

covered. The resemblance to the brain of the opossum is well

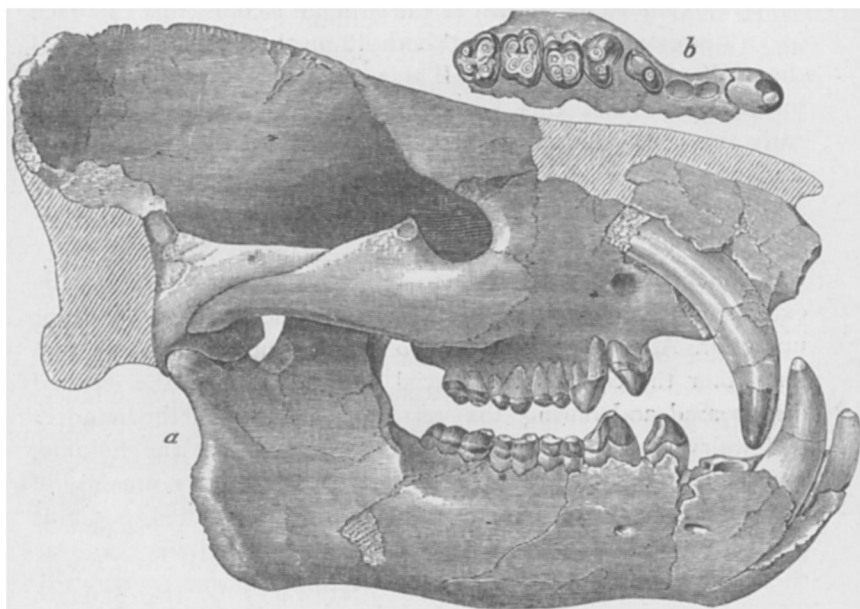


FIG. 18.—*Achanodon robustus* Osborn, skull one-fourth nat. size, from the Bridger bed of the Washakie basin, Wyoming. Fig. *b*, maxillary bone with teeth from below. From Osborn, Bulletin No. 3, E. M. Mus. Princeton College.

marked. In *Achanodon robustus* the orbit is small, indicating comparatively imperfect powers of vision (Fig. 18).

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NOTES ON THE LABRADOR ESKIMO AND THEIR FORMER RANGE SOUTHWARD.

BY A. S. PACKARD.

IT is not my purpose to give an account of the Labrador Eskimo, but simply to put together what I have found in relation to them in works referring to Labrador, and to add a few notes made during two summers spent on that coast in 1860 and 1864. Although I was aware that the Eskimo formerly lived as far south as the southern entrance to the Straits of Belle Isle, where I saw two individuals in 1860, one said to be a full-blooded Eskimo woman, I regarded them as stragglers from the north. It now seems more probable, from the Rev. Mr. Carpenter's statement, to be hereafter given, and from the fact, to be hereafter stated, that several hundred Eskimos lived at

Chateau bay, opposite Belle Isle, in 1765, while others were known to have extended as far east as the Mingan islands, that this race had a more or less permanent foothold on the northern shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. If this was so, it seems not improbable but that this roving race may have made, in very early times, expeditions farther south to Nova Scotia and New England. Here also comes to mind the theory of Dr. C. C. Abbot, that the Eskimo formerly inhabited the coast of New Jersey during the river terrace epoch.

Although at first disposed to reject such an assumption, the examination we have made leads us to look with more favor upon Dr. Abbot's theory, and to think it not improbable that long after the close of the glacial period, *i. e.*, after the ice had disappeared and during the terrace epoch, when the reindeer and walrus lived as far south as New Jersey, that the Eskimo, now considered so primitive a race, perhaps the remnants of the Palæolithic people of Europe, formerly extended as far as a region defined by the edge of the great moraine; and as the climate assumed its present features, moved northward. They were also possibly pushed northwards by the Indians, who may have exterminated them from the coast south of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the race becoming acclimated to the arctic regions. All these hypotheses came up afresh in our mind last summer when we began to collect these notes. Their substantiality became more pronounced after reading the confirmatory remarks made by Professor E. B. Tylor at the Montreal meeting of the British Association. We are not now, however, prepared to adopt the view that the Norsemen did not go as far south as Narragansett bay, and that the natives they saw were not red Indians, their word "skralings" being indiscriminately applied to any of the native tribes they saw. Two voyages from Labrador to New England, not far possibly from the route taken by the Norsemen, lead us to think that their vessels, with fair winds, actually did sail a thousand miles to Cape Cod from Southern Labrador or Newfoundland in nine or ten days. We have made the trip from Cape Cod to the Gut of Canso in about two days, the time given in the Norsemen sagas; but we do not intend at this time to touch upon this attractive subject.

We do find, however, unexpected confirmation of Professor Tylor's supposition that "Eskimos eight hundred years ago, be-

fore they had ever found their way to Greenland, were hunting seals on the coast of Newfoundland, and caribou in the forest," for these events did actually happen in Newfoundland, or at least there are traces of Eskimo residence in large numbers at Chateau bay in 1765, of their repeated crossing over to Newfoundland, and of their learning a few French words from the French settlers.

At all events the facts we here present should induce our New England and Canadian archæologists to make the most careful examination of the shell-heaps about the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and on the shores of Northern and Southern Nova Scotia, as well as Maine and Northern Massachusetts for traces of Eskimo occupation.

Facts seem to confirm the early belief of the Greenland Danish and Moravians that the Labrador Eskimo were an older people than those who migrated into Greenland. In the extracts from the appendix to Cranch's History of Greenland given farther on, we shall see that the Eskimo of these two regions differed in their dress and kayaks, differences we have personally noticed.

Whether the Labrador Eskimo are an older stock than those living directly north of Hudson's bay we cannot say. Crantz, however, remarks: "As early then as the year 1800 our missionaries learned from the reports of Northlanders, who visited their settlements, that the main seat of the nation was on the coast and islands of the north, beyond *Cape Chudleigh*." Crantz, in a note, (xvi) also claims: "There can be no hesitation in affirming that Greenland was peopled from Labrador, not Labrador from Greenland."

The theory that the Eskimo entered America by way of Bering strait, now generally received, was thus stated by Crantz in 1767: "Our Greenlanders it should seem having settled in Tartary after the grand dispersion of the nations, were gradually impelled northward by the tide of emigration, till they reached the extreme corner of Kamtschatka, and finding themselves disturbed even in these remote seats, they crossed the strait to the neighboring continent of America. * * * Our savages then retired before their pursuers across the narrow strait, either by a direct navigation, or by a more gradual passage from island to island, to America, where they could spread themselves without opposition through the unoccupied wastes round the south-east part of Hudson's bay, or through Canada up to the northern ocean. And

here they were first met with in the eleventh century by the discoverers of Wineland. But when they were compelled to evacuate these possessions likewise, by the numerous tribes of Indians superior to themselves in strength and valor, who thronged to the north out of Florida, they receded nearer to the pole, as far as the 60th deg. Here Ellis in his voyage to Hudson's bay found the Esquimaux,¹ resembling the Greenlanders in every particular of dress, figure, boats, weapons, houses, manners and customs. * * * The clerk of the *California*² says that these Esquimaux are grievously harassed by the Indians inhabiting the south and west shores of Hudson's bay, who are in all respects a distinct race. An unsuccessful hunting or fishing expedition is a sufficient pretext for their oppressors to fall upon them and take them prisoners or murder them. These acts of violence have induced the fugitives to retreat so far to the northward ; and part of them in all probability passed over to Greenland in the fourteenth century, either crossing Davis's strait in their boats from *Cape Walsingham*, in lat. 66° to the South bay, a distance of scarcely forty leagues, or otherwise proceeding by land round the extremity of Baffin's bay, where, if we may trust the reports of the Greenlanders, stone-crosses, like guide-posts, are still to be seen at intervals along the coast."

That the Eskimo were more abundant on the eastern shores of Hudson's bay may be proved by the following extracts from Coats' Notes on the geography of Hudson's bay, reprinted by the Hakluyt Society.³ It appears from his notes that the Eskimo inhabited Labrador from the Gulf of St. Lawrence around to James bay, *i. e.*, as far south in Hudson's bay as Belcher's island (lat. 56° 06') and the Sleepers. Their southern range was probably Hazard gulf, in lat. 56° 22'; the coast of Hudson's bay is wild and barren, with floating ice. Speaking of the barren, treeless coast from Cape Diggs to Hazard gulf, Coats says: "Doubtless the native Usquemows know the time and seasons of those haunts, and nick it, for we found vestiges of them

¹ Charlevoix derives this name from the Indian word *Eskimantsik*, which in the language of the Abenakis signifies *to eat raw*; and it is certain that they eat raw fish.

² Account of a voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, Vol. II, p. 43.

³ Notes on the Geography of Hudson's bay, being the remarks of Capt. W. Coats in many voyages to that locality between the years 1727 and 1751. Edited by John Barrow. London, Hakluyt Society, 1852. 8vo.

at all the places we stopt att." From the foregoing extract it is obvious that Capt. Coats obtained his knowledge of the Labrador Indians and the Eskimo from his personal observations and inquiries while in Hudson's bay; he personally only by hearsay received information that the Eskimo, by whalers called "Huskies," lived as far south as St. Lawrence bay; but his statement will be seen to be confirmed by Crantz. The northern Indians mentioned by Coats are undoubtedly the Naskopies.

The following extracts from the appendix to Crantz' History of Greenland, English translation, fully prove that several hundred Eskimo spent the summer at Chateau bay opposite the north-eastern extremity of Newfoundland, and also crossed over to the latter island, and must have been, for several years at least, residents on the shores of the Strait of Belle Isle. The first visit of the Moravians to the Labrador coast was in 1752; Christian Erhard, a Dutchman, but a member of the Moravian society, landed, in July in Nisbet's haven, with a boat's crew of five men at a point north of this harbor, where all were murdered by the Eskimo, the vessel returning to England. The next attempt to approach the Eskimo was made in 1764, by Jens Haven, who had labored for several years as a missionary in Greenland, and had recently returned with Crantz to Germany. With letters of introduction to Hugh Palliser, Esq., the governor of Newfoundland, in May of the same year he arrived at St. Johns; "but he had to meet with many vexatious delays before he reached his destination, every ship with which he engaged refusing to land for fear of the Esquimaux. He was at length set on shore in Chateau bay, on the southern coast of Labrador; here, however, he found no signs of population except several scattered tumuli, with the arrows and implements of the dead deposited near them. Embarking again he finally landed on the Island of Quirpont or Quiveron, off the north-east extremity of Newfoundland, in the Strait of Belle Isle, where he had the first interview with the natives. "The 4th September," he writes in his journal, "was the happy day when I saw an Esquimaux arrive in the harbor. I ran to meet him and addressed him in Greenlandic. He was astonished to hear his own language from the mouth of an European, and answered me in broken French." The next day eighteen returned his visit. On the third day the Eskimo left the harbor altogether, and after a short stay at Quirpont, Haven returned to Newfoundland.

The following year Haven, with three other missionaries, landed, July 17, 1765, in Chateau bay, lat. 52°, on the south shore of Labrador, opposite Belle Isle. "Here the party separated; Haven and Schlötzer engaging with another vessel, to explore the coast northwards; they did not, however, accomplish anything material in this expedition, nor did they meet with a single Esquimaux the whole time. Drachart and John Hill remained in Chateau bay, and were fortunate enough to have the company of several hundred Esquimaux, for upwards of a month; during which period they had daily opportunities of intercourse. As soon as Sir Thomas Adams had received intelligence that they had pitched their tents at a place twenty miles distant, he sailed thither to invite them, in the name of the governor, to Pitts harbor. On the approach of the ship the savages in the kajaks hailed them with shouts of *Tout camarade, oui Hu!* and the crew returned the same salutation. Mr. Drachart did not choose to join in the cry, but told Sir Thomas that he could converse with the natives in their own language. When the tumult had subsided he took one of them by the hand and said in Greenlandic "We are friends." The savage replied, "We are also thy friends."

Crantz then describes from the notes of Haven and Drachart, the peninsula of Labrador and some of the animals as well as the habits of the Eskimos. These people remained at Chateau bay through the summer until at least after the middle of September, as on Sept. 12th and 13th the shallop ran ashore, and the Eskimo invited them to lodge in their tents, carrying the missionaries ashore on their backs.

The following extract shows that the Eskimo must, before the year 1765, have been in the habit of crossing the Straits of Belle Isle and landing on Newfoundland:

"The governor wished to prevent them from crossing over to Newfoundland, where, according to their own account, they procured a certain kind of wood not to be found in their country, of which they made their darts. But since they interpreted this prohibition as a breach of peace, it was rescinded, on their promise to commit no depredation on the fishing vessels they might meet with on the way; to which engagement they scrupulously adhered."

The account then goes on to say that during the interval which occurred between the visit of Haven and Drachart in 1765 and

the foundation of the first missionary settlement at Nain in 1771, "the old quarrels between the natives and the English traders were resumed; and as no one was present who could act as interpreter and explain the mutual grounds of difference, the affair terminated in bloodshed. Nearly twenty of the natives were killed in the fray, among whom was Karpik's father; he himself, with another boy and seven females, were taken prisoners and carried to Newfoundland. One of these women, of the name of Mikak, and her son, were brought to England, where they recognized an acquaintance in Mr. Haven, who had formerly slept a night in their tent. Karpik was detained by Governor Palliser, with the intention of committing him to the care of Mr. Haven, to be trained up for usefulness in a future mission to his countrymen. He did not arrive in England till 1769, at which time he was about fifteen years old." He died in England of small-pox.

We glean a few more items from Crantz regarding the distribution, numbers, and habits of the Labrador Eskimos. The Moravians, after founding Nain (lat. $56^{\circ} 25'$), determined to found two other stations, one to the north and the other to the south. Okkak (150 miles north of Nain in lat. $57^{\circ} 33'$) was thus founded on land purchased from the Eskimo in 1775, Haven with his family establishing himself there the following year. The reason for founding these stations was for the reason that it "was found insufficient to serve as a gathering place for the Eskimo dispersed along a line of coast not less than six hundred miles in extent, especially as it afforded but scanty resources to the natives during the winter season, when they had fewer inducements to rove from place to place."

In the summer of 1782 the Moravians began a third settlement to the south, "on the spot which they had formerly marked out and purchased from the Esquimaux. This station received the name of Hopedale." As obstacles to the missionary work were the following: "The spirit of traffic had become extremely prevalent amongst the Southern Esquimaux, the hope of exaggerated advantages which they might derive from a voyage to the European factories, wholly abstracted their thoughts from religious enquiries; and one boat-load followed another throughout the summer. A Frenchman from Canada, named Makko, who had newly settled in the south, and who sustained the double character of trader and Catholic priest, was particularly successful in

enticing the Esquimaux by the most tempting offers. Besides the evil consequences resulting from these expeditions in a spiritual point of view, so large a proportion of their wares was thus conveyed to the south that the annual vessel which brought out provisions and other necessaries for the brethren, and articles of barter for the natives, could make up but a small cargo in return, though the brethren, unwilling as they were to supply this ferocious race with instruments which might facilitate the execution of their revengeful projects, furnished them with the firearms, which they could otherwise, and on any terms, have procured from the south."

Crantz then mentions a feature of Eskimo life, which however repugnant to the feelings of the Moravians, is of interest to the ethnologist, and has not, so far as we are aware, been observed among the Eskimo of late years. This is the erection of a temporary winter *éstufá* or public game-house. "A *kache*, or pleasure-house, which, to the grief of the missionaries, was erected in 1777, by the savages near Nain, and resorted to by visitors from Okkak, has been described by the brethren. It was built entirely of snow, sixteen feet high and seventy feet square. The entrance was by a round porch, which communicated with the main body of the house by a long avenue terminated at the farther end by a heart-shaped aperture, about eighteen inches broad and two feet in height. For greater solidity the wall near the entrance was congealed into ice by water poured upon it. Near the entry was a pillar of ice supporting the lamp, and additional light was let in through a transparent plate of ice in the side of the building. A string hung from the middle of the roof, by which a small bone was suspended, with four holes driven through it. Round this all the women were collected, behind whom stood the men and boys, each having a long stick shod with iron. The string was now set a-swinging, and the men, all together, thrust their sticks over the heads of their wives at the bone, till one of them succeeded in striking a hole. A loud acclamation ensued; the men sat down on a snow seat, and the victor, after going two or three times round the house singing, was kissed by all the men and boys; he then suddenly made his exit through the avenue, and, on his return, the game was renewed."

The narrative then goes on to state that "one of the objects of the establishment at Hopedale had been to promote an inter-

course with the red Indians who lived in the interior, and sometimes approached in small parties to the coast. A mutual reserve subsisted between them and the Esquimaux, and the latter fled in the greatest trepidation when they discovered any traces of them in their neighborhood. In 1790, however, much of this coldness was removed, when several families of these Indians came to Kippokak, an European factory about twenty miles distant from Hopedale. In April, 1799, the missionaries conversed with two of them, a father and son, who came to Hopedale to buy tobacco. It appeared that they were attached to the service of some Canadians in the southern settlements, as well as many others of their tribe, and had been baptized by the French priests. They evidently regarded the Esquimaux with alarm, though they endeavored to conceal their suspicions, excusing themselves from lodging in their tent on account of their uncleanly habits. At parting they assured the brethren that they would receive frequent visits from their countrymen, but this has not as yet been the case."

From Cartwright's "Journal of a Residence in Labrador" we glean the following statements, which certainly confirm those of the Moravians: In 1765 a blockhouse was erected in a small fort at Chateau bay to protect the English merchants from the Eskimo. (Cartwright also gives the best account we have seen of the Bethuks of Newfoundland.) The southern tribe of Eskimo were at Chateau bay in 1770, Cartwright observing that some Moravians were there at the same time. He also states that there was an Eskimo settlement "some distance to the northward" of Cape Charles, and that a family of nine Eskimo came to spend the winter living near Cartwright's house, and more Eskimo came to join them in July, 1771, there being thirty-two in all; they traded whalebone with the Eskimo to the northward. Cartwright saw deserted Eskimo winter houses near Denbigh island.

In 1771 he saw an Eskimo pursuing a "penguin" in his kayak near Fogo island, off the coast of Newfoundland!

August 30, 1772, "500 or thereabouts" Eskimo arrived at Charles' harbor from Chateau bay to the southward, to meet their relations from London, whom Cartwright had the year previous taken with him to London, some of them having died in England of the small-pox. In April and May, 1776, Eskimo were observed living near Huntington island. Many Eskimo died in Ivuktoke inlet, probably from the small-pox, brought over from

England. Cartwright also reports seeing Eskimo at Huntington island in 1783, also at Chateau bay, where they were observed in 1786.

The foregoing extracts abundantly prove that the Eskimo repeatedly crossed to Newfoundland, residing, during the summer at least, on the outer islands opposite Belle Isle. No reference is made to the former presence of the Eskimo in Newfoundland. It is not improbable that there was at least a slight intercourse between the Bethuks, the aborigines of Newfoundland, said to be a branch of the Algonkins, and found to be in possession of the island by Cabot in 1497. A stone vessel dug up with other Bethuk remains, is "an oblong vessel of soft magnesian stone, hollowed to the depth of two inches, the lower edges forming a square of three and a half inches in the sides. In one corner is a hollow groove, which apparently served as a spout."¹ If this is, as has been suggested to us by Professor Tylor, attributable to the influence of Eskimo art, the style may have been suggested by the possible intercourse of these aborigines with the wandering Eskimo.

In connection with the subject of the relations between the Indians of Newfoundland and the Labrador Eskimo, may be cited the following statement of that industrious historian, the late Jesuit, Father Vetromile. In an article entitled "Acadia and its Aborigines,"² he says: "The Etchimens, Micmacs and Abenakis are very often considered as one nation, not only on account of the similarity of their language, customs, suavity of manners and attachment to the French, but also for their league in defending themselves against the English. Although the Micmacs are generally somewhat smaller in size than the other Indians of Acadia and New France, yet they are equally brave. They have made a long war against the Esquimaux (eaters of raw flesh), whom they have followed and attacked in their caverns and rocks of Labrador. Newfoundland must have several times been the field of hard wars between the Micmacs and Esquimaux; the latter were always chased by the former" (p. 339).

Whether these statements are well grounded, we cannot say,

¹Newfoundland, its history, its present condition, and its prospects in the future. By Joseph Hatton and the Rev. M. Harvey, Boston, 1883, p. 169. See also Mr. Lloyd's paper, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

²Collections of the Maine Hist. Soc., VII, pp. 339-349. 1876. Communicated Jan. 16, 1862.

and have been unable thus far to obtain the sources from which the author drew his conclusions that there were contests between the Eskimo and Indians on Newfoundland soil. Nearly all the extracts we have made tends to show that the Eskimo were generally driven northward by the Indians and confined by them to their natural habitat, the treeless regions of Arctic America, whither the Indians themselves did not care to penetrate.

In 1811 two Moravian missionaries¹ explored the northern coast of Labrador from Okkak to Ungava bay, making an excellent map of this part of the coast. The expedition arose from their desire to establish missions where the Eskimo were abundant, as farther down the coast they were regarded as "mere stragglers."

An Eskimo tradition of interest is mentioned in this book, as follows: "July 24th. Amitok lies N. W. from Kummaktorvik, is of an oblong shape, and stretches out pretty far towards the sea. The hills are of moderate height, the land is in many places flat, but in general destitute of grass. On the other side are some ruins of Greenland [Eskimo] houses.

"The Esquimaux have a tradition that the Greenlanders [*i. e.*, Greenland Eskimo] came originally from Canada, and settled on the outermost islands of this coast, but never penetrated into the country before they were driven eastward to Greenland. This report gains some credit from the state in which the above-mentioned ruins are found. They consist in remains of walls and a grave, with a low stone enclosure round the tomb, covered with a slab of the same material. They have been discovered on islands near Nain, and though sparingly, all along the whole eastern coast, but we saw none in Ungava bay."

(To be continued.)

¹ Journal of a voyage from Okkak, on the coast of Labrador, to Ungava bay, westward of Cape Chudleigh, undertaken to explore the coast and visit the Esquimaux in that unknown region. By Benj. Kohlmeister and George Knoch, missionaries of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum. London, 1814, 8vo, pp. 83.