



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

**ENCOUNTERS WITH TALL SAILS AND
TALL TALES: MI'KMAQ SOCIETY, 1500-1760**

**William C. Wicken
Department of History
McGill University
Montréal**

February 1994

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Ph.D.**

**@ William C. Wicken
1994**



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA TO REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA DE REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-00145-8

Canada

Encounters with tall sails and tall tales:
Mi'kmaq society, 1500-1760

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history of the Mi'kmaq people inhabiting Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia) and Unimaki (Cape Breton Island) from before contact to 1760. While contact precipitated change in Mi'kmaq society, the process was gradual, the result of the particular historical circumstances in which interactions between the two societies evolved. In the late seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaq established an alliance with the French Crown, made possible by previous social and economic relationships between Mi'kmaq families and French traders, fishermen and settlers. As European settlement increased and imperial rivalry in North America intensified in the eighteenth century, tensions emerged in the alliance, revealing the cultural differences between the Mi'kmaq and France's subjects. The thesis demonstrates that economic and political factors were more important than national identity in influencing the texture of Mi'kmaq-European relations.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine l'histoire du peuple Mi'kmaq habitant Kmitkinag (la Nouvelle-Ecosse) et Unimaki (l'île du Cap-Breton) depuis avant la venue des Européens jusqu'à 1760. Les contacts avec ces derniers accélérèrent les changements sociaux mais la modification se fit graduellement, au gré des circonstances historiques spécifiques qui marquèrent les relations entre les deux sociétés. Vers la fin du XVIIe siècle, les Mi'kmaq formèrent une alliance avec la France, alliance longuement préparée par les relations sociales et économiques entre les familles Mi'kmaq et les commerçants, pêcheurs et colons français. Au XVIIIe siècle, à mesure qu'augmentaient les établissements européens et que les rivalités impériales en Amérique du Nord s'intensifiaient, des tensions révélant les différences culturelles entre les Mi'kmaq et les sujets du roi vinrent troubler cette alliance. La thèse démontre que la qualité des relations entre Mi'kmaq et Européens dépendait davantage de facteurs économiques et politiques que de l'identité nationale des peuples en présence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	i
List of Tables	iii
List of Maps.....	v
Abbreviations.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Mi'kma'ki: The People and Their Environment.....	21
1. Territory.....	22
a) Atlantic Coast.....	25
b) Triassic Lowlands.....	30
c) Atlantic Interior.....	34
d) Avalon Uplands.....	36
e) Carboniferous Lowlands.....	37
2. Ecology.....	40
a) Vegetation Communities.....	43
b) Waterfowl.....	50
c) Terrestrial Mammals.....	51
d) Fish.....	55
e) Marine Mammals.....	60
3. Subsistence.....	61
4. Material Culture.....	77
Chapter Two: Mi'kmaq Village Life, 1605-1760.....	89
1. Settlement.....	91
a) A general overview of Mi'kmaq villages identified by Europeans, 1607-1735.....	91
b) A breakdown of Mi'kmaq villages.....	97
2. Society.....	115
a) Households.....	116
b) Young Adulthood.....	117
c) Division of Labour.....	119
d) Marriage.....	122
3. Political Organization.....	128
a) Local Leadership.....	128
b) Grand Council.....	134
c) Political Alliances.....	138
d) Enemies.....	142

4. Culture.....	151
a) Transmitting Information.....	151
b) The Animate World.....	152
c) The Human World.....	155
 Chapter Three: Trade and Disease From Earliest Contact to 1760.....	 160
1. The Mi'kmaq before Contact.....	160
2. The European Fishery.....	164
3. Mi'kmaq Trade with the Europeans.....	170
4. European Diseases Among the Mi'kmaq.....	184
a) The pre-1611 period.....	185
b) Disease 1611-1760.....	197
 Chapter Four: Settlement and the Fisheries, 1605-1760.....	 206
1. Settlement.....	209
a) Early Settlement 1605-1654.....	210
b) Expansion of Acadian Settlements, 1654-1755.....	214
2. Acadian Agriculture and Society.....	221
3. Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations.....	227
a) The Land.....	228
b) Social Relations.....	233
c) Politics.....	241
4. Eastern Coast Settlements.....	244
a) Settlement.....	245
b) Economy and Society.....	248
c) Relations with the Mi'kmaq.....	252
5. New England Fishermen.....	256
a) Description of the Fishery.....	257
b) Relations with the Mi'kmaq.....	263
 Chapter Five: The Fur Trade in Acadia 1605-1744.....	 273
1. The Early Phase, 1605-1654.....	274
a) Development of the Trade.....	274
b) Relations with the Mi'kmaq.....	278
2. New England's Intervention, 1654-1710.....	283
a) Development of the Trade.....	283
b) Relations with Mi'kmaq.....	286

3. The Later Period Phase, 1710-1760.....	292
Chapter Six: Missionaries in Mi'kma'ki, 1611-1760	309
1. Description of the Missions.....	312
a) 1610-1661.....	312
b) The Middle Period 1661-1714.....	322
c) The Later Period, 1715-1760.....	330
2. The Spiritual Mission.....	346
3. The Political Mission.....	357
Chapter Seven: Government 1670-1760.....	375
1. French Government in Mi'kma'ki.....	377
a) Acadia 1670-1710.....	377
b) 1710-1758.....	382
2. Mi'kmaq-French Alliance.....	385
a) Perceptions.....	386
b) The role of intermediaries in the alliance.....	390
c) Gifts and Ceremonials.....	396
3. English Government in Mi'kma'ki.....	411
a) Nova Scotia 1710-1760.....	412
b) Perceptions.....	418
c) The search for intermediaries.....	419
4. Mi'kmaq Treaties with the English Crown.....	422
Conclusion.....	440
Maps.....	447
Bibliography.....	455

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a truism that the writing of history is not simply the enterprise of one individual. In researching and writing this thesis, I have been reminded constantly of my dependence upon the knowledge and assistance of others.

In Nova Scotia, I have been assisted by a number of individuals. Specifically, Jackie Logan and the Gorsebrook Institute at Saint Mary's University, provided me with a quiet place to work during the final stages of the thesis. Gillian Allen proof read the last version of this thesis and her constructive comments helped in cleaning up the manuscript. I was also fortunate to have had the advice of scholars who shared with me their ideas on Mi'kmaq history and culture. In particular, I owe thanks to Stephen Davis, Ruth Holmes Whitehead and John Reid. To Harold McGee, I owe much more, as he not only shared his own ideas with me, but also graciously allowed my family to inhabit his house for two concurrent summers, so that I might be able to do research at the Public Archives.

I have benefitted from the expert advice of a number of archivists both in Canada and the United States, at the National Archives of Canada, the Archives du Séminaire de Québec, the Archives nationales de Québec à Rimouski, the Public Archives of New Brunswick, the New Brunswick Museum, the Massachusetts State Archives and the Massachusetts Historical Society. My greatest debt lies with the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia whose interest in their own work has been an inspiration during the

course of my research. In particular, I would like to thank Julie Morris, John McLeod, Barry Cahill and Lois Yorke.

Robert Sweeny and Peter Orr both provided timely advice and a willingness to listen to my ideas at a crucial period in the construction of this thesis. I thank them for their time and interest.

Very early on in my research, I was also fortunate to encounter individuals from the Mi'kmaq community whose research long preceded my own. Specifically, I would like to thank Kevin Christmas, Alex Denny, Eleanor Johnson, Donald Julien and John Joe Sark. To Sa'kej Henderson I owe special thanks for his constructive criticisms.

At McGill, I have benefitted over the years from the knowledge of Pierre Boulle, Ella Laffey, Stephen Randall and John H. Thompson. In the Anthropology Department, Toby Morantz spent long hours trying to teach me the rudiments of anthropological theory and then helped guide me through the sometimes tortuous process of thesis writing. In the History Department, Professor Louise Dechêne has generously shared her time and knowledge. She has helped me both to conceptualize the past and to establish standards of scholarship which will act as a guide in my future work. This thesis has benefitted immeasurably from her exacting and constructive criticisms.

As a family, Jane, Keelin, Marcus and I have survived. To them who have borne the most, for the ir retrievable times that have been lost, I can finally say, in Marcus' words, "I done."

LIST OF TABLES

1.1	Atlantic Coast Mean Temperatures in Degrees Celsius, 1950-1980.....	26
1.2	Triassic Lowlands Mean Temperatures in Degrees Celsius, 1950-1980.....	31
1.3	Atlantic Interior Mean Temperatures in Degrees Celsius, 1950-1980.....	35
1.4	Carboniferous Lowlands Mean Temperatures in Degrees Celsius, 1950-1980.....	38
2.1	Mi'kmaq Settlements and Population Figures According to Map and Census Data, 1600-1735.....	96
2.2	Possible Maximum Age at Marriage for Mi'kmaq Men and Women, 1708.....	125
2.3	Patterns of Residency in Relation to Birthplace Port Royal, Cap Sable and La Hève.....	127
2.4	Mi'kmaq Sakamows 1722 and 1726.....	130
2.5	Warriors Promised by Mi'kmaq Leaders Compared to Total Adult Male Population, August 1776.....	147
4.1	Acadian Population Inhabiting the Bay of Fundy, 1671, 1686, 1703 and 1737.....	216
4.2	Roman Catholic Priests Ministering the Acadians, 1664-1756.....	225
4.3	Population of Eastern Coast Communities in Nova Scotia According to 1671, 1687-88 & 1708 Censuses and 1748 Estimates.....	246
4.4	Children Baptized Along the Eastern Coast of Nova Scotia, July and September, 1705.....	251
4.5	Vessels Entering Canceau Arranged According to Last Port of Call, 1723, 1724 and 1726.....	261
4.6	Fishing Vessels and Sack Ships at Canceau, 1729-1742.	262
5.1	Vessels Departing For Kmitkinag from La Rochelle, 1632-1650.....	277
5.2	Cargo of Vessels Returning from Port of Boston from Port Royal, 1718-1719.....	294
5.3	Acadian Boats Entering Louisbourg Divided Relative to Tonnage, 1740, 1742-43.....	298
5.4	Names of Captains or Masters and Tonnage of Their Vessels Entering Louisbourg, 1740-1743.....	299
5.5	Cargo Entering Louisbourg from Nova Scotia 1740, 1742 and 1743.....	303
6.1	Jesuit Missionaries in Mi'kma'ki, 1611-1661.....	314
6.2	Récollet Missionaries in Mi'kma'ki, 1619-1645.....	316

6.3	Capucin Missionaries Present in Mi'kma'ki, 1640-41 and 1652-54.....	319
6.4	Monies Spent on Missionaries Lodgings in Louisbourg, 1735-1744.....	341
6.5	Baptismals, Marriages and Sepultures Administered by Parish Priests to Mi'kmaq People According to Extant Registers, 1681-1755.....	345
6.6	Interval Between Birth and Baptism Among Mi'kmaq Recorded in Saint-Jean Baptiste Parish 1725-1735 and Ile Saint-Jean, 1722-1755.....	354
7.1	Presents Allotted by the French Crown to the Penobscot and Kennebec Abenakis, 1698.....	400
7.2	List of Presents Requested by Governor of Ile Royale to be Distributed to the Mi'kmaq, 1731-1742	402
7.3	Food Given to Mi'kmaq by French Government at Ile Royale, 1732-1743.....	410

LIST OF MAPS
(Following page 446)

- Map 1 Contemporary Map of the Atlantic Region
- Map 2 Weather Stations in Nova Scotia, 1980
- Map 3 Principal Bays and Harbours of Nova Scotia
- Map 4 Principal Settlements in Mi'kma'ki, 1744
- Map 5 Principal River Systems of Mi'kma'ki 1600-1760
- Map 6 Mi'kmaq Political Districts
- Map 7 Principal Mi'kmaq Settlements in Kmitkinag
and Unimaki, 1600-1760
- Map 8 Principal European Forts in Mi'kma'ki 1690-1755

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AC - Archives des colonies
AD - Archives départementale, La Rochelle
AN - Archives nationales, Paris, France
ASQ - Archives du Séminaire de Québec
BRH - Bulletin des recherches historiques
CMNF - Collection de manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger.
CO - Colonial Office Papers
DCB - Dictionary of Canadian Biography
DHM - Documentary History of the State of Maine
JR - Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents
MSA - Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts
NAC - National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
PANS - Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax
PRO - Public Record Office, London, England.
RAC - Report of the Canadian Archives

INTRODUCTION

The name which the Mi'kmaq use to describe themselves is not Mi'kmaq but Inu'k which means "the People." Mi'kmaq actually means "my kin-relations" and may have come into use after the European invasion.¹ Perhaps, the word was used among Europeans because when an Inu'k individual was asked who else was with him, his response would have been, "These are my relatives, nogomaq."²

Europeans rarely described the Mi'kmaq individuals they encountered. Most written descriptions of the Mi'kmaq date from the early seventeenth century. In 1583, after a voyage along the eastern coast of Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia), the Norman trader Etienne Bellenger wrote that the Mi'kmaq "weare their hayre hanging down long before and behynde as lowe as their Navells."³ Richard Guthry, who accompanied the 1629 Scottish attempt to found a colony at Port Royal, noted that they had long black hair but added that their bodies

¹. Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Stories from the Six Worlds: Micmac Legends (Halifax 1988), p. 1.

². Stephen Augustine, Presentation to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Big Cove, New Brunswick, 20 Oct. 1992; Ruth Holmes Whitehead, "Atlantic Coast," in The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples (Toronto 1987), p. 18.

³. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger, 1583," edited by D. B. Quinn, Canadian Historical Review, 63 (1962), p. 340.

were "comely and personable."⁴

Early seventeenth-century commentators refer to the Mi'kmaq as a tall people.⁵ Only two records have been found which suggest an individual's height. The first involves two bodies recovered from a burial site near Tracadie on the north shore of Abegweit (Prince Edward Island) dating from the post-contact period. Both individuals, one a 20-year-old woman and the other a 50-year-old man, were approximately five feet six inches tall, though the woman's size may have been two inches smaller.⁶ The second record dated 1764 is a request by an English ship captain that the Board of Trade send presents to the Unimaki (Cape Breton) Mi'kmaq. Among the items requested were two pairs of boots "for Men about 5 feet 8 inches high".⁷

The Mi'kmaq inhabited lands in southern Ktaqamkuk (southern Newfoundland), the Magdelaine Islands, Unimaki (Cape Breton Island),

⁴. Richard Guthry, "A Relation of the Voyage and plantation of the Scotts Colony in New Scotland under the conduct of Sir William Alexander 13 August, 1629," edited by N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, William and Mary Quarterly, 49 (1992), p. 506.

⁵. John Brereton, "Briefe and True Relations of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia in 1602," Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608, edited by Henry S. Burrage (New York 1906), p. 330.

⁶. Sonja M. Jerkic, "Preliminary Report on Skeletal Material from Prince Edward Island," unpublished report, Memorial University, 1991.

⁷. Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office Series (CO) 217 20:320v, Samuel Thompson to Philip Stephens, 16 April 1764. In 1755, an Englishman serving in the siege of Beauséjour in 1755 said that a chief from Abegweit (Ile Saint-Jean) was six feet, two inches high. "Journal of Abijah Willard, 1755," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 13 (1930), p. 25.

Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia), Abegweit (Prince Edward Island), the eastern coast of New Brunswick and the Gaspé peninsula. Unlike other peoples who have been the subject of historical studies of northeastern North America before 1760, the Mi'kmaq were first and foremost fishers of the sea and not horticulturalists or hunters. This facilitated interactions with European fishermen and traders who had been fishing off the coasts of Ktaqamkuk (Newfoundland) and Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia) from at least the early sixteenth century. In the early 1630s, French-speaking farmers began immigrating to the region and by the 1750s, their population had grown to approximately 15,000. Their presence in Kmitkinag is in sharp contrast to the experience of other Native peoples allied with the French Crown whose lands were not inhabited by a farming population.⁸ Kmitkinag also attracted the notice of New England fishermen who, beginning in the early 1660s, migrated northwards during the spring, summer and fall. These political configurations, in tangent with France's and England's increasing rivalry on mainland North America, catapulted the Mi'kmaq into the vortex of a European war by the mid-1740s with both governments vying to control and manipulate Mi'kmaq peoples into actions conducive to their imperial interests. How the Mi'kmaq responded to these pressures is the subject of this thesis.

The study starts at approximately 1500, when European fishermen began

⁸. Though both the Abenaki and Huron lived in the Saint Lawrence Valley, they had migrated there as a result of conflicts with other peoples.

fishing off the coasts of Ktaqamkuk. It ends in 1760 with the demise of French political influence in North America and the ratification of a general peace between the English Crown and the Mi'kmaq. Thereafter, British immigration increased, and the dynamics of European-Mi'kmaq relations changed.

As the Mi'kmaq occupied a large territory which encompassed almost all of what is now known as Atlantic Canada, this study focuses upon Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia) and Unimaki (Cape Breton Island). This region was chosen because European fishing, trade and settlement was concentrated there and sources of information on the Mi'kmaq in this region are greater than for Mi'kmaq living elsewhere.

Greg Denning has written that "beaches are beginnings and endings. They are the frontiers and boundaries [which] divide the world between here and there, us and them, good and bad, familiar and strange."⁹ For the Mi'kmaq, beaches were 'endings,' markers, which defined the outer limits of their lands. For Europeans, beaches were 'beginnings,' places where they set foot ashore, established settlements and encountered the Mi'kmaq. As European settlement expanded, these boundaries changed both physically and culturally. Europeans created 'beaches' in Mi'kma'ki while the Mi'kmaq retreated, establishing new ones, further removed from European settlements. While 'beaches' moved,

⁹. Greg Denning, Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land Marquesas, 1774-1880 (Honolulu 1980), p. 32.

however, the footprints of the 'other' remained, and neither wind, nor rain, nor snow would erase them.

To many regional historians, 'beaches' are one-dimensional paths leading in a straight line from shore to farm, to village and to town. In describing the triumph and drama of European settlement, trade and conflict, historians of Acadia such as François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, John Bartlett Brebner, Andrew Clark, George F. G. Stanley, Naomi Griffiths, and Martha MacDonald have either ignored the Mi'kmaq or treated them as peripheral elements in the region's history.¹⁰ Similarly, the recent deluge of materials produced by the research staff at fortresse de Louisbourg relating to Ile Royale has ignored the Mi'kmaq population of the island,¹¹ despite protests from contemporary Mi'kmaq communities.¹² Only recently, has this situation begun to change.

¹⁰. François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale en Amérique: L'Acadie (1604-1881), t. 1 (Paris 1889); J. B. Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada (New York 1927); Andrew Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Nova Scotia before 1760 (Madison 1968); George F.G. Stanley, New France: The Last Phase, 1744-1760 (Toronto 1968), pp. 1-14, 58-75, 108-123, 164-175. Naomi E.S. Griffiths, The Acadians: The Creation of a People (Toronto 1973) and The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784 (Montréal 1992); Martha MacDonald, Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia (Toronto 1983).

¹¹. In large part, this focus resulted from the mandate given to staff researchers to address issues directly relevant to the fort and its reconstruction. Since Mi'kmaq did not live at Louisbourg and only occasionally visited there, this eliminated a focus upon the Mi'kmaq. The problem lay with the narrow interpretative framework used in the reconstruction of the fortress.

¹². Correspondence regarding Mi'kmaq demonstrations against the lack of awareness given to the Mi'kmaq in the historical interpretation of Louisbourg by Parks Canada is in Indian Brook Reserve, Nova Scotia, Treaty Aboriginal Rights and Research Centre, Union of Nova Scotia Indians Collection, History-

The most extensive research on the Mi'kmaq has been undertaken by anthropologists. During the early part of the century, this work consisted of field research conducted by Elsie Clew Parsons, Frank Speck and Wilson Wallis.¹³ Relying principally upon information provided by community members, all three ethnographers accumulated data before the residential school system and centralization precipitated widespread changes in Mi'kmaq society. Their work focused upon the cultural elements of the society and not its historical dimensions. Thus Speck was more interested in understanding the location of territories hunted by individual families than in uncovering their historical evolution. Similarly, Wallis wrote a lengthy ethnography examining the material and cultural contours of Mi'kmaq society but did not separate contemporary from historical practices.

In the latter part of this century, anthropologists have approached the Mi'kmaq from a different perspective. Generally, historical questions have dominated anthropological analyses and ethnographic work has all but disappeared with research focused upon understanding how the contact period

Culture File, "Louisbourg-Micmac Presence".

¹³. Frederick Johnson, "Notes on Micmac Shamanism," Primitive Man, 16 (1943), pp. 53-80; Elsie Clew Parsons, "Micmac Notes," Journal of American Folklore, 39 (1926), pp. 460-485; Frank Speck, "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy," American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), pp. 492-508 and Beothuk and Micmac, Indian Notes and Monographs (New York 1922); Ruth and Wilson Wallis, The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada (Minneapolis 1955).

changed or did not change Mi'kmaq society.¹⁴ Indeed, contact is thought to have wrought profound alterations in all aspects of Mi'kmaq society, including massive depopulation, increasing dependence upon European trade goods and foodstuffs, decreasing reliance upon maritime resources, and radical changes in settlement patterns.¹⁵

A slightly different approach is taken in recent historical work focusing upon Mi'kmaq society. Historians such as Olive P. Dickason, Micheline Dumont-Johnson and L. F. S. Upton are less concerned with the economic and political structures of Mi'kmaq society than with describing evolving political relationships between it and English and French colonial officials. Implicit in their analyses, however, is that contact precipitated widespread changes,¹⁶

¹⁴. Generally, the time frames discussed are ambiguous, but based upon the historical documentation used, appear to stretch until sometime in the eighteenth century.

¹⁵. David Burley, "Proto-Historic Ecological Effects of the Fur Trade on Micmac Culture in Northeastern New Brunswick," *Ethnohistory*, 28 (1981), pp. 203-216; Virginia Miller, "Aboriginal Micmac Population: A Review of the Evidence," *Ethnohistory*, 23 (1976), pp. 117-127; "The Decline of Nova Scotia Micmac Population, A.D. 1600-1850," *Culture*, II (1982), pp. 107-120; and "The Micmac: A Maritime Woodland Group," *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto 1986), pp. 324-350; Patricia Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981, pp. 395, 444-455; Harald E.L. Prins, "Tribulations of a Border Tribe: A Discourse on the Political Ecology of the Aroostook Band of Micmacs (16th to 20th Centuries)," Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social Research, April 1988, pp. 268, 303-304.

¹⁶. Olive P. Dickason, *Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Relations, 1713-1760* (Ottawa: *History and Archaeology* 6, 1976), p. 15; Micheline Dumont-Johnson, *Apôtres ou agitateurs: la France missionnaire en Acadie* (Trois Rivières 1970); L. F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-*

which in turn facilitated the ability of European manipulation of Mi'kmaq society. Indeed, in her 1976 work, Dickason tended to view the Mi'kmaq as appendages of the French Crown. Lacking a strong social and political base, and confronted by an increasingly powerful Massachusetts government, the Mi'kmaq, like their allies further westward, had few choices but to accept the finality of English sovereignty over their lands in 1725 and in later treaties negotiated with the English Crown.¹⁷

Most historical and anthropological studies of Mi'kmaq society were completed during the 1970s, a time when politicians and academics were searching to explain the continuing problems of poverty and alcoholism in contemporary Native communities. Economic dependency and social dislocation were traced to the early contact period which gradually, but inevitably drew Native people into the capitalist world market and, just as slowly, destroyed their traditional lifestyles.¹⁸

In recent years, historians and anthropologists have adopted a different perspective on Mi'kmaq-European relations. While accepting that some changes

White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 (Vancouver 1979), pp. 19-20, 33.

¹⁷. Wayne Daugherty, The Maritime Treaties in Historical Perspective (Ottawa 1983), p. 29; Olive P. Dickason, "Amerindians Between French and English in Nova Scotia, 1713-1763," American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 10 (1986), pp. 39-40. Essentially, Dickason makes a similar argument in Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto 1992), p. 179.

¹⁸. The best statement of this argument is Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade (Berkeley 1978).

occurred as a result of trade and settlement, this approach emphasizes how the Mi'kmaq dealt creatively with the challenges of the post-contact period. Thus, Bruce Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead argue that the introduction of trade goods led some Mi'kmaq men to assume an intermediary role between European traders and Native peoples further westward.¹⁹ Similarly, Olive Dickason, in a revised version of her earlier work, suggests that in confronting imperial claims to their territories, the Mi'kmaq remained staunchly independent and skilfully manipulated French, and then English, officials into providing them with presents.²⁰

In a similar vein, this thesis views the Mi'kmaq as dynamic and active agents in the events which molded and shaped their communities between approximately 1500 and 1760. The principal argument advanced here is that economic, social and political change previously thought to have profoundly affected Mi'kmaq society in the post-contact period, was not as widespread or as important as other researchers have proposed. The social and political structures which predated the contact period continued to animate the broader

¹⁹. Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead. "Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine," *Ethnohistory*, 32 (1986), pp. 327-341.

²⁰. Dickason, "Amerindians Between French and English," pp. 33, 38-39. The common thread that runs through this more recent interpretation is the resistance of the Mi'kmaq to European encroachments upon their lands. See also Dickason, "La 'Guerre navale': Des Micmacs contre les Britanniques, 1713-1763," in *Les Micmacs et la mer*, Charles Martijn, dir. (Montréal 1986), pp. 233-248.

parameters of Mi'kmaq society. Some change occurred, forcing some Mi'kmaq villages inland, excluding them from areas they had formerly frequented, and making people choose sides in an expanding imperial war between England and France. These events profoundly affected the physical dimensions of Mi'kmaq life and altered peoples' perceptions of themselves, and of the universe they inhabited. What this new understanding was, and how it affected their lives, however, is not always apparent.

The approach adopted here is one which has characterized much of the recent writing on Native responses to European colonization and government policy.²¹ This work views Native peoples as a dynamic and creative force, whose responses to European settlement and trade, profoundly influenced North America's history. Indeed, the emphasis that such researchers as Bruce Trigger and Arthur Ray have placed upon viewing the early history of the post-contact period from a Native perspective, has inspired the approach

²¹. For example, James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York and Oxford 1985); Denys Delâge, Le Pays Renversé: Amérindiens et européens en Amérique du nord-est 1600-1664 (Québec 1985); Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870 (Montréal 1983); Kenneth Morrison, The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euro-American Relations (Berkeley 1984); Arthur Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870 (Toronto 1974); Daniel Richter, Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization (Chapel Hill 1992); Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montréal 1976); Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge 1991).

adopted in this thesis. While a number of authors have raised interpretations relevant to the history of the Mi'kmaq people, these arguments are best addressed in the course of the thesis.

At the same time, there is a disquieting thread which tends to project Euro-American values as universal human characteristics, and therefore, directly applicable to Native peoples.²² This approach, I believe, underestimates the cultural differences separating Native and European peoples, both in the contemporary and historical periods. Such differences, however, can only be discerned by understanding the cultural contexts in which both European and Native peoples lived. Thus, in researching and writing this thesis, I constantly attempted to 'see' the cultural and physical parameters which surrounded the peoples who inhabited eighteenth-century Mi'kma'ki.

Source materials on Mi'kmaq society before 1760 tend to be fragmentary. This is particularly true for the period between 1500 and 1690. Although European fishermen were fishing in the northeast Atlantic and drying their fish along the shoreline from at least the early sixteenth century, there are, with some minor exceptions, no descriptions of either the country or the people

²². Donald Freeman and Arthur Ray, 'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763 (Toronto 1978); Bruce Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," Journal of American History (March 1991), pp. 1213-1215.

encountered.²³

With the beginning of French and English attempts to establish permanent settlements in the northeastern Atlantic region during the early seventeenth century, this changed as the ventures often, though not always, included an individual who recorded their observations. Such was the case, for instance, with the first French attempts to settle Mi'kma'ki between 1604 and 1607, when both Samuel de Champlain and Marc Lescarbot wrote of their experiences, and again between 1611 and 1613, when the Jesuit father, Pierre Biard, left extensive descriptions of the French settlement at Port Royal.²⁴ From 1613, until the early 1690s, there are few records regarding this region, and what few exist, focus on the European traders and farmers, and not upon the Mi'kmaq. There are two principal exceptions; Nicolas Denys' lengthy treatise on Acadia published in 1671, and the Récollet priest Chrestien LeClercq's account of his life among the Restigouche Mi'kmaq between 1675 and 1686.²⁵ Thus, for

²³. Two of the exceptions are "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger in 1583," edited by D.B. Quinn, Canadian Historical Review, 63 (1962), pp. 328-343; "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Rameae" in R. Hakluyt, The Principal Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, VIII (Glasgow 1904), p. 169.

²⁴. H. P. Biggar, ed., The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 1 (Toronto 1922); Pierre Biard's relations regarding Mi'kma'ki are contained within the first three volumes of the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (hereafter cited as JR) edited by Reuben Thwaites (Cleveland 1896); Marc Lescarbot, The History of New France, 3 vols., edited by W. L. Grant (Toronto 1907-1914).

²⁵. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), edited by W. F. Ganong (Toronto 1908); Chrestien LeClercq, New Relation of Gaspesia (Toronto 1910).

almost two hundred years of known contact between European and Mi'kmaq peoples, researchers are almost totally dependent upon accounts left by these five authors, only two of whom, Biard and Le Clercq, wrote extensively of the Mi'kmaq people they encountered. Comments made by both of these writers, however, should be treated with care. Biard, for instance, neither spoke Micmac nor ventured far beyond the walls of the French settlement at Port Royal. Thus, most of his comments regarding the Mi'kmaq are likely the result of conversations with French traders, and fishermen and not because of first-hand experience. Conversely, Le Clercq not only spoke the language but also lived among the Mi'kmaq. However, though Le Clercq occasionally visited Mi'kmaq villages as far south as the Richibouctou River, his mission was located at Restigouche, and consequently, his comments regarding seasonal economic cycles cannot be applied directly to Mi'kmaq or Maliseet peoples living further southward.

Beginning in the 1690s, the volume of extant records increases as both the French and New England governments exhibited more interest in the region. In contrast to the earlier period, records from the post-1690 years consist principally of correspondence between various colonial officials in Acadia, New England, Nova Scotia and Ile Royale and their European superiors, whose interest in the Mi'kmaq was perfunctory. Unlike Biard and Le Clercq, officials were less interested in the souls of Native inhabitants than in their strategic value to imperial and colonial interests. Thus, the lengthy descriptions of

Mi'kmaq society, which had characterized the writings of both Biard and LeClercq, are lacking in the correspondence of the post-1690 period and do not reappear until Abbé Maillard's mission of 1735 to 1762.

The eighteenth-century government correspondence clearly demonstrates that officials were only rarely in contact with the Mi'kmaq. This was particularly true of English officialdom, ensconced at Annapolis Royal after the conquest of 1710, and at Chebouctou (Halifax) after its establishment in 1749.²⁶ Unlike the French regime in Mi'kma'ki, the English government in Nova Scotia did not develop economic and social relationships with the Mi'kmaq. Thus, English soldiers and settlers did not move freely through Kmitkinag but generally remained within the immediate environs of their settlements. As a result, officials were often ill-informed about the peoples surrounding them and events transpiring within Mi'kmaq communities, a situation illustrated by the dearth of information regarding the Mi'kmaq in correspondence between officials first at Port Royal (Annapolis Royal) and later at Chebouctou (Halifax) and the Board of Trade, the ministerial body responsible for English colonies. Even after 1760 and the expansion of English settlement in the region, this situation did not change appreciably.

²⁶. The principal colonial correspondence is contained in Colonial Office Series [CO] 217 and 218. These files were reorganized by the Public Record Office in England during the early part of this century. Before then, Nova Scotia's archivist, Thomas Akins, had completed an extensive transcription of all records regarding Nova Scotia before 1850. These are contained in the RG 1 series, held by the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS]. Thus the two series are not identical.

In contrast are French government and missionary records between 1700 and 1760. French sources contain more information regarding the Mi'kmaq than do English sources, principally because contacts were longer and closer. The French sources include government correspondence, censuses, parish registers and missionary records, all of which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.²⁷

The third major group of documents regarding the Mi'kmaq is contained in the records of the Massachusetts' government. The strategic importance of Mi'kma'ki to Massachusetts' security led to its increasing economic and political interest in the region. Most of the extant records are concentrated in the period between 1690 and 1726 and are concerned principally with altercations between fishermen and the Mi'kmaq or with the government's attempts to protect the colony's fishing fleet.²⁸

Collectively, these records provide the basis for our understanding of Mi'kmaq society between 1500 and 1760. As is evident, the sources are fragmentary with long silences intervening between records mentioning the

²⁷. Though there are multiple series within the French colonial records, the most substantive information is in the Archives des colonies, which contains the principal correspondence of the Ministry of the Marine, the governmental body responsible for overseeing France's colonial empire. The principal series which contain information regarding the Mi'kmaq is in: Archives des colonies (AC), Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D), Canada (C11A) and Ile Royale (C11B).

²⁸. Principal correspondence is contained in the Massachusetts State Archives series, volumes 1 to 93.

Mi'kmaq. Consequently, it is difficult to reconstruct, precisely, the contours of the society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Given source limitations, any study of the Mi'kmaq people cannot provide a comprehensive examination of all aspects of the society from 1500 to 1760. At the same time, there are a number of research strategies and methodological approaches which can assist in surmounting at least some of the difficulties. First, unlike previous studies, this thesis introduces a broader range of sources. L. F. S. Upton, for instance, did not make wide use of French sources but relied principally upon the paltry documentation left by English colonial officials. As well, this study uses records from the post-1760 period. This has been done for two reasons. First, in most cases pre-1760 sources do not indicate the precise location of individual families and villages. Records from the post-1760 period, however, are not only more precise, but also suggest areas which had been traditionally hunted and fished by Mi'kmaq families. Secondly, massive cultural changes did not occur in Mi'kmaq society until the early part of the twentieth century when the enforcement of provincial game laws and a more concerted attempt by the Department of Indian Affairs to marshal families onto reserves, led to a gradual abandonment of traditional lifestyles.²⁹ Because of this post-1760 records are useful to provide a fuller social and political portrait

²⁹. While this point has not been definitively demonstrated, it is treated in some detail in Bill Wicken and John G. Reid, "An Overview of the Eighteenth-Century Treaties Signed Between the Mi'kmaq and Wuastukwiuk Peoples and the English Crown, 1725-1928," Report submitted to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, November, 1993, pp. 159-205.

of the Mi'kmaq people, details of which are often lacking in earlier English and French correspondence.

The lack of extensive documentation has forced me to organize this study in a topical format as the long periods of silences in the sources made a chronological narrative unfeasible. Only in chapter three, which deals with trade and disease in the period of contact, is material chronologically presented. In chronicling the history before 1760, it is apparent that the Europeans landing in Mi'kma'ki were not a uniform group but rather were composed of disparate elements, each of them interacting differently with the Mi'kmaq. While nationality was an important element of this relationship, more important was occupational group. To demonstrate this, I have divided European peoples who came to Kmitkinag into five broadly defined occupational groups. Thus, chapter four examines Mi'kmaq relations with Acadian farmers and New England fishermen, chapter five with traders, chapter six with French Catholic missionaries and chapter seven with French and English colonial officials. Each of these chapters deal with the period between 1600 and 1760, which witnessed a steady expansion of European settlement and trade. In order to establish the context in which these interactions occurred, the first two chapters analyse Mi'kmaq society. Chapter one examines the physical environment of Kmitkinag and Unimaki as well as Mi'kmaq economic activities and material culture, while chapter two discusses Mi'kmaq social and political organization. Generally, these two chapters do not

deal with how the society changed as a result of contact but concentrate upon those elements which persisted and continued to animate Mi'kmaq society between 1600 and 1760.

In describing Mi'kmaq society, I have deliberately eschewed the terminology used by anthropologists to describe Native peoples. While such terms as "band," "chiefdom" and "tribe" provide a useful basis by which to describe and compare Native societies, they also dehumanize people by placing them within a Eurocentric evolutionary scheme. Since the determining elements for defining these terms are economic and political, they tend to ignore the cultural attributes which molded Native society. Therefore, in describing Mi'kmaq society, I have chosen to use "village" and "community" instead of "site" and "band," as the latter tends to see "settlement" as a static phenomena and not as an active element. I do not pretend to be creating new terminologies, but only using ones that to me better represent the Mi'kmaq as a living "people" and not as "artifacts" of the past.

Finally, place names have constituted a small nightmare in preparing this thesis. This is because European travellers, fishermen and government officials were constantly superimposing new place names onto existing ones. To avoid total confusion, I have used contemporary names for bodies of water surrounding the Maritime provinces. River systems, however, are given as they would have appeared in eighteenth-century correspondence. In some cases, this name is Mi'kmaq in origin. For place names, I have employed those used by

eighteenth-century French government officials and travellers. Generally, names used by Englishmen to describe Kmitkinag in the post-1710 period have not been used. As before, some of these places have a Mi'kmaq sounding name which persists even to the present day, such as Antigoniche, Tatamagouche and Pictou. Finally, I have used the term *Mi'kma'ki* to describe all the lands inhabited by the Mi'kmaq people, namely Ktaqamkuk (southern Newfoundland), Unimaki (Cape Breton Island or Ile Royale), *Kmitkinag* (Nova Scotia), Abegweit (Prince Edward Island or Ile Saint-Jean), the eastern coast of New Brunswick and the Gaspé peninsula. In using the term Acadia, I refer specifically to the lands inhabited by the Acadians and not to the entire region. Likewise, Nova Scotia refers to lands occupied by English settlers or soldiers and not to its contemporary political meaning.

The story which unfolds in the following pages represents only a small remembrance of the lives of the Mi'kmaq people. Most of their memories have been lost, principally because the traditional way of life has been largely transformed into non-Native activities. In retelling the story which memories can no longer inform, it is often difficult to separate reality from the tall tales which Europeans have often told about the Mi'kmaq people and which have as often been represented to contemporary Mi'kmaq as their peoples' history.

If some of these tales remain in the stories that are told here, then hopefully some day, other memories will appear to transform them.

CHAPTER 1

MI'KMA'KI: THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

This chapter describes the physical environment of Nova Scotia before 1760 and the Mi'kmaq peoples' adaptation to it. While many of the topics addressed here have been discussed elsewhere,¹ this analysis integrates documentation from the period to provide a more complete picture of the landscape surrounding Mi'kmaq and European peoples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first section, I have described the topography, soils, and climate of Nova Scotia. Section two is a brief description of the effect of European settlement upon vegetation, forest cover and animal and aquatic life. These descriptions provide the context for an understanding of Mi'kmaq subsistence patterns and material culture, which are discussed in the final two sections of the chapter.

¹. Patricia Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981, Pt. 1, pp. 22-115. Nietfeld provides an overview of faunal and floral populations thought to inhabit the territory occupied by the Mi'kmaq before 1760. Since this includes the eastern coast of contemporary New Brunswick her analysis is much broader than the one offered here which focuses solely upon Nova Scotia. This chapter complements Nietfeld's work by introducing a broader range of seventeenth and eighteenth century evidence which indicates the location of different species. Nietfeld did not deal extensively with climate nor with interior water systems both of which are treated in this chapter.

1. TERRITORY²

The land inhabited by the Mi'kmaq is called *Mi'kma'ki* and comprises what is today, Newfoundland, Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, the Magdelaine Islands, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, the eastern coast of New Brunswick and the Gaspé.³ According to oral tradition, this territory was divided into seven political districts. These districts are illustrated in Map 6 in the Appendix.⁴ This thesis focuses principally upon the Mi'kmaq inhabitants of what is today called Nova Scotia (*Kmitkinag*) and Cape Breton Island (*Unimaki*)⁵ though reference will often be made to other areas. Nova Scotia is situated along a northeast to southwest plane in the northeast Atlantic between 43.30 and 47.0 degrees latitude North and between 60 and 66 degrees longitude West. With a total land mass of 55,000 km², Nova Scotia is composed of two distinctive parts: peninsular Nova Scotia, which is connected to the rest of

². This is the only section in which the spellings of geographic place names are not standardized. This is because a number of commonly used contemporary places and landforms are described - such as Pictou-Antigonish Highlands - which cannot be changed into eighteenth-century spellings without confusing the reader.

³. See Map 1: "Contemporary Map of the Atlantic Region" in the Appendix for a contemporary overview of the Atlantic region. The location of bays and harbours is in Map 3: "Principal Bays and Harbours of Nova Scotia."

⁴. A full discussion of the political importance of the districts is found in Chapter 2, Section 3.

⁵. Since this section deals principally with contemporary climatic data, the terms Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island have been used.

Canada by the Chignecto Isthmus, and Cape Breton Island which lies to the northeast of the peninsula. It is separated from the mainland by the Strait of Canso. The mainland is essentially a peninsula which is surrounded on three sides by salt water. Its eastern coastline directly faces the Atlantic Ocean while its western shores border upon the Bay of Fundy, which stretches approximately 190 kilometres from Nova Scotia's southern coast in a northeasterly direction. On the northwest side of the bay lies New Brunswick and at the northeastern end is the Chignecto Isthmus. Between 24 to 135 kilometres in width, the isthmus separates the Bay of Fundy from the Northumberland Strait. This is called the northern shore of Nova Scotia. The strait separates Nova Scotia from Prince Edward Island which lies in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.

Nova Scotia can be divided into five ecological zones: the Atlantic Coast, the Triassic Lowlands, the Atlantic Interior, the Carboniferous Lowlands and the Avalon Uplands.⁶ Each zone reflects a distinctive climate, geological formation, soil, flora and fauna. Within each zone there are local variations. This section concentrates upon the more static features of each region, that is climate, geological formation and soils. While each of these features is constantly evolving, they do, nevertheless, have greater continuity in time and space than floral and faunal life. As the latter two are living organisms their

⁶. This division follows closely that suggested by M. Simmons, D. Davis, L. Griffiths and A. Muecke, Natural History of Nova Scotia, 2 vols. (Halifax 1984).

rate of evolution is faster. They are also more immediately influenced by the actions of other living organisms, including humans. Floral and faunal life will, therefore, be examined in later sections.

Climatic data are based upon contemporary figures. Methodologically, this approach appears flawed by the assumption that temperatures were similar to those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As research has shown, the Northern Hemisphere was cooler than it is today, the result of a cooling trend which lasted from about 1450 to 1850 though most areas experienced the severest temperature decline between 1550 and 1690.⁷ Similarly, research has shown that the northeastern United States was cooler than it is today,⁸ and this was also true for Nova Scotia. Temperatures did increase during the early 1700s.⁹ Nevertheless, it is also true that neither Nova Scotia's physical position nor its topography has altered, suggesting that temperature ranges, influenced by latitude and the juxtaposition between coastal and inland locations, would not have changed. Thus, in relative terms, contemporary climatic data has some applicability for understanding differences between south and north as

⁷. Hubert H. Lamb, "Climatic Fluctuations" in General Climatology, edited by H. Flohn (Amsterdam 1969), pp. 185-86.

⁸. William R. Baron, "Historical Climates of the Northeastern United States: Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries," in Holocene Human Ecology in Northeastern North America, edited by George P. Nicholas (New York and London 1988), p. 39.

⁹. Gordon C. Jacoby Jr. and Roseanne D'Arrigo, "Reconstructed Northern Hemisphere Annual Temperature Since 1671 Based on High-Latitude Tree-Ring Data from North America," Climatic Change, 14 (1989), pp. 39-59.

well as between coastal and inland areas.

a) Atlantic Coast

The Atlantic Coast consists of coastal regions from Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island to Long Island on the southern coast. Long Island divides Atlantic coastal regions from areas lying adjacent to the Bay of Fundy. Temperature data for this region is summarized in Table 1.1.

The table lists seven stations along the Atlantic coastline. These places have been listed from south to north in the table and can be located on Map 2 in the Appendix.¹⁰ Climatically, the ocean is the most important element in this region. Compared to the rest of Nova Scotia, winters are comparatively mild and summers are shorter and cooler with the mean annual temperature ranging from 15 to 20 degrees Celsius. Southern coastal regions experience a smaller temperature range than areas to the north. January mean temperatures hover between 0.9 degrees Celsius and -2.9 degrees Celsius in the southwest and decrease gradually as one moves northward. Mean daily temperatures rise above freezing in the south during mid-March and two or three weeks later on Cape Breton Island. In July, the mean daily temperature does not go above 15.0 degrees Celsius near Cap Sable (Cape Sable). Annual precipitation is between 48 and 56 inches with only 15 percent falling as snow due to the milder winter climate. The length of the snow cover season is 100 days near Cap Sable.

¹⁰. The location of all weather stations discussed in this section can be found on Map 2: "Weather Stations in Nova Scotia, 1980."

 TABLE 1.1
 ATLANTIC COAST
 MEAN TEMPERATURES
 IN DEGREES CELSIUS
 1980

	Jan.			April			July			Nov.		
	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn
Yarmouth	0.5	-6.3	-2.9	10.1	1.4	5.8	20.1	12.3	16.2	6.8	1.0	3.9
Cape Sable	2.2	-3.9	-0.9	7.0	2.4	4.7	13.3	2.4	4.7	7.7	2.6	5.2
Pentz	-0.3	-7.7	-4.0	9.6	1.6	5.6	22.3	12.6	17.5	6.9	-0.1	3.4
Ecum Secum	-0.7	-9.1	-4.9	7.1	-0.4	3.4	17.4	11.3	14.4	5.9	0.1	3.0
Deming	-0.9	-7.2	-4.1	5.8	-0.4	2.7	16.4	11.2	13.8	6.0	1.3	3.7
L'Ardoise	-2.3	-7.3	-4.8	6.9	-0.4	3.3	19.5	13.5	16.5	7.6	1.4	4.5
Louisbourg	-1.9	-8.0	-5.0	5.9	-0.8	2.6	18.4	11.2	14.8	5.5	-0.1	2.7

LEGEND: Max= Maximum Temperature; Min = Minimum Temperature; Mn = Mean Temperature.

NOTE: With the exception of Yarmouth and Louisbourg, all the stations are located in communities smaller than 500 people thus minimizing the effects of urban life upon temperature ranges. In 1971, Yarmouth had a population of 8,500 and Louisbourg 1400. Pentz is on the La Have River, Ecum Secum is in the Bay of Islands, and Deming at Whitehead. Mean temperatures are given. This indicates that each figure is the average temperature for that month averaged out over the past thirty years. Thus 0.5 C° is the average maximum January temperature for Yarmouth during the past thirty years, -6.3 C° is the average minimum temperature over the past thirty years and -2.9 C° is the average temperature for the past thirty years.

SOURCE: Environment Canada, Monthly Climatic Reports, 1980.

Evidence from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides some examples regarding temperature ranges in coastal areas. In the mid-seventeenth century, Nicolas Denys remarked that spring arrived on the southern coast "on the twentieth or twenty-fifth of March" and during the month of April along the north shore.¹¹ On Cape Breton Island, winters were generally longer. Writing from Cibou (Fort Sainte-Anne)¹² on the northern end of the island in 1635, the Jesuit Father Julien Perrault noted that "the cold is extreme, the island lying in the midst of snow five or six months of the year."¹³ During the eighteenth century, temperatures at the northern end of the island could dip below freezing during late October as suggested by the snowfall recorded at Cibou (Fort Sainte-Anne) on 21 October 1716.¹⁴ Evidence from the same period also suggests that snow and ice persisted until late April or early May. On 21 April 1745, the harbour at Louisbourg was still full of ice¹⁵ and fifteen

¹¹. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia) (Toronto 1908), p. 395.

¹². The location of seventeenth and eighteenth century place names can be found on Map 4: "Principal Settlements in Mi'kma'ki, 1744" or Map 7: "Principal Mi'kmaq Settlements in Kmitkinag and Unimaki, 1600-1760", both of which are in the Appendix.

¹³. Julien Perrault, "Relation of 1634-35," Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by Reuben Thwaites, vol. 8 (Cleveland 1896), p. 159.

¹⁴. Louis Chancel de Lagrange, "Ile Royale en 1716," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 13 (1959-60), pp. 432-33.

¹⁵. Louis E. de Forest, ed., The Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy, (Boston 1926), p. 18.

years later, the snow at Louisbourg did not melt until after the 28th.¹⁶ Inland, snow continued to lie in the woods. Due west of Louisbourg at the northern end of Lake Bras d'Or there was still six feet of snow on 7 April 1780.¹⁷ Further southward, ice was less of a problem. Though ice today appears off the coast, an early eighteenth-century memorial noted that "all the principal harbours from Canceau to Cap Sable were never closed during winter by ice."¹⁸ During the winter of 1749-50, Edward Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia from 1749 to 1752, wrote that the harbour at Chebouctou (Halifax) had not frozen at all "so as to hinder vessels from coming in and going out. Vessels come in every month, almost every week." In contrast, Louisbourg had been hit by heavy snowfalls.¹⁹

Fog is a characteristic feature of Atlantic coastal areas with a 15 to 25 per cent average annual fog cover. The southwestern areas are particularly affected as warm winds blowing from the south come into contact with the cooler

¹⁶. A New England soldier stationed at Louisbourg wrote on 28 May 1760 "the Snow is almost gone off the ground," Jonathan Proctor of Danvers, "Diary Kept at Louisbourg, 1759-1760," The Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXX (1934), pp. 35-37. In 1757, 18 inches of snow fell on Louisbourg in May. Paris, Archives nationales (AN), Archives des colonies (AC), Correspondence générale, Ile Royale (C11B), 37:3, Druout et Prevost au ministre, mai 1757.

¹⁷. Ottawa, National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG 23 J6:154, S.W. Prenties, "Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780."

¹⁸. AC, Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D), 10, "Mémoire au sujet de l'accadie," (sic), mars 1712.

¹⁹. Halifax, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), RG 1 35: doc 11, Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 17 March 1750.

waters of the Labrador Current.²⁰ No seventeenth and eighteenth-century commentaries have been found regarding fog along the Atlantic coast.²¹

Topographically, the Atlantic region is characterized by a number of deep and well-protected harbours. The most important during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were located at Louisbourg, Chedabouctou (Manchester), Canceau (Canso), Jeddore, Chebouctou (Halifax), La Hève, Port Rossignol (Liverpool), Port Mouton, Port La Tour, Cap Fourchu (Yarmouth), and Cheboque. From Cap Fourchu to Saint Mary's Bay, there are no natural harbours and the entire coastline is marked by cliffs and sandy beaches. From Cap Fourchu to Louisbourg the shore has a number of distinctive features. Extensive offshore islands dot the coastline between Cap Fourchu and Pubnico in the southwest and are known today as the Tusket Islands. Further north between Jeddore and Cap Sainte-Marie is the region known, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as the Baye of Islands because of the many small islands lying offshore. Less numerous are islands lying adjacent to La Hève and Mahone Bay.²²

Soils are generally shallow, coarse, acidic and subject to a strong leaching process resulting from high precipitation and short winters. Fertile soils can be

²⁰. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:677-78.

²¹. This might suggest that fog was less common, and therefore, less worthy of comment than is the case today. Alternatively, the lack of such commentary might only show that during the eighteenth century, fog was an accepted feature of ship travel, and thus, not deserving of mention.

²². Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:689-703.

found in coastal areas where tidal currents have deposited sediment in estuaries, bays and on the leeward side of islands. Tidal ranges tend to be similar between Chedabouctou and Cap Sable but increase as one moves towards the Bay of Fundy. At Chedabouctou the tidal range is 5.5 feet, at Mirligueche (Lunenburg) 5.0 feet and at Cap Sable 6.0 feet. This increases to 8.5 feet at Wood's Harbor (just west of Cap Sable), to 12.0 feet at Cap Fourchu (Yarmouth), and to 16.0 feet in Saint Mary's Bay. Where the rate of sedimentation exceeds the rate of submergence, a soil base is gradually built up which is both stonefree and rich in organic material.²³

b) Triassic Lowlands

Along the southern edge of the Bay of Fundy from Long Island to Cap des Mines (Cape Split) lies the North Mountain which ascends steeply from the shoreline to heights of 700 feet. On the southern side of the mountain lie the Triassic Lowlands which are bounded on the south by the South Mountain. The Lowlands, which lie between these two mountains, begin at the Annapolis Basin, continue along the valley floor to Minas and then extend along the shoreline of Cobequid Bay, located at the eastern end of Minas Basin. Mean temperatures for this region are summarized in Table 1.2.

²³. Simmons et. al., The Natural History, 1:129, 2:676.

TABLE 1.2
 TRIASSAC LOWLANDS
 MEAN TEMPERATURES
 IN DEGREES CELSIUS
 1980

	Jan			April			July			Nov.		
	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn
Wey Falls	0.3	-6.7	-3.2	11.2	1.2	6.2	NA	NA	NA	6.7	0.6	3.7
Digby	-1.0	-7.0	-4.0	10.8	1.7	6.3	22.3	13.0	17.7	6.1	0.7	3.4
Clarence	-1.4	-9.3	-5.4	11.4	0.8	6.1	23.1	13.3	18.2	6.1	0.0	3.1
Summervil	-1.2	-9.5	-5.4	10.3	0.2	5.3	22.4	12.6	17.5	5.3	-0.4	2.5
Clifton	-1.8	-10.2	-6.0	9.9	0.9	5.4	22.4	12.6	17.5	5.3	-0.4	2.5

NOTE: Wey Falls=Weymouth Falls, Summervil=Summerville. In 1971 Digby had a population of 2,300. All other communities have less than 1000 people. SOURCE: Environment Canada, Monthly Climatic Reports, 1980.

Communities are listed from west to east, that is from the Annapolis Basin on the west to Cobequid Bay on the east. Though Weymouth Falls is not strictly within the region, its close proximity provides a useful comparative temperature range. For January, the mean daily temperature range is from -3.2 degrees Celsius to -6.6 degrees Celsius. Temperatures generally rise above freezing during late March. Mean July temperatures are approximately 18 degrees Celsius and fall below freezing in early December. The southwestern sectors are cooler in summer and warmer in winter, due to the modifying influence of the Bay of Fundy. This area has the longest growing season in Nova Scotia with an annual average of 145 frost free days.²⁴

In 1686, after spending one year at Port Royal, the Governor of Acadia, François-Marie Perrot wrote that the climate was neither too hot nor too cold. During the winter there was little snow and if much fell, it tended to melt soon afterwards. He added that the climate of Chignecto²⁵, located on Chignecto Bay was colder "because it approached the Bay of Saint Lawrence."²⁶ While not conclusive this nevertheless does suggest that the valley surrounding Port Royal was then, as it is today, milder than localities situated to the northeast and northwest.

²⁴. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:643-44.

²⁵. After the Acadians settled in this area, it was also referred to as Beaubassin. I have chosen to use the Micmac word, Chignecto.

²⁶. AC, C11D 2:19-19v, Perrot, "Relations de la province d'Acadie," 9 août 1686.

The region is separated into two distinctive areas, the Annapolis Valley and the Cobequid Valley. The former extends at a width of three to ten kilometres from the western edge of the Annapolis Basin to the mouth of the Minas River (Cornwallis River). The soils here are deep and fertile. During the early eighteenth century tidal ranges reached 32 feet along the eastern edge of the Basin, and 50 feet at both the Cobequit River (Salmon River) located at the mouth of Cobequid Bay and at the Chebenacadie River which enters the Bay on its southern shore. The tides leave sediment along the shorelines, creeks and rivers of both the Annapolis and Minas Basins.²⁷ The Cobequit Valley extends along the northern shore of Cobequit Bay just east of the Piziquit River (Avon River), continues through the river estuaries created by the Chebenacadie and Cobequit River at the mouth of the Bay and extends as far as Five Islands along the north shore of the Minas Basin. Soils tend to be heavier and less fertile in this region. Tidal currents, however, leave extensive soil sedimentation on the banks of the Cobequit River.²⁸

This region is home to one of Nova Scotia's largest and best protected harbours, the Annapolis Basin, which Samuel de Champlain described in 1604

²⁷. NAC, Map Collection, NMC 107535, Cyprian Southack, New England Coasting Pilot, [1720-1734]. Also reproduced in Joan Dawson, A Mapmaker's Eye: Nova Scotia in Early Maps (Halifax 1988), pp. 42-43. Today tidal ranges are 32 feet on the eastern edge of the Annapolis Basin and 53 feet at Cape Chignecto which is located on the northern edge of the Minas Basin. This suggests a remarkable continuity in tidal flows during the last 270 years. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 1:129.

²⁸. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:654.

as capable of holding two thousand vessels. In 1686, the Governor of Acadia, François-Marie Perrot, wrote that the basin could contain five to six hundred vessels including those weighing a thousand tons.²⁹ Generally, much of the Bay of Fundy coastline does not have the large harbours found along the Atlantic coastline.

c) Atlantic Interior

The Atlantic Interior includes the interior region of Nova Scotia from Saint Mary's Bay on the southern coast to Chedabouctou, located to the northeast on the Strait of Canso. East of the Piziguit River the area gradually narrows as the land to the north, including much of the Chebenacadie River, is not included in the region but rather is part of the Carboniferous Lowlands. Temperature information for this region is summarized in Table 1.3.

The stations have been listed from the southwest to the northeast with Trafalgar situated in the northeast, inland from the Bay of Islands. Since the region is large there are wide climatic variations. The southwestern areas are warmer in both summer and winter. The mean annual temperature is 19

²⁹. H. P. Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 1 (Toronto 1922), p. 256; AC, C11D 2:17, Perrot, "Relation de la province d'Acadie," 9 août 1686.

TABLE 1.3
ATLANTIC INTERIOR
MEAN TEMPERATURES
IN DEGREES CELSIUS
1980

	Jan			April			July			Nov.		
	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn
Kejimikujik	-1.1	-10.1	-5.6	11.3	0.1	5.7	23.2	12.2	17.7	6.0	-1.9	2.1
Pockwock L.	-1.7	-10.1	-5.9	9.4	-0.1	4.7	21.7	12.8	17.3	5.2	-1.6	1.8
Trafalgar	-2.3	-12.3	-7.5	9.4	-1.3	4.1	22.0	11.8	16.9	4.4	-3.1	0.7

NOTE: Trafalgar is the only station listed here which is the site of human habitation. It has a population of less than 500.

SOURCE: Environment Canada, Monthly Climatic Reports, 1980.

degrees Celsius in the southwest and 23 degrees Celsius in northern areas. January mean temperatures are generally below -5 degrees Celsius and rise above freezing at the end of March. By July mean temperatures rise to 17.5 degrees Celsius. Total precipitation is between 48 and 64 inches. Snowfall is 60 inches in coastal areas and 100 inches further inland.

The topography of the interior Atlantic region is uniform though in some localities, deep river valleys have cut sharply through the underlying rock surface. The land slopes in a southeasterly direction towards the Atlantic ocean. Soils are generally of poor quality but where drumlins have been formed, such as those along the Bear River south of the Annapolis Basin, the land is deeper and more fertile.³⁰

d) Avalon Uplands

The Avalon Uplands are four major rock outcrops in mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. These are the Cobequid Hills, the Pictou-Antigonish Highlands, the North Bras d'Or Highlands and the Mabou Highlands. As the last two are situated in Cape Breton, they will not be discussed here. Thus the principal focus of this section is upon the Cobequid Hills and the Pictou-Antigonish Highlands. No contemporary climatic data for these regions is available but their higher elevation indicates that winters are colder and summers cooler than the surrounding landscape.

³⁰. Simmons, Natural History, 2:509, 511-12.

The Cobequid Hills begin at Cape Chignecto and run in a southeasterly direction for approximately 120-128 kilometres, ending just northwest of Pictou. From heights of 100 to 200 feet along Cobequid Bay, elevations rise steeply to 800 to 1100 feet. The hills reach their highest point of 1175 feet at Folly Lake and are broken in only two places. The first of these is the Chignecto River (Parrsboro and the Hebert Rivers) which runs from Partridge Island on the north shore of the Minas Basin to Chignecto Bay. The second gap runs along the Folly River to Folly Lake which flows into the Wallace River. From there the river runs into Wallace Harbour located on the Northumberland Strait adjacent to Tatamagouche Bay.³¹

The Pictou-Antigonish Highlands are located southeast of Pictou and form a large globular divide which bars land communication between Antigonish (Antigonish) and Pictou, Tatamagouche and other communities along the Northumberland Strait. From a height of 100 to 200 feet along the East River which flows into Pictou harbour, elevations rise gradually to 700 and 800 feet.

e) Carboniferous Lowlands

The Carboniferous Lowlands are the last major ecological zone and include all the land surface stretching from Chedabouctou to the Missiquash River, with the exclusion of the Pictou-Antigonish Highlands and the Cobequid Hills.

³¹. A. H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison 1968), pp. 14-15.

TABLE 1.4
 CARBONIFEROUS LOWLANDS
 MEAN TEMPERATURES
 IN DEGREES CELSIUS
 1980

	Jan			April			July			Nov		
	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn	Max	Min	Mn
Stewiacke	-1.8	-11.5	-6.7	10.8	0.2	5.5	23.2	12.4	17.8	5.8	-1.8	2.0
Hopewell	-2.9	-11.5	-7.2	9.2	-1.3	4.0	22.0	12.3	17.2	4.1	-2.0	1.1
Antigonish	-1.8	-9.9	-5.9	10.0	-1.1	4.5	23.1	12.6	17.9	5.5	-1.0	2.3
Braeshore	-1.6	-9.9	-7.2	9.5	0.1	4.8	22.1	14.1	18.1	5.9	-0.3	2.8
River John	-1.8	-10.4	-6.1	9.8	-0.2	4.8	22.5	13.1	17.8	5.5	-1.2	2.2
Nappan	-2.5	-10.6	-6.6	10.2	-0.3	5.0	22.4	12.9	17.7	5.1	-1.7	1.7

LEGEND: Stewiacke = Upper Stewiacke. In 1971, Antigonish had a population of 4,344. All other communities had populations of less than 500. Hopewell is located inland from Pictou and Upper Stewiacke lies west of the Shubenacadie River. Braeshore is situated on the coast adjacent to Pictou, River John borders on Tatamagouche Bay and Nappan is adjacent to Beaubassin (Cumberland Basin).

SOURCE: Environment Canada, Monthly Climatic Reports, 1980.

Local climates vary widely. Temperature data for this region is summarized in Table 1.4.

Both Upper Stewiacke and Hopewell are located inland while Antigonish, Braeshore and River John are situated on the Northumberland Strait. The latter three have been listed from east to west. In comparison to southern regions, winters are cold with mean January temperatures dipping below -6.0 degrees Celsius. This compares with -2.9 degrees Celsius at Yarmouth and -4.0 degrees Celsius at Digby. There is ice along the Northumberland Strait during the winter and as a result spring arrives late in coastal regions. Travel was difficult during the spring. The trader Charles Robin reported in 1768 that the Gut of Canso was still full of ice on 30 April.³² For communities bordering upon the Tantramar Marshes, the April mean minimum temperature is a full degree lower than for the Annapolis Valley. Mean July temperatures stay above 17.0 degrees Celsius making this region considerably warmer during the summer than Atlantic coastal areas. While the mean average minimum for the Atlantic coast stays well above freezing during November, communities in the Carboniferous Lowlands consistently experience freezing temperatures. The region west of Tatamagouche Bay receives less precipitation than areas closer to the Atlantic Ocean. The frost free period is less than 100 days in the interior and up to 140 days along the coast.³³

³². PANB, Charles Robin Journal, 1767-1774, p. 39, 30 April, 1768.

³³. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:571-72.

There are several distinctive localities within this region, only some of which will be discussed here. The Northumberland Plain which stretches from Chignecto Bay (Cumberland Basin) along the northern edge of the Cobequid Hills to Pictou, is characterized by impervious subsoils, which make this area less attractive agriculturally. Immediately west of the Plain are the Tantramar Marshes. Over the last 3,000 to 5,000 years more than 80 feet of sediment has been deposited in coastal areas bordering upon Chignecto and Shepody Bay. This has led to the most extensive marshland development in Nova Scotia.³⁴

2. ECOLOGY

In recent years historians have examined the relationships between plant, fish, animal and human populations. Using methods of the ecology sciences, these researchers have argued that European colonization altered existing relationships between human and non-human organisms.³⁵ Evaluating the influence of European settlement upon the non-human organisms of *Mi'kma'ki* is beyond the scope of this thesis. The importance of plants, fish, birds and

³⁴. Ibid., 2:588, 593.

³⁵. Albert Cowdrey, This Land, This South: An Environmental History of the South (Lexington 1983); William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England (New York 1983) see pp. 1-15; Alfred E. Crosby Jr., Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900 (New York 1986), pp. 146-194; Richard White, Land Use, Environment and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington (Washington 1980), pp. 35-76.

mammals in Mi'kmaq society, however, suggests that these relationships, and the manner in which European colonization may have altered them, should not be overlooked. What follows, therefore, is a selected overview of assumptions made by environmental historians, which will act as a guide for understanding evolving relationships between human and non-human organisms both before and after European contact.³⁶

Arguments made by environmental historians are premised upon the belief that environments are constantly changing as indigenous organisms adapt to climatic conditions and to the activities of other organisms. Two conclusions flow from this premise in examining the environmental history of this region. First, it is facile to argue that the Mi'kmaq did not alter their environment. Rather, as William Cronon has argued, Native people were part of an evolving landscape which was in a constant state of change and adaptation. Thus, the Mi'kmaq did not live in complete balance with the environment, though they changed it in a far less dramatic fashion than Europeans.³⁷ This also means that we must approach early European documentation regarding the non-human organisms they described as specific to that time and not reflecting the environment of centuries before.

³⁶. There are no major historical overviews of Nova Scotia's environment between 1600 and 1760. A partial view is offered by P. A. Bentley and E. C. Smith, "The Forests of Cape Breton in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Proceedings of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science, XXIV (1956), pp. 1-15.

³⁷. Cronon, Changes in the Land, pp. 12-13.

A second major conclusion to be drawn from the work of environmental historians is that Europeans altered existing North American food chains. A food chain, as outlined by Charles Elton, is composed of plants, herbivores and their predators. Every chain is distinct but usually has no more than four links. Each species within the chain can only consume foods up to a certain size meaning that smaller organisms serve as food for larger ones. This implies that those at the lower end reproduce more rapidly and are more numerous than organisms on the higher end. Thus, there are greater populations of smaller organisms than larger ones. Large animals such as moose do not reproduce as rapidly and are distributed over large areas. In effect, food supply influences population.³⁸

Europeans altered food chains in *Mi'kma'ki* in two ways. As newcomers to the Western Hemisphere their fishing and hunting activities constituted a new predator presence, interfering with populations whose numbers had before then been influenced by food supplies and Mi'kmaq predation. Secondly,

³⁸. Charles Elton, Animal Ecology (New York 1927), pp. 55-63; Donald Worster, Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas (Cambridge 1977), pp. 291-297. An example of how humans can influence the character of a food chain is suggested in the hunting of the baleen whales in the antarctic. Krill is the major food source for baleen whales. It has been estimated that a blue whale will eat four tons of krill per day, a fin whale three tons, a humpback whale two tons and a Sei whale 1.5 tons. The reduction of the baleen whales has resulted in an expansion of the krill population. Crabeater seals are also krill consumers so they have benefitted from this situation. Between 1955 and 1970 their mean age at maturation declined from four years to 2.5 years leading to population growth. W. Nigel Bonner, "Man's Impact on Seals," Mammal Review, 8 (1978), pp. 9-10; L. Harrison Matthews, The Natural History of the Whale (New York 1978), p. 68.

Europeans introduced exotic floral and faunal organisms which sometimes successfully established a niche in their new environments. This brought the new organisms into competition with indigenous organisms, some of which were displaced or their territories reduced. As well, land clearing and the increased likelihood of fire led to new plant growth which in turn facilitated the expansion of imported species.³⁹

a) Vegetation Communities

i. Forest Cover

Vegetation growth can be altered by either natural processes such as disease, wind and fire, or by human activity.⁴⁰ A recently disturbed area will evolve through a succession of vegetation communities. These successions occur because, as the forest grows, the increasing shade cover and evolving soil composition facilitates colonization by species more suitable to the new conditions. If left undisturbed, the area will evolve towards a climax forest where the vegetation is suited to its environment and is thus able to reproduce itself. Climax forests feature tall tree stands and little ground level vegetation.⁴¹

³⁹. Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, pp. 146-194; Arthur Allan, "The Relationship Between Habitat and Furbearers," in Wild Furbearer Management and Conservation in North America, edited by Milan Novak (North Bay 1987), p. 166.

⁴⁰. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 1:219.

⁴¹. Ibid., 1:221.

Forest disturbance regenerates plant life and encourages the growth of ground level vegetation. Before European arrival, fire, likely started by lightning, was the most important factor encouraging successional growth. Recent research in Maine has suggested that such fires were less common in coastal regions and when they occurred did not affect large areas.⁴² For the pre-contact period, there is not enough information to know if the Mi'kmaq deliberately burned vegetation cover to facilitate successional growth and to clear land for settlement, as was true of people further southward and westward.⁴³ However, in 1790, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, John Wentworth, wrote that the Indians had formerly set fires "on the meadows which, lightly running over, consumed the dead herbage and produced better feed for the Moose Deer."⁴⁴

⁴². William A. Patterson III and Kenneth E. Sassman, "Indian Fires in the Prehistory of New England," in Holocene Human Ecology in Northeastern North America, edited by George P. Nicholas (New York and London 1988), p. 113.

⁴³. Ibid, p. 118. Opinions vary as to whether fires were deliberately set by New England Indians. The affirmative view was stated by Gordon Day, "The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest," Ecology, 34 (1953), pp. 334-338. The negative view was argued by Emily W. B. Russell, "Indian Set-Fires in the Forests of the Northeastern United States," Ecology, 64 (1983), pp. 78-88.

⁴⁴. PANS, RG 1, 49, Wentworth to Principal officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, 20 March 1790. A 1765 survey of the Saint John River written by Charles Morris reported that the Indians had burned timber adjoining the Long Reach river and Grand Lake. No suggestions are made regarding the reasons. London, Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office Series (CO) 217, 21:388v-389, Charles Morris "A Report of Survey of the River St. John's."

The European fishery intensified forest disturbance. Along the eastern coast, fishermen used twelve to twenty foot firs to build their staging and lodgings. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Nicolas Denys was complaining that there were few places along the eastern coast where fishermen did not have to journey long distances to obtain timber.

There are places where so many have been cut away that no more are left and it is necessary to go after them three, four, five and six leagues away, and sometimes farther.⁴⁵

The European presence also led to widespread forest fires. In the case of Ile Royale, fires were deliberately set by the English garrison stationed at Louisbourg between 1745 and 1749 to destroy the Mi'kmaq population.⁴⁶ In 1756 one French commentator wrote that he had crossed more than thirty leagues through the forest "in which space the forests were so totally consumed by fire, that one could hardly find a spot wooded enough" to build a shelter.⁴⁷ During the early eighteenth century, fires destroyed timber lands adjacent to the principal Acadian settlements along the Minas Basin and by the latter part

⁴⁵. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 281-82. In 1764, the surveyor Charles Morris wrote that inhabitants of Canceau "go three Leagues up Chedabouctou Bay for Timber for Buildings and most of their Firewood." CO 217 21:104, Charles Morris, "Observations and Remarks," 14 Nov. 1764.

⁴⁶. This may include the lands referred to by Franquet in 1751. "Voyage de Sieur Franquet," 1751, Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec (1923-24), p. 120.

⁴⁷. M. de La Varenne, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756," Acadiensis, X (Autumn 1980), p. 117.

of the century, forests had also been burnt in southwestern *Kmitkinag*.⁴⁸

One factor facilitating forest fires was extended periods of drought. On the 29th of August 1800, John Wentworth, wrote from Halifax that

The extreme drought which has prevailed since the 20th May, excepting two little showers of an hour each has dried the earth and shrubs near the town, that they have become combustible and have been on fire near three weeks past ... The present fire exceeds any yet known in this country.⁴⁹

With the beginnings of European settlement, the demands upon the surrounding forests increased. Forests served various purposes, providing firewood to heat garrison forts and inhabitants' homes and the raw material used by Acadians to make sleds, cartwheels, handles, fences and staves.⁵⁰ During the late 1720s, with an approximate population of 400 men, the

⁴⁸. Charles Morris wrote in 1762 that the fires which had destroyed what was then called Horton Township, located near Minas, had occurred "Fifty years since." Morris also noted fires in adjoining regions though he did not suggest when they had taken place. PANS, RG 1 37, Charles Morris, "A Description of the Several Towns in Nova Scotia," 7 Jan. 1762. On the southwest: PANS, RG 1 380:112, Titus Smith, "The Western Tour"; and "The Northern Tour," 21 Sept. 1802.

⁴⁹. CO 217, 37:270-270v, Wentworth to John King, 29 August 1800. There are also references to drought in Nova Scotia in 1762, 1785, 1792 and in Shelburne in 1789. Only in 1792 is there also a reference to the fires. PANS, RG 1, 37: doc. 20, Belcher to Board of Trade, 7 Sept. 1762; CO 217, 59:231, "Extract of a Letter from Halifax," December, 1785; CO 217, 64:15, Wentworth to Henry Dundas, 25 Oct. 1792; PANS, Shelburne County Sessions Court, p. 236, 9 July 1789.

⁵⁰. In a later period, Titus Smith outlined some of the uses of timber found in Nova Scotia. White pine could be used to make oars, shingles, building timber and masts; white ash was used to make "handles for tools, plough, carriage wheels, and for many other purposes"; oak, for planks and lumber for ships, staves for fish barrels, cartwheels and many other purposes"; and the beech tree to make sleds. The bark of the hemlock was used for tanning leather. PANS, RG 1, 380:147-149, 169-170.

Louisbourg garrison required 280 cords of wood to supply its firewood needs during the winter.⁵¹ This meant that in areas contiguous to larger European settlements, such as Louisbourg and Port Royal, forests were gradually denuded of their tallest trees, forcing colonial officials to obtain wood further and further removed from the settlements.

More difficult to understand, and less easily traced, is the effect of seeds, plants and trees which Europeans either deliberately, or inadvertently transplanted to *Kmitkinag*. While agricultural plants are the most obvious examples, less discernible are grasses and seeds. Alfred Crosby has argued that livestock disturbed indigenous North American flora, providing an opportunity for European grasses to establish a foothold on the continent.⁵² Genetically stronger than their North American counterparts, these grasses were ultimately successful in displacing indigenous breeds. This process also occurred in *Mi'kma'ki*. Along the eastern coast, English grass was planted by Acadian settlers during the eighteenth century.⁵³ Seeds were also inadvertently transplanted, sometimes by livestock or in a ship's ballast. One example was

⁵¹. AC, Lettres envoyées (B), 53:587-587v, Conseil de la Marine à Saint-Ovide et Le Normant, 22 mai 1729.

⁵². Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, pp. 146-170.

⁵³. For example, in a survey made by Charles Morris of Ile Madame in Unimaki in 1764, there is reference to "40 acres of pasture land in English Grass at Petit Degrat." CO 217 21:106v, Charles Morris, "Observations and Remarks, 14 Nov. 1764." Morris also noticed English grass at Shillencook, near Mouscadabouet. PANS, RG 1 35: doc. 74, Charles Morris, [enclosed in Gov. Hopson's letter to Board of Trade, 16 Oct. 1762].

ragweed known as "Stinking Willie" which was brought from Scotland to Antigoniche during the late eighteenth century and within a century had become a menace to farmers' fields.⁵⁴

ii. Marshlands

Early French visitors noticed the abundant marshlands which grew in the estuaries, islands and river valleys of *Mi'kma'ki*. Located on the sediment created by tidal waters, these marshlands are exposed at low tide and are colonized first by *Spartina alterniflora*⁵⁵ and later by Marsh hay (*Spartina patens*),⁵⁶ a much finer grass which Acadians used to feed their livestock. While these two grasses are the dominant species colonizing the flats, others are also present, the most important being eelgrass, a favourite food for waterfowl.

Documenting marshlands for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is difficult, particularly along the eastern coast where there was little European settlement until after 1760. Marshlands were noted at Cap Fourchu, the Chebogue River, the Tusket Islands, Cap Sable, Port Mouton, and

⁵⁴. George Patterson, A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia (Montréal 1877), pp. 20-21.

⁵⁵. S.P. Long and C.F. Mason, Saltmarsh Ecology (Glasgow and London 1983), p. 9. *Spartina alterniflora* is a tall, coarse grass used by New England colonists for roofing houses, a practice which accounts for these grasses more colloquial sounding name, thatch. John and Mildred Teal, Life and Death of the Salt Marsh (Boston and Toronto 1969), p. 23.

⁵⁶. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 1:342-43.

Mouscadabouet.⁵⁷ Frequent mention of the marshlands between Cap Fourchu and Cap Sable would suggest extensive marshlands in this region, a creation of the favourable habitat provided by protected estuaries, bays, and the offshore islands. Present day figures suggest that the saltmarshes between Chebogue and Pubnico occupy about 8,000 acres.⁵⁸ Less difficult to document are the marshlands adjacent to the Bay of Fundy. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were found along the shores of the Annapolis Basin and the creeks and rivers which flow into it. More extensive marshlands characterized the river estuaries of the Minas Basin and Chignecto Bay where in 1761, the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia Charles Morris calculated there were 15,400 acres and 71,000 acres respectively.⁵⁹ Less extensive marshlands are also a feature of the coastline along the Northumberland Strait. Though sources only mention marshes along Saint Georges Bay and River Philip,⁶⁰ other bays and estuaries were also likely to have had marshlands at this time.

⁵⁷. Biggar, ed., The Works, 1:244; AC, C11D 4:85, Brouillan au ministre, 6 oct. 1701; PANS, RG 1, 37, Charles Morris, "A Description of the Several Towns in Nova Scotia," 9 Jan. 1762; AC, C11D 10, "Mémoire au sujet de l'acadie," mars 1712; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 141; PANS, RG 1, 35: doc. 74, Charles Morris, "A Report of a survey ...from the Town of Dartmouth round the Sea Coasts to a French deserted settlement called Shillencook," in Governor Hopson's letter to the Board of Trade, 16 Oct. 1752.

⁵⁸. M. Simmons et. al., The Natural History, 2:691.

⁵⁹. Charles Morris, "A Plan of Minas Bason and Cobequid Bay," 1761, and "A Plan of the District of Chignecto," 1761. Maps reproduced in Report of the Canadian Archives for 1904 (Ottawa 1905).

⁶⁰. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 171; PANS, RG 1, 380:70, Titus Smith, "The Northern Tour".

b) Waterfowl

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, eelgrass beds found among the marshes attracted a large quantity and variety of waterfowl. According to Nicolas Denys, waterfowl feeding upon the marshlands on the Tusket Islands included "Geese, Cranes, Ducks, Teal, Herons, Snipe ... Crows, Turnstones, Sandpipers, and so many of other kinds of birds that it is astonishing."⁶¹ Some of these birds stopped on their way south during the autumn and north during the spring; while others, such as the Canada goose and the black duck, likely wintered in the area, finding the mild climate and extensive saltmarshes much to their taste.⁶² In 1712, a French memorial noted that at Cap Sable there "is a great quantity of ocean birds, more than you can imagine, and all winter...geese, ducks and who are in the marshes, because they freeze little there."⁶³ Port Mouton on the Atlantic coast and Saint George's Bay on the Northumberland Strait were also noted by Denys as migration habitats for waterfowl while the marshes at Mouscadabouet attracted ducks and likely, other birds during both the spring and autumn.⁶⁴ These areas continue to be migration and winter habitats for waterfowl, demonstrating common migratory patterns over the last 200 years. This would

⁶¹. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 129.

⁶². Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:692.

⁶³. AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Mémoire au sujet de l'accadie," mars 1712.

⁶⁴. Biggar, ed., The Works, 1:237; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 141; AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748.

also suggest that areas not mentioned by European observers, such as Chezzetcook Inlet, Cole Harbor and the Bay of Islands were then, as they are today, habitats for migrating waterfowl.⁶⁵ Because the region between Chebouctou and Port Rossignol do not have extensive marshlands, waterfowl are not attracted to them in large numbers as would also have been true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶⁶

c) Terrestrial mammals

Sources show a variety of terrestrial mammals before 1760. These include small fur-bearing animals such as the beaver, fox, marten, muskrat, otter and the snowshoe hare, and large predators such as the bear and lynx. There were also two principal herbivore species: the caribou and moose.

One of the smallest mammals, the snowshoe hare, generally occupies swamps and thickets in lowland areas. With a gestation period of just 36 days, a doe may produce as many as four litters per year. This results in rapid population growth which usually collapses every eight to ten years. Reasons for this are unclear. Principal predators include the lynx, red fox, and owls so that large numbers of hares will usually suggest the presence of these animals, all of whom are primary carnivores.

The beaver, muskrat and otter prefer aquatic environments and were likely

⁶⁵. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 2:688, 698 and 702.

⁶⁶. Ibid., 1:244.

more populous in areas with large concentrations of fresh water, such as are found in the western half of *Kmitkinag*. Beavers survive in various stages of successional growth forest. The adult beaver has few aquatic predators except the otter. Both species, however, live in the same habitat without a serious reduction in the beaver population. Once on the land, beavers may be attacked by bears or lynxes.⁶⁷

Carnivores such as the black bear and lynx range over a greater territory and occupy different habitats, though the lynx tends to be more sedentary than the bear. Black bears are omnivorous, and thus, may not have initially been affected by human interference. Seventy-five per cent of their diet is composed of vegetable matter. During the warm weather months bears are often found in areas of successional growth where berry bushes grow. Lynxes, on the other hand, are primary carnivores, that is, they depend principally upon other animals for their food. There are two varieties of lynx, the *loup-cervier* and the bobcat, both of which are indigenous to the region. Their habitats, however, are different as the *loup-cervier* prefers the climax forest, while the bobcat occupies a variety of habitats including swamps and successional growth forests. While the *loup-cervier* depends principally upon the hare for its food, the bobcat has a more flexible diet, which includes mice, porcupines, rats, squirrels, snakes and lizards. The population of the *loup-cervier* is also influenced by that of the

⁶⁷. A. W. F. Banfield, The Mammals of Canada (Toronto 1981), pp. 158-161, 198-99.

snowshoe hare.⁶⁸

The two herbivores indigenous to *Kmitkinag* are caribou and moose. Caribou are migratory animals which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, spent the winter months in the milder climate of southern *Kmitkinag*. During his surveys of 1801, Titus Smith remarked that caribou were principally concentrated "upon the hills south of Digby and the Annapolis River and upon the mountains between West Chester and Pictou in the summer season [and] in the winter they usually approach the Southern Sea if the snow should be deep." This suggests that the herd spent the summer months in the Cobequid Hills and then migrated to southern areas during the winter.⁶⁹ Their principal food is ground lichens, which when destroyed by fire take 80 to 100 years to be re-established. Forest fires precipitated by European settlement had a dramatic impact upon the caribou population. Smith wrote in 1801 that caribou had previously been more numerous in southwestern Nova Scotia, but had been depleted "owing to the fires which have burned over the open barrens and destroyed the white Reindeer moss."⁷⁰

⁶⁸. Banfield, The Mammals, pp. 306-08, 349-51.

⁶⁹. PANS, RG 1, 380:113, Titus Smith, "General Observations on the Northern Tour," 1801. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 1:261.

⁷⁰. Simmons et. al., Natural History, 1:261. In 1762, Charles Morris noted that areas surrounding the Minas Basin had been devastated by fires about fifty years before. PANS, RG 1 37, Morris, "A Description of the Several Towns in Nova Scotia," Jan. 9, 1762. PANS, RG 1, 380:112; "Titus Smith's Account of his Western tour." For additional analysis see Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac," pp. 42-46.

The other major herbivore is the moose. The moose is one of North America's largest mammals. In 1764, one Englishman wrote that moose between 1000 and 1500 lbs. could be found along the Saint John River.⁷¹ Today, males weigh between 725 and 1400 pounds and females slightly less, at between 500 and 900 pounds. To survive, the adult moose requires approximately forty to sixty pounds of food daily which may be the reason why during the summer, they are not found in groups as they require a large browsing territory.⁷² During the winter, moose may graze together in upland areas, collectively stamping the snow down to feed, a practice called yarding. Both moose and deer feed from successional forest growth and thus disturbance increases the range of their territory by creating new food resources. They will be concentrated in larger numbers where the forest has been cut or been destroyed by fire.

Pre-1800 documentation notes areas where wildlife was concentrated. During the first half of the eighteenth century, this included the Tusket River, Cape Sable Island, Mirligueche, La Hève, lands adjacent to the Baye de toutes îles, and Port Toulouse. Cape Sable Island was noted for moose, bear and lynx, while the Bay of Islands was renowned for beaver and moose hunting, and La

⁷¹. Glasier to Saint John's River Society, 14 Dec. 1764, Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, 6 (1905), p. 310.

⁷². Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 427-29; Randolph Petersen, The Mammals of Eastern Canada (Toronto 1966), pp. 326-30; Randolph Petersen, North American Moose (Toronto 1955), p. 114.

Hève for its beaver population.⁷³

In settling *Kmitkinag*, Europeans introduced various animals which were not indigenous to the region, including cattle, goats, horses, pigs, sheep and chickens. One mammal inadvertently imported from Europe was the black rat which in 1606 entered Mi'kmaq cabins located adjacent to Port Royal "to eat or suck their fish oils."⁷⁴ Though rats are very fecund animals,⁷⁵ they only thrive in areas of large sedentary settlements.⁷⁶ Thus, their ability to establish a large colony in the region would have been delayed until the establishment and expansion of the Acadian population during the late seventeenth century.

d) Fish

Fish species can be divided into four categories; catadromous fish, which migrate towards salt water during the autumn to spawn in seawater and then return to fresh water in the early spring; anadromous fish, which migrate

⁷³. AC, C11D 4:85, Bonnaventure, "Mémoire des coste de L'Acadie," 12 oct. 1701; AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748; AC, C11B 10:190, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1729; Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 156-57.

⁷⁴. Marc Lescarbot, History of New France, vol. III (Toronto 1914), pp. 226-27.

⁷⁵. In the contemporary situation, females have a gestation period of twenty-one days and on the average give birth to eight litters annually with each litter containing an average of eight babies. Clive Roots, Animal Invaders (London 1976), p. 39. Such figures, however, may not be directly applicable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as gestation periods and litter size are also influenced by food, climate and other factors.

⁷⁶. J.F. Shrewsbury, A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (Cambridge 1970), pp. 23-28.

annually up freshwater rivers to spawn; ocean fish, which migrate into coastal waters during the warm weather months and finally, crustaceans, which frequent tidal rivers and inshore coastlines.

Contemporary observations regarding spawning and migration habits cannot always be directly applied to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as spawning activities and fish migrations are influenced by water temperatures.⁷⁷ Climatically *Mi'kma'ki* was cooler than it is today, suggesting either that spawning occurred later or that fish spawned in lower water temperatures than contemporary research indicates. This could have been partially offset by an increase in inshore temperatures because of sedimentation, removal of forest cover and reduced water levels.⁷⁸

Since agriculture was not extensively practised along the Atlantic coastline until after 1760,⁷⁹ local factors were less likely to have increased water temperatures. Changes in migration would have resulted from other factors. Records from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries frequently mention the annual fish runs in the southwest, suggesting continuity in fish

⁷⁷. Robert R. Williams and Graham R. Daborn, "Spawning of the American Shad in the Annapolis River, Nova Scotia," and "Spawning of the Striped Bass in the Annapolis River, Nova Scotia," Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, both in 34 (1984), pp. 12-13 and 17-21.

⁷⁸. David M. Gates et. al., "Wildlife in a Changing Environment," in The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History, edited by Susan Flader (St. Paul 1983), p. 62.

⁷⁹. The exceptions here are the English community established at Chebouctou in 1749 and the German settlement founded at Mirligueche in 1753.

migrations.⁸⁰ In some years fish may not have spawned in the same numbers or in the same location. Drought was one factor which could alter fish populations and movements. In Shelburne County in 1789, the water level on the Roseway River was so low, as a result of drought, that there was only one small passage through which salmon could pass.⁸¹ Anadromous fish runs in rivers bordering on areas where agriculture had been practised since the seventeenth century, such as the Annapolis, Minas, Piziguit, Cobequit and Chebenacadie Rivers are more problematic and require more extensive study.⁸²

The only catadromous fish indigenous to the region is the eel. In the early eighteenth century, eels began moving upriver during the early weeks of April, and possibly sooner in more southern areas. French officials noted eel runs during the months of April and May in the first half of the eighteenth century between the Abuptic and Tusket rivers in the southwest, while Nicolas Denys

⁸⁰. Between 1791 and 1804 a series of measures were passed by General Session of Shelburne County regarding the fisheries at Cap Forchu Harbour as well as the Abuptic, Pubnico, Salmon and Tusket Rivers. PANS, RG 34-324, Records of Sessions, Yarmouth and Argyle Districts, County of Shelburne, 1789-1816, April term 1791, p. 6; April term 1794, p. 28; Oct. 1798, p. 70; 24 April 1804, p. 137.

⁸¹. PANS, Shelburne County, Special Court of Sessions, p. 236, 9 July 1789.

⁸². As in the case of Shelburne County, King's County passed a series of measures regarding the fishery on the Gaspero and Salmon rivers. PANS, RG 34-316, Court of General Sessions, Proceedings, King's County, 1 June 1769, p. 2. In 1791 there was a dispute regarding the salmon fishery on the Annapolis River. PANS, MG 1, 184: doc. 220, Chipman Papers, Kings County, General Sessions of the Peace, first Tuesday of June, 1791.

mentioned their presence along the La Hève River.⁸³ In 1801, Nova Scotia's Surveyor General encountered Acadians living near the Tusket River who told him that "they often catch 30 Barrels of eels in a night in the Brook they live on," which suggests the prodigious quantity of eels moving through the area.⁸⁴

Anadromous fish indigenous to *Mi'kma'ki* include: alewives, bass, herring and salmon. These fish spawn in coastal waters because their eggs cannot mature in deep ocean waters where adult fish normally feed. After spawning, adult fish return to the ocean while their eggs mature in coastal waters. Species spawning in specific geographical areas are part of the same fish stock and do not intermix with other stocks. There are, therefore, clear divisions between fish living in the northeast and the northwest Atlantic. Adult fish populations of one species often number as many as 100 billion.⁸⁵

During the early seventeenth century fish began moving into the Annapolis Basin during mid-March, with their numbers increasing during the first two weeks of April. First came smelt, then herring at the end of April, and alewives, salmon and sturgeon in May.⁸⁶ Similar fish runs occurred in rivers

⁸³. AC, C11D 4:85v, Bonaventure, "Mémoire des coste de L'acadie," 12 oct. 1701; AC, C11D 10, "Sur L'Acadie," 1748.

⁸⁴. PANS, RG 1, 380A, "Titus Smith's Account of his western tour," Entry for 13 Sept. 1802.

⁸⁵. D.H. Cushing, Climate and Fisheries (London 1982), pp. 37-65.

⁸⁶. JR 3:79-81, Biard, "Relation of 1616"; Lescarbot, History of New France, III:236; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 124.

along the Atlantic coast.⁸⁷ Late eighteenth-century observers commented that fish spawned in any river of considerable size in *Kmitkinag*. Since spawning is influenced by water temperature, fish likely frequented rivers in the south earlier than in the north.⁸⁸ The quantity of fish in the region is suggested by later records which provide figures on catches made by English fishermen. In 1762, for example, the harbour and river of Ministiguesh (Port La Tour) on the southwestern coast yielded 2,000 barrels of alewives,⁸⁹ while in the early nineteenth century 30,000 barrels of herring were exported by the Town of Annapolis.⁹⁰ There is little information regarding the average size and weight of fish. One of the few records which does mention such information suggests that during the late eighteenth century, salmon weighed between nine and thirteen pounds.⁹¹

⁸⁷. Southack, New England Coasting Pilot (1720-1734).

⁸⁸. S. Hollingsworth, The Present State of Nova Scotia with a Brief Account of Canada and the British Islands on the Coasts of North America (Edinburgh 1787), pp. 61-62; PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith "Survey of western Nova Scotia," 1801.

⁸⁹. Abraham Gesner, The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia (Halifax 1849), p. 120.

⁹⁰. PANS, RG 5, Series P, 51, "Petition of Inhabitants of Township of Clements and Annapolis," 1821.

⁹¹. James Munro, "History and description and state of the southern and eastern Townships of Nova Scotia, in 1795" in Report of the Board of Trustees of PANS (Halifax 1947), p. 40.

e) Marine Mammals

The principal marine mammal mentioned in early records is the seal. In 1616, the Jesuit father Pierre Biard observed seals mating in January upon islands located near Port Royal.⁹² More than half a century later, Nicolas Denys noted that seals gave birth to their young in February upon the Seal Islands, which are located to the southwest of Cap Sable, though they also frequented the Tusket Islands.⁹³ There are few seals that give birth to their young in the winter so this was likely the grey seal which even today continues to inhabit the southwestern waters of *Kmitkinag* during January and February.⁹⁴ As shown by later accounts, seals were also found in Unimaki, the Magdelaine Islands and at Malpec on the western end of Abegweit.⁹⁵

Walruses were also indigenous to the northeast Atlantic. Today walruses are not found in this region, having retreated northwards because of hunting pressures, and perhaps, because of increased ocean temperatures over the last century. The average weight for an eastern arctic bull is 1,650 pounds and for a cow, 1,250 pounds.⁹⁶ Up until at least the mid-eighteenth century, sources

⁹². IR 3:79, Biard, "Relation of 1616".

⁹³. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 130 and 349. In May of 1604, Champlain reported seeing the stones on Seal Island completely covered with seals. See Biggar, ed., The Works, 1:243.

⁹⁴. Banfield, Mammals of Canada, pp. 368-69.

⁹⁵. AC, C11D 1:193, "Mémoire de la compagnie de la pesche sedentaire de l'acadie," 18 dec. 1685; AC, C11B 8:50v-51, Saint-Ovide, 18 nov. 1726.

⁹⁶. Banfield, Mammals, pp. 363-365.

indicate walrus present on the Magdelaine islands.⁹⁷ In 1591, a Breton syndicate killed approximately 1500 walrus during a two month period, suggesting a minimum number living on the islands' shoreline during the autumn months.⁹⁸

3. Subsistence

It is within this changing environment, that the Mi'kmaq attempted to maintain their fishing and hunting activities after the beginnings of European settlement. In explaining Mi'kmaq subsistence researchers such as Miller and Nietfeld have relied upon the writings of three early visitors to *Kmitkinag*, Samuel de Champlain, Marc Lescarbot and Pierre Biard. None of the three, however, lived for extended periods in the region. Champlain lived there between 1604 and 1607, but spent most of his time travelling and exploring the New England coastline. Lescarbot lived at Port Royal in 1606-07, as did Biard between 1611 and 1613. Both men spent most of their time within the vicinity of Port Royal and only occasionally ventured forth to visit other areas. As Robert Kelley has argued, the activities of people who move seasonally in

⁹⁷. Gamaliel Smethurst, "A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape out of the Hands of the Indians, 1761," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, vol. 5 (1905), p. 385.

⁹⁸. David Beers Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620 (New York 1974), pp. 318-319.

search of food can only be understood over ten to twenty year cycles and not through observations garnered over one or two years.⁹⁹ While the writings of Biard, Champlain and Lescarbot are valuable, they do not provide a comprehensive overview of Mi'kmaq subsistence activities. More useful are the writings of Chrestien LeClercq, a Récollet missionary who spent the years 1675 to 1686 living with the Mi'kmaq inhabiting the Gaspé coast. As Frances Stewart has pointed out, LeClercq did not visit Mi'kmaq communities in *Kmitkinag* and consequently his comments cannot be applied directly to people living there.¹⁰⁰ More valuable are the writings of Nicolas Denys, a French trader who arrived in *Mi'kma'ki* in 1632 and who, during the following years, maintained trading and fishing posts in various localities.¹⁰¹

With the beginning of more intensive political interest in the region during the late seventeenth century, source materials regarding *Kmitkinag* increase. Since most of this correspondence was written by political officials, who did not have extensive contacts with the Mi'kmaq, there is little information

⁹⁹. Robert Kelley, "Hunter-Gatherer Mobility Strategies," Journal of Anthropological Research, 39 (1983), pp. 301-302.

¹⁰⁰. For a more extensive analysis of these problems see Frances L. Stewart, "Seasonal Movements of Indians in Acadia as Evidenced by Historical Documents and Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Archaeological Sites," Man in the Northeast, no. 38 (1989), pp. 55-77. LeClercq's writings are useful for understanding the broader dynamics of Mi'kmaq society.

¹⁰¹. For a description of Denys' life, see Bernard Pothier, "Nicolas Denys: The Chronology and Historiography of an Acadian Hero," Acadiensis, I (1971), pp. 54-70.

regarding Mi'kmaq economic activities. Therefore, it is not possible to make precise characterizations regarding migrations by all Mi'kmaq inhabiting the region during the eighteenth century.

Interpretations are further limited by the character of Mi'kmaq society. Migrations were influenced by the rhythms of fish and animal life and as these populations constantly changed, settlements also moved. Reflecting this pattern are Mi'kmaq place names which do not refer to a specific land surface but rather to the fish or animals populating an area. For example, the original name for Ketch Harbor was "*Nemagakunuk*" or "a good fishing place."¹⁰² The place name's location changed as the population did, so that if fish migrations changed, "*Nemagakunuk*" might later refer to another place.

While we cannot provide a comprehensive scheme which would place families at specific locations throughout the year, it is possible to provide a general overview of their subsistence activities. The following description relies upon information dating from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Despite the European invasion of their lands and the changes that this precipitated, the records suggest a remarkable degree of continuity in Mi'kmaq subsistence activities over this two hundred year period.

During the spring, summer and early fall, most Mi'kmaq families lived on

¹⁰². Thomas J. Brown, Place Names in Nova Scotia (Halifax 1922), p. 75. Ketch Harbor is today the location of a small fishing village approximately half an hour's drive south from Halifax. It is also the location of a series of sandy white beaches frequented by Haligonians and tourists (i.e. Crystal Crescent Beach).

or near the shoreline. Movement began in the early spring and the beginning of the spawning season, when families congregated along major river systems. Fish were caught using weirs made of wooden stakes placed at the entrance of rivers and streams¹⁰³ and were situated so as to force fish to swim towards a net placed at the end of the weir.¹⁰⁴ Alternatively, they were caught at night with torches made from white birch trees.¹⁰⁵ During the late nineteenth century, Mi'kmaq living along the Abuptic River in southwestern *Kmitkinag* placed the torches in the prow of their canoes. The light attracted the eels and when spotted, were trapped by a wooden spear sharpened at both ends into two points.¹⁰⁶ Salmon, sturgeon, trout and ducks were also caught at night.¹⁰⁷ In some areas, such as along the Strait of Canso, oysters and mussels may have constituted a major food source during the spring.¹⁰⁸ In June during the early

¹⁰³. References to weir usage among the Mi'kmaq are in Lescarbot, History of New France, III:236-37; Contract between Jacques d'Entremont II and François Muis on one side and Eustache Jecoudamate, Poubomcoup, 2 June 1751 in "Documents Inédits de la famille Muis-D'Entremont d'Acadie," Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-française, XX (janvier-mars 1969), p. 162; PANS, RG 1, 430: doc. 55, James Fulton's Report on Indians in Colchester County, 3 March 1801.

¹⁰⁴. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 437.

¹⁰⁵. PANS, RG 1, 380:158, Titus Smith "Survey of Nova Scotia," 1801.

¹⁰⁶. Jackson Rickers, Historical Sketches of Glenwood and the Argyles, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia (Truro 1941), p. 4; Natalie B. Stoddard, "Micmac Foods" (Halifax 1967).

¹⁰⁷. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 354, 435-36.

¹⁰⁸. Ibid., p. 109.

nineteenth century, some families moved temporarily inland, laying traps for bears attracted to river beds by gaspereau returning to the sea.¹⁰⁹ For most of the summer during the pre-1760 period, however, families tended to live along river systems adjacent to the seashore, eating fish, small mammals, and berries and groundnuts.¹¹⁰

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these foods were supplemented by such agricultural crops as peas, beans, cabbages and corn.¹¹¹ In his work on Mi'kmaq-European relations, Upton assumed that agriculture was introduced into Mi'kmaq society by Roman Catholic missionaries during the early eighteenth century and was confined to missions established after 1716.¹¹² Sources show, however, that agriculture had been

¹⁰⁹. PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith, "Survey of Western Nova Scotia," 1801.

¹¹⁰. Blueberries, cranberries, gooseberries and raspberries were eaten. Of the groundnut, Denys wrote that the Mi'kmaq were very fond of them. "They have the taste of chestnuts when they are boiled, and they are called Chicamins." Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 396-98; Lescarbot, History of New France, II:311.

¹¹¹. France, AN, Monuments historiques, série K, carton 1232, pièce 4, Gaulin à d'Aguesseau, [1720], p. 120; AC, C11B 7:192v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 10 déc. 1725; AC, C11B 7:29v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724; AC, B 68:370v, Mémoire du roi, 22 juin 1739; AC, C11B 1:250v-251, "Mémoires sur les missions Sauvages mikmacks et de l'acadie." The date "1715-1716" appears on this document. However, it states that the three missionaries among the Mi'kmaq were Le Loutre, Maillard and St. Vincent. Dickason argues that the letter was probably written in 1739. Dickason, Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Relations, 1713-1760 (Ottawa: National Parks and Sites Branch, History and Archaeology 6, 1976), pp. 249-54.

¹¹². L. F. S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 (Vancouver 1979), p. 34. The missions and their location will be discussed more fully in chapter 6.

integrated into Mi'kmaq society before 1716 indicating that missionaries were not solely responsible for its dissemination. After his year long sojourn at Port Royal in 1606-1607, Marc Lescarbot wrote that the Mi'kmaq had formerly practised agriculture but had abandoned the practice since contact, save for growing tobacco.¹¹³ In 1685, during his travels in Acadia, the Bishop of Québec, Saint Vallier, noted there were three Christian Mi'kmaq families at Chignecto "who were there to grow corn."¹¹⁴ During the early eighteenth century, garden crops, principally corn, were also raised by Mi'kmaq families living at four riverine locations between Tatamagouche and Baie Verte, and by families living along the eastern coast of New Brunswick.¹¹⁵

Several factors could have been responsible for the introduction of agricultural crops in the pre-mission period. One possibility is that Acadians had been farming the Bay of Fundy marshlands since the late 1630s and agricultural skills were disseminated to neighbouring Mi'kmaq families. In addition, the wars of the late seventeenth century expanded kinship ties between the Mi'kmaq and the more agriculturally focused Maliseet and

¹¹³. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:195, 252.

¹¹⁴. Saint-Vallier, État présent de l'Église et de la colonie française dans la Nouvelle-France, 1st edition 1687, (Paris 1963), p. 216.

¹¹⁵. PANS, RG 1, 7, "A Declaration of ye undermentioned Denis Godet and Bernard Godet Brothers Inhabitants at ye Top of the River of Annapolis," 1714; PANS, RG 1, 7, "A declaration and Journal of the Voyage of Peter Arceneau...," May 1714.

Abenaki peoples.¹¹⁶ These ties would have led to a diffusion of horticultural skills, as Maliseet and Abenaki women brought to their new homes, the rhythms of life of their own peoples.¹¹⁷ The other possibility is that the declining hemispheric temperatures beginning in 1450 made horticultural production untenable and had precipitated its abandonment prior to the first recorded observations made by Europeans of Mi'kmaq peoples. Indeed, this hypothesis is supported by Lescarbo's comment in 1606 that prior to the coming of the French, the Mi'kmaq had practised agriculture.¹¹⁸

The re-introduction of agriculture into Mi'kmaq society was facilitated by two factors. First, as outlined in section one of this chapter, relative to the two preceding centuries, Northern Hemispheric temperature increases during the early 1700s coincided with complaints by chiefs and elders that hunting was not as good as it once had been.¹¹⁹ With a reduced animal population, corn production would have provided additional food during the late autumn and winter, particularly in periods of climatic fluctuations.

Agriculture was integrated into existing economic activities and did not

¹¹⁶. AC, C11B 1:145v, Costebelle au ministre, 5 nov. 1715.

¹¹⁷. In a similar vein, Harald Prins argues that horticulture was not indigenous to the Maliseet people and was introduced by peoples living further west after 1675 as war with New England resulted in their migration to the Saint John River Valley. Harald E.L. Prins, "Cornfields at Meductic: Ethnic and Territorial Reconfigurations in Colonial Acadia," Man in the Northeast, no. 44 (1992), pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁸. Lescarbot, History of New France III:195.

¹¹⁹. AC, C11D 4:77, Brouillan au ministre, 6 nov. 1701.

lead to a radical transformation in subsistence patterns. Though there are no detailed descriptions of Mi'knaq people working on the land, the seasonal cycle of planting, weeding and harvesting would have resembled that of their Maliseet neighbours. John Gyles, who lived among the Maliseet between 1689 and 1695 described how agricultural crops were integrated with fishing and hunting activities:

There (at the Fort) we Planted Corn, and after Planting, went a Fishing, and to look for and dig Roots, till the Corn was ready to weed; and after Weeding, took a Second tour on the Same Errand, and Returned to Hull our corn, and after Hulling, we went some distance from the Fort and [] up the River, to take Salmon, and other Fish, and dry them for Food till Corn was fill'd with the Milk, Some of which we dried them, the other as it ripen'd. And when we had gathered our Corn and dried it, we put some into Indian Barns, i.e. in Holes in the Ground [] and cover'd with Bark, and then with Dirt. The rest we carried up the River upon our Winter hunting.¹²⁰

At Malpec on the northwestern coast of Abegweit (Prince Edward Island), seeds were planted in a small hole dug with a piece of wood, and were not touched again until weeding was necessary.¹²¹ In the interim, families fished and collected berries.

Agricultural crops were more important in some areas than others. Though corn and wheat were grown on Unimaki, after the establishment of a mission there in 1724, by 1739 there were complaints that the soil was unsuitable and

¹²⁰. John Gyles, Memoirs of Odd Adventures and Signal Deliverences etc. in the Captivity of John Gyles 1st edition, 1736, (Cincinnati 1869), pp. 20-21.

¹²¹. AC, C11B 11:196-196v, Espiet de Pensens au ministre, 5 mars 1732.

that the mission should be relocated.¹²² By contrast, the soil at Malpec on Abegweit was fertile and food crops supplemented supplies during the winter, becoming important when other resources were less available.¹²³ The French commander on the island, Jacques de Pensens estimated that the smallest harvest at Malpec had yielded 100 hundredweight of wheat.¹²⁴ The contrast between the two missions reflects that Unimaki did not have good agricultural land and that the Mi'kmaq there had traditionally been less sedentary than people living at Malpec and in the southern mainland.

During the warm weather months, population concentrations were greater than in winter. In eighteenth-century correspondence, these spring/summer residences were called villages, which suggests a degree of semi-permanency. Village size, however, could vary considerably as people left to visit relatives in other villages or to hunt or fish in adjacent areas.

In mid-September, families moved inland, fishing for eels which had begun moving upriver before the onset of winter.¹²⁵ In 1801, Titus Smith wrote that

¹²². The complaints in 1739 are in *Ibid*, 250v, and on the earlier period, AC, C11B 8:51, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 nov. 1726.

¹²³. AC, C11B 14:15, Conseil de la Marine, 15 nov. 1732. A memorial written in 1750 noted that the soil was particularly good at Malpec. Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, 1748-1750, mémoire de Du Pont du Vivier à Rouillé, 1750.

¹²⁴. AC, C11B 11:195, Pensens au ministre, 5 mars 1732.

¹²⁵. Pierre Biard writes that this occurred in mid-September, though Titus Smith, two centuries later notes that this occurred in late August and early September. JR 3:83, Biard, "Relation of 1616"; PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith,

the best place to catch eels was where a stream emptied into a lake. There, the Mi'kmaq would build a dam of stones interspliced with spruce or fir boughs. If the stream had a muddy bottom, a weir was constructed "by driving stakes so close together that the Eels cannot pass between them." Eels and other fish and meat were smoked on five foot high platforms, and stored for the winter.¹²⁶ The meat was first deboned and then cut into thin shreds before being smoked.¹²⁷ Dried provisions supplemented winter diets but were also stored at strategic locations for future use. In the early seventeenth century, Biard commented that the food was put into a sack

which they tie up in big pieces of bark; these they suspend from the interlacing branches of two or three trees so that neither rats nor other animals, nor the dampness of the ground, can injure them.¹²⁸

The autumn months marked a change in Mi'kmaq activities. From the early spring, families had lived principally through fishing but beginning in October, more time was spent hunting land based animals. During the cold weather months, families who had been living together in one village divided into hunting/fishing groups, composed of several households. In Espigeoag, Unimaki and Pittukewwaq aqq Epekwtk, where winters were colder and lasted

"Survey of Western Nova Scotia," 1801.

¹²⁶. PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith, "Survey of Western Nova Scotia," 1801.

¹²⁷. Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 119; Gamaliel Smethurst, A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape out of the Hands of the Indians (London 1774), pp. 13-14.

¹²⁸. JR 3:109, Biard, "Relation of 1616."

longer, these groups consisted of three to five households or approximately 12 to 25 people. This conclusion stems from five sources, each indicating small household groups living together between December and the spring break-up.¹²⁹ This social patterning, however, was not maintained consistently throughout the northern regions. One French missionary, Abbé Maillard, wrote in the 1750s that during the winter, some families wintered at the mission in Unimaki, the men leaving to hunt for periods of 15 to 30 days.¹³⁰ It is not known whether this was a recent adjustment occasioned by the establishment of a permanent mission or reflected a longer term pattern.

In southern regions, hunting groups may have been larger, reflecting the shorter length and more moderate temperatures of the winter months and the readier availability of food resources. This is suggested by a 1763 census recorded on December 20 which lists two Mi'kmaq hunting groups living in the vicinity of the Minas Basin. This census shows a total of 36 people hunting along the Cornwallis River and of 42 people west of the Chebucto River

¹²⁹. Service historique de l'armée, série A1, Correspondance générale, v. 3393, M. de La Serelle à Raymond, avril 1753; CO 217 45, "A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia, the First day of January, 1767"; NAC, MG 23 J6:133, S.W. Prenties, "Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780."

¹³⁰ "Lettre de M. l'Abbé Maillard sur les missions de l'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques à Madame de Drucourt," in Les Soirées Canadiennes (1863), pp. 353-54.

[Kennetcook River].¹³¹

In October moose and caribou were hunted, largely because it was the mating season. Bulls were less cautious and more easily killed.¹³² To get a moose to approach them, hunters used a number of methods. At times, a trumpet made of birch bark was blown which imitated a doe's cry and attracted a male's attention.¹³³ Alternatively, water was dropped from a bark dish into a river at night, imitating the sound of a female moose urinating.¹³⁴ In winter, hunters used dogs to assist in the chase as they did not sink deeply into the snow and could run considerably faster than snowshoe-clad hunters. Dogs also hauled meat and provisions¹³⁵ and guarded campsites at night.¹³⁶

¹³¹. PANS, MG 1 258:20-21 and 24-25, Isaac Deschamps Papers, "Names of the Indians residing in about the district of Ford Edward with the number of their families, 20 Dec. 1763 and 24 Sept. 1767."

¹³². JR 3:83, Pierre Biard, Relation of 1616;; PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith, "Survey of Western Nova Scotia," 1801. On 20 Oct. 1696, the commander of the French fort at Nashwaak, Joseph Robineau de Villebon wrote that no further expeditions against the English could be planned "because this is the time when every family goes off to the hunting grounds to secure food." John C. Webster, ed. Acadia at the End of the 17th Century (Saint John 1934), p. 98; Richard White points out that during the mating season, male deer are less cautious. This might suggest a similar situation among moose. Richard White, The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos (Lincoln 1983), p. 27.

¹³³. PANS, RG 1, 380A, Titus Smith, "Survey of Western Nova Scotia," 1801.

¹³⁴. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 427.

¹³⁵. Ibid., p. 360.

¹³⁶. Patrick Campbell, Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792, edited by H.H. Langton (Toronto 1937), p. 82. Though Campbell's comments refer to non-Mi'kmaq hunters, it may be

Nicolas Denys wrote in the mid-seventeenth century that dogs were highly cherished in Mi'kmaq society and that there was not a hunter who did not have seven or eight of them.¹³⁷

The difference in climate between southern and northern regions led to different subsistence activities among the Mi'kmaq inhabiting these regions. In January families living in southern *Kmitkinag* hunted seals breeding on the Seal and Tusket islands. The seals were used for their meat, hides and oil, the latter a mainstay of the Mi'kmaq diet during the winter.¹³⁸ From February until mid-March, according to Father Biard, "is the great hunt for beavers, otters, moose, bears...and for the caribou."¹³⁹ Hunting likely began earlier in northern regions where families began moving into winter areas before the onset of cold weather. Canoes were left adjacent to spawning grounds and

assumed they applied to the Mi'kmaq.

¹³⁷. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 430-31. In 1593, Richard Fisher recounted meeting Mi'kmaq men west of Cape Breton with "dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a grey-hounde" who followed them at their heels. "The voyage of the ship called Marigold of Redrife unto Cape Briton [sic] and beyond 1593," in The Voyages of the English Nation to America. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, edited by Edmund Goldsmid, 11 (Edinburgh 1889), p. 56.

¹³⁸. JR 3:79, Pierre Biard, 1616; The hunting season on the Magdelaine islands and Miskou was later in the year. At Miskou, seals were hunted near the end of November. Smethurst, A Narrative, p. 18; Also AC, B 61:588, Conseil de la Marine à Le Normant, 27 avril 1734 and on the importance of seal oil, AC, C11B 1:252, "Mémoire sur les missions sauvages Mikmacks et de l'Acadie," [1739].

¹³⁹. JR 3:79, Pierre Biard, Relation of 1616.

families travelled to winter territories by foot or moosehide canoes.¹⁴⁰ Towards winter's end, families reclaimed their canoes and then waited for the beginning of the spawning season. In the autumn of 1753, Etienne Jeannot, chief of the Unimaki Mi'kmaq, left his canoe at Canceau and from there journeyed to Macodome (Country Harbor)¹⁴¹ where his and three other families intended to spend the winter.¹⁴²

As this and other examples illustrate, winter territories could be located close to the coastline,¹⁴³ though they could also be further inland. In early January 1767, 25 men, women and children were hunting near what is today Hopewell, situated inland on the West River south of Merigomish.¹⁴⁴ While

¹⁴⁰. Gyles, Memoirs, p. 20.

¹⁴¹. The Micmac name was Moolaboogwek meaning 'gullied and deep.' Thomas J. Brown, Place Names in the Province of Nova Scotia (Halifax 1922), p. 16.

¹⁴². Service historique de l'armée, série A1, Correspondance générale, v. 3393, M. de La Serelle à Raymond, avril 1753.

¹⁴³. On 18 Dec. 1761, Saint-Luc de la Corne encountered five Mi'kmaq cabins at Antigoniche, Journal du Voyage de M. Saint-Luc de la Corne (Québec 1863); on 16 Feb. 1779, a quarrel occurred at Merigomish (near Pictou) on the north shore between local Mi'kmaq inhabitants and an ice bound English vessel; CO 217 54:225, Michael Francklin, "Abstract of Expenses..."; On 28 Feb. 1780, S. W. Prenties who along with five others was shipwrecked near North Cape on Cape Breton Island was rescued by Mi'kmaq living near Saint Anne's Bay. Their camp was located one mile inland. NAC, MG 23 J6:133, S. W. Prenties, "Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780."

¹⁴⁴. CO 217, 45 "A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia on the First day of January 1767." The census shows 9 men, 9 women, 4 boys and 3 girls.

winter made travelling more difficult, this did not prevent hunters from making extended voyages far removed from their base camps. During the winter of 1752-53, Mi'kmaq from Unimaki and Antigoniche made several trips to Canceau.¹⁴⁵ In some cases, this was because hunters tracked their quarries long distances and as a result kill sites were several miles from their encampment.¹⁴⁶

European writers suggest that January and February were the most difficult period for the Mi'kmaq.¹⁴⁷ These were the two coldest months and the cold and deep snows often made travel treacherous. Too little snow, however, made hunting difficult, as moose and other herbivores had less difficulty in evading hunters.¹⁴⁸ A rise in temperature was potentially disastrous as snowshoe-clad hunters and their dogs could not move overland.¹⁴⁹ Storms were anathema,

¹⁴⁵. AC, C11B 33:160v, Drucourt au ministre, 12 mai 1753.

¹⁴⁶. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 428-29. In Jan. 1820, a Mi'kmaq man, identified as "Old Paul," said that he had tracked a pair of moose 8 miles. The Dalhousie Journals, edited by Marjory Whitelaw, vol. 1 (Canada 1978), 182, 28 Jan. 1818.

¹⁴⁷. Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 110.

¹⁴⁸. In Feb. 1794, Francis Jeannot told Monk that the hunting around Antigoniche "is very bad on every account - their [sic] being little to get and for want of snow difficult to pursue." NAC, MG 23, G11-19:1067-68, Monk Papers, 26 Feb. 1794.

¹⁴⁹. Biard also points out that "when it snows a great deal, and does not freeze over...then they cannot put their dogs upon the chase, because they sink down..." JR 3:79, Biard, Relation of 1616.

increasing the dangers of travel and driving game away.¹⁵⁰ Significantly, in the late eighteenth century, January and February were the months when Nova Scotia's Superintendent for Indian Affairs, George Monk, received the most requests for assistance from Mi'kmaq families.¹⁵¹

Moosemeat was not the only dish eaten in winter. Meat smoked the previous autumn and seal oil were eaten as well as fresh fish caught in surrounding waterways. In Lake Bras d'Or in Unimaki, eels were caught using harpoons, while lines were employed to catch cod and trout.¹⁵² Indeed, eels may have been a mainstay of the Mi'kmaq diet in the winter. With the approaching cold weather, eels burrowed into the muddy bottoms of lakes and coves and could be caught in large quantities. In 1867, a resident of Saint Margaret's Bay, John Ambrose, wrote that the previous March, two local inhabitants had speared fifty dozen large eels in a single day.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰. Smethurst, A Narrative, p. 15.

¹⁵¹. NAC, MG 23, G11-19, vols 3-4, Monk Papers.

¹⁵². Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard", in Les Soirées Canadiennes, p. 353. In 1818, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Lord Dalhousie wrote that fish were taken in "cart loads" from the lake "even in the depth of winter." Dalhousie Journals, I:98, 10 Sept. 1818. Ice fishing was not confined to northern areas.

¹⁵³. John Ambrose, "On the Fishes of St. Margaret's Bay," Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science (1867), pp. 89-90.

4. Material Culture

Except for brief comments made by seventeenth-century visitors such as Biard, Denys and Lescarbot, most correspondents did not refer to articles used or clothes worn by Mi'kmaq individuals. Thus it is not possible to chart how the material culture of communities changed or remained the same after contact with Europeans. This section briefly describes articles indigenous to Mi'kmaq society but only includes those used within a village's immediate vicinity (articles used for fishing and hunting were described above) as well as canoes and boats used on the rivers and in the sea.

The fixed point of Mi'kmaq society was the home and even though its location changed, its basic construction was not altered during the pre-1760 period. Cabins were made of several long fir poles tied together in a point with a hole at the top to allow smoke to escape. The exterior was covered by four to five large pieces of birch bark sewn together with thread made from the root of the black spruce tree, and was likely decorated with drawings of birds, moose, bears and otters made from charcoal or from dyes made by women.¹⁵⁴ In the winter, both interior and exterior walls were covered with spruce

¹⁵⁴. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 405. The reference to charcoal drawings is from Campbell, Travels in the Interior, p. 89. Though this refers to a "Canadian Indian" settled along the Saint John River near Woodstock, N.B., such drawings were likely also characteristic of Mi'kmaq dwellings. See Ruth Holmes Whitehead, "Atlantic Coast" in The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples (Toronto 1987), p. 29.

boughs for insulation.¹⁵⁵ Upon vacating a camp, the boughs and poles were discarded,¹⁵⁶ but the shell was used again.¹⁵⁷ Inside, the floor was covered with spruce branches and then with furs and blankets.¹⁵⁸ In the centre was the fire. According to Nicolas Denys, a large family built a cabin to accommodate two fires and twenty or so people, while smaller cabins had only one fire and held ten to twelve people.¹⁵⁹

Information regarding other aspects of Mi'kmaq material culture is more difficult to unravel. Families continued to make many of their own tools and instruments. Containers of various sizes were made from birch bark sewn together with fir roots and decorated with porcupine quills.¹⁶⁰ These were

¹⁵⁵. Silas T. Rand, A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (Halifax 1850), p. 15.

¹⁵⁶. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 405.

¹⁵⁷. RG 1 380:158, Titus Smith, Survey of Nova Scotia, 1801.

¹⁵⁸. AC, C11C 16, "Mémoire sur l'île Royale," 1750; Smethurst, A Narrative, 1774, p. 13.

¹⁵⁹. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 405; Smethurst, A Narrative, 1774, p. 13; An English captive among the Chignecto Mi'kmaq in the 1750's said that cabins held between 14 and 15 people. Henry Grace, The History of the life and Sufferings of Henry Grace (Boston 1764), p. 12. The winter construction of a cabin did not differ significantly. NAC, MG 23, J6:160-61, S. W. Prenties, "Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780."

¹⁶⁰. A more extensive analysis of this fine work done by women is in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Micmac Quillwork (Halifax 1982), pp. 5-39.

used for hauling water, eating, and storage.¹⁶¹ As late as 1792, an Englishman visiting a Mi'kmaq encampment near the Mirimachi River in New Brunswick commented that each cabin contained "several dishes made of birch bark, finely ornamented."¹⁶² Provisions and firewood were hauled on flat boards and the loads attached with tree roots.¹⁶³ In winter, the sled rested on runners allowing it to run over the ice.¹⁶⁴

Though clothing changed with the introduction of European cloth, furs and skins continued to be used. Furs were used as blankets and wraparounds in winter, while seal skins and moose hide were made into shoes.¹⁶⁵

As a people relying principally on marine resources, the Mi'kmaq were expert canoemen and sailors, navigating inland waterways as well as the seas surrounding their lands. Inland, the principal form of transport was the birch bark canoe. Made from the bark of the white birch tree, the shell was sewn

¹⁶¹. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 423; PANS, RG 1, 380:158, Titus Smith, Survey of Nova Scotia, 1801. A fuller description of these containers is in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 AD to the Present (Halifax 1980), pp. 34-43. Also see Traditions décoratives: Micmac & Maliseet Decorative Traditions, edited by Gaby Pelletier (Saint John 1977).

¹⁶². Campbell, Travels in the Interior, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶³. Henry Grace, The History, pp. 25-26.

¹⁶⁴. Campbell Hardy, Sporting Adventures in the New World, vol. 1 (London 1855), p. 283.

¹⁶⁵. Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 93; Sieur de Dièreville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France (Toronto 1933), p. 167.

together with spruce or larch roots and the seams covered with spruce resin.¹⁶⁶ In the early seventeenth century, the frame was made from cedar and the joints tied together with tree roots. The canoe measured four feet wide and 12 feet long and because of the materials used in its construction, it could be easily carried.¹⁶⁷ Canoes could also be made from moosehide. During the late seventeenth century, the Maliseet made these canoes by sewing three or four hides together and "pitching the seams with charcoal beaten and mixed with Balsam."¹⁶⁸ Moosehide canoes were less durable than ones made from birchbark and generally were only used when other transportation was not available and time did not permit building a birchbark model.¹⁶⁹

By canoe, the Mi'kmaq could travel throughout the region.¹⁷⁰ From the Annapolis Basin, every community could be reached via inland water routes.

¹⁶⁶. PANS, RG 1, 380:158, Titus Smith, "Survey of Nova Scotia," 1301.

¹⁶⁷. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:192; W.D. Wallis and R.S. Wallis, The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada (Minneapolis 1955), p. 47; E. Tappan Adney and Howard I. Chapelle, The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America (Washington 1964), pp. 58-69.

¹⁶⁸. Gyles, Memoirs, p. 20.

¹⁶⁹. Wallis and Wallis, The Micmac Indians, p. 50; a Mi'kmaq elder informed the French missionary, Abbé Maillard in the 1750s that prior to the use of birchbark canoes, moosehide canoes had been used. Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard," in Les Soirées Canadiennes, pp. 306-307.

¹⁷⁰. Some of this analysis repeats that outlined by Joan Dawson in The Mapmakers Eye: Nova Scotia Through Early Maps (Halifax 1988), pp. 133-135. The analysis presented here provides additional material on the number of possible routes and, in some cases on the length of time required to complete them. See also Clark, Acadia, p. 251. The rivers discussed in this section are on Map 5: "Principal River Systems of Mi'kma'ki 1600-1760" in the Appendix.

The Basin provided access to the southern coast and Saint Mary's Bay ¹⁷¹ as well as to the eastern coast. In 1686, the French intendant, Jacques DeMeulle, journeyed from the Basin to Port Rossignol by way of the Milford Lakes, Liverpool River, Lake Kejimkujik, Lake Rossignol and Mersey River.¹⁷² DeMeulle took five days to complete the journey and estimated that he had travelled approximately thirty leagues or half the distance that a similar journey would have taken had he gone by sea.¹⁷³ Access to the Minas Basin was provided by the Annapolis River which meanders along the floor of the Annapolis valley and through which a connection is made with rivers flowing into the Basin.¹⁷⁴

At the centre of *Kmitkinag*, the Minas Basin serves as the terminus for communities located along the southern, eastern and northern shores. From here one can travel along the Piziguit River (Avon) to La Hève and

¹⁷¹. A Geographic History of Nova Scotia (London 1749), p. 26. This may have been accomplished by means of the Acacia Brook from where one can reach Haines Lake and the entrance to the Sissiboo River which flows into Saint Mary's Bay.

¹⁷². "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur DeMeulle to Acadie," in Acadiensia Nova, edited by William I. Morse (London 1935), p. 109.

¹⁷³. AC, C11D 2:55, Jacques DeMeulle, "Mémoire sur le Port Rossignol," 1686.

¹⁷⁴. See "Map of Acadia," undated [1738-1748] in Dawson, The Mapmaker's Eye, p. 134.

Chebouctou.¹⁷⁵ Just west of the Piziquit is the Chebenacadie River which divides western from eastern *Kmitkinag* and is the major artery linking the two halves together. In the early 1720s, a Catholic mission was established along its river banks just below the Stewiacke River and could be reached by Mi'kmaq villagers from all regions.¹⁷⁶ Mouscadabouet was a two day journey while Antigoniche on the north shore could be reached via the Stewiacke and South Rivers.¹⁷⁷ From there, Unimaki was accessible. Tatamagouche, situated on the western side of the Pictou-Antigonish Highlands, could be reached by way of the Chegenois River which lies near the head of Cobequid Bay.¹⁷⁸ From Minas, travellers reached Chignecto Bay by crossing the Basin to Partridge Island, ascending the Parrsboro River and then making a short

¹⁷⁵. AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748. Dawson, The Mapmaker's Eye, pp. 134-35. The 1748 memorial indicates that from the Piziquit River [Avon] one could reach La Hève and Chebouctou.

¹⁷⁶. In 1724, the Governor of Ile Royale wrote that the mission could easily be reached by all Mi'kmaq "with their canoes making a few portages in the rivers and without being hindered by the English when they want to stop them..." AC, C11B 7:28v-29, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

¹⁷⁷. "Anthony Casteel's Journal," in Collections de Documents Inédits sur le Canada et L'Amérique, Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), pp. 116-117.

¹⁷⁸. "Mr. Morris' Remarks Concerning the Removal of the French Inhabitants, Summer 1755," in Collections de Documents Inédits sur le Canada et L'Amérique, Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), p. 133; AC, C11D 10, "Sur L'Acadie," 1748 (n.p.). For a representation of this route see "Map of Acadia," in Dawson, p. 135.

portage to the Hebert River which flows into the Bay.¹⁷⁹ From there, the north shore is accessible by way of the Missiquash River. Today, this river marks the boundary between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Next to Chignecto Bay is Shepody Bay which throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked a starting point for voyageurs going overland to Canada. Travellers ascended the bay, first entering the Petitcodiac River and then the Saint John River from where Québec could be reached. In the summer of 1755, an express communication from Chignecto could reach Québec within seven days.¹⁸⁰ In the early seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaq travelled from Port Royal on the Annapolis Basin to Québec in ten to twelve days.¹⁸¹

As winter approached, travel became more dangerous and time-consuming. Long journeys were difficult until the rivers were completely frozen and the snows sufficiently firm to support snowshoes.¹⁸² Travel during early and late winter took longer. In mid-December, 1761 before winter freeze-up, a party of five Frenchmen assisted by, first Mi'kmaq and later Acadian, guides, took three

¹⁷⁹. Mr. Geo. Mitchell, "A Map of a Peninsula Situated in ye Bay of Fundy ...," in Dawson, A Mapmaker's Eye, "Mr. Morris' Remarks..." in Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), p. 133. In the eighteenth century the Parrsboro and Hebert Rivers were known collectively as the Chignecto River.

¹⁸⁰. "Mr. Morris's Remarks," in Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), pp. 133-34. For a detailed description of route taken from the Petitcodiac River to Quebec see: Anonymous, "Reglement des Limites (Acadie 1753)," in Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), p. 84.

¹⁸¹. Marc Lescarbot, "Relation Dernière," JR 1:73

¹⁸². Webster, ed., Acadia, p. 34.

days to travel by canoe from Sainte-Anne's Bay on the north shore of Ile Royale to Saint-Pierre on the southern end of Lake Bras d'Or.¹⁸³ A similar journey made by an English and Mi'kmaq party at the end of April, 1786 took 18 days. The trip was longer as the latter group travelled by snowshoe and only occasionally by canoe.¹⁸⁴ The rest of the time, the canoes were pulled along the ice on sleds. In addition, the group was delayed by the thaw which made travel impossible.¹⁸⁵ In winter, maritime travel between European settlements at Louisbourg and Québec was interrupted from the end of October to April or May. Communication between the two settlements occurred during the winter by overland courier.¹⁸⁶

Canoes were also used for ocean journeys, though they were larger and more stable than the ones employed for inland travel. Ocean going canoes could be up to 28 feet long.¹⁸⁷ Prior to contact, sails were made from moosehide, cedar or birch bark or alternatively from a "thick-limbed spruce

¹⁸³. Journal du Voyage de M. Saint-Luc de la Corne, pp. 21-23.

¹⁸⁴. This was not specific to the spring break-up as the Mi'kmaq informed one of the Englishman, Samuel Prenties, that parts of Lake Bras d'Or do not freeze during the winter.

¹⁸⁵. NAC, MG 23 J6:151-163; Prenties, "Narrative," 1780.

¹⁸⁶. AC, Limites des postes, C11E 4:134, "Voyage en hyver, Et sur les glaces de Chedaique à Québec," 1756.

¹⁸⁷. Adney and Chappelle, The Bark Canoes, p. 65; Ingeborg Marshall, "Le Canot de haute mer des Micmacs," in Les Micmacs et la mer Charles Martijn, dir. (Québec 1986), pp. 40-44.

tree."¹⁸⁸ After contact, blankets and canvas were used.¹⁸⁹ With the arrival of Europeans during the sixteenth century, sea-going canoes were often replaced with European made vessels, particularly shallops which Basque and French fishermen used for the inshore fishery. These vessels weighed up to 12 tons, measured 38 feet long and had more than one mast.¹⁹⁰ The earliest reference to Mi'kmaq sailing European craft is in 1602 when the Englishman John Brereton recounted meeting six Natives, identified today as Mi'kmaq traders, "in a Baske-shallop with mast and saile, an iron grapple..." at Cape Neddock on what is now the Maine coastline.¹⁹¹ Five years later, another Englishman, John Popham encountered two Basque shallops, one holding eight Indians, who he identified as Tarrentines or Mi'kmaq.¹⁹² In 1661, the Jesuit

¹⁸⁸. Marion Robertson, Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians (Halifax 1973), Figure 29.

¹⁸⁹. Reference to blanket-sails is in Smethurst, A Narrative, p. 12.

¹⁹⁰. Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead, "Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine," Ethnohistory, 32 (1986), p. 334.

¹⁹¹. John Brereton, "Briefe and True Relations of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia in 1602," in Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608, edited by Henry S. Burrage (New York 1906), p. 330; on the traders identity, Bourque and Whitehead, "Tarrentines and the Introduction," pp. 327-339. Mi'kmaq usage of European vessels, however, likely preceded 1602. In 1583, a French trader, Etienne Bellenger, reported losing a "smale Pinesse" [sic] to some Mi'kmaq. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document," edited by D. B. Quinn, Canadian Historical Review, 63 (1962), p. 341.

¹⁹². Popham said that the "chief commander of these parts is Massamott [sic] and ryver or harbor is called Emannett." Messamouet was the Mi'kmaq chief of the La Hève river. "The Relation of a Voyage unto New England,

father, André Richard reported that Mi'kmaq from the Gaspé region "handle [the shallops].. as skilfully as our most courageous and active Sailors of France." Vessels were sometimes purchased from fishermen but were also hijacked.¹⁹³

The Mi'kmaq used maps to navigate. During Patrick Campbell's journeys along the eastern coast of New Brunswick in 1791-92, an English engineer showed him a drawing made by an Indian of two rivers running in different directions, which, he [the engineer] said, he had afterwards found, on a survey he himself had made of them, to be very exact.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, in August, 1802, the English surveyor, Titus Smith was shown "an Indiar plan of the [Cape Negro] River for about 20 miles ... containing a great number of Lakes."¹⁹⁵

Begun from the Lizard the first of June, 1607 by Captain John Popham...," in New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612, edited by D.B. Quinn (New York, 1979), III:431; on Messamouet: Biggar, ed., The Works I:278,393; Lescarbot, New France, II:323. The identification of the word "Tarrentines" with the Mi'kmaq is discussed in Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian Shamans (Orono 1980), first edition, 1945, pp. 74-77. Other seventeenth-century references to Mi'kmaq using shallops are in Lescarbot, New France, II:229; IR 28:201, B. Vimont, "Relation of 1644-45."

¹⁹³. IR 47:223, André Richard, 1661-62; AC, C11B 7:179v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 19 août 1725. For a general overview of eighteenth-century Mi'kmaq attacks on English vessels, see Olive Dickason, "La 'guerre navale' des Micmacs contre les Britanniques, 1713-1763," Les Micmacs et la mer, Charles Martijn, dir., pp. 233-248.

¹⁹⁴. Patrick Campbell, Travels, p. 89.

¹⁹⁵. PANS, RG 1, 380A, "Titus Smith's Account of his western tour," 1 Aug. 1802.

* * * * *

The most characteristic feature of Nova Scotia is the ocean surrounding it. The ocean moderates its climate and creates multiple layers of life forms among both floral and faunal populations. It also serves as a conduit which annually brings to Nova Scotia's rivers and streams swarms of spawning fish. Generally, the richest resources are concentrated in the southern half of the mainland, below the Chebenacadie River. Here, the milder climate, more extensive freshwater systems, and sediment deposited by the Bay of Fundy tides along river estuaries created a diverse and populous animal and fish population on which early European observers commented. Areas to the north and west, not facing the Atlantic Ocean, are colder in winter months as they lack the moderating influence of the Gulf Stream and the Bay of Fundy. Spring comes later to these regions, their soils are not as fertile and their interior regions lacked the extensive lakes and rivers which characterized southwestern *Kmitkinag*.

This is the world which surrounded the Mi'kmaq in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and it was this world upon which they depended for survival. Though they exploited an array of floral and animal life, the Mi'kmaq were principally a fishing people who lived along or near the coastline for six to nine months of the year. Even during the winter, many families did not stray far from the coast. This simple fact was the foundation of Mi'kmaq

society and influenced the character of relationships with Europeans during the pre-1760 period.

CHAPTER 2
MI'KMAQ VILLAGE LIFE 1605-1760

The previous chapter argued that there were coherent factors shaping Nova Scotia's environment and ecology and, until 1760 these elements were not significantly altered by European settlement. This chapter examines the Mi'kmaq people, and argues that the cultural integrity of their communities was maintained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Historians examining the influence of colonization upon Native peoples have emphasized how they were dispossessed of their lands, how their populations were depleted and how their cultures were irrevocably altered.¹ Other researchers, on the other hand, suggest colonization did not immediately and profoundly change Native societies but rather Native social and political structures and cultural values persisted despite European influences.² Inhabiting specific territories, continuing to practise traditional subsistence activities and intermarrying among themselves, Native peoples maintained a coherent worldview radically different from that of European settlers and

¹. James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York 1985); Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade (Berkeley 1978).

². Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver 1977); Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, Partners in Fur: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870 (Montréal 1983); Bruce Trigger, Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montréal 1976).

officials. This refusal to cast off entirely their indigenous culture and values in favour of European social and political mores helped many Native peoples to respond effectively to the challenges posed by colonization.

In examining Mi'kmaq society before 1760, researchers have emphasized how that society was changed by contact with Europeans. While change did occur, the manner and pace of alteration which unfolded was controlled principally by the internal dynamics of Mi'kmaq society. Succeeding chapters will examine why these modifications occurred and suggest how they influenced peoples' lives. This chapter concentrates upon those aspects of Mi'kmaq society which animated peoples' responses to European colonization and conflict. It focuses on the village, the most important social and political structure of Mi'kmaq society. Both English and French correspondents refer to villages located in specific areas and to *sakamows* representing these villages in discussions with European officials. The persistence of these villages occupying a specific territory from before contact to 1760 suggests the social strength of the collectivity of the villages' inhabitants. Consequently, this analysis examines the social, cultural and political characteristics which made this persistence possible.

1. Settlement

Two separate but interrelated questions are addressed here: first, whether during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, villages occupied a specific territory and secondly, whether these villages were populated by succeeding generations of the same families. These questions have important implications for understanding Mi'kmaq society before 1760. Tim Ingold has argued European concepts of ownership cannot be applied to the relationship between hunters and gatherers and the land they occupy.³ Unlike Europeans, hunters and gatherers did not own the land but rather belonged to it. They were the land's custodians, preserving its faunal and floral life for the collectivity. This is an important distinction to be made from European society for it suggests a cultural relationship with the land uniting those living upon it. Viewed from this perspective, Mi'kmaq occupation of defined territories throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicates a degree of social cohesion despite the spread of disease, the fur trade, European settlement and colonial conflict.

- a) A general overview of Mi'kmaq villages identified by Europeans, 1607-1735.

To determine the location of village settlements, information collated from

³. Tim Ingold, The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Occupation and Social Relations (Iowa City 1987), pp. 144, 224.

travellers to *Kmitkinag* during the first half of the seventeenth century has been compared with data regarding Mi'kmaq settlements collected by French officials between 1688 and 1735. This information is contained in various sources. Before 1650, the information is in Champlain's early maps of Mi'kma'ki, in travel accounts written by visitors to the region and in archaeological data. After 1688, data becomes more precise and more extensive. In 1688, for the first and only time, a census made of the Acadian population included Mi'kmaq settlements.⁴ Later Acadian censuses made in 1693, 1697, 1703, 1707, 1714 and 1737 did not do so. As the missionary presence increased in the eighteenth century, separate censuses were made of the Mi'kmaq population in 1708, 1722, and 1735. With the exception of a nominal listing made of two Mi'kmaq villages in 1763 and 1767, records regarding Mi'kmaq settlements were not made again until 1800-1801.

The principal sources showing the location of Mi'kmaq villages during the early seventeenth century are two maps drawn by the French trader, Samuel de Champlain who spent the years 1605 to 1607 at Port Royal. These maps were drawn in 1607 and in 1612. The 1607 map shows Mi'kmaq settlements at Port Rossignol (Shelburne), at Pubnico just west of Cap Sable, at Saint Mary's Bay, at Port Royal and at Minas. More extensive information is contained in the 1612 map which includes the eastern half of the mainland and shows villages

⁴ Censuses of the Acadian population had also been made in 1671, 1678 and 1686 but had not included the Mi'kmaq population.

at Saint Margaret's Bay, the River Sainte-Marie and at Cobequit. Other sources, namely the writings of Champlain, Pierre Biard and Nicolas Denys as well as archaeological data shows villages at La Hève, Chignecto, Pictou and in the northern region of Unimaki.⁵ This information should not be interpreted to represent all Mi'kmaq villages during the seventeenth century as it relies principally upon the writings of Champlain and Biard. Their imperfect knowledge of the region is graphically demonstrated in Champlain's 1612 map in which he notes that the region extending from Antigoniche to Baie Verte had not been visited. Information regarding settlements in this region, therefore, is missing.

Other data regarding Mi'kmaq settlements are represented in Table 2.1. For the late seventeenth century, information has been culled from two sources, a 1688 census recorded by the Sieur de Gargas, a French colonial official, and an anonymous English census of 1690.⁶ The Gargas census shows Mi'kmaq

⁵. On La Hève: Jesuit Relations (JR), edited by Reuben Thwaites, vol. 1 (Cleveland 1896), p. 177, Pierre Biard, June 10, 1611, and H. P. Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1922), plate LXIV facing p. 236 ; on Chignecto: JR 3:249, Biard, "Relation of 1616"; Pictou: J. Russell Harper, "Two Seventeenth Century Micmac 'Copper Kettle' Burials," Anthropologica, 4 (1957), pp. 11-36; Unimaki: "The Voyage of the ship called the Marigold....1593," in The Voyages of the English Nation to America Collected by Richard Hakluyt, edited by Edmund Goldsmid, vol. 11 (Edinburgh 1889), p. 69.

⁶. Sieur de Gargas, "General Census of the Country of Acadie, 1687-1688" in Acadiensia Nova, edited by William I. Morse, vol. 1 (London 1935), p. 147; "Memorandum of the Number of Indians in Each Tribe from Boston in New England unto Canso in Nova Scotia in the Year 1690...But now in the Year 1726 Left but so Many..." in Year-book of the Society of Colonial Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts For 1890 (Boston 1890), p. 110.

villages at Chignecto, Minas, Port Royal, Cap Sainte Marie (Saint Mary's Bay), Cap Sable, Port Rossignol [also known as Port Rochelais], La Hève and Chebouctou - areas noted by Champlain as the general vicinity of Mi'kmaq settlements - as well as at Chedabouctou and Canceau. The census, however, provides a limited view of Mi'kmaq settlements as Gargas' principal interest was the French-speaking inhabitants and he, therefore, visited only their habitations. As many people of European descent lived adjacent or near Mi'kmaq villages, he incorporated the latter into his census but did not visit the North Shore or other areas farther removed from Acadian settlements. In compiling his census, Gargas received little assistance from other colonial officials, or from the inhabitants themselves.⁷

Additional information regarding Mi'kmaq settlements not visited by Gargas is provided by the English census of 1690, compiled by New England fishermen. This census confirms the locations of Mi'kmaq villages mentioned by Gargas but adds Jeddore, Antigoniche and notes two separate villages in the Cap Sable region, one at Pubnico - as indicated by Champlain - and another at Port La Tour, hereafter referred to by its Micmac name, Ministiguesh. No information is provided on settlements located to the west of Antigoniche. The time of year at which either census was taken is not

An original copy of the Gargas Census is in the William I. Morse Collection at Dalhousie University, Halifax.

⁷. Gargas, "Mon séjour de l'Acadie," in Acadiensia Nova, 1:194.

known.

Eighteenth-century census data compiled in 1708, 1722 and 1735 by French missionaries provides a more comprehensive view of Mi'kmaq villages. Though each census regroups information relative to geographical location, the manner in which the data is presented varies considerably. The 1708 census is a nominal census which provides the age and the residence of each individual. The 1722 census on the other hand, provides population numbers for each settlement relative to age and sex, while the 1735 census gives only the number of fighting men for each settlement.

Table 2.1 shows Mi'kmaq settlements identified on European maps and census information between 1600 and 1735. These settlements have been grouped according to political divisions represented on Map 6 in the Appendix. These divisions will be discussed fully in section 3, part b of this chapter but have been used here for organizational purposes. Population figures have been included to suggest the relative size of each settlement. Where figures do not appear, an asterisk has been used to show that a settlement was recorded for that area. For both 1690 and 1735, only the number of fighting men in each village was recorded. In order to make all years comparable, figures for these years have been multiplied by 31.6% which is the percentage of males over the age of 12 provided by the 1722 census.

Table 2.1 presents a somewhat disjointed picture of Mi'kmaq settlement patterns. It shows that in certain areas Mi'kmaq settlements persisted between

TABLE 2.1
MI'KMAQ SETTLEMENTS AND POPULATION FIGURES
ACCORDING TO MAP AND CENSUS DATA
1600-1735

	1600-50	1688	1690	1708	1722	1735
KESPUKWITK						
Port Royal	*	26	*	102	43	95
Cap Sainte Marie	*	10	-	-	-	-
Cap Sable						
Pubnico	*	-	*	-	-	-
Ministiquesh	-	-	*	-	-	-
Cap Sable	-	24	-	97	94	158
Port Rossignol	*	21	-	-	-	-
La Hève						
La Hève	*	48	*	127	157	184
Mirligueche	-	11	*	-	-	-
SIPEKNEKATIK						
St. Margaret's Bay	*	-	-	-	-	-
Chebouctou	-	33	*	-	-	-
Jeddore	-	-	*	-	-	-
Mouscadabouet	-	-	-	161	-	-
Chebenacadie	-	-	-	-	115	301
Cobequit	*	-	-	-	-	-
Minas	*	50	*	59	44	-
ESGIGEOAG						
Ste Marie River	*	*	*	-	50	-
Chedaboucto	-	52	*	-	-	-
UNIMAKI						
Port Dauphin	*	-	-	-	-	-
Lac Brador	-	-	-	-	-	142
Cap Breton	-	52	-	196	107	-
Ile St. Pierre	-	77	-	-	-	-
PITTUKEWWAQ AQC EPEKWTK						
Antigoniche	*	-	*	-	93	127
Pictou/ Tatemagouche	*	-	-	-	45	63
SIKNIKTEWAQ						
Chignecto	80	21	*	100	86	152
		425	-	842	838	1222

SOURCES: see pp. 92-95 for the presentation of sources.

1600 and 1735 in lands adjacent to Port Royal, La Hève, Minas, the River Sainte-Marie, Antigoniche and Chignecto. At the same time, some villages figuring in earlier documents are not recorded in eighteenth-century census data. For example, Pubnico, which appears on Champlain's 1607 map and the 1690 English census, is not registered in the 1708 through 1735 censuses. Rather, Cap Sable which could refer to any part of southwestern *Kmitkinag*, appears in the eighteenth century as the defining geographical point for settlement in the region. This does not mean that people living in Pubnico had been integrated into a larger residential grouping. Rather, the problem lies with the manner in which census information was collected. Unlike the 1688 census which was compiled by a political official, the 1708, 1722 and 1735 censuses were done by missionaries. After 1716, missionaries were attached to permanent missions and only visited Mi'kmaq villages once a year, timing their visits to coincide with religious festivals. Priests did not journey to every village but rather met people who lived in a region at one location.⁸ During these visits the missionaries compiled census information and thus, the censuses often provide an inaccurate picture of settlement patterns.

b) A breakdown of Mi'kmaq villages

The inconsistencies revealed by a close examination of census data can only

⁸. AN, Archives des colonies (AC), Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D), 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748.

be resolved by consulting a broader array of sources. These sources can be divided into two groups: eighteenth-century French political correspondence from Ile Royale and post-1760 Nova Scotian records. Recourse to post-1760 documentation is useful for discerning Mi'kmaq settlements inhabiting southern *Kmitkinag*, since following the conquest of Port Royal by a New England force in 1710, French political officials obtained minimal information regarding this region. In addition, as conflict between England and France expanded after 1744, Mi'kmaq families moved inland. Once peace was concluded in 1760, these people re-emerged, trading with local inhabitants and complaining to colonial officials in Halifax that their territories were being settled by immigrants from Europe and New England. Correspondence regarding these disputes reveal important information regarding areas settled by the Mi'kmaq before 1760.⁹ Their reappearance within the historical record also reflects the removal of missions which had disguised the location of individual settlements. The following section examines the settlements listed in Table 2.1 in sequential order.

i. KESPUKWITK

Port Royal

In Champlain's 1607 map, two settlements are shown near Port Royal: one

⁹. Exact references to these post-1735 records will be provided in the next section.

adjacent to the French habitations and the other at Cap Sainte-Marie. In 1688, Gargas also noted two separate settlements there, though the population he assessed for each is small. This distinction disappears with the eighteenth-century censuses though English and French correspondence from this period indicates their continued existence. Both villages were occupied during the summer and winter.¹⁰ During the post-1760 period, the distinction between the two settlements was preserved, with one village established at Bear River, just south of the Annapolis Basin and the other along the Sissiboo River, which flows into Saint Mary's Bay and the location of Cap Sainte Marie in seventeenth and eighteenth century maps.¹¹

Cap Sable

In the seventeenth century, settlements were recorded at Pubnico, Ministiguesh (Port La Tour) and Port Rossignol (Shelburne). Census data from the following century regroups Mi'kmaq inhabiting the entire region into one bloc. English and French political correspondence, however, indicates the

¹⁰. Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office Series (CO), 217 4:118, John Doucett to Board of Trade, 29 June, 1722; AC, Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (C11B), 14:4v, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide et Le Normant au ministre, 16 nov. 1732.

¹¹. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), Record Group (RG), 1 430: doc. 147, John Taylor, 15 Jan. 1808; PANS, RG 20, Series A: 47, Petition of Pierre Bernard, 30 Oct. 1813; PANS, Miscellaneous: Indians, Land Documents, Report of the Reservations for the Indians by Surveyor General, Charles Morris, 7 May 1820.

persistence of two separate settlements during the eighteenth century, one near Pubnico, at Eel Brook (Oipgomegageneg or "Place Fishing") and another within the vicinity of Ministiguesh.¹² During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Eel Brook became a point of controversy as Mi'kmaq families living there petitioned the government regarding difficulties in gaining access to the area's rich fishery.¹³ Though there is no mention of Mi'kmaq in the vicinity of Port Rossignol, the presence of French-speaking peoples in the region would make this likely, since they only inhabited areas along the eastern coast that were adjacent to Mi'kmaq villages.¹⁴ During the late eighteenth century, a number of Mi'kmaq families petitioned Halifax that lands be set aside for their exclusive use in this region,¹⁵ indicating that they had inhabited the region from before 1760.

Both Eel Brook and Port La Tour were inhabited during the early spring as is suggested by encounters with people at both places by an English trading

¹². "Réglement des limites (Acadie 1753)," in Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), p. 70; Clarence d'Entremont, Histoire du Cap Sable de l'an mil au traité de Paris, t. 4 (Eunice, Louisiana 1978), pp. 1875, 1890.

¹³. Bill Wicken, "Mi'kmaq Land in Southwestern Nova Scotia, 1771-1823," in Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800, edited by Margaret Conrad (Fredericton 1992), pp. 113-122.

¹⁴. See D'Entremont, Histoire du Cap Sable, 4:1618-19, who argues that the 1708 census which puts all the Cape Sable Mi'kmaq into one group actually reflects settlements at Cap Fourchu (Yarmouth), at Chebogue and near Port Rossignol.

¹⁵. Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Department of Natural Resources, Crown Lands Office, Licence Book 5, p. 187, 22 July 1795; PANS, RG 20, Series A: 76, Joseph Luxey to the Earl of Dalhousie, [1819].

vessel in late March 1706.¹⁶ Eel Brook was located adjacent to a water system used by eels as they descended on their way to spawn in the sea.¹⁷ The site of the village depended upon the location of the eels which would account for different interpretations as to its location.¹⁸ It was inhabited from at least early April and possibly sooner.¹⁹ A fall occupation was likely as well when the eels re-ascended the river before winter. This is suggested by Peter Capoon's encounter with Mi'kmaq there in early November, 1715.²⁰

La Hève

During the seventeenth century, two separate settlements are noted: one at Mirligueche and another on the La Hève River. Later documentation suggests

¹⁶. CO 5, 864:160, "Deposition of John Curtiss Senior of Marblehead," 14 June 1706.

¹⁷. AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748. In 1820, the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, Charles Morris wrote that "In this county (Yarmouth) are places of resort for the Indians particularly at Eel Bay near the Tusket River where they take Eels in great quantities ...the Indians had the use and occupancy of them from a very antient date..." PANS, Miscellaneous: Indians, Land Documents, "Report of the Reservation for the Indians...", 7 May 1820.

¹⁸. Sakej Henderson, personal communication, February, 1992. For different interpretations as to the village's location see Jackson Rickers, Historical Sketches of Glenwood and the Argyles, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia (Truro 1941) p. 4; D'Entremont, Histoire du Cap Sable, 3:1222.

¹⁹. PANS, RG, 1 14, Armstrong to Saint-Ovide, 7 May 1736; CO 217, 7:182-185, "The Examination of Charles d'Entremont of Pobomcoup," 11 May 1736.

²⁰. Massachusetts State Archives (MSA), 38A:11,15, "A Journal of a Voyage to Cape Britton on ye King's Account by Mr. Peter Capoon," 1715.

the existence of three separate villages: one between Liverpool and Port Mouton, another between the Petite and La Hève rivers and a third, between Mirligueche and Mahone Bay.

The earliest mention of a Mi'kmaq village at Port Mouton is in 1715 when Peter Capoon, a representative of the New England government, met a Mi'kmaq encampment there on October 28, whose inhabitants informed him that they "desired me to meet them in ye Spring on ye Coast, being sent by their Chiefs to tell me, that all their Chiefs and Indians would meet me."²¹ Not until July 1760 is there another reference to Mi'kmaq inhabiting the region when 17 people encountered newly arrived English settlers at Port Mouton, informing them of their long time residency in the area.²²

La Hève had been the site of a village from at least 1604 when Champlain encountered two Mi'kmaq settlements there during early May, one situated on the north side of the La Hève River and the other on the Petite River. As later census data reveals, Mi'kmaq continued to live in the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³

The proximity of Mirligueche to La Hève might suggest that the two

²¹. MSA, 38A:15, "A Journal of a Voyage ...by Mr. Peter Capoon..."

²². E. Marguerite Letson, Port Medway: A short history of Port Medway, Nova Scotia (1985), p. 8. An historian of Queen's Country, James More, states that in early times the Mi'kmaq had an encampment at the present site of Brooklyn in Liverpool Bay. James More, History of Queen's County (Halifax 1871), p. 58.

²³. Biggar, ed., The Works, 1:236-37

villages were actually part of a larger settlement. However, during the early part of the eighteenth century kin-related peoples moved between Mahone Bay and Mirligueche, suggesting that people living in this region constituted a separate village.²⁴ This is confirmed by 1759 records which show Mi'kmaq families living along the Middle River continuously from mid-August to late November.²⁵ Recent archaeological excavations at Saint Margaret's Bay, near to Mahone Bay, have indicated a spring to late autumn occupation of the coastline. While this site has been dated at 940 BP (Before the Present), it nevertheless suggests that resources made coastal locations possible until at least the late autumn.²⁶ The separation of these villages is also suggested by early nineteenth-century documentation showing distinct kin-related groups living at Gold River in Mahone Bay, Mushmush Lake located to the back of Mirligueche, and La Hève.²⁷ In addition, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, all three sites were inhabited by French-speaking peoples,

²⁴. The Trials of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery...Held at the Court House in Boston, with His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England on Tuesday, the Fourth Day of October, Anno Domini, 1726 (Boston 1726), pp. 14, 27.

²⁵. PANS, MG 1, Diary Journal of Rev. John Seccombe, 30 July to 31 Dec. 1759, entries for 7, 29 August; 16, 23 Sept.; 17 Oct. 17; 22 Nov. 1759.

²⁶. Alfonso L. Rojo, "Faunal Analysis of Fish Remains From Cellar's Cove, Nova Scotia," Archaeology of Eastern North America, 18 (1990), pp. 89-108, esp. 106-107.

²⁷. PANS, RG 1, 430: doc. 96, William Woolenhaupt, "Indians in Lunenburg County," 1801.

though their presence at Port Mouton cannot be demonstrated past 1705.²⁸

ii. SIPEKNEKATIK

As shown in Table 2.1, map and census data reveal six possible village sites during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁹ Reference to qualitative sources, however, suggest the existence of only four villages during the eighteenth century. Three of these villages were located adjacent to the Minas basin; Minas, Piziquit, and Cobequit. The location of the fourth village is more difficult to determine but appears to have encompassed coastal areas along the eastern coast, such as Jeddore and Chebouctou as well as along the Chebenacadie River.

There is ample qualitative data to indicate the existence of two separate villages in the Minas region, one adjacent to the Acadian settlement and the other along the Piziquit River. Both eighteenth-century English and French documentation refer to the *sakamows* of Minas and Piziquit. More precise documentation stems from census data in 1763 and 1767 collected by Isaac

²⁸. Port Mouton: PANS, RG 1 26, "Registres des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures de la paroisse de Saint-Jean Baptiste du Port Royal," 1702-1728; p. 39; Mirligueche and La Hève: AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748.

²⁹. In a conversation in 1725 with Hibbert Newton and John Bradstreet, representatives of Annapolis Royal's Executive Council, Governor Saint-Ovide of Louisbourg indicated that he sent messages or spoke to most "of the Chiefs of the Indians, vize those of Menis, Cobequit, Pisigit (Piziquit), Shigcabucady (Chebenacadie). PANS, RG 1 23, "Proceedings of Hibbert Newton, and Captain John Bradstreet with Gov. Saint-Ovide at Louisbourg," 30 August 1725.

Deschamps, an Acadian employed by the English garrison at Fort Edward, a post built on the Piziquit River. The data indicates two separate villages located along the southern and western shores of the Minas Basin: one inhabited by the Amquaret family north of the Piziquit river and the other by the Necote family living to the west. These villages will henceforth be referred to as Minas and Piziquit.³⁰ Information regarding Cobequit is less extensive though records from 1725, 1754 and 1761 indicate a Mi'kmaq village there which was recognized as distinct from others.³¹

Unravelling the location of settlements along the eastern coast between Saint Margaret's Bay and Jeddore is more difficult. The 1708 census had indicated a band living at Mouscadabouet on the eastern coast though in subsequent censuses made in 1722 and 1735 this geographical reference point is not used. Comparison between the 1708 nominal census and the 1722 census which gives the names of chiefs for each band suggests a linkage between the Mouscadabouet band and the Chebenacadie village mentioned in 1722. In 1708,

³⁰. PANS, MG 1 258: 20-21, 24-25. Isaac Deschamps Papers, 20 Dec. 1763 and 24 Sept. 1767.

³¹. PANS, RG 1, 23, "Proceedings of Hibbert Newton, and Cap. John Bradstreet with Gov. Saint-Ovide at Louisbourg," 30 Aug. 1725; CO, 217 15:80v, Lawrence to Board of Trade, 1 Aug. 1754. In 1760, Nova Scotia's Executive Council issued a pass to Andrew Martin, "one of the Cobequid Tribe of Indians." PANS, RG 1, 16:80, Commissions and Instructions of the Executive Council, 26 Aug. 1760. During the 1690's the area was a major fur trading depot, suggesting the location of a Mi'kmaq village nearby. François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie (1604-1881), t. 1 (Paris 1889), pp. 189-91.

Joseph Bemgabouides, age 48, is listed as living at Mouscoudabout while in 1722, a Joseph Bomgabouidetché is listed as the chief of Chebenacadie. This is likely the same person, suggesting a connection between the two settlements recorded in French census records. This linkage is confirmed by eighteenth-century European correspondence which refers to Mi'kmaq trading with English fishermen in this region. Occupation of the Atlantic coastline is also suggested by the presence of French speaking peoples at Mouscadabout and by English records from 1760 which list "Claud Renée" as "chief of the Indians at Musquadaboit and Shebenacadie [Chebenacadie]."³² After 1760, areas surrounding Mouscadabout and Jeddore Harbours were inhabited by families from Chebenacadie.³³

The 1722 and 1735 censuses pinpointing Chebenacadie as the location of a Mi'kmaq village reflects alterations in settlement patterns occasioned by conflict with New England between 1722 and 1725, which were reinforced by the establishment of a Catholic mission at Chebenacadie in 1722.³⁴ As shown in

³². AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748. The memorial notes that at Mouscadabout "there had been previously habitants for to trade with the Indians, but there has not been people there for a long time." The memorial also states that at Chegekkouk, situated on the Chezzetcook Inlet, "there are 7 or 8 french families..." PANS, RG 1, 64:55, Pass issued to Claud Renée by Charles Lawrence, 1760.

³³. In 1801, a Francis Coop age 50 years lived at Mouscadabout harbour. Jean Baptiste Cope, known as the chief of the Chebenacadie Mi'kmaq, signed a peace treaty with the English in November, 1752. PANS, RG 1, 430: doc. 55, "James Fulton's Report on the Indians in Colchester District, 3 March 1801."

³⁴. The reasons which led to these changes will be discussed fully in chapter Six.

Table 2.1, seventeenth-century map and census data show Mi'kmaq settlements along the eastern coast between Saint Margaret's Bay and Jeddore. This area had been occupied before 1600 as shown by archaeological excavations done on the eastern arm of Jeddore harbour.³⁵ The Chebenacadie river system had perhaps been used for winter hunting but as a result of conflict with New England, became the location of a more permanent settlement. From 1722, this village was located approximately five leagues from the mouth of the Chebenacadie river.³⁶ With the restoration of peace, hunting and fishing continued along the eastern coast during the spring, summer and fall.

iii. ESPIGEOAG

This district encompasses the eastern coastline northeast of Jeddore to Chedabouctou Bay. As shown in Table 2.1, seventeenth-century map and census data indicates village sites at Chedabouctou and on the River Sainte Marie. In the following century, census information regarding this region is sparse. Mi'kmaq settlements are not shown for Chedabouctou and are only indicated for the River Sainte- Marie in 1722.

The lack of information regarding Mi'kmaq occupation of this region

³⁵. Three samples of quahog shell had radio carbon datings of 740 BP, 530 BP and 280 BP and another of wood charcoal, 1230 BP. Helen Louise Sheldon, The Late Prehistory of Nova Scotia as viewed from the Brown Site (Halifax 1986), p. 41.

³⁶. AC, C11B 7:29v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

during the eighteenth century reflects similar alterations in settlement patterns as occurred among people living between Chebouctou and Jeddore. Conflict with New England, and French attempts to establish the population in permanent missions on Unimaki and Antigoniche, resulted in a temporary migration to other areas.³⁷ In peace time, a Mi'kmaq village was located along the River Sainte-Marie. On May 27, 1714, two Acadian inhabitants saw four cabins on the river³⁸ while the 1722 census lists a village there. Ten years later a colonial official at Louisbourg wrote that a village was situated in the region.³⁹

Determining Mi'kmaq settlements near Chedabouctou is more difficult. During the seventeenth century, there was a Mi'kmaq village in the area as suggested by accounts of fishermen who encountered people there during their annual voyages to *Mi'kma'ki*.⁴⁰ In April 1706, an English trading vessel encountered Mi'kmaq both at Liscomb Harbour and Chedabouctou and in 1744, an English map shows a Mi'kmaq village adjacent to the English fishing

³⁷. In the 1722 census, the chief of the Sainte Marie settlement was Etienne Nabdouis. In the 1708 census, an "Estienne Fils de Nebades," age 36, is listed among Unimaki Mi'kmaq.

³⁸. PANS, RG 1, 7, Declaration of Denis Godet and Bernard Godet, 1714.

³⁹. AC, C11B 11:200, Conseil de la marine, M. du Pensens au ministre, 5 mars 1732. In 1825, an ancient Mi'kmaq burial ground was noted along the Sainte Marie River. PANS, RG 20, Series A, Ronald McDiarmid to Sir James Kempt, 26 May 1825.

⁴⁰. Marc Lescarbot, History of New France, edited by W.L. Grant, vol. 11 (Toronto 1910), pp. 362-63.

station. There are no further references to Mi'kmaq in this area until 1784 when English settlers made complaints to Halifax regarding their Mi'kmaq neighbours. In the early nineteenth century, a Mi'kmaq community lived along the Guysborough River which flows into Chedabouctou Bay.⁴¹

iv. UNIMAKI

Unimaki encompasses Cape Breton Island, the Magdelaine Islands, Saint Pierre and Miquelon and the southern regions of Ktaqamkuk. Table 2.1 shows a settlement on Ile Saint-Pierre in 1688, likely reflecting a temporary site used by migrating families from southern Ktaqamkuk. Determining the location of Mi'kmaq settlements on the island of Cape Breton is difficult as census information tends to be imprecise. The 1688, 1690, 1708 and 1722 censuses, for example, do not provide any geographical point to suggest the principal areas inhabited by the Mi'kmaq population. Instead, the general term "Cape Breton" is used to describe settlement. Only in 1735 is more precise data provided but in the context of naming Mirligueche on Lake Bras d'Or as the location of a Catholic mission.

Qualitative sources from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries provide some clues. These sources indicate at least two villages on the island, one in the north, and the other in the south. Occupation of northern areas is suggested by late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century records regarding

⁴¹. PANS, RG 1, 430: doc. 34 1/2, 18 March 1800.

trade with Mi'kmaq within the vicinity of Cibou [Port Dauphin on Baie Sainte-Anne].⁴² During the following century this area continued to be populated by Mi'kmaq families.⁴³ Their territory included the Magdelaine Islands where they hunted seal during the autumn.⁴⁴ A second village was located in the southern region of the island and, an eighteenth-century description situates it along the southern most areas of Lake Bras d'Or.⁴⁵ During the 1720s, people living in this region frequented the mission established at Marigouèche [also Malagawatch], located at the head of the River Denis Basin.⁴⁶ This is the mission mentioned in the 1735 census.

⁴². Richard Fisher, "The voyage of the ship called the Marigold...1593," in The Voyages of the English Nation, edited by Richard Hakluyt, 11:69; R.P. Pacifique, "Les pays des Micmacs - The Micmac Country," Bulletin de la société de géographie de Québec, 27 (1933), p. 39; Archives départementales (AD), La Rochelle, série E, minutes Teuleron, 1632-1641, procès-verbal entre Jean Custet et Jacques Vignault, 10 avril 1636, NAC, MG 6:47, [transcripts].

⁴³. AC, C11B 1:146, Costebelle au ministre, 5 nov. 1715; Boucher, "Plan de l'entrée et d'une partie de la Petite Bras d'Or qui comprend l'établissement de M. de la Boularderie et des pêcheurs" 1742, in Joan Dawson, The Mapmaker's Eye (Halifax 1988), p. 57; Thomas Pichon, Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique du Cap Breton (Paris 1760), p. 52; Journal du Voyage de M. Saint Luc de la Corne, [1761] (Québec 1863), p. 20; NAC, MG 23, J6:134, S. W., "Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780."

⁴⁴. Charles Martijn, "An Eastern Micmac Domain of Islands," Actes du Vingtième Congrès des Algonquinistes edited by William Cowan (Ottawa 1989), pp. 208-231.

⁴⁵. Sieur de la Roque, "Journal and Census of Ile Royale" 1752, Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, (Ottawa 1906), p. 36.

⁴⁶. Pacifique, "Les Pays des Micmacs," p. 36.

v. PITTUKEWWAQ AQQ EPEKWTK

This region was less well known by Europeans, as it was near the principal fishing grounds and was only settled by immigrants after the 1720s. Champlain's maps make no mention of Mi'kmaq settlements in this region. As shown in Table 2.1, the only data from the seventeenth century shows a settlement at Antigoniche. More information is available from eighteenth-century censuses indicating Mi'kmaq settlements at Antigoniche and at Pictou and Tatamagouche in 1722 and 1735.

Qualitative sources provide additional information. In the mid-seventeenth century, Nicolas Denys wrote that during the spring, families ascended the Pomquet River just to the west of Antigoniche to trade their furs with fishermen.⁴⁷ In 1716, the French missionary, Antoine Gaulin, established a mission at Antigoniche which suggests that the area was the location of an important Mi'kmaq settlement. When the region was occupied by English settlers in 1784, a burial ground and chapel were discovered on an island in the harbour.⁴⁸ On December 18 1761, a French official travelling from Port Dauphin to Fort Lawrence located near Chignecto, saw five Mi'kmaq wigwams at Antigoniche.⁴⁹ During the early nineteenth century, the Mi'kmaq were

⁴⁷. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia) (Toronto: 1908), p. 172.

⁴⁸. J.W. MacDonald, History of Antigonish County (Halifax 1876), p. 9.

⁴⁹. Journal du Voyage de M. Saint Luc de la Corne, [1761] (Québec 1863), p. 23.

living at Pomquet which lies to the east suggesting that this region had constituted part of their territory.⁵⁰

There is less information regarding other north shore settlements. Archaeological data has shown that Pictou Harbour was an important settlement. Excavations there have revealed graveyards containing European goods and though no carbon dates were obtained, this shows that the area was occupied in the post-contact period.⁵¹ After 1760, habitation of the area continued as people were encountered along the coastline at Pictou during mid-February and early May.⁵² In winter, some families migrated inland to hunt as shown by a 1767 census which lists 25 individuals in the vicinity of Hopewell on the West River.⁵³ No additional information besides what is contained in eighteenth-century censuses has been found for Tatmagouche. Finally, one area not mentioned in either census data or qualitative sources is the region surrounding Pugwash Bay. The occupation of these lands during the late eighteenth century would suggest some continuity predating the pre-1760 period.

⁵⁰. PANS, RG 20, "A" vol. 87 (n.p.), Indians of Pomquet to Sir James Kempt, [1822].

⁵¹. J. Russel Harper, "Two Seventeenth Century Micmac 'Copper Kettle' Burials, *Anthropologica*, no. 4 (1957), pp. 11-29.

⁵². NAC, Charles Robin, Journal 1767-1764, pp. 40-41, Entry for May 5 1768; CO 217, 54:225, Michael Francklin, "Abstract of Expenses Incurred by the Indians of Nova Scotia between 10th of June 1778 and the 20 Oct. 1779."

⁵³. CO 217, 45, "A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia the First day of January, 1767."

vi. SIKNIKTEWAQ

Sigenigteoag encompasses much of the eastern shore of New Brunswick but the only communities of direct concern to this study are those on Chignecto and Shepody Bays. In 1613, Father Biard had written that the wealth of fish and wildlife there made it possible for Mi'kmaq inhabitants to lead a more sedentary lifestyle than was true of other settlements. Census data from both the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confirms the presence of a major Mi'kmaq village. Following the construction of Forts Beauséjour and Lawrence in 1750, however, Mi'kmaq inhabitants were forced to confine their settlements to the region west of the Missiquash River.

Having located villages inhabited in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is now possible to comment upon their relationship to each other. A clear distinction needs to be made between southern and northern regions as the area below the Chebenacadie river experienced a milder climate than areas north of there. This meant that most of the Mi'kmaq population was concentrated in the south.

Southern *Kmitkinag* was composed of several villages, located at Port Royal, Cap Sainte Marie, Eel Brook, Ministiguish, Port Rossignol, Port Mouton, La Hève, Mirligueche, Mahone Bay, Minas, Piziguit, Chebenacadie, Cobequit, River Sainte-Marie, Chedabouctou, Cibou, southern Unimaki, Antigoniche, Pictou, Tatamagouche, and Chignecto, a total of 18 village sites. These villages are represented on Map 7 in the Appendix. This is the minimum number of

villages occupied during warm weather months by Mi'kmaq people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There may have been other villages but the ones listed here are the only ones which can be identified using European documentation. These villages were located along major river systems where fish could be easily obtained. Because the principal resource base was fish, these settlements might more properly be termed fishing villages. Their size cannot be determined with certainty. The only existing record of individual villages made in 1767 of Minas and Piziguit suggests a population of between 53 and 88 during the early autumn.⁵⁴

During summer, two or more villages having extensive kinship ties and inhabiting a common territory would gather in one location. This is what Miller and Nietfeld call the summer village. As will be suggested in the discussion on marriage in section two of this chapter, intermarriage solidified relationships between villages. Areas occupied by summer villages varied in the pre-1760 period. According to a 1748 description, principal gathering points in *Kmitkinag* were Chebenacadie, Mirligueche and Ministiguesh.⁵⁵ During the winter, villages divided into two or more fishing and hunting groups. However, as pointed out in chapter one, section three, these groups were

⁵⁴. PANS, MG 1: 258, Isaac Deschamps Papers, pp. 20-21 and 24-25, 20 Dec. 1763 and 24 Sept. 1767.

⁵⁵. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Parkman Papers, vol. 29, "Description de l'Acadie, le nom des paroisse et les nombre des habitants 1748."

smaller in northern areas than they were in the south.

Implicit in these findings is that lands were occupied by succeeding generations of families. Generational persistence is suggested by the 1708 census which shows that among the Port Royal, Cap Sable and La Hève villages, ten relatively young married men were members of the same band as their fathers. These ten represent 17 per cent of the total number of married men living in the three villages and is the minimum rate of persistence; the real rate would be higher. Linkages cannot be made, for example, when the father is dead.

In describing Mi'kmaq villagers before 1760, researchers have used the term "hunters and gatherers," suggesting that people were constantly moving from one location to the next in search of food. This section has demonstrated, however, that there were fixed locations to individual Mi'kmaq villages which were continuously occupied for at least six months of each year. The region's rich fishing grounds outlined in the previous chapter made this possible.

2. SOCIETY

This section examines social relationships among peoples inhabiting Mi'kmaq villages. The analysis begins by describing the composition of

individual households and then continues by looking at the relationships among household members.

a) Households

The basic unit of each village was the nuclear family which consisted of a man, a woman and their children. Household membership could be extended beyond the immediate family to include the man's or woman's relatives. Aging parents, widowed sisters or orphaned nephews and nieces could be part of a household. In the following pages, this larger social unit will be called the "household." Detailed information regarding these relationships is only available from the early nineteenth century. Though from a later period, these records show the variety of relationships which might exist within one household. For example, in November, 1802, at Sheet Harbour, located along the eastern coast in Esgigeoag, families included "Lewis Paul, a Wife, mother-in-law, his oldest daughter a Widdow (sic) with a child, and four children of his own"; and Penaut Jons, an old man upwards of 60 years of age and two daughters both widdows (sic) with one child."⁵⁶ In warm weather months, parents or widowed sisters might live in separate residences though this was less likely to occur during the wintertime. In some cases, widows would live separately if they had a son capable of supporting both themselves and any

⁵⁶. PANS, RG 1 430: doc. 119, James Sutherland to Michael Wallace, 16 Nov. 1802.

other unmarried children.⁵⁷ The importance of widows and orphans in Mi'kmaq society is suggested by the 1708 census which lists a total of 45 widows and 65 fatherless and 39 parentless children. Collectively the three groups constituted 17.7 per cent of the 842 Mi'kmaq people recorded in the census. Widows are also listed separately in the 1722 census. In both 1708 and 1722, the number of widows remained relatively constant. In 1722, there were 50 widows in a recorded population of 838 compared to 45 widows among a population of 842 people.⁵⁸

b) Young Adulthood

There is little information about children and adolescents in Mi'kmaq society. No comments have been found regarding unmarried female adolescents. There are, however, scattered remarks regarding their male counterparts. These sources suggest that "young men"⁵⁹ moved freely throughout *Mi'kma'ki*, visiting relatives and friends in other villages. In a

⁵⁷. Chrestien LeClercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto 1910), p. 117.

⁵⁸. Refer to previous pages for a short description of the 1708 and 1722 censuses. Widows and orphans were noticeably visible to Jesuit missionaries in New France. According to Father Vimont writing in 1644, the Indians inhabiting the region surrounding the French fort at Québec had been much reduced in the past 8 years "and the pitiful part of it is, that these remnants of Nations consist almost entirely of women, widows or girls, who cannot all find lawful husbands..."IR 25:109, B. Vimont, "Relation of 1643-44."

⁵⁹. This does not mean that they are adolescents or are unmarried, only that they are young.

deposition read before the Court of the Vice-Admiralty in Boston in October, 1726, John Missel stated that "he formerly lived at Chignecto, that two Years ago he lived at Minas, and this Summer, viz. about a Month ago he came from Minas to Mirligueche..."⁶⁰ In their discussions with the Governor of Ile Royale in 1727 and 1732, Mi'kmaq chiefs suggested that young men at times acted independently of their elders, establishing trading alliances with the English. Chiefs and elders accused the young men of having no "brains", perhaps suggesting that there were generational tensions within Mi'kmaq society.⁶¹ With no direct family responsibilities and brimming with youthful confidence, these men would have been eager to demonstrate their abilities and earn the approval of elders and companions as well as the notice of young women. According to comments collected by Abbé Maillard who preached among the Mi'kmaq after 1735, many young men gained prestige within their villages by demonstrating courage in war. Maillard wrote that the older women told the young men that "their daughters shall be given to none but such as have signalized themselves by some military feat."⁶²

Indeed, as the Mi'kmaq were almost continuously at war with England

⁶⁰. The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery...1726, p.28.

⁶¹. AC, C11B 9:10, Conseil de la Marine, 11 mars 1727; AC, C11B 9:65v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 20 déc. 1727; AC, C11B 11:255, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 14 déc. 1732.

⁶². Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard, An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricgeets Savage Nation, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton (London 1758), p. 29.

between 1690 and 1725 and again from 1744 until 1760, war would have enhanced the influence and prestige of younger men and challenged the leadership of elders. In the social turmoil created by war, a number of Maliseet *sakamows* appealed to French officials to assist in maintaining influence over younger warriors. In June, 1697, some chiefs invited the French commander at Nashwaak, Joseph de Villebon, "to give them commissions so that they might command greater consideration from their youthful followers."⁶³

c) Division of Labour

The sources do not discuss women and their role in Mi'kmaq social, political and economic life. Where information was recorded, it concentrated exclusively upon men. Generally, the only men who wrote about women were the missionaries, particularly those such as Le Loutre and Maillard who successfully established year round missions. As the women and children sometimes remained in the mission when male family members went hunting in winter, the missionary likely had more contact with the women than had previously been the case.

Labour was divided according to gender. A woman's responsibilities were

⁶³. John Clarence Webster, ed. Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents, (Saint John 1934), pp. 104-105.

focused upon the household. Hers was the task of setting up and maintaining the cabin and transporting the family's effects from one location to the next.⁶⁴ Women also cared for the children, prepared the meals, devised herbal remedies, cared for the sick,⁶⁵ and made various items, such as birchbark containers, snowshoes, and clothes. Much of this physical labour would have been done during winter when their responsibilities for food gathering were reduced.⁶⁶ With the advent of the fur trade, more of a woman's time was likely spent tanning and cleaning furs than had been the case before.

Women were important food gatherers.⁶⁷ The role women have played in non-agricultural Native societies has often been underemphasized.⁶⁸ Research on other peoples, however, has suggested the importance that women

⁶⁴. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 405; Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 101.

⁶⁵. From fieldwork done among the Maliseet in the early twentieth century, Montague Chamberlain wrote that the sick were generally left to older women. When their remedies were not successful, the sickness was attributed to an evil spirit and necessitated the intervention of the shaman. The shaman's role is discussed in section 4 of this chapter. Montague Chamberlain, "Indians in New Brunswick in Champlain's Time," Acadiensis, 4(1904), p. 289.

⁶⁶. Pierre-Simon-Antoine Maillard, "Lettre de M. L'Abbé Maillard sur les Missions de L'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques à Madame de Drucourt," Les Soirées Canadiennes (Québec 1863), pp. 353-354.

⁶⁷. See for example, Lescarbot, History of New France, III:200-201; JR 2:77, Biard 31 Jan. 1612,; See also Ellice B. Gonzalez, "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Micmac Male and Female Economic Roles," Ethnohistory, 29 (1982), p.119; Virginia Miller, "The Micmac: A Maritime Woodland Group," in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto 1986), pp. 335-36.

⁶⁸. Ingold, The Appropriation of Nature, pp. 86-87.

played in communal economic life. For example, the English minister G. A. Robinson who lived among the aborigines of Tasmania between 1829 and 1834 observed that 70 percent of their food consisted of meat and seafood and that both men and women participated in its acquisition.⁶⁹ Similarly, Mi'kmaq women played an important role in food gathering at each season of the year. During the spring, they assisted in gathering fish; and as summer approached, they began the long and arduous task of berry picking. With the introduction of agriculture during the seventeenth century, women's role in village economic life increased, as it was they who planted and harvested the crops. In winter, women's participation in food gathering declined, as the principal economic activity was moose hunting. They did, however, travel to the kill site and assist in transporting the meat back to camp.⁷⁰ During the men's absences, women supplemented their diet with fish caught in neighbouring lakes and coastal waters.⁷¹

While women's work was focused principally within the village's environment, men's activities ranged over a larger territory. Men assisted in the spring and autumn fisheries, and also hunted for beaver, moose, caribou and other terrestrial mammals during the early autumn and late winter. Hunting

⁶⁹. Rhys Jones, "Hunters and History: A Case Study from Western Tasmania," in Past and Present in Hunter Gatherer Societies, edited by Carmel Schrire (New York 1984), pp. 46-48.

⁷⁰. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 405.

⁷¹. Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'Abbé Maillard," 1755, p. 353.

in groups of two or more, men could be away from their families for a week or more. During war time, they could also be absent in late spring and summer.

d) Marriage

Marc Lescarbot writes that to marry, a man had first to ask the permission of the woman's father. Marriage was a prolonged process as the man had to demonstrate his capacity to provide for a family. He also had to compensate the woman's parents for the loss of their daughter. This he did by going to live with the woman's family, and is usually known as bride service. Lescarbot suggested that the man served his prospective in-laws for 6 to 12 months. Writing more than half a century later Nicolas Denys said this could last for several years.⁷² Biard said presents were given to the woman's family "in proportion to the rank of the father and beauty of the daughter," and might consist of dogs, beaver skins, kettles, axes or other goods.⁷³ Since Biard does not mention the man living with his prospective in-laws, this could suggest that presents were an alternative means of compensating the woman's family for the loss of their daughter.

Both polygamy and divorce were practised in seventeenth-century Mi'kmaq

⁷². Lescarbot, History, III:162-63; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 407.

⁷³. IR 3:99, Biard, "Relation of 1616."

society. So long as he was a good hunter, a man could marry as many women as he pleased.⁷⁴ How common this was cannot be determined from available records though Biard wrote in 1611 that most men had just one wife and polygamy was more usual for chiefs for whom multiple marriages was a method by which to extend their influence.⁷⁵ By 1726, polygamy was still rarely practised and was frowned upon by most people according to the French missionary Antoine Gaulin who had lived among the Mi'kmaq since 1706.⁷⁶ Divorce was also practised. According to Denys, if a woman did not have a child within two or three years of marriage, then the husband could divorce her.⁷⁷ Despite missionary interdictions regarding divorce, this practise appears to have continued during the eighteenth century.⁷⁸

Generally, women married younger than men.⁷⁹ The registers of Saint-Jean-Baptiste parish list six first-time marriages of Mi'kmaq couples. In the five cases where ages are given, the average age of the woman was 18.2 years and

⁷⁴. IR 8:167, Julien Perrault, 1634-35; Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 410-411.

⁷⁵. IR 2:77-79, Biard, 31 Jan. 1611.

⁷⁶. AN, Monuments historiques, série K, carton 1232, NAC, MG 3, série K, p. 113, [transcripts].

⁷⁷. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 410.

⁷⁸. Maillard, An Account, pp. 51-52.

⁷⁹. In 1755, the Catholic missionary, Abbé Maillard wrote that Mi'kmaq men "do not care to marry, till they are arrived at full-ripe years." Maillard, An Account, p. 52.

the man, 22.6 years. Though the sample is small, it does, nevertheless, provide some means of evaluating data provided by the 1708 census. Here, even though there is no direct information regarding the age at which men and women marry, by adding one year to the age of the oldest child in each household and then subtracting this number from the age of the mother and father, the maximum age at which men and women married is provided. These calculations are shown in Table 2.2.

The Table illustrates two things. First, it shows that the majority of men were married by the time they reached twenty-eight while the majority of women were married by the age of twenty-four and a half. The precise accuracy of these figures, however, is challenged by the Saint-Jean-Baptiste registers which suggest that couples married earlier. Nevertheless, in the absence of more precise data, these figures provide at least a general time within which marriage occurred. Table 2.2 shows a similar age difference between married couples as was suggested in the parish registers. In both samples, women married four to five years earlier than men.

Miller and Nietfeld have argued that bilocal marriage patterns with a patrilocal tendency were practised by the Mi'kmaq. This means that after marriage, couples lived either with the man's or the woman's parents, though there was a tendency for the couple to live with the man's relatives.⁸⁰ One

⁸⁰. Patricia Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981, pp. 411-412; Milier, "Micmac," p. 336.

TABLE 2.2
 POSSIBLE MAXIMUM AGE AT MARRIAGE
 FOR MI'KMAQ MEN AND WOMEN
 1708

	Men	# of Cases	Women	# of Cases
Port Royal	28.5	15	21.8	21
Cap Sable	28.4	13	24.2	16
La Hève	24.1	18	19.8	23
Minas	25.3	9	21.0	11
Mouscoudabouet	25.9	25	20.1	28
Chignecto	28.0	17	24.7	21

[SOURCE: 1708 CENSUS]

problem with this statement is that the authors do not define local residence and, therefore, determining what relationship, if any, existed between the man or the woman's previous residence and their new one is not possible. Identifying residences before and after marriage is significant for it is important to know if marriage occurred between bands or between summer villages.

Table 2.3 illustrates residence patterns among newly married couples. Their names have been taken from the parish registers of Port Royal which, when compared to the 1708 census, identify the birthplace of ten couples living at Port Royal (PR), Cap Sable (CS) and La Hève (LH) between 1726 and 1735. Since the Mi'kmaq were not a sedentary people, birthplace in this instance does not refer to a specific location - such as Port Royal - but rather to band membership. Thus an individual may not have been born at Port Royal but was born into the Mi'kmaq band which lived for most of the year within the neighbourhood of Port Royal. In both the 1708 census and the parish registers, individuals are identified as members of a band occupying one of these geographical territories, in this case, Port Royal, Cap Sable and La Hève.

In seven out of ten cases men retained residency in their place of birth after marriage while this was true for six of nine women. The term "place of birth" should not be interpreted literally since the village birthplace for each person cannot be determined. Data does suggest that intermarriage between men and women inhabiting villages located within the same region occurred more often

TABLE 2.3
PATTERN OF RESIDENCY
IN RELATION TO BIRTHPLACE
PORT ROYAL, CAP SABLE, AND LA HEVE
1726-1735

Husband	Husband BP	Wife	Wife's BP	Couples' Residence	Date	Act
Etienne Chegoueo	CS	Anne		PR	1726	B
Martin Grandclaude	PR	Marguerite Le Jeune	PR	PR	1727	M
Jacques Bernard	CS	Marie Kouare	Minas	CS	1726	B
Pierre Chegoueo	CS	Marguerite Baptiste	CS	CS	1726	M
Francois Doucett	PR	Marie Pisnet	CS	CS	1726	M
Rene Nectabs	CS	Catherine Andigin	CS	CS	1726	M
Antoine Tekonmak	CS	Marie Huronne	[Canada]	CS	1726	B
Joseph Sanaghintech	CS	Marie	CB	CS	1730	B
Charles Purisse	LH	Marie Grandclaude	-	LH	1735	M
Pierre Ceiller	PR	Francoise Myus	LH	LH	1735	M

B = Baptism; BP = Birthplace; M = Marriage.

CB = Cape Breton; CS = Cap Sable; LH = La Heve; PR = Port Royal.

SOURCE: 1708 Census and Parish Registers for Port Royal.

than between peoples from other regions. It also shows that, at least for southern *Kmitkinag*, bilocal marriage practices occurred.

3. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

This section examines the political structures of Mi'kmaq society in the pre-1760 period. The following analysis begins by describing local leadership at the village level and then looks at the organizational structures which united villages throughout *Mi'kma'ki* as well as alliances which were made with other Native peoples.

a) Local Leadership

According to oral tradition, in each village, there were three individuals identified as leaders. These were the *sakamow*⁸¹ [chief], the *sa'ya* [spiritual leader] and *keptin* [war chief]. In the early seventeenth century, the *sakamow's* responsibilities were to ensure that families had the necessary equipment to hunt, to ensure that orphans and widows were properly cared for, and to mediate disputes between disgruntled parties.⁸² The *sa'ya* on the other hand was the village's principal link with the spiritual world. Their responsibility

⁸¹. The usage of the term "Sagamore" first appears in Marc Lescarbot's writings. IR 1:73, Marc Lescarbot, "Relation dernière."

⁸². IR 1:75, Lescarbot, "Relation dernière."

was determining the reasons precipitating certain actions and advising villagers on appropriate responses.⁸³ In the early seventeenth century, Father Biard noted that one individual might serve as both *sakamow* and *sa'ya*. Finally, the *keptin's* role was temporary and assumed importance only during wartime. European correspondence does not provide a clear picture of local Mi'kmaq leadership. Though both English and French officials refer to Mi'kmaq *sakamows*, their relationship to specific settlements is not always clear. This is illustrated by comparing the 1722 census which lists ten Mi'kmaq *sakamow* and the 1726 treaty signed between Mi'kmaq and colonial officials at Annapolis Royal, which designates certain individuals as leaders in their villages. This information is presented in Table 2.4.

This table lists two different individuals as *sakamow* for La Hève, Minas, Chignecto and possibly Chebenacadie in 1722 and 1726. Does this mean that between 1722 and 1726, the leadership changed in these villages or that within each region there were two *sakamows*? Reference to other eighteenth-century correspondence suggests the latter explanation. Though documentation is not available for all regions, records regarding villages adjacent to the Minas Basin provide a more accurate portrait of political leadership and suggest that a similar situation prevailed in other areas.

The table shows Jacques Necout as the *sakamow* of Minas in 1722 while the 1726 treaty identifies Antoine Amquaret as *sakamow*. Other records demonstrate

⁸³. Maillard, *An Account*, p. 41.

TABLE 2.4
MI'KMAQ SAKAMOWS
1722 and 1726

	1722	1726
Port Royal	Thomas Albason	Baptiste Thomas
Cap Sable	Jean Baptiste Medesgnal	John Baptiste Paul Tecumart
La Hève	Claude Couachinauil	Antoine Egigish
Mines	Jacques Necout	Pierre Amquaret
Chebenacadie	Joseph Bomgabouidetché	Jean Baptiste fils de bon
Chignecto	Joseph Pidoujacktek	Philip Earqimot

SOURCE: AC, C11B 6:77, 27 nov. 1722; CO 217 5:3-4,
4 June 1726.

that these positions were actually occupied by both men. The confusion lies in that both were identified as the *sakamow* of Minas which in fact was not the case. A letter which was sent to the Executive Council at Annapolis Royal in October 1720, or two years before the French census listed Necout as *sakamow*, was signed by Antoine Amquaret, chief of Minas.⁸⁴ In 1737, two brothers, Claude and François Necoute were among a group of ten Mi'kmaq who attacked an English vessel trading on the Piziquit River. The *sakamow* of this region was identified as Thomas Necoute.⁸⁵ Indeed, each village outlined in section one of this chapter, had at least one *sakamow*. These positions were often assumed by a member of the principal family group inhabiting the region, at Minas, the Amquaret family and at Piziquit, the Necoutes. Consequently, the two men listed as *sakamow* of Minas in 1722 and 1726 were actually both *sakamows*.⁸⁶

Indeed, the broad geographical terminology used by missionaries and political officials implicitly simplifies Mi'kmaq political structures. Though

⁸⁴. Antoine et Pierre Couaret à Philipps, 2 oct. 1720. Collection de manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger (CMNF), vol. III (Québec 1884), pp. 46-47.

⁸⁵. PANS, RG 1, 14:176, Armstrong to Board of Trade, 8 July 1737; CO 217, 8:12-14, Deposition of Stephen Jones, 7 June 1737.

⁸⁶. In May, 1744 Jacques Nascouttes (probably Necoute) is mentioned in English records as a Mi'kmaq *sakamow* though the identity of his village is not given. Similarly, in 1760, a Barthélemy Aunqualett (probably Amquaret) is said to have been *sakamow* of Minas. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, vol. 10 (1809), p. 116, Frye to Lawrence, 7 March 1760.

similar documentation is not available for all regions, available evidence suggests that a similar situation as existed at Minas was true for other areas. A further examination of pre-1760 documentation shows, for instance, two *sakamows* for Cap Sable and for La Hève.⁸⁷

Leadership could be passed on from father to son. Some families dominated Mi'kmaq political leadership. In preparation for their future role, sons could be delegated by their father to carry messages to other communities.⁸⁸ If the son failed to meet the expectations of elders, another individual was selected. Indeed, Etienne Chegoueo who had been born at Cap Sable and moved to Port Royal after marriage, later became a leader among Mi'kmaq inhabiting the region. However, the norm appears to have been for leadership to be inherited.

Certain personal traits were expected from the *sakamow*. All the men listed in Table 2.4 were elders within their villages. In 1726, Paul Tecumart was 63, Antoine Egigish 68, Antoine Amquaret 48, Jacques Necoute 63, Joseph Bemgadoudies 66, Jean Baptiste fils de bon 44, Philip Argimeau 56 and Joseph Pidoujacteck 68.⁸⁹ Age as well as being generous and an outstanding hunter and warrior, were characteristics which qualified individuals for leadership

⁸⁷. PANS, RG 1, 187:4 Nova Scotia Executive Council Minutes, 16 Nov. 1753; RG 1, 188:288 Nova Scotia Executive Council Minutes, 9 Nov. 1761 and 24 July 1762.

⁸⁸. PRO, War Office Papers (WO) 34, 12:99v-100, Capt. Roderick MacKenzie to J. Belcher, 28 March 1761.

⁸⁹. Ages have been calculated using the 1708 census.

roles.⁹⁰

The *sakamow* did not exercise sovereign power over his people but rather depended upon their voluntary support.⁹¹ Among Mi'kmaq inhabiting Saint George's Bay in Ktaqamkuk (southern Newfoundland) during the early nineteenth century, an Englishman observed that "whatever power he [the Chief] may possess, arises more from the ascendancy acquired by his mild and conciliating manners, than from any respect which the Indians pay to the office itself."⁹²

Decisions regarding the village were made in consultation with other male family heads. Elders played a crucial role in providing counsel as their age and experience was highly valued. In 1767, the surveyor Samuel Holland encountered sixty Mi'kmaq in Unimaki who told him they were waiting to meet "an old man more than 120 years of age who they say is the Eldest of the Tribe upon whose counsel they set great value."⁹³ Together with the elders, the chief determined areas to be hunted during the winter, and settled disputes

⁹⁰. Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," pp. 481-82.

⁹¹. IR, 2:73, Biard, 31 Jan. 1612;; "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756," in Acadiensis, X (1980), p. 116; Alvin Morrison, "Dawnland Decisions: Seventeenth Century Wabanaki Leaders and their Responses to the Differential Contact Stimuli in the Overlap Area of New France and New England," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1974, pp. 50-51.

⁹². Lt. Edward Chappell, Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosmond to Newfoundland (London 1818), p. 82.

⁹³. D.C. Harvey, ed., Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and other Documents, (Halifax 1935), p. 68.

within the village. When the village collectively undertook hunting expeditions to areas far removed from the village, leaving women and children behind, the elders distributed proceeds from the hunt to individual households.⁹⁴ During the summer when villages assembled, the chiefs together with elders met to discuss issues relating to the community.⁹⁵

b) Grand Council

Patricia Nietfeld has argued that seventeenth-century political structures did not exist beyond the local level. According to Nietfeld, *sakamows* like Membertou, who resided within the vicinity of Port Royal during the early seventeenth century, exerted influence over people beyond their own communities through the force of their personalities. Such situations, however, resulted from the interplay of historical forces and, according to Nietfeld, did not reflect more extensive levels of political integration.⁹⁶

According to oral tradition, leadership extended beyond the local level to

⁹⁴. AC, C11B 7:51, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 oct. 1726.

⁹⁵. Virginia Miller, "Social and Political Complexity on the East Coast: The Micmac Case," in The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast and the Northwest Coasts of America, edited by Ronald Nash (Vancouver 1983), p. 43; Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," pp. 494-95; Alvin Morrison, "Dawnland Directors: Status and Role of Seventeenth-Century Wabanaki Sagamores," Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa 1976), p. 10.

⁹⁶. Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," pp. 471-75; see also Janet Chute, "Ceremony, Social Revitalization and Change: Micmac Leadership and the Annual Festival of St. Anne," Papers of the 23rd Algonquian Conference, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa 1992), p. 45.

include other villages in a pan-Mi'kmaq organization. Called the *Sante Mawi'omi* (Grand Council or Holy Gathering), this structure was established six hundred years ago as a defensive measure in response to the invasion of Mi'kmaq territory by Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) warriors.⁹⁷ At that time, Mi'kmaq lands were divided into seven *sakamowti* or political districts which in turn were divided into a larger number of *wikamow* [clans]. Within each district there were several *sakamow* or village chiefs. One of them was called the district chief and today is called a Captain. This is illustrated in Map 6. All *sakamows* were members of the Grand Council and selected the three leadership positions within the organization, the *Kjisakmow*, [grand chief], the *Kjikeptin* [grand captain], the grand chief's assistant, and the *Putus* [wisdom] who safeguarded treaties of friendship and alliance made by the Council.⁹⁸ Annual meetings were held at both the district and Grand Council levels.⁹⁹ As noted

⁹⁷. This war is briefly discussed on p. 143.

⁹⁸. Donald Marshall, Sr., Alexander Denny and Simon Marshall, "The Covenant Chain," in *Drumbeat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country*, edited by Boyce Richardson (Toronto 1989), pp. 75-76; Miller, "Social and Political Complexity," pp. 44-45 has the fullest explanation of this political structure. Biard makes reference to the division of territories into districts and annual meetings of the sagamores in *JR*, 3:89-91, Biard, "Relation of 1616." In 1918, there is reference to John Denny having been elected in 1887 as Grand Chief with his jurisdiction "extending from Sainte-Anne de Restigouche in Quebec to Newfoundland inclusive." Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, Ganong Scrapbooks, New Brunswick Indians, "Setanceoei Migmaoi Sulnaltijtj," no. 376, August 1918.

⁹⁹. There are numerous meetings of large congregations of people throughout the eighteenth century. AC, C11B 10:67, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 3 nov. 1728; Forster to Amherst, 2 Aug. 1763 in "Les papiers Amherst (1760-

by Biard in 1616, these meetings occurred principally in the summer and it was then that discussions took place "about peace and war, treaties of friendship and treaties for the common good."¹⁰⁰ Such meetings would also have been an occasion for families to meet relatives and friends from other villages. One such gathering held near Canceau during the summer of 1765, attracted approximately 500 people.¹⁰¹

Oral tradition suggests that Council meetings had at one time been held at Pubnico Point in southwestern *Kmitkinag*.¹⁰² This would accord, in part, with Frank Speck's observations based upon oral interviews among Mi'kmaq inhabitants of *Mi'kma'ki* during the early part of the twentieth century that the area surrounding the Annapolis Basin was originally the meeting place of the Grand Council and its leader was selected from chiefs of this region. According to the oral tradition collected by Speck, sometime after 1749 the centre of the Council was transferred to Unimaki.¹⁰³ The reasons for the move are not clear but may be related to the intensification of conflict with New England. Thereafter, Council meetings appear to have taken place on Unimaki or at

1763)" in La société historique Acadienne, edited by Regis S. Brun (Moncton 1970), p. 319; CO 217, 25:64, 15 Aug. 1765.

¹⁰⁰. JR 3:89, Biard, "Relation of 1616".

¹⁰¹. CO 217, 25:64, 15 August 1765.

¹⁰². K. G. T. Webster, "On the Fletcher Stone," in Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, 8 (1892), p. xxxviii.

¹⁰³. Frank Speck, "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy," American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), pp. 499, 506.

Antigoniche.

There are a number of documents suggesting the Council's existence prior to 1600. Lescarbot wrote in the early seventeenth century that one *sakamow*, Membertou, whose village was located adjacent to the French settlement at Port Royal, was the *sakamow* of all the Mi'kmaq from Gaspé to Cap Sable.¹⁰⁴ As well, the facility with which Membertou organized a joint war expedition of Mi'kmaq villages and neighbouring Native peoples in 1607, would suggest a political structure uniting the Mi'kmaq people.¹⁰⁵ More specific references to a larger political configuration occur later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the 1640s, Jesuits living at Miskou reported a conference between the Mi'kmaq, Montagnais, and Algonquin in which

The Captain of our coasts takes the floor in the name of the Captains of Acadia, and of him of the Bay of Rigibouctou, his kinsman, from whom he says he has commission to treat for peace.¹⁰⁶

In the early eighteenth-century French government correspondence mentions council discussions among chiefs and elders from various regions.¹⁰⁷ In 1721,

¹⁰⁴. IR 1:75, Lescarbot, "Relation Dernière."

¹⁰⁵. Lescarbot, History of New France, II:354 and Lescarbot, "The Defeat of the Armouchiquois Indians by Chief Membertou and his Indian Allies in New France in the Month of July 1607," translated by Thomas H. Goetz, Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa 1975), pp. 159-179.

¹⁰⁶. IR, 30:143, "Relation of 1645-46".

¹⁰⁷. In 1728, the Governor of Ile Royale, Saint-Ovide made reference to a "grand Conseil" held among the Mi'kmaq during the spring. Soon afterwards he was visited by the chief of Restigouche who informed him "that one of their

the Mi'kmaq people are represented as a single political entity in a letter sent jointly by a number of Native groups to the Massachusetts Governor protesting English encroachment on Abenaki lands.¹⁰⁸

While other sources regarding the Council's existence prior to 1700 have not been found, evidence presented throughout this chapter has demonstrated the persistence of social and territorial structures in Mi'kmaq society, structures which continued to be maintained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries despite the ravages of disease, European settlement and imperial conflict. Similarly, political structures noted by Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would suggest not the establishment of a new political organization but rather ones that had predated 1600.

c) Political Alliances

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Mi'kmaq were allied with Native peoples living to the west. The most important of these alliances was with the Wabanaki Confederacy, an organization which regrouped Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and other Eastern Abenaki peoples. The

people had been mistreated by the english, this chief told me that he had been deputized by all the chiefs and elders of the Nation to inform me of the cruel treatment that these brothers had received from the english." AC, C11B 10:67v, 77-77v, *Saint-Ovide au ministre*, 3 nov. 1728.

¹⁰⁸. "Eastern Indians' Letter to the Governour," 27 July 1721, reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, vol. viii (Boston 1819), pp. 259-263. An English translation of the letter appears in the Maine Historical Society Quarterly, vol. 13 (1974), pp. 179-184.

ethnic identity of peoples and the territories they occupied varied considerably during these years as disease and war precipitated population changes west of the Saint John River. These changes are only partially understood, particularly for the years 1600 to 1675, when little information is available.¹⁰⁹ The Maliseet lived closest to the Mi'kmaq, inhabiting territories adjacent to the Saint John River from its mouth on the Bay of Fundy to the southern shore of the Saint Lawrence River.¹¹⁰

based on oral testimony collected during the early twentieth century, Speck argues that the Mi'kmaq were political allies but not members of the Confederacy.¹¹¹ Though the historical record does not directly validate Speck's conclusions, it does show widespread political and military linkages

¹⁰⁹. A number of researchers have argued that the Etchemin encountered and described by early Europeans were actually the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy peoples. For example, Vincent O. Erickson, "Maliseet-Passamaquoddy," in Handbook of North American Indians, The Northeast, edited by Bruce Trigger vol. 15 (Washington 1978), pp. 123-125. Bruce Bourque points out that the term encompassed those people living from the Saint John to the Kennebec River. Only after the 1670s, were these people ethnically identified as Maliseet and Kennebec Abenaki. Bruce J. Bourque, "Ethnicity on the maritime Peninsula, 1600-1759," Ethnohistory, 36 (1989), pp. 273-274. The changing ethnicity of this region after the 1670s is suggested by Harald Prins, "Micmacs and Maliseets in the St. Lawrence River Valley," Actes du Dix-Septième congrès des Algonquinistes/Papers of the Seventeenth Algonquian Conference, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa 1986), pp. 263-277.

¹¹⁰. In the Maliseet language, the Saint John River is Wulastuk and means "not just the river, but the fish in it and the moose and caribou and all the wild game and the fine birches and cedars, everything that was good for the Indians." E. Tappan Adney to the Editor, Saint John Telegraph Journal, 24 March 1939.

¹¹¹. Frank Speck, "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy," American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), pp. 505-507.

between the Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki villages beginning in 1690. Mi'kmaq villagers co-operated extensively with their Maliseet and Penobscot brothers during the conflict with New England in the 1690s.¹¹² These linkages persisted throughout the eighteenth century as Native peoples east of the Kennebec River tried to halt the encroachment of New England settlers and fishermen onto their lands. Penobscot warriors, for example, participated in Mi'kmaq attacks on Port Royal in 1710 and on Canceau in 1720 and in 1721, the Governor of Ile Royale reported that during the summer, "the Maliseet and Abenakis had held assemblies and had sent canoes into the villages of Cap Sable, of Minas and of the La Hève."¹¹³ After the conclusion of a peace treaty between the English Crown and the Abenaki, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy and Mi'kmaq peoples in 1725/26, there are fewer references to joint political and military ventures between the Confederacy and the Mi'kmaq.

Political alliances were also made with peoples to the north and west. Before 1650, the Mi'kmaq co-operated with Montagnais villages along the Saguenay River in raiding expeditions against the Armouchiquois and the Houdenosaunee.¹¹⁴ According to oral testimony collected by Speck, an

¹¹². Evidence for this cooperation is in Webster, ed., Acadia at the End of the 17th Century.

¹¹³. AC, C11B 5:341, Conseil de la Marine, nov. 1721.

¹¹⁴. Lescarbot, History of New France, II:354 and Lescarbot, "The Defeat of the Armouchiquois Indians...1607," in Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, pp. 159-179; JR, 24:147, André Richard, "Relation of 1642-43." The Armouchiquois inhabited the region near the Saco River. Their later identification in European documentation is ambiguous.

alliance was made among the Wabanaki, the Mi'kmaq, northeastern Algonkian peoples and Mohawk living at Kahnawake and Kahneseetake. The Odawa (Ottawa) mediated discussions. Kahnawake was selected as the central council fire and it was here that meetings were held every three years to renew the alliance. The four Wabanaki tribes sat on one side of the fire and the western delegates on the other. Speck suggests that the principal speakers for the Wabanaki were the Penobscot while the Odawa played a similar role for the Western tribes.¹¹⁵ Speck is not able to suggest when the alliance was made. However, given that Kahnawake was established in 1667 and Kahneseetake in 1696, it likely dated from at least the late seventeenth century. The earliest historical record attesting to the alliance is a letter sent in 1721 to New England authorities protesting encroachment upon Abenaki lands in violation of treaties signed with the English Crown. The letter's signatories were the principal Abenaki and Maliseet villages, the Mi'kmaq, the Kahnawake and Kahneseetake, Houdensasaunee, the Algonquins, the Hurons, the Montagnais from the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River, the Papinachois and "other neighbouring nations... whose Elders and Representatives have appeared at the place called Menaskek and spoken to their [the Abenakis'] chief."¹¹⁶ Following the

¹¹⁵. Speck, "The Eastern Algonkian," pp. 495-97. Oral testimony regarding the alliance is in "The Wampum Records," in Passamaquoddy Texts, edited by John Prince (Berlin 1921), pp. 7-9.

¹¹⁶. "Eastern Indians' Letter to the Governour," 27 July 1721, reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, vol. VIII (Boston 1819), pp. 259-263.

conclusion of a treaty between the Wabanaki and the English Crown in 1725/26, extensive discussions regarding the treaty's articles occurred among alliance members.¹¹⁷ Other evidence regarding the alliance in the pre-1760 has not been found. In 1761, however, the Houdenasaunee sent runners bearing wampum belts "to all nations from Nova Scotia to the Illinois to take up the Hatchet against the English," suggesting that some form of communication with Wabanaki peoples had been maintained in the interim.¹¹⁸ Later references are in 1796 and in 1859 when the Mi'kmaq met in council with various eastern and western nations at Kahnawake.¹¹⁹

d) Enemies

Before 1675, there is little information regarding Mi'kmaq conflicts with other peoples. Oral tradition states that prior to the European invasion, the Mi'kmaq had warred with a people called the Kwedech, whom Bernard

¹¹⁷. In June 1727 John Gyles wrote that "Great Disputes this spring Concerning Affears, have been between ye Indians of ye several tribes from Cape Saples to ye mountain Indians, & ye french...," Gyles to Dummer, 22 June 1727 in Documentary History of the State of Maine, edited by James Baxter, vol. 10 (Portland 1907), p. 408.

¹¹⁸. Donald Campbell to William Walters, 17 June, 1761 in James Sullivan, ed., Papers of William Johnson vol. III (New York 1921), p. 405,

¹¹⁹. NAC, RG 10, 9:9140, Joseph Chew to Alexander McKee, 11 Aug. 1796; Archives nationales de Québec à Rimouski, Fonds des Capucins, Article 23, 1-Correspondence, "Grand Conseil au Caughnawaga en 1859, Texte Micmac".

Hoffman has identified as the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians.¹²⁰ In 1534 during his travels along what is now the eastern coast of New Brunswick, Jacques Cartier encountered two ethnically different peoples, Mi'kmaq people living on the Baie des Chaleurs and Iroquoian speaking peoples fishing on the Gaspé coast.¹²¹ Between 1534 and 1600, war is thought to have erupted between the two peoples, and may have been one factor which led the Iroquoians to abandon the Gaspé.¹²² During the seventeenth century, war again erupted with the Houdenosaunee though Mi'kmaq participation appears to have devolved to people living in Kespekewaq and Sikniktewaq in aid of Montagnais allies whose territories were threatened by Houdenosaunee incursions. Though documentation is lacking, sometime after 1616 but before 1670, the Mi'kmaq may also have been at war with the Maliseet.¹²³ According to Fanny Eckstorm, the Mi'kmaq occupied all the territory east of the Penobscot after the epidemic of 1618-19 had devastated inhabitants living between there and the Saint John River but withdrew from the region after

¹²⁰. Stories regarding this conflict can be found in the collection recorded by Silas Rand in the nineteenth century. Legends of the Micmacs edited by Silas T. Rand (New York 1894), pp. 217-211, 219-224. The two peoples were almost continually at war from 1500 but sometime before 1600, a peace was concluded. Bernard Hoffman, "Souriquois, Etechemin and Kwedech - A Lost Chapter in American Ethnography," Ethnohistory, 2 (1955), p. 79.

¹²¹. H.P. Biggar, ed., The Voyages of Jacques Cartier (Toronto 1924), pp. 49-55, 62-67.

¹²². Hoffman, "Souriquois, Etechemin," p. 80.

¹²³. There are a number of allusions to this war or wars in eighteenth-century documentation. Maillard, An Account, pp. 19-20.

1630 for unknown reasons.¹²⁴ During 1644-45, a conflict occurred with a people identified as the Betsiamites [Montagnais] but was resolved the following year.¹²⁵ During the late 1650s, war was also waged with the Inuit who, the Jesuits said, were a nation "dwelling at the extreme Northeastern end of New France, at about 52 degrees of latitude,"¹²⁶ identified in 1720 by a missionary, Abbé Gaulin, as the Labrador coast.¹²⁷

From the 1690s when more extensive correspondence regarding the region is available, sources do not explicitly refer to conflicts between the Mi'kmaq and other Indian nations. However, Indians were part of New England military expeditions made against the Mi'kmaq during the early eighteenth century.¹²⁸ In the assault on Port Royal in 1710, for instance, four New England

¹²⁴. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian Shamans 1st edition 1945, (Orono 1980), pp. 76-77.

¹²⁵. JR, 28:35, André Richard, "Relation of 1644-45,"; JR, 30:139, "Relation of 1645-46." The Betsiamites appear to have lived along the Saguenay River which flows into the Saint Laurent River on its northern shoreline.

¹²⁶. JR, 45:65, "Of the Acadian Mission," 1659-1660.

¹²⁷. AN, Monuments historiques, carton 1232, série K, pièce 4, Gaulin à D'Aguesseau, [1720], NAC, MG 3, Série K, [transcripts], p. 110.

¹²⁸. Specific references to New England Indians serving in expeditions against Port Royal are in MSA, 122:229, Treasurer Taylor's Accounts, 31 May 1704 to 31 May 1705; Proceedings of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, 30 July 1710 Records of the Colony of Rhode Island edited by John Bartlett, vol. IV (Providence 1859), p. 93; MSA 91-94, NAC, MG 18 N8: part 4, New England Muster Rolls. Richard Johnson estimates that one-seventh of the troops mustered against New France in 1707 were Indians while in 1710, one-eighth were Indians. Richard Johnson, "The Search for a Usable Indian," Journal of American History, 64 (1977-78), p. 631.

companies, totalling 1,677 men included 188 Indians or about 11 per cent of the total.¹²⁹ Their involvement may be more attributable to the necessity of settling outstanding debts with English merchants than to any hostility towards the Mi'kmaq.¹³⁰ In 1712, a company of Mohawk was recruited by English officials to guard the garrison at Port Royal after the capture of the French fort in 1710 in the belief that they were much feared by the Mi'kmaq.¹³¹

In the early seventeenth century, Lescarbot wrote that wars were not fought for the possession of land but to avenge murdered relatives.¹³² This was a theme repeated in pre-1760 European correspondence as Mi'kmaq families sought revenge for relatives killed by English mariners or soldiers. In doing so, *sakamows* sought the military support of other villages who, however, were not bound to assist them. Where additional assistance had not been obtained, any actions might have been limited to assaults upon coastal shipping. This would account for the isolated character of many of the attacks made upon New

¹²⁹. MSA 91:94, NAC, MG 18 N8:4, New England Muster Rolls.

¹³⁰. Daniel Vickers briefly examines the problem of indebtedness among Nantucket Indians in "The First Whalers of Nantucket," William and Mary Quarterly, 60 (1983), pp. 576-77. No records have been found, however, which would link Indians recruited in expeditions against Nova Scotia and indebtedness to merchants.

¹³¹. The Company arrived at Port Royal soon after 10 March 1712 and was disbanded by 22 May 1713. References to the Company are in PANS, RG 1, 5: doc. 25, Vetch to Dartmouth, 4 Jan. 1712; PANS, RG 1, 8:74, Vetch to William Alden, 10 March 1712; PANS, RG 1, 8:91, Vetch to Mason, 20 June 1712; PANS, RG 1, 5: doc. 34, Vetch to Dartmouth, 22 May 1713.

¹³². Lescarbot, History of New France, III:263.

England fishing vessels during the eighteenth century.¹³³

There is little information regarding the size of Mi'kmaq war expeditions. The military assault launched against the Armouchiquois in June 1607 by a confederated party of Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy and Montagnais warriors consisted of about 400 people.¹³⁴ Individual villages sent only a percentage of their total adult male population. For example, in June 1697, only 51 men from Minas, La Hève and Cap Sable joined their Abenaki and Maliseet allies' raids against northern New England.¹³⁵ Other figures for the pre-1760 period have not been found. However, as suggested by the discussions in July 1776 between five Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and Massachusetts representatives of the United Colonies, some men remained behind to take care of the women and children. During the discussions, the Massachusetts' delegates asked how many warriors each village could provide to assist in the war against England. The numbers promised by Mi'kmaq delegates compared to the total adult male population in each village is listed in Table 2.5. Four out of five *sakamows* replied that between 25 to 50 per cent of their total male adult population

¹³³. These incidents are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

¹³⁴. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:354.

¹³⁵. Only 41 men arrived at Nashwaak from the Baie des Chaleurs and Ile Percée. No similar population figures regarding the size of their villages has been found. Webster, ed., Acadia, p. 106. Though population data for these villages is contained in the 1708 census, the difficulties of distinguishing what different sources meant when discussing Mi'kmaq living at Minas, La Hève and Cap Sable makes comparisons between de Villebon's letters and the 1708 census impossible.

TABLE 2.5
 WARRIORS PROMISED BY MI'KMAQ LEADERS
 COMPARED TO TOTAL ADULT MALE POPULATION
 AUGUST 1776.

Village	Male Adult Population	Warriors Promised
La Hève	60	15
Piziquit	50	20-25
Chignecto	40	15-25
Miramichi and Richibouctou	80	10
Gaspé	50	25-30

SOURCE: "A Conference Held at Watertown, between the Honourable Council of the said Colony in behalf of the said Colony and of all the United Colonies, on the one part, and the Delegates of the St. John's and Mickmac Tribes of Indians in Nova Scotia, on the other part," 12 July 1776," in American Archives, Fifth Series, vol. 1, edited by Peter Force (Washington 1848), p. 845.

could assist the United Colonies. The adult male population figures for each village were provided by the *sakamows*.

Revenge was exacted either through taking scalps or prisoners. Scalps were dried with hot stones, painted red and then hung from the waist. Scalps were likely given to women whose husbands or children had been killed by the enemy.¹³⁶ Like other eastern Native groups, prisoners were also an important means for villagers to express their sorrow for lost relatives.¹³⁷ During the 1750's, the French missionary, Abbé Maillard wrote that "it had not been more than twenty years" since the Mi'kmaq had frequently tortured and killed prisoners. He noted, however, that since his arrival in 1735, he knew of only three such killings, once at Abegweit, once at Maligaouèche mission and once at Mire.¹³⁸ Prisoners could also be disfigured and then sent home as a warning to others who might venture onto Mi'kmaq lands. The only recorded evidence of this was in 1715 when the Cap Sable Mi'kmaq cut the cheeks of

¹³⁶. In 1753, a captive, Anthony Casteel, was immediately seized by a Mi'kmaq woman upon entering her village. Casteel was rescued by a man who gave the woman the two English scalps hanging from his middle. "Anthony Casteel's Journal," 1753, Canada-Français, 3 (Québec 1890), pp. 116-117.

¹³⁷. On the Houdenosaunee: Daniel Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," William and Mary Quarterly, 40 (1983), pp. 532-535; the Huron: Bruce Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic' Age Reconsidered (Montréal 1985), p. 97. In June 1745, the Maliseet argued that prisoners taken captive at Annapolis Royal should be put to death "as they said they had been Several of their Tribe murdered by Capt. John Gorham at anapolis." "Journal of Captain William Pote Jr.," in Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society (1894), p. 263.

¹³⁸. Maillard attributed the executions to the effects of alcohol. Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard," pp. 310-317.

eight New England fishermen "from the mouth until the ears" and then sent them home. In this case, Mi'kmaq actions were precipitated by the killing of two of their people.¹³⁹

Most prisoners, however, were not killed or disfigured. During the early seventeenth century, Native women and children prisoners had their hair cut off and were either made slaves or were allowed to purchase their freedom.¹⁴⁰ In 1720, the missionary Antoine Gaulin noted that descendants of Inuit prisoners lived among the Mi'kmaq.¹⁴¹ During the eighteenth century as the conflict with New England expanded, the situation became more complex and new factors influenced Mi'kmaq actions. In some measure, prisoners were treated as they had been before. Generally, English captives were returned or sold to Acadians or French officials. Others, such as Henry Grace, who was captured near Fort Cumberland (on the Missiquash River) in the early 1750s, were adopted into Mi'kmaq society as slaves to perform menial

¹³⁹. AC, C11A 35:12v, Ramezay et Bégon au ministre, 13 sept. 1715. In a story recorded by the Methodist missionary, Silas T. Rand in the mid-nineteenth century, the faces of two Mohawk warriors were disfigured and then dismissed "to make a report to their tribe of the success of their expedition." "The Marvellous Adventures of Noojebokwajeejit, A Micmac Brave," in Legends of the Micmac, edited by Silas T. Rand (New York 1894), p. 171.

¹⁴⁰. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:271.

¹⁴¹. AN, Monuments historiques, série K, carton 1232, pièce 4, Gaulin à M. D'Aguesseau (1720), NAC, MG 3, série K:110, [transcripts].

tasks.¹⁴² Other factors also intervened. Foremost among these was that the English often held Mi'kmaq prisoners in Port Royal and Boston. In August 1726 Mi'kmaq inhabitants of Mirligueche (Lunenburg) attacked an English fishing vessel in the hope of capturing prisoners who could be exchanged for relatives imprisoned in Boston.¹⁴³ Similarly, in May 1745, William Pote was told by a Cap Sable Mi'kmaq

if it had been my fate to have been with his Nation he believed I should be Redeemed in a very short Time. By Reason there was Six or Seven of their Nation then prisoners in Boston, which he told me they would Endeavour to Exchange as Soon as there was any possibility of their being Exchanged.¹⁴⁴

Prisoners also represented a means to obtain European goods and money. In the spring of 1711, eleven wounded English soldiers and two noncommissioned officers were ransomed from the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq by Colonel Vetch, commander at Port Royal, for "about 70 lb. value in Stroud Shirts and Blankets."¹⁴⁵ In this instance, the exchange of prisoners afforded an

¹⁴². Henry Grace, The History of the Life and Sufferings of Henry Grace (Boston 1764).

¹⁴³. The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, pp. 22 and 27.

¹⁴⁴. The Journal of Captain William Pote Jr. During his Captivity in the French and Indian War from May 1745 to August 1747 (New York 1896), p. 24. In another incident from 1750, Mi'kmaq would not release a group of English soldiers headed by a Colonel Hamilton captured near Fort Edward until a girl held in Boston was returned to her people. MSA, 5:386, Spencer Phips to Cornwallis, 27 July 1750.

¹⁴⁵. PANS, RG 1, 7 1/2: doc. 21, Vetch to Lord Dartmouth, 18 June 1711.

opportunity to acquire needed goods.¹⁴⁶

4. Culture

a) Transmitting Information

Some time ago I was sitting with Captain John Joe Sark of Abegweit in the kitchen of Alex Denny, Grand Captain of the Grand Council who lives at Eskasoni, in Unimaki, the largest Mi'kmaq community in the Atlantic Provinces. Every now and again, Denny's granddaughter, who was not quite two years old, would run into the room. Immediately, he would turn and sing to her in Micmac to which she responded with squeals of delight. She would then run out of the kitchen and he would turn and continue our conversation. A few minutes later she would reappear and again the Grand Captain would sing for her and again she would respond with delight.

One of the factors influencing cultural retention is that information be transmitted from parents and elders to their descendants, through language, through song, through story, and through sage advice, much in the same way that the Grand Captain had conveyed information to his granddaughter. That

¹⁴⁶. In 1715, Cyprian Southack ransomed two men in his employ from the La Hève Mi'kmaq for a sum of 20 pounds, three shillings. Massachusetts Acts and Resolves, IX:600, "Resolve Allowing L20 to Cyprian Southack for Redeeming Captives from the Indians," Passed 20 June 1718. Similarly, in 1722 Captain Blin was able to obtain his liberty by paying a ransom of 60 pounds to Passamaquoddy Indians. Boston Newsletter, 16 July 1722.

information helps to shape each individual's worldview and to make sense of it for themselves. The abundant resources of the territories they inhabited provided the Mi'kmaq with periods of leisure and it was principally then that information was passed down from one generation to the next. During the early seventeenth century, Biard wrote that the Mi'kmaq

take little care for the future, but, like all the other Americans enjoy the present...As long as they have anything, they are always celebrating feasts and having songs, dances, and speeches.¹⁴⁷

Story telling constituted an important means by which information was transmitted to succeeding generations. Walter Fewkes, an American ethnographer was told by a Passamaquoddy man

that it was customary, when he was a boy, for the squaws to reward them for collecting wood or other duties with stories. A circle gathered about the fire after work, and listened for hours to these ancient stories, fragments no doubt of an ancient mythology, upon which possibly had been grafted new incidents derived by the Indians from their intercourse with Europeans.¹⁴⁸

b) The Animate World

Like all other Algonkian languages, Micmac identifies things either as animate or inanimate. Animate beings included animals, trees, plants, fish,

¹⁴⁷. IR, 3:107, Biard, "Relation of 1616."

¹⁴⁸. Walter Fewkes, "A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore," Journal of American Folklore, 3 (1890), p. 264.

stars, the wind as well as human beings. Animate beings are called 'Persons.' Because they were also 'Persons,' the Mi'kmaq could communicate with other animate beings. They could also assume different forms. The little orphan boy, Mooin, in one of the stories collected by the missionary Silas T. Rand in 1870, spends a number of years living among a family of bears and when "rescued" by his people "was wild and fierce [and] small black hairs had begun to sprout out upon his little naked body."¹⁴⁹

In order to live the Mi'kmaq killed other 'Persons,' such as moose, bears, and beavers. Like other Algonkian people, the Mi'kmaq believed that these animals allowed themselves to be killed so that humans could live. The success of the hunter, however, was dependent upon observing sacred rituals in honour of those killed. Failure to observe these rituals could result in 'Persons' no longer making themselves available.¹⁵⁰ Among the Mi'kmaq, only a few of these rituals are known and European writers, not understanding what was being done, did not comment upon them. One of the most important involved the disposal of beaver bones. According to one Elder, whose words were recorded by Abbé Maillard in the 1750s, the bones of all animals killed were thrown into the fire so that they would not be eaten by the dogs. Beaver bones

¹⁴⁹. "A Child Nourished by a Bear," in Legends of the Micmacs, edited by Rand, pp. 259-62.

¹⁵⁰. Frank Speck, Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula (Norman 1977), pp. 72-127, first edition 1935; Adrian Tanner, Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters (St. John's 1979), pp. 136-181.

were thrown into rivers where they had lodges "so that there would always be these lodges." Likewise, the bones of waterfowl were cast into the sea so that they would always live there.¹⁵¹

To negotiate their way through the world, individual Mi'kmaq accumulated Power and "the ability to change their own shapes and modes as circumstances require[d]."¹⁵² Some people had more power than others and could perform extraordinary physical feats, such as travelling along the tops of trees, staying buried under the snow for extended periods, or emerging unscathed from a fire.¹⁵³ This person was called a *Ginap* and could be a man or a woman. Victories over enemies were often attributed to *Ginaps*.

A *Ginap* could also be a *bouin* or *sa'ya*. These were men who exhibited an extraordinary ability to communicate with the spirits of other beings, both living and dead. *Ginaps* were consulted by villagers regarding plans for war and peace, to locate game, as well as to cure the sick.¹⁵⁴ Each village had its

¹⁵¹. Maillard, "Lettre de m. l'abbé Maillard," in Les Soirées Canadiennes, p. 304. Misfortune could also befall individuals who overhunted. W.H. Mechling, "The Malecite Indians with Notes on the Micmacs," Anthropologica, 8 (1959), p. 198.

¹⁵². Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Stories from the Six Worlds: Micmac Legends (Halifax 1988), pp. 2-13, quote p. 13.

¹⁵³. "Kwedech War Renewed," pp. 207-211 and "The Marvellous Adventures of Noojebokwajeit, A Micmac Brave," in Legends of the Micmacs, edited by Rand, pp. 169-178

¹⁵⁴. JR, 2:75, Biard, 31 Jan. 1612; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 418; Frederick Johnson, "Notes on Micmac Shamanism," Primitive Man 16 (1943), pp. 74-77.

own *sa'ya*.¹⁵⁵ Around his neck, the *sa'ya* wore a small bag in which he carried sacred objects used to communicate with the spirits. The bag described by Chrestien Leclercq in the 1680's was made from the skin of a moose's head and contained a stone, a figure made from black and white wampum, and a cord used to induce abortions, a bark on which was represented people and animals, and a wooden bird which "they carry with them when they go hunting, with the idea that it will enable them to kill waterfowl in abundance."¹⁵⁶ During the early seventeenth century, *sakamows* could also be bouins though this was not always the case. In return for his services, people supplied him with food and other goods, though he also would have fished and hunted himself.¹⁵⁷

c) The Human World

Implicit in the Mi'kmaq view of the world was maintaining a balance between themselves and other animate beings, who at least outwardly, were not human. It was also necessary to establish balance with those who were human, though doing so was not always possible or even desirable. Marshall

¹⁵⁵. JR, 1:75, Lescarbot, "Relation Dernière."

¹⁵⁶. Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 222. The stone was probably a figurine as suggested by one found along the west bank of the Clyde River, near Port Rossignol (Shelburne) in 1923. Frank Speck, "Micmac Slate Image," Indian Notes, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1 (New York, 1924), pp. 153-54.

¹⁵⁷. JR, 2:75, Biard, 31 Jan. 1612;; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 418; Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 216; Wallis and Wallis, The Micmac, p. 147.

Sahlins has identified three different ways in which nonagricultural societies interacted with others, which he calls either generalized, balanced or negative reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity is purely altruistic and involves helping unselfishly one's kinspeople. While the act of giving generates obligations on the part of the receiver, these are not defined according to time, quantity or quality. Balanced reciprocity involves the exchange between two distinct groups in which goods of equal value are expected in return. Finally, negative reciprocity "is the attempt to get something for nothing" and is usually associated with bartering and theft. The further removed from one's village, the more impersonal reciprocity becomes.¹⁵⁸

Reciprocity was the means through which relationships within and among Mi'kmaq social groups were regulated. Reciprocity maintained social peace and the survival of the village and of the band. At a *tabagie*, for example, a hunter shared the game he had killed with other members of his village. As host, he ate very little but insisted that others partake. By giving, the hunter enhanced his own prestige. He also gave, however, in the expectation of receiving from others when his hunting was less successful. By doing so, he ensured social peace and enhanced his family's ability to survive in the future.¹⁵⁹ Failure to extend generosity towards others, particularly widows and orphans, resulted

¹⁵⁸. Marshal Sahlins, Stone-Age Economics (Chicago 1972), pp. 193-197.

¹⁵⁹. JR, 2:79 Biard 31 Jan. 1612; JR, 3:95, Biard, "Relation of 1616"; Lescarbot, History of New France, III: 222; Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 245.

in retribution. In a story recorded by Rand, a village encounters famine after killing a stranger and leaving two orphan children suspended from a tree.¹⁶⁰ Generosity and modesty, on the other hand, were rewarded.

Reciprocity was also extended towards people from outside the village. Gamaliel Smethurst, who journeyed with two Mi'kmaq guides along the eastern coast of New Brunswick in November 1761, recounted spending the night in an abandoned village where dried food was hung inside the wigwams. His companions "took fish without ceremony, as their custom is to go into huts and help themselves to anything they can find."¹⁶¹ Similarly, during the early nineteenth century, the English surveyor Titus Smith noted that an Indian travelling through the hunting ground of another

might kill any game he met with if he was in want of provisions but he usually informed the proprietor of what he had done and offered him the skin; which the proprietor usually refused of his acknowledgement of his right.¹⁶²

In large part, the facility with which people from outside the community were accorded welcome was because nonagricultural societies did not own the

¹⁶⁰. "The History of Usitebulajoo: A Tale of Animal Times" in Legends of the Micinacs edited by Rand, pp. 44-61.

¹⁶¹. G. Smethurst, "A Narrative," p. 375. Father LeClercq noted in the late seventeenth century that Mi'kmaq from the Gaspé "gave lodging equally to the French and to the Indians who came from a distance, and to both they distribute generously whatever they have obtained in hunting and in the fishery, giving themselves little concern if the strangers remain among them weeks, months, and even entire years." LeClercq, New Relation, p. 245.

¹⁶². PANS, RG 1 380:117, Titus Smith, "General Observations on the Northern Tour," 1801.

land but rather were its custodians. Offence, however, could be given by disguising one's movements. By failing to inform inhabitants of one's presence, or arriving unannounced, game and fish could be frightened away. More importantly, sacred sites could unknowingly be disturbed or religious ceremonies interrupted, jeopardizing the collectivity.¹⁶³

Relationships between allies were confirmed by the distribution of presents in which each party expressed their good will towards the other through their generosity. Failure to be sufficiently generous was interpreted as disapproval by the receiver and could be used as a pretext for war. Indeed, the opposite side of reciprocity was war and occurred because other parties had failed to maintain reciprocal relations with the Mi'kmaq.

* * * * *

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Mi'kmaq fishing villages composed of kin-related groups inhabited territories which they had occupied from before contact. Social stability within each village was maintained through sons and daughters who, after marriage, continued to live in the region where they had been born. After reaching middle age, these sons assumed political leadership. Each village was one of a number of villages occupying a common territory and were interconnected, socially through marriage, and politically by

¹⁶³. Ingold, The Appropriation of Nature, p. 144.

the Grand Council.

These social and political structures constituted the forms through which the Mi'kmaq interacted with Europeans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their cultural understanding of this world, however, was the substance which animated those relationships. Throughout this period the Mi'kmaq believe that the world was composed of animate and inanimate beings. Their relations with Persons, both human and nonhuman, were regulated by rituals which maintained an equilibrium within the animate world. An imbalance within this world, by improper behaviour or the failure to observe rituals ensuring replenishment, resulted in some form of negative reaction for those responsible. Europeans did not change the form in which the Mi'kmaq viewed the world though they did upset the balance within it. The following two chapters will examine how the Mi'kmaq responded.

CHAPTER 3
TRADE AND DISEASE FROM EARLIEST CONTACT
TO 1760

This chapter begins by analysing the complex processes occurring within Mi'kmaq society as a result of contact with European society, beginning in the early sixteenth century when fishermen first appeared off the coasts of *Kmitkinag* and *Ktaqamkuk*. Two principal issues are addressed in this chapter; first, the influence of the fur trade upon Mi'kmaq subsistence patterns and material culture and secondly, the effect which European-borne diseases might have had upon the Mi'kmaq population. To understand the context in which these events occurred, the first section briefly describes Mi'kmaq history before 1500, the second section, examines the European fishery, while the third and fourth sections, analyse the effect of contact.

1. The Mi'kmaq before Contact

Knowledge of Mi'kmaq society before 1500 rests almost exclusively upon a handful of archaeological sites.¹ The dearth of information is due to several factors. First, the rapid submergence of coastal areas has resulted in the destruction of potential sites. Inland excavations, on the other hand, have been

¹. A recent overview of archaeology in Nova Scotia can be found in Stephen A. Davis, *The Archaeology of Nova Scotia*, unpublished manuscript, 1989; and Stephen A. Davis, *The Micmac* (Tantallon 1991), pp. 1-22.

hampered by the acidic character of Nova Scotian soils, which has destroyed residual objects and faunal remains.² Secondly, due to the primitive techniques then employed, reports dating from late nineteenth century excavations have only limited use for contemporary researchers. Finally, though a number of sites were excavated during the 1950s by John S. Erskine,³ an amateur archaeologist, his methods were poor, leading one contemporary archaeologist to view his reports as difficult to interpret.⁴ Consequently, in discussing Mi'kmaq history before European contact, it is useful to refer to work completed in New Brunswick and Maine, two areas where research has been done over the past twenty years.⁵ Though many of the sites in these areas

². See D.R. Grant, "Recent Coastal Submergence of the Maritime Provinces, Proceedings of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science, 27 (1975), pp. 83-102.

³. Erskine published extensively on his excavations, mostly in the Dalhousie Review during the 1950s.

⁴. Stephen A. Davis, Department of Anthropology, Saint Mary's University, personal communication, July 1989. A short critique of Erskine's work at Bear River is in John Conolly, "Bear River, Nova Scotia: A Collection Analysis," Man in the Northeast, 14 (1977), pp. 35-47. Conolly criticizes Erskine for making only approximate measurements, using inadequate tools, discarding flakes and attempting only one carbon dating. Moreover, faunal remains were not associated with artifacts.

⁵. General summaries of some of this work can be found in Patricia Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981, pp. 140-219; David Sanger, "Changing Views of Aboriginal Seasonality and Settlement in the Gulf of Maine, Canadian Journal of Anthropology 2 (1982), pp. 195-203; "An Introduction to the Prehistory of the Passamaquoddy Bay Region," American Review of Canadian Studies, 16 (1986), pp. 139-159; "Maritime Adaptations in the Gulf of Maine," Archaeology of Eastern North America, 16 (1988), pp. 81-99; Dean Snow, The Archaeology of New England (New York 1980); James A. Tuck, Maritime Provinces Pre-history (Ottawa 1984).

were inhabited by peoples ethnically distinct from the Mi'kmaq, their cultural similarity and geographical proximity to the Mi'kmaq inhabiting *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki makes them a useful comparative model.

Human occupation of this region dates from at least 12,000 years Before the Present (BP).⁶ Only a few sites have been excavated, however, which predate 5,000 BP. David Sanger suggests that the lack of information shows that the area had few indigenous residents, resulting in the immigration into the region of other peoples. This would account for the presence of four distinctive cultural traditions before 5,000 BP, which archaeologists have determined from their examination of arrowheads and other tools.⁷

Approximately 2,500 years BP, peoples in the Atlantic region began making pottery which suggests a more sedentary population. Archaeologists have suggested that during this period there were two separate populations in New Brunswick and Maine, one riverine-based and the other, living year round in coastal locations.⁸ There is also evidence that the population rose. Based upon

⁶. George F. MacDonald, Debert: a Palaeo-Indian Site in Central Nova Scotia (Ottawa 1968). "Before the Present" means "Before 1950." More recent work on human habitation of Nova Scotia 10,000 to 12,000 years BP is in Stephen A. Davis and David Christianson, "Three Palaeo-Indian Specimens from Nova Scotia," Canadian Journal of Archaeology, 12 (1988), pp. 190-196; Stephen A. Davis, "New Archaeological Discoveries at the Debert Tree Breeding Centre," Conservation, 14 (1990), pp. 9-11.

⁷. David Sanger, "An Introduction to the Prehistory of the Passamaquoddy Bay Region," American Review of Canadian Studies, 16 (1986), p. 145.

⁸. Sanger, "An Introduction," 1986, pp. 154-55; Michael Deal, "Late Archaic and Ceramic Period Utilization of the Mud Lake Stream Site, Southwestern New Brunswick," Man in the Northeast (1986), pp. 67-94.

her work at Pointe aux Sable, located along the southern shore of Miramichi Bay, Patricia Allen argues that the population there began expanding about 2,000 BP. The increase was related to the abundance of spring and summer fish runs, but more importantly, to the development of preservation and storage techniques.⁹

Related to the population increase suggested by Allen is the beginning of more extensive trading networks. Nietfeld has suggested that the increasing frequency of exotic metals in excavation sites dated 950 BP to 450 BP in *Kmitkinag* indicates the development of a broader communication network.¹⁰ Similarly, work done in Maine has revealed the presence of exotic coppers, cherts and shells from Ohio, Carolina and southern New England. The reasons for this trade expansion are unknown, but as Dean Snow points out, the introduction of the birch bark canoe sometime between 950 BP and 450 BP facilitated communications with other peoples.¹¹ At the same time, more emphasis was placed upon hunting fur-bearing animals, likely for trading

⁹. Patricia Allen, Pointe aux Sable: A Small Late Period Hunting Site in Baie Sainte-Anne, N.B. (Fredericton: Manuscripts in Archaeology, #9E, Historical and Cultural Resources, 1984), pp. 17-20.

¹⁰. Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," p. 190.

¹¹. Dean Snow, Archaeology, p. 298. There appears to be agreement among archaeologists working in Maine that there was an intensification of exchange networks during the late pre-contact period. Bruce Bourque, Steven Cox and Arthur Speiss, "Cultural Complexity in Maritime Cultures: Evidence from Penobscot Bay, Maine," in The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast Coasts of America, edited by Ronald J. Nash (Vancouver 1983), pp. 100-101; Bruce Bourque and Steven L. Cox, "Maine State Museum Investigation of the Goddard Site, 1979," Man in the Northeast, no. 22 (1981), pp. 3-27.

purposes, so that coastal areas were not occupied year round. This meant, however, that peoples were more mobile than they had been before.

Though data is limited, archaeological research has revealed a gradual evolution of human societies in the Atlantic Region over the last 12,000 years. Pottery was developed approximately 2500 BF and distinct populations inhabited coastal and interior locations. With the development of new preservation techniques, the population expanded eventually resulting in the extension of trading and communication networks with peoples in the Atlantic region and with societies further westward.

2. The European fishery

It is within the context of this poorly understood and poorly documented phase of history that we must try to make sense of how the European fishery affected Mi'kmaq society. This section describes the beginnings and expansion of the European fisheries off the coasts of Ktaqamkuk and *Kmitkinag* and suggests the likelihood of contact between Mi'kmaq villagers and fishermen.

The Europeans first arrived in their tall ships long before 1600 appearing with the first signs of spring as they followed the schools of cod. The Basque and the Portuguese began fishing in the region during the first decade of the sixteenth century and were soon joined by the French. "Terra Nova" appears as the location of a fishery in Portuguese maps by 1506 but does not appear in

French maps until 1510 and in Spanish maps, a year later. Fishermen, however, had likely journeyed westward before these dates.¹² The fishing season lasted approximately five to six months, with the Basque sailing from their home ports at the end of March or beginning of April and returning "in the middle of September and in October."¹³

During the early sixteenth century, vessels first established a base camp along the shoreline of southern and northern Newfoundland. This camp was then used to provide lodgings for the men and to build wooden flakes upon which the cod was dried. Fish were caught in coastal waters using three- or four-man shallops and then were gutted, salted, and dried by the shore crew. In the seventeenth century, Nicolas Denys wrote that each ship could have 8 to 10 boats "and each of these will have three men and for each boat two men on land." In addition, there were the captain, beach-master, pilot, doctor, carpenters and sailors.¹⁴ After the middle of the sixteenth century, the 'dry fishery' was supplemented by much larger ships which remained at sea for most of the season. Engaging in the 'wet fishery,' these vessels only occasionally came ashore and instead of drying their catch, lightly salted the

¹², David B. Quinn, "Newfoundland in the Consciousness of Europe in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries," in Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625 (London 1990), p. 304.

¹³. "A note by Cristobal de Barros, 1574," in New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612, edited by D.B. Quinn, vol. III (New York 1979), p. 103.

¹⁴. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), edited by W. F. Ganong (Toronto 1908), p. 327.

cod and then stored it in large casks. In the seventeenth century, these vessels had crews of about 25 men.¹⁵

The Grand Banks were the focus of the wet fishery. Ranging in depth from thirty to one hundred metres off the coasts of Newfoundland, the banks provide a favourable habitat for various sea organisms. The banks are composed of three separate but interlinking parts. The largest, the Grand Bank, lying southeast of the Avalon Peninsula is approximately 350 kilometres long north to south and 240 kilometres east to west. To the west lay the Green Banks which measures 72 kilometres long and 36 kilometres wide and at their shallowest point reach a depth of seventy metres. Further westward lay the Pierre Banks located south of the Saint-Pierre and Miquelon islands and running 134 kilometres from southeast to northwest and 36 to 60 kilometres wide.¹⁶ To the southeast lie the Banks of Nova Scotia which lay approximately 85 kilometres east of the mainland, and which during the sixteenth century attracted European fishermen. Smaller than the Grand Banks, the two largest fishing grounds are the Sable Island and Banquereau Banks, the latter measuring approximately 140 kilometres east to west.¹⁷

¹⁵ John Mannion and Selma Barkham, "The Sixteenth-Century Fisheries"; John Mannion and C. Grant Head, "The Migratory Fisheries" in The Historical Atlas of Canada, vol. I, edited by R. Cole Harris (Toronto 1987), Plate # 22 and # 21 respectively; Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 270.

¹⁶ Charles de La Morandière, Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale, t. 1 (Paris 1962), pp. 27-30.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 30; Harold Innis, The Cod Fisheries: the History of an International Economy (New Haven 1940), p. 7.

Precise information regarding the number of vessels and men departing westward each year cannot be determined from extant sources. Charles de la Morandière has suggested that between 1510 and 1540 at least 60 French ports sent vessels to Ktaqamkuk. Research by Laurier Turgeon and associates, on notarial records, provides some figures for one of these ports, Bordeaux. According to Turgeon, though vessels had departed for Ktaqamkuk as early as 1517 it was not until the second quarter of the century that the traffic increased significantly so that by 1546, at least twenty vessels were heading westward. Similar increases are suggested for other French ports. For example, in 1555 one hundred vessels embarked westwards from Rouen, while during the 1560s, more than 40 departed annually from La Rochelle.¹⁸ Similar data for the Basque and Portuguese ports are lacking.

The earliest contemporary estimate of vessels fishing in Ktaqamkuk's waters was made in 1578 by Anthony Pankhurst of England. He estimated a total of 370 to 380 vessels including 50 from England, 120 to 130 from Spain, 50 from Portugal and another 150 from France, though these latter were mostly

¹⁸. Laurier Turgeon, "Pour redécouvrir notre 16^e siècle: Les pêches à Terre-Neuve d'après les archives notariales de Bordeaux," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 39 (1986), pp. 529-530. These figures provide only minimum numbers for, as Turgeon points out, the notarial records "ne représentent qu'une partie de l'activité car chaque armement n'entraîne pas forcément la consultation d'un notaire. Il serait donc légitime de gonfler sensiblement ces chiffres dans la mesure où ils ne peuvent être qu'inférieurs au mouvement réel."

smaller boats.¹⁹ Turgeon points out, however, that these figures are likely low as Pankhurst could not have counted fishermen arriving throughout the year and did not include those involved in the dry fishery. Moreover, he had made his estimate during the Wars of Religion, a time of political turmoil in France which may have reduced the number of vessels. Even if we accept the figures given by Pankhurst this would suggest a minimum of 8,000 to 10,000 men migrating to Ktaqamkuk.²⁰

Vessels entering outwards from Bordeaux during the mid-sixteenth century ranged from 30 tons and a crew of nine, to the occasional ship of over 200 tons. Most, however, appear to have been 100 to 130 tons with a crew of between twenty and thirty men.²¹ Vessels from the northern French ports may have been smaller, ranging between forty and fifty tons, holding ten to twelve men on board.²²

Sometime during the early sixteenth century fishermen moved southwards from Ktaqamkuk towards *Mi'kma'ki*. Though there is no precise information regarding these voyages, this may be inferred from sources which show that the region was known to European sailors and explorers and thus would also

¹⁹. Anthony Pankhurst to M. Richard Hakluyt, 1578 in The Principal Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, vol. VIII (Glasgow, 1904), pp. 10-11.

²⁰. Turgeon, "Pour redécouvrir," pp. 529-530.

²¹. David B. Quinn, North America From Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612 (New York 1977), p. 520.

²². La Morandière, Histoire de la pêche, 1:233.

have been known to fishermen.²³ These sources show the appearance of a uniform European nomenclature for the northern regions of *Mi'kma'ki* by 1526, reflected in the usage of "Cape Briton" to denote the landmass lying southwest of Ktaqamkuk.²⁴ Based upon this evidence, Bernard Hoffman has argued that by 1534 "the fisheries extended along the entire Atlantic coastline from Labrador to southern Nova Scotia."²⁵ Thus, we may assume that from the first half of the sixteenth century, interaction occurred on a regular basis between *Mi'kmaq* and European fishermen.

These contacts occurred in various forms. As a seagoing people who

²³. The Cabot voyage: H.P. Biggar, ed., The Precursors of Jacques Cartier (Ottawa 1911), p. x; David B. Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620 (New York 1974); the Real voyage 1501: H.P. Biggar, Precursors, pp. xvi-xvii; Carl O. Sauer, Sixteenth Century North America (Berkeley 1971), p. 13; Quinn, England and the Discovery, p. 115; Verrazano voyage 1524: Lawrence Wroth, The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazano 1524-1528 (New Haven 1970), p. 140; Gomez voyage : Bernard G. Hoffman, The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeen Centuries, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1955, p. 23; Samuel E. Morison, The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600 (New York:1971), pp. 329-31; Sauer, Sixteenth Century, p. 69; Cartier voyage 1535: H.P. Biggar, ed., The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, (Toronto 1924), pp. 42, 49-55, 62-63. A description of these voyages can be found in Bernard Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America 1497-1550 (Toronto 1961) and Nietfeld "Determinants of Aboriginal," pp. 232-263.

²⁴. "The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536...." in Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Voyages, VIII:4. See also the biography of Richard Hore by David Beers Quinn in DCB, I:371-72.

²⁵. Hoffman, "The Historical Ethnography," p. 198; Quinn, North America, pp. 385-87.

travelled extensively on the ocean, Mi'kmaq travellers traversing the Cabot Strait or hunting seals and walrus on the Magdelaine Islands would have encountered Europeans. In mid-June of 1597, an English vessel met 300 Mi'kmaq in a harbour on the Magdelaine Islands.²⁶ More commonly, contacts would have occurred between fishermen drying their catch on shore and neighbouring Mi'kmaq peoples. From at least 1565 one area frequented by Europeans was Canceau, which was also the site of a Mi'kmaq fishing village.²⁷ Contacts with Europeans fishing further removed from land would also have occurred. Occasionally, European fishermen were forced into harbour because of rough seas or because their vessels needed repair and thus, may have inadvertently encountered local inhabitants. As well, fishermen landed to trade with Mi'kmaq villagers for fresh water, meat and berries, or possibly to hunt for wild game.

3. Mi'kmaq Trade with Europeans

The fishermen coming to *Mi'kma'ki* likely brought with them goods to trade. During the sixteenth century, fishermen heading towards Ktaqamkuk and the Labrador coast supplemented their income by trading with local

²⁶. "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea," in R. Hakluyt, The Principal Voyages, VIII:169, 172-174.

²⁷. Marc Lescarbot, History of New France, edited by W.L. Grant, vol. II (Toronto 1910), pp. 362-63.

Native populations.²⁸ Similar exchanges would also have taken place with the Mi'kmaq.²⁹ As the fishery expanded, European trading vessels arrived to trade with fishermen and with the Mi'kmaq. One of the few extant records of these sixteenth century trading ventures shows that in 1583, a Norman merchant, Etienne Bellenger, travelled to *Mi'kma'ki* to trade for furs. Bellenger, who set out from Le Havre in northern France in mid-February, landed first on Unimaki, then travelled along the eastern coast to Cap Sable before entering the Bay of Fundy. He proceeded as far as Chignecto reaching there in April or May and then returned to Unimaki before setting sail for France, arriving there in mid-June.³⁰ Throughout his journey along the coastline of *Kmitkinag*, Bellenger traded with local Mi'kmaq populations.

Extant sources do not reveal the volume of sixteenth-century trade. The only surviving record providing figures is that of Bellenger who returned to

²⁸. Turgeon, "Pour redécouvrir," pp. 536-538; Selma Barkham, "A Note on the Strait of Belle Isle during the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit," *Etudes Inuit*, 4 (1980), p. 54. Recent excavations at Red Bay on the Labrador coast, where a Basque whaling station was located between 1550 to 1600, have revealed Native sites contemporaneous with Basque occupation. See James A. Tuck, "Excavations at Red Bay, Labrador - 1986," in *Archæology in Newfoundland & Labrador 1986*, edited by J. Callum Thomson and Jane Sproull Thomson (Saint John's 1989), pp. 217-218. A short overview of sixteenth-century trade with Native peoples along the eastern seaboard is in James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York 1988), pp. 141-181.

²⁹. For an example from the sixteenth century, "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh," 1597, in Hakluyt, *The Principal Voyages*, VIII:174.

³⁰. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583," edited by D. B. Quinn, *Canadian Historical Review*, 63 (1962), pp. 341-42. Also see, Charles Leigh, in Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, VIII:174.

France with 600 beaver furs and an unspecified number of elk, deer and seal skins and martin and otter furs.³¹

Goods traded to the Mi'kmaq in the sixteenth century were knives, bells, glass beads and coats.³² The few archaeological sites dating from this period, however, have not uncovered substantial numbers of European goods. Indeed, the only goods recovered have been glass beads, found at the Brown site, eleven kilometres from the Head of Jeddore, and at the Luxie Cove site, in Kejimukjik Park in southwestern *Kmitkinag*.³³ The presence of beads in Mi'kmaq settlements suggest that not all goods had a strictly utilitarian purpose.³⁴ Beads were used by women in decorating clothes and both beads

³¹. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger...", p. 341.

³². "The Voyage of M. Charles Leigh 1597," in The Voyages of the English Nation to America Collected by Richard Hakluyt, edited by Edmund Goldsmid, vol. 11 (Edinburgh 1889), p. 69. In June, 1607 an English vessel tried to entice Mi'kmaq near Mirligueche to trade by throwing knives and glass beads onto their shallop. "The Relation of a Voyage unto New England Began from the Lizard the first of June 1607 By Captain John Popham," in New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612, edited by D.B. Quinn, vol. III (New York 1979), p. 431.

³³. Helen Louise Sheldon, The Late Prehistory of Nova Scotia as viewed from the Brown Site (Halifax n.d.), p. 50; H. Brad Myers, Archaeological Survey of Kejimukjik National Park Nova Scotia 1972 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, Manuscript Report # 106), pp. 45-46.

³⁴. George R. Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Journal of Canadian Studies, 21 (1986-87), pp. 72-94.

and bells were worn as earrings.³⁵

Between 1605 and 1744, trade items would have been similar to those exchanged the century before with some marked differences. A trader working for the Compagnie de Miskou in 1645, and trading along the Richibouctou River, had on board 24 Spanish blankets (*couvertes d'Espagne*), eight hooded great coats (*capots doubles*), three small ones, 42 pounds of powder, 24 small steel kettles (*chaudières d'acier*), and seven larger ones, 12 rapiers (*lames d'épée*), 31 small hatchets, 55 pounds of tobacco, 28 barrels of five pound shot and 32 jugs of eau de vie.³⁶

As this list shows, the principal European trade items in the early seventeenth century were hatchets, kettles, guns, clothing, tobacco and spirits. From their first introduction, hatchets assumed a prominent place in Mi'kmaq society. As described by Henry Grace, an English captive among the Chignecto Mi'kmaq during the mid-1750s, the hatchet weighed about a half a pound and was used for cutting firewood, stripping bark and for butchering animals. It was also employed as a weapon and according to Grace, some Mi'kmaq men

³⁵. Chrestien Le Clercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, edited by W.F. Ganong (Toronto 1910), pp. 98-99.

³⁶. Archives départementales (AD), La Rochelle, Amirauté de La Rochelle, B.5656, "Déposition en présence de Gabriel Provost," 2 sept. 1645, NAC, MG 6, p. 132. At the time the vessel had been seized by D'Aulnay's men for allegedly trading in territory granted to him, the Captain stated that he had already traded with Mi'kmaq along the Miramichi River.

could "hit a mark no bigger than a Crown piece at thirty yards distance."³⁷

As in other Native cultures, the kettle was an important trade item for the Mi'kmaq.³⁸ According to Nicolas Denys, it was used to boil meat, vegetables and other foods.³⁹ Prior to the introduction of the kettle, meat was boiled in water placed in the trunk of a tree and heated by stones. In 1606, Lescarbot recounted seeing a Mi'kmaq man using his hatchet to make "a tub or trough of the trunk of a tree, in which he boiled the flesh of a moose."⁴⁰ Alternatively, little buckets were used to cook the meat.⁴¹ In contrast, kettles were light and portable, reducing the time and energy expended when moving to a new encampment.⁴²

Guns were another important trade item, though likely only after 1635. Archaeological excavations in northeast North America have not uncovered firearms predating 1635, suggesting that up until this date, they were not

³⁷. Henry Grace, The Life and Sufferings of Henry Grace (Boston 1764), p. 11.

³⁸. Timothy L. Dilliplane, "European Trade Kettles," in Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren, Rhode Island, edited by Susan Gibson (Providence 1980), p. 81.

³⁹. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 441.

⁴⁰. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:222. Later in the seventeenth century, Denys makes reference to same method of cooking. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 401-402.

⁴¹. Le Clercq, New Relation, p. 121.

⁴². See Calvin Martin, "The Four Lives of a Micmac Copper Pot," Ethnohistory, 22 (1975), pp. 111-133.

widely used by Native peoples. Matchlock guns, then in use among Europeans, were too fragile and would only fire after being lit manually, making the weapon of little practical use. This changed with the introduction of the self-igniting flintlock which led to the more extensive use of guns among Native peoples.⁴³ There is ample evidence that guns were widely used among the Mi'kmaq during the eighteenth century, but little evidence of widespread use in the period before. During his voyage along the eastern coast of *Kmitkinag* in 1583, Bellenger described Mi'kmaq weapons as "bowes of two yardes long and arrowes of one yarde hedded with indented bones three or fower ynches long, and are tyed into a nocke at the ende with a thong of Lether."⁴⁴ Ten years later, Richard Fisher, recounted meeting Mi'kmaq just west of Unimaki with white staves in their handes like halfe pikes".⁴⁵ Lescarbot wrote after spending a year at Port Royal that the Mi'kmaq's principal weapons were clubs, bows and arrows and they did not have "any weapons of iron or steel."⁴⁶ In 1647, Jesuits working at Miskou along the eastern coast of New Brunswick, recounted the story of a Mi'kmaq man who was hunting a caribou with a

⁴³. Jean-François Blanchette, "Firearms," in Burr's Hill, p. 67.

⁴⁴. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger...," p. 341.

⁴⁵. Richard Fisher, "The Voyage of the ship called Marigold" 1593, in The Voyages of English Nation to America Collected by Richard Hakluyt edited by Edmund Goldsmid, vol. 11 (Edinburgh 1889), p. 56.

⁴⁶. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:265, 268.

spear.⁴⁷

Guns offered marked advantages by reducing the time spent hunting larger terrestrial animals, such as caribou and moose. Denys wrote that before the introduction of guns, moose hunting was difficult as it took at least three arrows to kill an adult moose and long chases would not have been uncommon.⁴⁸ For a people who spent most of the year fishing, however, guns were only marginally useful.⁴⁹ Guns were not always reliable and at times killed or crippled those who used them.⁵⁰ But as the fisheries expanded and conflict with New England increased guns assumed greater importance, providing protection from enemies.

Guns required powder and shot. Shot may have been produced by the Mi'kmaq themselves, as suggested by the recovery of a shot mold in a burial ground at the mouth of the Saint John River dating from the early seventeenth

⁴⁷. JR, 32:43, "Relation of 1647."

⁴⁸. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 428-29.

⁴⁹. As other research has shown, guns were only of marginal use for those people more dependent upon terrestrial resources, such as the Cree inhabiting the interior regions south of James Bay during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Toby Morantz, "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," in Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, edited by C.M. Judd and Arthur Ray (Toronto 1980), pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰. In July 1695 the Governor of Acadia wrote that a Penobscot man had been crippled by a defective gun and died the next day. Archives des colonies (AC), Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D), 2:258v. de Villebon au ministre, 20 juil. 1695. In 1729, the Governor of Louisbourg wrote that three or four Mi'kmaq had almost been crippled by improperly made muskets. AC, Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (C11B), 10:189v., Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 déc. 1729.

century.⁵¹ An incident near Mirligueche in August 1726, revealed that fishing leads could be used to make slugs or bullets for firearms.⁵² Similar practises occurred among New England Natives. As Patrick Malone has argued it is wrong to assume that eastern Native peoples were dependent upon Europeans both for the repair of firearms and for the materials required for their use. Before contact, Natives were skilled craftspeople, fashioning tools and weapons from many materials, including stone, bone and copper. These skills did not disappear with contact but rather were rechannelled into repairing guns and making shot.⁵³ Similarly, broken knives would have been transformed into awls, fishhooks and arrowheads, as was true of Onondaga and Huron people during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵⁴

It is difficult to determine when and to what extent European textiles were introduced into Mi'kmaq society. Mi'kmaq men encountered by Bellenger in 1583 "were all naked saving their privities which they cover with an Apron of

⁵¹ J. Russell Harper, Portland Point: Crossroads of New Brunswick History (Saint John 1956), p. 33.

⁵² "The Examination of Jean Baptist Jedre, alias Laverdure" 3 Sept. 1726 in The Trials of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery (Boston 1726), p. 15.

⁵³ Patrick Malone, "Changing Military Technology Among the Indians of Southern New England," American Quarterly (1973), pp. 53, 56-57.

⁵⁴ James W. Bradley, Onondaga Prehistory (Syracuse 1980), pp. 109-110; Bruce Trigger, Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montréal 1976), p. 360 indicates that the Huron cut up copper kettles to make arrowheads, decorations and pendants.

some Beastes skynn."⁵⁵ In the early seventeenth century, Lescarbot wrote that the Mi'kmaq wore a "cloak made of many skins" which could be made from bear, beaver, lynx, moose or otter and were tied at the shoulder with a leather strap. During the winter time, both sexes wore leggings which were "tied to their girdles."⁵⁶ In the late seventeenth century, Father LeClercq noted that the Mi'kmaq had formerly clothed themselves in the "skins of moose, beaver, marten and seal," but since contact with Europeans, had begun to make clothes from "blankets, cloaks, coats and from cloths that are brought from France." He noted, however, that many people still dressed as they had done before the introduction of European cloths.⁵⁷

Basque fishermen and traders were most extensively involved in trading with the Mi'kmaq. This is suggested by a trading language which mixed Basque and Algonkian and was used by fishermen and traders when dealing with Native peoples adjacent to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence during the sixteenth century. When the French first settled the region a century later, they found this language well established among Native populations. Linguistic evidence for this can be found among the Mi'kmaq words recorded by Marc

⁵⁵. "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger...", p. 340.

⁵⁶. Lescarbot, History of New France III:132.

⁵⁷. LeClercq, New Relation, p. 93; A more extensive description of Mi'kmaq clothing is in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 AD to the Present (Halifax 1980), pp. 12-14.

Lescarbot in 1606, some of which are possibly of Basque origin.⁵⁸ Writing in 1629 regarding encounters with Mi'kmaq families at Port Royal, the Scotsman Richard Guthry noted that their language "was marred with the Basques language."⁵⁹

The effects of the trade upon Mi'kmaq society requires some examination. Did it precipitate a restructuring of the Mi'kmaq economy or alternatively, were the effects more subtle, as people integrated the trade into existing subsistence patterns? This question has important theoretical implications, for if radical changes occurred, then early seventeenth-century descriptions of Mi'kmaq society written by Lescarbot and Biard reflect a people living in the midst of profound economic change.

Burley, Miller and Nietfeld all suggested there were alterations in Mi'kmaq subsistence patterns following the introduction of European goods.⁶⁰ Nietfeld

⁵⁸. France, AC, Amérique du Nord, C11C 7:6 "Mémoire," 1710; Peter Bakker, "Two Basque Loanwords in Micmac," International Journal of Linguistics (1986), pp. 258-261. See also, Laurier Turgeon, "Basque-Amerindian Trade in the Saint Lawrence During the Sixteenth Century: New Documents, New Perspectives," Man in the Northeast, no. 40 (1990), pp. 81-87.

⁵⁹. Richard Guthry, "A Relation of the Voyage and plantation of the Scotts Colony in New Scotland under the conduct of Sir William Alexander 13 August, 1629," edited by N. E. S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, William and Mary Quarterly, 49 (1992), p. 506.

⁶⁰. David Burley, "Protohistoric Ecological Effects of the Fur Trade on Micmac Culture," Ethnohistory, 28 (1981), pp. 203-214; Virginia Miller, "The Micmac: A Maritime Woodland Group," in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto 1986), p. 345; Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," pp. 372-377.

has argued that the Mi'kmaq began spending more time in the interior hunting for fur-bearing animals than had been true of the precontact period. This had disastrous consequences. According to Nietfeld, the relative importance of aquatic resources in the Mi'kmaq economy decreased and as longer journeys were now made into the interior to hunt for beaver, the important spring fishery, which tapped anadromous and catadromous fish runs, was disrupted. Moreover, with the arrival of spring, Mi'kmaq inhabited locations along the coast where they hoped to trade with the Europeans but where they were unfavourably situated to procure needed food. As a result, they became increasingly dependent upon European foodstuffs. This pattern was repeated throughout all of *Mi'kma'ki* gradually leading to the homogenization of the economy and minimizing whatever regional differentiations had characterized the precontact society.⁶¹

This argument, however, proceeds more from assumptions regarding how Native peoples reacted to the fur trade than from any empirical evidence. Indeed, the only sources used to support this argument are general remarks made by Biard, Lescarbot and Denys stating that some Mi'kmaq were lingering along the coastline waiting to trade with the Europeans. As research on the fur trade in the Eastern James Bay region has shown, the Cree did not initially become dependent upon European trade goods and thus, the trade did not

⁶¹. A similar viewpoint is expressed by Virginia Miller, "Aboriginal Micmac Population: A Review of the Evidence," *Ethnohistory*, 23 (1976), pp. 119-123.

radically alter existing social and economic structures.⁶² Rather, trade opportunities were integrated into established seasonal rounds which were sufficiently flexible so as to allow the exploitation of resources during periods when some things were more plentiful than others. The fur trade was such a "resource." Seen from this perspective, an increased emphasis upon hunting fur-bearing animals would not necessarily mean a fundamental shift in seasonal migrations, but rather an economic adjustment occasioned by the availability of new opportunities.

One reason why European trade could have been integrated into the Mi'kmaq economy without significant disruptions was because coastal occupation coincided with the migratory patterns of the European fishery. While trade may have been informal and haphazard during the early years of the sixteenth century, when fishermen were less numerous, an expansion of the trade precipitated a more formal exchange pattern. By the early seventeenth century, there were specific places where trade was conducted. Biard recounts, for instance, meeting Mi'kmaq near Port Mouton, along the eastern coast, "who were returning from the trading station," though he does not indicate where this place was located.⁶³

⁶². Toby Morantz, An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850 (Ottawa 1983), p. 28, 111-113; Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, Partners in Fur: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870 (Montréal 1983), pp. 61-64.

⁶³. IR, 3:27, Biard, "Relation of 1616."

Similarly, European trade was integrated into trading relationships between the Mi'kmaq and neighbouring peoples. The extension of communication and trading networks in the Atlantic region during the immediate precontact period had facilitated Mi'kmaq involvement in the trade. The Mi'kmaq exploited their favourable geographical position to act as middlemen between European traders and peoples living westwards. In May of 1602, an English ship commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold encountered near Cape Neddick on the Gulf of Maine,

sixe Indians, in a Baske-shallop with mast and saile, an iron grappel, and a kettle of copper, {who} came boldly aboard us, one of apparelled with a waistcoat and breeches of blacke serdge, made after our sea-fashion hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had a paire of breeches of blue cloth) were all naked... their weapons are bowes and arrowes: it seemed by some words and signes they made, that some Basks of Saint John de Luz, have fished or traded in this place...⁶⁴

Bruce Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead have identified these peoples as either Mi'kmaq or Etchemin traders who exchanged European goods for the furs of Native populations living along the Gulf of Maine during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Tensions stemming from this relationship led to war between the Mi'kmaq and the Armouchiquois who lived along the Saco River in 1606-1607 and may also have led to war with the Maliseet sometime before 1630. By the second half of the seventeenth century,

⁶⁴. John Brereton, "Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia in 1602," in Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608, edited by Henry S. Burrage (New York 1906), pp. 330-331.

however, the Mi'kmaq position was undercut as European traders penetrated into the Gulf of Maine and Native societies were devastated by European diseases.⁶⁵

As the intermediary role played by some Mi'kmaq suggests, the trade affected social and political structures. In his examination of Inuit society before 1600, William Fitzhugh has pointed out that the "geography of acquisition and distribution" was altered as a result of the fur trade. Many materials used in manufacturing tools and weapons became redundant, making travel to specific sites to acquire them, or trading with local Native populations for them, unnecessary. Efforts which had been used in acquiring these materials were replaced by an emphasis upon other skills, intensifying "competition for prestige and authority" and validating aggressive behaviour.⁶⁶ Many male skills associated with making stone knives and clubs would have become less important in Mi'kmaq society, perhaps creating social tensions between young and old. However, since the trade was not initially conducted by professional European traders but by the occasional fishermen seeking to augment their profits, the process by which Mi'kmaq tools and

⁶⁵. Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead, "Tarrantines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine," Ethnohistory, 32 (1985), pp. 327-339.

⁶⁶. William Fitzhugh, "Early Contacts North of Newfoundland before A.D. 1600: A Review," in Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts in Native American Cultural Institutions, A.D. 1000-1800 (Washington 1985), pp. 36-37.

weapons were replaced by European manufactures was a gradual one, minimizing social and political dislocations. This process continued during the seventeenth century as guns replaced bows, arrows and spears as the principal weapons used for hunting and for war.

Thus, the European fur trade would not have lead to significant alteration in Mi'kmaq subsistence patterns. An increased emphasis upon hunting fur animals predated the beginnings of the trade and enhanced any changes already occurring. At the same time, it is likely that tool and weapon replacement precipitated social and political tensions as the society adjusted to learning the new skills necessary for acquiring prestige and authority, attributes which qualified individuals for leadership positions.

4. European Diseases Among the Mi'kmaq

This section evaluates the influence of European-borne diseases upon the Mi'kmaq population from earliest contact until the mid-eighteenth century, starting with an overview of the pre-1611 period and a general survey of current literature on disease and its transmission. Following this is an analysis of the influence of disease upon the Mi'kmaq population between 1611 and 1760.

a) The pre-1611 period

There are differences of opinion among researchers regarding the time and context in which European diseases first arrived in *Kmitkinag*. Because there are no sources which show disease among the Mi'kmaq before 1611, researchers have relied upon work done in other areas to support their conclusions. While Miller and Nietfeld argue that diseases entered *Kmitkinag* prior to European settlement, Snow believes that smallpox, one of the major killers of Native peoples, only arrived in *Mi'kma'ki* after 1600. Thus, while Miller and Nietfeld suggest that depopulation occurred before the French arrival at Port Royal in 1605, Snow implicitly suggests that the population was stable and only began to decrease during the early seventeenth century.

Implicit in this research is the work done over the last 25 years on the effects of European-borne diseases on Native North American populations. This work has shown that many diseases prevalent in European society before and after 1492, such as influenza, measles, mumps, scarlet fever, smallpox and whooping cough were unknown in the Western Hemisphere. With the arrival of traders, soldiers and fishermen, these diseases were transmitted to the Native population. Initially, this meant that all age groups were susceptible reducing each community's ability to survive as there were few people able to care for both the sick and the very young. The resulting malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions weakened the surviving population and facilitated the dissemination of other diseases. Indeed, Alfred Crosby has argued that there

were succeeding waves of epidemics and that communities were unable to recover before being overwhelmed by new diseases.⁶⁷

According to current research, these diseases were transmitted by microbes which invade host populations. If successfully reproduced within the host, these microbes are called parasites and thereafter the host is said to be infected.⁶⁸ Rejection is termed immunity and the microbe then must infect another tissue or it will die. If the host survives, immunity is generally conferred. Viruses, however, may mutate and be reintroduced among the same population in a slightly altered form. The invasion into a previously unexposed community is called an epidemic and could result in a 100 percent infection rate. The rate at which a parasite infects a population is influenced by the character of interpersonal contact between community members.⁶⁹ Mortality

⁶⁷. The best general statement of this position is contained in Alfred W. Crosby Jr. "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 33 (1976) pp. 289-299. A description of how a smallpox epidemic facilitated further infections within a Native community is contained in William Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation (New York 1948), pp. 324-25. Native populations in the Western Hemisphere were not disease-free in the precontact period. George A. Clark, Marc A. Kelley, John M. Grange, and M. Cassandra Hill, "The Evolution of Mycobacterial Disease in Human Populations," Current Anthropology, 28 (1987), pp. 45-51, and comments by Janet McGrath, p. 53, and R. Ted Steinbock, p. 55.

⁶⁸. This discussion of the relationship between microbes and host populations follows closely Ann F. Ramenofsky, Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact (Albuquerque 1987), pp. 138-40, 162-166.

⁶⁹. Steadman Upham, "Smallpox and Climate in the American Southwest," American Anthropologist, 88 (1986), pp. 115-117. While this appears to be a logical argument, Ann Ramenofsky in Vectors of Death, has suggested a 100 percent infection rate without taking into account that once infected a person cannot spread the parasite to others until they themselves become sick and

will vary relative to the identity of the disease and according to the optimal climatic conditions in which a parasite thrives.⁷⁰ Once all members of the community have been infected, the microbes must find another susceptible population. The infection of neighbouring communities is determined by their proximity and contact with the infected group. In Europe, the population was sufficiently large to maintain some diseases indefinitely but this was not true of the Western Hemisphere. Once the entire community in a Native population was infected, the same disease could only be reintroduced through contact with infected individuals coming from Europe or from another population. Moreover, this could only occur once there was a susceptible group within the host group. Reinfection of a community with a susceptible population would not result in mortality rates similar to the initial epidemic since some people would have survived and acquired immunity.

thus their circle of contacts has been severely reduced. Moreover, she and others do not factor into their analyses that communities have different levels of contact.

⁷⁰. Most researchers tend to project Alfred Crosby's findings of 30 percent mortality among Santo Domingo Natives from a smallpox epidemic in 1518-19 to other Native populations, although there have been suggestions among medical historians of New Spain that mortality rates could reach up to 50 percent. See Alfred E. Crosby Jr., The Columbian Exchange: The Biological and Social Consequences of 1492 (New York 1972), p. 44; Noble David Cook Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620 (Cambridge 1981), pp. 64-65; Daniel Reff, Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764 (Salt Lake City 1991), p. 100. Reff argues that mortality from measles "often was as great as from smallpox," p. 111. Steadman Upham argues that mortality rates from smallpox increased relative to increasing temperature and declining humidity. Upham, "Smallpox and Climate," 1986, pp. 120-122.

One problem confronting researchers in assessing the impact of disease upon Native North American societies has been determining when European-introduced parasites infected specific Native communities. Disagreement regarding this crucial point has resulted in various estimates regarding the size of predisease populations. Douglas Ubelaker has estimated the precontact North American population at 2.17 million, William Denevan at 4.4 million and Henry Dobyns at 18 million.⁷¹ The wide disparity in estimates reflects differences as to how and when disease was transmitted.⁷² Dobyns has argued that depopulation preceded face-to-face contact, as once present in the Western Hemisphere diseases were transmitted to groups further and further removed from the initial areas of infection. Since there are no written records in support of this conclusion, Dobyns assumes that Native susceptibility to European diseases and widespread economic and cultural contacts between peoples precipitated the dissemination of disease. Research by Ann Ramenofsky, using archaeological data for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Middle Missouri

⁷¹. William Denevan, "Epilogue," in The Native Population of North America in 1492 (Madison 1976), p. 291; Henry Dobyns, Their Numbers Become Thinned (Knoxville 1983); Douglas Ubelaker, "Prehistoric New World Population Size: Historical Reviews and Current Appraisal of North American Estimates," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 45 (1976), p. 664.

⁷². In northwestern New Spain (or what is now the American Southwest), Steadman Upham says that evidence for epidemic smallpox before 1800 is sketchy. Daniel Reff argues against this point, saying that Jesuit accounts from 1593 and 1602 both mention measles and smallpox. Upham, "Smallpox and Climate," 1986, p. 123; Daniel Reff, "The Introduction of Smallpox in the Greater Southwest," American Anthropologist, 89 (1987), pp. 704-706.

Region, has confirmed Dobyns' argument that population loss preceded "sustained European presence by more than a century." Her analysis of Houdenosaunee societies, however, is more ambiguous, suggesting that its population was increasing during the sixteenth Century and only began experiencing population loss in 1613.⁷³ This would suggest that infection only occurred among the Houdenasaunee once face-to-face contact was made with Europeans. Archaeological research among southeastern peoples has led to similar conclusions as geographical and cultural barriers are thought to have impeded the transmission of diseases from communities in contact with Europeans to those who were not.⁷⁴

Thus Dobyns' calculations, which suggest much larger pre-contact populations than estimates made by other researchers, have not been confirmed. Dobyns has attempted to demonstrate the veracity of his estimates by examining population loss among one group, the Timucuan Indians of Florida and then suggesting that similar mortality rates occurred among other

⁷³. Ramenofsky, Vectors of Death, pp. 136, 97-102. Her conclusions on the Iroquois are supported by Dean Snow and William Starna whose preliminary conclusions based upon recent archaeological work in the Mohawk Valley have suggested that there were not massive epidemics in the Northeast during the sixteenth century. "Sixteenth-Century Depopulation: A View from the Mohawk Valley," American Anthropologist, 91 (1989), p. 148. For a contrary view, see M. K. Jackes, "Osteological Evidence for Smallpox: A Possible Case From Seventeenth-Century Ontario," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 60 (1983), pp. 75-81.

⁷⁴. Robert L. Blakely and Bettina Detweiler-Blakely, "The Impact of European Diseases in the Sixteenth-Century Southeast: A Case Study," Mid-Continental Journal of Archaeology, 14 (1989), pp. 62-89, esp. p. 73.

Natives. For the Timucuan, he postulates a precontact population of 722,000 and a de-population rate of between 95 to 96 percent. These figures, however, have been criticized because of Dobyns' assertion that Timucuan society was affected by successive waves of European-borne diseases such as smallpox, an argument which may not necessarily be reflected in the source materials from the period.⁷⁵ Dobyns has also not taken into account the influence of fertility rates on post-epidemic societies which would re-establish, either wholly or partially, population losses.⁷⁶

The present research provides the general framework to establish the context of the Mi'kmaq situation. Unlike the Huron and Houdenosaunee, the Mi'kmaq had extensive and persistent contacts with Europeans from the early sixteenth century. Consequently, any diseases transmitted to them resulted from face-to-face contact between inhabitants of the eastern coast and European fishermen. The transfer of diseases to Mi'kmaq villages further westward, such as those near the Acadian settlements at Minas and Chignecto, would have been relative to the degree of interpersonal contact with the infected villages. Since contact coincided with the season when population concentrations were greatest and when extensive intervillage communication occurred, we might

⁷⁵. See David Henige, "Primary Source by Primary Source? On the Role of Epidemics in New World Depopulation," *Ethnohistory*, 33 (1986), pp. 293-311.

⁷⁶. Russell Thornton, Tim Miller and Jonathan Warren, "American Indian Population Recovery Following Smallpox Epidemics," *American Anthropologist*, 93 (1991), pp. 30-41.

assume that infections were quickly disseminated to other villages.

There is only one direct reference to disease among the Mi'kmaq before 1605, contained in a letter written by Biard in June 1611, in which he recounts what the Grand Chief, Membertou, had told him. Biard wrote that

Membertou assures us that in his youth he has seen shimonutz, that is to say, Savages, as thickly planted there as the hairs upon his head. It is maintained that they have thus diminished since the French have begun to frequent their country.⁷⁷

While there is evidence that smallpox and other infections were transmitted to Natives in areas colonized by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, there are no records to demonstrate that peoples living in the northeast Atlantic were infected during the same time period. This does not mean that European diseases were not present. As Dobyns has argued, relying solely upon documented evidence to chronicle biological history is tautologically unsound as viruses and bacteria are unseen and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not understood.⁷⁸ This section therefore examines some of the diseases which could have been communicated to the Mi'kmaq during the sixteenth century, or before the beginnings of French settlement in 1605.

i) Contagious Diseases

Smallpox, one of the principal killers among North American Native

⁷⁷. JR, 1:177, Biard.

⁷⁸. Henry Dobyns, "More Methodological Perspectives on Historical Demography" *Ethnohistory*, 36 (1989), pp. 287-88.

populations, was prevalent throughout Europe during the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ Its lethal effect upon Native groups was due both to its portability and high mortality rates. The disease can be spread either through the respiratory tract or from lesions which appear on the skin, though air currents may also carry the virus and infect people far removed from the infected person. The virus can survive eighteen months in temperatures ranging from twenty to 24 degrees Celsius with a relative humidity of 58 to 75 per cent. Its life expectancy declines precipitously with a rise in temperature so that it can only survive for six weeks at 30 degrees Celsius and a humidity factor of 84 per cent. A characteristic feature of smallpox is small pustules which appear all over the body twelve days after infection. The disease lasts between twenty-one and twenty-seven days including the incubation period which is ten to twelve days. Today smallpox is at first confused with chickenpox, measles and sometimes with scarlet fever.⁸⁰

The portability of the disease and general diffusion within sixteenth-century

⁷⁹. Ann G. Carmichael and Arthur M. Silverstein, "Smallpox in Europe before the Seventeenth Century: Virulent Killer or Benign Disease?," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 42 (1987), pp. 147-168 has suggested that the strain of smallpox affecting Europe before 1600 was far less virulent than that which emerged in the seventeenth century. When transmitted to Native populations in the early sixteenth century it had dramatic mortality rates. There are today two different strains of smallpox, variola major and variola minor the latter having a mortality rate considerably less than the former. Today, variola minor has a mortality rate of less than one per cent.

⁸⁰. A.B. Christie, Infectious Diseases: Epidemiology and Clinical Practice (Edinburgh 1980), third edition, pp. 227-236 and 943.

Europe would have facilitated the transmission of smallpox to the Mi'kmaq by fishermen and sailors. Dean Snow and Kim Lanphear have suggested that transmission of the disease in the pre-1600 period was theoretically impossible given the small fishing crews, the time required to cross the Atlantic, which exceeded the length of the disease, and the fact that smallpox was principally a "childhood" disease and thus, would not have been carried by adult fishing crews.⁸¹ These statements, however, are contradicted by evidence showing that crew sizes could number as many as 50 men and that, as in the case of Jacques Cartier in 1534, voyages could be made within 20 days and not the several weeks Snow and Lanphear suggest.⁸² Indeed, the principal factor influencing trans-Atlantic passage was weather. Marc Lescarbot noted in 1606

⁸¹. First, they point out that sixteenth-century fishing crews were not large enough to maintain the survival of the smallpox virus on a trans-Atlantic voyage since vessels contained only five to six men and only after about 1600 was the optimum length of the trip reduced from six to four weeks. A far more important reason why smallpox did not cross the Atlantic before 1600, according to Snow and Lanphear, is that the disease was principally a childhood ailment and since fishing crews were composed of adult males they were unlikely to have been infected. Thus only after children were transported to the northeast as part of English and French colonizing ventures was the disease transmitted to Native groups inhabiting this region. Dean Snow and Kim Lanphear, "European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Contacts," *Ethnohistory*, 35 (1988), p. 25.

⁸². In 1541, Cartier made the voyage in one month. Morison, *The European Discovery*, 1971, pp. 346 and 438. On general advances in European sailing: Romola & R.C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship: Six Thousand Years of History* (New York 1926), p. 140; Carlo Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400-1700* (Minerva Press 1965), p. 77; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600* (New York 1971), p. 125.

Those who set out in March have usually fair weather, for at that date the customary winds are from the east, northeast, and north, and favourable for these voyages.⁸³

Also, smallpox was not confined to the young and thus, its transmission to North America was not dependent upon the emigration of susceptible children. For example, of the 23,349 smallpox deaths recorded for Geneva between 1580 and 1760 3,946, or 16.9 per cent%, of the victims were five years of age or older.⁸⁴

In summary, the optimum length of sixteenth-century voyages, the crew size and general prevalence of the disease suggests that smallpox could have been transmitted to Native peoples in the northeast before 1600. As well, since the virus can survive for long periods on a variety of materials, and can be carried by air currents, once one crew member was sick other susceptible individuals would also be infected. One would also assume that unless every article which the infected person touched was thrown overboard, then the virus could persist not only the length of the voyage but also the entire fishing season. The apparent ease with which the Mi'kmaq boarded fishing vessels would suggest that they could come into contact with the virus at this time.⁸⁵

⁸³. Lescarbot, History of New France, II:298.

⁸⁴. Donald Hopkins, Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History (Chicago 1983), p. 52.

⁸⁵. For example, the Basque fisherman that Lescarbot encountered at Canceau in 1607 stated that Mi'kmaq encamped there came on board his ship and took whatever they wanted from among the fish. Lescarbot, History of New France, II:362-63.

ii) Other Diseases

One disease thought to have been brought from Europe to northeastern North America is bubonic plague. Unlike smallpox, however, the plague's transmission and survival is determined by the interaction between fleas and black rats. The disease is caused by *Pasteurella pestis*, a parasite which infects fleas living in black rat populations, who in turn infect humans. Fleas can be carried from one locality to another by people, though upon arrival will live among the local rat population. The intensity of the disease among humans is influenced by the density of rats so that it cannot survive independent of a large and concentrated rodent population.⁸⁶

The major arguments against bubonic plague affecting *Mi'kma'ki* are two-pronged. First, the disease was not prevalent in either France or Basque country, the two principal regions from which voyages to *Mi'kma'ki* were made during the sixteenth century. Secondly, the plague's transference is dependent upon a large black rat population.⁸⁷ As pointed out in Chapter one, the black

⁸⁶. J.F.D. Shrewsbury, A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (Cambridge 1970), pp. 1-6, 21.

⁸⁷. Timothy L. Bratton, "The Identity of the New England Indian Epidemic of 1616-19," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 62 (1988), p. 369. The possibility that the plague was transferred to Native populations centuries has long elicited the interest of medical historians both because of the disease's prevalence in Europe and because of comments made by early New England writers that local Native peoples had been affected by the "Plague" between 1616 and 1619. There is disagreement among researchers whether these writers used the word "Plague" as a general term to describe disease or used it to suggest similarities with the bubonic plague they had known in Europe. In recent years, three separate diagnoses have been made. Bratton, pp. 367-68;

rat is not indigenous to North America and only made its way there via ships arriving from Europe. Black rats were present at the Basque whaling station at Red Bay on the Labrador coast from at least 1565⁸⁸ and at Port Royal from at least 1605.⁸⁹ As the rat thrives in areas of extensive human settlements,⁹⁰ their ability to establish a larger colony in the vicinity of Port Royal may have been delayed until the arrival of the Acadians in 1635. None of the French settlers between 1605 and 1607 died from the plague, indicating that despite the importation of rats, the disease had not followed. Indeed, in the entire pre-1760 period there are no recorded cases of plague among the Acadians despite rapid population growth which had reached, according to Andrew Clark, approximately 15,000 people by 1755.

The Mi'kmaq were affected by European-borne parasites before 1611. Though these diseases cannot be identified with certainty, the number of European fishermen frequenting the coasts of *Mi'kma'ki* and the presence of sedentary Mi'kmaq villages near the coastline for six to nine months of the

Shelburne Cook, "The Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indians," Human Biology, 45 (1973), pp. 485-508; Arthur E. Speiss and Bruce D. Speiss, "New England Pandemic of 1616-1622: Cause and Archaeological Implication," Man in the Northeast, no. 34 (1987), pp. 75-79.

⁸⁸. James A. Tuck and Robert Grenier, Red Bay, Labrador: World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550-1600 (Saint John's 1989), p. 34.

⁸⁹. Lescarbot, History of New France, III:226-27.

⁹⁰. Shrewsbury, Bubonic Plague, pp. 23-28.

year, makes this statement plausible. The initial exposure may have occurred well before 1600 providing time to recover population losses, before the French settlement of Port Royal in 1605, and well before the beginnings of a permanent French presence in 1632. Thus, unlike the Huron example where the importation of disease coincided with the beginnings of major changes in economic and political life, the introduction of disease into the region was more gradual and thus, its effect less important in re-orienting life.

b) 1611-1760

After 1611, there are occasional references to illnesses among the Mi'kmaq population. Virginia Miller argues that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a gradual decline in the Mi'kmaq population precipitated principally by European-borne diseases.⁹¹ While population decline occurred, the decrease was not even, but interspersed with periods of increases. This is suggested both by the timing in which diseases are noted and comments made by chiefs and elders during the eighteenth century regarding population expansion.

Between 1611 and 1760 there are seven specific references to contagious illnesses affecting Mi'kmaq communities.⁹² In six cases, neither the identity of

⁹¹. Virginia Miller, "The Decline of the Nova Scotia Micmac Population, A.D. 1600-1850," Culture 11 (1982), 107-120.

⁹². There are two additional references to sicknesses among the Mi'kmaq, in 1635 among the Cape Breton Mi'kmaq and in 1645-46 among those living near

the disease nor its impact upon the community is described. The sickness which affected Chedabouctou in the early 1660s, for example, infected all members of the community regardless of age but neither its name nor its symptoms are identified.⁹³ Conversely, the epidemic which swept the missions of Sillery and Tadoussac in 1669 and affected the Gaspesian Mi'kmaq was identified as smallpox.⁹⁴ During the summer of 1721 there were reported to be many sick among Mi'kmaq living near Minas who were possibly suffering from smallpox communicated to them by Massachusetts traders and fishermen.⁹⁵ Eight years later chiefs and elders from Unimaki and Antigoniche were sick from a contagious illness. Within a few days fourteen or fifteen people died.⁹⁶ In 1746 the head of the Executive Council at Annapolis Royal, Paul Mascarene, wrote that one hundred Mi'kmaq from Chebenacadie and almost the same number from Unimaki and Abegweit had died from a distemper, likely contracted from members of a large French expeditionary force who had landed at Chebouctou in August of that year. Governor William

Miskou, but in neither case are the illnesses identified as contagious. JR, 8:163, Julien Perrault, 1635; JR, 30:143, Paul Le Jeune, "Relation of 1645-46."

⁹³. JR, 47:63-65, Paul Le Jeune, "Relation of 1660-61."

⁹⁴. JR, 53:59-61, François Le Mercier, "Relation of 1669-1670."

⁹⁵. AC, C11B 5:341, Conseil de la Marine, nov. 1721. On the smallpox epidemic in Boston during 1721 see Boston Newsletter, 24 Feb. 1722. In all 5,889 people were infected between the months of April 1721 and Jan. 1722. Of this number, 844 died.

⁹⁶. AC, C11B 10:187-187v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1729.

Shirley of Massachusetts noted that information from the Acadian inhabitants suggested mortality rates up to 66 per cent among eastern coast Mi'kmaq.⁹⁷ Two years later, villages along the Northumberland Strait and from Unimaki were again afflicted with an unidentified illness.⁹⁸

While these are the only references to infectious diseases among the Mi'kmaq, villages may also have been affected by parasites present among neighbouring Native and European populations. For example, after the arrival of a French ship at Nashwaak on the Saint John River in 1694, an illness swept through the Native population there and continued unabated through the following year, killing more than a hundred people.⁹⁹ Though there is no direct evidence that this infection was transmitted to the Mi'kmaq, their continual passage through the region at least suggests the possibility. Similarly, in 1732-33 a smallpox epidemic swept through the French community at

⁹⁷. Paul Mascarene to Admiral Warren and Governor Shirley, 26 Oct. 1746, in The Royal Navy and North America: The Warren Papers, 1736-1752, edited by Julian Gwyn (London 1975), p. 365. Governor William Shirley to Duke of Newcastle, 21 Nov. 1746, in Documentary History of Maine, edited by James P. Baxter, vol. 11 (Portland 1908), p. 345.

⁹⁸. AC, F3 50:435-448v, "Journal concernant ce qui est arrivé...le 25 juillet, 1748 jusqu'au 4 septembre..."

⁹⁹. Webster, ed., in Acadia in the 17th Century, pp. 75-76 and 82; "Statements of Grace Higiman and Others in Relation to Being Taken Captive by the Indians," in The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for the Year 1864, vol. XVIII (Albany 1864), p. 162. This may be the same epidemic described by John Gyles who lived nine years as a captive among the Saint John River Indians. The disease affected both young and old. The person would bleed from the mouth and nose "turn blue in spots and die in two or three hours..." Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc. in the Captivity of John Gyles 2nd edition (Cincinnati 1869), p. 34.

Louisbourg,¹⁰⁰ in 1746, hundreds of soldiers from the English garrison at Louisbourg¹⁰¹ died from a variety of maladies, and during the winter of 1755 English settlers at Halifax succumbed to an unidentified illness.¹⁰² Though in none of these cases was there direct evidence to suggest that ailments afflicting French and English settlers was communicated to the Mi'kmaq, the presence of communicable diseases among populations living near Mi'kmaq territories also makes this a possibility.

The sources suggest that the Mi'kmaq experienced periodic but regular exposure to European borne disease; in 1610-611, 1660, possibly the 1690s, the 1720s and again during the 1740s. As European settlement, trade and imperial conflict expanded the variety of diseases and their frequency increased. Indeed, the expansion of Euro-American settlement adjacent to *Mi'kma'ki* increased the risks of infection. Between 1689 and 1752 there were regular outbreaks of smallpox and other contagious diseases in New England, Ile Royale and Chebouctou (Halifax).¹⁰³ There is also evidence that the Mi'kmaq population

¹⁰⁰. AC, C11B 14:104-104v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 oct. 1733.

¹⁰¹. A New England expedition had captured the fort from the French in 1745 and subsequently occupied it. The fort was "returned" to France by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle signed in 1748 though it was not officially returned until the following year.

¹⁰². Admiral Warren to the Duke of Newcastle 2 June 1746, in The Royal Navy, p. 265; AC, C11B 36:52v, Drucourt au ministre, 10 mai 1756.

¹⁰³. On Massachusetts and Maine see The Diary of Samuel Sewall, vol. 1 (New York 1972), pp. 165, 170, 323-55; vol 2: pp. 69, 71; Boston Newsletter, 24 Feb. 1722; Lt. Governor Phips to Capt. Jabez Bradbury, 5 June 1752, in Documentary History of Maine, edited by James Baxter, vol.12 (Portland 1908),

was increasing between 1726 and 1745, a period of peace between the Mi'kmaq and New England. Though the size of this increase cannot be precisely determined, elders from Unimaki and Antigoniche said in 1732 that their villages had grown from 400 to 635 people in the past nine or ten years.¹⁰⁴

There was a correlation between war and depopulation during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. War between the Mi'kmaq and New England had enveloped the region from 1690 to 1698, from 1702 to 1712, and again from 1722 to 1725. Increased movement precipitated by war among the peoples inhabiting the northeast Atlantic facilitated the dissemination of infectious diseases and lowered the resistance of each population. This coupled with losses incurred through almost twenty years of war resulted in decreases in the Mi'kmaq population between 1690 and 1726. This loss, however, was likely concentrated among Mi'kmaq living along the eastern coast and the Bay of Fundy as they were closest to European settlements and most directly affected by both disease and war. Peace, however, resulted in a gradual population expansion. Massive depopulation resulting directly from European-borne diseases descended upon the Mi'kmaq between 1746 and 1748 with the

p. 179; William Shirley, Message to the Council and House of Representatives, April 9, 1756, Documentary History of the State of Maine vol. 13 (Portland 1908), p. 20; on Louisbourg see AC, C11B 14:104, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 oct. 1733.

¹⁰⁴. AC, C11B 11:255v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 14 nov. 1732; AC, C11B 21:77, de Forant au ministre 14 nov. 1739; AC, C11B 22:38v, MM. de Bourville et Bigot au ministre, 17 oct. 1740.

arrival of the d'Anville Expedition at Chebouctou in 1746. The apparent high mortality rates suggest that this Mi'kmaq population had not previously been exposed to many of the imported diseases.

At the same time, other factors would have minimized the absolute devastation of the Mi'kmaq population. Population expansion despite exposure to diseases was due both to natural increase and the society's capacity to minimize the effects of parasitical infections upon their villages. Mortality rates would have been smaller among the Mi'kmaq than among Native peoples, such as the Huron and Houdenosaunee, who lived in larger settlements. As the Mi'kmaq were fishermen and hunters, epidemics would not have interfered with spring planting or harvesting and thus available foodstuffs would not have been severely reduced.¹⁰⁵ Exploiting a variety of foods which could be changed relative to social needs, the Mi'kmaq had a greater flexibility than the Huron in dealing with the dislocations created by epidemics. Village sites could be quickly vacated and the population divided into hunting and fishing groups, composed of two to five families. This, in tangent with the practise of abandoning the sick and hastening their deaths once the shaman had pronounced them incurable, would have limited the communication of

¹⁰⁵. John Gyles notes that the outbreak of disease among the Saint John River Indians resulted in not settling or planting at their village. Gyles, Memoirs of Odd Adventures, p. 34.

European introduced infections.¹⁰⁶

There is also evidence that when illnesses were known to be contagious, attempts were made to stop all contact with the affected villages. During the summer of 1694, Natives from Meductic on the Saint John River arrived at Pentagoet but were told by the Penobscots to "go no farther lest they should bring contagious disease into their territory."¹⁰⁷ Similarly, during the outbreak of smallpox at Louisbourg in 1732-33, the Mi'kmaq deliberately avoided contact with the French. In the summer of 1733, the Governor of Ile Royale, Saint-Ovide, journeyed to Port Dauphin and to Abegweit (Ile Saint-Jean) to meet with Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders and to distribute presents given to the Mi'kmaq each year from the French king. The year before 200 Mi'kmaq had been present at both places. In 1733, however, only twenty Mi'kmaq met Saint-Ovide at Port Dauphin and "they departed the moment after they received their presents" while no one was present to greet the Governor at Abegweit. As Saint-Ovide noted, "these people fear greatly this disease."¹⁰⁸

Intervals between major epidemics, the flexibility of Mi'kmaq settlement patterns and attempts to limit contact with infected communities, permitted Mi'kmaq villagers time to recover population losses prior to the advent of

¹⁰⁶. *JR*, 2:93-95, Biard, 31 Jan. 1612; *JR*, 2:279-81, "A Relation of Occurrences in the Mission of New France During the Years 1613 and 1614."

¹⁰⁷. Webster, ed., *Acadia at the End of the 17th Century*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁸. "Rapport de Monsieur de Saint-Ovide," 14 nov. 1732, *CMNF* III:163-164; AC, C11B 11:254-256; AC, C11B 14:104-104v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 oct. 1733.

other illnesses. As a result, their population was sufficiently large to survive even infections to which their people had not been previously exposed and for which they had not acquired immunity.

Though the Mi'kmaq suffered depopulation following contact with Europeans, it occurred before the establishment of permanent settlements and they were able, at least partially, to re-establish pre-epidemic population levels. This had important consequences as it provided them with the time to deal with the social and political dislocations precipitated by the onset of high mortality rates. After 1610, European settlement was gradual so that it was not until the late seventeenth century and the beginning of almost twenty years of conflict with New England that significant depopulation would again occur. In the interim the Mi'kmaq had lived for almost a century close to the Europeans and had accumulated knowledge and information as to how to deal with Europeans. The wars continued intermittently until 1726 and were followed by almost twenty years of population expansion. Much of that population was killed, however, during the epidemics of 1746-48 which weakened the Mi'kmaq and facilitated the expansion of English settlers onto their lands.

* * * * *

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, two principal relationships were

established between Mi'kmaq and European peoples, one economic and the other, biological. The European demand for furs and Mi'kmaq demand for European goods precipitated the formation of an economic relationship between the two parties. In other societies, this sometimes led to major alterations in social, economic and political structures. In *Mi'kma'ki* this was not the case principally because the trade's introduction was gradual and thus, its effects were muted. Similarly, the devastating social dislocations fostered by European-borne diseases, such as smallpox or influenza, would have been less apparent among the Mi'kmaq since these diseases predated European settlement. As a result, their populations were at least partially re-established before having to face the more serious threat of European encroachment upon their lands.

CHAPTER 4
SETTLEMENT AND THE FISHERIES 1605-1760

In 1605, the first attempt was made to establish a permanent European settlement in *Kmitkinag*. From then until 1760, settlers, traders and fishermen interacted daily with Mi'kmaq people. In examining this period, scholars have argued that the fur trade and settlement led to fundamental changes in Mi'kmaq society.¹ According to L. F. S. Upton, this had far-reaching consequences for Mi'kmaq relationships with European settlers and colonial officials. As the Mi'kmaq became dependent upon European merchandise, spiritual bonds with the natural world were broken, resulting in overhunting and the replacement of traditional religious practices with Christian ones. Settlement, on the other hand, led to extensive intermarriage with Acadians creating kinship ties between the two societies. Children resulting from these marriages assumed leadership positions in Mi'kmaq society, in large part because French colonial officials distributed presents through them, thus enhancing these individuals' influence within their communities. The result of these changes, according to Upton, was a society which was easily manipulated but which had merged with 'French' society and so identified its own interests

¹. Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade (Berkeley 1978), pp. 27-68; Patricia Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981, pp. 444-455; L. F. S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 (Vancouver 1979), pp. 16-47.

with the French Crown.²

Implicit in this analysis is the idea that culture is fluid, changing its contours to fit the mold into which it is placed. In this case, the early settlement of *Kmitkinag* is thought to have resulted in the merging of two distinct cultures, one Mi'kmaq and the other European. Similarly, in Upton's view, Mi'kmaq culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was shaped, not by its own internal rhythms, but by forces external to itself, leaving little room for either social or individual action. As other authors have argued for other Native groups, in this chapter I intend to demonstrate the contrary: while adapting to the challenges posed by European settlement, Mi'kmaq responses continued to be internally generated.³

Upton has also assumed that polities are coherent and united, that is there are only "Mi'kmaq," "Acadians," "French officials," "missionaries" and "English". By not seeing social divisions within these groups, motivations and interests are assigned either through the voice of political elites, whose words are contained in the historical record, or through selective sampling, which is used to generalize for all members of that group. Since some Acadians did intermarry with Mi'kmaq, this is thought to reflect a general pattern among the

². Upton, Micmacs and Colonists, pp. 16-47.

³. For example, Kenneth Morrison, The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euro-American Relations (Berkeley 1984); Bruce Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Montréal 1985).

entire Acadian population. Individual action, which is influenced by economic, cultural and social concerns, is ignored to be replaced by a linear view of history which arranges 'recorded' events into a neat and tidy narrative. In this view, people do not have an existence independent of the 'events' and consequently, they do not influence them.

This and succeeding chapters goes part way in addressing some of these problems in the history of Mi'kmaq-European relations. This chapter describes social relations between the Mi'kmaq and European farmers and fishermen between 1605 and 1760. Unlike the previous chapter, which examined the most tangible aspects of Mi'kmaq-European interaction, this chapter looks at social and cultural relationships established between peoples who likely encountered each other on a daily or weekly basis. It first locates the various Acadian settlements then proceeds to examine Mi'kmaq relations with the Acadians living along the Bay of Fundy. The third section covers Eastern coast communities and their relations with neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages. The final section describes relations with New England fishermen. In order to place these analyses in their proper context, the chapter begins with a brief overview of European settlement of *Kmitkinag* as well as Unimaki and Abegweit, between 1605 and 1760.

1. Settlement

Sources are more extensive for the Acadian population living along the Bay of Fundy than for Europeans inhabiting other areas in the region. Before the beginning of royal control of the colony in 1670, there is very little correspondence and, few references to the Acadian population. After 1670, this changed. Between 1676 and 1690, and again between 1700 and 1710, Port Royal was the centre of French military authority in *Kmitkinag* and consequently, there are more references in the official correspondence to Acadians. Nominal censuses of the Acadian population were made in 1671, 1678, 1686, 1693 and 1703. After Port Royal's conquest in 1710, it remained a political and military centre of English rule until the establishment of Halifax in 1749. The only post-1710 census was completed in 1737 by French missionaries but only covered the population of each Acadian community.

The European settlement of the Bay of the Fundy can be divided into two distinct phases. Each phase was influenced by economic and political factors which shaped the character of settlement and the social composition of the inhabitants. These two phases reflect the changing perception of settlement in the Americas by European merchants and governments and thus, in some ways coincide with similar movements to settle the Saint Lawrence Valley.

a) Early Settlement 1605 to 1654⁴

Between 1605 and 1632 there were three unsuccessful attempts to establish a permanent settlement along the Annapolis Basin. These settlements were funded by European merchants with the purpose of profiting from the fur and fish trade. All three were led by noblemen who, in exchange for the right to collect any revenues from their endeavours agreed to finance the establishment of a permanent settlement. The first attempt was organized by Pierre Du Gua de Monts, who in 1603 had received from the King of France, Henri IV, a ten-year monopoly over the fur trade in New France. The following year de Monts and his men departed from France, settling at Ile Dochet, a small island located about twenty-five kilometres up the Saint Croix river. Scurvy, however, claimed many lives the first winter and so the party relocated their habitation on the more hospitable shores of the Annapolis Basin, naming their settlement Port Royal. De Monts had difficulty in excluding other Europeans from trading with the Mi'kmaq resulting in an inability to satisfy debts incurred by the

⁴. The following account is based on H.P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (Toronto 1901); J.B. Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada (New York 1927); A.H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Wisconsin 1968); Abbé A. Couillard Després, Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour et son Temps (Athabaska, Québec 1930); N. E. S. Griffiths, The Contexts of Acadian History 1686-1784 (Montréal 1992); Emile Lauvrière, La tragédie d'un peuple: Histoire du peuple Acadien de ses origines à nos jours (Paris 1924); François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale en Amérique, L'Acadie 1604-1881, t. 1 (Paris 1889); John Reid, Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto 1981); Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, 2: Le comptoir 1604-1627 (Montréal 1966), 3: Les seigneuries des Cent-Associés 1627-1663 (Montréal 1979).

expedition. This, in addition to the King's decision in 1607 to revoke de Mont's monopoly, led to the abandonment of the settlement that year.⁵ In 1608, one of de Monts' associates, the baron de Biencourt purchased the habitations still remaining at Port Royal and two years later outfitted an expedition which re-established a settlement there to exploit the fur trade with neighbouring Native groups, including the Mi'kmaq. Again, however, disaster struck, this time in the guise of Samuel Argall, a privateer from Virginia who destroyed the settlement in late October 1613, just before the onset of winter. A supply ship arriving in March of 1614 transported most of the survivors back to France, leaving behind a small contingent of 15 to 20 men which included Biencourt's son, Jean de Biencourt, and Charles de La Tour. During the following years, these men remained in the region engaging in the fur trade. Biencourt died in 1623 and six years later La Tour officially became governor of Acadia. In that same year, England attempted to usurp France's influence in the region by establishing a settlement at Port Royal. Led by the Scotsman, Sir William Alexander, 70 people were settled along the Annapolis Basin. Thirty died the first winter while most of the survivors returned to England in 1632, after the signing of the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in which Charles I acceded to demands by the French monarch that France be given exclusive rights to settle *Mi'kma'ki*.

Following the signing of the 1632 treaty, France attempted to establish a

⁵. George MacBeath, "Pierre Du Gua de Monts," DCB I:291-94.

larger and more permanent settlement in *Kmitkinag*. This time the undertaking was organized by a consortium of over one hundred noblemen, bankers, merchants and royal officials, who in 1627 had received from the King exclusive rights to settle New France and to collect all resulting revenues. In 1632, the Compagnie des Cent Associés appointed Isaac de Razilly lieutenant-governor of New France and that same year he departed with a contingent of three ships containing approximately 200 tradesmen and farmers, arriving at the mouth of the La Hève River in September. Population of the settlement fluctuated throughout the year, increasing during the warm weather months, as engagés and tradesmen arrived from France, and declining during the winter after their departure. During the first winter some 200 people, mostly men, wintered at La Hève of whom only 164 survived.⁶ Little contact was made with La Tour's settlements at Cap Sable and the Saint John River.⁷ Though La Hève was the principal focus of the settlement, Port Royal was also inhabited and following Razilly's death in July of 1636, those engagés and settlers still remaining at La Hève, numbering perhaps 100 people, moved across to the Bay of Fundy. Leadership of the colony was assumed by his assistant, Charles Menou d'Aulnay.

After 1636, the region was plagued by intermittent conflict between

⁶. Joan Dawson, "Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636," Nova Scotia Historical Review (1989), pp. 44-45.

⁷. Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale, I:80.

d'Aulnay and La Tour, who competed for revenues from the fur trade. Louis XIII attempted to settle the dispute in 1638 by delineating areas over which each was granted monopoly rights. This tended to confuse rather than clarify the situation as the King's grant to d'Aulnay included the Bay of Fundy but not the Saint John River, which was given to La Tour, while the latter obtained rights to the eastern coast but not Port Royal.⁸ D'Aulnay's superior financial support and political influence in France, however, settled the dispute resulting in La Tour's banishment in 1645. The victory was shortlived as d'Aulnay died from a canoe mishap in 1650. La Tour subsequently married d'Aulnay's widow, and became governor of the colony in 1651. His tenure was also short, as Port Royal was captured by the Englishman Major Robert Sedgewick in 1654 and La Tour subsequently sold his fur-trading rights to Sir Thomas Temple.

Despite this, the population of Port Royal expanded both by natural increase and from the immigration of 20 families brought from France by d'Aulnay. Between 1636 and 1654, the population doubled from approximately 100 to between 200 and 300 people.⁹ While the fur trade continued to be important, the majority of families were principally engaged in farming the rich soil base created by tidal currents. These lands, laying adjacent to rivers flowing into the Basin, were unusable until dykes had been built to stop tidal

⁸. "Lettre du Roy à d'Aulnay," CMNF, 1 (Québec 1883), p. 115; Clark, Acadia, pp. 118-119.

⁹. Clark, Acadia, pp. 100-101.

flows and the soil desalinized. This was a long and labourious process, involving the movement of earth located away from the river's edge. Consequently it took two or three years before the land could be farmed,¹⁰ but once completed was very productive. As Andrew Clark has argued, the 1650s marks the real beginning of French settlement in the region as by this time a resident population had become firmly established.¹¹

b) Expansion of Acadian Settlements, 1654-1755

Between 1654 and 1670 the Acadian population lived under nominal English control. The Treaty of Breda signed in 1667 re-established French suzerainty over Acadia. Four years earlier civil administration of New France had been assumed by the Crown so that unlike the pre-1654 period, authority in Acadia was invested in a governor whose power derived from the Minister of the Marine, and thus, was accountable through him to the King. Not until 1670, however, did the new Governor, Andigné de Grandfontaine arrive. In an attempt to extend the political control of France westward, he established his residence at Pentagoet, a fur-trading post on the Penobscot river. The post, however, was destroyed by Dutch pirates in 1674 and authority was transferred to Port Royal. War enveloped the region between 1689 and 1726, in part a reflection of European wars between France and England during the

¹⁰. Ibid., pp. 158-162.

¹¹. Ibid., p. 90.

late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, more importantly, of a much larger conflict pitting the Wabanaki Confederacy and their Mi'kmaq allies against New England. Port Royal and Chedabouctou were pillaged by New England forces in 1690 and in 1691 French authority was transferred to Nashwaak, a fort 60 miles inland on the Saint John River, where it remained until 1700. In 1710 New England captured Port Royal and established a permanent garrison there. Three years later, England's conquest was recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht wherein France surrendered its political claim to *Kmitkinag*. A separate treaty was not signed with the Mi'kmaq and intermittent hostilities flared between the English garrison and neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages. Between 1720 and 1725, the conflict expanded, eventually involving the entire Wabanaki Confederacy. Peace was negotiated and signed in 1725-26 between the two parties and during the following twenty years peace was maintained.

i. Population

New agricultural settlements were established by Acadian farmers at Chignecto (Beaubassin) in 1671, Minas in 1682, Cobequit, in 1703, and both Piziquit and Shepody during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Population figures for each of these areas (except Shepody which is incorporated with Chignecto), is listed in Table 4.1. These figures provide the estimates of population recorded in census data. A demographic study of

Table 4.1
Acadian Population Inhabiting
the Bay of Fundy
1671, 1686, 1703 and 1737

	1671	1686	1703	1737
Port Royal	358	592	485	1406
Mines	-	57	507	2113
Cobequit	-	-	87	-
Piziguit	-	-	-	1623
Chignecto	-	127	245	1816
Totals	358	776	1324	6958

Sources: "Familles établies à L'Acadie 1671," Report of the Canadian Archives, 1905, Part III (Ottawa 1906), Appendix A, pp. 1-6; "Un recensement de l'Acadie en 1686," Bulletin des recherches historiques, 38 (1932), pp. 677-96 and 721-34; AC, G1 466, "Recensement de l'Acadie," 1703, and "Recensement de 1737."

Acadia completed by Raymond Roy has shown that not all the population was enumerated but the difference between Roy's figures and the census data is small. For example, the 1686 census indicates 592 Acadians living at Port Royal, which Roy believes understates the actual population by four people.¹² Thus, the figures listed in Table 4.1, though not precise, do nevertheless provide a reasonably accurate picture of the Acadian population between 1671 and 1737.

Between 1671 to 1755, the Acadian population multiplied almost 30 times, averaging an annual growth rate of 3.75 per cent.¹³ Immigration from France contributed only minimally to the increase as few families were involved and very little occurred after the English conquest of Port Royal in 1710.¹⁴ More important, there were few natural restraints upon the Acadian population. Generally, harvest failures did not occur and epidemic diseases did not result in high mortality rates. This, in conjunction with the facts that Acadian women married young and mortality rates among both infants and children, were

¹². Raymond Roy, "La Croissance démographique en Acadie de 1671 à 1763," M.A., Université de Montréal, 1975. See pp. 31-36.

¹³. Jacques Houdaille, "Quelques aspects de la démographie ancienne de l'Acadie," *Population*, 3 (1980), p. 582; Roy, "La Croissance démographique," p. 58.

¹⁴. Gisa Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis*, 3(1973), p. 7. Rameau de Saint-Père states that between 40-50 new colonists, most of them single, arrived in the colony and intermarried with the Acadians. *Une colonie féodale*, 1:110.

relatively low, led to a rapid natural increase in the population.¹⁵

ii. Location of Settlements

All settlements were located along river or water systems. At Port Royal, habitations were principally near the mouth of the Allains River but gradually spread northeastward along the banks of the Annapolis River. By 1710, Acadian farms were established as far east as the present day site of Bridgetown, most of them situated on the north side of the river.¹⁶ By the 1750s, farms were located more than 12 leagues (36 miles) from Allains River.¹⁷ The initial settlements in the Minas Basin were made between the Gaspereau and Habitant Rivers (Cornwallis) at what later became known as Grand Pré. Settlement gradually expanded southwards to the Gaspereau river and northwards to the Canard and Habitant rivers. Before 1755, this entire area was known as Minas though Grand Pré remained the largest settlement, with a population of perhaps 1350, of the 2450 people who lived in the region in 1750. During the early part of the eighteenth century, Piziquit was established, with most of the population concentrated approximately 10 to 12 kilometres

¹⁵. Hynes, "Some Aspects," pp. 8-9, 17. Among Acadian women living at Port Royal between 1725 and 1739, their average age at first marriage was 21. For the period between 1703 and 1755, Houdaille has calculated that the average age at which women first married was 20.4. Jacques Houdaille, "Quelques aspects de la démographie," pp. 585 and 593.

¹⁶. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 102, 122.

¹⁷. AC, Correspondance générale, Canada (C11A), 87:363, "Description de l'Acadie avec le nom des paroisses et le nombre des habitants," [1752-1754].

from where the river flows into the Minas Basin. Farms were located in three principal areas, on the left side of the Piziquit River, on the Saint Croix and on the Kennectcook Rivers. With a total population of approximately 1400 in 1750, 800 lived on the left bank on the Piziquit River, 500 on the Saint Croix and the remainder along the banks of the Kennectcook. By the mid-1750s, there was also a small settlement located along the Cheverie River, to the west of the mouth of the Piziquit River.¹⁸

Cobequit, settled during the early eighteenth century, was more scattered than the other Acadian villages. There is little information on this area, but by the mid-1750s, settlements were located from Noel Bay to Masstown on the north shore of Cobequit Bay. Andrew Clark has estimated a total population of approximately 900 people in 1748. The final major Acadian settlement was Chignecto (Beaubassin) where many of the early habitations were along the marshlands on the north side of the bay. In the late seventeenth century, the Shepody River was also settled and over the following years, other rivers, including the Petitcodiac were settled.¹⁹

After England assumed control over the region in 1713, French authorities attempted to convince the Acadian population to move to Unimaki. Poor soil quality there, in addition to a reticence to abandon the rich lands they farmed along the Bay of Fundy, resulted in only 67 families relocating, most of whom

¹⁸. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 148-149, 216-217.

¹⁹. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 218-222.

came from Port Royal and were engaged in nonagricultural activities. The majority, however, quickly became disillusioned with the island and had returned to Acadia by 1726.²⁰ Despite the Acadians' lack of enthusiasm, French authorities were successful in establishing a significant population on the island, composed principally of fishermen, soldiers and sailors. Totalling approximately 890 people in 1724, the population grew to 4300 in 1742 in addition to another 1330 troops and colonial officials.²¹ Almost all of this population was concentrated on the eastern shore of the island.²²

After 1720, Acadians began migrating to Abegweit (Prince Edward Island).²³ In 1730, the population there totalled 312, which had expanded to 2219 people twenty-two years later.²⁴ Most of this population, however, had been living on the island for less than five years, fleeing from Acadia as a

²⁰. Bernard Pothier, "Acadian Emigration to Ile Royale After the Conquest of Acadia," Histoire Sociale/Social History, 6 (1970), pp. 128, 130-31. Place of origin is known for 59 of the 67 families, 71.25 per cent of who came from Port Royal. Occupation is known for only 45 male family heads, who were noted as 'jardiniers.'

²¹. AC, G1 466: doc. 67, "Recensement de l'île Royale, 1724," and doc. 77, "Recensement de 1742."

²². Clark, Acadia, Figure 7.5 on p. 279.

²³. Roy, "La croissance démographique," pp. 60-61. On the settlement of Abegweit, see A.H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada (Toronto 1959), pp. 25-41. Settlement of the island by immigrants from France is shown by the parish registers of Saint-Pierre du Nord which lists a number of marriages between Acadians and individuals born in France. See AD, Ille-et-Vilaine, "Registre de Saint-Pierre-du-Nord, 1724-1758."

²⁴. AC, G1 466: doc. 36A and doc. 45.

result of an expanding conflict between New England and New France. Raymond Roy has calculated that of the people enumerated in 1752, 244 of 371 households or 1456 people were "refugees" from Acadia.²⁵

2. Acadian Agriculture and Society

Most Acadians were farmers, their lives governed by the annual cycle of planting and harvesting.²⁶ In April and May, fields of hay, wheat, oats, rye and barley were sown and garden crops such as carrots, turnips, cabbage and onions were planted. Apple and cherry trees, which had been imported from France in the seventeenth century, were cultivated while in the surrounding countryside cranberries, blueberries and gooseberries grew wild, and were picked by women and children during the late summer.²⁷ In summer, hay was harvested and sheep were shorn, the wool being used to make socks, gloves and hats to keep families warm during the winter.²⁸ As autumn drew nearer and the growing season to a close, wheat and oats were harvested, the men moving back and forth across the fields, cutting the stocks of grain.

²⁵. Roy, "La croissance démographique," pp. 65-67.

²⁶. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 158-160.

²⁷. These bushes grow in areas of secondary growth. Consequently, as the Acadians cut down the surrounding forest, berry bushes would grow.

²⁸. AC, C11D 2:19, "Relation de l'acadie envoyée par le Sr. Perrot," 9 août 1686.

Harvest was a happy period, time to give thanks to God for the bounty of his Nature, time for the family to briefly spend more leisurely days after the hard toil of the spring and summer. Little time, however, could be spared, for winter approached and soon cold and bitter winds would sweep down from the North. Fields required ploughing and, as fodder was often lacking for the winter, as much as 30-40 per cent of the cattle might be slaughtered, the meat drawn into quarters, salted and either sold or stored for the coming months.²⁹ Women and the older girls worked hard preserving vegetables and fruits, while the men and boys spent most of their days in the forested areas of the farm, cutting down trees for firewood. Occasionally they forsook the forest and went fishing for salmon or eels, which swarmed through the surrounding rivers during the autumn. As winter set in, a more leisurely lifestyle was possible but still there were livestock to feed, halters, reins, and carts to be mended, and tools to sharpen, while for women the frenetic pace of cooking, mending clothes and looking after the younger children never ceased.

As the Acadian population grew more land was placed under cultivation. In 1686 there were 671 arpents under cultivation, by 1688, 896 arpents and five years later, 1300 arpents.³⁰ By 1748-50, dyked marshlands had increased to approximately 12,600 acres throughout the Bay of Fundy area, including 3,000

²⁹. Clark, *Acadia*, 1968, pp. 167-169.

³⁰. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 163-64; AC G1 466: doc.10, "Recensement de l'Acadie," 1686.

acres at Port Royal, 4,000 at Minas, 2,500 at Piziquit and Cobequit and another 3,000 within the Chignecto region.³¹ Land acreage held by individual families varied widely. Clark has suggested that 100 to 200 acres may have been the norm at Port Royal, though not all this area was farmed. Rather, each lot was composed of marshlands, pasturage and forest, the latter supplying a steady supply of firewood.³²

While all areas produced various agricultural products, there were differences among them. The growing season was shorter at Chignecto, which meant less wheat was planted there than in other areas. Chignecto's extensive marshlands constituted nutritious fodder for livestock and as the eighteenth century unfolded, this area became the 'beefbasket' of Acadian agriculture. Wheat production was more concentrated at Minas. Acadian agriculture was both productive and prosperous in large part because of success in raising large quantities of livestock. Indeed, livestock constituted the most important product of the economy and was exported to New England and, after 1714, to Louisbourg.³³

Churches and priests constituted an indelible facet of the Acadian landscape. When settlers first arrived at La Hève in 1632, they were accompanied by Capucin fathers. Missionaries accompanied farmers who

³¹. Clark Acadia, Table 6.11, p. 236.

³². Ibid., pp. 134-135.

³³. Ibid., p. 173.

moved to Port Royal four years later. When new settlements were established, the population built chapels and asked that a priest be assigned to service their spiritual needs.³⁴ And, in 1710 after the English conquest of Port Royal, freedom of religion was promised to the Acadians. Table 4.2 lists priests who worked among the Acadian population during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This table does not include missionaries present in Nova Scotia before 1664 as they will be discussed separately in chapter six.

By the 1750s there were six separate parishes. At Port Royal there were two churches, one located near the English fort on the south side of the Annapolis Basin and another on the north side of the Annapolis River, near the Bellisle Marsh. Churches were also located in the parishes of the Canard River, Grand Pré, and Piziquit. In the parish of Cobequit, there were two churches, one near the mouth of the Chigenois River and another on the north side of Cobequit Bay near Porcupine River. It is not known how many churches were located in the parish of Chignecto but since the area was heavily populated and was settled along both the Shepody and Petitcodiac Rivers, there were possibly two

³⁴. During his visit to Acadia in 1686, the Bishop of Québec, Saint-Vallier reported that the chapel at Chignecto, was made of "mud surrounded with stone; the roof made only of straw..." Visiting Minas, which had only been established four years earlier, the inhabitants asked for a Priest and promised that they would not only feed him but also build a Church and Presbytery. Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, Etat présent de l'Eglise et de la Colonie française dans la Nouvelle-France (1965), first pub. Paris 1687, pp. 97-98.

TABLE 4.2
 ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS
 MINISTERING THE ACADIANS
 1664-1756

Priest	Dates of Residence	Location	Affiliation
Molin	1664-76	Port Royal	Récollet
Claude Moireau	1674-86	Chignecto	Récollet
Louis Petit	1676-90	Port Royal	SQ
	1691-93		
M. Guyon	1684		SQ
Louis Geoffrey	1686-92	Port Royal	Sulpician
Jean Beaudoin	1688-96	Chignecto	Sulpician
C. Trouvé	1688-90	Port Royal	Sulpician
	1694-1704	Chignecto	
Saint-Cosme	1692-97	Minas	SQ
M. Guay	1699-1702		SQ
Jacques-Alexis Deschambault	1697-98	Minas(?)	
Abel Maudoux	1694-1702	Port Royal	SQ
Guillain Beaudoin	1698-1707		Récollet
François-Michel Leveyer	[1700-1703]	Minas	SQ
M. Rageot	1701-1702		SQ
Félix Pain	1702-1710	Port Royal	Récollet
	1710-1725	Minas	Récollet
		Chignecto	
Joseph Rémy	1703-1712		Récollet
Justinien Durand	1704-1710	Chignecto	Récollet
Masson	1707-1712		Récollet
A. Métivier	1720-1723	Ile St.- Jean	Sulpician
R. de Breslay	1720-1723	Ile St. Jean	Sulpician
	1724-1727	Port Royal	
Charlemagne Cuvier	1720-1724		
de Noinville	1728-1730		
Claude de Saint-Poncy	1729-1740	Port Royal	SQ
Charles de la Goudalie	1729-1749	Minas	Sulpician
Louis Maufils	1732-1737	Piziquit	SQ
J.B. Chauvreulx	1732-1736	Piziquit	Sulpician
	1736-1739	Cap Sable	
	1739-1755	Piziquit	
J.B. Desenclaves	1739	Piziquit	Sulpician
	1739-1742	R. aux Canards	
	1742-1754	Port Royal	

TABLE 4.2
(con't)

Priest	Dates of Residence	Location	Affiliation
	1754-1758	Cap Sable	
J.P. de Miniac	1740-1749		
François Le Maire	1752-1755	[Canards]	Spiritain
Perronnel	1752-1755	Ile St.-Jean	Spiritain
Henri Daudin	1753-1754	Piziquit	
	1754-1755	Port Royal	
P.J. Vizien	1754-1759	Peausejour	Spiritain
Biscarat	1755-1758		
François Le Guerne	1756-1758		

SQ = Séminaire de Québec

SOURCES: DCB, I, II, III; BRH, 36 (1930), 158-162; Casgrain, abbé H.R. Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des missions-étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762) (Québec 1897); A. David, "Le Séminaire du Saint-Esprit et les mission de la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle, BRH, 35 (1929), 278-83; H. Provost, Le Séminaire de Québec (Québec 1964).

in the region.³⁵

It would be wrong to portray the priest as simply the medium through which salvation could be achieved, for he was much more than that. His presence created order in a world where sometimes disorder reigned, ensuring the safety of his flock during the short time they would spend upon the earth. As in France, he would have blessed the farmers' fields, asking God for bountiful harvests, and protection from inclement weather.³⁶ He also tried to guard the Acadians from sorcerers who cast spells upon livestock, making them sick and lethargic.³⁷ But he was also a man, come from France or from Canada, who through his person maintained a vital link between Acadians and the French monarch. After 1710, that link would become increasingly important as Acadians struggled with a New England colony which sought to reshape their culture into a mold more amenable to England's colonial ambitions.

3. Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations

Up until 1671, Acadian farmers lived within the vicinity of Port Royal and

³⁵. PANS, H2/202, "Draft of the Upper Part of the Bay of Fundy, 1749."

³⁶. Jean Delumeau, Un chemin d'histoire Chrétienté et Christianisation (Paris 1981), p. 129.

³⁷. On charges of sorcery launched against Jean Campagnard of Chignecto and depositions made against him see "Extraits tirés d'un procès de sorcellerie intenté au sieur Jean Campagnard...1685, in Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale, 2:304-307.

thus their principal contact with the Mi'kmaq was with the villagers living nearby. As the Acadian population expanded, beginning with the settlement of Chignecto in 1671, Minas in 1682, Cobequit in 1697 and Piziquit in 1703, there were an increasing number of points at which the lives of Mi'kmaq and Acadians intersected. New Acadian settlements were at first outnumbered by the Mi'kmaq population. In 1686, the Acadian Minas population totalled 58 people, while Mi'kmaq living nearby likely numbered about 100. By 1737, 2113 Acadians were living between the Canard River and Grand Pré, while the Mi'kmaq population had only increased marginally. This pattern was repeated in each area settled by the Acadians.

a) The Land

Sovereignty over the land was never surrendered by the Mi'kmaq, as suggested in comments made by elders in a meeting with the Governor of Ile Royale in 1720.

But learn from us that we have lived on this earth that you trample with your feet and upon which you walk, before even the trees that you see began to grow, it is ours and never can we be removed from it, nor can we be made to abandon it.³⁸

Acadian communities were located in territories inhabited by Mi'kmaq

³⁸. NAC, MG 18, F29, "Discours curieux des sauvages du Canada par M. de Saint-Ovide gouverneur de l'Ile royale au sujet des mouvements du Gouverneur Anglois de l'Acadie avec les reponses que les sauvages y ont faites," [1720-1722].

villages. Statements made by Mi'kmaq leaders to English traders and Acadians would suggest that those travelling or settling on lands adjacent to the Bay of Fundy required the consent of the Mi'kmaq. In late August 1720 Peter Nunquadden, a chief of the Minas Mi'kmaq, demanded that the New England trader John Alden pay him 50 livres "for liberty to trade, saying this Country was theirs and every English Trader should pay Tribute to them."³⁹ Permission was also required to build or settle on Mi'kmaq lands as the Acadian René Le Blanc discovered after he was commissioned by the English government to build a magazine near Minas during the early summer of 1732 and was told by Jacques, son to Winaguadesh from the Piziguit River, that he "was King of that Country, and forbode Le Blanc from building there."⁴⁰ Indeed, records suggest that Acadians did not establish new settlements without the consent of neighbouring Mi'kmaq people. In November of 1724 the Governor of Ile Royale indicated that five or six Acadian families living below the Chebenacadie River were inhabiting land that had been given to them by the Mi'kmaq.⁴¹ Similar ideas were expressed by Major Paul Mascarene, then

³⁹. PRO, Colonial Office Series 217 (CO 217), 4:151, "Memorial of John Alden," 14 Sept. 1720.

⁴⁰. Archibald MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 (Halifax 1908), p. 239.

⁴¹. AC, Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (C11B), 7:29v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov., 1724.

President of the Nova Scotia Executive Council,⁴² who wrote in 1740 that Acadians wanting to acquire new landholdings and not having the approval of the English government to do so, settled on lands that they said had been purchased from the Mi'kmaq.⁴³ This suggests that similar agreements had been concluded between Acadians of Port Royal, Minas and Chignecto and neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages during the seventeenth century.

Joint occupation of the land was possible because Mi'kmaq and Acadians followed different economic cycles. As farmers, Acadians did not interfere significantly with Mi'kmaq subsistence activities and consequently co-occupation remained possible so long as fish and animal populations remained stable and harvest failures did not occur.

Differences in how each people used the land, however, was contradictory, establishing social distances and creating tensions. As a non-agricultural people, the Mi'kmaq moved freely through their territory, in a seasonal cycle which included extended periods fishing along river systems and hunting in the interior for moose and caribou. This pattern of settlement clashed with European concepts of work and ownership. For the French and for the English after them, life was rooted firmly in the land and did not generally encompass the forests that surrounded agricultural communities. For much of the

⁴². This was the principal governing body of Nova Scotia. Its origins are explained briefly in Chapter Seven.

⁴³. CO 217, 8:77, Mascarene to Board of Trade, 16 Aug. 1740.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the forest was feared and associated in the minds of the French and English alike with dark uncontrolled emotions, chaos and savagery and was considered to constitute an obstacle to European expansionism.⁴⁴ What was to be extolled rather was the neat orderly world of the farm, occupied year round by its inhabitants who in the process of tending their crops, enclosing their fields and maintaining their buildings, were adding materially to the wealth of the colony and ultimately to its benefactors, the European monarchies. Thus, the land was a commodity, which added wealth not only to the governments involved but also to the individuals who worked it. If they were hardworking, additional land might be added to a family's holdings, perhaps for an older son or for another member of the family.⁴⁵ In effect, farms were spaces in the landscape to which the Acadians sought to bar entry to the Mi'kmaq. As the Acadian population grew, so too did the quantity and size of these spaces.

Acadian farming practices also forced the Mi'kmaq to redefine how land could be used. Unlike the Mi'kmaq, the Acadians dramatically altered the landscape, building dykes and destroying marshlands which had always attracted waterfowl and other animal life. The Acadians also claimed exclusive

⁴⁴. Keith Thomas, Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800 (London 1983), pp. 193-95; D. G. Charlton, New Images of the Natural in France (Cambridge 1984), p. 42.

⁴⁵. Differences in how the Natives and Europeans treated the land is developed at some length in William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England (New York 1983), pp. 34-81.

proprietary rights over animals occupying their lands, in this case, livestock. To the Mi'kmaq, people occupying specific territories were custodians of the land, preserving its faunal and floral life for the collectivity. This did not mean, however, that others could not use resources found within the territory particularly if they were in need. This created tensions with Acadian farmers. In the Micmac language, the word for cow is "Wenjooteam" meaning "French moose."⁴⁶ At times, livestock strayed into the woods and was killed for the meat by Mi'kmaq hunters. During the 1750s, Abbé Maillard, a missionary who preached among the Mi'kmaq between 1735 and 1761, recounted a conversation with some Unimaki Mi'kmaq regarding what should be done with livestock which had wandered far from the French settlements.

My Father,[a Mi'kmaq man said] we found livestock more than three leagues from the french settlements; we look upon them as lost and gone astray forever in the woods; isn't it better that we kill them to profit from their flesh, and from their hides, rather than to leave them lost? I [Maillard] then replied: When I will know that it is not yourselves that have chased them [the cattle] to this distance in the woods, I will then know to invite you to take hold of them. If you take it upon yourselves to do this before the answer that I had told you to wait for, M. the Governor will be informed of it, and entry into the Church will be refused to you until you have brought me in money,[or] in goods that which the livestock was known to be worth.⁴⁷

Similar incidents occurring after 1760 between the Mi'kmaq and New England

⁴⁶. Robert R. McLeod, In the Acadian Land: Nature Studies (Boston 1899), p. 152.

⁴⁷. "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard sur les missions de l'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques à Madame de Drucourt," in Les Soirées Canadiennes (1963), pp. 366-67; [my translation].

settlers suggest that Acadian livestock were killed when other resources were not so readily available. In 1763, for example, James Falkener living near Cobequit complained to Nova Scotia's Executive Council that local Mi'kmaq men had killed his ox. Pursuing them into the woods, Falkener was informed by the men "that they were Starving and that when they could hunt for any Beaver they would satisfy him for his ox."⁴⁸

Frictions between the two communities were mediated by French missionaries and parish priests. In 1692, for example, Acadian residents of Chignecto complained that Mi'kmaq had killed and eaten some of their cattle and implicitly suggested that this might have been avoided if the parish priest, Abbé Beaudoin, had been attending to their own needs, instead of wintering with a band of Mi'kmaq families.⁴⁹

b) Social Relations

Social tensions arising from different concepts of "property" were accentuated after the settlement of new regions. This is because contacts between Acadians and the local Mi'kmaq population were greater during the early years of settlement than afterwards. In new communities, constant contact with local Mi'kmaq villages was likely, both because of the small Acadian

⁴⁸. PANS, RG 1, 188:382, Nova Scotia, Executive Council Minutes, 30 June 1763.

⁴⁹. AC, C11D 2:211v, de Villebon, "Mémoire concernant la conduite de Messieurs les Missionnaire de l'Acadie," (1692).

population and the initial importance of the fur trade. As the population and the number of farms increased, such as at Grand Pré, Piziquit and Chignecto, contact was regularized through local traders and missionaries. Beginning in 1706, there was at least one missionary who worked exclusively among the Mi'kmaq population and after 1716, churches were built adjacent to Mi'kmaq villages, at Antigoniche in 1716, Chebenacadie in 1722 and Maligoueche in 1726.⁵⁰ In effect, the larger the population grew, the less likely that all members of the community would have constant contact with the local Mi'kmaq population.

Increasing social distances between the two communities is suggested by the registers kept for the parishes of Chignecto between 1681 and 1686 and of Grand Pré between 1709 and 1749. Though records for Chignecto are sporadic, they indicate that during the early years of its settlement, 34 Mi'kmaq were baptized by the local parish priest, Claude Moireau, with godparents selected from prominent Acadian members of the community, particularly Michel Le Neuf, a one-time Governor of Acadia, who had been granted a seigneurie in the region in 1676. During the following century only four Mi'kmaq were baptized.⁵¹ For Minas, parish registers are extant only for the period 1709 to

⁵⁰. The construction of the churches will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

⁵¹. Parish registers for Chignecto (Beaubassin) exist only for the years 1681 to 1686, 1712 to 1723, 1732 to 1735 and from 1740 to 1748. PANS: Churches: Acadian French Records (transcripts).

1748 but do not record any baptisms, marriages or burials among the local Mi'kmaq population.⁵² A different situation prevailed at Port Royal where parish registers are extant from 1702 to 1755. As the political and military capital during both the French and English regimes, Port Royal served as a central point for political discussions between colonial officials and Mi'kmaq villages. Consequently, 31 acts are recorded between 1722 and 1735, 28 of them occurring after 1725. No acts recorded between 1735 and 1755 include the Mi'kmaq. While not conclusive, the registers do suggest that as settlement increased, less regular contacts were maintained between Acadians and surrounding Mi'kmaq populations.

During warm weather months the Mi'kmaq were congregated at areas near Acadian habitations. In the latter part of the eighteenth century English officials noted that within the Minas region, Mi'kmaq settlements were located at the mouth of rivers flowing into the Basin, including the Canard, Habitant, Gaspereau and Piziquit rivers. During the spring and summer, fish were abundant in all these rivers.⁵³ Acadian populations were also situated nearby, suggesting that while social distances were maintained between the communities, the Mi'kmaq were present on the periphery of Acadian settlements, particularly during the warm weather months.

⁵². PANS: Church: Acadian French Records, Registres des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures, Grand Pré, 1709-1748, (transcripts).

⁵³. PANS, MG 1, 258, Isaac Deschamps Papers, "A sketch of the Province of Nova Scotia..." [n.d.].

Social separation between Acadian farmers and local Mi'kmaq villagers is illustrated by the lack of kinship ties between the two communities. Researchers have argued that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Mi'kmaq intermarried with European settlers. Kinship ties created by these unions, principally between European men and Mi'kmaq women, are thought to have strengthened trading, political and military relationships between the two peoples, thus impeding English attempts to establish political dominance over *Kmitkinag* after 1710.⁵⁴ Since there are few documents which attest to such marriages, Olive Dickason, for one, has assumed that irregular contact with missionaries precluded registration in parish records. Thus, intermarriage is thought to have occurred far more often than parish or census records indicate. Implicit in this argument is that intermarriage was possible because of the close cultural similarities between the two communities. No attempt has been made, however, to define more closely the European population so that cultural values suggested by selective instances of intermarriage are considered to reflect those of the entire community.

⁵⁴. Olive Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Metis," American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 6 (1982), p. 7; Griffiths, Contexts of Acadian History, pp. 23-25; Morrison, The Embattled Northeast, p. 119; Upton, Micmacs and Colonists, pp. 26-27. The pervasiveness of this viewpoint is suggested in the readiness with which non-specialists in Acadian history incorporate it into their own work. See for example, Jennifer S. H. Brown, "The Metis: Genesis and Rebirth," in Native Peoples, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis, edited by Bruce Cox (Ottawa 1988), pp. 136-37 and Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York 1988), p. 176.

An examination of census and parish registers indicates that marriage did not occur between Acadian and Mi'kmaq people. The 1671, 1678, 1686 and 1693 Acadian censuses show only one Native woman who had married into the Acadian population and lived in an agricultural community.⁵⁵ Significantly, she was Abenaki and likely had some agricultural skills. Though parish registers are not available for these communities for most of the seventeenth century, both the 1671 and the 1686 censuses provide the maiden name of each married woman and widow, which with the one exception, are of European origin. As well, extant parish registers from Port Royal, Chignecto, and from Minas which list the parents' names, for both bride and groom as well as their place of residence, do not record Mi'kmaq-Acadian marriages.

The lack of marriage should not be surprising. An agricultural lifestyle demanded skills which Mi'kmaq women did not possess. They did not know how to milk cows, look after livestock, make butter or bread, turn wool into hats and mittens, and even though they may have been baptized, their understanding of Catholicism was far different from that of their Acadian neighbours.

However, it is likely that unofficial liaisons between Acadian men and Mi'kmaq women occurred. In 1686, the Intendant Jacques DeMeulles

⁵⁵. "Familles établies à L'Acadie, 1671, Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, Part III (Ottawa, 1906), Appendix A, p. 3. Bona Arsenault states that Anne Ouestuorouest was Abenaki. Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, t. 2 (Québec 1978), p. 673.

complained that some Port Royal residents were keeping "Indian women in their dwellings, and others... desert father and mother and follow these Indian women into the woods."⁵⁶ Further evidence of these liaisons has not been found though both the 1708 and 1722 censuses of the Mi'kmaq population indicate widows in bands living adjacent to Acadian settlements and at least suggests the potential for establishing relationships. However, widespread unofficial unions between Acadian men and Mi'kmaq women would have been unlikely for a number of reasons. First, there was not a gender imbalance within the Acadian settlements, so that young males did not have to go elsewhere to find women their own age. Secondly, compared to their Canadian counterparts, Acadian men married very young, suggesting that there was only a short time during their lives when they would have been free of marital vows. Moreover, the constant presence and scrutiny of the parish priest would have served to regulate their wanderings. Finally, and probably most importantly, the Mi'kmaq population living adjacent to the Acadian settlements was never large. As the Acadian settlements expanded, they came into contact with more Mi'kmaq peoples, at Chignecto (1671), Minas (1682), Cobequit (1697) and Piziquit (1703). As outlined in Chapter 2, however, Mi'kmaq villages in

⁵⁶. Jacques DeMeulles, "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur DeMeulles to Acadie," in *Acadiensia Nova*, edited by William I. Morse, vol. 1 (London 1935), p. 109. In the same year, the Governor of Acadia, François-Marie Perrot wrote of Acadians who "traded in the woods [with the Indians] and lead a scandalous life with the Indian women." AC, C11D 2:12, Perrot, "Relation de l'acadie," 9 août 1686.

these areas, including Port Royal, constituted only five of the eighteen villages located in *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki and had an approximate population of only 500 people. Though liaisons likely occurred, in relative terms, they did not constitute a significant component of Acadian life.

Indeed, there is evidence to show that missionaries and parish priests sought to maintain a social distance between the two populations. Many characteristics of Mi'kmaq society conflicted with what missionaries considered to be Christian virtues. In contrast to Acadian farmers, Mi'kmaq men often wore very little clothing during the summer months. According to Dièreville who visited Acadia in 1699-1700, some youths wore "nothing but a Shirt in summer...to which a piece of cloth or leather is attached," to cover their loins.⁵⁷ Such attire might have offended Acadian sensibilities, particularly as village populations expanded, and Mi'kmaq movements into these areas became less frequent. An indication as to the possible response to scantily clad men travelling through Acadian villages is suggested by the reactions of one English family who later settled at Grand Pré. In 1763, Bartholomew Necout, a Mi'kmaq resident of the region "was struck on the head from behind" with a large hedge rake and "knocked senseless" by John Hammond, a local farmer. Though the attack involved a dispute between the two regarding Necout's dog, Hammond was apparently affronted by Necout's appearance at his house

⁵⁷. Sieur de Dièreville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, transl. by Clarence Webster (Toronto 1933), p. 167.

where his "wife had been frighted at seeing the Indian running naked about the Town, and for that reason he had run after him [Necout] and beat him."⁵⁸ Contrasting clothing styles reflected the different sexual mores of each society. The Church's interdiction against pre-marital sex and divorce conflicted with Mi'kmaq social customs, while French religious and political authorities were concerned, what effect this might have upon the Acadian population.⁵⁹

Missionaries and colonial officials were also keen to maintain social distances between the two communities because they believed that alcohol was bought from Acadian villagers and that the trade was responsible for precipitating unnecessary conflict with Europeans. Indeed, Abbé Maillard argued that the trade threatened the peace of his mission, undoing attempts to mold the Mi'kmaq into practicing Christians. To remedy this situation, two French missionaries, Le Loutre and Maillard, insisted that Mi'kmaq villages be located far removed both from Acadian settlements and from French habitations on Ile Royale. This, they hoped, would reduce the consumption of alcohol, and minimize the resulting conflicts with residents of European descent.⁶⁰

⁵⁸. PANS, RG 1, 188:396, Executive Council Minutes, 8 Aug. 1763.

⁵⁹. An example of a Mi'kmaq man divorcing his wife can be found in AC, C11D 2:212, Villebon, "Mémoire concernant la conduite de messieurs les missionnaires de l'Acadie," [1692].

⁶⁰. AC, C11B 2:41v, 44, Conseil de la Marine, 4 déc. 1716; Le Loutre à M. Montigny, 1 oct. 1738, in *Canada-Français*, pp. 20-21; PANS, RG 1 21:50-51, Paul Mascarene, Order with Advice and Consent of the Executive Council, 20 Oct. 1743.

c) Politics

Social tensions between Mi'kmaq and Acadian communities along the Bay of Fundy were exacerbated by the English conquest of Port Royal in 1710. During the following years, English colonial officials attempted to enlist the assistance of Acadians in extending their political control over *Kmitkinag*. Initially, such efforts included forcing residents to repair the garrison's fortifications and to serve as interpreters in discussions with the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet. In April of 1714, Claude Melançon of Port Royal and Jean Landry of Minas accompanied an expedition headed by Pierre Capoon, representative of the English government, which visited Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities at Minas, Chignecto and the Saint John River where Capoon invited them to swear allegiance to the English Crown. Similarly, Pierre Arceneau of Chignecto visited Mi'kmaq villages along the eastern coasts of *Kmitkinag* and New Brunswick during 1714 and invited them to Port Royal to treat with the English.⁶¹

Differences increased between the two communities as the Mi'kmaq attempted to halt the extension of English political and economic influence beyond the Annapolis Basin. Between 1714 and 1737, there were incidents in which Mi'kmaq villagers attacked English merchant vessels trading in the Minas Basin. In some cases, this resulted in confrontations between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq. In 1714, Mi'kmaq from Richibouctou on the eastern

⁶¹. AC, C11A 35:110-111, 121v, 122, Bégon au ministre, 25 oct. 1715.

coast of New Brunswick pillaged the trading vessel of a French trader from Boston at Chignecto. When local Acadians attempted to intervene, the Mi'kmaq threatened to burn "their houses and livestock if they opposed them in their design, as was their custom to do."⁶² In a similar incident occurring at Minas in July of 1724, thirty Natives from the Saint John River and forty to fifty from Chebenacadie and the eastern coast stopped Acadians from trading with two English vessels.⁶³ In 1734, three Acadians arrived from Port Royal to ask the Mi'kmaq to stop their opposition to building an English post at Minas. Though some people listened favourably to these proposals, two chiefs chased the Acadians away, and threatened to "break their heads" if they ever returned.⁶⁴

Tensions between the communities increased because of fundamental differences in how each perceived the English conquest of Port Royal. While the Acadians resented English attempts to extend political influence over their lands, they nevertheless, hoped to maintain trade and peaceful relations. Trade was an essential component of their economy, making possible the purchase of European merchandise necessary for the continued prosperity of their farms. Conflict with the English threatened that trade and also jeopardized Acadian landholdings. The Mi'kmaq, however, saw the conquest of Port Royal as a dangerous precedent, and opposed any attempts to extend English influence

⁶². AC, C11A 35:120v, Bégon au ministre, 25 oct. 1715.

⁶³. MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes, p. 58.

⁶⁴. AC, C11B 15:3v, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 déc. 1734.

over their lands. The English were neither "friends nor allies," but enemies and thus, the Mi'kmaq expected the Acadians as their allies to assist them in repelling English activities along the Bay of Fundy. They not only stopped Acadians from trading with the English in 1724 but also took from them what they required to attack Port Royal, in this case canoes.⁶⁵ Acadians clearly understood the dangers of not aligning themselves with the Mi'kmaq. Those, like Joseph Brossard, who were summoned by the Executive Council in 1724 to explain why they had not provided information regarding Mi'kmaq plans to attack Port Royal, replied that if they had done so, their families would have been destroyed.⁶⁶ In effect, by doing so, Brossard and others like him would cease to be considered "friends" of the Mi'kmaq and would henceforth be enemies.

These differences were accentuated by English policies which made the Acadians responsible for Mi'kmaq actions, forcing them to pay indemnities to English traders whose goods had been plundered.⁶⁷ While this perhaps ensured that trade would continue between New England and Acadia, it nevertheless, exacted a financial toll on the Acadian community fostering suspicion and accentuating existing cultural distances between the two communities. Ultimately, this resulted in friction and hostility.

⁶⁵. AC, C11B 7:24v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

⁶⁶. MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes, p. 71.

⁶⁷. Ibid., p. 13.

4. Eastern Coast Settlements

Information regarding areas inhabited by Europeans and their descendants along the eastern coast is scant. Nominal censuses of these communities were made by French officials in 1686, 1688, 1693 and 1708. After 1708, no official censuses were completed and only unofficial tallies were compiled by missionaries living among the Mi'kmaq. Both English and French colonial correspondence refer occasionally to events occurring along the eastern coast but usually only within the context of some altercation between Mi'kmaq villages and New England fishermen or traders.

The lack of sources is due to the relative isolation of the communities from the principal European garrisons at Port Royal and after 1714, at Louisbourg. Except for a brief foray of activity during the late 1680s, eastern coast communities were not visited by French colonial officials before 1710 and only rarely by parish priests. With Abbé Gaulin's appointment as missionary to the Mi'kmaq in 1705, more regular contact was maintained. After 1710, there was even less official French contact while the lack of English authority beyond Port Royal precluded any substantive interactions with eastern coast communities. The most constant component of these peoples' lives were New England traders and fishermen, who, however, rarely left records.

a) Settlement

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, eastern coast communities inhabited by peoples of European descent were located between Pubnico and Mouscoudabouet. Sometime after 1713, settlements were also established along the north shore, between Tatamagouche and Baie Verte. Table 4.3 presents information concerning these settlements. As other research has shown, eastern coast communities were not well known by census takers and consequently the location of their settlements was sometimes unknown and their population consistently underestimated. Based upon an analysis of the 1686 census, Raymond Roy has argued that outlying areas, that is those communities not situated in the general vicinity of Port Royal, Minas and Chignecto, constituted 16 per cent of the total population of Acadia which included *Kmitkinag* and the Saint John, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Rivers as well as the eastern coast of New Brunswick. Of these communities in 1686, settlers of European descent totalled 114 people, 31 of whom lived along the eastern coast. Roy estimates the actual population as 150.⁶⁸ Consequently, the figures shown in Table 4.3 do not provide an accurate representation of the population of these communities.

As the Table shows, there was considerable fluctuation in the location of individual settlements along the eastern coast during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Since French colonial officials had little contact with

⁶⁸. Roy, "La Croissance démographique," pp. 30-32.

TABLE 4.3
POPULATION OF EASTERN COAST
COMMUNITIES IN NOVA SCOTIA ACCORDING TO
1671, 1687-88 & 1708 CENSUSES
AND 1748 ESTIMATES

	CENSUS INFORMATION						ESTIMATE*	
	1671		1687-88		1708		1748	
	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.
Tatamagouche	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Mouscadabouet	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chegekkouk	-	-	-	-	-	-	7-8	-
[Unnamed]	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Chibouctou	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Mirligueche	-	-	-	10	-	-	12-15	-
La Hève	-	-	-	12	8	42	4-5	-
Port Rochelais	-	-	-	20	3	15	-	-
Cape Neigre	2	10**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Port la Tour	-	-	-	-	7	51	-	-
Ministiguesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Pubnico	2	8***	-	22	-	-	15	-
Chebogue	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Totals	4	31	-	87	18	108	98	-

LEGEND: Fam. = Families; Pop. = Population

* These are estimates of the number of families contained in an anonymous memorial dated 1748. AC, C11D 10: (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie, 1748. It was likely compiled by Abbé Le Loutre, missionary to the Mi'kmaq who also ministered to the spiritual needs of eastern coast inhabitants.

** Clarence d'Entremont has suggested that though the 1671 census lists two Acadian families living at Cap Neigre, one family actually lived at what is now Port La Tour and the other at the River Rochelais. Also known as Port Razoir, River Rochelais was likely the Roseway River which flows into Shelburne Harbour. Clarence d'Entremont, Histoire du Cap Sable de l'an mil au traité de Paris, vol. 3 (Eunice, Louisiana 1981) p. 1263; also Clark, Acadia, p. 153 for the identification of River Rochelais.

*** A.H. Clark lists the population of Pobomkou at 14 which is the number given on the table at the front of the census. However, the nominal list only gives a total of two families and eight people. Clark, Acadia, p. 153.

SOURCES: "Familles établies à L'Acadie, 1671," Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, Part III (Ottawa 1906), p. 6; Gargas, "General Census of the Country of Acadia (1687-88)," p. 147; 1708 Census.

the eastern coast particularly after the conquest of Port Royal in 1710, this may reflect their lack of knowledge of the area. As well, during the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries New England privateers swooped down upon unsuspecting communities, transporting their inhabitants to Boston and burning their homes. Indeed, this is precisely what happened to the small community at Port Rochelais whose inhabitants were carried to Boston during the summer of 1705.⁶⁹ This necessitated locating in areas inhabited by Mi'kmaq villages which afforded people protection.⁷⁰ After the Treaty of Utrecht and the eradication of pirates from the eastern Atlantic during the 1720s, this changed.⁷¹ Settlement along the coastline became possible as did habitation of areas further removed from Mi'kmaq villages. This is suggested by the establishment of new communities at Cheggikouk, a site adjacent

⁶⁹. Boston Newsletter, 23 April 1705.

⁷⁰. For example, for 1707, a French official notes that "in the cold of the war, the English did not approach his place (Sieur Pobomcoup at Cap Sable) because of the Mi'kmaq..." AC, C11D 6:46v, M. de Goutins au ministre, 23 jan. 1707.

⁷¹. The Boston newspapers of the 1720s are filled with reports of attacks upon New England fishermen working off the coasts of Mi'kma'ki. The fact that pirates were located off the coast would suggest that they were also a menace to eastern coast inhabitants. For one explicit description of an attack upon a fisherman at Port Roseway [Shelburne] by pirates in June 1722, see "An History of the Strange Adventures, and Signal Deliverances of Mr. Philip Ashton Jun. of Marblehead" in The Pirates of the New England Coast, 1630-1730, edited by George Francis Dow and John Henry Edmonds (Salem 1923), pp. 224-231. On the war against the pirates see Marcus Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750 (Cambridge 1987), and Robert Ritchie, Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates (Cambridge, Mass. 1986).

inhabited by the Boutin family, and Chebogue.⁷²

b) Economy and Society

Agricultural crops were not extensively grown in this area as settlers were principally engaged in fishing, hunting and trading with the Mi'kmaq. Garden crops were raised but as the 1688 census indicates the actual area cultivated in each community was small with a total of only 2 1/2 arpents being farmed at La Hève and Mirligueche. The marshlands, however, provided fodder and some livestock was raised. The 1693 census recorded 54 cattle and 42 pigs owned by four of the five families inhabiting Pubnico.⁷³ Similar figures for Port Razoir (Shelburne) and La Hève are not given, which suggests that economic activities did not include raising livestock, except perhaps what was needed to supply milk and butter. By the eighteenth century as the population expanded, there is evidence that more emphasis was placed upon raising livestock and garden crops. In his survey of the eastern coast in 1760, Charles Morris wrote that at Ministiguish "where formerly settled 12 Families who had improved about two hundred acres of Land, their Principal Subsistence was from the Cod fishery and Fur Trade." And at Pubnico, Morris noted that the

⁷². Chebogue was settled by a group of kin-related families from Port Royal. CO 217, 8:91, 96, Mascarene to Joseph Doucett et. al., 3 Aug. 1740.

⁷³. AC, G1 466: doc. 15, "Recensement des habitans habitués au Cap Sable 1696." For a fuller examination of livestock for this area, see Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 152-53.

"dozen French families"...chief subsistence was raising Cattle, there being within the islands (the Tuskets) and on the River a considerable quantity of Salt Marsh."⁷⁴

The newer communities established along the coastline were settled by migrants from Pubnico and Mirligueche and, during the 1720s, by fishermen from Port Royal. The Boutin family who lived adjacent to Chegegouk in 1748, was originally from the Cap Sable region.⁷⁵ Settlement in these areas was attractive, because of the fishing and the marshlands lying adjacent to river beds. As trade with the French at Ile Royale expanded after 1714, fish, furs and livestock were exported from these regions.⁷⁶

While contact was made with the Acadian population during the year, these visits were sporadic. Generally, priests assigned to parishes in the agricultural settlements did not visit the eastern coast, the two exceptions being

⁷⁴. CO, 217 18:250v, 251, "A Description of the Several Towns in the Province of Nova Scotia with the Lands comprehended in and bordering upon said Towns," 9 Jan. 1762.

⁷⁵. Bona Arsenault states that sometime during the eighteenth century the family was living at Piziguit. Sometime before 1708, Joseph Boutin had married Marie Briart of Cap Sable. Significantly, four of their five children married women from Mirligueche and Cap Sable. Following the settlement of Chebouctou in 1749 by the English, the Boutins apparently moved to Baie des Espagnols on Ile Royale. Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie*, 4:1346-47; 1708 Census.

⁷⁶. In 1748, an anonymous memorial notes that the land at Chebogue "was good and fertile. The wheat and forage is abundant there." AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748. In August 1726, a schooner from Louisbourg bought cattle from inhabitants at Mirligueche. The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery (Boston 1726), p. 13.

1736-1739 and 1754-1758 when parish priests from Port Royal were forced to spend extended periods at Cap Sable. In both cases, problems with English colonial officials at Port Royal had forced the priests to seek refuge among the eastern coast inhabitants.⁷⁷ Generally, as most of the latter lived close to Mi'kmaq communities, settlers of European descent were served by missionaries assigned to proselytize among the Mi'kmaq. Up until 1725, however, only the priest, Abbé Gaulin, made regular visits to the eastern coast.

This is reflected in the baptisms performed in the region by Father Félix Pain between July and September 1705. Table 4.4 shows children who were baptized at this time who had been born between 1689 and 1704. Father Pain baptized a total of 18 children which reflects the isolation of the communities along the eastern coast during war time. In 1701, a French officer, Denys de Bonaventure, had written that the inhabitants of Cap Sable had "not seen a priest for 14 years."⁷⁸ This pattern likely continued throughout the first three decades of the eighteenth century but changed with the addition of two priests to the Mi'kmaq missions during the 1730's which resulted in a more regular pattern of visits.

⁷⁷. These problems are explained in Chapter Six.

⁷⁸. AC, C11D 4:129, Bonaventure, "Mémoire des côtes de l'Acadie," 12 oct. 1701.

TABLE 4.4
CHILDREN BAPTIZED ALONG THE
EASTERN COAST OF NOVA SCOTIA
JULY AND SEPTEMBER, 1705

Year of Birth	CAP SABLE Family Name			LA HEVE Family Name		P. MALTHOIS*
	Amiraut	Aubois	Vige	D'Azit	Briart	Guedry Briart
1689	1	-	-	-	-	-
1691	1	-	-	-	-	-
1694	1	-	-	-	-	-
1697	1	-	-	-	-	-
1698	-	-	1	-	-	-
1699	1	-	1	-	-	-
1700	-	-	-	1	-	-
1701	-	-	-	-	1	-
1702	1	-	-	1	-	2
1703	-	-	1	-	-	-
1704	1	1	-	1	1	-

* Also known as Port Medway.

SOURCE: PANS, RG 1: 26, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials
at Annapolis Royal, 1702-1728.

c) Relations with the Mi'kmaq

Intermarriage occurred extensively along the eastern coast between European men and Mi'kmaq women. Settlers of European origin were isolated both physically and spiritually from the larger Acadian settlements and followed a rhythm of life that coincided closely with their Mi'kmaq neighbours. They also traded for the furs and skins tanned by the Mi'kmaq and thus there were important economic and geographical reasons why intermarriage would have occurred. Such relationships, however, could not have occurred without the consent of a woman's family who needed to be satisfied that the prospective suitor was the proper age, a good hunter, and of a suitable family.⁷⁹ They may have demanded, moreover, that the man serve the woman's father for a year or several years in order to compensate the family for the loss of their daughter's contribution to the family.⁸⁰

Determining the degree to which intermarriage occurred is difficult as there are few records regarding these communities in extant parish registers. Records kept by missionaries who travelled along the eastern coast, such as Abbé

— Pierre Biard, "Relation of 1616," Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. 3, edited by Reuben Thwaites (Cleveland 1896), p.99.

⁸⁰. Nicolas Denys, Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), edited by W.F. Ganong (Toronto 1908), p. 407. Also see, Virginia Miller, "The Micmac: A Maritime Woodland Group," in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto 1986), p. 336.

Gaulin between 1705 and the 1720s and Abbé Le Loutre, from 1738 until 1748, have not survived. Consequently, evidence regarding intermarriage or the lack thereof, must be gleaned from records made when settlers from the region baptized their children, were married by the parish priest at Port Royal, or alternatively, from census data.

For the seventeenth century, there are only four documented cases of intermarriage between the two communities. In all four cases, marriage occurred between French-speaking men and Mi'kmaq women. During the 1620s, Saint-Etienne de La Tour married a Mi'kmaq woman though after her death, he married the widow of Menou d'Aulnay. In 1678, the third eldest son of Philippe Mius d'Entremont, also known as Philippe, married a Mi'kmaq woman. The elder d'Entremont was a captain in the army who had been brought to Acadia by La Tour to serve as commanding officer of the King's troops and settled with his wife in 1653 at Pubnico. Of his five children, only Philippe married into the Mi'kmaq community and in 1708 was living with his wife at La Hève.⁸¹ Intermarriage can also be documented for La Hève, where, according to the 1686 census, Martin Lejeune was living with an Indian woman named Jeanne, and Claude Petitpas with a Mi'kmaq woman named Marie-Thérèse.⁸² Intermarriage also likely occurred during the eighteenth century.

⁸¹. 1708 Census.

⁸². "Un Recensement de 1686," *BRH*, 38 (1932), p. 725. The family does not re-appear in the 1693 census. Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie*, 2:663 and 722.

Intermarriage between the Mi'kmaq and what had become a métis community, may have declined with immigration to the eastern coast by Acadian farmers after the conclusion of war between the Mi'kmaq and New England in 1725.

The evidence would suggest that intermarriage occurred between French-speaking men and Mi'kmaq women during the seventeenth century, specifically in areas, such as La Hève, where few French-speaking women were present. Indeed, Rameau de Saint-Père argues that intermarriage occurred principally during two time periods. First, between 1615 and 1630 or before the beginning of European settlement when Jean de Biencourt, Charles de La Tour and their men lived in *Kmitkinag* and traded furs to the Mi'kmaq. Saint-Père suggests that after the establishment of a French settlement at La Hève in 1632 by Isaac de Razilly, there was another spurt of intermarriage as there were initially few French women. Thus, when the settlement was relocated to Port Royal in 1636, some men who had married Mi'kmaq women, remained behind.⁸³

Unlike the Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy social distances did not exist between eastern coast villages and neighbouring Mi'kmaq communities. Population was too small and kinship ties too strong. For example, in 1708, Marie Meuse, the Mi'kmaq daughter of Philippe Meuse married Jean-Baptiste Guedry, the son of parents of European descent who had settled at Mirligueche. Even though Marie lived with her husband separately

⁸³. Saint-Père, *Une Colonie féodale*, 1:153.

from the neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages, because her parents as well as her brothers and sisters lived nearby, she along with her children likely spent many days with their relatives. Thus, there was a constant movement back and forth between villages, since people visited relatives and friends, went fishing and hunting and entertained each other with stories and songs. In late April, 1736, for example, Joseph Vigé, who had been born at Pubnico in 1701⁸⁴ was fishing for eels at Eel Brook (Ouikamakagan), a Mi'kmaq village.⁸⁵ French was the language of communication but as people were growing up in racially mixed communities, as adults they often spoke Mi'kmaq with as much facility as they did French.⁸⁶

Not all individuals of European descent born into these communities married Mi'kmaq partners. Most of Philippe D'Entremont's children married into Acadian families. The two eldest sons married daughters of Charles de La Tour and settled at Pubnico while the two daughters married Acadians. This was also true of children born to Charles de La Tour and Jeanne Motin. The evidence would suggest that as the communities expanded, intermarriage occurred principally among children of European descent, both from other eastern coast settlements and with Acadians from the Bay of Fundy.

⁸⁴. 1708 Census.

⁸⁵. CO 217 7:182, "The Examination of Charles D'Entremont," 11 May 1736.

⁸⁶. This is suggested by information contained in the 1708 census as well as the testimony found in The Trial of Five Persons for Felony, Robbery and Piracy (Boston 1726).

5. New England Fishermen

There is little information regarding vessels fishing off the coasts of *Mi'kma'ki* during the seventeenth century. It is not possible to quantify the number of vessels or to gage the approximate proportions of those engaged in the wet and dry fisheries. References to the fishery are found principally in the notarial records of La Rochelle and the scattered remarks made by French colonial officials at Port Royal.⁸⁷ More substantive observations were made by Nicolas Denys who, throughout the seventeenth century, was involved in both the fish and fur trade.

During the seventeenth century, French and Basque vessels dried their catch along the eastern coast. Denys notes that cod was dried at Canceau, Passapec (Prospect), and Port Mouton though other areas were likely used as well. Fish were also dried upon the Tuskett Islands. During the winter, seals were killed at both the Tuskett and Seal Islands.⁸⁸ Notarial records from La Rochelle in southern France show that most vessels arriving in *Mi'kma'ki* during the early seventeenth century with goods for the French settlements spent several months fishing before returning home.

There is little information regarding relations with the local *Mi'kmaq*

⁸⁷. Notarial records are in AD, Charente-Maritime, Amirauté de La Rochelle.

⁸⁸. Denys, Description and Natural History, pp. 130, 141, 151, 342. Passapec is located along the coast northeast of Saint Margaret's Bay.

populations. In the early seventeenth century, some Mi'kmaq people told Father Biard that they had "killed Basqucs and Malouins, and that they do a great deal of harm to the ships, and that no one has ever resented it."⁸⁹ These incidents appear to have decreased with the arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries during the 1630s who not only regularized contacts with the Mi'kmaq but also provided their spiritual assistance to ensure an abundance of fish.

a) Description of the Fishery

With the expansion of the New England fishery during the late seventeenth century,⁹⁰ records regarding the fishery become more extensive, though not until after the establishment of an English garrison at Canceau in 1720, were statistics collected regarding the identity and number of vessels. Between the 1670s and the 1740s, vessels fished in both inshore and offshore areas. The largest fishing areas, the Cap Sable, La Hève, Cape Sambrough and Sable Island banks, were located 18 to 30 leagues offshore⁹¹ though fish were also caught closer to the coastline. Cod was plentiful along the eastern coast where

⁸⁹. JR, 1:173, Biard to Christophe Baltazar, 10 June 1611.

⁹⁰. Daniel Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts: A Case Study of the Essex County Cod Fishery and the Whaling Industry of Nantucket, 1630-1775," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981, pp. 195-96.

⁹¹. David Flemming, The Canso Islands: An 18th Century Fishing Station (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report # 308 1977), p. 26.

bass, herring, mackerel and salmon could also be caught.⁹² Cod found within sight of land was smaller than that caught on the banks, and consequently much better suited for drying than the larger fish.⁹³

During the seventeenth century, New England vessels were principally concentrated within the southern regions of *Kmitkinag*. From at least the 1660s fish were dried at Port Rossignol (Liverpool) and later at La Hève, Chebouctou and likely other places as well.⁹⁴ For the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, it is unclear whether all vessels remained in *Mi'kma'ki* throughout the fishing season and dried their catch there. Likely, the close proximity between the Cape Sable Banks and Massachusetts made it possible to transport fish directly to the ports of Salem and Gloucester.⁹⁵ In 1699, de Villebon wrote of meeting a New England fisherman near Cap Sable who was making his second trip to *Kmitkinag*.⁹⁶

During the 1670s, little effort was made by French colonial officials to discourage New England fishermen from fishing or drying their catch in

⁹². Cyprian Southack, New England Coasting Pilot (1720-1734), NAC, NMC 107535.

⁹³. "Mémoire sur la pêche aux côtes de l'Acadie et la manière de la faire," 27 oct. 1699, in Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, edited by Harold Innis (Toronto 1929), p. 52.

⁹⁴. AC, C11D 2:55-56, Jacques DeMeulles, 1686.

⁹⁵. Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts," 1981, p. 196.

⁹⁶. "Mémoire sur la pêche aux côtes de l'Acadie et la manière de la faire," 27 oct. 1699, in Select Documents, pp. 52-53.

Kmitkinag.⁹⁷ With the formation of the *Compagnie des pêches sédentaire* in the 1680s, however, New England fishermen were perceived as a threat to French interests and their vessels were seized.⁹⁸

With the conquest of Port Royal in 1710, the region's political configuration changed. New England's population had grown to more than 115,000 people, with Massachusetts alone having almost half of the total.⁹⁹ A strong merchant class had also emerged, their vessels transporting fish and other products to European markets. The capture of Port Royal had largely been financed by Massachusetts whose merchants had suffered financial losses from the interruption of trading routes and fishing voyages by the war. Over the following years, as conflict continued to plague the region, the Massachusetts

⁹⁷. During the 1660s, Temple had tried to collect fifty livres from each New England vessel fishing along the coast, evidently with some success. During the 1670s, French officials attempted to do the same, though with what success is not known. Letter of Henri Brunet, 5 Feb. 1675, in "Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," New England Quarterly, 13 (1940), p. 109.

⁹⁸. For an explanation of the evolution of policy towards the New England fishery, see "Bruce T. McCully, "The New England-Acadia Dispute and the Nicholson Mission of August, 1687," Essex Institute Historical Collections, 96 (1960), pp. 277-286; as well as Arthur H. Buffinton, "John Nelson's Voyage to Quebec in 1682: A Chapter in the Fisheries Controversy," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 26 (Boston, 1927), pp. 427-437.

⁹⁹. The population of New England included 112,500 whites and 2,600 blacks. John McCusker and Russell Menard, The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill 1985), p. 103. The approximate population of Massachusetts was 62,000. Douglas Lamar Jones, Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts (Hanover, Mass. 1981), p. 23.

government attempted to exert its economic and military presence in *Kmitkinag*,¹⁰⁰ while in 1714, France established a garrison at Louisbourg. After 1710, conflict continued in the region between New England and New France. In 1718, a New England force under the command of Captain Thomas Smart raided the French fishery at Canceau, and two years later a garrison was established there to protect New England fishermen.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, the New England fishery was focused principally in this region, as the protected harbour and favourable position relative to the fishing banks, provided an opportune site for fishermen to dry their catch.

Table 4.5 shows the number of vessels, tonnage and men engaged in the fishery at Canceau from New England ports in 1723, 1724 and 1726, the only years for which such precise information is available. Table 4.6, on the other hand, lists only the number of English and colonial vessels at Canceau during the fishing season between 1729 and 1742. Included in these figures are sack ships from New England and England. Sack ships are vessels which transported the fish to market.

Table 4.5 indicates the variety of ports throughout New England engaged in the fishery. Information has been taken from port entrances registered by

¹⁰⁰. See George Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts: A Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotia Relations, 1630-1784 (Montréal 1973), pp. 114-118.

¹⁰¹. On the background to these events and Smart's attack, see Donald F. Chard, "Canso, 1710-1721: Focal Point of New England-Cape Breton Rivalry," Collections of the Nova Scotia History Society, 39 (1977), pp. 49-77.

TABLE 4.5
VESSELS ENTERING CANCEAU ARRANGED
ACCORDING TO LAST PORT OF CALL
1723, 1724 and 1726

"From Whence Came"	1723*			1724+			1726		
	Ves.	Tons	Men	Ves.	Tons	Men	Ves.	Tons	Men
Massachusetts									
Beverly	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	26	4
Boston	2	95	15	16	-	(80)	54	1449	276
Cape Ann	6	138	29	19	-	(91)	2	50	9
Gloucester	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20	4
Ipswich	1	20	6	14	-	(67)	-	-	-
Lynn	-	-	-	1	-	(8)	-	-	-
Marblehead	2	80	11	17	-	(84)	4	95	13
Martha's Viny	1	15	6	5	-	(24)	1	30	4
Nantucket	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25	6
Piscataqua	3	90	16	14	-	(62)	-	-	-
Plymouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	95	13
Salem	4	70	20	12	-	(58)	29	784	157
Other New England									
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	6
Eastham	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	30	6
Newcastle	1	25	7	-	-	-	1	15	4
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	204	32
New London	1	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newport	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	80	13
Portsmouth	-	-	-	2	-	(16)	8	396	58
Nova Scotia									
Canso	1	25	5	-	-	-	1	25	4
Port Royal	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	40	9
Europe									
Cork	-	-	-	1	-	(10)	1	35	10
Essex	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	115	26
London	1	90	11	5	-	(42)	3	310	27
Topsham	-	-	-	2	-	(15)	-	-	-
Unknown	1	25	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	24	683	141	108	-	(557)	145	3732	681

LEGEND: Ves.= Vessels; * = Entries are only recorded up until April 16, 1723; + = Entries for 1724 do not indicate the number of men on board each vessel. However, the type of each vessel if given in the source. I have calculated the number of men in each vessel by using averages obtained in an analysis of the 1726 entries; that is 4.8 men per "schooner" and "sloops"; 6 to 8 men on board "brigatines" and 8 to 12 men on board "ships". Ships coming from Europe had between 9 and 12 men. As can be seen, there was a wide disparity between the number of men on board brigatines and ships. I have used the lower figure in calculating the number of men. In both 1723 and 1726, vessels, tonnage and men are given in the source.
SOURCE: CO 217, 4:293, 299-300; CO 217, 5:6.

TABLE 4.6
FISHING VESSELS AND SACK SHIPS
AT CANCEAU 1729-1742

America Year	America Fishing Schooners	America Men	Sack Ships	England Men	Sack Ships	Men
1729	223	1118	-	-	12	92
1730	130	650	5	40	13	121
1731			5	27	12	108
1732	80	450	8	41	12	106
1733	115	690	6	50	14	130
1734	-	-	-	-	-	-
1735	58	-	-	-	-	-
1736	46		5	32	5	35
1737	65		4	25	9	85
1738	60	320	6	42	4	35
1739	50	243	2	14	7	62
1740	9	44	none		none	
1741	-	-	-	-	-	-
1742	25	119	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: CO 217, 6:17, 26-27, 160-162, 143; 6:16, 155-156, 198-199, 128-130; 8:25-27, 38, 55-57, 101-103.

Hibbert Newton, the customs collector for the British Crown at Canceau. What is significant are the numbers of men and vessels within the vicinity of Canceau from 1723 to 1736, ranging from a low of 450 to more than 1100 in 1729.

b) Relations with the Mi'kmaq

As the New England fishery expanded northward, so too did contact between the fishermen and Mi'kmaq people inhabiting the eastern coast. As they moved along the shoreline, fishermen encountered Mi'kmaq villagers, and obtained fresh meat and wild berries. Fishermen also stopped at métis settlements to trade for water, rum and other provisions.¹⁰² Some contacts were accidental, resulting from the periodic storms which lashed the North Atlantic, forcing fishermen to seek safety or to repair their schooners. Other vessels were shipwrecked.¹⁰³ Heavy seas were an omnipresent part of a fishermen's life, making finding a safe harbour to cast anchor all the more

¹⁰². The purchase of rum from the métis settlements is suggested by The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery (Boston 1726). On Mi'kmaq trade in meat and berries see, AC, C11A 35:13, MM. de Ramezay et Bégon au ministre, 13 oct. 1715; "The Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748," in Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys, edited by Isabel M. Calder (New York, 1935), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰³. MSA, Suffolk County Court Files, File 3407, #10, "Certificate of William Palfrey, 18 Jan. 1697 and # 12, "Certificate of John Poules, 18 Jan. 1696; MSA 2:596, Addington to Villebon, 2 June 1702; Boston Newsletter, 23 Sept. 1706 and 21 July 1712.

necessary. This is illustrated in the death registers for the fishing port of Gloucester which records the loss of 33 men drowned at sea off the coast of *Kmitkinag* between 1716 and 1738, seventeen dying in October 1716 when four vessels were "lost at sea on their return voyage from Cap Sable."¹⁰⁴

Fishermen usually appear in the early records of the region because vessels in which they worked had been involved in conflicts with eastern coast settlements. Merchant proprietors of such vessels lodged complaints, made depositions, and signed petitions to the Massachusetts government asking for the protection of their fleets.¹⁰⁵ In all cases, the Mi'kmaq are portrayed as the aggressors who had attacked fishing vessels at the instigation of French colonial officials wishing to halt the New England fishery. Rarely are there any suggestions that the Mi'kmaq acted independent of French interests.

How are we to explain these incidents? For eastern coast Mi'kmaq, the

¹⁰⁴. Vital Records of Gloucester, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849, vol. 3, Deaths (Salem 1924). These records, however, may not provide the full scope of individuals lost at sea due to the uneven character in which the cause of death was recorded. This is illustrated by the fact that even though death records for Beverley, Ipswich, Marblehead and Salem were also examined, few other cases of fishermen drowning were found. On 2 Oct. 1718, the Boston Newsletter carried the following letter, written four days earlier from Piscataqua: "Arrived here in a Ship...John Ridge from Newfoundland who says it has been a very Temptuous Time there, that about Forty Fishermen have been Drowned."

¹⁰⁵. For example, MSA 63:166v-167, "A Memorial concerning the fishery of Massachusetts Bay," 1710; CO 5, 791:64v, 82-82v, General Council Minutes, Massachusetts, 13 April 1710 and 12 August 1710; MSA 63: 408-408, Petition to Lt.-Gov. William Dummer and Council, 18 July 1724. The latter is reprinted in The Essex Institute of Historical Collections, LXII (1926), p. 118.

expansion of the New England fisheries into the southern regions of *Kmitkinag* constituted a new development. Up until the seventeenth century, the European fishery had been principally concentrated adjacent to Unimaki and on the offshore banks to the east of Canceau. As the number of vessels fishing inshore expanded, Mi'kmaq concerns increased. The presence of foreign vessels resulted in reduced marine resources and disrupted Mi'kmaq religious ceremonies which ensured the migration of fish into surrounding river systems. One such ceremony was observed by the English inhabitants of Port Medway during the 1760s.

during the kyack season, the [women] danced and sang the whole night long around the fires that lighted their work of kyack dipping. One [woman] Angelique or Angelica, was particularly vocal and made the night hideous with her incantations to the Indian God who sent the fish to their nets. She would stand with her black hair streaming in the wind, her arms raised in the kyack ritual.¹⁰⁶

The seal fishery on the Tuskett islands was destroyed both by French and English fishermen sometime before 1670. As seals had constituted an important component of the winter diet of Cap Sable Mi'kmaq, this would have resulted in a major re-adjustment in seasonal patterns forcing people to seek alternative resources.¹⁰⁷ Eastern coast Mi'kmaq recognized the threat that fishermen

¹⁰⁶. E. Marguerite Letson, Port Medway: a Short History of Port Medway, Nova Scotia (1985), written and compiled in 1956, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 342.

posed to their survival. In 1720, at an annual meeting between the Mi'kmaq Grand Council and the Governor of Ile Royale, elders informed Saint-Ovide that they were displeased with the English who were "destroying all the Fish along our Coastlines," and warned the governor that they would do what was necessary in order to conserve their people and their lands.¹⁰⁸

The Mi'kmaq were upset with the establishment of permanent shore camps along the eastern coast, located adjacent to their villages at Canceau, the River Sainte- Marie, Chibouctou, La Hève and Port Rossignol. These shore camps, however, predated the arrival of New Englanders and had resulted in hostilities between fishermen and local Mi'kmaq villages. By the early eighteenth century, concerted attempts were made by eastern coast Mi'kmaq to deter fishermen from establishing such camps. This is illustrated in an attack upon the Canceau fishery in August of 1720 by Mi'kmaq and Abenaki peoples. A letter written by an Englishman present at the time of the raid recounted what the Natives had told the fishermen:

The Indians spoke very good French, and told the English they only came for the Merchandise and such things as would suit them on shoar(sic); for the Land was theirs, and they would not suffer any English to live upon it, as for the Vessels and Fish they would not meddle with either.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸. NAC, MG 18: F29, "Discours fait aux sauvages du Canada par M. Saint-Ovide Gouverneur de l'Île royale au sujet des mouvements du Gouverneur Anglois de l'Acadie avec les reponses que les sauvages y ont faites." [1720-1722]

¹⁰⁹. Boston Newsletter, 19 Sept. 1720.

Unlike Mi'kmaq relations with Acadians and eastern coast settlers, interactions with fishermen were sporadic and transitory. The composition of the crews changed over the years since owners sought younger and more productive men to staff their vessels.¹¹⁰ As well, schooners did not always fish in the same area as their movements were influenced by the location of the cod. Consequently, personal relationships between fishermen and neighbouring Mi'kmaq peoples were not established, leading to suspicion and sometimes hostility. This was exacerbated by different conceptions of property. In the early seventeenth century, a Basque fisherman had complained to Lescarbot that the Mi'kmaq regularly came onto his vessel, helping themselves to whatever fish they wanted, much in the same way that Hawaiian islanders took articles from English vessels commanded by James Cook in the late eighteenth century.¹¹¹ There, the reaction of the sailors was to stop what they considered to be theft of private property which was a criminal offense and could result in corporal punishment. Such actions, however, would only have bred suspicion among the Mi'kmaq and may have resulted in altercations with the fishermen.

Tensions were fuelled by the free flow of alcohol which often characterized meetings between fishermen and the Mi'kmaq. Research has suggested that

¹¹⁰. Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts," p. 227.

¹¹¹. Marc Lescarbot, History of New France, vol. II (Toronto 1910), pp. 362-63.

Massachusetts' fishing vessels carried on average enough alcohol to supply each man with six ounces of rum and a quart of cider daily.¹¹² Because fishermen had little to offer Mi'kmaq encountered in inshore waters, alcohol and tobacco became an important means through which friendly relations were established. During the late seventeenth century, Denys wrote that during the spring fishermen traded tobacco and brandy for the furs of the Mi'kmaq community living near Antigoniche.¹¹³ Similarly, after Jean-Baptiste Guedry, a racially mixed inhabitant of Mirligueche (Lunenburg), came on board a fishing vessel in August, 1726, he along with the master, Samuel Doty toasted the recently concluded peace between the Mi'kmaq and New England and then descended into the cabin to continue their drinking. Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders often complained to European authorities of the harmful effects that the trade in liquor had upon their people. In October 1715, the Mirligueche Mi'kmaq told Peter Capoon, a representative of the Massachusetts government, "that ye Fishermen should not make them drink for...strong liquors would make them kill their fathers."¹¹⁴ As this illustrates, alcohol exacerbated tensions and could lead to violent altercations. Once drinking had begun fishermen would have

¹¹². Daniel Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts," 1981, p. 242. This is based on a vessel of seven to eight men going out for four to eight weeks.

¹¹³. Denys, Description and Natural History, p. 172.

¹¹⁴. MSA 38A: 14, "A Journal of a Voyage to Cape Britton(sic) on ye King's Account by Mr. Peter Capoon...," 1715.

had difficulty in stopping the process without offending their Mi'kmaq guests. In Mi'kmaq society, eating was an important social occasion in which the hunter demonstrated goodwill by sharing his catch with others and urging them to eat their fill. However, for the fishermen, their store of alcohol was limited, meant to last the length of the voyage and a sharp reduction would have deprived them of the only luxury they enjoyed. In these circumstances, in which the men were not likely to be sober, the chances of misunderstanding and hostility were acute.

The eastern coast Mi'kmaq did not trust New Englanders and were quick to assume that incidents otherwise unexplained were attributable to their presence. During the summer of 1715 a number of schooners were fishing off the coast of Cap Sable and the master of one of the vessels asked some young Mi'kmaq men to go hunt some waterfowl for the fishermen. Later when the youths were found floating dead on the water, their relatives, considering that the fishermen were the only ones who could be responsible, seized the vessels, holding some of the men hostage and setting the others free after disfiguring their faces.¹¹⁵

Hostility towards the fishermen was exacerbated by the Massachusetts government's policy of not returning Mi'kmaq prisoners. During wars between New England and New France, prisoners taken by opposing forces were generally returned. This policy did not extend towards the Mi'kmaq, nor to

¹¹⁵. AC, C11A 35:12v-13, Bégon au ministre, 13 oct. 1715.

their Wabanaki allies. In July of 1713, after the conclusion of the peace between the Wabanaki and New England, Abbé Gaulin, missionary among the Mi'kmaq, informed the Massachusetts Council that unless prisoners from Cap Sable were returned, he could not guarantee the safety of English vessels fishing in the region.¹¹⁶ Similarly the August 1726 seizure of a fishing vessel by métis and Mi'kmaq inhabitants of Mirligueche was motivated by the failure of Massachusetts authorities to return prisoners taken three years earlier.¹¹⁷ These incidents suggest that individual actions taken by eastern coast Mi'kmaq against fishing vessels were not necessarily always defined by opposition to the presence of New England fishing vessels along their coastlines. Rather, more personal and immediate concerns influenced their actions.

In essence, there was a basic contradiction between the subsistence activities of the eastern coast Mi'kmaq and the presence of an expanding offshore fishery. As contact increased, so too, did the potential for conflict. The

¹¹⁶. MSA 51:269, Gaulin to Governor and Council of Massachusetts, 8 July 1713. A similar situation prevailed during the 1690s as a French official wrote to the Massachusetts Court that "the Indians near this place having understood that there were some of their people at Boston... to doe them the favour as to send them that remain with you alive....they are very much surprized that these people were carried away for they never had an intent to make warr [sic] with the English..." MSA 37:4, Chevalier de la Tourasse to Massachusetts Council, 16 Aug. [1691].

¹¹⁷. The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery (Boston 1726). On the incident that precipitated the hijacking, see MSA 38A:44, Joseph Marjory to Lt.-Gov. William Dummer, 15 Aug. 1723. An analysis of the incident is in Bill Wicken, "26 August 1726: A Case study in Mi'kmaq-New England Relations in the Early 18th century," Acadiensis, XXXIII (1993), pp. 5-22.

importance of the fisheries to New England's economy resulted in commissioning vessels to protect the fishermen, leading to a further escalation of violence which only ended with the signing of a peace treaty between New England and the Mi'kmaq in June of 1726.

* * * * *

Historians have generally assumed that the Mi'kmaq enjoyed a close relationship with the Acadian population while hostility characterized interactions with New England fishermen. These arguments are principally based upon the ethnic identity of the participants, as "French-speaking peoples" are assumed to be culturally similar to the Mi'kmaq while "English-speaking peoples" are thought to be culturally dissimilar and, therefore, incapable of understanding and relating to Native peoples. This chapter has argued that ethnic identity as a determining element in relationships between the Mi'kmaq and French- and English-speaking peoples was irrelevant. Far more important were the economic activities which brought the French and English to *Kmitkinag*, shaping the rhythms of their lives and their relationships with Mi'kmaq peoples. As the Acadian population grew, so too did tensions with the Mi'kmaq which became acute after the English conquest of Port Royal in 1710. This did not occur along the eastern coast where settlers of European descent followed similar subsistence patterns as their Mi'kmaq neighbours and

married into their communities. New England fishermen, on the other hand, constituted a disruptive element in much the same way that the activities of European fishermen had been the century before. The difference with the earlier period was that New England had both the political will and military capacity to confront Mi'kmaq attacks against their fishing vessels. For the Mi'kmaq, the result was disastrous, and for inhabitants of some villages, led to their migration into the interior or to other areas further removed from the eastern coastline.

CHAPTER 5
THE FUR TRADE IN ACADIA 1605-1760

This chapter continues the discussion begun in Chapter Three regarding the fur trade. Whereas the emphasis there was upon the material aspect of the trade, this chapter focuses upon social relations between Mi'kmaq hunters and European traders. The chapter is divided chronologically with each of the three sections describing the organization of the trade at specific time periods.

There are few sources regarding the fur trade in *Kmitkinag* between 1605 and 1760. Unlike Canada, where voyageurs and their men acted as intermediaries between Montréal-based merchants and Native peoples, the trade in *Kmitkinag* involved face-to-face contact between merchants and their Native customers. This means, that unlike Canada, there are no notarial records regarding the trade and there are only a few sources noting fur and skin exports. What the records do reveal, however, are the patterns of trade which indicate points of contact between Acadians and Mi'kmaq.

The organization of the fur trade can be divided chronologically into three separate phases which reflect the evolving economic character of European settlement in Acadia and political changes occasioned by imperial rivalry between New France and New England.

1. The Early Phase 1605-1654

a) Development of the trade

Prior to 1605, trade was conducted in a haphazard fashion first by fishermen and later by the crews of European vessels whose principal purpose was to trade with fishermen. Though this trade continued throughout the seventeenth century, beginning in 1605 there were concerted attempts by French noblemen to establish permanent fur trading posts. After 1605, trade with the Mi'kmaq was principally, though not exclusively, conducted through European noblemen who had been granted monopoly rights over the fur trade by the French monarch. They were Pierre du Gua de Monts, Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, Isaac de Razilly, Charles Saint-Etienne de La Tour and Charles Menou D'Aulnay.

While the first post established in 1605 at Port Royal was unsuccessful and Poutrincourt's venture five years later was shortcircuited by Argall's raid of 1613, the latter's son, Jean de Biencourt and Charles de La Tour remained in *Kmitkinag* after 1614 establishing posts at Port Royal, Cap Sable, and in 1631 on the Saint John River. With the arrival of Razilly's expedition in 1632 the political configuration changed as competition for the trade developed between Biencourt's successor, La Tour, and Razilly, and after the death of the latter in 1636, Charles Menou d'Aulnay. In *Kmitkinag*, Razilly established posts at La Hève and Canceau (Fort Saint-François). D'Aulnay destroyed La Tour's posts

at Cap Sable in 1641 and the Saint John River four years later, effectively ending La Tour's operations. After D'Aulnay's death in 1650, La Tour re-established his trading activities.¹

Posts were located in strategic locations and trade was conducted both there and in neighbouring areas. *Kmitkinag*, however, was a peninsula with a limited Native population whose needs were few. La Tour, Razilly and D'Aulnay had all recognized this and moved their operations westward to exploit the much larger Abenaki populations concentrated between the Saco and Saint John Rivers. In 1631, La Tour re-located the focus of his operations to the mouth of the Saint John River and in 1634 Razilly established a post at Pentageot on the Penobscot River. Native peoples in these areas grew corn and inhabited nucleated villages during the warm weather months. Consequently their demand for European merchandise was greater. Not only were they more sedentary than the Mi'kmaq, allowing a greater accumulation of goods, but they also consumed a greater quantity of products, including more foodstuffs.

In addition, a fishing and trading post was established at Fort Sainte-Anne along the northern shore of Unimaki. The island was not within Razilly's jurisdiction and trading rights there had been granted in 1633 to Pierre

¹. This is based on the following accounts: H.P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (Toronto 1901), Abbé Couillard Després, Charles Saint-Etienne de La Tour (1930), Martha MacDonald, Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia (Toronto 1983); Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France v. II, Le Comptoir 1604-1627 (Montréal 1966); v. III, La Seigneurie des Cent-Associés 1627-1663, tome I, Les événements (Montréal 1979).

Desportes, one of the directors of the Compagnie de Cent-Associés. Though Desportes' rights were sold in 1636 to Jean Tuffet, the post continued operation as did trade with the local Mi'kmaq population.

Traders purchased their trade goods in Europe. How often vessels arrived from France between 1615 and 1632 is unknown but the continued residence of both Biencourt and La Tour would suggest that supply ships arrived regularly. Both men formed a partnership with David Lomeron, a La Rochelle merchant, who arranged for the sending of merchandise and the selling of furs. The only surviving record of agreements between Lomeron and shipmasters who transported the goods, shows that after unloading their cargo and receiving the furs, crew members were to be employed in the fisheries before returning home later in the year.² More extensive records date from 1632 to 1650. Contracts signed at La Rochelle between outfitters and ship captains indicate the number of ships departing annually from that port for *Kmitkinag*. Information from these records is summarized in Table 5.1 and demonstrates that during these years there was a regular traffic between France and *Kmitkinag*. These records are incomplete since not all notarial records have survived and consequently, they do not provide a comprehensive overview of the traffic between La Rochelle and *Kmitkinag* during this period. Mi'kmaq

². One of the few notarial records from this period is discussed in R. Le Blant, "L'Avitaillement du Port Royal d'Acadie par Charles de Biencourt et les marchands Rochelais 1615-1618," Revue d'histoire des colonies (1957), pp. 138-154.

TABLE 5.1
VESSELS DEPARTING FOR
KMITKINAG FROM LA ROCHELLE, 1632-1650

	La Tour		d'Aulnay		Cape Breton	
	Ves.	Tons	Ves.	Tons	Ves.	Tons
1632	1	120				
1633	2	310				
1634	-	-	1	250		
1635	3	300a				
1636	1	60	-	-	1	90
1637	-	-	-	-	-	-
1638	-	-	-	-	1	140
1639	-	-	-	-	1	120
1640	2	320	-	-	2	270
1641	-	-	1	?	1	?
1642	1	?	2	270	1	?
1643	1	120	-	-	1	?
1644	-	-	1	240	1	70
1645	-	-	2	430		
1646	-	-	1	200		
1647	-	-	1	200		
1648	-	-	1	260		
1650	-	-	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: Compiled from M. Delafosse, "La Rochelle et le Canada au XVIIe siècle," *RHAF*, 4 (1950-51), pp. 485-492.

(a) Tonnage is provided for only two of the vessels.

trade was also conducted through offshore traders. These are the traders referred to in Chapter Three who sailed from Europe each year with goods to trade with fishermen and with the Mi'kmaq population. Unlike the grantees, such traders had not received a monopoly over the trade and constituted a constant source of concern for de Monts, Biencourt and their successors.

b) Relations with the Mi'kmaq

Credit was advanced to the Mi'kmaq during the autumn and redeemed the following spring after the conclusion of the winter hunt. As suggested by notarial depositions of two traders operating along the eastern coast of New Brunswick in 1642, prices to be paid by the Mi'kmaq were agreed upon when the merchandise was given. The Dutch trader, Derig Hensse testified in October of 1642 that he had advanced merchandise worth five hundred beaver furs and two hundred caribou hides to Mi'kmaq living in Unimaki.³

Trade was likely funnelled through village sakamows. Hensse said that he had traded with "an individual named bouas ...who said that he was King of the Island of Cape Breton and many other places."⁴ Thirty years later, Chrestien LeClerc wrote that Mi'kmaq living in the Gaspé gave their furs to

³. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia) (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), p. 446. AD, Charente-Maritime, Amirauté de La Rochelle, B.5656, "Deposition en presence de Gabriel Provost," 2 sept. 1645, NAC, MG 6, p. 129; and "Interrogation de Derig Hensse," 23 Oct. 1642, NAC, MG 6, p. 41.

⁴. "Interrogation de Hensse," 1642, p. 41.

the *sakamow* in return for which he gave them "whatever they needed."⁵ This would suggest that local leaders were principally responsible for the trade and, as they did in other situations regarding the village, distributed goods according to peoples' needs. Significantly, *sakamows* also redistributed goods obtained from plundering European vessels.⁶ After debts had been settled, trading during the warm weather months may have assumed a more diffused pattern as individuals dealt directly with European traders.

The Mi'kmaq distrusted European traders in large part because of the cultural distances which separated them. For Europeans, the purpose of trade was profit which was determined by the price and volume of trade minus the costs incurred. Profits diminished if credit advanced during the winter was not redeemed the following spring. As Richard White has argued, among Algonkian-speaking peoples in the Great Lakes region, the exchange of goods harmonized relationships among people. For Europeans, however, exchange was a means to accumulate wealth, which not only acted independently of social relationships but also created social and economic divisions.⁷

The array of goods which Isaac de Razilly brought with him to *Mi'kma'ki*, which included a bed, a dressing table, tapestries, carpets, as well as numerous

⁵. Chrestien LeClercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), p. 235.

⁶. C. B. Fergusson, ed., Minutes of His Majesty's Council, 1736-1749 (Halifax 1967), p. 17.

⁷. Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1650-1815 (Cambridge 1990), pp. 97-99.

suits, shirts, cloaks, table cloths and other finery,⁸ would have elicited suspicion in Mi'kmaq minds. As in other Algonkian societies, goods were not possessions but were freely given according to need, which enhanced the status of the giver. Razilly's possessiveness might have been interpreted by the Mi'kmaq as the mark of a cruel and vindictive leader whose words could not be trusted and whose greed would eventually be punished. These attitudes towards European traders are illustrated in the following comment made by a Mi'kmaq individual to Father Pierre Biard in 1611.

you are thieves and deceivers; you are covetous, and are neither generous nor kind; as for us, if we have a morsel of bread we share it with our neighbour.⁹

Mi'kmaq misgivings were reinforced by the perception that the French had broken off relationships with their families. In Mi'kmaq society, the family was the most important social unit whose relationship to each other, to the land and to their ancestors provided each individual with a sense of their identity. Like many Native societies, the Mi'kmaq could not understand why the French had left their families in France. As one chief of the Gaspé Mi'kmaq informed LeClercq, if France was such a paradise

⁸. Joan Dawson, "The Governor's Goods: The Inventories of the Personal Property of Isaac de Razilly," Nova Scotia Historical Review, 5 (1985), pp. 101-108.

⁹. Pierre Biard, 31 Jan. 1613, Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by Reuben Thwaites, vol. 1 (Cleveland 1896), p.173.

why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year, and venture thyself with such risk, in any season whatsoever, to the storms and the tempests of the sea in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world?...we scarcely take the trouble to go to France...lest we find little satisfaction there, seeing in our own experience that those who natives thereof leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our shores.¹⁰

Distrust, in addition to the words of rival traders who denigrated other Europeans to gain a greater share of the trade, precipitated violent encounters with European traders during the early seventeenth century. In 1623, a French pilot told Champlain that some Basque traders at Abegweit had "given a bad impression of us to the Indians ... and...if those Indians got us in their power, they would do us an ill turn."¹¹ Twelve years later, a number of Mi'kmaq men attacked Isaac de Razilly's trading post at Fort Saint-François (Canceau) following a conversation with a trader, Jehan Thomas, who informed them that Razilly sought to monopolize the fur trade and to keep the Mi'kmaq from trading with others.¹² In the resulting *melée*, two of Razilly's men were injured and the trading post sacked. Rivalry between La Tour and D'Aulnay and with

¹⁰. LeClercq, New Relation, pp. 104-105.

¹¹. H. P. Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 5 (Toronto 1922-1928), pp. 101-102.

¹². AD, Charente-Maritime, La Rochelle, série B, Cours et juridictions, déposition, B-5654, Déposition de Nicolas Le Creux, 31 juil. 1635, NAC, MG 6, transcripts, pp. 14-15. For a short explanation of the affair and a transcript of one of those interrogated, see Després, Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, pp. 214-216.

offshore traders made the establishment of permanent alliances between the Mi'kmaq and the French traders impossible. In 1638, for example, two of d'Aulnay's men were attacked by Natives on the Saint John River and their merchandise stolen. D'Aulnay accused La Tour of fomenting the incident.¹³ As these incidents illustrate, for the Mi'kmaq, France as an entity only existed as a group of people who were often at war with each other.

French rivalry over the fur trade was further complicated by New England traders. As early as 1625, Plymouth settlers had been trading with Abenaki peoples living along the Kennebec River and a trading post was established there in 1629. In 1630, another post was established at Pentagoet on the Penobscot river, but was surrendered to D'Aulnay in 1635 following an agreement signed between the English and French Crowns in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-laye in 1632. By the 1660s, the English population living along the Kennebec River was approximately 28 families, with many of them involved in the fur trade.¹⁴

Wars between traders, which often involved large expenditures, could not last both because of the declining value of beaver fur and the character of the region's Native population. During the 1630s and 1640s the fur trade continued

¹³. MacDonald, Fortune and La Tour, p. 77.

¹⁴. Leon E. Cramer, Cushnoc: The History and Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec (Augusta, Maine 1990), pp. 18-31; Emerson Baker, The Clarke and Lake Company: The Historical Archaeology of a Seventeenth-Century Maine Settlement (Augusta, Maine 1985), pp. 3-6.

to be a profitable venture which is suggested by the rivalry between La Tour and D'Aulnay and by their success in finding merchants to finance their endeavours. By the 1650s, however, the increasing importance of Massachusetts traders in the region, plus the declining value of fur on the European market between 1664 and 1675, made any large investments untenable.¹⁵ Henceforth, the trade in *Kmitkinag* would never again be characterized by the large scale operations of the early years of European settlement.

2. New England's Intervention, 1654-1710

a) Development of the Trade

After 1654, New England merchants became increasingly involved in the region's fur trade, and extended their operations further eastward from the Kennebec River. In 1654, Sir Thomas Temple attempted to assume control of the trade, maintaining posts at Port Royal, La Hève, Cap Sable, Pentagoet, and at Jemseg on the Saint John River.¹⁶ While Temple depended upon the

¹⁵. Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (Toronto 1975), pp. 63-64, first edition, 1930.

¹⁶. Mémoires des commissaires de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne et de ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique, vol. 1 (Amsterdam and Leipzig 1755), p. 21. On the location of Temple's post on the Saint John River, see William F. Ganong, Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick (St. Stephen, N.B. 1983), first edition 1899, p. 62. In 1654 a post had also been maintained at Port Rossignol but there is no mention of this in the list of habitations transmitted to the French by the Treaty of Breda signed in 1670. Public Record Office Calender of State Papers, vol. 2 (1669-1674), pp. 9-10.

expertise and co-operation of men who had worked for both la Tour and D'Aulnay, he also brought associates from England who were in charge of his interests while he remained in Boston, arranging the shipment of merchandise to *Kmitkinag* and selling the furs. These associates may have been Pierre and Charles Melançon, two brothers who remained in Acadia after 1670, changing their last names to ones more appropriate for inhabitants of a French settlement.¹⁷ Temple's ventures, however, did not go smoothly, in part because of New England merchants who took most of the profits from the trade. In 1670, his involvement with Acadia ended following the re-establishment of French political control in the region.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Breda in 1667 between the French and English Crowns, France formally re-occupied Acadia. In surrendering Acadia to Grandfontaine, the new Governor, Temple ceded to the French Crown trading posts at Pentagoet and Jemseg on the Saint John River as well as the settlement at Port Royal. Trade with New England continued, however, during the following decades, principally through Temple's nephew, John Nelson. Where his uncle had failed, Nelson thrived and during the 1670s and 1680s established a successful business, plying the waters between Massachusetts and Acadia. By 1686, he had established a storehouse at Port

¹⁷. MSA 51:351, Adams to Gov. Dudley, 22 Oct. 1720; Bona Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, vol. 2 (Québec 1978), pp. 686-87.

Royal, as had another unidentified New Englander.¹⁸

Beginning in the early 1680s, furs were also exported from Acadia through the Compagnie des Pêches Sedentaires, formed in 1682 by Clerbaud-Bergier of La Rochelle and Germain Gautier of Paris, who had been granted lands lying between Chedabouctou and Canceau in order to engage in the fishery. The grant also empowered them to carry on trade for furs and other products in the Saint John River.¹⁹ Their post at Chedabouctou was pillaged by English privateers in 1688 and destroyed in 1690 by New England forces following the attack upon Port Royal.²⁰ Operations were briefly revived after 1697 but by 1703 the company had disbanded. Between 1697 and 1699, Tiberge, a representative of the company, traded for furs along the Saint John River. Some furs were exported from Québec though levies were not imposed upon beaver furs and moose skins as was the case for similar exports from Canada.²¹

¹⁸. Richard Johnson, John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer: A Life Between Empires (New York 1991), pp. 16-29 and 64-69; on the location of the storehouses, see Jean Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, "Plan Très exact Du terrain où sont situées les maisons du Port royal et où l'on peut faire une ville considerable," reproduced in Joan Dawson, A Mapmaker's Eye: Nova Scotia in Early Maps (Halifax 1988), p. 107.

¹⁹. "Lettres Patentes en Faveur des Intereszez en la Pesche de l'Acadie," 1682, in Collection de manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires et autres documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France (hereafter CMNF) vol. 1 (Québec 1883), pp. 304-306.

²⁰. C. Bruce Fergusson, "Bergier," DCB I:89-91.

²¹. In 1683, the Intendant of New France, Jacques DeMeulles reported that four livres instead of three was paid for castor coming from Acadia. "Rapport de M. DeMeulles au ministre," 4 nov. 1683, CMNF, 1:299.

b) Relations with the Mi'kmaq

While the region between the Kennebec and Saint John Rivers is not the focus of this study, relationships established between European traders and Abenaki and Maliseet peoples, offer an important contrast with *Kmitkinag*. Within this region, a series of seigneurial grants along the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy were made during the 1670s and 1680s to Canadian officers who subsequently became involved in the fur trade. The fur trade in this region offered economic opportunities to young gentlemen, making possible the creation of an intermediary role between the Abenaki and New England merchants.²² Saint-Castin who lived near the remains of the abandoned trading post at Pentagoet was also involved in the trade as was Richard Denys, the son of Nicolas Denys, who had settled on the Miramichi River by at least 1688.²³

²². In 1692, the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac commented upon the large number of beaver and moose along the Saint John River. AC, Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D) 2:195v, "Mémoire et description de l'Acadie par de Cadillac," 1692.

²³. AC, C11D 1:8v, Sieur Beauregard, "Mémoires généraux: L'Acadie," [1686]; Ganong, *Historic Sites of New Brunswick*, 1899, p. 80. On Saint-Castin's trade with New England merchants, see AC, C11D 3:341-42, Villebon au ministre, 4 oct. 1698, [transcripts]. After the establishment of the capital of Acadia at Nashwaak (Fredericton) in 1691, the Governor Joseph Robinau de Villebon and soldiers assigned to the garrison, dabbled in the trade to supplement their income. During this period, some furs were transported to Québec as is suggested by the large number of furs from Acadia entering the coffers of the Compagnie du Canada in 1697. AC, C11A 16:178-181, M. Tiberge, "Copie d'un mémoire Envoyé à Monsieur le Marquis Chevre, concernant les intérêts la compagnie," 12 oct. 1698; and AC, C11A 16:239, "Récoltes de castor au [mois de] janvier 1697;" Mémoires généraux, Compagnie du Canada, 27 mai

In some cases, these men married Native or métis women. Saint-Castin married the daughter of an Abenaki chief; Richard Denys married a Mi'kmaq woman in 1680 while Martin d'Apprendesiguy married Jeanne, the daughter of Charles de La Tour and a Mi'kmaq woman.²⁴

Determining the organization of the trade in agricultural settlements along the Bay of Fundy region is difficult. Michel Le Neuf de la Valliere de Beaubassin and Mathieu Martin who both had been granted seigneuries at Chignecto and Cobequit respectively, are known to have traded with local Mi'kmaq villages inhabiting these regions.²⁵ Michel LeNeuf was married to a daughter of Nicolas Denys. He, as well as his wife and children, acted as godparents for Mi'kmaq baptized at Chignecto between 1681 and 1686. LeNeuf departed for Canada in 1687 and his son-in-law, Sebastien de Villieu assumed his place, trading with Natives as far away as the Kennebec River.²⁶ Jacob Bourgeois also traded with Mi'kmaq in the Chignecto region after establishing

1698.

²⁴. Bona Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, vol. 2 (Québec 1978), p. 503, vol. 4, pp. 1613, 1647.

²⁵. François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale en Amérique: L'Acadie (1604-1881), t. 1 (Paris 1889), pp. 170, 189-90. Le Neuf also known as the Sieur de Vallière married Marie, daughter of Nicolas Denys. Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie, 3:1012.

²⁶. Abbé Gaulin à M. Tremblay, 24 oct. 1701, in H.R. Casgrain, Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des missions-étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762) (Québec 1897), p. 238-39.

a settlement there in 1672, independent of LeNeuf.²⁷ As John Nelson maintained a store at Port Royal, Mi'kmaq living there and in areas farther removed likely traded directly with him and his Acadian associates there, who may have included the Melançons.

Along the eastern coast, the situation was more diffused. The fur trade had been centred in this region during the early seventeenth century and Europeans had established trading posts adjacent to Mi'kmaq villages at La Hève and Pubnico. These settlements persisted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, likely populated by the descendants of men who had been employed by La Tour and D'Aulnay and who had intermarried with the Mi'kmaq. A métis community was established at La Hève²⁸ and possibly at Cap Sable, though there, the post had been destroyed in 1641 and only re-inhabited by D'Entremont in 1653.²⁹ During the late seventeenth century, French officials noted that people living along the coast traded with the Mi'kmaq and in turn traded furs to vessels arriving annually from New England.³⁰ One historian of the region has argued that during the eighteenth century, inhabitants of Pubnico and Ministiguesh would spend the spring,

²⁷. Clément Cormier, "Jacques Bourgeois," DCB II:94; Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale, 1:167-68.

²⁸. Saint-Père, Une Colonie féodale, 1:92.

²⁹. Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, 4:1593.

³⁰. AC, C11D 1:181, "Mémoire sur l'état present de la côte de l'Acadie," [1684]; AC, C11D 2:56v, Jacques DeMeulles, "Description de la Hève," 1686.

summer and fall along the coastline at Barrington Bay, fishing and drying their catch, which along with furs obtained from the Mi'kmaq, was exchanged for provisions supplied by New England vessels.³¹ During the 1690s Charles de La Tour, a son of the elder La Tour who lived in the region, became more directly involved in the trade transporting furs and other products to Boston. Some Mi'kmaq also traded directly with New England vessels frequenting the coasts of *Kmitkinag* and trading with fishermen engaged in the dry fishery along the coastline.³²

Trade was disrupted by the French-English wars of 1689-97 and 1702-1713, eventually bringing it to a standstill and severing business relationships between Acadian and New England merchants. In September of 1691, John Nelson was captured by a French frigate in the Saint John River and spent the following seven years imprisoned in the Bastille. Acadian traders, such as Abraham Boudrot, the son-in-law of Charles Melançon, and Charles de La Tour, - the son of the elder La Tour - became more directly involved in the trade, purchasing boats in New England, buying goods directly from New England merchants, and transporting them back to Acadia for trade.³³

³¹. H. Leander d'Entremont, The Baronnie de Pomcoup and the Acadians (Yarmouth 1931), p. 36.

³². AC, C11D 2:56, DeMeulles, "Description de la Hève,"; 2:55, "Mémoire sur le Port Rossignol; 2:57, "Mémoire sur la Baye Chibouctou," 1686.

³³. MSA 62:130, "Obligation of Philip English," [1695], and p. 582, "Petition of Peter Lanoue to Gov. Stoughton," [1 Dec. 1696]; MSA, Suffolk Court Files, File 3407, doc. 9, "Clearance of Charles de La Tour's Vessel," 19 Sept. 1695; MSA 37:94-94v. "The Information of Ezekiah Collins of Gloucester at Cape

However, in August 1695, following raids against English settlements in northern Massachusetts, all trade with Acadia was prohibited except through special license.³⁴ Later that same year, La Tour's vessel and all its merchandise was confiscated by authorities and La Tour fined 300 pounds.³⁵ Despite this, Acadian merchants such as Boudrot expressed their hope of continuing the trade.³⁶ Restrictions continued during the early eighteenth century. Trade likely continued but as suggested by the attempted lynching of Samuel Vetch, who during the spring of 1706 had traded with eastern coast Mi'kmaq, those New England merchants who did so, risked fuelling the enmity of a population which could not countenance trading with an Indian enemy who raided their northern settlements.³⁷ Trade with France was also limited. Trade between Canada and France plummeted and this, in conjunction with war during the early eighteenth century, resulted in fewer ships departing for Canada from France.³⁸ While a similar situation likely prevailed in Acadia, contact was

Ann," 24 July, 1691; MSA 2:587, Charles Melançon to Gov. Stoughton, 5 Feb. 1696.

³⁴. Acts and Resolves Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 14 Aug. 1695, vol. 1 (Boston 1869), p. 220.

³⁵. MSA, Suffolk Court Files, File 3407, doc. 9, 11, 14, and 17, 1695-96.

³⁶. MSA, 2:587, "Charles Melançon to Gov. Stoughton," 5 Feb. 1696.

³⁷. PRO, Colonial Office Series (CO) 5 864:76-83, Petition of Samuel Vetch, 1706.

³⁸. James Pritchard points out that between 1702 and 1713 only one to three ships departed on average from La Rochelle to Canada. From Bordeaux, the traffic ground to a virtual standstill as no ships departed in 1706-1708 and

maintained through French warships, who prowled the waters between Newfoundland and the French Antilles, as well as through French fishing vessels arriving annually from Europe.

The period between 1654 and 1710 witnessed the establishment of more durable relationships between traders and the Mi'kmaq. Acadian traders and French gentlemen were the principal individuals involved in the fur trade. Along the north shore of the Bay of Fundy between the Saint John and Penobscot rivers, relationships with the Maliseet and Abenaki were more transitory due to both New England's expansion northwards and the lack of a resident agricultural community. In contrast, the expansion of Acadian communities from Port Royal to Chignecto and racially mixed villages along the eastern shore led to the creation of relationships between succeeding generations of individual trading families and neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages. These relationships, founded upon a pattern of trade established during the earlier seventeenth century survived despite the changing economic and political conjuncture. Consequently, very little trade occurred directly between New Englanders and the Mi'kmaq except during periods of war when normal trading routes had been disrupted. These patterns were continued during the eighteenth century.

again in 1711 while only one ship sailed in 1703, 1704, 1710 and 1712. James S. Pritchard, "The Pattern of French colonial shipping to Canada before 1760," *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, LXIII (1976), p. 194.

3. The Later Period, 1710-1760

After the conquest of Port Royal in 1710, trade between Acadian traders and New England continued. All direct trading links with France were severed but soon after the establishment of Louisbourg in 1714, trade between Nova Scotia and Ile Royale developed. There are no figures to determine what proportion of the trade went to either New England or to Louisbourg. In 1748, an anonymous French correspondent wrote that most beaver furs were exported to Boston because prices were higher there. As this statement suggests, *Kmitkinag's* location betwixt Ile Royale and New England afforded Acadian traders the opportunity to trade their goods to whomever offered the better price. Consequently, it is not possible to make any statements regarding the ultimate destination of the furs and skins traded to Acadians by Mi'kmaq hunters.

Between 1716 and 1722, an annual average of ten to twelve vessels cleared Boston harbour bound for Port Royal.³⁹ The individual tonnage of each vessel varied, ranging from ten to forty tons. Complete records which list tonnage exist only for the years 1714 through 1717. In both 1716 and 1717, twelve vessels sailed for Port Royal, collectively weighing 265 and 275 tons respectively, suggesting that similar tonnage characterized sloops sailing in

³⁹. This is based upon information contained in The Boston Newsletter, 1716-1722.

later years. Between 1714 and 1719 - the only years for which data regarding clearances from the port of Boston to Nova Scotia is available until 1752 - principal commodities shipped to Port Royal included tobacco, rum, wine, sugar, molasses, pork, corn and salt, some of which was intended not for trade but as supplies for the English garrison. Every vessel also carried various articles which were described simply as "European goods." There are no records concerning the quantity and value of goods. Of the fifteen vessels sailing for Boston from Port Royal between the 13 of August 1718 and 8 July 1719, only two did not return without furs or skins.⁴⁰ Information from these entries is summarized in Table 5.2. The quantity of each item carried by vessels is not provided in the records.⁴¹

Vessels first docked at Port Royal. From there they proceeded to other locations. Most masters steered up the Bay towards Minas, Piziquit, Cobequit and Chignecto, where the bulk of the Acadian population lived, and only occasionally along the eastern coast.⁴²

⁴⁰. These are the only records regarding vessels clearing customs in the port of Boston. Records are not available for other New England ports, such as Salem.

⁴¹. These comments are based upon entries and clearances recorded by the Boston Newsletter, 1711-1722 as well as clearances and tonnages recorded in Abstracts of English Shipping Records Relating to Massachusetts Ports From Original Records in the Public Record Office. (Salem 1931). The originals can be found in PRO, CO 5: 848-51. They record only clearances from the port of Boston, from 1714-1719 and for Boston, Marblehead and Salem for 1752-1765.

⁴². After first docking at Port Royal in September of 1726, and loading on some cargo, John Bissel proceeded to Pubnico but after six weeks had still not left for Boston. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Belknap Papers, 61A

TABLE 5.2
 CARGO OF VESSELS RETURNING TO
 PORT OF BOSTON FROM PORT ROYAL
 1718-1719

Cargo	Number of Vessels Carrying Cargo
Beaver	6
Feathers	13
Furs	8
Peltry	5
Beef	1
Grain	2
Peas	2
Fish	11
Oil	4
Sea-Coal	4
Oars	1
Number of Vessels 15	
Total Tonnage 520*	

* = One vessel was 120 tons, carrying only a cargo of sea coal which had likely come from Chignecto.

SOURCE: Abstracts of English Shipping Records Relating to Massachusetts Ports (Salem 1931).

Trading was a long process with several days spent in each location. In 1720, for example, John Alden cleared outwards from Boston on 21 July and on 22 August was trading with inhabitants at Minas where he remained until attacked by Mi'kmaq from there five days later.⁴³ George Lapham sailed from Boston on 22 March, 1722 and in mid-June was along the north shore of the Bay of Fundy visiting Acadian communities at Cobequit, Minas and finally Chignecto, where he had spent eight days.⁴⁴ There are few records which would help us to determine how or with whom trade was conducted. While exchanges occurred with individual Acadian families, the bulk of trade likely took place with Acadian merchants.

During the 1720s, the contours of this trade changed as Acadians began exporting their agricultural surpluses to Ile Royale which, by 1742, had a population of approximately 5600 people, most of them fishermen and garrison soldiers.⁴⁵ Livestock was driven across the Chignecto Isthmus and, with other cargo, loaded onto sloops sailing to Louisbourg via the Fronsac Passage while other vessels coming from Port Royal and the Eastern coast, sailed along the

⁴³. Boston Newsletter, 21 July 1720; CO 217 4:151, "Memorial of John Alden," 14 Sept. 1720.

⁴⁴. CO 217 4:119, "Journal of George Lapham," 26 June 1722; CO 217 4:116-118, "Journal of Hibbert Newton," 16 June 1722.

⁴⁵. AC, G1 466: doc. 77, Recensement de l'île Royale, 1742.

coastline.⁴⁶ Records of these transactions exist only for 1737 and for 1739 to 1743.⁴⁷ In 1737, 1739 and 1740, the value of the total imports ranged from about 23,000 to 27,000 livres or about 1.5 per cent of the total imports entering Louisbourg. This climbed to almost 57,000 livres (4.5%) the following year.⁴⁸

Port entrances for Louisbourg only exist for 1740 and for 1742-43. These entrance records list the captain or master of the vessel, the vessel's name, its cargo and tonnage. In addition, the records give the vessel's homeport and the number of days that the trip to Louisbourg had taken.

In 1740, fifteen boats captained by an Acadian entered Louisbourg harbour. In 1742 there were 17 and in 1743, 18. Total tonnage increased accordingly, with 179 tons in 1740, 230 in 1742 and 257 the following year. Table 5.3 gives a breakdown of tonnage relative to size for all vessels entering Louisbourg in 1740 and 1742. In each year, some vessels weighed less than ten tons. These boats belonged to fishermen transporting their catch to market.⁴⁹ Thus, they

⁴⁶. In the period after 1714, English colonial officials at Port Royal complained of the trade. See Archibald MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739, (Halifax 1908), pp. 161, 173, and A. MacMechan, ed., A Calender of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741, edited by A. MacMechan (Halifax 1900), p. 67.

⁴⁷. AD, La Rochelle, B 272, Amirauté de Louisbourg, 1742-43; AC, F2B 11 "Etat des batiments venus de l'Acadie..." 1740.

⁴⁸. Christopher Moore, "The Other Louisbourg: Trade and Merchant Enterprise in Ile Royale 1713-1758," Histoire Sociale/Social History, 12 (1979), Table 3, p. 183.

⁴⁹. For example, François Doucette who entered harbour on 6 July 1742 in a vessel weighing three tons had a cargo of 60 quintals of dried fish.

are not considered here as traders. Vessels weighing more than ten tons carried a larger cargo and a greater variety of goods which included livestock, grains, wood products and furs.⁵⁰

Table 5.4 lists the captain or master of each vessel entering Louisbourg from Nova Scotia for trade. In 12 out of 18 cases, individuals can be identified with specific regions. This identification has been made through reference to the records which specify the vessel's home port as well as the genealogies compiled by Bona Arsenault.

At least five of these individuals were descendants of traders or had married into trading families. Alexandre LeBorgne was a descendent of Emmanuel Le Borgne, the La Rochelle merchant who had financed D'Aulnay's enterprises during the seventeenth century. His grandfather had held a seigneury at Port Royal while his father had married the daughter of Saint-Castin and Marie-Mathilde Pidicwanmiskwe, an Abenaki woman. Jacques d'Entremont de Pobomcoup's grandfathers included the elder Charles de La Tour and Philippe d'Entremont, while his uncle, Charles de La Tour (Jr.) had traded with New England merchants during the 1690s. Zacharie Richard's

⁵⁰. Ten tons was also the minimum weight of vessels plying the trade between Boston and Nova Scotia between 1713 and 1719.

Table 5.3
Acadian Boats Entering Louisbourg
Divided Relative to Tonnage
1740, 1742-43

Tonnage	Number of Vessels		
	1740	1742	1743
3	-	5	7
5	2	2	1
10-12	6	4	4
15	-	2	2
19-20	4	2	1
25	-	1	-
30	3	1	2
50	-	-	1
Totals	15	17	18

SOURCE: AD, La Rochelle, B, 272, Amirauté de Louisbourg, 1742-43; AC, F2B, 11, "Etat des batiments venus de l'Acadie..." 1740.

Table 5.4
Names of Captain or Master and Tonnage of
Their Vessels Entering Louisbourg 1740, 1742 and 1743

Name of Captain [C] or Master [M]	Tonnage of Vessels		
	1740	1742	1743
Chignecto			
François Arseneau (C)	-	16	16
Pierre Arseneau (C)	-	15	-
Jacques Vigneaux (M)	40 (2)	30	-
Minas			
Jean Le Blanc (C)	12	20	-
Joseph Le Blanc (C)	-	48 (2)	12
Pierre Le Blanc (C)	-	-	50
René Le Blanc (C)	19	-	-
Alexandre Le Borgne (C)	10	-	-
Port Royal			
Nicolas Gautier (C)	11	5	60 (2)
Zacharie Richard (M)	12	-	12
Cap Sable			
Jean Moulaison (C)	-	10	10
Jacques Pobomcoup (C)	10	25	5
Unidentified			
[Aman Bigeau] (C)	10	-	-
Honoré Bourgeois (M)	-	12	-
Guillaume Cugnet (M)	-	20	20
Charles Dugas (C)	90 (3)	-	-
Paul Laurin (M)	-	-	12
Mangeant (C)	20	-	-
Jean [Povin] (M)	-	-	15
Prudent [Robicheau] (C)	12	-	-

SOURCE: As in Table 5.3

(2) and (3) refers to the number of trips made that year. In this case the total tonnage is given.

father, the Sieur de Lafond, had been involved in trade with Cape Breton since at least 1727⁵¹ and his grandfather was Germain Bourgeois, who had been a prominent merchant in the Port Royal region during the early eighteenth century.⁵² The relationships of the Le Blancs listed in Table 5.5 is more difficult to determine though they all appear to have lived at Grand Pré.⁵³ Jean Le Blanc married the daughter of Guillaume Bourgeois, son of Germain, and Marie-Anne de Martignon d'Apprendisteguy, whose father had traded with Indians along the mouth of the Saint John River after 1672. In the Chignecto region, Pierre Arseneau had married a sister of Abraham Boudrot, the Acadian son-in-law of Charles Melançon, who had traded with New England during the early 1690s.⁵⁴ Jacques Vigneaux was connected to the Arsenaults through his wife whose uncle was Pierre Arsenault.

A closer examination of cargo carried by the 12 individuals who can be

⁵¹. Archibald MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 (Halifax 1908), p. 161.

⁵². Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie, 2:457.

⁵³. In the attack against Port Royal in 1711 by a combined force of Abenaki and Mi'kmaq, René and Jacques Le Blanc, father and son, furnished Sieur de Saint-Castin, who was part of the expedition, with a boat, weighing twenty tons which was subsequently lost but was valued at 300 livres. AC, C11A 44:310. In 1744, Joseph Le Blanc provided the combined Native and French force attacking Port Royal with 25 bushels of grain and two bushels of peas, 13 bushels of corn and two beef cattle. He also loaned them the use of his sailing barge (la gabarre). AC, C11D 8:110.

⁵⁴. Arseneau's father Pierre had helped Jacob Bourgeois establish a settlement at Chignecto in the early 1670's. Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie, 3:827-828.

identified with specific regions reveals distinctions among them. As Table 5.5 shows, almost all of the cargo shipped from Chignecto were made up of agricultural products. A more diversified group of goods was shipped from Minas and Port Royal. While agricultural products still constituted the bulk of the cargo, large numbers of furs and skins were also traded. Finally, from the Cap Sable region, furs and fish were the sole products arriving at Louisbourg.

At the same time, the records suggest some continuities in trading patterns between Acadians and Mi'kmaq during the eighteenth century. Trading roles assumed by descendants of fur traders would indicate that strong relationships had been established between individual Acadian families and surrounding Mi'kmaq villages. The small number of furs shipped to Louisbourg shown in Table 5.5 could mean that these relationships had become tenuous by the middle part of the eighteenth century. However, these figures only show a proportion of the total trade as most furs and skins were shipped to Boston. Viewed from this perspective, the table supports a different perspective, revealing the identity of Acadians who traded for the furs and skins of Mi'kmaq villagers living adjacent or near the Acadian settlements. In the outlying regions along the eastern coast, these relationships were cemented by intermarriage and had been maintained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though less information is available for areas west of

Chignecto, relationships appear to have been maintained there as well.⁵⁵ In the agricultural settlements of Port Royal and Minas, competition between traders led to a diffused pattern of export. Competition meant that trade was not always conducted with one individual. This, in conjunction with the lack of direct kinships ties, as in the case of Nicolas Gautier, or in the case of families whose kinships ties with the Mi'kmaq were increasingly subsumed through intermarriage with Acadians in succeeding generations, led to more distant relationships between traders and surrounding Mi'kmaq villages. In general, the figures do not indicate that any furs were exported from the Chignecto region. However, both in 1714 and again in 1731, there are references to Pierre Arceneau trading with the Mi'kmaq.⁵⁶ That Arceneau did not trade furs to Louisbourg may indicate that he had traded them to the English. In 1748, French colonial officials noted that traders along the eastern coast such as Jacques Moulaison traded caribou skins, as well as bear and lynx

⁵⁵. In 1734, the Executive Council at Port Royal complained of the trade conducted "by Munier an half Indian, And Chatteuneuf, Son-in-law to St. Castine of Penobscutt." Macmechan (ed.), Original Minutes of His Majesty's Executive, 27 Sept. 1734, pp. 306-307. Paul Meunier had married Claire de Saint-Castin, the daughter of Saint-Castin and Marie-Mathilde, the daughter of an Abenaki chief. The individual referred to as "Chatteneuf" may have been Louis d'Amours de Chaffours, the son of Louis d'Amours who had held a seigneurie at Jemseg along the Saint John River. He married another of Saint-Castin's daughters, Ursule. Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie, 4:1647.

⁵⁶. Robert Hale, "Journal of an Expedition to Nova Scotia, Jan.-July 1731 with additional notes Aug-Sept. 1732," (Boston), Entry for 27 June 1731; AC, C11A 35:121, 122v; Bégon au ministre, 25 oct. 1715.

TABLE 5.5
CARGO ENTERING LOUISBOURG FROM NOVA SCOTIA
1740, 1742 AND 1743

Homeport Captain	Chignecto		Minas		P. Royal		C. Sable	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1740								
Number of Trips	-	2	2	1	1	1	-	1
Bear	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Feathers (lb)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	90
Lynx	-	11	8	-	-	-	-	5
Martens	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-
Moose	-	-	18	72	55	-	-	60
1742								
Number of Trips	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Beaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bobcats	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Fox	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lynx	-	20	6	-	-	6	18	-
Martens	40	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Moose	-	-	2	-	-	6	33	66
Muskrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-
Rabbit	-	-	-	-	-	1000	700	800
Beef (quarters)	40	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Butter (linette)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Live Cattle	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hens	135	120	100	-	-	-	-	-
Oats (barrique)	-	10	60	-	-	-	-	-
Pigs	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Sheep	84	26	103	-	-	-	-	-
Grindstones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Material(?)	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
oars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peles de bois	1430	800	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fish (quintals)	-	-	-	-	-	60	70	80
Oil (barrel)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1743								
Number of Trips	1	-	1	-	1	2	1	1
Bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beaver (lb)	-	-	-	-	10	50	-	-
Bobcats	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Caribou	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feathers	-	-	-	-	-	600	-	-
Fox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lynx	-	-	68	-	4	-	6	-
Martens	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
Moose	-	-	6	-	4	50	22	60
Muskrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit	-	-	4000	-	-	3000	2000	-
Wolf	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-

TABLE 5.5
(con't)

Homeport Captain	Chignecto		Minas		P. Royal		C. Sable	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Odd Furs	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Beef (quarters)	-	-	1	-	-	10	-	-
Butter (linette)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Live Cattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hens	-	-	300	-	-	60	-	-
Oats (barrique)	10	-	50	-	15	10	-	-
Peas (Boincaux)	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
Pigs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheep	30	-	1	-	-	60	-	-
Grindstones	30	-	100	-	-	25	-	-
Material(?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
oars	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
Peles de bois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Planches	100	-	40	-	-	50	-	-
Fish (quintals)	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	60
Oil (barrel)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tobacco (barils)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

LEGEND: 1= François and Pierre Arseneau; 2=Jacques Vigneaux; 3= Jean, Joseph, Pierre and Rene LeBlanc; 4= Alexandre LeBorgne; 5= Zacharie Richard; 6= Nicolas Gauthier; 7=Jacques Moulaison; 8=Jacques d'Entremont de Pobomcoup.

SOURCE: As in Table 5.3

furs to Louisbourg but sold beaver furs to English merchants.⁵⁷ This might also have been true of Arceneau.

Conflict between the Mi'kmaq and New England created tensions between Acadian merchants and the Mi'kmaq. For the Mi'kmaq, New England was an enemy but for the merchants they were business partners. In the early years of settlement, profits from the fur trade financed French settlement but as the Acadian population increased, the relative importance of the trade diminished. Population growth and agricultural expansion led to increased demand for European merchandise which initially had been obtained through New England. Tensions with the Mi'kmaq emerged because there was a basic contradiction between an agricultural society, in which production fuelled expansion and wealth conferred status, and a nonagricultural one, where surpluses were consumed and generosity conferred status. To merchants, the Mi'kmaq constituted an impediment to exchange and to their own prosperity. While the contours of trade changed after 1714 as Louisbourg became a market for Acadian agricultural products, this contradiction continued to create tensions between merchants and the Mi'kmaq.

The pillaging of New England trading vessels by the Mi'kmaq interrupted the flow of goods into Nova Scotia and increased their cost, as traders attempted to compensate themselves for either actual or expected losses.

⁵⁷. AC, C11D 10 (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," 1748.

Moreover, English colonial officials forced the Acadians to reimburse New Englanders for goods lost and it is likely that the bulk of the reimbursement funds were contributed by the more prosperous members of the community, including local merchants. Conflict between the Mi'kmaq and New England also required more armed vessels along the eastern coast to protect English fishermen, which made trading with Louisbourg a more hazardous and costly enterprise. In September, 1724, Nicolas Gauthier of Port Royal was returning from Ile Royale when he was stopped near Cap Sable by a sloop commanded by Joseph Marjory who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts government to protect the fishery. According to Gauthier, Marjory demanded that a hogshead of wine and a quarter cask of brandy be given to him, a "request" to which Gauthier grudgingly complied.⁵⁸ Some Acadians had their vessels seized and confiscated by English vessels.⁵⁹ Natives also attacked and plundered Acadian traders, as at Minas in 1720, though this may have been done by Abenaki men returning from the raid at Canceau.⁶⁰

Peace was much sought after by Acadian merchants and in the period between 1710 and 1744, they adopted an intermediary role between the

⁵⁸. MSA 63:416, "Declaration of Joseph Marjory," 18 Dec. 1724.

⁵⁹. For example, an Acadian by the name of Pellerin had his vessel seized by the commander of the English garrison at Canceau, Major Cosby, who subsequently used it to patrol the Fronsac Passage. Pellerin had been on his way to Louisbourg with a boatload of cattle. AC, C11D 9:65, Felix Pain, "Extrait des nouvelles de l'acadie," [1724].

⁶⁰. PANS, RG 1: 7, "Answer of the French Inhabitants in Nova Scotia to Col. Phillips," 15 August 1720.

Mi'kmaq and English officials at Port Royal. On several occasions, Acadian traders ransomed English soldiers and civilians held prisoner by the Mi'kmaq. In 1724, Pierre Le Blanc purchased an Englishman captured by the Mi'kmaq near Canceau, while on at least two occasions, in 1745 and 1753, Jacques Vigneaux (dit Maurice) bought or tried to buy English civilians held prisoner from the Mi'kmaq.⁶¹ All of these prisoners were subsequently returned to English authorities.

* * * * *

While the Acadian fur trade is negligible compared to the Canadian fur trade, it did nevertheless, lead to the establishment of kinship ties between individual traders and Mi'kmaq villages. These relationships, formed during the seventeenth century, when furs and skins had constituted an important export item, lessened in importance as European settlement expanded. Along the Bay of Fundy, the heartland of Acadian agriculture, evidence shows the persistence of trading relationships between succeeding generations of Acadian families and surrounding Mi'kmaq peoples. However, as European settlement expanded and economic opportunities increased, as livestock exports grew, fur and skin exports became less important. This led to tensions in Mi'kmaq-

⁶¹. AC, C11D 9:65, "Extraits des nouvelles de l'Acadie raportée par le père félix missionnaire Récollets de l'acadie," [1724]; The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr. During his Captivity in French and Indian War from May 1745 to August 1747 (New York 1896), p. 49.

merchant relations which were exacerbated by the emergence of new traders, such as Nicolas Gautier during the 1720s, who had no previous ties with the Mi'kmaq community. These tensions between traders and the Mi'kmaq were part of a gradual but steady social and economic separation which occurred between the Acadian and Mi'kmaq population as the eighteenth century advanced. It was within this context, that the missionaries assumed a particular importance in Mi'kmaq-French relations.

CHAPTER 6
MISSIONARIES IN MI'KMA'KI, 1611-1760

Writing from Miskou in 1645, the Jesuit missionary André Richard described the tribulations of a Mi'kmaq family who killed a number of animals to feed themselves after starving for most of the winter. "They were not ungrateful," Richard wrote, "but thanked God for every animal killed, and at the end of the Winter they related everywhere the favours that God had conferred on them." That same spring, two Mi'kmaq men visited Miskou. One of them, who Father Richard noted had once been a shaman, said that he had "found by experience that [he] derived no benefit and gained nothing by hunting on Sundays; but if, after having rested on that day, [he] went to hunt on the morrow, [he] never failed to be successful."¹

These stories, as retold in the Jesuit Relations, suggest that a family and a former shaman, had adopted Christian forms of worship and continued to practise them even when separated from missionaries during the winter. Researchers have argued that such incidents were not isolated events but that Mi'kmaq dependence upon European trade goods and the social dislocation caused by disease undermined traditional religious practises, led to their

¹. "Relation of 1644-45," Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by Reuben Thwaites, vol. 28 (Cleveland 1898), p. 29.

adoption of Christianity during the seventeenth century.² This interpretation is questionable for two reasons. First, as previous chapters have shown, both trade and disease did not precipitate massive social and political change within Mi'kmaq society, as has been previously supposed. Secondly, the analysis assumes that events occurring in one location and among a small number of individuals can be used to generalize for the entire Mi'kmaq population. These problems stem from the lack of extensive documentation regarding Mi'kmaq-missionary relations and an uncritical usage of source materials. Consequently, we must re-examine those sources used to demonstrate the adoption of Christianity by the Mi'kmaq.

The principal sources regarding Mi'kmaq responses to Christian missions are those written by the missionaries. During the seventeenth century these sources are less extensive for the Mi'kmaq than for the Huron and Montagnais even though there were three religious orders who established missions among the Mi'kmaq before 1661, the Capucins, Récollets and Jesuits. More information exists on the Jesuits and Capucins than on the Récollets. There is virtually no correspondence regarding three Récollet priests stationed on the Saint John River between 1619 and 1623, even though a relation describing their

². Robert Conkling, "Legitimacy and Conversion in Social Change: The Case of French Missionaries and the Northeastern Algonkian," Ethnohistory, 21 (1974), pp. 1, 13-15; L. F. S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 (Vancouver 1979), pp. 20-25.

experiences was published in France.³ Similarly, there are only scattered references to missionaries who lived at Charles de La Tour's trading posts at Cap Sable and Fort Sainte-Marie. Considerably more information exists regarding the Capucin mission established in 1632 and associated with posts and settlements built by Isaac de Razilly and his successor, Charles Menou d'Aulnay. Most of the extant correspondence is contained in the archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, a Papal organization established in 1622 to supervise missionary activity. However, with the exception of a letter written by Father Ignace de Paris in 1656, these files do not contain letters from the missionaries stationed in *Mi'kma'ki*.⁴ The most extensive correspondence concerns the Jesuit missions, particularly for the years 1611 to 1613 when Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé were stationed at Port Royal and when Biard wrote three lengthy summaries of the mission. Information also exists for the 1629 to 1661 period when Jesuits stationed in Unimaki and Miskou wrote letters to their superiors. In contrast to Biard's earlier letters, this correspondence is not descriptive but rather emphasizes

³. Chrestien Le Clercq, First Establishment of the Faith in New France translated by John G. Shea, vol. 1, (New York 1881), p. 200. In a footnote, the editor of the volume, John Shea, notes that after several years of searching in Bordeaux and the archbishopric, he had been unable to find this document.

⁴. A short précis of each document relating to Acadia found within the Propaganda de Fide files is in the Finding aid prepared by Luca Codignola for the National Archives of Canada, Finding aid # 1186. A short overview of the files is in Codignola, "Roman Sources of Canadian Religious History to 1799" Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, 50 (1983), pp. 73-88.

Jesuit successes in converting the Mi'kmaq to Christianity.

For the eighteenth century, qualitative sources are less numerous until the beginning of a more extensive missionary enterprise beginning in 1735. Until then, there are only occasional letters from the principal missionary working among the Mi'kmaq, Antoine Gaulin. After 1735, there are several letters regarding the missions written by the two other missionaries, Jean-Louis Le Loutre and Pierre Maillard. In addition, in 1755 and again in 1758, Maillard wrote two lengthy manuscripts concerning his work.

There are few registers which record baptisms, marriages and burials among the Mi'kmaq. It appears that registers made specifically for the Mi'kmaq by missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were lost or later destroyed. Where Mi'kmaq baptisms, marriages and burials are found, they appear in registers made by priests responsible for Acadian parishes. Finally, there are no Mi'kmaq generated sources allowing us to understand their perspective on Catholicism and Christianity.

1. Description of the Missions, 1610-1760

a) 1610-1661

Between 1611 and 1661, there were Jesuit, Récollet and Capucin priests in *Mi'kma'ki*. Each order was associated with a specific group of traders who had established small settlements and/or trading posts in *Mi'kma'ki*. The Jesuits

accompanied Jean de Biencourt's trading venture, the Récollets were associated with Charles de La Tour, and the Capucins with Isaac de Razilly and his successor, Charles Menou d'Aulnay.

The first priest who actually arrived in *Kmitkinag* was not a member of a religious order but had accompanied the 1610 colonizing venture. A year later, he was replaced by two Jesuits, Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé, who remained at Port Royal for two years. Following a disagreement with Jean de Biencourt in the spring of 1613, the mission was relocated to Saint-Sauveur on the Maine coastline. With the destruction of both settlements by Argall during the autumn of 1613, Jesuit missionaries did not return to *Mi'kma'ki* until 1629 when a ship carrying four priests to Québec was shipwrecked on Unimaki. One of the Jesuits, Alexandre de Vieuxpont, remained a year at Fort Sainte-Anne, as did Barthélemy Vimont who arrived on another vessel. Jesuit missionaries returned to Unimaki in 1634 and lived under the auspices of the Compagnie Tuffet over the next decade, both at Sainte-Anne and Fort Saint-Pierre. In 1644, Charles Menou d'Aulnay extended his control over the island and Capucin priests replaced the Jesuits. Two Jesuits returned to Unimaki in 1658, living at Nicolas Denys' trading and fishing post at Fort Saint-Pierre. With the death of Father Martin de Lyonne in January, 1661, the Jesuit presence in *Mi'kma'ki* ended.⁵ Table 6.1 lists the Jesuits who lived in *Mi'kma'ki*

⁵. The Jesuits also established a mission at Miskou, beginning in 1635. Between 1648 and 1654, due to d'Aulnay's intervention, the Jesuits were replaced by the Capucins. Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* v. III:

TABLE 6.1
JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN MI'KMA'KI
1611-1661

Name	Dates Travelled	Residency
Pierre Biard	1611-13	Port Royal
Enemond Massé	1611-13	Port Royal
Jean Dixon (coadjuteur)	1611-13	Port Royal
Gilbert Du Thet (coadjuteur)	1612-13	Port Royal
Jacques Quentin	1613	S. Sauveur
A. Vieuxpont	1629-30	Unimaki
B. Vimont	1629-30	Unimaki
Antoine Daniel	1632-33	Unimaki
Ambroise Davost	1632-33	Unimaki
Julien Perrault	1634-36	Unimaki
André Richard	1634-	
Charles DuMarche	1635-36	Miskou
Charles Turgis	1635-37	Miskou
Claude Quentin	1638-41?	Miskou
François Arou (coadjuteur)	1640-41	Unimaki
Jean d'Olbeau	1640-43	Miskou
Nicolas Gondoin	1641	Miskou
Martin de Lyonne	1643-61	Unimaki
Jacques Frémin	1658-59	Richibouctou

SOURCES: DCB, I:246-47, 252-53, 539; JR, 47:63, 28:213. Father Melançon, Liste des Missionnaires Jésuites; Nouvelle-France et Louisiane, 1611-80, (Montréal, 1929).

La Seigneurie des Cents-Associés 1627-1663, t. 1, Les événements, (Montréal 1979), pp. 105-107. Descriptions of the Unimaki and Miskou missions can be found in JR, 8:156-167; 24:144-155; 30:126-143; 32:34-55; 45: 58-73. The death of Father de Lyonne is in JR, 47:63-65.

during the seventeenth century.

Récollet priests arrived in 1619. In theory, the Récollets were Franciscans but in practice, they were members of a semi-autonomous group believing in a stricter adherence to Saint Francis' teachings than what was practised within the Franciscan order. The Récollets took their name from "les maisons des récollections" initially established as places of prayer and penitence. The movement first began in Portugal during the late fifteenth century and spread to Spain, Rome, Naples and France. By 1726 there were 11,000 members and 490 convents divided into 22 provinces throughout Europe.⁶

During the early seventeenth century, Récollet fathers from two different Provinces worked in New France. Those who lived at Québec from 1615, eventually establishing missions among the Huron, were from the Province of Paris. After the capture of Québec by the Kirke brothers in 1629, their members did not return to New France again until 1670. The second group came from the province of Aquitaine in southern France and established missions in *Mi'kma'ki*. What few records exist suggests that in 1619 three fathers and a brother established a mission on the Saint John River and remained there until at least 1623.⁷ Six fathers also arrived in *Mi'kma'ki* in 1630 and 1631, and over

⁶. Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, vol. 18, (Paris 1977), pp. 866-870.

⁷. Le Clercq, First Establishment of the Faith 1:199-200. There is disagreement among researchers as to the length of the mission. LeClercq says that the Récollets were only driven out in 1628. See Mary Leger, The Catholic Indian Missions pp. 29-30. Abbé Couillard-Després says that one missionary

TABLE 6.2
RÉCUEILLET MISSIONARIES IN
MI'KMA'KI, 1619-1645

NAME	DATES
P. Sebastien	1619-23
P. Jacques de la Foyer	1619-23
P. Louis Fontiner	1619-23
P. Jacques Cardon	1619-23
P. André Ronsaud	Post-1630
P. François Du Long	Post-1630
P. Nicolas Bigot	Post-1630

LEGEND: P. = Père

SOURCE: Abbé Couillard-Després, Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour (Arthabaska 1930), pp. 218, 228.

lived at Port Royal, another on the Saint John River and a third at Miskou and the Gaspé coast. Abbé Couillard-Després, Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour et son temps (Arthabaska 1930), p. 218.

the following 15 years were closely identified with Charles de La Tour.⁸ Initially, the priests lived at Cap Sable but moved to the Saint John River at Fort Saint-Marie when La Tour relocated the centre of his operations there in 1635. By January 1645, only two priests remained at Fort Sainte-Marie, both of whom left the settlement that month for Port Royal, following a dispute with La Tour and his wife.⁹ Table 6.2 lists those Récollet priests known to have lived in Acadia during the early seventeenth century.

Capucin missionaries arrived in *Mi'kma'ki* in 1632, accompanying Razilly's colonizing venture. The French Crown bestowed upon the order the privilege of looking after the spiritual needs of French settlers and converting the *Mi'kmaq* people to the Christian faith.¹⁰ During the next twenty-four years, the order's presence increased, reaching as many as twelve fathers and five brothers in 1648.¹¹ Between 1635 and 1654, the Capucins were closely

⁸. Sixte Le Tac writes that three fathers arrived in 1630 as does Samuel de Champlain. Marcel Trudel says that another three priests also arrived in 1631. H.P. Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 6 (Toronto 1922), p. 172; Sixte Le Tac, Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle-France, (Paris 1689), p. 159; Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, p. 105.

⁹. "The Procès-Verbal of Andrew Certain," edited by Gilbert O. Bent, Acadiensis, 5 (1908), pp. 40-41.

¹⁰. "Articles Accordez par Le Roy, a La Compagnie de Canada, 29 avril 1627; and "Convention avec le Sieur de Razilly pour Aller Recevoir La Restitution du Port Royal," 27 mars 1632, CMNF, vol. 1 (Québec 1883), pp. 65 and 86.

¹¹. Candide de Nantes, Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne, (Montréal 1927), p. 263.

identified with Charles d'Aulnay and appear to have resided only in settlements established by him. Before 1645, missionaries had been stationed at different times at La Hève, Pentagoet and Port Royal. With the banishment of La Tour in 1645, the Capucins expanded their mission work to the Saint John River valley. They also sent members to Unimaki and Miskou. Following the death of d'Aulnay in 1650, the number of missionaries decreased.¹² In 1654, Port Royal was attacked by a New England force led by Robert Sedgewick and the two missionaries who escaped capture, died soon after.¹³ A Court document written in 1703 makes reference to two Capucin friars accompanying the La Rochelle merchant, Emmanuel Le Borgne, to *Mi'kma'ki* in 1658, but their identity, location and length of residency is not known.¹⁴ Table 6.3 gives an overview of Capucins missionaries in *Mi'kma'ki*. The records are not precise regarding the time length of each individual's mission and the table lists missionaries according to the first and last date their name appears in the historical record. These dates should not be interpreted to indicate the precise length of their mission. Priests and brothers are identified by their given name only, followed by the name of the town, or convent where they studied in France.

¹². Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, pp. 110-112.

¹³. Candide de Nantes, Pages glorieuses, p. 292.

¹⁴. AN, E 1923:231, Conseil d'État du Roy, 20 mars 1703.

TABLE 6.3
CAPUCIN MISSIONARIES
PRESENT IN MI'KMA'KI, 1640-41 and 1652-54

NAME	FIRST DATE MENTIONED	LAST DATE MENTIONED	LOCATIONS MENTIONED
Fathers			
F. Didacus de Liesse	1639-1654		Port Royal/?*
Esprit d'Yvoy	1640		
Ignace de Paris	1640	1652	Port Royal/Canseau St. John/Nepiguit/ Pentagoet
Gabriel de Paris	1640		
Joseph de Paris	1640		
Bonaventure de Boulogne	1640		
Firmin d'Amiens	1640		
Paul de Paris	1640		
Eusebe d'Amiens	1640		
Simon de Schwyz	1640		
René de Paris	1640		
Joachim de Corbeil	1640	1646	
Barthélmey de Mantes	1640		
Pascal de Troyes	1640-1641	1642-[1648]	
Vincent de Troyes	1641		
Jean-Louis de Paris	1641		
Augustin	1641		
Brothers			
Elezar de Beauvais	1640		
Martin de Vierzon	1640		
Fathers			
Augustin de Pointoise	1642	1655	Canceau
Gabriel de Joinville	1642	1652	Port Royal
Hippolyte de Brou	1642		
Hippolyte de Mogny	1642		
Vincent de Paris			
Côsme de Mantes	1643	1652	Port Royal
Ignatius de Paris	1643	1654	Port Royal/?*
Félix de Troyes	1643	1654	Port Royal/?*
Joseph de St. jean de Luz	1643		
Félix de Rheims	1643	1655	Port Royal/Canceau
Elzear de St. Florentin	1645	1655	Canceau
Alexis d'Auxerre	1646		
Balthazar de Paris	1648-1654	1656	Nepiguit
Pascal d'Auxerre	1648	1654	Port Royal/?*
Côme de Senlis			
Léon de Paris	1650		
Léonard d'Auxerre	1650		
Léonard de Chartres	1650	1654	Port Royal

TABLE 6.3
CON'T

NAME	FIRST DATE MENTIONED	LAST DATE MENTIONED	LOCATIONS MENTIONED
Yuo de Paris	1654		Port Royal
Jean de Troyes	1654		Port Royal
François Marie de Paris	1650	1654	Port Royal
Bernardin de Crépy	1650	1654	Pentagoet

SOURCES: Vatican Archives, Propagande di Fide, 139: Francesco Ingoli to Propaganda Fide, (1640). CMNF, Mémoire des missionnaires, 20 oct. 1643; Ignace de Paris à la Propagande, 1656, Report of the Canadian Archives for 1904, Appendix H:337-341.

In making the transition to life in *Mi'kma'ki*, one of the first problems confronting missionaries was maintaining contact with the Mi'kmaq throughout the year. In warm weather months, when Mi'kmaq people lived on the coastal regions, this was less of a problem, as there were trading posts or settlements nearby where the missionaries could lodge. The Mi'kmaq visited the posts during the autumn when family heads obtained credit for the winter hunt and during the early spring when furs were exchanged. Since the Mi'kmaq population was larger and more sedentary south of the Chebenacadie River, contact with the missionaries would have been greater there than in areas to the north. Mi'kmaq not living near European posts would have had less contact with the missionaries. This would have included peoples living at Minas, Piziquit, Cobequit, Mouscoudaboutet, River Sainte-Marie, Antigoniche, Pictou, Tatamegouche, Pugwash and Chignecto, or ten of the 18 villages outlined in Chapter Two.

In cold weather months when the villages divided into kin-related groups to hunt for beaver and moose, the missionaries were forced either to move to be near their charges or remain at the post. Evidence is slim but appears to suggest that most missionaries lived in the European settlements in winter. A smaller number of priests chose to live with the Mi'kmaq. In 1611-12, the Jesuit Enemond Massé wintered among Mi'kmaq living within the vicinity of Port

Royal.¹⁵ Between 1619 to 1623, at least one Récollet father lived among the Maliseet people and preached to Mi'kmaq inhabiting Abegweit (Ile Saint-Jean) and the Chignecto Isthmus.¹⁶ Father Balthazar, a Capucin missionary, proselytized among the Mi'kmaq inhabiting the north shore. Between 1632 and 1660, a number of Jesuit missionaries wintered with Mi'kmaq living along the eastern coast of New Brunswick.¹⁷ These missionaries, however, appear to have been the exceptions.

This does not diminish the fact that 66 priests and brothers came to *Mi'kma'ki* between 1611 and 1661. Although the length of each individual's mission is unknown, we may assume that significant contacts occurred with the Mi'kmaq population in southern regions, particularly during the autumn and spring. What effect this had on Mi'kmaq-European relations or in influencing people to adopt Christian forms of worship is not known.

b) The Middle Period, 1661-1714

In contrast to the early seventeenth century, fewer priests lived in *Mi'kma'ki* between 1661 to 1714. As the Acadian population expanded, a distinction was made between parish priests ministering to the Acadians and missionaries

¹⁵. JR, 3:245, "A Journey Made by Father Enemond Massé, and another by Father Biard," 1616.

¹⁶. Biggar, ed., The Works, 5:101-102.

¹⁷. Father Jacques Frémin wintered among the Richibouctou Mi'kmaq sometime in the late 1650s. JR, 45:61, "Of the Acadian Mission," 16 Oct. 1659.

living and working among the Mi'kmaq. Throughout the period, the principal focus of Church activity was the Acadian population. As shown in Table 4.3 of Chapter Four, 17 individuals, serviced three Acadian parishes from 1664 to 1714. During the same period, only two missionaries were assigned to the Mi'kmaq mission, who also assumed responsibility for the Maliseet, Penobscot and Abenaki peoples up until 1704.

Many missionaries sent to preach to the Mi'kmaq in this period were educated at one of two Paris-based seminaries, one run by the Société des Missions Étrangères, and the other by the Société du Saint-Esprit. Unlike the period before 1661, these missionaries were not members of a religious order. They depended on their parishioners or the Crown for financial support and thus, were likely to be more susceptible to the political influence of colonial officials, as they lacked the support and advice that a religious order could provide.

The first seminary students to arrive in Acadia were from the Société des Missions Etrangères. Established in 1658 by a group of French priests who wished to co-operate "for the conservation and growth" of the foreign missions, the focus of the society's organization was a Paris-based seminary which trained priests for work in non-Christian countries.¹⁸ In 1663, the Society

¹⁸. François Laval, Pierre Lambert, François Pallu et autres Prêtres français à Sacrae Congregation, Propaganda Fide, 1 juil. 1658, printed in Adrien Launey, Histoire générale de la Société des Missions Etrangères (Paris 1894), p. 39.

established a seminary in Québec which schooled prospective priests for service in New France.¹⁹ Many priests working among the Mi'kmaq were graduates of another seminary, Saint-Esprit, established in 1703. The seminary educated students unable to pay the cost of attending an institution. Graduates filled positions where staff was desperately needed or where there had been difficulty in filling vacant positions. This included the foreign missions.²⁰

Between 1661 and 1684, no missionaries worked or lived among the Mi'kmaq. Beginning in 1684, mission work was assumed by a graduate of the Québec seminary, Louis-Pierre Thury, whose mission territory encompassed the Abenaki, Maliseet and Mi'kmaq peoples. Settling initially at Richard Denys' post on the Miramichi River, Thury moved to Pentagoet in 1687. During the war years between 1689 and 1697, he travelled throughout his mission area, acting as an intermediary between the Wabanaki and French political officials. In the 1690s, five people were added to the mission: in 1693, P. Simon, a Récollet priest who lived among the Maliseet, in 1697, Jacques Deschambault and in 1698-99 Antoine Gaulin, Philippe Rageot and Pierre-René Le Boulanger,

¹⁹. The two principal histories of the seminary have been written by Noël Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Mgr. de Laval (Québec 1972); and Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760 (Québec 1977).

²⁰. A. David, "Le Séminaire du Saint-Esprit et les Missions de la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle," Bulletin des recherches historiques, 35 (1929), pp. 278-79.

the last three, graduates of the Québec seminary.²¹ Deschambault, however, died in August, 1698 and Thury in 1699, leaving Gaulin, Rageot and Simon as the only missionaries east of the Penobscot River.²²

Like Thury, Gaulin lived at Pentagoet and only occasionally visited Mi'kmaq villages. In 1701, the newly arrived Governor of Acadia, Jean-François Brouillan wrote that there was no longer a priest among the Mi'kmaq and that the mission at Pentagoet "was directed by Sieur Gaulin."²³ In 1704, jurisdiction over the Wabanaki mission was ceded by the Bishop to the Jesuits. Henceforward, Gaulin's responsibilities were the Unimaki and *Kmitkinag* Mi'kmaq among whom he lived for the next 26 years.²⁴ During the first few years, he lived almost continually among the Mi'kmaq.²⁵ His energies were

²¹. Rageot and Le Boulanger were not ordained until 1701. The latter became curé of Charlesbourg in Canada that year. Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec, p. 390.

²². H.R. Casgrain, Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des missions-étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762) (Québec 1897), pp. 103, 216-223; René Baudry, "Louis-Pierre Thury," DCB I:649.

²³. AC, Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D) 4:46,68, Brouillan au ministre, 6 oct. 1701.

²⁴. Richard V. Bannon, "Antoine Gaulin (1674-1770): An Apostle of Early Acadie," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, (1952), p. 54. Rageot had left Acadia in 1705 to become the curé of Montmagny in Canada. Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec, p. 371.

²⁵. For example, AC, C11D 5:194v, Gaulin au ministre [n.d.]; Gaulin's wanderings are also suggested by the time of year and location of letters he sent to the Minister. On 20 Dec. 1708, he was at River Sainte-Marie [AC, C11D 6:250, Gaulin au ministre] and on 19 Nov. 1719 he was at Saint-Pierre, [AC, Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (C11B) 4:131, Gaulin au ministre].

focused north of the Chebenacadie River or upon those peoples who did not live close to the principal Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy.

The lack of contact between missionaries and Mi'kmaq communities before 1704 is suggested by the interval between the birth and baptism of eastern coast métis children. As shown in Table 4.5 in Chapter Four, these communities were visited irregularly by missionaries. Until Father Pain's arrival in 1705, the small community at Port Razoir [Shelburne] had not seen a priest since before 1689. At La Hève, there were no clerical visits before 1702 which implies that the neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages had not been visited by a missionary during the same period. This does not preclude, however, that some villagers may have seen a priest during visits to the Acadian communities along the Bay of Fundy.

To circumvent the difficulties posed by a widely scattered population and few priests, Thury proposed in 1698 that a permanent mission regrouping the entire Mi'kmaq mainland population be established along the Piziquit River (Avon River).²⁶ Writing to the Minister of the Marine, he suggested that the mission be made some five or six leagues from the mouth of the river, so as to be inaccessible to English vessels. From there, the Acadian settlements at Minas could be reached within a day as could the eastern ports of La Hève

²⁶. The 1708 census showed a population of 842 people living in seven villages in Kmitkinag.

and Mouscoudabouet.²⁷ According to Thury, by placing the mission between eastern and western regions of the mainland, it would help secure the colony from enemy attacks as the Mi'kmaq could be engaged to defend the colony. They could also be more easily instructed in the faith and be taught how to live as Christians. To fund the mission, Thury requested provisions to initially feed the Mi'kmaq, 400 tools to clear the land, 50 fishing lines, 200 codfish hooks, 200 to 300 hatchets and two large shallows.²⁸ Replying in April of the following year, the Minister expressed the King's approval for establishing a permanent mission, though provided only 2,000 of the 6,000 livres Thury had requested.²⁹

Despite royal approval, the plan initially floundered, probably because of Thury's death in 1699 and the resumption of conflict between France and England two years later. Thury's successor, Antoine Gaulin, later resuscitated the plan as did de Brouillan who served as Governor of Acadia from 1701 to 1705.³⁰ In 1707, Gaulin established the mission not on the Piziquit River, as

²⁷. AC, C11D 3:320, 324, "Mémoire concernant l'acadie," 9 déc. 1698.

²⁸. AC, C11D 3:309, Thury au ministre, 11 oct. 1698.

²⁹. AC, B 20:167v-168, le ministre à Thury, 15 avril 1699.

³⁰. AC, C11D 4:277, Brouillan au ministre, 25 nov. 1703; AC, C11D 5:71. "Mémoire de M. de Brouillan qui concerne le Fort Royal de l'Acadie," 5 mars 1705.

Thury had originally planned but at Chebouctou.³¹ Some Mi'kmaq complained that the area was located too distant from their hunting areas and "too exposed to the English who come there every day." As a result, the mission was relocated to the River Sainte-Marie in the centre of Bay of Islands, an area renowned for its abundance of moose, beaver and other wild game.³² Though the size of Gaulin's mission is not known, it likely consisted of the local Mi'kmaq as well as families from Unimaki. Peoples from other regions did not relocate there as indicated by Gaulin's complaint in 1708 that "he was continually occupied in going to all the places where the Mi'kmaq live to instruct and hold them in obedience."³³ Indeed, the mission which Gaulin purportedly established, existed in name only as war with New England resulted in his assuming an intermediary role between French political

³¹. AC, C11B 3:42, Conseil de la Marine, 3 mai 1718. In the correspondence regarding the mission, it is called "Chedaboutou" which is located adjacent to the Strait of Fronsac and separates the Acadian peninsula from Unimaki. However, in discussing the proposed mission in 1705, Subercase said that it was at the head of "Naspatagan Bay". He stated that the mission was located only three to four hours from La Hève. AC, C11D 5: 71, Mémoire de M. de Brouillan qui concerne le Fort Royal de l'Acadie, 5 mars 1705. According to a survey of Nova Scotia completed in 1764, "Aspotagoen" refers to the high land which separates Saint Margaret's and Mahone Bay. "Miscellaneous Remarks and Observations on Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Cape Breton," 1764, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1794, First Series, vol. III, (New York, Johnson Reprint Company), p. 96. This would suggest that in transcribing correspondence, French officials in Versailles had written "Chedaboutou" instead of Chebouctou." Royal approval for the change of venue is in AC, B 29:47, Le ministre au Subercase, 24 août 1707.

³². AC, C11D 6:250-251, Gaulin au ministre, 20 déc. 1708.

³³. AC, C11D 6:263, Gaulin au ministre, 23 déc. 1708.

authorities and the Mi'kmaq and making extensive journeys throughout the northeast.

Problems encountered by both Thury and Gaulin in establishing a permanent mission reflect the financial constraints under which they worked. In 1702, Gaulin had complained that he was forced to borrow money from Port Royal inhabitants to finance his visits to Mi'kmaq and Abenaki villages. Though the procurator of the Society, Abbé Henri-Jean Tremblay, recognized that Gaulin had insufficient funds, he was powerless to change the situation as the Minister of the Marine was unwilling to provide additional financing.³⁴ In 1708, the Governor of Acadia pointed out to the Minister that Gaulin's annual salary of 300 livres did not cover travel expenses or the costs of maintaining a permanent mission and petitioned, without success, that a *bénéfice* of 700 to 800 livres be established for the mission.³⁵ Lacking enough money to continue his work, in 1706 Gaulin acquired marten furs which he hoped would bring a profit of 1200 livres when sold at La Rochelle. He could then use the money to finance a permanent mission and the construction of a church. Though Tremblay was impressed with Gaulin's zeal, he disapproved

³⁴. Québec, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (ASQ), "R," no. 180, Gaulin à M. Tremblay, 28 nov. 1702. Part of this letter is also reproduced in Casgrain, *Les Sulpiciens*, pp. 229-231. Tremblay's view of the situation is contained in ASQ: "N," no. 121, Tremblay à Mgr. de Laval, 15 juin 1704. Tremblay explained that the Minister was indisposed towards the Society because he wanted them to leave the mission at Mobile, Louisiana solely to the Jesuits.

³⁵. AC, C11D 6:184, Subercase au ministre, 20 déc. 1708.

of the missionary's dalliance in the fur trade and wrote that his "end is good, but the means he uses makes it worthless" admonishing that trade was strictly forbidden to ecclesiastical members.³⁶ Whether Gaulin continued his trading activities is not known. Financial difficulties resulting from his early years as a missionary, however, were to plague him during his remaining years in *Mi'kma'ki*.³⁷

c) The Later Period, 1715-1760

The beginning of this period coincides with the early years of the English presence at Port Royal and the establishment of Louisbourg as the centre of the French imperial presence in the Atlantic region. Changes in the region's political conjuncture precipitated a major alteration in missionary activity such as the creation of permanent missions, the building of mission churches and presbyteries and an increase in the number of missionaries. This was in contrast to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when political and financial difficulties had hindered work among the *Mi'kmaq*.

³⁶. ASQ, "M", no. 37, Tremblay aux MM. du Séminaire, 8 mai 1707. In 1715, Père Michel, a Récollet priest who lived among the Miramichi *Mi'kmaq* was accused by Pierre Rey Gaillard, who at that time held title to the seigneuries of Nepiguit, Baie des Chaleurs and Miramichi, of being involved in the fur trade. AC, B 38:203v, Conseil de la Marine à Vaudreuil, 15 juin 1716.

³⁷. The situation improved considerably after the establishment of Louisbourg in 1714. References to Gaulin's financial problems can be found in AC, C11B 3:43, Conseil de la Marine, 3 mai 1718 and AC, C11B 4:131-137, Gaulin au ministre, 17 nov. 1719.

In the first decade after the Treaty of Utrecht, two missions were founded. The first was established either in 1714 or 1715 by Gaulin at what is now Antigoniche.³⁸ Though Gaulin's census enumerated only 93 people there in 1722, it is probable the area was used as a focal point for villages inhabiting Unimaki and the north shore.³⁹ In 1722, both Gaulin and Jacques-Ange de Mézy, the commissaire ordonnateur for Ile Royale, proposed that the Antigoniche mission be re-located to LaBradour in Unimaki. There, they argued, the Mi'kmaq would be closer to their winter hunting grounds, would not be bothered by New England fishermen and could be easily consulted regarding possible military campaigns against the English.⁴⁰ Relocation of the mission did not occur until 1725 when Antigoniche and Unimaki *sakamows* had approved the proposed site at Maligoueche. The inhabitants of these two villages appear to have been the only ones frequenting the region. In 1722, Le Normant estimated that there were 100 families residing at the mission, though

³⁸. Establishing a mission at Antigoniche had first been proposed in 1714, soon after the French occupation of Louisbourg. In June 1715, the Minister approved the plan. AC, B:37, 233v, le ministre à Costebelle et de Soubras, 4 juin 1715. Costebelle made reference to "the indians living at Antigoniche under the mission of Mr. Gaulin..." in November, 1715. AC, C11B 1:145v, Costebelle au ministre, 5 nov. 1715. Upton says that Gaulin's mission was founded in 1716. This evidence would suggest that it had been established a year earlier. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists, 1979, p. 34.

³⁹. AC, C11B 6:77, "Recensement...en 1722."

⁴⁰. AC, C11B 6:74, Le Normant au ministre, 10 sept. 1722; and AC, C11B 6:75v-76, Le Normant au ministre, 27 sept. 1722.

he did not indicate whether this was throughout the year or at selected times.⁴¹

The second mission was established in 1722 five leagues from the mouth of the Chebenacadie River or just below the confluence of the Stewiacke and Chebenacadie Rivers. In 1722, Le Normant estimated that 150 families lived at the mission, though this total may have included Cobequit, Piziquit and Minas villages.⁴² The mission was also favourably situated in relation to villages at La Hève and Chignecto.

Churches were built at both missions. Between 1670 and 1715 there were no European-style churches or chapels near Mi'kmaq villages. Once erected a church was important symbolically and physically in orienting Christian worship. Its walls enclosed the sacred objects used in worshipping God and the religious images employed by the priesthood in instructing the faithful. Before 1715, any structures built would have resembled the huts made of fir and bark used by Abbé Maillard during the mass he performed for some Mi'kmaq in 1745 before the siege of Louisbourg. That church was made of "thin logs of pine, surrounded and covered on the outside by birchbark."⁴³ Without a

⁴¹. AC, C11B 6:74, Le Normant au ministre, 10 déc. 1722. In 1724, Saint-Ovide estimated that the mission was composed of 50 wigwams (cabanes). AC, C11B 7:27v-28, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

⁴². AC, C11B 6:74, Le Normant au ministre, 10 déc. 1722.

⁴³. Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'Abbé Maillard sur les missions d'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques (1756), Les Soirées canadiennes, (1863), pp. 351-52.

European styled church, the missionary's task of instruction was more difficult, as for the Mi'kmaq the close resemblance between the missionaries' huts and those of their own shamans would not have shown a clear demarcation between Christianity and their own animate religion. Moreover, temporary huts which could be easily dismantled did not constitute a permanent symbolic intrusion into a village's territory. While both Thury and Gaulin carried with them a portable chapel, its sacred contents only selectively and periodically entered Mi'kmaq society and were not a constant component of peoples' lives.⁴⁴ Consequently, powers which Christianity associated with consecrated ground and with the elements of the Church were not consistently witnessed by Mi'kmaq villagers and therefore, remained largely unknown. While baptized Mi'kmaq occasionally visited churches in Acadian settlements, these buildings were part of European society and would not have been viewed as part of *Mi'kma'ki*.⁴⁵

There are no contemporary descriptions of the churches but the financial accounts of the commissaire ordonnateur for Ile Royale, provide details of the materials used in building both the church and presbytery at Maligoueche

⁴⁴. Abbé Thury had two portable chapels. "Liste des Chapelles Portatives qui sont Réparties dans Le Diocèse de Québec Entre Les Mains des Missionnaires," 28 sept. 1692, Mandements Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, edited by H. Têtu and C.O. Gagnon, t. 1, (Québec 1887), p. 290.

⁴⁵. M. de Gargas, "General Census of the Country of Acadie, 1687-88," in Acadiensia Nova, edited by William Morse, vol. 1, (London 1935), pp. 150-51.

during the early 1720s.⁴⁶ The church's frame measured 40 feet long and 20 feet wide and the presbytery 30 feet long and 21 feet wide.⁴⁷ The church had two large locking doors. Both the church and the presbytery had glass windows with locking shutters and were enclosed by a picket fence. There is little information regarding the interior design of the church, though there appears to have been at least one other room besides the principal one. The presbytery was divided into two rooms by a wooden partition. According to the Commander of the New England force which destroyed the Catholic church and presbytery on the Penobscot River in 1722, both buildings there were "well and handsomely finished within and without." Given the time and money spent on construction at Maligoueche, it may be assumed that it too was well and handsomely finished.⁴⁸

Mission work was hampered by the lack of missionaries. From 1714 until 1725, Gaulin was the only priest working among the Mi'kmaq. Servicing the entire mainland and Unimaki, Gaulin travelled from one district to the next in the warm weather months. As the sole missionary, his absences, as in 1717 when he travelled to France, meant that the Mi'kmaq were left without a

⁴⁶. AC, C11B 10:123-124v, "Eglise de Miriniliguesch pour les Sauvages de l'île Royale dans Labrador," 10 déc. 1726.

⁴⁷. The church on the Penobscot River was somewhat larger, measuring, according to the commander of a New England force that destroyed it in early March, 1722, 60 foot long and 30 feet wide. Otis Westbrook to William Dummer, 23 March 1722, Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st edition, 1819, Second Series, vol. VIII, (New York 1963), p. 264.

⁴⁸. Westbrook to Dummer, 23 March 1722, in Collections, p. 264.

priest.⁴⁹ Moreover as he grew older, travelling became increasingly difficult so that by 1725, at the age of 51, he was spending extended periods in one location. In a letter written in September 1726, Saint-Ovide noted that Gaulin had spent the last fifteen months at Minas and Chignecto ministering to the spiritual needs of the Acadian population.⁵⁰ In 1728, Gaulin informed the Governor that he was incapable of providing spiritual guidance as he "could not say the mass without being affected by an unremitting trembling throughout his body which impeded him from moving."⁵¹ His difficulties were exacerbated by the harassment of English officials who confiscated his vestry garments and otherwise interfered in the performance of his priestly office.⁵² A year later, Mi'kmaq elders expressed satisfaction that Gaulin was to be replaced, as in their opinion, he was too tired and old to travel to their villages.⁵³ Despite constant threats that he would leave, Gaulin remained until 1732, spending his last winter at Port Royal, where he preached to Mi'kmaq

⁴⁹. AC, C11B 2:240v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 30 nov. 1717.

⁵⁰. AC, C11B 8:35, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 18 sept. 1726. In 1729, Saint-Ovide wrote that Gaulin was the parish priest at Minas. AC, C11B 10:191, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1729.

⁵¹. AC, C11B 10:76, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 3 nov. 1728.

⁵². Weneongonett and Antewon to Governor Burnett, 2 Nov. 1728 in Documentary History of the State of Maine, edited by James Baxter, vol. 23 (Portland 1916), pp. 232-33.

⁵³. AC, C11B 10:189-189v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1729.

living in the two villages located near the Acadian settlement.⁵⁴ In 1732, the Governor of Ile Royale wrote that Gaulin's "disabilities caused by the great weariness he suffered finally forced him to retire to Canada."

For years, Gaulin and colonial authorities in Ile Royale requested additional missionaries.⁵⁵ Though religious officials in both Canada and France recognized the importance of providing enough priests to serve the Mi'kmaq, assistance never seemed to arrive. The long delay was in part occasioned by the ambiguous position of Roman Catholic priests in Acadia. The Treaty of Utrecht had provided Acadians freedom of religion but English officials were suspicious of the priests' political influence. English misgivings increased during the 1722 to 1725 war when Wabanaki and Mi'kmaq hostility was perceived by some, such as Lieutenant-Colonel Armstrong, to be the result of missionary influence.⁵⁶ This led to the government's decision to allow onto the

⁵⁴. In 1715 and 1719, Gaulin had threatened to leave Acadia because of the inadequate financial assistance given by the Crown and the physical toll exacted by the size of his mission territory. AC, Correspondance générale, Canada (C11A) 35:127v, Bégon au ministre, 25 sept. 1715; AC, C11B 4:131-37, Gaulin au ministre, 17 nov. 1719; AC, C11B 14:4v, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide et de Mézy au ministre, 16 nov. 1732.

⁵⁵. For example, AC, C11B 3:58, Conseil de la Marine, 3 mai 1718. In 1721, the Conseil announced their intention to provide additional funding for another missionary, a promise which took another three years to implement. AC, B 44:24, Conseil à M. Tremblay.

⁵⁶. For example, in the instructions given to Paul Mascarene to negotiate on behalf of the Nova Scotian government with the Wabanaki in discussions which would end the 1722-25 war, the government argued that the missionaries among the Indians "have Always been the Chief Incendiarys." Archibald MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes of His Majesty's Executive Council at Annapolis Royal (Halifax 1908), 3 Nov. 1724, p. 79.

mainland only those priests it had authorized.⁵⁷ As the Board of Trade instructed Armstrong in 1732, he was to "keep a Strait Eye upon the French Missionarys that they do not increase in Number beyond what is necessary for the Service of the French Inhabitants."⁵⁸ New priests were required to report as soon as possible to the Executive Council at Port Royal. Failure to do so could result in banishment.⁵⁹ When parish priests were replaced the Executive Council was informed of the changes by the Governor of Ile Royale. In 1742, however, a new arrangement was introduced by the Council which stipulated that in the event of a vacancy, the inhabitants of that Parish had to apply to the Council "for leave to send another." Movement from one parish to another was also prohibited without the approval of the Council.⁶⁰

⁵⁷. PANS, RG 1 23, Instructions of Lt. Col. L. Armstrong to H. Newton and J. Bradstreet, 12 Aug. 1725.

⁵⁸. British Museum, Additional Manuscript 19071, Board of Trade to Armstrong, 2 Nov. 1732.

⁵⁹. In 1725, Saint-Ovide reported that two priests that he had sent to the mainland in 1724 had been expelled from Acadia the following year. According to Saint-Ovide this left only three priests, one at Chignecto, de Breslay and another priest recently sent to join them. AC, C11B 8:4, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 10 déc. 1725. In January, 1726, Félix Pain and a priest called Père Piere were banished by the Executive Council. MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes, pp. 90-91. In 1742, the Executive Council ruled that Abbés Miniac and Girard should not be allowed to remain for failure to report to Port Royal. PANS, RG 1 11:21, "Extract of a Minute of Council, 30 Nov. 1742."

⁶⁰. PRO, Colonial Office Series (CO) 217, 8:150-151, Mascarene to de la Goudalie, 16 June 1742. Examples of the Council's attempt to regulate the missionaries is in Charles B. Fergusson, ed., Minutes of His Majesty's Council, 1736-1749, (Halifax 1967), pp. 36-37. In Saint-Jean-Baptiste parish which encompasses Port Royal, these measures had already been in effect for some time as the close proximity to the English garrison made possible a closer

The dearth of missionaries in *Mi'kma'ki* was also due to the practical problem of finding individuals with both the willingness and aptitude to live with people whose language and culture they did not share. Even after finding a suitable candidate, the difficult task of language training and cultural amelioration remained. In at least one case a prospective recruit, Abbé Byrne, informed Saint-Ovide that he could not accustom himself to the Mi'kmaq culture or language and requested re-assignment.⁶¹ Similarly, in 1739, when the Governor proposed to two newly arrived priests that they join the Mi'kmaq mission, they refused. M. Desenclaves excused himself feeling incapable of the task while M. de Vanquelin declared that he would not be able to learn the language given his advanced age.⁶²

Though more serious attempts were made to expand the Mi'kmaq mission beginning in 1724, only after 1735 did a stable pattern in Mi'kmaq-missionary relations emerge. In 1724, Raphael Courtin, a graduate of the Paris seminary,

scrutiny of the Acadian population than was true of Minas and Chignecto. See Armstrong's references to petitions presented by Acadian inhabitants of the Annapolis River for priests in CO 217, 6:227, Armstrong to Saint-Ovide, 17 juin 1732. Barry Moody points out that the new measures coincided with the appointment of Paul Mascarene who had become President of the Executive Council in March, 1740. Barry Moody, "A just and disinterested Man': The Nova Scotia Career of Paul Mascarene, 1710-1752," Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, 1976, pp. 164-167.

⁶¹. AC, C11B 15:139v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1734. Byrne had begun his training in Oct. 1733. His conversation with Saint-Ovide took place in late August 1734. Records regarding rations allotted to him during his mission indicate he held the post from Oct. 1733 to Sept. 1734. AC, C11B 16:13v, 57v, 59v, 67v.

⁶². AC, C11B 21:76., de Forant au ministre, 14 nov. 1739.

arrived.⁶³ A year later, another priest, Abbé Brau, was assigned to the mission but soon encountered difficulties with the English authorities at Port Royal. Along with Gaulin, he was detained by Armstrong for two months, after which he embarked for Québec to explain the difficulties of the mission to the Bishop.⁶⁴ In 1728, he pressed Saint-Ovide for re-assignment to France but stayed for another year at the Governor's insistence.⁶⁵ Courtin travelled to France in 1729 or possibly 1730 but returned sometime the following year.⁶⁶ In 1733, he drowned while travelling by canoe to Ile Royale.⁶⁷

With the arrival of Abbé Vincent in 1734, Pierre Maillard in 1735 and Jean-Louis Le Loutre, two years later, a more stable pattern emerged in Mi'kmaq-missionary relations which lasted until 1758. In large part, this is attributable to Maillard and Le Loutre, who continued working among the Mi'kmaq until

⁶³. AC, C11B 7:258, "Bordereau des depenses faites....pendant l'année 1724." Frère Alexis, basing himself upon J.-B. Allaire's Dictionnaire biographique du clergé, wrote that Courtin had arrived in 1727 and left in 1729. "Les Anciens Missionnaires Français et Canadiens de l'Acadie depuis 1604 jusqu'en 1820," BRH, 36 (1930), p. 160.

⁶⁴. AC, C11B 9:67v-68, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 20 nov. 1727.

⁶⁵. Owing to the state of Abbé Gaulin's health, Saint-Ovide pointed out that Brau's departure would leave Acadians and Mi'kmaq on the Acadian peninsula without spiritual assistance. AC, C11B 10:76v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 3 nov. 1728.

⁶⁶. AC, C11B 12:13, Conseil de la Marine, 3 jan. 1731. Courtin appears on the ration lists of Ile Royale in January 1732. There are, however, no extant lists for 1731. AC, C11B 13:101v, "État de la recette et consommation des Vivres, jan.-mars 1732."

⁶⁷. AC, C11B 14:54, Saint-Ovide et le Normant au ministre, 15 oct. 1733.

after the fall of Louisbourg.⁶⁸ In 1737, mission work was divided between two missionaries, with Maillard living among the Unimaki and Antigoniche Mi'kmaq and Le Loutre assuming responsibility for mainland villages and basing himself at Chebenacadie.

Between 1714 and 1735, Gaulin and his successors had not lived with the Mi'kmaq, only visiting them occasionally during religious festivals, such as at Easter or Pentecost. In contrast, both Le Loutre and Maillard lived for most of the year at their missions, though Mi'kmaq from the surrounding villages only congregated at Chebenacadie at Easter and All Saint's Day (Toussaint) as they had done during Gaulin's time.⁶⁹

Le Loutre had difficulties in servicing Mi'kmaq in *Kmitkinag* because of additional duties imposed on him. From 1738 to 1742, he acted as priest to Acadian inhabitants of Cobequit and Tatamegouche, as well as eastern coast settlements stretching from Chegikouk, just east of Chebouctou to Pubnico in the southwest. In 1753, Cobequit had approximately 800 communicants, and Tatamagouche, 150, while in 1748, the eastern coast villages totalled 88 families.⁷⁰ Tending to the spiritual needs of this scattered population in addition to the mainland Mi'kmaq taxed Le Loutre's energies. In 1740, he

⁶⁸. Abbé Vincent departed in 1737 and was replaced by Le Loutre.

⁶⁹. AC, C11A 87:364v, Le Loutre à l'Abbé Du Fau, 21 avril 1747, in Canada-Français, vol. 1, (Québec 1888), p. 30.

⁷⁰. AC, C11A 87:363v-364, "Description de l'acadie avec le noms des paroisses et le nombre des habitants."

wrote that "I feel the heaviness of the burden and if God does not lend me a hand, I will soon succumb."⁷¹ Even after the appointment of Mr. Girard in 1742 as curé for Cobequit and Tatamagouche, Le Loutre continued to service the Eastern Coast, necessitating his absence from Chcbenacadie for extended periods. From 1738 to 1743, he was also responsible for Mi'kmaq villages on Abegweit (Ile Saint-Jean), a duty difficult to perform because of the long travelling distances.⁷² Fortunately for Le Loutre, in April, 1743, Abbé Duguay arrived to take charge of the Abegweit mission.⁷³

During the late 1730s and early 1740s, Vincent, Maillard and Le Loutre occasionally visited Louisbourg as shown by the monies paid by the government for their accommodation between 1735 and 1744. Table 6.4 summarizes this information. As the daily accommodation cost was two livres, the figures indicate how many days the missionaries were in town.⁷⁴ For each of these years, there were two missionaries living with the Mi'kmaq. The number of accommodation days listed in Column 3 pertains to both

⁷¹. "Autobiographie de l'Abbé Le Loutre," Nova Francia, 6 (1931), pp. 4-5; Le Loutre à un prêtre du séminaire de Québec, 3 oct. 1740, Canada-Français, (1881), p. 25.

⁷². AC, C11B 21:75, de Forant au ministre, 14 nov. 1739. In October, 1738, Maillard had requested that a missionary be sent to Abegweit specifically to service the needs of the Mi'kmaq population there. Maillard à Montigny, 1 oct. 1738, Canada-Français, (1881), p. 67.

⁷³. AC, C11B 24:28-28v, MM. Du Quesnel et Bigot au ministre, 17 oct. 1742. The identification of the missionary noted in this correspondence can be found in AC, C11B 25:196,200v, Bordereau....1743.

⁷⁴. AC, C11C 12:69v.

TABLE 6.4
 MONIES SPENT ON MISSIONARIES
 LODGINGS IN LOUISBOURG, 1735-1744

Year	Amount [Livres]	Days	Missionaries Mentioned
1735	168	84	Maillard & St. Vincent
1736	-	-	-
1737	186	93	Maillard & Le Loutre
1738	218	109	-
1739	166	83	-
1740	100	50	-
1741	94	47	-
1742	-	-	-
1743	-	-	-
1744	26	13	-

SOURCE: AC, C11C 11:104, 131v; AC, C11C 12:22, 55v, 69v, 81, 145v;
 AC, C11B 20:198.

individuals.

As the example of Le Loutre shows, at times missionaries ordinarily assigned to the Mi'kmaq mission, also ministered to Acadian villagers. This, however, was unusual and commonly a clear division existed between missionaries and parish priests. By 1755, there were six parishes in Acadia. The first parish encompassed the territory surrounding Port Royal and included Acadians living on both sides of the Annapolis River, more than 12 leagues from the English fort. The second parish included the area around the River Canard, the third, Minas (Grand Pré) and the fourth, Acadian settlements located more than ten leagues along both sides of the Piziquit River. Cobequit parish included people living along the river of the same name more than 15 leagues inland, while Beaubassin parish included settlements living along eight river systems.⁷⁵ After becoming well established, each parish was served by its own priest.

Mi'kmaq villages at Port Royal, Minas, Piziquit, Cobequit and Chignecto were adjacent to Acadian settlements, and thus, occasional contacts occurred between parish priests and Mi'kmaq villagers. Such contacts would have been more common during the early years of Acadian settlement when interaction between the two communities was more frequent. One cannot imagine, for example, a recurrence in the eighteenth century of Abbé Beaudoin's decision

⁷⁵. AC, C11A 87:363-364, "Description de l'Acadie avec le nom des paroisses et le nombre des habitants."

in 1693 to live among the Mi'kmaq for the winter and abandon his Acadian parishioners.

Evidence regarding contact between the Mi'kmaq and parish priests during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is in the registers of Saint-Jean Baptiste, (Port Royal), Grand Pré, and Ile Saint-Jean parishes. These registers concern the Acadian population but occasionally includes baptisms, marriages and deaths among the Mi'kmaq. Table 6.5 summarizes information from the registers.

As contact between missionaries and the Mi'kmaq was sporadic before 1706, priests assigned to Acadian parishes also ministered to adjoining Mi'kmaq villages. Claude Moireau, the parish priest for Chignecto, baptized 34 Mi'kmaq living in the vicinity of his parish between 1681 and 1686 and also travelled occasionally to the Saint John River to perform baptisms.⁷⁶ Abbé Beaudoin, a Sulpician priest who succeeded Moireau, is known to have worked among the Mi'kmaq, living with them for perhaps six months in 1693.⁷⁷ Though documentation is lacking, other priests living among the Acadian population on the Bay of Fundy likely performed similar services for neighbouring Mi'kmaq villages before 1706, as neither Thury nor Gaulin could visit every Mi'kmaq village annually. In 1720, Gaulin noted that some Mi'kmaq

⁷⁶. Archevêché de Québec, copie des registres de l'état civil de différent endroits de l'Acadie...1680 à 1757, NAC, MG 9: B8, vol. 1.

⁷⁷. AC, C11D 2:211, de Villebon, "Mémoire concernant la conduite de Messieurs les Missionnaires de l'acadie," 1693.

TABLE 6.5
BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS
ADMINISTERED BY PARISH PRIESTS
TO MI'KMAQ PEOPLE ACCORDING TO EXTANT REGISTERS
1681-1755

PARISH	YEARS OF REGISTERS	PRIESTS	Years	Number of Acts Concerning Mi'kmaq		
				B	M	D
Chignecto	1680-86	Moireau	1681-86	34	-	-
	1712-23	De Breslay	1722-23	5	0	0
	1732-35					
	1740-48					
Port Royal	1702-55	De Breslay	1725-30	16	2	5
		Denonville	1730			1
		Saint Poncy	1733-35	1?	2	
		Unknown	1726	2	2	
Grand Pré	1709-48	De La Gondalie	1730	1	0	0
		St. Poncy	1733	2	0	0
Ile Saint-Jean		De Breslay	1722	1	0	0
		De Métivier	1722-23	4	0	1
		Guegot	1735	1	0	0
		A. Collin	1737	3	0	0
		[Le Moigne]	1738	2	0	0
		LaGrace	1750	2	0	0
		G. Raoul	1755	2	0	0
TOTALS				88	6	7

SOURCES: Archevêché de Québec, Copie des Registres de l'état civil de différents endroits de l'Acadie...1680 à 1757, NAC, MG 9: B8, vol. 1; RG 1: 26, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials at Annapolis Royal, 1702-1728 and 1722-1755; AC, G1, 411, Registres, Ile Saint-Jean; AD, l'Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes), Registres de baptêmes, mariages et sépultures de Saint-Pierre-du-Nord, 1725-1758, NAC, MG 6:A4; PANS: Churches: Acadian French Records.

had been baptized by two priests trained at Paris and Québec seminaries who had died among the Mi'kmaq at an advanced age.⁷⁸ Thury was one of the unnamed priests and the other was possibly Louis Petit, the parish priest for Port Royal who, had arrived in Acadia in 1674.

The registers for Saint-Jean-Baptiste parish record baptisms of Mi'kmaq children between 1725 and 1734 suggesting that parish priests administered baptisms or marriages when Mi'kmaq villages were not regularly visited by a missionary. All 31 baptisms in the parish records occurred between 1725 and 1735, coinciding with Abbé Gaulin's declining health and inability to find additional assistance. Thus, the appearance of the names of Mi'kmaq individuals in parish registers of Acadian communities does not indicate consistent patterns of contact between parish priests and neighbouring Mi'kmaq peoples. Rather, the records reflect exceptional circumstances occasioned by irregular missionary visitations.

2. The Spiritual Mission

When the missionaries stepped onto the shores of *Mi'kma'ki*, they encountered something 'strange,' something foreign. How they understood this "foreignness" was influenced by how they integrated the Mi'kmaq into their

⁷⁸. AN, Monuments historiques, série K, carton 1232, pièce 4, Gaulin à Monseigneur d'Aguesseau, [1720], NAC: MG 3, série K, p. 111, [transcript].

understanding of the world. That understanding was suffused with the ideology of Catholicism which presupposed that the Mi'kmaq, like other Native peoples in the Western Hemisphere, had originated in Judea, then thought to be the cradle of all human life. Similar to Spanish perceptions of sixteenth century Mayan, Incan and Aztec peoples, Chrestien Le Clercq believed that the Mi'kmaq had "some dim and fabulous notion of the creation of the world, and of the deluge." Recounting his interpretation of the Mi'kmaq understanding of the deluge, LeClercq wrote that as a result of the wickedness of man

the sun [their God] wept with grief thereat, and the rain fell from heaven in such abundance that the waters mounted even to the summit of the rocks.....The flood, which they say was general over all the earth, compelled them to set sail in their bark canoes.⁷⁹

Did the Mi'kmaq people know about Christianity? Sixteenth- century Spanish theologians had posited two possible answers. Either Western Hemisphere peoples had lost the word of God before the flood or had known of God but over time had gradually lost knowledge of Him.⁸⁰ Le Clercq accepted the former explanation, believing that the Mi'kmaq were descendents of Noah

⁷⁹. Le Clercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, p. 85.

⁸⁰. Pierre Duviols. La lutte contre les religions autochones dans le Pérou colonial, (Paris 1971), p. 50. Similar ideas regarding the Chinese were entertained by the Jesuit priest, Matteo di Ricci, who believed that at one time they had known of God but had later lost this knowledge.

who, despite years of isolation from the Church, had retained some knowledge of God's Word.⁸¹

Other seventeenth century missionaries shared LeClercq's appraisal of Mi'kmaq spirituality. Biard believed that the Mi'kmaq had some knowledge of God while the Jesuit priest Julien Perrault who lived at Fort Sainte-Anne in Unimaki in the early 1630s wrote that "it is not credible that the light of nature should be altogether extinct in them [the Mi'kmaq] ... when it is not in other more barbarous Nations." The willingness of people to make the sign of the Cross, to perform other Christian rituals and their kindness, honesty, and modesty were all interpreted by Perrault as evidence of God's grace.⁸² A century later, Gaulin wrote that Mi'kmaq social customs closely resembled the apostolic vision of early Christianity. As he wrote in 1720:

As for the rules of Christian morals, they do not have much trouble in being persuaded because they naturally practise many

⁸¹. Chrestien LeClercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, edited by William F. Ganong, (Toronto 1910). pp. 84-86, 100. Missionary perceptions regarding the similarities between Christianity and Native religions is treated briefly in Cornelius Jaenen, Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Toronto 1976), pp. 44-46.

⁸². Biard noted that "Concerning the one God and the reward of the just, they have learned some things, but they declare that they had always heard and believed thus". JR 2:89, Biard to General, 31 Jan. 1612. See also p. 77. Biard also wrote that the Mi'kmaq "have an incoherent and general idea of the immortality of the soul and future reward and punishment." JR 3:135. Perrault: JR 8:161-165, Julien Perrault, "Relation of certain details regarding the Island of Cape Breton and its Inhabitants," 1634-35.

of them...."⁸³

For Gaulin, Mi'kmaq willingness to share their wealth showed an affinity for Christianity.

Hospitality is their most precious virtue and the charity is generally practised, it is also a point of honour to help the poor, especially strangers, and to do glory to share in public all that one had killed in the hunt or taken by fishing that they do all the time their two principal exercises.⁸⁴

God's grace, however, was threatened by the Devil who enticed the Mi'kmaq to commit diabolical acts. As in New Spain, Jesuit missionaries in Acadia believed Mi'kmaq activities which contradicted Christian and Judaic norms were initiated by demons.⁸⁵ Biard wrote that "all their religions... is nothing else than the tricks and charms of the Autmoins who made sacrifices to the Devil for good luck, to have success in the hunt, for favourable weather and to cure sicknesses."⁸⁶ In incidents retold in the Jesuit Relations, missionaries interpreted what they perceived as unusual behaviour as demonic

⁸³. AN, Monuments historiques, Gaulin, [1720], p. 112. Similarly, Sister Chauson wrote of the Mi'kmaq just after encountering some of their people for the first time, that "This nation of Indians are all the most cordial, the most honest and the most docile. They all have the fear of God..." Archives de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice, Série II, v. 25, Chauson, 1701, p. 13543.

⁸⁴. AN, Monuments Historiques, Gaulin, [1720], p. 113.

⁸⁵. Sabine MacCormack, "The Heart Has its Reasons: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru," Hispanic American Historical Review, 63 (1985), pp. 451-52.

⁸⁶. JR 3:131, "Biard's Relation of 1616."

attempts to wrest control of a person's soul. In one case, a woman's "frightful cries" and "strange gestures" only ceased when holy water was sprinkled over her.⁸⁷ Mi'kmaq autmoins were the Devil's most powerful ally. The Relation of 1647, for example, retells the story of a Mi'kmaq shaman living near Miskou who had attempted to force a Christian family to recant their faith in God. He is quoted as saying to the family:

I have learned from my Demon that next Winter thy family is to fall into a horrible calamity; that thy little son will soon die; that there is no more hunting for thee, and that thou art going to be miserable. Nevertheless, if thou wilt obey my words, I will avert this misfortune from over thy head. Give me the images [Christian images] that thou keepest, and a bottle of wine, and the Demon will do thee no harm.⁸⁸

While there were obstacles hampering missionary efforts, this still does not tell us if and in what manner the Mi'kmaq incorporated Catholicism into their culture. Understanding this process is hindered by the lack of Mi'kmaq-generated sources which would make possible understanding Catholicism from a Mi'kmaq perspective. As a result, we are forced to rely upon European written records. This European correspondence represents only one contact point between European and Mi'kmaq and is recorded by Europeans predisposed to view the Mi'kmaq positively. More fruitful is an examination of Mi'kmaq actions which, unlike missionary writings, implicitly confirm or

⁸⁷. IR 45:65-71, "Of the Acadian Mission," 1659-60.

⁸⁸. IR 32:45, "The Relation of 1647".

reject Catholic teachings.

One possible avenue of investigation is to examine Mi'kmaq burial practices. Like those of other Native peoples of northeastern North America, Mi'kmaq burial ceremonies included internment of a dead person's most valuable possessions as well as gifts presented by friends and relatives. These ceremonies predated European contact although the introduction of trade goods appears to have increased the number and variety of items buried.⁸⁹ Grave goods included bows, arrows, snowshoes, spears, furs and hides. After European contact, guns, axes, metal arrowheads and kettles were added. The Mi'kmaq believed that the dead would need these articles for their travels in the next world.⁹⁰ Written sources show that this practice continued after the arrival of missionaries during the seventeenth century.⁹¹ Denys noted that

⁸⁹. On pre-contact practice among the Mi'kmaq: LeClercq, New Relation, pp. 302-303; on the Wampanoag: Susan Gibson, ed., Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren, Rhode Island, (Providence 1980); on the Huron: Bruce Trigger, Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660, (Montréal, 1976), pp. 85-90; on the Algonkians in the northern Great Lakes region, Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1650-1815, (Cambridge 1990), pp. 102-103. Both Trigger and White have argued that both the ceremonialism and value of grave goods increased after the beginning of the fur trade. Trigger, p. 426 and White, p. 102.

⁹⁰. Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), (Toronto 1908), p. 439; Letter of Antoine Maillard, 27 March, 1755 in An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, (London 1758), p. 45-46.

⁹¹. Biggar, ed., The Works, 6:443-446; Lescarbot History of New France, III:274-283; Denys, Description and Natural History, 437-441; Le Clercq New Relation, pp. 300-303.

burying grave goods with the dead had been part of mortuary practices during his early years in *Mi'kma'ki* but had stopped by the time he was writing his book on Acadia, which was published in 1672. As Denys' activities after 1645 were located only at Miskou and Fort Saint-Pierre, however, his comments relate principally to these areas.⁹² As well, since Denys' contacts with the *Mi'kmaq* were sporadic, occurring during the autumn and early spring within the vicinity of his trading posts, his observations provide only a limited view of their cultural practices. Indeed, almost eighty years later, Maillard, who had spent long periods of his life living among the *Mi'kmaq*, wrote that goods continued to be buried with the dead.⁹³ The persistence of this practice during the seventeenth century is also indicated by excavations of *Mi'kmaq* burial grounds at Pictou Harbor, the Tabusintac River and Shippegan as well as a burial ground adjacent to Fort Sainte-Marie.⁹⁴ Though none of these sites has

⁹². George MacBeath, "Nicolas Denys," DCB I:257; Frances Stewart, "Seasonal Movements of Indians in Acadia as Evidenced by Historical Documents and Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Archaeological Sites," Man in the Northeast, no. 38 (1989), p. 73.

⁹³. Maillard, 27 March 1755, p. 45.

⁹⁴. Pictou: J. Russell Harper, "The Seventeenth Micmac 'Copper Kettle' Burials," Anthropologica, no. 4 (1957), pp. 11-36; Tabusintac River [which is located just north of the Miramichi River]: "On Pre-Historic Remains and on an Internment of the Early French Period, at Tabusintac River, N.B.," Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, no. 5 (1886), pp. 14-16; Shippegan: Samuel W. Kain and Charles F.B. Rowe, "Some Relics of the Early French Period in New Brunswick," Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, no. 19 (1901), p. 306; Fort Sainte-Marie: J. Russell Harper, Portland Point: Crossroads of New Brunswick History. Preliminary Report of the 1955 Excavation, (Saint John 1956), pp. 28-34.

been dated using radio-carbon testing, the presence of European grave goods indicates that the burials occurred during the post-contact period.

By the early eighteenth century there is evidence that some families had adopted at least the outward vestiges of Catholicism. This is shown by the registers for Saint-Jean Baptiste parish which list 34 baptisms among Mi'kmaq inhabiting southern *Kmitkinag* and Abegweit. Unlike the registers from Chignecto in the late seventeenth century, those from the following century do not include baptisms of adults or of children older than three to four years of age suggesting that at birth or soon after, most Mi'kmaq children were baptized, most likely during the missionaries' visit to their communities.⁹⁵ Information from the parish registers is summarized in Table 6.6.

Evidence regarding acceptance of Catholicism is also suggested by the priests' acquiescence of Mi'kmaq adults as godparents. Of the 28 baptisms recorded in the parish registers of Saint-Jean Baptiste, the ethnic identity of 26 godmothers and all 28 godfathers can be determined. Ten of 26 godmothers and 10 of 28 godfathers were Mi'kmaq.⁹⁶

We can never really know what each Mi'kmaq person thought of the priests they encountered and how Christianity was incorporated into their

⁹⁵. Abbé Gaulin, writing in 1720 said that all the Mi'kmaq are baptized. AN, Série K, Monuments historiques, carton 1232, #4, Gaulin à d'Aguesseau, [1720], NAC: MG 3, p. 114, [transcripts]

⁹⁶. For the godfathers, there were nine separate individuals since François Doucet was godfather on two occasions.

 TABLE 6.6
 INTERVAL BETWEEN BIRTH AND BAPTISM
 AMONG MI'KMAQ RECORDED IN SAINT-JEAN-BAPTISTE PARISH
 1725-1735 AND ILE SAINT-JEAN, 1722-1755

Parish	0-15 days	16-31 days	32-60 days	61-155 days	156-365 days	1-2 yrs	2+ yrs	un- known	Total
Saint Jean-Baptiste	6	1	4	4	5	3	4	2	29
Ile Saint-Jean	1	1	1	3	1	-	-	9	16

SOURCE: AC, G1 411 Registres Ile Saint-Jean

spiritual worldview. On the one hand, missionary testimony and parish registers suggest that some Mi'kmaq accepted Christianity into their lives. There is also evidence to argue that traditional religious practices continued to be honoured. This conclusion stems from two principal arguments. First, as shown in Chapter Two, Mi'kmaq people lived upon the lands they had occupied from before contact. Secondly, missionary work among the Mi'kmaq between 1661 and 1714 was sporadic and many villages were not visited by a priest for several months and sometimes longer. Only with the building of the churches and long-term missionary residency did Christianity become a more permanent fixture in peoples' lives. This activity, , was focussed upon a select number of villages located at Chebenacadie and the southern regions of Unimaki.

How then are we to reconcile these two contrasting views? One explanation is suggested by Nancy Farriss' research on the Yucatan Maya. Farriss divides Mayan religion into private and public spheres. The private was principally confined to the domestic sphere and involved rituals designed to ensure plentiful harvests, to heal domestic animals or to cure the sick. Because these rituals invoked the humbler spirits in Mayan cosmology, they were considered by Spanish priests to reflect the persistence of superstition among an 'ignorant' people and not warranting serious scrutiny. Indeed, Farriss argues that because both sixteenth century Spaniards and Mayans believed in magic, interaction resulted in an enrichment of each peoples' sense of magic. According to Farriss,

the real concern of the missionaries were the public rituals of idolatry performed by Mayan priests. These ceremonies directly contradicted Christian cosmology by denying the existence of one God and therefore, the missionaries' efforts were directed towards discrediting and eradicating those who practised it.⁹⁷

In assessing the missionaries' understanding of Mi'kmaq spirituality, two things are apparent. First, a predisposition to believe in Mi'kmaq acceptance of Christian thought, and secondly, the absence of any references to traditional rites associated with hunting and fishing. Does this mean these rites were no longer practised, that the priests were not aware of them or alternatively did not consider mention of them to be important? Since spirituality was principally a personal relationship between the individual and the animate world, the missionaries' view would not have extended to the private sphere, to hunters travelling through the bush in search of game or to fishermen spearing fish in lakes and rivers. Therefore, the existence of two religious systems functioning parallel to each other, much in the same way as occurred among the sixteenth-century Yucatan Mayan, is plausible. Within the private sphere, individuals and families practised traditional rites and ceremonies as they attempted to control and manipulate their own welfare and that of their kin. Some of these rites were enriched through contact with Catholicism, most

⁹⁷. Nancy M. Farriss, Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival (Princeton 1984), pp. 287-299.

tangibly through the adoption of sacramentals. The arrival of Europeans and social and geographical dislocations precipitated first by disease and later by settlement, fishing, and imperial conflict, extended the parameters of the known world, necessitating the formation of a new relationship with previously unknown spirits. This new relationship, however, was not between individuals and the Church, but rather between spirits inhabiting different geographical territories.

3. The Political Mission

In 1715, the intendant of New France, Michel Bégon wrote that "religion was the greatest strength in order to maintain these Indians (the Wabanaki) in the glory of the King and in the well-being of the colony."⁹⁸ Royal officials in early eighteenth-century New France believed that the interests of Catholicism and of the King were synonymous. More and more, Church and State worked in symbiosis, and the principle of the Gallican church was reaffirmed. At the parish level, the curé increasingly acted as an interpreter for the King with his subjects, the church service becoming an occasion to announce legislative measures and royal taxes. In extending France's territory into *Mi'kma'ki*, the King was also a symbolic figure in the missionary's relationships with the Mi'kmaq. Missionaries were the King's representatives, in a similar way that

⁹⁸. AC, C11A 35:119, Bégon au ministre, 25 sept. 1715.

the parish priest acted as an intermediary between the Crown and its subjects. In their discussions with the Mi'kmaq, missionaries, like Maillard, invoked the King's name and communicated directly with him through his ministers and royal officials.

Maillard considered himself to be the King's representative, one of a succession of missionaries who had been sent to *Mi'kma'ki* to spread God's word. According to Maillard, during the seventeenth century, the King had sent several missionaries to learn the Micmac language and to instruct the people in

"all that was absolutely necessary to believe and to do in order to merit seeing and possessing the Great God in the glory of his Kingdom after having left this country of death that we inhabit. When after some time the King, your Father had learnt that it had been found that you were disposed to listen to the truth of the great book of prayer and that many of you had already received the Baptism of Jesus-Christ, and that there passed hardly a day that some among you did not receive it, His Most Christian King thought to take all of you under his royal protection."⁹⁹

In Maillard's view, the word of God was received by the Mi'kmaq from him "through the medium of the King of France."¹⁰⁰ This had important consequences for how missionaries interacted with the Mi'kmaq. Catholicism was the cultural medium through which relationships with the Mi'kmaq were established, but as envoys of the Gallican Church, the missionaries also served

⁹⁹. Pierre-Antoine Maillard, "Lettre de M l'Abbé Maillard sur les missions d'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques (1756), Les Soirées canadiennes, (1863), pp. 344-345.

¹⁰⁰. Ibid., p. 350.

the temporal interests of the French Crown.¹⁰¹ They became, as Micheline Dumont-Johnson has pointed out, the intermediaries which made a Wabanaki-French alliance possible.

This middle role between the two societies was encouraged by both French and Mi'kmaq leaders. The Mi'kmaq accepted the priests because they needed someone trustworthy to mediate relations with European society. Unlike traders, farmers, and fishermen, missionaries did not pose an economic threat to Mi'kmaq society but rather assisted in overcoming spiritual and material changes stemming from European contact. French officials, on the other hand, believed that the missionaries could channel Mi'kmaq actions into ways consistent with imperial interests.

In this role, missionaries performed a number of crucial functions, becoming the Crown's principal informant regarding Mi'kmaq society. They acted as liaisons between the Mi'kmaq and European officials relaying information and concerns from one party to the other. In 1721, after learning that the English governor at Port Royal had offered "considerable presents" to the Mi'kmaq Indians and that some young people had received them, Saint-

¹⁰¹. Dumont-Johnson argues in a somewhat similar vein that the Crown considered the missionaries to be an essential component to maintain its alliance with the Wabanaki. Apôtres ou Agitateurs: la France missionnaire en Acadie, (Trois Rivières 1970), p. 103. The argument advanced here differs in its emphasis upon the missionary's acceptance by both the French colonial officials and Mi'kmaq leaders. In Dumont-Johnson's work, the Mi'kmaq do not have an independent existence from French colonial officialdom and the manipulative tactics of the missionary.

Ovide wrote to Gaulin, saying that he would meet the chiefs at Antigoniche at the end of July.¹⁰² In these face-to-face meetings, missionaries might act as an interpreter between the two parties, though there was also a government paid appointee who normally filled this function. Missionaries also compiled censuses of the Mi'kmaq population,¹⁰³ which were used to determine the quantity of presents to be given by the King to the Mi'kmaq, as part of the annual ritual where the alliance between the two parties was renewed. In a letter to the minister in 1719, Saint-Ovide wrote that he had advised Gaulin

to rendezvous at Louisbourg with the Indians of his mission to receive the presents that the King had sent them for 1719, and those that had not been given them in the previous years. He had distributed all of the presents at their [the Indians'] arrival, following a census that Mr. Gaulin had made of the villages and the number of men that there were in each one.¹⁰⁴

Censuses also provided the number of men within each village capable of bearing arms. These figures were used to determine the approximate number of available men in the event of war with England. Missionaries also advised the Governor about Mi'kmaq material needs.¹⁰⁵ Information provided by Courtin in October 1726, for example, led to a change in the annual presents

¹⁰². AC, C11B 5:340, Conseil de la Marine, nov. 1721.

¹⁰³. Among the censuses compiled by missionaries were those made in 1708, 1721, 1722 and 1735.

¹⁰⁴. AC, C11B 5:20, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1719.

¹⁰⁵. AC, C11B 7:25, "Mémoire de ce qui étoit nécessaire pour les presents des sauvages pour l'année 1725."

given to the Mi'kmaq. Until then, tools, shirts and blankets had been given to the Mi'kmaq but Courtin noted that these were of no use and were traded to merchants in exchange for alcohol. Courtin said that the allotment of powder, bullets and "pierres de fusil" needed to be increased and in subsequent years these articles became the principal presents given by the Crown.¹⁰⁶ From the Crown's perspective, however, the missionary's most important role was to spy on Mi'kmaq society. Indeed, one of the purposes for establishing permanent missions was so that missionaries would "see all that occurs" among the Mi'kmaq.¹⁰⁷ The importance the Conseil de la Marine attached to the missionaries role in keeping the Mi'kmaq loyal to the King is suggested by the Conseil's reaction to news that some Mi'kmaq from Abbé Courtin's missions had visited Port Royal and received presents from the Lieutenant-Governor there. Reprimanding both Saint-Ovide and Courtin, the Conseil expressed its expectation that the Governor's "presence and that of Sieur Courtin will restore order to the Law among the Indians."¹⁰⁸

This relationship was possible only because missionaries were accepted by Mi'kmaq headmen and elders who viewed them as beings capable of communicating with the spirit world. Thus, missionaries could be trusted, and

¹⁰⁶. AC, C11B 8:53, Courtin à Saint-Ovide, 30 oct. 1726.

¹⁰⁷. AC, B 29:47, Le ministre à Subercase, 24 août 1707.

¹⁰⁸. The original reads "votre [Saint-Ovide's] presence et celle du Sr. Courtin auron remis l'ordre et la Regle parmy ces Sauvages." AC, Lettres Envoyées (B), 57:744v, Conseil de la Marine à Saint-Ovide, 19 juin 1732.

with their knowledge of European customs and politics were useful in communicating with the animate world, in order to assist the Mi'kmaq in finding their way through the change into which their eighteenth-century world was catapulted.

In doing so, missionaries performed various functions. They wrote letters for Mi'kmaq *sakamows* to English colonial officials in Boston and Port Royal. While some Mi'kmaq had learned to write European languages, a missionary's writing was more easily understood by English officials. In 1761, an English officer remarked that he had problems reading a letter written by the Chief of the Restigouche Mi'kmaq, and "it was with some difficulty that [he] gleaned the meaning."¹⁰⁹ In part, this dependency was the missionaries own doing, as some clerics like Maillard did not teach the Mi'kmaq Roman characters, fearing that they then would be more influenced by other Europeans.¹¹⁰ Moreover, by providing the Mi'kmaq with necessary skills to deal with European society, the missionaries would undermine their own position and influence within Mi'kmaq councils. Letters written by the missionaries dealt with different issues including responses to peace overtures, complaints regarding English actions, and demands that prisoners held in Boston be

¹⁰⁹. PRO, WO 34 12:99v, Captain Roderick MacKenzie to Jonathan Belcier, 28 March 1761. The letter to which MacKenzie refers to can be found on folio pages 90-91 in the same volume.

¹¹⁰. Dumont-Johnson, *Apôtres et Agitateurs*, pp. 81-82.

speedily returned.¹¹¹ Letters from English colonial officials were likewise channelled through the missionary, who read and translated them to villagers.¹¹² In disputes regarding treaty articles, missionaries assisted the Wabanaki in determining whether the written words reflected the spirit of verbal agreements. In June 1727, the Penobscot Abenaki requested an unidentified Jesuit priest to accompany them to John Gyle's trading post on the Saint George's River to assist in interpreting the Boston treaty signed two years before. As the Penobscot headman, Loron stated, the Jesuit's presence was requested as " we have had Sum Diputs with ye Jesuitt and furran tribes Concerning the Interpretation of ye artincols." They asked Gyles to interpret the articles for them while the Jesuit proposed to "Rite Down [Gyles'] Interpretation in Indian."¹¹³

¹¹¹. For example, MSA 51:265-267, Gaulin to Governor and Council of Massachusetts, 8 July 1713; Eastern Indians Letter to Governor of Massachusetts, 27 July 1721, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, vol. VIII, (Boston 1819) pp. 259-263; "Declaration de Guerre des Micmacs aux Anglais," [Juil.] 1749, in Canada-Français, vol. 1 (Québec 1888), pp. 17-19. [written probably by Le Loutre]; PANS, RG1 187:91-96, Le Loutre to Nova Scotia Executive Council, 27 August 1754, Executive Council Minutes, September 1754. A similar situation existed among other Wabanaki groups. PANS, RG1 6:# 19, Penobscot Indians to Major Caulfield, 3 Jan. 1715 [written by Pierre La Chasse].

¹¹². PANS, RG1 187:87-89, Nova Scotia Executive Council Minutes, 9 Sept. 1754. Some Mi'kmaq could write in French. In 1767, Charles Robin, an English trader from the Ile of Jersey, recounted meeting the chief of the Restigouche Mi'kmaq who wore spectacles and could read French. Public Archives of New Brunswick, Charles Robin Journal, 1767-1774, p. 2.

¹¹³. John Gyles, "Memorial of a Conference at St. George's River," June, 1727, Documentary History of the State of Maine, edited by James Baxter, vol. 23 (Portland 1916), p. 214.

Missionaries were more than just political liaisons whose knowledge and skills were used by both parties for their mutual benefit. Occupying a strategic position between two cultures, missionaries influenced the textual quality of the relationships and attempted to mold them into a vision consistent with the King's interests. Since their own interests merged with those of the Crown, this led missionaries to adopt an active role in maintaining French sovereignty over *Mi'kma'ki*. From the Crown's perspective, one of the missionaries most important roles was to assess Wabanaki loyalty to French interests which included reporting contacts with English colonial officials. Sometimes, this information was used to disrupt peace negotiations with New England. In 1694, information provided by the Jesuit, Father Bigot, regarding the peace established between two Abenaki *sakamows* and the Massachusetts government, led to a tactical ploy which involved Abbé Thury's efforts to incite another leader against the peacemakers. The tactic worked and eventually forced the two *sakamows* to break their peace with the English.¹¹⁴ In effect, the missionary worked to maintain the French alliance with the *Mi'kmaq* which might entail intervening in internal debates.

We should not overlook the fact that disagreements would have occurred between the missionaries and their temporal masters in the colony, the Governor and his officers. While in the missionaries' minds, the King's person was inviolate, his colonial appointees were not, occasioning subtle but

¹¹⁴. Webster, ed., Journal, p. 63.

significant tensions regarding how the King's will was to be implemented. The creation of permanent missions, isolated from what they perceived as the pernicious and destructive influence of French and Acadian society, was the missionaries' end but this necessitated that they adhere to the temporal interests of the colony. To the Governor and to the Minister, the missionaries were ultimately beholden because, as secular priests, they had neither the financial resources nor political influence to do otherwise. Thus Abbé Thury, and Abbé Gaulin after him, couched their requests for financial assistance in terms which would demonstrate the political and military importance of permanent missions. As a result, their letters appear to suggest absolute agreement between the missionaries and the Minister regarding the colony's relationship with the Mi'kmaq. This, however, is unlikely. Though in the service of the State, the missionaries were first concerned with the salvation of the Mi'kmaq people.¹¹⁵ Isolated from French society for months at a time, the missionaries could not have been immune from despair over the deleterious effects of war on the peoples for whom they sought salvation.

Evidence is lacking save for one faint echo in the Governor's correspondence with the Minister discussing the alleged participation of Gaulin in convincing the Wabanaki to conclude a peace treaty with Massachusetts in 1725. Writing to the minister at the end of October, the intendant of New France, Bégon, and Longeuil, the acting Governor for the colony, complained

¹¹⁵. Dumont-Johnson, Apôtres ou Agitateurs, p. 104.

that the Abenaki were on the verge of signing a peace treaty. This, they attributed to the machinations of Gaulin, who for the past two years, they said, had been counselling the Mi'kmaq to make peace with the English and had made similar suggestions to the Panaouamske and Saint John River Abenaki.¹¹⁶ Officials of the Conseil de la Marine were outraged and wrote to Saint-Ovide that such advice contradicted the Crown's interests, by threatening the security of Canada and instructed him to investigate Gaulin's conduct.¹¹⁷ Saint-Ovide replied at the end of the summer, absolving Gaulin of any wrongdoing, saying that the missionary had been at Minas and Chignecto for the past 15 months and thus could not have been a party to Abenaki deliberations.¹¹⁸ Though apparently innocent, the accusations against Gaulin linger, as they suggest that within the circles of power in New France, there was talk that the missionaries could not always be trusted. Living for most of the year outside the scrutiny of the Governor and the Bishop, the missionaries' words could not be heard, frustrating officials who sought to control and to manipulate but who were trapped by the limits of imperial power in the colony. This incident suggests that missionaries like Gaulin played a more subtle role in Mi'kmaq-European relations than certain official texts would suggest. The interests of the missionaries and administrators may have neatly

¹¹⁶. AC, C11A 47:69v, Longueuil et Bégon au Conseil de la Marine, 31 oct. 1725.

¹¹⁷. AC, B 49:706-706v, Le Conseil de la Marine à Saint-Ovide, 28 mai 1726.

¹¹⁸. AC, C11B 8:35, Saint-Ovide au Conseil, 18 sept. 1726.

coincided but their strategies diverged, as they sought, each in their own way, the formula which would balance the political interests of the Crown with the spiritual concerns of the Church. The incident reveals the essential contradiction of the French Church, too closely associated with the Royal Power. That contradiction, however, was irresolvable, creating at times, discord among the King's representatives in the colony.

This recasting of missionary-political relationships, however, requires further qualification, as this period witnessed an evolution in the political and military character of eastern North America. Disagreements between the missionaries and political officials were greater during Gaulin's tenure in *Mi'kma'ki* than the subsequent period, particularly after 1735 with the arrival of Saint-Vincent, Maillard and Le Loutre. Gaulin was a native of Canada, born at Sainte-Famille on the island of Orléans, and ordained a priest at the Québec seminary in 1697.¹¹⁹ His successors, on the other hand, were not only part of a later generation of priests but were also French-born and educated.¹²⁰ While subtle, this difference between Gaulin and later missionaries was important in shaping their understanding of colonial life. In part, the differing perceptions reflect that they arrived in *Mi'kma'ki* at different periods, and their relations with colonial officials were qualitatively different, as was their view of French-English relations. Unlike Le Loutre and Maillard, Thury and Gaulin lived

¹¹⁹. David Lee, "Antoine Gaulin," DCB I:238.

¹²⁰. Micheline Dumont-Johnson, "Pierre Maillard," DCB III:415.

unencumbered and unchecked by colonial officials, their situation reflecting the tenuous character of French military power in New France, and particularly in *Mi'kma'ki*. During the wars of the early eighteenth century, Gaulin moved through Wabanaki territory at will, often unaccompanied by French military officers. At times, the Minister and his officials in Port Royal and Québec, did not know Gaulin's location, only that he was somewhere along the eastern seaboard. This situation was exacerbated both by war and by winter, as officials scrambled, sometimes vainly, to obtain information. Some suggestion as to both how widely Gaulin travelled and his responsibilities is glimpsed in the instructions accompanying the vessel Neptune in its voyage to New France in 1711, which instructed the Captain to pass by Baye Verte, Spanish Bay (in Unimaki) and Gaspé to learn news of Gaulin.¹²¹ Similarly, during the winter of 1710-1711, the Governor of New France, Vaudreuil, sent two Frenchmen and two Indians "sur les glaces" to Chignecto and Minas to seek news from Acadia from Fathers Félix Pain and Bonaventure. Near the end of April 1711, the Governor wrote to the Minister that he waited "day to day for the return of the two Frenchmen."¹²² It was a long wait for Pain and Bonaventure did not

¹²¹. AC, B 33:79v, Mémoire du roi à Vaudreuil, 7 juil. 1711. On 5 Sept. 1711 he was in Plaisance, [AC C11D 7:177-180v,]; AC, C11A 32:184, "Mémoire sur le Canada, [1710]; AC, C11C 7:98, Durand au ministre, 18 oct. 1711; AC, C11D 7:182v-183, Goutins au ministre, 17 nov. 1711; AC, C11A 33:241-242v, Conseil de la Marine, 1712.

¹²². Vaudreuil au ministre, 25 avril 1711, Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, (1946-47), p. 413.

reply until early September.¹²³ Within this context, both Thury and Gaulin enjoyed independence in determining their relationships with the Wabanaki.

By the 1740s, however, such flexibility had all but disappeared, as the opposing forces expanded their presence in the colonies. By then the entire face of Acadia had been altered and the battle formerly fought largely by France's Indian allies was now a European war, with the Natives as auxiliary troops. In this situation, the power and influence that had previously characterized the work of missionaries such as Gaulin vanished, restricting their movements and with it, the possibility that they assume positions independent of political officials.

The missionaries' ability to influence Mi'kmaq actions was often limited. Micheline Dumont-Johnson has argued that during the 1740s and 1750s, the missionaries played an important role in convincing the Mi'kmaq to war against the English.¹²⁴ This situation, however, was specific to the political conjuncture of those years and did not reflect the role of the missionary in Mi'kmaq society before 1744. There is evidence to suggest that both during and after 1744, missionaries encountered obstacles in trying to shape Mi'kmaq actions in ways consistent with French interests. This occurred for several reasons. First, English expansion around the edges of Mi'kmaq territories

¹²³. AC, C11A 31:136-137v, Bonaventure à Vaudreuil, 7 sept. 1711; AC, C11A 32:99, Pain à Vaudreuil, 8 sept. 1711.

¹²⁴. Dumont-Johnson, Apôtres ou Agitateurs, p. 114.

interfered with fishing and hunting and violated the sacred character in which these activities were conducted. During the 1740's, Maillard and Le Loutre reinforced Mi'kmaq hostility towards the English by arguing that they represented a malevolent force and associated them with the Devil. Thus, for the Mi'kmaq, English fishermen represented more than just a physical challenge to their territories but a negative spiritual force which threatened to unsettle relationships with fish and animal spirits. This, at times, conflicted with French attempts to maintain peaceful relations with New England. Secondly, the missionaries' difficulties reflect the decentralized character of Mi'kmaq society and political leadership. As pointed out in Chapter Two, Mi'kmaq political decisions reached by elders and *sakamows* did not necessarily bind all families, so that individuals might seek private revenge for past wrongs committed by the English irrespective of village, district or Grand Council decisions. Similarly, adherence to the outward forms of Christian worship did not bind individual Mi'kmaq to accept the missionaries' advice. There emerged during periods of declared peace between England and France, incidents which pitted missionary attempts to maintain the peace against Mi'kmaq concerns regarding their villages. Before 1744, French officials sought to minimize Mi'kmaq hostility towards New England shipping, not only because it threatened Louisbourg's lucrative trading with the English colonies, but also because they feared retaliation. In 1715, the Governor of Ile Royale complained to the Minister regarding a Mi'kmaq attack upon an English vessel

at Saint George's Bay in Kaqamkuk. According to Costebelle, the attack was precipitated by Mi'kmaq accusations that Englishmen had poisoned articles traded to the Minas Mi'kmaq. The Governor wrote that

Father Gaulin threatened not to take their confession if they did not restore the pillaged items, which communicated no scruples of conscience...I assure you, my lord, that these are animals very difficult to steer...¹²⁵

The ambivalence of the missionaries' influence is also suggested by their attempts to transform Mi'kmaq military actions into ways consistent with French political interests. The missionaries sought to ensure that English prisoners should not be tortured, killed, or adopted into Mi'kmaq families.¹²⁶ Writing in the 1750s, Maillard believed that torture was unChristian and inhuman. He told the people to "treat all men in the same manner that you would want that they treat you. You will show by this that you are the children of the Almighty."¹²⁷ Invocations against torture, though couched within a religious connotation, coincided with French political and military purposes as well as reflecting a new sensibility in French elite circles regarding

¹²⁵. AC, C11B 1:129, Costebelle au ministre, 9 sept. 1715.

¹²⁶. Examples of prisoners being tortured can be found in Henry Grace, The History of the Life and Sufferings of Henry Grace, (Boston 1764), pp. 18-19; John Gyles, Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, (Cincinnati 1869), first edition, 1736, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁷. "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard," pp. 322-333. Quote is on page 332. M. Dumont-Johnson has analyzed Maillard's injunctions on torture, Apôtres ou Agitateurs, pp. 68-73. Of his captivity among the Abenaki between 1689-1695, John Gyles wrote that the Récollet priest - probably Father Simon - "most severely reprimanded the Indians for their barbarities to captives." Gyles, Memoirs, p. 32.

social relations. In New France, prisoners were a means of obtaining information regarding military preparations of the opposing side. Depending upon their occupation, prisoners could also be better informed regarding events in Europe than French colonial officials, particularly during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when English corsairs hindered trans-Atlantic travel. In early May 1696, for example, de Villebon sent a party of fifteen or twenty men from his fort at Nashwaak to the New England frontier "to make some prisoners so as to have news."¹²⁸ Prisoners were also useful for exchanging French and Acadian captives held by the English.¹²⁹ Failure to obtain a sufficient quantity of captives might mean that the liberty of prisoners held by the opposing side would have to be purchased.¹³⁰ Probably as a means of encouraging the Mi'kmaq to preserve the lives of their prisoners, during the 1740s, French colonial authorities offered goods in

¹²⁸. AC, C11D 2:271v, de Villebon, 14 juil. 1696. Similarly, in 1712 Samuel Vetch complained that the Governor of Canada had sent a party against Port Royal "to catch some prisoners to give the information whether any expedition was designed against that place." RG 1 5: doc.30, Vetch to Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1712. For a later example, see M. Joubert à M. de Surlaville, in Les derniers jours de l'Acadie (1748-1758), ed. by Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, (Paris 1899), p. 173.

¹²⁹. Examples of prisoner exchanges between Boston and Port Royal between 1707 and 1708 are in CO 5:790, Massachusetts General Council Minutes, 23 Jan. 1707 and 23 April 1708.

¹³⁰. This is suggested in the correspondence of the Governor of Massachusetts, who in 1704 wrote that French officials had demanded money for the return of prisoners they held. CO5:863, 315, Dudley to Board of Trade, 10 Oct. 1704.

exchange for the captives the Mi'kmaq held.¹³¹

Sometimes missionaries accompanied the raiding parties, hoping to stop the killing of prisoners and, during raids on New England settlements, minimize what they considered to be the unnecessary slaughter of women and children. In Acadia, this practice began during the 1689 to 1697 war and continued during the eighteenth century. While parish priests had performed this role in the 1690s, during the subsequent conflicts, priests assigned to the Mi'kmaq mission, such as Gaulin, Le Loutre and Maillard, assumed the task. Before embarking on a raid against New England in 1689, Abbé Thury exhorted the Kennebec Abenaki

and especially the chiefs that I knew were the best Christians to make a sorti that did not result in any disorder, to not exercise any cruelty in regards to the English and not to become drunk...¹³²

Maillard echoed the same sentiments in a discussion with Mi'kmaq warriors before the siege of Louisbourg in 1745.¹³³

* * * * *

¹³¹. An anonymous memorial written in 1748 said that 100 livres was given for an English prisoner and only 30 livres for a scalp. AC, C11D 10: (n.p.), "Sur L'Acadie," [1748]. In 1706, the Minister approved of measures adopted to save prisoners from the Mi'kmaq. AC, B 27:13v, le ministre à Bonaventure, 22 mai, 1706.

¹³². "Relation du combat de Cannibas, par Monsieur Thury, missionnaire," CMNE, p. 490.

¹³³. Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard" p. 351.

This suggests the ambivalence of the missionary's role in Mi'kmaq society. As a mediator in relationships with the Governor and through him with the King, the missionary became an essential component of Mi'kmaq relationships with non-Indian peoples. The missionary moved within a world the Mi'kmaq elders and *sakamows* did not know. The relationship between them was sanctified through rituals which united the Mi'kmaq with the spiritual power of the Church of the French Crown. This relationship between systems of thought did not entail the imposition of one over the other, regardless of missionary attempts to so do. From this perspective, analyses suggesting the dominant role of missionaries in Mi'kmaq society are shown to have overemphasized their ability to influence Mi'kmaq actions. While missionaries were important in Mi'kmaq society, their ability to influence the internal mechanisms of Mi'kmaq cultural life were limited.

CHAPTER 7
GOVERNMENT 1670-1760

Recently, in his study of the Great Lakes region, Richard White has suggested that there existed a middle ground between French and Indians which made the creation of an alliance between the two parties possible. This middle ground was a product of particular historical exigencies in which neither French nor Indian could establish supremacy over the other. To build an alliance, co-operation and consent were necessary but in a manner which incorporated the cultural values of the different parties involved. This was the middle ground and White argues that its contours were being constantly invented and remoulded.¹

What follows is an examination of Mi'kmaq relations with French and English colonial officials from 1670 until 1760. While this chapter does not directly challenge White's interpretation of French-Indian relations, it argues that it cannot be applied to *Mi'kma'ki* since the historical situation was different. Unlike the Great Lakes region, which was populated by many ethnic groups, *Mi'kma'ki* was inhabited by one people whose lives had not been as radically altered by devastating intertribal wars. This meant that aboriginal social and political structures continued to animate tribal life more forcefully. Secondly, unlike the Great Lakes region, *Mi'kma'ki* was extensively settled by

¹. Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge 1991), pp. 50-93.

European farmers and during the eighteenth century became the centre of major military battles between non-Native troops.

Mi'kmaq political relations with France and England were determined by the treaties and alliances negotiated between the parties. During the period under discussion, the French Crown was allied with the Mi'kmaq, and regular meetings were held between *sakamows* and elders and French colonial officials to air questions of mutual concern. The English, on the other hand, were at war intermittently with the Mi'kmaq between 1690 and 1725, 1744 and 1752 and again from 1753 to 1760. Few peaceful exchanges occurred and even during peacetime, the legacy of distrust which war had engendered, tended to minimize contacts between English colonial officials and Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders. However, in 1725 and in 1752, the Mi'kmaq signed treaties with the English Crown, both of which ostensibly established laws to govern relations between the two peoples. Transcripts of these treaty negotiations were either not made or not kept. Likewise there are no transcripts of the meetings between French officials and Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders though between 1719 and 1732 the governor wrote a general summary of what he considered to be the most important aspects of the discussions. Thus, there is little concrete evidence of a Mi'kmaq perspective on alliances and treaties negotiated with the English and French Crowns.

This chapter examines in turn Mi'kmaq relations with the French and

English Crowns over a century marked by rivalries, distrust and periods of open warfare.

1. French Government in *Mi'kma'ki*

a) Acadia 1670-1710

Sources for this period are not extensive. The major series is contained in nine volumes of correspondence between French colonial officials in Acadia and Versailles. Very little mention is made of the Mi'kmaq, suggesting that minimal contact occurred between officials and Mi'kmaq *sakamows*.

While the Crown assumed direct control over Canada in 1663, this did not occur in Acadia until the signing of the 1667 Treaty of Breda in which England surrendered their sovereignty over "Acadia" to the French Crown. Three years later in July 1670, France formally re-occupied Acadia when the newly appointed Governor, Hector d'Andigné de Grandfontaine, accompanied by forty soldiers, thirteen officers and a military engineer, arrived at Pentagoet to accept the territory from Sir Thomas Temple's agents.

In turning the region over to Grandfontaine, Temple ceded two trading posts, Pentagoet and Jemseg located on the Saint John River, as well as the Acadian settlement at Port Royal. Pentagoet consisted of four stone buildings, a barracks, a storehouse, a guardhouse, a residence and a small wooden chapel. The buildings were surrounded by earthworks and defended by nineteen

canons. While repairs were carried out by Grandfontaine's soldiers, this was to remain the fort's basic structure over the next four years. Jemseg was considerably smaller, with two wooden buildings, also enclosed by earthworks and defended by five small calibre canons. No fortifications existed at Port Royal, as they were destroyed by Temple sometime in the late 1650s.²

Grandfontaine was instructed by the Minister to establish his residence at Pentagoet so as to hinder English encroachments. A small military force was also stationed at Jemseg and commanded by Pierre de Marson.³ At neither place, however, were French forces sufficient to withstand any serious military assault, with 23 soldiers stationed at Pentagoet and nine at Jemseg. In the summer of 1674, both posts were captured by Dutch privateers, transporting Grandfontaine's replacement, Jacques de Chambly, and other officers to Boston, and leaving a contingent of 15 Frenchmen at Pentagoet.⁴

From 1678 until 1690 the seat of royal government was located at Port

². Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier (Augusta, Maine 1987), pp. 23-25. The Minister's instructions to Grandfontaine concerning Pentagoet are in Archives nationales (AN), Archives des colonies (AC), Lettres envoyées (B), 3:41v, le ministre à Grandfontaine, 11 mars 1671. A more detailed description of the forts at Pentagoet and Jemseg from contemporary documents can be found in Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, vol. 1 (Halifax 1865), p. 147.

³. René Baudry, "Jacques de Chambly," DCB I:185.

⁴. Faulkner and Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, p. 29. Henri Brunet to Grandfontaine, 4 Feb. 1675, in "Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," edited by Louis-André Vigneras, New England Quarterly, 13 (1940), p. 108. George MacBeath, "Pierre de Joybert de Soulanges et de Marson," DCB 1:399.

Royal which was far easier to defend than Pentagoet. Military forces, however, remained small. In 1686, the census compiled by New France's intendant, Jacques DeMeulle, listed 30 soldiers at Port Royal.⁵ In the Gargas census taken the following year, soldiers were billeted with inhabitants but were also situated at the principal trading posts throughout the region.⁶ This included 10 "enlisted men" at three posts on the Saint John River, three at Pentagoet, five in Unimaki, two at Chedabouctou and one at Cap Sable. In all, Gargas listed 32 soldiers. By the summer of 1688, there were 90 soldiers, 25 of whom were stationed at Chedabouctou.

Militarily, Port Royal remained weak, as the Crown did not begin rebuilding the fortifications until the late 1680s. In May 1690, the fort was attacked by a New England force under the command of Sir William Phips, who forced its surrender. A contemporary account of the expedition noted that the French did not have one gun mounted in their new fortifications and so were incapable of resisting.⁷ What construction had been completed was burned by the New Englanders and the King's canon and other munitions

⁵. "Recensement de 1686," Bulletin des recherches historiques, 38 (1932), p. 723.

⁶. "Gargas Census, 1687-88," in Acadiensis Nova, edited by William Morse, vol. 1 (London 1935), pp. 146-147.

⁷. Extract of a Letter to Mr. John Usher from Boston, 27 May 1690, in Report of the Canadian Archives for 1912 (Ottawa 1913), Appendix E, p. 64.

confiscated.⁸ Governor Meneval, the parish priest, Abbé Petit, and fifty soldiers were taken prisoner by Phips and transported to Boston.⁹ The settlement and trading post at Chedabouctou were also destroyed.¹⁰

Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Meneval's second in command, who had departed for France earlier, returned to Port Royal in June but fearing a return of the English decided to move, with the remaining officers and soldiers, to Nashwaak on the Saint John River.¹¹ Over the next nine years, this small trading post was the centre of royal government in *Mi'kma'ki*. The move implicitly recognized the military weakness of French colonial government and its dependence for survival upon the Wabanaki. As de Villebon was to later write, Nashwaak was the best place to station troops

as it was the close to our Indian allies, for to be in a state to help them with munitions, to assist them in councils, to make known the protection that the King gives them...¹²

⁸. "Relation de la Prise du Port-Royal," in *Ibid.*, Appendix F, p. 70.

⁹. René Baudry, "Meneval," *DCB* I:182-83.

¹⁰. French settlements at Pentagoet, Machias and Passamaquoddy were also destroyed. "Journal of the Expedition under Sir William Phips Against Port Royal, 1690," *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1912*, Appendix E, p. 54.

¹¹. An account of the decision to relocate to Nashwaak is contained in "Relation de la Prise du Port Royal..." in *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1912*, Appendix F, pp. 70-71. De Villebon's account of his arrival in Acadia is in his journal, John C. Webster, ed., *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John 1934), p. 22.

¹². AC, Correspondance générale, Acadie (C11D) 2:172, de Villebon, "Mémoire pour l'Acadie," fév. 1691.

Phips did not leave soldiers at Port Royal though the Massachusetts government later sent a contingent to establish a garrison there with Edward Tying as Commander-in-Chief. Sailing with John Nelson, who along with five other merchants had agreed to finance the endeavour in return for a monopoly over trade, the expedition anchored in the Annapolis Basin in the autumn of 1691. Unable to secure a promise from Acadians for protection against the Mi'kmaq, Tying and his men left and were later captured in the Bay of Fundy by de Villebon.¹³ Further attempts were made by Massachusetts to establish its control over Acadia in 1695 and again in September of the following year, when an expedition led by Colonel Benjamin Church attacked Acadian settlements at Chignecto.

By the Treaty of Ryswick signed between England and France in September of 1697, England accepted French sovereignty over Acadia and as a result, the government was re-established at Port Royal. Thereafter, the Crown sent more soldiers and spent more money on rebuilding the fortifications. In the early years, the fort was rebuilt on the southern side of the Annapolis Basin immediately north of the Petite River (Allain's River). The work was directed by Jean Delabat and was mostly completed by 1704, though complaints later

¹³. Boston, Massachusetts State Archives 37:36, John Nelson et. al. to Governor and Council, 8 June 1691; MSA 37:89, Governor and Council to Edward Tying, 20 July 1691. An account of the capture of Nelson's vessel is in AD. La Rochelle, B5906, 10 mai 1692, Prise Procedures, NAC, MG6, pp. 11-14 (transcripts). John Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada (New York 1927), pp. 51-52.

surfaced regarding its workmanship.¹⁴ The military strength of the garrison was considerably increased from before, reaching as many as 184 men and eight officers during the summer of 1704.¹⁵

b) 1710-1758

The War of Spanish Succession precipitated a major shift in France's attitude to North America. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, New France assumed a strategic importance in French political struggles with other European powers, warranting both the political effort and the financial investment to maintain it.¹⁶

Ile Royale reflects these changes. Whereas the garrisons at Pentagoet, Nashwaak and Port Royal had been glorified trading posts, Louisbourg assumed the proportions of a major European fort and garrison. The origins of Louisbourg's foundation lay with the Treaty of Utrecht in which France surrendered Acadia and Plaisance to England. Searching to protect its valuable fishery and trade, the Minister chose Louisbourg to build a major French fortification. Though founded principally for economic reasons, Louisbourg

¹⁴. AC, C11D 5:64, "Mémoire du Sr. Brouillan sur les affaires les plus importantes de l'Acadie," 5 mars 1705; Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, vol. 1 (Halifax 1865), p. 274.

¹⁵. AC, C11D 5:47v, Bonaventure au ministre, 12 déc. 1704; AC, C11D 5:64v, Mémoire du Sieur Brouillan sur les affaires les plus importantes de l'Acadie," 5 mars 1705.

¹⁶. W.J. Eccles, Frontenac: The Courtier Governor (Toronto 1959), pp. 334-37.

was also considered to be strategically important in protecting Canada from English naval attack.¹⁷ Over the next thirty years, the Crown spent approximately three and one-half million livres in building and fortifying the town.¹⁸

In 1745, Louisbourg was captured by a New England expeditionary force and for the next four years, the fortress was occupied by the English military.¹⁹ By the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, the island was returned to France, and in June 1749, the new governor, Charles Des Herbiers, arrived to assume command. New fortifications were completed during the next nine years. Following the capture of Louisbourg by an English force in 1758, the fortifications were destroyed.

The garrison of Ile Royale was staffed principally by soldiers from the Compagnies Franches de la Marine. Before 1745, there were between six to eight companies, with each company composed of between 45 to 65 men, in

¹⁷. In 1712, the Minister wrote that in view of the surrendering control over Plaisance and Acadia, "it seems to me necessary to establish two other fishing posts. I think we can place one on the island of Cape Breton and the other on the coast of Labrador...It remains only to know where we should make this establishment.[on Cape Breton]. AC, B, 34:363, le ministre à Vaudreuil et Bégon, 26 juin 1712; Dale Miquelon, New France 1701-1744: 'A Supplement to Europe' (Toronto 1987), pp. 108-109, 111.

¹⁸. Miquelon points out that between 1715 and 1718, the favoured site was Port Dauphin on Baie Sainte-Anne, after which Louisbourg again found favour. Miquelon, New France, p. 111.

¹⁹. Some of the correspondence regarding this period can be found in The Royal Navy and North America: The Warren Papers, 1736-1752, edited by Julian Gwyn (London 1975).

addition to four non-commissioned officers, a drummer and three or four commissioned officers. These troops were supplemented by 50 to 150 men from the Karrer Swiss Regiment who were employed by the Ministère de la Marine.²⁰ While most troops were assigned to Louisbourg, a small number were stationed at Port Toulouse and Port Dauphin. In 1724, there were approximately 430 military personnel on the island, 370 of them living at Louisbourg. Ten years later, the numbers had increased to 618, with 528 stationed at Louisbourg.²¹ By 1742, there were a total of 1091 *soldats* and 100 officers on both Ile Saint-Jean and Ile Royale.²² After 1749, the strength of the garrison was increased considerably with a total of 24 companies stationed on Ile Royale.²³

Limiting the soldier's effectiveness was the change that Louisbourg's construction signified in France's military tactics in eastern North America. During the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, French military tactics involved providing logistical support or auxiliary troops for Wabanaki war parties attacking northern New England settlements. With the construction of Louisbourg, the military established its importance at the centre

²⁰. Allan Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," History and Archaeology, Report #28 (Ottawa 1979), pp. 7-8.

²¹. Barbara Schmeisser, "The Population of Louisbourg, 1713-1758," (Ottawa: Parks Canada, Manuscript Report 303, 1976), p. 54.

²². AC, G1 466, doc. 77, "Recensement général.." 1742.

²³. Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-45," p. 6.

of the conflict with England, reflecting the Crown's perception that the war along the eastern seaboard was not principally a land war but a naval one.²⁴ Before 1710, French forces had been abysmally unsuccessful, failing to protect garrison posts and fishing and trading vessels. With the construction of Louisbourg, both the Crown and the military implicitly recognized the strategic value of gaining naval mastery over the northeastern Atlantic. This caused the garrison to turn away from learning skills they might need in war by requiring the soldiers' employment in constructing the fortress and focusing their energies upon Louisbourg's protection.²⁵

2. Mi'kmaq-French Alliance

During the late seventeenth century, an alliance was formed between the French Crown and the Mi'kmaq people. This alliance was born from military necessity. While the French garrison at Port Royal was too small to fight New

²⁴. This is reflected in the fort's defense. The fort's artillery was positioned principally to defend the harbour from naval assault. The three batteries constructed for this purpose were the Royal Battery, built between 1724 and 1732, the Island Battery, built between 1726 and 1731 and the Rochefort Point Battery which was not begun until 1755. Bruce W. Fry, An Appearance of Strength: The Fortifications of Louisbourg, vol. 1 (Ottawa 1984), pp. 141-144.

²⁵. The soldiers' employment in constructing the fort is explained in Allan Greer, "Mutiny at Louisbourg, 1744," Social History/Histoire Sociale X (Nov. 1977), p. 327. Greer says that during the 1720s "more than half of the colony's soldiers worked on the fortifications." During the 1740s this number "may have been somewhat smaller."

England alone, the Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies lacked the weapons and ammunition to wage a sustained conflict with European settlers and soldiers. This section examines the manner in which official relations between the two parties were conducted and the cultural attitudes and relationships which animated the alliance.

a) Perceptions

French officials viewed their Mi'kmaq allies with suspicion and uneasiness. In their correspondence, colonial authorities in Acadia and Ile Royale depicted the Mi'kmaq as a cruel, vengeful, undisciplined people who more often resembled animals in their behaviour than human beings. French officers were appalled by Mi'kmaq behaviour in war; they drank too much, tortured and killed their prisoners, and deserted their French allies in the midst of campaigns. These were actions which were not tolerated within the French army and were corrected through a harsh code of discipline which governed the relationship between soldiers and their superior officers. French officials, like the Governor of Acadia, Daniel de Subercase, believed that the Mi'kmaq should be treated as subjects of the Crown and not as allies.²⁶ But that could not be done in *Mi'kma'ki*, which created turmoil in the minds of the Minister and his officers, for without bringing these people under the rule of authoritarian government, their friendship was as unstable as their behaviour

²⁶. AC, C11D 6:168, Subercase au ministre, 20 déc. 1708.

appeared to be. This was important, for despite what the Minister might personally think of the Mi'kmaq, he considered them to be an essential component in the defense of French interests "and particularly to stop the enterprises that the English can make."²⁷

Particularly suggestive of French official perceptions of the Mi'kmaq are the words written in 1707 by Philippe Pastour de Costebelle, then stationed at Plaisance but who in 1713 became the first governor of Ile Royale. In describing the difficulties in modifying what he considered to be the Mi'kmaq's cruel treatment of English settlers, Costebelle wrote that the Mi'kmaq were "free in the woods like wolves and bears."²⁸ His choice of words is revealing, as they highlight the different conceptions of power in French and Mi'kmaq society. As an agricultural people, the French feared wolves and bears because they lived outside the perimeters of French settlements and constituted a menace to livestock. These animals were evil, a barrier to civilization and thus, had to be killed.²⁹ The Mi'kmaq, like other Algonquian speaking peoples, also feared bears not because they were an economic threat but because of their

²⁷. AC, B 22:152, "Mémoire du Roy à Brouillan," 23 mars 1701.

²⁸. AC, Amérique du Nord, (C11C), 5:128v, Costebelle au ministre, 10 nov. 1707.

²⁹. The evil character that bears and wolves assumed in educated French minds is also suggested in their depiction by a Jesuit priest who travelled throughout the Northwest during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Codex du Nord Ameriquain: Quebec 1701 (Québec 1981), Figure # 155, 157 and 166.

strength, ferocity, and "almost human intelligence."³⁰ In *Mi'kma'ki*, the bear was the most powerful of animals exceeding even that of humans and thus it was a being whose power each Mi'kmaq man hoped to emulate. Killing a bear demonstrated a hunter's prowess and became an occasion for his kin and friends to be suffused with the bear's power through the consumption of its body parts. In the Mi'kmaq world where hunting was a constant part of life, individual action and courage were valued. The hunter's power, however, was internally generated, reflecting his own relationship to the animal spirits. Consequently, so long as the Mi'kmaq were hunters and fishermen, they remained outside French society and immune from attempts to control their actions because their sense of power was influenced by forces beyond the influence of French colonial rule.

As shown in Chapter Two, most Mi'kmaq villages continued to be situated in areas similar to those inhabited before contact. This shows a degree of economic, social and political stability within Mi'kmaq society. That stability made it possible for the Mi'kmaq to maintain their independence from the French Crown and to act independently of the wishes or desires of Louisbourg officials.

This independence is indicated by Mi'kmaq responses to European

³⁰. Frank G. Speck, Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula (Norman, Oklahoma 1977), first edition 1935, p. 95, and generally, 92-110.

concepts of *Mi'kma'ki*. By the Treaty of Utrecht, France had surrendered Acadia to England. In explaining the terms of the treaty in November 1713 to an assembled group of Abenaki, Maliseet and Mi'kmaq peoples, Massachusetts' officials argued that the French Crown had surrendered "Plaisance, Port Royal and the surrounding lands, reserving only the river on which Québec is situated."³¹ The Indian delegates were outraged, replying that the French King may give as he pleases but

for me, I have my land that I gave to no one and that I will never give. I wish always to be the master. I know the limits and when someone wishes to live there, he will pay. When the English take some wood, fish or hunt game, there is enough for all, I will not stop this.³²

The Governor of Ile Royale, Saint-Ovide, experienced similar problems when explaining the French King's cession of Mi'kmaq land to the English Crown. In reply to Saint-Ovide's statements, speakers for the Mi'kmaq told the Governor

But learn from us, that we are on this earth that you tread and on which you walk, before the tree which you see began growing, it is ours and nothing can ever force us to abandon it.³³

³¹. Rales à Vaudreuil, 9 sept. 1713, Bulletin des recherches historiques, 37 (1931), p. 289. At the meeting, there were 98 people from Narantsoake, 200 from Panaouamské, 40 from the Saint John River and 20 Mi'kmaq.

³². Ibid., p. 290.

³³. NAC, MG 18:E-29, Charlevoix Papers, "Discours fait aux Sauvages." [1720].

b) The role of intermediaries in the alliance

Historians have implied that the French colonial government possessed some magical elixir in maintaining its alliance with the Mi'kmaq and that the English were culturally incapable of interacting and understanding the Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies. The alliance, however, was the product of a particular sequence of historical events which molded and shaped Mi'kmaq relationships with both European peoples.

English and French officials differed little on how they perceived the Mi'kmaq. What separated French officials from their English counterparts, however, were two crucial factors. On the one hand, by 1710 and the beginnings of English colonial rule in the region, the French government had experienced one hundred years of interaction with the Mi'kmaq. Secondly, in their dealings with the Mi'kmaq, French officials were assisted by missionaries, Acadian traders and individuals of mixed Mi'kmaq and French blood. These people and the historical and existing relationships that they embodied were the element which made a French-Mi'kmaq alliance possible. These relationships were not a part of Mi'kmaq experience with English officials, so that negotiating an accommodation between the two peoples was a difficult process.

Previous chapters have outlined Mi'kmaq relationships with French settlers, traders and missionaries. What remains to be done here is to describe how these linkages strengthened the political alliance between the Crown and the

Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies.

Frenchmen who had trading relationships with the Mi'kmaq spoke their language and in a few cases had married a women of Mi'kmaq or métis heritage. In the region west of Port Royal, the most prominent traders were Saint-Castin, who lived at Pentagoet and the three D'Amours brothers, who settled along the Saint John River during the early 1690s. Saint-Castin had been an officer in the Carignan-Salières Regiment and had moved to Acadia when its members were encouraged to settle in New France.³⁴ He later married the daughter of an Abenaki chief and subsequently, became a conduit through which official French relations with the Penobscot Abenaki were mediated, a role which was later filled by his sons. In 1706, the Governor of Acadia commented upon Saint-Castin's eldest son's value to the colony.

It is very important to always have a man of character among the Indians for to watch over their conduct and in order to give them advise. The son of Sieur Castain is very proper for this because his mother is of their nation and moreover he is a young gentleman very wise and very capable.³⁵

After the fall of Port Royal in 1710, Bernard-Anselme Saint-Castin communicated directly with French officials at Plaisance and Versailles, informing them of events in the region, receiving from them the Crown's

³⁴. A recent examination of the regiment is Jack Verney, The Good Regiment (Montréal 1990).

³⁵. AC, C11D 5:265, "Extrait des lettres de l'année 1706," Subercase au ministre, 22 and 25 oct. 1706.

presents for the Wabanaki and generally directing French resistance.³⁶ In 1711, together with René Damours, he accompanied a Penobscot and Mi'kmaq war party that attacked an English force on the Annapolis River collecting wood for the fort.³⁷ The noble birth of many of these men, such as Saint-Castin, the Damours brothers, and Claude-Sebastien de Villieu made them worthy in the eyes of officials to lead Wabanaki war parties as military functions were traditionally assumed by members of the nobility. In 1691, de Villebon had written

It is necessary to attract to this post [Nashwaak], five or six Gentlemen of the country who can be put at the head of these parties that are formed of Indians.³⁸

Saint-Castin and others like him, who either lived among the Wabanaki or were of mixed heritage, were not fully trusted by French officials. Because they never fully integrated into one society or the other, their political allegiances were not always decipherable. In part, the ambiguous character of their relationship to French officials stemmed from their unique economic position.

³⁶. AC, C11D 7:129-133v, Ordres et instructions pour le Sieur baron de Saint-Castin, 18 jan. 1711; Costebelle à Saint-Castin, 24 août 1711 Collection de manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger (CMNF), vol. 2 (Québec 1883), p. 542. ; AC, B 35:262v-263, le ministre à Saint-Castin, 8 avril 1713; AC, Correspondance générale, Canada (C11A), 31:136, Bonaventure à Vaudreuil, 7 sept. 1711.

³⁷. CMNF 2:547-48, Des Goutins au ministre, 17 nov. 1711.

³⁸. AC, C11D 2:172v, de Villebon, "Mémoire pour l'Acadie," fév. 1691.

Settled principally along the coast far removed from the larger French-speaking populations, these people lived in houses, raised some livestock, grew a few garden crops and traded with the Wabanaki. This made them vulnerable targets to New England privateers, influencing them to steer a middle course between French and English. As war between the imperial powers intensified, neutrality was not always possible as both English and French authorities vied for their allegiances.

Claude Petitpas, who in 1730 became Governor Saint-Ovide's interpreter, is a case in point. Originally settled at Mouscadabouet along the eastern coast with his Mi'kmaq wife, there were murmurings from French officials in the 1690s that he was trading with the English and mediating disagreements between New England fishermen and the Mi'kmaq. In a petition dated June 1719 and presented to the Massachusetts' House of Representatives asking for restitution of losses he had lately incurred, Petitpas noted the "many good offices for the English" he had done, "which the French were so disgusted with they attempted to take him," forcing his flight from *Kmitkinag*.³⁹ Among the services he performed was assisting English captives "not only relieving and succouring them when in great want, but purchasing them from the Indian

³⁹. Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 22 June 1719, p. 25; References to Petitpas' early fishing activities at Canceau are in AC, Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (C11B), 3:18v, Saint-Ovide au Conseil, 30 nov. 1717.

Enemy at his own Cost and Charge, and Setting them at Liberty."⁴⁰ According to Saint-Ovide, Petitpas also received 2,000 livres from the Massachusetts Council to wean the Mi'kmaq from their loyalty to the French.⁴¹ As part payment for his services, the Council agreed in 1719 to undertake the education of Petitpas' youngest son, Isidore, then 17 years old, at Harvard College for four years.⁴² The young Petitpas was lodged with the Reverend John Leveret until at least June 8 of the following year.⁴³ Five years later, the elder Petitpas was living at Canceau from where there were complaints in 1728 that he was interfering in Mi'kmaq councils, influencing the younger men to maintain peaceful relations with New England fishermen. Saint-Ovide had had enough and attempted to spirit the man away to France.⁴⁴ The result of those efforts are not known but in 1730, Petitpas became the colony's official interpreter, and was succeeded by his son, Barthélemy, two years later. There

⁴⁰. Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 29 June 1720.

⁴¹. AC, C11B 4:64, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide au Conseil, 20 sept. 1719.

⁴². Census of 1708; Journal of the House, 29 June 1720.

⁴³. Boston, MSA 123:205, Treasurer's Account, 31 May 1721 to 31 May 1722. No further records regarding him either in Massachusetts or Nova Scotia have been found. Emma Coleman who researched the Petitpas case confuses Isidore with his older brother Barthélemy who later died in prison in Boston. Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada Between 1677 and 1760 During the French and Indian Wars, vol. 2 (Portland 1926), pp. 97-98.

⁴⁴. AC, C11B 10:67v, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 3 nov. 1728; d'Entremont, "Claude Petitpas," DCB II:524.

are no reports that either worked again for the English. As the Petitpas story suggests, however, families like the Petitpas were not integrated fully into either English or French society and consequently their actions were as unpredictable for French officials as were those of the Mi'kmaq.

Perhaps for this reason, French officials attempted to develop a cadre of interpreters among young military cadets after 1710. In 1735, Governor Saint-Ovide dispatched two cadets to Mirligouche for the winter where they were to learn the Micmac language.⁴⁵ As members of the military, the young men were more trustworthy and obedient than their métis counterparts.

From the officials' perspective, the traders who lived in the Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy were more reliable than métis traders. Though they traded with the Mi'kmaq, these men had not intermarried and consequently were closely identified with the Acadian farming communities. The traders served as intermediaries between French officials and surrounding Mi'kmaq villages. De Villebon's journal of 1696 contains the following notation for November:

The named Bourgeois and Arsenault inhabitants of Beaubassin left the fort to return to their homes; I gave [orders] to the first to advise the Indians of Cape Breton to make one's way here in the Spring.⁴⁶

⁴⁵. AC, C11B 17:10-10v, Saint-Ovide et Le Normant au ministre, 21 oct. 1735.

⁴⁶. AC, C11A 14:193. Bourgeois may have been trading with the Unimaki Mi'kmaq. In Nov. 1695 there is reference to three Acadians from Minas and Chignecto who would shortly be going to Unimaki to trade with the Mi'kmaq there. Tibierge au ministre, 1 oct. 1695, CMNF 2:185.

Ultimately, however, parish priests and missionaries were the most active agents working on behalf of the Crown, and the individuals most trusted by French officials, and as outlined in Chapter Six, they were invaluable intermediaries between the Mi'kmaq and French colonial authorities.

c) Gifts and Ceremonies

Official contacts between French authorities and Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and elders occurred most often during annual conferences at which the alliance between the two parties was ritually renewed through an exchange of presents. As conflict with New England expanded during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, these annual meetings became a crucial aspect of French policy, an occasion to evaluate continuing Mi'kmaq friendship, to gather vital information regarding events in *Mi'kma'ki* and to distribute weapons and ammunition which could be used in future altercations with the English.

There is little evidence regarding these meetings before 1714 though we do know that presents were exchanged from at least the early 1690s. Records regarding the quantity of presents distributed to the Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki by the French Crown before 1713, have been found for only three years, 1693, 1696 and 1698.⁴⁷ For the last two years, the presents were valued at

⁴⁷. References to these records can be found for 1693: "État des Munitions et marchandises embarquez en France sur la frégate 'La Suzanne' en 1693 pour être portez à l'Acadie," *CMNF* 2:129-130; 1696: AC, B 19:10-10v, "État de l'employ des 4000# des présens ordinaires pour tous les sauvages de l'Acadie pour l'année 1696," 3 mars 1696; and for 1698: AC, B 20:14-15, "Présens des

embarkation at approximately 4000 livres. In 1698, the King's ministers had specified that half of this total was to be given to the Mi'kmaq and the other half to the Abenaki. Three years later the Minister informed de Villebon that half was for the Penobscot and the Kennebec Abenaki, a quarter for Indians settled along the Saint John River and the remaining quarter for Mi'kmaq settled "on the Peninsula between Cape Sable and Canceau."⁴⁸ This change in the Minister's instructions likely reflected what had been the actual apportionment of the King's presents, but of which he had been unaware. Though precise documentation is lacking, presents given to the Unimaki Mi'kmaq would have been distributed from the French fort at Plaisance as is suggested by Governor Costebelle's correspondence in 1706 and 1707.⁴⁹

The presents given to each people were divided into two portions. In both 1696 and 1698, a separate allotment was made for the principal *sakamows*. In each year, presents valued at 80 livres were given to two *sakamows* from both the Mi'kmaq and Abenaki people and one Maliseet leader. Each *sakamow* was given one barrel of powder, one musket, one hat bordered with gold trim, two shirts, two pairs of socks and one large blanket made in Rouen.⁵⁰ In both

sauvages de l'Acadie," [1698].

⁴⁸. AC, B 22:163v, le ministre à Brouillan, 30 mars 1701.

⁴⁹. AC, C11C 5:30, Costebelle au ministre, 8 nov. 1706; AC, C11C 5:96, Costebelle au ministre, 10 juil. 1707.

⁵⁰. The appearance of socks, gold-laced hats and blankets made in Rouen in the 1693 records would suggest that this separate allotment to the chiefs had

years, the total value of these presents was 400 livres which by 1700 had increased to 450.⁵¹ Presents given the chiefs were of better quality than what the rest of the population received. For example, the muskets were listed as "bons fusils" and valued at 20 livres each compared to the 12 livres attached to muskets given others.⁵² The chiefs' apportionment suggests the relative strength of each people and a recognition that relations with them were conducted principally through the principal headmen. In the case of the Mi'kmaq, two individuals assumed principal importance, and if we accept the primacy of the Grand Council in political decisions regarding the Mi'kmaq, these two individuals would have been the Grand Chief and his assistant, the Grand Captain. During the post-1710 period, no evidence has been found which shows that a special allotment for the principal chiefs continued, though efforts were made to distribute medals to the chiefs in recognition of their position.⁵³

The remaining presents were distributed to the rest of the population, most

already become a part of French-Wabanaki protocol at this date.

⁵¹. AC, B 22:61, le ministre à Villebon, 1 avril 1700.

⁵². Similarly, powder was listed as "bonne poudre" and the shirts were valued at 50 sols each in comparison to the 33 sols value attached to shirts given to the rest of the population.

⁵³. AC, C11B 22:119, Bourville au ministre, 26 oct. 1740. In 1739, the Governor of Ile Royale, Isaac-Louis de Forant had written that twenty silver medals should be distributed to the chief of each village "and those that give special proof of their loyalty, I think Monsieur that this will be very effective in attaching them to us..." AC, C11B 21:77, Forant au ministre, 14 nov. 1739.

likely through district chiefs and village sakamows. In both 1696 and 1698, the quantity and identity of these goods remained quite similar though there were minor discrepancies. For example, in 1696, a greater quantity of thread and needles were shipped than in 1698. Table 7.1 summarizes the presents given to Penobscot and Kennebec Abenakis in 1698.

Included in the records, but not listed in Table 7.1 is an allotment for feeding the Wabanaki and Mi'kmaq during their meetings with French officials.⁵⁴ In both 1696 and 1698, this consisted of six hundredweight of flour and a like quantity of prunes, a fare which would have been supplemented by the Governor's own store of provisions in addition to meat, fish and wild fruit provided by the Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki.

After 1714, presents given to the Mi'kmaq by the French Crown were similar to those which had been distributed during the late seventeenth century, though some minor changes did occur. Until the 1720s, axes, tools, shirts, and blankets were included in the list of presents but were discontinued following complaints from Abbé Courtin that many people had little use for these goods.

Presents also varied as the Mi'kmaq population expanded. For example,

⁵⁴. In the post-1713 period, the *commissaire ordonnateur* of Ile Royale, who was responsible for the colony's finances, did not include food consumed during the annual meetings between the King's officers and the Mi'kmaq in the financial accounts regarding the allotment of presents. This suggests that feasting was thought to be separate from the actual presents.

TABLE 7.1
PRESENTS ALLOTTED BY THE FRENCH CROWN TO THE
PENOBSCOT AND KENNEBEC ABENAKIS, 1698

PRESENTS	VALUE (in livres and sols)
1000 pounds of musket powder	350.
3000 pound of lead consisting of:	
1000 pounds (en balle et fuzil)	
1000 pounds (à outarde)	
500 pounds (à canard)	
500 pounds (en barres)	
Total value of about	600.
30 muskets at 12 livres each	360.
30 bayonets at 1 l. 5s. each	37.10
100 pounds of Brazil tobacco	84.
50 shirts at 33 sols each	82.10
60 woollen blue hooded garments at 53 sols each	159.
10 pounds of thread of all colours at 1 l 5s each	12.10
needles	5.
and for small costs	47.

Total Value of goods allotted to population	1737.10
Total Value of goods allotted to Chiefs	160.

Total Value of all goods	1897.10

l = livres; s = sols

SOURCE: AC, B 20:14-15, [1698].

increases occurred in 1733 and again in 1740.⁵⁵ Finally, the presents intended for the Mi'kmaq were not always distributed each year. This could have been for a number of reasons including that not all villages met with the Governor every year.⁵⁶

Table 7.2 summarizes items requested by the Governor during the 1730s. Generally, both Mi'kmaq and French officials agreed that each male adult would receive a minimum six pounds of powder each year.⁵⁷

From soon after the foundation of Louisbourg until the 1740s, the Governor met annually with Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders where a ritual exchange of presents occurred and the alliance between the two parties was renewed. The first recorded meeting took place at Port Dauphin in 1715 while during the

⁵⁵. AC, B 58:516v, le Conseil à Saint-Ovide et Le Normant, 19 mai 1733; AC, C11B 22:38v, Bourville et Bigot au ministre, 17 oct. 1740 in which the request is made and which thereafter appears in the Governor's annual demands for presents. For example, AC, C11B 24:176, "État des vivres, [habillement], munitions nécessaires pour la colonie de l'île Royale pendant l'année 1742."

⁵⁶. For example, by 1 Oct. 1724 only 58 per cent of the all powder intended for the Mi'kmaq's use had been distributed. As this was a period of war between the Wabanaki and New England, we might wonder how essential the presents were to the Mi'kmaq during peacetime. AC, C11B 7:307v-308, "Effets destinez pour les Presens des Sauvages."

⁵⁷. In 1732, Saint-Ovide reported that previously each person had received six pounds of powder but with the recent population increases, this had been reduced to four pounds. The Mi'kmaq requested that the presents be increased so that they receive what they had before. AC, C11B 11:207, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 16 nov. 1732.

TABLE 7.2
LIST OF PRESENTS REQUESTED BY GOVERNOR OF ILE ROYALE
TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO THE MI'KMAQ, 1731-1742.

1731		1732- 1742.	
10000	pierres à fusil	15000	pierres à fusil
25 qx	poudre fine	35 qx	poudre de guerre fine
20 qx	plomb à outard	30 qx	de plomb à outarde
20 qx	plomb à canard	30 qx	de plomb à canard
25	fusils grenadier	45	fusils grenadier sans Bayonnette*
		3 qx	de plomb en balles
		80	houes

LEGEND: qx = quintaux or hundredweight

* in 1742, this amount was increased to 60

SOURCE: AC, C11B 13:97; 15:196; 18:175v,230; 20:203; 24:176.

early 1720s, meetings took place at Antigoniche.⁵⁸ In the early 1720's, the Governor began meeting with two separate groups of Mi'kmaq villages. At Port Toulouse, the Governor met with leaders from the villages of southern *Kmitkinag*, specifically Port Royal, La Hève, Cap Sable, Chebenacadie, Minas, Piziguit and with more northerly villages located on Unimaki, Antigoniche and River Sainte Marie. At Port La Joye on the island of Abegweit, Mi'kmaq from the eastern coast of New Brunswick,⁵⁹ as well as from Abegweit, Pictou, Tatemagouche, and Chignecto met with the Governor.⁶⁰

Meetings between French officials and Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and elders generally occurred in late June or July.⁶¹ In 1732, there were approximately 200 Mi'kmaq at Port Toulouse when Saint-Ovide arrived there, as was also the case at Port La Joye on Abegweit where he later journeyed to meet other villages.⁶² In the months before the meeting, the Governor would have sent

⁵⁸. In 1720 and 1722, Saint-Ovide met with the chiefs at Antigoniche, AC, C11B 5:129, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 5 sept. 1720; 6:22, Conseil de la Marine, sept. 1722. In 1724, he met at Port Toulouse, villagers from La Hève, Minas and Beaubassin [Chignecto], 7:24, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

⁵⁹. These were Shediac, Richibouctou and Miramichi.

⁶⁰. AC, C11B 18:3, Conseil de la Marine, 20 oct. 1735; 20:85v-87v, Bourville au ministre, 16 oct. 1738.

⁶¹. In instances where the date of the meetings occur, the month varies from June to July. AC, C11B 5:340, Conseil de la Marine, nov. 1721; AC, C11B 7:24, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 24 nov. 1724.

⁶². Saint-Ovide au ministre, 14 nov. 1732, CMNF, 3:163. In 1734 there were 250 Mi'kmaq gathered at Port La Joye when Saint-Ovide arrived. AC, C11B 15:3v, Conseil de la Marine, 1 nov. 1734.

runners to each village announcing the date he expected to arrive, though this did not necessarily ensure that those he expected would be present to meet him.⁶³

The Governor's entourage would have included his servants, some officers and an interpreter. The latter played a crucial role in any discussions. Without a competent translator "conferences end before they begin which leaves the Indians in a bad humour," Saint-Ovide wrote in 1717.⁶⁴ The interpreter was someone familiar with the culture of both societies, and thus, could assist in minimizing misunderstandings. Women were not favoured by the Mi'kmaq, not wanting to "give knowledge of their discussions and their affairs" to them.⁶⁵ From 1718, Charles de La Tour, the former Acadian trader who had moved to Ile Royale following the conquest of Port Royal, was the Governor's principal interpreter.⁶⁶ He was succeeded in 1730 by first Claude Petitpas and in 1732, by the latter's son, Bathémey.⁶⁷ As in discussions between the British

⁶³. AC, C11B 6:22, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide au Conseil, 14 sept. 1722.

⁶⁴. AC, C11B 3:28v, Conseil de la Marine, Saint-Ovide et Soubras au Conseil, 13 nov. 1717.

⁶⁵. AC, C11B 5:398v, Le Normant au ministre, 20 nov. 1720.

⁶⁶. *Ibid.*, 399. In the financial records of the colony, only in 1719 is a sum of money used to pay for the services of the interpreter. In 1719, it was 300 livres. AC, C11B 4:16v, "Conseil sur les fonds de 1719," Saint-Ovide et Soubras au ministre, 9 jan. 1719.

⁶⁷. AC, C11B 11:206-207v, Saint-Ovide et Le Normant au ministre, 16 nov. 1732. See pp. 393-394 for a brief description of the Petitpas family.

and the Houdenasaunee,⁶⁸ the interpreter's task would have included reformulating French phrases into ones more appropriate for Mi'kmaq councils.

Also assisting in maintaining harmony between the parties was a missionary. Each morning, he presided at a mass held in a makeshift church framed with fir poles which was constructed for the occasion.⁶⁹ Masses harmonized relationships between the Mi'kmaq and French in peace and in war by tangibly demonstrating the spiritual realm that they jointly occupied. As the only educated Frenchmen to have lived for extended periods among the Mi'kmaq, missionaries like Gaulin, Le Loutre and Maillard, smoothed tensions, counselling the Governor on the reasons underlying the chiefs' words. Together, the interpreter and missionary were intermediaries between the Governor and the elders, conveying messages from one party to the other, not only in councils, but also outside of them.⁷⁰

The number of Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and elders involved in the discussions

⁶⁸. Nancy L. Hagedorn, "A Friend to go Between Them': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker During Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," *Ethnohistory*, 35 (1988), p. 65.

⁶⁹. References to the mass can be found in AC, C11B 15:142, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1734.

⁷⁰. For example, during the meeting between Saint-Ovide and the Mi'kmaq at Abegweit in 1734, it was the interpreter, Barthélemy Petitpas and Father Gelas, a Récollet missionary among the Miramichi Mi'kmaq, who carried the Governor's message that he would meet with six chiefs from each village. AC, C11B 15:142, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1734.

varied according to the number of villages present. In 1732, Saint-Ovide recounted meeting 32 chiefs and elders⁷¹ from four villages in Unimaki and Esgigeoag, suggesting that meetings with the Governor included eight individuals from each village. In his 1734 meetings at Port La Joye, Saint-Ovide noted that he had held a council with six representatives from each Mi'kmaq village, a total of 52 people.⁷²

Discussions were never held on the day of someone's arrival, but only after everyone had rested, normally the day after all parties had arrived. Then the Governor would meet with the village *sakamows* and elders.⁷³ As in 1721, this meeting likely occurred in the Governor's tent.⁷⁴

In Houdenasaunee councils with the British and French, meetings could last a number of days, with speeches of several hours and proposals necessitating the withdrawal of Native delegates to consult separately.⁷⁷ While the meetings between the Mi'kmaq and the Governor were to renew an alliance and not to negotiate new treaties, as was true in European-Houdenasaunee councils, this

⁷¹. Saint-Ovide au ministre, 14 nov. 1732, CMNF 3:162.

⁷². AC, C11B 15:142, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 1 nov. 1734.

⁷³. Saint-Ovide au ministre, 14 nov. 1732, CMNF 3:163; AC, C11B 5:129, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 5 sept. 1720.

⁷⁴. AC, C11B 5:340, Conseil de la Marine, nov. 1721.

⁷⁷. Michael K. Foster, "On Who Spoke First at Iroquois-White Councils: An Exercise in the Method of Upstreaming" in Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies, edited by M. Foster, J. Campisi, M. Mithun (Albany 1984), pp. 183-84.

still necessitated a re-affirmation of friendship for the French King by each village headman. The few extant examples of Mi'kmaq oratory show the importance of recounting each individual's relationship to others and thus, one part of the meeting might have included an historical recitation of friendship for the King. This would account for the inclusion in Saint-Ovide's summaries to the Minister of the chiefs' protestations of friendship for the King.

Mi'kmaq *sakamows* often expressed their ideas in allegory and metaphor. In the late 1750s, the Frenchman Thomas Pichon wrote that the Micmac language "much resembled the oriental languages. The same richness in expression, the same turn of phrase, the same type of style, and finally the same taste for metaphor and allegory."⁷⁸ It is not clear to what extent the Governor adopted this manner of speech in his discussions with the Mi'kmaq but as Abbé Maillard discovered, its usage was an important component of Mi'kmaq councils.⁷⁹ This was recognized by Saint-Ovide and his summaries to the Minister provide some echo of his attempts to adopt Mi'kmaq rhetoric.

The *sakamows* also used the meetings to inform the Governor of the movements of the English in their territories and to discuss other mutually

⁷⁸. Pichon, Lettres et mémoires, p. 109.

⁷⁹. Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard, "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard sur les missions d'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques," (1756), in Les Soirées canadiennes (1863), p. 294.

important issues, sometimes in private meetings.⁸⁰

After concluding discussions, a general feast was held to which the Governor contributed flour, butter, prunes, salted bacon, peas and molasses, all of which was used to make a large stew. Afterwards, the King's health was toasted three times with alcohol supplied by the Crown. The King's presents were then distributed and the Governor received presents in return from the Mi'kmaq attesting to their recognition of the alliance.⁸¹ The birth of a son to the King was an occasion for special celebrations. In 1732, Mi'kmaq assembled at Abegweit "joined [in] the Te Deum which was sung for the birth of Monseigneur the Dauphin, charmed by this rejoicing, they continued it during the night and ...they used up half of their powder."⁸² Meetings between French officials and elders and chiefs could last for up to three days and possibly longer.⁸³

During the 1730s, French official contacts with the Mi'kmaq increased as shown by financial records regarding food consumed by Mi'kmaq individuals

⁸⁰. In 1735, the sakamow of the Minas Mi'kmaq requested a meeting with Saint-Ovide to discuss English plans to mine copper in his village's territory. AC, C11B 18:3-3v, Conseil de la Marine, 20 oct. 1735.

⁸¹. Maillard, "Lettre de l'abbé Maillard," p. 347. I have found only one reference to the Mi'kmaq offering presents to the Governor. AC, C11B 23:58, Du Quesnel au ministre, 19 oct. 1741.

⁸². AC, C11B 11:200, Conseil de la Marine, Pensens au ministre, 5 mars 1732.

⁸³. The 1727 meeting with Saint-Ovide at Port Toulouse lasted three days. AC, C11B 9:66, Saint-Ovide au ministre, 20 nov. 1727.

during meetings or discussions with French military, political and religious authorities. These records divide food consumption quadrennially but do not give precise details regarding the date and location of each feast. Information is summarized in Table 7.3.

The records show that the largest quantity of food was eaten between April and September. As these months coincide with the Governors' annual rendezvous with 400 or more people, it is likely that most of the food listed in this time period was consumed then, with the dates falling sometime in June or July and at the end of December. Some foodstuffs were supplied to the missionaries to assist in establishing permanent missions. For example, at least half the food listed for the months of October to December 1734 was part of a special allotment given to Abbé Saint-Vincent in consideration of his new mission at Labrador.⁸⁴ As the years 1736 through 1739 coincided with an expansion of missions in *Mi'kma'ki*, the figures listed for these dates also reflect foodstuffs provided to the missions both to enhance the prestige of the new missionaries and to fix the Mi'kmaq living in the region in one permanent location. However, as the figures for October-December 1734 demonstrate, food other than that given to the missionaries was distributed. Though we do not know how, when and why these exchanges occurred, at the very least they

⁸⁴. AC, C11B 16:106.

TABLE 7.3
FOOD GIVEN TO MI'KMAQ BY FRENCH GOVERNMENT
AT ILE ROYALE, 1732-1743

	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1741	1742	1743
Jan-Mar											
Flour	0.50		1.50		2.89	0.5	0.70	0.85	0.68	0.55	NA
Lard	0.10		1.17		.26	0.2	0.28	0.19	-	-	NA
Legume	1.60		0.62		.8	-	-	0.17	-	-	NA
Butter	0.15		0.4		.2	-	0.13	-	-	-	NA
Molasses	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
Apr-June											
Flour	0.50		9.46	8.16	14.19	9.39	9.15	1.35	12.58	11.30	8.42
Lard	0.66		3.70	2.94	2.82	2.74	2.94	0.28	3.27	2.50	2.65
Legume	-		4.42	5.58	5.18	4.67	6.25	0.25	5.57	-	2.71
Butter	0.23		0.38	-	0.3	0.8	0.06	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.03
Molasses	6.00		0.30	20.0	20.0	0.2	25.	-	22.	22.	22.
July-Sept											
Flour	12.74		1.70	6.91	.53	11.48	10.49	11.12	1.63	3.85	1.37
Lard	3.30		0.47	1.44	.22	1.44	2.81	2.72	0.18	0.22	0.11
Legume	10.36		-	2.5	3.45	.47	1.18	5.77	0.17	-	0.12
Butter	0.26		0.2	.8	.9	.14	0.07	0.15	0.15	0.09	.22
Molasses	-		-	4.5	-	110.	20.	-	-	-	-
Oct-Dec											
Flour	4.31	11.93	11.16	6.86	7.46	6.56	7.56	6.74	1.15	0.75	NA
Lard	0.62	3.00	2.98	.24	.25	1.60	1.57	1.26	0.06	-	NA
Legume	2.30	5.74	3.96	1.24	1.79	3.16	1.40	4.07	-	-	NA
Butter	0.20	1.0	0.41	.3	.2	-	.20	0.5	0.01	0.08	NA
Molasses	19.0	25.0	0.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA

NOTE: Flour, Lard and Legume is given in quintaux which is approximately one hundredweight. Butter is given in lechette, or small slices and molasses in jugs[pots].

SOURCE: AC, C11B 13:100v,101v,103v; 16:13v,58,67v,68v,105v; 15:184; 18:177v,295v,266v,295v; 19:170,189v,194,196v; 20:204v,207v,263; 23:150v 155, 157,159,163v; 24:190v,195,200,204; 25:198,202.

indicate that contact between French officialdom and Mi'kmaq individuals took place throughout the year. The figures summarized in Table 7.3 also do not tell us if interaction between French officials and the Mi'kmaq had increased. However, the existence of such detailed accounts, the expansion of the Governor's role in face-to-face meetings, and a more concerted effort to establish permanent missions in Mi'kma'ki, all attest to more extensive communications between Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and elders and French political and religious authorities during the 1730s than had been true before this date.

3. English Government in Mi'kma'ki

In comparison to the French regime, information regarding official relations between English governments and the Mi'kmaq is limited. There were no annual meetings between the two parties and unlike the French correspondence, British reports do not contain annual evaluations of events occurring within Mi'kmaq society based upon conversations with elders and *sakamows*. References to the Mi'kmaq tend to be in reaction to altercations between the two societies. Even when extensive discussions were held as in the case of negotiating the 1725, 1749, 1752 and 1760 treaties, government correspondence tends to be brief and perfunctory.

a) Nova Scotia 1710-1760

England had attempted to establish its control over Mi'kma'ki between 1628 and 1632, 1654 and 1670, and 1690 and 1696. However, only with the conquest of Port Royal in 1710 did there emerge a continuous British military and political presence in the region. Three years later, the English conquest was formally recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Between 1717 and 1749, the Governor of Nova Scotia, Richard Philipps, spent most of his time in England. Philipps lived in Nova Scotia for only four of the 32 years of his appointment, once between 1720 and 1722 and again between 1729 and 1731.⁸⁵ In his absence, a variety of officers from the 20th Regiment assumed leadership of the English garrison and communicated directly with the Board of Trade. In 1720, an Executive Council was formed by Philipps to govern the colony. Composed of military officers and English merchants, the Council assumed a number of responsibilities, including the defence of the garrison and settling disputes within the Acadian community. In general, the President of the Council represented Philipps in Nova Scotia.

The President of the Council reported to the Board of Trade in London. The latter, an administrative body established by the King in 1696 to oversee England's colonial empire, reported directly to the Privy Council. The Board's influence and power fluctuated widely throughout the eighteenth century. After 1713, the Board had little interest and exerted little influence over colonial

⁸⁵. Maxwell Sutherland, "Richard Philipps," DCB III:516.

affairs. Their apathy remained undiminished until 1748 and the appointment of the Earl of Halifax as President of the Board. For Nova Scotia, the change in the Board's leadership is graphically illustrated in the foundation of Halifax in June 1749, a project directed by the Earl.

After the capture of Port Royal, the English garrison stationed there was initially plagued by sickness and desertion, especially during its first year. Of the 188 men enlisted in six of the companies posted there in October of 1710, only 69 remained one year later, or about 37 per cent of the original total. Just over 50 per cent of the enlisted men died, with 76 succumbing between January through April.⁸⁶ A few deaths resulted from skirmishes with the Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies. One of the Company commanders, Paul Mascarene, wrote that during the first winter the Fort being "overcrowded with Officers and soldiers made Lodgings very narrow and uncomfortable."⁸⁷ Crowded living conditions contributed to the high mortality rate by making the transmission of infections easier and recovery more difficult.

The garrison's small size limited its ability to exert a decisive influence over the Acadian and Mi'kmaq populations. Between 1717 and 1744, the garrison at Port Royal was staffed by the Fortieth Regiment of Foot which had been

⁸⁶. MSA:91,92,94, NAC, MG 18:N8, part 4, [transcripts].

⁸⁷. Paul Mascarene to Francis Nicolson, 6 Nov. 1713 in Report of the Canadian Archives for 1928 (Ottawa 1929), p. 47.

created from companies stationed before then at Port Royal and Plaisance.⁸⁸ Though the regiment's strength was fixed as high as 394 men and officers in 1727, its actual size hovered between 200 and 250 with some of the men stationed at Canceau, after a post was built there in 1720.⁸⁹

Between 1713 and 1744, efforts were made to build additional military posts to extend English military control in the region. In 1720, Governor Philipps had recommended establishing posts at Minas, Chignecto, Canceau and somewhere along the eastern coast.⁹⁰ These plans were never implemented. An attempt was made, however, to establish a post at Minas in 1732, though the failure to provide a military escort to protect the building crew led to the abandonment of the project. Soon after beginning work on the project, the Acadian merchant René Le Blanc was verbally assaulted by three Mi'kmaq men one of whom stated that he would not allow the English to build a fort there for "he was King of that Country for that King George had

⁸⁸. A quick overview of the Regiment is in Harry Piers, "The Fortieth Regiment, Raised at Annapolis Royal in 1717; and Five Regiments subsequently Raised in Nova Scotia," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 21 (1927), pp. 115-145.

⁸⁹. The post was captured by French forces at the beginning of the 1744-48 war and was not re-established following the end of hostilities in 1748.

⁹⁰. RG 1:14, Philipps to Board of Trade, 27 Sept. 1720. Possible locations for the eastern coast post were Port Roseway, La Hève, Mirligueche and Chibouctou.

conquered Annapolis, but not Menis."⁹¹ As Captain John Doucett of the Annapolis garrison wrote in 1718, the Mi'kmaq "insult our Traders on the Coast, but are very civil when they are in reach of our Canon."⁹² English influence in the Bay of Fundy and along the eastern coast only began to change with the foundation of Halifax in June 1749 and the building of Fort Edward on the Piziquit River during the autumn of the same year.⁹³

Defence of the English garrison between 1710 and 1744 was complicated by the increasing economic and political interest of Massachusetts in the region. From the mid-seventeenth century, Massachusetts had been extending its influence northwards, attempting to protect its fishing fleet and expand its trade with the Acadian population. In 1692, the government commissioned a galley ship to guard the New England coastline and two years later, had built and fitted out the first of many vessels which would defend the colony's trading and fishing vessels.⁹⁴ The galley was at times used to protect those

⁹¹. Archibald MacMechan, ed., Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 (Halifax 1908), pp. 239-240. Tentative plans had also been made to establish a post on the Saint John River but were never implemented.

⁹². PRO, Colonial Office Series (CO) 218 1:379, Doucett to Board of Trade, 20 June 1718.

⁹³. During this period, there were a number of incidents in the Minas region between the Mi'kmaq and New England traders. Reference to Fort Edward's establishment is in RG 1 35: doc. 5 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 20 Aug. 1749.

⁹⁴. From 1696 to 1723, the galley was commanded by Cyprian Southack. A short description of Southack's career is in Sinclair Hitchings, "Guarding the New England Coast: The Naval Career of Cyprian Southack," Publications of

fishing in *Kmitkinag*,⁹⁵ though requests for protection from vessel owners were not always granted due to the ship's many other duties.⁹⁶ During the early eighteenth century, the colony had financed privateers operating along the eastern seaboard and this sometimes directly involved the protection of fishing vessels.⁹⁷ After 1710, the government's involvement in the east coast fishery persisted. It continued to operate a guard ship,⁹⁸ and supported expeditions sent to recover fishing vessels captured by eastern coast Mi'kmaq. Following attacks made on fishing vessels in the late Spring and early summer of 1715, Massachusetts dispatched a vessel to investigate.⁹⁹

While providing the Port Royal garrison with needed military support, its actions complicated English-Mi'kmaq relations. Nova Scotian officials were often unaware or had not directly condoned the operations conducted by the

the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 51 (Boston 1980), pp. 43-65.

⁹⁵. For example, in September 1712, Southack was dispatched to Cap Sable in quest of privateers. Boston Newsletter, 8 Sept. 1712.

⁹⁶. PRO, CO 5 791:64v, Massachusetts Council Minutes, 13 April 1710.

⁹⁷. MSA 2:604, Brouillan to Governor and Council, 23 Aug. 1702. An example of a privately owned vessel being commissioned to protect the fishery is in MSA 63:90, Joseph Dudley to Captain William Jiderin, 1 Aug. 1707.

⁹⁸. During the 1722-1725 war, Joseph Marjory commanded the colony's guard vessel. References to his activities can be found in CO 5 795:132v, Minutes of the Massachusetts General Council, 24 Nov. 1723; MSA 38A:44-45, Marjory to Dummer, 15 Aug. 1723.

⁹⁹. Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 21 July 1715, p. 38.

Massachusetts administration. Some suggestion of how Massachusetts' actions affected the garrison's relationship with the Mi'kmaq population is illustrated by the fate of prisoners abducted from eastern coast communities and transported to Boston. Though no detailed records regarding these prisoners were kept, from the late seventeenth century until the 1740s there are references to 'Indians' captured along the eastern cōast of *Kmitkinag*.¹⁰⁰

Prisoners held by Massachusetts authorities strained relations with Mi'kmaq communities, by intensifying distrust and hatred to the Port Royal garrison. Even though the prisoners' fate was not determined by the Nova Scotian government, they were ultimately forced to bear the brunt of Mi'kmaq hostility. In 1726, when three Mi'kmaq prisoners were hanged on charges of piracy, the Executive Council was horrified by the Massachusetts' government's unilateral action. The Lieutenant-Governor, Lawrence Armstrong, later sent "into their [Mi'kmaq] villages some presents...telling them that he had no part in what the Boston Council had done to their brothers."¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰. Two of the documented cases are the following: sometime in the 1740s, a Mi'kmaq girl was captured by a unit commanded by Captain Joseph Gorham and in January 1750 was living with the Captain's wife in Boston. MSA 5:386, Phips to Cornwallis, 27 July 1750. Somewhat different is the case of Paul Laurent, who had been captured as a young boy by the colony's guard ship and had subsequently worked in the shop of Mr. Henshaw, a Boston blacksmith. Col. Frye to Belcher, 7 March 1760 in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, vol. 10 (1809), p. 115.

¹⁰¹. AC, C11B 10:5v, "Extrait de la lettre Écrite à M. Saint-Ovide le 10 juin 1727."

b) Perceptions

Official English perceptions of the Mi'kmaq differed little from French attitudes. To English officials, the Mi'kmaq were a barbarous and culturally inferior peoples. They were, as one New England minister wrote in 1724, a people "living in a state of Nature" who did not possess the two essential components of every civilized nation, agriculture and a system of government.¹⁰² They were unpredictable, unreliable, and therefore not to be trusted. Their closest allies, the French military, viewed the Mi'kmaq with extreme uneasiness. This attitude was shared by Phillips who referred to the Mi'kmaq in his correspondence as "animals." Indeed, English and French officials occupied a common cultural background which governed their relationships in peace and war. Thus the French Governor of New France, Vaudreuil wrote to Francis Nicholson at Annapolis Royal in January 1711 that everyone knows "that since three or four years how many times I have hoped to make a finish to a war that has never been to my taste," referring directly to the "cruel and barbaric" warfare conducted by Native peoples.¹⁰³ Similarly, the Governor of Ile Royale responded in October 1749 to allegations by

¹⁰². See Rev. John Bulkley, "An Inquiry into the Right of the Aboriginal Natives to the Lands in America and the Titles Derived from them," 1724, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1795, First Series, vol. 4 (New York 1968), pp. 159-181. Though not written by an English colonial official, the essay nevertheless does suggest the current of thought among the educated classes regarding Native peoples.

¹⁰³. AC, C11A 32:32v-33, Vaudreuil à Nicholson, 14 jan. 1711.

Cornwallis regarding attacks upon English vessel, wrote that "it is sad to have men of honour being exposed to the surprises of these (Mi'kmaq) people."¹⁰⁴

English officials deeply distrusted the Mi'kmaq. In mid-August, 1725 four months before the Boston treaty Hibbert Newton, a member of Nova Scotia's Executive Council, and Captain John Bradstreet travelled to Louisbourg where they discussed issues relating to the Mi'kmaq with the French Governor there. In a frank exchange of views Newton and Bradstreet said

we valued the Indians so very little and knew how little their word was to be depended on that we took no notice of them, nor never shall, till they come in with a method whereby we may be very well assured by hostages and other good pledges at their good behaviour...¹⁰⁵

Similarly, in October, 1749, Governor Cornwallis wrote to the Board of Trade that treaties with Indians meant nothing and nothing "but force will prevail ."¹⁰⁶

c) The search for intermediaries

English officials understood the difficulties of maintaining a garrison in a territory surrounded by peoples with whom they had few historical relationships. After 1710, English officers tried to overcome this handicap by

¹⁰⁴. CO, 217 40:152v, Desherbiers à Cornwallis, 15 oct. 1749.

¹⁰⁵. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Gay Papers, F.L. Gay Collection, Nova Scotia Papers, vol. IV, "The proceeding of Hibbert Newton Esq. and Capt. John Bradstreet with Mr. Saint-Ovide," Aug. 1725.

¹⁰⁶. CO, 217 9:110, Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 17 Oct. 1749.

establishing economic and social ties with the Mi'kmaq communities in part by undermining Mi'kmaq-French trading relationships. Two strategic ploys were utilized. Immediately after the conquest, English merchants tried to establish direct trading relationships with the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet peoples. Politically, the trade was important since the annual exchange of goods would bring the two peoples closer together.¹⁰⁷ In 1714, contact had been made with Mi'kmaq and Maliseet villages from Minas to the Saint John River and along the eastern coast of *Kmitkinag* to the Miramichi River.¹⁰⁸ Trade did not materialize though efforts continued into the 1730's to build a post along the Saint John River and in the Minas region. Closely connected with these efforts, were plans for an annual distribution of presents, much in the same manner as the French Crown had done since the late seventeenth century. In 1718, Captain John Doucett reported that

Chiefs of the indians have been with me that if we are Expected them to Continue our Friendship, they Expected Presents Yearly from His Majesty, as they always received when this country was in the Hands of the French King. I told them I could not answer

¹⁰⁷. This is suggested by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong, commanding officer at Port Royal in a 1732 letter. Armstrong believed that the French monopolized the trade and therefore the profits were artificially high. With the English intervention in the trade, these profits would go to the Natives "who would thereby be bound to us by the strong ties of self-interest." Armstrong to Belcher, 11 Sept. 1732 in Archibald MacMechan, ed., A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741 (Halifax 1900), p. 86.

¹⁰⁸. AC, C11A 35:121v-122, Bégon au ministre, 23 sept. 1715.

for any such thing but promise I would write to Great Britain.¹⁰⁹

The English first mentioned their intention to distribute presents in 1714¹¹⁰ but not until the summer of 1721 did the required goods finally arrive from England.¹¹¹ There is no evidence, however, to show that the practice continued. Rather, gift-giving only occurred within the context of special occasions and was not part of an annual ritual of exchange. The reasons for this are unclear, but appear to relate directly to the Board of Trade's reluctance to finance any such endeavour and their general lack of interest in colonial affairs during the early years of the eighteenth century.¹¹²

English officials in London did realize the importance of establishing kinship ties with the Mi'kmaq and encouraged English-speaking men to marry Wabanaki women. In 1719, the Board of Trade proposed to reward any person marrying a Mi'kmaq individual with a princely sum of ten pounds sterling plus 50 acres of land.¹¹³ Later in 1725, the Executive Council's instructions on

¹⁰⁹. CO 217 2:194, Doucett to Board of Trade, 10 Feb. 1718.

¹¹⁰. AC, C11A 35:114, Bégon au ministre, 25 sept. 1715.

¹¹¹. RG 1:14, Philipps to Board of Trade, 16 August 1721.

¹¹². On the Board of Trade, see Oliver Morton Dickerson, American Colonial Government, 1696-1765 (Cleveland 1912), pp. 34, 64-65; Robert Clinton, "The Proclamation of 1763," Boston University Law Review, 89 (1989), p. 336.

¹¹³. "Subsidized Intermarriage with the Indians: An Incident in British Colonial Policy," edited by John Brebner, Canadian Historical Review, 6 (1925), pp. 33-36.

treaty negotiations with the Wabanaki in Boston included the Crown's intention to encourage intermarriage be conveyed to Indian representatives.¹¹⁴

The failure of the English garrisons at Port Royal and Canceau to establish such ties affected their relationships with Mi'kmaq communities. At one level, as few English individuals were knowledgeable about Native society, officials were unfamiliar with the protocol governing face-to-face meetings and the importance that gift-exchange played in harmonizing interpersonal and intergroup relationships. It also meant that the government was consistently ill-informed regarding events occurring within Mi'kmaq society which might affect English interests in the region.

Efforts to form more durable political relationships were frustrated by the Board of Trade's delay in providing financial assistance, the actions of the Massachusetts' government and its citizens in *Kmitkinag*, the garrison's inability to obtain accurate and consistent information regarding the Mi'kmaq, and most important of all, the existing economic, social and political relationships which bound the French Crown and its subjects to the Mi'kmaq people.

4. Mi'kmaq Treaties with the English Crown

Very soon after the English conquest of Acadia, some Mi'kmaq men from Cap Sable and La Hève travelled to Port Royal in the hope of establishing

¹¹⁴. RG 1:23, Minutes of His Majesty's Executive Council, 12 Aug. 1725.

peaceful relations.

"On the Lord's day, the 25th of February some Indians came to Mr. Adams and sent a Message to the Fort, that if the Governour [sic] would send them a Hostage, one of them would come in and treat with him; upon which Lt. Pomeny was sent, and one of the Indians came in with Mr. Adams whom Sir Charles Hobby, commander in chief for the time being, in the absence of Governour Vetch, courteously received and entertained, the Indian lives at La Have and reports that as the Indians understood that the Fort of Port Royal was taken, they all assembled together and concluded among themselves, that now the English had conquered the Country, they were resolved henceforward to offer no violence to the English, unless they first began with them, and finding we are not disposed to maintain hostilities with them, they are come to mediate an Accommodation. The Indian promis'd to go to the Chiefs among them, and return in ten days with those who would gladly make peace with us, he departed before night well pleas'd with his Entertainment and Presents, and our Hostage return'd again.

On Tuesday the 6th of March, there came another Indian and his son from Cap Sables without the Ceremony of a Hostage whom the Indians there sent to know whether the English would be at peace with them, Sir Charles Hobby...entertained them civilly, and gave them Presents; acquainting them that we were willing to be at amity with them, and therefore none of them for the future would molest any of the English fishery in these parts; the Indian promis'd that as soon as he return'd and gave account of his Negotiations [sic] and Civil Entertainment, that the Indians would send their chiefs to sign Articles of Peace."¹¹⁵

Records of subsequent discussions have not been found. The proposals likely lapsed due to the chaos reigning within the Annapolis garrison and the Board of Trade's reluctance and inability to deal with colonial issues. This contributed to continuing friction in Mi'kmaq-English relations between 1711

¹¹⁵. Boston Newsletter, 19 March 1711, Letter received from Annapolis Royal, 13 March 1711.

and 1725, with neither party understanding the context in which the other lived. While the Mi'kmaq accepted that the English had conquered Port Royal, they steadfastly opposed further movements into other areas. Between 1722 and 1725, a regional war uniting the Wabanaki Confederacy and the Mi'kmaq against New England spread throughout *Kmitkinag* and Massachusetts. Along the eastern coast, English fishing vessels were attacked and an unsuccessful assault launched against Port Royal.¹¹⁶ English authorities responded by imprisoning 22 Mi'kmaq men, women and children from Bay Sainte-Marie, many of them members of the Grand Claude family.¹¹⁷ Though some form of accommodation was made between members of that family and garrison officers¹¹⁸, an agreement encompassing other villages was not concluded until December of 1725 when Penobscot peoples, delegated to negotiate on behalf of the Mi'kmaq, signed a peace treaty with New England authorities.¹¹⁹ On 4 June 1726, the treaty was ratified by Mi'kmaq sakamows and elders.

Between 1726 and 1744, peace was maintained throughout Mi'kma'ki.

¹¹⁶. CO 5 794:59, Massachusetts Council Minutes, 9 August 1722; Boston Newsletter, 20 August 1722; The New England Courant, 5 August 1723, 30 Sept 1723, 30 July 1724, 26 August 1725.

¹¹⁷. CO 217 4:118, Doucett to Board of Trade, 29 June 1722.

¹¹⁸. See The New England Courant, 7 Jan. 1723.

¹¹⁹. A manuscript copy of the treaty is in CO 5 898:173-174v. A printed copy of the 1725 treaty is in Indian Treaties and Surrenders From 1680 to 1890, vol. 2 (Ottawa 1891), pp. 200-201.

Though altercations occurred between fishermen and local Mi'kmaq villagers, these incidents did not precipitate a more general conflict.¹²⁰ Reflecting this situation is that in comparison to the pre-1726 period, there is little attention in either French or English correspondence focused upon the Mi'kmaq.

With the outbreak of a European war between France and England in 1744, the Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies were drawn into the conflict. In July 1744, the Mi'kmaq participated alongside French forces in an unsuccessful attack on the English garrison at Annapolis Royal. Following the conquest of Louisbourg by a New England force in 1745, a French naval expeditionary force rendezvoused at Chebouctou with Mi'kmaq and other Native groups aligned with the French King and planned to attack Port Royal. Sickness among the French sailors and soldiers, however, led to the abandonment of the action. Fighting continued sporadically until 1748.

By the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle which ended the war between the European powers, France regained its former rights in Ile Royale and formally re-occupied the island in 1749. At the same time, England adopted a more aggressive policy in the region, and established a settlement at Chebouctou in late June of 1749. Led by the new governor of Nova Scotia, Edward Cornwallis, the settlement was initially composed of 1876 people and quickly grew over the following decade. In October of the same year, a small outpost was

¹²⁰. For instance see "Extract of a Letter from Capt. Ficheto Capt. Durrell..." 19 July, 1732 in New England Weekly Journal, 7 August, 1732.

established at the present day site of Windsor on the Piziquit River. In response, the French built Fort Beauséjour along the Missiquash River in the very heart of the Acadian settlements. The English followed suit by building Fort Cumberland.

Cornwallis had initially attempted to forge peaceful relations with both Mi'kmaq and Maliseet peoples, overtures which eventually led to a re-affirmation of the 1725 treaty by the Maliseet together with chiefs from the Mi'kmaq village at Chignecto in September of 1749. Eastern coast Mi'kmaq, however, responded angrily and sent a letter to Cornwallis demanding that he either abandon the new settlement or risk a general war.¹²¹ Relations worsened during the Autumn with the establishment of first Fort Edward and then Fort Cumberland, precipitating further attacks on English settlements, attacks which were actively encouraged by French officials at Louisbourg.

By the Spring of 1751 there was a consensus among both the Wabanaki and the Mi'kmaq to negotiate a new agreement with the English. Overtures for peace had been initially sent from Massachusetts via the Penobscot and in September of 1752, after a series of messages had been exchanged did a delegation of Mi'kmaq arrive in Chebouctou.¹²² Two months later, a treaty

¹²¹. "Déclaration de Guerre des Micmac aux Anglais," 1749, in Canada-Français, 1 (Québec 1888), pp. 17-19.

¹²². Lt.-Gov to Lithgow and Bradbury, 11 April, 1751, in Documentary History of the State of Maine, vol. 23, Baxter Manuscripts (Portland 1916), pp. 383-84.

was signed. Hostilities resumed the following year, and continued intermittently over the following seven years, ending only with the fall of Fort Beauséjour to English forces in 1755 and Louisbourg three years later. In 1760 and 1761 a series of peace treaties were signed between the English Crown and Mi'kmaq inhabiting Kmitkinag and Unimaki.

The 1725/26, 1749, 1752 and 1760/61 treaties are similar. All known extant copies of the treaties, with the possible exception of the 1752 treaty, were first written in English. All the treaties were signed at English settlements and all contain articles regarding how relations between the English Crown and Mi'kmaq peoples would be governed. Many of these articles are similar. This is because the 1725 treaty served as the model for all subsequent treaties so that in later re-affirming their friendship and peace with the English Crown in 1749 and 1761, Indian delegates were actually re-establishing the laws which would govern their relations, laws which had been temporarily suspended as a result of war.

The common elements of these treaties can be quickly summarized. First, the signators recognized the English Crown's "jurisdiction and Dominion Over the Territories of the said Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia" and agreed not to molest any English subjects who had already established settlements or would lawfully do so in the future. The treaties stated that in any wrongs committed against either Mi'kmaq peoples or in any misunderstanding with English subjects, redress would be made "according to His Majesty's laws."

And finally, the treaties stipulated that neither people would assist English soldiers and any prisoners presently held by them would be speedily returned. In return, the English, according to the 1726 ratification, agreed not to molest either the Mi'kmaq "hunting, fishing and shooting and planting on their planting grounds."

While the 1752 treaty re-affirmed the 1725 Boston treaty, the 1760 treaty made no mention of it. At the same time, the 1752 treaty introduced a number of articles which had not been included in the Boston treaty. These articles provided that the Mi'kmaq would have "free liberty of hunting and fishing as usual" as well as

"free liberty to bring to Sale to Halifax or any other Settlement with this province, skins, feathers, fowl, fish or any other thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have liberty to dispose thereof to the best Advantage." ¹²³

As well, the treaty provided that provisions would be given to the Indians "half Yearly for the time to come". In order to maintain the friendship between the two nations, the Governor invited the Chiefs and or their delegates to come to Halifax every year on the first of October to ratify the Peace. At that time, they would be provided with presents of "Blankets, Tobacco, some Powder and Shott".

The treaties show a continuing attempt on the part of both the English Crown and the Mi'kmaq to establish laws governing their relationships. Thus,

¹²³. Cummings and Mickenberg, Native Rights, p. 307.

despite the lack of extensive historical relationships between the two parties, the treaties attest, on both sides, to a consistent policy of trying to establish some form of co-existence.

At the same time, the resumption of hostilities which often coincided with wars between England and France, reveal the failure of the treaty making process. In part, that failure proceeded from the intervention of France's colonial government, which actively sought to disrupt any peace negotiations between the Mi'kmaq and English authorities.¹²⁴ More importantly, however, the failure to establish a longstanding peace proceeded from a fundamentally different understanding of the treaties and their meaning. The lack of such mutually agreed understanding reveals the inherent problems which characterized official interactions between Mi'kmaq and English leaders.

The most immediate problem was that Mi'kmaq and English leaders depended almost entirely upon translators to communicate with each other. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the New England governors or commissioners empowered to treat with the Wabanaki spoke or understood Abenaki or any other Native language. More officials spoke and wrote French, making possible some direct communication with Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki

¹²⁴. For example, AC, C11B 9:9v, Conseil de la Marine, "Sur les Sauvages", 11 mars 1727.

leader, some of whom also spoke French.¹²⁵ Knowledge of French among village and district leaders, however, was not widespread. For example, in 1745, an English prisoner, William Pote, recounted meeting a Maliseet sakamow who attempted to explain the reasons for hostilities with the English. But, as Pote relates, "he was So Imperfect in ye french Toneu, yt I Could not Understand ye true meaning of his Discours."¹²⁶ Perhaps not surprisingly, Paul Mascarene, born of French Huguenot ancestry, represented the Nova Scotian government in all formal Wabanaki-New England discussions between 1725 and 1752.

The degree to which Wabanaki and Mi'kmaq peoples spoke and understood English before 1760 is difficult to evaluate. Prior to the 1740's, no records have been found which would show fluency in English among any member of the Mi'kmaq community. Though this does not necessarily mean that no-one could speak the language, fluency would have been a rarity given the sporadic and transitory character of interactions between the peoples. Contact occurred, but most often along the eastern coast of *Kmitkinag* where fishermen regularly ventured into harbour either for water and provisions or

¹²⁵. For instance, the chief of Restigouche in 1760, Joseph Claude, could speak French as did the chief of Unimaki in 1716. On the latter, see "Voyage fait à l'isle Royale ou du Cap Breton en Canada, 1716 sur la frégate l'Atalante commandée par Monsieur de Courbon Stleger ", Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française, 13 (1959-60), p. 432.

¹²⁶. "Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., in Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 1-3 (1894), p. 267.

to trade with the local population. As in many instances, Acadian or métis settlers acted as intermediaries between the two parties, this would have minimized the immediate necessity that either or both parties should learn the other's language.¹²⁷ Linguistic separation between the two societies, however, slowly changed as English settlement expanded into Abenaki territories and as an increasing number of Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki peoples spent time either imprisoned in Boston jails or working as indentured servants of white Massachusetts settlers.¹²⁸ Paul Laurent, a native of Mirligueche and in 1760 a chief of the La Hève Mi'kmaq, had once been "a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith."¹²⁹ Similarly, in May 1745, an English captive, William Pote, encountered a "Cape Sable Indian who had lived Six or Seven Years in Boston, and could speak verey good English."¹³⁰ Most Mi'kmaq people, however, likely spoke very little English. For example, during

¹²⁷. Metis communities were located along the eastern coast of Kmitkinag from Cape Sable to Canso.

¹²⁸. Records regarding Wabanaki and Mi'kmaq prisoners in Boston jails can be found in Massachusetts Acts and Resolves, 10:122, 462, 548, 551, 11:33, 78, 143. References to indentured servants are fewer. It was common practise, however, for women and children prisoners to be sold as servants. See v.11, pp. 192 and 353.

¹²⁹. Col. Frye to Governor Belcher, 7 March 1760 in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, vol. 10 (1809), (Boston 1809), p. 115.

¹³⁰. The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr. During his Captivity in the French and Indian War from May 1745 to August, 1747, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company 1896), p. 24.

the early 1790s, George Henry Monk, then superintendent for Indian Affairs in *Kmitkinag*, recounted meeting Mi'kmaq of all ages who "speak very little English".¹³¹

Lacking bilingual speakers within the leadership of either party, all discussions were translated orally by designated interpreters. Wabanaki discussions with New England officials were invariably interpreted by an Englishman. This, at times, created tensions as the Wabanaki were not always confident that the interpreter could correctly translate the Indians' words and phrases into the appropriate sentences. For example, at the treaty signing at Casco Bay during the summer of 1726, the Penobscot, given the choice between three interpreters, requested that a Captain Jordan translate for them "because we understand him plainest."¹³² The Wabanaki were often accompanied by their own interpreters, who did not have any formal function in the proceedings. They did, however, listen closely to the discussions and advised Wabanaki chiefs if there was a discrepancy between the English wording of the agreement and the translation of it by the official interpreters.¹³³ By June of

¹³¹. NAC, Monk Papers, MG 23 G11-19, 3:1075, March 1794. This particular incident relates to a man and his wife, the man's sister and niece who "come from the woods...about Wilmot."

¹³². "The Conference with the Eastern Indians, at the Ratification of the Peace, Held at Falmouth in Casco-Bay, in July and August, 1726" in Collections of the Maine Historical Society, vol. III (Portland 1853), p. 382.

¹³³. At the ratification of the Boston Treaty at Casco Bay in 1726, the Jesuit priest Etienne Laverjat, two of the Saint-Castin brothers and Alexandre le Borgne de Bellisle were present. They subsequently told the Abenaki of the

1727, the Penobscot had become so wary of the English oral translation of the Boston treaty that they arrived at Fort Saint George with the Jesuit priest Lauverjat in tow, and demanded that Gyles read the treaty while the priest wrote down Gyles words in "Indian", a proposal that was heartily rejected.¹³⁴

In negotiations with the Mi'kmaq, Nova Scotian officials faced a difficult situation. With no-one capable of speaking Micmac among the English population, they had few options but to rely upon Acadian or Mi'kmaq interpreters. At a treaty signed with Mi'kmaq residents of the Annapolis River in November of 1722, the articles were first

"translated into French, was read to them (the Mi'kmaq) Paragraph by Paragraph and explained by one of themselves, who well understood that Language into Indian to the rest, who did not understand the French."¹³⁵

At the ratification of the Boston treaty at Annapolis in June, 1726, officials employed Prudent Robichau and Abraham Bourg to translate the discussions

discrepancy between the oral translation and the written document. For an example of this discrepancy, see "Traité de Paix entre les Anglois et les Abenakis", Caske Bay, août 1727, in Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autre documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger, (CMNF), t. 3, (Québec 1884), pp. 134-135. This particular example will be discussed below.

¹³⁴. John Gyles, "Memorial of a conference at St. Georges River", June 1727, in Documentary History of the State of Maine, vol. 23, (Portland 1916), p. 214.

¹³⁵. "Treaty Signed at Annapolis Royal, 13 Nov., 1722" in New England Courant, 7 Jan. 1723.

though it is not explicitly stated that the treaty was translated orally into Micmac.¹³⁶ Dependence upon the Acadian population to serve as interpreters, placed the English in an often tenuous situation as they could not always rely upon the Acadians to faithfully interpret their words. In one incident during the summer of 1714, a Jesuit missionary reported that an English delegation from Annapolis come to solicit the loyalty of the Maliseet, were 'poorly' served by their two Acadian interpreters, Jean Landry and Melançon. As the intendant of New France later recounted to the Minister in Paris, the two Acadians "who spoke the Indian language, far from supporting the proposals that the English had made to the Indians strongly advised them not to pledge loyalty to the English."¹³⁷ Not surprisingly, English officials were keen to find someone upon whom they could rely to not only faithfully interpret their words but who could also inform them as to the internal dynamics of Mi'kmaq society.

Problems in translating discussions fuelled mutual suspicion and frictions. This was exacerbated by the fact that Mi'kmaq and English leaders negotiated from different precepts. As representative of the King, English officials sought Mi'kmaq assent to the King's sovereignty over their lands. To the Mi'kmaq, however, such a concept would have been foreign. As a fishing and hunting peoples, the land could not be given to another but rather was held in trust by

¹³⁶. Archibald MacMechan, ed., Minutes of His Majesty's Executive Council, 1720-1736 (Halifax: PANS 1900), p. 116.

¹³⁷. AC, C11A 35:111v-112, Bégon au ministre 25 sept. 1714.

the collective. Thus, while the Mi'kmaq may have agreed to England's presence on their lands, relinquishment of the territory to a third party would have not been possible. English authorities, however, appear to have insisted on Mi'kmaq recognition of English sovereignty and thus a clause attesting to this fact is included in the 1725/26, 1752 and 1760/61 treaties.

Understanding the context in which discussions regarding this treaty article is complicated by the fact that there are few conference transcripts for the 1725 negotiations and none for the later ones. Thus, we do not know how the terms of the treaty were communicated to the Mi'kmaq. For English officials, the meaning was clear and precise and their interpretation has since dominated historical discussions of English-Mi'kmaq relations. Wayne Daugherty and Olive Dickason, for example, have both argued that the 1722-25 war threw the Mi'kmaq and their Wabanaki allies into "disarray" and as a result agreed with Treaty's articles which stated that the English Crown was the 'rightful Possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia' through the Treaty of Utrecht.¹³⁸

This interpretation is questionable. This thesis has demonstrated that the most important factor influencing pre-1760 Nova Scotia was the Mi'kmaq

¹³⁸. Wayne Daugherty, The Maritime Treaties in Historical Perspective (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1983), p. 29; Olive P. Dickason, "Amerindians Between French and English in Nova Scotia, 1713-1763" American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 10 (1986), pp. 39-40. Essentially the same argument is repeated in Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A history of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto 1992), p. 157.

independence from European colonial powers, a situation which intensified rather than ameliorated as Acadian, French and English settlement expanded. Seen in this context, the treaties assume a different meaning from a literal interpretation. Given the lack of English military influence throughout the region before the 1760s, Mi'kmaq protestations of subservience appear unlikely.

How then are we to understand this apparent contradiction? One possible explanation is that during the negotiations, the content of the treaty was incorrectly communicated to Mi'kmaq delegates. This is suggested by representations made both by Loron, the speaker for the Penobscot people, and by French speaking delegates who attended the ratification of the Boston treaty at Casco Bay in July of 1726.¹³⁹ In a letter addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor, Loron stated that

Having hear'd the Acts read which you have given me I have found the Articles entirely differing from what we have said in presence of one another, 'tis therefore to disown them that I write this letter unto you."¹⁴⁰

Loron took exception to several of the treaty's articles. Though all of his objections were not included in the letter written to Dummer, he was particularly upset by those articles which purported that he and his people had acknowledged King George to be their King and had "declar'd themselves

¹³⁹. Abenaki villages ratified the 1725 Boston treaty at Casco Bay, a separate ratification than the one signed at Port Royal by Mi'kmaq and Maliseet chiefs.

¹⁴⁰. Loron Sagourrat to Dummer (n.d.) in Documentary History of the State of Maine, vol. 23 (Portland 1916), p. 208.

subjects to the Crown of England." Rather, Loron wrote that during the negotiations

when you have ask'd me if I acknowledg'd Him for King I answer'd yes butt att the same time have made you take notice that I did not understand to acknowledge Him for my king butt only that I own'd that He was king His kingdom as the King of France is king in His."¹⁴¹

Similarly, French-speakers present at the ratification of the 1725 Boston treaty at Casco Bay in July 1726 noted the discrepancies between verbal agreements and the written text. According to three French-speaking individuals, the articles read to the Natives of Panaouamské did not include references to submitting themselves to the English King, accepting responsibility for beginning hostilities with the English, or that they would accept living according to English law. Rather, the oral translation of these articles had emphasized that the Panaouamské had "come to salute the English Governor to make peace with him and to renew the ancient friendship which had been between them before."¹⁴²

Mistranslation of treaty articles could have occurred in several ways. As an Algonquian language, Micmac was fundamentally different from both English and French. Consequently many of the words and ideas contained in the treaties could not be easily interpreted. In translating the treaties, interpreters,

¹⁴¹. Loron to Dummer (n.d.) in Documentary History of the State of Maine, vol. 23 (Portland 1916), p. 209.

¹⁴². "Traité de paix entre les anglois et les abenakis," 1727, in CMNE, III: 134-135.

some of whom were likely ill-equipped to deal with the subtle nuances of the language, either consciously or unconsciously mistranslated those articles of the 1725 treaty in which the Mi'kmaq recognized King George as their King and accepted his jurisdiction over their lands. Translation difficulties were exacerbated by a general English distrust of Native people. English officials were aware of the difficulties in convincing Mi'kmaq delegates to recognize English sovereignty. However, as suggested in earlier sections of this chapter, English officials viewed Native occupation of North America as an unacceptable situation and for this reason, would not have insisted that Mi'kmaq delegates properly understood the treaties they were signing.

Misunderstandings regarding treaty articles only served to reinforce Mi'kmaq suspicions of English intentions, a situation that French colonial authorities exploited in order to maintain their own alliance with the Mi'kmaq. Indeed, when war raged between England and France and when English settlers established a settlement at Chebouctou, Mi'kmaq leaders were already prone to suspect the Englishman's words.

* * * * *

Eighteenth century relations between the Mi'kmaq and the French were largely determined by the historical relationships established the preceding century and not by any special skill which French colonial officials possessed. Those relationships, founded upon trading alliances, kinship ties and 'common'

religious beliefs made it possible for the French governor and his officers to meet and interact with Mi'kmaq *sakamows* and elders. In contrast, similar relationships between the English and the Mi'kmaq were few and as a result, mistrust and suspicion characterized relationships between the two peoples. Lacking the historical relationships enjoyed by the French, the English attempted to regulate their relations with the Mi'kmaq through treaties, much in the same way as was done in Europe between nations. This process initiated, though did not resolve disputes between the English and Mi'kmaq and friction and hostility continued to characterize interactions between the two peoples up until 1760.

CONCLUSION

In the period before 1760, the Mi'kmaq people of *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki were principally fishers of the sea. They lived along or near the coastline for six to nine months of the year and even during the winter months did not stray far from the coast. Because the climate was warmer below the Chebenacadie River, most of their population was concentrated in this region.

The abundance of fish and marine life made possible large nucleated 'summer' villages when two or more fishing villages living in adjacent territories congregated in one location for social and political purposes. Fishing villages were linked politically through a loose confederation called the Grand Council, socially by marriage and culturally by a common language. Underlying social and political relationships was a common understanding that an imbalance within the animate world would have negative consequences. To ensure that such a situation did not arise, special rituals were observed which maintained a continual abundance of food. These social, political and cultural structures constituted the principal contours animating Mi'kmaq society from first contact with Europeans in the early sixteenth century to 1760.

Contact with European society brought an irreversible change to the Mi'kmaq, though the pace at which it occurred has been overstated. In the early sixteenth century, Europeans had begun an annual migration to fish for cod along the shores of first Ktaqamkuk (southern Newfoundland) and later

Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia). By the third quarter of the century, their total numbered at a minimum 10,000 men. Fishermen came into contact with Mi'kmaq people fishing along the coastline of *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki which resulted, at least initially, in the formation of two principal relationships which were to continue to characterize Mi'kmaq-European relations before 1760. On the one hand, the European fur trade led to a trading relationship with the Mi'kmaq which, however, did not precipitate a massive reorganization of Mi'kmaq economic activities. Rather, the trade was integrated into existing settlement and migration patterns. Secondly, contact led to the contamination of the Mi'kmaq population with European produced diseases, such as smallpox, influenza and scarlet fever. Unlike other Native societies in the Northeast, however, the introduction of these diseases preceded European settlement by possibly one hundred years, so that the population had either partially or wholly recovered prior to settlement.

With the beginning of permanent European settlements on the shores of the Northeast Atlantic in the early seventeenth century, a new process of change and adaptation was forced onto Mi'kmaq society. Lands laying adjacent to the Bay of Fundy were settled by French farmers who, as their population increased, expanded the areas farmed and the lands from which the Mi'kmaq were excluded. Acadian expansion exacerbated existing cultural tensions with Mi'kmaq communities. Exemplifying the changing character of Mi'kmaq-Acadian relations during the eighteenth century is the decreasing importance

of the fur trade in the Acadian economy. During the early seventeenth century, furs as a medium of exchange had established personal relationships between individuals from the two communities which, in some cases, were cemented through intermarriage. However, as the Acadian farming population expanded, fur and skin exports became relatively less important, leading to tensions in Mi'kmaq-merchant relations. After the English conquest of Acadia in 1710, relationships between the two communities continued to deteriorate as increasing imperial rivalry in the region revealed divergent political viewpoints.

In part, rivalry in the region between France and England was precipitated by the northward expansion of New England whose fishermen sought to exploit the rich fishing grounds laying adjacent to *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki. Tensions between fishermen and coastal Mi'kmaq populations predated New England's foundation, but in contrast to the earlier period, New England responded to Mi'kmaq attacks upon its fishing fleet. In some cases, this resulted in the migration of coastal villages into the interior.

France's imperial interests in the region were aided by missionaries who, from the early seventeenth century, had mediated disputes between the Mi'kmaq and an expanding French population living in *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki or fishing along its coastline. As rivalry with England increased after 1700, the missionaries assumed a crucial role in maintaining an alliance between the Mi'kmaq and the French Crown. The missionary was able to do so because he

moved not only within the European world which elders and *sakamows* did not know, but also because of his ability to communicate with the spiritual realm of the animate world. However, the missionary's influence in Mi'kmaq society was limited and Catholicism, as a system of thought, did not revolutionize Mi'kmaq cultural life.

Indeed, the social, economic and cultural relationships made first with French fishermen and later with traders, farmers and missionaries, were the basis of the alliance formed by the Mi'kmaq with the French Crown in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Lacking such extensive historical relationships with individual Mi'kmaq families, England's attempts to forge political and military influence in the region during the first half of the eighteenth century were largely unsuccessful. However, an expansion of England's presence and the gradual but steady alienation of Mi'kmaq society from its historical relationships with France and its subjects in *Kmitkinag* and Unimaki, facilitated the expulsion of the Acadian population and the conquest of Louisbourg. This effectively brought to an end France's military and political influence in the region. In the vacuum created by the France's departure, the Mi'kmaq established a new relationship with the English King, the basis of which had been made with the signing of the 1725 and 1752 treaties.

In sum, the settlement of *Kmitkinag* by French farmers and the establishment of a French political, military and religious structure in the region did not lead to a merging of the Mi'kmaq population into French

society. Rather, Mi'kmaq society retained its essential characteristics. Because the Crown's alliance with the Mi'kmaq was based upon economic, cultural and social relationships made during the seventeenth century, an expansion of European settlement and economic and political interest in the region, revealed the fundamental cultural differences between France and its Mi'kmaq allies which had always existed but had been possible to ignore.

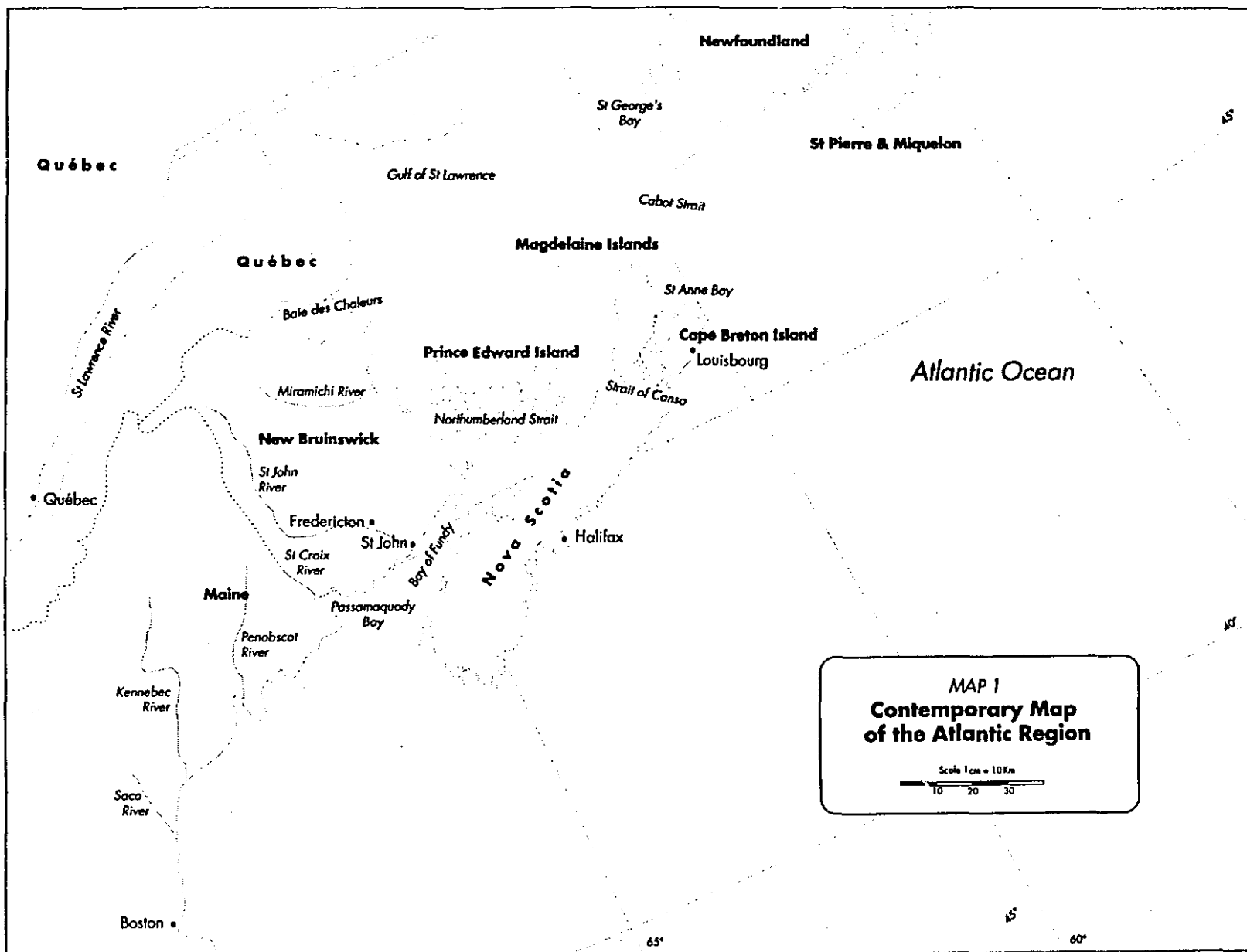
This study casts a different light upon the early history of the Mi'kmaq people. Previous researchers have tended to emphasize first the changes occurring among the Mi'kmaq as a result of contact and second, the alliance made with the French Crown. While those studies have viewed culture as a fluid mixture bending to the technologically advanced and militarily superior European societies, this thesis has emphasized that as long as the Mi'kmaq retained occupancy over their fishing and hunting grounds, their culture remained intact and thus also their collective sense of separateness from French and English society. Moreover, the analysis of European relations with Mi'kmaq society according to 'occupational' group, rather than according to ethnic or national identity, has afforded a more subtle understanding of Mi'kmaq interactions with European peoples. This approach has stressed the common elements of English and French perceptions of Mi'kmaq society, and of Mi'kmaq perceptions of both English and French peoples. Secondly, it has shown that the ability to communicate with peoples of other cultures is not

determined by nationality or ethnic identity but rather by particular historical circumstances which provide peoples the political opportunity and economic or religious incentive to do so. Methodologically, the approach has also demonstrated that by clearly defining with whom Native peoples interacted, it is possible to reach a broad understanding of relationships despite the lack of extensive documentation.

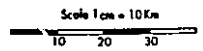
In general, the thesis has shown the importance of integrating the Mi'kmaq into the history of the Atlantic region. As the original settlers of the land, the Mi'kmaq were a constant presence in the lives of European fishermen, Acadian farmers, and colonial officials. In ignoring the Mi'kmaq as a component of the region's history or treating them as a peripheral element to the story of European settlement, researchers have failed to properly understand the political and economic context in which settlement was achieved, and the physical and cultural contours in which it occurred.

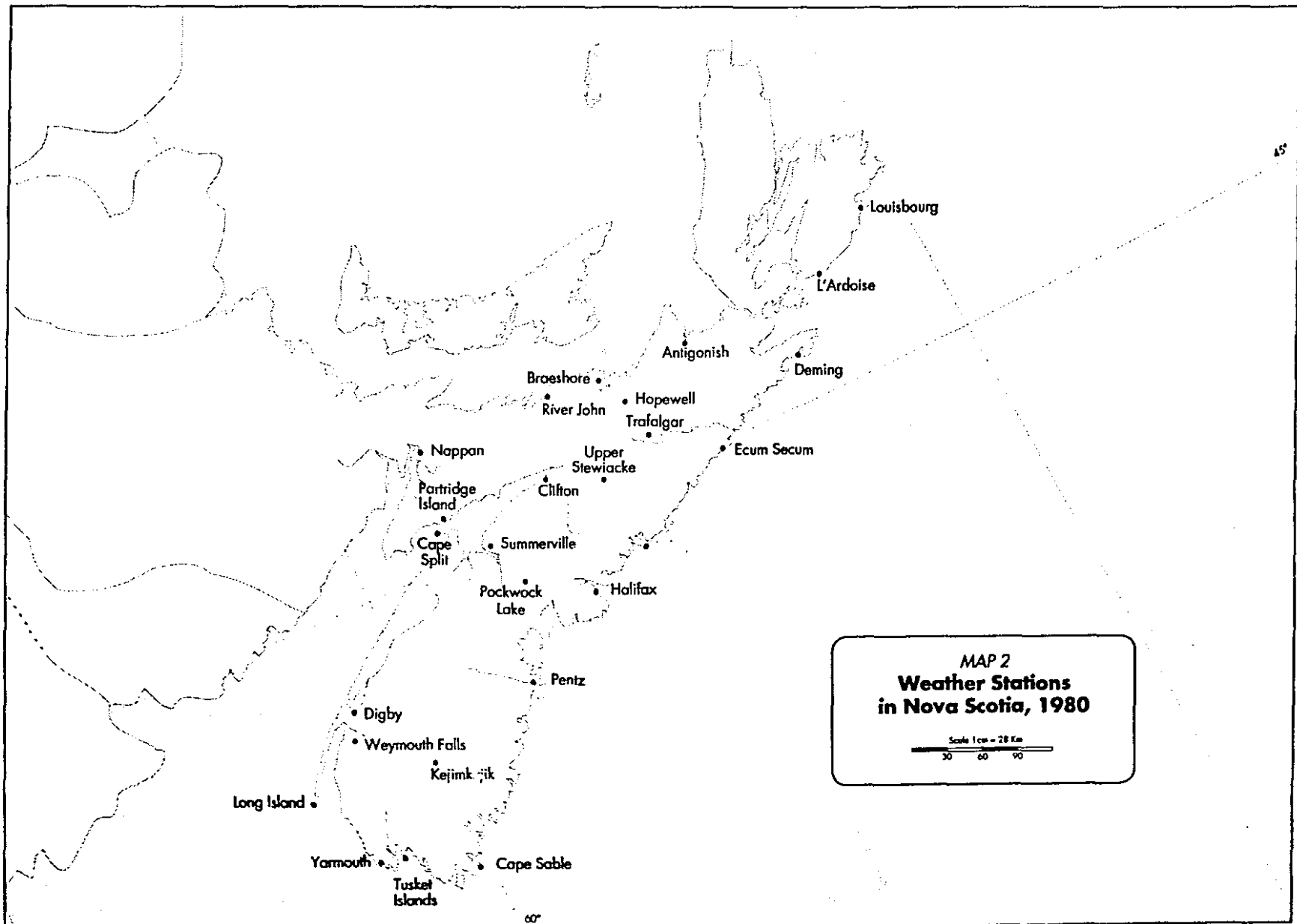
The consequences of such an approach are more far-reaching and more dangerous than one might at first suppose. The present is an expression of the past. By ignoring a peoples' participation in the making of the present, we only reinforce the prevailing homogenization of human culture and thought. History offers us options by displaying the fullest range of human expression possible. In denying the past and the complexities of cultural expression, we fail to provide our children with the options they will need to survive in the

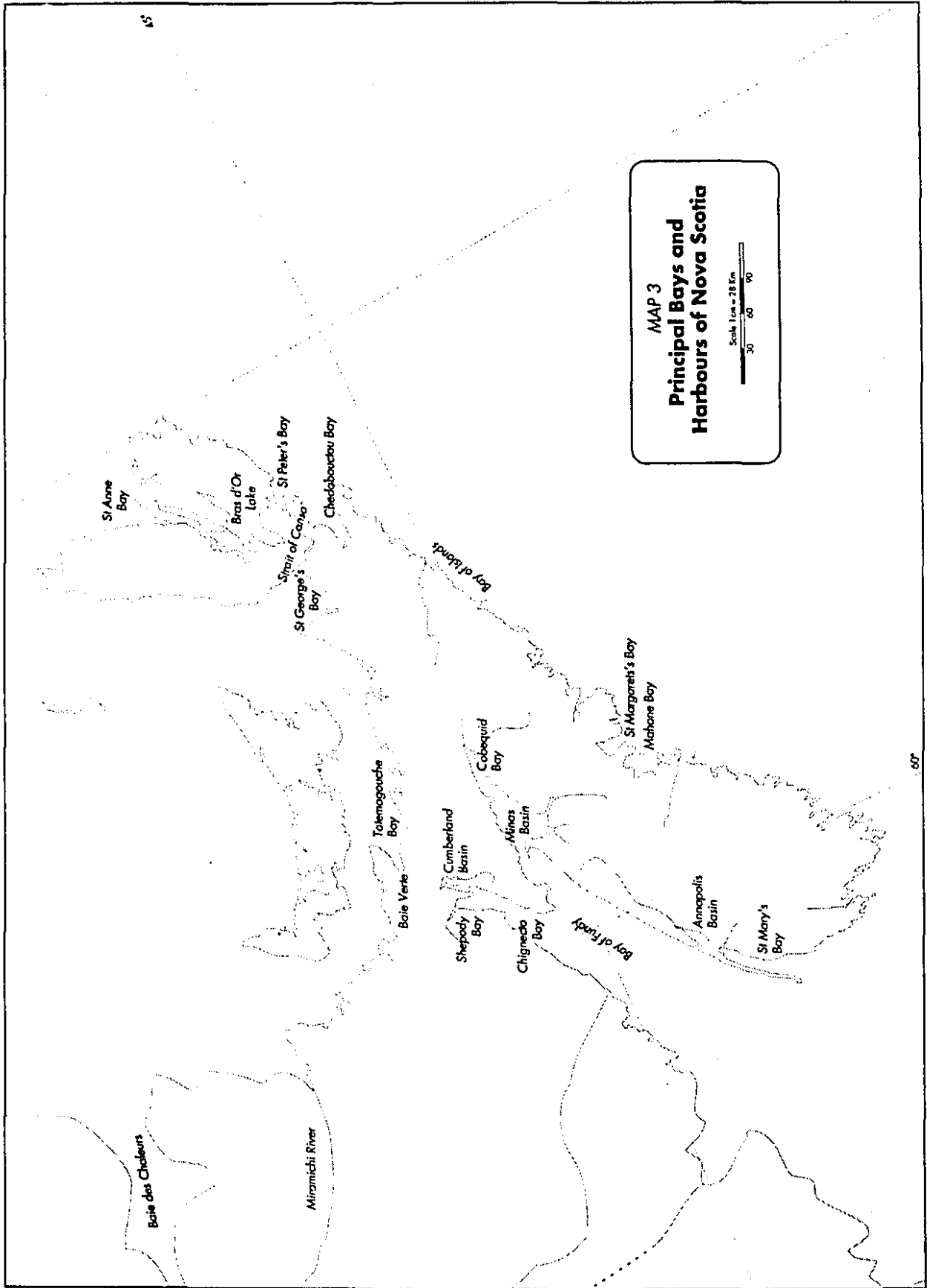
future and to enrich their lives. We also encourage them to be less sensitive to culturally dissimilar peoples and to contemporary Native peoples. In integrating the Mi'kmaq and other Native peoples into the histories which are written, it may be possible to broach understanding, tolerance and dialogue and ultimately survival for both Native and non-Native peoples.



MAP 1
Contemporary Map
of the Atlantic Region





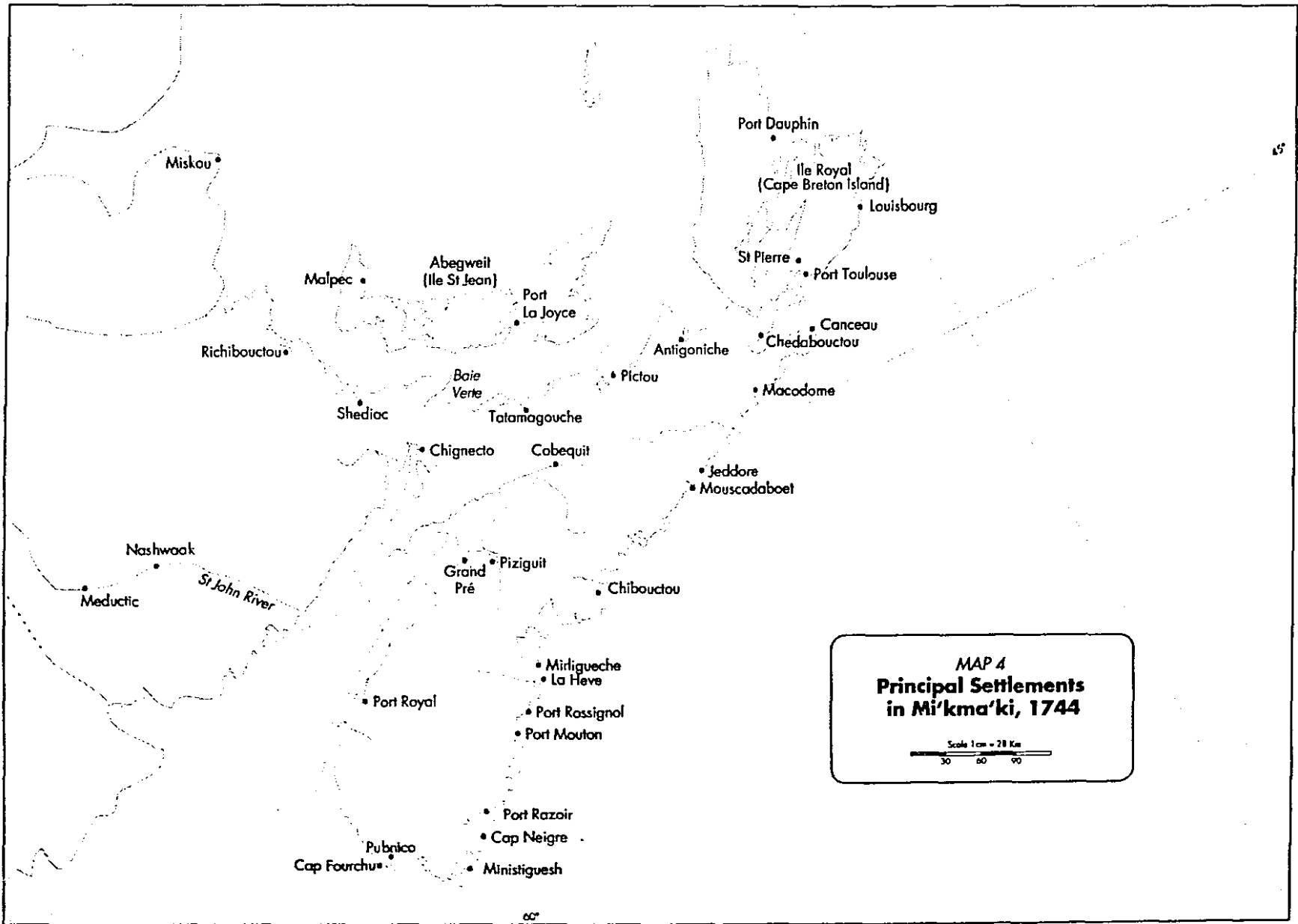


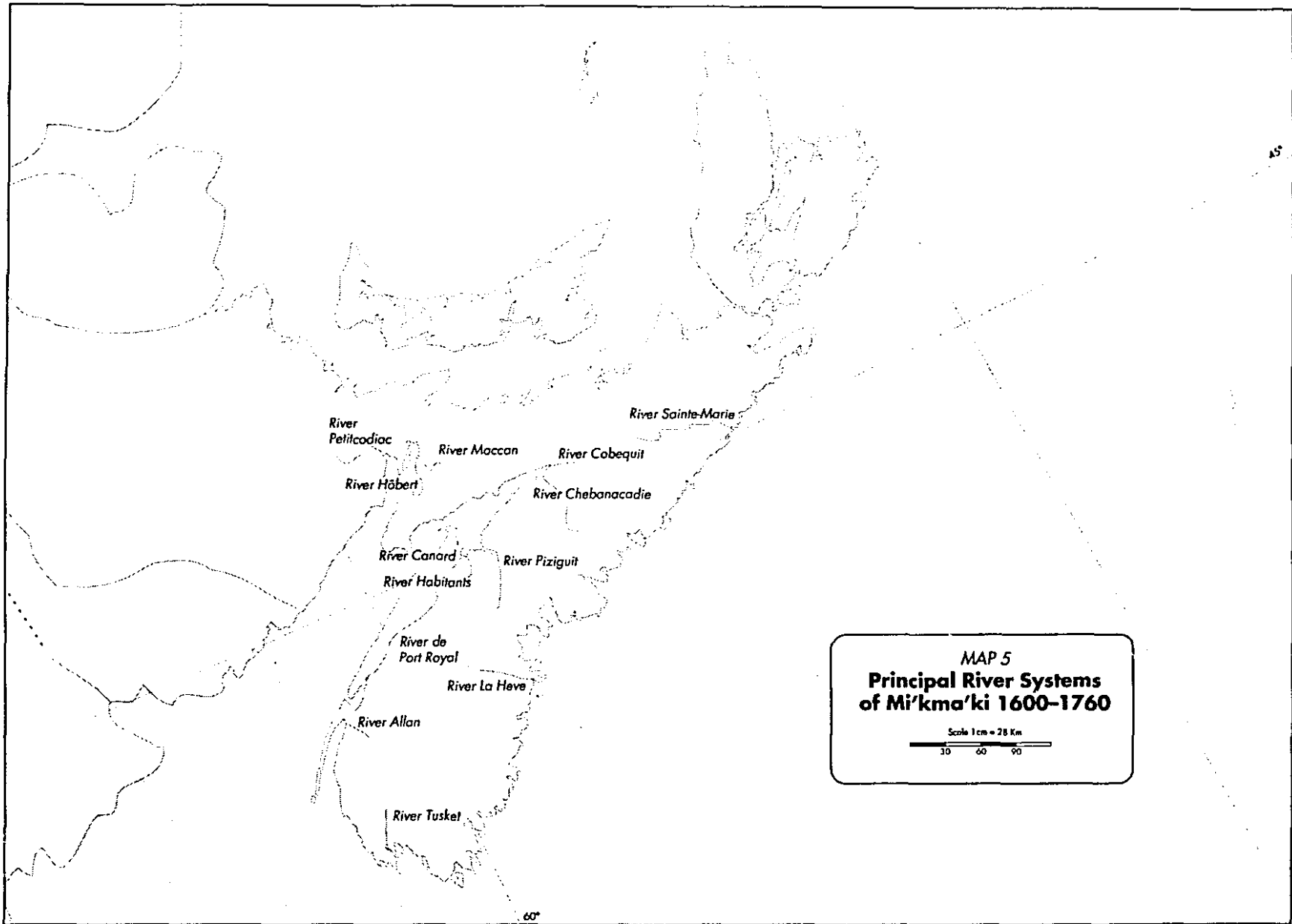
MAP 3
Principal Bays and Harbours of Nova Scotia

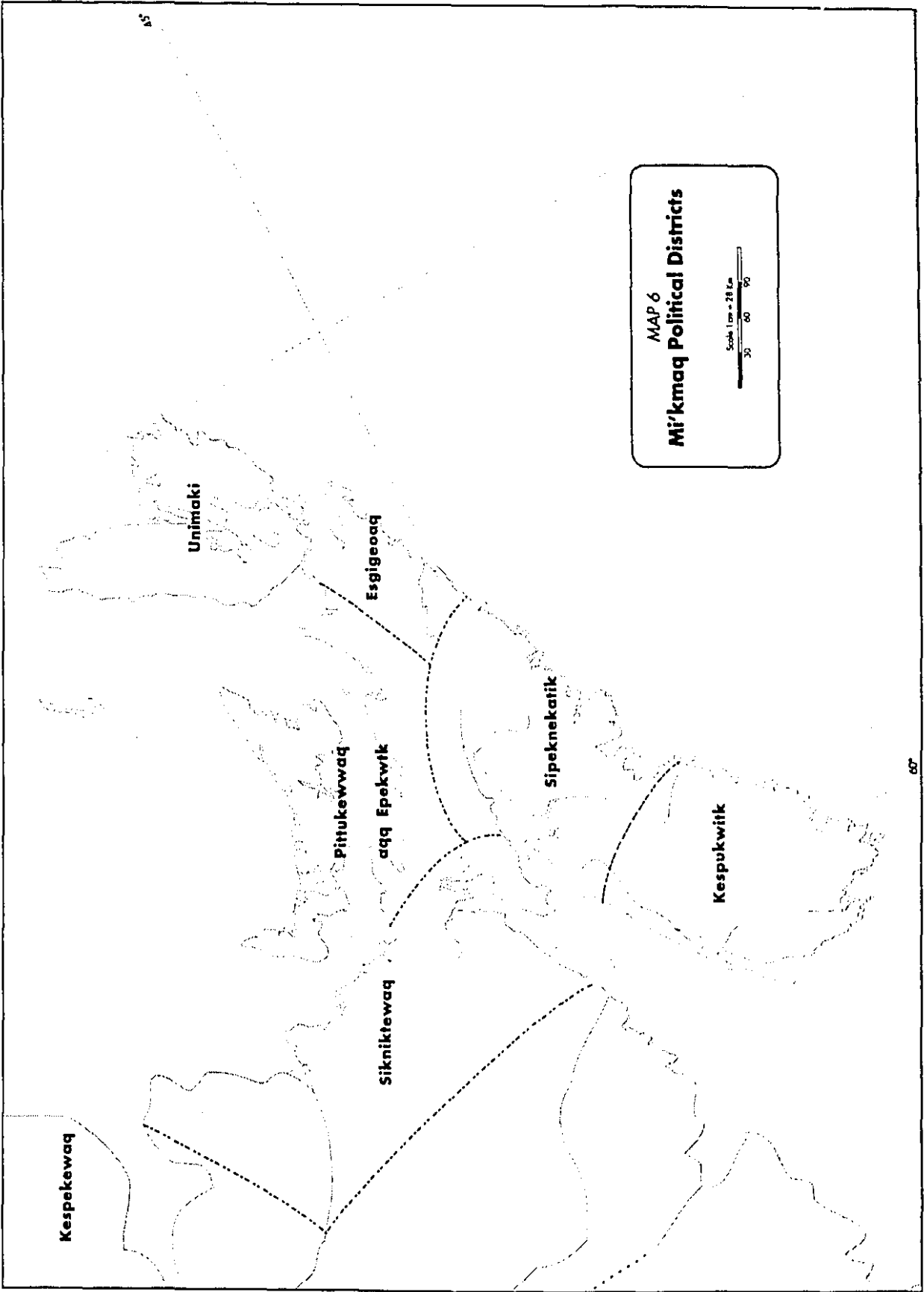
Scale 1 cm = 28 Km
30 60 90

45

60







MAP 6
Mi'kmaq Political Districts

Scale 1 cm = 25 km

Kespekewaq

Unimaki

Esgigeoq

Pittukewwaq

aqq Epekwiik

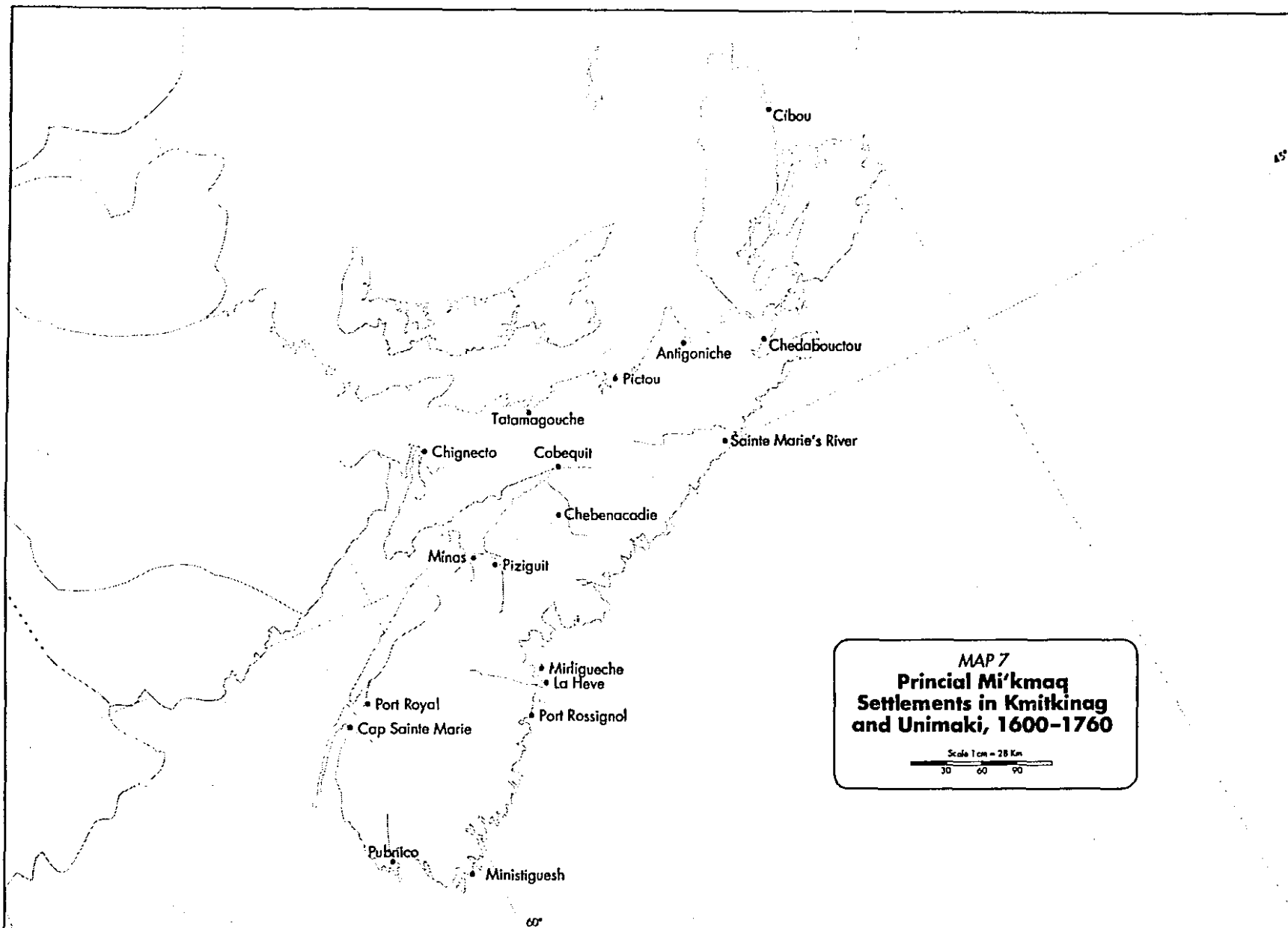
Sipeknekatik

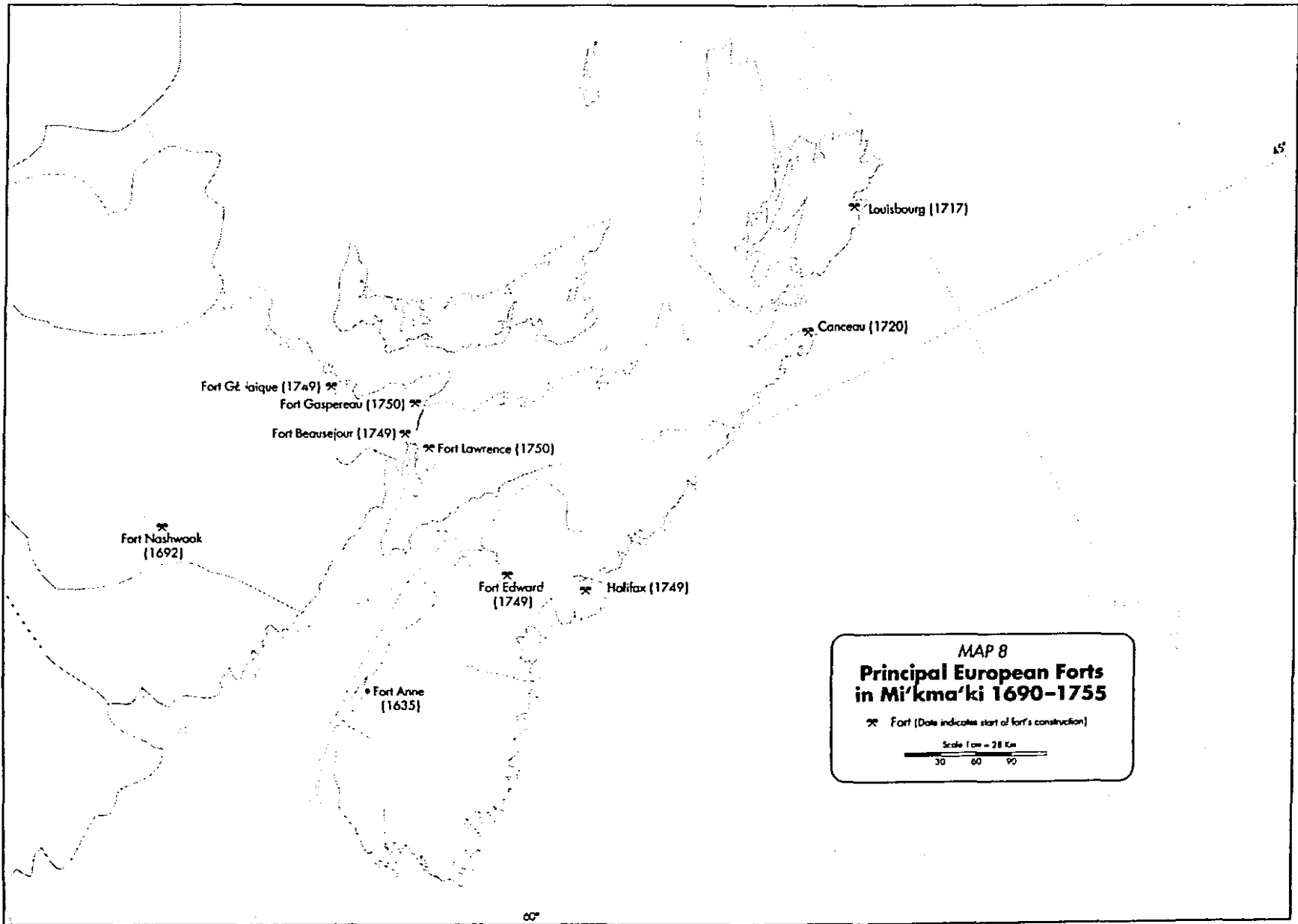
Kespukwiik

Sikniktewaq

57

68





BIBLIOGRAPHY

Organization

1. Manuscript Sources
2. Printed Sources
3. Reference Works
4. Secondary Sources

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

a) Canada

Archives nationales de Québec à Rimouski

Fonds Capucins, article 1-23

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec

Lettre M, no. 35, 37
Lettre N, no. 48, 86, 121
Lettre P, no. 8, 60-64
Lettre R, no. 180

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

MG 18 E29 Collection Charlevoix Discours des Sauvages
Micmaques.... 1749 one volume

MG 18 F8 Paul Mascarene Journal 1742-53 one volume

MG 18 F12 Collection Pichon 1751, one volume

MG 18 H27 Felix Martin Papers 1747, one volume

- MG 18 M Lt. Col Robert Monckton Papers, v. 1-13
- MG 18 N8 Muster Rolls, New England Expedition against Port Royal, 1710, one volume
- MG 23 A1 Earl of Dartmouth Papers 1771-1776, three volumes
- MG 23 G11-19 Monk Family Papers 1784-1797, four volumes
- MG 23 J6 Samuel Prenties Journal 1780-81, one volume
- RG 10 Indian Affairs, Nova Scotia, v. 459-461

New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick

W.F. Ganong Scrapbooks

Public Archives of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick

Charles Robin Journal, one volume, 1767-1774

Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia

RG 1 Akin Transcripts
v. 1-25, 35-57, 166-172,
186-191, 215-217, 286-87, 318-320,
380, 394-398, 491-494
1603-1800

RG 5 House of Assembly Series "P" Petitions
1816-1850

RG 20 Land Records, A and C
Petitions, Land Surveys and Land Grants
1760-1830

RG 34 Quarter Sessions County Proceedings to 1800
Colchester
Halifax
King's
Pictou
Queens
Shelburne
Yarmouth

MG 1

Baker Papers v. 106

Chipman Papers v. 181

Cunningham Papers v. 249

Isaac Deschamps Papers v. 258 and 258a

Rev. John Seccombe Diary 1759

Wentworth Papers v. 939 and 941

MG 15 Abbé Sigogne Papers v. 17

b) France

Microfilm copies of manuscripts in France were consulted at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Archives de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice à Paris

Série II, v. 25, 1701

Archives départementales

Charente-Maritime

Amirauté de La Rochelle, Serie B, Cours et juridictions, 1634-1646

Amirauté de Louisbourg, v. 272, 1742-1743

Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes),

Registre de Saint-Pierre-du-Nord, Ile Saint-Jean, 1725-1758

Archives nationales, Paris: Fonds des colonies.

B - Lettres envoyées aux colonies, v. 3-97, 1671-1753

C11A - Correspondance du Canada, v. 1-99, 122, 1663-1760

C11B - Correspondance de l'Île Royale, v. 1-38, 1714-1758

C11C - Amérique du Nord, v. 1-16, 1705-1771

C11D - Correspondance de l'Acadie, v. 1-10, 1604-1760

F2B - Commerce aux colonies, v.11, 1742 1754

F3 - Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, v. 5-6, 40, 1678-1755

Archives nationales, Paris: Section ancienne

Série K. Monuments historiques, carton 1232

Archives nationales, Paris: Section outre-mer

G1 - Etat civil de l'Île Royale, Ile Saint-Jean, v. 411, 1721-58,

G1 - Concessions, recensements de l'Acadie et l'île Royale, v. 466

Service historique de l'armée, Paris

Série A1.- Correspondance générale, opérations militaires
v. 3393, 3499, 1751-1754, 1758

c) Great Britain

Microfilmed copies of these records are on deposit at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa with the exception of the Admiralty Papers. These manuscripts are on deposit at the Fortress of Louisbourg Archives, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.

British Museum, London

Additional Manuscripts # 19069-19076, Andrew Brown transcripts

Public Record Office, London

Admiralty Papers 1 - selected volumes

Colonial Office Papers Series 5 - Massachusetts
v. 751-754, 785-794, 863-869
1686-

Colonial Office Papers Series 217 - Nova Scotia, Original Correspondence to the Board of Trade, v. 1-60, 1710-1788

Colonial Office Papers Series 218 - Nova Scotia, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade to Nova Scotia, v. 1-5, 1710-1760

Colonial Office Papers Series 221 - Shipping Returns Nova Scotia, v. 28-31, 1730-1765

War Office Papers Series 34 - Amherst Correspondence, v. 11-13, 1756-1763

d) United States

Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Archive Series, selected volumes
1686-1776

Suffolk County Court Records
Supreme Court Judicature, selected
files, 1671, 1720-1726

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts

Belknap Papers
Miscellaneous Unbound Volumes
Parkman Papers

2. PRINTED SOURCES

Acts and Resolves Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.
vols. 1-16, Boston 1869-1909.

Amherst, General. "Papiers Amherst concernant les Acadiens", La Société
Historique Acadienne, (1970), pp. 256-320.

Anonymous. "Réglement des Limites (Acadie 1753)", "Collection de documents
inédits sur l'Acadie." Canada-Français, 3 (Québec: 1889), 60-87.

Baxter, James Phinney, ed. Documentary History of the State of Maine. vol. 1-
23, Portland 1916.

Biggar, H.P., ed. The Precursors of Jacques Cartier. Ottawa: Government
Printing Office, 1911.

----., ed. The Voyages of Jacques Cartier. Toronto: The Champlain Society,
1924.

----- ed. The Works of Samuel de Champlain. 6 vols., Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922-1928.

Boston Gazette, 1719-1727

Boston Newsletter, 1704-1727

Brereton, John. "Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia in 1602." in Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608. Edited by Henry S. Burrage. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

Breslay, Charles René de. "L'abbé de Breslay to Gov. Philipps." Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, Ottawa: Government Printing Office 1906, 70-72.

Brunet, Henri. "Letters of an Acadian trader, 1674-1676." Edited by Louis-André Vignerat. New England Quarterly, 13 (1940), 98-110.

Campbell, Patrick. Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792. Edited by H.H. Langton. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937.

Campeau, Lucien, ed. Monumenta Novae Franciae, vol 1: La première mission d'Acadie. Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1967.

Casteel, Anthony. "Journal", in "Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique." Canada-Français 3 (Québec 1890), 111-126.

Certain, André. "The Proce-Verbal of Andrew Certain." Edited by Gilbert Bent. Acadiensis, 5 (1905) 37-46.

Chancels de La Grange, Louis. "Voyage fait à Isle Royale ou Cap Breton en Canada, 1716." Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 13 (1959), 422-34.

Chappell, Edward. Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosmond to Newfoundland. London: Printed for J. Mawman 1818.

Church, Benjamin. The History of the Eastern Expeditions of 1689, 1692, 1696 and 1704. Edited by A. M. Dexter, Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1867.

Church, Thomas. The History of Philip's War. Edited by Samuel Drake. Boston: J.H.A. Frost, 1827.

A Conference Held at Watertown, between the Honourable Council of the said Colony in behalf of the said Colony and of all the United Colonies, on the one part, and the Delegates of the St. John's and Mickmac Tribes of Indians in Nova Scotia, on the other part, 12 July 1776." American Archives, vol. 1, Edited by Peter Force, Washington 1848, pp. 838-848.

De Forest, Louis, ed. The Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy. (Boston 1926).

DeMeulles, Jacques. "Un Recensement de l'Acadie en 1686." Bulletin des recherches historiques, 38 (1932), 677-96.

----. "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur Demeulle to Acadie." Acadiensia Nova. Edited by William I. Morse. London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd. 1935, 84-131.

Denys, Nicolas. The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia). Edited by William F. Ganong. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908.

Dièreville, Sieur de. Relation de voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1933.

Du Bosq de Beaumont, Gaston. Les derniers jours de l'Acadie (1748-1758) (Paris 1899).

Du Pont Duvivier, Joseph. Course à l'Acadie: Journal de Campagne de Francois Du Pont Duvivier. Edited by Bernard Pothier, Ottawa: Editions d'Acadie, 1982.

"Eastern Indians' Letter to the Governour July 27, 1721." Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, vol. VIII, (Boston 1819), 259-263.

Entremont, Charles J. d'. "Census of Port Royal 1678." French-Canadian Genealogical Review, 7 (1979), 47-66.

Fergusson, Charles B., ed. Minutes of his Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal 1736-1749, Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1967, 1-113.

Fisher, Richard. "The Voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redriffe unto Cape Briton and beyond." The Voyages of the English Nation Before the year 1600 from Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. vol. II Edinburgh: E & G Goldsmid, 1889, 55-76.

Francklin, Michael. "Memoirs of Lt.-Gov. Michael Francklin." Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 16 (1912), 7-39.

Franquet, Louis. "Voyage du Sieur Franquet au Port La Joie au Havre de Saint Pierre...de l'isle Royale." Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, (1923-24), 111-140.

Frye, Joseph to Charles Lawrence, 7 March, 1760. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, X (1809), 116.

Gargas, M. de. "Mon séjour de l'Acadie." Acadiensia Nova. vol.1, Edited by William Morse. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1935, 165-199.

----. "General Census of the Country of Acadie, 1687-88." Acadiensia Nova, vol. 1, Edited by William Morse. London: Quaritch, 1935, 144-155.

Gaudet, Placide. "Généalogie des familles acadiennes avec documents." Canadian Archives Report for 1905. II, Ottawa: Government Printing Office 1906, 1-438.

Gesner, Abraham. The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia. Halifax: A & W. MacKinlay, 1849.

Grace, Henry. The History of the life and Sufferings of Henry Grace. Reading: The Author 1764.

Guthry, Richard. "A Relation of the Voyage and plantation of the Scotts Colony in New Scotland under the conduct of Sir William Alexander 13 August, 1629." Edited by N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, William and Mary Quarterly, 49 (1992), 492-508.

Gwyn, Julian, ed. The Warren Papers, 1736-1752. London: Navy Records Society, 1973.

Gyles, John. Memoirs of Odd Adventures and Signal Deliverances in the Captivity of John Gyles. 2nd edition, Cincinnati: Siller and Gates 1869.

Haies, Edward. "A Report of the Voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight." The Voyages of the English Nation Before the year 1600 from Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, 1598-1600. Edited by Edmund Goldsmid, vol. 1 Edinburgh: E & G Goldsmid, 1889, 339-347.

Hale, Robert. "Journal of a Voyage made to Nova Scotia By Robert Hale of Beverly." Essex Institute Historical Collections XLII (1906).

Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. A General Description of Nova Scotia. Halifax: Royal Acadian School, 1823.

Hardy, Campbell. Sporting Adventures in the New World or Days and Nights in the Pine Forests of Acadia. London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1855.

Harvey, D. C., ed. Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and other Documents. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1935.

Hoffman, Bernard, ed. Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America 1497-1550. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Hollingsworth, S. The Present State of Nova Scotia with a Brief Account of Canada and the British Islands on the Coasts of North America. Edinburgh, 1787.

"Journal of Abijah Willard, 1755." Collections of New Brunswick Historical Society. no. 13 (1930).

Journal du Voyage de M. Saint-Luc de la Corne. Québec: A. Coté et. cie., 1863.

"The Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748", Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys. Edited by Isabel M. Calder. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1935, 3-136.

La Fargue. A Geographical History of Nova Scotia. London: Printed for Paul Vaillant 1749.

La Guerne, François. Letire de l'abbé La Guerne. Québec: A. Coté, 1889.

La Rocque, M. de. "Journal and Census of Ile Royale, 1752." Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, II, Ottawa: Government Printing Office 1906, 3-172.

La Rue, Pierre de. "Correspondance." Rapport des archives de la province de Québec (1935-36), 273-410.

La Varenne, M. de. "A Letter from Louisbourg." Edited by Kenneth Donovan. Acadiensis, X (1980), 113-130.

Lawrence, Charles. "The Journals and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence." Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Bulletin no. 10, 1915.

-----, "Two Letters of Charles Lawrence." Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne, 3 (1969) 174-77.

LeClercq, Chrestien. New Relation of Gaspesia. Edited by William F. Ganong. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910.

Le Loutre, Jean-Louis. "Une autobiographie de l'abbé Le Loutre (1709-1772)." Edited by Albert David. Nova Francia, 6 (1931), 1-34.

----. "Lettres de M. l'abbé Le Loutre." Canada-Français, 1 (Québec 1888), 19-39.

Lescarbot, Marc. History of New France. 3 vols., translated by W.L. Grant. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1907-1914.

Morrison, Alvin, ed., "Membertou's Raid on the Chouacoet Almouchiquois"; the Micmac Sack of Saco in 1607." Translated by Thomas Goetz. Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, Edited by William Cowan, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1975.

Little, Otis. The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies Considered with An Account of their Produce and a particular Description of Nova Scotia. London: G Woodfall, 1748.

Macmechan, Archibald M., ed. A Calender of Two Letter Books and One Commission Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1900.

----, ed. Original Minutes of Her Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1908.

Maillard, Pierre-Antoine-Simon. An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Micmagesets Savage Nation, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton. London: S Hooper and A. Morley, 1758.

----. "Lettre de M. l'abbé Maillard sur les missions d'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions micmaques (1756)." Les Soirées canadiennes, (1863), 296-426.

Marcel, Gabriel, ed. Factum du procès entre Jean de Biencourt, Sr. de Poutrincourt et les Pères Biard et Massés, jesuites. Paris: Maisonneuve et Leclerc, 1887.

Mascarene, Paul. "A Narrative of Events at Annapolis from the Capture in October 1710 till Sept 1711." Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, IV (Halifax, 1885), 69-85.

----- " Paul Mascarene to Francis Nicolson, November 6, 1713." Report of the Canadian Archives for 1928, Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1929, 45-55.

"Memorandum of the Number of Indians in Each Tribe from Boston in New England unto Canso in Nova Scotia in the Year 1690....But now in the Year 1726 Left but so Many..." in Year-book of the Society of Colonial Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts For 1890, Boston 1890, 110.

Morse, Colonel Robert. "A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia." in Report of the Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Government Printing Office 1884, xxvii-lv.

Morse, William, ed. "Letters re. the Sieur de Melançon." The Canadian Collection of Harvard University, Bulletin V, Cambridge: Harvard University Printing Office, 1948, 13-15, and 22-25.

Munro, James. "History and description and state of the southern and eastern Townships of Nova Scotia in 1795." Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia 1947.

New England Courant, 1721-1726

New England Weekly Journal, 1727-1732

Pankhurst, Anthony to M. Richard Hakluyt, 1578. The Principal Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation. vol. VIII, Glasgow:, 1904, 10-11.

Phips, William. A Journal of the Proceedings in the late Expedition to Port Royal. Boston 1690.

Pichon, Thomas. Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle civile et politique du Cap Breton. La Haye: P. Gosse 1760.

Pote, Captain William. The Journal of Captain William Pote, junior during his captivity in the French and Indian War, 1745-47. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1896.

Quinn, David Beers, ed. New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612. vol. III New York: Arno Press, 1979.

Rand, Silas T., ed. Legends of the Micmacs. New York: Longmans, Green 1894.

Rand, Silas. A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History Manners, Customs, Language and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Halifax: James Browne & Son, 1850.

Recensement de l'Acadie, 1671. Report of the Canadian Archives for 1905, Part III Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1906, 1-6.

Rosier, James. "A True Relation of the Voyage of Captaine George Waymouth." Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608. Edited by H.S. Burrage. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1906, 357-94.

Roules, Robert. "The Vengeful Women of Marblehead: Robert Roule's Deposition of 1677." Edited by James Axtell. William and Mary Quarterly, 31, 3rd Series (1974), 650-52.

Saint-Vallier, Jean Baptiste. Estat présent de l'Eglise et de la colonie Française. Paris: Chez Robert Pepie, 1686.

Sewall, Samuel. The Diary of Samuel Sewall. 2 vols., New York: Putnam, 1972.

Sixte Le Tac. Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle-France. Paris: G. Fischbach 1888.

Smethurst, Gamaliel. A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape. London 1774.

Tibierge, M. "Report on What I have Seen Since my Arrival Upon the Shores of Acadia, Up to September 30, 1695." Acadia at the End of the 17th Century. Edited by John C. Webster. Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1934, 141-151.

The Trial of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery....Held at the Court House in Boston, within His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England on Tuesday the Fourth Day of October, Anno Domini, 1726, Boston 1726.

Vital Records of Gloucester, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849, vol. III, Salem 1924.

"The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document", Edited by David Beers Quinn. Canadian Historical Review, 63 (1962), 328-43.

"The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea", The Voyages of the English Nation Before the year 1600 from Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, 1598-1600, vol. 1, Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. Edinburgh: E & G Goldsmid, 1889, 62-74.

Webster, John C., ed. Acadia at the End of the 17th Century, Saint John: New Brunswick Museum 1934.

Whitelaw, Marjory, ed. The Dalhousie Journals, vol. 1 (Canada 1978).

Wroth, Lawrence ed. The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazano 1524-1528. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Wrong, George, ed. Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg, 1745. translated by George Wrong. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897.

3. REFERENCE WORKS

Brown, Thomas J. Place Names in Nova Scotia. Halifax 1922.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography. vols. I-IV, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-1980.

Historical Atlas of Canada. edited by R. Cole Harris, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

A Map of the Province of Nova Scotia. revised edition 1985, Halifax: Department of Lands and Forests, 1985.

4. SECONDARY SOURCES

Adney, E. Tappan and Howard I. Chapelle. The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America. Washington: U.S. National Museum Bulletin 230, 1964.

Allan, Arthur. "The Relationship Between Habitat and Furbearers." Wild Furbearer Management and Conservation in North America. Edited by Milan Novak. North Bay: Ontario Trapper's Association, 1987, 164-179.

Allen, Patricia. "The Gerrish Site: A Report on Preliminary Excavations." Man in the Northeast, no. 37 (1989), 25-34.

Ambrose, John. "On the Fishes of St. Margaret's Bay." Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, (1867), 89-90.

Axtell, James. After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

———. The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Baillargeon, Noël. Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Mgr. de Laval. Québec: les Presses de l'université Laval 1972.

———. Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760. Québec: les Presses de l'université Laval 1977.

Baker, Emerson W. The Clarke and Lake Company: The Historical Archaeology of a Seventeenth Century Maine Settlement. Augusta, Maine: Occasional Papers in Maine Archaeology, no. 4, 1985.

Bakker, Peter. "Basque Pidgin Vocabulary in European-Algonquian trade Contacts." Papers of the 19th Algonquian Conference, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988, 7-15.

Bakker, Peter. "Two Basque Loanwords in Micmac." International Journal of American Linguistics, (1986), 258-261.

Banfield, A.W.F. The Mammals of Canada. 2nd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Barkham, Selma. "A Note on the Strait of Belle Isle during the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit." Etudes Inuit, 4 (1980), 51-58.

Baron, William. "Historical Climates of the Northeastern United States: Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries." Holocene Human Ecology in Northeastern North America. Edited by George P. Nicholas. New York and London: Plenum Press, 1988, 29-45.

Bentley, P.A. and E.C. Smith. "The Forests of Cape Breton in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Proceedings of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science, XXIV (1956), 1-15.

Biggar, Henry Percival. The Early Trading Companies of New France. Toronto: The University of Toronto Studies in History, 1901.

Bishop, Jennifer and David Black. "The lands edge also: cultural history and seasonality at the Partridge Islands shell midden." Canadian Journal of Archaeology, 12 (1988), 17-37.

Black, David and Whitehead, Ruth Holmes. "Prehistoric Shellfish Preservation and Storage in the Northeast Coast." North American Archaeologist, 9 (1988), 17-30.

Blakely, Robert L. and Detweiler-Blakely, Bettina. "The Impact of European Diseases in the 16th Century Southeast: A Case Study." Mid-Continental Journal of Archaeology, 14 (1989), 62-89.

Blanchette, Jean-François. "Firearms", Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren, Rhode Island. Edited by Susan G. Gibson. Providence: Haffenretter Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1980, 67-71.

Bonner, W. Nigel. "Man's Impact on Seals." Mammal Review, 8 (1978), 3-13.

Bourque, Bruce. "Aboriginal Settlement and Subsistence on the Maine Coast." Man in the Northeast, no. 6 (1973), 3-10.

----. "Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula, 1600-1759." Ethnohistory, 36 (1989), 257-284.

----. "The Moosehorn Fluted Point Discovery in Northern Maine." Archaeology of Eastern North America, 11 (1983), 36-48.

----. "The Turner Farm Site: a preliminary report." Man in the Northeast, no. 11 (1976), 21-30.

---- and Cox, Steven. "Maine State Museum Investigation of the Goddard Site 1979." Man in the Northeast, no. 22 (1981), 3-27.

----; Speiss, Arthur; and Cox, Steven. "Cultural Complexity in Maritime Cultures: Evidence from Penobscot Bay." in The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast and the Northwest Coasts of America. Edited by Ronald J. Nash Vancouver: Publication no. 11, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, 1983, 91-108.

---- and Whitehead, Ruth Holmes. "Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine." Ethnohistory, 32 (1986), 327-341.

Bradley, James W. Onondaga Prehistory. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1980.

Bratton, Timothy L. "The Identity of the New England Indian Epidemic of 1616-19." Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 62 (1988), 351-383.

Brebner, J.B. New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.

Brown, Jennifer S.H. "The Metis: Genesis and Rebirth." Native Peoples, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis. Edited by Bruce Cox. Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 1988, 136-147.

Buffinton, Arthur H. "John Nelson's Voyage to Quebec in 1682: A chapter in the Fisheries Controversy." Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 26, (Boston, 1927), 427-437.

Burley, David. "Proto-Historic Ecological Effects of the Fur Trade on Micmac Culture." Ethnohistory, 28 (1981), 203-214.

Calloway, Colin G. The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

Carmichael, Ann G. and Silverstein, Arthur M. "Smallpox in Europe before the Seventeenth Century: Virulent Killer or Benign Disease?" Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 42 (1987), 147-168.

Casgrain, H.R. Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des missions-étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762). Québec: Pruneau & Kirouac, 1897.

Chard, Donald F. "Canso, 1710-1721: Focal Point of New England--Cape Breton Rivalry." Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 39 (1977), 49-77.

Charlton, D.G. New Images of the Natural in France. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Chiffolleau, Jacques. "La religion flamboyante (1320-1520)." in Histoire de la France religieuse. Edited by Jacques Le Goff. t. 2, (Paris: Editions du Seuil 1988), 13-183.

Christie, A.B. Infectious Diseases: Epidemiology and Clinical Practise. 3rd edition. Edinburgh: Churchill, Livingstone, 1980.

Churchill, E.A. "A Most Ordinary Lot of Men: The Fishermen at Richmond Island, Maine, in the Early Seventeenth Century." New England Quarterly, LVII (1984), 184-204.

Chute, Janet. "Ceremony, Social Revitalization and Change: Micmac Leadership and the Annual Festival of St. Anne", Papers of the 23rd Algonquian Conference. Edited by William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992, 45-61.

Clark, Andrew Hill. Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

Clark, George A.; Kelley, Marc A.; Grange, John M.; and Hill, M. Cassandra. "The Evolution of Mycobacterial Disease in Human Populations." Current Anthropology, 28 (1987), 45-51.

Clarke, George Frederick. Someone Before Us: Our Maritime Indians. Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1968.

Codignola, Luca. "Roman Sources of Canadian Religious History to 1799." Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, 50 (1983), 73-88.

Cohen, Ronald D. "New England and New France, 1632-1651: External Relations and Internal Disagreements among the Puritans." Essex Institute Historical Collections, CVIII (1972), 252-271.

Conkling, Robert. "Legitimacy and Conversion in Social Change: The Case of French Missionaries and the Northeastern Algonkian." Ethnohistory, 21 (1974), 1-24.

Connolly, John. "Bear River, Nova Scotia: A Collection Analysis." Man in the Northeast, no. 14 (1977), 35-47.

Cook, Noble David. Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981.

Cook, Shelburne. "The Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indians." Human Biology, 44 (1973), 485-508.

Couillard Després, abbé A. Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour et son temps. Arthabaska, Québec: Imprimerie d'Arthabaska, 1930.

Cowdrey, Albert. This Land, This South: An Environmental History of the South. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983.

Cramer, Leon E. Cushnoc: The History and Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec. Augusta: Occasional Papers in Archaeology, Maine 1990.

Cronon, William. Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Crosby, Alfred E., Jr. The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Social Consequences of 1492. Westport Conn.: Greenwood, 1972.

----. Ecological Imperialism: the biological expansion of Europe, 900-1900. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

----. "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 33 (1976), 289-299.

Cushing, D.H. Climate and Fisheries. London: Academic Press 1982.

Daugherty, William. The Maritime Treaties in Historical Perspective. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, Historical and Treaties Research Branch, 1983.

Davis, Stephen. "The Archaeology of Nova Scotia", unpublished manuscript 1990.

Davis, Stephen. Archaeology in Nova Scotia, 1985 and 1986, Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1987.

----. The Micmac. Tantallon, Nova Scotia: Four East, 1991.

Dawson, Joan. "Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636." Nova Scotia Historical Review, (1989), 42-61.

----. "The Governor's Goods: The Inventories of the Personal Property of Isaac de Razilly." Nova Scotia Historical Review, 5 (1985), 99-112.

----. A Mapmaker's Eye: Nova Scotia in Early Maps. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Ltd., 1988.

Day, Gordon. "The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest." Ecology, 34 (1953), 329-346.

Delafosse, M. "La Rochelle et le Canada au XVIIe siècle." Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique Française, 4 (1950-51), 469-511.

Delumeau, Jean. Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et Christianisation. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard 1981.

Denevan, William. "Epilogue." The Native Population of North America in 1492, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.

Dening, Greg. Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land Marquesas, 1774-1880. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980.

Dickason, Olive P. "Amerindians Between French and English in Nova Scotia, 1713-1763," American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 10 (1986), 31-56.

-----. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1992.

-----. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Metis." American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 6 (1982), 1-21.

-----. "La 'Guerre Navale' Des Micmacs Contre les Britanniques, 1713-1763." Les Micmacs et la mer. Charles Martijn, dir. Québec: Recherches amérindienne au Québec, 1986, 233-248.

-----. Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Relations, 1713-1760. Ottawa: Parks Canada History and Archaeology 6, 1976.

Dickerson, Oliver Morton. American Colonial Government, 1696-1765: A study of the British Board of Trade in its relation to the American Colonies, Political, Industrial, Administrative. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912.

Dilliplane, Timothy L. "European Trade Kettles." Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren, Rhode Island. Edited by Susan Gibson. Providence: Haffenretter Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1980, 79-83.

Dobyns, Henry. "More Methodological Perspectives on Historical Demography." Ethnohistory, 36 (1989), 285-299.

-----. Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Dumont-Johnson, Micheline. Apôtres ou Agitateurs: la France missionnaire en Acadie. Trois Rivières: Boréal Press, 1970.

Duviols, Pierre. La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. Paris 1971.

Eccles, W.J. The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

———. "The Social, Economic, and Political Significance of the Military Establishment in New France." Canadian Historical Review, 52 (1971), 1-21.

Eckstorm, Fanny Hardy. Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian Shamans. 2nd edition, Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press 1980.

Elton, Charles. Animal Ecology. New York: Sidgwick & Jackson 1927.

Entremont, Clarence J. d'. Histoire du Cap Sable de l'an mil au traité de Paris, 6 vols., Eunice, Louisiana: Hebert Publications, 1981.

Entremont, H. Leander d'. The Baronnie de Pomcoup and the Acadians. Yarmouth: Herald-Telegram Press, 1931.

Farriss, Nancy M. Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Fewkes, Walter. "A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore." Journal of American Folklore, III (1890), 257-280.

Fitzhugh, William. "Early Contacts North of Newfoundland before A.D. 1600: A Review." Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts in Native American Cultural Institutions, A.D. 1000-1800. Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985, 23-43.

Flemming, David. The Canso Islands: An 18th Century Fishing Station. Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report # 308, 1977.

Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz. Partners in Fur: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870. Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1983.

Gates, David, et. al. "Wildlife in a Changing Environment." The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History. Edited by Susan Flader, St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press 1983, 52-82.

Ghere, David Lynn. "Abenaki Factionalism, Emigration and Social Continuity: Indian Society in Northern New England, 1725 to 1765." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, 1988.

Gibson, Susan, ed. Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren, Rhode Island. Providence: Haffenretter Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1980.

Gonzalez, Ellice B. "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Micmac Male and Female Economic Roles." Ethnohistory, 29 (1982), 117-129.

Greer, Allan. "Mutiny at Louisbourg, December 1744", Histoire Sociale/Social History, X (1977), 305-336.

----. "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745", History and Archaeology, # 28 (Ottawa 1979).

Griffiths, N.E.S. The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Hamell, George R. "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Journal of Canadian Studies, 21 (1986-87), 72-94.

Hansen, Denise. "Seventeenth Century Ceramics from Nicolas Denys' Fort Saint-Pierre." Parks Canada: Research Bulletin 271, March 1989.

Harper, J. Russel. Portland Point: Crossroads of New Brunswick History. Saint John: New Brunswick Museum 1956.

----. "Two Seventeenth Century Micmac 'Copper Kettle' Burials." Anthropologica, (1957), 11-29.

Harrington, Faith. "Sea Tenure in seventeenth Century New England: Native Americans and Englishmen in the sphere of marine resources." Ph.D. dissertation, Berkeley, 1985.

Henige, David. "Primary Source by Primary Source? On the Role of Epidemics in New World Depopulation." Ethnohistory, 33 (1986), 293-311.

Hoffman, Bernard G. "The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeen Centuries." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955.

----. "Souriquois, Etechemin and Kwedech - A Lost Chapter in American Ethnography." Ethnohistory, 2 (1955), 65-87.

Hopkins, Donald. Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1983.

Houdaille, Jacques. "Quelques aspects de la démographie ancienne de l'Acadie." Population, 3 (1980), 581-602.

Hynes, Gisa. "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755." Acadiensis, 3 (1973), 3-17.

Ingold, Tim. The appropriation of nature: Essays on human ecology and social relations. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987.

Innis, Harold. The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930.

Jacks, M.K. "Osteological Evidence for Smallpox: A Possible Case From Seventeenth Century Ontario." American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 60 (1983), 75-81.

Jacoby Jr., Gordon C. and D'Arrigo, Roseanne. "Reconstructed Northern Hemisphere Annual Temperature Since 1671 Based on High-Latitude Tree-Ring Data from North America." Climatic Change, 14 (1989), 39-59.

Jaenen, Cornelius. Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976.

----. "The Role of Presents in French-amerindian Trade." Explorations in Canadian Economic History: Essays in Honour of Irene M. Spry. Edited by Duncan Cameron. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985, 231-250.

Jennings, Francis. Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years War in America. New York: W.W. Norton, 1988.

Johnson, Frederick. "Notes on Micmac Shamanism." Primitive Man XVI (1943), 53-80.

Johnson, Richard. John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer: A Life Between Empires. New York: Oxford University Press 1991.

----. "The Search for a Usable Indian." Journal of American History, 64 (1977-78), 623-651.

Jones, Douglas Lamar. Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth Century Massachusetts, Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981.

Jones, Rhys. "Hunters and History: A Case Study from Western Tasmania." Past and Present in Hunter Gatherer Societies. Edited by Carmel Schrire. New York: Academic Press 1984, 27-66.

Kelley, Robert. "Hunter-Gatherer Mobility Strategies." Journal of Anthropological Research, 39 (1983), 277-306.

La Morandière, Charles de. Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale. t. 1, Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962.

Lamb, Hubert H. "Climatic Fluctuations." in General Climatology. Edited by H. Flohn Amsterdam: Elsevier 1969.

Launey, Adrien. Histoire générale de la Société des Missions étrangères. Paris: Téqui, 1894.

Lauvrière, Emile. La tragédie d'un peuple: Histoire du peuple Acadien de ses origines à nos jours. Paris: H. Goulet, 1924.

Le Blant, Robert. "L'Avitaillement du Port Royal d'Acadie par Charles de Biencourt et les marchands Rochelais 1615-1618." Revue d'histoire des colonies, (1957), 138-164.

Leger, Mary. The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820). Washington: Catholic University of America, 1929.

Letson, E. Marguerite. Port Medway: A short history of Port Medway, Nova Scotia. Duncan Harper Publisher, 1985.

Long S.P. and C.F. Mason. Saltmarsh Ecology. Glasgow and London: Blackie, 1983.

Lowe, Richard G. "Massachusetts and the Acadians." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, 25 (1968), 212-229.

MacCormack, Sabine. "The Heart Has its Reasons: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru." Hispanic American Historical Review, 63 (1985), 443-466.

- MacDonald, J. W. History of Antigonish County. 2nd edition, Halifax: Formac 1975.
- MacDonald, Martha. Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia. Toronto: Methuen, 1983.
- Malone, Patrick. "Changing Military Technology Among the Indians of Southern New England." American Quarterly, (1973), 48-63.
- Marshall, Donald Sr.; Denny, Alexander; and Marshall, Simon. "The Covenant Chain." Drumbeat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country. Edited by Boyce Richardson. (Toronto: Summerhill Press and the Assembly of First Nations, 1989), 71-104.
- Marshall, Ingeborg. "Le Canot de Haute Mer des Micmacs." Les Micmacs et la mer. Charles Martijn, dir. Québec: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 1986.
- Martijn, Charles. "An Eastern Micmac Domain of Islands." Actes du Vingtième Congrès des Algonquinistes/Papers of the Twentieth Algonquian Conference Edited by William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989, 208-231.
- Martin, Calvin. Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Matthews, L. Harrison. The Natural History of the Whale. New York: Columbia University Press 1978.
- McCully, Bruce T. "The New England-Acadia Dispute and the Nicholson Mission of August, 1687." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 96 (1960), 277-286.
- McCusker, John J. and Menard, Russell. The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- McGee, Harold. "Ethnic Boundaries and Strategies of Ethnic Interaction: A History of Micmac-White Relations in Nova Scotia." Ph.D., Southern Illinois University 1973.
- McLeod Robert. In the Acadian Land: Nature Studies. Boston: Bradlee Whidden, 1899.
- Mechling, W.H. "The Malecite Indians with Notes on the Micmacs." Anthropologica, 8 (1959), 161-204.

Melançon, Arthur. Liste des missionnaires Jesuites en Nouvelle- France et Louisiane, 1611-1800. Montréal 1929.

Merrell, James. The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbours from European Contact through the Era of Removal. Chapel Hill: University of North Press, 1989.

Miller, Virginia. "Aboriginal Micmac Population: A Review of the Evidence." Ethnohistory, 23 (1976), 117-129.

----- "The Decline of the Nova Scotia Micmac Population, A.D. 1600-1850." Culture 11 (1982), 107-120.

----- "The Micmac: A Maritime Woodland Group." in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1986, 324-351.

----- "Social and Political Complexity on the East Coast: The Micmac Case." The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast and the Northwest Coasts of America. Edited by Ronald Nash. Vancouver: Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University 1983, 41-53.

Miquelon, Dale. New France 1701-1744: 'A Supplement to Europe'. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

Moody, Barry. "'A just and disinterested Man': The Nova Scotia Career of Paul Mascarene, 1710-1752." Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1976.

Moore, Christopher. "The Other Louisbourg: Trade and Merchant Enterprise in Ile Royale 1713-1758." Histoire Sociale/Social History, XII (1979), 79-96.

Morantz, Toby. An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada 1983.

----- "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay", in Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference. Edited by Carol Judd and Arthur Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980, 39-58.

More, James. History of Queen's County. Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1873.

Morison, Samuel E. The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Morrison, Alvin. "Dawnland Decisions: Seventeenth Century Wabanaki Leaders and their Responses to the Differential Contact Stimuli in the Overlap Area of New France and New England." Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1974.

----. "Dawnland Directors: Status and Role of 17th Century Wabanaki Sagamores." Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference, Edited by William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1976, 1-19.

Morrison, Kenneth. The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euro-American Relations. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Myers, Brad. "Archaeological Survey of Kejimikujik National Park." Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report, 1972.

Nash, Ronald J. Mi'kmaq: Economics and Evolution. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1986.

----. "Prehistory and Cultural Ecology - Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia." in Papers from the Fourth Annual Congress 1977, Canadian Ethnology Society. Edited by Richard J. Preston, Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1978, 131-155.

Nicholas, Andrea Bear. "Maliseet Aboriginal Rights and Mascarene's Treaty, Not Dummer's Treaty." Acts of the 17th Algonquian Conference, Edited by William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1986, 215-229.

Nietfeld, Patricia. "Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1981.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "Micmac Notes." Journal of American Folklore, 39 (1926), 460-485.

Patterson, George. A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia. Montréal: Dawson Brothers, 1877.

Patterson III, William A. and Sassman, Kenneth E. "Indian Fires in the Prehistory of New England." in Holocene Human Ecology in Northeastern North America. Edited by George P. Nicholas. New York and London: Plenum Press, 1988, 107-136.

Pelletier, Gaby. Traditions décoratives: Micmac & Maliseet Decorative Traditions. Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1977.

Piers, Harry. "Aboriginal remains of Nova Scotia." Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Sciences, Transactions, 7 (1889), 276-99.

----. "Relics of the Stone Age in Nova Scotia." Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Sciences, Transactions, 9 (1896), 26-58.

Pothier, Bernard. "Acadian Emigration to Ile Royale After the Conquest of Acadia." Histoire Sociale/Social History, 6 (1970), 116-131.

Prins, Harald E.L. "Cornfields at Meductic: Ethnic and Territorial Reconfigurations in Colonial Acadia." Man in the Northeast, no. 44 (1992), 55-72.

----. "Micmacs and Maliseets in the St. Lawrence River Valley." Actes du Dix-Septième Congrès des Algonquinistes Edited by William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1986, 263-277.

----. "Tribulations of a Border Tribe: A Discourse on the Political Ecology of the Arrostook Band of Micmacs (16th-20th Centuries)." Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social Research, 1988.

Pritchard, James S. "The Pattern of French colonial shipping to Canada before 1760." Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, LXIII (1976), 189-210.

Quinn, David Beers. England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1974.

----. "Newfoundland in the Consciousness of Europe in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries." in Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625. London: Hambledon Press, 1990.

Rameau de Saint-Père, François-Edmé. Une Colonie féodale en Amérique L'Acadie (1604-1881). t. 1, Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et cie., 1889.

Ramenofsky, Ann. Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Rawlyk, George. Nova Scotia's Massachusetts: A Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotia Relationships, 1630-1784. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973.

Ray, Arthur. Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Rediker, Marcus. Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Reff, Daniel. Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991.

----. "The Introduction of Smallpox in the Greater Southwest." American Anthropologist, 89 (1987), 704-708.

Reid, John G. Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Richter, Daniel K. The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

----. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." William and Mary Quarterly, 40 (1983), 528-559.

Rickers, Jackson. Historical Sketches of Glenwood and the Argyles, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia. Truro: Truro Publishing and Printing Company Ltd. 1941.

Ritchie, Robert. Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Robertson, Marion. Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum 1973.

Rojo, Alfonso J. "Faunal Analysis of Fish Remains From Cellar's Cove, Nova Scotia." Archaeology of Eastern North America, 18 (1990), 89-108.

Roots, Clive. Animal Invaders. London 1976.

Roy, Raymond. "La Croissance démographique en Acadie de 1671 à 1763." M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1975.

Russell, Emily W.B. "Indian Set-Fires in the Forests of the Northeastern United States." Ecology, 64 (1983), 678-688.

Sahlins, Marshall. Stone-Age Economics. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton 1972.

Salisbury, Neal. Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans and the Making of New England, 1500-1643. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Sanger, David. "An Introduction to the Prehistory of the Passamaquoddy Bay Region." American Review of Canadian Studies, XVI (1986), 139-59.

----. "Maritime Adaptations in the Gulf of Maine." Archaeology of Eastern North America, 16 (1988), 81-99.

Sauer, Carl O. Sixteenth Century North America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Sévigny, P.-André. Les Abenakis: Habitat et migrations (17e et 18e siècles). Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1976.

Sheldon, Helen Louise. The Late Prehistory of Nova Scotia as viewed from the Brown Site. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1988.

Simmons, M., D. Davis; Griffiths, L.; and Muecke, A. Natural History of Nova Scotia. 2 vols. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1984.

Smith, Harlan and Wintemberg, W.S.. "Some Shell-Heaps in Nova Scotia." National Museum of Canada Bulletin, 47 Ottawa 1929.

Snow, Dean. The Archaeology of New England. New York: Academic Press, 1980.

---- and Lanphear, Kim. "European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics." Ethnohistory 35 (1988), 15-33.

---- and Starna, William. "Sixteenth-Century Depopulation: A View from the Mohawk Valley." American Anthropologist, 91 (1989), 142-149.

Speck, Frank. "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy." American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), 492-508.

----. "Micmac Slate Image." Indian Notes, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1 New York, 1924, p. 153.

----. Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula. 2nd edition, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977.

---- and Ralph W. Dexter. "Utilization of animals and plants by the Micmac Indians of New Brunswick." Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, 41 (1951) 250-259.

Speiss, Arthur E. and Speiss, Bruce D. "New England Pandemic of 1616-1622: Cause and Archaeological Implication." Man in the Northeast, no. 34 (1987), 71-83.

Stanley, George F.G. New France: The Last Phase, 1744-1760. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.

Steele, Ian K. The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Explanation of Communication and Community. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Stewart, Frances. Faunal Remains from the Delorey Site of Nova Scotia. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1986.

-----. "Seasonal Movements of Indians in Acadia as Evidenced by Historical Documents and Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Archaeological Sites." Man in the Northeast, no. 38 (1989), 55-77.

Tanner, Adrian. Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1979.

Teal, John and Teal, Mildred. Life and Death of the Salt Marsh. Boston and Toronto: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1969.

Thornton, Russell; Miller, Tim; and Warren, Jonathan. "American Indian Population." American Anthropologist, 93 (1991), 30-41.

Trigger, Bruce. Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976.

------. Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic' Age Reconsidered. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985.

Trudel, Marcel. Histoire de la Nouvelle-France v. II, Le Comptoir 1604-1627 Montréal: Fides 1966; v. III, La seigneurie des Cent-Associés 1627-1663, tome I, Les événements Montréal: Fides, 1979.

Tuck, James. "Excavations at Red Bay, Labrador - 1986.", in Archaeology in Newfoundland & Labrador 1986. Edited by J. Callum Thomson and Jane Sproull Thomson. St. John's 1989, 213-237.

-----. Maritime Provinces Pre-history. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1984.

---- and Robert Grenier. Red Bay, Labrador: World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550-1600. St. John's: Atlantic Archaeology, 1989.

Turgeon, Laurier. "Basque-Amerindian Trade in the Saint Lawrence During the Sixteenth Century: New Documents, New Perspectives." Man in the Northeast, no. 40 (1990), 81-87.

----. "Pour Redécouvrir notre 16e siècle: les pêches à Terre-Neuve d'après les archives notariales de Bordeaux." Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 39 (1986), 523-549.

Ubelaker, Douglas. "Prehistoric New World Population Size: Historical Reviews and Current Appraisal of North American Estimates." American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 45 (1976), 661-665.

Upham, Steadman. "Smallpox and Climate in the American Southwest." American Anthropologist, 88 (1986), 115-128.

Upton, L.F.S. Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979.

Vickers, Daniel. "The First Whalers of Nantucket." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 60 (1983), 560-583.

----. "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts: A Case Study of the Essex County Cod Fishery and the Whaling Industry of Nantucket, 1630-1775." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981.

Wallis, Wilson D. and Ruth S. Wallis. The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

Webster, K.G.T. "On the Fletcher Stone." in Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, 8 (1892), xxxvi-xxxix.

White, Richard. Land Use, Environment and Social Change: the Shaping of Island County, Washington. Washington: University of Washington Press 1980.

----. The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1650-1815. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Whitehead, Ruth Holmes. Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 AD to the Present. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980.

----. Micmac Quillwork. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1982.

----. Stories from the Six Worlds: Micmac Legends. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Ltd., 1988.

Wicken, Bill. "Mi'kmaq Land in Southwestern Nova Scotia, 1771-1823." Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800. Edited by Margaret Conrad. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1992, 113-122.

----. "26 August, 1726: A Case Study in Mi'kmaq-New England Relations." Acadiensis, XXIII (Autumn 1993), 5-22.

Williams, Robert and Graham R. Daborn. "Spawning of the American Shad in the Annapolis River, Nova Scotia." and "Spawning of the Striped Bass in the Annapolis River, Nova Scotia." Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, 34 (1984), 12-13 and 17-21.

Worster, Donald. Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas. New York: Cambridge University Press 1977.