Chapter 4

The Beothuk, the Great Auk and the Newfoundland Wolf

Animal and Human Genocide in Canada's Easternmost Province

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Introduction: Interconnections

In 1937, the zoologists Glover M. Allen and Thomas Barbour published an article, 'The Newfoundland Wolf', that used the cranial measurements of wolf skulls held at the Museum of Comparative Zoology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to argue that the wolves of Newfoundland formed a distinct subspecies. The skulls entered the museum collection in June 1865, provided by the trapper J.M. Nelson. He furnished the institution with two complete skeletons and two additional skulls. Their Newfoundland provenance is noted in the museum's acquisitions catalogue, but, as Allen and Barbour observe, '[n]o additional particulars are given'.[1] It is unknown where it was in Newfoundland that Nelson killed the wolves, or precisely when.

Much of Allen and Barbour's article is taken up with issues of nomenclature. The trinomial they propose for the island subspecies is *Canis lupus beothicus*, chosen to honour the 'the now extinct aborigines of Newfoundland, the Beothuks [*sic*]'.[2] Allen and Barbour also considered the Newfoundland Wolf extinct, remarking: 'At the present time the Newfoundland Wolf is probably quite gone'.[3] Additionally, they reflect on the paucity of information available about the animal: 'There is little recorded concerning the Newfoundland Wolf'.[4] Much of the historical information they are able to provide simply records killings of wolves, including accounts of slayings of individual wolves in 1894 and 1911. Both these

reports of wolf killings have been identified as potentially referring to a wolf that William Whiteway shot.

In either 1894 or 1911, Whiteway killed a wolf on Gaff Topsail, a tor located north-east of Hind's Lake in Newfoundland's interior.[5] That the region including the topsails was a home to wolves is reinforced by the presence of a body of water called Wolf Pond to the south of Gaff Topsail.[6] The wolf Whiteway shot was subsequently skinned, with the skin fashioned into a rug that was probably used as a wall hanging. In 1952, Whiteway's rug was sold by his brother, Herbert, to the naturalist Leslie Tuck, who was acting on behalf of the Newfoundland Natural History Society.[7] In 1958, the skin was loaned to the National Museum in Ottawa. There, at the request of the society, it was transformed into a mount. The wolf was returned to Newfoundland in 1980. The mount is now exhibited alongside the wolf's skull at The Rooms museum in St John's, the provincial capital of Newfoundland and Labrador (Illustration 4.1).

The area where Whiteway killed the wolf includes varied terrain; the topsails are an open, barren and rocky environment, whereas the vicinity of Hind's Lake is forested. Hind's Lake, which seems to take its name from the numerous caribou in the area, forms one of several lakes in close

Illustration 4.1 Newfoundland Wolf (*Canis lupus beothucus*), skull from the 'Whiteway' wolf skin. Newfoundland, Gaff Topsails, 1894. NFM MA-8. The Rooms Corporation of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. © Nicholas Chare.

proximity. These include Buchans Lake and Red Indian Lake. Buchans Lake and a river that links it to Red Indian Lake are both named after Lieutenant David Buchan, a naval officer who made several expeditions to Newfoundland's interior in the early nineteenth century.[8] Red Indian Lake derives its toponym from a Beothuk community that used to winter on its shores. The Beothuk, a First Nations people, smeared their bodies (and their possessions) with red ochre, a practice that led some European settler colonists to refer to them as Red Indians.[9] The lake undoubtedly had a Beothuk name, but what that was is unknown. A small stream that runs into the lake is named Shanawdithit Brook.[10] In his *Geography of Newfoundland*, James Howley explains that the brook takes its name from 'Shawnadithit [*sic*], [a] Red Indian Woman [who] lived several years in St John's, and became quite civilized'.[11]

Shanawdithit, who died in 1829, was claimed by some to be the last of the Beothuk. She was captured by furriers at Badger Bay on the east coast in April 1823. Red Indian Lake was part of her community's territory. Nowadays, Shanawdithit is well known for the drawings she produced while held captive. Many were made with the encouragement of William Eppes (also Epps) Cormack, an entrepreneur and explorer who took considerable interest in the Beothuk and intended to publish a history about them. Several drawings feature the lake, and one portrays Badger Bay and its environs. The majority of Shanawdithit's extant works are now housed at The Rooms.[12] Reproductions of details from some of these are shown on panels in the main exhibition space, close to the alcove where the Newfoundland wolf is displayed. The upper section of a drawing titled by the museum as 'The Taking of Demasduit' but by Cormack as 'The Taking of Mary March' (Mary March was the European name given to Shanawdithit's aunt, Demasduit), appears as part of an information panel titled 'Last of the Beothuk'.

Reproductions of some of the drawings are also accessible in drawers that form part of a display dedicated to Shanawdithit. One of these represents David Buchan carrying the coffin containing Demasduit back to Red Indian Lake. In his description of this work in *The Beothucks or Red Indians*, James Howley observes that a 'very interesting new feature on this sketch is a black dotted line, on the same side reaching a long way up the lake to a cove which would seem to represent the mouth of Shanawdithit Brook'.[13] Here Shanawdithit is credited with noting a geographical feature which certainly did not possess her name while she was alive. If the brook possessed a Beothuk name, she would have known it and it was that which she drew. Through identifying the name of the feature as hers, Howley nominally takes her land from her.

Howley's prejudicial descriptions can be read as being on a continuum with Cormack's practice of overwriting Shanawdithit's drawings with par-

tial explanations. Fiona Polack, who provides a pioneering close analysis of the drawings, reads these glosses as sensitive additions on Cormack's part, carefully positioned so as not to impinge on Shanawdithit's pictures.[14] She views him as often operating in complicity with the Beothuk artist, affirming her worldview. In 1824, Cormack published a report of his 1822 expedition to Newfoundland's interior of the island in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. A foldout map in the journal includes a rudimentary rendering of 'Red Indian's [*sic*] Lake'. Writing of the 'Red Indians', Cormack notes that they 'are not numerous' and that he 'discovered no traces of them'.[15] In the same issue of the journal, the Revered John Fleming published his 'Gleanings of Natural History, during a Voyage along the Coast of Scotland in 1821', in which he recalls observing a great auk (*Alca impennis*) that had been captured off St Kilda, an archipelago on the western edge of Scotland.[16] The great auk was one of the seabirds that sustained the island economy, their eggs and flesh being an important source of food until the nineteenth century, by which time the breeding colony had disappeared. Solitary auks were still occasionally encountered in St Kilda in the early nineteenth century. The last recorded great auk in the area was caught circa 1840 on the island of Stac-an-Armin and killed shortly afterwards for fear the bird was bewitched.[17]

On the other side of the Atlantic, the Beothuk were also historically known to consume eggs of the great auk. They gathered these from Funk Island, a small isle about 60 km from the Newfoundland mainland, and other locations.[18] As Ingvar Svanberg notes, the auk was 'harvested by . . . the Beothuks [*sic*] without any effect on the colony'.[19] Arrowheads and a paddle were found on the island at a spot now named Indian gulch.[20] The eggs were probably used in soups and sausages.[21] Joseph Banks mentions a pudding made of 'Eggs & Dears hair' that was baked in the sun.[22] One of the drawings that Shanawdithit made while staying with Cormack, known as *Sketch VII*, depicts different cooking and storage utensils and foodstuffs (Illustration 4.2). Some of the inked explanations for various objects were initially penned by Cormack with the drawing upside down and were subsequently crossed out. Cormack was clearly unable to orient himself with ease in the Beothuk world. A sack made of sealskin and a seal stomach stuffed with intestines are portrayed criss-crossed by sanguine (the pigment probably derives from red ochre). Cormack has traced over the sack's pencil outlines with ink, simultaneously accentuating and obscuring Shanawdithit's drawing.[23] There are also vessels made of birch rind used in the cooking and drying of eggs.

By the time Shanawdithit made her sketch, the great auk colony on Funk Island had been destroyed by rapacious Europeans seeking the bird's feathers and the Beothuk no longer occupied eastern coastal areas. Their

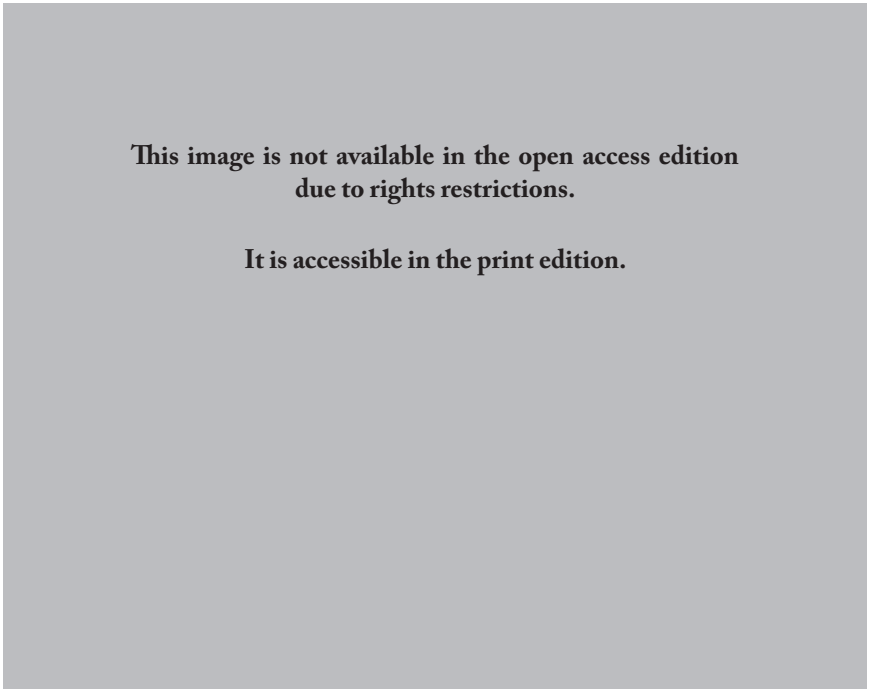

Illustration 4.2 Shanawdithit, *Sketch VII*: 'Different Kinds of Animal Food', 1828. VIIIA-561. The Rooms Corporation of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.

last known effort to visit Funk Island was on 30 July 1792, roughly a decade before Shanawdithit's birth. That attempt was abandoned when the Beothuk were shot at by John McDonald, who was heading to the island to gather eggs for himself.[24] William Montevecchi and Leslie Tuck note that Shanawdithit furnished Beothuk names for many of the bird species of Newfoundland but not for the great auk; cut off from the sea and access to breeding colonies, the auk was, perhaps, no longer part of the Beothuk world by the time Shanawdithit was abducted. Montevecchi and Tuck suggest that '[t]he Great Auks, like the Beothuks, were abused by some early settlers, and the birds and natives became extinct at about the same time'.[25] The Rooms displays a great auk skeleton a short distance from the Beothuk exhibits, victims of what I will suggest are animal and human genocide therefore appearing almost side by side. The auk skeleton is assembled from bones collected from Funk Island, potentially from birds bludgeoned to death for their feathers. Its label makes no reference to the recorded atrocities perpetrated at Funk. Similarly, the label for the Newfoundland wolf avoids mentioning the bounty scheme that was instituted against the animal.[26]

The great auk and the Newfoundland wolf are now extinct and although people with Beothuk lineage are alive today the genocidal violence perpetrated against the people clearly had a devastating effect on their culture. In this chapter, I will examine these three instances of genocide in their singularity and consider the role played by negative representations in enabling such violence.

Genocide against the Beothuk in Newfoundland

The Beothuk were continually subject to random acts of violence like the 1792 attack. Robert Jameson's footnote to Cormack's account of his voyage to the interior recalls that Lord Bathurst had told him of the Beothuk that 'there was reason to believe that our people had put them to death without sufficient provocation'.[27] Place names that were once in use in Newfoundland, such as Bloody Bay and Bloody Point, registered massacres of the Beothuk by Europeans.[28] The massacre at Bloody Reach, a stretch of land forming part of the inner reaches of Bonavista Bay, took place in about 1800 and reportedly involved 'three or four hundred Beothuks [being] driven onto a long point of land near their favourite sealing site and being shot down like deer'.[29] The comparison of the killing with that of non-human animals is not isolated. Arthur Grenke, for instance, suggests the colonists who usurped Beothuk lands, like those who violently annexed Yana territory in mid-nineteenth-century California, 'slaughtered Natives as if they were animals'.[30] Like the Yana, the Beothuk were gradually forced from their traditional fishing grounds and thus denied access to the salmon that was an important part of their diet. Writing in 1770, George Cartwright links his fear of the Beothuk becoming 'totally extinct in a few years' with their lack of access to salmon and the pillaging by colonists of bird eggs from surrounding islands.[31] Mass killings and individual murders, coupled with diminishing territory and access to essential resources, contributed to the Beothuk's decline and the disappearance of their culture.

Adam Jones lists the Beothuk among his examples of 'Genocides of Indigenous Peoples', suggesting that they were 'hounded to complete extinction'.[32] The extinction of an entire people is unnecessary for there to be genocide.[33] As the Shoah, which is often taken as paradigmatic, demonstrates, the intent to destroy coupled with the substantial destruction of a given group is sufficient for genocide to occur. Genocide is often defined as state-sponsored violence designed to exterminate a group based on their ethnicity or religion. As Jones notes, however, in settler colonial contexts 'non-state actors may play a dominant role'.[34] He recognizes that genocidal violence towards Indigenous peoples is frequently characterized by 'a large

number of relatively small massacres [that are] not necessarily centrally directed [and] generally separated from each other spatially and temporally'.[35] In this context, there are some parallels between, for example, the genocide perpetrated against Indigenous groups in lutruwita/Tasmania and that perpetrated in Newfoundland.

Both Newfoundland and lutruwita had regional governments which paid lip service to safeguarding the lives of their Indigenous populations yet failed to intervene in any meaningful way to prevent wholesale violence against them. In his thoughtful analysis of genocide in lutruwita, Tom Lawson brings to the fore contradictory messages transmitted by the island's regional government, which at once called for kindness or forbearance towards Indigenous people and sanctioned the use of force against them in order to drive them from seized land.[36]

Drawing on Colin Tatz's research into how some Australian genocides occurred unsupported (materially speaking) by government and state, Lawson signals how genocide in lutruwita was, at least initially, perpetrated by individual settlers. The situation in Newfoundland has similarities to 'private genocide' of the kind Tatz identifies. Tatz foregrounds the role of what he terms 'private settlers' in the perpetration of Australian genocides.[37] These actions were uncoordinated by the colonial government (although they may indirectly have benefitted the government).[38] For Tatz, colonial authorities were initially complicit as bystanders because they failed to intervene when massacres were taking place and then took a more active role in punitive expeditions. Lawson outlines just such a situation in lutruwita, where the regional government outwardly decried settler violence against Indigenous groups while benefiting from its effects (through extended territorial control) before a shift in rhetoric and the mobilization of troops provided the framework through which the 'exterminatory desires' of individual settlers could be channelled.[39]

In Newfoundland, the situation was different. In the eighteenth century, several proclamations were issued calling for an end to violence between settlers and Indigenous groups. Governor John Byron proclaimed on 8 July 1769 that those guilty of murdering 'native Indians' should be sent for trial in England for their capital crimes. On 15 July 1772, Governor Molyneaux Shuldham sent an order against the 'barbarous murders committed on the natives' to Robert Carter, a justice of the peace in Ferryland on the Avalon Peninsula.[40] Governor John Campbell issued a proclamation on 14 September 1785 condemning the murders of Beothuk in the north of Newfoundland and calling on civil and military officers to bring those responsible to justice. On 16 October 1786, the succeeding governor, Rear Admiral John Elliott (also Elliot), issued another proclamation that berated settlers for having behaved inhumanely to the 'Native Indians' (the

Beothuk) and for killing them. Echoing Byron nearly twenty years previously, Elliott stated that anyone caught committing such crimes would be sent to England for trial. Shortly after his arrival in St John's, Governor William Waldegrave issued another proclamation.

Waldegrave subsequently wrote a letter to the Duke of Portland on 25 October 1797 noting the proclamation and inviting the duke to judge 'whether some serious steps ought not to be undertaken, in order to save from destruction the sad remains of this unhappy persecuted race of people'.[41] He clearly knew proclamations did little to deter violence against the Beothuk.[42] Their ineffectiveness was also recognized by the magistrate John Bland. In a letter to John Rance dated 16 August 1797, which appears motivated by Waldegrave's proclamation, Bland mentioned government efforts to legislate against violence towards the Indigenous population in terms that reveal he felt it was no more than empty rhetoric:

> Proclamations unless accompanied with some strong measure it is to be apprehended will operate to no salutary purpose upon a class of men who regard the Indian as fair game, and who destroy him with no more remorse than they shoot a deer. A repugnance to touch the life of a fellow creature would hardly appear to be an original principle in our northern hunters. . . . It is to be feared . . . that without the interference and aid of Government, no plan that humanity or local knowledge can devise will be likely to succeed.[43]

From correspondence such as this, it is clear that there were government calls for restraint yet these were ineffectual and their inadequacy was well known. There were, however, no military campaigns mounted against the Beothuk, despite the low-level resistance they engaged in towards their colonial oppressors.[44] They were not actively pursued by the state but instead abandoned to their fate at the hands of individual settlers. Cormack blamed the regional administration for the fate of the Beothuk, writing to Bishop John Inglis that '[i]t is a melancholy reflection that our Local Government has been such that under it the extirpation of a whole Tribe of primitive [*sic*] fellow creatures has taken place'.[45]

In a letter dated 1 September 1797, John Bland wrote at length to the governor, William Waldegrave**,** concerning the Beothuk. Towards the end of the missive, he opines:

> It ought to be remembered that these savages have a natural right to this island, and every invasion of a natural right is a violation of the principles of justice. They have been progressively driven from South to North, and though their removal had been produced by a slow and silent operation [it has had] all the effect of violent compulsion. In proportion as their means of procuring subsistence became narrowed their population must

> necessarily have decreased and before the lapse of another century, the English nation, like the Spanish may have affixed to its character the indelible reproach of having extirpated a whole race of people![46]

Here, Bland clearly recognizes that denial of resources was tantamount to murder. In piecemeal fashion, European settlers annexed land and undermined the Beothuk means of survival. Genocide therefore involved both low-level killings of individuals and small groups, and the slow yet steady theft of Beothuk land and its accompanying resources. Both these actions were recognized as contributing to the group's destruction. Forced to retreat to Newfoundland's interior, the Beothuk lost access to valuable coastal resources, including, as already mentioned, Funk Island.

One of Shanawdithit's drawings, *Sketch V*, gives graphic expression to the regular atrocities being perpetrated against the Beothuk (Illustration 4.3).[47] It depicts the murder of a Beothuk woman by a party of settler colonists, including John Peyton Senior. Cormack has written on the drawing in ink: 'Showing that the murder of them was going on in 1816c'. If

Illustration 4.3 Shanawdithit, *Sketch V*, 'Killing of a Beothuk Woman at the Exploits River. Showing That the Murder of Them Was Going on in 1816c', 1829. VIIIA-559. The Rooms Corporation of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.

Cormack's numbering of the series of drawings is taken to be accurate, this is the last of the overtly historical drawings produced by Shanawdithit. It is dated in ink '1829', but this has been crossed out in pencil. In it Shanawdithit attests to an event that Cormack would probably have known nothing about if she had not volunteered the account. This makes the work different to the first three historical drawings, which show what were well-known encounters between the Beothuk and Europeans (and were therefore feasibly made at Cormack's prompting), and to the fourth drawing, which is a kind of graphic population census. *Sketch V*, which carefully records physical features of this stretch of the Exploits River, identifies where the woman was murdered. A pencilled letter 'A' marks the spot.[48] In crime scene sketches, a genre of drawing that emerged later in the nineteenth century, letters would often be used to indicate the place were a murder victim was discovered.[49] Shanawdithit's drawing renders the murdered woman as a red circle scored by horizontal lines. As red was a spiritually significant colour for the Beothuk, the use of sanguine embodies continuing devotion to Beothuk beliefs while also potentially connoting bloodshed. Other red lines trace the lines of flight of fellow Beothuk, probably including Shanawdithit herself.

The drawing is necessarily schematized to provide clarity regarding the events that transpired, the movements and actions of those concerned. Topography is nevertheless carefully recorded. On one level, this offers Shanawdithit a means by which to return virtually to her homeland: drawing the riverbank involves a kind of revisiting of the place. On another, the precision also renders this compelling evidence of a crime, providing important locational specifics. It is clear Shanawdithit also named the murderer, with Cormack noting 'Old Mr Peyton' killed the woman.[50] As John Peyton Senior may still have been alive when the visual testimony was produced (he died sometime in 1829), the sketch can be viewed as a holding to account. More than this, however, the drawing provides a visible affirmation of survival. *Sketch V* is a survivor account of genocide. As her hand traces the woman's tragic death, Shanawdithit simultaneously signals the continuing existence of the Beothuk. Although identified as a 'doomed race', Shanawdithit's drawings as a whole provide a living history of the Beothuk and a reassertion of their culture.[51]

Animal Genocide in Newfoundland

John Maunder initially attributed the disappearance of the Newfoundland wolf to a bounty scheme instituted by the colonial government. He therefore saw a direct correlation between the targeted killing of specific

animals for their membership of a group and their extinction. Maunder does not refer to the bounty scheme as animal genocide but others such as Barry Lopez have described the broader treatment of Turtle Island/North America's lupine population in terms that imply genocide. Lopez, for instance, titles a chapter of *Of Wolves and Men* that discusses wolf bounty schemes 'An American Pogrom'. In the chapter, he refers to the poisoning of wolves in the period 1875 to 1895 as having generated a holocaust.[52] The loaded terms 'holocaust' and 'pogrom' clearly invite comparison between the eradication of wolves and the destruction of Europe's Jews by the Nazis. Without saying as much, Lopez is strongly implying that what occurred to Turtle Island/North America's wolves (including, by implication, those of Newfoundland) was genocide. Other authors, such as Lynn Jacobs, have directly referred to the campaigns of extermination waged against Turtle Island/North America's wolves as genocide.[53] The persecution of the American bison (*Bison bison*) has been referred to in similar terms. Tasha Hubbard, whose work I will return to, makes the argument that 'the slaughter of the buffalo constitutes an act of genocide'.[54]

Maunder, however, revised his opinion about what caused the extinction of Newfoundland's wolves, blaming their disappearance predominantly on a severe decline in caribou numbers between 1915 and 1925.[55] He believes that the relatively small number of bounty claims discount it as a key factor in rendering the wolf extinct. He does not factor in the large number of wolves potentially intentionally killed yet with no bounty being claimed. If poison, for example, was employed (a common practice) then the corpses of dead wolves may never have been recovered. That there was historically regular use of poisons such as strychnine in Newfoundland is strongly suggested by repeated efforts in the 1880s to introduce legislation designed to control their sale.[56] This legislation was not motivated by any desire to protect wolves. Its aim was to safeguard the fur trade and animals of the chase. The effects of wanton use of substances such as strychnine was nonetheless clearly recognized. Dr Crowdy, a member of the legislative council, spoke in support of the bill. A summary of his speech records that

> apart from the danger of indiscriminate and unintelligent use of poisonous drugs, and apart also from the inducement of obtaining by such powerful weapons of offence the fur of wild animals, [Crowdy] was doubtful whether on economic grounds we have a right to encourage the killing of animals by such painful means. Strychnine is an exceedingly bitter and disagreeable substance, and animals often taking it in insufficient quantity do not die immediately but take to the water or their coverts, dying a most painful death, the result being that a large proportion of them are heartlessly destroyed and the fur is lost.[57]

It is probable that wolves were targeted in multiple ways, including shooting and poisoning. Even if the extinction of the wolf cannot be attributed with certainty to the campaign of annihilation waged against it, it still provides a clear example of animal genocide. As previously discussed, genocides do not have to cause the total destruction of a given group to be so named.

The great auk was not subject to systematic efforts aimed at the bird's destruction. Auks were instead 'overharvested', wantonly slaughtered. In his 1794 journal, Aaron Thomas provides a graphic account of this slaughter. He describes men plucking the best feathers from living birds and then releasing them: 'with [their] Skin half naked and torn off, to perish at [their] *leasure*'.[58] Thomas also states that auks were burned alive as fuel.[59] The mass killings of the auk that were carried out without knowingly endangering the species cannot be categorized as genocidal. It is clear, however, that a point was reached when it was recognized that such killings were compromising the bird's future existence. At this moment, which precedes Thomas's account, mass murder morphed into genocide. Writing in his journal in July 1785, George Cartwright noted that the auk colony at Funk Island was imperilled:

> [I]t has been customary of late years for several crews of men to live all the summer on that island, for the sole purpose of killing birds for the sake of their feathers; the destruction which they have made is incredible. If a stop is not soon put to that practice, the whole breed will be diminished to almost nothing, particularly the penguins; for this is now the only island they have left to breed upon; all others lying so near the shores of Newfoundland, they are continually robbed.[60]

In response to concerns such as those voiced by Cartwright, efforts were made to limit egg harvesting on the island. The secretary Aaron Graham issued a proclamation on behalf of Governor John Campbell on 28 October 1784 forbidding the destruction of birds on Funk Island solely for the procurement of their feathers.[61] Birds could only be killed with written permission from a magistrate. The next governor, John Elliott, continued Campbell's efforts. On 4 August 1786, he authorized the high sheriff, Nicholas Lechmere, to seize parcels of feathers and barrels of birds sourced from Funk. The next day he also authorized the justices of the peace of Harbour Grace and Trinity to use whatever means necessary to identify those responsible for killing birds on Funk for their feathers.[62] On 20 August, the governor communicated with the justices of the peace of St John's to advise them that a number of men had been caught, by Captain Pellew of HMS Winchelsea, destroying birds on Funk. The feathers of the birds they had slaughtered were seized and the men were being brought to St John's to face justice.

On 4 September 1792, Governor Richard King issued another broader proclamation condemning the killing of birds on the shores of Newfoundland or the islands adjacent to it (such as Funk) purely for their feathers. King recognized the value of seabirds as fishing bait and as food. He also suggested that 'they are useful in Fogs by warning vessels that they are near Land'.[63] Six men were found guilty of defying King's proclamation and were sentenced to a public whipping.[64] Their names and the details of their punishment were also posted across the districts of the island. Notwithstanding this instance of punishment, killing for feathers clearly continued. In 1810, Governor John Thomas Duckworth issued another proclamation, which noted the failure of the preceding ones to act as a deterrent against 'persons who are known to frequent the Penguin Islands for the express purpose of destroying them, and often merely on account of their feathers'.[65] Duckworth outlawed the killing of the penguins (great auks) and the taking of their eggs for any purpose – a sign of their great rarity.

Atrocities perpetrated against the great auks of Funk Island have been disavowed or downplayed in recent scholarship. Errol Fuller notes that the veracity of accounts such as that of Thomas are questioned nowadays.[66] Montevecchi and Tuck, for example, discount Thomas's testimony as rampant exaggeration.[67] Why they come to this conclusion is unclear, given that humans have historically behaved in similarly barbaric ways to each other.[68] The persecution of the Beothuk by John Peyton Senior, for instance, led John Bland to write that '[t]he stories told of this man would shock humanity to relate and for the sake of humanity it is to be wished are not true'.[69] Bland's fear that if the stories were reliable they would be a stain on humanity, explains his reluctance to credit them.

Suffering and Genocide

Genocide is far less frequently used as a term to describe the intent to exterminate groups of animals, be they species, subspecies or local populations. The best-known employment of the term 'animal genocide' is probably Jacques Derrida's in *L'animal que donc je suis* [The animal that therefore I am/The animal that I therefore follow]. The idea is also discussed in an earlier work involving Derrida, *De quoi demain*. . . . This text forms a series of conversations with Élisabeth Roudinesco, one of which is about violence against animals.[70] Derrida links slaughterhouses with genocide but advises Roudinesco that he is hesitant to use the term because of its inevitable associations with the Holocaust. He recalls being told indignantly by a member of an American Jewish university audience that he knew what

genocide was and it was not, by implication, the killing of animals. Derrida therefore proffers the word only to take it back (‘*retirons le mot*’).[71] Yet after withdrawing the word, he once more reaffirms its validity: ‘But you see what I am talking about’.[72] As a Sephardic Jew, Derrida was painfully aware of the Shoah and its legacy. His refusal to abandon genocide as a suitable term to refer to aspects of animal cruelty therefore merits serious reflection.

By the time *L’animal que donc je suis* was published, Derrida was clearly no longer undecided about the term. He makes unambiguous reference to animal genocides, noting that ‘the number of species on their way to disappearing because of Man takes the breath away’.[73] He then indicates what animal genocide means to him: ‘[T]he annihilation of species is certainly at work but by way of the installation and exploitation of a diabolical, almost interminable, artificial survival, they are eradicated through their survival and their overcrowding even, enduring conditions that people of the past would have judged as monstrous and outside all assumed norms of fair life’.[74] This conception of genocide, destruction through a lifeless life, is not one generally associated with the term. Derrida, however, asks his audience to imagine the Nazis artificially inseminating and overbreeding homosexuals, Jews, Roma and Sinti before then subjecting them to the same forced experimentation and modes of murder they actually endured.[75] In this understanding, animals suffer the same fate as occurred in the human genocide that was the Holocaust, only by a more circuitous route. There is terminological slippage here, however, as genocide as it is usually interpreted aims at the total destruction of a group rather than a perpetual preservation accompanied by regular mass killing. Mass killing might, in fact, be a better term for the situation Derrida describes.

For Derrida, the human and the animal cannot readily be divided, to do so is fatal.[76] In this sense, when he refers to ‘animal genocide’ he is not speaking of a category of genocide distinct from human genocide. To accept the animal in the human is to accept that genocide is always already implicated with the question of the animal. Coming from a different perspective, Hubbard also challenges the human–animal divide associated with Cartesian thought. Hubbard emphasizes that in an Indigenous paradigm the concept of people can include ‘other-than-human animals’.[77] She notes that ‘animals-as-people’ are found throughout Indigenous epistemologies. Bison were viewed as people by some First Nations peoples. Hubbard argues that as ‘humans do not hold exclusive title to personhood’, they also do not hold exclusive title to genocide. Although she predominantly engages with the fate of the buffalo or bison, Hubbard also suggests that wolves provide another example of genocide.[78]

Neither Derrida nor Hubbard make reference to what could be termed the canonical literature on genocide. This is understandable, given that the

standard literature is written from a largely Euro-Western and anthropocentric perspective and, although highly varied in outlook, views genocide as a solely human issue. Derrida and Hubbard nonetheless seem to share Raphael Lemkin's belief that genocide is characterized by group persecution. Lemkin suggests that '[g]enocide is merely a comprehensive term for the most violent manifestation of intergroup conflict'.[79] Both humans and animals are sometimes conceived as groups. In the life sciences, animal groupings are primarily based on morphology. Non-scientific grouping of animals often attends to form in a more restricted sense, focusing on external physical appearance, grouping individuals that look the same. Animals are also sometimes described as living in 'social groups'. Shared cultural characteristics have been attributed to some such social groupings in a move that potentially accords non-human animals something like ethnicity.[80] Although non-human animals may not themselves possess a concept equivalent to that of the group (a recognition that they are part of the assemblage of more than one related entity, or a recognition that they are perceiving such an assemblage), it is clear that humans regularly impose groupings on them; and animal genocide, the singling out of a specific group of animals for extermination, is bound up with such acts.

Despite both humans and non-human animals being grouped, there is a clear reticence to see these groupings as of the same order. This reticence may be linked to fears that extending genocide to animals somehow diminishes the horrors of human genocide. Such a perspective is anthropocentric but understandable. Yet even from within an anthropocentric perspective, there should be space for animal genocide to exist alongside human genocide. Human genocides are usually studied in ways that respect their singularity. As James Hatley observes in the context of a discussion of the violence of genocide, each genocide commands a 'unique responsibility' and 'makes a particular claim for our attention that is incomparable with all other claims'.[81] Hatley goes on to suggest that in confronting an act of genocide, 'our first duty is not to classify and compare but simply to respond'.[82] This response involves, first and foremost, attentiveness to another's suffering.[83] Acknowledging animal genocide is to recognize and respond to an event of suffering, to instances of pain, terror and death. For Derrida, the fact that animals suffer cannot be doubted. The resultant compassion that such suffering generates can be disavowed but never done away with.[84] This suffering does not surpass or displace human suffering. As Matthew Calarco notes during a discussion of Derrida's reflections regarding animal and human genocide, 'the very difficult task for thought . . . is to bear the burden of thinking through both kinds of suffering in their respective singularity *and* to notice relevant similarities and parallel logics at work where they exist'.[85]

Conclusion: Images and Enmity

There do seem to be parallel logics at work in relation to the animal and human genocides perpetrated in Newfoundland. These logics relate to how the Beothuk and the Newfoundland wolf were represented within settler colonial culture. Both were the target of violence because of behaviours attributed to them. The Beothuk were viewed as robbers with 'their petty thefts … regarded by their invaders as crimes of the darkest dye, quite sufficient to justify the unsparing use of the strong arm for their extermination'.[86] Moses Harvey's description, while retrospective, gives insight into how settler colonists constructed a negative image of the Beothuk as evil and iniquitous and then used this as a means to justify violence against them. He states that the Beothuk were regarded as 'vermin'.[87] This descriptor, suggesting the Beothuk were akin to a nuisance animal, positions them as similar in settler colonist eyes to the Newfoundland wolf. The great auk, by contrast, was not labelled as troublesome although the species did suffer from deleterious depictions, often being judged 'clumsy' and 'stupid'. This perceived lack of grace and intellect may have helped cultivate indifference to the bird's fate, yet it would not have led to their active persecution.

Negative constructions of the wolf are common. In *Newfoundland in 1842*, for example, Richard Bonnycastle refers to the destructiveness of the wolves, writing in a footnote that the wolf 'grows very large, is frequently traced near the capital, and does much injury to cattle; a price is put by the legislature on its head'.[88] Much of the destruction attributed to wolves may have actually been caused by wild dogs. Problems with wild dogs were long-standing on the island. On 22 September 1784, for instance, the colonial secretary Aaron Graham issued a proclamation on behalf of Governor John Campbell that permitted the inhabitants of the north shore of Conception Bay on the south-east coast to kill any dogs that attacked cattle or destroyed fish.[89] Wolves were also blamed for the abduction of a child. In the winter of 1838, a wolf thought to be a child-killer was slain in the vicinity of St John's and then displayed: 'It was kept for some time at a house, and a charge of sixpence made from every person who went to view it'.[90] As the boy disappeared without trace, attributing his fate to wolves is conjecture; yet it reveals much about how the animals were viewed. Wolves were also frequently given human attributes such as a desire for retribution. Thomas writes that 'the Wolf is a revengefull [*sic*] Animal'.[91] The psychological characteristics accorded to wolves in the popular imaginary were primarily negative: they were vengeful, vicious and wanton.[92]

In his discussion of genocide and mass killing, Erwin Staub notes that 'authorities have great power to define reality and shape the people's perception of the victims'.[93] Often, however, the shaping of perception is

more insidious, difficult to trace back to a specific group or organization. In Newfoundland, negative perceptions of the Beothuk and of wolves emerged in and through everyday discourse. There were campaigns against the Beothuk and the wolves by particular individuals and groups of stakeholders, yet a more diffuse negativity fuelled by rumour also operated and manifested itself culturally. Staub additionally emphasizes the role of culture in constructing 'shared explanations and images of the world, shared values and goals, a shared symbolic environment'.[94] He suggests that sources such as 'art and literature' contribute to creating the cultural characteristics that make group violence possible.[95] In the case of the Beothuk and the Newfoundland wolf, however, it was primarily through popular verbal representation, word of mouth, that negative images were developed and disseminated.

These negative images worked to devalue the Beothuk and the Newfoundland wolf in the eyes of settler colonists. They contributed to the ingroup–outgroup differentiation that Staub identifies as potentially preparative for the perpetration of violence. For Staub, '[d]evaluation makes mistreatment likely'.[96] The use of derogatory terms can create antagonism and help to lay the psychological groundwork for genocide. The linking of wolves with cattle and sheep losses indicates a process of scapegoating. Hardships become more readily comprehensible when a clear cause is identified. As Staub explains, '[f]inding a scapegoat makes people believe their problems can be predicted and controlled; and it eliminates one's own responsibility, thereby diminishing guilt and enhancing self-esteem'.[97] Scapegoating as a process of devaluation of an outgroup also enhances the value of the ingroup. Staub only considers violence in a human context, but his reference to the figure of the scapegoat already implies animals have historically formed a convenient outgroup.[98]

Processes of devaluation reduce humans and animals to the status of objects rather than beings 'with feelings and suffering like our own'.[99] Verbal representations contributed to this objectification, an objectification that facilitated genocide. In the case of the Newfoundland wolf, genocide contributed to extinction. For this reason, animal genocide should be considered a historical extinction driver. The two-volume supplement to *Grizmek's Animal Life Encyclopedia* that is dedicated to extinction lists various anthropogenic extinction drivers.[100] Genocide, however, is not one of them. In the case of the Newfoundland wolf and other animals such as the Falkland Islands wolf (*Dusicyon australis*) and the thylacine (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) it should be. The genocide perpetrated against the wolves of Newfoundland was aided by negative representations of the species. Their fate therefore also draws attention to the prospective role of representation in animal extinctions and, potentially, in their prevention.

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Notes

1. Allen and Barbour, 'Newfoundland Wolf', 229. The ledger entry manifests several revisions. The remains were initially simply identified in black ink as *Canis lupus*; this was subsequently corrected in what looks to be a different hand to *Canis occidentalis* and then, finally, in pencil in another hand, to *Canis lupus beothucus*. A similar process of renaming occurs in the entry for the skin of a wolf from Newfoundland donated to the museum by the Reverend Elwood Worcester on 20 October 1932. The name is listed as *Canis lupus beothucus* but the *lupus* is written across a patch of correction fluid and the *beothucus* is in a different, less slanting hand. Worcester recalled killing the wolf in about 1896. The geolocation for the origin of the remains (listed initially in ink in the ledger as just 'Newfoundland', then on 21 June 1985, in pencil, as from north of Grand Lake) is now considered by the curatorial assistant John Mewherter (5 August 2020) to be a wooded area north of Adie's Pond and the farming community of Cormack (named after William Eppes Cormack).
2. Allen and Barbour, 'Newfoundland Wolf', 230.
3. Ibid., 234.
4. Ibid., 233.
5. Both dates have been given for the killing of the wolf. John Maunder, an authority on the wolf, accepts the date of 1894 yet claims the taxidermist who prepared the rug was William Henry Ewing, even though Ewing's taxidermy business was not founded until 1896. A possible explanation is that Ewing accepted occasional taxidermy commissions while working as a cordwainer. For a discussion of Ewing's career as a taxidermist, see Anonymous, 'William H. Ewing'.
6. A newspaper report from 1906 mentions a pack of six wolves in the Topsails following migrating 'deer' (caribou) northward. The reporter ends by noting: 'The Government would do well to have these ferocious animals destroyed' ('A Pack of Wolves', *Evening Telegram*, 30 March 1906, 4). For an examination of caribou migration in the region of Buchans Plateau and the Topsails, see Mahoney and Schaefer, 'Long-Term Changes'.

7. For a comprehensive history of the wolf skin, see Maunder's 1982 article 'The Newfoundland Wolf'. A revised version (1991) of this article is available on the website of The Rooms: https://www.therooms.ca/the-newfoundland-wolf-0.
8. Buchans Plateau (known as Area 62 of Newfoundland's Caribou Management Areas), which encompasses terrain including Buchans Lake, Cormacks Lake (named in honour of William Eppes Cormack) and Red Indian Lake, is also named after the lieutenant.
9. As John Cartwright explains in 'An Account of the Red Indians of Newfoundland': 'The epithet of red is given to these [illegible] of indians from their universal practice of colouring their garments, their canoes, bows, arrows, and every other utensil belonging to them with red oker' (Cartwright, 'An Account of the Red Indians of Newfoundland', unpaginated handwritten manuscript, Rare Books Collection, A.C. Hunter Library, St John's, Newfoundland 971.6 C24). I am grateful to John Griffin for sharing his insights regarding this manuscript. Part of Cartwright's account was published in Howley's *The Beothucks or Red Indians*, where the passage just cited is inaccurately transcribed. Writing about 150 years earlier, Richard Whitbourne also refers to the 'natives' having 'great store of red Oaker, which they use to colour their Bodies, Bowes and Arrowes, and Cannowes withal', unpaginated (but would be 72).
10. The brook was mentioned repeatedly by Kevin Parsons in his contribution to a debate on the repatriation of the remains of the Beothuk couple Demasduit and Nonosbawsut from Scotland to Newfoundland. For Parsons, the brook's name can potentially serve as a reminder of the Beothuk people, although he admits he was ignorant of its origins for many years. See Hansard Forty-Eighth General Assembly of Newfoundland and Labrador 158:12 (2016): 544–45.
11. Howley, *Geography of Newfoundland*, 23.
12. The precise number of drawings by Shanawdithit that survive is open to debate. For further discussion of the drawings and their attributions, see Chare, 'Shanawdithit's Drawings', 92.
13. Howley, *The Beothucks or Red Indians*, 243.
14. Polack, 'Reading Shanawdithit's Drawings', unpaginated.
15. Cormack, 'Account of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland', 161.
16. Fleming, 'Gleanings of a Natural History, during a Voyage along the Coast of Scotland.'
17. See Harvie-Brown and Buckley, *A Vertebrate Fauna of the Outer Hebrides*, 159.
18. For a summary of Beothuk great auk hunting and egg collecting, see Kristensen, 'Bird Hunting and Egg Collecting', 19.
19. Svanberg, 'The Great Auk', 311.
20. Birkhead, *Great Auk Islands*, 87.
21. In his 1620 *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land*, Richard Whitbourne mentions hearing of pots full of hardened egg yolks (of which species of bird is unknown) that were used by the Beothuk in broth. Pagination of Whitbourne's book stops at 69. The discussion of Beothuk cuisine occurs in a subsequent unpaginated conclusion on what would be page 72. John Cartwright refers to eggs in general as being used to make cakes (which were baked in the sun) and as an ingredient in 'a sort of pudding'. Cartwright, 'An Account of the Red Indians', unpaginated.
22. Banks states that eggs for the pudding were sourced from 'as far as fung [Funk] or Penguin Island'. Banks, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland*, 132.
23. Both the ink and the ochre are emotive materials. Iron gall ink was introduced to Turtle Island/North America by Europeans and is a settler colonial technology, one employed here to seek to control visual significance. For Shanawdithit, red ochre was culturally expressive. During a discussion about the 'colour of art history', students in my 2021

course *Écrire l'histoire de l'art* suggested that writing about Shanawdithit in the settler medium of black ink raises ethical issues given her preference for using sanguine when representing family and kin and that using red ink would therefore be preferable.
24. Pulling, *Reports and Letters*, 120.
25. Montevecchi and Tuck, *Newfoundland Birds*, 42.
26. The label makes reference to 'hunting' as a contributing factor to the wolf's extinction but not to systematic efforts at eradication.
27. Cormack, 'Account of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland', 156.
28. Howley describes Bloody Point as being near Hant's Harbour, but his reference to their being four hundred Beothuk massacred at the location means it is probably another name for Bloody Reach, which is quite close by.
29. Grenke, *God, Greed and Genocide*, 173.
30. Ibid., 170.
31. Cartwright, *Journal of Transactions and Events*, Volume I, 7.
32. Jones, *Genocide*, 188.
33. There are people with Beothuk ancestry alive in Newfoundland (and elsewhere) today. Fresh research in genetics and oral history has demonstrated that destruction was not total.
34. Jones, *Genocide*, 29. Recently, Sidney Harring has examined the central role of 'civilians' in the genocide against the Beothuk. See Harring, '"Shooting a Black Duck"', 63–66.
35. Ibid., 33.
36. Lawson, *The Last Man*, 48.
37. Tatz, 'Genocide in Australia', 23.
38. Lawson's observation that clearly demarcating where state-sponsored actions end and individual actions begin is often fraught with difficulty, is important in this context. See Lawson, *The Last Man*, 19.
39. Ibid., 49.
40. 'Orders and Proclamations', Colonial Secretary's Letter Book Volume 5 (1771–1774), GN2/1/A, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 19–21.
41. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 07, 1797 (Correspondence, incoming and outgoing, between the Colonial Office and the Governor's Office in Newfoundland), Memorial University of Newfoundland, 337.
42. In a letter dated 5 September 1797, the magistrate D'Ewes Coke had observed to Waldegrave that all proclamations (not solely those related to the Beothuk) lacked legal strength.
43. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 06, 1797 (see Note 40 above), 178–79.
44. The Beothuk were regularly accused of theft and destruction of settler property.
45. Letter from William Cormack to John Inglis, 26 October 1828. 06.09.005 COLL-262. William Epps Cormack Papers in the Howley Family Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland. In a passage that he subsequently excised, Cormack then goes on to discuss the specific attitude of the government towards the recently founded Boeothick Institution and the underlying humaneness of most government representatives.
46. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 07, 1797 (see Note 40 above), 31.
47. For a detailed analysis of this drawing, see Chare, 'In Her Hands', 292–94.
48. All text in the drawings is usually attributed to Cormack but I believe that, occasionally, isolated individual letters may have been added by Shanawdithit. Cormack, or others before him, may have taught her the alphabet and the beginnings of how to write.

49. See Daniel, 'Découverte du crime et besoins de l'enquête'.
50. The presence of two others is added by Cormack as an after thought, suggesting the key information was Peyton's culpability.
51. For an in-depth analysis of the discourse of 'doomed races' as it related to Turtle Island/North America, see Chapter 3 of Brantlinger's *Dark Vanishings*. For a discussion of Sketch VI, for instance, as the assertion of a living Beothuk culture, see Chare, 'In Her Hands', 295.
52. Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men*, 180.
53. Jacobs, *Waste of the West*, 270. Looking beyond a purely Turtle Island/North American context, Carla Frecerro also notes that '[f]or a long time humans have intended genocide for wolves'. Frecerro, 'A Race of Wolves', 116.
54. Hubbard, 'Buffalo Genocide', 293. I am grateful to Valérie Bienvenue for bringing this text to my attention.
55. Maunder, 'The Newfoundland Wolf', Revised version (1991), unpaginated. See Note 7.
56. In this period, there was an unsuccessful effort by George Skelton to propose legislation to regulate the sale of poison.
57. 'Second Reading of Bill to Control and Regulate the Sale and Use of Poisons', *Evening Telegram*, 22 April 1886, 3–4.
58. Emphasis in the original. Thomas, *The Newfoundland Journals*, 27.
59. Ibid. The artist Walton Ford gives powerful visual expression to the animal genocide perpetrated against the great auk in his 1998 painting *Funk Island*, which portrays numerous auks surging into an inferno. The painting is analysed at length in Merola, 'Assembling the Archive'.
60. Cartwright, *Journal of Transactions and Events*, Volume III, 55.
61. For a discussion of punishments meted out for the theft of eggs from Funk Island, see Post, 'Newfoundland, Reeveland', 179–82.
62. 'Orders and Proclamations', Colonial Secretary's Letter Book Volume 11 (1785–1789), GN2/1/A, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 16–18.
63. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 04, 1789–1792 (see Note 40 above), 203.
64. The men were Joseph Barber, Daniel Coffee, Richard Fitzgerald, Michael Lines, Edward Shea and John Shea. See D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 04, 1789–1792 (see Note 40 above), 249–50.
65. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 20, 1810 (see Note 40 above), 248.
66. Fuller, *The Great Auk*, 66–68.
67. Montevecchi and Tuck, *Newfoundland Birds*, 147.
68. See, for instance, Chapter 6 of Chare and Williams, *The Auschwitz Sonderkommando*.
69. D'Alberti Papers, Vol. 07, 1797 (see Note 40 above), 27.
70. I am grateful to Tom Tyler for providing me with a copy of this text.
71. Derrida and Roudinesco, *De quoi demain. . .* , 122.
72. Ibid.
73. Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis*, 46.
74. Ibid., 47.
75. Ibid.
76. See Turner's discussion of Derrida's thinking regarding the 'animal question' in her 'Introduction' to *The Animal Question in Deconstruction*, 2.
77. Hubbard, 'Buffalo Genocide', 294.
78. Ibid., 302.
79. Lemkin, *Lemkin on Genocide*, 35.
80. See, for example, Whitehead's observations regarding sperm whale cultures in *Sperm Whales*, 286–315.

81. Hatley, *Suffering Witness*, 2.
82. Ibid.
83. Hatley, *Suffering Witness*, 3.
84. Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis*, 50.
85. Calarco, 'Thinking through Animals', 10.
86. Harvey, 'Memoirs of an Extinct Race', 504.
87. Ibid., 505.
88. Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842: Volume 1*, 224–25.
89. 'Orders and Proclamations', Colonial Secretary's Letter Book Volume 10 (1783–1785), GN2/1/A, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 78–79.
90. Tocque, *Wandering Thoughts, or Solitary Hours*, 112.
91. Thomas, *The Newfoundland Journals*, 131.
92. Philip Tocque, however, praises wolves for their affection towards each other. See *Wandering Thoughts, or Solitary Hours*, 115.
93. Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 19.
94. Ibid., 51.
95. Ibid., 52.
96. Ibid., 60.
97. Ibid., 48.
98. For a brief discussion of the historical role of goats as scapegoats, see DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 312–13.
99. Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 62.
100. MacLeod, *Grizmek's Animal Life Encyclopedia*.

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