis, John Stevens and Peter John, Indians of the Canadian and Mountaineer tribes be placed upon the establishment of this Institution to be employed under the immediate direction and control of the President and that they be allowed for their services such a sum of money as the president may consider a fair and reasonable compensation &c.

The three Indians above mentioned were sent out in search of the Beothucks as it appears from a report of proceedings of the Beothuck Institution, dated February 7th, 1828, when it was considered besides the pay, to offer a bounty of \$100 to them in the event of their discovery of the residence of the Red Indians, or the Indians themselves still living &c.

The following documents in reference to these expeditions appear amongst the transactions of the Beothuck Institution, now in my possession.

Beothuck Institution.

At a meeting of the members of the Institution the 7th day of February 1828 at the Court House.

The Honorable A. W. Desbarres in the chair,—it was moved and unanimously resolved.

First.—That the Instructions for the party composing the expedition to discover the Red Indians and which are now ready be adopted and acted upon by the Society.

Second.—That a bounty of one hundred dollars be paid to the party sent in pursuit of the Indians, in addition to the sum granted for their services by the President W. E. Cormack Esq. provided it appear by subsequent investigation that they shall have discovered the abodes of the Red Indians now in existence.

¹ Lloyd states that his Micmac guide, Souliann, told him they used the down of the Blue Jay for tinder.

² This suggestion was apparently carried out. Bonycastle affirms that he saw her miniature. It is probably a copy of this picture of Shawawdithit which appears as a frontispiece in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1856, a photo of which is here reproduced.

INSTRUCTIONS to John Louis the chief of the party of Indians upon the establishment of the Bcoothick Institution respecting the route to be taken by the party in quest of the Red Indians in the winter of 1828.

John Louis will proceed forthwith to Clode Sound in Bonavista Bay, and inform John Stevens and Peter John that they have been nominated as the most proper persons to be attached to this Institution for opening a friendly communication with the Red Indians and that they will be compensated for such services as they may perform, by such a sum of money as the President W. E. Cormack Esq. shall consider just and reasonable. —

John Louis will then make arrangements with John Stevens and Peter John to attend him on the expedition to discover the abodes of the Red Indians, which expedition is to proceed from Fortune Bay on or before the tenth day of March next.

The party will in the first place proceed to White Bear Bay in order if necessary to consult with a party of Micmacs there from thence proceed through the country (interior) to St George's Bay, then through the country to the Bay of Islands Lake¹, then pass through the country to the westward of Red Indian Lake to White Bay, and from thence return back to the River Exploits and wait on John Peyton Esq. and the Rev. Mr Chapman for further instructions.

Instructions to the party under the direction of John Louis in case they shall meet with or discover the abodes of the Red Indians.

The Institution having originated from a sincere desire of establishing a friendly intercourse with that unhappy race of people the Red Indians, and of protecting the lives of the few who survive at this day, any communication with them that can by any possibility lead to an unfriendly result ought to be avoided. — John Louis and his party will therefore at all times bear in mind that great caution and perseverance are eminently requisite to accomplish the important and intricate designs of the Institution, and they will avoid coming in contact with the Red Indians under any circumstances however favorable they may appear to be.

They will however, endeavour to ascertain as correctly as they possibly can the numbers of the Red Indians now in existence and the country occupied by them, and they will then immediately return to St John's to report the particulars of their discovery in order that another expedition upon a more matured plan, and other measures, expedient and necessary may be adopted by the Institution.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK

President of the

Bcoothick Institution.

February 1828.

¹ Grand Lake.

The following account of this expedition is taken from the *Newfoundlander*, of date June 26th 1828.

BOEOTHIC INSTITUTION,
ST JOHN'S, 24th June, 1828.

At a meeting of the subscribers to the Boeothic Institution held at Perkin's hotel this day, to receive the report of the three Indians employed by the Institution, on their return from researches after the Native Red Indians; and to consider what further measure may be proper to adopt, in order to ascertain whether there are any aborigines still existing in the island, and their place of abode &c. with a view to open a friendly intercourse with them, and to assure them of protection and safety.—

The President W. E. Cormack Esq. was called to the chair.

An account was then exhibited of the journey and route of the Indians employed by the Institution during the last four months. John Louis left St John's on the 12th of February, and proceeded to Clode Sound; whence, being joined by John Stevens and Peter John the party proceeded to Bay Despair¹, principally for the purpose of collecting information from the other Indians. They thence proceeded in a North Westerly direction to St George's Bay, whence they took an Easterly course, about forty miles, to the West end of the Great Bay of Islands Lake, without discovering any recent signs of the Red Indians.

Having left this lake, at the Eastern extremity, the party set out in a South Eastern direction to the Red Indian's Lake, where they constructed another canoe, and remained upwards of a week in examining the different creeks and coves, but with the same ill success. They then paddled down the Exploits River, and in two days reached Mr Peyton's upper establishment, where they procured a passage to this place, and arrived on the 20th inst.

It appearing from the foregoing particulars, that the party had passed over and examined the whole of the country in the interior, where the Red Indians are likely to be found, except that part of the country in the vicinity of White Bay, a large tract of which remains yet unexplored.—

It was moved and unanimously resolved,

1st. That the three Indians be again employed to proceed forthwith to explore and examine the country in the interior of and adjacent to White Bay; and the President of the Institution be authorised to employ one of the European settlers to accompany the Indians.

2nd. That as the Indians have now to explore a part of the island contiguous to the French fisheries, it may prove beneficial to the objects of the Institution, to interest the French people in the enquiries after the aborigines, and to solicit the aid of the French Commandant in affording facilities to the progress of the Indians now employed &c. also to request the French authorities to inform the president, Mr Cormack, if any of the Red Indians have been met with in the neighborhood of the French fisheries.

¹ Corruption of the French "Baie d'Espoir."

3rd. That in addition to the pay per month, the Indians employed shall have a gratuity of \$150, in the event of their discovering the abode of the Red Indians now living.

4th. That as the money already subscribed is inadequate to defray the necessary expenses attending the expedition to White Bay the friends of the Institution be again requested to contribute their aid in support thereof.

5th. That the account of the receipts and expenditure of the Institution now exhibited be passed, and that the same be printed.

6th. That William Thomas Esq. be requested to accept the office of Treasurer to the Institution.

Letter to French Commandant.

ST JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
26th June, 1828.

Sir,

The condition of the Aborigines or Red Indians of Newfoundland has always had the solicitude of the English Government, and several attempts have been made, ineffectually, to bring these people within the pale and protection of civilization.

A Society was formed last year among the principal inhabitants and others connected with Newfoundland, and called the "Boothick Institution," for the purpose of renewing the attempts to open a friendly intercourse with these people. A party composed of a few of the most intelligent men from among the other tribes of Indians met with here, was sent to search for their abodes, which after an absence of several months exploring the country in the vicinity of St Georges' Bay—of the Bay of Islands—the Red Indians' Lake and the Exploits River lately returned without discovering any recent traces of them, proving that this unfortunate Tribe are now very much reduced in numbers, and that they have taken refuge in some sequestered spot. It only remains to explore to the North and the vicinity of White Bay to determine their existence or extinction; and with this impression, the party are again sent to explore the interior in these parts. They are directed to commence their search from Croke Harbour.

The Society, anxious to avail themselves of every circumstance that may operate favourably to their views have taken upon themselves to request your good offices in affording any facilities to the mission that may tend to the accomplishment of the object they have in view; and the Society will further feel thankful for any information you may be able to give them relating to the Red Indians, or if any traces of that tribe have lately been seen in the vicinity of the French Fisheries.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

with the highest consideration and respect,

Your most obedient humble servant.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK,

Pres. of the Boothick Institution.

A Monsieur,

Le Commandant

Administrateur pour Sa Majesté

Le Roi de France,

A Terre Neuve.

Later on in the same year the same party of Indians were sent out again, as appears from the following documents.

INSTRUCTIONS to John Louis, John Stevens, and Peter John respecting the route to be taken in quest of the Red Indians, the summer of 1828.

The party will proceed on board the schooner Eclipse, the master of which will receive directions to land them at Croke Harbour; John Louis will then deliver the letter directed to the French Commandant, who has been requested to afford him any information that may tend to the discovery of the Red Indians. If any of them are to be met with in that vicinity, John Louis is required to apply for written directions as to the part of the country which the French Commandant may point out is the most likely to discover their habitation, and he will then proceed to examine that country, provided the country so recommended to be examined, does not lie further than 20 miles north of Croke Harbour.—John Louis will, in case he receives no intelligence respecting the Red Indians at Croke, or that he is unable to discover any of the tribe to the north of Croke Harbour, proceed westwardly into the interior about twenty miles, thence taking a southwardly direction to White Bay, thence passing round the head of White Bay, and thence in the most proper direction through the country to the house of Mr Peyton the resident agent at Exploits Burnt Island, 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 has been left unsearched. John Louis will therefore make a plan of the country he may pass over, marking down every lake, river and mountain, so that Mr Peyton who is already intimately acquainted with the interior may be able to afford the Institution his opinion and observations thereon.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK,

President of the Beothick Institution.

We have the following reference to this last expedition, in an address to the Institution, which bears no date but was evidently at some time subsequent to the return of the Micmac party, probably in the fall of 1828, and is written by the President.

Gentlemen,

Since we met in October on the return of the last expedition in search of the Red Indians, our separate avocations otherwise have prevented our coming together again until now, on the business of our Institution. At that meeting you were made acquainted with the result on the last expedition; a more detailed account of it being left to be given at a future day. We regret to have to acknowledge that the result only tends to confirm our fears for the fate of the Beothicks, and proves that the tribe if not totally extinct, are expiring, a remnant only of them exists, so small and occupying so small a space that they have been passed by unnoticed. The last expedition you are aware, left this in June last to explore the most northern parts of Newfoundland, where it appeared possible the Red Indians might have taken refuge.

They proceeded to the French Shore and examined the northern parts of the island.....From the head of White Bay they took a south-eastern direction and again came out at the seacoast in Notre Dame Bay, discovering nothing on their whole line of route indicative of any of the

Red Indians having been recently alive in these parts; but old marks of them abound everywhere from White Bay to Notre Dame Bay. On the French Shore the party visited besides Belvic, Croke, Crouse, and Canada Harbour. At Croke the French Commodore on the part of his Government afforded them every assistance that might in anyway further their object, in men, boats, ammunition and provisions, and the same facilities were secured to them along the whole French line of shore. The French authorities could give them no information of any traces of the Red Indians having been seen in the neighborhood of their fisheries.

Although we may infer where the remnant of the Red Indians would most likely be found, yet from the certainty of the smallness of their number, if any really do exist, it would not be prudent again to send armed.....(the remainder of this MS. is torn off).

From the "Royal Gazette," October 21st, 1828.

Those who are curious in enquiries relating to man have a treat just now in St John's such as is not likely again to be met with. There are at present at Mr Cormack's house, accessible at all times to those who feel an interest, individuals belonging to three different tribes of North American Indians, viz. a Mountaineer from Labrador, two of the Banakee nation from Canada,—and a Boeothick, or Red Indian of Newfoundland, the last a female. They all speak different languages—and are good specimens of the race. The men are 5 feet 10 inches and a $\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 feet 11 inches in height.

The three men are those that were sent a few months ago, in search of the Red Indians. They have returned without finding any recent traces of these people to the North or in the vicinity of White Bay. One of the party has volunteered to go for nothing to search that place at Notre Dame Bay, where the reports of the European settlers make them out to have been seen a few weeks since.

Suggestions, Hints &c. re Red Indians.

Ascertain their mode of counting.

“ “ “ Micmaes.

Religious belief of the Red Indians.

“ “ “ Micmaes.

History of the Red Indians by Micmaes. Examine the most intelligent of the Micmaes, and record each account to compare afterwards if marks of truth. The history by Nancy to compare with Micmaes.

Nancy's history of them and record to compare with Micmaes to see if they correspond in any way or points.

Note all Red Indian words.

Red Indian skulls, male and female.

Ascertain from Nancy and from Micmaes if ever any white faced or light haired people have been seen amongst the Red Indians: (No, Capt. Buchan not correct)?¹

¹ I cannot believe Buchan could have made any mistake about the white woman he saw at Red Indian Lake, and so particularly described in 1811. Shanawdith's negation to this query may have been actuated from some special motive, perhaps fear for herself or her people for having kidnapped?²

Procure specimens of every implement they have, including dress of males and females.

Have they any exterior form of worship?

Approach 1st Nancy, 2nd me, 3rd Micmac.

If any opportunity offers, offer to exchange my gun &c. or whatever the Red Indians suppose most valuable to me for one of their children; say my gun, powder, shot for a boy.

Ascertain how they record events amongst themselves. Have the Red Indians any dogs amongst them or domestic animals? (No.)¹

Their Government.

Have the Beothucks short arms like the Esquimos? (No.)

Burying places near Exploits Burnt Island and Caves where numerous large skulls are here lying, they have an idea that those were spirits.

NOTE. The above looks like instructions to some one, possibly to the Micmac guides, but more probably to some member of the Beothuck Institution, or to Mr Peyton who may have been asked to thus interrogate Nancy (*Shanawdithit*) while in his charge.

(From Noad.)

"Though *Shanawdithit* acquired a knowledge of English slowly, yet it is said before her death she could communicate with tolerable ease.

She feared to return to her tribe, believing that the mere fact of her residing amongst the whites for a time, would make her an object of hatred to the Red men.

In person *Shanawdithit* was 5 feet 5 inches in height—her natural abilities were good. She was grateful for any kindness shown her, and evinced a strong affection for her parents and friends. She evinced great taste for drawing, and was kept supplied with paper and pencils of various colours, by which she made herself better understood than she otherwise could.

In her own person, she had received two gunshot wounds, at two different times from volleys fired at the band she was with by the English people of Exploits. One wound was that of a slug through the leg. Poor *Shanawdithit*, she died destitute of this world's goods. Yet desirous of showing her gratitude to one from whom she received great kindness, she presented a keepsake to Mr Cormack and there is something very affecting under the circumstances in which she was placed, as associated with the simple articles of which the presents consisted. They were a rounded piece of granite—a piece of quartz—both derived from the soil of which her tribe were once the sole owners and lords, but which were all the soil she could then call her own; and added to these was a lock of her hair."

a white child. More probably however, *Shanawdithit* may not have remembered the white woman, seeing that she was only some 10 or 12 years of age at the time of Buchan's first expedition. Probably the white woman in question may have died soon after.

¹ Here again there is evidently some mistake. The correspondent of the *Liverpool Mercury* clearly mentions a bitch with a litter of puppies in one wigwam at the time of Mary March's capture.

History of the Red Indians of Newfoundland.

By W. E. CORMACK.

PREFACE.

To begin in the year 1829 to write a history of the Red Indians of Newfoundland, is like beginning to write the history of an extinct people. All that they have left behind them being their name and one wonders that they left nothing else.

Although Newfoundland has been occupied by Europeans for two centuries and a half, that is since the discovery of the New World, nothing of consequence has been collected and preserved relating to the aboriginal inhabitants, the Red Indians.

The Island has often changed hands from one European power to another, but from among all these vicissitudes all that has been preserved relating to the aborigines of the country, are a few fabulous fragments, which have shone out now and then as connected evidence of the contention of the existence of this remarkable tribe, inhabiting the island. The stories about them have not been credible. These aborigines it is evident never courted friendship with the whites and their stern self dependent character withstood the European allurements.

We have traces enough left only to cause our sorrow that so peculiar and so superior a people should have disappeared from the earth like a shadow. The only considerable search has at length, but alas too late, been made to prove that they are irrevocably lost to the world.

Of the Aborigines of Newfoundland. (Cormack.)

Unoffending, they have been cruelly extirpated: a purely self-dependent people, known to the world only, as it were, a meteor that had been. They never were allowed to discover nor taste of civilization, what thoughts must they have entertained of the white man?

Pizarro's offences to the Peruvians when first discovered, do not tarnish the Spanish name compared with the stain upon that of the English, for their cruel and wanton extermination of the little nation of the first occupants of Newfoundland.

The heroic Spaniards at the glorious period alluded to, could not comprehend, and therefore dared not trust the probable power of an overwhelming race and wonderful people in a world just discovered. Not so were the circumstances of the English and the people under our notice. The place of the latter is now a monumental blank to excite the surprise and indignation of humanity.

The first American Indians brought to England, were three from Newfoundland by Sebastian Cabot on his second voyage of discovery, and presented to Henry VII in 1497*.

* History says that Indians were brought from Newfoundland by Cabot, and presented to Henry VII. Capt. Richard Whitbourne describes them in 1619. See also Anderson on *Commerce*; Reeves, *Newfoundland*, published in 1796; Barron's *Northern Voyages*, etc.

The early voyagers to Newfoundland, the Portuguese, English, French and Spaniards were in general, up till the middle of the 17th century, on a friendly footing with the aborigines of the Island, and thought highly of their tractability and mental powers. The parties were mutually serviceable to each other. Early writers speak of the English as the first and only aggressors upon the Red Indians, and that the savages returned them forbearance and good for evil, formerly English fishermen, strangers alike to Government protection and to mild laws were not so criminal for having extirpated the aborigines as the Government authorities under whose passive irresponsibility the deed was perpetrated.

In the year 1800 the Governor of Newfoundland sent a Captain Le Breton to examine the nature of the North coast of the island and enquire about the aborigines. Capt. Le B. returned without seeing any of them but in several places found very recent traces of them.

In several instances aboriginal females have been captured by Europeans and brought to St John's for exhibition, but none of the men have for a century past fallen into our hands alive.

Thus in 1804 an old woman was brought from the Northward to St John's and after a few weeks sent back. But it is reported, true or false, that she was murdered by the parties who accompanied her for the sake of getting possession of the presents she had received to carry back to her people.

In 1815 Sir Richard Keats the Governor at that time, dispatched Capt. Buchan in H.M. Schooner *Pike* to the River Exploits, in the North part of the island, with instructions to endeavour to open friendly intercourse with the Red Indians. The expedition failed in its object.

In 1819 the Governor Sir Charles Hamilton, having offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any one who would bring a Red Indian to St John's, an armed party of English went up to the Red Indian Lake, by way of the river Exploits, on the ice, and surprised a party in their camp, carried off by force, the female afterwards known as Mary March, killing her husband and his brother¹ in their attempt at rescue. Thus the breach between parties was still widened.

Mary March was carried to St John's where she was considered a very interesting woman. Her health declined. In the autumn of 1819 Capt. Buchan was ordered to convey her back to where she was taken from. Unfortunately she died on board the vessel at the mouth of the River Exploits. Capt. Buchan however, carried her body up to the great lake (Jan. 1820) by way of the Exploits on the ice, but not meeting with any of her people at the lake, left the body there, so placed that it might be found by her tribe upon their revisiting the spot. Fresh traces of the Indians were seen by Capt. B. on the banks of the Exploits upon his way up.

In 1823, early in the spring three females, a mother and her two

¹ We have no other record of this expedition. I think Cormack has mistaken the date and is really referring to the expedition of 1810-11.

² This latter statement does not appear to be correct. All other accounts, including Peyton's own, only mention the death of one man, Mary March's husband.

daughters in Badger Bay near Exploits Bay, being in a starving and exhausted condition, allowed themselves in despair to be quietly captured by some English furriers, who accidentally came upon them. Fortunately (?) their miserable appearance when within gun shot, led to the unusual circumstance of their not being fired at. The husband of the mother, in endeavouring to avoid the observation of the white men, attempted to cross a creek upon the ice, and fell through and was drowned. About a month before this event, and a few miles distant the brother of this man and his daughter, belonging to the same party, were shot by two other English furriers'. One or two more of the party escaped to the interior.

The three female captives were brought to St John's where they remained four or five weeks, and were then sent back to Exploits with many presents in the hope that they might meet and share them with their people. They were conveyed up the River Exploits some distance by a party of Europeans, and left on the bank with some provisions, clothing &c. to find their friends as they best might. Their provisions were soon exhausted, and not meeting any of their tribe, they wandered on foot down the right bank of the river, and in a few days again reached the English habitations. The mother and one daughter here died shortly afterwards, and within a few days of each other. The survivor Nancy or Shawnawdithit was received and taken care of by Mr Peyton junior and family.

After 1823, there is no evidence that any of the Red Indians were fallen in with by Europeans. In 1824 a party with two canoes were seen on the right bank of the River Exploits about halfway between the coast and the great lake, by two Canadian Indians who were crossing that part of the country on a hunting excursion. Friendly gestures were exchanged across the river, and no collision took place¹.

In 1826, (in the spring) recent traces of the Red Indians were seen by some other Micmacs at Badger Bay Great Lake.

In 1827, the writer undertook a journey into the interior in search of the Red Indians, the narrative of which will appear in due order.

With the occasion of this expedition the Beothuck Institution was formed, and as the proceedings and circumstances of this institution will throw light upon the subject before us they are here given.

(From *W. E. Cormack's Letter Book*.)

The *Royal Gazette*, Friday September 18th 1827.

" " " Tuesday November 6th

" " " 14th 15th 1827.

Edinburgh Philosophical Journal Dec. 1827.

At a meeting &c.....in England.

A. W. DES BARRES,

Chairman and Vice President.

¹ Stated by one of the men who committed the deed.

² The two Canadians informed the writer of this event.

Narrative of my Journey (to come here).

The <i>Royal Gazette</i>	Tuesday	February	19th	1828.
The <i>Public Ledger</i>	St John's	Tuesday	June	24th 1828.
The <i>Newfoundland</i>	" "	Thursday	"	29th "
The <i>Royal Gazette</i>	" "	Tuesday	July	1st "
The <i>Public Ledger</i>	" "	Friday	Sept.	5th "

St John's 26th June 1828.

15th of October 1828. John Louis and party arrived at St John's from Exploits per schooner.

The <i>Royal Gazette</i>	Tuesday	October	21st	1828.
The <i>Newfoundland</i>	Thursday	August	9th	"
The <i>Public Ledger</i>	Tuesday	September	2nd	"

The report of the Red Indians having appeared at Green Bay upon particular investigation proved not to be founded upon truth.

On the 20th of September 1828 Shanawdithit arrived in St John's from Mr Peyton's at Exploits, where she had remained five years in obscurity, and from whence she was now brought by the desire of the Beothuck Institution.

Shanawdithit was now the object of the peculiar care and solicitude of the Beothuck Institution, and the last of the Red Indians.

To this interesting protégé we are indebted for nearly all the information we possess regarding her tribe, the aborigines of Newfoundland. Although she had been five years and upwards amongst the English, upon her arrival the second time in St John's she spoke so little English that those only who were accustomed to her gibberish, could understand her. By persevering attention now however, to instruct her, she acquired confidence and became enabled to communicate. She evinced extraordinary powers of mind in possessing the sense of gratitude in the highest degree, strong affections for her parents and friends, and was of a most lively disposition. She had a natural talent for drawing, and being at all times supplied with paper and pencils of various colours, she was enabled to communicate what would otherwise have been lost. By this means, aided by her broken English and Beothuck words, she herself taught the meaning of to those around her. The chief points of the following history, notices of the manners, customs, language, armour &c. of her tribe are derived.

In person Shanawdithit was inclined to be stout, but when first taken was slender.

The following is a summary of what was obtained and learned from her by the use of the materials mentioned and by broken English aided by portions of her own language which she put into the power of those around her to understand. (This document is unfortunately missing from Cormack's papers.)

Shanawdithit lived nearly nine months under the protection of the Institution, during a considerable portion of which time she was unwell.

Shanawdithit gives the following account of Capt. Buchan's expedition to the Great Lake in 1816¹ and the state of her tribe at that time.

¹ A curious mistake for Cormack to make. It should have been 1811.

At that time the tribe had been much reduced in numbers in consequence of the hostile encroachments and meetings of the Europeans at the seacoast. But they still had, up to that period, enjoyed unmolested, the possession of their favourite interior parts of the island, especially the territory around and adjacent to the Great Lake and Exploits River. Their number then, it would appear, hardly amounted to one hundred, seventy two it is stated by Shanawdithit.

They were all encamped in their winter quarters in three divisions on different parts of the margin of the Great Lake¹.

The principal encampment was at the east end of the lake, on the south side, a little to the east of the estuary of the lake; which forms the river Exploits. There were here three mamatecks or wigwams, containing forty two people. One of these wigwams was Shanawdithit's father's, and she was in it at the time. A smaller encampment lay six or eight miles to the westward on the north side of the lake, consisting of two mamatecks with thirteen people, and another lay near the west end of the lake, on the south side, and consisted of two mamatecks with seventeen people.

A census of the aborigines at this period derived from one of themselves, will be interesting to all Newfoundlanders.

In the principal settlement, that which Capt. Buchan visited, there were:

In one wigwam,—4 men 5 women 3 children—3 other children	15
" another, 4 men 2 women 3 girls 3 children	12
" " 3 men 3 women 2 single women 5 children and 2 other children	15
	42
In the second settlement, that on the north shore of the lake, in the two wigwams—3 women 4 men 6 children	13
And in the third settlement, that at the S.W. end of the lake,	
In 1st wigwam—2 men 4 women 3 children	9
" 2nd " 3 men 3 women and 2 children	8
	30
	42
Total	72

It was the principal encampment that Capt. Buchan fell in with. He took it by surprise and made the whole party prisoners. This occurred in the morning. After a guarded pantomimic interchange of civilities for several hours, it was agreed that two hostages should be given on each side, for Capt. Buchan wished to return down the river for an additional supply of presents, in order thereby the better to secure the friendship of the Indians.

Capt. Buchan had no sooner departed with his men and hostages than the Indians, suspected he had gone down the river for an additional force to come up and make them all prisoners, and carry them off to the

¹ This was Red Indian Lake on the Exploits, and must not be confounded with Grand Lake on the Hauber.

seacoast. Their suspicions were strengthened by the sudden appearance of one of the two Indians who had gone with Capt. Buchan, and had run off when only a few miles down the river, and they resolved to break up their encampment immediately and retire further into the interior, to where the rest of their tribe were, and where they would be less liable to be again surprised.

To insure concealment of their proceedings, they first destroyed the two Europeans left as hostages, by shooting them with arrows, then packed up what clothing and utensils they could conveniently carry, crossed the lake on the ice the same afternoon, carrying the heads of the two Europeans with them, one of which they stuck upon a pole and left at the north side of the lake. They then followed along the margin of the lake westward, and about midnight reached the nearest encampment of their friends in that direction. The alarm was given, and next morning all joined in the retreat westward. They proceeded a few miles in order to reach a secure and retired place to halt at in the hope of soon learning something of the Indian whom Capt. Buchan had taken with him. On the second day the Indian appeared amongst them, and stated to them that upon returning with the whitemen, (Capt. B.'s party) and discovering the first encampment deserted he instantly fled and escaped¹. All now resumed the retreat and crossed over on the ice to the south side of the lake where the only remaining and undisturbed encampment lay. Upon reaching this shore a party was despatched to the encampment which lay further westward to sound the alarm. This encampment was then likewise broken up and the occupants came east to join their tribe. To avoid discovery, the whole retired together to an unfrequented part of the forest situated some distance from the shores of the lake carrying with them all the winter's stock of provisions they possessed.

In this sequestered spot they built six wigwams, and remained unmolested for the remainder of the winter (about six weeks). They brought one of the European hostages heads with them, stuck it upon a pole, danced and sang round it. (See Shanawdithit's drawing Plate L.)

When spring advanced, their provisions were exhausted, some of them went back to the encampment at which they had been surprised by Capt. Buchan, and there supplied themselves out of the winter stock of venison that had been left there.

After this disaster the tribe became scattered and continued dispersed in bands frequenting the more remote and sequestered parts of the northern interior. In the second winter afterwards, twenty two had died about the river Exploits, and in the vicinity of Green Bay; and the third year also numbers died of hardship and want.

About two years after the general breaking up *De-mas-do-weet* (afterwards *Mary March*) was married to *Nonos-bata-sut*. She was four years married before she had children.

In 1810 the tribe had become reduced to less than half the number that they were three years before, the whole amounting now to thirty one.

¹ This man was Shanawdithit's uncle. The same person afterwards shot, at Badger Bay in 1823/4.

They were all encamped together in three winter wigwams at one spot on the north side of the Great Lake, near the east end, opposite to the place where Capt. Buchan had surprised them three years before (?) (eight years). One wigwam contained thirteen persons three couples being married, another wigwam contained 12 persons 3 couples being also married. Another 6 persons 1 couple married.

An armed party of English, 9 in number, now again came up from the coast to the lake for the purpose of carrying off some Red Indians, instigated by the reward held out by the Governor for a Red Indian man.

The English espied a small party of the Indians on the ice near the shore and stealing upon them gave chase, and overtook one of them (a woman) whom they seized; one of the Indians upon seeing this halted, came back alone into the midst of the armed men, and gave them to understand that he would have the woman. Another Indian then approached; a parley and altercation took place; the whitemen insisted upon carrying the woman with them, in which they were opposed by the first Indian, who in defiance of the muskets and bayonets by which he was surrounded strove to rescue the woman: he was shot on the spot, and the other Indian, who now attempted to run off, was shot dead also*.

Shanawdithit was present in the encampment on the north shore of the lake.

Thus was De-mas-do-weet, or Mary March kidnapped, in the accomplishment of which her heroic husband (for that was he who struggled with the Banditti) was murdered, as was also his brother(?), the other Indian, in attempting to rescue her, and in consequence, her only child, an infant, died two days afterwards (see Shanawdithit's drawing).

Disastrously disturbed again their number now was reduced to twenty seven.

Mary March was taken to the coast and in the spring conveyed to St John's. It has been already mentioned that Capt. Buchan was employed in the ensuing winter (Jan. 1820), to conduct her to the interior. She having died while under his care, he conveyed her remains to the Great Lake where it was afterwards found by her tribe and removed into the cemetery and placed by the side of her husband (for further details of her burial, see narrative of Cormack's 2nd journey into the interior page 193). The cemetery was built for her husband's remains upon the foundation of his own wigwam.

In the winter of 1819-20 the tribe was encamped in three wigwams at Badger Bay waters a few miles from the north bank of the River Exploits. Capt. Buchan's party was seen by them going up the Exploits on the ice, and they immediately afterwards went up to the lake by a circuitous route, to ascertain what he had done there, when they found as stated, Mary March's remains. Shanawdithit was present. No other death it is stated, took place until the winter of 1821. In 1822 one half of their number were encamped at the Great Lake, the other half on the right bank of the River Exploits. The latter half were seen by two

* This statement does not seem to be correct. Only one man was shot(?)

Canadian Indians as above mentioned and consisted of 6 men 5 women 4 boys and 2 girls.....17.

In 1822-23, when Shanawdithit makes out there were still 27 alive. They were all encamped on the Badger Bay waters, at the NW corner of the second lake from the River Exploits, in four wigwams. She accounts satisfactorily for deaths, so that the number was reduced in the spring of 1823 to thirteen alive in the interior.

Shanawdithit's father's wigwam contained five. Her father and one of the family here died, in consequence of which her mother, sister and herself went to the seacoast in search of mussels to subsist on. Shanawdithit's uncle's wigwam contained seven. The uncle and his daughter were shot by (Curnew and Adams) as alluded to before¹ (see note * below). Three died at this encampment, and two died at another lake to the eastward (at c. on plan Plate V). The third wigwam contained nine, one of whom died. The fourth wigwam contained six, two of whom died and four removed in April further eastward. Thus from her father's and uncle's wigwams all were dead or gone away, while of the nine in the third wigwam eight survived, and of the six in the fourth, four survived, leaving but twelve individuals beside Shanawdithit her mother and sister alive.

The surviving remnant (consisting of 6 men 3 women 2 single women and 2 boys) she says, went by a circuitous route northerly, westerly and southerly from the Badger Bay waters to the Great Lake. Here ends all positive knowledge of her tribe, which she never narrated without tears.

* NOTE. This man Shanawdithit's uncle, it will be remembered was the same individual who accompanied Lieut. Buchan in 1811, down the river Exploits to where the presents were stored, and who remained with Buchan until the discovery of the bodies of the two marines, when he took to flight and rejoined his people. I conjecture that the remembrance of his kind treatment at the hands of Buchan and his party, led him to conclude that the whites generally were inclined to be more amicably disposed towards his tribe thereafter, and that this impression, coupled with his miserable plight, caused him to advance so boldly upon the wretches who so foully murdered him, (a single, unarmed, half starved man), and afterwards, in sheer wantonness, shot his poor daughter.

NOTE from *Conquest of Canada* by Henry Kirke, M.A., B.C.L., Oxon.

In a foot note the author says, "I have been informed by Admiral Sir H. Prescott G.C.B., who was for many years Governor of Newfoundland 1834 to 1840 that he went there with the firm conviction that the Beothicks were still to be found in the Island, but after careful investigation and enquiry, he was persuaded that the race was extinct."

Notes relative to the Red Indians from the Records of the Beothick Institution. (Loose papers in W. E. Cormack's handwriting.)

RED INDIAN ARROWS, DRESS &c.—The arms for offence and defence and for killing game, consisted of Bows, arrows and spears. Their arrows were of two kinds viz. the stone, bone and iron (the latter material being derived from Europeans), for

¹ Cormack was told this by one of the very barbarians who shot them.

² This information bears evidence of being derived from Shanawdithit.

killing quadrupeds, and large birds; the blunt arrow, (the point being a knob continuous with the shaft), for killing small birds (see figures 1, 2, and 3).¹

Two strips of goose feather were tied on to balance this arrow.²

Their arms are those of all rude people unacquainted with the arts and civilization. The bow is about five feet long, made of the Mountain Ash (Dogwood), but sometimes of spruce and fir³, seasoned over fire. Their arrows now, are all barbed with iron, but formerly with stone &c. The iron they find in the wrecks of boats &c, about the English settlements, and they sometimes pilfer it from about the fishermen's premises.

FIRE STONES.—Two pieces of radiated iron pyrites, which he (Cormack) thinks they must have procured from the west coast, about Bay of Islands.⁴

THE BOTTLE-NOSED WHALE.—Which they represented by the fishes tail, frequents in great numbers, the northern bays, and creeps in at Clode Sound and other places, and the Red Indians consider it the greatest good luck to kill one. They are 22 and 23 feet long.⁵

Ascens(?) is the Goddess of corn, and her image was worshipped by the Romans; so is the image of the Whale's tail worshipped by the Red Indians, that animal affording them more abundant luxury than anything else, sometimes so large and fat an animal is the greatest prize.

Stray Notes in Cormack's handwriting. Dated June 24th 1851.

Little bird-Ob-scet. Black Bird-Woodch. Blunt-nosed fish Mo-co-thut. Profiles of man and woman.

Men singing to Ash-wa-meet, with Eagles feathers and deers ears in cap. Eagle—Gob-id-in. Woodpecker Shee-buint.—Lump fish Ae-she-meet. (These notes apparently refer to drawings.)

The Beothics have a great many songs. Subjects,—are of whiteman, Darkness, Deer, Birds, Boats, Of the other Indians, Bears, Boots, Hatchet, Shirt, Indian Gosset, Stealing man's boat, Shells, Pots, Whiteman's houses, Stages, Guns, fire stones, wood or sticks, Birch rind, Whiteman's jacket, Beads, Buttons, Dishes, men dead, Whiteman's head, Ponds, Marshes, Mountains, Water, Brooks, Ice, Snow, Seals, Fishes &c, Salmon, Hats, Eggs &c.

In the song two or three wigwams sometimes join.

To show the number of the tribe, not long ago they inhabited within the remembrance of people still living, all the country between Bonavista Bay and Bay of Islands, and traces are to be seen all along in these parts. Shanawdithit received two gunshot wounds at two different times, from shots fired at the band she was with by the English people at Exploits; One wound was that of a slug or buck shot through the palm of her hand, the other was a shot through her leg. I have seen the scar of the wound on her hand, and so have others in St John's.

The Red Indians never wash except when a husband or wife dies, then the survivor has in some water heated by stones in a birch rind kettle, decocted with the shrumps(?) of dogwood tree, or Mountain Ash.

The vocabulary of the Red Indians is I think in Dr Yates' possession, also a seal bone broken but can be put together, Birch rind culinary vessels, Birch

¹ Drawings missing.

² Wild Goose (*Hemula Canadensis*).

³ A kind of tough springy hardgrown tree called "Bossy fir."

⁴ Occurs in many other localities.

⁵ This is the common Dolphin (*Dolphinus*).

⁶ There is nothing to show where these were written. Cormack had left the country for good long prior to this date. I think he was then residing at New Westminster, British Columbia.

Plate IX



Shanawdithit (Nancy)

Last survivor of Beaulieu's, so far as is known. Captured
in 1821, died in St. John's, 1829.

mind models of canoes. Spear point, Drawings by Shanawdithit, A map of the interior. The narrative of my journey in search of the aborigines (in MS¹).

(signed) W. E. CORMACK, 24th June 1851.

Death of Shanawdithit.

Shanawdithit died on the 6th of June 1829, and was buried on the 8th in the C. E. Cemetery, South side of St John's.

The record of her interment is contained in the C. E. Cathedral Parish Register, of St John's, and is as follows.

June 8th 1829.

Interred Nancy, Shanawdithe² aet. 23 South Side.

(very probably the last of the aborigines)

(signed) Frederick H. Carrington A.B.

Rector, St John's.

The following notice of her death is taken from a St John's newspaper of date June 12th 1829.

"DIED.—On Saturday night the 6th inst., at the Hospital, Shanawdithit, the female Indian, one of the aborigines of this Island. She died of Consumption, a disease which seems to have been remarkably prevalent amongst her tribe, and which has unfortunately been fatal to all who have fallen into the hands of the settlers. Since the departure of Mr Cormack from the Island, this poor woman has had an asylum afforded her in the house of James Simms Esq., Attorney General, where every attention has been paid to her wants and comforts, and under the able and professional advice of Dr Carson, who has most liberally and kindly attended her for many months, it was hoped her health might have been re-established. Latterly however, her disease became daily more formidable, and her strength rapidly declined, and a short time since it was deemed advisable to send her to the Hospital, where her sudden decease has but too soon fulfilled the fears that were entertained of her."

A more extended notice of her death appeared in the *London Times* newspaper of England, of date Sept. 14th 1829, which was evidently written by Mr W. E. Cormack, then in England, as follows:—

"DIED.—At St John's Newfoundland on the 6th of June last in the 29th year of her age, Shanawdithit, supposed to be the last of the Red Indians or Beothicks. This interesting female lived six years a captive amongst the English, and when taken notice of latterly exhibited extraordinary mental talents. She was niece to Mary March's husband, a chief of the tribe, who was accidentally killed in 1819 at the Red Indian Lake

¹ This probably refers to his first expedition, which was evidently not published till a later date. It would appear from the foregoing notes that he still took a lively interest in the subject of the Aborigines. They appear to me to have been written at the suggestion of someone who knew him, probably Mr Noad who was gathering material for his lecture, delivered in the following year, 1852.

² Name wrongly spelt, the final syllable should read "*thit*."

in the interior while endeavouring to rescue his wife from the party of English who took her, the view being to open a friendly intercourse with the tribe.

This tribe, the Aborigines of Newfoundland, presents an anomaly in the history of man. Excepting a few families of them, soon after the discovery of America, they never held intercourse with the Europeans, by whom they have ever since been surrounded, nor with the other tribes of Indians, since the introduction of fire arms amongst them. The Chinese have secluded themselves from the interference of all nations, their motives being understood only to themselves, and the peculiarities of that people are slowly developed to others. But in Newfoundland, nearly as far apart from China as the antipodes, there has been a primitive nation, once claiming rank as a portion of the human race, who have lived, flourished, and become extinct in their own orbit. They have been dislodged, and disappeared from the earth in their native independence in 1829, in as primitive a condition as they were before the discovery of the New World, and that too on the nearest point of America to England, in one of our oldest and most important Colonies."

SKETCHES
OF
NEWFOUNDLAND
INTERIOR,
ABORIGINES OR RED INDIANS,
FISHERIES,
&c.
1836.

This is evidently the title page to another history of the Beothucks, but as it appears on a separate sheet, without any other reference, I can only conjecture that such is the case. The date of 1836 would indicate that this history was written by Cormack some seven years after he left the country for good. Whether it was published or not I could not ascertain, but I think it most probable that it was, either in some magazine or newspaper in England or Scotland.

William Epps Cormack.

Of all those whose names are connected with the sad history of the aborigines of Newfoundland, there is no one whose name stands out more conspicuously than that of William Epps Cormack, the daring explorer who first essayed to cross the interior of this great island, in 1822.

Now-a-days, our knowledge of the principal features of the country are commonplace enough. One can rush across the island by the aid of "the Iron horse," in a short space of time, penetrate its remotest interior in a few days journey, traverse on foot or by canoe along its numerous water courses and over its great lakes from points on the cross country railway. The modern traveller must entirely fail to appreciate the toil

and hardship, and the almost insurmountable difficulties Cormack had to contend with in his great undertaking. It is only those like myself, who were privileged to follow in the wake of this intrepid explorer, before the advent of the railway, who can form any idea of what he had to go through. Accompanied only by a single Micmac hunter of uncertain reliability, he braved the terrors of the vast unknown interior, which was supposed to be filled with innumerable and savage wild beasts, such as bears, wolves etc., ready to devour the foolhardy person who would venture to invade their solitude.

The country was thought to present almost insurmountable difficulties in the form of inaccessible mountains, extensive and intricate lakes and rivers or impassable morasses. In a word this "Terra incognita" was invested with all the terrors of the unknown, with which imagination, or perhaps wilful misrepresentation could endow it. But above all, it was supposed to be peopled by numerous ferocious and bloodthirsty savages, to whose bitter hatred of the white man was added the desire to be revenged, for the cruel treatment they had so long experienced at the hands of the latter.

It was surmised that they would show no mercy to the hapless white who might fall into their hands, or place himself in their power. All these considerations would be sufficient to dampen the ardour of any less daring spirit than that of Cormack, but such a man was not to be deterred, or turned back from his purpose by any real or imaginary dangers.

In view then of all the circumstances, and considering the state of our knowledge generally with regard to this great unknown land, at that early date, I look upon Cormack's daring undertaking as one worthy to rank with many of the more pretentious explorations of recent times.

Born of Scotch parentage, in this City of St John's, May 3^d 1796, his father, who was a well-to-do merchant gave him a liberal education, at the University of Edinburgh, under the tuition of Prof. Jameson, he acquired a good practical knowledge of the sciences, especially of Botany, Geology and Mineralogy. Whether this education unfitted him for commercial pursuits, or whether his natural inclinations tended towards a more cosmopolitan existence, it would appear that he became a regular rolling stone, a globe trotter, who could not remain long anywhere. He was however the very kind of individual fitted by nature and education for the hazardous undertaking he entered upon in 1822, in exploring the interior of his native land. But above all his philanthropic disposition filled him with a most ardent desire to endeavour to bring about friendly relations with the hapless Red Indians, the poor persecuted untutored savage of the interior wilds. He threw himself, heart and soul into this cherished idea, nor did he count the risks and dangers that confronted him in the least. The one desire of his life so actuated him that he seemed to look upon himself as the instrument by which the amelioration of the condition of the Beothuck was to be accomplished. Of course Cormack himself did not credit the bloodthirsty stories of the fierce relentless disposition of the

¹ See note at end of this biography.

Indians current among the fisherfolk. He knew that in most instances, their ferocity was grossly exaggerated for the purpose of forming an excuse for their own inhuman conduct. Even though he did place any reliance upon the oft repeated yarns of the settlers, he believed that in him lay the necessary qualifications to allay the fears of the Red men, turn aside their hostility, and bring them to a friendly understanding, of his good intentions.

Cornack appears to have been well fitted for the task he had laid out for himself. He is described by those who knew him as being a tall, long limbed, wiry individual, physically just the man to endure any amount of hardship and toil, and of such a lively sympathetic temperament as would sustain him under the most trying circumstances.

The late John Peyton, Magistrate of Twillingate, who knew him intimately, informed me, that he saw Cornack just as he was about to enter the interior on his second journey in 1827, and again on his return, when he came to Mr P.'s house. At first he could scarcely recognise in the tall, gaunt, shaggy individual who stood before him the man whom he saw a couple of months previous start off full of life and vigour, clean, kempt and well kept. His appearance now betokened what the man had gone through in the interim.

The story of his itinerary on both of his journey's reads like a romance, and as these are now long out of print, and exceedingly rare, their inclusion in this work will be the means of preserving these most interesting narratives of the earliest exploration of the interior of Newfoundland, as well as doing tardy justice to this splendid character, in our historical annals.

Cornack died in New Westminster, British Columbia in 1868, and the following obituary, written by one who had known him intimately, as a cherished friend, appeared in the *British Columbian* of May the 9th, 1868.

Death of W. E. Cornack.

"It was our very melancholly duty to announce in our obituary this day week a name intimately associated with almost every social and political movement that has taken place in this Colony, ever since its birth, ten years ago—the name of William Epps Cornack.

"Mr Cornack was born in St John's Newfoundland on the 5th of May, 1796. About seven years thereafter, on the death of his father, the family returned to Scotland, in which country Mr Cornack spent his schoolboy and most impressionable days. Endowed with a fine susceptibility of the beautiful in external nature, it seemed to afford him great delight to recount his boyish rambles amidst the pleasing and classic scenery of Southern Scotland. During one of his holiday excursions he visited Burns's 'Bonnie Jean,' nothing very remarkable, perhaps, in the light of our prosaic time, but it formed a green spot in his memory which often blossomed into facetious pleasantry at congenial gatherings. He attended the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh; the subsequent fame of

several of his class fellows at the former (the late Marquis of Breadalbane being one) was always, with him, a theme of much admiration and pride; the emotion—possibly from mere associative ideal force—occasionally rose into an impassioned love of his ancestral country. At Edinburgh he was fortunate enough to secure the personal friendship of Professor Jameson, the late celebrated Mineralogist, whose fascinating incitement to the study of the physical sciences he ever gratefully remembered.

"About the year 1818 he took out from Scotland to Prince Edward's Island two vessels with emigrant farmers, and established there the now flourishing settlement of New Glasgow'. About a dozen years thereafter he established an export trade of grain from the same Island to Great Britain, which we understand has increased immensely.

"In or about the year 1821 or 1822, he crossed the interior of Newfoundland, being the first European who had done so. The object being (1) to test the truth of certain fabulous-like statements regarding the occupation of the interior by a peculiar race of Indians, and (2) their existence being proved, to introduce them to civilized life. A notice of this exploration appeared in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, (circa) 1828. Between the years 1819 and 1834 he added a good deal to the knowledge of the flora of North America, frequently sending home to the Linnean Society specimens of plants; a specimen of the *Calluna Vulgaris*, or common heath, contributed by Mr Cormack, formed, not very long ago, an interesting subject of discussion in the Society, the question being: Whether the *Calluna* is indigenous to the American Continent? Some time within the period last above stated, he wrote an Essay on the British American and French Fisheries, for which he received a medal from the Montreal Natural History Society. He went to Australia in 1830, where he cultivated tobacco, with much success, for two or three years. He left that colony for New Zealand in 1839, and there laid the foundation of pastoral pursuits on an extensive scale by purchasing land from the natives and raising cattle and horses. But some difficulties occurred with the Home Government which materially interfered with the enterprises of the first settlers in that Island. While in New Zealand he exported spars (the Cowdie Pine) to London on an extensive scale, principally for the Admiralty. He sent a numerous collection of the young forest tree seed of New Zealand to Kew Gardens, but seemed to be under the impression that some mishap had fallen them. He spent a few years in California engaged principally in mercantile and mining pursuits, varying their exciting though arid pleasures by forming a small *hortus siccus* of the magnificent plants of that State. In this Colony he took a most active part in everything which he thought would tend to its material and political progression; he fought hard to get the modicum of representative government which we now possess—the peculiar beauties of which some of us, perhaps, have latterly been unable to perceive. One of the first members of our Municipal Council he devoted to its affairs, in an ultra-disinterested way, a great deal of valuable time. He was

¹ New Glasgow is not in Prince Edward's Island, but in Nova Scotia.

mainly instrumental in establishing an Agricultural Society in British Columbia, acting as its Secretary, and preserving—uninfluenced by much that was disheartening—its rather languid life. He had charge of the Ichthyological Department in connection with British Columbia's contributions to the Exhibition of 1862, (a very interesting account of the various kinds of salmon, &c., found in the Fraser accompanied the contributions) but nothing was ever heard of the fishes, the probability being that they did not keep through the tropics. The stomachs were not taken out, and this would certainly serve to hasten decomposition; the object in retaining the stomach, and mutilating the fish as little as possible, was a purely scientific one. The examination (by such a man as Professor Owen) of the contents of the stomach might have thrown some valuable light not only on ichthyology but on some of its allied sciences. He opened a correspondence a few years since with the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and sent to it a variety of the grass seeds of this Colony, thinking the bunch grass, for instance, would find a congenial habitat in the Alpine districts of Scotland. By the last mail he contributed to the same Society a sample of a species of hemp indigenous to British Columbia, and was recently engaged in trying to procure one or two of our mountain sheep, with the view to improve the breed and wool of Great Britain. These animals, however, are not unknown in the Mother Country—good specimens are to be seen in London and Edinburgh Museums; and if we remember rightly, a description of them is given in Richardson's *Fauna Borcali Americana*.

Mr Cormack was a great lover of field sports and outdoor amusements. Fishing and skating he was passionately fond of. During one of his occasional visits home he amused himself by revising and amplifying a small treatise on skating (originally written by a Lieut. Jones); and the old gentleman agreeably delighted and astonished everybody here, in 1862, by his graceful evolutions on the ice. He numbered amongst his friends and correspondents some of the most celebrated scientific and literary men of the last half century, such as Sir William Hooker, Professor Faraday, Dr Ure, Dr Hodgkin, (Chairman of the Aborigines Protection Society,) and the late talented, though somewhat eccentric, John Macgregor, author of the *Progress of America, Commercial Statistics, &c.*, the last being a most intimate friend. Though fond of writing, Mr Cormack has left no works to testify to his industry. It is only visible through the darkened light of half-forgotten newspapers and Reviews.

The impulse of a strong fancy made him a wanderer—the commercial man and the explorer in one. While he sought the respectable gains of commerce, he at the same time aimed at extending international knowledge, thus contributing to the welfare and happiness of man.

He was naturally of a buoyant and happy disposition, genial and kindly; his manners were suave and dignified. Latterly, great bodily suffering somewhat tinged with bitterness a temper which was constitutionally mild. But no words of his were meant to be 'unkind,' though they were sometimes, by those who did not understand him, 'wrongly taken.' His warm appreciation of what he deemed the good works of

the Roman Catholic Missionaries in this Colony showed that he had no narrow-souled religious notions. The Rev. Father Fouquet he held in the highest esteem.

"Though afflicted for years, he was only confined to bed about a month. His sufferings during the greater part of his confinement, though intense, never affected his mental powers. With a clear intellect and a consolatory resignation he met the approach of death.

"The greatest respect was paid by this community to his remains—almost every one who could conveniently attend was at his funeral. The Fire Department (of which he was an honorary member) paid him special respect, the officers of the company carrying his body to the church. The funeral service was conducted by his estimable friend the Rector of Holy Trinity. Personally we have to mourn the loss of an esteemed and much valued friend. Several of our 'old familiar faces' are, unhappily, leaving for other homes—but one dear old face has passed away to 'another and a better world'."

The above obituary was written by Edward Graham, Esq., a gentleman who claims to have been on terms of intimate friendship with Cormack for many years.

NOTE. Amongst Cormack's numerous papers I came across the following Agreement, which fully bears out the statement as to the unreliability of his Indian guide.

Agreement between W. E. Cormack and Joseph Silvester of Bay of Despair.

I promise and agree with Joseph Silvester that if he accompanies me from St John's to St George's Bay by land towards the middle of the country of Newfoundland, that besides what I may have already done for him, that after he takes me safe there, that I will on our return, give his mother one barrel of pe. k., one barrel of flour and anything else that may be found suitable, and further, that he is to go along with me to England or Scotland and stay there as long as I do, and if he likes he may return to St John's with me next year, or if he likes I will give him a passage in one of our vessels to Portugal or Spain in order that it might do his health good, and then from Spain he is to get his passage back to St John's or to go in the same vessel to England and return by her to St John's, and that I will give the Captain of the vessel particular directions to take care of him, and that whatever should happen he the Captain will take care of Joe, until his return to St John's. When as Joseph Silvester is in St John's he is to live at my house. If Joe should ever go to Prince Edward's Island, I will give him a letter to my friends there to do what they can for him, he is to write me what it is, and I will always be very glad to perform what Joe, reasonably wants of me.

(signed) W. E. CORMACK.

Done in the interior of Newfoundland in about 48° 20' N. Lat. 54° 50' W. Long. on Sunday Sept. 14th, 1822.

It is quite evident from the above agreement that Mister Silvester had been showing the "White feather" and must have contemplated abandoning Cormack to his fate in the far interior, and that in order to retain his services it was necessary to offer him all these extra inducements.

Shanawdithif's drawings.

These drawings were obtained from Shanawdithit by Mr W. E. Cormack, during the winter of 1829, while she resided with him in his house at St John's. They represent scenes in the closing history of the unfortunate tribe, together with certain articles of food, utensils, implements &c., in use by her people. The drawings are ten in number, five of which represent scenes enacted on or near the Exploits River and Red Indian Lake between the years 1810 and 1823. The other three are delineations of wigwams, store and smoke houses, implements of the chase, culinary utensils, various kinds of preserved animal food, mythological emblems (?) &c.

Although rude and truly Indian in character, they nevertheless display no small amount of artistic skill, and there is an extraordinary minuteness of topographical detail in those having reference to the Exploits River and adjacent country. These latter bear a striking resemblance to Micmac sketches of a similar character, such as I have frequently seen and made use of, when accompanied by Micmac canoeemen on the Geological Survey of the Island. There is one notable omission in either, i.e., the entire absence of anything like a regular scale. As a rule, rivers and lakes are greatly exaggerated, and particular features, which may in nature be situated widely apart, are frequently crowded into a very small space; the reverse being just as frequently the case.

The bearings are tolerably correct, but it is in the outline of lakes, shores, position and number of islands, bends and turns of rivers, junctions of tributary streams, situation of falls and rapids, in relation to each other, that the minutia is apparent. For example, one of these sketches represents about one hundred miles of the Exploits River including part of Red Indian Lake, the whole of which is contained on one sheet of foolscap. If the scale were to be judged of by the width of the river or lake, it could not be less than six inches to a mile; nevertheless, every fall, rapid and tributary or other remarkable feature is laid down, all of which I have no difficulty in recognising from my own exploration and survey of 1875.

I might here add, that in all these drawings, the Indians and everything that pertains to them, are invariably marked in red lead, while the whitemen, the delineation of the lakes and rivers &c., are drawn with black lead pencil. Copious notes in Cormack's handwriting are scattered all over the sketches, so that there is no difficulty in following out their meaning.

In describing the first five drawings which are more or less of an historical character, I shall take them according to their dates. No. 1, refers to Capt. Buchan's expedition in 1811, to Red Indian Lake and is



It is small only that
was captured here
near the
main body of the party

The whole hole is camp to
here and remain the winter

(42 men with Capt. B. - 2 allies)

Because the head is lost on a pole around
which the horses clings and every
two hours in the woods at A they
hang onto the head with their
teeth the mares head by the left of
B and in this column there in the
spring the mares and every row it
in the manner.



by Shanradithet

Captain Buchanan's visit to the Red Indians in 1810-11 when the two mares were killed

very accurately depicted. It will be found to agree, in most particulars, with Capt. B's published narrative, but there is some additional information contained in the former, which it was impossible to obtain except from the Indians themselves.

Sketch No. 1.

This sketch represents about half of Red Indian Lake, including the NE. arm, where the principal encampment of the Indians was situated. It also takes in a portion of the River Exploits, below the lake, and is on a very large scale. Some miles down the river and on its north side, a horse-shoe shaped figure, represents the depot of presents left there by Capt. Buchan. One red mark indicates the single Indian who remained with him when he revisited this cache. Two dotted lines extend along the river from this point to the lake, indicating the route back and forth pursued by the party. About halfway to the lake, another red mark shows where one of the two Indians who accompanied Buchan, partly down the river, deserted his party and fled back to the lake. On the lake itself, the dotted lines continue up around the point which forms the outlet of the main river, and into the NE. arm, where the encampment was situated. A file of black and red figures on this line, represents the party accompanied by six Indians, returning for the presents, after the interview with the tribe. Just at the outlet from the lake, a note says, "two of the four Indians returned from Captain Buchan here." Further up the arm the whitemen are seen doubling around on the lake, preparatory to surprising the wigwams, some of these figures seem to have guns on their shoulders¹, others have none. On the south side immediately opposite this circle of whitemen are seen three wigwams, and notes attached to each inform us that the westernmost was Shanawdithit's (Nancy) father's dwelling, the central one that of Mary March's (Demasduit's) father, while the most easterly, and apparently the largest of the three was Nancy's uncles. In front of the encampment on the ice are four red, and two black figures standing close together, and a note states, this represents the killing of the marines. Almost opposite, on the north shore four triangular red marks point out Mary March's cemetery, while a little further up the arm, on the same side, is a small black circle with a stick stuck up in the centre, and a black knob on its top, and a letter B alongside. A note on another part of this sketch refers to this as the place where the head of one of the marines was left.

Extending across the arm obliquely from the encampment, towards the north shore, is a line of red figures, some twenty-two in number representing the Indians retreating after killing the marines. A dotted line along the north shore shows their route up the lake to a point where stand two more wigwams. Here we are told they halted for two hours on the first night of their retreat, until they were joined by five men, four women, three boys and four girls, who occupied the two wigwams. They then continued on, travelling all night, and reached a point inside an island (now Buchan's Island) before daylight. Here they remained a day and a

¹ These are I presume the furrers, who would not accompany Buchan unless allowed to take their guns. His own men only carried side arms.

half, awaiting Shanawdithit's uncle, whom it appears was the individual who remained with Buchan's party, and who after his escape joined them here¹.

They then continued their journey along the lake, reaching a point about halfway up by the next night, where they encamped. Early next morning they crossed the lake on the ice to a point on the South side. The whole body of Indians marked in red are represented crossing in single file. The number of figures now reaches forty according to the drawing. Not being further disturbed, the whole party now go into camp here for the remainder of the winter. There are five wigwams shown at this point, and some distance further up, on another point, a single wigwam, with a note stating that a small party encamped here removed to join the main body. In the rear of this winter camp is a second small circle similar to that at B, and marked A. A line connects this with an enlarged circle in another part of the sketch, also marked A. It is simply to represent on a larger scale what this first circle meant. Its diameter is about two inches, and the circumference shows a double circle. A straight line rising from the exact centre represents a pole surmounted by a very good figure of a human head. This is explained in a note as follows: "Marines' head stuck on a pole, around which the Indians danced and sang two hours in the woods at A, they having carried the head with them; the other marines' head they left at B, and on their return there in the spring? they danced and sang round it in like manner." One other note only remains which states that Capt. Buchan had 42 men with him two of whom were killed.

Shanawdithit gave an exact census of her tribe at that time to Cormack, as follows: "In the principal encampment, that which Capt. Buchan surprised, there were in one wigwam, or mamateek, 4 men, 5 women and 6 children. In the second mamateek, there were 4 men, 2 women and 6 children, and in the third mamateek, there were 3 men, 5 women and 7 children; in the whole 42 persons."

"In the second encampment there were 13 persons, and in the third 17, making in all 72 persons." (Noad.)

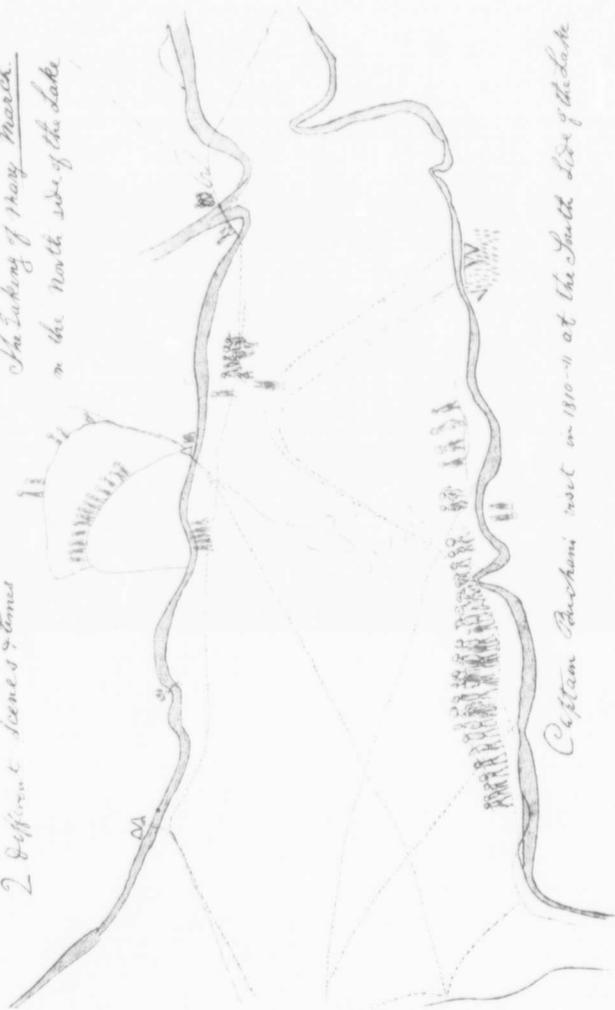
Sketch No. II.

This sketch is labelled "The taking of Mary March on the North side of the lake." And in another place "Two different scenes and times." It depicts, on a large scale, the North East Arm of Red Indian Lake. On the south side is again seen Buchan's party, marching in single file towards the outflowing river, with the accompanying Indians in red. Also the four Indians approaching to kill the two marines. The three wigwams are shown in the same place as on the former sketch, but in addition there are 37 red strokes alongside the wigwams, which I presume represent the number of inhabitants they contained at the time. There are also two red figures standing on the bank, a short distance away.

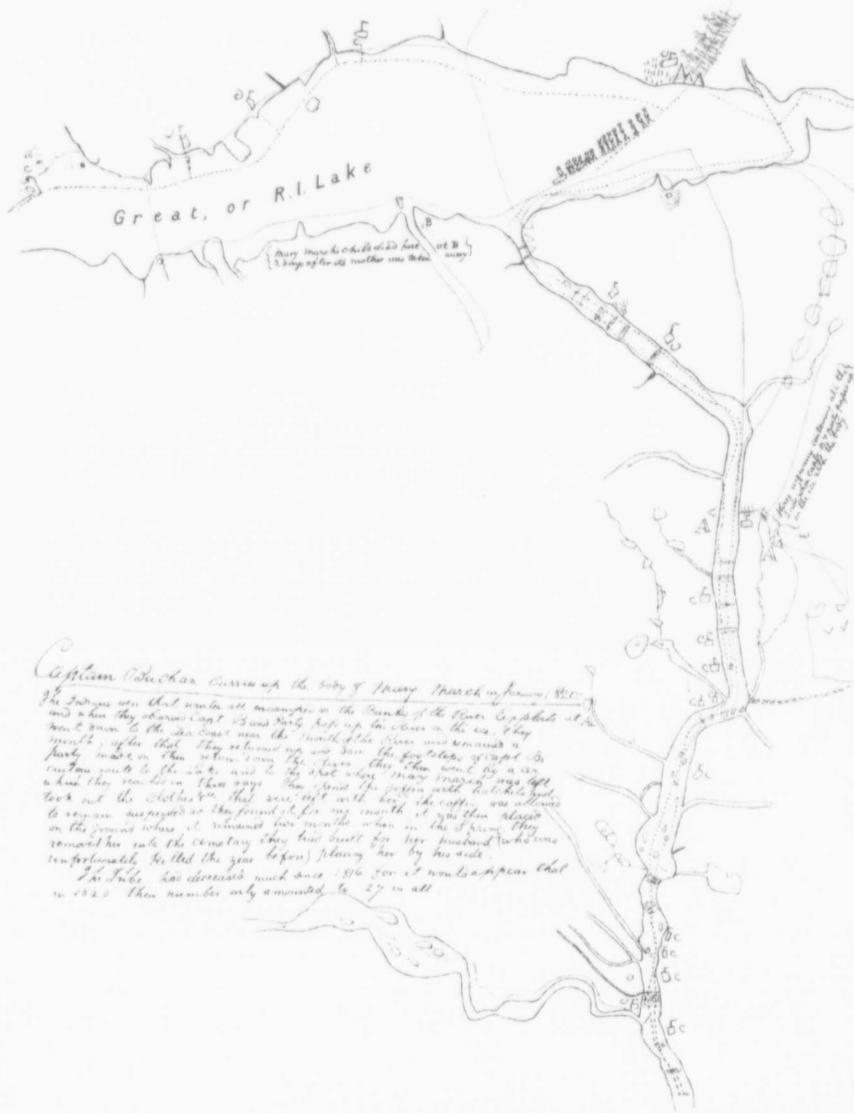
¹ He is represented running away from Buchan's party after the discovery of the marines' bodies. A red half loop near him is referred to as "Trousers thrown away during his flight." It will be remembered that Buchan's men made him a pair of swan-skin trousers which I presume he found an encumbrance to his speed and so discarded them.

The Taking of Moy March
on the North side of the Lake

2 Different scenes & times



Chiptam Panchami visit on 1810-11 at the South side of the Lake



Captain Babcock's Curious Case of the Body of Many March 18th 1810

The Indians say that winter all managans on the Banks of the River & settled at A and when they observed Capt. B was being put up the River on the ice, they went down to the sea coast near the mouth of the River and remained a month, after that they returned up and saw the great iceberg of ice partly made on the river, soon they found the great iceberg of ice and they went to the ice and saw to the fact that when the great iceberg was left a hole they saw in the ice, then they saw the great iceberg of ice and they took out the body of the man, they found it for my mouth at you then sleep on the ground where it remained two months when on the 18th June they removed her into the cemetery they had built for the Indian who was unfortunately killed the year before) placing her by his side.

The hole has decreased much since 1816 for it would appear that in 1810 there were only managans to 27 in all

with a dotted red line leading from them across to the north side, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Dotted black lines up and down the lake refer to the various courses taken both by the Indians and Buchan's people, but there are no figures on these.

On the north side of the Arm, stand three wigwams, two in red and one in black pencil. The latter no doubt represents the wigwam covered with Peyton's boat's sail. Two semicircular red lines start from the wigwams running back into the woods, and after a considerable sweep, coming out again on the lake shore. On one of those lines 13 red figures are seen running away and five on the other. A third red line extends out on the lake upon which four figures are shown. In front of the wigwams on the ice are grouped half a dozen black, with one red figure in their midst. Standing near this group is a single red figure apparently of a large man, as if in the act of haranguing the group, while a little to one side is another red figure lying prone on the ice. It is almost needless to say, this represents the furriers taking Mary March, her husband coming back to the rescue, and his dead body, after being shot, lying on the ice. A short distance to the eastward of the wigwams, a party of whitemen are seen hidden away in a recess near the mouth of a small brook, and amongst them is one red figure. This is Peyton's party taking observations of the wigwams etc. from their place of concealment previous to making a descent upon the Indians, the red figure would indicate that they returned here with Mary March after the capture.

The only other thing to be noted on this drawing is a red line extending along the shore of the lake westward, to a point beyond the wigwams where a group of red figures are seen on the shore evidently where the Indians halted to watch proceedings. This same red line continues on to another point where stand two wigwams, apparently the same two which stood there nine years previous when Buchan paid his visit.

All that is shown on this latter drawing relative to the capture of Mary March, corresponds exactly with the story as related to me by Mr Peyton himself, and so clearly are the topographical details laid down, that I had no difficulty in recognising the different points, on my last visit to Red Indian Lake a few years ago.

Sketch No. III.

This is the drawing which so accurately depicts the River Exploits and the greater part of Red Indian Lake. It refers particularly to Buchan's expedition up the lake in 1820 with the body of poor Mary March, as the following note testifies.

"Capt. Buchan carries up the body of Mary March in Jan. 1820. The Indians were that winter all encamped on the banks of the River Exploits, at A, and when they observed Capt. B. and party pass up the river on the ice, they went down to the seacoast near the mouth of the river, and remained a month; after that they returned up and saw the footprints of Capt. B's party, made on their return from the river: they then went by a circuitous route to the lake, and to the spot where Mary

March was left; which they reached in three days. They opened the coffin with hatchets, and took out the clothes etc. that were left with her; the coffin 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 the spring, they removed her into the cemetery they had built for her husband, (who was unfortunately killed the year before) placing her by his side.

"The tribe had decreased much since 1816 (?) (1811) for it would appear that in 1820 their number only amounted to 27 in all."

On this sketch, as already stated, the entire River Exploits from the tide water to Red Indian Lake and the greater part of the Lake itself are shown. Every fall, rapid, or other feature is given with extraordinary minuteness. Two dotted black lines along the course of the river indicate Buchan's two journeys up to the lake. At short intervals all along, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, small squares with a stroke rising therefrom and a pennant flying from its top, represent Buchan's various camps or stopping places as he journeyed along, these are further distinguished by the letter C close by. No red marks appear till near Little Red Indian fall; some forty nine miles from the mouth of the main river. Here a wigwam is shown on the right side, a short distance back, marked with the letter A, and on the left side, several red strokes are seen, and further back, on Little Red Indian Lake, some three miles from the main river, three wigwams are shown, also marked with the letter A. A note here states, "Three wigwams containing all the tribe when Capt. Buchan and party passed up on the ice with the body."

Still further back on the Badger Bay waters, three more wigwams are seen, but these refer to the next drawing.

Red lines extend from this encampment, through the woods to the NE. Arm of the lake showing the routes by which the Indians themselves travelled back and forth. On the lake itself, the old camp on the south side is shown abandoned, and now only indicated by a red circle with strokes radiating therefrom, presumably indicating the number of former occupants, but this time there are only 20 strokes.

Out on the lake, following a line obliquely across the arm towards a point where stand three wigwams (the same three surprised by Peyton the year before) are shown 15 figures in black hauling two sleds after them, on the last of which is the coffin containing poor Mary March's body. As before related the wigwams were found deserted, and apparently had not been occupied for the past year. On one of these is now shown an oblong figure in red some height above the ground, representing the coffin suspended from poles driven through the roof of the wigwam. A number of red figures are seen approaching this spot from behind, indicating the return of the Indians to examine the coffin after Buchan had left.

On the point near the outlet of the main river, stand three wigwams, which were not shown on the former drawing. These apparently indicate a new encampment, formed here subsequent to Buchan's former visit, and are so situated as to command a view down the river, as well as, up

the NE. Arm. No doubt this was intended to guard against a second surprise from either direction. A red line leads from this across to the north side, and into the woods, while another red line trends along the south side of the lake, up to the point where they wintered after retreating from Buchan in 1811. It apparently was the route followed in coming back to their old home.

On a point near the mouth of Victoria River, which flows into the lake on the south side, about four miles from the outlet, there is a small red dot marked with the letter B, with a note attached, recording the pathetic circumstance that, "Here Mary March's child died two days after its mother's abduction."

There is another red line extending along the North side of the lake, but this is situated inland, and not apparently on the frozen surface. It is probably the route followed in returning to the NE. Arm after the ice became unfit to travel upon. One very interesting new feature on this sketch is a black dotted line, on the same side reaching a long way up the lake to a cove which would seem to represent the mouth of Shanawdithit Brook, only five miles from its extreme head. At four different places along this route short lines branch off to the shore, and at each point the square camp with the flag and letter C, would clearly indicate, that Buchan, after disposing of Mary March's body, and not seeing anything of the Indians, made an extensive search of the lake shores, but as we know without success. He then returned to the NE. Arm and entering the country at its head, made a long detour in around Hodges Hill etc. Part of this route is shown as usual in black dotted lines. This drawing demonstrates clearly how very observant these Indians were, nothing seems to have escaped their notice. No doubt, after Buchan returned to his ship they visited the sites of every one of his camping places to search for any odds or ends he may have left there, otherwise, I do not see how Shanawdithit could have so accurately laid them down.

Sketch No. II.

This sketch represents a portion of the Exploits River with the waters of Badger Brook and the country lying between the mouth of the Badger, Badger Bay and Seal Bay, portions of both the latter being shown. It is all drawn in black lead pencil, inked in because I presume as no whitemen figured in this one, there was no occasion to make a distinction by the use of black and red lines.

It depicts in the most faithful and striking manner the last sad scene in their history, at least as known to Shanawdithit and has copious notes by Cormack written all over it. It contains beyond all question the last authentic information of the miserable remnant of the ill-fated Beothucks, we can ever now hope to obtain.

Numerous ponds and lakes belonging to the Badger watershed are shown and which seem to form an almost continuous chain, stretching from the Exploits to the seashore, these appear to be connected by short

streams, indicating that the waters flow both ways, which has in reality since proved to be the case.

Between the first and second lakes on the river, at a point marked A, four wigwams, or mamateeks, are seen, where the tribe were encamped in March 1823. A note informs us that the first of these was that of Nancy's, Shanawdithit's father, and was occupied by five persons. The second wigwam contained nine individuals, the third, that of Shanawdithit's uncle, contained seven persons, and the fourth six, 27 in all. Of these one died, out of the nine in the second wigwam, two from the third, and three from the fourth. Though she does not state the cause, there can be little doubt that starvation was the principal one.

Impeiled by dire distress and misery Shanawdithit's uncle and his daughter, her cousin, here left and travelled out to Badger Bay in search of shell fish, and were there ruthlessly shot down by two furriers named Carey and Adams. The course they travelled along the waters of the Badger is shown by a black line, also the point on the shore where they were killed is indicated.

At the northern end of the second lake, at a point marked C, another encampment consisting only of three wigwams is shown, at which place they were camped in April, previous to Shanawdithit's leaving the country. As by her showing there could now only be 19 individuals remaining; I presume three wigwams were found ample to accommodate this small number of persons.

At camp C, in April the two remaining in her uncle's wigwam died¹, thus was this whole family wiped out of existence.

Shanawdithit with her mother and sister now left for the seacoast in search of mussels for food. They followed the same route as that pursued by her uncle and cousin, over the frozen lakes and river to Badger Bay. Here they were captured by another party of furriers. Her subsequent history, already related, shows that from the time she left the interior she had no further communication with her tribe, and we are left to conjecture only what was the ultimate fate of the small remnant left behind. According to her statement there were but 12 individuals remaining, and these, she says, started off by a circuitous route for the Great Lake², a black line leading away from the wigwams in a NW. direction indicating the line of retreat.

She then specifies very exactly who the 12 individuals were that composed this remnant, as follows:

There were five men, four women, one lad, and two children. The five men were, her uncle, her brother, two brothers of Mary March, one of whom was called Longnon, and his son. The four women were, Mary March's mother and sister, Longnon's wife, and Nancy's cousin. The lad was Mary March's sister's son, and the two children, a boy and girl, Nancy's brother's children. There is no mention of her father and the other occupant of his wigwam so that I conclude they must both have

¹ Most probably these were children.

² In this case I believe the Grand Lake is meant, as it lies in that direction.

Drawn by Shanawditah

1000
1850



accompanied 2 other
 to Mr. Poyton, below
 at
 Nov. 10. A. He is going
 on the English line

Showing that the Murder
 them was going on 1816 &

died previous to her leaving. Thus ends the historical sketch of the last stage of their existence, so far as was known to Shanawdithit.

Sketch V.

This is but a small drawing and represents one of those brutal murders so frequently recorded. The scene is laid somewhere on the Exploits River, apparently in the vicinity of Rushy Brook. On an island on the south side of the river, marked A, a red circle with a confused red mark is shown, and a note referring to this says "Accompanied by 2 others old Mr kills an Indian woman at A 14 or 15 years ago, on the Exploits River." A black lead pencil line along the river's course indicates the direction by which the furriers approached the wigwam and surrounded it. Three red lines radiate from the wigwam, one across the river to an island opposite on which a group of red figures are seen, another runs up along the course of the main river, and the third circles around through the woods coming out again on the river above. Where these two last meet a group of ten or twelve red figures are collected on the bank, no doubt to show where the fugitives from the wigwam met again after being so ruthlessly disturbed. Another note on this sheet is as follows "Showing that the murder of them was going on in 1816."

Sketch VI.

This is but a small drawing representing three figures, two of which are wigwams (mamateeks). One is of large size and is labelled Winter wigwam. It is of octagonal shape at the base, and appears to have an upright wall or fence of sticks driven into the ground all around, of about two feet in height. Inside this a circular mound of earth was thrown up, probably for warmth, though some authorities assert it was for protection from an enemies missiles. Rising from the top of this earth wall is the usual conical shaped roof of poles meeting at top, or the apex of the cone. Only the internal structure of the wigwam is shown, the outer covering of birch bark being omitted. Two hoops, also of octagonal form, and about equal distances apart are shown, against which the rafters rest, or to which they are fastened. The upper part of the conical roof was, as usual left uncovered to allow for the escape of the smoke from the fire in the centre.

The second wigwam is much smaller and does not show the vertical wall at the base. It appears to rise directly from the ground as do the Micmac wigwams, and was most probably merely a temporary structure. It is labelled "Summer wigwam" and only shows the internal structure as in the first instance. The third figure represents an oblong structure consisting of upright sticks, forming the walls on all sides, with a gabled roof similar to the fisherman's tilt or store-house. It is labelled Smoking or drying House for venison, and seems to have some sort of lattice work shelves or benches inside, presumably upon which to lay the meat.

Six small figures are shown in the foreground which are not easy to

determine. Two of them look like hand barrows or sleds, another rudely resembles a seal's carcase, still another looks like a chopping block, the remaining two may be bundles of meat tied up.

Sketch VII.

This is a most interesting drawing, and is entitled, "Different kinds of animal food." It is arranged in three rows, one above the other. Reading from left to right the first two figures on the top row look like sections of truncated cones crossbarred with vertical and horizontal lines and are labelled "Dried Salmon." They apparently represent the fish split and spread out flat with small sticks to keep them in that form. These are followed by four oval-shaped figures labelled dried meat, while on the right are eight or nine rows of small round figures apparently connected by strings and labelled "Lobsters tails dried."

The second row has on the left hand side a gourd shaped figure, or still more nearly resembling the shape of the bag of the Highland pipes. It is marked, "A Deers bladder filled with oil." This is succeeded by five figures, somewhat rudely triangular in shape and marked over the surface with small black dots. These are called "Pieces of Seal fat on the skin." Presumably they cut off one piece of fat at a time according as they required it for food or cooking.

On the third or lowest row, the first figure is a long, somewhat oval shaped one tapering towards either end, and is crossbarred with black lines. It is called "Bochmoot" or seal skin sled, full, it represents an entire seal skin apparently fitted with a frame-work to keep it extended and partly hollowed like a skin boat.

Such a vehicle when drawn along on the ice or snow, and with the grain of the hair would slip over the surface with great ease, a fact well known to our seal hunters, who always drag their "tow of seals," as it is called, along the ice in this manner. Two gourd shaped figures come next, the one quite small labelled "Seals bladder filled with oil," the other and larger one, which is crossbarred with black and red strokes, is the stomach of the seal filled with the other intestines. The next figure is oblong in shape but much wider at one end than at the other. The sides and wider end are turned up so as to form a hollow basin-like utensil which is called a "Birch rind vessel for boiling eggs in." It is stated that after the eggs are boiled they are then dried in the sun on birch bark. Whitbourne makes mention of this when, speaking of the Indians surprised near Hearts Ease, he says, "They had also many pots sewn and fashioned like leather buckets, that are used for quenching of fire, and those were full of the yolks of eggs, that had been taken and boiled hard, and so dried small as it had been powdered sugar, which the savages used in their broth, as sugar is used in some meats."

The last figure is somewhat fan shaped and is crossed with red and black lines, and is called a "Nap Sack or wallet made of half a Seal skin".

¹ Our fisherfolk use a somewhat similar article made of a seal skin sewn round, which they call a "nunny bag."

Sketch VIII.

This is another very interesting drawing and represents a variety of subjects. On the top left hand corner is the figure of a man standing upright, about six inches in height. One arm is extended in front, turned upwards from the elbow, with the hand in the attitude of becoming or making some friendly gesture. The figure is draped in a long black loose fitting garment reaching to the knees with an outer cape to the waist, not unlike an Inverness wrapper. The lower limbs from the knee down appear to be cased in leggings or long boots. The head, which is bare, and the whole pose of the figure, would indicate that it represents a white man, yet it is labelled "Ash-mud-yim," the blackman, or Red Indian Devil, seen at the Great Lake. He is described thus, "Short and very thick, he dresses in Beaver skin, and has a long beard, yet there is no beard shown, the face being quite smooth, with clean chin."

It has suggested itself to me, judging from the pose and attitude of this figure, that possibly it represents a missionary of some kind who may have at some period penetrated to the home of the Beothucks at Red Indian Lake, but we have no recorded history of such a visit. Possibly one of the French priests or brothers formerly stationed at Placentia might have undertaken such a mission. When we read of the daring exploits of these missionaries amongst the aborigines in Canada and along the Mississippi River it would seem to give colour to such a supposition, but why the Indians should have designated such a messenger of peace the "Devil" we are at a loss to conjecture. Did such an occurrence ever really take place, it is greatly to be regretted that its result was a failure. Why Cormack did not question Shanawdithit more closely with regard to this figure and obtain more particulars about the circumstance I cannot conceive. One would naturally suppose that his curiosity would have been aroused by the suggestiveness of the figure, and that he would try to obtain a solution of this mysterious apparition. Of course it must have been merely a tradition with Shanawdithit, if as I suppose, the visit occurred during the French occupation of Placentia, which was long before her time. Whatever the true solution of this strange figure may be, it certainly is very suggestive of Longfellow's

"Black robed chief the Prophet,
He the priest of prayer, the pale face."

This figure is followed by two full length spears, one for killing Seals the other for Deer. The first called "A-aduth," is represented as being 12 feet long (?). It consists of a long straight wooden handle, to which is affixed, at one end an iron point of a triangular shape set in a bone socket. This socket is not permanently attached to the handle but is kept in its place by a long string, one end of which passes through two holes bored through the bone and securely tied, while the other end is brought along the handle, passing over a notch at the further end, and thence back to about the middle of the handle where it would appear to have been grasped by the operator. The bone socket, where it meets the handle is forked and has a groove cut in it, into which the end of the

handle is inserted, the string being then drawn tight, and firmly grasped by the hand tends to keep the point in its place while striking the animal. But immediately the spear head enters its body, the string is released and the spear separated from the handle, which remains in the hand, while the ample coil of line shown, allows full play to the animal in diving. The spear head is tied in such a way that so soon as it penetrates the skin and flesh of the seal and a strain is put upon it by the exertions of the wounded animal, it turns crossways in the wound which prevents its being withdrawn. The whole contrivance is one of a most ingenious character, and I have little doubt the idea was borrowed from the Eskimo, who appear to have been the originators of this kind of weapon. It only differs from that of the latter people in being more slightly and delicately made, in having a triangular instead of a leaf-shaped iron point, and in the absence of the float or drag attached to the opposite end of the line. I would surmise from this that the Beothuck did not pursue the seals in his canoe, on the water, as the Eskimo does, but speared them on the ice, or in their blow holes. This seems the more probable from the fact that their frail birch bark canoes were ill adapted for the pursuit of the animal in its native element.

The Deer spear differs considerably from that just described. It has a similar long straight wooden handle, but the point, which is all of iron is much longer, has no bone socket, and is fastened permanently into the end of the handle by a long slight stem or tang. The blade is long and tapering, somewhat resembling the Zulu Assegai in shape, except that the wider portion near its base forms two obtuse angles instead of having the shoulders rounded off. Of course the point of this weapon does not come unshipped as in the case of the Seal spear, consequently there is no string attached, none being required. It is called "A-min" or "A-mina."

In the lower left hand corner of this drawing is a large and more elaborate representation of a store or drying house. It shows a section across the middle of the building, which is said to be 10 feet wide, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high to the wall plate. Its roof is of the triangular shape, with rather a low angle of slope. It is divided internally, into two rows of large squares, one above the other, six squares in each row, and every alternate square is crossbarred as though representing lattice work. This was probably to allow for the free circulation of air. It is labelled "Store house," in which they put their dried venison, in birch bark packages, to keep during winter.

The next figure is a very interesting one. It represents a woman dancing. The features are fairly well depicted, with long black hair hanging down either side of the head, the arms, which are bare, to the shoulders, are extended on either side outward from the body and bent slightly upward from the elbow. A long loose fitting robe reaches from the neck to the knees, but is gathered in at the waist by a cord or belt. The upper part of this garment has a wide crossbarred strip, passing just under the pit of the left arm and over the point of the right shoulder. This has some sort of a fringe attached to its under side. There is also a similar border or fringe along the tail end of the dress; and from

Arak - nua - yim.

The Black Man, or the Indian Devil,
short in very thick; He differs in
beaver skin.
has a large head &c.



Seen at
the great
Lake

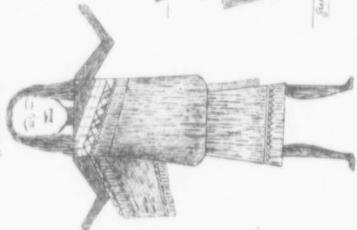


Arak - nua - yim, or Spear for killing seals 12 feet long

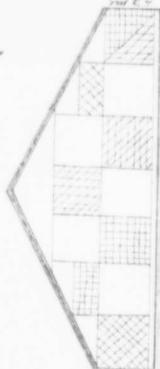
Arak - nua - yim



Dancing
Arak - nua - yim



Arak - nua - yim



10 feet long

The House in which they put their dried venison,
in bark and boxes or packages to keep during winter

Arak - nua - yim



The house in St. Johns in which Sheward's letter
Roofed drawn by herself.

Totems? or Emblems of Mythology



1840-42 - post. no. 108 & 109
Wigwag post, no. 108 & 109
by the same.



Post 2 (no. 108)
Small pointed post



Post 3 (no. 109)
6 feet long



Post 4 (no. 110)
6 feet long



Post 5 (no. 111)
6 feet long

under the right arm, a portion of the dress with a similar border and fringe both at top and bottom is seen flying loose, as if extended by the action of circling round while dancing. Whether these fringes are merely slashed pieces of deer skin or, what appears to me, from their shape more likely, bone or other ornaments, similar to those found in their burying places, which being attached to the dress would jingle or rattle, after the manner of castanets during the process of dancing. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the skin robe covering the body of the small boy in our local museum had such ornaments together with birds' legs so attached to the hem of the garment. The lower limbs of this figure from the knees down appear to be bare or otherwise encased in leggings of some sort.

In the lower right hand corner of this drawing are shown several birch bark vessels of different sizes and shapes. Two very small ones, shaped like an ordinary bowl, are called "Shoe-wan-yeesh" Drinking Cups. Two others of similar shape but of larger size are simply called "Shoe-wan." The three lower, and much larger vessels are labelled "Water buckets," all differ in shape. The first to the left, is triangular, very small at bottom but wide at top, apparently about a foot or so in height, and stands upright on its narrow base. The next is also triangular in shape, about the same height as the first, but instead of having a small base, it carries the same width from top to bottom. The third and last, also triangular, is not as high as the other two, and is shaped somewhat like the first, wide at one end and narrow at the other, but in this case, it has the small end up while the wide end forms the base. The two first are called "Guin-ya-butt," while the third is called "Sun-ong-guin-ya-butt."

Sketch IX.

This drawing is labelled "Emblems of Red Indian Mythology." It consists of six figures in one row, and all of about the same length. Each figure represents a straight tapering staff, said to be 6 feet in length, surmounted at the thicker end with the supposed emblem. No. 1 is clearly intended to represent a fishing boat such as was in common use around our coasts. It is very faithfully executed, the hull with a slight rise in the fore-part and drop towards the stern, the two short masts, the after one showing the characteristic rake familiar to all acquainted with this little craft, is all very realistic. In fact the boat is better drawn than many of our youthful artists could depict it. If this emblem ever had any name written upon it the same has been completely obliterated.

No. 2 represents very clearly the crescent shaped tail of a whale, it is called "Owas-bosh-no-un." A note informs us that a whale was considered a great prize, this animal affording them a more abundant supply of food than anything else, hence the Indians worshipped this image of the Whale's tail. Another reference to this occurs amongst some stray notes of Cornack's as follows: "The Bottle Nose Whale which they represented by the fishes tail, frequents, in great numbers the Northern

Bays, and creeps in at Clode Sound and other places, and the Red Indians consider it the greatest good luck to kill one. They are 22 and 23 feet long."

No. 3. This represents the half Moon inverted, and is named "Kuis." There is no note of any kind to indicate what significance was attached to it.

No. 4 is a long wooden staff, wide at top with a pyramid end but tapering gradually away towards the bottom. It is named "Boegh-woodjee-shneck" (?). There is no further explanation.

No. 5 has four square or somewhat oblong pieces which appear to be let into the upper end of the staff, and are separated from each other by narrow open spaces. It is called "Ash-wa-meet."

No. 6. Somewhat similar to the last, having four triangular shaped pieces cut at the top, and reducing in size downwards. This is named "Ash-u-meet," and is but another form of the preceding one.

It appears to me very strange that Mr Cormack did not obtain more definite information from Shanawdithit as to the real significance of those so called mythological symbols. The only other reference to them I can find amongst his writings is in a letter of his to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, in which he says, "I have lately discovered the key to the Mythology of her tribe, which must be considered one of the most interesting subjects to enquire into."

I confess I am greatly inclined to agree with the late Sir William Dawson, that these emblems were in reality the "Totems" or crests of families, corresponding with armorial bearings of civilized persons. Possibly they may have been badges of office.

The figure of the boat in the first described symbol may very probably have reference to the boat carried off from Mr Peyton's wharf in 1818. No doubt this act, was looked upon as a great feat of daring, and the individuals engaged in the undertaking would thereby be entitled to use the symbol of the "Whiteman's boat" as their totem henceforth.

Again the person or persons who succeeded in capturing such a formidable animal as a whale, and one so much prized by the Indians, would be considered a great hunter and be entitled to adopt as his totem the Whale's tail.

It is not so easy to trace the connection as regards the Moon and the other symbols.

Sketch X.

This is the last of Shanawdithit's drawings. It represents a house of two stories, having five, 12 pane windows on top, a porch with a semi-circular fanlight over it. Its roof is of the ordinary saddle type, and there are two chimneys in it. Underneath is written, "The house in St John's, in which Shanawdithit lived (Roopes) drawn by herself."

There is still another small sketch of hers in the *Philosophical Journal of Edinburgh* for 1820, showing the interior of a room, in which there are a table, a bench, and a clock on the wall. At one side are two

windows draped with curtains, and on the opposite side a door with a square lock upon it. The drawing was evidently intended to illustrate Shanawdithit's idea of perspective.

Theories as to the origin of the Beothucks.

It is not my intention to pose as an authority on the ethnological, philological or linguistic affinities of the Beothuck. These subjects have been treated by several of the most learned scientists in all such researches. Various theories, have been advanced, and deductions arrived at, which, while I would not attempt to constitute myself an umpire to decide upon, I must confess leaves the question of their real origin about as much in the dark as ever. It would be presumption on my part to even express an opinion, favourable or otherwise, upon any views entertained by such eminent authorities. I shall only here give the gist of their views as they have come to me, and leave the readers to judge for themselves as to which carries most weight.

All the attempts made to solve this great problem, are of an exceedingly interesting character, and there is a strong temptation to elaborate thereon, but with such meagre material at our disposal we cannot hope to arrive at any definite conclusion at this late date.

Mr W. E. Cormack, that intrepid and philanthropic gentleman, who devoted so much time and money with the view to bringing about amicable relations with the poor Red men, and who also made a deep study of everything relating to their manners, customs, language &c., conceived the idea that the Beothucks might possibly have derived their origin from the Norsemen, whom tradition asserts, discovered America in the tenth century, and afterwards sent out colonies to inhabit therein. No doubt Cormack was led to this supposition by the recently published translation of the Icelandic sagas, just then made public, by the learned Danish Antiquary Dr Rink. Cormack apparently seized with avidity this interesting story and saw in it a possible solution of the mystery. Could he have established his theory it would have been a complete confirmation of the story of the sagas, and would have made his name famous, amongst the *savans* of his day. That he was tilted with this theory is apparent from his writings, and I find amongst his notes attempts to compare the Beothuck language with that of Iceland and Greenland dialects. He frequently refers to its possible European origin, points out the fact of its possessing all the sounds of those of Europe, while differing radically from the languages of all the neighbouring tribes. Cormack seems to have held on to this view to the day of his death, for I have quite recently learned, from one who knew him intimately in British Columbia, a Mr Smith, that Cormack did not think the Beothucks were Indians he had an idea that they came from Norway or Sweden. "The late Bishop Mullock of St John's also seemed to favour this opinion and thought that they might be descendant of Liefs Colonists, possibly intermixed with some aboriginal people."

There are others who favour the theory of a Basque origin as the traditions of that hardy race of fishermen claim that they had made their

way to our shores anterior to Cabot, and that the term "Baccalaos" for Codfish, said to have been used by the natives, was derived from them. Again some learned authors seem to see in the Basque language a remote yet notable resemblance, at least in form to American Indian languages in general.

But the consensus of opinion of those most competent to judge has long ago decided against this supposed European origin, and the most careful comparison of the linguistic characteristics of the language has led to the conclusion that it is clearly Indian or American. But having decided this point it has not been found quite so easy to determine to what great family of Indian dialects the Beothuck language really belongs. The most eminent authorities upon this phase of the question, such persons as Prof. Rob. Gordon Latham, of the Anthropological Society of Great Britain, Prof. Albert S. Gatschet of the Ethnological Bureau Washington, and the Rev. John Campbell, LL.D., and the late Sir Wm Dawson all differ in the conclusions they have arrived at. But before entering upon the question created by the above named gentlemen, I must record here a most ingenious and certainly very interesting theory put forward by Mr Wm Sweetland, Magistrate of Bonavista, who wrote an unpublished history of Newfoundland in 1837. I have been kindly favoured with a perusal of this work by his grand daughter Mrs C. V. Cogan wife of the Rector of St Mary's Church, St John's, South.

Mr Sweetland begins by stating that when Shanawdithit was brought to St John's and while she resided with Mr W. E. Cormack, he had frequent opportunities of conversing with her.

"On one of these occasions," says Mr S. when questioned as to the origin of her tribe, she stated, "that 'The Voice' told them that they sprang from an arrow or arrows stuck in the ground." Upon this Mr Sweetland weaves an elaborate story of their descent from one Oqus Khan a great Tartar Chieftain who flourished about 675 B.C. Though I am by no means prepared to accept this theory, I must confess it possesses much that seems plausible, and is altogether of such an interesting character, never, so far as I know having been put forward by any other writer, I feel justified in inserting it here in full.

"This Oqus Khan according to his Tartar historian, having overrun the greater part of Asia, which he conquered and subdued, he then began to move towards the eastward, conquering all the great cities that lay in his way, and bringing all the minor states and kingdoms under his sway. Being in the city of Sham he ordered one of his most faithful attendants to bury privately, a golden bow in the eastern part of the neighbouring forest; but in such a manner, that only an exceeding small bit of it could be seen, which being done he commanded the same person to bury so likewise, three golden arrows, in the west side of the same forest. A year after, he sent his three eldest sons, 'Kuin,' or the Sun, 'Ay,' or the moon, and 'Juldus,' or the Star, to hunt on the east side of the aforesaid forest with orders to bring him whatever they found therein. Then he despatched his three younger sons, with orders to repair to the chase but on the west side only. The first of these had the appellation

'of Kuck,' or the Heaven; the second that of 'Tag,' or the Mountain; and the third that of 'Zenghiz,' or the Sea. The former, besides a large quantity of game, brought with them, at their return the golden bow they had found; and the latter the three golden arrows, likewise much game. The Khan, having caused the game to be dressed, and added many other dishes to it, made a great feast on this occasion; after the conclusion of which, he divided the golden bow amongst his three eldest sons, and permitted also the three others to keep each of them, a golden arrow. He resided some years in the principal towns he had conquered; and having left strong garrisons in those of them that were defensible, he led back his army into his hereditary dominions.

"At his return he erected a magnificent tent, adorned with golden apples, curiously enriched with all sorts of precious stones; and invited to a grand entertainment his sons, the nobles, and all the officers of distinction in the Empire. He ordered nine hundred horses, and nine thousand sheep to be killed on this occasion; and provided nine leather bottles filled with brandy, and ninety with Kumiss, or mares' milk, for the use of his illustrious guests. Then having thanked his sons for their inviolable fidelity to him, he made them sovereign princes, giving them subjects of their own. As for the lords of his Court and his principal Officers, he rewarded each of them according to his respective merit. His three eldest sons received from him the name of 'Bussuk,' that is broken, in memory of the golden bow which they had found, and parted among themselves and to the three youngest he gave the surname of 'Utz-ock' or three arrows, in remembrance of the adventure above mentioned. Then telling them, that among their ancestors, a bow was the symbol of dominion, and the arrows that of ambassadors, he appointed Kuin, his successor, and declared the descendants of the 'Bussucks' only to have a right to the crown. As for the 'Utz-ocks,' and their posterity, they were to remain in a state of subjugation to their brethren for ever.

"In time, this great conqueror made himself master of Kathay, and subdued all the Turkish tribes or nations of the East. He also reduced Persia, Korassan, Media, or Adarbayagjan and Armenia, and planted in the countries he possessed himself of, the true religion. Those who embraced it he treated with great lenity, and even heaped many favours upon them; but the Idolators he cut off without mercy. He likewise left Governors in all his conquests, commanding them to govern according to the Oguzian laws, which he had caused to be promulgated for the good of all his subjects.

"The memory of Ogus Khan is still held in high veneration over a great part of the East. He is considered as the greatest hero, except the famous Janghiz Khan, that ever lived, at least in the Eastern part of the world, by the Turks and Tartars of all denominations. The Ottomans or Othmans Turks so called in contradistinction to the Turkish or Tartarian tribes, settled in Great and Little Tartary, from him assume the name of Oguzians; and pretend that the Ottoman family is descended in a direct line from Ogus Khan.

"Ogus Khan havin; reigned according to the Tartar Historian, one

hundred and sixteen years, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Kuin or Ghun Khan. That Prince being advised thereto by one of his fathers old councillors of the tribe of Vigus, made a partition of the Empire. He divided Ogus Kahn's immense dominions amongst the six brothers already mentioned, and all their sons. As each of them, therefore had four sons born in lawful wedlock, and four by his concubines, Kuin Khans dominions were greatly dismembered, and after this event, assumed quite a different form. This we learn from Abul Ghazi Bahadur, the Khan of Khowarazm; but according to Mahommed Ebu Emin Khouandschah, commonly called Murkhoud the Persian Historian, the division of the Turkish Nation into tribes, which this seems to allude to, happened in the time of Ogus Khan.

"That Prince, says this author, divided the Oriental Turks, that is to say all those remote Turkish or Tartar Nations seated beyond the Gihon, on the Oxus, into twenty four different tribes. As many of them are still in being, an account of them will be found in the modern History of the Tartars.

"Having conducted my readers thus far by placing before them the history of the only two nations, with whom the Beothick of Newfoundland can reasonably claim affinity, allow me to examine the premises upon which that affinity is founded. The first of these as it regards Boetia, will not be found upon investigation to be so improbable as at first sight it may appear.

"The name Boetia resembles so closely that of Bœothic, that we may reasonably infer that the only alteration which time and custom has made between them, is that of changing the *b* of the first into *c* or *ck* of the latter, which slight alteration will not go to annihilate the supposition that they were originally one and the same signification.

"The fable of the Ox having conducted Cadmus into Bœotia has in my humble opinion no other reference than to the former situation of the tribe or family on the Oxus where, as I have already stated the Tartar tribes were partly seated at the division of Ogus Khan's vast dominions.

"In the next place, the tradition or fable of the two arrows given by Shanawdithit the Beothic woman to Mr Cormack bears a close similitude to the circumstance recorded of Ogus Khan by the Tartar Historian, which has been related above; coupled with the name Bœothic (which I take for granted had the same signification with Bœotia, which meant an Ox) fixes their identity as descendants of one of the three younger sons of Ogus Khan, who was situated at the time of their separation from the parent stock, on or near the Oxus, west of the forest of Hyrcania, or if you please suppose the word Utz-ock, or the three arrows, in process of time, to have changed into Bœotzook or Butz-ock, the similitude will in some measure bear me out in claiming for them an affinity with one of Ogus Khans youngest sons.

"The determination of the matter must be left in the hands of the learned and curious, should it be worth their attention and consideration, the purport of the writer being to shew as regards the Beothics, in the first instance, the probability of their Tartar extract, the route pursued by them from their own country into America, and that the Beothucks of

Newfoundland were not the descendants of Scandinavians as some authors assert, or Norwegians as others.

"That they emigrated hither from Canada will easily be admitted by all acquainted with their proximity to the Straits of Belle Isle, which separates Newfoundland from Labrador.

"That they gave name to a bay in their neighborhood, whither the Canadians frequented, and that they were in habits of friendly intercourse with them till the arrival of civilized man from Europe who quickly sowed the seeds of discord amongst them which eventually led to the annihilation of the Beothuck, for at this period the European

'Of their name and race
Hath scarcely left a token or a trace'

save and except a few scattered vague reminiscences collected towards the end of their time, from the last of their race."

In considering the foregoing dissertation of Mr Sweetland I have been impressed with a few rather remarkable coincidences, if nothing more. In the name given by Oagus Khan to his eldest son, "Kuin" the Sun, we have a very close resemblance to the Beothuck term for that luminary "Kuis." Several of the other terms used, while not so closely resembling any of the known words of the vocabulary of our Red Indians, have nevertheless a decided Beothuck sound, especially in such words as "Bussuk" and "Utz-ock."

With reference to the theory of their origin from the three arrows stuck in the ground, I find on referring back to the so-called mythological symbols, that the last three of these figures might be taken to represent arrows. The first of these indeed corresponds exactly with the description of the bluntpointed arrow described by Cormack, as used for killing small birds, "the point being a knob continuous with the shaft," and without feathers at the small end. The other two at their upper end are so fashioned that it might easily be conceived this was intended to represent feathers, but there is nothing at the other end to indicate points or heads.

I must now proceed to the consideration of what the other more recent, and presumably more scientific authorities have to say on the subject of the possible origin of this mystical race.

Professor Latham gives it as his opinion that they were undoubtedly a branch of the great Algonkin family of North American Indians. In his *Varieties of Man* published in 1850, he says, of the Beothucks, "The particular division to which the Aborigines of Newfoundland belonged has been a matter of doubt. Some writers considering them to have been Eskimo, others to have been akin to the Micmacs, who have now a partial footing on the Island.

"Reasons against either of those views are supplied by a hitherto unpublished Beothuck vocabulary with which I have been kindly furnished by my friend Dr King of the Anthropological Society.

"This makes them a separate section of the Algonkins, and such I believe them to have been."

NOTE.—A table of the chief affinities between the Beothuck and other Algonkin languages or dialects, has been published by the present writer in the proceedings of the Philological Society for 1850.

The late Sir Wm Dawson was of opinion that the Beothucks were of Tinné stock, a branch of the great Chippewan family, but neither Latham nor Gatschet acquiesce in this view.

Prof. Albert S. Gatschet of the Ethnological Bureau of Washington who has certainly given a deeper study to this subject than any other authority I know of, and who has taken infinite pains in comparing the Beothuck vocabulary with many of the dialects of the neighbouring Indian tribes of the mainland, is decidedly of opinion that the language possesses no real affinity with any of these, that it is a mistake to suppose they were Algonkins, or yet Chippewans. "There is nothing in their language to indicate their origin from either of those great families, that in fact they were 'Sui generis,' a people of themselves, apart and distinct from all others we know anything of."

The Rev. John Campbell, LL.D., another distinguished Philologist, is most pronounced in his opinion that the Beothucks were undoubtedly Algonkins, and that Latham was right in so concluding. This gentleman makes a comparison between some thirty or forty Beothuck words and a similar number of Malay-Polynesian and deduces therefrom the probability that the ancestral Beothuck stock was located in Celebes, and he imagines they belonged to the same tribe as the New England Pawtuckets and Pequods, and adds that "their vocabulary agrees best with those of the New England tribes."

From such a diversity of opinions held by such eminent Scientists it is impossible to form any definite conclusion as to the origin of the Beothucks, yet there can be little doubt that they must have originally come from the mainland of America, and everything seems to point to the narrow Strait of Belle Isle as the most probable course of their migration. The fact that they were always on friendly terms with the Labrador Indians seems strong presumptive evidence that it is in this direction we should look for their nearest kin. This is further borne out by a statement of Shanawdithit to Mr Peyton, recorded in one of his notes, viz. that the traditions of her people represented their descent from the Labrador Indians. The further fact that they were at such deadly enmity with the Micmacs, would preclude the idea that they were in any way closely allied to that tribe by ties of kindred.

There are several traditions of the remnant of the tribe having again crossed over to the Labrador shore, and having either died out or become absorbed by some of the resident tribes either the Nascopic or Mountaineers, but none of these traditions are well authenticated. John Stevens, a Canadian Indian, one of those employed by Cormack, told Mr Peyton that the last signs of the Red Indians were seen near Quirpon, on the extreme NE. Coast of this Island about 1838 (?). Bonnycastle, in his *History of Newfoundland* (1842) relates that while cruising in the Gulf of St Lawrence with the Governor General of Canada, in the summer of 1831, that they found "the Indians, a sort of half bred Esquimaux,

who were employed in the Salmon fisheries of the King's Ports, on the Labrador shore, were very much agitated and alarmed in the Bay of Seven Islands, by the sudden appearance of a fierce looking people amongst them, of whom they had neither knowledge nor tradition, and who were totally different from the warlike Mountaineer, or Montagnards of the interior, who came occasionally to barter at the posts."

"I believe," he adds, "the strangers themselves were as much alarmed at seeing the very unusual circumstance of three ships of war riding in that splendid basin, and finding that the part of the shore they had arrived at was occupied by a large storehouse and a dwelling, with some tents; for, after frightening the others out of their wits, they disappeared as suddenly as they came."

He concludes thus: "These were, very possibly, the poor disinherited Red Men, who, it had been the disgraceful practice of the ruder hunters, furriers, and settlers of Newfoundland, to hunt, fire at, and slaughter, wherever they could find them, treating these rightful lords of the soil as they would the bears and wolves, and with just as little remorse."

Hon. Joseph Noad, Surveyor General of Newfoundland in a lecture delivered by him in 1852, says "That the Micmaes still believe in the existence of the Beothucks and say some 25 years ago (1827) the whole tribe passed over to Labrador, and that the place of their final embarkation, as they allege, is yet discernible."

The *Royal Gazette* of Sept. 2, 1828 contains the following statement re the Red Indians. "Nippers Harbour, where the Red Indians were said to have been seen three weeks ago, and where one of their arrows was picked up, after having been ineffectually shot at one of the settlers, is in Green Bay."

Physical Features of the Beothucks.

A great diversity of opinion seems to have existed as to the physical characteristics of this strange tribe. It has been customary on the part of fishermen and others to describe them as a race of gigantic stature and numerous instances are recorded to bear out this statement. Major George Cartwright, in speaking of the Indians he saw on an island in Dildo Run, says "One of them appeared to be remarkably tall."

The anonymous writer in the *Liverpool Mercury*, who was present at the capture of Mary March, speaks of her dead husband, as he lay on the ice, measuring six feet seven and a half inches¹. A man killed in Trinity Bay by the fishermen is described as a huge savage, and another

¹ On some of the old French charts of the northern extremity of Newfoundland (the Petit Nord), a track or path is shown, extending along the low flat shore forming the south side of the Strait of Belle Isle, and facing the Labrador coast, which is distinctly visible from here; being only about nine miles distant. This path is called "Chemin de Sauvage." There is also a place on this same shore still called "Savage Cove," which is probably the supposed place of their departure. This would seem to bear out the statement of the Micmaes. Again in the *English Coast Pilot* for 1755, there is a place near Hawkes' Bay, or Point Ritchie called "Passage de Sauvages."

² John Day, one of Peyton's men confirmed this statement and said he was considerably over 6 feet in height.

said to have been seen by one Richards, in Notre Dame Bay was pronounced to be seven feet tall, this was probably the same individual described by an old fisherman to Mr Watts of Harbour Grace as being a huge man with immense chest development.

I have myself frequently heard fishermen talk of the large bones of skeletons they had come across, and say by placing the thigh bones (femur) alongside their own legs to compare them they were found to be much longer as a rule.

Nevertheless, I take it that most of these statements are highly exaggerated, and were the outcome of fear, or perhaps for the purpose of affording an excuse, for the wanton destruction of such formidable enemies. No doubt, as in most other races of the human family there were individuals of exceptional big stature, but all the more trustworthy evidence in our possession goes to prove conclusively that the Beothucks were people of ordinary stature only.

I shall here give a review of such facts bearing on this head as are contained in the foregoing pages.

Richard Edens, in his *Gatherings from writers on the New World*, says, "The inhabitants are men of good corporature, although tawny like the Indians." Jacobus Bastaldus writeth of the inhabitants thus: "They are whyte people and very rustical."

Pasqualligi, the Venetian Ambassador at Lisbon writing to his brother in Italy, describes the savages brought home by Cortereal thus: "They are of like figure, stature and respect, and bear the greatest resemblance to the Gypsies, they are better made in the legs and arms and shoulders than it is possible to describe."

Damiano Goes, a contemporary Portuguese writer, in his *Chronica del Rey Dom Manuel*, gives the following description of them: "The people of the country are very barbarous and uncivilized, almost equally with the people of Santa Cruz, except that they are whyte, and so tanned by cold that the whyte colour is lost as they grow older and they become blackish. They are of middle size, very lightly made &c."

Cartier in 1534-5 says, "These are men of indifferent good stature and bigness, but wilde and unruly."

John Guy, who met and traded with them in 1612 at the head of Trinity Bay, also says, "They are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle size. They go bare-headed, wearing their hair somewhat long but cut round: they have no beards; behind they have a great lock of hair platted with feathers, like a hawk's lure, with a feather in it standing upright by the crown of the head, and a small lock platted before."..... "They are full eyed, of blacke colour; the colour of their haire was divers, some black, some brown and some yellow, and their faces somewhat flat and broad, red with oker, as all their apparel is, and the rest of their body: they are broad breasted, and bold, and stand very upright."

Whitbourne does not describe their personal appearance and it is therefore presumable that he never actually saw any of them.

¹ Evidently from the fact of its being smeared with ochre, there can be little doubt the hair was black.

In Patrick Gordon's *Geographical Grammar* 1722, it is stated "The natives of this Island are generally of middle stature, broad faced, colouring their faces with ochre."

Lieut. John Cartwright did not see any of them and therefore does not describe their personal appearance.

Anspach, writing in 1818, thus describes the Indian female captured in 1803, "She was of a copper colour, with black eyes and hair much like the hair of an European."

Bonnycastle says of this female, "She was stained both body and hair, of a red colour, as is supposed from the juice of the alder."

But it is to Lieut. Buchan, and Mr John Peyton we are indebted for the most circumstantial and reliable description of the Beothucks. Both these gentlemen, as is known, came into closer contact with them than any others of education and clear intelligence, therefore I would take their statements as being thoroughly reliable. Buchan, during his amicable intercourse of several hours duration at Red Indian Lake in 1811, had an opportunity such as no other person, at least in modern times, enjoyed of taking close observation, not merely of one or two individuals, but of the whole tribe. He describes them very fully thus: "Report has famed these Indians as being of gigantic stature, this is not the case, and must have originated from the bulkiness of their dress, and partly from misrepresentation. They are well formed and appear extremely healthy and athletic, and of the medium structure, probably from five feet eight to five feet nine inches, and with one exception, black hair. Their features are more prominent than any of the Indian tribes that I have seen, and from what could be discovered through a lacker of oil and red ochre (or red earth) with which they besmear themselves I was led to conclude them fairer than the generality of Indian complexion." In counting their numbers he says, "There could not be less than thirty children, and most of them not exceeding six years of age, and never were finer infants seen."

Mary March (Demasduit) is described in the official reports as a young woman, about 23 years of age, of a gentle and interesting disposition. Bonnycastle says, "She had hair much like that of an European, but was of a copper colour, with black eyes. Her natural disposition was docile. She was very active and her whole demeanour agreeable. In this respect as well as in her appearance, she was very different from the Micmacs or other Indians we are acquainted with."

Capt. Hercules Robinson, writing of her from information obtained from the Rev. Mr Leigh, says, "She was quite unlike an Esquimaux in face and figure, tall and rather stout in body, limbs very small and delicate, particularly her arms. Her hands and feet were very small and beautifully formed, and of these she was very proud; her complexion a light copper colour, became nearly as fair as an European's after a course of washing, and absence from smoke, her hair black, which she delighted to comb and oil, her eyes larger and more intelligent than those of an Esquimaux, her teeth small, white and regular, her cheek bones rather high but her countenance had a mild and pleasing expression. Her voice was remarkably sweet, low and musical."

Old Mr Curtis, who was in Peyton's employ when she was brought out from the interior, says, "She was of medium height and slender, and for an Indian very good looking."

Rev. Wm Wilson, in his diary gives a very graphic description of the three women captured in 1823, as he saw them in the Court House at St John's. He says, "The mother was far advanced in life, she was morose, and had the look and action of a savage, she seemed to look with dread and hatred on all who approached her. The oldest daughter was in ill health, but her sister, Shanawdithit or Nancy, was in good health, and seemed about 22 years of age. If she had ever used red ochre about her person, there was no sign of it in 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. She was bland, affable and affectionate. She appeared to be of a very lively disposition, and was easily roused and prone to laughter."

Old widow Jure of Exploits Island, who was a domestic in Peyton's employ, at the time Nancy resided with the family, describes her as rather swarthy in complexion, but with very pleasing features. She was rather inclined to be stout, but nevertheless of a good figure. She was very bright and intelligent, and quick at acquiring the English language, and had a most retentive memory. At times she was very pert, and inclined to be saucy to her mistress, then again she would fall into sulky moods, take fits of laziness, and absolutely refuse to do any work. When in this state of mind she would sometimes run away from the house, and hide herself in the woods for a day or two, but always came back in better humour. In fact she was a big, grown, wayward, pettish child, to all intents.

Mr Curtis, before mentioned, says she was industrious and intelligent, that she performed all the usual household work, except bread making and did everything well. Old John Gill, whose mother also lived with Nancy at Peyton's, confirmed all the above statements, and added further, "Nancy was very similar to the Micmacs in appearance, having about the same complexion and broad features. Her hair was jet black and coarse, her figure tall and stout. She was a good worker when she felt inclined that way. She was subject to occasional melancholy moods, and when in this state of mind would do nothing. On the whole she was of a very gentle disposition, and not at all inclined to viciousness. She displayed a marvellous taste for drawing or copying anything, and was never so happy as when supplied with paper and lead pencils. She was strictly modest in her demeanour, and would permit no freedom on the part of the male sex. She took great pride in some fine clothes given her by Captain Buchan."

Cormack also speaks of her natural talent for drawing. He says she evinced extraordinary powers of mind in possessing the sense of gratitude in the highest degree, strong affections for her parents and friends, and was of a most lively disposition. He says in, person she was inclined to be stout, but when first taken was slender.

The Hon. Joseph Noad, Surveyor General of the Colony, who writes as though he had seen Shanawdithit, describes her in similar terms. He says, "her natural abilities were good, she was grateful for any kindness shown her. In height she was five feet five inches."

Bonnycastle speaks of seeing a miniature of Shanawdithit "which without being handsome, shews a pleasing countenance, not unlike in expression to those of the Canadian tribes, round with prominent cheek bones, somewhat sunken eyes, and small nose."

Finally Mr Peyton informed me that the Red Indians as a whole were not such gigantic people as represented by some of the fishermen, they were of medium height only, of a very active lithe build. They were a better looking people than the Micmacs, having more regular features with slightly aquiline noses, not so broad featured, and much lighter in complexion. They did not appear to be so fond of gaudy colours as their continental neighbours, except as regards their custom of using red ochre.

The above are about all the really reliable and trustworthy references to the physical characteristics of the Beothuck tribe known to me.

Status of the Red Indian Women.

Amongst the Beothucks the women seem to have been held in greater esteem and been treated more in accordance with civilized notions of what is due to the weaker sex, than was usual amongst savage peoples. At least we are led to infer as much from several facts contained in the foregoing references and traditions.

There are two or three instances recorded, where when surprised by the whites, the women had recourse to appealing to their enemies' sympathy or better nature, by laying bare their bosoms, thus disclosing their sex, in the vain hope of turning aside their enmity. I look upon this fact as clearly indicating that such an appeal would be considered amongst themselves as one calculated to ward off the threatened blow. Then again we have the noble example of affection displayed by poor Nonos-a-ba-sut, husband of Mary March, who did not hesitate to face his enemies and brave death itself, in the endeavour to rescue his wife from the despoilers' hands. There is the further example of filial affection displayed by the Indian boy August, who said if he could come across the ruffian who shot his mother, he would wreak vengeance upon him.

In the tradition about the Caribbean white women captives, we are told that these women were treated with every consideration by the Indians, and that they observed that their own women were also well treated by the sterner sex, in that respect, fully as well as amongst civilized beings.

Mr Peyton informed me, that when conveying Mary March out to the sea coast, they drew her on a sled. She seemed to demand and expect kindly treatment at their hands. She would sit upon the sled, put out her feet and intimate by signs she wanted someone to lace up her moccasins, and in many other ways seemed to look upon such little services as

a matter of course. Both she and Nancy during their sojourn amongst the white people, looked for and expected as their right such small attentions, and resented anything approaching rough, harsh or unseemly conduct on the part of the fishermen.

The Custom of using Red Ochre.

Many theories have been advanced to account for this curious custom of using red ochre, a mixture of red earth, oxide of iron and oil or grease, called by the Beothucks *Odemet*. It appears to have been their universal practice to smear everything they possessed with this pigment. Not only their clothing, implements, ornaments, canoes, bows and arrows, drinking cups, even their own bodies were so treated. Small packages of this material, tied up in birch bark, are found buried with their dead, and there is evidence even that long after the flesh had decomposed and fallen away, they must have visited the sepulchres and rubbed ochre over the skeletons of their departed kin. At least one such now in the local museum was certainly so treated.

It was of course this custom which gave origin to the name of Red Indians commonly applied to these people. There are many conjectures as to the purpose of this style of adornment. Some writers suppose it may have been intended as a protection against the elements, or the mosquitoes, but it is more generally conceded that the red colour had for them some greater significance, something supernatural, perhaps intended to act as a talisman, to ward off the spirits of evil, or perhaps as a charm against the machinations of their enemies¹.

Whatever may have been the real object, it was invariably indulged in, and several places around the coast are still pointed out where the Indians procured the red material. One of those in Conception Bay, is known as Ochre Pit Cove, another in the Bay of Exploits as Ochre Island.

Of course this custom of painting the body with some such pigment was not confined to the Beothucks, for it appears to have been practised by most savages the world over. We are told that the ancient Britons besmeared themselves with woad. In the report of the United States Survey West of the 100th Meridian, mention is made of certain tribes of the Pacific slope, who were in the habit of painting or staining their persons with a red colour, supposed to be for protecting their flesh from the Sun's heat. If we go back still further, it would appear that the ancient Greeks were not exempt from a similar practice.

¹ Possibly the object of this colouring the person and clothing red may have been the better to conceal their movements from the enemy or to render themselves less conspicuous when pursuing the chase, especially in the autumn, at which season the bushes and shrubs covering the barrens where the caribou most resort, assume many tints of red and brown, corresponding closely with the red ochre of the Indians. Even the natural colour of an Indian's complexion seems designed by Nature to enable him the more easily to approach game of any kind, as I have frequently observed in itself when in company with the Micmacs. A deer, goose, or black duck for instance will observe a white man's features much quicker than those of an Indian.

It was this assimilating the natural colour of the South African *Keldt* that caused our troops and volunteers during the Boer war to adopt the *klaki* coloured uniform, so as to render themselves less conspicuous to the enemy. Possibly, this fact may have suggested to the observant Red man the same idea of concealing his person by artificial means.

Amongst most of the tribes of North America various colours were used to render the features as repulsive as possible, by being daubed on in streaks so as to present a most hideous appearance, calculated it is believed, to strike terror into their enemies. I scarcely think however, that such could have been the object aimed at by our own aborigines, for previous to the coming of Europeans, and the influx of Micmacs from the mainland they had no enemies that we are aware of.

Lieut. Chappel in his *Voyage of the Rosamond*, says in a footnote, "Both ancient and savage nations have manifested this propensity to paint or dye their persons. The image of Jupiter preserved in the Capitol at Rome was painted with minium, and a Roman Emperor wishing to assume a God-like aspect, when entering the city in triumph, ornamented his skin in imitation of the God. The image of the Sphinx in Egypt is painted red. The ancient Britons painted their bodies of various colours, and Capt. Cook relates that the natives of Van Diemens Land had their hair and beards anointed with red ointment."

Numerous other references to these peculiar customs might be quoted, but as they are all pretty much of the same character, and moreover do not throw much light upon the subject, it is not necessary to give them here. The most up to date scientific references are as follows:

Report of Bureau of Ethnology U.S. 1882-3.

Significance has been attached to several colours amongst all peoples and in all periods of culture, and is still recognised in even the highest civilizations. As for instance, the association of black with death and mourning, white with innocence and peace, red with danger; yellow with epidemic, disease, etc.

Red seems to be more universally used than any other colour, and, amongst various peoples, had its various significance. The Tabernacle of the Israelites was covered with skins dyed with red, and today the Roman Pontiff and Cardinals are distinguished by red garments.

In ancient art this colour had a mystic sense or symbolism and its proper use was an important and carefully considered study. Red was the colour of Royalty, fire, Divine love, the Holy Spirit, creative power and heat. In an opposite sense it symbolised blood, war, hatred, etc. Most of the North American Indians adorned some portions of their bodies

¹ From Article on the Beothucks by Rev. Geo. Patterson, D.D. of the Royal Society of Canada, 1861. In referring to this practice, he quotes from Ezekiel Chap. xxxiii. 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." Jeremiah Chap. xlii. 14, notices the King's vanity especially as manifest in having his house "painted with vermilion." And the Book of Wisdom (Chap. xii. 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 the 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 Buddhist Monks in Central Asia all wear a red cloak."

with this and other colours, especially when going to war, hence the term "Putting on the war paint."

Amongst the New Zealanders Red (kura) was closely connected with their religious belief. Red paint was their sacred colour. Their Idols, stages for the dead, and all offerings or sacrifices, their Chiefs' graves, houses, war canoes, etc., were all painted red.

To render anything tapu (taboo) was by making it red. When a person died his house was thus coloured. When the tapu was laid on anything, the Chief erected a post and painted it red or kura; wherever a corpse rested some memorial was set up and painted red. When the habunga took place, the scraped bones of the Chief were so ornamented, and then wrapped in a stained cloth mat and deposited in a box smeared with the sacred colour and placed in the tomb. A stately monument was then erected to his memory which was also so coloured.

In former times the Chief anointed his entire person with Red Ochre when fully dressed on state occasions¹.

Tattooing seems to have taken the place of painting the body amongst these people in more modern times. This custom is also prevalent amongst many of the natives of the Pacific Islands. The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the natives of Alaska carried out this custom to a perhaps greater degree than any other savage people. Even the Esquimau of the far North indulged in it to a lesser degree; amongst the female sex, the married women only, tattooed the face especially the cheeks forehead and chin with simple designs.

In the case of the Queen Charlotte Islanders the custom seems to have attained the highest degree of art. Not only the face and arms, but all the fleshy portions of the body were covered with most grotesque designs, representing real or imaginary animals. They were the crests or armorial bearings of the tribe or family to which the individual belonged. Both painting and tattooing the person in this fashion has been made the subject of recent study especially by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition sent out to British Columbia in 1897. The question of "Why do the Indians paint their faces?" was one of those which engaged the most earnest attention of the expedition, and it was found to have a far deeper significance than was hitherto supposed to be the case.

The fact of the matter is, that every paint mark on an Indian's face is a sign with a definite meaning which other Indians may read. The same applies to the tattoo marks. The whole design represented the totem (crest) or armorial bearing of the tribe or family, to which the individual belonged, just as the civilized gentleman of noble birth has his crest or coat of arms to distinguish his family.

The subject is a far reaching one as it can be seen that it carries us back almost to the advent of the human race on this globe. There are some who hold that even Adam himself may have indulged in the red ochre habit, as his very name signifies "red earth."

¹ The Australian Aboriginal painted his body with a mixture of red ochre and grease and also adorned the beard and hair of his head with same.

But to return to our Aborigines the Beothucks, I am greatly inclined to the belief that with them as with the Maoris, the custom had some sacred significance, or was connected in some way with their religious belief. The mere fact of their visiting the dead and smearing the very bones with red ochre, also of their depositing packets of the material with the corpse in its last resting place, is a clear indication that they supposed the colour to have some specially saving virtue, for the deceased on his journey to the "Happy hunting ground."

*Traditions current among the fisher-folk and other residents
about the Aborigines, or Red Indians.*

There are numerous traditions, especially amongst the inhabitants of the more Northern Bays, relative to the Red Indians. While it is impossible to vouch for the correctness of many of these stories, there can be little doubt that the majority of them have some element of truth in them. They are chiefly of a sanguinary character, and refer to various encounters with the Red Men. As all these stories are more or less interesting, I shall give them just as they were related to me, except a few which are of too revolting a character to put in print.

I cannot here attempt to arrange these occurrences according to dates, as nothing definite could be obtained on that point. What appears to be probably one of the oldest relates to Carbonear and was obtained from Mr Claudius Watts, a very old and intelligent resident of Harbour Grace, now bordering on the century mark¹, through his son Mr H. C. Watts. Mr Watts remembered a very old inhabitant of Carbonear, a Mr Thos. Pike, who died in 1843, at the great age of 103. This man's father came out from England at an early date. He remembered seeing an encampment of Red Indians on Carbonear Beach, with whom he traded, exchanging iron and other articles for furs &c. He said the Indians were camped there for several days, and during that time some of them went down the shore to a place called Ochre-Pit Cove to procure red ochre, so much prized by them. Pike had in his possession for a long time some stone implements and other articles given him by the Indians, which remained in his family for many years but were eventually destroyed by a child putting them in the fire, when the heat split them into fragments. A sister of old Mr Watts who predeceased him many years, used to relate a tradition current in her young days amongst the older inhabitants of Carbonear, to the effect that once the fishermen from that place who used to go into Trinity Bay every season to fish, surprised a number of Indians in a canoe. These all made their escape except one young girl who was sick and unable to get away. They brought her to Carbonear with them and kept her for some time but the Indians made a raid upon the place while the men were absent fishing, and not only recaptured the girl but carried off three white women of the place. The women were returned to Carbonear in the following spring, unharmed, and fully dressed in deer

¹ Mr Watts died in 1908 at the advanced age of 98 years.

skins. They gave a most favourable account of their treatment by the Indians, describing them as more like civilized people than savages. Their women, they said were handsome, and the men of immense stature. They had but one wife each, and these they treated as well as white people did their wives.

The cause of the kidnaping of the three women was supposed to be in retaliation for the capture of the girl, who it appeared was a chief's daughter and a person of note amongst them.

The tradition of the Indians procuring red ochre at the place since called Ochre-Pit Cove, about six miles below Carbonear on the north shore of Conception Bay, has long been current.

Mr C. Watts distinctly remembers many of the old people some 80 years ago, speaking of this tradition, which had been handed down from one generation to another. According to his story the first settlers on the north shore of Conception Bay, below Carbonear, had frequently seen the Indians come to Ochre-Pit Cove and take away red ochre therefrom, and there was a place in the cliff called Red Man's Gulch, from the circumstance. A very old man named Parsons, who lived in this cove, and was the grandson of another man of the same name who was one of the very first settlers on the shore, used to state, when his grandfather came there an old Englishman who preceded him often spoke of the Indians whom he saw taking ochre from the cliffs. Sometimes they came overland from Trinity Bay, but more frequently in their canoes from up the shore somewhere. The settlers did not molest them in any way at that time, and the old Englishman in particular was on quite friendly terms with them.

Mr Watts also states that an old trapper once told him that in the month of May, he with some others were hunting somewhere on the South side of Notre Dame Bay, when they came across the body of a huge Indian laying dead by the side of a river. As there were no signs of violence or any marks of shot wounds on the body, the trappers concluded that the man must have fallen through the ice and been drowned, and when the river broke up the body had been carried down by the freshets to where they saw it.

Mr Watts remembers many years ago, hearing from a reliable source, that some hunters being in the interior of Labrador near Forteau came across the footprints of men, who judging from their great strides, must have been of immense stature. The hunters came up with the encampment of these people about sunset, but as soon as they showed themselves, the Red Men, as they called them, made a hasty retreat, leaving all their camp equipage behind. Another tradition amongst the Carbonear men who used to fish in the straits of Belle Isle was to the effect, that the Nascopic Indians of Labrador told of a strange race of big men having been seen by some of their tribe on several occasions. It was thought the Nascopic and Eskimo killed them out.

Notes on the Red Indians from "Newfoundland and its Missionaries."

By Rev. W. Wilson. Page 308.

"A place called Bloody Bay' on the north side of Bonavista Bay, has often been named to the writer as a place where frequent encounters had occurred with the Red Indians....

"In a place called Cat Harbour, some Indians came one night and took all the sails from a fishing boat. The next day they were pursued and when seen, were on a distant hill, with the sails cut into a kind of cloak, and daubed all over with red ochre. Two men belonging to the party who had gone in pursuit of the Indians, were rowing along the shore, when they saw a goose, swimming in the water, and went in pursuit of it. But it proved to be merely a decoy, for while their attention was arrested two Indians rose up from concealment, and discharged their arrows at them but without effect."

A man named Rousell, one of the first settlers in Hall's Bay, was reputed as being a great Indian killer.

Many stories are told of this old Rousell's treatment of the Indians. It is said he never went anywhere without his long flint-lock gun, and woe betide the unfortunate Beothuck who dared to show himself near where Rousell was. It has even been stated that should a bush move or any noise emanate therefrom Rousell would immediately point his gun at the spot and let go. He is said never to have spared one of the natives. In the end, they killed him and carried off his head as was their usual custom¹.

On the other hand a brother of his who never molested the poor creatures was treated well. They did him no injury, except to help themselves occasionally to a salmon from his weir. They would even come to one side of the brook while he was at the other and take a fish out before his face, so bold were they with him. They would call him by name Tom Rouse, and hold up the fish for him to see it. They were perfectly aware of the difference between the two brothers, and that while one was their deadly enemy, the other would not harm them.

Thomas Peyton, son of the man who captured Mary March, told me that another old man named Genge who lived alone at a place called Indian Arm, frequently saw the Red Indians, but he never interfered with them, they in turn did not harm him. They would approach his tilt at night and peep in through the chinks at him, but he always had a dog with him, of which the Indians were very much afraid. They would not dare enter the tilt while the dog was there. Genge used to put out a salmon or other food for them through a trap in his door, and they, understanding it was so meant, would approach and take it away. They never harmed or in anyway interfered with this man, except to visit his weir or nets and take out a salmon to eat. As in the case of Rousell, they would come while Genge was present at one side of the river and

¹ Since renamed Alexander Bay.

² This occurred at New Bay. The Indians had constructed an ambush of bushes, from which they rushed out and seized Rousell before he had time to defend himself.

from the other side, run out on his dam and dexterously spear a fish and make off with it. He never fired at them, and they were perfectly aware of his friendly disposition, and in turn never molested him further than to take an occasional fish, as above stated. He would leave a fish on his splitting table for them then watch from his tilt to see them come and take it away. He also stated that they would go where he had his nets hung up to dry and pick the sea-weed out of them.

Another man named Facey or Tracy lived in Loo Bay salmon fishing, and had a boy with him. Once when the boy was out in a boat shooting sea birds, and while rowing along shore, he was shot in the throat with an arrow, by some Indians concealed in the bush. The boy seized his gun (an old flint lock), and raised it to fire at the place where the arrow came from, but as he raised it to his shoulder the profuse bleeding from his wound fell into the pan of the gun, damping the powder so that it would not ignite. He then rowed back in all haste and informed his master of what had occurred. "Never mind," said Facey(?), "I'll settle that." Forthwith he loaded up all his guns, and at daylight next morning set off in his boat to hunt up the Indians. As he pulled along shore he observed a path leading into the woods, which he followed up, and soon came across an Indian wigwam in which the inmates were still asleep. He raised the deer-skin door and peeped in. There were two occupants only still sound asleep (my informant stated that the Indians were great sleepers). Facey(?) called out to them twice before they became aroused, and as soon as they jumped up, he fired first at one, then seizing a second gun fired at the other. He would never admit that he killed them, only stating that he gave them a fright.

I was once informed that some fishermen or furriers in some part of Notre Dame Bay, having been subjected to frequent depredations on the part of the Indians, determined to kill them out. The furriers went in pursuit, and succeeded in surprising the Red men while still asleep in their wigwam. They stole cautiously forward surrounded the wigwam and then set it on fire. The wigwam or mamateck, being constructed of birch bark, a most inflammable material, was ablaze in a minute or two. The unfortunate Indians rushed from the blazing structure and tried to escape, but they were shot down as they emerged, and not a single individual escaped alive.

On June 13th 1809, one Michael Turpin, an Irishman, was killed and scalped (head cut off)(?) at a place called Sandy Cove on Fogo Island, near Tilton Harbour. He with others, men and women, were engaged planting their gardens, some distance from the settlement, when the Indians made a descent upon them, all fled and escaped except Turpin who was shot down with arrows. One of the women was the first to give the alarm. The settlers rallied and went in pursuit, but the Indians had made good their retreat, having first cut off Turpin's head which they carried off with them.

Fishermen relate that on several occasions the Indians were seen in their canoes coming from the Funk Islands¹ where they had been in search

¹ These rocks, the "Isle Ouseans," of the old maps, were the principal habitat and last resting place of the Great Auk, *Alca impennis*, long extinct.

of eggs and sea birds. This invariably took place during foggy weather, and it was only when they suddenly appeared out of the fog, in the vicinity of the fishing boats that they were seen. On such occasions, as soon as they described the fishing boats, they immediately swerved to one side and made off at great speed. It is certain that they did visit these distant islets (over forty miles from the main island), as some of their paddles and other belongings were found on these island rocks. It is thought probable some of them had been wrecked there during one of their visits.

A very intelligent native of Old Perlican in Trinity Bay named Jabez Tilley, gave me the following tradition, which he often heard the old people relate when he was a youth.

Several of the then oldest inhabitants remembered the depredations committed by the Indians as late as 1775. They came at night and stole the sails and other articles from a boat on the collar¹, as well as all the gear they could lay hands upon. Tilley's informant, a Mrs Warren, with others were up all night splitting fish in a stage close by, but they did not hear the Indians approach. Next day a party was organized and being fully armed set out in pursuit. They saw the smoke of the Indians camp near Lower Lance Cove, and laying concealed all night, they surprised the Indians, while still asleep, at daylight next morning, when they shot seven of them, but the rest escaped. One huge savage, after being shot twice, rose up again and discharged an arrow at them, but he was immediately shot through the heart. He is said to have been nearly seven feet tall.

The fishermen now loaded their boats with the stolen articles and also everything belonging to the Indians they could carry away. Being desirous of exhibiting the huge savage at Perlican, but having no room in their boat for the body, they tied a rope around his neck and tried to tow him along. A strong N.E. breeze having sprung up, they were obliged to cut the corpse adrift, and make all speed back.

The poor Indian's body drove ashore at Lance Cove Head where it lay festering in the sun till the autumnal gales and heavy seas dislodged it². In the meantime, all through the summer many visited the place to inspect the body.

Another tradition was current to the effect that on one occasion 400 Indians were surprised and driven out on a point of land near Hant's Harbour, known as Bloody Point, and all were destroyed.

Tilley related other stories he had heard which are altogether too revolting to give in detail here.

J. B. Jukes, M.A., F.G.S., F.C.P.S., who conducted a Geological Survey in Newfoundland in 1839-40, and afterwards wrote a book of his travels, entitled, *Excursions in Newfoundland*, relates that his Micmac guide, one Sulian, had a tradition that about the beginning of the 17th Century, a great battle took place between the Micmacs and the Red Indians at the head of Grand Pond (Lake), but as the former were then

¹ Place where the fishermen moored their boats.

² What seems to bear out this story, is the fact that on the maps of to-day and in close proximity to Lance Cove is a headland called Salvage (i.e. Savage) Point.

armed with guns they defeated the latter, and massacred every man, woman and child.

Peyton always affirmed that the Red Indians had a great dread of the Micmacs, whom they called Shannock, meaning bad Indians, or "bad men." They used to point out a tributary of the Exploits, flowing in from the South, by way of which the Micmacs, came into their territory. He accordingly named this Shannock Brook, now Noel Paul's Brook. Peyton also told Jukes that the Red Indians were on good terms with the Labrador Indians (Mountaineers)? whom they called Shudamunks, or Shaunamunks, meaning "good Indians." That they mutually visited each others country and traded for axes and other implements. The Mountaineers, he said, came over from Labrador across the Strait of Belle Isle, they were dressed in deer skins similarly to the Beothucks, but they did not redden themselves with ochre. The Red Indians also knew the Esquimaux, whom they despised, and called the "four paws."

Jukes mentions the old tradition about the feast of the Micmacs and Red Indians, the discovery of the former's treachery, and their consequent destruction, and adds, "after this feast frequent encounters between them took place, the one already mentioned near the head of Grand Pond, and another at Shannock Brook on the Exploits, but the Micmacs possessing fire arms were usually victorious."

An old man named George Wells, of Exploits Burnt Island, gave me the following information in 1886. He was then a man of 76 years of age, and remembered seeing Mary March and Nancy (Shanawdithit) at Peytons. He confirmed the statement about Shanawdithit being a tall stout woman, nearly six feet high. His great uncle on his mother's side, Rousell of New Bay, saw much of the Indians and could tell a great deal about them. He, Rousell was killed by them while taking salmon out of his pound (weir) in New Bay River. The Indians hid in the bushes and shot him with arrows, wounding him very severely. He ran back towards his salmon house where he had a gun tailed, but he fell dead before reaching it. Rousell used to relate many stories about the Indians, he often lay hidden and watched them at work. Once as he rowed along shore he saw several of them on a hill, who shouted out to him. They were ensconced behind a big rock to shelter themselves from shot, as they could not induce him to come nearer than within several gun shots of them, one big Indian drew his bow and fired an arrow in the air with such strength and precision that it fell in the after part of his boat and pierced through an iron or tin bail-bucket pinning it to the plank at the bottom.

They frequently lay in ambush for the fishermen and even used decoys, such as sea birds attached to long lines. When the fishermen approached and gave chase to the birds, in their boats the Indians would gradually draw their decoys towards the shore, in order to get the boats within reach of their arrows. They sometimes used "dumb arrows," all of wood, without any iron point, which by reason of their lightness fell short when fired off, thus leading the fishermen to believe they could approach nearer without running any risk, but when they did so they were met with a shower of well pointed and heavier arrows.

The Indians once stole a salmon net from Rousell's brother in Hall's Bay and carried it across to the Bay of Exploits, they then cut out every second mesh and used it for catching seals. I was told here that some Red Indians were killed in White Bay, some years after Shanawdithit's death (?).

Wells stated that the Rousell's had many implements belonging to the Indians, including also some of their canoes. He confirmed the shape of the canoe, except that it was round on the bottom similar to the Micmac's¹.



He represented it thus being very high at the bows. According to him their dress consisted of a single robe of deer skin, without sleeves, belted around the waist, and reaching midway between the knee and ankle. The moccasins were made from the deer's shanks, just as they were cut off the legs, and sewn round to form the toe part. They reached up the calf of the leg to about the end of the deer skin robe, and were tied round with deer skin thongs.

In summer, he says they wore no clothes (?). They never washed but smeared themselves over with red ochre. Their bows were fully 6 feet long made of spruce or fir and were very powerful. They were thick in the central part but flattened away towards either end, where the spring chiefly lay. The string was of plaited (twisted) (?) deer skin. There was a strip of skin fastened along the outer, or flat side of this bow. The hand grasping the bow passed inside this strip, with the arrow placed between the fingers to guide it. So dexterous were they in the use of this weapon, that they could arrange five or six arrows at a time between the fingers, and shoot them off, one after the other, with great rapidity, and unerring aim. The point or spear of the arrow was made of iron, and was fully 6 inches long².

Wells is positive they knew how to heat and forge iron, he says they would keep it several days in the fire to render it soft. They used an old axe, set into a junk of wood, with the sharp edge turned up, upon which they would work the iron back and forth, till it assumed the requisite shape and then grind it down sharp on a stone.

One of the most remarkable stories I have heard was related to me by an old fisherman, in the Bay of Exploits in 1886. It runs as follows: "Once a crew of fishermen were somewhere up the Bay, making what is termed a 'winter's work,' i.e. cutting timber and sawing plank for boat and schooner building etc. While at work in their saw-pit, beneath a sloping bank and close to the woods, they were annoyed by someone throwing snow balls at them, from the top of the bank. Thinking it was some friends from another camp, who were amusing themselves in this way, they did not pay much heed at first, but after a while, as the annoyance continued, one of the party determined to investigate. He climbed up the

¹ This story is scarcely to be believed.

² I think the old man must be mistaken about the bottom of the canoe being round, when such reliable authorities as Cartwright, Carnack, Peyton, &c., affirm so positively that it was V shaped.

³ This of course refers to a comparatively recent date when they learnt the use of iron, which they stole from the fishermen.

bank and entered the woods, and not returning again, his companions, after a long delay, believing something must have happened to him, went in search, he was nowhere to be found. They soon came across footprints in the snow, apparently made by Indians, and then unmistakable signs of a struggle. It was very evident to them that their unfortunate companion had been seized by the Red men and forcibly carried off. In vain they searched all around but the Indians had a good start of them and had gone away into the interior with their captive. Nothing more was heard of the missing man till a year or more had elapsed. One day some fishermen including some of the same party, were rowing along shore in the vicinity, when they were suddenly surprised by seeing a man rush out of the woods jump into the water and make towards them, at the same time making signals and calling some of them by name.

"Although dressed in deerskin, and besmeared with red ochre, like all the Indians they nevertheless recognized their long lost friend, and rowed towards him. In the meantime, just as he gained the boat a number of Indians appeared on the beach, wildly gesticulating and discharged a flight of arrows at the party. One, a woman, holding aloft an infant, waded out to her waist in the water, and entreating the fugitive by voice and gesture to come back, but seeing it was of no avail, and that the boat into which he had clambered, was moving away from the shore she drew from her girdle a large knife, and deliberately cut the infant in two parts, one of which she flung with all her might towards the retreating boat, the other, she pressed to her bosom, in an agony of grief.

"The fisherman now told his story, which was to the effect that upon climbing over the bank, and entering the woods he was suddenly pounced upon bound and gagged before he could make any outcry, by the Indians who were concealed in a hollow close by. They then made a precipitate retreat, carrying him with them, away into the interior. For a long while they kept a close watch upon him never leaving him for a moment unguarded. One of the Indian women who took a particular fancy to him, presumably because he was a red headed man, was given him to wife in Indian fashion, and in course of time a child was born to them. The tribe wandered about the interior from place to place, and believing now that their captive had become thoroughly reconciled to his surroundings, they relaxed their vigilance. On again approaching the seacoast and seeing some of his old friends and associates, his natural desire to regain his liberty and return to his fellow whites, overcame all other considerations. He made a dash for the boat and as we have seen was fortunate enough to escape the arrows and rejoin his friends."

A man named Carey or Kierly, whose descendants are still living at Herring Neck, was one of those who accompanied Peyton to Red Indian Lake, at the time Mary March was captured. He frequently related the story of her capture, and told how the husband of Mary seized old Mr Peyton by the throat and would have made short work of him, had not some one stabled the Indian in the back with a bayonet. This was probably the same Carey whom Cormack mentions as having killed the Indians in New Bay, and boasted of it as a deed to be proud of.

Inspector Grimes' stories.

Inspector Grimes of the Newfoundland Constabulary, a native of Notre Dame Bay, heard many stories about the Indians in his younger days. He said his father remembered seeing the man June and confirms the statement of June's taking charge of a fishing boat. June was drowned by the upsetting of his boat while entering Fogo Harbour.

He relates how a party of fishermen were attacked in their boat by the Indians and all killed except one man who managed to effect his escape with an arrow sticking in his neck behind the ear, in this plight he reached his home with the boat.

He heard of two boys being killed on Twillingate Island, their heads cut off and carried away.

One Richmond, a noted Indian killer, told many stories about them. He said he once saw a dead Indian 7 feet tall. When questioned as to whether he shot the man, he would say no, he found him dead by the side of a brook, and supposed that he had been drowned by falling through the ice, and that the body had been carried down by the spring freshets. Everybody believed he shot the man, and it was common talk that Richmond and another man, in a boat, were proceeding under sail along shore to overhaul their Otter traps, when peeping beneath the sail he observed an Indian on the shore, in the act of adjusting an arrow to fire at them. He sung out to his companion to shoot quickly. The other grabbed up his gun but it missed fire, where upon Richmond seized his own gun and killed the Indian dead on the spot.

Richmond or Richards¹ was another of those furriers who was present with the Peytons at the capture of Mary March in 1819. He was fond of relating the following stories.

Richmond used to say the Indians were nasty brutes and stunk horribly. It has frequently been asserted by others also that they took a delight in befouling everything belonging to the fishermen especially anything in the way of food, they came across, but I expect, if the truth were known, this was merely used as a pretext for destroying them.

Another man named Pollard was also reputed as a great Indian slayer, and was one of those who openly boasted of his achievements in that line.

An old man named Jones who was with Peyton at the capture of Mary March stated that they found in one wigwam, Peyton's watch broken up and distributed about the wigwam, also in a Martin skin pouch some silver coins which were in Mr Peyton's pockets at the time his boat was stolen. This man also affirmed that the Indians had a kind of telegraphic communication between the several wigwams, by means of salmon twine stretched along from one to another. This was raised above the ground, and rested in the forks of sticks, stuck up at intervals, or on the branches of

¹ Mr Thos. Peyton says "the man's name was Richards and was usually called Dick Richards. He was an old brute. He was one of my father's party at the capture of Mary March. He it was who shot her husband at that time, and caused all the trouble."

trees which happened to come convenient. By this means if one wigwam was surprised the alarm could be given to the others by pulling the string. He did not say what was the medium at the end of the line by which the alarm was received.

Rev. Mr Cogan C.E. Missionary informed me that a man named Butler of White Bay was with Peyton in 1819 at Red Indian Lake and amongst other things found in their wigwams, picked up a silver tablespoon.

In the latter part of the 18th century, a dozen or more furriers came in contact with a large body of Red Indians somewhere in the interior, when a pitched battle was fought between them. The Indians were led by a huge powerful looking man who appeared to be their chief, and who tried to induce his party to rush on the whitemen and overwhelm them, but they were too much afraid of the long flint-lock guns with which the latter were armed. After a few discharges of arrows on the one side and balls or slugs on the other, the chief who was hit twice and badly wounded, rushed forward alone, and seized one of the whitemen in his arms, and was making off with him when a well directed ball from the leader of the furriers struck him in the side. He fell forward releasing his hold on the whiteman, who immediately ran back and rejoined his fellows. When they saw their chief laid low the rest of the Indians fled from the scene. The dying chief was seen to hold his hands beneath the wound in his side, and catch the blood flowing therefrom and then drink it, but his life soon ebbed away. The furriers said had the Indians rushed on them in a body as their chief desired they could have easily killed the whole party, before they would have time to reload their guns.

Somewhere about this same date a man named Cooper was killed by the Indians, in some part of Notre Dame Bay. His brother, who was then at college in England, on learning the circumstance, swore he would be avenged upon them. When arrived at manhood he came back to Twillingate, learned all he could about the Red Men, their habits, location &c., he then fitted out a skiff, and procured a number of guns with plenty of ammunition, to go in search of them. As he could not induce anyone to join him, he got hold of a poor halfwitted individual made him drunk, took him aboard the skiff, and started off for New Bay during the night time. He arrived there early in the morning. The Indians observing gave chase in several canoes. When Cooper saw so many of them he tried to get away, but as the wind was light the canoes soon gained upon him. Seeing he could not escape them he took down his sail and prepared to do battle. When within about 100 yards of the skiff one of the Indians fired an arrow at Cooper which barely missed him. He returned the fire and kept up a regular fusillade, firing as fast as his companion could reload the guns. They tried to surround him, but some of their canoes were riddled with shot and ball and began to fill with water, so they turned and made for the shore. When out of range of shot Cooper continued to fire ball at them, and the story goes that not one canoe reached land, and that a number of the Indians were

killed or drowned. The canoes were large and each contained quite a number of men.

At Herring Neck the Indians committed several depredations. Once they cut up the sails of a fishing boat and all the fishermen's lines, besides doing various other mischief. They lay concealed in their canoe underneath the fishing stage while the fisherfolk were at work therein, and as soon as the latter retired to their houses, the Indians emerged, and were rowing away when detected. The fishermen gave chase but the Indians, having a good start, managed to make good their escape.

On another occasion they made their appearance at the same place, when all the fishermen were absent, and only two women, a mother and daughter, named Stuckly, were at home. The older woman was out of doors spreading clothes to dry when the Indians raided the house, and one of them seized the girl, a young woman of about 19 years of age, and was carrying her off bodily, when she screamed to her mother for help. The old woman immediately ran to her assistance, and seizing one of the poles supporting her clothes line, struck the Indian such a stunning blow on the head, that he dropped his burthen and made off holding his hand to the injured part.

Mr Thos. Peyton, to whom I referred this story, has recently (Dec. 1907) written me fully confirming this occurrence in most particulars. Strange to say he obtained his information quite recently and directly from a granddaughter of the woman who figured in the above incident. Peyton's version of it is so interesting I give it here in full.

"While on a visit to Herring Neck recently, I boarded at Mr John Reddicks, an old friend of mine. His late wife was a daughter of old John Warren, late of Herring Neck, the only man I ever heard of as coming to this country from the Island of St Helena. He was a powder Monkey on board the Frigate 'Arethusa' etc.

"One evening as old Mr Reddick and myself were having a yarn, and the conversation turned on the Red Indians. I related what Sergt. Grimes had told you about the Indians chasing a woman at Herring Neck, when to my great surprise, Reddick's daughter a woman between 40 and 50 years of age, and very intelligent at that, said, 'Why Mr Peyton that woman, Mrs Stuckly was my grandmother,' and she then related the whole story as she often heard it from her mother.

"It was not at Herring Neck that the occurrence took place, but on the South side of Twillingate Island where the family then resided before removing to Pikes' Arm, Herring Neck. The two young women were in behind their house, berry picking, when they observed an Indian creeping towards them. They instantly ran towards the house and being pretty fleet of foot, the Indians did not gain on them very fast. On drawing near their home the dogs began to bark and this encouraged them to renewed exertions. On nearing the house, one of them, then a young able woman, caught up a pole, faced about, and went for the Indian, the dogs assisting her by barking and yelping at him, at this the Indian turned and made for the woods. The woman did not however get within striking distance of him, and adds Mr Peyton, 'I guess it was well for

him she did not, or he would have got an awful crack on the head, most likely he would have been stunned, and then the dogs would have finished him off for certain.' It was not long after this that the family removed to Herring Neck.

"Old Mr Reddick confirmed his daughter's story, having often heard his late wife speak of it, as she heard it from her mother, one of the young women in question."

The Rev. Philip Tocque, in his curious work, entitled *Wandering Thoughts*, relates a conversation he had with an old man named Wiltshear, a resident of Bonavista. It is in dialogue form and is as follows:

"How long have you been living in this place?"

"About twenty five years, previous to which I resided several years in Green Bay¹, and once during that period barely escaped being transported."

"Under what circumstances?"

"In the year 1810, I was living to the northward. Five of us were returning one evening from fishing, when, on rounding a point, we came close upon a canoe of Red Indians; there were four men and one woman in the canoe. Had we been disposed to have shot them we could have done so, as we had a loaded gun in the boat. The Indians however, became alarmed, and pulled with all speed to the shore, when they immediately jumped out and ran into the woods, leaving the canoe on the beach. We were within ten yards of them when they landed. We took the canoe into our possession, and carried it home. In the fall of the year, when we went to St John's with the first boat load of dry fish, thinking a canoe would be a curiosity, we took it with us in order to present it to the Governor; but immediately it became known that we had a canoe of the Red Indians, we were taken and lodged in prison for ten days, on a supposition that we had shot the Indians to whom it belonged. We protested our innocence, and stated the whole affair to the authorities; at last the canoe was examined, no shot holes were found in any part of it, and there being no evidence against us we were set at liberty."

"Did you ever see any of the encampments of the Red Indians?"

"Yes, frequently; I have seen twelve wigwams in the neighborhood of Cat Harbour. A planter living there built a new boat, for which he had made a fine new suit of sails. One night the Indians came and carried away every sail. The planter and his men, immediately it was discovered, set out in pursuit of the Indians. After travelling nearly a day, they espied them on a distant hill, shaking their cossacks at them in defiance, which were made out of the boat's sails, and daubed with red ochre. Seeing that further pursuit was fruitless they returned home. The next day, however, the planter raised a party of twenty five of us. We proceeded overland to a place where we knew was an encampment; when we arrived, we found twelve wigwams, but all deserted. Previous to our leaving by land, two men were despatched in a skiff, in order to

¹ This is the fisherman's name for the whole of Notre Dame Bay.

take us back by water. On approaching near the place of the Indians, they saw a fine goose swimming about a considerable distance from the shore. They immediately rowed towards it, when one of the men happened to see something dark moving up and down behind a sand bank. Suspecting all was not right, they pulled from the shore, when they saw two Indians rise up from concealment, who immediately discharged their arrows at them, but they were at too great a distance to receive any injury. After the sails had been taken, the Indians, expecting a visit, placed these two of their party to keep watch. The goose was fastened to a string in order to decoy the men in the boat near the shore, so as to afford the Indians an opportunity of throwing their arrows at them. The two Indians on watch communicated intelligence of the arrival of the boat to the encampment; hence the cause of the forsaken wigwams when we arrived."

"How large were the wigwams?"

"They were built round, and about thirty or forty feet in circumference. The frame consisted of small poles, being fastened together at the top and covered with birch rind, leaving a small opening for the escape of the smoke. Traces of their encampments are still to be seen along the Cat Harbour shore, consisting of large holes etc. being left in the sand."

"Did you ever hear of any of the Indians having been taken?"

The answer to this question is just a repetition of Buchan's expedition, in a garbled and incorrect version, also an account of the three women who gave themselves up in 1823. The only interesting part of the reply is the statement that, "I recollect seeing two Red Indians when I was a boy, at Catalina; their names were William(?) June and Thomas August" (so named from the months in which they were taken). They were both taken very young, and one of them went master of a boat for many years out of Catalina."

"I remember reading something of Lieut. Buchan's expedition."

"Do you think any of the Red Indians now exist in the country?"

"I am of opinion that, owing to the relentless exterminating hand of the English furriers and the Micmac Indians, that what few were left unslaughtered made their escape across the straits of Belle Isle to Labrador."

Thos. Peyton informed me that but for his father's intercession and strong evidence as to Wiltshear's good character and innocence of the crime attributed to him, it would have gone hard with him, in fact as Peyton put it, "He would have hanged shure."

Joseph Young's story.

Joseph Young, better known as Joe Jep or Zoe-Zep, which is simply the Micmac way of pronouncing his Christian name, is a resident of Bank Head, Bay St George. Joe is a half breed Indian with a considerable blending of the Negro element in him, a most unusual combination by

¹ A mistake, the names were Tom June and John August.

the way, and was reared up by the Micmacs of that locality. In his younger days there lived in the same neighborhood an old Indian woman named Mitchel, whose parents were Mountagnais from Labrador. Joe often listened to this old body relating stories of the Red Indians, one of which was as follows.

"When quite a small girl she with her father, mother and a young brother, were hunting in the vicinity of Red Indian Lake. Having secured a good deal of fur they were proceeding down the lake in their canoe, preparatory to starting for the sea coast, when just at dusk one evening they observed the light of a fire through the woods, near the side of the lake. Supposing it to be some of their Micmac friends who were camped there they landed, and went in to investigate. They found a wigwam which proved not to be that of a Micmac but of a Red Indian family. Nothing daunted Old Mitchel went forward, raised the skin covering the doorway and looked in, being followed by the other members of his family. They beheld an old Red Indian man and woman with a young man and a little girl seated around the fire. At first the inmates seemed to be struck dumb with fear at this unexpected intrusion, and stared at the new comers in mute astonishment. Mitchel however, succeeded in allaying their fears after a little while, and seeing their miserable half starved plight, for they had roasting on sticks before the fire for their supper, three miserable Jays only, which was evidently all their stock of provisions, he made signs to them to come with him to his canoe and that he would give them venison. They understood him, and the boy and girl went out with him. He gave each a piece of venison, which the little girl in delight wrapped in her cloak and ran back to the wigwam, while Mitchel and wife brought up a kettle full of boiled meat and placed it over the fire to warm, and when it was ready they served it around to all hands on pieces of birch bark. The poor Beothucks expressed their gratitude as best they could for all this kindness, and invited Mitchel and his family, by signs to share their wigwam for the night. The two little girls, who were nearly about the same age, and too young to recognise any difference between them, soon became fast friends. Mrs Mitchel remembered what childish glee she felt at meeting a companion so far in the interior, and after so many weary months of toil and lonesomeness, and how she played with her new found friend. They could only communicate with each other by signs, as neither understood a word of the others language. They all seated themselves around the fire, and learnt from the Beothucks that on account of deer being so scarce and their fear to hunt much in the open, they had been reduced to great straits for food. Next morning at daylight the young Red Indian youth ascended a tree which they used for a lookout, and seeing some deer swimming across the lake, he jumped down, seized his bow and arrows, and without a moments hesitation, pushed off the Mountaineers canoe, jumped aboard and paddled away after the deer. She described him as an active athletic lad who handled the paddle with such strength and dexterity that he actually made the canoe fly through the water. He soon returned with a dead deer in tow. Mitchel stayed several days with them, and being well supplied with guns and

ammunition, killed several deer which he left with them for food. He also presented the young Beothuck with a gun and ammunition and taught him how to use it before leaving them, for all of which kindness the Beothucks showed the utmost gratitude."

Mathew (Mathy) Mitchel, grandson (?) of the woman Joe heard the story from, confirmed it, in so far as, that his grandparents did see a Beothuck wigwam at Red Indian Lake and went to investigate, but states the Red men had fled, though the fire was still burning in the centre and on three sticks stuck up, were the heads (only) of three Jays. They did not see the Red Indians or remain over night, and he says Joe was drawing upon his imagination in supplying the other details.

Mathy also told me that his grandfather and some others once saw three Red Indians' canoes full of people poling up the Exploits. They watched in concealment till the canoes were opposite them, when they fired off a gun in the air. Immediately the Beothucks made for the opposite shore, landed and ran off into the woods. In their haste the canoes went adrift and the tide catching them brought them quickly across the river to the side the Micmacs were on. There were still two small children in them who had not had time to get away, but immediately the canoes touched the shore these got out, grabbed up their deer skin clothes and made off.

Noel Mathews, one of my Micmac canoe-men, related to me the following traditions, which he learned from his mother and old Maurice Louis, the Chief of his tribe. This man Louis was one of those who accompanied W. E. Cormack in 1827, in his expedition to Red Indian Lake¹.

Noel confirms the shape of the Beothuck canoe, and of its being sewn with rootlets, and the gunwales being bound with the same, but there was this difference between it and the Micmac canoe. The latter is served over all from end to end, while that of the Red Indians was only served at intervals, and there were spaces cut in the gunwales to receive the binding so as to make it flush with the rest of the gunwale.

He relates how one Noel Boss, or Basque, I presume the same individual mentioned by Peyton and others, had much to do with the Red men, but he avers that it was always of a friendly nature. This Noel Boss on one occasion met two of them, a young man and a lad, crossing a marsh, with loads on their backs. He went towards them but they ran away. He also ran and finally caught up with them as they could not go fast, being burthened with their heavy loads which they would not discard. The young man could have easily outrun him, but he would not abandon the lad, who was greatly frightened. When Boss came up with them he looked the young man in the face and addressed him, but the latter only laughed and still kept on running. Boss made several attempts to get him to stop and have a palaver, but in vain, he then turned off and let them go their way. On another occasion this same man Boss with some of his own people, came out on the banks of the Exploits River and saw a Red Indian canoe on the opposite side with several people in it. The Micmacs again tried to parley with them across the river but the Red men

¹ A mistake, it was his father John Louis.

apparently did not relish their company, so they paddled away up the river. (Evidently another version of Mathy Mitchel's story.)

The only tragic story Noel related was that of a Micmac with his wife who coming to the shore of the Grand Lake near where the river flows out, saw a Red Indian wigwam on the opposite side. The man proposed to go across in their skin canoe and visit them, but his wife demurred, being too much afraid of them. He however, persisted in going himself. She remained behind and concealed herself in the bushes to await events. She saw him land, and also saw two Beothucks come forward and take him by the arms, and lead him up to their mamateek, into which all three entered. After a considerable time elapsed, the two Red men came forth carrying their belongings, got into their canoe and paddled away. After a long wait seeing no sign of her husband returning, she mustered up courage to venture across. Having constructed a raft she ferried herself over, but on entering the now silent mamateek, she was horrified to find the headless body of her husband stretched on the floor. The head as usual having been carried off by the Beothucks¹.

I met old Maurice Louis in 1870 but unfortunately was not aware that he possessed any information of this kind, a circumstance which I greatly regret. Had I known it, possibly, I might have obtained many valuable and interesting traditions from him.

The Rev. C. V. Cogan, C.E. Missionary in the District of White Bay, gave me some interesting information, relative to the Red Indians' doings in that locality, most of which was gleaned from the oldest inhabitant named Gale or Gill, then almost a nonagenarian, who died about the year 1880. Gale's father was one of the first settlers in White Bay, and saw a good deal of the Indians, being subject to their depredations on more than one occasion. Mr Cogan's informant frequently heard his father relate his experiences. He once saw two canoes full of Indians paddling across the bay, and related how they made a descent upon his premises, situated at the extreme head of the bay, when all the males were absent, hunting for fur in the interior. The Indians broke open and looted his store of every article which took their fancy all of which they carried off with them. Amongst other articles there were some silver spoons with the family crest engraved upon them. This Gale is said to have belonged to some family of distinction in England, but for some unknown cause had run away and hidden himself in this out of the way place. One of the spoons in question was subsequently found in a wigwam or mamateek at Red Indian Lake, at the time of Mary March's capture, and is now in Mr Cogan's possession².

¹ Mathew (Mathy) Mitchel also confirmed Noel Mathew's story, but gave a somewhat different version of it. He says it occurred at Red Indian Lake, and that the woman did not go to the wigwam but when her husband failed to return in due time, she made her way out to Bay St George where she informed her people of what had occurred. The Micmacs thereupon set out in a body for Red Indian Lake, found their dead comrade in the wigwam and then went after the Red men to wreak vengeance upon them.

² This was evidently the same man John Gale who wrote the Governor, Sir Charles Hamilton, in Sept. 1819, about the depredations of the Red Indians (see page 118).

³ This was apparently the spoon mentioned by the man named Butler. Old Mr John Peyton told me that several of the articles found by his party in 1819 at Red Indian Lake had been looted from a store in White Bay the fall before, thus confirming Gale's story.

While the Indians were looting the store, the women folk of Gale's household watched them from their residence, and old Mrs Gale stood on guard at a window with a heavily loaded flint lock musket pointing towards them ready to fire should they attempt an attack on the house itself.

Mr Cogan heard of two fishermen going into Western Bay, and observing some Indians on the beach, they fired at them and drove them off. The fishermen then went ashore to boil their tea kettle but while so engaged, the Indians returned and stealing out to the edge of the woods, shot the two men with arrows. They then mutilated the bodies in a shocking manner. The bodies were buried where found, and during Mr Cogan's incumbency they were come across in clearing away a site for a new church.

Information obtained from Mr J. B. Wheeler, J.P., Musgrave Harbour, N.D.B.

Mr Wheeler was well acquainted with a very old man named John Day, who died but a few years ago at an advanced age. Day, in his younger days was a servant of the Peytons, and was another of the party who accompanied them at the time of Mary March's capture in 1819. Mr Wheeler often heard the old man relate the whole circumstance, and gave me from memory, Day's story. It is so similar in almost every detail to Mr Peyton's own narrative that it would be needless to repeat it here. I shall merely give a few items not before stated.

According to this old man's story, the party were furnished with articles of barter in hope of trading with the natives for furs. Speaking of Mary March, he said she was very ill at the time of her capture, yet she took her baby in her arms and ran after the other Indians as they retreated, but was not able to keep up with them. Her husband seeing she was likely to be captured, turned back and took the child from her, but in her weak state she could not run fast enough and was soon overtaken. As soon as the husband saw this he gave the baby to another man, and turned back to try and rescue his wife. Breaking off a fir bough he placed it on his forehead, as a flag of truce and boldly came towards the white men. Seeing his wife's hands tied with a handkerchief he attempted to unloosen them, and to lead her away. They tried to prevent him and capture him also, but raising one hand, with a single blow he felled the first white man who approached him. The whites, six in number, then gathered around him, and tried to seize him, but with another blow he struck down a second man, rendering him insensible. Recognizing Mr Peyton, sr., as the leader he made towards him, grasped him by the collar and shook him so violently that Mr Peyton called out for help, saying "are you going to stand by and let the Indian kill me?" John Day asked, "do you think master's life is in danger?" All cried out, "yes." Instantly one of the crew fired and shot a ball into him, while another stabbed him in the back with a bayonet. He still held old Mr Peyton firmly, and would soon have choked him. Peyton beckoned for further help, the men then struck down the Indian with the butts of their muskets before they could succeed in making him relinquish his grasp of their master's throat. He had to be beaten insensible before he would let go. Day believed that had the party of white men not been armed with muskets, the Indian would have been a match for them all in

a hand to hand encounter. He was a very strong powerful man, and as he lay dead on the ice they measured him and found he was considerably over six feet in height.

I have had much communication with Mr Thomas Peyton, D.S. of Twillingate, son of John Peyton the captor of Mary March. Mr Peyton, jr., is one of the very few now remaining who knows anything of the Indians, and his information is all second hand, having been derived chiefly from his father and mother, and from old servants or employees of the family. In reply to various inquiries addressed to him from time to time by myself, I cull the following items.

Mr Thomas Peyton says, I never heard of any boy or girl being lost in Notre Dame Bay, except one boy named Rousell of New Bay. He was in the habit of going into the country by himself to look after his father's traps, and on one of these occasions he did not return. On a search being made his gun was found leaning against a tree near the country path, but the lad himself was never heard of afterwards. It is believed that the Indians either killed him or carried him off. Peyton says, I never heard of but one man being killed by the Indians, that was Thomas Rousell, about the year 1787. I was informed by Henry Rousell, residing in Hall's Bay, that the first five men who attempted to make a settlement in that Bay were all killed by the Indians (?). A crew came up from Twillingate shortly afterwards and found their bodies with the heads cut off and stuck on poles. One of the latter men was a Capt. Hall after whom the Bay was named.

Henry Rousell's Grandfather was a servant with Squire Childs and purchased the rights of that merchant to the salmon fishing in the brooks of Hall's Bay for the sum of £90 about 1772.

I never heard of a white settlement being attacked by the Indians, nor of any white person being carried off, nor did I ever hear of the Indians scalping any body. I have only seen a part of a Red Indian canoe on an Island in the Exploits River near Rushy Pond. The birch bark was very neatly sewn together with roots. I had several descriptions of their canoes given me, the best by Joe, Joe, Micmac, Long Joe as we called him. He found one by the side of the river near Badger Brook once, and launching it got in, and pushed off from the shore, but said Joe, "he devilish crank, me get ashore again as quickly as possible."

Peyton says Nancy's sister died at Charles's Brook, Nancy and her mother then paddled up to Lower Sandy Point, where she told the men in charge of the salmon station her sister had gone "winum," asleep, dead. The men then went down and buried the body. Her mother died a few days later at Sandy Point. Nance sewed the body up in a blanket and it was buried there, she was then sent down to Exploits Island to Mr Peyton's house.

Peyton often heard his mother and old Mrs Jure speak of Cormack. They described him as a long legged, wiry, but eccentric individual. He could eat almost anything. The Rev. John Chapman, C.E. Missionary, then residing in Twillingate, was married to Cormack's sister.

Mary March, when captured gave expression to the deepest grief at

the death of her husband, and showed her hatred of the man who fired the shot at him, by never coming near him. Old John Day said she was named after a young lady whom he knew well living at Itsminister, Newtown, Devon (?). This is certainly not correct. Old Mr Peyton himself often told me she was so named from the month in which she was taken.

John Wells, a native of Joe Batt's Arm, Fogo Island, with five others left his home in a boat to go to Fogo, but as the wind was against them and blowing fresh, they pulled into Shoal Bay towards a place called the Scrape. Seeing a sea pigeon swimming near the shore, they rowed in close, to get a shot at it, when an Indian who was hidden away, suddenly fired an arrow at them. It pierced Wells' hand and pinned it to the oar he was holding. The wound was a very nasty one and became much inflamed. It never properly healed, and eventually caused his death. This story was confirmed by Mr Wheeler, who had it from Wells' own widow.

Mr Thos. Peyton states that he personally knew many of the old furriers in the employ of his father and had been much in their company in his younger days. He gives the names of a few of them, such as John Day, Thomas Taylor, John Boles, Maurice Cull, and Humphrey Coles, from all of whom he heard many stories about the Indians, most of which have now slipped his memory. Old John Boles told him that on one occasion while rowing to his salmon nets in Hall's Bay, he saw an Indian run out on the edge of a cliff, and raise his bow. Knowing how accurate was their aim, Boles seized one of the boats thwarts and held it over his head; the arrow after poising in the air a moment, came down so fairly as to embed itself in the board. Catching up his flint lock gun, the old man used to add gleefully, "I peppered his cossack for him." These old furriers would never confess to the actual killing of an Indian. They used to say that the Indians were in great dread of the Whiteman's powder and shot.

In one of his letters Mr Peyton says he often heard when a boy at school that an English youngster was killed on the south side of Twillingate Harbour, near Hart's Cove, which was the usual anchorage for vessels coming from England. The boy went ashore for water, and was caught by the Indians and killed. Two other boys who went ashore one Sunday to wash their clothes in Kiar's Pond were also killed, and when a crew of men went to search for them they found the bodies, and at the same time saw on a point about half a mile to the westward a party of Indians making off.

"I never heard the Red Indians spoken of as giants," he adds. "Richmond or Richards (?) used to say the Indians were nasty dirty brutes, because no doubt their camps and the grounds about them smelted of seal fat and putrid animal matter lying around. I frequently heard the old men of Fogo speak of the Indian man June."

"After the killing of Thomas Rousell, his friends waged a war of extermination on the Indians. They killed a number of them at a place called Moore's Cove, near Shoal Tickle."

Peyton never heard of the Whiteman being carried off by the Indians

and reappearing with the woman and child, as related by John Gill of Exploits, nor does he believe the story. Having lived so many years in the Bay of Exploits and mixing with so many of the people who had seen and had something to do with the Red men, he thinks if there were any truth in this story he could scarcely fail to have heard of it. He once heard from a clergyman of the body of an Indian being picked up in the landwash near Phipp's Head in that Bay, who was supposed to have been shot, but adds, after careful enquiry found there was no truth in the story.

One Jacky Jones, whose proper name was Snelgrove, was a servant of his father's, and was with him at the capture of Mary March. He often travelled with this man and obtained much information from him. He refers to the story told by Joe Young, and believes there may be some truth in it. He was well acquainted with both Jack Mitchell, Micmac, and his wife. He often heard old Jack talk some sort of gibberish which he called Red Indian.

He tells a story of his own grandfather having once surprised some Indians in their wigwam, at Sandy Point, Birchy Island, when they all ran away. One woman having forgotten her child in her haste, ran back for it. Just as she was coming forth from the wigwam with the child, his grandfather arrived at the entrance. He tried to stop her, but she pulled off her moccasin, and struck him such a blow in the face with it as to nearly blind him, thereby making good her escape.

He never heard of the White woman seen by Capt. Buchan at Red Indian Lake. It is very strange that none of those who were with Buchan at the time, nor any one else, so far as I am aware ever mentioned this fact, still more remarkable that Peyton's father never referred to it. Yet I cannot believe that a man of Capt. Buchan's intelligence and powers of observation could have made any mistake.

Rev. Silas T. Rand's story.

The Rev. Silas Tertius Rand of Hantsport, N.S., was a gentleman who had much intercourse with the Micmac Indians of that Province, and who published a grammar and lexicon of their language several years ago. At my request in 1887, he furnished me with the following interesting "Anecdote of the Red Indians of Newfoundland."

He said the story was related to him by one Nancy Jeddore (Micmac) of Hantsport, N.S., who received it from her father, Joseph Nowlan who died about fifteen years previous, at the advanced age of ninety five years'. Mr Rand says, "I have seen and conversed with him many a time, but I did not know then that he had spent a good many years in Newfoundland, and also among the Esquimaux, as his daughter informs me was the case. Had I been aware of these facts, I might have gathered I doubt not, many interesting facts respecting the people whom he had seen and of whom he had heard. As Nancy's statements agree with what

¹ This would bring the date of his birth back to 1767, so that he would be fully 33 years of age at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

is related by others respecting the Beothucks, and as I have full confidence in their correctness, as heard from her father, I am well satisfied as to their general accuracy."

The Story.

"The Micmacs time out of mind have been in the habit of crossing over to Newfoundland to hunt. The Micmac name for this large Island, is 'Uktakumk,' the Mainland, or little Continent.

"Note.—It is 'Uktakumkook,' in the case locative, the form in which the name generally occurs.

"The name," he says, "seems to indicate that those who first gave it had not discovered that it was an Island. The Micmacs who visited it knew that there was another tribe there, but never could scrape acquaintance with them, for as soon as it was known that strangers were in the neighborhood, these Red Indians—called Red from their profuse use of Red ochre,—and who were believed to be able to tell by magic, when anyone was approaching—would gird on their snow shoes, if it was in the winter season, and flee as for their lives. But on one occasion three young hunters from 'Megumaghee,' Micmac-land—came upon three lodges belonging to these people. They were built up with logs around a 'cradle hollow,' so as to afford a protection from the guns of an enemy. These huts were empty and everything indicated that they had just been abandoned. The three Micmacs determined to give chase, and if possible overtake the fugitives, and make friends with them. They soon came sufficiently near to hail them and make signs of friendship, but those signs were unheeded, and the poor fellows, men, women, and children, fled like frightened fawns, and like John Gilpin's horse, 'as they fled left all the world behind.' Nothing daunted, however, the young men continued the pursuit. Finally one of the fleeing party, a young woman, snapped the strap that held her snow-shoe. This delayed her for a few moments. It was necessary to sit down and repair it. Her father ran back to her assistance and she was soon again on the wing. But the mended strap again gave way; and by this time the pursuers were so near that the poor creature was left behind, her companions would not halt for her. She shouted and screamed dolorously but her shrieks and cries were unheeded, and she was soon in the hands of the three hunters. They endeavoured to make her comprehend that they were not enemies but friends, that they would not injure a hair of her head. But although she probably understood the signification of their gesticulations, she had no confidence in them. She resisted wildly all attempts to lay a hand upon her and cried and shrieked with terror whenever one of them came near her. They tried to induce her by signs to go back with them to their encampment, and that she should be kindly treated and cared for. But this she positively refused to do. They offered her food which she refused to touch. Night was coming on and her friends were evidently now far away. The hunters could not leave her there to perish so they constructed a shelter and remained at the place for several days. Finally they succeeded in some measure in pacifying

her. Of one of the young men she ceased to be afraid. She went back with them to their camp, but still for several days refused all nourishment, but she clung to the young fellow who had first won her confidence, keeping as far as possible from all the rest, standing or crouching behind him, and keeping him between herself and the others. After a few days, however, she became pacified, and after remaining with them two years, she had learned to speak their language, and became the wife of that one of her captors to whom she had first become reconciled. Then she recounted her history.

"Joseph Nowlan, my informant's father, saw her many a time, and conversed with her on these subjects, but these details are lost. One summer when on the Island, Nowlan boarded with the family. The woman became the mother of a number of children.

"Such is the story referred to by Mr Gatschet. I can only regret that I had not known something of these matters during the life of Mr Nowlan: How much interesting information I might have obtained."

SILAS T. RAND.

HANTSFORT, N.S.,

May 21, 1887.

A friend of mine in New Brunswick (Mr Edward Jack) at my request interviewed a very old Melicite Indian of that Province named Gabriel, or Gabe, as to what he knew of the Newfoundland Indians. Gabe had often heard of them from the older people of his tribe, who used to visit this island periodically in quest of fur. It was however so long ago since these excursions took place, and Gabe's memory was now so defective, he could remember but little of what he had learned from his forbears.

The only thing learnt from this old Melicite which was at all of an interesting character is the following story.

"On one of these annual expeditions, three young hunters of his tribe, came across a Red Indian wigwam (mamateck) and took its occupants unawares. The latter rushed forth in great haste and betook themselves to the woods as was their custom when suddenly disturbed. No doubt the poor creatures had been so harassed by both whites and others, that they expected no mercy at the hands of either, but on this occasion, at least, according to Gabe, they were allowed to make their escape without molestation.

"In the hurry of their precipitate flight the Red men left behind a little baby boy rolled up in furs, in a corner of the wigwam, which the Melicites discovered on searching the interior. Being inclined for amusement, they took some charcoal from the fire and mixing it with grease, they smeared the poor little infant all over till he was as black as any nigger. They then determined to watch and see what the effect would be when the Beothucks returned, so hiding themselves in the thick forest close by, they awaited patiently a long time. At length they saw the Beothucks cautiously approach, with stealthy step, and peering about them

in every direction. At length they became sufficiently emboldened to enter the wigwan. On beholding the little black picaninny, they fairly howled with laughter, and apparently enjoyed the joke immensely. Upon this the hunters stealthily withdrew and did not further molest them. This was about all that old Gabe could recollect, of the many stories he had heard in his younger days."

In the *Royal Gazette* of January 1862, an article appeared on the "Aborigines of Newfoundland," signed W. Avalonis. It was of considerable interest, and ascertaining that the author was Mr William Sweetland, Magistrate of Bonavista, from whom I have already quoted extensively, the gist of his remarks were copied and are here given.

The author first refers to Buchan's expedition, as already fully set forth. He says he was personally acquainted with Capt. Buchan, and had frequent conversations with him about the Red Indians. He also says, in referring to Shanawdithit "that when brought to St John's and while residing in the house of Mr Cormack he had frequent opportunities of conversing with her, for Mr Cormack, during her residence with him, formed a pretty extensive vocabulary of the language of her people."

"On one of these occasions, we learnt," says he, "from her that the marines left by Capt. Buchan, had in no way misconducted themselves, and that the Indians continued to treat them with kindness, until the return of the chief, who had deserted Buchan's party that day. On his return to the wigwams he called his brethren together, and proposed to put the marines to death immediately, but this the others would not consent to do, and opposed it for a long time most strenuously, nevertheless, the chief eventually gained his point by having persuaded them of the necessity of doing so. The poor fellows were thrust forth from the huts, and from the direction in which their remains were discovered by Buchan and his party on their return to the pond, they were apparently intent upon returning to the Exploits to seek their commander. They were shot down by arrows from behind and beheaded.

"This confirms Lieut. Buchan's surmise that their death was occasioned by the return of the chief, possibly without presents. This chief, who directed their destruction, appears to have been of a sanguinary temperament with peculiarly marked features. The act completed, the inhabitants of the encampment fled with precipitation to the Indian town, where their account of the strange visitors and subsequent destruction of two of their number at the encampment caused great consternation, lest Lieut. Buchan and his party should return and annihilate them with his thunder. The safe return of the Indian who had accompanied Buchan to the depot, and Lieut. B's subsequent deposit of presents at the wigwams served, in some measure, to reassure the tribe, and relieve them somewhat from their fears of retaliation, but not sufficiently to do away with that suspicion which they naturally felt, that Buchan only wanted the opportunity to fall upon and annihilate the whole tribe, or at least we may infer as much from their darting arrows through the store before they ventured into it, as related by Lieut. Buchan.

"In questioning Shanawdithit as to the origin of her tribe she stated

that 'the Voice' told them that they sprang or came from an arrow stuck in the ground." Then follows the long dissertation as to their Tartar derivation from Ogus Khan &c., already given in full.

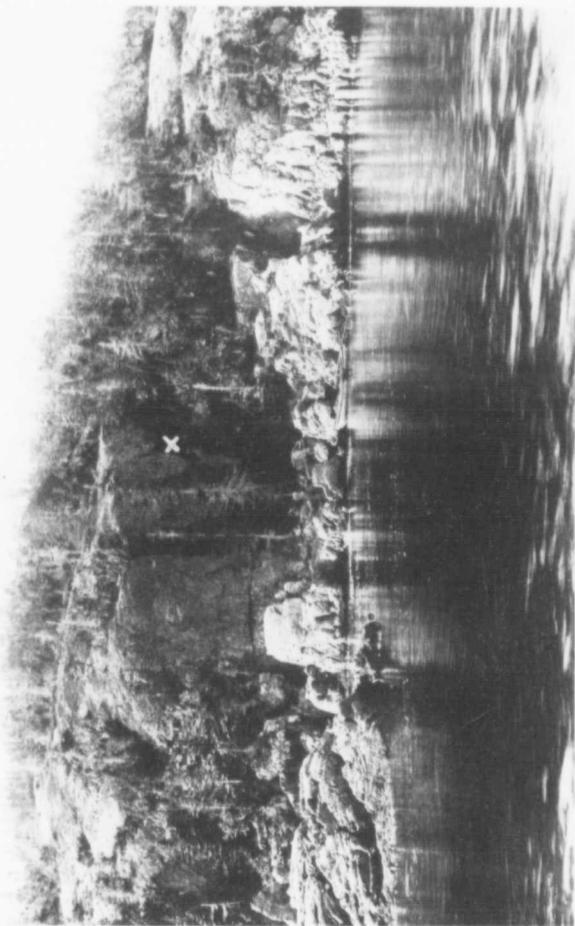
Mr Sweetland further adds, "that they were at one time on friendly terms with the White fishermen and even assisted them in their operations, as attested by Whitbourne, John Guy and others. He remarks that two splendid opportunities were suffered to pass, by the traders residing in Trinity and Bonavista Bays aforesaid, without taking advantage of them, to bring on an intercourse with the Red Indians, by means of the two Red Indian boys who fell into their possession, and who were reared up and employed by the parties who captured them. The one was named Tom June and the other John August. The former appears to have induced his patron to sit down and spend a day with his parents and his brothers and sisters, who had pitched their tent near them, and dwelt therein, at Gambo, during the whole of one winter. The other, John August, whose remains lie interred in the Churchyard at Trinity, usually in the fall, during many years, took his canoe, went off up the bay, and returned to his quarters at the end of a fortnight or three weeks; the interval, it is supposed, he spent visiting his family in the interior, but he does not appear to have committed the secret to anyone."

Lieutenant Chappell who published a book in 1818, entitled *The Voyage of the Rosamond*, also makes several references to the Red Indians. He says "on meeting a Micmac Indian in Bay of St George, he asked him if the savage, Red Indians, inhabiting the interior of the country, also looked up to God, when with a sneer of the most ineffable contempt, he replied, 'No; no look up to God: killee all men dat dem see, Red Indian no good.' 'Do you understand the talk of the Red Indians? Oh no; dem talkee all same dog; Bow, wow, wow.' This last speech was pronounced with a peculiar degree of acrimony."

Chappell it was who, referring to the Indian woman captured by Cull in 1804, observed it was said that this woman had been made away with on account of the value of the presents, which amounted to an hundred pounds. "Mr Cormack told MacGregor, author of 'British America,' in 1827, that if Cull could catch the author of that book within reach of his long duck gun, he would be as dead as any of the Red Indians that Cull had often shot."

Description of a Beothuck Sepulchre on an island in the Bay of Exploits.

During the summer of 1886 while engaged surveying the Bay of Exploits, the author paid a visit to a burial place of the Beothucks on an uninhabited island called Swan Island, a few miles south of Exploits Harbour, to examine a place of sepulchre I had often heard of. It is situated on the S. side of the Island, just inside two island rocks, and is so hidden from view that one would never detect it unless shown the place. On this occasion I had procured a guide who knew its location well, having previously entirely failed to find it on my own account.



Beckham Supp. Ives, Swan Island, Bay of Explorers, North Horn Bay.

It is approached by a little cove which leads up to the base of a jagged broken cliff, rising almost vertically from the water to a height of some fifty or more feet. On either side there are fissures or ravines reaching inland, occupied by dense bushes and some fairly large trees, which grow right down to the water's edge effectually concealing any appearance of a cave, from view. On the right hand side the cliff ends very abruptly, and the trees grow so close to its edge that it was necessary to almost squeeze oneself between the cliff and the nearest tree to get access to the rear. A slight elevation is then seen forming a sloping floor reaching up behind and beneath the cliff which here overhangs considerably. In fact it is in reality a great fissure in the back of the cliff. It slopes down so far that the upper overhanging part projects fully 15 or 20 feet, and forms a kind of canopy which affords complete shelter from the elements.

The floor of this semi-cavern was a mass of loose fragments of rock, fallen from the cliff above, mixed with sand and gravel. On removing some of this loose debris, fragments of human bones, birch bark and short pieces of sticks were found all confusedly mixed together. This may be accounted for by the fact that the place had been frequently visited before and pretty thoroughly ransacked. Nevertheless our search was fairly well rewarded, although the human bones were all too fragmentary and too much decayed to be worth preserving. A few rib bones and sections of vertebral columns only were intact. The fragments of birch bark were perfectly preserved. Some of those showed neat rows of stitching in single and double lines. The small sections of trees were cut to fit across the crevice immediately over the bodies, and on these the birch bark must have been laid, the whole being then covered or weighted down with loose rock and gravel, but all this had been disturbed and pulled to pieces. Some of the wood was so rudely hacked off at the ends as to suggest that it had been cut with stone implements, while other pieces were so cleanly cut as to leave no doubt steel axes had been used. This would seem to imply that burial had taken place here both before and after the advent of the white man.

After a good deal of labour in removing the heavier pieces of rock, and digging into the more gravelly parts beneath, a few articles of interest were found, such as carved bones, pieces of iron, broken glass bottles, fragments of lobster claws and other shells, and some sections of clay pipe stems. Two or three sticks sharpened at the ends and partly charred by fire were evidently used for roasting meat. Some small and much decayed fragments of bows and arrows, all still retaining evidence of having been smeared with red ochre were amongst the finds. But by far the most interesting articles recovered were the carved bones, and discs made of shells perforated in the middle¹. These with strings of wampum, consisting of segments of clay pipe stems alternating with others of the inner birch bark and small rings of sheet lead, were all strung on deer skin thongs. Far in at the back part of the crevice, resting on a shelf of the rock, a good many carved bone ornaments were found, of a very interesting character, some of these were made of ivory, probably Walrus' tusk, but by far the greater number consisted of flat pieces of deer's leg bones.

¹ Shells of the *Mya truncata* and *Saxicava rugosa*, locally called clams.

They were of various shapes and sizes and all had curious designs carved on either side, no two of which were exactly alike, and every piece had a small hole drilled through one end. Several pieces were between four and five inches long, and all tapered towards the end in which the hole was drilled.

The wider end averaged about half an inch; some were cut square across, others obliquely, and still others forked or swallow-tailed. A number of other pieces were short and presented two, three and some four prongs; two were cut in the shape of triangles, and several others in forms undecipherable. The designs on these were very elaborate, but did not seem to indicate anything beyond the whim or fancy of the designer. There were also several combs and a variety of nondescript articles.

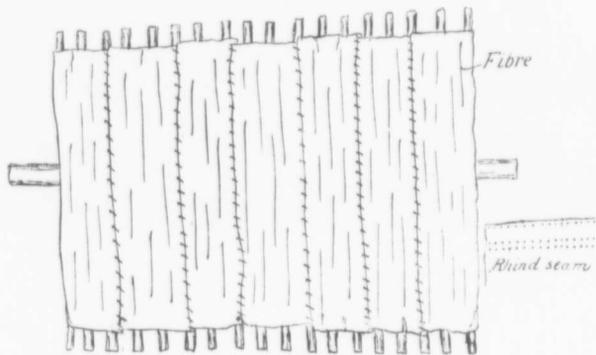
Perhaps the most interesting of all were a number of square blocks of ivory, about one inch long by $\frac{3}{4}$ wide and $\frac{1}{4}$ in thickness, perfectly plain on one side but elaborately carved on the other. A fine double marginal line ran around near the edge on each of the four sides, inside of which was a double row of triangular figures meeting at their apex on a central line, extending across the face of the block. The triangular figures on four of the blocks were eight in number, four on either side, while on another block there were six such at each of the narrower ends, twelve in all. In the central space of this latter block there appears a large figure exactly resembling the capital letter H. A few other blocks were merely scored with fine lines crossing each other at right angles. Another set of somewhat similar articles were of diamond shape of about two inches long, carved also on one side only. None of these latter pieces have holes in them, and one is led to the conclusion they were used for entirely different purposes than any of the other ornaments. They seem to suggest something in the form of our dice, and were probably used for gaming.

Mr Gatschet in one of his papers read before the Archaeological Section of the University of Pennsylvania (May 1900), describes a Micmac game called "Altesta-an-" consisting of a wooden tray, or "Waltes" and several small carved discs of bone, which latter were placed on the tray and tossed into the air and as they fell on the ground or on a skin spread out thereon, each counted according to the design on such as fell face upwards. I have very little doubt but that the Beothucks possessed a somewhat similar game, of which the blocks above mentioned formed the counters. There was nothing corresponding to the wooden tray or Waltes found, but Mr Gatschet states that a sheet of birch bark was frequently substituted for this, so it is quite probable the Beothuck only used the latter, and did not preserve it. If the above supposition for the use of these articles be correct, it would prove an interesting fact that two tribes so hostile to each other should have anything in common. It may point to more friendly relations in former times, but of this we have nothing of a definite nature.

The few remaining articles discovered here are clearly indicative of a more recent origin, they consist of fragments of iron pots, nails and clay pipe stems evidently French, for one piece is stamped with a fleur de lis and a lion Rampant, Arms of Francis I of France (?). A few chips of chert were found but no arrow heads or spears of any kind. Had such been

here at any time they were probably all picked up by those persons who had preceded me in the search. The only other articles to be noted were fragments of broken bottles, and of shell fish such as mussels, *Mytilus edulus*, salt and fresh water clams, especially *Mya arenaria*, the scallop, *Pecten islandicus*, and some broken lobster claws. There were among other non-descript articles several teeth of animals, some apparently of the seal and walrus, with two or three pigs' tusks. Most of these had holes bored in them like the other ornaments, these with fragments or lumps of radiated iron pyrites, used as fire stones, made up the remainder of the find.

A visit was paid to another island further in the Bay, on which a few articles only were obtained. The cliff here had fallen and the burial place was covered with tons of large fragments of rocks which would take several



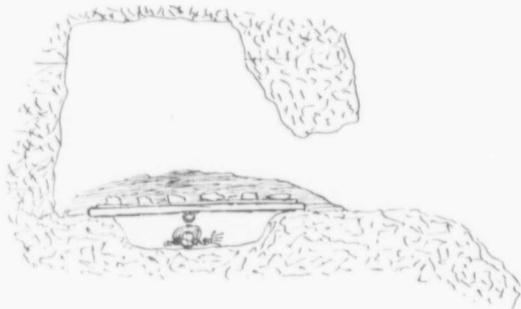
Birch bark covering corpse.

days to remove, and in any case the overhanging cliffs were too dangerous to work under. In the short time spent here we only succeeded in finding some pieces of birch bark, a few much decayed fragments of human bones, one very perfect forked bone ornament and the battered spout of a copper tea kettle.

I might add here that numerous carved bones similar to those above described have been found from time to time in other burial places on all sides of the island. The shape or pattern of all these varies but little, yet there are scarcely any two designs exactly alike. Invariably they show the trace of red ochre, especially in the interstices of the designs carved upon them.

Reconstructed Red Indian Grave, Hangman's Island, Placentia Bay.

Longitudinal section



Transverse section

Rough sketch of Hangman's Island (♦ is the grave).

Mr R. S. Dahl, M.E., has furnished me with the following particulars of Indian burying places visited by him in Placentia Bay and information received from Benjamin Warren who first found these places.

Red Indian grave on Hangman's Island, one of the group of Ragged Islands in that Bay. Particulars:

The grave was covered with a Birch Bark shield (see fig., p. 291) made of strips of bark neatly sewn together and laid upon sticks, eighteen in all. These were supported by one long central pole, lengthwise which was 4 inches in diameter and 10 feet long. The cross sticks were $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 7 feet long. These were placed about 4 inches apart, and the strips of bark covering 10 and 12 inches wide were sewn onto them. The long central lengthwise pole was placed underneath and supported the covering. This covering or pall was held in place by being weighted down with small rocks and gravel, or soil.

The cave in which the remains were found is described thus: The roof overhung the grave so as to completely protect it from the weather. It was about 25 feet from high water mark and about 10 feet above it. I saw a piece of the bark in which the seam overlapped about 1 inch, and the stick holes were exceedingly regular about $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart, double rows about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". A number of wrinkles neatly cut and holed and the absence of weapons indicated a woman's grave.

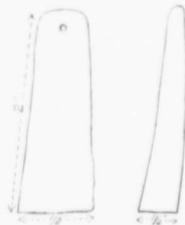
On another island called Tilt Island of the same group Mr Dahl examined a place called Indian Hole where several fragments of human remains and some stone implements were found. He enumerated the articles found here and on Hangman's Island as follows:

Indian Hole, Tilt Island.

1 rib bone.	1 arrow head.
1 tibia.	3 small beads.
1 patella.	2 large flat beads on stick.
1 bone (?).	1 feather.
1 metatarsal bone.	Birch rind with stitched holes.
1 piece of a cross stick.	

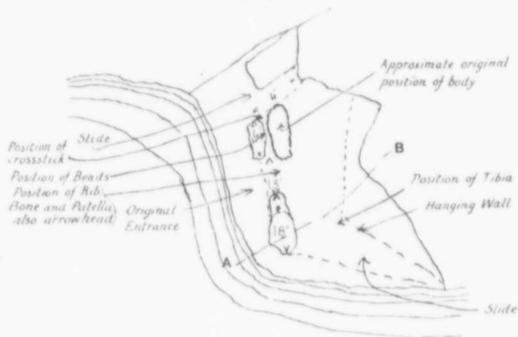
On Hangman's Island.

Birch rind with stitched holes and a number of small bones of doubtful origin. Found by Mr Warren on Hangman's Island 24 bone charms(?) made of bone or such hard substances approximately as sketch.



Indian Hole, Tilt Island, Ragged Islands, Placentic Bay.

Sketch plan.



Section A—B.



In the Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for 1856, there is a coloured frontispiece representing SHANAWDITHIT or NANCY, and said to be a facsimile of an original painting¹. The following interesting article explains the portrait and gives the source from whence it was obtained.

"Our frontispiece is the portrait of a woman who is believed to have been the last survivor of the Beothicks, the aboriginal people of Newfoundland. That ancient race was, unhappily, suffered to die out, without any attempt, beyond good intentions on the part of Europeans, for their conversion to the Christian faith.

"An interesting account of Shanawdithit is given by Bishop Englis of Nova Scotia, who visited the Island of Newfoundland in 1827 and in the course of his visitation reached, on July 2nd, the River and Bay of Exploits, on the North East shore of the Island. The ship in which the Bishop sailed went up the river for twenty five miles, and landed in a spot which the Bishop describes.

"The weather was fine, but as hot as I have ever felt it; while the ship was being provided with wood, we went in the boats about thirteen miles up the river to a rapid where we landed, and walked about two miles to a splendid waterfall. The land is good, finely wooded with large timber, and the scenery is rich and picturesque. Mr Peyton, who was with us, has twelve fishing stations for salmon along thirty miles of the river; and the abundance of seal, deer, wild fowl and game of every description is surprising. But our interest in all we saw was greatly increased by knowing that this was the retreat of the Beothick or red, or wild Indians, until the last four or five years.

"We were on several of their stations, and saw many of their traces. These stations were admirably chosen on points of land where they were concealed by the forest, but had long views up and down the river, to guard against surprise. When Cabot first landed he took away three of this unhappy tribe and from that day to the present they have had reason to lament the discovery of their island by Europeans. Not the least advancement has been made towards their civilization. They are still clothed in skins if any remnant of the race be left, and bows and arrows are their only weapons. English and French, and Micmacs and Mountaineers, and Labrador Esquimaux, shoot at the Beothick as they shoot at deer. The several attempts that have been made under the sanction of the Government to promote an intercourse with this race have been most unfortunate, though some of them had every prospect of success. An institution has been founded in the present year (1827) to renew these praiseworthy attempts, the expenses of which must be borne by benevolent individuals; and while I am writing, Mr Cormack is engaged in a search for the remnant of the race; but as it is known that they were reduced to the greatest distress by being driven from the shores and rivers, where alone they could procure sufficient food, and none have been seen for several years, it is feared by some that a young woman who was brought

¹ Probably a copy of the picture or portrait referred to by W. E. Cormack, and seen by Bonnycastle.

in some four years ago and is now living in Mr Peyton's family, is the only survivor of her tribe. The Beothick Institution have now assumed the charge of this interesting female, that she may be well instructed and provided for. Mr Cormack has only taken with him one Micmac, one Montautaner, and one Canadian Indian, and they are provided with shields to protect them from arrows, that they may not be compelled to fire. If they remain, they are hidden in the most retired covers of the forest, which is chiefly confined to the margins of lakes and banks of rivers. Mr Cormack and his three companions are provided with various hery-glyphics and emblems of peace, and hope to discover the objects of their pursuit by looking from the tops of hills for their smoke, which may sometimes be seen at the distance of eight or ten miles in the dawn of a calm frosty morning. Who can fail to wish complete success to so charitable an attempt? We returned to our ship in the evening greatly delighted with everything we had seen, but much exhausted with excessive heat; several of the party also suffered from the mosquitoes, which were innumerable.

"Wednesday July 5th. The Weather continued fine and we had a rapid sail down the river at an early hour in the morning, making only one stop at a beautiful station on Sandy Point, from whence the Beothicks a few years ago stole a vessel and several hundred pounds worth of property from Mr Peyton.

"Between nine and ten we landed at Burnt Island; and while the clergy were engaged in assembling the people for service, I had some conversation with Shanawdithit, the Beothick young woman I have already mentioned. The history of her introduction to Peyton's family is soon related. In April 1823, a party of furriers in the neighbourhood of the Exploits River, followed the traces of some Red Indians, until they near it they found an old woman, so infirm that she could not escape, came to a wigwam, or hut, from whence an Indian had just gone, and they took her to Mr Peyton's, where she was kindly treated, and loaded with presents. After a few days she was left at her wigwam, while the furriers searched for others. Two females were soon discovered, whose dress was but little different from that of the men. Though much alarmed, they were made to understand by signs that the old woman, who was their mother, was at hand. The man who had been first seen was their father(?) who was drowned by falling through the ice. The women were in such lamentable want of food that they were easily induced to go to Mr Peyton's. He took them to St John's where everything they were taken back to Exploits, and returned to their wigwam, in full confidence that an amicable intercourse with their tribe would be established. (One of the young women, who had suffered some time from pulmonary complaint died as soon as she was landed. In a short time the other two returned to one of Mr Peyton's stations, nearly famished and very soon after they arrived the old woman also died, and Mr Peyton has retained her daughter Shanawdithit, in his family ever since. She is fond of children, who leave their mother to go to her, and soon learned all that was necessary to

make her useful in the family. Her progress in the English language has been slow, and I greatly lamented to find that she had not received sufficient instruction to be baptised and confirmed. I should have brought her to Halifax for this purpose but her presence will be of infinite importance if any more of her tribe should be discovered. She is now 23 years old, very interesting, rather graceful, and of a good disposition; her countenance mild, her voice soft and harmonious. Sometimes a little sulkiness appears, and an anxiety to wander, when she will pass twenty four hours in the woods, and return; but this seldom occurs. She is fearful that her race has died for want of food. Mr Peyton has learnt from her that the traditions of the Beothick represent their descent from the Labrador Indians but the language of one is wholly unintelligible to the other. All that could be discovered of their religion is, that they feared some powerful monster, who was to appear from the sea and punish the wicked. They consider death as a long sleep, and it is customary to bury the implements and ornaments of the dead in the same grave with their former possessors. They believe in incantations. When the girl who died was very ill, her mother, who was of a violent and savage disposition, heated large stones and then poured water upon them until she was encircled by the fumes, from the midst of which she uttered horrid shrieks, expecting benefit to her suffering child.

"Mr Chapman has been diligent in visiting and instructing the people during our short absence in the upper part of the river. A congregation was assembled at 11 O'clock, and forty nine persons were confirmed. All of these were very decorous in their whole behaviour and many of them appeared sincerely devout.

"Shanawdithit was present. She perfectly understood that we were engaged in religious services, and seemed struck with their solemnity. Her whole deportment was serious and becoming. She was also made to understand my regret that her previous instruction had not been such as to allow of her baptism and confirmation, and my hope and expectation that she would be well prepared, if it should please God that we meet again. Mr Peyton pledged himself that every possible endeavour should be made for this purpose.

"We learn from another source that Shanawdithit lived altogether six years in St John's N.E., first in the house of Mr Cormack, then in that of Mr Simms, Attorney General, but consumption, the fatal disease of her nation, at length carried her off. She died in the hospital in St John's in 1826."

The foregoing may be looked upon as thoroughly reliable, coming as it does from one who actually saw and conversed with Shanawdithit, and moreover had the benefit of an intimate acquaintance with both Peyton and Cormack, two most intelligent persons.

Linguistic Affinity of the Beothucks.

The question of the linguistic affinity of the Beothucks with the neighbouring tribes of the Continent of America, as well as with certain

peoples of the Old World, with whom it was surmised, by some writers, they might be allied is one that has received much attention at the hands of several eminent Philologists on both sides of the Atlantic.

Prof. Andrew Wilson, LL.D., F.R.G.S. of the University of Toronto, speaking generally of the origin of the North American Indian, says, "Language which is considered the only satisfactory evidence of affiliation of the different races of man has been appealed to in vain. Of the five hundred or more North American languages spoken by the aboriginal tribes of this continent, all have undergone the minutest study and classification by the most eminent Philologists and have afforded nothing that could establish any definite line of descent." If this be true of the continental tribes, it is still more applicable in regard to those insular peoples such as the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

In England Prof. Robb Gordon Latham, in the *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Great Britain* treats largely on the subject of the Beothuck language. The late Sir Wm Dawson, Principal of McGill University, Montreal, and the Rev. Dr Patterson also studied the language. The latter gave the result of his investigations in the publications of the Royal Society of Canada, with remarks upon the language by the Rev. John Campbell, LL.D. Prof. Albert S. Gatschet of the Ethnological Bureau, Washington, U.S. made a most exhaustive study and analysis of the Beothuck vocabularies in our possession. He read three papers on this subject, before the American Philosophical Society, in June 1885, May 1886 and January 1890.

While the conclusions arrived at by these eminent scientists do not by any means solve the problem of the origin of the Beothucks, nevertheless they are all of so interesting a character that this history would be incomplete without their inclusion.

Mr W. E. Cormack, who took such an active part in the endeavour to bring about a friendly understanding with the aborigines, and who was a gentleman of superior attainments, being a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, conceived the idea that the Beothuck language pointed rather to an European than an American origin, and several other early writers were of the same opinion. The publication of the Icelandic Sagas no doubt gave rise to the supposition that possibly the Beothucks might be a remnant of the Norse Colonists, whom we are told formed a settlement on this side of the Atlantic in the 10th century, but a comparison of Beothuck with the Norse language failed to establish the slightest similarity between them. Capt. David Buchan was another who seemed to hold the same view, for he says in his concluding remarks, "I had persons with me that could speak Norwegian and most of the dialects known to the North of Europe, but they could in no wise understand them."

Other writers on the subject thought they might possibly have derived their origin from the early Basque fishermen, who claimed to have fished on the Banks and shores of Newfoundland prior to the advent of the Cabots. No doubt what gave rise to this supposition was the statement made on the supposed Cabot Map, that the inhabitants called the Codfish

which abounded in these waters, Baccalaos, a purely Basque term, but this has long since been disproved. The Beothucks had no such term for the fish, they called the Cod, *bobboosaret*, another reason for this supposed affinity may be found in the peculiar construction of this Basque language, which, while it contained no words of a similar sound or meaning, nevertheless, bore a certain morphological resemblance to the North American languages generally. Mr Horatio Hale points this out, in treating of the subject, when he says, "it is not in any positive similarity of words or grammar as would prove a direct affiliation, it is only in possessing that highly complex polysynthetic character which distinguishes the American languages. The likeness is merely in general cast and mould of speech, but this likeness has awakened much attention."

But the attempt to correlate the Beothuck with any European language having proved entirely abortive, thenceforth the attention of Ethnologists, who became interested in the subject, turned naturally to America, where a solution of the problem seemed most likely to be found. Yet here again, while the fact was established beyond question that the Beothuck language was undoubtedly Indian, i.e., American, still no clear relationship could be established between it and any of the continental dialects. This comparison likewise failed to reveal anything satisfactory.

Unfortunately, although the known words of this peculiar language preserved to us amount, according to Mr Gatschet, to some four hundred and eighty vocables, "yet owing to the defective mode of transcription, no vocabularies had ever caused him so much trouble and uncertainty in obtaining from them results available for science."

About all that can be clearly established at this distance of time with regard to these vocabularies, is that they were obtained at different dates, and from three different individuals. The first in point of time, was that of the Rev. Mr Clinch obtained from some unknown source about the end of the 18th century. It has been conjectured that Mr Clinch obtained this vocabulary from John August who lived at Catalina during Mr C.'s incumbency of the Parish of Trinity, but this is scarcely possible. August was taken from his mother, who was shot down, when he was only an infant, and as he ever afterwards lived amongst the whites, he had no opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of his mother tongue. It was also thought probable that the source of the vocabulary may have been the woman captured by Cull in 1804, but this cannot be as Mr Clinch himself had died before that date (?). The occurrence of the term, *OUBEË*, which is rendered into, "her own name," would certainly indicate that it was obtained from a female. Who this Ou-bee could have been can only be surmised, possibly it was the little girl mentioned by Governor Edwards and Mr Bland, who lived at Trinity with a family named Stone about the same time as Mr Clinch. The girl was afterwards taken to England, where she died.

The next vocabulary in point of time was that taken down from Mary March (Demaslut) by the Rev. Mr Leigh, Episcopal missionary at Twillingate, with whom she resided after her capture, and again for some time before Capt. Buchan took charge of her to restore her to her tribe. As Mary March could scarcely have obtained much proficiency in the

English language during that short period of her sojourn with Mr Leigh's family, it is only reasonable to suppose that she could not have made herself clearly understood, except by signs, and the use of the few words of English she had acquired, consequently it may be expected that many errors have crept into this vocabulary. The Robinson vocabulary was simply a reproduction of Leigh's with a few additional words subsequently obtained.

The third, and in point of real interest undoubtedly the most reliable, was that obtained by Mr W. E. Cormack from Nancy (Shanawdithit). Mr C. being himself a man of intellect and superior education, had an opportunity such as no one else possessed of acquiring a complete and reliable list of words from this woman. She, it will be remembered, had then been six years living with the Peyton family at Exploits, and had acquired considerable knowledge of English from them. During the last six or eight months of her existence she resided in Mr Cormack's house, and he himself tells us he availed of the opportunity to closely question her on all matters pertaining to her tribe. The few other words which Mrs Jure, Nancy's fellow servant at Peyton's was able to remember, constitute the whole range of the Beothuck vocabulary now preserved¹.

It would of course be presumption on my part to attempt anything like a solution of the problem this language presents, especially in face of the fact that it has received at the hands of such eminent scientists the closest possible scrutiny, while their endeavours to elucidate it seem to have been completely baffled, as may be judged by the widely diverse conclusions arrived at.

Mr Rob Gordon Latham in his paper on the "Varieties of man" published in *Comparative Philology*, London, 1850, pronounces the language to be distinctly Algonkin, he says, "The particular division to which the aborigines of Newfoundland belonged has been a matter of doubt. Some writers considering them to have been Eskimo, others to have been akin to the Micmaes, who have now a partial footing in the Island."

"Reasons against either of those views are supplied by a hitherto unpublished Beothuck vocabulary with which I have been kindly furnished by my friend Dr King of the Anthropological Society. This makes them a separate section of the Algo-kins, and such I believe them to have been."

This view is upheld by the Rev. John Campbell, LL.D., of Montreal. The latter gentleman, after a careful study of the Rev. Dr Patterson's paper on the Beothucks, says, "I have come to the deliberate conviction that Dr Latham was right in classifying the extinct aborigines of Newfoundland with the Algonkins." After a comparison of some of their words with Malay-Polynesian, he adds, "This would tend to locate the ancestral Beothuck stock in Celebes." He further adds, "I imagine the

¹ Mr Gatschet says he obtained still another vocabulary from Rev. Silas Rand, which he calls the Montreal vocabulary, but he adds "it is only another copy or 'reversion' of the W. E. Cormack voc."

² A table of the chief affinities between the Beothuck and the other Algonkin languages or dialects has been published by the present writer in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society* for 1850. Latham.

Beothucks belonged to the same tribe as the New England Pawtuckets and Pequods, and that their remote ancestors must have formed part of a great emigration from the Indian archipelago consequent upon the Buddhist invasions of these islands prior to the Christian era."

Sir Wm Dawson was of opinion that they were of Timic or Chippewan stock, and instances the fact that the Micmacs of Nova Scotia had a tradition that a prior race of human beings occupied that country, whom the Micmacs drove out, and who they believe went over to Newfoundland and settled there. These he conjectures were the Beothucks, who remained isolated and undisturbed, except perhaps by the Eskimo, until the advent of the white fishermen on our coast.

In a letter I received from him, dated March 28th, 1881, he writes as follows: "I have looked up the vocabulary you sent me, and have shown it to Dr S. M. Dawson, who knows something of the Western Indian Languages. We fail to make anything very certain of it. Latham was no doubt right in stating it to be different from Eskimo, but I see no certain affinities with Algonkin languages. The little it has in common with other American languages would perhaps, rather point to Timic, or Chippewan affinities; but I would not at all insist on this.

"I sent the vocabulary to Rev. Mr Rand of Hansport, N.S., who is our best authority on Micmac and Melicite. He fails to find any resemblance except in a few words mentioned below. Evidently the Beothuck language is something distinct from Eskimo on the North, and Micmac on the South, and its affinities, I fancy, are to be looked for among the Mountagnais or other tribes extending west from Labrador, and of whose languages I have no knowledge, etc."

Mr Rand points out the following resemblance to Micmac which may have some significance.

BEOTHUCK	MICMAC	ENGLISH
Mathuis	Maliwa	Hammer
Emet	Mema	Oil
Moosin	M'Kasin	Shoe

These are so far apparently related words. According to Lloyd¹, John Lewis a Mohawk "Metis" who could speak several Indian dialects, told Mr Curtis that the Beothuck language was unknown amongst the Canadian Indian tribes.

So far as the author is enabled to judge, Prof. Albert S. Gatschet certainly seems to have given the most profound study to this singular language. It so greatly interested him that he spared no pains to unearth everything he could possibly find bearing upon the subject. His study of the language extended over a period of five or six years altogether, and during that time he made the most minute investigation, and comparison with other Indian dialects, with all of which he was quite familiar. I should therefore be inclined to place more reliance in what this eminent Ethnologist has to say on the subject than upon the more cursory examinations of other authorities, however learned.

¹ T. G. B. Lloyd, C.E., F.G.S., M.A.I., paper on the Beothucks *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Vol. IV, p. 21, 1874/5.

First Paper

by

Albert S. Gatschet, read before the American Philosophical Society,

June 19th, 1885.

"Tribal names.

"The names by which this tribe is known to us are those of 'Beothuck' and of Red Indians. Mr Rob. Gordon Latham supposed Beothuck meant, *good night* in their own language, and that the tribe should hence be named the '*Good Night Indians*,' Beothuck being the term for 'good night' in Mary March's vocabulary. But Indians generally have some other mode of salutation than this; and that word reads in the original MS. *betheoate* (not *betheok*, Lloyd), it is evidently a form of the verb *baetha to go home*; and thus its real meaning is: 'I am going home.' The spellings of the tribal name found in the vocabularies are: Beothuk, Beothik, Behathook, Bocothuck, and Beathook; beothuk means not only *Red Indian* of Newfoundland, but is also the generic expression for *Indian*, and composes the word *haddlabothic body* (and *belly*). Just as many other peoples call themselves by the term *men*, to which Indian is here equivalent, it is but natural to assume that the Indians of Newfoundland called themselves by the same word.

"Another term Shawatharot or Shawdtharut is given for *Red Indian Man* in King's vocabulary; we find also, *Woas-sut Red Indian woman*, cf. *oosuck wife*; its diminutive *woas-eeash*, *woas-eeesh*, *Red Indian girl*; *mozazeesh*, *Red Indian boy*.

"*Red Indian* was the name given them by the explorers, fishermen or Colonists, because they noticed their habit of painting their utensils, lodges, boats and their own bodies with red ochre. Most of the earlier explorers and historians mention this peculiar habit. Thus Joann de Laet, in his *Novis Orbis*, page 34, writes: '*uterque sexus non modum cutem sed et vestimenta rubrica quadam tingit*,' etc.

"This ochre they obtained from several localities around the coast as well as in the interior, and mixed it with fat or grease to use as a substance for daubing.

"The Micmac Indians called them *Macquaejeet Ulno-mequagit*, the Abnakis *Ulnobah* (Latham) in which *ulno*, *ulno* means *man, Indian*.

"Language of the Beothuck.

"The results obtained by former writers from an investigation of their language not proving satisfactory to me, I have subjected the fragments which have reached down to our period to a new chirographic and critical examination, for the purpose of drawing all the conclusions that can fairly be drawn from them for ascertaining affinities, and thereby shed some light upon the origin of the Red Indians.

"The information we possess of the Beothuk tongue was chiefly derived from two women', Mary March and Shawnawdithit and is almost exclusively of a lexical, not of a grammatic nature. The points deducible from the vocabularies concerning the structure of the verb, noun and sentence, the formation of compound terms, the prefixes and suffixes of the language are very fragmentary and one sided. The mode of transcription is so defective that no vocabularies ever have caused me so much trouble and uncertainty as these in obtaining from them results available for science.

"Cormack obtained his vocabulary from Shawnawdithit which seems more reliable and phonetically, more accurate than the one obtained from Mary March."

Below I reproduce the terms written in the same manner as transmitted, using the following abbreviations:

ABBREVIATIONS.

C.—Cormack's vocabulary, from Shawnawdithit.

Howl.—Corrections of Leigh's printed voc. from his own Manuscript, made by James P. Howley.

K.—Vocabulary of Dr King, transmitted by Rob. Gordon Latham, London, April 1883.

No letter—Rev. John Leigh's voc. from Mary March (Demasduit).

VOCABULARY

- A-aduth *wal-spear*, C. Cf. amina.
 Ahenite *gaping*.
 Ahodeshook; Ahodesoot K, *down-stitch*; cf. hide-
 wood.
 Ahudish "marlin cat," *warbon*. Micmaqs call him
cat; the whites of Newfoundland call a young
seal; *cat* or *harp-seal*, because a design visible
 on their backs resembles a harp.¹
 Aholadress *father's*; cf. ewimin.
 Ahosonek *honey*, C.; ahadungeyk *bat*, K.
 Adalaminite or Adalaminite; ademinin K. *spear*;
 cf. a-enamin.
 Adamadret; adamatret K. *gun*, *rifle*.
 Adenshit *stars*; cf. shawwayet *a star*, K.
 Adizabal *Sea white wolf*.
 Adjith *to sneeze*.
 Adohknek, adohltak K, *adolthe*; ode-ohyke C.
boat, *vessel* seems to imply the idea of being
 pointed or curved; cf. A-aduth, adohook;
 Dhwirado, Tapohook.
 Adosook K, Aadisook C. *right*; Ee-aadisaok
right-blew, C.
 Adohook; Adsoch, K. *fish-hook*.
 Aduse *egg*; adysuth *foot*, K.
 Adzech K.; adasic; adzech C., *two*; ee-adzike
twelve, C.; adwech dthooout *twenty*, C.
 A-enamin *bone*, C.
 Aeshemet *lampfish*, C.
 A-en-eece *smell*, K.
 Ae-wa-en C.; cf. ee-wa-en.
 Agamet; agemet K. *buttons*; *money*.
 Aguathomet *grindstone*.
 Ahune, Ahunes, oon K. *rocks*. Misspelt Ahmece
 (Lloyd).
 Ajeedek or vicedisk K. *I like*.
 Akusthibit (acc. in original) *to kneel*.
 Amet *arrow*, C.
 Amina *diver spear*, C.
 Amshut *to get up*; cf. Amet. Howley supposes this
 to be from the same word as ganyswe, q.v.
 Anadrik *see throat*; cf. teleshwet.
 Ann *comet*; cf. ann *spear in skin*?
 Annahwadya *brood*, K.; cf. manjebathook.
 Annoo-ee *tree*; *forest*, *woods* K.
 Annun *spear*, C.; cf. a-duth, amina, amin, annoo-ee.
 Anowding, *convent*; *habitat*, when said by wife;
wife when said by husband. Cf. athook.
 Anyemen, anyemen *bone*, K.; det. from annoo-ee.
 q.v.
 A-osedwit *I am sleepy*, K.
 Anqet *sings*; *Gallinago Wilsonia*, of genus *Scolec-
 opoda*.
 Apparet *o-bidewok* *rainbow seal*.
 Arlobeeshe and madobeesh *twine*, K.; cf. memo-
 bish.
 Ashaboo-uth C.; iggobanth *blood*, C.; cf. ebanthoo.
 Ashantch *meat*; *fish*, K.
 Ashe *to be thin*; *old*.
 Ashmudym *devil*, "bad man," C.; cf. muddy.
 The spelling of the first syllable is doubtful.
 Ashwamet, ashwamet, mythological symbol drawn
 by Shawnawdithit.
 Ashwan, *nom. pl.*, *Eskimo*.
 Ashwoging C.; ashoging K., *arrow*; cf. dogernat.
 Asson; asson K. *sea-gull*.
 Assoyt *anger*, C.
 Athess; athep K. *to sit down*.
 Awoodet *singing*.
 Baasiek *bad*, C., *lether neckline*.

¹ Three women?; also *catfish*.

² This so-called harp does not develop till the animal attains its third year.

- Baasohmit; beasohmit, beasohook K. *gnawpawder*;
 cf. *basic*.
 Bahsin *dwang*.
 Batha *go home*, K. *beckel?* where do you go?
baodelt out of doors, or *to go out of doors*, K.
 These three words all seem to belong to the
 same verb.
 Baroosook *thunder*.
 Bas'le; basick K. *smoke*; cf. baasohmit.
 Basodh'heek; basod'ed K. *see*, C. Rigalook *see* in
 Lehigh's *see*, seems to point to another dialect.
 Is-basodh'heek *see'see*, C.
 Basoolite Hoak *to help*.
 Bashubet *scrub* (verb?).
 Bathic; badose K., wathsoosook K. *rain*; cf.
ebanthon.
 Baulsooshat *bed*, K.; cf. balbasosoret *softish*.
 Beadook *nipper* *smokins*.
 Bedejamish *bewapowte* *Map*, C.; cf. *koshahomeng*
bewapowt.
 Beedet *money*; cf. *agamet*, *beasick*.
 Beothuk, Beothuk K.; Behat'hook K.; Beothook
 in Howay's corresp.; Be-athook. 1) *Indian*;
 2) *Red Indian*, *vs.* Indian of Newfoundland;
 cf. *haddabathic*.
 Be-roosik or berrook *clouds*.
 Bechosic *good night*.
 Bihodegama *berries*; cf. *manus*.
 Bidessuk, beadook, bidook K. *see*, cf. *aladideshok*,
apparet.
 Bidsum *swind*.
 Bitwan *to be done*.
 Bood *thunder*, K.
 Boddinat Hoak; boddishik K. *pigeon guillemot*,
 a sea bird. A species of these, very abundant
 in Newfoundland is *Larusca tridactylus*.
 Boddishooonet *leaf*; cf. *hoobershawt*, *mondicent*
 and *emot see*.
 Boddissosoret *softish*; is the same word as *baubos-*
sorat.
 Bogathoooytch, *to kill*, K.; *buhashanwite* *to beat*;
bodathoooytch *beat him?* Beating and killing
 are frequently expressed by the same term in
 Indian languages; cf. *dayams*.
 Bogoboret; beidoret, beidoret K. *boat*.
 Bogomot or bogomat *beast*, K.; *boghimot* *woman's*
beast, K.; *bodchomot* *woman*, C.; *beomot*
beast, C.; cf. *bigolaret*.
 Booshasha, booshasha *woman*, K.; cf. *obeshoon*.
 Boos'eshaet *see*, K.; cf. *bolbidishemet*.
 Booshashich *I am sorry*, K.; cf. *pakooobont*.
 Boodat *stick*; cf. *esheet*, *manichet*.
 Boos seek *bird*, C.; pronounced *book*.
 Boothaxet *slap* (verb); K.; cf. *boobowee*.
 Boomat *outermayet*; boothomot *outermayet*
Hoak *verb* ?
 Booysh *stick* *hard*; *bo-yeeesh* *stick* *see*, K.
 Booyshamede *white* *boy*, C.; *booyshamede* *boy*, K.
 Buhashanwite; cf. bogathoooytch.
 Bukashaman, buakshimon *man*, *buggishaman*
white *man*, K.
 Butterwee *to*, K. (English).
 Carintack *to speak*, K.; *seethack*, *jeroothack*
speech, K.

Cheshit *to grow*.
 Cockaboret; cf. *geswat*.

Daimeck C., dabeek K., abodesic *four*; re-
 dabook *fourteen*, C.
 Datomesh; dootomeish K. *trout*.
 Datums or datyums *not kill?*, K.
 Dausoset *I am hungry*, K., probably false; cf.
boochahuit.

Dehine Hoak, dehain K. *egg*.
 Dehdowet; dshewet K., *see*, subst.
 Deed'ashow *rod*, K.
 Deis-hemin Hoak, dayemin K. *give me!*
 Deidod' *come with us?* K. *dyoom!* *come hither!*
 K. *dyoot thomet!* *come hither?* C. *toomet!*
come, K. *nyed you come back*, K.

Demashat, nom. pt. of *Mary Marsh*.
 Deschudodock *to blow*, C.
 Deyn yad, pl. deyn-yadrok *bird*, C.
 Dho orado *large boat*, K.; cf. *adidibhek*.
 Dhuycam, dhuycam K., dhuycam *cloth*.
 Dugayavik *fox*, K.; cf. *deest'ashow* *rod*; the com-
 mon fox is the red fox.

Dogernat *arrow*, kind of.
 Doodeshweshet, nom. pt. of Nancy's mother, C.
 Doothim *beak*, K.
 Dooomte K., *doosomte* *fun*.
 Drona; drone-ook *Y. hair*; the latter form ap-
 parently a plural.

Dthoonanven, thuyun *hatch*, K.
 Dtho-omut, C.; cf. *alaseeh*, *Dyoot*, *dyoot*, *come here*.

Ebanthoo; ebanoe K. *water*.

Ebatook *to drink*, K.; *sebatthoong* *to drink water*,

K.; cf. *ebanthoo*, *hathuc*.

Edat or edot *ishing line*; cf. *a-adath*, *adathook*.

Edru or edree; edalchom K. *offer*.

Ee; composes the numerals of the first decade from

11 to 19; it is prefixed to them and emphasized;

cf. the single numerals.

Eeg *fat*, adj.

Eenoopa *old* (called), K.

Eenoosha *to hope*, K.; cf. *noducra*.

Eeeshoon *cup*, K.

Eeshang *eight* *blue*, C.

Eeshet *stick*, K.; probably abbrev. of *nameshet*, q.v.

Eeshoo *male* *hair*.

Ee-see-en; *awa-ee-en* K., *hehine*, *ee-owin* K. *knife*;

cf. *see*. (Eegh has also) *nom.* probably *my-*
speak *for* *wine* *wa-en*).

Egbididitsik K., *egbididish* *all handkerchief*.

Ejabathook, ejabathook K., *see*; *eejabathook* *sails*.

Ejeew *to see*, K.; pronounced *ee-shin*.

Emamoose, *emamoose* *woman*; *emmamoose*

white *woman*, K.

Emamooseet *child*, *girl*; *emmamooseet* *white* *girl*, K.

Emet; *emet* K. *see*; composes *bolbidishemet* and

edomet, q.v.

Emothook; *emathook* K. *dogwood* (genus: *Cor-*

nus; or *myrica* *Lab.*

Ethenow; ethenaw Hoak *fork*.

Emano *to go out*; *emano* *go out*, Hoak.

Eximon *feather*, K.

Gaboweeet *breath*, C.

† Sea pigeon, Black guillemot, *Larusca gyris*.

- Gamyess *get up*, Howl.
 Gasook or yasook, yasook *dry* K.; gasuck, gassek, K. *sea-kings*.
 Gausp *dead*, K.; gussset *death*, and *dead*, K.
 Genet *tern, hare*, a sea-swallow; *Lomvia troile* (also called *Urea troile*, K. has genet fur.
 Ge-oun K. *green skin*.
 Gessat *fare*, K.; cockaboset! *no fear? do not be afraid!* K.
 Ghegnyan, gregn-yan, K., guinya *eye*.
 Gheen K., green or gun? *moon*.
 Godyathuc *wood*.
 Gogiramanet K., giggeramanet; giggamanet Howl. *net*.
 Gohdin *egg*, C.
 Godabonyvesh *November*, C.
 Godabonyvoh, *October*, C.
 Godawik *shovel*; cf. hadowadet.
 Gonathun: keathun Howl.; cf. keathut.
 Goodshun *lead* or *subst.*.
 Gorheyet *fish*¹, a bird of the genus *Sterna*; species not identifiable, perhaps *macrura*, which is frequent in Newfoundland (H. W. Henshaw).
 Gomet *scallops or shell*; a liveable, *fresh*.
 Gus-shawit *puffin*, a bird of the Alcidæ family; *Lunda cirrhata*.
 Gusshwit; gwashwet, whashwit, washwet K. *hair*.
 Guxthin; cf. keathut.
 Gungooth Howl. *mainland*.
 Hadlabothic-body; hadlabatheek *belly*, C.; contains boothuk, q.v.
 Hadlalabet K.; hadlihet *glass*; cf. nalalabet.
 Hadlowadet *shovel*, K.; cf. godawik.
 Hanawassut *fish* or *habitat*, K.
 Hanvyes *finger*, K.
 Havit *the devil*, K.
 Hodamisht *knos*.
 Homedick, homedick, oomteech K., *good*.
 Bodimam *to eye*, K.; cf. wothamashet.
 Immamoose; cf. emamoose.
 Isedowet *to sleep*; cf. boothahwet.
 Iwena *thumb*; cf. boad.
 Iwish *hammer*, K.; cf. mattuis.
 Jewmetchem, jewmetcheen *son*, K.
 Juggamut *gooseberry*.
 Yasek C., Yarek K., gathet *one*; ee-yaziech *berry*, C.
 Yeathun, ethath *fox*, K.
 Yéothadic *one*, C.; ee-yéothaduck *nineteen*, C.
 Yeech *short*, K.
 Kausasabook, *causabow* *sonny*, K.
 Ka² *inshore tide*; a rapid current where the tide ebbs and flows in a narrow channel of the sea.
 Kaesingmuyet *blind*, C.; from gasook *dry*, gheenyon *eye*.
 Kannabuch *long*, K.
 Kawingemesch *shaly hand*, K.
 Keathut, gomathun-keathun; ge-outuk K., guathin; *hand*, Kessook, kaasook *hill*, K.
 Kewis, Kuis, owis, kessoe K. *sun*; *moon*; *with*.
 Kuis *halfmoon*; a mythological symbol drawn by Shanawdithat.
 Kingcubit *to stand*.
 Kolhamesamut (see accented) *January*, C.
 Koshet *to fall*.
 Kothabonung bewajowit *February*, C. For the last part of word, cf. bodeyamish bewajowite.
 Kisweet K., osweet *deer* (caribou).
 Kowayaseek *July*, C.; contains yarek *one*, Kuscheet *two*.
 Lathun; lathum? *trap*, K.; cf. shabathoet.
 Marlabooch *with*, K.
 Maduk, Mádúk *go-morrow*, K.
 Madvut *hiccough*.
 Macned, maemed; mewet *hand*, K.; cf. meesh in kawingemeesh; meeman monasthus *to shake hands*. Memayet *arms*.
 Magraguis, magtraguis *son*, K.
 Magorum; magorum K. *deer's horns*.
 Mamashie K.; mamshing *ship*, *wood*.
 Mamatrabet a long (diggible; *song*); K.
 Mameshet; memeshet Howl. *ducks and drakes* (*drake*: male duck probably the mallard duck, *Anas boschas*).
 Mame-shook, mamudthun K. *mouth*; cf. memasook.
 Mammateek, cf. meotick.
 Mamshet, mamset, mamset K., mamset C. *olive*.
 Doodelchweshet mamshet *gayoso*, or D. mamshieet *gayshon*, *Doodelchweshet is olive*, K. mamset *tree*, K.
 Mamasshos, nom. pr. of Nancy's father.
 Mammadrout or -out *lord bird*, or *harlequin duck*, contains drona.
 Mammashieek *islands*; cf. mamashie.
 Mammashieet (or mammashieem J. Peyton), mamashieet K., mamudthuk, mamudthun K. *dog*, mamme-smitch, pl. mammasavit *puppy*.
 Mamshet, mamshiet K. *horse* (simply; animal).
 Manaboret K., manovoont Howl. *blanket*.
 Manomus *March*, *month* *of*, C.
 Mandeweech, mandweech *fishes*, K.
 Mandey, mamdei K., mandeyke C. *black*.
 Mampethook *bread*, C.
 Mangemethon *shoulder*.
 Mangaroomish or mangar-suish *son*; probably *son* of magraguis.
 Manne *fisher*, *cup*.
 Mams *berries*, K.; cf. fbidegenoid.
 Marmek *eyebrow*.
 Marot *to smell*, K. (v. intr.).
 Massooch, massooch *will water*, K.
 Mathodie *to eye*.
 Matlik, matie *stinking*; matie bidesok *stinking*, *rotten soil*³, K.; matlie bidesook *stinking soil*; cf. marat.
 The term is, *Sterna Wilsoni*. The Turr is, *Urea arctica lomvia*.

¹ Two entirely different species of sea birds.

² Kittiwake Gull, *Rissa tridactylus*.

³ *Fratercula arctica*.

⁴ More probably the eider duck, *Somateria mollissima*.

⁵ Perhaps, *Phoca vitulina*.

- Mattais Howl *hammer*; cf. iwish.
 Memassok, mamudh-uk, mamadhut K. *longue*;
 cf. nameshook.
 Memaayt arms; cf. maemed.
 Meotak, meowtick, ma-adthike K. *house, wig-
 wam*. Mammatik *house, mammatek* Howl.
*winer wigwam, meothuk house, hut, till
 camp, K. (probably a windbreak).*
 Merobish *forend*; cf. ardobeesh.
 Messilget hook *haly, K.*
 Methabeet *cattle, K.*; methabete "cows and horses."
 Miaoth, *to fly*.
 Moithamok *stems of deer, K.*
 Moeshwadit *drawing* ?; moha-shaudet or me-
 shaudet *drawing-knife, K.*
 Moishens *omb*.
 Moisanadrook *swolf*.
 Mokothut, species of a blunt-nosed fish, C.
 Monsthus (*to touch*?), inceman monasthus *to shake
 hands*; cf. maemed.
 Mondicut *lamp, K.*; cf. hobbiduishedet.
 Moosus *thow*.
 Moomesick, nom. pr. of Nancy's grandfather.
 Moeshaman, moethuman K. *car*.
 Moosin *moosain, K., moosin shoe, K.*
 Moesindes *yeburist anklet, C., contains moosin*.
 Moosessleesh; cf. moosresh.
 Mothoyet *cream jug*; cf. naldalahet.
 Moowagenite *iron*.
 Moowak *trousers, K.*
 Moosessh, moosawesh K. *Red Indian boy, mosses-
 deest Indian boy, C.*
 Muldy, mander K., midit C. *bad, dirty, mudlet
 bad man, C.*; cf. eshneudyim.
 Naldalahet *cream-jug*; cf. haldalahet, motheyet.
 Nechwa *tobacco, K.*, deli- hemin neechon? *give
 me tobacco?* Howl.
 Newin, newin no, K.
 Nimeerek C., nimeythek K., nijek, nije-k, *five,
 six-ninecek fifteen, C.*
 Noinewa *to heat, K.*; cf. eenodsha.
 Nomosahsut, nom. pr. of Demasdit's husband;
 tall 6 feet 7½ inches.
 Oadjaemet C. *to boil, as water*; v. trans. or intr. ?
 noodamut *to boil, v. trans. C.*
 Oshoheen *warning yourself*; cf. boobusha.
 Oshederk *glove, K.*
 Oshet *little bird* (species of ?), C.
 Odlayewee-shamit *December, C.*; cf. odlaywee.
 Odmenen, ode- emon K., odemet *odre*; cf. emet.
 Odenook (odlayet, odowzheet K. *gouse*; cf. esheet
duck.
 Odishuk *to cut*.
 Odjet *leather, K. and Leigh*.
 Odjot *to cut*; cf. peksoodout.
 Odjoo-ot, odjooet K. *hate*; cf. kosweet, oda-
 sweetreshamut.
 Odlat K., woodrat *fire*; cf. boobeshawit.
 O-odsook, oodrook C., ode-ooak K. *seven, ce-ood-
 ook seven, C.*
 Oosh *lip*.
 Oosuk *safe*; cf. woas-wit.
 Osavate *to row*; cf. woth-in, wothamashet.
 Osoeyet K., osogeen Howl. *osogee*.
 Ostuk *hater* (J. Peyton); also called guillemot, a
 sea bird of the genus *Uria*¹. Species not
 identifiable.
 Oun; cf. abane.
 Owasbesho-un ? C. *whale's tail*, a mythological
 emblem drawn by Shanawditthit. Dr Dawson
 thinks it is a totem.
 Ozern, ozrook K. *ice*.
 Podibeak, polybear Howl. *car, paddle*; cf. osavate.
 Pokoodoot, pokoodoot, hococoyne *to eat, K.*;
 cf. odjot.
 Posh-haushat *to go to bed, K.*; cf. a-oseedwit.
 Pugathote *to throw*.
 Quadranuk, quadranuk K. *gimlet*.
 Quish *nails*.
 Shalathoshet Howl, shalathootet *trap*.
 Sasmoth, thimook, shamook, shamoc K. *capelan,
 a fish species*².
 Shanandithit C., Shanawditthit, nom. pr. of Nancy,
 a Beothuck woman.
 Shannig, Shonak, Shawmik, Shannok, nom. pr.,
Algonk Indian, Shonak "bad Indians" *Al-
 mon*; cf. Sho-udamunk.
 Shapoth K., shaboth *crowd*.
 Shansce C. and K., threat *ton*.
 Shawatharot, Shawdithart, nom. pr., *Red Indian
 man*; cf. zathrook.
 Shawsweet *a star*; cf. adenislit.
 Shebshoweet K., shebshowit, sheebunt C. *wood
 pecker*.
 Shelon, sheebin *river, brook, K.*
 Sheshasing wathik *upper arm, C.*
 Sheshothui, sheshothoon *sagitt, K.*
 Sheedensheet *catcher, K.*
 Shegamite *to blow the nose*.
 Shema bogosthuc *muskrat*; cf. bedadrook.
 Shendeck C., shendee K., thedic *thru, ee-shen
 deck thirteen, shendeck ditho-ont thirty, C.*
 Sheshwake *grinding stone, K.*; cf. aguthosmet.
 Shoe-wana, shuwat *water bucket, of birch bark,
 drinking cup, K., shoe-wan-yeshi small stone
 vessel, C.* A drawing of a shuwat, made by
 Shanawditthit, has been preserved (Howley).
 Sho-udamunk from Peyton, nom. pr. of the Mount-
 taineer or Algonkin Indians of Labrador,
Andaps, or "good Indians"; cf. Shannig.
 Sosheet *hat, K.*
 Shucodolimet K., shucodimit, a plant called *Indian
 cup*³.
 Tapathook, daphathook K. *same*; cf. adolikthek.
 Teleshcet *net, thread*.
 Theshone *keaton, K.*
 Thegnyan *clothes*; cf. dngnyan.
 Thine *I thank you*.
 Thooret *come hither*⁴ abbrev. from the full dyoot
 thooret C.; cf. deesod.
 Thowidger *to swim*.
 Toonut; cf. deesod.

¹ Thick billed Guillemot, *Alca torda*.² *Mulletta villosus*.³ *Saxifraga purpurea*.

- Wabee *woe*, K.; probably misunderstood for *white*.
 Wadlawheg *August*, C.
 Wasemook *salmon*, K.; cf. *wothamshet*.
 Washagenis K., washewash *moon*.
 Washamet *shashwit* K.; cf. *goashawit*.
 Washewitch K., washu *night, darkness*; cf. *moutli's* names.
 Washoodiet, wadshoodet *to shoot*, K.
 Wasumawessek *April, June, Sept. wber*, C. Said to mean "first sunny month"; cf. *wasemook*.
 Washosnooh *rain*, K.; cf. *batlio*.
 Wathik *arm*, C., wathekew *the whole arm*, K.; cf. *shredging*.
 Wannathoake, nom. pt. of Mary March (Howley).
 Wawashemet *o-owin mōo meshluck we give you thee a knife*, K.
 Weenan *sock*, K.; cf. *go-oon*.
 Weshimesh (Lloyd, washemesh) *herring*; cf. *wothamshet*. Mr Howley thinks that Washimish, the name of an Island, contains this term.
 Whadicheime; cf. *bagathōowytch to kill*?.
 Widumite *to die*.
 Woadthoonin, woad-hoowin *spider*, K.
 Woas-ecash, wous-eeah *Red Indian girl*, K.
 Woas-sut *Red Indian woman*, K., same as *oonuck*.
 Wobee *white*, K.; cf. *wabee*.
 Wobeshet *slave*, K.
 Woin *Howl*, same *hoop*.
 Woodch *blackbird*¹, C.
 Woomum *pond*, K.
 Wothamshet Lloyd, *to run, woothyat to walk*.
 Zathrook *husband*; cf. *anywaying*.
 Zeek *weblaw*, K.; ablr. from *baasick*?.
 Zisoot K., *Zosweet partridge*. Ptarmigan is added to the term; but a ptarmigan (*Lagopus alba*) is not a partridge².

Beothuck song preserved by Cormack.

Subjects of: Bafu Buth Bamosheen Babashot, Siethodahan-yish, Edalamsen, Dosadōōosh, Edalamssek.

Second Paper

by

Albert S. Gatschet read before American Philosophical Society

May 7th 1886.

In this paper he first treats of the Robinson Vocabulary, so called, because it was furnished to the British Museum Library by Capt. Sir Hercules Robinson of H.M. Ship, *Favourite*, 1820. This vocabulary, as the Author states, was written from memory of conversations had with the Rev. Mr Leigh at Harbour Grace, and being merely an incorrect copy of Leigh's own vocabulary obtained from Mary March, need not be considered here. There are a few additional words however which I shall include later.

Mr Gatschet then treats of the grammatic elements of the language thus:

Phonetics.

The points deducible with some degree of certainty from the very imperfect material on hand may be summed up as follows, the sounds being represented in my own scientific alphabet, in which all vowels have the European continental value:

Vowels:

i i e ä a ä o u u

¹ Robin thrush, *Turdus migratorius*, called Blackbird in Newfoundland.

² The Willow grouse, always called partridge, locally.

Diphthongs:

ai, ei in by-esh *bitch*, madyrut *blow*; oi, in moismadock *wolf*; ou, au in ge-ou *kit*; oe may indicate o: emocthook (?), etc.

Consonants:

	Explosives:		Aspirates:	Sounds of duration:		
	sord	sonant		Spirants	Nasals	Trills
Gutturals:	k	g	z	h	ng	
Palatals:	tch	dsh		y		cl
Linguals:				sh		r, l
Dentals:	t	d	th	s, z	n	
Labials:	p	b		w, (v?)	m	

The sound expressed by lth in adolthek, adolthe *boat* I have rendered by ʎ, the palatalized l, which is produced by holding the tip of the tongue against the alveolar or foremost part of the palate. It appears in many American, but not in Algonkin languages.

The sound dr, tr in adamadret, adamatret *gun*, drona *hair*, edrü *otter* and other terms is probably a peculiar sound, and not a mere combination of d(t) with r.

The articulation dth seems distinct from the aspirate th of the English language; it occurs in dthoonanyen *hatchet*, dthö-önut *ten*, used in forming the decade in the terms for twenty, thirty, etc. (cf. theant and shanse *ten*). Perhaps it is th pronounced with an explosive effort of the vocal organ.

z is rendered in our lists by gh and sometimes by ch, as in yaseech *one*, dronecoch *hairs*, mäduch *to-morrow*.

ts, ds are unfrequent or do not occur at all.

sch in deschudodock *to blow* and other terms is probably our sk. f does not occur in Beothuck but is found in Micmac vocabularies; perhaps it would be better to have rendered there that sound by v'h, w'h and not by f, for other Algonkin dialects show no trace of it.

l is unfrequent and found, as an initial sound, only in the term lathun *trap*. Whether r is our rolling r or not is difficult to determine.

th often figures as a terminal, but more frequently as an initial and medial sound.

Consonants are frequently found geminated in our lists, but this is chiefly due to the graphic method of English writers, who habitually geminate them to show that the preceding vowel is short in quantity: cf. datto-meish, haddabothic, immamooset, massooch.

The language exhibits the peculiarity not unfrequently observed throughout America, that final syllables generally end in consonants and the preceding syllables in vowels. Accumulations of consonants occur, but are not frequent: e.g. carntack *to speak*, Mamjaesdoo, nom. pr. The majority of all syllables not final consists of a consonant followed by a vowel, or diphthong.

Too little information is on hand to establish any general rules for the *accentuation*. None of the accented words are oxytonized, but several have the antepenult emphasized: bashedthock, äshwoging, dösomite; the term ejabathook has the accent still further removed from the final syllable. Very likely the accent could in that language shift as in other languages

of America, from syllable to syllable, whenever *rhetorical* reasons required it. By some of the collectors the signs for length and brevity were used to designate the emphasized syllable, placed above or underneath the vowels.

Alternation of sounds, or spontaneous permutation of the guttural, labial, etc., sounds without any apparent cause, is traceable here as well as in all other illiterate languages. Thus the consonantic sounds produced in the same position of the vocal organs are observed to alternate between:

- g and k: buggishaman, lukashaman *man*, etc.
 g and z: bogomot, boghmoot *breast*.
 g and h: buggishamesh, buhashamesh *boy*; bogathoowytch *to kill*, buhashawite *to beat*.
 tch and sh: moochiman, mooshaman *car*.
 ish and s, sh: wadshoolet, washoolet *to shoot*.
 t and d: meembesh, madalabesh *thread*, *twine*.
 t and d: tapathook, dapathook *stone*.
 t and th: meotick, mae-adthike *house*; mattic, mathick *stinking*.
 d and th: ebanthoo, ehadoe *water*.
 th and z: nunyethick, nunezick *fire*.
 th and s, sh: mamud-thuk, memasook *tongue*; thamook, shamook *capitan*.
 s and z: meenyet, ozegeen *scissors*.
 s and sh: mamset, mamshet *alive*; buhboosoret, buhbooshret *coffee*.
 p and b: shapoth, shaboth *candle*.

In regard to vowels, the inaccurate transmission of the words does not give us any firm hold; still we find alternation between:

- a and o: bogomot, bogomot *breast*; dattomeish, dottomeish *trout*.
 a and e: baasick, bethew *heads*.
 oi and ei: boyish, by-yeech *herb*.

Morphology.

The points to be gained for the morphology of Beothuk are more scanty still than what can be obtained for reconstructing its phonology, and for the inflection of its verb we are entirely in the dark.

Substantive. The most frequent endings of substantives are *-k* and *-t*, and a few only, like *drona hair*, end in a vowel. Whether the substantive had any inflection for case or not, is not easy to determine; we find however, that *maemed hand* is given for the subjective *meeman* (in *n*, *monasthus to shake hands*) for the objective case; in the same manner *nechwa* and *neechon tobacco*, *mameshook* and *mamudthun mouth*. Other terms in *-n* are probably worded in the objective or some other of the oblique cases: *ewinon feather*, *magoran deer's horns*, *mooshaman, car*, *ozegeen scissors*, *shedothun sugar*. Cf. the two forms for *head*.

A plural is traceable in the substantives *deyn-yad bird*, *deyn-yadrook birds*; *odizeet goose*, pl. *odensook geese*; *drona*, pl. *drone-ooch hair*; and to judge from analogy, the following terms may possibly be worded in the plural form *marmecuk cycbrov(s)*, *messiliget-hook babies* (?), *moisamadrook wolves* (?), *berroich clouds*, *ejabathook sails*. Compare also *edot fishing line*, *adothook fish hook*; the latter perhaps a plural of the former. The numerals 7, 8, 9 also show a suffix *-uk, -ook*.

Adjectives are exhibiting formative suffixes of very different kinds *gosset* and *gausep dead*, *gasook dry*, *boos-seek blunt*, *homedich good* *ass-soyt angry*, *ceshang-eyghth blue*, *ashei lean*.

The phrase *shedbasing wathik upper arm* would seem to show, that the adjective, when used attributively, precedes the noun which it qualifies.

The numerals of our list are all provided with the suffix *-eek* or *-ook*; what remains in the numerals from *one* to *ten*, is a monosyllable, except in the instance of *six* and *nine*. *Yaseek* is given as *one* and as *first* (in the term for *April*)¹ but whether there was a series of real ordinals we do not know.

Compound nouns. A few terms are recognizable as compound nouns, and in them the determinative precedes the noun qualified:

wash-geuis *moon*, lit. "night-sun."
 bobbidush-emet *lamp*; probably "fire-oil."
 kaesin-guinyet *blind*; probably for "dry on eyes."
 moosin-gei-jeharson *ankle*; contains moosin *moosatin*.
 adasweet-eshamut *December*; contains odusweet *hare*, *rabbit*.
 aguathoonet *grinding stone*; probably contains ahuse *stone* in the initial agu-, *agua*.

No pronouns whatever could be made out with any degree of probability.

Concerning the verbal inflection we are almost entirely without reliable data, nor do we know anything concerning the subjective and objective pronouns necessarily connected with conjugational forms.

(1) Verbs mentioned in the par. iple *-ing* or in the infinitive generally end in *-t* and *-k*.

a: anshut *to get up*, awosdet *singing*, bitunait *to lie down*, cheashit *to groan*, misro *to smell*, kingitait *to stand*, washoodiet *to shoot*.
k: carntack *to speak*, deschudoodick *to blow*, elathook *to drink*, odishuik *to cut*.

(2) Imperative forms, to judge from the English translation, are the following:

deiwod! *come with us!* dyoom! *come hither!*
 dyoot thourit! *come hither!* (Rob. kooret! kowset!)
 nadyed *you come back!*
 cockabooet! *no fear! do not be afraid!*
 bobathoowiyich! *beat him!*
 del-hemim! *give me!*

(3) Participial forms are probably represented by amet *awake*, gosset and gausep *dead*, apparet *sunken* (Rob. aparit).

(4) The first person of the singular is, according to the interpretation, contained in the vocables:

geedick or vicodisk *I like*.
 boochawit *I am hungry*; cf. danosset.
 a-oseedwit *I am sleepy*; cf. boothaswet *sleep*, isedowet *to sleep*.
 thine *I thank you*; cf. what was said of *bethoate*.

(5) Other personal forms of singular or plural are probably embodied in the terms:

pokosodoot, from odoot *to eat*.
 ierootack, jeroothack *speak*, from carntack *to speak*.
 becket? *where do you go?*
 boothasha; cf. obshween *warming yourself*.

(6) Forms in *-p* and *-es*, if not misspelt occur in *athcp*, *athess* *sit down*, *gamnyess get up*, *gausep dead*.

¹ Perhaps also in *June, July, September*.

² The Algonkin *ta, nu, n*, of the first person occurs in none of these examples.

(7) No conclusive instance of reduplication as a means of inflection or derivation occurs in any of the terms transmitted, though we may compare *wawashemet*, p. 307, Nonosabasut, nom. pr. Is *mammateek* a reduplication of *meotick*?

Derivation.

Derivatives and the mode of derivation are easier to trace in this insular language than other grammatic processes. Although the existence of prefixes is not certain as yet, derivation through suffixes can be proved by many instances, and there was probably a large number of suffixes, simple and compound, in existence. Some of the suffixes were mentioned above, and what may be considered as "prefixes (?)" will be treated of separately.

Suffix *-eesh*, *-eech*, *-ish* forms diminutive nouns:

mammusemitch puppy, from *mamasameet dog*.
Mossesdiesh Indian boy.
Iukashamesh boy, from *Iukashaman man*.
wawashesh Indian girl, from *wawasut Indian woman*.
Shoawayeesh small vessel, from *shuwan bucket, cup*.
mandeweech finger(?); *hanyees finger*.

Probably the term *yeesh short* is only deduced from the above instances of diminutives and had no separate existence for itself.

-et, a frequently occurring; nominal suffix:

a-eshemet lampfish, *delddooet saw*, *gaboweeet breath*, *kosowet door*, *kuseheet house*, *meihabeet cattle*, *shelshooet soapstone*, *shewiesheet sockstar*, *sosheet hat*, *teidesheet bed*, *sohesheet stove*, probably from *wahce scythe*. Also occurring as a verbal ending; cf. above, hence it is possible that the nouns in *-et* are simply *nominia verbalia* of verbs in *-et*, *n*.

-ē, a suffix found in verbs and nouns:

chanthook to drink, from *chantoo water*.
obesoleek gloves, perhaps (if *na plural form*) from *obosheen, q.v.*

Verbs in *-k* were mentioned *supra*; *-ook* forms plurals of substantives, also numerals; in Micmac the suffix for the plural of animates is *-ūk, -k*, for inanimates *-ul, -l*; in Abnaki *-ak, -al*.

-m occurs in nouns like *dingyam clothes*, *lathum (?) trap*, *woodum pond*; also in *ibadinnam*, *jewmetchem*, etc.

-n, suffix of objective case and of many substantives.

-oret, nominal suffix in *bobboosoret codfish*, *bogodoret heart*, *manaboret blanket*, *oodrat fire*, *shawatharott man*.

-nit, -wit occurs in *kadimishuite tickle*, *ethenwit fork*, *mondicuet lamp*.
Demasluit, nom. pr., *guashuwit bear*; also in sundry verbs.

-ut occurs in nouns:

wawasut Indian woman, *mokoohut fish species*, *madyut hiccup*.

Prefixed Part of Speech

Follows a series of terms or parts of speech found only at the beginning of certain words. Whether they are particles of an adverbial or preposi-

tional nature (prefixes), or fragments of nouns, was not possible for me to decide. The dissyllabic nature of some of them seems to favour a nominal origin.

bogo- buka-: bogodoret, abbr. bédoret *heart*.

bogomat *breast*,
 bogathic *wycth to kill, beat*,
 bukashaman *man*,
 buqashamash *boy*,
 shroma bogoshuh *musquito*.

cc- is the prefix of numerals in the decad from 11 to 19.

hada-, ada-, hoda-, odo-, od- is found in terms for tools, implements, parts of the animal body. *a* is easily confounded with *o* by English-speaking people.

hadlabothic *body, hadabathock belly*,
 hadlanishit *law*; cf. hothamashet *to run*,
 hadlahahet *glass* and *glass vessel*,
 hadlowadet *shovel*; cf. od-ishoik *to cut*, and godawik,
 adamadret *gun, rifle*,
 adadmitte *spear*,
 ardobeesh *twine*; is also spelt adobeesh (Howley),
 adothook *fishhook*,
 adolikhitek, odo-othyke *boat, vessel*.

uama-, uema-. The terms commencing with this group are all arrayed in alphabetical order on pp. 305, 306, and point to living organisms or parts of such or dwellings.

Remarks on Single Terms.

For several English terms the English-Beothuk vocabulary gives more than one equivalent, even when only one is expected. With some of their number the inference is, that one of these is borrowed from an alien language. Thus we have:

devil ashmodyim, haot,
comb edrathu, modensu,
hammer wosh, matius,
money agamet, boelet. The fact that agamet also means *button* finds a parallel in the Greek language, where the term for *head*, *anawa*, *anap*, forms also the one for *coin* or *money*: *tchutu anawa*, "*stone head*" or "*metal head*,"
breed amawhadya, mang-bathoak,
lamp haddishush-enet, mondionet,
to adenshit, shawwayet,
grinding stone aguathosnet, shewthake,
shovel godawik, hadlowadet,
trap lathun, shahathoodet.

See also the different terms for *cup* (vessel), *spear*, *wife*, *feather*, *boy*, *rain*, *to hear*, etc. Concerning the term *trap*, one of the terms may be the noun, the other the verb (*to trap*). Terms traceable to alien languages will be considered below.

The term for *cat* is evidently the same with that for *seal* and *marten*, the similarity of their heads being suggestive for name-giving. In the term for *cat*, *abideshook*, a prefix *a-* appears, for which I find no second instance in the lists; *abidish* is, I think, the full form of the singular for all the three animals.

Of the two terms for *fire*, *boobeeshawt* means *what is warming*, cf. *boobasha warm*, *oodrat* is the proper term for fire.

Smoke and *gunpowder* are expressed by the same word in many Indian languages; here, the one for *gunpowder*, *baasothnut*, is a derivative of basic *smoke*.

The *muskito*, *shema bogosthuc*, is described as a black fly(?).

Whadicheme in King's vocabulary means *to kill*.

Beothik as name for *man*, *Indian* and *Red Indian* is probably more correct than the commonly used *Beothuk*.

Botomet onthermayet probably contains a whole sentence.

The term for *hill*, *keosock*, *kaasook* is probably identical with *keathut head*.

Eshamut appears in the names for *December* and *January*; signification unknown.

Ethnic position of the Beothuk.

The most important result to be derived from researches on the Beothuk people and languages must be the solution of the problem, whether they formed a race for themselves and spoke a language independent of any other, or are racially and linguistically linked to other nations or tribes.

Our means for studying their racial characteristics are very scanty. No accurate measurements of their bodies are on hand, a few skulls only are left as tangible remnants of their bodily existence (described by George Rusk; cf. p. 413). Their appearance, customs and manners, lodges and canoes seem to testify in favor of a race separate from the Algonkians 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 or earliest condition.

A comparison with the Labrador and Greenland *Inuit* language, commonly called Eskimo, has yielded to me no term resting on real affinity. The Greenlandish *attausek one* and B. *yaseek one* agree in the suffix only.

R. G. Latham has adduced some parallels of Beothuk with Tinné dialects, especially with Taculli, spoken in the Rocky Mountains. But he does not admit such rare parallels as proof of affinity, and in historic times at least, the Beothuks dwelt too far from the countries held by Tinné Indians to render any connection probable. Not the least affinity is traceable between Beothuk and Iroquois vocables, nor does the phonology of the two yield any substantial points of equality. Tribes of the Iroquois stock once held the shores of the St Lawrence river down to the environs of Quebec, perhaps further to the northeast and thus lived at no great distance from Newfoundland.

All that is left for us to do is to compare the sundry Algonkin dialects with the remnants of the Beothuk speech. Among these, the Micmac of Nova Scotia and parts of the adjoining mainland, the Abnâki of New Brunswick and Maine, the Naskâpi of Labrador will more than others

engross our attention, as being spoken in the nearest vicinity of Newfoundland. The first of these, Micmac, was spoken also upon the isle itself. Here as everywhere else, words growing out of the roots of the language and therefore inherent to it, have to be carefully distinguished from terms *borrowed* of other languages. It will be best to make here a distinction between Beothuk terms *undoubtedly* Algonkin in phonetics and signification and other Beothuk terms, which *resemble* some words found in Algonkin dialects. Words of these two categories form part of the list of duplex Beothuk terms for one English word, as given on a previous page.

(1) *Beothuk words also occurring* in Algonkin dialects: -eesh, -ish, suffix forming diminutive nouns: occurs in various forms in all the Eastern Algonkin dialects.

mamishet; mamset *alive, living*; Micmac meemaject, perhaps transposed from aimaject.

anattus *hammer*; Abnaki mattoo.

mantee *devil*; Micmac manetoo, Naskapi (matchi) mantoo.

odemee, odemet *olive*; Micmac odemen.

Shebon, sheeban *river*; Micmac shebow; sibi, sipi in all Eastern Algonkin dialects for *long river*.

wolsee *white*; Micmac wabooee, Naskapi waboon, walpaan *white*; also in all Eastern Algonkin dialects; cf. E. wabosheet *silver*, probably for "white sleeve"; and Micmac woban *daylight*.

(2) *Beothuk words resembling* terms of Algonkin dialects comparable to them in phonetics and signification. Some of them were extracted from R. G. Latham's comparative list, in his *Comp. Philology*, pp. 433-455.

bathuk *rain*; Micmac ikfashuk, -paesuk in kiekpaesuk *rain*; but the other forms given in Beothuk, hadooee and watshooosook, do not agree; cf. ebanthoo *water*.

boobehawt *fox*. The radix is boob- and hence no analogy exists with Ottawa ashokte, Abnaki skounat and other Algonkin terms for *fox* mentioned by Latham.

bukashaman *white man, moon*. Affinity with Micmac wabe akewehonon *white man* ('jaeman *man*) through aphoresis of wa- is exceedingly doubtful. Compare the Beothuk prefixed syllable *hoo-*.

emet *oil*; Abnaki pemnee, Ojibwe hunde *oil*; Micmac mema *oil, fat, grease*.

kannabuch *long*; cf. the Algonkin names Kennebec, Quinipiak *long (islet)*, and the Virg'ian kunnawuk *long* (Strachey, p. 193).

kewis, kuis *sun, north*; wat-ha-gewis *moon* (the form kuis is misspelt).

Micmac nakoushet *sun*, topi nakoushet *moon* in Naskapi beshung, beeshoon *sun* and *moon*. The ordinary term in the Eastern Algonkin languages is gisis, kisis, kishis for both celestial bodies; goes is the Micmac *month* appended to each of their month-names.

Magatagnis, magatagnis, mangarowish *sun*. Latham, supposing goes to be the portion of the word signifying *sun*, has quoted numerous analogues, as Cree rapissit, Ottawa kwis, Shawano kowiss, etc., but Robinson has mangarowis *sun*, Kung has kwis, kuis *sun, moon*, which makes the above term very doubtful. Probably it was the result of a misunderstanding; cf. magoron *devil*?, kwis *sun*.

mamoodthuk *dog*, mamoo-om-eth *puppy*; Micmac alamouch, elmooshe *dog*, elmooshek *puppies*, Abnaki almoosook *puppies* (Abnaki in Abn. corresponds to mama- in Beothuk).

mamudthun *mouth*. Latham refers us to Abnaki maadon, Micmac toon, but Leigh has name-shook for *mouth* and memasook for *language*, which proves that mam, mem is the radix of the Beothuk word and not dthun.

mameebathook *bread* contains in its final part beothuk *man people*; and in its first perhaps Micmac megoset, mangeschuk *to eat, mixed food*, or the French *manger*, obtained through Micmac Indians. So the signification would be "people's food".

manis *berries*; Micmac mingeschal *berries* may be compared, provided *man-* is the basis of the term.

mooon *moccasin, moon shoe*; probably originated from Abnaki (and other Algonkin): mkison *moccasin* through elipse.

moosthunan *sun*; in Algonkin dialects tawa is *sun* and therefore Latham is mistaken in comparing Micmac moostoween, Abnaki moostawee (*my sun*) muddy, mudti, *bad dirty*; could possibly be the transformed Ottawa and Massach. word matche,

Mohican *matchit*, Ojibwé *mudji had*, quoted by Latham. Ashmudym *devil* is a derivative of muddy.

noodura to hear is probably the Micmac *noodák I hear (him)*.

woas-seesh girl is a derivative of *woas-sut woman*, and therefore affinity with the Naskápi squashish *girl* through aphæresis is not probable, *sehqwo* ('s'kwá) being *woman* in that language. In the Micmac, *epit* is *woman*, *epita-ish girl*.

The lists which yielded the above Algonkin terms are contained in: A. Gallatin's *Synopsis, Archeologia Americana*, Vol. II, (1836); in *Collections of Massachusetts Histor. Society*, I series, for 1799, where long vocabularies of *Micmac*, *Mountaineer* and *Naskápi* were published; in Rev. Silas T. Rand's *First Reading Book in the Micmac Language*, Halifax, 1875, 16mo.; also in *Abuáki* (Benekee) and *Micmac lists* sent to me by R. G. Latham and evidently taken with respect to existing Beothuk lists, for in both are mentioned the same special terms, as *drawing knife*, *capelan*, *Indian cup*, *deer's horns*, *ticklas*, etc. W. E. Cormack or his attendants probably took all these three vocabularies during the same year.

In order to obtain a correct and unprejudiced idea of our comparative Beothuk-Algonkin lists, we have to remember that the Red Indians always kept up friendly intercourse and trade with the Naskápi or Mountaineer Indians of Labrador, and that during the *first half* of the eighteenth century, when Micmacs had settled upon Newfoundland, they were, according to a passage of Jukes' *Excursions*, the friends of the Beothuk also. During that period the Beothuk could therefore adopt Algonkin terms into their language to some extent and such terms we would expect to be chiefly the words for tools, implements and merchandize, since these were the most likely to become articles of intertribal exchange. Thus we find in list No. 1 terms like *hammer* and *ochre*, in list No. 2 *bread*, *moccasin* and *dog*. We are informed that the Beothuk kept no dogs, and when they became acquainted with these animals, they borrowed their name from the tribe in whose possession they saw them first. The term mamoodthuk *dog* is, however, of the same root as *manishet*, *mamset* *alice*, which we find again in Micmac, and it is puzzling that the Beothuk should have had no word of their own for *alice*. Exactly the same remark may be applied to *wobee* *white* and the suffixes *-seesh* and *-ook*, all of which recur in Algonkin languages. Concerning *shebon* *river*, we recall the fact that the Dutch originally had a German word for *river*, but exchanged it for the French *rivière*; also, that the French adopted *la crique* from the English *creek*, just as they have formed *bébé* from English *baby*. The term for *devil* could easily be borrowed from an alien people, for deity names travel from land to land as easily as do the religious ideas themselves. The majority of these disputed terms come from Nancy, who had more opportunity to see Micmacs in St John's than Mary March.

In our comparative list No. 2 most of the terms do not rest upon radical affinity, but merely on apparent or imaginary resemblance. In publishing his comparative list, Mr Latham did not at all pretend to prove by it the affinity of Beothuk to Algonkin dialects; for he distinctly states (p. 453): "that it was akin to the (languages of the) ordinary American Indians rather than to the Eskimo; further investigation showing that, of

¹ Micmac: —*memaje I live*, *memajoo-ókan life*.

the ordinary American languages, it was Algonkin rather than aught else." In fact, no real affinity is traceable except in *dog*, *bad* and *moccasin*, and even here the unreliable orthography of the words preserved leaves the matter enveloped in uncertainty.

The suffix *-esh* and the plurals in *-ook* are perhaps the strongest arguments that can be brought forward for Algonkin affinity of Beothuk, but compared to the overwhelming bulk of words entirely differing this cannot prove anything. In going over the Beothuk list in 1882 with a clergyman thoroughly conversant with Ojibwé, Rev. Ignatius Tomazin, then of Red Lake, Minnesota, he was unable to find any term in Ojibwé corresponding, except *wobee white*, and if *gigarimamet, net*, stood for *fish-net*, *gigo* was the Ojibwé term for *fish*.

The facts which most strongly militate against an assumed kinship of Beothuk with Algonkin dialects are as follows:

(1) The phonetic system of both differs largely; Beothuk lacks *f* and probably *v*, while *l* is scarce; in Micmac and the majority of Algonkin dialects *th*, *r*, *dr* and *l* are wanting, but occur in Beothuk.

(2) The objective case exists in Beothuk, 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 colors (except *white*), for animals and plants, for natural phenomena, or the celestial bodies and other objects of nature, as well as the radicals of adjectives and verbs differ completely.

When we add all this to the great discrepancy in ethnologic particulars, as canoes, dress, implements, manners and customs, we come to the conclusion that the Red Indians of Newfoundland must have been a race distinct from the races on the mainland shores surrounding them on the North and West. Their language I do not hesitate, after a long study of its precarious and unreliable remnants, to regard as belonging to a *separate linguistic family*, clearly distinct from Inuit, Tinné, Iroquois and Algonkin. Once a refugee from some part of the mainland of North America, the Beothuk tribe may have lived for centuries isolated upon Newfoundland, sustaining itself by fishing and the chase¹. 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 Harafuru or Alturu languages of New Guinea and vicinity, are spoken upon islands only. Almost wholly confined to islands are the nationalities speaking Malayan, Aino, Celtic, Haida and Ale-ut 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.

¹ Linguistic stocks reduced like Beothuk to a small compass are of the highest importance for anthropologic science. Not only do they disclose by themselves a new side of ethnic life, but they also afford a glimpse at the former distribution of tribes, nations, races and their languages and ethnographic peculiarities.

Third Paper

by

*Albert S. Gatschet.**(Read before the American Philosophical Society, Jan. 3, 1890.)*

Among the three vocabularies which I have recently had the good fortune of receiving, there is one just as old as the century, and another comes from an aged person who has actually heard words of the language pronounced by a Beothuk Indian. I take pleasure in placing these lists before the Society, together with a number of new ethnographic facts gathered in the old haunts of the extinct race, which will prove to be of scientific value.

The Jure Vocabulary.

While engaged in surveying the Bay of Exploits during the summer months of 1886, Mr Howley became acquainted with Mrs Jure, then about seventy-five years old, who once had been the fellow-servant of Shanawdithit, or Nancy, at Mr John Peyton's, whose widow died about the close of the year 1885. Mrs Jure was, in spite of her age, hale and sound in body and mind, and remembered with accuracy all the little peculiarities of Shanawdithit, familiarly called "Nance." Many terms of Beothuk learned from Nance she remembered well, and at times was complimented by Nance for the purity of her pronunciation; many other terms were forgotten owing to the great lapse of time since 1829. Mr Howley produced his vocabularies and made her repeat and pronounce such words in it as she could remember. Thus he succeeded in correcting some of the words recorded by Leigh and Cormack, and also to acquire a few new ones. He satisfied himself that Mrs Jure's pronunciation must be the correct one, as it came directly from Shanawdithit, and that its phonetics are extremely easy, much more so than those of Micmac, having none of the nasal drawl of the latter dialect. She also pronounced several Micmac words exactly as Micmacs pronounce them, and in several instances corrected Mr Howley as to the mistranslation of some Beothuk words. The twenty three words which Mr Howley has obtained from this aged woman embody nine new ones; this enabled me to add in parentheses their true pronunciation and wording in my scientific alphabet.

The Clinch Vocabulary.

A vocabulary of Beothuk has just come to light, which appears to be, if not more valuable, at least older than the ones investigated by me heretofore. It contains one hundred and twelve terms of the language, many of them new to us. It was obtained, as stated, by the Rev. John Clinch, a minister of the Church of England, and a man of high education,

stationed as Parish priest at Trinity, in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland. The original is contained in the *Record Book*, preserved in the office of Justice Pinsent, D.C.L., of the Supreme Court at Harbour Grace, and it has been printed in the *Harbour Grace Standard and Conception Bay Advertiser*, of Wednesday, May 2, 1888, some biographic and other notes being added to it in the number of May 12th.

Among these the following will give us a clearer insight into the question of authenticity of Clinch's vocabulary. John Clinch was born in Gloucestershire, England, and in early youth studied medicine under a practitioner at Cirencester, where he became a fellow of Dr Jenner, who discovered the celebrated specific against small-pox. In those times, no law compelled a man to undergo examination for diplomas; so Clinch migrated to Bonavista, Newfoundland, and established himself there in 1775 as a physician, but in 1783 removed to Trinity. Besides his practice, he conducted services in church, was ordained deacon and priest in London, in 1787, then worked over thirty years at Trinity in his sacred calling, until his death, which must have occurred about 1827. He has the merit of introducing vaccination upon that island, and there are people living now who were vaccinated by him. He was also appointed to judicial charges.

Simultaneously with Mr Clinch, a Beothuk Indian stayed in that town, known as John August. Tradition states that he was taken from his mother when a child and brought up by a colonist, Jeffrey G. Street. He then remained in Street's house as an intelligent and faithful servant, and when arrived at manhood was entrusted with the command of a fishing smack manned by whites. Frequently he obtained leave to go into the country, where he probably communicated with his tribe. The parish register of Trinity records his interment there on October 29, 1788.

As there is no other Beothuk Indian known to have resided among white people of Newfoundland at that time, it is generally supposed that Mr Clinch, who lived there since 1783, obtained his collection from none else but from John August. The selection of words differs greatly from that in Leigh's Vocabulary, but the identity of a few terms, which are quite specific, as *hicups*, *shaking hands*, *warning yourself*, induces Mr Howley to believe that he, Leigh, had Clinch's Vocabulary before him. One item in Clinch's list, "Ou-bee: *her own name*," seems to indicate that it was obtained from a female. Indeed, in 1803, a Beothuk woman was captured, presented to Governor Gambier, and subsequently sent back to her tribe. Mrs Edith Blake, in her article, "The Beothuks," gives a description of her and of her presence at a social meeting at the Governor's house, St John's.

I have obtained a copy of the printed vocabulary through Mr Howley. It was full of typographic errors, and these were corrected by him with the aid of a copy made of the original at Trinity by Mrs Edith Blake, who took the greatest pains to secure accuracy. The *Record Book* states that Rev. Clinch obtained the vocabulary in Governor Waldegraves' time¹,

¹ I think it more probable Clinch's vocabulary was obtained from the young girl mentioned by Gov. Edwards.

² That was from 1797 to 1800.

and the volume which contains it embodies documents of the year 1800; this date would form an argument against the supposition, that it was obtained from the female captured in 1803. Below I have reproduced all the terms of this vocabulary, as it surpasses all the others in priority, though perhaps not in accuracy. The words are all syllabicated, but none of them show accentuation marks; I have printed most of them in their syllabicated form.

Capt. Robinson has consulted and partly copied the Clinch vocabulary, as will be readily seen by a comparison of the terms in both.

The three Vocabularies combined.

ABBREVIATIONS.

CM.—The W. E. Cormack vocabulary, from a Montreal copy of the manuscript.

J.—The Jure vocabulary.

No letter.—The Clinch vocabulary.

Words in parentheses contain the transcription of vocables into my scientific alphabet.

- Abénick *gaping*, CM.
 Abideshook *domestic cat*, CM.
 Abus-thib-e *breasting*.
 Adlayook *eight*; ee-adajook *eighteen*, CM.
 Adi-ab *wood*.
 Adjeich *two*; ee-ajike *twelve*, adjeich atho-omat *twenty-two*, CM.
 Adothe or odeonlyke *best, vessel*, CM.
 Agamet *buttons and money*, CM.
 Ah-wadgebick, awadgebick (*awadshibik*) *middle finger*, J.
 Anshut or yanvess *set up*, CM.; cf. kinnup.
 Anaduck *wing throat*, CM.
 Arrabauth *blood*; ashabouthe or iggabauth (*for* *isabauth*) *blood*, CM.
 Atho-omat *twenty*; adjeich atho-omat *twenty-two*, CM.
 Bashedthrek *six*; ee-beshedthrek *sixteen*, CM.
 Bay-sot, baot, besot, besut, *to walk* J.
 Beathook *Red Indian*, CM.
 Beteek *good night*, CM.
 Boas-sook *hand*, CM.
 Bobodish *sea pigeon*, J.; bobbidish *pigeon, black guillemot*, CM.
 Boddlehmoot *woman's loon*, CM.
 Boo-it, buit (*bu-it*), *thumb*, J.
 Boshoosik or boshwada *to bite*, CM.
 Botant-outhermayet *tooth*, CM. (*outhermayet* alone means *tooth*; cf. below).
 Buggishamán *man*, J.; bukashman or bookshimon *man*, CM.; pushaman, *man*.
 Buggishamish *boy*, J.; bugasmeesh *white boy*, CM.
 Chee-a-shii, *crossing*; cheasit, CM.
 Chee-thing *a walking stick*.
 Colthun-examat *January*, CM.
 Co-ga-de-alla *leg*.
 Coosh *lip*.
 Corrasooh *service*; snow (snow, by confounding it with katussa-*book?*).
 Cowasarek *July*, CM.
 Cuseebe *leaves*; casebeet, CM.
 Cush *nails*.
 Dabsoek *four*; ee-dabsoek *fourteen*, CM.
 Deshdudobick *to blow*, CM.
 Den-is *sun or moon* (doubtful).
 Dis-up *peking law*.
 Dogemat or shooog-ing (Howley: ash-vog-ing) *service*, CM.
 Drummet, drummêt (*drum*; *howe*, J.; *don-na* (Clinch)).
 Ebanthoo *water*; ebanthoo, CM.
 Eenommoos, immasemose (*immis*) *woman*, J.
 Eenommooset, immommoosêt (*immis*) *girl*, J.
 Eewo-in, éwoon (*wo-in*; *knife*, J.; *yew-on* *a knife*, J.).
 Ejeedowéshin, edjedoweshin (*edshidowéshin*) *food*, J.
 Ejbidimish *silk handkerchief*, CM.
 Eneethook *digwood*, CM.
 Ersh-hauth *catching fish*.
 Euno *go out*, CM.
 Eve-nau *feathers*.
 Gei-je-bursât; see moosin.
 Giggarematet *net*, CM.
 Gooashmet *hair*, CM.
 Goozet *stockings*; gasaek, CM.
 Gothinget *to-kiss*, CM.
 Goun *chin*, CM.
 Gun or guen *nose*, CM.
 Hadda-lothy *body*.
 Hadihet *glass*, CM.
 Hados-do ding *sitting*.
 Hanaman *spoon*.
 Han-nan *a spear*; first letter uncertain.
 Ha-the-may *a bow*.
 Hedy-yun *stocking*.
 Hods-misht *knice*.
 Hod-thoo *to shoot*.
 Hod-witch *foot*.
 Hurreen and hur-seen *a gun*.
 Huza-gan *rowing*.
 I-be-ath *evening*.
 Io-ush-cath *stars* (doubtful).

- Is-shu, ihlu, ishu (ihlu) *make haste*, J.
Ite-ween *thigh*.
- Jib-e-thun (or, ib-e-thun) *a trap or gin*.
Juggansut *ginsberry*, CM.
- Yamyes; see amshut.
Yaseek *one*; ee-yagiesk *eleven*, CM.
Yootholuck *new*; ee-yootholuck *nineteen*, CM.
Yewome *twelve*, J.
Yew-why *dist.*
- Keatbut; gorathun (obj. case) *head*, CM.; he-aw-
thou *head*, ke-aw-thou *your head*.
Kies-yet *a flea*.
King-able *standing*.
Kinnup, kinup, *got up*, J.
K-o-rae *lighting*, J.
F ootlabonog bewajowite *February*, CM.
Kuis; mangaronish *sun*, CM.; kuis *watch*, CM.
Kuis and washewashite *moon*, CM.
- Mady-u-a *leaves*.
Magorum *deer's horns*, CM.
Mamasheek *islands*, CM.
Mamegenethon *shoulders*, CM.; nomezabethon
shoulder.
Mam-isutt *alive*, CM.
Mammadronitan *lord bird*¹, CM.
Mammamasmit *dog*, J. (mammassvit is incorrect);
mammassaret, mammosermit *dog*, CM. (*reit*
false for mit).
Mamoosenich *puppy*, CM.
Mananoot, *blanket*, CM.
Manganonish; see kuis.
Mangebathook *beard* (on page 305; *beard*, which
is probably false; see anawahyaa), CM.
Man-the-an-thaw *craving*; cf. su-an-thun.
Memajet *arms*, CM. false for arms.
Memet *hand*, CM.; memem (obj. case) *hands*
and *fingers*; meman momasthus *shaking*
hands.
Me-ma-za *tongue*.
Menome *dogberries*.
Me-roo-push *taunt*, *threat*.
Mi-a-woth *flying*; meaoth *flying*, CM.
Midy-u-thun *sneezing*.
Mis-muth *ear*.
Mithue *owl*.
Mossamitt *ball*, or *disc*, CM.
Mom-au *a son*.
Mome-augh *eyebrow*.
Mooveu *elbow*.
Moozin and get-je-lursut *ankle*, CM.
Mougenucks, mougenuk (maudshinuk) *iron*, J.;
mowagene *iron*.
- Mud-ty *bad* (dirty); mudet *bad* (of character).
Mudy ran *hiccups*.
Mush-a-lauth *saltum or tea*.
- Nethabete *cattle*, CM.
Nine *knit*, CM. false for u-ne, yewon).
Nine jock *fox*; ee-nineek *fifteen*, CM.
No-mash-nush *swapping*.
Now-ant *hatchet*.
- Obodish, obodish, *oil*, J.; obditch *a boat*; cf.
abodeeshook.
Oboshreen *warming yourself*.
Obasdeek *elbow*, CM.
Obasweet-eshamat *December*, CM.
Od-au-sot *rolling*.
Oddsasnick, odd-essamick (odessamick), *little finger*,
J.
Odnuet *where*, CM. (ochre mixed with oil, emet,
Hawley).
Onnus, onnis (onnes) *forefinger, index*, J.
Oodrook *seven*; ee-oodrook *sixteen*, CM.
Oregreen (?) *sixteen*, CM.
Oreru *ice*, CM.; cf. oeru.
Osavate *rising*, CM.
Osweet (oswit) *deer*, J.; osweet, CM.
Ou-bee (nom. pr. fem.) *"her own name"*.
Ou-gen *stone*.
Ou-ner-mish *a little bird* (species of?).
Outhermay *teeth*.
Ow-the-je-atra-thunum *to shoot an arrow perpen-
dicularly*.
- Pa-pa de aden *a fork*.
Pa-shue *hatch reed*; *paper*.
Peatha *fur*, *hair of head*.
Peth-ae *rain*.
Pe-to-tho-risk *thunder*.
Pig-a-thee *a web*.
Pis-au-wau *living*.
Podbeac *war*, CM.; poodybeac *an war*.
Poopstrant *fish*.
Poorth *thumb*; cf. boad.
Popa-dish *a large bird* (species of?).
Posson *the back*.
Pows-three *smoke*; cf. hoasdic.
Pug-a-thuse *boiling*; pug-a-tho *throwing*.
Pug-a-ssa *eating*.
Pug-a-nom *to break a stick*.
Puth-u-auth *sloop*.
- Shabathooret *trap*, CM.
Shamye *current*.
Shausee *ten*, CM.
Shaub-ab-un-a *I have to throw your trap*.
Shau-da-me *partridge berries*.
Shebhowit; sheebaut *woodpecker*, CM.
She both *living*.
Shedhaving *upper arm*, CM.
She-ga-me *to blow the nose*; shegamik, CM.
Shemabsgothuk *musquito* (black fly), CM.
Shendeck (or sheudeek?) *three*; ee-shaudeck *this*
iron, CM.
Shish *grass*.
Shoodmit *Indian cup*, CM.
Sou-sou *spruce reed*.
Stocena *thumb*, CM.
Su-an-thun *singing*.
Su-gu-mith *birds' excitement*.
Suaut *foal*, *partridge*.
- Tapathook *canoe*, CM.; cf. thub-a-thew.
Telesheet *neck*.
The-oun *the chin*; cf. gown.
Thub-a-thew *boat or canoe*.

¹ Harlequin Duck, *Clangula hibernica*.² Evidently the name of the person from whom the vocabulary was obtained.

Thub-wed gie dancing.
 Tis eu-thun wood.
 Traw-na-soo spruce.
 Tus-nug pin; tus-mus needle.
 Tu-wid-yie swimming.

Waine hoop, CM.
 Washeu night, darkness, CM.
 Wasumaw-eseck April, June, September, CM.
 Washewshite; see kuis and washeu.
 Weshemesh bearing, CM.
 Who-ish-me laughing.

Widdun (widun or widan), asleep; also euphemistically for dead.
 Woodrat fire, CM.
 Wothamashet running, CM.; wothamashee running.
 Wooh-yan walking.
 Wyabick (wayabik) ring-finger, J.
 Zatrook husband, CM.
 Zosweet partridge (willow grouse), CM. (same word as susut).

Remarks on Single Terms.

The ending -bauth occurs so frequently that we may have to consider it as a suffix used in the derivation of substantives; thus we have, e.g., izzo-bauth blood, arsh-bauth catching fish, mushabauth oakum, tow.

emmamoose woman, emamoset child, girl, resemble strongly the following Algonkin terms: amemens child in Lenape (Barton), amosens daughter in Virginian (Strachey, *Vocab.*, p. 183).

Ama'ma is mother in the Greenland Inuit.

The sound I occurs but four times in the words which have come to our notice: adolhtek, lathun, messiliget-hook, nadalahet. In view of the negligent handwriting in which all of these vocabularies have reached us, it is permitted to doubt its existence in the language.

menome dogberries is a derivative of manus berries.

mamoose whortle berries, Rob., is perhaps misspelt for manoose.

Cf. min grain, fruit, berry, in all Eastern Algonkin dialects.

ozeru, ozrook, ice; E. Petitot renders the Montagnais (Tinné) ezogé by "glée blanche" (frost), Ten-zure by "glace vive." The resemblance with the Beothuck word seems only fortuitous.

poopustraut fish is identical with bobboosoret codfish (or bacalaos, Mscr.).

pug-a-zoa eating; the latter probably misspelt for beating.

stioecna thumb, CM., is misspelling of itweena, which means thigh, not thumb.

The new ethnologic and linguistic facts embodied in this "Third Article" do not alter in the least the general results which I deduced from my two previous articles and specified in *Proceedings* of 1886, pp. 226 to 428. On the contrary, they corroborate them intrinsically and would almost by themselves be sufficient to prove that the Beothuck race and the language were entirely *sui generis*. By the list contained in this "Third Article" the number of Beothuck vocables known to us is brought up to four hundred and eighty, which is much more than we know of the majority of other American languages and dialects.

The violent hatred and contempt which the Beothucks nourished against all the races in their vicinity seems to testify by itself to a radical difference between these and the Algonkin tribes. The fact that we know of no other homes of the Beothuck people than Newfoundland, does not entitle us to conjecture, that they were once driven from the mainland opposite and settled as refugees upon the shores of that vast island. It is more

probable that this race anciently inhabited a part of the mainland *simultaneously* with the island, which would presuppose that the Beothucks were then more populous than in the historic period. Numerous causes may account for the fact that we do not notice them elsewhere since the beginning of the sixteenth century: fragmentary condition of our historic knowledge, rigorous colds, epidemics, want of game, famine, infanticide, may be wars among themselves or with strangers. Some of these potent factors may have cooperated in extinguishing the Beothucks of the mainland from whom the island Beothucks must have once descended—while the tribes settled upon Newfoundland may have increased and prospered, owing to a more genial climate and other physical agencies.

Lloyd's papers.

Mr T. G. B. Lloyd, C.E., F.G.S., M.A.I., read a couple of papers on the subject of the Red Indians of Newfoundland, in 1873-4, before the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.

The first of these papers gives merely a cursory review of the historical references, already fully dealt with. He quotes Cartwright's journal in full and makes that narrative the basis of his observations. Only a few remarks of his are worth recording.

Lloyd says "Peyton confirms the statement of the Indians not having dogs, and also states they did not use narcotics."

During a short stay at Labrador last fall (1873) he was informed that about half a century ago a tribe of Red Indians was living near Battle Harbour, opposite Belle Isle, which committed depredations on the fishermen. A story is told of the Indians having on one occasion cut off the heads of two white children which they stuck on poles, but he adds Cartwright makes no mention of them in his journal of a residence of nearly sixteen years on the coast of Labrador, published in 1792, in which he speaks of Battle Harbour¹. Peyton says the two small images found in Mary March's coffin by Cormack, were so placed along with several other articles she took a fancy to while in St John's, by Buchan's people. Peyton also said the dress of the Indians consisted of two dressed deer skins, which were thrown over their shoulders. Sometimes they wore sleeves of the same material, but never anything else as a covering. On their feet they wore rough moccasins of deer skins (probably made from the shanks as do the Micmacs).

Their eyes were black and piercing. Men and women wore their black hair long. Their complexion was lighter than the Micmacs, and resembled that of Spaniards etc.

Stone pipes are said to have been found at their camping places, but Peyton is very positive they did not use narcotics of any kind.

Two half breed hunters who are supposed to be the last who saw the Red Indians, believe the remnant left the country and crossed the Straits of Belle Isle to Labrador.

¹ Of course Cartwright does not mention the Indians at Battle Harbour, because if the date be correct, it occurred long after his time, or about 1825 to 1830.

John Lewis, a Mohawk Metis, who could speak several Indian dialects, informed Mr Curtis that the Beothuck language was unknown amongst the Canadian tribes.

Lloyd's second paper treats mainly of their stone, bone and other implements found by himself in the course of a cruise around the island. He says "These implements belong to the class known as surface implements." Numerous discoveries of chisels, gouge-shaped implements, stone pots, spear heads etc., have been made in various parts of the island. The localities at present known, are comprised in the following list. Starting from St John's and passing round the island north and west, they will be met with in the following order;—at Fox Harbour Random Sound Trinity Bay, in Bonavista Bay, Funk Island, Twillingate Island, Bay of Exploits, Notre Dame Bay; Fogo Island; Granby Island and Sop Island White Bay; Conche, Howe Harbour, Hare Bay Bonne Bay, Mouth of Flat Bay Brook Bay St George; Codroy River, Burgeo Islands; Long Island and Ragged Islands, Placentia Bay. To which may now be added, The River Head of St John's itself, Collinet River in Peninsula of Avalon, the Beaches and Gambo Bonavista Bay, at Comfort Head, Swan Island, Yellow Fox Id, and other places in the Bay of Exploits. At Sunday Cove Island, Hall's Bay, Long Island, Pilley's Island, Middle and Western Arms, Rouge Har. South West Arm, Indian Burying place in Notre Dame Bay, Fleur de Lis', La Scie etc. At Cony and Cat Arms White Bay. At Pistolet Bay on the Northern extremity of Newfoundland, and on the west side of the Island, at Port au Choix, Cow Head, and other places. In the Interior, at Grand Lake, Sandy Lake, Red Indian Lake etc.

It is worthy of remark that most of the above localities are situated on the sea coast. Mr Lloyd then describes two localities where he discovered these implements, viz., at Sop Island and at Conche; in both cases they were covered by vegetable mould for a depth of a few inches. He found numerous small arrow heads and gouge shaped tools, broken fragments of pots and an immense number of chips and flakes. The ground had the appearance of having been burnt. Fragments of small bones of birds, also burnt, were mixed up with these implements, or arranged in small groups. They were the "Kitchen middens" of the Beothucks. At Conche, the implements were found at a depth of about 18 inches below the surface, and mixed up with them were some fragments of human skeletons, and seal bones all so much decayed as to crumble to pieces when handled. Drinking cups of soapstone, broken and entire, together with a stone knife about 18 inches long had been found here previous to Lloyd's visit.

Lloyd's description of the implements he found.

"These may be conveniently divided into nine classes, 1st. axe and chisel shaped tools, 2nd. gouge shaped tools, 3rd. broken stone pots, 4th. sinkers, 5th. spear and arrow heads, 6th. scrapers or planes, 7th. fish

¹ Where the stone pots were manufactured.

hooks, 8th. objects in the course of manufacture, 9th. whetstones, rubbing stones, and other miscellaneous articles.

"No. 1. These implements are made of rough pieces of stone by the simple process of rubbing down one end to a chisel shaped edge. Here he figures two of these, one of which was said to have been taken from a Red Indian wigwam in the year 1810. The man who got possession of it, said it fell from the hands of an Indian, who was apparently occupied in skinning or cutting up some animal, as it was covered with blood. None of these tools show any indication of having been mounted in handles.

"No. 2. These also appear to have been manufactured from any suitable shaped pieces of stone which came to hand. Some of these are made of chert, and are highly finished. All the articles belonging to class 1 & 2 shew marks of fracture on their bevelled edges.

"No. 3. A comparison of the fragments of stone vessels indicates that the larger ones, when whole, were from eight to nine inches in length and breadth, and about 4 or 5 inches in height, with a depth inside of some three inches or thereabouts. The material of which these vessels are composed, is impure steatite (serpentine or potstone). Mr Lloyd thinks some of these vessels may have been used as lamps, from the fact of their having small holes bored through the sides for suspending them.

"No. 4. These sinkers were egg shaped pieces of soapstone. Mr Lloyd describes one from the Indian burying place, which he thinks must have been used as a hook. It is a small oval shaped piece of soapstone $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, pointed at the lower end. It has two shallow grooves, one horizontal the other vertical, for the attachment of a line. On one side of the object there is a barbed-shaped projection which suggests the idea of a combination of sinker and hook for catching small fish.

"No. 5. Mr John Evans, in his standard work on *Stone Implements*, places the javelins and arrow heads under the same heading, and remarks on the difficulty of distinguishing the one class from the other. Taking Mr Evans for my guide, I have divided the specimens into the following classes: (a) Stemmed arrow heads; (b) double barbed triangular Do.; (c) abnormal forms.

"Class (a) must have been from 5 to 6 inches long, and must have been a spear head.

"Class (b). In point of number and excellence of workmanship these form the most important group. The specimens belonging to it show a gradual diminution in length, from about 3 inches down to 5 sixteenths of an inch, they also differ in the relation of the length of the two sides to the base, thus giving to the more elongated forms a straighter contour than the shorter ones, the bases are all hollowed out, some more than others. The larger ones have a notch cut in them on either side, near their bases. The arrow heads were made of hornstone and quartzite, which appear to be excellent material for the purpose.

"Class (c). These specimens represent a broad flat implement of chert of a somewhat leaf shaped form. The base, above which are two notches, is slightly notched. They are finely serrated all around the edges. Another

is of a triangular shape in outline, slightly hollowed out at base above which are two notches.

"Mr Evans says of North American forms, p. 362, 'The arrow heads with a notch at the base on either side, is a prevailing type in North America. The triangular form usually but little excavated at the base, is also common there. For the most part the chipping is but rough, as the material which is usually chert, hornstone, or even quartz does not readily lend itself to fine work. They were made of various sizes, the smaller for boys, and those for men varying in accordance with the purpose to which they were to be applied.'

"(6) is a group of the class of implements generally termed 'scrapers' for which various uses have been suggested—such as for scraping skins and planing wood, as also for the manufacture of articles of horn and bone, for fabricating arrow heads, knives of flint, and as strike-a-lights. Those from Newfoundland are more or less triangular. They vary in size from 2 inches to $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in length, usually made of hornstone or opaque quartz.

"(7) These peculiar shaped objects appeared to me to have been used as scrapers for rounding the shafts of arrows, but Mr Franks suggested that they were points of fish hooks fastened into shafts of bone, which latter were bound round the end of a strip of wood. Such articles were used by the Eskimos.

"(8) These consist of cores of hornstone a number of flakes & chips with a quantity of raw materials of quartz hornstone etc.

"(9) Various articles, one of which, a thin piece of micaceous slate about 4 inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch broad near the middle, tapering towards both ends, thus showing four groups of small notches arranged on one side of the stone. At pretty nearly equal distances apart, the notches are all about the same length. Besides this, several awl shaped tools of hornstone, one of them showing marks of wear at the point, another partially serrated on one side. Similar boring implements of flint have been found in Denmark in company with scrapers and other tools, numerous rubbing stones and flat pieces of slate, apparently whetstones etc.

"Though possessing many characteristics belonging to many tribes of North American Indians, the Beothucks appear to differ from the others in certain peculiarities as follows.

"1 Lightness of complexion.

"2 The peculiar form of their canoes.

"3 The use of trenches in their wigwams for sleeping places.

"4 The custom of living in a state of isolation far from the White inhabitants of the island, and the persistent refusal to submit to any attempt to civilize them.

"5 Non domestication of the dog amongst them.

"6 The art of making pottery was unknown amongst them."

Mr L. thinks the chisel shaped tools were used for skinning seals and other animals, and the gouge shaped for removing the vellum off the skins, and that both kinds were of service in hollowing out the soft stone vessels.

The scrapers. These form a series of implements of the hardest kind of stone, and are characterised by a similarity of form and style of workmanship. They vary in size down to such as can be conveniently grasped between the thumb and fore finger. The planes of their working forces meet at angles which make them more suitable for abrasion, by a backward than a forward movement of the hand. He thinks these were used for the fashioning of arrow and spear shafts and heads amongst other purposes.

The branches of the great Algonkin nation, recent and modern, include the Aborigines of Montreal, the Chippeways, and Crees of the N.W. of Canada, the Montagnards and the Nascuapees of Labrador, besides the Ottawas and the Abanakis. In short they embrace the whole of the Indian tribes extending from beyond the head of Lake Superior to the Atlantic coast, with the exception of the Eskimos.

Beothuck Implements found on Long Island, Placentia Bay.

About the year 1875 (?) a Mr Samuel Coffin cleared a small piece of ground at a place called Spencer's Cove at the northern end of Long Island, Placentia Bay. This place was uninhabited at that time, but had been frequently visited by the fishermen to procure firewood. Mr Coffin in clearing the soil came across a number of Indian implements and other relics of the Beothucks. The late Alex. Murray, C.M.G., F.G.S., the then Director of the Geological Survey of this island, who evinced a great interest in the subject of the Red Indians, despatched Mr Albert Bradshaw of Placentia to examine and report upon the find. The following is Mr Bradshaw's report.

ST. JOHN'S, July 15th, 1876.

Alexander Murray Esqr. F.G.S.

Sir,

In accordance with your request, and the instructions contained in a letter bearing date — ? to visit and examine Spencer's Cove on the North east end of Long Island, I beg to state that I have complied with the request, and submit to you the following report, as the result of my investigation.

1st. The specimens obtained by me, were found at the height of five feet above high water mark, in a deposit of black clay formed from the debris of the camps of the Indians. There are from eight to twelve inches of this deposit resting upon a bed of brown clay and pebbles.

2nd. Above the deposit in which the specimens were found, there are from twelve to fifteen inches of peat, formed from decomposed wood, and other vegetable matter. Immediately under this, and resting on the aforementioned deposit there is a layer of red slate. Although there were found a few of the arrow heads etc. above the slate, the principal quantity was discovered beneath it.

I have not met with any trace of iron or iron rust, in any part of the ground. The iron axe found by Mr Coffin on the clearing is of more recent date and has evidently been lost by some person engaged in cutting timber.

I have not met with any shells or organic remains in or below the superficial deposit; nor have I in any case met with charcoal except the burnt wood about the site of their fireplaces.

I do not think it probable that iron in any of its uses had been known to the tribe of Indians who inhabited the Island at that period, for had it been used by

them, it would be impossible from the quantity of land now under cultivation there, not to have met with some trace of it. I found the remains of a pot formed of stone, which goes far to prove that they employed stone for all the uses, for which more recently, iron has been substituted.

Some fifty or sixty years ago this place was covered with a heavy growth of timber, and judging from traces not yet totally destroyed, I was enabled to ascertain that the growth was of a large size, as many of the stumps measured from fifteen to eighteen inches through.

I found very few traces of bones, and even those were very much decomposed, and I am led to conjecture from the position of them, that they were the bones of inferior animals, being above the deposit of black clay and immediately beneath the peat formation.

I am not of opinion that the place was at all used as a burying ground, as if such were the case, I should have met with traces of bones beneath the surface.

The place has evidently been only used as a summer resort and a sort of factory for making and repairing tools and implements of warfare, as the traces amply testify, there being a large quantity of shavings and chips of stone which plainly shows that the manufacturing of tools has been extensively carried on here.

Mr Coffin, in turning up the soil previous to cultivation has met with numerous spear and arrow heads, gouges and stone axes, grinding or rubbing stones, all of which appear to have some defect, none being entirely perfect. Showing that when they left the place they took everything that might be of any service to them, and leaving only those that were of little or no importance. This in my opinion is proof positive that they left the island for some reason, with the intention of not returning to it again.

It is worthy of mention that the remains of the pot above referred to was found to be composed of steatite and is an importation, as there is no serpentine to be met within the neighborhood of Placentia Bay¹.

(signed) ALBERT BRADSHAW.

Similar stone implement factories to that described by Mr Bradshaw, occur at several other points on the coast as well as in the interior. Of this character are several of those mentioned in Lloyd's paper, notably those at the Beaches Bonavista Bay, at Conche, N.E. coast, at Cow Head west coast, and at Grand and Sandy lakes in the interior. At each of the above localities numerous flakes and fragments of chert and other material are scattered around, together with incomplete or spoiled tools, and pieces of the rock from which they were made. This latter consists usually of black chert, pale bluish hornstone (a variety of flint), smoky and other varieties of quartz or quartzite. It is from such material most of the arrow and spear heads, also the scrapers are made. Many of the larger tools, such as the gouges, chisels, or "celts," fleshers, etc., are made of a hard altered slate, called feldsite slate, characteristic of some of the older geologic periods in this island. Most of these materials were found in the near vicinity of those workshops, which was no doubt the reason of their being so situated. In the same way, the soapstone or steatite pot factories were located in localities where cliffs of that material exist. At a place on the N.E. coast called Fleur de Lis, where a cliff of this material occurs, numerous fragments of half finished or spoiled pots and other vessels have been met with, and in the cliff itself, are plainly

¹ In this Mr Bradshaw is wrong, there is some soapstone on Sound Island, not far away.

to be seen the outlines of similar vessels in process of being manufactured (see Plate XXXII).

Of an entirely different character to these are the burying-places, where in connection with the human remains, are always found the finished implements of stone, and sometimes of iron, stolen from the fishermen and a great variety of bone ornaments, fragments of shells, broken glass bottles, bones of small mammals and birds, packages of red ochre, fire stones, of pyrites, and a host of other things, but scarcely ever any chips or flakes of stone as in the former.

One of these sepulchres at Swan Island, Bay of Exploits has already been described, another which was found at a place called Port au Choix on the West coast, yielded a great number of articles, of a somewhat different type from those usually found in their burial places. They consisted of, (1) Two lower jaw bones of human beings, both broken. One was evidently that of a very old individual, three of the molar teeth on the right side and one on the left side are absent, and in each case the cavities are filled up with porous bone. None of the teeth remained in this jaw, but the cavities of twelve are seen. The chin looks very massive. The second jaw appeared to have had all its teeth but only four jaw teeth remain, the rest having fallen out. There were also twelve loose teeth including one molar. Most of these appear to be in a good state of preservation, yet a few show signs of decay on the crowns. A peculiarity of all these teeth, and for that matter all the Red Indian teeth I have ever seen is the fact that in every instance they are worn down smooth and quite flat on the crown, like a ruminant. I can only account for this feature by supposing that the Beothucks, like the Eskimos, were in the habit of chewing their skin garments along the edges to soften them in the process of dressing and manufacturing them. To effect this end the Eskimos work their jaws sideways, and no doubt the friction tends to wear down the teeth. There were also amongst these relics, part of an upper jaw showing nasal cavities; the teeth were gone but seven spaces where they had been are visible, and one space is filled up with bone, as in the lower jaw referred to above.

There were three long narrow pointed teeth, slightly curved, apparently those of a dog or seal, and five broken pieces of beaver's teeth, three lower and two upper.

(2) Two bone spear sockets, small and slightly made, a good deal decayed. Two fragments of a deer's leg bone, apparently cut or scraped, and used for some purpose or another. A third fragment had a hole bored through, near the edge. Two other slightly curved pieces have grooves cut along the inner side lengthways, and one of them has a hole bored through, at about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the length. The hole is oblique, and cut with square angles; it has a slight notch also cut in the outer edge about $\frac{1}{4}$ from the other end. The second piece has no hole in it, but in the middle of the outer edge a slight notch is seen. A third smaller piece of bone has a chisel edge at one end. Still another piece is shaped like the small blade of a penknife with a slit like the barb of a fishhook near one end. A much larger piece of bone, evidently of a Whale, is nearly square and

about four inches long, bevelled away at one end to a chisel edge, and apparently the same at the other end which is now decayed. These chisels were at right angles to each other. Two other pieces of bone somewhat similar to the last, have blunt chisel edges at one end, but taper away to points at the other; also a round piece about the same length slightly tapering at both ends, and another piece of the same shape but much slighter and only $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. A bone needle nine inches long, very slightly curved, one end pointed, the other a little flattened with an oblong eye hole drilled through it. The inner and outer sides of this needle are bevelled away to fairly sharp edges. A slight groove extends along either side on the central or higher part, reaching from the eye to the point. I imagine this needle may have been used for sewing together the birch bark or skins used for covering their canoes and mammateeks, as it is too large for the ordinary purposes of making garments, moccasins, etc.

One large and one small piece of bone, much decayed, look as though they had been used as sockets for spear heads.

There are three peculiarly shaped and much decomposed pieces of ivory, with small holes drilled through either end, and a deep groove cut along one side extending from one hole to the other, as if intended for a string to pass through the holes and rest in this groove. While the hole at the thinner end passes right through from side to side, that at the other and thicker end does not reach from side to side, but comes out on the thick base of the object. Two of those pieces are about the same size $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide. They are thin and leaf like in shape. The third is about the same length as the other two but is only $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch wide. Two other small pieces of ivory have the holes drilled at the sides instead of the ends, and only one of them has the connecting groove. All the holes in those articles are square or oblong, none of them appear to have been bored round as would be the case had a drill-bow been used. Two other small thin pieces of bone about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long each, but of different shapes, comprise this lot. One is quite thin, has jogs cut on the edges, and a hole bored through one end; the other has a deep groove on one edge extending about half its length, and a slight notch on the other edge near the smaller end.

There are seven flat oblong pieces of bone or ivory of peculiar shape. One is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, one $3\frac{1}{2}$ and one 4 inches by about an inch wide. Each has notches or projections on the thin edges. One has a single small hole another two holes close together, bored through at one end, and each has thin delicate straight lines marked on the sides near the ends, with slight grooves cut in line with the holes. They are slightly rounded on one side, which may be the natural shape of the bone. Two others of somewhat similar shape, one being considerably larger than the rest. Neither of these has any hole in it; the smaller one only has a slight straight line down the middle of one side, the larger no markings at all; both are notched on the outer edges.

There are three other somewhat similarly shaped pieces but of much smaller size, being from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 inches long, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch wide. One of these has two holes drilled, in line, at one end; one being quite

small, the other and inner one large. Two shorter pieces of almost the same form, have each a hole at one end, and all are scored with two, three and four light straight lines near the ends. Three small pieces of ivory having holes bored at both ends and a deep groove connecting them are notched or barbed on the outer edges, and have a slight slit cut into the narrower ends. This end is tapered away like the spear sockets. The holes at the base or thicker end are oblong. These are all too small to hold a spear or arrow head of any size, but may have been used as sockets for children's or toy arrows.

Four long narrow barbed pieces of bone evidently used for fish or bird spears. Two of them have but one shoulder on either side while the others have two shoulders or barbs. Three of them are grooved out at the base, and have narrow slits cut in them, but the fourth tapers away to a fine point. Each of these has a fairly large hole bored through near the centre. They were evidently attached by a string to a handle in the same manner as the larger seal spear.

There is but one other small piece of ivory about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in width, with a notch cut on one edge, and a deep groove on the other running about two-thirds of its length.

The stone implements found here consisted of 27 flakes chiefly of black or drab coloured chert, two being of a yellowish jasper. Several small thin pieces of dark coloured slate or serpentine greenish in colour, some veined with lighter shades of serpentine. All these latter are highly polished on both sides, and some have the edges bevelled away. There are two pieces of broken spear heads made of black and greenish chert. Seven well made chert arrow heads of the stemless hollowed base pattern. These are black and bluish green in colour, also three oblong pieces of thin slate, ground smooth on both sides, and round on the edges. There were a few small bones of animals or birds, much decomposed.

I have a strong suspicion that all these implements, etc., from this locality, may possibly be of Eskimo and not of Beothuck manufacture. The situation of Port au Choix near the lower entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle, and close to the most projecting headland (Point Riche) on that part of the Newfoundland coast, would be just such as to attract those coasting and fishing people. But the character of the implements themselves are very Eskimo like. The bird or fish spears are unlike any found elsewhere in Beothuck sepulchres; the long bone needle would be just such an article as might be used in sewing their skin "Kayacks." Many of the smaller bone and ivory articles, might be used as buttons or fasteners for skin dresses, others for stops such as are still to be seen attached to their lines, or fastened on to the edges of their Kayacks, etc. The complete absence of red ochre amongst these remains is also very noticeable.

Finding of Beothuck Skeletons.

The same Mr Samuel Coffin, who discovered the implements on Long Island, Placentia Bay, afterwards removed to Rabbit's Arm, Notre Dame Bay. While residing here he was made aware of an Indian burying cave



Skulls and leg bones of Inuit.



Mummified body of Inuit child, a boy of 8 or 10 years of age surrounded by fragments of skin dress, with tanned reindeer skin moose-casings, and a small wooden doll (male). Found in a cave at Dark Tickle, near Thaxter Island, Notre Dame Bay.

having been discovered on a small island in Pilley's Tickle not far distant. He proceeded there to investigate and succeeded in obtaining a most valuable and interesting lot of remains and relics which are now in our local museum.

From Mr Coffin I obtained the following particulars of this find. These remains were removed from their resting place by myself in September 1886. They were buried in a sort of cave formed by a shelf of rock with a projecting cliff above, on an island called Burnt Island in Pilley's Tickle, under the following circumstances. Some berry pickers it appears were on the island, when one of the boys in searching about, stood upon the grave and his foot broke through the slight covering placed over the bodies. Tearing up the stones and dirt he found the body of a child or young person beneath with several articles laying around it. They carried away the head and a number of the trinkets, which Mr Coffin purchased from them. He then paid a visit to the place himself, and carefully removing all the loose covering so as to get a full view of the remains he thus describes them.

The body was lying on its left side, enshrouded in a skin covering, (probably beaver skin but now destitute of fur) the flesh side turned out and smeared with red ochre. This shroud was arranged loosely covering all the body except the head. Inside it was clothed with a sort of skin pants covering the lower limbs, which was neatly sewn together, and fringed at sides with strips of skin cut into fine shreds. On the feet were moccasins also fringed round the top. The toes of these moccasins were not gathered in, in the usual way, but slightly turned up and sewn straight across so as to form a square front. Besides those covering the feet, there were a couple of extra pairs of the same pattern, with the other articles laying about. All these were very neatly sewn with fine stitches apparently of deer sinew. The outer robe was also fringed with finely cut skin down one side of the front and along the lower end of the garment. On the other side of the front were fastened several carved bone ornaments and a couple of birds feet (ducks or gulls), this appeared to be the outer side. All had been smeared with red ochre, traces of which were clearly visible. The body itself was enshrouded in its natural skin, now dried and shrunken and resembling Chamois leather, and was almost perfect. Only one hand and a couple of the cervical vertebrae were missing. The other hand, as well as the feet, was perfect, even the nails were well preserved. The legs were bent up so that the knees formed a right angle to the body with the feet bent back against the seat. The head was well shaped and contained twenty fully developed teeth, with four more at the inner side of the jaws which had apparently not yet broken through the gums. This would indicate a youth of some ten or twelve years of age. Accompanying the body and arranged around about it were a number of articles consisting a small wooden image of a male child, two small birch bark canoes, miniature bows and arrows, paddles, a couple of small packages of red ochre tied up neatly in birch bark, and a package of dried or smoked fish, salmon and trout, made up in a neat parcel of bark and fastened with a net-work of rootlets like a rude basket. There were no stone

implements found with the boy's body, but about 14 or 15 feet away, on the same shelf of rock, the skull and leg bones of an adult, with several loose bones of other parts of a skeleton were accompanied by several well made spear and arrow heads of stone, a stone dish, and an iron axe with wooden handle, of old English or French pattern, and an iron knife set into a rough wooden handle, with a few other articles of iron much corroded by rust. There were also a number of drinking cups and other small vessels made of birch bark. Most of these were very neatly made and well sewn together with fine roots, some being bound around the upper edge also with roots, presumably to keep them from splitting. All these articles without exception were reddened with ochre.

Over the remains was formed a canopy of arched sticks supporting a covering of birch bark, of large heavy sheets, some of them sewn together with roots. These latter were evidently taken from a broken or disused canoe, judging from the thickness of the bark, and the manner in which it was sewn. Over this covering of bark was laid a pile of loose fragments of stone and gravel to conceal the remains.

It has been conjectured that this child may have been the son of a chief or otherwise a person of some particular distinction amongst the tribe, if we may judge from the evident care bestowed upon his interment, and the careful if not loving manner in which the little fellow was supplied with everything requisite for his journey to the "Happy Hunting Grounds."

These relics afford an insight into many subjects hitherto open to some doubt. First they clearly attest a belief in a future state of existence. Then again, presuming that the small models of the canoes, paddles and other articles are correct in every particular, seeing these are the work of their own hands, they confirm beyond all question the peculiar shape of those vessels and implements.

I have an idea that the sharp V shaped bottom of the canoe was intended the better to navigate our rough boulder choked rivers, as the fact of their narrow form would enable them to slip between boulders where a wider bottomed boat could not pass. It has also been suggested that this shaped boat, when ballasted, would sail better in open water, the sharp bottom acting as a keel. In like manner the long narrow bladed paddle, with sharp point, so unlike any of the paddles of other Indian tribes, which are generally short and wide, and more or less round at the end, appears to me to have been intended to answer the double purpose of pole and paddle.

About the year 1888, a Mr George Hodder of Twillingate, came across some Indian remains in a cave on Comfort Island, Bay of Exploits, which he secured, and which were purchased for the museum where they now are, one being an almost complete skeleton of an adult. Mr Hodder gave me the following particulars of this find. He says, "there were three or four caves on the island where Indians had been buried, but most of the bones had become so decayed that he could only find one perfect skull. Some of the fragments of others were very much larger, than the one we sent you. We had one under jaw that measured an inch wider, and leg bones that measured 2 or 3 inches longer. I believe he says that some

Plate XIII



Skeleton of Beudantic.

of these men must have been 7 or 8 feet in height. The skeleton you have was in a cave from fifteen to twenty feet in length. The Indian was buried in a sitting posture, with a grass rope under his seat going up over his head, which was covered with a deer skin. He was then covered with Birch rind, and the cave filled in with rocks. He had buried with him quite a lot of arrows, broken in two pieces, also quite a lot of beads and bone ornaments, a lot of birds heads, a piece of iron pyrites, etc."

This skeleton which stands about five feet eight inches, and probably when in the flesh was fully six feet tall, presents several characteristics worthy of note.

Had it not been for the absence of both feet, which are only represented by one or two of the small bones, *metatarsus*, and *phalanges*, the right hand, one of the *tatellae*, or knee caps, and the lower portion of the breast bone, it would be complete. All the other parts are in a good state of preservation. The left arm and hand are intact, the hand being still attached to the wrist and forearm by the dried, shrivelled up sinews which connected them. The leg bones are long and strong looking, especially the *femurs*, which are over a foot and a half in length. The skull is large, particularly in the occipital region, cheek bones prominent, frontal angle rather low, with a deep depression in the forehead just above the base of the nasal organ. This latter is very peculiar, and if we can judge from what remains of the bridge, must have been considerably turned up

at the end, or otherwise of this shape } The lower jaw is thick and

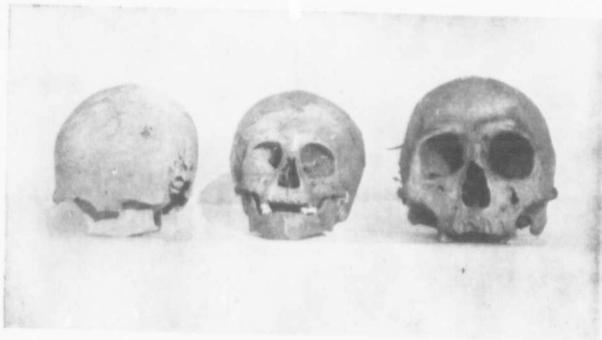
massive, the teeth, what are left of them, are sound and all exhibit the worn down crown already referred to. Taken as a whole this skeleton does not impress one favourably as to the intelligence of the individual, the skull in particular seems to indicate the characteristics of a rather savage, if not brutal nature. In this respect it differs much from all the other skulls I have seen of the Beothucks, which, as a rule are well formed, with good facial angles, indicative of a fair degree of intelligence and mild disposition. Yet the careful manner in which the individual was buried seems to point to a person of some consequence, probably a chief. This is further borne out by the fact that the bones are smeared with red ochre, which could only have been done long after all the flesh had decomposed and fallen away. Whatever significance this red colour had for them, it apparently was not confined to the living only, for here we have an instance of its being applied to the remains of the dead, long after all the flesh had disappeared.

Still another skeleton was obtained on an island near Rencontre, South coast of Newfoundland, as far back as 1847, by the Rev. Mr Blackmore, rural dean of Conception Bay, who presented it together with an account of the finding, to the Museum of McGill University, Montreal. The particulars are contained in a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada, by the Rev. George Patterson, 1891, and are published in the *Transactions* of that Society for the same year.

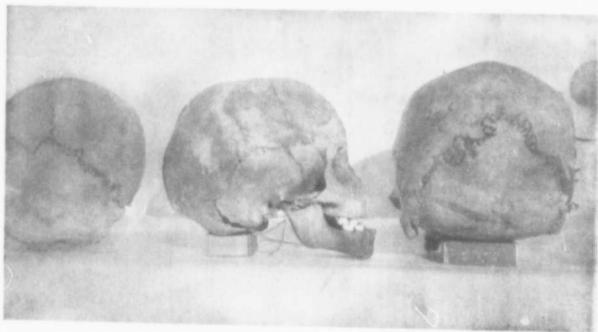
As it is of considerable interest, I give it here in full. "They were (says Mr Blackmore) found in the year 1847 on an island forming one of the lower Burgeo group, called 'Rencontre.' This island is uninhabited and considerably elevated; difficult also of access in rough weather. It is in a great measure 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 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 (socket?) the handle of a knife with part of the blade still in it, also some flints designed for arrow heads. 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 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 the burial took place after they had intercourse with the whites, but so early that they still dwelt upon the coast hunting the seal and other inhabitants of the deep, still using their old implements, and there also depositing their dead."

There is in our local museum a skull and right femur of another Indian, the finding of which antedates all the above, and which event has a rather romantic history attached to it. It was procured in 1834 by the late Hon. Dr Winter, M.L.C., under the following circumstances, as related by him to Alex. Murray, C.M.G., F.G.S., Director of the Geological Survey, in 1875. Dr Winter stated that at the time, 1834, he was practising his profession of medicine at Green's Pond, on the north side of Bonavista Bay. "He was called upon one day by a person who wanted a troublesome tooth extracted. The patient stated that he was convinced that his sufferings were attributable to the fact of his having been in possession of the tooth of a Red Indian who had been killed on the 'Straight Shore,' and whose body lay buried in a spot which he described. The Doctor extracted the aching tooth, and undertook to restore the Indian's grinder to its original owner. He hoped in this way to obtain the skeleton of one of the extinct race; while at the same time, he quieted the superstitious fears of the patient. Accordingly he hired a boat and proceeded to the locality described. After considerable labour the grave was discovered, and in it he found the skull, a thigh bone, a shoulder blade and a few other



Beothuck skulls, front view.



Beothuck skulls, side view.

smaller bones; but the remainder had been carried off by wolves or foxes. The skull was in a good state of preservation, except that the cheek bone and the lower part of the socket of one eye had been broken, evidently, in the Doctor's opinion, by shot. Mr Murray states that his specimen is exactly in this condition, thus proving its identity. Underneath where the body had lain the doctor found 'a concave circular hole, lined with birch bark, about twenty inches in diameter, at the bottom of which were two pieces of iron pyrites.' He also found the shaft of a spear stained with red ochre. The skull was presented by the doctor to the St John's Mechanics' Institute, in 1850, where it was kept till the contents of the Museum were dispersed, when it found its way to the Geological Museum, where it still remains.

"Dr Winter mentions that the boatman who accompanied him to the Indian's grave, finding that he meant to bring away the remains refused to trust himself in the boat, declaring 'that neither luck nor grace would follow such doings, as robbing the grave.' He had to row the boat back himself, and the fisherman walked twenty miles through marshes and bogs rather than undertake the perilous voyage in company with a skull. The doctor deserves much credit for his efforts to preserve these interesting relics. It is also satisfactory to know that his patient had no return of the tooth ache, the Indian's teeth having been restored to the rightful owner, and the troublesome grinder extracted."

This skull and femur are in an excellent state of preservation, and are not nearly so weathered or decayed as most of the others, from which circumstance I would infer that the individual to whom they belonged had not been long buried.

In many respects these relics differ considerably from the others in the museum. The skull, while undoubtedly that of an adult, as it possesses or did possess its full complement of teeth, is not nearly so massive. The frontal angle is good showing a fairly high but narrow forehead, much slighter *maxilla*, less heavy brow, without any pronounced depression such as that described in the larger skeleton. The nasal organ also would appear to have been well shaped. In fact a delicate almost elegantly shaped cranium, if such a term can be applied to that object. The femur also is much slighter and fully two inches shorter than any of the others. All these peculiarities lead me to the conclusion that this was the skeleton of a female. There is no vestige of red ochre about the bones, possibly, only those of the male sex were so treated. The teeth, as usual, are worn down on the crowns but not to such an extent, and they are very white and perfect, exhibiting no signs of decay. One would almost be inclined to think that these were not the remains of an Indian at all, yet the manner of burial, as described by Doctor Winter leaves no room for doubt on this point.

Numerous fragments of skulls and disconnected vertebrae or other portions of human skeletons have been found from time to time especially in and around the Great Bay of Notre Dame, but it is rare to find a perfect cranium much less a complete skeleton.

Implements and Ornaments of the Beothucks.

In the foregoing pages various references will be found to these by the different authorities quoted, but so far no attempt has been made to classify them properly. They comprise the usual stone tools, such as spear and arrow heads, axes, chisels, gouges, lances, knives, fleshers, scrapers, and a great variety of nondescript articles for which it is difficult to assign a use. There are a few steatite, (soapstone) pots, some egg shaped sinkers and a pipe of the same material. Nowhere has there been found any utensils or fragments of baked clay, and it appears quite certain that the Beothucks were not acquainted with the Ceramic Art. There is an abundance of material in the island suitable for such purpose, and had they a knowledge of pottery they would scarcely have gone to so much labour in cutting out, and shaping into bowls, dishes etc., those clumsy steatite utensils found in their burial places.

PLATE XV.

This represents four very crude stone implements, so much so, as almost to make it a matter of doubt as to whether some of them were ever used by the Red men. Yet the fact that they were found in that part of the country most frequented by them, and the evident chipping, or rather spawling of the two first, though this may have been accidental, seems to imply that they were made use of, while the third shows no indication of having been prepared in any way, but is just a heart shaped fragment of a slate boulder with a fairly sharp cutting edge and blunt point. Nos. 1 and 3 are large and stout towards the wider end, and supposing them to have been held in the hand would thus afford a good grasp. These may have been merely rude fleshers picked up at random, and cast aside after being used. No. 1 however, seems just such an implement as might be applied to the chipping of the smaller tools, as it is made from a hard dark bluish slate, of a tough nature. No. 2 was undoubtedly chipped or spawled around the sides and shows marks of blows on the upper end, its lower, or cutting edge, is just the natural cleavage. No. 4 is a piece of bluish hard red slate, chipped or spawled, but its cutting end has been ground down to a blunt edge. It also exhibits the mark of blows at the upper end, where it is considerably beised. Such a tool may have been used for clearing wood or splitting marrow bones.

PLATE XVI.

Some of the implements figured here are still of a rather rude character. Nos. 1, 5 and 6 are ground down at the lower end, but 2, 3 and 4 are only chipped. These latter are all thin pieces of a hard white-weathering slate showing lines of stratification. They are scarcely sharp enough to be used for any purpose other than as fleshers. No. 3 is the largest of those leaf shaped implements I have met with. It may have been used as a knife for cutting up meat, as well as for skinning an animal. No. 7 is also a thin piece of hard slate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in thickness. It is of a uniform width throughout, the two edges being partially ground, while the lower end has a good, well ground cutting edge.

Nos. 8 and 9 may have been axes, but are so short and thick at the upper end, as to afford no chance of attaching a handle to them, there being no groove by which to fasten it, yet their shape certainly suggests the axe or tomahawk.

Nos. 11, and 12 are well made knives, ground down on both sides to fine cutting edges. 11 and 12 show both sides of the same implement, and the base is cut away to receive a handle which must have been attached by strong sinews or straps of deer skin and held in place by the grooved base, which was clearly made to receive the binding so as to keep the knife in place. As No. 10 is but a broken piece of a broad flat knife we can only conjecture that the base was grooved in a somewhat similar manner. Both are thickest along the central line and No. 11 shows a distinct ridge in the middle. Nos. 13 and 14 show the back and side view of a peculiar curved implement, made of a hard white-weathering chert. It is well chipped, but not ground in any way, and has a pretty good cutting edge on either side. The point is round, as shown in figure. It has evidently been broken off from a handle into which the lower and smaller end was inserted. I believe this implement had been used as a crooked knife, as it bears a resemblance to that in use amongst the Micmacs, only the latter is made of steel.

PLATE XVII.

These are specimens of the well-known Celts, which appear to have been common to savage people all the world over. They are nearly always of the same pattern, and consist of long flatish pieces of hard slate rock or other material found suitable for the purpose. They are usually about 6 or 7 inches in length, narrow at one end, and ground away to a good cutting or chopping edge at the other and wider end. All these figured here were well made implements of a hard feldspathic slate well ground down and polished over most of the surface. Nos. 1 and 2 are very perfect specimens and do not appear to have been much used. I have seen a similar implement in the Smithsonian Museum at Washington, with a wooden handle attached by thongs of hide, in the form of an adze. It looked as though it had been used for dressing down sticks for spear handles etc., and possibly for hollowing out wooden troughs. With the exception of 1, 2 and 3, the remainder are all broken fragments. Complete specimens of this form are not often met with. No. 3 is of softer material than the rest and is much weathered, especially along the cutting edge. 7 and 8 are reduced specimens, after Lloyd. No. 9 stone adze with wooden handle attached.

PLATE XVIII.

These are all gouge shaped implements. No. 1 is a beautifully made tool of hard slate perfectly grooved out, with a very sharp cutting edge, part of which has been broken away. The front or upper side is flat, but it is round on the back and is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness. Nos. 2 and 3 show the front and back view of another similar gouge. This is also beautifully made, especially the grooved end, which is highly polished and has a keen cutting edge. The front of this tool is also flat and the back is rounded. It is somewhat thicker than No. 1 or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Nos. 4, 5 and 8 are smaller types of the gouge, the groove only being well ground. Nos. 6 and 7 are but slightly hollowed at lower end and the edge is not so keen. They are both partly ground on the sides, but otherwise rather rough. They do not display anything like the workmanship of the first lot.

It has been variously conjectured by some that these implements were used in dressing skins, shaping spear handles, paddles, etc., while others maintain they were used to gouge out wooden or log boats, but I know of no instance where it is recorded that the Bushbucks made dugouts. I imagine they were applied to one or both of the first mentioned uses. I have seen the Mirimacs use a somewhat similarly shaped tool made of a deer's leg bone (femur), one end of which was cut away and beveled to a sharp curved cutting edge, the hollow inside part of the bone taking the place of the groove in these stone implements. It was used for removing the vellum from the fleshy side of the deerskins in the following manner: A smooth round stick of perhaps three inches in diameter was driven into the ground, or jammed between boulders to keep it firm. It stood at an angle sufficient to bring its upper or free end about 3 feet above the ground. Over this the green skin was thrown, which hung down on either side. The operator then rubbed off the vellum by fitting the gouged bone over that part of the hide which rested along the stick, pressing his chest against the elevated end and forcing the tool downwards with both hands. They also use another tool, made of a deer's shin bone cut open lengthwise and sharpened along its whole length, except at the thick ends, which latter are held in both hands. This tool resembles a drawing knife or spokeshave, and is drawn towards the operator while the other is worked from him. The former is called "Seskaledagan," the latter "Gigegan."

Those with the small narrow grooves could scarcely have been applied to this purpose of dressing skins, and I think must have been used for fashioning poles or shafts for spear handles etc.

PLATE XIX.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are or were all well made hunting spears or lance heads. No. 1 was a beautiful implement of hard red slate, perfectly shaped and ground down with great care. Along the centre of both sides where it is thickest is a distinct well-marked straight gable, as is also the case with No. 4. The outer edges are quite sharp, Nos. 2, 3, and 5 are more rounded in outline, with less pronounced central ridge or none at all. No. 24 is a reduced specimen after Lloyd, of a similar spear to No. 1. No. 4 is much smaller than the others. All have the tangs broken off, and with the exception of No. 5, the points also. No. 6 shows the front and side view of a very well made and polished tool which would appear to have been long and narrow throughout. If the outline of the absent parts be correct, it was evidently used as a drilling implement.

No. 7 is a long thin lance or possibly an arrow head. Nos. 8 and 9 are long spear-like implements of red slate well made and highly finished throughout. They seem to suggest a dagger or dirk, and were probably set in a handle. 10 is a lance or spear head. 11, a chipped arrow of hard feldspathic slate, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21 and 23 are not easily defined. They are rather large for arrow heads, yet small for spears. Some American authorities call similar tools, fishing spears.

16 is a rive flat chipped lance or spear head with notched base for fastening a handle by. 17, is a reduced leaf-shaped spear, after Lloyd. 18 and 19 are somewhat similar to 16 only much smaller, 19 shows two grooves on either side near the base. 22 is probably an arrow head, made of smoky quartz.

PLATE XX.

Some of the implements figured here are what is termed by American authorities, "turtle-backs." Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 18, and 19 are all of this type, No. 4 being the most perfect specimen, showing the comparatively flat under, and peaked upper surface; what particular use they were put to is not easy to determine. That some of them could have been affixed to handles of any kind seems pretty evident. Possibly, they were used for skinning or fleshing animals, but they do not appear very suitable for such purpose and most of them are too small. All, with the exception of Nos. 7, 8, and 10 are made of black or dark coloured chert, 7 is greenish chert, while 8 and 10 are banded quartz. Nos. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, may have been used as spears as their shapes seem to imply.

PLATE XXI.

This plate exhibits specimens of the different types of stone arrow heads used by the Beothucks. They are made from a variety of different materials, such as greenish slate, or horn-stone; black chert, red Jasper, quartz, etc.

Some few are rather crudely made, but the majority are very perfect and show much fine and careful workmanship. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are of the former class. From No. 7 to 24 represent those triangular shaped arrow points with slightly curved bases. These appear from their abundance to have been the most commonly used form. Some of them are very small, and it is a matter of doubt as to how they were fastened to the shaft. It is supposed by some authorities that they were set into a slit and merely kept in place by gum from the spruce trees, but if this were so they could not have had a very firm hold.

Nos. 32, 33, 34, are beautiful and delicately made specimens, ground down on all sides perfectly smooth with keen edges and sharp points. The base is also ground to a fine edge. The two last have the central line or peak perfectly straight on both sides. Nos. 44 is another, similar in every respect, except that the base is square across instead of being curved. 43 is rather clumsy for an arrow head and may have been a lance or fishing spear. Nos. 45 and 46 show an extra deep indentation at the base, a form not at all plentiful.

Nos. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, and 55 all represent various types of triangular arrow heads with short ranges and deep notches on either side of the base for the purpose of fastening them securely to the shaft by means of sinew or fine strips of hide. These are what are termed stemmed arrows.

Both these latter and the two former 45 and 46, are exactly like some arrow heads I have seen figured in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Journal of Ireland*, for Jan. and April 1888. Nos. 56 and 57, 64 and 66 being all broken at the base, we do not know whether they were notched or otherwise. Nos. 58, 59, 60, 61, and 62, are all of a larger size and somewhat different pattern, especially the two last, which are much wider at the base, and slightly curved, but both exhibiting the notches for fastening, etc. No. 65 being broken across the middle leaves it difficult to decide whether it was an arrow or spear head. It is made of dark coloured, translucent quartz (smoky quartz), and is beautifully and evenly chipped all over, with sharp slightly serrated edges. If a spear head, it must have been a very elegant one.

67 is also a quartz or quartzite tool, but is not nearly so well finished as the preceding.

PLATE XXII.

Here we have a variety of nondescript articles with a few others that can be easily defined. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12 are all either scrapers or graving implements. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 are thin spawls of dark greenish chert, which have evidently either been fashioned as we see them or else selected on account of their exceedingly sharp edges. I imagine these may have been used in carving the bone ornaments, described in Plates XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII.

No. 8, the side view of which is like this , was probably used for boring the small holes

in the bone, the point, now broken off, was evidently very fine and sharp. 12 is a piece of milky white quartz chipped and frayed at the edge. The smallness of these fragments suggests that they must have been held between the thumb and fore-finger when in use.

Nos. 13, 14 and 15, are thin pieces of slate quite smooth on both sides and ground on the edges. They were probably whetstones used for sharpening the smaller tools. No. 16 is a peculiar shaped piece of black chert, well chipped and having sharp edges. It looks like a sort of double pointed implement, but the extreme points are broken off. Possibly it was intended to be divided in two, and made into arrow heads. No. 17 shows two sides of a thin piece of whitish slate cut with some sharp implement, but not fashioned into any recognised form. No. 18, also of dull whitish slate, may have been intended for a lance head which was not completed. Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 are flat pieces of serpentine; some of them are bevelled at the edges, and all are highly polished. As this kind of stone is too soft to be used other than for ornamentation, it is not easy to determine what they were. 22, with the notch at one side, does look as if it were intended for an arrow head.

Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, are either plummetts or sinkers and are all made of soapstone. The grooves at the top clearly indicate that they were attached to lines. No. 28 is reduced after Lloyd, and differs from the rest by having a sharp projecting point or barb at one side. Lloyd thinks this was used for fishing, as a hook.

No. 29 is a flat piece of whitish or drab slate with a broad bevelled edge at the base, where it is ground away from one side like a chisel. It has a coniform hole drilled through near this wide base. I have seen no other tool exactly resembling this figured anywhere. It may have been used as a knife, but the object of the hole is not apparent.

No. 30 is a beautifully made pipe of greenish serpentine. The bowl is octagonal shaped outside but perfectly circular inside. There is some doubt as to whether this can be really attributed to the Beothucks, especially as they are said not to have smoked. Again, it is so very fresh and unweathered, it looks as though it was quite recently made. The party who gave it to me, received it from a Micmac Indian, who picked it up near Pipestone Pond in the interior, and pronounced it to be of Red Indian manufacture. No. 31 may have been used as a hook, though a very clumsy one. It is a piece of fine grained reddish sandstone and looks as though it owed its peculiar shape to weathering or from being water worn.

No. 32 is a large sized scraper or perhaps knife with a fairly good cutting edge along the lower side. 33 is clearly a fragment of the basal part of a spear or lance head, made of black chert. No. 34 is a rather rudely made spear head of dull reddish porphyry. Nos. 35 are fragments of clay pipes of European manufacture, apparently French, for one section of a stem shows the Fleur de Lis with a Lion (?) Rampant, surmounted by a crown, Arms of Francis I of France (?). Whether the Beothucks used these pipes, or only picked up the broken fragments near the French fishing establishments and looked upon them as curios cannot now be determined; at all events these fragments were found by myself in one of the Beothuck cemeteries. My own impression is, notwithstanding so many assertions to the contrary, that they really did smoke something, as most other Indians do. If not tobacco, which of course does not grow in Newfoundland, they, like the Micmacs, when short of that weed may have used Kinnikinnick, i.e. the inner bark of the Red Willow (Kodrod), or the root of the Michaelmas daisy dried. I have myself had occasion to resort to the former more than once, in order to eke out my scanty supply of tobacco. They may have at times, when on friendly terms with the French fishermen received both pipes and tobacco from them in barter.

The Beothucks certainly had a term for tobacco, "Nechwa," which is evidence that they must have been acquainted with the weed! No. 36 is a tool of the gouge pattern, but having a very small groove. It was probably used for shaping and paring down arrow shafts. It is of a rather soft slate.

Nos. 37 and 38. Two spherical balls of limestone, probably used for gaming.

PLATE XXIII.

These are all rubbing stones. Nos. 1 and 2 are of fine grained sandstone, 1 being a reddish sandstone, 2, greenish gray. No. 3 is a hard close grained pinkish porphyry, and is worn quite smooth and polished on top and bottom. Nos. 4 and 5 are made of grayish grindstone, fairly hard and somewhat coarse grained. 6 and 7 are soft fine gray and greenish rock like a chlorite slate. All exhibit well worn or rubbed down surfaces indicating that they were much used for sharpening tools, etc.

PLATE XXIV.

These are all implements and other articles of bone. No. 1 is a long well made needle with an eye hole drilled through one end. It is from Port au Choix. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are undeniably objects. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 are mostly made of Ivory, evidently of Walrus tusk. What they were really intended for does not seem apparent; they may have been used in lieu of buttons for fastening their garments, etc.

Nos. 23 and 24 are barbed bone fishing or bird spears. I have seen one with the Micmacs of exactly the same pattern as 24, but made of iron.

Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, and 28^a are smaller types of the same. 25, 26, and 28^a have deep notches cut in the base as if intended for inserting a handle or shaft. They also have holes drilled through them. It appears as though they must have been attached by a string to the handle or shaft, which in this case would probably be an arrow shaft, and when shot into a bird or fish would separate from the wood but still remain attached by the string, in a similar manner to the seal spear.

Nos. 29 and 29^a were undoubtedly the bone sockets of small spears.

Nos. 30 and 31 were bone spears, also attached to the handles by a thong of hide.

No. 32 is a well-defined bone spear socket, such as was used for killing seals. The stone or iron point was set into a slot at the small end and then securely bound around the narrow neck by sinew

¹ I have only heard of one other straitite pipe having been found at Fleur de Lys, where the soapstone pots were manufactured. This was said to have some sort of an animal carved on the outside with its head projecting over the bowl. The scarcity of stone pipes may be accounted for by the fact that in all probability these people, like the Micmacs, used strips of Birch bark twisted into the form of a pipe, which after being once used was so burnt as to be useless and consequently cast aside.

The Eskimos living north of Hudson Strait make straitite pipes much like that figured here, though not so ornamental, in which they smoke some kind of moss.

or thong. The two holes were not drilled through, only about half way and are connected one with the other. This was where the string for attachment to the handle was tied. In the swallow-tailed base is a fine groove for the point of the handle to be inserted. This implement was so constructed, that upon entering the body of a seal it became detached from the handle, but still held by the long cord which was carried up to, and over the end of the handle and thence back to where it was grasped in the hand. Another feature of its ingenious construction was, that owing to the cord being attached to the middle of the socket, as soon as it pierced the flesh of the animal, and a strain was put upon it by the effort to escape, the spear turned sideways across the aperture made in the skin and this prevented its withdrawing.

Nos. 33 to 43 are all pieces of bone of various shapes, 37, 38, and 39 have chisel-shaped points at one end. It is difficult to say what they were used for. 44 and 45 are two pieces of whalebone, partly cut but apparently not intended for use in their present form. 46 is a seal's tooth with a hole bored through one end. 47 and 48 probably buttons. All the remainder are only fragments of bone or ivory, except 50 which are two small and well formed disks of ivory.

PLATE XXV.

No. 1 is a piece of bone cut round and smooth. It looks like European manufacture, and was probably a handle of some sort. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are tusks of animals, the first three being those of a pig. 2 and 4 have small holes bored in them to receive a string. 5 looks like the tooth of a large seal.

Nos. 6 and 7 are pieces of a deer's horn partly cut or shaped for some unknown purpose. No. 8 gives two sides of a bone spear, one of which shows the slit cut into the base to receive the shaft or handle. All the remaining articles on this and Plate XXVI are carved bone ornaments, such as are usually found deposited in the graves with the dead. There is a great variety of these carved bones, but in no two instances have I come across exactly similar designs. They are all made of sections of a deer's leg bones, and the carvings indicate that they were cut with some very sharp and fine edged tool, no doubt either broken fragments of glass bottles, which have been also found in the burial places, or else those sharp spawls of chert and quartz crystals figured in Plate XXII. All the interiors of these carvings are filled with red ochre, and in the case of 47, 48, 49, and 50 the whole piece is smeared over with it. Probably the others were also, at one time, but it has become rubbed or worn off.

I have arranged these ornaments according to the shape of the base. From 9 to 50 are or have been cut straight across at the wider end. 51 is a spike of a carbon antler, perhaps used as an awl. Nos. 52 and 53, and in Plate XXVI, Nos. 1 to 8 show the base cut away obliquely, while 54 has the base slightly grooved and notched, and is also somewhat hollowed on either side.

PLATE XXVI.

All the ornaments figured here are of the swallow tailed type and have various designs carved upon them, differing in some respect, no two being exactly alike. Some of the smaller pieces are more ornate than the larger, most of them having the outside edges scalloped in different ways.

PLATE XXVII.

These represent a variety of nondescript forms, beginning with the three pronged or trident shaped ornaments, and passing on to other peculiar forms. The square and diamond shaped articles were undoubtedly used in gaming. The combs need no description.

PLATES XXVIII AND XXIX.

Exhibit a selection of the various forms, drawn by Lady Edith Blake, wife of Sir Henry Blake, late Governor of Newfoundland. Her Ladyship took a deep interest in the subject of the Aborigines while here. She copied all these ornaments and also wrote a paper on the Beothucks which was published in the *Canary Magazine* for December 1858. What the exact use or purpose of those ornaments was we do not know. The fact of so many of them being always found deposited with the dead seems to suggest some symbolic or talismanic idea. So far as I know they have not been found anywhere else except in the cemeteries. As almost every one of those ornaments had a small hole drilled through, near the smaller end, it is pretty clear they were attached by strings to something. A few of them still retain portions of the string. In the case of the little Beothuck boy's ornament, some of these ornaments, together with bird's legs and feet were found attached to the fringe of his outer garment. Again, in the figure of the dancing woman drawn by Shavawdihit, the dress appears to be fringed in like manner, around the lower end by similar ornaments. If this were really the case, I imagine their purpose was to produce a rattling noise by striking against each other, in the manner of castanets, during the evolutions of dancing. It may be that such a dress was only worn on ceremonial occasions, of this however, we are left to conjecture only.

Nos. 29 to 36 are small discs of bone or shell, probably used on strings as neck ornaments.

PLATE XXX.

Represents a few articles of iron found either at their encampments or in their cemeteries. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are portions of the springs of steel traps, or double stien from the furrers. The two latter being roughly beaten into the form of spear heads. No. 4 is a knife evidently of European manufacture, set into a rude handle, by the Indians, and I think from the shape of the latter and a slight bend in the knife blade, it must have been used as a crooked knife, as it closely resembles the Micmac implement so named.

No. 5 is the much decomposed remains of a very small, polled tomahawk, with handle attached. This was evidently made by the Indians themselves and shows much ingenuity in the form of the eye, etc. The handles of both these latter implements are as usual, coloured by ochre.

No. 6 is one of the spear heads stamped with the broad arrow, which Capt. Bouchan had made aboard his ship, by his armourer in 1820, to be distributed amongst the Indians should he come up with them; but as he did not meet with them on this occasion, the spear points were tied in small bundles, and fastened to the branches of trees along the river side where the Indians most frequented, such as the portages over the falls. Some also were left at the deserted Manateeks on Red Indian Lake.

Whether the Beothucks ever made use of any of these is not known for certain. That figured here was picked up on the side of the Exploits River in recent years.

PLATE XXXI.

Exhibits some articles made of Birch bark.

No. 1 is a package of dried or smoked fish.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. These are five drinking cups of different patterns, all neatly sewn together.

No. 7 is a small model of a canoe, and 8 is the bow or stem part of another.

No. 9 is a small paddle. All these articles are smeared with red ochre, and were deposited in the grave with the little Beothuck boy's body.

PLATE XXXII.

Upper. Stone pots and lamps made of Soapstone hollowed out.

Lower. Cliff of Soapstone at Fleur de Lis, from which such pots were obtained. The figure shows several pots, half formed in the cliff but not broken off, also indentations from whence others were so derived.

PLATE XXXIII.

Roasting sticks, fragments of bows and arrow shafts, tomahawk etc.

PLATE XXXIV.

Upper. Pieces of birch bark showing marks of stitching; fire stones, stone fragments etc.

Lower. Models of canoes, small drinking cups etc. all made of birch bark, found in grave of little boy.

PLATE XXXV.

Various bone and other articles, including a necklace, wampum as specimen on plate.

PLATE XXXVI.

These also are a recent find of carved bone ornaments, from a cave near the Southern Head of Long Island, Notre Dame Bay. While bearing a general resemblance in outward form to others already figured, yet the designs carved on them differ much from any that I have seen. They all exhibit the remains of the red ochre with which they were once smeared.

PLATE XXXVII.

Recent find of stone implements. Nos. 1, 2, 3 are finely made lance heads or spears. Nos. 4 and 5 arrow heads. No. 6 is a long and perfectly formed spear, except that it is broken off at the base. From the length and shape of this implement I imagine it was used as a dagger or poisoned set in a wooden handle. No. 7 is a perfectly made lance head and is interesting from the fact that it was obtained at the mouth of the small river, flowing into the Harbour of St. John's. It was frequently stated that the Indians did not frequent this neighbourhood. No. 8 is a smooth worn stone of peculiar shape, also found near the above river. Its shape may be purely accidental yet it was possibly used by the Indians for some purpose.

Concluding remarks on the Red Indians.

It only remains for me to offer some comments on the foregoing notices and attempt some solution of apparently conflicting and doubtful statements, etc.

First did the Beothucks or did they not possess dogs? Most authorities positively assert they did not. Cartwright speaks as though he was very certain on this point, when he remarks "To complete their wretched condition, Providence has even denied them the pleasing services and companionship of the faithful Dog."

Old Mr Peyton also assured me the Indians had no dogs and were very greatly afraid of them, nor do any of the settlers in their numerous traditions about them ever mention the presence of the dog.

Yet against this we have old Capt. Richard Whitbourne's statement about their wolves (Eskimo dogs?), and the story of his mastiff going off in the woods with the latter and coming back unharmed. The correspondent of the *Liverpool Mercury* also mentions seeing in one of their wigwams at Red Indian Lake in 1810, a slut with a litter of puppies. My own impression is, that originally they undoubtedly possessed dogs of the Eskimo breed, perhaps obtained from that people, and may have been driven in times of scarcity to eat them: more probably they destroyed them, lest their footprints in the snow or their howlings by night, might be the means of betraying their presence to their white enemies. I conjecture that the animal seen by the party above referred to was one of the ordinary short-haired common species of Newfoundland, stolen from some fisherman's establishment. Had it been one of the Eskimo breed, he would have stated the fact, as he was, no doubt well acquainted with that wolf-like animal.

As regards the whitewoman seen at Red Indian Lake amongst the Indians, by Lieut. Buchan, and to all appearance an Indian in dress, etc., I have in vain tried to obtain confirmation of this statement and have sought to ascertain whether any tradition existed amongst the fisher folk of a white girl having been kidnapped by the Indians, but to no purpose. Cormack also evidently sought for some information on this point, for I find in some notes of his the question was put to *Shanawdithit* as to the existence of a white woman. She answered, "No," and Cormack adds, "Buchan not correct." Nevertheless, I cannot see how Buchan could have made such a mistake. He was a man of superior education, most observant, and had an opportunity such as no other person (so far as we know) ever possessed, of a close intercourse with them, for several hours at their village, Red Indian Lake. His description of this particular woman is too exact to admit of doubt. He says of her: "Conceive my astonishment at beholding a female bearing all the appearances of an European, with light sandy hair, and features strongly similar to the French, apparently about twenty two years of age, with an infant which she carried in her cossack, her demeanour differing materially from the others. Instead

¹ Shanawdithit was probably too young at the time to remember.

of that sudden change from surprise and dismay to acts of familiarity, she never uttered a word, nor did she recover from the terror, our sudden and unexpected visit had thrown them into." It was a pity Buchan did not think of interrogating this woman both in French and English, for even though she may have been kidnapped when quite a child, she would probably have recognized her own tongue, which ever it may have been, did she hear it once again. I also think he should have made an effort to bring the poor creature back to civilisation. Probably he might have done so were the Indians there on his return to the Lake.

I conceive Buchan made a great mistake in taking with him so many of the furriers as guides, and moreover, allowing them to go armed. It is only natural to suppose that the Indians seeing these blood-thirsty enemies of their tribe amongst the party, would naturally conclude all the rest were of the same stamp, and actuated with the same desire for their destruction, hence their caution and the fatal termination of the expedition.

It was subsequently learnt from Shanawdithit that the killing of Buchan's two marines was occasioned by a misunderstanding on the part of the Indians, aided by their fears. All went well with the two hostages, who conducted themselves in a becoming manner, till the return of the Indian who fled from Buchan down the river. This individual reported that a large party were in hiding ready to march up and destroy them all. On receiving this report, the poor Red men were thrown into a state of alarm, but before deciding on the death of the hostages a council was held as to the best mode of procedure. Some were for immediate flight and taking the marines with them, but others argued that Buchan would be sure to follow them up in order to recover his men and that their only safety was in destroying them, so that they could not give any information as to the direction the Indians had taken. It would appear that the majority were loathe to murder the men who came to them in such a friendly way, and showed such confidence as to remain alone with them. The matter was decided by the chief and a few others surprising the unfortunate marines and shooting them in the backs with arrows, and then beating a hasty retreat.

Buchan certainly made another mistake in allowing that first individual to go free, had he held on to him till his return to the Lake, no doubt all might have been well. It was a great pity so favourable an opportunity at an amicable understanding should have been frustrated.

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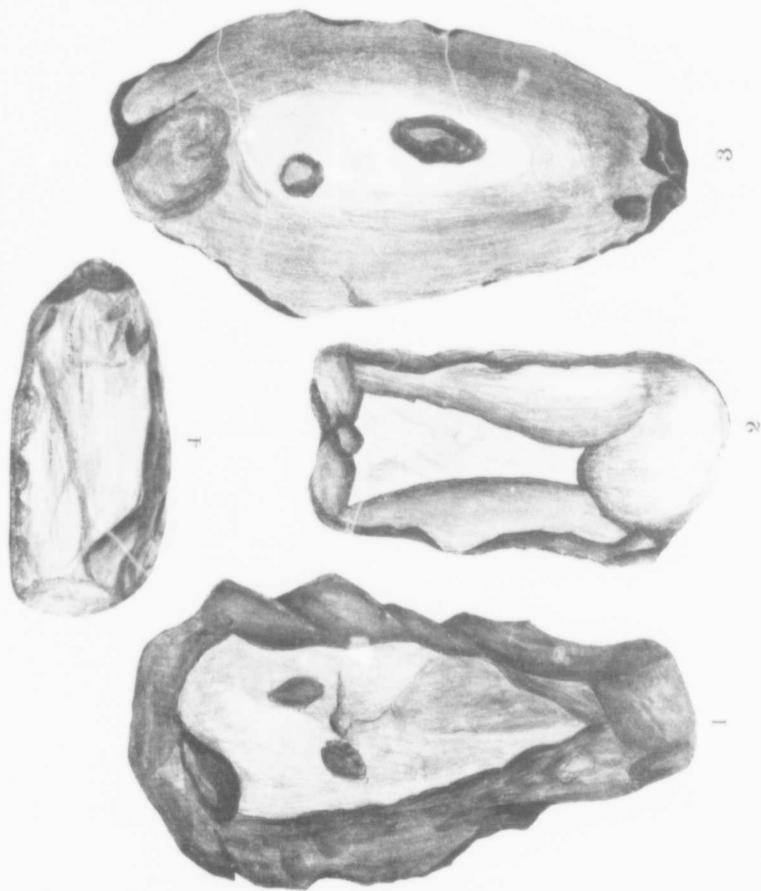
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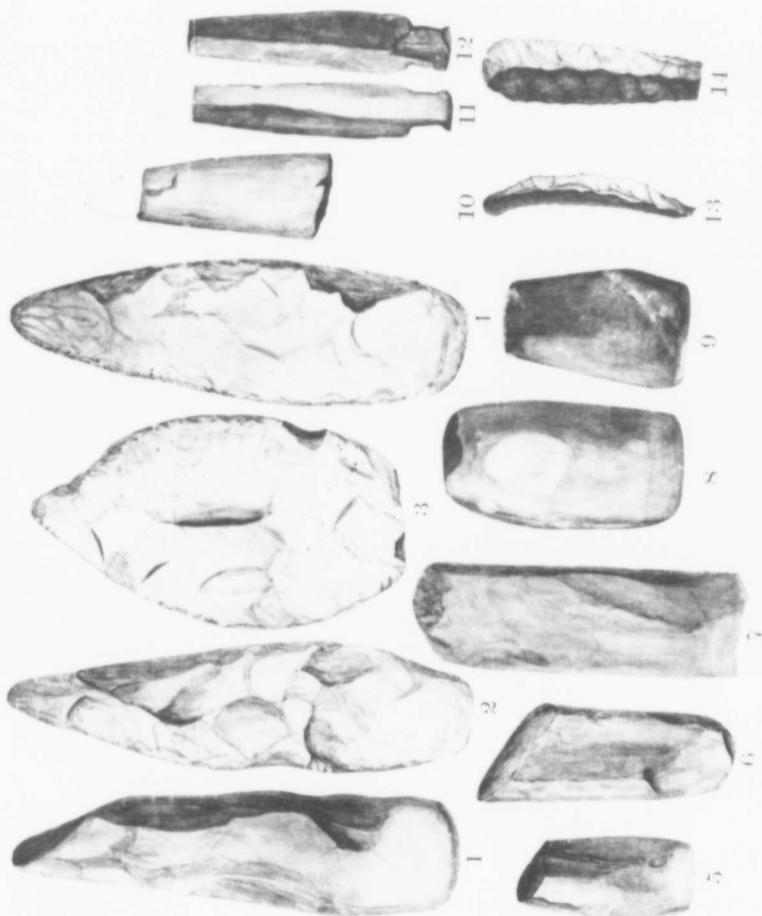
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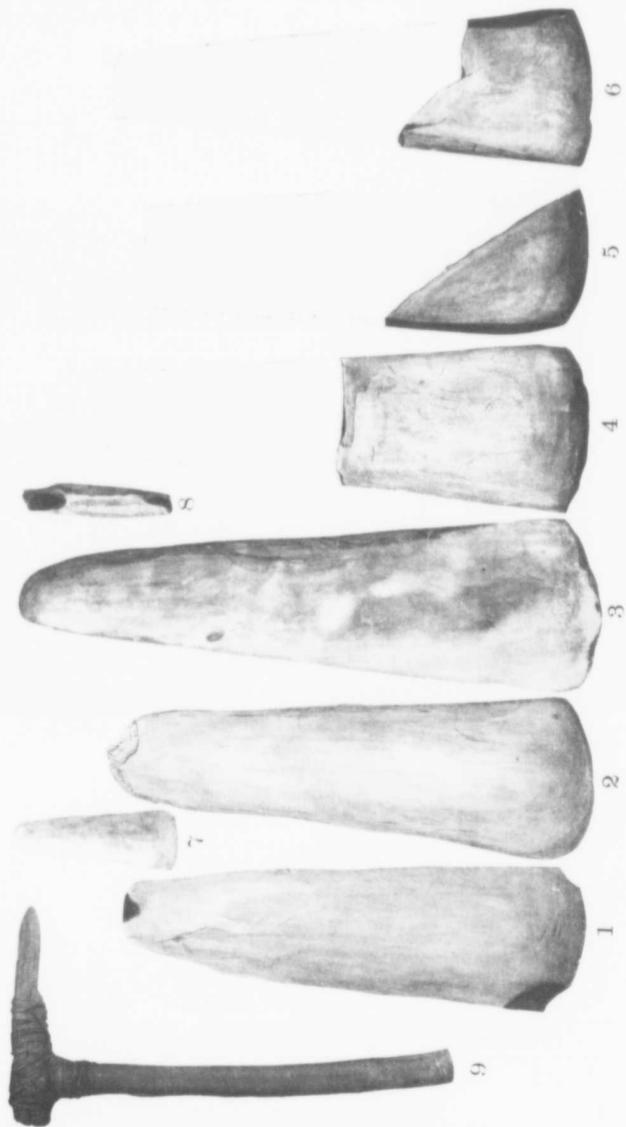
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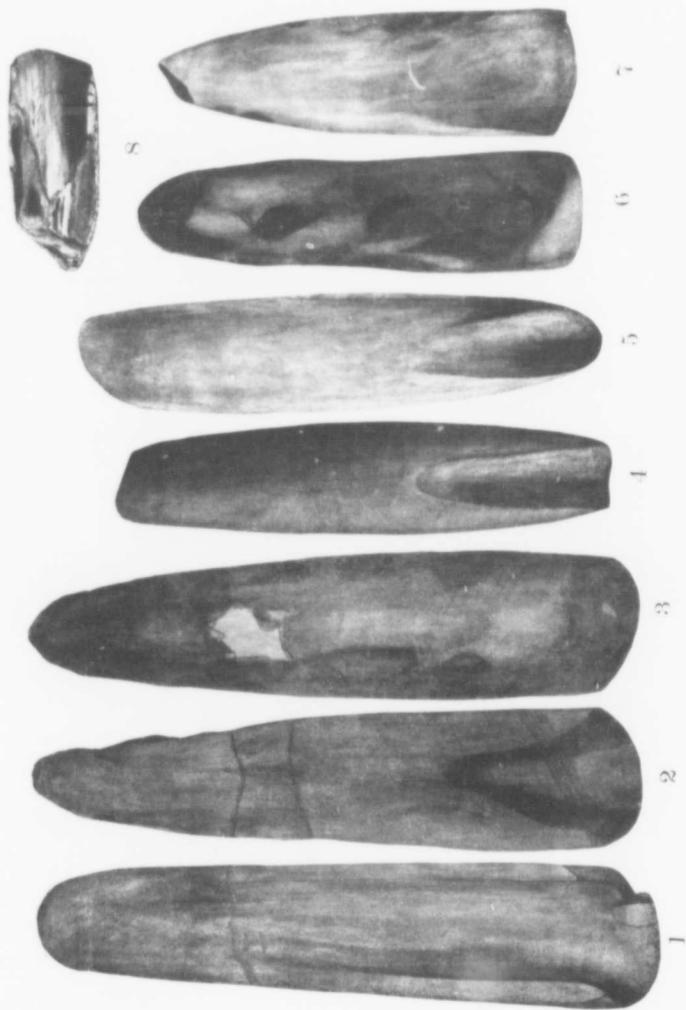
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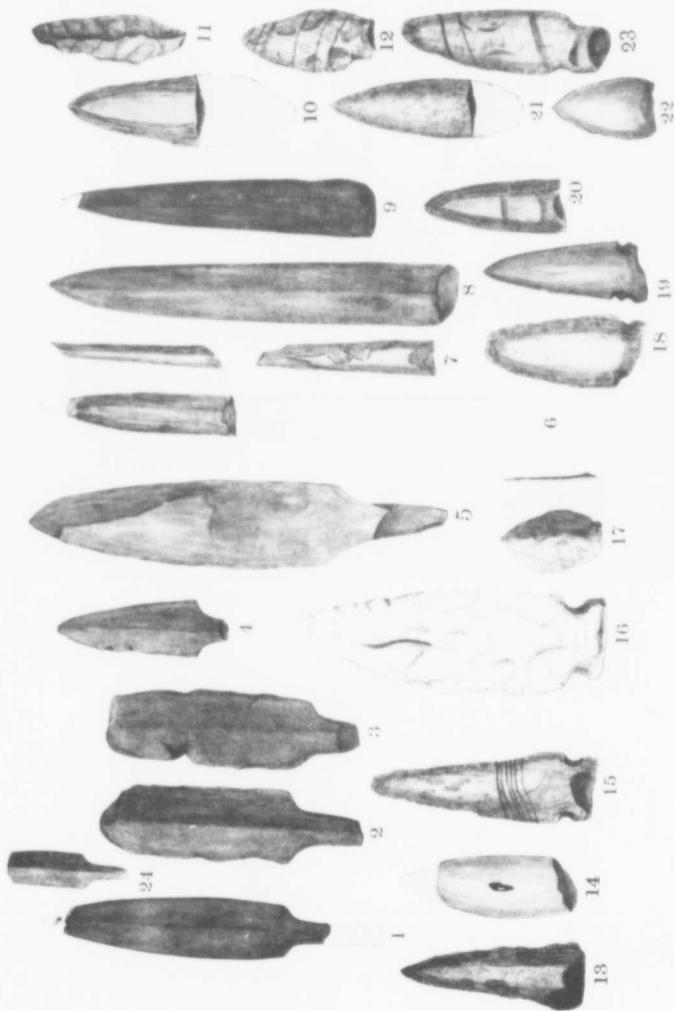
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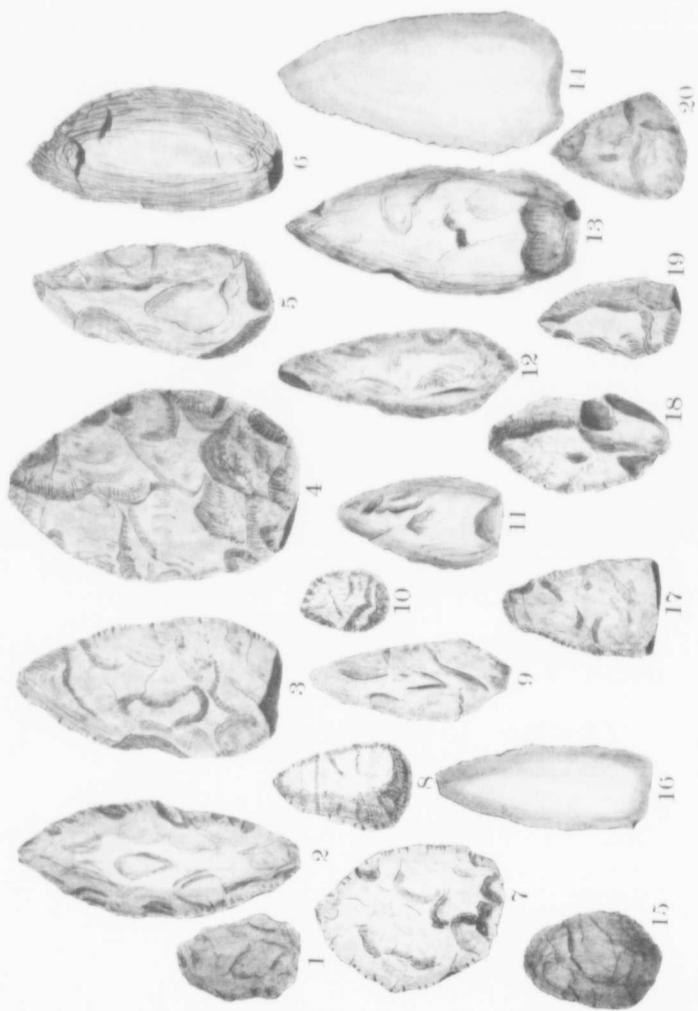


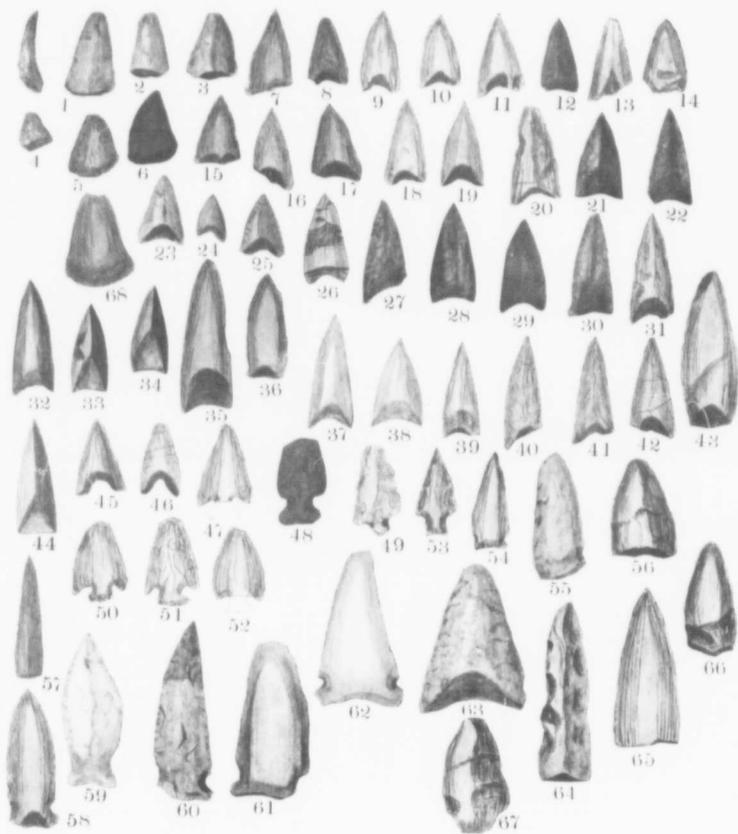




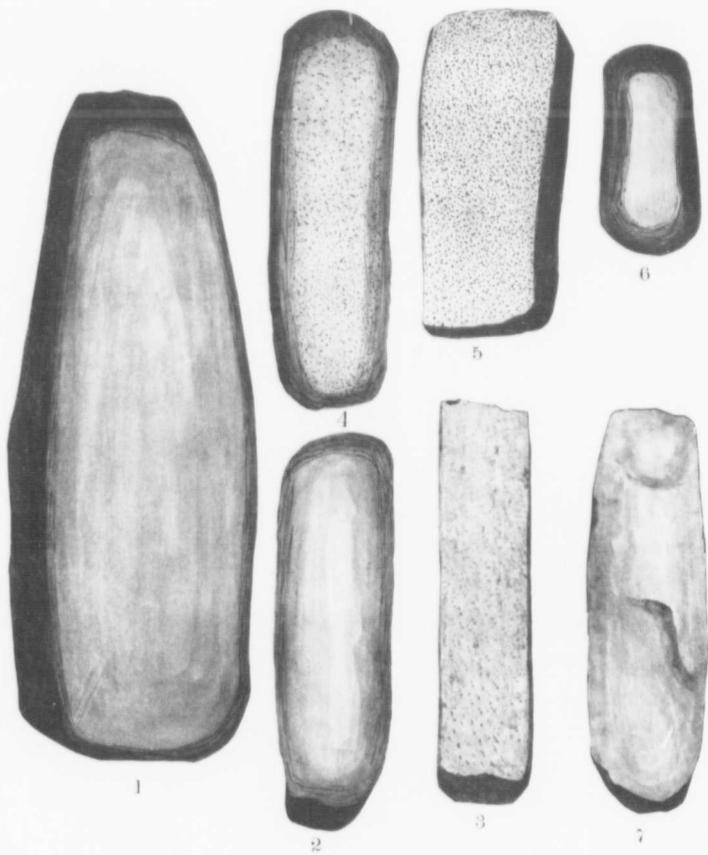


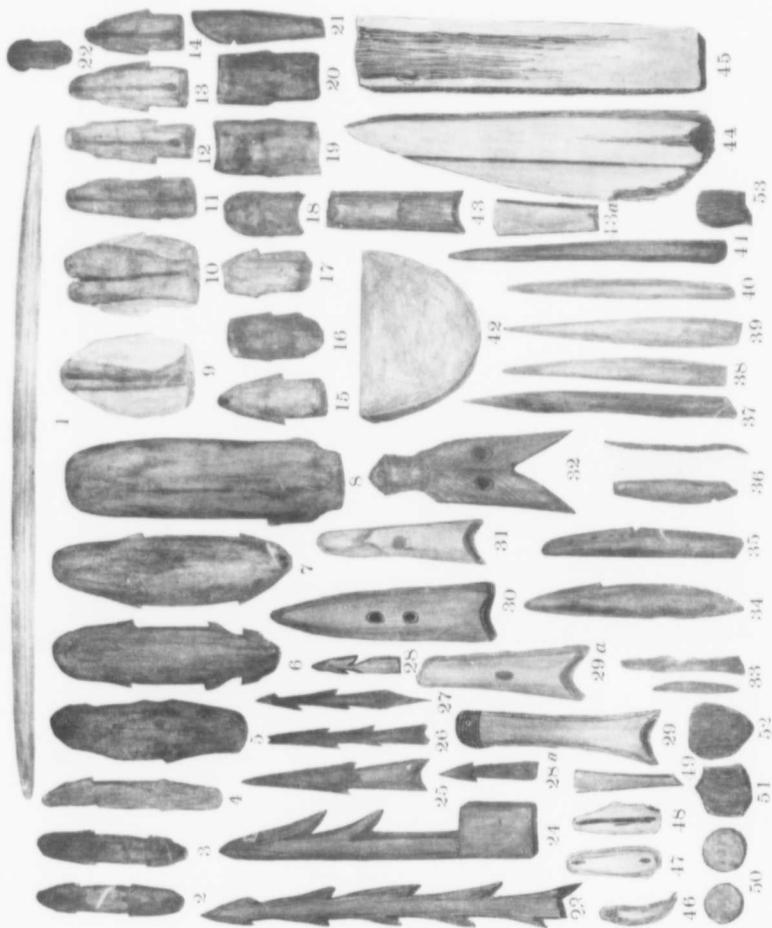


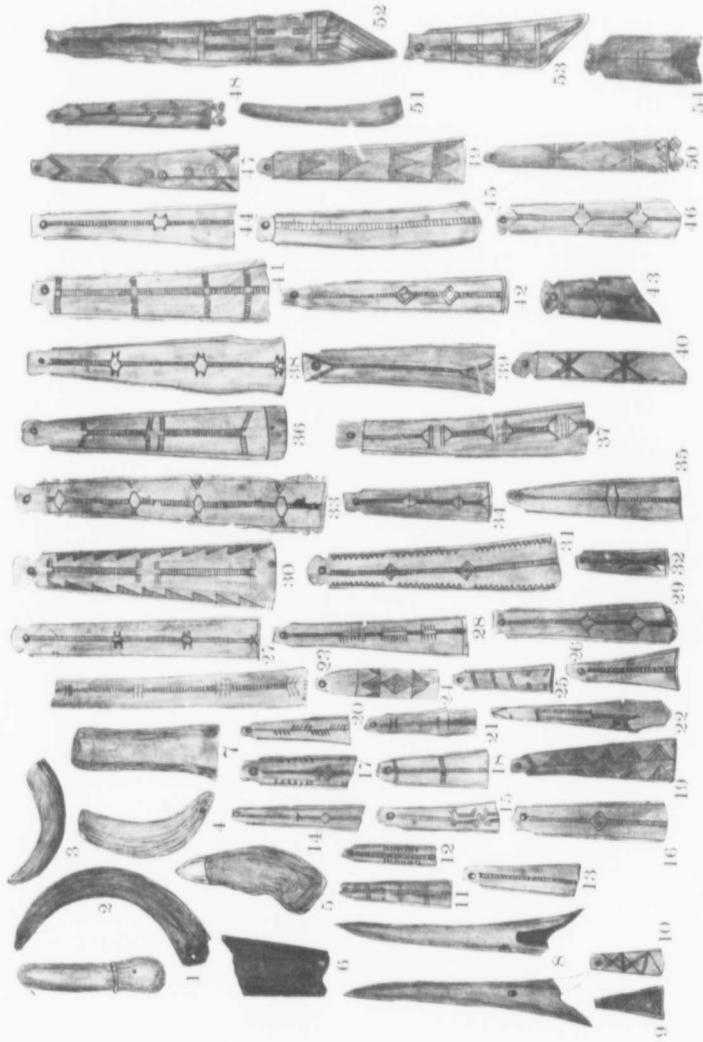


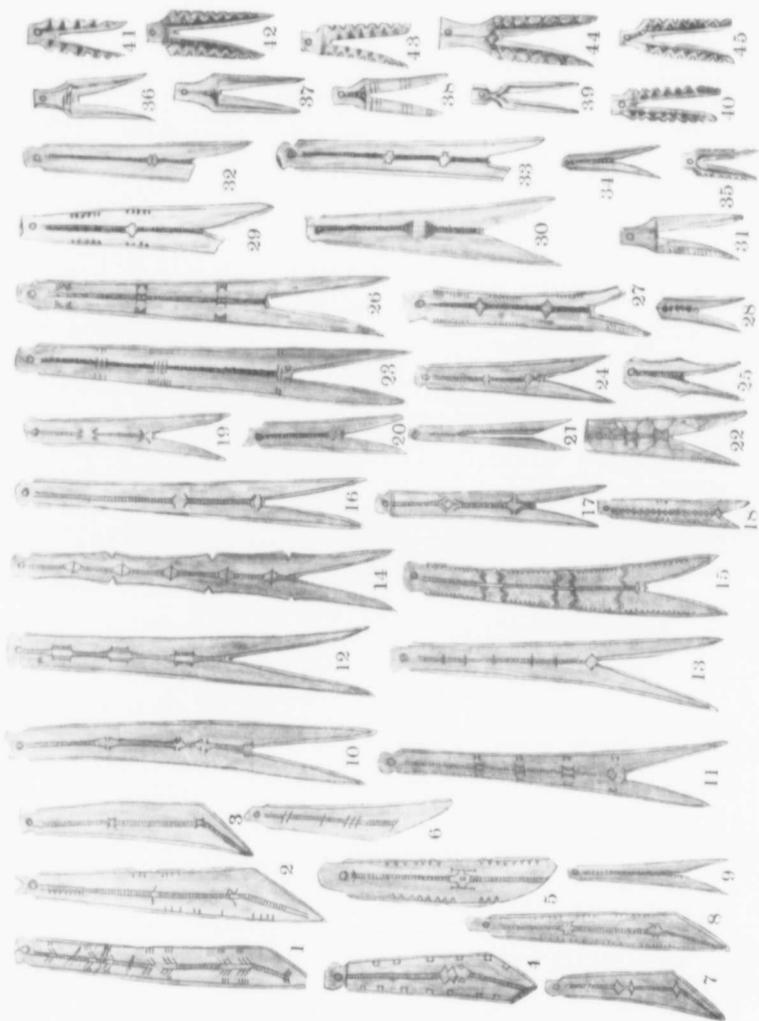


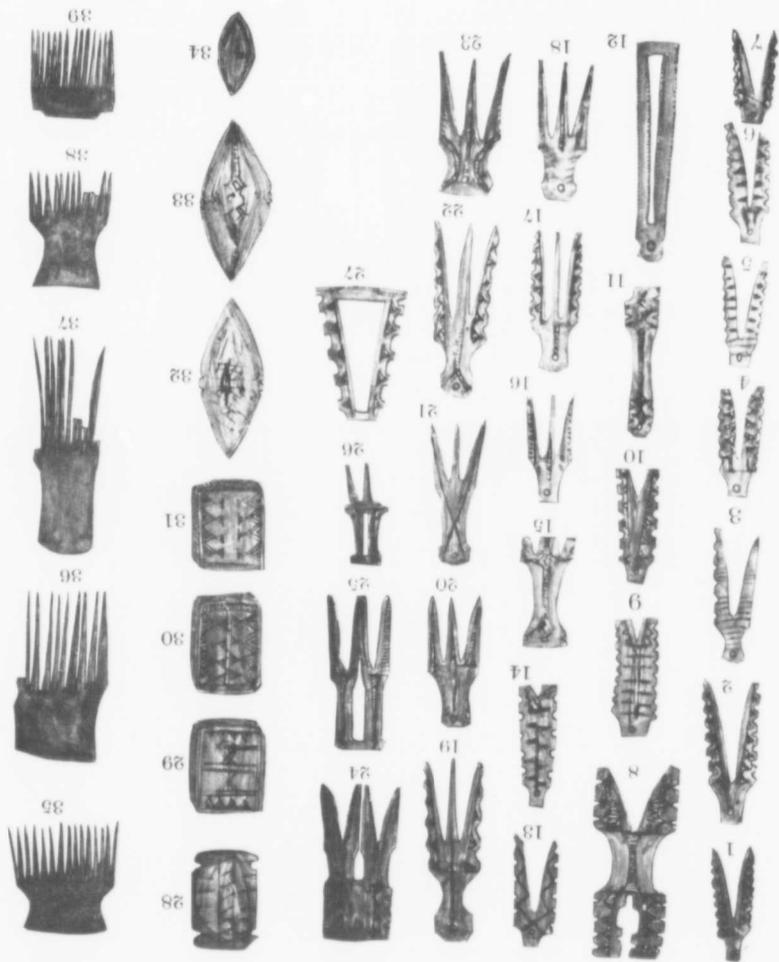












Plat. XXVII



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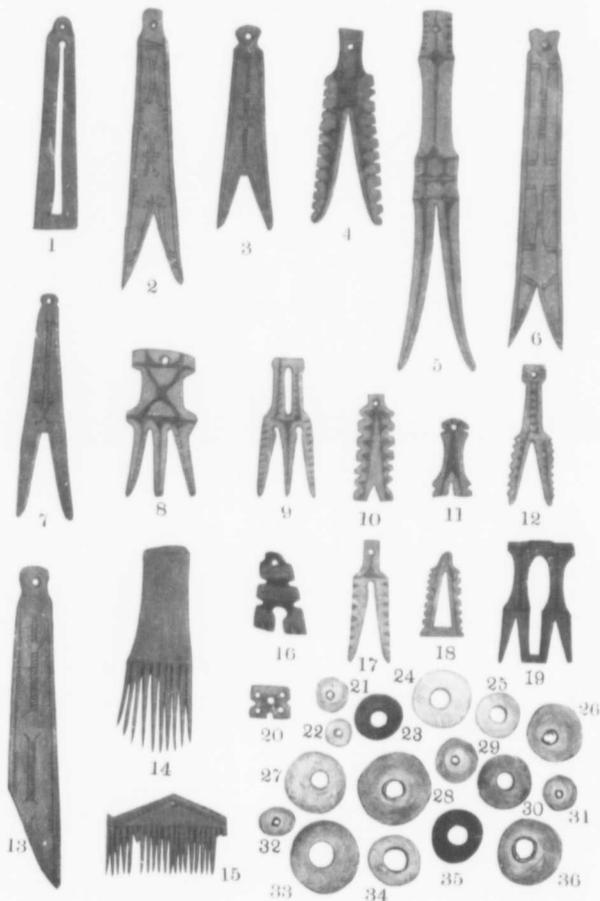
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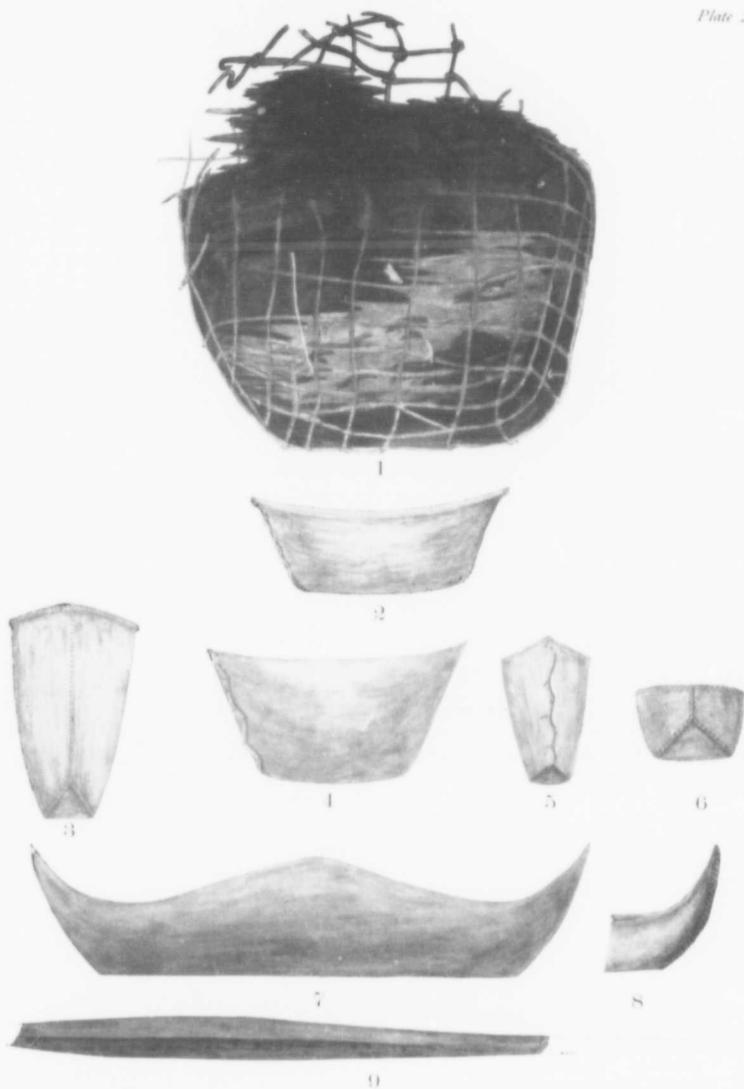
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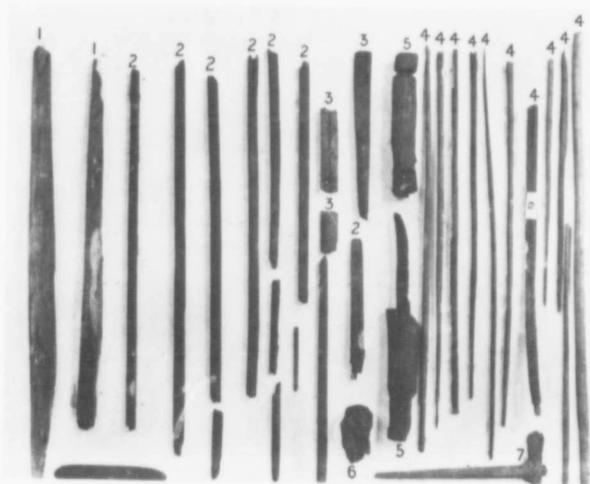
1. Birch bark package, containing dried or smoked fish, found in grave with skeleton of Beothuck child.
 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Cups or bowls made of birch bark, neatly sewn together, from child's grave.
 7, 8. Models of Beothuck canoes, from same grave.
 9. Portion of paddle from same grave. All these articles were smeared with red ochre.



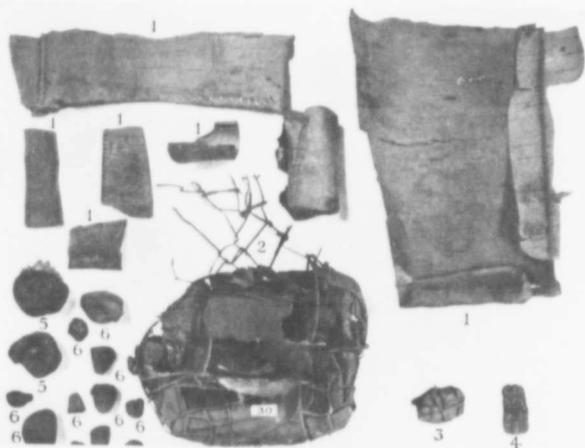
1. Soapstone lamp.
2, 3, 4, 5. Soapstone dishes or mortars, manufactured by Beothucks.



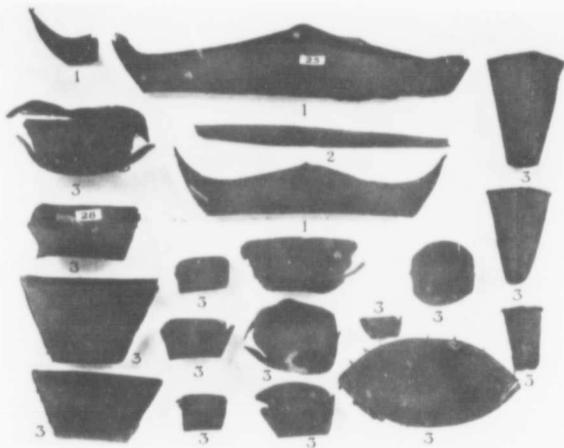
Cliff of soapstone near Fleur de Lis, showing where the stone pots, etc., were cut out for the fabrication of the above articles.



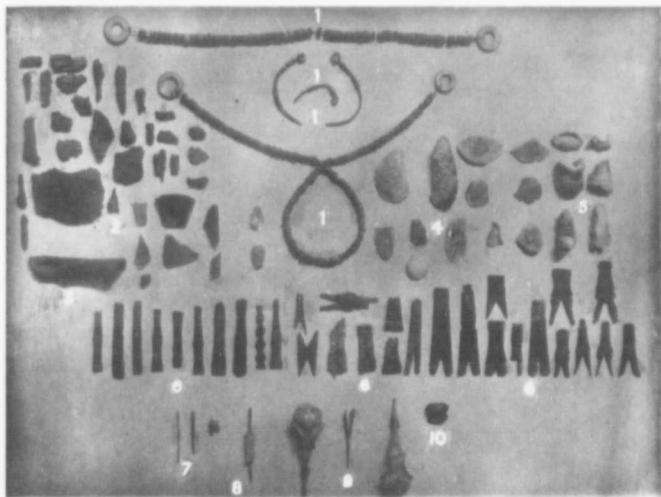
1. Roasting sticks for cooking meat, partly burnt.
2. Sections of arrow shafts.
3. Broken pieces of bows.
4. Miniature bows and arrows from child's grave.
5. Wooden handles, one with iron knife set in it.
6. Fragment of an iron pot.
7. Miniature tomahawk set on handle, child's grave.



1. Fragments of canoe bark, showing mode of stitching with roots.
2. Birch bark package containing food.
3. 4. Small birch bark packages containing red ochre.
5. Fire stones. Nodules of iron pyrites from which fire was produced by striking them together after the manner of flint and steel.
6. Stone fragments and chips.



1. Models of canoes made of birch bark.
 2. Part of miniature paddle.
 3. Drinking cups made of birch bark (Shewan-yeesh).
- All the above articles are saturated with red ochre, and were all found in Ilo-thuck tombs.



1. Wampum or necklaces made of sections of pipe stems, sheet lead, and of the inner birch bark, string upon a thong of deer skin.
2. Fragments of iron nails, pins, etc.
3. Rattened spout of a copper kettle.
4. Shells of the mussel *Mytilus edulis*.
5. Fragments of lobster shells.
- 6, 6, 6. Carved bone ornaments, recent find.
7. Bone needles.
8. Small square pieces of birch bark on stick.
9. Skulls and lower mandible of common Arctic Tern *Sterna hirunda*.
10. Small beach stone with sunken central band, lucky stone.

