THE EARLY MIGRATIONS OF THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

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Although the coasts of New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada were very early visited by Europeans, and the actual settlement of the region began early in the seventeenth century, so that for at least two hundred and fifty years Europeans were in more or less intimate contact with the aborigines, it is surprising how little in the way of detailed record or knowledge of these natives we possess today. Of their tribal divisions and distribution, their government, customs, arts, religion and traditions we have but the barest outlines, and it is unlikely that our present store of information can ever be materially increased. Further fragments may be gathered by search through early documents, and something may still be gleaned from the survivors of the tribes of Maine and Eastern Canada, but the Indian of today has become in large measure sophisticated, and the investigator will seek in vain for information on many of the most important points.

If there is little purpose, however, in bewailing the scantiness of our knowledge of the New England Indian, it may, nevertheless, be worth while to enquire as to our present information in regard to their early history, in particular of their earliest traceable movements and migrations. In the following pages, therefore, I have attempted to summarize the results of the more recent investigations which bear upon this question.

With one possible exception, all the tribes of New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada belonged to the Algonkian linguistic stock:—a group which, when first known to Europeans, occupied one of the largest, if not the largest area in the North American continent. In the extreme northeast, in Newfoundland, there was perhaps a second stock of which the sole representatives were the Beothuc or Red Indians. The question of their linguistic independence is still, however, a matter of doubt, and it may ultimately be proved that they were only a very aberrant member of the great Algonkian stock. West of the New England tribes, and occupying the greater part of New York and portions of Ontario, were Indians who were members of another large and distinct stock, the Iroquoian.

Traditional or historic material relating to the earliest migrations of the tribes within this area is very scanty; we are thus forced to rely mainly on the evidences to be derived from archæology, language, mythology, customs and physical type. In this respect we are at a disadvantage in comparison with the tribes, for instance, of the Mississippi Valley where comparatively abundant traditions of migration have been preserved and recorded.

Considering the archæological evidence first, it appears that if a general survey of the material so far available is made, a rather well marked contrast is observable between southern and central New England on the one hand, and northern and eastern New England together with the Maritime Provinces on the other. A hard and fast line cannot be drawn between these two areas, but roughly speaking the New Hampshire-Maine boundary may be regarded as a convenient divisional point. The main archæological features of the southern area may be briefly summarized as follows. Throughout this region shell-heaps are abundant; although sometimes of considerable size, they are prevailingly small, and rather poor in respect to the bulk of finds in them. These finds comprise characteristically bone implements, pottery sherds, stone implements and a few objects of

shell. The stone implements are relatively few in number. Most numerous among them are arrow-points, although the so-called plummets are also usually abundant; on the other hand gouges, adzes and un-grooved axes are rare. Grooved axes are practically absent. The pottery sherds found indicate a coarse, thick type of vessel, usually with a conical or lemon-shaped base and a straight lip, the ornamentation being confined to incised lines, rocker patterns, punch-marks, cord-marking and textile impressions with occasionally some form of stamping. Village sites are on the whole fairly numerous, particularly toward the south and west, and bear witness to semi-permanent villages of moderate size, sometimes associated with defensive works and enclosures of rather crude type, and usually provided with cache-pits for the storage of grain and other foods. The graves in this region are usually simple, the bodies placed normally in the flexed position, and very commonly devoid of accompanying objects. In some cases, copper ornaments, such as cylindrical beads, gorgets, etc., occur. Shell-beads are rare in graves ante-dating European contact. Surface and miscellaneous finds comprise grooved axes in considerable numbers, gouges, pestles, pipes and a small proportion of stone gorgets and so-called banner-stones and problematical forms.

Turning now to the second region, roughly described as comprising the Maritime Provinces, Gaspé and the state of Maine, several important differences may be noted. The shell-heaps of this area, especially in Maine, are not infrequently of large size and very numerous. In contrast with those of the southern area, however, these contain relatively a larger proportion of stone objects, and this abundance of objects of stone increases the further north and east one goes. The same holds true apparently in regard to pottery sherds. The plummets, although abundant in Maine, practically disappear in the Maritime Provinces. The pottery sherds while still indicating a coarse, heavy type of vessel, show as we go eastward a different form of base, namely one which

is rounded rather than conical; and the prevalence of an outcurved lip becomes more notable. Decoration also undergoes a certain amount of change, in that, for example, the textile and cord impressions tend to disappear, whereas stamped designs become more common. In the Maritime Provinces, also, some form of lug or ear is not uncommon, by means of which the pots were suspended over the fire, a feature which is either rare or lacking in the south. It is to be noted also, that the village sites in this region become rather less abundant, and those showing traces of any form of defensive works are absent east of the Penobscot valley. Cache-pits also are apparently not found in this region.

The graves of this area are of two sorts. The more common are ordinary graves in which burials of a type substantially like those of the southern region occur. It is to be noted, however, that as we progress eastward the placing of objects with the body becomes a somewhat more common custom. In Nova Scotia, not infrequently, small copper knives and awls of hammered copper are found in the graves, but no metallic ornaments. A second form of grave, so far definitely recorded only in the region of the lower Penobscot valley, presents interesting differences from the first. This form of burial is characterized by the complete or almost complete disappearance of the bones, and by the abundance in the graves of red ochre, the implements found often lying on large heaps of this material. The character of the implements themselves is also in contrast to those found in the ordinary graves, in that only objects of stone occur, and these are practically restricted to ungrooved axes and adzes, gouges and a peculiar type of long, slender, bayonet-shaped points usually of hexagonal cross-section. This latter form of implement is never found either in the shell-heaps or the ordinary graves. Identically the same form of implement is reported (without details as to mode of occurrence, however) from New Brunswick and the eastern shore of Nova Scotia. It is also found at several sites in New-

foundland, where it seems to be associated with Beothuc remains.

One other find reported from this area is also of importance. I refer to the stone tubes of peculiar type which have been found in Halifax County, Nova Scotia. These differ from the ordinary tubular pipes in that the bore is large and uniform in size throughout the whole length of the tube except at one end, where it abruptly narrows by a sort of shoulder to a much smaller size. Unfortunately no details are available as to the circumstances of this find, so that it is uncertain whether the tubes came from shell-heaps, graves, or were merely surface finds. Their interest and importance in the question under consideration lies in the fact that, so far as I know, they have not been found in New England except in the extreme northwest corner of Vermont; and that similar tubes are known from Ohio and various parts of Ontario. The surface finds in this northern area indicate the almost complete absence of the grooved axe and pestle, and of the gorgets, banner-stones and problematical forms occurring sporadically in the south.

Summarizing the archæological evidence then, we may say that there are good grounds for believing that the tribes formerly occupying the southern New England area differed in several important respects from those of Maine and the Maritime Provinces. In the former we find a greater development of village life, the evidence of the importance of agriculture as shown by the cache-pits and the pestle, and the characteristic use of the grooved-axe; in the latter there is little evidence of settled village life, no trace of defensive works, no evidence of agriculture, no use of the grooved axe or of banner-stones, and problematical forms in stone, with on the contrary the presence of two peculiar types of object, the bayonet-shaped slate points, and the stone tubes, both of which are lacking in the area to the south. If now we look for the affiliations of these two areas, it is apparent that they lead in somewhat different directions. The features characteristic of the southern area all find

their similarities toward the southwest and south;—there settled village life was the rule, defensive works were abundant and often complex, agriculture was one of the main sources of the food supply, ornaments of copper, banner-stones, etc., occur in large numbers, and there toward the southwest the grooved axe is widely distributed. The typical characteristics, on the other hand, of the northern area find their analogies in the region of the middle and upper St. Lawrence valley, and chiefly in sites which are recognizably pre-Iroquoian; for it seems very probable that the Iroquoian tribes found in this region at the time of the first European contact, were immigrants into this territory from somewhere further to the south.

As already stated, the languages spoken throughout both northern and southern areas belonged to the Algonkian stock. The various languages, however, are found on examination to fall into several fairly definite subgroups. On the basis of the most recent evidence these groups are as follows. Beginning in the northeast we find that the Micmac (who occupied Nova Scotia, the Gaspé Peninsula, Prince Edward Island and all New Brunswick except the valley of the St. John) stands by itself, although more closely related to the group of tribes known as Abnaki than to those of southern New England. Indeed, the Micmac and Abnaki form a dual group which is contrasted with all the more southerly tribes. As is well known, the Abnaki (comprising the Malecite, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot) occupied the area comprised between the St. John valley and the Maine-New Hampshire boundary. Their respective languages were closely related, and form a sub-group by themselves, more closely affiliated to the Micmac than to the tribes to the south. The New Hampshire tribes probably belonged to this same group, but as practically no linguistic material is extant from them, their position is largely a matter of conjecture. A third group of these languages is formed by the Massachusetts tribes as far west as and including the Connecticut Valley, together

with the tribes of Rhode Island and the extreme eastern edge of Connecticut and the eastern end of Long Island. The fourth and last group includes the tribes of western Massachusetts, those of most of Connecticut, together with the occupants of the Hudson Valley, and extends south through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Delaware.

It will be seen that the linguistic grouping approximately coincides with the archæological evidence, the Micmac-Abnaki occupying the northern area, and the other two spreading over the southern. The Micmac-Abnaki, moreover, as separate subdivisions, roughly accord with the differentiation observable on an archæological basis within the northern area; and the two southern sub-groups correspond in general to certain minor differences discoverable in the archæological remains. The bearing of this linguistic classification on the problem of the early migration lies largely in the relation which these sub-groups bear to the other Algonkian languages further west and north. From a study of these relationships it appears that in a general way all four of the New England and Maritime Province groups are most closely related to that division of the Central Algonkian tribes comprising the Sauk, Kickapoo and Shawnee—a group whose earliest assignable habitat lay in the southern peninsula of Michigan and the Ohio Valley. The languages of our eastern groups are, moreover, not at all closely allied to the other sub-division of the Central Algonkians which includes the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, etc., showing closer similarities indeed with the Cree-Montagnais of the north than with them. Linguistically, therefore, the tribes which we are considering are to be connected as a whole with the Algonkian peoples who were, when first known, south of the Great Lakes, rather than with those living on their northern shores; and their closest relations are with that main sub-division of the Central tribes which was apparently early disrupted by migration or otherwise, and whose constituent tribes showed from the beginning a strong ten-

dency to wander, as shown especially in the case of the Shawnee.

Some further light may be shed on the problem by a study of the mythology. Except for the Micmac and Abnaki, we have, it is true, little or no material from the region under discussion, but the scanty fragments which have been preserved from southern New England show that there is a strong contrast between these and their northern neighbors. As in the case of language, the bearing of this study of the mythology lies in the relation which the myths of these tribes of New England and the Maritime provinces show to those of the other members of this and neighboring stocks. From the southern New England people the amount of material is so small that conclusions of value are hard to draw, but so far as the material goes its relations seem to be with the Lenapé or Delawares and the Algonkian tribes once in occupation of the Ohio Valley. The Micmac and Abnaki, although forming a fairly coherent group by themselves, yet differ sufficiently to show that just as in the case of language, the two are in some degree separate. In relation to the other Algonkian tribes, the Micmac-Abnaki show the closest agreement with the Ojibwa-Menomini and Fox, but it is noteworthy that this similarity with these tribes of the west is twice as great for the Micmac as for the Abnaki, and that the elements in which the Micmac agrees with these western tribes (particularly the Ojibwa) are mainly of eastern type and, with a few exceptions, are found among the western Algonkian tribes only in the Ojibwa. It is also to be remarked that the Micmac-Abnaki shows not a little similarity with the Iroquoian tribes, and that again, this resemblance is more marked in the case of the Micmac than in the case of the Abnaki, although the former in historic times have been geographically further removed from the Iroquoian peoples than the latter.

Lastly we may consider for a moment the evidence afforded by the general culture, the customs and arts of the historic tribes of our area. Here again, a two-fold

division is more or less clearly indicated, coincident with that shown by archaeology. In southern New England we find the practice of agriculture, the frequent use of the long-house, the manufacture of feather cloaks, the use of copper for ornament, together with a moderately developed system of government with semi-hereditary chiefs, and a religious ceremonial and series of dances of some complexity. In the northern area, on the other hand, and especially among the Micmac, we find the absence of agriculture (although much of the area occupied, such as the country about the Bay of Chaleurs, is well adapted for it), the much less frequent use of the long-house or even its absence, the lack of copper ornaments, a governmental system apparently less well developed than in the south, and a religious ceremonial characterized by greater simplicity.

On the basis of the evidence here presented derived from archæology, language, mythology, and culture, I believe we may draw the following general conclusions. The distribution of the Indian tribes of New England and the Maritime Provinces at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the result of a series of migratory movements bringing into this area four groups of Algonkian tribes of somewhat different affiliations and cultures. Of these, the most recent comers comprised those tribes affiliated with the Lenapé, and who occupied at the above mentioned period the southwestern corner and western border of New England. The Lenapé themselves were traditionally immigrants to the Atlantic coast from the region of the Ohio Valley, arriving on the coast, according to tradition about the end of the fifteenth century. It would seem that this group expanded north up the Hudson and eastwards into Connecticut and western Massachusetts, and were, at the time of the earliest accounts of this region, still actively forcing back the other tribes who were in occupation before them. These latter, who were thus being forced east and north, were in language and culture closely affiliated with the invaders, and may plausibly be regarded as an earlier

wave of this same group, coming into the region from the southwest as did the later comers, and as having been long in occupation of the southern New England states. The wider affiliations of both these groups were with the vicinity of the Ohio Valley, and they seem to have had little in common with the non-agricultural Algonkian tribes of the country north of the Great Lakes.

The Micmac and Abnaki, on the other hand, represent two other related groups of immigrants, who if not, as seems probable, of an earlier migration, were at least derived from somewhat different sources and who entered the area by a different route. The determination of the line of migration of the former of the two tribes is greatly hampered by our almost complete lack of information in regard to the archæology of the middle and lower St. Lawrence Valley. Tentatively, however, a working hypothesis may be formulated along the following lines. The Micmac at an early period occupied a large portion of the St. Lawrence Valley, perhaps mainly or entirely on the southern side of the river and extending as far as the Gulf. From this habitat they were in part driven out down the St. John valley to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by the pressure of the incoming Iroquoian tribes, who drove from the Lakes down-stream like a wedge into what had previously been continuous Algonkian territory. The limit of the Iroquoian advance coincides exactly with the limits of agricultural lands in the St. Lawrence Valley, their furthest settlements lying where the lowlands of the valley are suddenly cut off by the advance of the rocky headlands to the river. In their earlier habitat the Micmac were in contact with the Ojibwa, who at that time lived much further east than in historic times, this association accounting for the close mythological similarities between the two tribes. Here, too, the Micmac ancestors would have come in touch with the advance-guard of the Iroquoian peoples, from whom they could thus have obtained the features in the mythology held in common. Through them also, perhaps, they secured in trade the

few exotic objects such as the peculiar stone tubes referred to, which the Iroquoian tribes in their turn obtained or brought from the Ohio Valley region. Here also in association with the Algonkian tribes preceding the Iroquoians in Ontario, the Micmac may have acquired the knowledge and use of copper as a material for implements—a feature more typical of the Algonkians north of the Lakes or along their northern borders, than of those living to the south. Small copper knives and awls, apparently of a similar type to the ones found in Micmac territory have been reported from graves and other sites in Ontario attributable to pre-Iroquoian occupants.

The Abnaki, although closely related to the Micmac, yet differ as has been pointed out, in several important features, notably in the lack of elements in the mythology in common with the Ojibwa and Iroquois. We may therefore perhaps regard the Abnaki as an eastern or southeastern branch of the Micmac. Whether or not they came into Maine after an earlier occupation of parts of central or even southern New England, and were driven north and east from there by the earlier of the two groups previously spoken of as immigrants from the southwest, it is as yet difficult to say. The fact, however, that the gouge, which is abundant in southern New England, is very rarely found there in the shell-heaps or in the graves of the historic tribes, but is abundant in certain apparently very old graves in the northern Champlain Valley, tends somewhat to support this theory. The gouge as a type, disappears rapidly as one passes south and west from New England, but increases in abundance toward the north and east. Its presence therefore, in southern New England may be taken as further indication that the region was early occupied by a people more affiliated with the Abnaki-Micmac than with the southern New England tribes whose affiliations ran toward the southwest. One thing seems plain at least, and that is that however they reached the region in which they were found at the time of the

Discovery, they were not the first occupants of the territory about Penobscot Bay. Although the shell-heaps of this district are evidently old and indicate a long occupation by their builders whom we may confidently associate with the Abnaki, yet the remains of the so-called Red Paint People who were the makers of the peculiar, long, slate points already spoken of, certainly antedate these shell-heaps, and would seem to point to a pre-Abnaki people. Who these were is still a matter of conjecture. There is much to favor the belief that they were affiliated with the Beothuc, the occurrence of the same type of points in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia seeming to establish a continuous area of distribution, and indicating a greater southward extension of the Beothuc in very early times. On this theory, these Beothuc occupants would thus have been displaced by the Abnaki and Micmac alike. Unfortunately, we know, as has been said, nothing as to the mode of occurrence of the peculiar and typical points in the Maritime Provinces, and it is conceivable that they are after all to be attributed to the Micmac themselves, for whom an early greater extension southward into Maine is claimed by some. The finding of what seem to be similar objects, however, in eastern Ontario a little west of the Ottawa river, brings in an interesting complication, which on the surface would seem to strengthen the belief that the Micmac were the real makers of these somewhat mysterious implements. Until, however, the St. Lawrence Valley is better known archæologically than it is at present, and further researches are made in the Maritime Provinces, it is useless to speculate further on the question.