The historical ethnography of the Micmac of th sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Part 3

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CHAPTER III - MICMAC TRIBAL IDENTITY AND AFFILIATIONS

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Micmac Identity

When the French first attempted to colonize Nova Scotia, they found the country inhabited by a tribe of Indians whom they designated as the "Souriquois." In later times this term of reference fell into disuse, so that we now have the problem of correlating these early Indians with a more recent tribal group. Fortunately, we have for this purpose a relatively long Souriquois word-list from Lescarbot's Histoire de la Novvelle France (1914, pp. 114, 117-120). Comparing this vocabulary list with later ones from the Maritime Peninsula, we may establish beyond a doubt that the Souriquois were the ancestors of the modern Micmac Indians, who still live in the same area (see Ganong in Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 120-124, fn.). At the time of Champlain and Lescarbot the Souriquois or Micmac seem to have been occupying all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and most of New Brunswick north and east of the St. John river, including the southern section of the Gaspé Peninsula. At a slightly earlier date, this latter feature seems to have been in the hands of the St. Lawrence Iroquois (see fig. 5).

The Micmac language is a member of the Algonquian superstock of languages occupying the northeastern sections of North

America—i.e., the Labrador Peninsula (Canada east of Hudson Bay), New England and the Maritime Provinces, the Virginia tidewater areas, the Middle West—and possibly also the area to the west around the United States-Canadian boundary. Within this large grouping its more specific affiliations lie with the so-called Eastern Algonquian languages, comprising: Micmac, Malecite-Passamaquoddy, Penobscot-Abnaki-Pennacook, Nipmuck-Pocumtuck, Massachusett-Nauset-Wampanoag-Cowesit, Narragansett-Niantic, Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk-Quinnipiac-Unqwachog-Naugatuck, Mahican, Nanticoke-Conoy, Delaware, Powhatan, and Pamticough (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-189). Although not expressed explicitly in the literature, Micmac, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy may fall together into a somewhat larger unit than presented above—namely, as Micmac-Malecite-Passamaquoddy. We may conclude this from statements in the literature to the effect that (a), Micmac and Malecite are mutually intelligible, albeit with difficulty, and (b), that Passamaquoddy and Malecite are very similar and may be practically identical (Michelson, 1912, p. 289). Like Abnaki, Micmac shows a close relationship with the Central Algonquian languages (e.g., Fox and Menomini), in which respect these two languages are somewhat aberrant in the Eastern Algonquian category (Michelson, 1912, p. 289). Siebert has summed up the linguistic position of Micmac in the following words:

> ...In grammatical pattern Micmac approximates the other Northeastern languages, Arapaho-Atsina, and to a less degree Central Algonkian. Micmac would seem to form a definite sub-type by itself, at the same time

> fitting marginally into a loose Northeastern division, and showing relationships to a few languages in the west... (Siebert, 1940, p. 333).

The linguistic divisions and groupings listed in the foregoing paragraph are those recognized by the historians, ethnographers, and linguists of the 18th and 19th centuries. Although largely correct, they are in need of some revision and correction in special cases—these cases concern the identification of the tribes known to us as the Etechemin and the Kwĕdĕch.

According to the early sources (e.g., Biard, 1611; in JR., Vol. 2, p. 69; Biard, 1618; in JR., Vol. 2, pp. 205-207; Lescarbot, 1610; in JR., Vol. 1, pp. 71-73; and Champlain, 1613; in 1922, pp. 297, 299, 325), the Souriquois were bordered on the south by the tribe known as the Etechemin, a large and powerful group extending from the St. John river to Casco Bay in the present state of Maine. Opinions have varied greatly as to the affiliations of this group—some authors considering them as identical with the Abnaki, or with the Penobscot, or with the Malecite, or as being "an unknown group." Of all these speculations, the latter hits closest to the mark; all, however, suffer from the fault of ignoring the only body of information capable of resolving the problem. This information consists of two fragmentary Etechemin vocabularies dating from the very beginning of the 17th century.

The first is to be found in Lescarbot's Histoire de la Novvelle-France, and consists of the numbers from one to ten (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 114). The second is to be found only in Purchas' version of the Rosier account of George Waymouth's voyage to the Penobscot in 1605 (Purchas, 1625, Vol. 4, pp. 1659-1667). This vocabulary seems to have been collected from the group of Indians whose chief was known as "Bashabe" or "Bashabez," and this individual is well known from other sources (such as Champlain, Lescarbot, Biard, and Smith), as having been the chief of the natives living at the mouth of the Penobscot. Champlain provides us with the key to the identification, telling us in one passage that:

> ...the Indians, who had conducted me to the falls of Norumbega river [the Penobscot river], and who had gone to inform Bessabez their chief, and other Indians...;

and in another that:

> ...the tribe of Indians at Kennebec is called Etechemins, like those of Norumbega... (Champlain, 1613; 1922, pp. 293-294, 297).

We are thus enabled to conclude that the Waymouth vocabulary derives from an Etechemin group, and may take it, along with Lescarbot's list (which is specifically labeled) as being representative of the language spoken by the Etechemin Indians. The question which then arises is--how is this language

related to the other known Algonquian languages of the Maritime Peninsula?

A definitive answer to this question is at present not possible, for this Etechemin list has never been subjected to an adequate linguistic analysis. From a superficial examination, however, some points can be clarified. First, the Etechemin vocabulary does belong to the Northeastern group of the Algonquian languages; second, within this group, the affiliations of Etechemin fall more with the Micmac: Malecite-Passamaquoddy unit than with Abnaki, or with other units; third, a superficial examination of the list is not sufficient to allow us to decide between the following alternatives: (a), Etechemin is ancestral to the modern Malecite-Passamaquoddy languages, but shows many specific differences from these; and (b), Etechemin is not directly ancestral to the Malecite-Passamaquoddy languages (although it might have influenced the ancestor of these languages), but constitutes a previously unrecognized and now extinct member of the Indian languages of the Maritime Peninsula-New England region.

The Abnaki, with whom the Etechemin have often been confused, seem to have lived at the beginning of the 17th century in the interior valleys of the Kennebec and Riviere Liniere headwaters, where they practised agriculture and lived in fairly large villages. The seacoast below the Etechemin border (i.e., below Casco Bay) was occupied by a large ethnic unit known to the

French as the Armouchiquois (a term probably deriving from the Micmac, and to be transcribed as ALMOCIK^{W}OW) and including the Pennacook, the Massachusett, and the Wampanoag. All sources point to the fact that a constant state of war existed between those Almouchiquois and the Micmac and their allies (Biard, 1611; in JR., Vol. 2, p. 69; 1618; in JR., Vol. 2, pp. 205-207; Champlain, 1613; in 1922, p. 321; 1632; in 1936, pp. 43-45; Lescarbot, 1610; in JR., Vol. 1, pp. 71-73; 1618a; in 1914, p. 114; Smith, 1616; in Force, 1838, pp. 5-6, 15).

Around the year 1617 the coastal tribes of New England were ravaged by a series of epidemics introduced by European fishermen, and large sections of the coast were completely depopulated. According to Morton (1838, Vol. 2, pp. 18-19), who gives us the most complete account of this event:

> ...It fortuned some few yeares before the English came to inhabit at new Plimmouth in New England; that upon some distast given in the Massachusetts bay, by Frenchmen, then trading there with the Natives for beaver, they set upon the men, at such advantage, that they killed manie of them burned their shipp then riding at anchor by an Island there, now called Paddocks Island in memory of Leonard Peddock that landed there (where many wilde Inckies haunted that time which hee thought had bin tame), distributing them into 5. Sachems which were Lords of the severall territories

adjoyninge, they did keepe them so longe as they lived, one to sport themselves at them, and made these five Frenchmen fetch them wood and water, which is the generall work they require of a servant, one of these five men out livinge the rest had learned so much of their language, as to rebuke them for their bloody deede, saying that God would be angry with them for it; and that hee would in his displeasure would destroy them; but the Salvages (it seemes boasting of their strength,) replyed and say'd, that they were so many, that God could not kill them.

But contrary wise in short time after, the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortall stroake, that they died on heapes, as they lay in their houses and the living; that were able to shift for themselves would runne away, & let them dy, and let there Carkases ly above the ground without burial. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left alive, to tell what became of the rest, the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crowes, Kites, and Vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations, made such a spectacle that as I travailed in that Forrest, nere the Massachusetts, it seemed to mee a new found Golgatha...

This story of decimation is confirmed in several other sources, such as Higginson (1806, Vol. 1, p. 122), who tells us that "their subjects above twelve years since were swept away by a great and grievious plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabit the country..." Since Higginson wrote in 1629, this would date the plague at 1617. Of even greater interest to us, however, is the account deriving from Captain Thomas Dermer's visit to Monhegan (slightly up the coast from the mouth of the Kennebec) in 1619, in which he states that he "found some antient Plantations not long since populous, now utterly void." In other places he found "remnants, but not free from sicknesse" (Thornton, 1857, p. 163). From these references we may conclude that this plague of 1617 was general along the entire eastern New England coast, and that the Massachusetts (or Armouchiquois) and Etechemin tribes were largely exterminated by it. In John Smith's time the Tarentines or Micmac (see Siebert, 1941, p. 278) were separated from the New England tribes by the Etechemin; after 1617 this barrier or buffer does not seem to have been present, for Mourt tells us in his Relation or Journal... (1832, p. 57) that "the sachim, or governour of this place [the Plymouth area], is called Obatinewat, and though he live in the bottom of the Massachuset Bay, yet he is under Massasoyt. He used us very kindly, he told us, he durst not then remain in any settled place, for fear of the Tarentines..." Although the name Etechemin appears in use after 1617, considerable confusion is present concerning its

application, and we have no sure evidence that it is being applied to the direct descendants of the pre-1617 Etechemins.

The tribal distribution as we reconstruct it for the early historical period (i.e., pre-17th century) for the New England region is shown in figure 5a, while that for the following century appears in figure 5b. Because of the great decimation of population which took place in the early historical period, and because of the extensive changes in the tribal boundaries, we cannot validly combine the known distributions from these two centuries. Unfortunately, most maps of tribal distributions for this area attempt to do this very thing, and many misconceptions have arisen as the result of this combination of noncomparable materials.

The Micmac and the St. Lawrence Iroquois

One important question still remains to be discussed with respect to the early neighbors of the Micmac. The early historical sources frequently mention legends describing wars between the Micmacs and the "Iroquois." Le Clercq, for example, cites the story of an Indian woman who, "falsely alarmed, in common with the other Indians with whom she was encamped, and believing that the Iroquois had invaded the country in order to ravage for a third time the Gaspesian nation, she embarked with very much haste in her birch canoe, in order to cross the river, and, having abandoned it to the will of the current, she lost herself purposely in the woods in order to escape the fury of her enemies ..." (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 150). In the more recent ethnographic accounts we find similar tales; one very common one tells of a

Micmac maiden (or, in another version, two Malecite women) who was captured by a war party of Iroquois traveling down the St. John river to make war on the people living at its mouth, and was forced to act as a guide. In this capacity the maiden (or two women) saved her people by deliberately leading the war party over the Grand Falls of the St. John (Rand, 1894, p. 344). In his Histoire de Madawaska, Albert (1920, pp. 12-15) gives us a similar tale, and identifies the invaders as "Mohawks." We cannot ignore the persistent belief of the Micmac and Malecite that these ancient enemies were Iroquois, but for a number of reasons it is most unlikely that they were members of the tribe known in recent times as the Mohawks. The key to the problem is the material presented by Rand and by Cartier.

Rand's The Legends of the Micmac contains many legends of Micmac conflict with the Iroquois, which form a more or less complete history in two versions. In abstract these are as follows:

[First version]

In ancient times the Kwedeches and the Micmacs inhabited the same country, on terms of friendship and amity. But in time a quarrel arose; two boys, sons of the respective chieftans, quarrelled, and one killed the other. This was the beginning of a long series of conflicts, in which the Micmacs, being the more numerous, were usually victorious.

During those wars a celebrated chief arose among the Micmacs whose name was Ulgĭmoo, of whom many strange things are related. He drove the Kwĕdĕches out of the region on the south side of the Bay of Fundy, they having been compelled to cross the bay in their flight from the enemy; and he urged them on farther and farther towards the north, finally driving them up to Montreal.

The Kwĕdĕches having retired to Goesômaligeg [Fort Cumberland or Beauséjour], and from there to Tantama' or Tatamalg [Sackville, at the northern tip of Cumberland Basin], before their enemies, and thence on beyond Petgotgoiag or Petitcodiac River, Ulgĭmoo built a mound and fortification at the place now called Salisbury, on the Petitcodiac River. The mound still remains.

Ulgĭmoo lived to be a hundred and three years old; having died twice, and having come to life after having been dead all winter. He was a great magician, and shortly before he died for the last time defeated singlehanded a Kwĕdĕch war party of several hundred men.

[Second version]

On the two opposite banks of the Restigouche, near its mouth, were two towns,—one inhabited by Micmacs, and the other by the Kwĕdĕches. They were at peace with each other, and frequently attended each other's festivals.

On one occasion the Micmacs had attended a festival of the Kwĕdĕches; and while the children were engaged in some sort of game, a child of the Micmac party was killed. Nothing, however, was said about it at the time, and it was passed over as an accident. Not long afterwards, the Kwĕdĕches were invited to a feast by the Micmacs, and while they were playing boonadĭjik the Micmac boys took the occasion to kill two members of the other side. Nothing was said of the matter, however, and it was passed over as an accident; but the young folk laid it up in their hearts, and awaited an opportunity for revenge.

Spring came, and it was time for the annual salmon run. This year it was the turn of the Micmacs to exploit the first and best fishing ground, which was a considerable distance up the river. Fifty of the younger men therefore left, and prepared for their task. After they had gone the son of the Kwĕdĕch chief determined to exact vengeance on them. Collecting a band of warriors without the knowledge of his father or of the old men, he went upstream by land to ambush the fishing party.

At this time the Micmacs were spearing salmon by torchlight. Afterwards they came ashore and began preparing the fish for their suppers, to the accompaniment of much joking and laughing. Suddenly a shower of arrows came at them from all sides, and all of them were killed

except one old man named Tunel—who was a powwow or shaman. Although he had great supernatural power he had been surprised; otherwise he would not have been hurt. As it was, he was struck in the side by an arrow, and just managed to run to the river and plunge in. There he hid among the boulders on the river bottom, and since his magic power had returned, could stay there as long as he wanted. The Kwedeches hunted for him a long time, and eventually found where he was hiding, but they could not reach him with their spears. The next day he managed to elude them, and passed down the river to his village.

When the Micmacs learned of the massacre a meeting was held with the Kwedeches, and the demand was made that they retire from the place within three days or try the fortunes of war. Since the Micmac were much the stronger, the Kwedeches decided to withdraw, and immediately began preparations. Before they left, the chief of the Micmac made a farewell visit to the chief of the other tribe. "We will continue to be friends," he said. "You will once in a while think of the place you have left; and when there comes over me a lonely longing to see your face again, I will make you a visit; and when you wish it, you can come down and see us" [i.e., this is a declaration of war in ironic polite speech]. The whole village now departed, and went up by easy stages to Canada, travelling onward till winter, though with long intervals of rest.

They halted for the winter on the borders of a large lake. There a Micmac war party caught up with them, and in the ensuing battle most of the Kwĕdĕch warriors were killed.

Thirty or forty years later, when the children of the Kwĕdĕches had grown up into men and warriors, an attempt was made to avenge their defeat. A war party therefore left for the Micmac country in the winter, but at the Restigouche river it encountered a very old and powerful Micmac magician, who killed so many of them before surrendering that they decided to return home. The Kwĕdĕches tried to torture their prisoner, but his power was too much for them and they finally had to release him.

About a year later the Micmac magician or shaman decided to lead a war party against the Kwĕdĕches. He therefore went to the chief and told him that he was filled with a great longing to visit his friends who had treated him so kindly during his captivity among them. The council was immediately summoned, and the modest request of the shaman stated and debated. "Our comrade," said the chief, "hankers for a visit to his friends." They decided to gratify him. "How many men do you wish to accompany you?" they saked. "About thirty or forty," he replied. The request was soon filled, and the war

party began its journey to the Kwĕdĕch country. They took their canoes, and moved on at leisure,—going round by the open sea, and entering the St. Lawrence and thus proceeding up into Canada. The party stopped occasionally on their way to supply themselves with food by hunting. As they approached the enemy's country, they moved cautiously, and encamped for the last night on a high hill that overlooked the Kwĕdĕch village, which was located on a stream bottom just around a sudden bend in the river. From the noise in the village they ascertained that a war party had just returned from a successful attack on their tribe. Overcome with rage, the old shaman rushed into the ceremony, seized the scalps that were being danced over, and escaped. Recovering from their surprise, the Kwĕdĕches seized their arms and prepared for battle. The following morning the battle was joined and the Kwĕdĕches were defeated, but the Micmac returned home sadly diminished in numbers.

A long time later, the Kwĕdĕch again attempted to avenge their losses. One of their great war chiefs, known to the Micmac as Wŏhoowĕh, gathered together a party of some fifty warriors, who travelled by canoe to attack the inhabitants of the Miramichi region. Near Tabusintac, however, they were surprised by the Micmac chief Mĕjelăbegadăsich, who invited them to a formal trial of arms with his warriors, an invitation which they could not refuse. A duel between the two chiefs opened the trial, and the Kwĕdĕch chief was

killed; the remaining Kwĕdĕch warriors fought bravely for a while against great odds, but finally surrendered and made the peace which brought the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war to an end (Rand, 1894, pp. 294-297, 200-211, 216-218, 212-215).

The incidents of the Kwĕdĕch war as they appear in the legendary materials have an interesting localization. The boundary between the two tribes is pictured as once having been along the Restigouche river, with the Kwĕdĕch occupying the area to the north, including the Gaspé Peninsula. This is a most unusual location of "Mohawks," since the known area of residence of this tribe is some 600 miles to the southwest. The concept that the Kwĕdĕch were "Mohawk" or "Iroquois" is extremely persistent, however, and must be explained. The problem has been summed up by Ganong, who tells us that,

> ...although there are many traditions as to the incursions of the Mohawks (Iroquois) into the country of the Micmacs, there is not, so far as I can find, any actual historical record thereof. Several of these Micmac traditions are given by Rand in his Legends of the Micmacs, (169, 200, and elsewhere). It is sometimes stated that the Restigouche (e.g., by Rand, op. cit., 200) or according to others, the Nepisiguit (e.g., Cooney, in his History of Northern New Brunswick, 170) was at one time the boundary between Mohawks and Micmacs; and if Hale's theory turns out to be true, that the tribe which Cartier found at Gaspé were not Micmacs but Huron-

> Iroquois, then there may be some historical basis for this statement. There is a legend that the l'Isle au Massacre near Bic took its name from a massacre there of Micmacs by Iroquois. The fear which the Micmacs had of the Mohawks is mentioned several times in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites' edition, XXVIII. 37, XLV. 73), and even persists to this day... (Ganong, ~~in Le~~ Clercq, 1910, p. 150).

The association here made between the Kwédéches and the natives encountered by Cartier in Gaspé Bay in the course of his 1534 voyage is the key to the entire problem. It can be shown that these Indians were, in fact, Iroquois-speaking, although their language was not Mohawk or Huron and was probably distinct from the other known Iroquois tongues. Furthermore, Cartier's account gives us the impression that this was a group traveling in what they regarded as home territory and that they were not expecting attack, for, although inhabitants of the permanent village of Stadacona at the present site of Quebec, they objected when Cartier erected a cross on Gaspé Point, the chief,

> ...making a long harangue, making the sign of the cross with two of his fingers; and then he pointed to the land all around about, as if he wished to say that all this region belonged to him, and that we ought not to have set up this cross without his permission... (Cartier; in Biggar, 1924, p. 65),

Cartier's account also informs us that these natives had journeyed to Gaspé Bay for the express purpose of engaging in a mackerel fishery,

and formed a large group of some 300 men, women, and children. Other Cartier documents confirm the fact that these people derived from Stadacona; Thevet (1878, p. 401) adds the interesting information that these natives (of Stadacona) informed Cartier that "they descended the Great River from Chelogua [probably Hochelaga, at the present site of Montreal], in order to make war on those first seen [the Micmac of Chaleur Bay]..." The Iroquois chief of Stadacona, named Donnacona, told Cartier quite a little about their war with the Indians to the south and east, in fact, for we read that:

> ...Donnacona showed the Captain the scalps of five Indians, stretched on hoops like parchment, and told us they were Toudamans from the south, who waged war continually against his people. He informed us also that two years previously these Toudamans had come and attacked them in that very river, on an island which lies opposite to the Saguenay, where they were spending the night on their way to Honguedo [Gaspé], being on the war-path against the Toudamans with some two hundred men, women, and children, who were surprised when asleep in a fort they had thrown up, to which the Toudamans set fire round about and slew them all as they rushed out, except five who made their escape. Of this defeat they still continued to complain bitterly, making clear to us that they would have vengeance for the same... (Biggar, 1924, pp. 177-178).

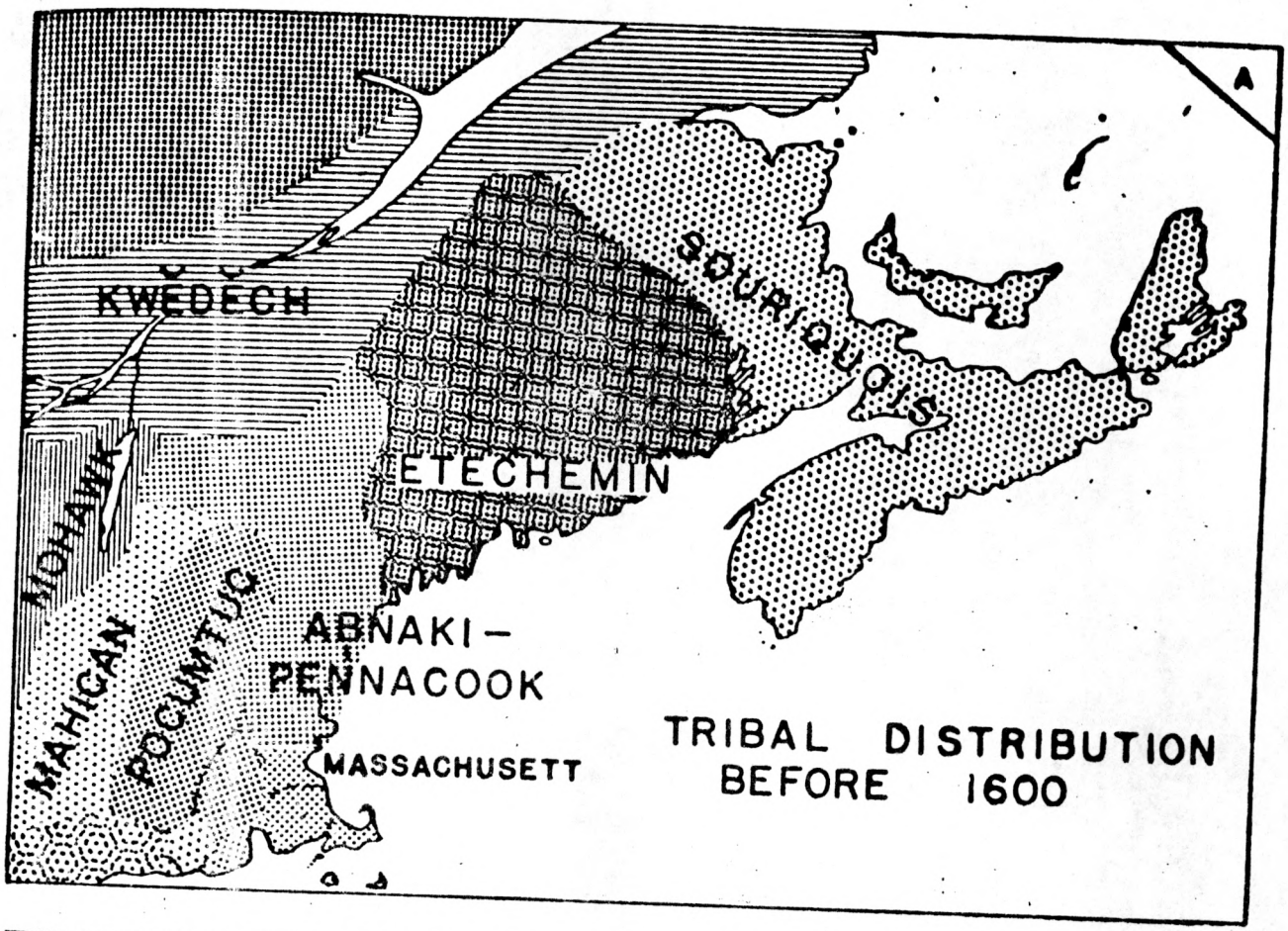
We thus find ourselves in possession of the following train of circumstantial evidence: (a) historical evidence that at the time of the Cartier voyages the St. Lawrence Iroquois of the Montreal-Quebec-Tadoussac region were engaged in an ancient war against southern Indians named by them Toudaman, and who they attacked on one occasion by proceeding down the St. Lawrence river to Gaspé Peninsula and then turning southward; (b) legendary but consistent materials from the Micmac of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the effect that they were once engaged in a bitter war with Iroquois Indians named by them Kwĕdĕch, that these Indians once had a village on the Restigouche, and that they later lived north of the Micmac on the St. Lawrence river. We here advance the hypothesis that the Kwĕdĕch are one and the same with the St. Lawrence Iroquois, that they once held the south bank of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to the Gaspé Peninsula, and that the name Toudaman at least includes the Micmac.

From the legendary material it is impossible for us to determine when the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war started, but we may guess that 1500 would not be too early. The situation is somewhat better with respect to the end of the war, for we have the following evidence: (a) the war was still in progress in 1535-1536; (b) the St. Lawrence Iroquois disappeared as a tribe by 1600; (c) the Micmac make no claim to be responsible for this disappearance, which is consistent with their legend that the war was resolved by a peace treaty, and with information pre-

sented to us by Lescarbot, to the effect that "some years ago the Iroquois assembled themselves to the number of eight thousand men, and discomfited all their enemies, whom they surprised in their enclosures"—these enemies being "the Algonquins, the people of Hochelaga, and others bordering upon the great river" (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 117, 268). Since French maps dating from c.1580 and deriving from traders in the Quebec region still show Hochelaga (the St. Lawrence Iroquois village at the present site of Montreal) we may reasonably conclude that it was still in existence at this time. The end of the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war may thus be placed sometime between 1535 and 1600; the fate of the Kwĕdĕch after their "discomfiture" at the hands of the Iroquois around this latter date is unknown, for no references after this date can be shown to actually refer to them.

In ancient times, therefore, the Micmac were bordered on the south and west by the Etechemin, and on the north by the Kwĕdĕch or Canadian Iroquois. After the great plague of 1617 a large section of the Etechemin country was completely depopulated and was reoccupied by Abnaki-speaking peoples moving in from the west, and by Micmac-speaking peoples moving in from the northeast. The Abnaki-speakers eventually coalesced into the Abnaki of the Kennebec drainage and the Penobscot drainage. Present linguistic knowledge is inadequate, however, for us to decide whether (a), the Etechemin-speakers survived to become the ancestors of the present day Malecite-Passamaquoddy-speakers, or whether (b),

Fig. 5. Tribal distributions in the Maritime Peninsula region before 1600 (Fig. 5a), and in 1700 (Fig. 5b). Ruling indicates Iroquois languages, and stippling Algonquian languages; in the latter category square dots designate undifferentiated northern Algonquian dialects and languages. Areas settled by the English are shown in solid black; those inhabited by the French by black dots. Kwe͡de͡ch occupation of the northern St. Lawrence shore has been carried only to the Saguenay, but may have extended farther east.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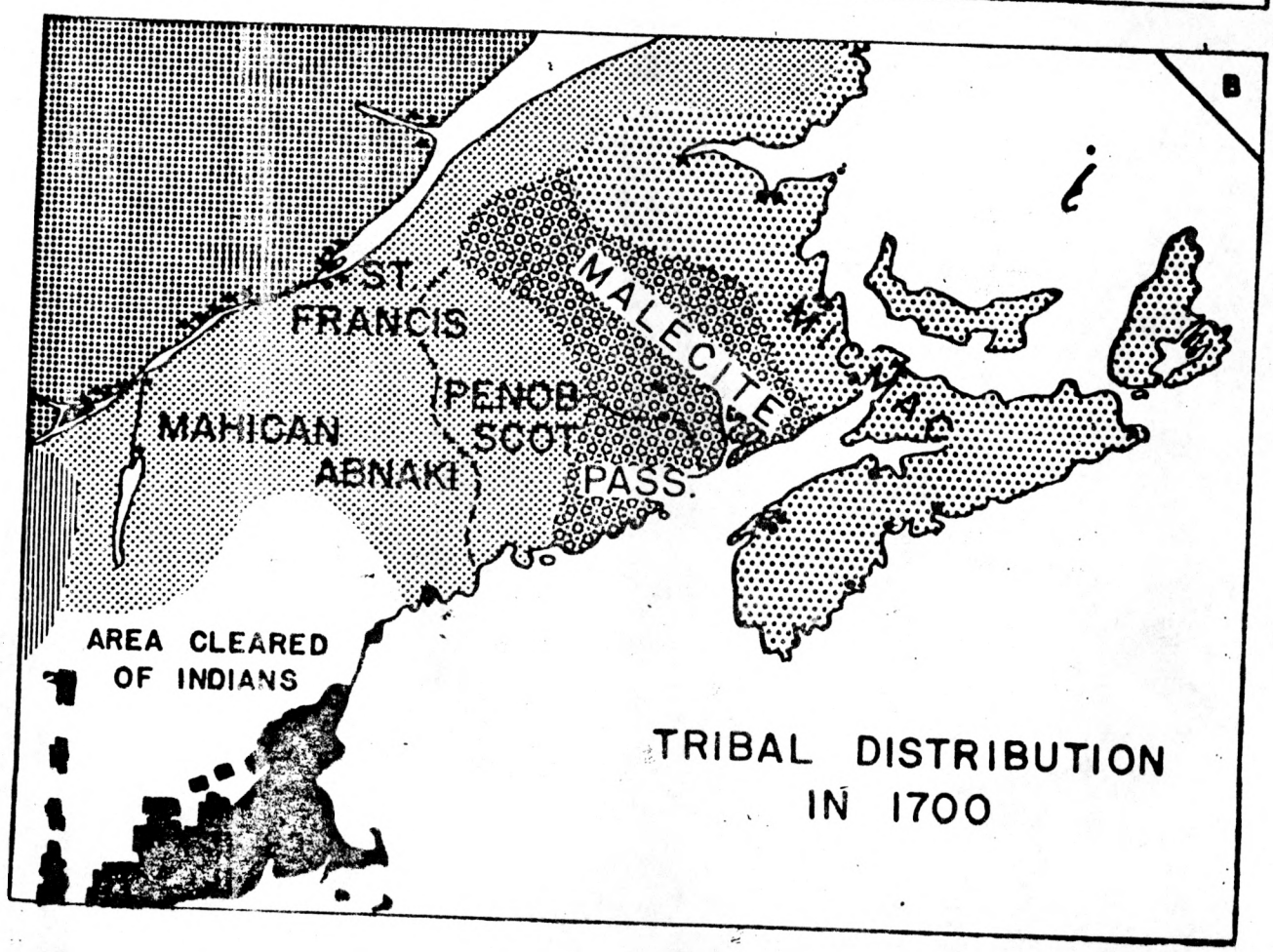
TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION
BEFORE 1600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IN 1700

the Etechemin-speakers became extinct, and the Micmac-speakers moving in from the north became the Malecite of the St. John drainage and the Passamaquoddies of the Passamaquoddy drainage. Bakstorm (1945) presents some material from different sources indicating that the Etechemin may still survive as the Malecite-Passamaquoddy. Does this explain the hostility - Mic Mac US Mal

As has already been intimated, the disappearance of the Canadian Iroquois or Kwedech seems to have occurred by 1600. After this date their territory in the vicinity of Quebec was occupied by Montagnais-speakers, while that near Montreal seems to have been left as a no-man's land between the Algonquian tribes of the St. Lawrence and the Iroquois tribes of New York State. While the Micmac occupied the southern part of the Gaspé Peninsula, the northern part seems to have been shared as a winter hunting ground with several other northern tribes. increase in territory

Another tribal group which played a large part in the war complex of the Micmac, and which also disappeared at an early date, were the so-called "Excommuniquois" or "Esquimeaux" who lived on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence east of Anticosti Island and possessed a kind of maritime and Arctic culture commonly associated with Eskimo-speaking peoples. According to the account given by the Jesuit priest Nicolas (1673, p. 1; in JR., Vol. 59, p. 57), at least part of these people spoke Montagnais, however. The Micmac, Montagnais, and Algonkins waged constant warfare against this group, and probably were largely responsible for its demise.