

# **MICMAC MIGRATION TO WESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND**

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## **ABSTRACT / RESUME**

The Micmac of Cape Breton are known to have had a long history of seasonal contact with Newfoundland. It is generally accepted that they resided there permanently by the early 19th century. The authors review the available evidence and conclude that the permanent occupation of Newfoundland by the Micmac began in the 1760s.

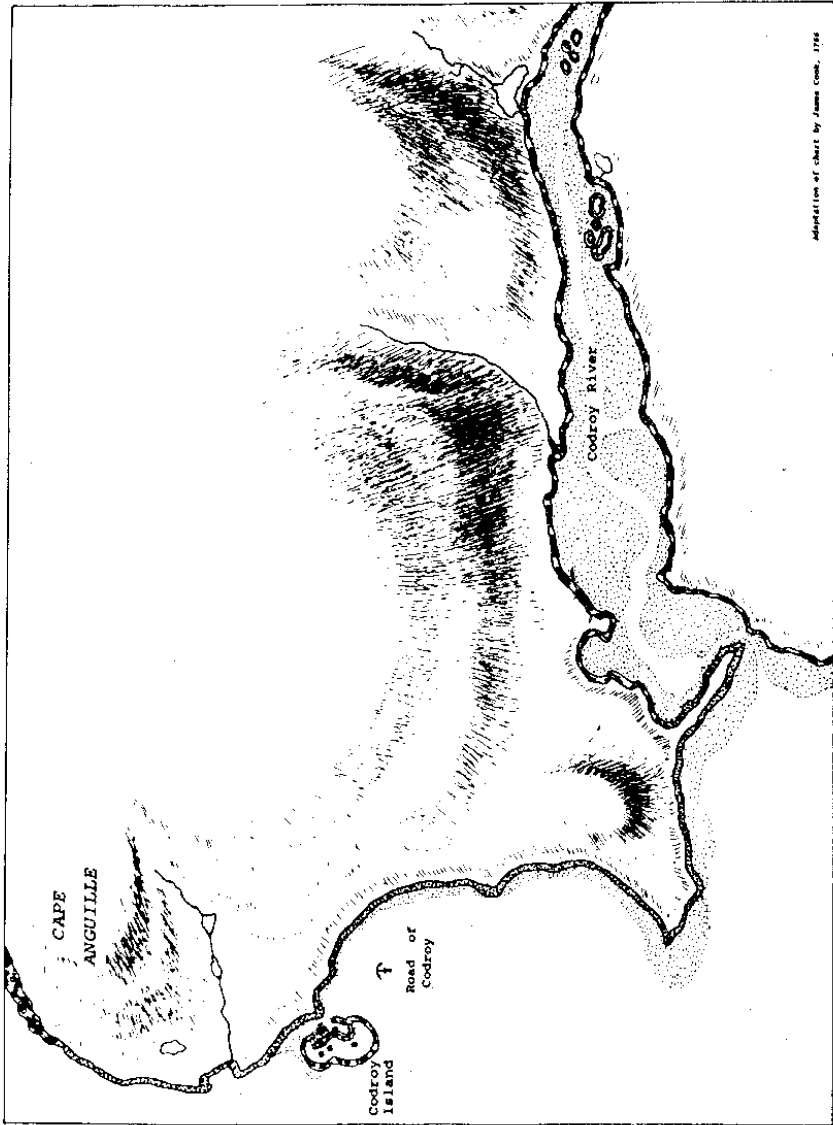
On sait que les Micmac de cap-Breton ont eu une longue histoire du contact saisonnier avec la Terre-Neuve. Il est généralement admis qu'ils y habitèrent en permanence au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les auteurs examinent l'évidence disponible et concluent que l'occupation permanente de la Terre-Neuve par les Micmac a commencé dans les années 1760.

## **INTRODUCTION**

It is generally conceded that the Micmac of Cape Breton Island were a maritime-adapted people with sufficient seafaring skills to extend their territorial range as far into the Gulf of St. Lawrence as the Magdalen Islands and as far east as St. Pierre and Miquelon.<sup>1</sup> By the eighteenth century, the Micmac were able to maintain a persistent presence in southern and southwestern Newfoundland. Some scholars have concluded from this that southwestern Newfoundland could have been a regular part of the territorial range of the Cape Breton Micmac since prehistoric times.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of archaeological evidence to support such a conclusion, others, such as Marshall (1988) and Upton (1979:64) are unwilling to concede more than a seasonal exploitation of Newfoundland. Nevertheless, Marshall (1988:53) concedes that the Micmac had the ability to venture as far as Newfoundland in their canoes before European technology became available to them. Yet during the eighteenth century, a change occurred in the focus of the hunting, fishing, and trapping activities of those Micmac who crossed the Cabot Strait to southwestern Newfoundland. Though they continued to maintain contact with Cape Breton, by the early nineteenth century their occupation of Newfoundland would have become permanent (Pastore, 1978b; 1978a). It is the contention of this paper that this change occurred in the early 1760s when Micmac of Cape Breton Island began frequenting Newfoundland with considerable regularity. Particular attention will be given to those who eventually settled in Bay St. George on the west coast of Newfoundland. Their insistence that this move was sanctioned by treaty with the British Crown during or shortly after the American Revolution has often been mentioned but is usually given little credence (Marshall, 1988:70; Martijn, 1989:224; McGee, Jr., 1973:74-75). Evidence for this claim is reviewed and discussed here.

## **THE MICMAC IN CAPE BRETON ISLAND**

The Micmac who migrated to western Newfoundland were one of several bands who inhabited Cape Breton Island at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They appear to have developed a strong association with Mirliguèche, the site of a mission established by the French in 1724.<sup>3</sup> Their precise numbers are difficult to estimate. Governor Wilmot believed in 1764 that there were approximately four hundred Micmac fighting men around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Canso, and Cape Breton Island.<sup>4</sup> If this figure is accurate, and assuming a ratio of one fighting man to four non-combatants, the Micmac population of this area was approximately 2,000. The population of the band which eventually settled in Newfoundland would have been a fraction of that number.<sup>5</sup> The traditional round of



Map 1

subsistence by which the Micmac supported themselves varied significantly from one region to another, depending on available food resources (Clermont, 1986; Martijn, 1989:208). However, as a result of sustained contact with the French, the Micmac had become increasingly dependent upon the French.

A central feature of this economic dependency was the French practice of giving the Micmac presents in the form of arms, ammunition, cloth, and food. Such gifts were more than just payment for services rendered.<sup>6</sup> Dickason states that the gifts began as "a matter of protocol to cement alliances and trade agreements"; with time, the gifts undermined the Micmac economic self-sufficiency and became an essential means of their subsistence. Yet dependency worked both ways, for the French came to rely upon the gifts as a relatively inexpensive means of maintaining their influence in the region. The cost of the gifts was certainly cheaper than such alternatives as encouraging immigration and settlement, or greatly increasing the French military establishment.<sup>7</sup>

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Micmac, like Indians elsewhere in North America, were taking as much advantage of this situation as they could. Wherever they were in a position to influence the balance of power between the French and the English, Indians were able to increase their demands upon the French for presents.<sup>8</sup> Failure to comply led to threats that they would turn to the English. In truth this was a hollow threat because local British officials who tried to play this diplomatic game never seemed able to convince their superiors in England that gift-giving was more than a sort of unreciprocated generosity.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless the French were careful to ensure that gift-giving occurred at regular intervals in recognition of the great importance which Indians generally, including the Micmac, placed on the process of renewing such relationships.

By the time the British had gained mastery over the French empire in America in the middle of the eighteenth century, some officials had come to understand how important generous and frequent gift-giving had been in cementing relations between the Indians and the French. Thus, Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Northern Indian Affairs in North America, observed in 1766:

It is...highly necessary to convene them [Indians] in order to repeat their engagements and recommend the observance of them - this practice so necessary among people who have no letters, is strictly observed among themselves and the neglect of it is always considered by them as a disregard to the Treaties themselves.<sup>10</sup>

At Cape Breton Island, British military authorities may not have fully

approved of the principal of gift-giving, but they recognized that the tradition was so deeply entrenched that it would be in England's best interests to maintain it. Thus, during negotiations with local Micmac in 1760, General Whitmore explained that:

as they pleaded they were naked and starving I clothed them and gave them some presents, of provisions etc. Afterwards several others came in to whom I was obliged to do the like. And at this time the Chief of the Island is here who beside some Cloathing makes a demand of Powder, Shott, and Arms for four men, which if I would Remain in Peace with Them I find I must Comply with - They Say the French always Supplied them with these Things and They expect that we will do the same. I can fore see that this will be a Constant Annual Expence...<sup>11</sup>

By adding that the Micmac could become a problem should they become troublesome, Whitmore clearly implied that giving presents might be a necessary expedient.

However, Whitmore's superiors were unreceptive to this advice. General Sir Jeffery Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America in 1760, concluded that the frequent giving of gifts to the Indians was no longer necessary because the removal of the French from North America had eliminated the power balance which the Indians had so cleverly exploited.<sup>12</sup> Whitmore himself had at least one junior officer court martialled for having, among other things, spent over <156>200 on presents for some Micmac at Pictou who wished to establish amicable relations with the English following news that Québec had fallen.<sup>13</sup> The English remained predisposed to base their relations with the Indians on treaties which need only be arranged once in contrast to regular (usually annual) renewal of relations through ceremonial gift-giving (Upton, 1979:37).

Establishing peaceful relations with the Indians in the waning years of the Seven Years' War therefore normally followed a prescribed procedure. The military authorities first tried to secure oaths of allegiance from Indian chiefs. Sometimes a treaty might be negotiated at the same time. On other occasions the civil authorities urged the chiefs to travel to Halifax to negotiate and sign treaties "until such time as a General Convention can take place for establishing a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with all the tribes together".<sup>14</sup> The treaty concluded at Halifax with Chiefs of the Passamaquoddies and Malecites from across the Bay of Fundy in February 1760 was fairly typical. Written in English and French, it included an oath of allegiance to King George II, and an undertaking on the part of the chiefs to oppose the designs of the king's enemies.<sup>15</sup>

Efforts to establish peaceful relations with the Micmac in this way proved to be more problematical. In February 1761 Michelle Augustin and Louis François, chiefs of the Richibucto and Mirimachi Micmac bands, gave assurances that "all the tribes of Mickmacks" were willing to make peace.<sup>16</sup> Later, in June, elaborate ceremonies were held at the governor's farm at Halifax "with the several Districts of the general Mickmack Nation of Indians" (Upton, 1979:58). "Great numbers" of Indians therefore were seen in Halifax at various times in 1761 as they responded to Governor Lawrence's urgings to make treaties, and were maintained at government expense.<sup>17</sup> However, there was no single Micmac leader with whom a binding treaty could be signed. Instead, there were many Micmac groups, each with its own leader, with whom the British had to deal. The frustration of the civil authorities in Nova Scotia was considerable:

As it has always been the custom to make presents to the sachems and their followers when treaties were signed; and as the Indians inhabiting the coasts of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have no chief sachem or commander over the whole, but are divided into a number of small tribes, and take their denomination from the river or bay they chiefly frequent; so the government were under the necessity of treating with them separately and making presents to the several tribes as they could come in, which enhanced the expence.<sup>18</sup>

In Cape Breton Island, the Mirliguèche Micmac were led by Jeannot Pequidalouet (hereafter referred to as Jeannot), who made his peace with the English soon after news of the fall of Québec reached his people.<sup>19</sup> Presumably, the treaty signed by General Whitmore and Chief Jeannot in 1759/60 was similar to those negotiated with other groups and tribes, although terms of treaties were tailored for particular Indian groups. In any case the treaty apparently did not address all of the needs of Jeannot's people. A sense of grievance and dissatisfaction persisted which strained relations between them and the British for more than a decade. It was this situation which led them eventually to settle in western Newfoundland.

One of the issues which would eventually contribute to friction between the English and Cape Breton Island Micmac was the failure of British authorities in Nova Scotia to prevent the encroachment of European settlement on Micmac territory. A report to the Lords of Trade which was critical of general British policy toward the Indians referred to 10,000 settlers in Nova Scotia in 1768.<sup>20</sup> Even though Cape Breton was included in the jurisdiction of the County of Halifax in 1770 because of "...want of freeholders to make an election", Cape Breton Micmac were asking for a

termination of settlement in parts of Cape Breton in 1768.<sup>21</sup> An undertaking by Lieutenant-Governor Belcher in 1762 to reserve for the Indians "all the lands lying from Muscadaboit along the sea Coast, and through the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far as Baye des Chaleurs" was disavowed by the Lords of Trade.<sup>22</sup>

Yet encroachment on Micmac lands did not become a serious problem until the influx of Loyalists into Nova Scotia occurred following the American Revolution. During the early 1760s, a far more immediate concern of the Micmac was their inability to secure the services of a Roman Catholic priest to attend to their religious needs.<sup>23</sup> By the eighteenth century Catholicism had become "an integral part of the Micmacs' identity", according to Upton, so that the death in 1762 of their only priest, Abbé Maillard, made the appointment of a replacement a matter of great urgency (Upton, 1979:33, 65, 68; Martijn, 1989:222). However, the British were extremely slow to comply with this request. In part this simply reflected the prevailing anti-Catholicism of eighteenth century British officialdom. Some suspicion of Catholic priests also persisted among British authorities in the waning years of the Seven Years' War because of the role played by French priests in keeping Anglo-French friction in Acadia active between 1713 and 1760. Such suspicion must have been mitigated considerably at the local level by the much-appreciated efforts of Abbé Maillard in promoting peaceful relations between the Micmac and the English. Nevertheless, Maillard's service notwithstanding, there seemed little interest in providing the Micmac with an opportunity to maintain their link with France through the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>24</sup>

The situation was further complicated by the state of war which still existed between England and France between 1759, when the Micmac began making their peace with the English, and 1763. The Micmac had been feared allies of the French and continued therefore to be mistrusted by the British in Nova Scotia. This became particularly apparent in 1762 when the French captured St. John's, Newfoundland in the course of an elaborate raid on the British fishery. Convinced that the raid foreshadowed an attack on Nova Scotia, English military and civil authorities at Halifax were extremely susceptible to rumours that the Micmac were about to rise up against them (Janzen, 1988; Upton, 1979:61). Micmac oaths of allegiance and signatures on treaties provided them with no sense of security; they were all too conscious of the defenceless state of their colony. Such fears intensified English resolve not to grant Micmac requests for presents and priests. Yet it may also have predisposed them to tolerate, perhaps even encourage, Micmac efforts to find what they needed outside of Nova Scotia.<sup>25</sup>

## THE MICMAC IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Thus, by 1763 the Micmac of Cape Breton Island, and in particular those led by Jeannot, had begun to look elsewhere to ensure their survival. Newfoundland seemed to offer that assurance, particularly that part of the island west of Fortune Bay which the Micmac visited regularly to hunt, trap, and fish.<sup>26</sup> Not only did the region have an abundance of game, it was also relatively free of British and French interference by virtue of its physical and jurisdictional remoteness from administrative centres such as St. John's, Placentia, and Louisbourg. These same conditions had encouraged the appearance of several small communities in the vicinity of Cape Ray which survived by exchanging fish with French and possibly Anglo-American traders (Janzen, 1987). While the few surviving records do not indicate whether the inhabitants also traded with the Micmac, it seems highly probable that they did so. This would have enhanced the attraction of the region to the Micmac.

Newfoundland's appeal became even stronger after 1763 when, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were restored to France. The death of Abbé Maillard the year before had made the need for a priest to serve the Micmac quite acute. The establishment of a French community at St. Pierre solved this dilemma. Though the official French position was to discourage Micmac from coming to St. Pierre for fear of antagonizing the English, such visits began almost immediately and seem never to have been discouraged. On the contrary, the visits were frequent and open, and numerous baptisms, marriages, and deaths were officially recorded.<sup>27</sup> The Micmac continued to demand that a priest be appointed at Cape Breton Island to serve them, but the frequency of their appearances at St. Pierre would indicate that their principal needs were adequately served by those visits.<sup>28</sup> It would also suggest that the Micmac had begun to live permanently close by; Newfoundland was becoming a place of permanent habitation for them.

Newfoundland's transformation from a destination for seasonal hunting and trapping to a place of permanent habitation coincided with a profound change in the way British jurisdiction over southern and western Newfoundland was exercised. Before 1763 British naval officers, whose responsibility it was to supervise the fishery and ensure that regulations and treaties which governed the fishery were observed, rarely patrolled the more remote parts of the island. By the close of the Seven Years' War this had changed; the British Board of Trade was determined that the terms of the Treaty of Paris, by which French fishing privileges in Newfoundland were restored and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were turned over to the French, were not abused in such a way that French power would be enhanced at the expense of that of the British. As a result, and for the first time ever, British warships were regularly assigned to patrol





Newfoundland's west and south coasts as an exercise in asserting British sovereignty in the area as well as to keep watch on the French.<sup>29</sup>

In 1763, HMS *Lark* was stationed on the west coast. Her commanding officer, Captain Samuel Thompson, was primarily concerned with ensuring that French fishermen confined their activities to the Treaty Shore which at that time extended no further south than Point Riche. However, when *Lark* appeared at the tiny settlement on Codroy Island, it was to discover that the inhabitants had been greatly intimidated by the appearance of a number of Micmac, led by Chief Jeannot, who hunted and trapped in the same areas as the inhabitants. Jonathan Broom, the principal merchant there, requested and received a small quantity of arms with which to defend the community.<sup>30</sup> Yet when Captain Thompson met with Jeannot, the officer appears to have accepted Micmac assurances that they meant no trouble to anyone but only wished to buy a shallop from the people with which to go to St. Pierre for the services of a priest. Jeannot used the opportunity of his meeting with Thompson to have a treaty of peace renewed; presumably this was the treaty which Jeannot had signed in 1759/1760 with the British military authorities in Cape Breton Island. He also gave Thompson a detailed request for cloth, kettles, gunpowder, shot, muskets, hatchets, shirts, hats, nets, fishing line, a boat compass, and other items, all to be given to them as presents. Thompson endorsed the treaty and promised to pass on their request for presents to his superiors, insisting in return that they stay away from the French at St. Pierre.<sup>31</sup>

While Thompson clearly did not trust the Micmac, this had more to do with the fact that "they are Roman Catholicicks" and not that they were Indians. He fully expected them to ignore his orders concerning St. Pierre. He was just as mistrustful of the inhabitants of Codroy who, he suspected, were also trading with St. Pierre.<sup>32</sup> It was this trade with St. Pierre, and not the possibility that the Micmac might settle in Newfoundland, which most concerned Thompson and his immediate superior, Captain Thomas Graves, the commandant of the Newfoundland stationed ships that year.<sup>33</sup> Graves' successor on the Newfoundland station, Hugh Palliser, was just as concerned. He believed that Newfoundland's value to Great Britain lay in the preservation of the migratory character of its fishery, and he responded vigorously to anything that threatened that character. Trade between the French at St. Pierre and the inhabitants of Newfoundland was one such threat; another was the appearance of Micmac on the island.<sup>34</sup> But his efforts were frustrated by the refusal of the Micmac to cooperate, and by the inability of the British authorities in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island to discourage the Micmac from going to Newfoundland.

Palliser's frustration began in 1764 when Micmac were discovered in Newfoundland carrying passports provided by the military authorities on Cape Breton Island.<sup>35</sup> Palliser asked that the passports be revoked, yet

the very next year he learned that between 130 and 150 Micmac from Cape Breton Island, led by Chief Jeannot, had arrived at Bay D'Espoir on Newfoundland's south coast with fresh passports issued by Lieutenant Colonel Pringle, the commanding officer at Louisbourg. Palliser demanded that Pringle revoke the passports and that such movement henceforth be discouraged.<sup>36</sup> But the Nova Scotia officials maintained that this was easier said than done. As Governor Wilmot explained to Pringle:

thro' a decent Submission to the Authority of Government, [Jeannot] Applied for my leave to go over ... for the purpose of trading and hunting; had I refused my Consent ... he might have taken that liberty with impunity, nor indeed can I find out the Law which prevents any of the King's subjects passing from any part of this Dominion to the other...<sup>37</sup>

Wilmot was not indifferent to Palliser's dilemma. If anything, he was sympathetic, for the movement of the Micmac to St. Pierre could only threaten the security of his province. Wilmot blamed the movement on the parsimony of the British government, which failed to recognize the false economy of refusing to grant the Micmac the presents. Wilmot warned the Board of Trade that "terms cannot be kept with the Indians...without incurring an expence to gratify their wants, and to prevent any disgusts arising from a neglect of them." Wilmot's remarks were prompted by the Board's refusal to comply with Chief Jeannot's request for presents which he made to HMS *Lark*. Jeannot had been advised that such requests ought to be submitted to the Nova Scotia government. Yet when he did so, he was turned down by Major Walton, the commandant at Louisbourg. As Wilmot explained to the Board of Trade:

the same Indian chief mentioned by your lordships [i.e., Jeannot] had ineffectually applied to the officer commanding the troops at Louisbourg for some small allowance of provisions, and other necessaries, and the declarations he then made, of being obliged, on the refusal he met with, to have recourse to the Island of St. Peter, and I have lately had the mortification to find that he was not only well received there, but that he has continued on that Island ever since with his whole tribe.<sup>38</sup>

It was, therefore, perhaps predictable that the Micmac would ignore Palliser's orders and remained in Newfoundland through the winter. By late 1766 Palliser resorted to painting an exceedingly black picture of the damage they were doing to the fishery in order to secure support from his

superiors in London:

...those Indians...dispers'd themselves about the Country to the great terror of all our People in those parts, so that before the arrival of the Kings Vessels, they had begun to retire, & had determin'd to Abandon the whole Fishery to the Westward of Placentia Fort, for the Indians had already begun to insult and Rob them on pretence of want of Provisions; but under the protection of the Kings Ships, our People return'd and remain. The Chiefs of the Indians were Summons'd, and had deliver'd to them my Orders to quit this Country...<sup>39</sup>

Palliser predicted that permitting the Micmac to stay would "most certainly [bring] some Thousands of Nova Scotia & Canada Indians under French Influence in that part of the Island, with all the disaffected Acadians ...mix'd with them, disguis'd as Indians, which woud have Accomplish'd the French Plan for rendering that part of the Coast useless to us, by frightening our People away..."<sup>40</sup>

Palliser had clearly exaggerated the situation. Quite apart from the fact that there were relatively few fishermen operating on the coast west of Burin, the existing records of the fishery's productivity there shows no evidence of disruption. Palliser's suggestions that thousands of Indians would be drawn to Newfoundland were patently ridiculous, as even the Board of Trade must have realized. Nevertheless, by 1766 Palliser was being supported by the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, Michael Francklin, who had been alarmed by an assembly of several hundred Micmac on Cape Breton Island in the summer of 1765, and by a repetition of the assembly in 1766. Francklin concluded from the presence of "Holy Water Relicts, Books & other Articles that relate to the Superstition of the Romish Religion" that the Micmac were in regular contact with St. Pierre. This, he believed, "may in time prove of very ill consequence to this Young Province as our settlements are very stragling and defenceless". Francklin therefore urged Palliser to take every measure to prevent as much as possible the communication between the Micmac and the French at St. Pierre.<sup>41</sup>

The combined efforts of both the Newfoundland and the Nova Scotia authorities to stop the Micmac from visiting St. Pierre may have had the desired effect. By 1766 the incidence of reports of Micmacs on the south coast or at St. Pierre began to diminish.<sup>42</sup> Yet the Micmac had not left Newfoundland, but only shifted their activity more to the west coast. Palliser's information about Micmac in Newfoundland came increasingly from "the coast about Cape Ray, by which he learns that the Nova Scotia Indians are not gone from thence, but have dispersed themselves about

that part of Island..."<sup>43</sup> While conducting his famous survey of the coast of Newfoundland in 1767, James Cook "found ... a Tribe of Mickmak Indians" at St. George's Harbour.<sup>44</sup> When Samuel Holland, the Surveyor of Cape Breton Island, encountered Micmac on that island in November 1768, he learned that:

...[they] mentioned they would be glad to have a Tract of land along St. Patrick's Lake and Channel, granted them by His Majesty for the conveniency of hunting, and in which they might not be molested by any European settlers.

But as Jannot their chief in this island, was not yet returned from Newfoundland, to which place he went last fall, they could not fix upon the extent they would have until they saw him...<sup>45</sup>

Thus, it is possible to trace the movements of Chief Jeannot from Louisbourg in 1759, to Codroy in 1763, back to Louisbourg in 1763-64, to St. Pierre in 1763-64, back to Nova Scotia in 1765, and again to Newfoundland in 1767 and 1768. Motivated by a need to secure the services of Catholic clergy, a desire to acquire as presents arms, clothing, and other goods on which they had become dependent, and by a desire to escape the encroachment on their activities of European settlement and official interference, Jeannot had led his people from Cape Breton Island to Newfoundland. What began as a seasonal activity had, by the 1760s, developed into a persistent presence on the south and west coasts of Newfoundland.

Was this presence a permanent one? In 1794, several Micmac visiting St. Pierre described themselves as belonging to a community of about one hundred and fifty Micmac living "at the Head of The Bay of St George".<sup>46</sup> Yet occasional British naval patrols on the west coast in the 1780s and 1790s who continued to encounter the Micmac at Bay St. George insisted on identifying them as "Foreign Indians, from Halifax". According to one report, they were drawn there by the eel fishery. Yet the naval officers also conceded that the Micmac spent much of the year in the interior, hunting and trapping, a point which had also been made by the Micmac who visited St. Pierre in 1794. Furs would be exchanged for guns, shot, clothing, and provisions, either with French fishermen whose activities after the revisions of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 extended far enough down the west coast to include Bay St. George, or else with English fishermen on the south coast at Bay D'Espoir and Fortune Bay.<sup>47</sup> Though theirs remained a subsistence economy, the Micmac were able to practice their traditional round of subsistence activities without leaving Newfoundland. They had

become permanent residents of that island.

There is also a strong possibility that their presence in Newfoundland by then had been sanctioned by the British authorities. When HMS *Rosamond* visited St. George's Harbour in 1813, the British officers were told that the Micmac had received a land grant at Bay St. George from British officials in Nova Scotia as a reward for persuading another Micmac group not to join the French-American side during the American Revolutionary War.<sup>48</sup> Little credence has been given to this claim. Quite apart from the fact that no documentation for such a grant has been found, no one in Nova Scotia had any authority to grant land in Newfoundland.

Still, the idea that such a grant might have been offered to the Micmac cannot be dismissed altogether. When the Revolution began, the British in Nova Scotia made little effort to secure Malecite and Micmac support against the rebel colonials. Consequently, in light of initial British military reverses, the Indians considered throwing their support to the Americans. But the Americans seemed equally incapable of gaining a decisive military advantage. The Micmac therefore preferred to avoid choosing sides. British indifference to the Indians persisted even after France came into the conflict on the American side in 1778. Although Michael Francklin, the Lieutenant Governor and also Superintendent of Indians, claimed that the American alliance with the French had "enhanced" Indian regard for the rebels, not everyone agreed.<sup>49</sup> Colonel Francis McLean, the commanding officer at Halifax, had clashed repeatedly with Francklin over Indian policy and did not share his view this time. He claimed that "The Indians to appearance are satisfied".<sup>50</sup> According to Francklin, McLean believed that the Indians were "worth no expense".<sup>51</sup> The Nova Scotia Assembly, perhaps reflecting McLean's outlook, refused to authorize funds for Indian presents. Francklin was compelled to "discharge" some of his agents who worked among the Indians.<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, the revival of the French threat, combined with well-entrenched fears about the probable behaviour of France's former Indian allies convinced at least one leading citizen of Halifax that "This province [Nova Scotia] is in the greatest danger of being lost - All the country are in Sentiment and interest with New England - and the Indians are with them".<sup>53</sup> More importantly, the British government in London believed that steps had to be taken to neutralize the Indians in anticipation of a French descent on Nova Scotia. In a letter to Francklin, Secretary of State Lord George Germain warned:

In the course of the summer, I think it probable the sea coast of the province adjoining Nova Scotia, will be attacked, in which operation the Indians of your Department would be of great importance; and as you have given so strong a proof of your influence over them,

I cannot doubt your being able to prevail with them to cooperate in this enterprize, should the Commander-in-Chief require it, you will therefore employ your best endeavors to dispose them to a compliance; and to enable you to reward their services, I have recommended it to the Lords of the Treasury to issue five hundred pounds to the agent, to be paid out in the purchase of presents to be sent to you by the next ships.<sup>54</sup>

It was all Francklin needed. Immediate efforts were undertaken to reverse years of British indifference and neglect in their dealings with the Indians. Father Bourg, a Catholic priest, was appointed to serve the Indians after nearly two decades of refusal. Beginning in September 1778 and proceeding through 1779, Francklin, with Bourg's assistance, succeeded in preventing several hundred Micmac, Passamaquoddie, and Malecite from allying with the Americans. The Indians took an oath pledging "faith and true allegiance" to His Majesty George III, to reveal the plans of the enemy, and to protect Francklin and Bourg.<sup>55</sup> While Francklin promised the Indians presents and money if they joined the British side, Father Bourg threatened them with excommunication if they didn't.<sup>56</sup>

The Indians who were the focus of all this attention lived in what is now New Brunswick; neither Chief Jeannot nor anyone speaking for his people appear to have signed the treaty which Francklin negotiated.<sup>57</sup> Yet it is probable that Jeannot was involved. We know that Francklin relied on the assistance of some Indians of Québec in negotiating with those who eventually signed the treaty.<sup>58</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that Chief Jeannot and some of his people were also involved in the proceedings. This would certainly be consistent with what the Bay St. George Micmac later told Lt. Chappell, that they were rewarded for helping the British establish peaceful relations with other Micmac of Nova Scotia. Given the degree of anxiety in Nova Scotia by 1778, that a French attack on the province was imminent and that such an attack might trigger an Indian uprising, it is very plausible that Francklin or some other member of the British civil or military establishment in Nova Scotia would have ignored the jurisdictional question and promised land around Bay St. George to those Micmac who had originally lived in Cape Breton Island but of whom substantial numbers had by then begun to live permanently in Newfoundland in exchange for their assistance to the British war effort. If, as Martijn suggests, this group was Jeannot's, and if Jeannot and his people had been using Bay St. George as a focal point for their hunting, fishing, and trapping since 1764, the land grant during the American Revolution would simply have sanctioned an existing state of affairs.

## CONCLUSION

The Micmac people of Cape Breton Island have an ancient history of seasonal contact with southwestern Newfoundland. By the nineteenth century, that contact was permanent; a migration had occurred resulting in Micmac settlement at Conne River on the South Coast of Newfoundland and at Bay St. George on the West Coast of the island. This paper contends that the transition from seasonal to permanent occupation occurred during the 1760s. Beginning with the British assertion of control over Cape Breton Island following their capture of Louisbourg in 1758, the Micmac on that island were subjected to a number of pressures which encouraged some of them to migrate permanently to Newfoundland. White settler encroachment may have been a factor, though it seems unlikely that this was a significant enough problem in the 1760s to account for a permanent movement to Newfoundland. Similarly the relative abundance of game in Newfoundland requires further study before it can be judged a determining factor. More serious were British insensitivity and indifference to the particular, almost ritualistic, diplomatic procedures between white authorities and the Indians which had evolved during the French regime. Equally important was British resistance to Micmac demands that a Roman Catholic priest be appointed to serve their spiritual needs. The presence of Roman Catholic clergy on the island of St. Pierre after that island was restored to the French in 1763 drew the Micmac to the adjacent South Coast of Newfoundland. The remoteness from official supervision and the local abundance of game also attracted them to Bay St. George on the West Coast. Though their presence in Newfoundland disturbed the authorities on that island, any efforts to discourage that presence tended to be unsuccessful.

A central figure in this process of moving to Newfoundland was Jeannot Pequidalouet, the leader of those Micmac bands who were strongly identified with Mirliguèche, a mission established in 1724 by the French. Chief Jeannot signed a treaty with the authorities at Louisbourg during the winter of 1759/60, a treaty which established peace between his people and the English. Admittedly, that treaty and other documents are not extant, so that the contention of this paper must of necessity depend on a set of circumstantial evidence. Yet it must also be stressed that this is unavoidable when developing the history of a people whose "footprints" in the historical record exists only through the manuscripts of the Europeans who encountered them. Indeed, Jeannot's presence in that record is both consistent and clear, so that his movements between Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland during the several years after 1759 can be traced with considerable confidence.

This paper by no means exhausts the research remaining to be done on the eighteenth century history of the "Newfoundland Micmac". Its intention is to encourage further work, particularly on the Micmac claim that



their settlement at Bay St. George was later sanctioned by a land grant for services rendered during the American Revolution. Here the evidence is much more tenuous. Nevertheless, it is both logical and consistent with the history of the relations between Jeannot's people and the white authorities in Cape Breton Island during the previous decade that such a grant could have been made. For this and other reasons there is a great need for additional research, with particular attention to the role of junior military and naval officers in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland during the 1760s through to the 1780s.

### NOTES

1. Research for this paper was supported by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The authors wish to acknowledge, with thanks, the research assistance of Alice Lorch Bartels, Field Associate of the Department of Ethnology of the Royal Ontario Museum. We are also indebted to Charles A. Martijn and Olive Patricia Dickason for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper as well as to the chairman, the commentator, and those attending the session of the Canadian Historical Association for their remarks when the paper was presented in May 1990. We extend special thanks to Warwick Hewitt, Graphics Artist at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College, and Ellen Janzen for preparing the maps.
2. Charles A. Martijn (1989) called this their "domain of islands" in a recent paper of the same title. Martijn, 1986a; 1986b *Micmacs et la Mer* (Montréal, 1986), pp. 163-94, and his "Voyages des Micmacs dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, sur la Côte-Nord et à Terre-Neuve", in *op. cit.*, pp. 197-224, as well as Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Race Relations, 1713-1760" (Ottawa, 1976), p. 46. Map 1 is adapted from one which appeared in Martijn, "Micmac Domain".
3. The association was of sufficient strength and persistence that Martijn refers to them as the "Mirliguèche was on the west coast of Lake Bras d'Or, Cape Breton Island, in 1724; see Map 1. Both Martijn and Dickason emphasize that the mission never developed into a farming settlement but functioned instead as a Micmac assembly point on various occasions throughout the year, and sometimes as a place to leave the elderly, the women, and the children when the men went on hunting expeditions (Dickason, 1976:72). In 1750 Abbé Maillard moved the mission to Chapel Island (Potloteg), near Port Toulouse (Martijn, 1989:220-1; Upton, 1979:34). Thereafter the Micmac congregated annually at Chapel Island to celebrate the day of their patron saint, Anne.

4. "Their numbers exceed 600 fighting men...from [Halifax] eastward, on the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence with Cansoe and the Island of Breton near four hundred men"; Governor Wilmot to the Board of Trade, 24 June, 1764, Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), Colonial Office (hereafter CO) paper, series 217, vol. 21, p. 200.
5. The figure may have been much smaller. Both Dickason and Martijn estimate that the total Micmac population of Cape Breton Island at this time was never more than 250 persons (Dickason, 1976:71; Martijn, 1989:221). Upton estimated that the total Micmac population of Nova Scotia and Ile Royale (as Cape Breton Island was named by the French between 1713 and 1758) was about 2,000 (1979:32-33). The most comprehensive recent study of Micmac population is that of Virginia Miller in her article "The Decline of Nova Scotia Micmac Population, A.D. 1600-1850", (1982:107-20). Miller questions the accuracy of the "guesstimates" of eighteenth century officials on which most modern calculations are based yet which were derived from woefully superficial first-hand knowledge of the Micmac. Using several kinds of evidence, she concludes that the Micmac population of all of Nova Scotia in the middle of the eighteenth century would have been closer to 5,500 people. We believe that this figure is compatible with our own estimate for Cape Breton Island alone.
6. Upton (1979:36-38) maintained that the gifts were initially a form of rent, an acknowledgement by the French that they were intruders in the region, and that later the French regarded the gifts as "a form of retainer for future services".
7. Both Martijn and Dickason stress the degree of Micmac dependency upon French gifts, but Dickason also emphasizes the reciprocal nature of this dependency. Compare Martijn, 1986:221 with Dickason, 1976:87-88.
8. Upton, 1979:31, 40. In 1768 General Thomas Gage, the Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America, observed that "...[the Indians'] Jealousy of our increasing Strength, and their former Experience, when the French possessed Canada, have taught the Savages the Policy of a Balance of Power. They had two Nations to Court them and make them Presents and when disgusted with one, they found the other glad to accept their offers of Friendship"; Gage to Secretary of State Lord Hillsborough, 12 March 1768, in Carter, 1931(I):166, hereafter cited as *Gage Papers*.
9. In a report on the Indian trade in North America, Capt. Gordon, Chief

- Engineer of North America, observed that the French system of trading with the Indians was far superior to all existing British systems, and recommended its adoption by the British. The report was forwarded by General Gage to Secretary of State Lord Shelburne on 22 February, 1767; *Gage Papers* I:121. See also Upton, 1979:36-39.
10. William Johnson to Board of Trade, 20 August 1766, PRO CO 5/217:95.
  11. Whitmore to Amherst, 14 November 1760, PRO WO 34/17:98.
  12. According to Dickason (1976:88-89) General Sir Jeffery Amherst "ruled that Indians could no longer be supplied with arms and ammunition as it was no longer necessary to purchase their friendship or neutrality since the French had lost their footing in Canada. It would now only be necessary to keep the Indians aware 'of our superiority, which more than anything else will keep them in Awe, and make them refrain from Hostilities'..."
  13. General Whitmore to General Amherst, 22 January 1760, PRO War Office (hereafter WO) papers, series 34, vol. 17, pp. 53-54v. The officer in question was Lieut. Henry Schomberg. The Minutes of his court martial appear in *ibid.*, pp. 55-62v.
  14. Captain McKenzie, commandant of Fort Cumberland, the General Amherst, 28 March 1761, PRO WO 34/12:99-103. The governor's authority to conclude treaties had been confirmed by the Lords of Trade; Article 63 of the Instructions to Governor Campbell, September 1766, PRO CO 5/201:303. Governor Wilmot's instructions, dated 16 March 1764, contained a similar authorization; PRO CO 5/201:280-1.
  15. Record of a meeting between the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia, 11 February, 1760, PRO CO 220/4:258-9.
  16. Capt. McKenzie to General Amherst, 23 March 1761, PRO WO 34/12, p. 95.
  17. "Remarks on the Indian Commerce carried on by the Government of Nova Scotia in the Year 1760, 1761 and part of 1762", Governor and Council of Nova Scotia to the Board of Trade, 5 April 1763, PRO CO 217/20, Pt. 1:164.65.
  18. "Remarks on the Indian Commerce Carried on by the Government of Nova Scotia" by the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia to the

Board of Trade and Plantations, 5 April 1763, PRO CO 217/20:164.

19. General Whitmore referred more than once to a "chief of the island" of Cape Breton, but it was in his letter to General Sir Jeffery Amherst of 1 December 1759 that he identified Jeannot as the chief; WO 34/17:46-47. Governor Montague Wilmot of Nova Scotia also referred to Jeannot as "chief of the Indians of the Island of Breton"; Wilmot to Board of Trade, 17 September, 1764, CO 217/21:234. So did Samuel Holland, the Surveyor of Cape Breton Island in 1768; Holland, "A Description of the Island of Cape Britain", 1 November 1768, PRO CO 5/70, pp. 14-45.
20. William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the Board of Trade, 7 March 1768, CO 5/226:69.
21. CO 220/13:3. See Samuel Holland, "A Description of the Island of Cape Britain", 1 November 1768, PRO CO 5/70, pp. 14-45.
22. Board of Trade to Governor Wilmot, 20 March 1763, PRO CO 218/6:195.
23. Upton emphasized that in the immediate aftermath of the Halifax treaties of 1761, "Micmacs were more interested in priests and presents than in land" (1979:68).
24. Gov. Francklin to Board of Trade, 3 Sept. 1766, PRO CO 217/21, p. 312; Gov. Wilmot to Board of Trade, 9 Oct. 1765, *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80 and same to same, 17 Sept. 1765, *Ibid.*, p. 234. General Amherst blamed the difficulty of negotiating a settlement with the Micmac on the machinations of French priests. He complained to the Board of Trade in 1761 that the Micmac in the "north parts of this province [Nova Scotia and Cape Breton] had not yet wholly made their submission to His Majesty" due to the machinations of a French priest. This priest, Jean Manach, had worked among the Micmacs with Abbé Maillard and was imprisoned by the British authorities and sent to England in 1761; Amherst to Board of Trade, March 1761, PRO CO 5/60, p. 240.
25. Both Miller (1982:110) and Pastore (1977; 1978b) suggest that Nova Scotia's Governor Wilmot encouraged the Micmac to go to Newfoundland "to get rid of a troublesome problem."
26. See Map 1, as well as Martijn, 1989:222-3; Pastore, 1977:9. Both Pastore and Martijn believe that game depletion in Cape Breton Island contributed to the decision to move to Newfoundland. Martijn

adds that "whenever survival was affected by various circumstances, the Eastern Micmac responded by shifting their activities to different parts of this vast island domain" (1989:225).

27. Jean-Yves Ribault, "La Population des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon de 1763 à 1793", *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* LIII (1966):5-66, esp. pp. 35-8. Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia would accuse the French at St. Pierre of engineering "the defection of several Indian families, to the amount of one hundred and fifty persons" from Cape Breton Island to St. Pierre in 1765 through Chief Jeannot; Wilmot to the Board of Trade, 17 September 1764, PRO CO 217/21:216. This view is not supported by the obvious nervousness of the French at having the Micmac come to St. Pierre.
28. The Micmac congregated near the Bras d'Or Lakes and Isle Madam in 1765 and 1766 demanding, among other things, that the Nova Scotia government supply them with a Roman Catholic priest, and that European settlement in parts of eastern Nova Scotia, including bays nearest St. Pierre, be terminated. General Gage to Secretary of State Sir Henry Conway, 12 October 1765, in *Gage Papers*, 1:69; Michael Francklin to the Board of Trade, 3 September 1766, PRO CO 217/21:344-46.
29. The best treatment of British policy at Newfoundland in the 1760's remains. Whiteley (1973); see also Whiteley, 1979.
30. PRO Admiralty records (hereafter Adm), series 52, vol. 1316, No. 2, Master's log, HMS *Lark*, 1763; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (hereafter NMM), Graves Papers (hereafter GRV), vol. 105, "Answers to Heads of Inquiry, 1763", esp. "Remarks" of Capt. Thompson and "Answers" of Capt. Thompson, no. 46. These were not the same inhabitants who had settled at Codroy since the late 1720's. The original French inhabitants were expelled by the British in 1755. The community which Thompson visited appears to have developed in the closing years of the war; it may have included some of the original inhabitants who returned after the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, but there is evidence that Broom did his hiring of people for his establishment at Halifax. See Map 2.
31. Thompson to Admiralty secretary Stephens, 16 April 1764, PRO Adm 1/2590,#4. A copy of the treaty evidently accompanied this letter but has since disappeared. Annotations indicate that Stephens passed Jeannot's request for presents on to the Board of Trade, though the Board had already received a letter describing his encounter with Jeannot directly from Thompson; Thompson to Board of Trade, 28

April 1764, PRO CO 217/20, Part 2:322. Martijn, citing Brown, claims that the presents for Jeannot and his band were delivered aboard HMS *Tweed*. Martijn, "Les Micmacs aux îles de la Madelaine", p. 271; Richard Brown, *A History of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1869), pp. 356-7. But this was not the case. The Board of Trade advised the Admiralty and Captain Thompson that Jeannot's band fell under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Nova Scotia, and that the Indians should "apply" for presents to Halifax. Minutes of a meeting of the Lords of the Admiralty, 2 May, 1764, PRO Adm. 3/72, p. 6. Captains of Royal Navy ships cruising in Newfoundland waters were authorized to give Jeannot this message. So was Jonathan Broom; see Palliser at York Harbour in the Bay of Islands to Jonathan Broom, 29 July 1764, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (hereafter PANL), GN 2/1A/3:235.

32. "Remarks" of Capt. Samuel Thompson, HMS *Lark*, NMM GRV/105.
33. Draft of Graves to Secretary Stephens, 20 October 1763, NMM GRV/106.
34. "...in my Dispatches to His Majesty's Secretary of State I have offer'd my Apprehensions of ye danger of permitting any Indians getting footing in this Country, as thereby the Fishery's will be in the same Precarious State as then the French and their Indians possess'd Placentia and the South Coast..."; Palliser to Board of Trade, 30 October 1765, PRO CO 194/16:173-173v.
35. A summary of the Micmac "problem" appears in Palliser to Lt. Gov. Francklin, 16 October 1766, PRO CO 194/16:308-9.
36. Palliser to Board of Trade, 30 October 1765, PRO CO 194/16: 173-173v; Palliser to Pringle, 22 October 1765, PANL GN/1A/3:343.
37. Wilmot to Pringle, 12 December 1765, cited in Pastore, "Micmac Colonization", p. 13.
38. Wilmot to the Board of Trade, 17 September 1764, PRO CO 217/21:216.
39. Palliser to Board of Trade, 21 October 1766, PRO CO 194/16:302v.
40. Palliser to Board of Trade, 21 October 1766, PRO CO 194/16:302v.
41. Francklin to Palliser, 11 September 1766, PRO CO 194/16:307-307v. According to General Gage, four or five hundred Indians met for

- several days, "Setting up a Flagg-Staff, on which...they hoisted white Colours. The People employed in the Fisherys were terrified at these Appearances, but they had done no Mischief..."; Gage to Conway, 12 October 1765, *Gage Corr.* I:69.
42. But such visits did not stop completely. In 1769 a shallop of Micmacs came to St. Pierre on the pretext of seeking news about the health of the French King and to assure the local authorities that their loyalty to France remained strong; Ribault, "La population", p. 35.
  43. Palliser to Board of Trade, Postscript of 27 October 1766, PRO CO 194/16, pp. 305-305v.
  44. Master's Log, HMS <MI>*Grenville*<D>, 20 May 1767, PRO Adm 52/1263, p. 233.
  45. "A Description of the Island of Cape Breton...", 1 November 1768, PRO CO 5/70:14-45; cited in A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia* (Antigonish, NS, 1960), vol. I, p. 88, and Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, p. 69.
  46. Major Peregrine Fras. Thorne to Secretary of State Henry Dundas, 26 May 1794, PRO CO 194/41:80-81v. Thorne was the commanding officer of the British garrison which occupied the French island following the outbreak of war between England and France in 1793.
  47. "Report of Native and Foreign Indians..." who visited parts of the French Shore, Lt. Robert Carthew Reynolds, HM Sloop *Echo*, 1787, PRO CO 194/38: 54; Captain Ambrose Crofton, HMS *Pluto*, to Vice Admiral Waldegrave, 10 January 1798, PRO CO 194/40: 19-20.; See also Pastore, "Micmac Colonization", pp. 14-15; Marshall, "Beothuk & Micmac", p. 70.
  48. Lieutenant Edward Chappell, *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador...* (London, 1818), pp. 76-77. Martijn raises the possibility that the Micmac chief who received the grant of land was Chief Jeannot; Martijn, "Micmac Domain", p. 224; Dennis Bartels, "Micmacs of Western Newfoundland: Treaty Indians?", a paper presented at the seminar of the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, p. 9.
  49. Francklin to Lord Germain, 3 August 1779, PRO CO 5/243, pp. 202.
  50. McLean to Gen. Clinton, 28 December 1778, PRO CO 5/97, p. 79.

51. Francklin to Gen. Haldimand, 7 September, 1780, (British Library Add. Ms. 21,809, the Haldimand Papers, f. 101.
52. *Loq. cit.*
53. Cited in Wentworth to Lord Rockingham, 21 October 1778, Ramsden Family Papers, Vol. 2, Part II, in the West Yorkshire Archive. Wentworth described his source as "a judicious man, an officer, intimately acquainted thro'out the province, has all his estate in it..."
54. Germain to Francklin, 3 May 1779, PRO 30/55/16: 1975; eventually, the presents promised by Germain reached Halifax, but McLean only released them to Francklin after Francklin had appealed directly to Germain and Gen. Clinton, Commander-in-chief of British forces in North America; Francklin to Hillsborough, 4 May 1780, PRO Co 5/230, pp. 88-89.
55. Francklin to Gen. Clinton, 2 August 1779, PRO CO 217/54, p. 71; also, see Gov. Hughes to Lord Germain, 12 Oct. 1778, PRO CO 217/54:131-32.
56. The best account of the proceedings remains Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, pp. 71-4. See also Johnston, *Catholic Church*, Vol. I:107.
57. Francklin to Lord Germain, 26 September 1779, PRO CO 217/54:219-222.
58. Francklin thanked General Haldimand, the commanding officer at Québec, for prevailing upon Québec Indians to use their influence to prevent Indians in the Maritimes from joining the rebels; Francklin to Haldimand, 7 September 1780, British Library, Add. Ms. 21,809: f.101.

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