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Los Angeles

Colonial Ghosts:

Mi'kmaq Adoption, Daily Practice & the Alternate Atlantic, 1600-1763

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor
of Philosophy in History

by

Nicole Dannielle Gilhuis

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

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My dissertation analyzes European families who joined Native communities in the seventeenth century in the northeast of North America and explores how the lives of their descendants were shaped by the racial and imperial wars of the eighteenth century.

This research elucidates the lived experience of people who moved in between European and Native Worlds, who I describe as “colonial ghosts”. These families disappeared from the colonial archives both because of their absence from the Acadian villages and the limits of imperial reach in the Early Americas. This research revises Acadian historiography and especially models of family genealogy by valorizing lived experience and community belonging over ancestry for these Europeans. The entanglements that caused these Europeans to become invisible in the seventeenth century become visible when their community adoption, language, and fishing practices are revealed. An interdisciplinary approach that draws upon archaeology, court records,

and maps, as well as Native American fishing practices reveals the vibrant lives they lived in a Native World and the spaces that existed for people to live at the interstices of empire in the Atlantic World.

These colonial ghosts were “resurrected” in the eighteenth century by the English empire as their descendants faced increasingly rigid racial politics as they were categorized as either ‘White’ or ‘Indian.’ As revenants (the French word for ghosts which translates to “the returned”), the descendants of these specters were either still members of the Mi’kmaq community and suffered removal to Indian reservations or were categorized as Acadians and deported from their lands as refugees. The Acadian-Mi’kmaq case study in my dissertation serves as a model of the historical category of “colonial ghosts” in other parts of the Americas and contributes to both the scholarship of colonial empires and native peoples in the Atlantic by combining these fields for the Northeast and revealing the world of white men being adopted into the Mi’kmaq community. Focusing on the lives of white commoners in the early modern Atlantic stands in sharp contrast to recent scholarship which centers on Amerindians and Africans as isolates and thus problematizes the way we think about ethnic boundaries in the early Modern Atlantic.

The dissertation of Nicole Dannielle Gilhuis is approved.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the Guédry family and the Mi'kmaw people. Exploring the Guédry family offered to me a window into the sixteenth and seventeenth century alternate Atlantic. Through this research I found myself enchanted with the beauty and nature of life on the river in Mi'kma'ki as well as passionate about the life they wanted to

preserve. My research allowed me to hear from both the Mi'kmaq and Guédry experience which has taught me about how communities survived in times of change and of the many histories that are unfolding despite official sources not recognizing it.

The Mi'kmaw have written *Etuaptmumk*, or "Two-Eyed Seeing," onto my heart and forever changed the way I look at the past. Thank you to all of the teachers who have invited me into this world. My hope is that we can all become more attuned to listening to

these voices.

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VITA/BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Nicole Gilhuis is a PhD Candidate in the History Department. She is cross listed between African and Latin American History, studying Atlantic History. Her work focuses on seventeenth and eighteenth century cultural and borderlands history in the French and English Atlantic Worlds. Her research explores the daily practice and community formation of French settlers that were adopted by the Mi'kmaq Native American community in the Early Modern Atlantic World. She explores how the imperial settlement projects between the French and English in the Northeast of North America created "colonial ghosts" who were able to operate outside the state and within Native territory as well as how this social and political category changed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This interdisciplinary work incorporates historical, archaeological, and anthropological sources and methods.

Introduction

This dissertation follows the Guédry family, a European family, as they weave in and out of colonial notice between 1630 and 1761. I argue they were akin to ghosts living in an alternate Atlantic. The framework of colonial ghosts I develop here serves to elucidate the European commoners who disappeared from European colonial projects in the Atlantic to live in, what I am calling, the alternate Atlantic. Colonial ghosts is the term I employ to categorize commoners who became invisible to the state while they lived full lives, mostly or completely outside the archival record. These communities and individuals took advantage, consciously or not, of the limits of the colonial administrators' knowledge in a still predominantly Native world in the Northeast. In the archive, I noticed families and individuals disappearing from the records in the mid-seventeenth century only to have their descendants reappear in the mid-eighteenth century. By exploring where these families might have vanished, I began to uncover another world which existed adjacent to the colonial one.

Tracing the location of the ghosts allowed me to visualize this alternate Atlantic. The alternate Atlantic as I define it represents the networks, communities, and events that arose out of but came to exist beneath the colonial sphere in the Early Modern period. As we know, coastal colonial settlements and outposts only captured a small fragment of events in the Early Modern Americas. Outside of the limits of colonial control and imperial sights, another Atlantic was functioning and growing in light of the new peoples, commodities, and networks that were formed. Ernesto Bassi's work *An Aqueous Territory* explores how Caribbean residents "did not live in their bounded geographies" but rather as cross-border groups such as sailors, traders, and indigenous peoples they lived in a "transimperial space" that was created by the circulation of ideas,

people, and trade goods.¹ The alternate Atlantic is similar to the transimperial space in that it explores movements that crossed imperial borders but this Atlantic circuit is centered in indigenous and indigenous-Atlantic circuits. In other words, these coastal residents were participating in Indigenous Atlantic networks first and foremost and imperial networks as extensions of that first system.

Since the colonial archives only have fragments relating to this family my research incorporates early modern maps, archaeological and anthropological data as well as tribal subsistence practices including hunting and fishing traditions. In addition to these interdisciplinary methods, I conducted interviews with Mi'kmaw elders and scholars to learn from their perspective of the sources. When these sources are combined, we can see that these "Europeans" were actually living in Native territory, having been adopted by the tribe. I ultimately argue that following the tracks of those I call colonial ghosts reveals the boundaries of the Alternate Atlantic. This research reveals that this alternate Atlantic not only existed, but also that this space was attractive to some European newcomers.

This research explores the infusion of European peoples into two Mi'kmaw bands on the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki. Mi'kma'ki, or the land of the Mi'kmaq, sits on present day Maine and Atlantic Canada. The Mi'kmaq are a tribe in the Wabanaki confederacy which is a collection of Algonquian-speaking tribes in the Northeast. The five dominant tribes in this confederacy are the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, and Penobscot. The European newcomers came predominantly from the Atlantic cod fisheries and French settlement efforts in the seventeenth century. Some of the ghosts

¹ Ernesto Bassi, *An Aqueous Territory: Sailor Geographies and New Granada's Transimperial Greater Caribbean World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 4.

were from other European groups like the English and Basque who had been frequenting the coast since the sixteenth century.

Historiography:

Acadian and Mi'kmaq historiographies have tended to view the interaction between Acadian settlers and Mi'kmaq peoples through the lens of intermarriage. In other words, cultural contact and exchange have been considered through a study of genealogy. As a result, scholarship has tended to view Acadian contact with indigenous communities in two main ways. Firstly, scholars of Mi'kmaq history such as William Wicken and Thomas Peace as well as scholars of Acadian history such as A. H. Clark and Jacques Vanderlinden, have seen the Acadians and Mi'kmaq to have had limited intermarriage with one another, and they believe that in many cases little cultural impact was exchanged.² For the French, Acadie operated largely as a European colony that had peripheral contact with the Mi'kmaq. The Acadian dykeland agriculture kept French settlers on the marshlands of the Bay of Fundy. Their approach differed from the bulk of Mi'kmaq land use which allowed these two communities to coexist peacefully for most of

² See A. H. Clark, *Acadia, the geography of early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 89; William Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales: Mi'kmaq society, 1500-1760*, Phd dissertation (McGill University, 1994), 237; Jacques Vanderlinden, *Se marier en Acadie française, XVII e et XVIII e siècles* (Moncton, Chaire d'études acadiennes/Éditions d'Acadie, 1998), 45-48; John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2005); Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia*, Phd dissertation (Toronto: York University, 2011), 88-90. See also Acadian Genealogist Stephen White's work, the *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes, Première partie, 1636 à 1714* (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 1999). In terms of public opinion of the Acadian past, White represents a widely accepted voice. When traveling along the Acadian coast in New Brunswick and in the various Acadian Cultural Centers, employees and Acadians would proudly and confidently show me the genealogical and historical reports given to them by Stephen White. Thus, it should be understood that this perspective of Acadian families is still circulating and accepted. This will be discussed further in Chapter Four on Acadian Genealogies.

the seventeenth century.³ For the Mi'kmaq, Mi'kma'ki has within it small hamlets of French settlers but according to Peace, "French settlers made a relatively small impact on Mi'kmaw daily life."⁴

Acadian historians argued intermarriage occurred mostly in the first years of Acadie when European women were few as well as in the regions where based on subsistence practices were fur trading and a more mixed household economy compared to the dominant agricultural communities. Historian of Mi'kmaq history, William Wicken, argues that the absence of intermarriages in parish and census records can be explained by the fact that "marriages did not occur between Acadian and Mi'kmaq people."⁵ The marriages did not occur, according to Wicken, primarily due to the distance between these two communities but also because Mi'kmaq women were unable to fulfill the economic role required of these farming societies.

The second perspective of the colonial archives, put forward by historians N.E.S. Griffiths, John Mack Faragher, and Olive P. Dickason as well as archaeologist Jonathan Fowler, views intermarriage between Acadian and Mi'kmaq peoples to be infrequent but nonetheless an important means of cultural exchange between these two communities.⁶ This cultural exchange, they argued, occurred in the form of language, dress, and a more mixed household economy. Historian John Mack Faragher goes so far as to say the Acadians lived in a "mixed community" where settlers "more readily adopted indigenous ways." This view of the Acadian past reports the Acadians "learned [from the

³ Clark, *Acadia*, 68; Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 48.

⁴ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 88.

⁵ Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails*, 237.

⁶ See, Olive P. Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest. A Look at the Emergence of the Métis," in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, Eds. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 19-36; N.E.S. Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, "New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 49 (1992), 23-25; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 172; Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 37.

Mi'kmaq] the indigenous arts of fishing and hunting, methods of making clothing and moccasins from skins, furs, and animal sineu, and the many uses of birchbark," as well as "a jargon composed of Mikmawisimk and French."⁷ Acadian Historian N.E.S. Griffith writes "in a community of some 70 households there were at least five where the legitimate wife was Micmac" which reveals the small but present Mi'kmaq community members in Acadie.⁸ Griffiths goes on to state "The Micmac, not least through the Micmac women married to Acadian men, taught the newcomers a great deal about plants that would be good to eat as well as useful for medical purposes..." which signal just one of the ways the cultural exchange between the Acadians and Mi'kmaq was experienced in Acadie.⁹

Archeologist Jonathan Fowler argues from the understanding that Acadie was seated within the dominant culture and territory of Mi'kma'ki as he examines the mixed community at Grand-Pré, Acadie's largest and most mythologized community. Of the interaction between Mi'kmaq and Acadian residents Fowler argues "in fact, even a casual reading of the ethnohistorical record furnishes ample evidence of this connection."¹⁰ Fowler reveals why English officer and judge Charles Morris testified in 1748, almost a century and a half after the Acadian colony was founded and only seven years before the *Acadian deportation*, that the French inhabitants in Acadie "delight much in wearing long hair, [and] are of dark complexion, in general, and somewhat of the mixture of Indians."¹¹ The New Indian historiographical trend has seen scholarship

⁷ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 48.

⁸ N.E.S. Griffiths, "Mating and Marriage in Early Acadia," *The 1988 Florence Bird Lecture* (Sackville, N.B.: Mount Allison University, July 1988), 8.

⁹ Griffiths, *Mating and Marriage in Early Acadia*, 16.

¹⁰ Jonathan Fowler, *untitled - "somewhat of the mixture of Indians,"* DPhil (Halifax: Saint Mary's University, 2017), 341.

¹¹ Charles Morris, 1748 'A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia,' Library and Archives Canada MG 18 F 10, p. 85; Fowler, *somewhat of the mixture*, 341. Also see, Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Charles Morris," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morris_charles_1711_81_4E.html (Accessed, June 2019).

like that of Jonathan Fowler who has placed Acadian history into the essential context of Mi'kma'ki, but recent scholarship has also reacted to the current political landscape of the debate over the "Atlantic méfis."

This current research does two things in response to this debate. First it looks at daily practice, not marriage, as the evidence of the co-mingling of these people. Intermarriage did occur within these early modern communities which is common practice among families who lived together. Looking beyond sexual ties, this study exposes how these families and individuals sang, ate, worked, and celebrated together and in a way which was more consistent with Mi'kmaq practices in the changing seventeenth century environment.

Secondly, as was already stated, rather than look at the communities around the Bay of Fundy such as Port Royal, Grand Pré, and Beaubassin, or later the French fort of Louisbourg, which have been the focus of the Acadian scholarship, this project examines the daily practice of those who lived on the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki. Specifically, those at La Have and Mirliguèche are examined here as they have been largely ignored by Acadian and Mi'kmaq scholarship which makes general statements about these families without examining them. If historians refer to the coastal populations along the Atlantic it is more often a study of Cape Sable but rarely La Have or Mirliguèche. Historians lost scholarly focus of this part of the coast after 1636 just as the colony left its harbor for Port Royal.

Scholarship to date has projected its understanding of what life was like on the Atlantic coast from evidence of the Acadian colony. The logic was that the Europeans on the Atlantic were living as the Acadians did, just on the less-well-documented coast. This reasoning is anchored around the deportation which began in 1755 when many Frenchmen and women from the whole region were deported. Just because the children

or grandchildren of the ghosts were deported as “Acadians” does not mean they saw themselves as belonging to Acadie or, more importantly, that it helps us understand the lives they lived up to a century before. I argue that, taking into account the evidence of how they lived, where they lived, and who they lived with, their lack of connection to the French and their presence in Mi'kma'ki and the larger alternate Atlantic becomes clear.

This research sees the ghosts as independent actors who lived a different lifestyle than those surrounding the Bay of Fundy. Historian and Research Director of the Acadian Studies Institute at the Université de Moncton Gregory Kennedy rightly points out that “the woods remained aboriginal frontier” and that “small groups of colonists at Pobomcoup and La Heve adopted a way of living much like that of Aboriginal people based on fishing, hunting, and trade.”¹² While a few scholars state these facts, their implications have not been explored further nor have they altered the way scholars ultimately understood these communities.

In the current scholarship, these Atlantic coast ghost families are still viewed as part of Acadie, even when acknowledged that they look a bit different. How would our understanding of these communities increase and change if we set aside the notion of them being Acadian and considered the archives anew? For those along the Atlantic Coast as well as those living beyond the fort on the St. John River they lived among Native peoples and learned Native languages and ways of life. At La Have and Mirliguèche, those European blooded families spoke Mi'kmaq, hunted and fished with weirs, sang, danced, and ate with the Mi'kmaq. Rather than viewing them as Acadian because of the deportation, what can a study of their practices reveal of the early modern Atlantic for French men and women who chose to live among the Native

¹² Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise*, 25, 68. See also, Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails*, 128-37; Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 23-5; Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 48.

communities, even as a colonial lifestyle was available. This choice and the fleeting marks they left on the historical archives shows the spaces that existed for Europeans in the French Atlantic to join Native communities, even as French kings claimed them for Imperial state making.

Atlantic History:

The field of Atlantic history looks at the circulation of people, empires, commodities and ideas in the Atlantic basin from about 1450 until the revolutions of the late eighteenth century.¹³ This field seeks to break down the barriers that result when historians study either Europe or America as separate fields, as well as the barriers that divide the French, Spanish, English, and Dutch archives from one another. This holistic approach to the early modern period serves to locate larger trends, to trace communities that moved between European territories, and to take a step away from imperial histories towards other approaches, such as histories of commoners and commodities. This historical scope has served to break open new paths to understanding the dynamics of European expansion and entanglement of peoples.

One constant in the construction of the Early Modern Atlantic is the fact that this field still focuses on the colonial world. This historical frame begins when European actors arrived in the Americas and charts the infusion of Black and White communities, by force or by choice, into the Atlantic. Atlanticists analyze the resulting panoply of new colonial institutions, ventures, commodities, and cultures. What this often leaves out is

¹³ For further reading on Atlantic history see; Alison F. Games and Adam Rothman, editors, *Major Problems in Atlantic History: Documents and Essays* (Houghton Mifflin, 2008); Patrick Griffin "A plea for a New Atlantic History" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (April 2011): 236-39; Nicholas Canny, "Atlantic history: what and why?" *European Review* 9 (2001): 399-411; Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111:3 (June 2006): 741-57; Bernard Bailyn, ed., *Soundings in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

the already established Native American world that predated the advent of the colonial period and that ran parallel to the colonial empires. Unless indigenous actors are engaged within the European colony, they are often seen in the first chapter of the Atlantic, only to disappear. Historiography in the last 40 years has seen more representative histories of this period which include the role of indigenous actors in the colonial Atlantic. Still my research reaches beyond this perspective to forge a bridge between Native and European historiographies.

Rather than looking at the ways Native actors engaged in colonial America, this project traces Europeans who joined Native America. While Native tribes and actors did get involved with colonial and inter-colonial events, many tribes functioned in a space separate from the colonial project. In some locations, tribes like the coastal Northeast of North America or the Mississippi valley, indigenous people often had prolonged periods of trade contact before colonial encroachment forced territorial adaptation and struggle. These spaces were Native spaces and functioned through Native systems and networks. Despite Imperial efforts to control these territories, Native forces prevailed until the mid to late- eighteenth century in the Northeast. Europeans joined this world through trading relationships, kinship bonds, and lived experience. These men and families lived within Native culture, not the other way around.

This research reveals the presence of these still Native controlled American territories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the study of two Mi'kmaw bands on the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki. My research serves as a case study to prove the existence and functioning of this dual or alternate Atlantic.

Two-eyed seeing:

It is important to pause and discuss the need for two-eyed seeing in this type of research. Two-eyed seeing, or *Etuaptmumk*, which is an educational method developed by Mi'kmaw Elder Albert Marshall, "refers to learning to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the strengths of Western knowledges and ways of knowing ... and learning to use both these eyes together, for the benefit of all."¹⁴ Two-eyed seeing provides the scholar with the lens to understand the dual timelines and dual histories unfolding simultaneously in the Northeast. The Atlantic had existed in the Americas long before the advent of European colonialism and this is where two-eyed seeing reveals that both systems, both worldviews, both histories continued to unfold in parallel and often overlapping fashion.

While we are often taught to view a single timeline unfolding in the Atlantic this has served to feature the colonial timeline and events to the erasure of indigenous ones. When both timelines are recaptured and seen as separate historical threads which cross and bleed together at times while unfolding in different territories, separate cultures and with unique methods of record keeping. This duality of the territory combined with European bias and censorship of Native voices explains their previous absence or absorption into a singular, White dominant, Atlantic. The Guédrys had experience in both Atlantics.

¹⁴ Albert Marshall, Two-Eyed Seeing, <http://www.integrativescience.ca/Principles/TwoEyedSeeing/> (Accessed January 2020). See also, Rebecca Thomas, "Etuaptmumk: Two-Eyed Seeing," *TEDxNSCCWaterfront*, June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bA9EwcFbVfg>.

The Guédry's, Acadian history & the alternate Atlantic:

This dissertation follows a community, but focuses specifically on the Guédry family in the North Atlantic who were adopted into the Mi'kmaw Native American community between 1630 and 1761. This community resided around the bays of La Have and Mirliguèche which was populated by Mi'kmaw families and European cod fisherman and traders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In these bays, as in many others along the American Atlantic coast, Europeans broke away from European colonies or remained behind after colonies failed. Outside of the European colonial project these people built connections and communities of their own. In the case of the ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche, these families sought out the Mi'kmaq community and were adopted into their kinship networks. Their presence in Mi'kma'ki, the Mi'kmaq polity, is revealed through court records, census records, archaeology reports, language, tribal and subsistence practices.

Historians have failed to locate these individuals or have subsumed them into the French colonial project because of archival bias which assumes European dominance in the region. This bias generally assumes anyone of European ancestry in the Americas as belonging to a European project. This archival bias is combined with a scholarship bias which has not reconsidered the colonial boundaries of the early modern period which carried with them a large amount of Imperial projections over territory Europeans did not effectively control. The presence of Europeans in these unconquered territories have caused colonial administrators and later historians to make claims about these people and the land. When the actions of these individuals are examined their presence in European colonial projects is put into question. These commoners lived and worked in Native, not European, systems and their agency should be considered if we are to decolonize the lingering European bias that poor whites could not or did not elect to live

outside European communities. Native communities and polities had their own appeal and certainly their own power in the early modern period. The Mi'kmaq community not only held off English and French imperial plans from conquering the territory until the nineteenth century but they also offered attractive quality of life and kinship opportunities that drew Europeans away from colonial life and loyalty.

Colonial scholars have understood the families at La Have to belong to the Acadian community, not Mi'kma'ki. Families such as the Guédry family, which is featured in this research, are ascribed an Acadian identity and community belonging because of the Acadian historian's dependence on genealogy and the colonial "half-life" that still permeates historical writing. Historians, who still rely heavily on the written record often to the exclusion of other forms of primary sources, are almost exclusively limited by what Europeans wrote in the early modern period. Though we know as scholars the biases inherent in these accounts we have not done enough to decolonize our historical process and deconstruct the barriers that these records put on our ability to write about the past. In the case of the Guédry family, they are considered Acadian because they were deported in the Acadian deportation. The deportation of this family does not represent their place in Acadian life before 1749 however, which will be examined in Chapter Seven. It is anachronistic to assign this identifier to earlier generations of the Guédry family based on what later generations did.¹⁵

This research does not seek to challenge any particular person or group's idea of community belonging. This work does not question or challenge those who identify as Acadian in any way. What this research argues is that our later notions of Acadian identity and Acadian community should not be anachronistically retrojected into the pre-

¹⁵ For a look at historiographical presentism see: Prasenjit Duara, 'Introduction: the decolonization of Asia and Africa in the twentieth century,' in Duara, ed. 3 *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then* (Routledge, 2004).

deportation period, or to any community. Just as individuals in a family have varying notions of belonging to their family or state, so too did the early modern Europeans in the Atlantic. And while the idea of a robust Acadian genealogy serves the purpose of Acadian nation building that took place in the post-deportation era, many on the Atlantic coast appear to be less tied to the Acadian way of life than that of a hunter, fishermen, and Mi'kmaq.

Making the alternate Atlantic visible:

When interdisciplinary methods are employed the presence of these colonial ghosts takes shape. Integrative educational models such as 'Two-Eyed Seeing,' allows researchers to move beyond the limited vision of the colonial archive. Although there are still many unanswered questions regarding the lived experience of the ghosts, the unanswered questions are revealing in themselves. Research limited to census records and genealogy can be read through the European bias of assumed European belonging, but the colonial ghosts reveal community belonging and daily practice (meaning work, language, community, family life) was based on other factors than European census or church baptismal records. In other words, rather than looking at a person's presence on a baptismal or census record and deducing that he or she resided in the community, two-eyed seeing would incorporate the range of data available to see how these individuals and families moved in and out of focus from the perspective of the state. In reality they lived in another community yet borrowed European colonial markers when it benefited them. This research argues that Native social adoption and subsistence practices allowed for the creation of colonial ghosts along the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki between 1636 and 1755.

The colonial landscape was in many ways a colonial fiction. Beyond the representations created on maps, the landscape was contested, porous and often largely undiscovered by the European powers who claimed it. This phenomenon of imperial claims can be seen throughout the Atlantic world. The Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki was fought over by the English and French as they each tried to claim the space as Nova Scotia or Acadie. One of the ways these colonial administrations claimed territory was by pointing to settled populations in the land. For the case of Acadie, colonial administrators often spoke of La Have as being a claimed colonial outpost because of the old La Have settlement there from 1632 to 1636 and the small number of families that stayed in the region even after the settlement was moved in 1636. When we examine the daily practices, subsistence methods, and kinship connections of those families however, we find they were more embedded within the Native American Mi'kmaq Community than Acadie or France.

The families at La Have made a weak bid for French imperial claim as we shall see when we explore the ways they made their community, but also for the limited ways they appeared on colonial records. Many of these families are almost non-existent in the colonial archive as the majority of evidence we have of them are census records which often reveal individuals, children and whole families who are recorded in one census report only to disappear on the next. Chapter Four explores the ways the French empire was unable to claim those who lived at La Have and Mirliguèche in their imperial projects. In fact, this claim of state control had no real substance at La Have. It is equally important to understand how individuals negotiated the limits of imperial reach and were not recorded by census records. Rather than living on the periphery of Acadie society, these families chose to live in Mi'kma'ki. In other words, this is the story of individuals and families who lived outside of European colonial spaces and often went unrecorded.

From studying the communities at La Have and Mirliguèche the distance of the colonial apparatus created a space for these 'colonial ghosts' to emerge.

Defining ghosts:

It is important to pause here and explain what is meant by 'ghosts.' The term ghosts is meant to describe the state of individuals who are absent from state or colonial records. By the social and racial categories at work in the seventeenth century these individuals have become invisible to the state, or without a social category. Rather than being stateless which is applied when the subject is not a recognized citizen of any state, ghosts are those who "do not exist" with regards to the colonial administration. Like ghosts, they are invisible or dead, meaning having no legal presence. Scholars have documented the categories of social death as well as statelessness, each which have different presentations. Social death as discussed by Orlando Patterson implies a social process of institutionalization of marginal or 'socially dead' people. These individuals could be either 'intrusive' when rituals are used to incorporate an 'external enemy' into the society as a slave, or 'extrusive' model where rituals and traditions are employed to make a member of the society 'fall into slavery'.¹⁶ Both of these methods of social death involve a legal status within a society. Ghosts, in contrast, are not seen by that society though they exist. Unlike the stateless who operate in opposition but in relationship with the state with which they are defined as stateless, the ghosts are not in relationship with the European state. They are not included within a Native group from a documentary perspective and they are not in a position of social death or unfreedom like

¹⁶ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 79-80.

enslaved or indentured individuals. They, rather, have no documented presence at all. They are “off the grid” because they do not exist when it comes to the state.

Referring to these people as ghosts does not imply that they have no real social connections or presence. On the contrary the ghosts of the early modern world developed social networks, families, and livelihoods, but they did so outside of the recognition of the imperial system. This research argues that these ghosts were adopted by other communities, such as the Mi'kmaq, but that in the seventeenth century they were invisible to the empires who dealt with those societies in terms of state bureaucracy.¹⁷ As we explore the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki borders of the ghosts emerge and their presence is clear even if we cannot catalogue and know what becomes of them. This category of ghosts began to disappear in the eighteenth century as the English racial categories tighten on the Mi'kmaw and Acadian Communities. Racial and legal categories are created and enforced in the English period which causes a period of transition and by the late 1740s, the virtual end of the ghosts. They cease being ghosts and become either Mi'kmaw or Acadian.¹⁸

It should be noted that one taunting aspect of the ghosts in the Atlantic is researchers' inability to make definitive calls in most cases as to their movements or identities. Colonial records reveal traces and dead ends where these individuals either live or die outside of the sight of colonial eyes. These lives nonetheless reveal a

¹⁷ An example of this for La Have and Mirliguèche was discussed in chapter three where resident priests were absent for large stretches in these two supposedly Acadian communities meaning that most had to travel to Cape Sable or Port Royal if they wished to obtain catholic services, however the priests from the mission étrangère did come to La Have nevertheless they were there to tend to the Mi'kmaq and saw the 'French' among them as not in their jurisdiction. This meant in effect they fell through the cracks.

¹⁸ There was a similar hardening of ethnic boundaries occurring elsewhere at the same time, including the Carribean as was explored in the Schwartz vs Kuznesof debate. See, Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, “Ethnic and gender influences on ‘Spanish’ Creole society in colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, (1995); Stuart B. Schwartz, Colonial identities and the *sociedad de castas*,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 4 (1995); Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, “More conversation on race, class and gender,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 5 (1996).

significant process occurring, in Mi'kma'ki, but also elsewhere, in the Atlantic world which allows for these private existences as well as fascinating stories, most of which are lost to the past. To find evidence of these persons in the archives presents the researcher with a challenging process to find what can be observed and what is unknowable.

For Mi'kma'ki, it should be understood that the ghosts began to appear earlier than 1636. There is no archival evidence to suggest that European fishermen had children with Native women before colonial attempts began although that does not mean we can say it did not occur. Between the first attempt to settle Acadie for the French in 1604 and the arrival of Razilly's group in 1632 records reveal that at least two children were born between Frenchmen and Native women.¹⁹ Louis Lasnier, a Frenchman from Dieppe France, had a child with "une femme Canadienne" (a Canadian woman).²⁰ This son, André Lasnier, was born on the Acadian coast at Port LaTour in 1620. The baptismal and the record were done as a safeguard in case the child had not been previously baptized when Louis brought his son to France in 1632 at the age of twelve. The second known occurrence was in 1623 when Charles de La Tour had three daughters with his first wife, a native. One of his daughters later married a Basque fur trader, Martin D'Arpentigny, Sieur de Martignon, who had land at the mouth of the St. Jean river.²¹ His two other daughters joined religious orders in France.²²

¹⁹ "The first "Canadian" child with "European" blood outside Newfoundland was born at our doorstep," *Yarmouth Vanguard*, Tuesday, May 23, 1989, posted on the Musée des Acadiens des Pubnico website,

<http://www.museeacadien.ca/english/archives/articles/21.htm> (Accessed September 2019).

²⁰ Registres de Baptêmes, 1629-1632, f.107, printed in d'Entremont, "Premier enfant né en Acadie, 1620," 352; N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 35.

²¹ "Registre des concessions en Acadie," 17 Oct. 1672, in Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie, 6:11; d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, 2:404ff; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 35.

²² It was said that one of these daughters had such a beautiful voice that she was brought to sing before the court of Louis XIII. See, Griffiths, *From Migrant To Acadian*, 35.

While the cases of these four children are known to us they reveal the possibility of other children who went unrecorded. It is unsurprising that De La Tour's children were known considering his noble status and his identity as one of the most important men in early Acadie. Based on Lasnier's birth record we can see that Louis was well connected to De La Tour as well which can explain why this birth was also recorded.²³ It should be noted that there was still a significant delay before these children's status was recorded. Lasnier was twelve before he was baptized in France on perhaps his first visit there. In the case of De La Tour's daughters, the information of their births was only legitimized after the fact. D'Arpentigny's wife provides information on her birth in the registers of Acadian concessions in 1672, and it is supposed that the two daughters who joined the religious orders came from legitimate births. Documentation of such status was required for admittance although no official documentation of these two cases remain. If such well-connected children had such limited documentary evidence, births for the offspring of fur traders or fishermen would likely have gone unrecorded. No evidence for such children is known but considering the four births recorded for Acadie before 1632, it is possible that Razilly and his men might have met a Mi'kmaq population that already contained a few of these ghost children. If so they were probably the margin's first colonial ghosts.

For the period between 1636 and 1722 researchers find glimpses of these families and individuals from scant records and census records which can attest to their presence but these records reveal more of the limits of our knowledge than what we know. Families may appear on the list once only to disappear while others show a pattern of consistent residence on the La Have river system. Both types of entries are elusive and lead to more questions. What were they doing on the coast seemingly

²³ M. A. MacDonald, *Fortune and La Tour: the Civil War in Acadia* (New York : Methuen, 1983).

alone?²⁴ Where did the families or individuals who have a single census entry disappear to? The likelihood that all died is lower than the probability that they had not died but that they ceased to appear on French records.

This phenomenon of ‘disappearing families’ in the census records did not cause panic for the Acadian communities.²⁵ These individuals were not missing, but living elsewhere and differently than the Acadians. Edme Rameau writes “la population Acadienne est toujours incomplet a cause de ces chiffres qui manques... [l']exemple est dans les recensements ou des familles vont frequemment disparaitre” (the population of the Acadiens is always incomplete because of the missing numbers... an example is the census records that show families who frequently disappear. Author translation).²⁶ Rameau knows some of these disappearing families, or ghosts, are at La Have and he states plainly why he believes the census records between 1686 and 1701 are incomplete. In his proposed population of 75 for ‘La Hève et son canton’ he explains,

Nous ne comprenons pas dans ce chiffre, non plus que pour le fleuve Saint-Jean, toutes les familles de métis, mais seulement celles qui avaient tout a fait adopté les habitudes stables et plus ou moins agricoles des familles européennes...Beaucoup d’autres métis restaient mélangés avec les tribus indiennes...²⁷ (*We do not count in this number, neither for La Hève nor for the St. John River, all of the mixed families, but only those who adopted sedentary habits practicing a more or less European style of agriculture... many other mixed peoples remained among the Indian tribes. Author Translation*)

²⁴ This question appears to be the subtle supposition of many Acadian historians who seem unconcerned that these extremely small number, often less than a dozen or so, were living alone so far from their supposed colony and colonial resources (which could even be scant at Port Royal, not to mention the Atlantic Coast). The Historiography of this debate will be explored later in this chapter.

²⁵ The term and functioning of colonial ghosts and those who “disappeared” from the archive captures a different historical event than the “disappeared” in Argentina. For more on the disappeared see Jenny Edkins, *Missing: Persons and Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 204.

²⁷ Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 205 footnote 1.

Rameau indicates that a lot more European blooded people resided at La Have and St. John's river than the census records represent. Only those practicing a European style settlement were recorded, but that the actual number would be higher if those who lived among the Mi'kmaq, both in proximity and in manner of life (both in terms of movement patterns and subsistence practices), were included.

Tensions increased between the Mi'kmaq and the English between 1722 and 1749 which caused the racial categories between French and Mi'kmaq at La Have to begin to solidify.²⁸ 1722 signaled the beginning of the end for the ghosts. It is important to pause to note that while in general racial identities can be seen as adopted, manifested and expressed on a variety of levels from personal identities to societal categories and constructions, what occurred in the early to mid-eighteenth century was the imposition of British racial categories onto the people residing at La Have. Those individuals, families, and social groups had their own understandings of their identity which we cannot know from the records available in this case, what is interesting in this case is not how they saw themselves, but how they were seen by the state and its administrators based on their language, choice of livelihood, and kinship markers.

Atlantic métis?

Métis, when capitalized, refers to the Métis Nation, which is a recognized indigenous community with origins in the Red River Valley and the prairies beyond in Western Canada.²⁹ The Métis Nation emerged as a political power in the nineteenth century and were marginalized by the Canadian government after 1885. The Métis in the

²⁸ The 1749 date should be viewed as an approximate date. This date was chosen to mark the time when many from La Have and Mirliguèche were moving to Ile Royal which was the moment they chose to lean into their French identity.

²⁹ Adam Gaudry, "Métis," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, September 11, 2019 <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/metis> (Accessed February 2020).

Canadian prairies are communities of mixed European and Indigenous descent who formed their own culture apart from the European and Native American communities. They have since been given legal Indigenous status by the Canadian government with the rights of Indigenous peoples written in the Constitution of Canada as well as further defined in a series of Supreme Court of Canada decisions. The supreme court has defined Métis as “those of mixed aboriginal and European descent” and registered as “Indian” under the constitution.³⁰ The category of métis, has since been adopted by other communities claiming mixed European and Indigenous ancestry, notably in Québec and Atlantic Canada (which include Mi’kma’ki).

The question of métis has seen a steep rise in the political landscape of Atlantic Canada in the last decade as so-called métis groups have been popping up all over Québec and Atlantic Canada claiming a mixed European and Indigenous status. Many of these groups have petitioned for legal status from the Canadian government. As Anthropologist Darryl R. J. Leroux describes, this “small but vocal minority of white French-descendants have used an ancestor born between 300 and 400 years ago to claim an “Indigenous” identity. Leroux’s recent book *Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity* explores the process of identity shifting among the métis community through a study of online genealogical forums. Leroux explains “Often, this [shifting to a Native identity] is done by opponents of Indigenous land claims. In other cases, as in U.S. Senator Elizabeth Warren, one simply repeats false family stories passed down over the generations, ignoring the voices of Indigenous peoples along the way.”³¹ Métis groups and individuals have taken their case to court in Canada seeking recognition but

³⁰ “Canada's supreme court gives Métis people 'Indian' aboriginal status,” *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/14/canada-supreme-court-aboriginal-people-special-status> (Accessed March 2020).

³¹ Darryl R. J. Leroux, “How some North Americans claim a false Indigenous identity,” *The Conversation*, 22 September 2019, <http://theconversation.com/how-some-north-americans-claim-a-false-indigenous-identity-121599>

despite the many attempts all cases have been dismissed. By 2014, “nearly 100 individual members have lost nearly 60 separate court cases.”³² These types of cases continue to appear in court. What is different from these cases and the Métis from Red River is that until the early 2000s most of those now claiming métis status had previously been identified in the Canadian census as European. For a few reasons but in part because of the rise in genealogical testing and indigenous land claims, race shifting has been on the rise.³³

Most who are performing this race shifting claim a single Native Ancestor from the seventeenth century without having historic or current links to the Mi'kmaq. Leroux follows the fabrication of a métis heritage through figures such as Acadian Catherine Lejeune. Despite evidence Lejeune was born in France and having tested her descendants which has confirmed her French heritage, the online métis community continues to assert indigeneity and use her often as their only Native link. “For instance,” Leroux explains, “nearly a hundred members of the *Communauté métis autochtone de Maniwaki* and the *Communauté métisse du Domaine-du-roi et de la Seigneurie de Mingan* count Lejeune as their sole ‘Indigenous’ root ancestor.”³⁴ This practice has grown over the last two decades to the point that the “number of people identifying as Métis soared nearly 125 per cent in Nova Scotia from 2006 to 2016.”³⁵ Mi'kmaq Chief Terrance Paul, assembly co-chair, confirmed in October of 2018 that the “only Aboriginal rights holders in Nova Scotia are the Mi'kmaq.” In a statement Paul affirmed, ““We are

³² Ibid.

³³ Jean Teillet, “The confusing world of Métis identity,” *The Globe and Mail*, 13 September 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-the-confusing-world-of-metis-identity/>

³⁴ Darryl R. J. Leroux, “How some North Americans claim a false Indigenous identity,” *The Conversation*, 22 September 2019, <http://theconversation.com/how-some-north-americans-claim-a-false-indigenous-identity-121599>

³⁵ “Mi'kmaq, Métis agree to address people 'misrepresenting' themselves as Métis,” *The Canadian Press*, October 3, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/mi-kmaq-metis-concern-misrepresentation-nova-scotia-1.4849762>

the original peoples of these lands, and we have spent decades establishing our treaty and Aboriginal rights and then working on the implementation of these rights."³⁶ This political landscape and the defense of Indigenous rights and status in Canada for the Mi'kmaq underscores the importance and caution in this type of research.

In this current political climate, research into early modern Mi'kmaw cultural practices in Atlantic Canada needs to be undertaken with caution. The practices, cultures, and communities that formed in seventeenth-century Mi'kma'ki represent an understudied aspect of the colonial period in the Maritimes historiography. This research cannot be created in a vacuum however, and must understand its place in the current climate. While William Wicken used the word "métis" in his dissertation published in the 1990s, the name has since taken on a specifically political resonance. Whereas Wicken meant mixed when he said métis, now it means legal status and rights with the Canadian government. In this current context, scholarship like that of Denis Jean's dissertation *Ethnogenèse des premiers métis Canadiennes, 1603-1763* has seen heated responses.³⁷ Jean's work argues for a more extensive process of intermarriage between the Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities which produced a distinct third community that served as intermediaries and translators. He believes which its members intermarried. This research does not see a distinct third or métis community, but rather argues for two Atlantics and two communities in Mi'kma'ki: either Native or European.

This research explores the world of Mi'kma'ki in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to recover the existence of the alternate Atlantic and the ways that outsiders could join Native American communities. This project charts the closing of the category of colonial ghosts by the mid-eighteenth century whereby some ghosts left the

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Denis Jean, "Ethnogenèse des premiers métis Canadiennes, 1603-1763" Master's Thesis, Université de Moncton, 2011.

community for a French identity and others remained in Mi'kma'ki as Mi'kmaq. Those who remained in Mi'kma'ki were placed in Indian reservations alongside their family in the nineteenth century and their children were forced into boarding schools in the twentieth century. Those who descended from those Mi'kmaq families are in the Mi'kmaq community today. In contrast, those who left the community in the eighteenth century belong to Acadian or other communities today. In other words, this research supports the reality today of the Mi'kmaq being the "only Aboriginal rights holders in Nova Scotia." What this research shows is that the early modern period offered a season of European adoption into that community which was based upon cultural practice and lived experience. The colonial ghosts were welcomed in and adopted among the Mi'kmaq and they either remained in that community and their descendants belong to and are known by the Mi'kmaq as kin today, or they left the community and their descendants continue as members of another community today.

Evidence of Mi'kmaq "adopting" outsiders exists in the seventeenth century sources. Catholic priest Chrestien Leclercq was adopted.³⁸ One Mi'kmaw story tells of an attack on an enemy village, that killed all except for one baby who was adopted by a Mi'kmaw warrior and raised as his own.³⁹ Another example of family adoption occurs in Mi'kmaw marriage. Before the marriage the suitor comes to live in the intended's family wigwam and, for an extended period of time, often a year or two, he will give all he hunts and fishes to the woman's family. He does this to demonstrate his ability to provide for the family. The time in the family wigwam allows the family to get to know him, and to determine his compatibility in the family. This time is ended when either the woman consents to marry him and they celebrate the marriage or she refuses and he is

³⁸ Chrestien Leclercq, *New relation of Gaspesia: With the customs and religion of the Gaspesian Indians* (Toronto: Champlain society, 1910), 290-291.

³⁹ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, interview January 2020.

requested to leave.⁴⁰ The practice was both fluid and left to the choice of the Mi'kmaw family. The practice involved welcoming the outsider as a true family member, fully incorporating them into community practice. The family referred to the adoptees as a daughter, son, brother, or sister from the moment of adoption. This practice continues today.

Ghosts and Settler Colonialism:

It is important to pause and think about how colonial ghosts interacted with settler colonialism in North America. Settler colonialism which Patrick Wolfe brilliantly lays out involved “invasion as a structure, not an event” to destroy what was there in order to replace it with something else.⁴¹ The Europeans who arrived with Isaac de Razilly in 1632 came to settle the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki for France, as did the groups who founded New France, New England and many others up and down the Atlantic coast. French and English groups fought over their “control” of the territory and allied themselves with or pushed into Native tribes in order to claim the land for themselves. Raphael Lemkin points out that settler colonialism strives for the dissolution of Native societies to permit for the erection of new colonial societies.⁴² Native peoples obstructed settler access to the land and thus were systematically and as part of colonial policy

⁴⁰ Nicolas Denys, *The description and natural history of the coasts of North America*, ed. William F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), Chapter XXIII, 407. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044010437085&view=1up&seq=459> (Accessed March 2020).

⁴¹ Patrick Wolfe, “Settler colonialism and the elimination of the Native,” in *The Journal of Genocide Research*, Volume 8, 2006, Issue 4, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14623520601056240> (Accessed February 2020).

⁴² “[O]ne, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals.” Raphaël Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), p 79.

made into “Indians” to be made easier to eliminate. This elimination took on many forms “alienable individual freeholds, Native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools... frontier homicide...” and in some cases genocide.⁴³

Colonial ghosts served to undermine the settler colonial project. Rather than enacting the settler model to take up place on the land in such a way as to facilitate the erasure of Indigenous ways, the ghosts adopted Native ways and Native networks. That they adopted this approach does not mean that ghosts did not utilize their status in the colonial system when it served them because they did. Ghosts could appear on census records or call upon white genealogies to claim European status, as we will see in the 1726 piracy trial or the 1754 Louisbourg marriage trial. In both of these trials, the Guédry appeal to French ancestry did not help the ghosts. Nevertheless, the fact that the appeal was made reveals the European privilege in these colonial structures and the ghosts desire to highlight their French ancestry when it served their situation. Ghosts did on occasion appeal to European eighteenth century racial markers. Through the tumult of the mid-eighteenth-century imperial wars in the Northeast some ghosts would eventually draw closer to French networks though not all did. Other ghosts remained in Mi'kmaq networks.

These two examples of leaning on French ancestry or electing to relocate into French colonial systems reveals the negotiating power of the ghosts in this transitional early modern world. They had the benefit of forging alliances in the colonial space, although those who had lived as Native for even a generation would have lingering social consequences as we will see in Chapter Seven and the 1754 Louisbourg marriage trial. The fact remained that they undermined French settlement. The Acadian

⁴³ Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native*, 388.

ghosts came to the Northeast to build empire for France and yet they ended up supporting and defending Mi'kmaw land, community and culture as we will see in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Four explores French imperial struggles to claim these Atlantic coast families in their efforts to bolster their land claims. Settler colonialism sought to annex land, and to eliminate local peoples and cultures in order to replace them with European spaces, peoples, and cultures, and yet colonial ghosts did the opposite. The ghosts assimilated to Native cultures, formed alliances with Indigenous peoples, and defended Native American land and ways of life. Even though the ghost category deteriorated when British settlement took control of the territory this category stands as significant for the ways it undermined the colonial project and obfuscated imperial notions of Indians and Settler.

Five phases of the Guédry ghosts:

This dissertation charts the rise and fall of these ghosts through five transitional phases. It should be noted that the phases in the Northeast are not necessarily the same phases colonial ghosts elsewhere experienced. Each context will be unique. Chapter One presents the methods of the study of colonial ghosts. Chapter Two explores Mi'kma'ki as it existed before the arrival of Europeans through the Cod fisheries. Chapter Three presents two separate worlds that coexisted in the North Atlantic in the sixteenth century. The first world which was outlined in Chapter Two, Mi'kma'ki, was joined by the European fisheries. Chapter Three begins the first phase of the colonial ghosts as that of fisherman coming to the coast La Have harbor to trade. The exact beginning of this period is unknown but can be seen to span from Messamouet's trip to France in 1570 until the arrival of Razilly's group in 1632. This period was categorized by European fishermen practicing a semi-nomadic calendar where part of the year was spent on the

coast of Mi'kma'ki in what they called Terra Nova. Contact between Mi'kmaw communities and European fishermen and traders was limited.

Chapters Four through Seven explore the period between 1632 and 1761. 1632 signals the official beginning of the colonial ghosts at La Have when French Naval captain Isaac de Razilly sets up a four-year colony on the harbor. Chapter Four analyses this four-year colonial attempt and the lingering imperial claims over the Frenchmen who remain behind after the colony failed. The Frenchmen, and later women, who live around La Have virtually disappeared off the French records and only left periodic traces in the archives. Despite colonial and later historiographical claims that these families were Acadian, a reanalysis of the data in this research reveals their belonging to Mi'kma'ki, not France or Acadie. Chapter Five explores the third phase in the colonial ghosts development which I call the "golden age of the Mi'kma'ki ghosts" between 1636 and 1722. The abandonment of the La Have outpost in 1636 provides us with an official start date to the ghosts and this period ends with the beginning of Drummer's War. During that almost ninety-year period, those European men and women at La Have and Mirliguèche lived outside the bounds of colonial society and colonial documentation of the seventeenth century. These individuals and families were not lost or taken from these communities but rather they settled in the alternate Atlantic rather than in the Acadian colony. Their lack of archival presence has led most of these individuals to disappear from the histories that are written about this area. This chapter explores the Mi'kmaq literature on what life was like in the seventeenth-century Mi'kma'ki as well as census records which provide clues as to the outline of the adopted ghost community.

Chapters Six and Seven analyze the decline and eventual end of the category of ghosts in the Northeast between 1722 and 1761. The English and French had been battling over the region since 1613; by 1710, Acadie had been secured for the British.

The English needed to negotiate a peace agreement with the Mi'kmaq in order to begin settlement in the land. The Mi'kmaq resisted British encroachment and new settlements in their territory. The Mi'kmaq began systematic attacks on British vessels and settlements and by 1722 Drummer's War began. For the Mi'kmaq around La Have the post-1710 period brought British settlement attempts to their shore anew. The bulk of the seventeenth-century French and English settlement attempts had been concentrated on the Bay of Fundy. This period of Anglo-Mi'kmaw warfare brought the La Have and Mirliguèche into the fray and caused increased vulnerability for the ghosts. Members of the Mi'kmaq community fought, were captured or died in defense of their community and lands, and ghosts were very much involved in these fights to defend Mi'kma'ki. Chapter Six explores the engagement of the Guédry family in the Anglo-Mi'kmaw wars and the piracy trial records of one failed Mi'kmaq attack on a British vessel. This chapter demonstrates the Guédry involvement in Mi'kmaq affairs and communities throughout Mi'kma'ki.

Chapter Seven examines the final decade of these imperial struggles over Mi'kma'ki and argues that the ghosts were forced into an unconscious choice either to stay in Mi'kma'ki or leave for the French fortress of Louisbourg with the founding of Halifax in 1749. The erection of this strategic military fort right next to La Have and Mirliguèche put the British threat too close to home and with the fear added from the French priest Le Loutre who warned of the doom this would mean for the community, many Guédry families relocated to Louisbourg. This relocation for preservation signaled the end to the ghosts who were once again numbered and catalogued as French loyalists and British enemies. Imperial warfare, the evolving racial categories of the mid-eighteenth century, and the settlement of the British forced the end of the colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki. Those who drew close to the French were deported throughout the Atlantic

starting in 1755 in what is called the Acadian Deportation. Those who remained in Mi'kma'ki saw increasing land grabs by the British until they were forced onto Indian reserves by 1821.⁴⁴

This exploration of the alternate Atlantic and the colonial ghosts must begin before European settler colonialism in the Americas. For the Northeast we must take a step back a century farther to Mi'kma'ki before the European Cod fisheries.

⁴⁴ Alex Tesar, "Reserves in Nova Scotia," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, June 15, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/reserves-in-nova-scotia#History> (Accessed February 2020). For more on Mi'kmaq history see, Bernie Francis and Trudy Sable, *Language of this Land: Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012); Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Mi'kmaw History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1991), William Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). For more on the Acadian Deportation see, Christopher Hodson, *The Acadian Diaspora: An Eighteenth-Century History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (WW. Norton, 2005); N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

Chapter One

Theories of power: The Historian's viewfinder to the North Atlantic

The historiography has until now considered the two Atlantic harbors of La Have and Mirliguèche to be a part of the French colony of Acadie. This Imperial designation has guided the histories that have been produced of this region to highlight the limited connections between these two remote harbors and the Acadian colony on the Bay of Fundy. In order to understand life in these Atlantic harbors in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, they need to be unstuck from Acadie. Rethinking our understanding of these two harbors and the larger Atlantic coast of Acadie serves to better understand these two communities and to reexamine how they fit into the larger context of colonial competition, Native space, and imperial claims. These three factors reveal how life was lived on the Atlantic coast and how we as historians can understand its political and social dynamics. This chapter revises the historical precedent of treating the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki/Acadie/Nova Scotia as Acadian in the seventeenth century. With the removal of the imperial-biased presumption of the French born on the Atlantic belonging to Acadie, this chapter explores the useful historical frameworks that can help us to elucidate the power dynamics and social belonging of these European families.

A factor that looms large in the context of this discussion of the connectedness of La Have and Mirliguèche in Acadie, is how historians have viewed the colonies of Acadie and Nova Scotia. Since seventeenth-century French officials presented the Atlantic Coast as part of the Acadian territory, Acadian and French Atlantic scholars have continued to apply this spatial designation, most without examining the underlying claim. As we endeavor to capture the entangled nature of these people and places, we need to decouple the Atlantic coast from Acadie and consider the region for the multiple

forces and communities contained within them.⁴⁵ Especially as we re-center our historical gaze to understand the authority and control that Native communities and individual agency played in the contingencies of the past, the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki/Acadie/Nova Scotia needs to be reexamined. This chapter considers the historiographical models that are best suited to understanding the presence of the colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki/Acadie/Nova Scotia.

Once the Atlantic coast has been removed from the monolithic entity of Acadie then colonial ghosts can be revealed. No longer assumed to belong with or compared to the Acadian peasants surrounding the Bay of Fundy, the residents of La Have and Mirliguèche can be examined in their own context and communities. In order to elucidate the colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche and how the limits of Acadian infrastructure and state bureaucracy allowed for the creation of these phantoms of empire, a discussion of the possible historical models is in order. This chapter will first explore the current imperial historical landscape before considering a few historical models that can help us understand the ghosts. Finally archival silences and the methodology of colonial ghosts will be presented.

Imperial history in the Northeast:

The historiography of Nova Scotia and Acadie exposes the lack of historical attention on the Atlantic coast, since the previous scholarship has considered other

⁴⁵ Jeffers Lennox in his recent work *Homelands and Empires* has endeavored to discuss the 'Imperial fictions' of the many maps and land claims put forth by the French and English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but his work does not address the Atlantic coast as he is focused on the territory between Acadie and New England, in the heart of Wabanaki territory. See, Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Space, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

questions and the colonial and native landscapes farther west around the Bay of Fundy and towards Canada. Acadian history developed out of a first wave of nostalgic histories and genealogies from the Acadian colonial period and tragic end at the Acadian deportation. From this foundation however the field of Acadian history has become much more critical and offers to us rich analysis of the life lived in Acadie and how the often-neglected French colony related to the other colonial presences in the Northeast. Scholars such as Gregory Kennedy, Naomi Griffiths, Maurice Basque, and John Mack Faragher have presented analytical histories of Acadie and its community. This region's history is complemented by Nova Scotian history from scholars such as Joan Dawson, John Reid, John Bartlet Brener, and Geoffrey Plank. As would be expected the Nova Scotia history is predominantly Anglo-centric in focus which means it ignores the French born population on the Atlantic coast. While the Acadian or French historiography of the region largely explores communities and events in the Acadie proper which is centered on the Bay of Fundy. Some of these studies include characters or events from La Have or Mirliguèche but they are at best peripheral and at worst ignored. This historiographical landscape has left gaps in the record which this research seeks to fill.

The nationalist centering on British colonialism in Nova Scotia, exemplified by John Bartlet Breber and Geoffrey Plank's work, demonstrates the Anglo-focus of the historiography. Both scholars explore the nature of British settlement of the peninsula and the distance between imperial wars and claims and actual control of the territory for Britain. In this way there are important hints in Brebner and Plank for a decoupling of the French population as well as the European bureaucratic right in the region and its effective control in reality. For Instance, John Bartlet Brebner's work, *New England's Outpost*, argues that there were, in effect, "two Acadias, each important in its own way. The one was the Acadia of the international conflict, the other the land settled and

developed by the Acadians.”⁴⁶ The state, as a collection of Imperial territories, was fought over in international conflicts. At the same time the “Acadie” that was lived out by those in the colony was often a separate thing. This assessment illustrates the chasm that existed in Acadie between stated control over the territory and the small swath of land the Acadians actually worked. Herbert de Grandfontaine inherited Acadie in 1670 and described a “half-a-dozen widely scattered points between Canso and the Penobscot” in addition to the main settlements along the Bay of Fundy.⁴⁷ Between Canso and Penobscot was about 500 miles by land, which should indicate to scholars the lack of effective link between these communities. The Acadian social cohesion needs to be reconsidered and other networks and power dynamics beyond Acadie or France should be evaluated in order to understand these communities.

Geoffrey Plank’s *An Unsettled Conquest*, continued the tradition of viewing the land through the lense of impending British control. Through the history of the “conquest” of Nova Scotia over the peninsula in 1710, Plank demonstrates the historical processes that followed the “conquest” in order to actually gain control of the land and enforce the political control they claimed. The British spent decades trying to subdue the Mi’kmaq and Acadians who had control of the land. This work reveals the entangled nature of power dynamics on the peninsula by analyzing the slow process it took for Nova Scotia to become a settled region and the barriers that stood in the way of that.

These two works serve as important documentation of the Imperial history of the region but both reveal a weakness in the historiography which does not interrogate the cohesion of the French populations as well as offers only a limited understanding of the various power dynamics in these peripheral locations. For those at La Have and

⁴⁶ Brebner, *New England’s Outpost*, 45-6.

⁴⁷ Brebner, *New England’s Outpost*, 37.

Mirliguèche they were unconquered by the English until around the time of the settlement of Lunenburg in 1753, in part because of the geographic route the conquest took but also because they lived within Mi'kma'ki. For these reasons, the imperial power dynamics should be viewed from within a more complex framework which recognizes Indigenous power structures and space within the colonial negotiations of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As a result, colonial ghosts were uncomplicated in these historiographical perspectives.

William Wicken, Indigenous historian of Atlantic Canada, and Jeffers Lennox have written on the power dynamics in Native Northeast which complements the otherwise Imperial and Anglo-dominated historical landscape. Their interventions include the valuable contribution of native power dynamics into our consideration of the Atlantic coast but neither approach addresses colonial ghosts. Wicken provides detail and essential content for Mi'kma'ki in the colonial period; he does not consider French populations in their communities as tribal members.

In his unpublished dissertation *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales: Mi'kmaq society, 1500-1760*, Wicken offers a look at the Mi'kmaq in the early modern period. He takes issue with Acadian scholars like Olive Dickason, Naomi Griffiths, and Leslie Upton who argued for extensive intermarriage between Acadian and Mi'kmaq and the larger claim of a harmonious relationship between the two communities.⁴⁸ Wicken highlights tensions between the two communities and seeks to dispel the claim that these two groups had convergent interests.⁴⁹ As Wicken charts the imperial changes in the eighteenth century he demonstrates how the increasing presence of the English further drove a wedge between the two communities. For this study, the perspective of

⁴⁸ William Wicken, "Reexamining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relationships," *Vingt ans apres*, 93-94.

⁴⁹ Wicken, *Reexamining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relationships*, 94.

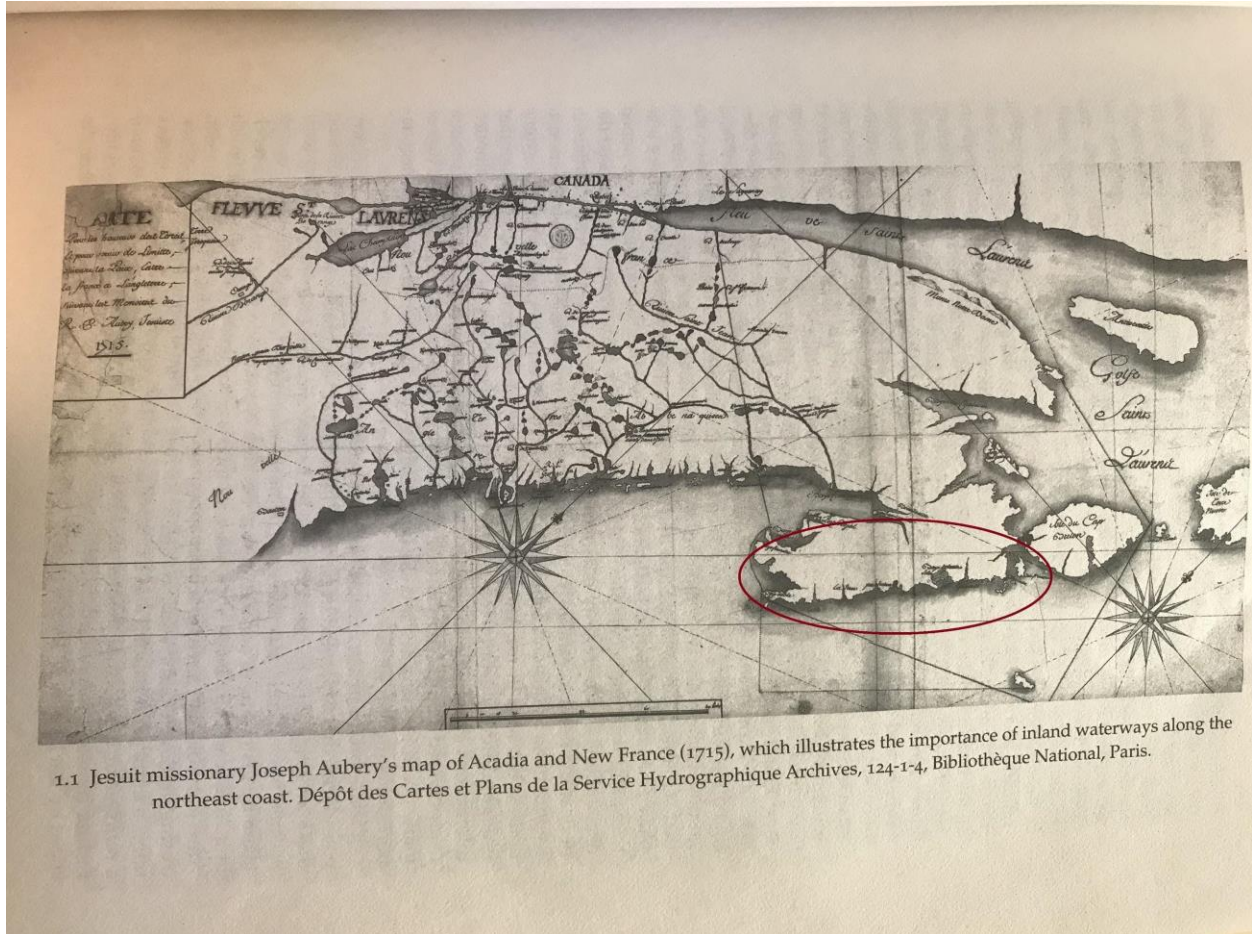
increasingly diverging interests would explain why, as we will see in Chapter Six, the ghosts fought for Indian, not French wars in the 1720s and why the category of ghosts would vanish by the mid-eighteenth century. Wicken interprets the Guédry family actions from the perspective that they are loyal to Acadie.⁵⁰ While these two worlds sought out different interests between a sedentary farming community and a hunting and fishing society, understanding the Mi'kmaq needs to include community adoption in order to comprehend the actions of the Guédry men in the 1720s. Nonetheless, Wicken's view of the separation between the two communities serves to illustrate the distance that existed for the colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche as well.

Lennox dealt with Indigenous and Imperial power dynamics and struggles in the Northeast, but focused on the land West of the Atlantic coast and examines the political/imperial struggle between what he called "homelands" and "empires." While Lennox explored the Imperial and Native territorial and power negotiations that occurred West of this historical landscape, he provided an interesting model of overlapping European and Native boundaries as he argued for what he calls "imperial fictions", which are the claims empires made which, when tested proved to be limited or contested, through the use of colonial maps.

Lennox's scholarship supports the idea that the Atlantic coast was a contested territory between the French and English in the seventeenth century. His work explored dozens of maps which demonstrate the fact that while La Have and Mirliguèche was known by both the English and French, and appeared on colonial maps, yet the territory did not represent a contested space of Imperial power in these negotiations. Lennox' work analyzed the territorial competition between these native and imperial powers, but

⁵⁰ William Wicken, '26 August 1726: A Case Study in Mi'kmaq-New England Relations.' *Acadiensis*, XXIII, 1 (Autumn 1993), 5-22.

he does not discuss the Atlantic coast, including La Have and Mirliguèche. Rather his work rightly focused on the contested territories between these two rivals, which was around the Bay of Fundy and the coastal and inland territories to the West of the Mi'kmaq as is represented on this Jesuit map in the early eighteenth century.



1.1 Jesuit missionary Joseph Aubery's map of Acadie and New France (1715), which illustrates the importance of inland waterways along the northeast coast. Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Service Hydrographique Archives, 124-1-4, Bibliothèque National, Paris.

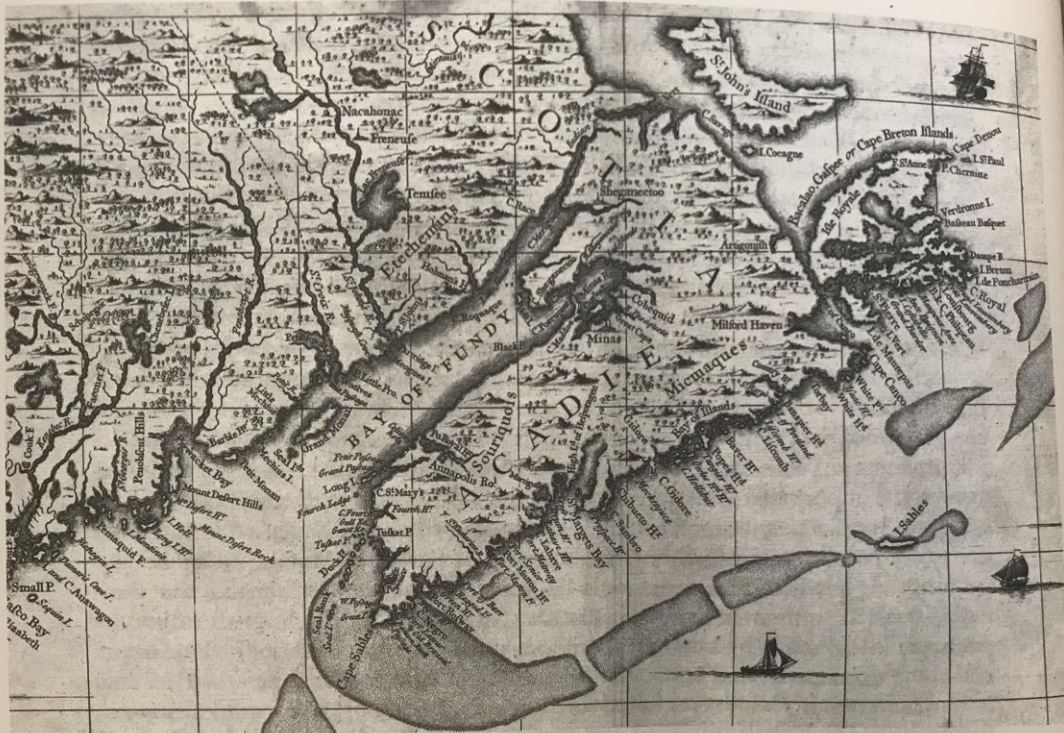
Jesuit Joseph Aubery's map of Acadie and New France, 1715. The red circle indicates the part of the map representing the Atlantic coast. Meanwhile Aubery is charting the various waterways through the region to the West which Lennox demonstrates is part of the contested territory⁵¹

⁵¹ Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 11.

Lennox' choice to focus on this region as well as the Acadian territories makes sense because this region saw frequent struggle as New France, Acadie, and New England encircled this space. It was a space for collateral damage, strategic attacks, and Native treaties and partnerships in these wars. The Mi'kmaq were more peripheral in these campaigns compared to their Wabanaki brothers which is illustrated in the fact that the first Mi'kmaq-English Treaty was not signed until 1725, long after Wabanaki engagement with them. Indeed, the war that promoted that treaty was for the Wabanaki, called the third Wabanaki war. The Wabanaki across the bay had been facing incursions and raids into their territory since the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵² Heightened imperial interest over the region can be seen through the many detailed maps of the geographic terrain and peoples who resided in the land.

In contrast, imperial knowledge of the Atlantic coast was much lower which illustrates their distance. Until the mid-eighteenth century La Have and Mirliguèche were represented as harbors on maps but no details of the interior were illustrated. We will present four maps to illustrate this point. The Henry Popple map presented below was published in 1733, meaning twenty years after the Treaty of Utrecht. Note the detailed depictions of the rivers, forest, mountains, and lakes West of the Bay of Fundy compared with the limited information of the southern Mi'kma'ki peninsula, despite its width of about seventy miles. That Europeans hewed to the coast of this territory is clear. The region's many rivers are not represented presumably because they were not well known. At the same time Europeans were frequent and familiar travelers of the woods to the West of the Acadian settlements by the 1730s which can be seen in Popple's map.

⁵² Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 39-40.



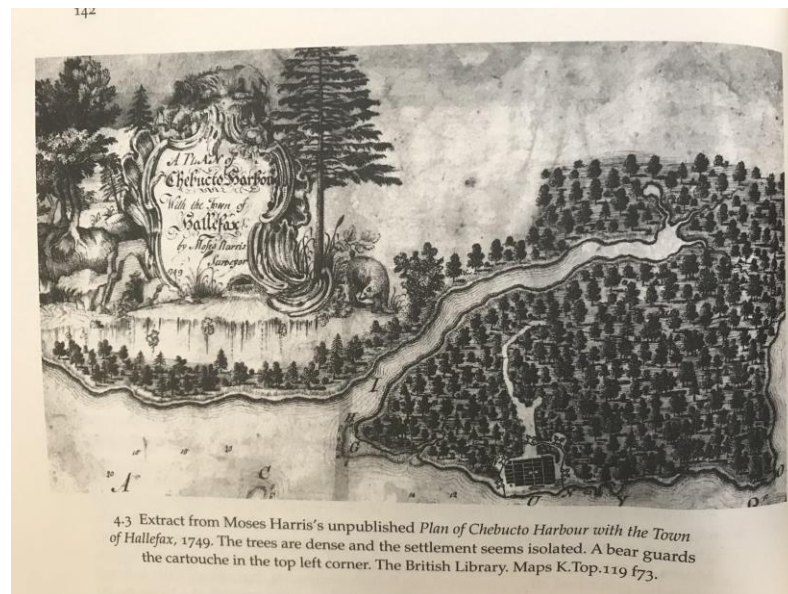
3.3 Extract from Henry Popple's *Map of the British Empire in North America*, 1733, illustrating the area of contested British settlement from Pemaquid Fort to the St Croix River. French officials would later argue that Popple had no choice but to limit English claims and emphasize Indigenous names, as the English had no real claim to the region. Library and Archives Canada, H11/1000/1733.

Henry Popple's Map of the British Empire in North America, 1733

For our purposes of locating these unseen populations, the two harbors were certainly known by European and did appear on maps, but from their comparatively unchanging detail, they appear to represent fishing and trading transit points rather than sites of colonial expansion. This Imperial perspective remains unchanged, from viewing these two harbors as trading and fishing points to a space of colonial development, until surveys mapped the regions for the settlement of Lunenburg in 1749. In other words, the land housing the colonial ghosts remained outside active imperial control until that time.

Halifax, or Chebucto, was just sixty miles up the coast from La Have and Mirliguèche and offers further evidence of the absence of English imperial expansion

until the mid-eighteenth century. These three maps date from 1749 when Edward Cornwallis came to visit the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki, or as he called it Nova Scotia. Before that time this landscape was largely foreign to the English other than the placement of its harbors.



Moses Harris' unpublished Plan of Chebucto Harbour with the Town of Halifax, 1749



4.4 Extract from Moses Harris's unpublished *Plan of Chebucto Harbour with the Town of Hallefax*, 1749. Note the Native wigwam (indicated) that would be removed in future versions. A dragon decorates the map's scale.



4.5 Moses Harris's *Porcupine map*, 1749. Wildlife and imperial symbols, not geography, dominate this chart. Special Collections, Dalhousie University. Map 38 (Morse) 1749.

Moses Harris' Porcupine map, 1749

These three maps illustrate the vast forest with images of 'untamed wildlife' that still existed around Halifax in 1749. These maps feature images of porcupines, bears, a

dragon, butterflies, and Mi'kmaq wigwams. These eighteenth-century illustrations underscore the presence of uncultivated woods. The natural environment was a barrier to imperial surveillance and reconnaissance of its inhabitants. This map indicates that mammals and insects were the notable wildlife of the region. The Wigwam was deleted from later reproductions of the map, perhaps out of a desire to erase Native presence in the land. The images of Chebucto had much more focus on imperial symbols and animals, with only a vast wilderness represented because English imperials had only a cursory understanding of the territory which centered around the harbors. The English would develop an understanding of the interior as they established settlements at the end of the eighteenth century. The interior at La Have and Mirliguèche were not explored by British settlers until the mid-eighteenth century and thus fell outside of the colonial knowledge of the British and French in the earlier period. Lennox' use of maps to illustrate imperial vision serves to reveal the blind spot of the French and later British on the colonial ghosts around La Have.

Two scholars who explored the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century bear mentioning because they have provided valuable content into my exploration of the coastal populations: historians Joan Dawson and Pere Clarence D'Entremont. Dawson is a Nova Scotian historian who has written a number of works on the English settlement of Lunenburg including a few articles on the French settlement at La Have.⁵³ Her research reveals documentation of the proximity between the French and Mi'kmaq in the early colony though her focus is on the nature of that colonial attempt, whether it was considered permanent or transient by the crew.

⁵³ Joan Dawson, "Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of the La Have, 1632—36," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 9 (1988): 42—61; Joan Dawson, *Historic LaHave River Valley* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2004).

As for D'Entremont, he left us an extensive genealogical and historical five-volume compendia on the families and events of Cape Sable, a French fishing outpost located on the southernmost tip of Mi'kma'ki.⁵⁴ Cape Sable serves as the third leg in a three part comparative analysis of French outposts in the region between Acadie and colonial ghosts like those at La Have because Cape Sable was located geographically between the two others and had elements of both. While Cape Sable had more colonial ties to Acadie and France through noble families and the presence of the developed Pêche Sédentaire, it also had noteworthy elements like the settlements of La Have because it existed among the Mi'kmaq, they had a subsistence pattern that relies on Fishing and hunting and established intermarriage between the French born and Mi'kmaq. These comparative elements with the Atlantic coast means that D'Entremont's volumes as well as historical research on Cape Sable has served to provide insight into the types of community formation and daily practices that occurred along the Atlantic including among the ghosts at La Have. His volumes provide invaluable insights into the primary documents and familial links on this part of the coast.

This first section explored the current historiographical landscape of the Atlantic coast and why colonial ghosts have fallen outside the purview of the previous scholarship. Next, Early Modern models are considered in order to examine the ghosts around La Have.

Colonial Models:

Given the questions this research asks with regards to the colonial ghosts, an exploration of rogue or disconnected colonies, Europeans who are temporarily in Native

⁵⁴ Clarence C. J. J. Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable de lan mil au Traité de Paris, 1763* (Eunice La.: Hébert Publications/Eunice La, 1981).

country, and Indigenous perspectives can all provide valuable ways to think about the ghosts. My first mode of analysis for these communities along the Atlantic was to understand their connection to the metropole but also to Acadie. Their colonial support and regular interaction helped me to understand the nature of these settlements and their functioning in the colonial system. My exploration concluded with the assessment that the colonial ghosts at La Have were not functioning in step with or based on support, guidance, or regular contact with France, but also often Acadie. It could be argued that individuals from La Have may have connected with individuals from Acadie, that was not explored in this research, but their interactions with government officials, church clerics and the like were infrequent at best. Some families only appear once on a census or church record while some do not appear at all. In general, little of their daily life or practices were known by Acadian officials and certainly not France. Three historiographical models that may serve as a model for our understanding are Shannon Lee Dawdy's "rogue colonialism," George Winius' "shadow empire," and Elizabeth Mancke's "spaces of power."

Two French colonies, Louisiana and Acadie, are represented by this Imperial absence throughout much of their colonial tenure. These two colonies developed extra-imperial ways of surviving France's, often absent, support. New France did not receive the same administrative attention and care as the "pearl of the Antillies" Saint-Domingue, but nevertheless its infrastructure and connection with France was stronger than Acadie and Louisiana. In fact, Acadie was administered as a colony of New France which served to remove it even further from the imperial eye of France. In contrast to Saint-Domingue and New France, Louisiana and Acadie were colonies that experienced Imperial distance and a shift in colonial rulers, Acadie between France and England and

Louisiana between France and Spain.⁵⁵ Both colonies were often left to their own devices as a result of imperial neglect. Due to these structural similarities, Acadie and Louisiana can be seen as sharing the model laid out in Shannon Lee Dawdy's *Rogue colonialism* in her book *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*.

Dawdy's "rogue colonialism" provides an example of what happens when colonies are able to operate outside the control of the state and can provide a useful framework to think about how the ghosts operated outside the view of the colony. Dawdy argued that all colonies have rogue undercurrents as they aim to exert their own will independent from the metropole. In cases of state neglect, such as Acadia and Louisiana, this rogue undercurrent becomes the dominant characteristic as these colonies develop and operate more independently from the state. Individual agency becomes important in New Orleans as she charts how individual actors used resources of the state for their own purposes while at the same time being agents of the state.⁵⁶ Dawdy argued Louisiana acted "like an independent state," knowingly violating the law in pursuit of its own interests.⁵⁷ In a similar way, the colonial ghosts developed a "roguishness" that allowed them to think and act outside of the colony and without regard to imperial interests. Like Louisiana who was at a distance from France, colonial ghosts on the Atlantic were at a physical distance from Acadie, New France, and France.

While this theory has some fascinating parallels for a study of Acadian colonialism such as the individual agency and imperial limits to imposing colonial rule, La

⁵⁵ For scholarship on Louisiana see, Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

⁵⁶ Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.18-19.

⁵⁷ Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire*, 236-237.

Have and Mirliguèche were a more extreme case than New Orleans since they were too far from the colony to function as colonial rogues. A colonial rogue implies a repurposed or liberal use of the colonial structure, in the case of the La Have inhabitants they were operating in Native communities and Atlantic trade circuits. Dawdy's theory seeks out rogue colonies or roguish colonies that had imperial administrators who would knowingly and deliberately ignore the law to bring about their own economic or political gain, while still calling upon this imperial seal when it served them personally. In the case of Mirliguèche and La Have, no administrators were present; rather it was a community of commoners. Dawdy's theory is useful to consider how agents of a state could both promote and evade empire. Colonial ghosts around La Have, by contrast, were inserting themselves into another political, economic, and social landscape, that of the Mi'kmaq community at the nexus of fishing and trading routes on the Atlantic. These families operated to survive, thrive, and adapt to those power dynamics.

What is useful for our consideration of these two harbors, however, is the way individuals can take advantage of colonial resources for independent outcomes. In the case of those living on the Atlantic, they could receive Catholic rites by travelling to Acadie but these resources were not combined with regular mass or religious reprimand from priests. These families could also trade with Port Royal or Ile Royal and benefit from those channels of trade. At the same time, they could easily absent themselves from French imperial battles over Port Royal between the English. These individual, and at times opposing, interests reveal the agency and choices of those on the Atlantic that did not always align with the Acadian interests.

George Winius' "Shadow Empire" in the Bay of Bengal offers a case study similar to the ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche. In many ways the events of the retired military men in Bengal appear similar to the families at La Have and Mirliguèche. The

Portuguese shadow empire was formed by migrant individuals, mostly fugitives and retired soldiers, who settled in the region which was neither conquered nor financed by Goa or Lisbon. In Bengal this 'shadow empire' extended "Portuguese commercial, cultural and religious influence in an informal way."⁵⁸ These Portuguese merchants developed trading relationships with the Bengalis and served as local commercial intermediaries, similar to the Luso-Africans charted in Angola by Joseph C. Miller's *Way of Death*, or the English tobacco merchants such as the Abbot family in Macedonia.⁵⁹ These outsiders grafted themselves into other markets and benefited from international trading relationships. Winius termed this Portuguese remnant in the Bay of Bengal the shadow empire because they furthered Portuguese and other European economic influence in the region even without state sponsorship or an official colonial presence. He also noted that the relationships between the Portuguese merchants and the incoming British created a trading blockade that resisted Dutch intrusions. In other words, the merchants served as a colonial buffer for the interests of the state, even without that being intended by the government.

For many reasons the situation at La Have and Mirliguèche did not conform to the idea of a shadow empire. First, the families in this region did not rebuff any other colonial presence or trading opportunities, rather the French families traded with incoming ships alongside the Mi'kmaq. Second, the later English settlement of the region caused the dispersion of the ghosts as they either escaped to the French settlement of Ile Royal or remained with the Mi'kmaq. Third, in contrast to the shadow empire which created economic imperial avenues within the region, what occurred at La Have was

⁵⁸ Georges Winius, "Portugal's Shadow Empire in the Bay of Bengal," *Politics & Diplomacy*, <http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/20013/955> (Accessed October 2019).

⁵⁹ Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); For more on the Abbot Family see Kaleb Herman Adney's research.

more of a rupture from empire. The break occurred because the individuals and families cultivated Native ways of life in Mi'kma'ki, rather than assisting European markets to further penetrate the region. Mi'kma'ki trade networks and routes had adapted in the sixteenth century to incorporate European goods and buyers and these already extant alternate-Atlantic-routes continued until the English forced Indian removal off their land in the early nineteenth century. Nonetheless Winius' shadow empire offers a fascinating model of how individual agency can thrive outside of colonial projects as these individuals made their own choices and remained even after colonial mandates ended which offers a parallel to the colonial ghosts around Acadie.

Elizabeth Mancke provides us with a framework of the colonial history and power dynamics in the Northeast of North America which might serve to consider those on the Atlantic Coast. Mancke's "Spaces of Power" theory charts the Northeast in terms of "intersecting and competing spaces of power," both territorial and marine. This theory differentiates between forms of social power, whether economic, political, cultural or military as these differing types of power did not necessarily share a single center.⁶⁰ Her framework is flexible enough to accommodate "systems without easily identifiable frameworks" such as Native systems of power without presupposing colonies.⁶¹

"Spaces of Power " serves as a more effective tool of analysis for the Northeast where settler colonialism came long after European presence in the region. The problem with presupposing colonies in the Northeast, according to Mancke, is that colonies are often the seat of the economic, political and social power, or what Mancke calls coterminous power. Presupposing colonies might be an effective source of analysis for

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Mancke, "Spaces of Power in the Early Modern Northeast," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 34.

⁶¹ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 33.

colonies like Virginia, but the charters in the Northeast came after an already active European presence had been established in the region. The Northeast, including La Have and Mirliguèche, were already being visited by Europeans for fishing and trading purposes in the sixteenth century. The Acadian charter of 1603 “represented attempts to redefine and reconfigure the spaces of power that the English and French had already created in the 16th century.”⁶² In other words, the charter was there to claim an unofficial process that was already underway. Jumping ahead to 1632, the Razilly settlement was sanctioned by France and settled at La Have where French fishing and trading was already going on.

La Have was intended to represent French control of that part of the coast but being undeveloped and unmaintained by Acadian governors or any other French administrator, this outpost was a colonial mirage. Beyond the imperial claims and plans made about La Have, and even more so Mirliguèche, no French monopoly or control was exerted beyond 1636. While Mancke rightly points out that European powers called on small, struggling outposts to legitimate their “grandiose territorial claims and European governments did not hesitate to assert that they represented sovereign spaces of power.”⁶³ La Have was employed as a political tool in Empire building but there was not the local manpower to effectively control its port or people.

These three first models explored colonial regional adaptations but the next set of historiographical models explore models of Europeans in “frontier” spaces or places of colonial-native contact. This section will see how the research of Richard White and Sylvia Van Kirk can help us better understand the colonial ghosts around Acadie. White’s *Middle Ground* outlined a region which could be dominated by neither European

⁶² Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 40.

⁶³ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 42.

nor Indigenous powers, thus resulting in a temporary middle ground.⁶⁴ What occurred at La Have and Mirliguèche fits this theory poorly as there is no evidence of the sort of compromised and negotiated solutions to diplomatic struggles that occurred in the Great Lakes region. Rather, the ghosts in the Mi'kmaq Atlantic, joined Native communities and functioned as community members, not as colonial or administrative agents of France or Acadie. The presence of entire families also presents a significant contrast from White's model, as these were family groups who formed community ties within the Mi'kmaq village. These families of commoners operated below the level that might have drawn the attention of a state as noble families did, and yet they did not operate with the same transient nature that fur traders did. The available sources demonstrate that the colonial ghosts worked and lived within Mi'kmaw communities and even while cultural adaptations certainly took place, this does not fit the model of the middle ground. While administrative or individual actors in White's "middle ground" worked to find compromises in this system, they still served as extensions of the state presence in the region as they kept economic and political ties with New France. White's model differs from the ghosts around La Have who culturally assimilated into Mi'kma'ki. The difference between the two models, the middle ground and colonial ghosts, can be attributed to the fact that the ghosts were commoners who did not have the political capital in Acadie to negotiate or compromise as a state representative. Rather, the ghosts negotiated and assimilated based on their individual and family needs.

Retreating from a state level analysis gets closer to an understanding of the ghosts at La Have which operated below the radar of empires. White's method still views these European actors, whether small and transient groups or large colonial enterprises,

⁶⁴ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

as attached to the state. In other words, diffuse colonial manifestations perhaps seen through fur traders still sought European economic growth and returned to colonial towns or ports to reconnect with their European markets and communities. Even though works like Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties* illustrate the cultural and community entanglements of fur traders who built families in these intermediary or Native spaces their experiences differed from that of colonial ghosts. In the latter case, the project of locating ghosts needs to be based on an understanding that the individuals or families might have been cultivating Native status markers and embedded within Native economies, rather than borrowing from a Native world to feed a European market and way of life. These colonial ghosts had very little to connect them to the French Empire. When we focus on the Native world in which they lived, we can see them residing within Native land, along established Native trade routes. Like the Mi'kmaq, they took advantage of European resources, such as baptism or marriage rites, but they were not dependent upon them. The majority of their resources and life events went unrecorded by the colonial state, not because they did not occur, but because they were performing these "à la façon du pays" or without the aid of colonial officials. Thus, although they were European transients, they must be understood as living their lives in such a way that the colonial apparatus did not register a large portion of their lives. Resituated within Mi'kma'ki, the ghosts lived not as extensions of the European state, but as Native newcomers. Their European origin in this transition is what makes them ghosts. The state expected them to be checking in to the European system as fur traders and fishermen did, but they resided and developed their lives in Mi'kma'ki.

Moving beyond indigenous-imperial models, this project can benefit from exploring native centered narratives. As colonial ghosts, these individuals and families left European communities for Native ones. In order to understand those native

communities, the narrative must be centered upon Native systems, cultures, and perspectives. Daniel Richter's *Facing East from Indian Country* offers an effective model to conceptualize the Mi'kma'ki and the arrival of the colonial ghosts.⁶⁵ Richter starts with the established Native empires, communities, and histories that were already unfolding before European explorers and colonists arrived. His work centers the narrative from a Native "east facing" perspective, meaning Indian people remain center-stage in his retelling of the history of the United States. Similarly, Chapters Two and Three establish Mi'kmaq trade routes and communities before the slow inclusion of the cod fisheries and fur traders into this dynamic system.

Similarly, Kathleen Duval's *Native Ground* offers useful comparisons for the study of colonial ghosts on the Atlantic. Exploring the region around the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, Duval examines the cross-cultural independence that developed between incoming European groups and the Native populations.⁶⁶ As European centers of power were geographically remote from these spaces, they held little power, and in the interactions between Native and European, Native groups were able to inform the structure and content of their relationships. Similar to Duval's work, my research acknowledges the fact that throughout the period under study, the dominant culture on the land, and specifically in the two Atlantic harbors was Mi'kmaq. In a context of Native dominance these French-born families joined Native communities. Duval's work also utilizes a multi-disciplinary approach employed here to incorporate archaeology and oral tradition.

⁶⁵ Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁶⁶ Kathleen Duval, *The Native Ground: Indian and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

A Mi'kmaw worldview is essential for understanding the context and community that the ghosts joined but there also needs to be a focus on revealing ghosts. What I mean by this is that other scholars have explored the same primary sources as those explored here and noted the presence of Europeans around La Have but their either colonial perspective has driven their interpretation. Based on what we have already explored in the section on imperial history, some have viewed the ghosts as extensions of French claims in the peninsula while others have isolated the Mi'kmaq and French, from the same river or harbor, to have been in different worlds. What my alternative Atlantic framework does is foreground the power dynamics on the ground, in this case the Native context, with the overlay of Atlantic peoples, movements, and adaptations. In this coastal community we can see Europeans joining Mi'kma'ki as part of the alternate Atlantic's adaptations.

Silence and ghosts:

The last historical model that guided my thinking around colonial ghosts living in the alternate Atlantic was the way silences play into the construction and remembrance of history. Michel-Rolph Trouillot's commanding book *Silencing the Past* needs to be considered when we explore models for seeing colonial ghosts. Trouillot explores how power molds the production of history and how the historical narratives that result can produce silences. In many ways this model of historicizing the production of history and the construction of narratives fits well with a central component to this research: that histories of the Northeast and of colonial spaces have presupposed Western structures, dynamics and powers over Native American ones. In the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries the Northeast was dominated by the power and control the Mi'kmaq had over the peninsula even as European maps described the space as Acadie and

Nova Scotia. Yet despite the politics and realities of European struggles to penetrate the landscape and eliminate the Mi'kmaq, the French and English had to negotiate with Mi'kmaq leaders and were forced to delay their settlement because of Mi'kmaq resistance.

Despite the presence and dominance of the Mi'kmaq, especially on the Atlantic coast, historical accounts still prefer to situate white inhabitants within European structures and colonial loyalties. In order to suggest European loyalty for all the European-born inhabitants at La Have and Mirliguèche in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, scholars depend on such limited embedded assumptions as their presence, no matter how limited, on Acadian census and parish records as well as decisions made by some of their descendants during the imperial struggles that resulted in the Acadian deportation. The fact that the ghosts belonged and lived in Mi'kma'ki becomes visible when other sources and facts are assembled, such as their hunting and fishing practices, kinship bonds, and roles revealed in trial records.

Trouillot presents four moments when the process of historical production creates silences which are; “the moment of fact creation (the making of sources), the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives), the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives) and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance).”⁶⁷ All four of these moments can be seen at work in the writing of colonial ghosts into the Acadian colony in the pre-1750 period. This dissertation will discuss all four of these moments through the following chapters as sources, archives, genealogies, and histories have served to obscure or silence the people and daily practice lived around La Have.

⁶⁷ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Beacon Press, 1995), 26.

One noticeable difference between Trouillot's approach and the one charted here through the study of colonial ghosts is the question of visibility. Trouillot explores the Haitian Revolution and the discovery of America, two events that have received a lot of historical attention. Both of these events are so known that it is for this reason that Trouillot makes the powerful insight that it is the overabundance of attention of these two events that has led to significant forgetting. An overabundance of facts dedicated to these events has clouded significant facts and people a fact which Trouillot exposes. In the case of our colonial ghosts, they are silenced in large part for their absence in the archives and the dearth of records that exist about them. These figures fall off the historical record. Some of their activities and names were perhaps left out of colonial documents by historical actors who preferred not to record their activities while much of the colonial silence around these figures was a result of their distance from the colony and those who created the archive. Trouillot's model comes closest with his chapter on Sans Souci, and a helpful comparison can be made when Souci's account was forgotten for the lack of evidence to support its credibility.⁶⁸ In a similar way, perhaps the idea of white men and women electing to live in Mi'kma'ki in the early modern period over Acadie has served to silence the archival evidence that this is in fact what they did.

Rather than forgotten within a population or society, the ghosts lived in another Atlantic world, one I call the alternate Atlantic, which had its own forms for record keeping that did not end up in national archives. In order to locate the colonial ghosts, we need to look for the ways that the alternate Atlantic kept records and blend those in with the historical context and data from imperial records. Trouillot exposes historical narratives that are built when certain figures, trends, and historical choices are made which silence other facts, and Trouillot points out the recent historical practice of

⁶⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 58-59.

classifying “all non-Westerners as fundamentally non-historical.”⁶⁹ This study looks for the histories not seen by the Westerners because it fell outside of the colonial purview.

Outside the colony and beyond the reach of European administrators, colonial ghosts joined communities and adopted practices of the alternate Atlantic. We could argue that these types of histories were ‘silenced’ by historians who preferred, or at the very least sought out, Western narratives in events such as the Acadian deportation. As Trouillot points out “Even if the facts are abundant and comprehensible, history and silences are simultaneously created when an event is named and a narrative constructed,”⁷⁰ Silences were created as the Acadian deportation narratives were forged among the displaced communities in the late eighteenth century. Stories like those of the ghosts got pulled into the vortex of telling the story of the Acadian diaspora through the narrative of the French colonial peasant forced into exile and descendants looking to retrace their genealogy back to the “paradise” of Acadie.⁷¹ To be sure that may have served to guide scholarly interpretations of events like the 1726 piracy trial or the 1754 Louisburg marriage case explored in Chapters Six and Seven, but the study of colonial ghosts requires a historical frame other than Trouillot’s “silencing” in order to get at the evidence that was created outside the colonial archive as well.

Colonial ghost theory:

The framework of colonial ghosts uncovers commoners who fell between the cracks of the colonial structure because they chose to live in another system. These families lived in an expanded Native community and were complemented by Atlantic

⁶⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 7.

⁷⁰ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 53.

⁷¹ This image of Acadian paradise is treated well in Gregory Kennedy’s *Something of a Peasant paradise? Comparing Rural Societies in Acadie and the Loudunais, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014).

trade networks. These harbors were a space of economic trade for both Mi'kmaq, French and English partners, but was an unrealized space of imagined military power for the French and briefly English.⁷² Razilly's settlement in 1632 to 1636 remains the longest period of French presence at La Have. After this short stint after which Aulnay moved the startup colony to Port Royal, French colonial administrators only wrote about plans to develop the region for French military use. The English had a brief effort to develop the harbor with Sir Thomas Temple in 1657. When this imperial presence at La Have is cleared up, a discussion of the colonial ghosts' dynamics and sources required to locate their practices can be explored.

Colonial records can be combined with interdisciplinary sources such as archaeology, anthropology, colonial maps and Native leaders to deepen our understanding of the colonial ghosts. Archaeology, for instance, serves to fact check colonial records that worked to bolster an empire's position in Acadie through claims of a colonial presence at La Have. Archeologist Katie Cottreau-Robins from the Nova Scotia Museum has been working on French forts in Mi'kma'ki. Cottreau-Robins explores these sites through an Indigenous framework by flipping “the traditional colonial historical narrative of investigating a French fort/trade post where the Mi'kmaq came to visit, to investigating an ancient Mi'kmaq landscape where the French set up a fort/trade post for a while.”⁷³ This Indigenous framework has allowed her to uncover much about the interactions of these groups on the Atlantic coast. Her team is excavating what appears to be the palisade Temple's men had rebuilt on top of the old French Fort but they are finding signs that this too was quickly abandoned. The French mentioned other plans such as creating a southern branch of the French Pêche Sédentaire at La Have.

⁷² See, Nicolas Landry, “La Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire en Acadie, 1682-1708,” *Port Acadie*, Number 22-23, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, 9-41.

⁷³ Catherine Cottreau-Robins, email correspondence, December 6th 2017.

Following these French sources historian Nicolas Landry assumed in his article, “La Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire en Acadie, 1682-1708,” that the fishing base was set up at La Have based on colonial records that speak to funding such a project. Based on archeological evidence and the primary source material no such presence has been found. Père D’Entremont has stated that a southern branch of the Pêche Sédentaire was located at Chedabucto, Cape Sable and the St-Jean River regions, not La Have.

La Have was a space of social and economic power for the Mi’kmaq, not the French.⁷⁴ When British officials formally took over Acadia in 1713, they complained that “their control scarcely extended beyond the walls of the garrison at Annapolis Royal, and recognized that the Mi’kmaq, Catholic priests, and French officials in Louisbourg or Quebec often had more power than they did.”⁷⁵ Although Britain had gained political authority from France, the power dynamics in the peninsula remained in other hands. The European presence at La Have was made up of commoners, not colonial administrators or military agents. These European-born families were located next to an economic and social center of power at La Have which was Mi’kmaq. They of course also intersected with and moved through other spaces of power such as the Acadian political center at Port Royal. Based upon the lifestyle and economic practices of these families, however, we can determine that the pull from Port Royal was more distant than that of Mi’kmaq which they frequented. Those at Mirliguèche and La Have lived away from the Acadian communities on the Bay of Fundy, opting for a different life. Life in Acadie was one of peasant farming, small scale fishing, and early modern French feudal life.⁷⁶ Historian Gregory Kennedy demonstrates the many similarities between Acadian

⁷⁴ Social and economic because La Have was a preexisting trade and fishing space for the Mi’kmaq as well as a space of annual larger tribal meetings and ceremonies.

⁷⁵ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 44.

⁷⁶ Gregory M.W. Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise? Comparing Rural Societies in Acadie and the Loudunais, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014).

colonial society and the French rural society of the Loudonais, where many of the settlers originated. By contrast, those residing at La Have and Mirliguèche were fishermen, hunters, and fur traders and lived among the Mi'kmaq as we will discuss in Chapter Five.

The weakness of Port Royal's political or social pull can be seen through the widespread absence of colonial apparatus and regular census records at La Have and Mirliguèche. French control on the peninsula was virtually restricted to their outposts and settlements along the Bay of Fundy. The British expressed exasperation at the fragile foothold of the French at Acadie.⁷⁷ France and England's focus even into the seventeenth century was primarily on the seas in the North Atlantic, not on land. As we will see in Chapter Three, Europeans had been battling over control of the waters for their fisheries in the North Atlantic for two centuries. By the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, Native powers still controlled most of the land. Europeans wrote charters as a means of attempting to legitimize their access from other Europeans but this did nothing to change the center of power the Mi'kmaq had in this period.⁷⁸ Mancke points out that,

Acadia/nova scotia had technically been a colony with a year-round government since the seventeenth century, but the linkages between the resident colonists and the colonial officials, most on secondment [temporary relocation] from the metropole, had been so fragile and limited that what existed was not an integrated colonial society but a series of discrete, but overlapping, spaces of power, the most powerful of which, on a day-to-day basis, were Native, not European.⁷⁹

Her comment speaks to the fractures that, I argue, existed between La Have and Mirliguèche and the rest of Acadie. Socially, economically, and politically those at La Have were disconnected from the communities on the Bay. By analyzing the presence, or lack thereof, of the religious and colonial officials in these harbors, a fuller picture can

⁷⁷ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 44.

⁷⁸ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 37.

⁷⁹ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 48.

be seen as to the challenges Acadie and France had in incorporating the communities on the Atlantic into their control.

This research on colonial ghosts borrows elements from Mancke's "Spaces of Power", in terms of divided regional powers that include Native sources of economic, political, and military power. Colonial ghosts include the role individual agency played in these dynamics. This individual agency allowed for actors to conduct themselves independently from the colony. Even during the many clashes of empire seemingly as two fronts collide, individuals could and did make decisions that sought out their own gain and survival. These decisions may at times align with the work of empire, but they may also suddenly appear to shift camps or allegiances, when in fact the actors are working for themselves, not a state or larger agenda.

The colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche can be understood as independent actors who as a result of the distance of the French Empire sought out adoption among the Mi'kmaq. The various power dynamics that were grafted onto the Northeast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helped create a situation in which La Have represented a space of power as both a center of Native cultural practice and an economic nexus of trade and fishing. The families who resided there were not just on the Acadian periphery or on the outskirts of an Atlantic fishery but were at a Native-European economic crossroads and within a space of a Mi'kmaq political power. Furthermore, as families, not colonial administrators, they did not come to La Have seeking political control but to live and to work. For these reasons, the concept of spaces of power elucidates why the colonial apparatus did not have the ability to exert control over La Have and Mirliguèche before the mid-eighteenth century. As colonial ghosts they must be seen as commoners who cultivated life within Mi'kma'ki while connecting with Atlantic waterways for trade.

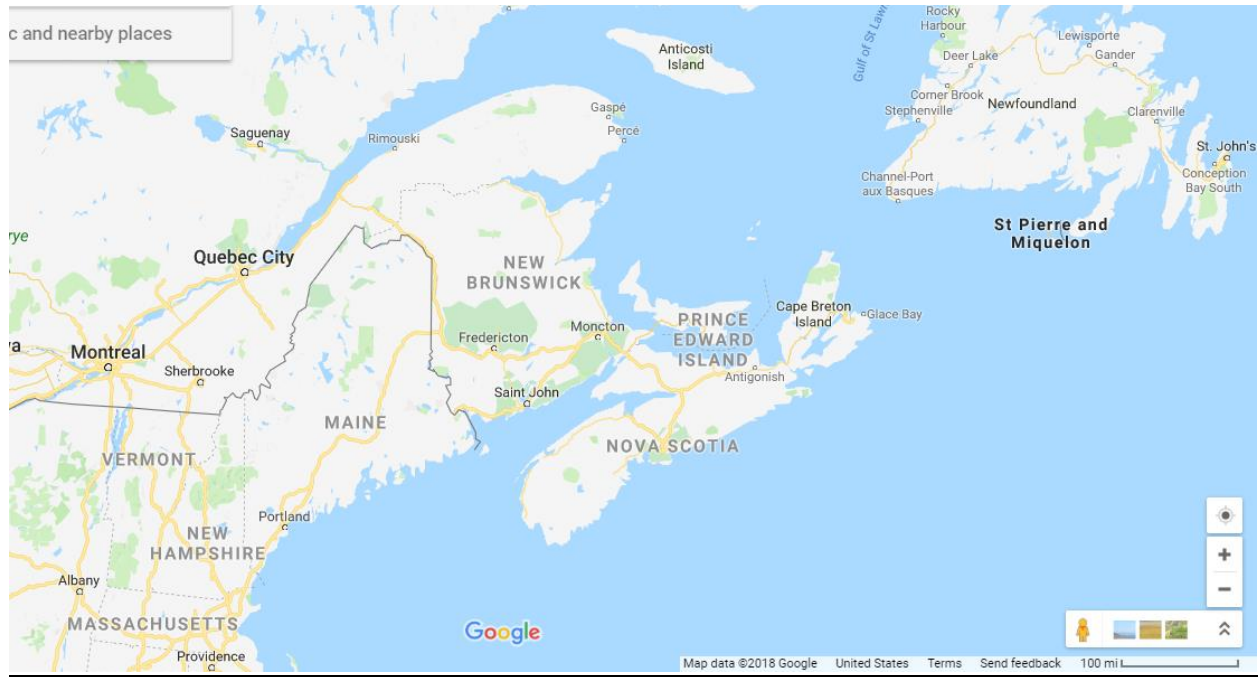
Through the absence of a developed or effective colonial apparatus, the residents of La Have and Mirliguèche were able to exist outside the rule and authority of Acadie or France. Any European-descended person who made these two communities their home, did so knowing they would be outside colonial structures and would not be under government surveillance. They chose a Native space over a European one. The early modern world, when we break down imperial claims over the land and consider on-the-ground power networks, offered many Native spaces from which to choose.

The irony is that colonial records, such as those of the Acadian colony, allow historians to glimpse such Native communities and their European residents, but we have yet to accord them their full weight. What the documents reveal, when examined in light of the spaces that are hidden within them and the only fragmentary ways these individuals show up on French bureaucracy or clerical documents, is their belonging to another world. Traces of these individuals, however fleeting, appear in Acadian census records as well as English fishing and trading documents. They have been assumed to be Acadian because of the Acadian historiography's formation around the requirements of genealogy and emphasis on deportation records. Yet most of those at La Have and Mirliguèche before the 1740s were likely not Acadians.

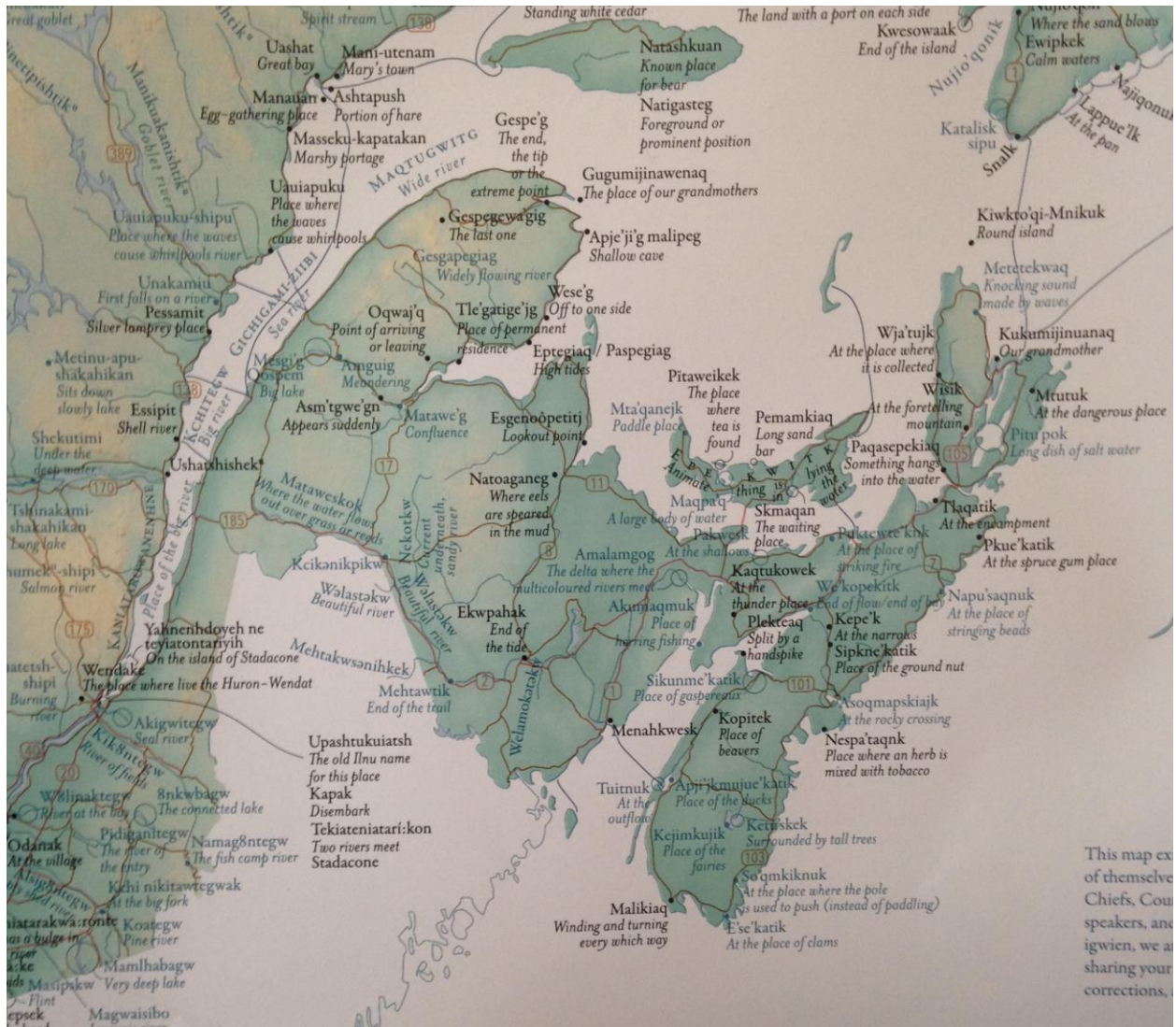
This research reveals the ways that poor whites operating in the Atlantic world could move through state channels such as colonial settlement to end up outside the workings of empire. These families came from Europe in government-sanctioned colonial projects and yet they chose to live outside the colony and control of the empire. Current Atlantic scholarship has rightly explored the ways Africans and Native Americans evaded and resisted

European colonialism. This research explores the groups of Europeans who evaded life in the colony. Lower classmen like those at La Have and Mirliguèche saw their ability to create a different life for themselves and chose to join Native, not European, communities. In other words, not just Native Americans and African operated independently of colonial channels and view, but some French as well.

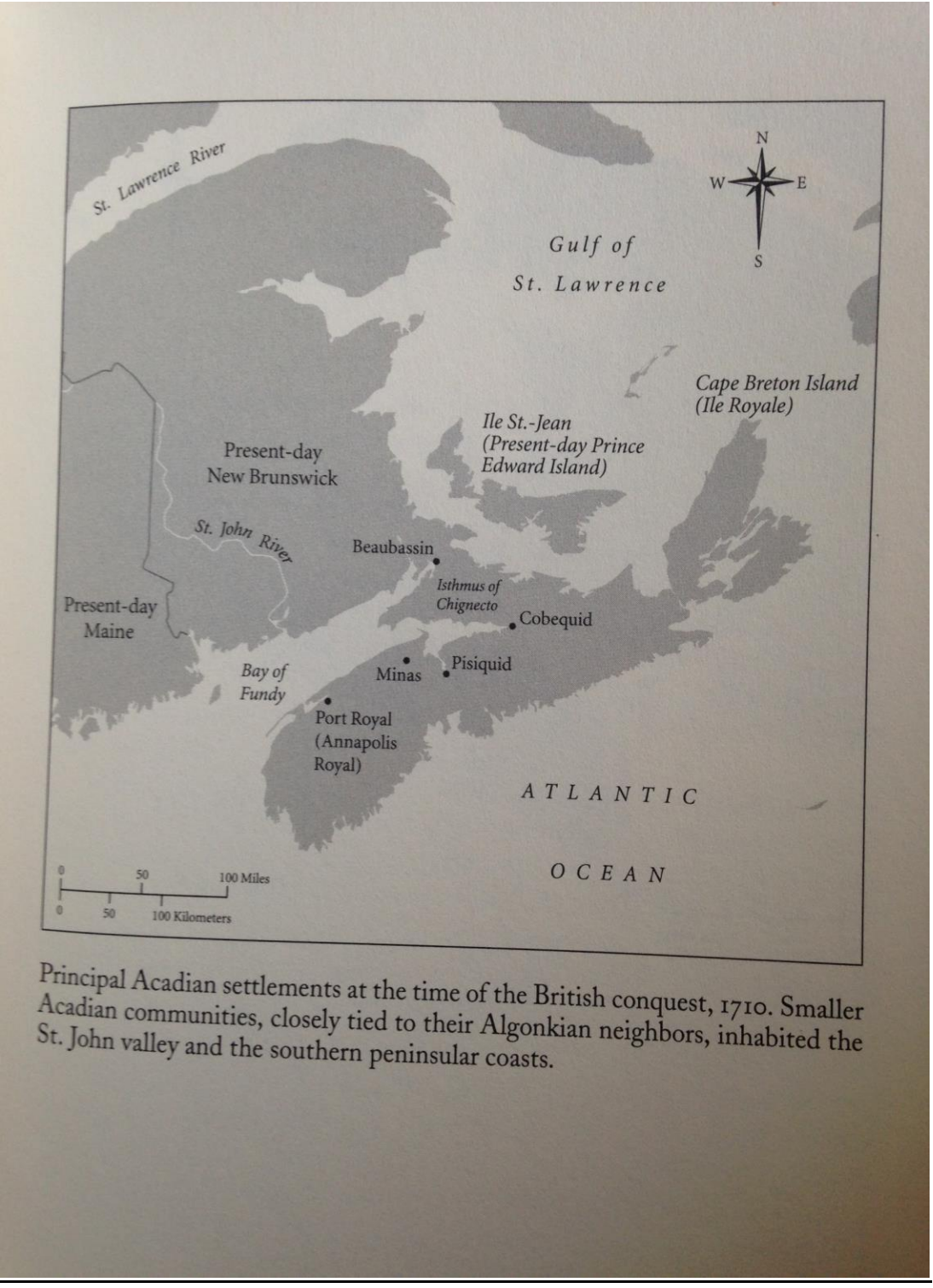
Maps



Google Map of the Northeast

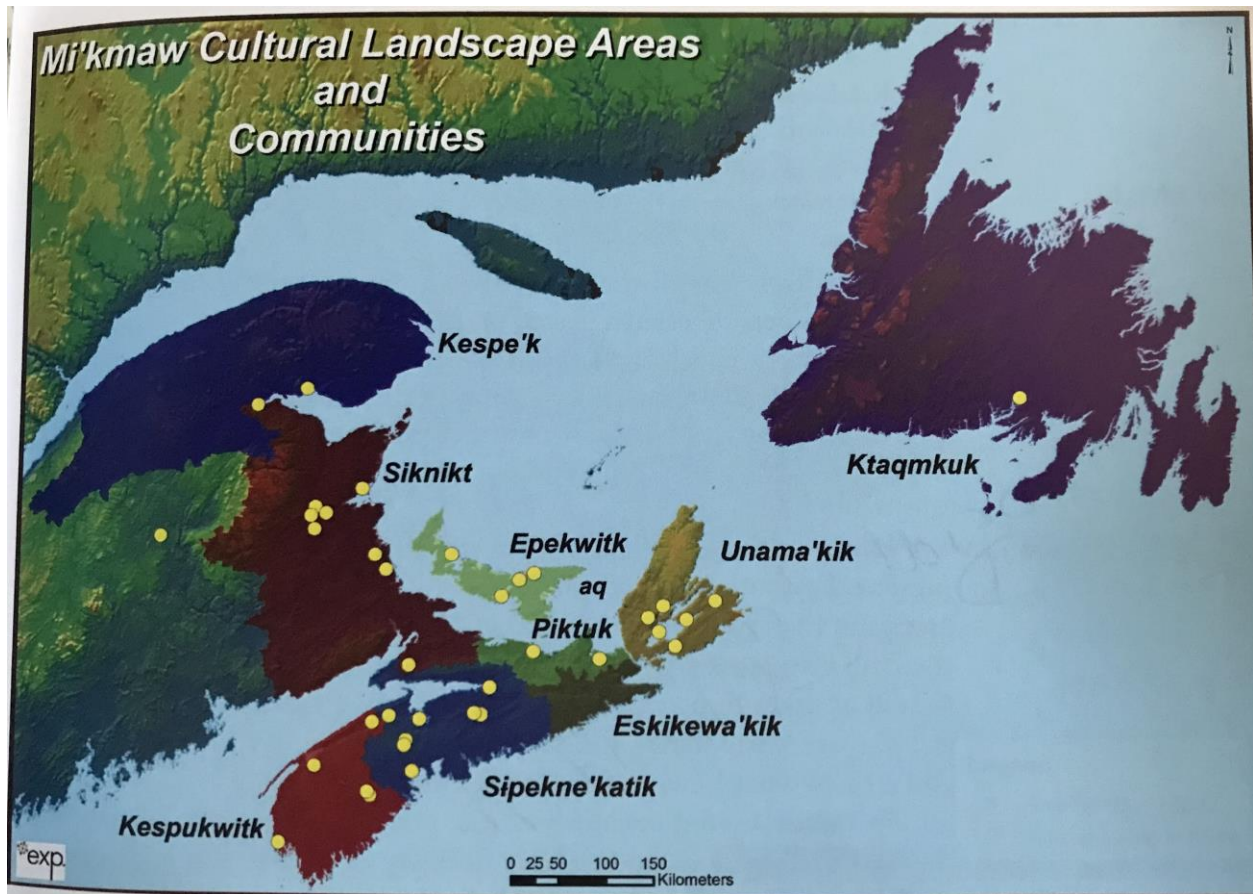


Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada map (cropped) made by Dr. Margaret Wickens Pearce, Canadian-American Center, University of Maine.



Principal Acadian settlements at the time of the British conquest, 1710. Smaller Acadian communities, closely tied to their Algonkian neighbors, inhabited the St. John valley and the southern peninsular coasts.

Geoffrey Plank, *An unsettled Conquest* map of Acadian settlements in 1710



Map from Bernie Francis and Trudy Sable, *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki*, p.21. Map was compiled by William Jones with data contributed by Roger Lewis, Trudy Sable, and Bernie Francis.

Chapter Two

Mi'kma'ki to 1600

When there were no people in this country but Indians, and before any others became known, a young woman had a singular dream... A small island came floating in towards the land, with tall trees on it, and living beings. [The shaman] pondered the girl's dream but could make nothing of it. The next day an event occurred that explained all. What should they see but a singular little island, as they supposed, which had drifted near to the land and become stationary there. There were trees on it, and branches to the trees, on which a number of bears... were crawling about... What was their surprise to find that these supposed bears were men.⁸⁰

The arrival of these “bears” began a slow process of change for those in the Northeast. Unlike other regions in the Americas, European contact lasted for more than a century before the settlement period began.⁸¹ Although insightful work is being done on the European fisheries in the contact epoch, much is not known about Mi'kma'ki or the wider Northeast before 1600. The history before European arrival is all too often ignored in the literature. The Frenchmen who lived among the Mi'kmaq at La Have and Mirliguèche in the seventeenth century, entered communities that had been there for

⁸⁰ “Josiah Jeremy to Silas Rand, 26 September 1869,” In *Legends of the Micmacs* by Silas Rand, 1894: 225; Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Mi'kmaw History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1991), 8.

⁸¹ This dissertation sees the contact period as the period between 1490 and 1600 through the growth of the cod fisheries and fur trade where Europeans were annually coming to the shores of the Northeast. This is differentiated from the settlement period when Europeans were established in colonial outposts year-round in the Northeast. The settlement period is when contact involves more extensive cultural and community interaction which was largely absent from the contact period as this dissertation will argue in Chapter Three.

centuries to trade, hunt, fish, and live. An overview of what is known about the Mi'kmaw "recent people" and "today's people" history allows for a greater understanding of the community they joined.⁸²

Being able to utilize two-eyed seeing is essential to begin to bridge the gap between colonial and Indian histories which I argue can allow scholars to glimpse the alternate Atlantic. As was discussed in the introduction, the alternate Atlantic represents the world that functioned outside of the one the European empires were creating and cataloguing. The term alternate is not meant to imply any sort of secondary or dependent Atlantic but rather an alternative, different, or other possible set of networks and cultures in the Atlantic world. In contrast to the European and African set of communities, polities, networks, and cultures, there existed another Atlantic, an alternate Atlantic that whites and blacks could join. The construction of the Atlantic world involved the formation of colonial systems in the Americas which moved people, created networks, and built infrastructures and knowledge linking the European states to their satellite communities. At the same time the alternate Atlantic was taking shape. Native America, just as Europe, had been developing for centuries before the advent of these colonial projects, but with these projects brought official set ups and ventures, as well as unofficial ones as well. Ships brought crews, skilled workers and colonists to the Americas but what this research has found is that not all chose to contribute to or invest in colonial or European Atlantic networks. Some European or African newcomers chose to invest and participate in Native America or other unintended Atlantic networks and communities.

⁸² This work uses the Mi'kmaw timetable which designates the recent people to have lived 3,000 to 500 years ago and Today's people to have and live between 500 years ago to the present. <https://novascotia.ca/abor/docs/mikmaq-history/MHM-Poster-2008.pdf> (Accessed January 2020).

This research proposes three types of European engagement in the Americas. First, we have scholarships on the history of colonial projects, such as Jamaica, New England, Saint-Domingue, and Brazil. These projects look at the range of events within the colonial system, which include the infrastructure, cultures, commercial enterprises and systems that were created. Second, there is scholarship on Europeans who expand into Native or Atlantic networks to increase their wealth or status in a European world. Examples of this type of European engagement in the Americas include the cod fisheries, fur trading, and trading in indigenous networks. These economic practices involve Europeans going into Native or Atlantic spaces to collect or trade for goods that bolster their European networks and European economies. For instance, the cod fisheries meant the fishing of Atlantic resources to sell in European markets and to increase the wealth of these fishing fleets in European economies for European peoples. Despite the fact that the goods were procured outside of Europe, their intended market was in Europe. Similarly, New France fur traders went into Native territories for months to hunt and trade but they eventually returned to the colonial outpost to sell their furs and collect currency. Many of these fur traders adapted to life in the “frontier” in meaningful ways but they still had an investment in European or colonial economies, and often community life. Sylvia Van Kirk’s *Many Tender Ties* opens with the fur traders getting their last official rites in the colonial church before leaving for a few months. These traders kept various social and economic stakes in European colonial life as well as for many having a family or other social attachment in the colony kept them invested in earning a living in the colony.

The third type of European practices in the Atlantic which this research explores are the Europeans who grafted themselves into Native networks and sought economic and social growth outside of the colony. These colonial ghosts likely came in a variety of

forms and may have appeared throughout the Atlantic in a variety of Native communities but also maroon and anti-colonial European communities such as pirates. What I found in Mi'kma'ki is that with the development of colonial enterprise in the Northeast, newcomers grafted themselves into Native networks, economies and created a new set of Atlantic practices. Pre-existing trade Networks expanded in the sixteenth century to include new buyers, new European and Atlantic commodities began circulating. New peoples expanded these American communities in the seventeenth century as Native tribes adapted to the increased social and economic infusion into their world. These changes to the Native channels and markets occurred often outside the view and certainly outside the control of the colonial infrastructures such as fishermen who brought goods to sell individually into these Native markets. Two-eyed seeing allows both systems, both worldviews, both histories to be viewed as these dual Atlantics formed and continued to unfold in parallel and often overlapping fashion.

Two-eyed seeing, or *Etuaptmumk*, provides the scholar with the lense to perceive the dual timelines and dual histories unfolding simultaneously in the Northeast. *Etuaptmumk*, which is an educational method developed by Mi'kmaw Elder Albert Marshall, refers to learning to see the strength and knowledge of both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing and to learn to use both perspectives together.⁸³ While we are often taught to view a single timeline unfolding in the Atlantic, this approach has erroneously encouraged many histories of indigenous communities that disappear from the historical narrative within a generation of the arrival of Europeans only to reappear through events such as Indian removal. This historical narrative deceptively leads its audience to either forget the Native thread or to assume some sort of cultural

⁸³ Albert Marshall, Two-Eyed Seeing, <http://www.integrativescience.ca/Principles/TwoEyedSeeing/> (Accessed January 2020).

assimilation occurred. Native erasure from American history becomes evident when issues of Indian history are raised in the nineteenth century. When both timelines are braided together, while they bleed together at times, in the early modern period they unfold in different territories, with separate cultures and unique methods of record keeping. This territorial dualism combined with European bias and erasure of Native voices explains their previous absence or absorption into a singular, White, Atlantic.

Archaeology and Native elders believe people have inhabited Mi'kma'ki for about 13,000 years, while European colonial presence dates to only about four hundred years ago.⁸⁴ Having multiple perspectives of the landscape in the Northeast, seeing it as both Mi'kma'ki and a new Acadie or Nova Scotia, serves to recover the events, communities, and influences that formed the past and present. This chapter sets up a brief overview of Mi'kma'ki as it was on the eve of European arrival. Mi'kma'ki did not disappear with the advent of Acadie, Nova Scotia or later Canada and the United States. Rather the seventeenth century saw the beginning of a European colonial presence in the Northeast as well as the grafting of an Atlantic system onto Native America. Both Atlantics have continued to coexist even as one has tried to extinguish the other. This Alternate Atlantic is essential to establish before the arrival of Europeans because this is the world which the ghosts joined in the seventeenth century.

⁸⁴ This timeline of 13,500 years is dated from the archaeological discovery of artifacts at Debert which date to 13,500 years ago. Roger J. Lewis, "Mi'kma'ki at 13,500," *Atlantic Books Today*, issue 83, Spring 2017, p.26. https://issuu.com/atlanticbookstoday/docs/abt_83_hr (Accessed January 2020).

Just Us! Coffee @justuscoffee
Think differently #Canada150



This billboard was posted on a coffee shop in Mi'kma'ki/Nova Scotia during the 150 years since Canadian Confederation in 2017.⁸⁵ This is an example of recognizing the Two-Eyed seeing that is needed to understand Mi'kma'ki and Acadie/Nova Scotia of the colonial period.

This chapter explores Mi'kma'ki at the beginning of the sixteenth century. To do this, this research brings together recent archaeological and historical scholarship on Mi'kma'ki. Prior to European contact, Mi'kma'ki and the wider northeast had already established trade routes and intra-tribal alliances throughout the region and reached further west and south. In fact, when Europeans began to fish in the region, the Mi'kmaq and other first nations' communities sought contact with them for trade and friendship. After a century or more of this trade relationship, the French settlers who arrived at La Have in the 1630s joined a developed and active network among the Mi'kmaq thereby participating in the creation of the alternate Atlantic. As Acadie was beginning a new

⁸⁵ Ishmael N. Daro, "This Coffee Company's Canada 150 Sign Includes An Important Reminder," *Buzzfeed News*, <https://www.buzzfeed.com/ishmaeldaro/people-are-loving-this-companys-canada-150-sign> (Accessed January 2020).

colony on the Bay of Fundy, those at La Have and Mirliguèche were continuing an older tradition, albeit with new Atlantic adaptations, that grew out of the growing fisheries and trade, on the Atlantic coast. Mi'kmaq culture, like French culture, was constantly adapting to new influences. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century it continued to incorporate outsiders into its hunting, fishing, and trading networks.

This chapter sets up some basic elements of the social structure, subsistence practices, and rhythm of life in Mi'kma'ki at the beginning of European fishing and trade. The sixteenth century the Mi'kmaq moved from Kejikawe'k L'nu'k (the recent people), to the Kiskuke'k L'nu'k (Today's people) period as they responded to the expansion of their trade networks, the escalation of their hunting needs and the incorporation of European actors into the territory.⁸⁶ In terms of social and political structures, beyond the local kin-groups, the Mi'kmaq also had developed political and familial connections with Mi'kmaq communities across Mi'kma'ki, the territory of the Mi'kmaq people, and had political and economic partnerships with other First Nations tribes. A look at the archaeological evidence, but especially native community knowledge, gives a better sense of how developed these networks were by the sixteenth century.

Mi'kmaw language and cultural knowledge along with Archaeological scholarship on Mi'kmaq movement patterns provides crucial insight into the spaces utilized by the Mi'kmaq in the pre-contact period. These patterns continued until the mid-eighteenth century when the English began progressively encroaching into Mi'kma'ki. Historians have tended to write parallel histories of

⁸⁶ This chapter will refer to the Mi'kmaq timetable designations. 13,500 to 10,000 years ago refers to the Sa'qewe'k L'nu'k (The Ancient Ones); 10,000 to 3,000 years ago is called the time of the Mu Awsami Kejikawe'k L'nu'k (Not so recent people); 3,000 to 500 years ago represents the Kejikawe'k L'nu'k (recent people); 500 years ago to present designate the kiskuke'k L'nu'k (Today's people). <https://novascotia.ca/abor/docs/mikmaq-history/MHM-Poster-2008.pdf> (Accessed January 2020).

Acadie or of Mi'kma'ki as two isolated fields with little crossover. While this division is beginning to break down because of the work by scholars such as Jeffers Lennox and Thomas Peace, this work continues this merging of these two communities in the historiography, as they were in the past.⁸⁷

All too often scholars make two errors when they include Native history in the Atlantic historiography. The fact that these histories do include the Mi'kmaw is a marked improvement on histories that ignore the native role in the early modern period but nevertheless some key errors mar the way these histories are transmitted. First, scholars gain their understanding of the Mi'kmaq exclusively from reading European primary sources, such as those by the Jesuits, Marc Lescarbot, Nicolas Denys, and Pierre Biard in a vacuum. These Euro-centric sources perpetuate a reading of the Mi'kmaq which embodies the views and perspectives of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources. The authors of these primary sources were men who were still familiarizing themselves with Acadie or Nova Scotia or were visitors passing through. They spoke to Europeans, not the Mi'kmaq, and remained for the most part in European settlements. Most of their contact with a Mi'kmaq person was limited to the guides hired to navigate the territory. Thus, they were not familiar with Mi'kmaq life and geographically removed from Native villages. The blind spots to the Mi'kmaq contained within these sources need to be considered with tribal

⁸⁷ Jeffers Lennox' recent publication *Homelands and Empires* explores the political and territorial tensions between the French, English, and various native tribes between New England and Acadie. The Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki is not addressed in his path breaking new study. Thomas Peace's doctoral dissertation compares the conquest of Acadie by the English in 1710 with the fall of New France, and while he mentions La Have, his focus is the Mi'kmaq surrounding the Bay of Fundy, for this reason, some of his understanding of the communities on the Atlantic need revisiting. Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Space, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia*, PhD dissertation (Toronto: York University, 2011).

knowledge and interdisciplinary scholarship. European primary sources only present a vague and misleading understanding of Mi'kmaq land use and movements among other things, which serves to perpetuate our limited understanding of the political and geographic spaces of power at work in the colonial period.⁸⁸

Second, another problem is that when striving to include Mi'kma'ki into their colonial projects scholars often rely on early ethnography and archaeological attempts to understand the Mi'kmaq. While first attempts at analyzing and cataloguing Mi'kmaw culture and practices stood as an important contribution to the previous omissions in the scholarship, these efforts often contain numerous errors.⁸⁹ As each generation of scholarship has its biases, the mid-twentieth century anthropologists did not consult with community elders and other tribal experts on their findings. Scholarship was skewed from an outsider's perspective which was further supported when this was complemented by European primary sources. Primary sources as well as archaeological, anthropological and ethnographic findings must be combined with tribal knowledge and read through the community history of the community. In the twenty-first century there are Mi'kmaw scholars who can provide field-- altering insights into these sources and are still often under-utilized or ignored altogether under the false belief that primary sources are more reliable. Remembering that primary sources were written by people outside of the community who often had

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Mancke, "Spaces of Power in the Early Modern Northeast," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, Eds. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

⁸⁹ While Bernard Hoffman offered an important early effort to document Mi'kmaw ethnography his work is still heavily cited despite the Mi'kmaw community and scholars' efforts to correct his errors. His work entitled: Bernard Hoffman, *The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (University of California, Berkeley, 1955).

deep bias and ignorance of Mi'kmaw belief and practice, these sources should be balanced with tribal information to guide the scholar on their reading of these sources. Sadly, often the perspective of outsiders is taken with more credibility than Mi'kmaw elders and scholars.

One example of this incomplete understanding of the Mi'kmaq can be seen in their subsistence and movement patterns. Often Acadian scholars put forward the same simplified understanding of Mi'kmaq movements by stating they “gather in the summer months on the coast and disperse into smaller hunting groups for the winter months.”⁹⁰ This limited understanding of Mi'kmaq movement obscures some of the complexities in Mi'kmaq movement that must be understood to fully grasp the life of a Frenchman who lived in Mi'kma'ki. This chapter will nuance this understanding by demonstrating that the Mi'kmaq were never settled as a community farther inland than the Head-of-Tide which allowed them to move easily up and down the river to benefit from the seasonal availability of fish, shellfish, fowl and game in the region.

Most of the historiography on the Acadians has developed with only cursory knowledge of Mi'kmaq historiography. This false separation of these two communities' historical narratives has contributed to the impression that they were separate or can be understood independently from one another. To live in colonial Acadie meant living in small colonial settlements surrounded by Native land. While the imperial rivalries over the Northeast have been explored since they resulted in the Grand Derangement of the Acadians, life in native lands

⁹⁰ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 12; Gregory Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 68; Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 23.

needs to be giving as much weight.⁹¹ A study of the communities in the Northeast in the seventeenth century is incomplete without an understanding that this world took place in a native environment where the rivers, harbors and inland resources were often regulated by the local band.

Archaeologist Jonathan Fowler demonstrates that the Mi'kmaq pushed back on some European notions of land ownership at Menis (Grand Pré). In the 1730s the Mi'kmaq destroyed a house and colliery operation at Chignecto “under a pretence of a premium or Rent due to them for the land & liberty of digging,” as well as blocked the construction of a magazine at Grand-Pré.⁹² A Mi'kmaq chief also rebuffed Henry Cope from Menis (Grand Pré) with the declaration that “he was King of that Country, for that King George had Conquered Annapolis, But not Menis.” He had ordered Cope “in a most insolent manner” to leave as “he had no business here.”⁹³ These examples of rent being due and the control colonial businesses reveals a level of negotiation among French colonists to settle the land. A study which incorporates Mi'kmaq community knowledge, language as well as an interdisciplinary approach to history reveals more of the World of the Mi'kmaq which brings more clarity to the communities Europeans encountered which will be explored in this chapter.

⁹¹ Acadian histories that look at the imperial rivalries and expulsion, see John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005); John Reid, Maurice Basque, Elizabeth Mancke, Barry Moody, Geoffrey Plank and William Wicken, *The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Christopher Hodson, *An Acadian Diaspora: An Eighteenth-Century History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁹² “Armstrong to the Board of Trade,” 15 November 1732, NAUK CO 217 vol. 6 fols. 209-211; Fowler, *Something of the Mixture of Indian*, 159.

⁹³ Executive Council Minutes, 25 July 1732 (MacMechan 1908, 239).

This chapter enters Mi'kma'ki during its pre-contact period to establish the structure, movement patterns, and trade networks in place before the arrival of the cod fisheries in the sixteenth century. These patterns did not disappear with the arrival of the cod fisheries or during the settlement period in the seventeenth century, but continued for the most part until the mid-eighteenth century. This portrait thus depicts the world the French joined at Mirliguèche and La Have in the seventeenth century.

Land and Language:

The Mi'kmaq say that in order to understand Mi'kma'ki and its people one must understand Mi'kmaw language. While no explanation can contain even the basics of the Mi'kmaw language, the hope is that a discussion will introduce the significance of the language in order to understand the Mi'kmaw worldview and land. Mi'kmaw, the language of the Mi'kmaq people, is the “focal point for understanding both Mi'kmaw culture and its intimate relationship with Mi'kma'ki.”⁹⁴ Mi'kmaw contains the Mi'kmaq worldview and links between both of the people to the land and every member of the community to each other.

Mi'kmaw is a dynamic verb-based, not noun-based, language which allows for great flexibility, breadth, and creativity.⁹⁵ Baptist clergyman Silas Rand spent forty years with the Mi'kmaq in the late nineteenth century documenting their language. Rand writes:

The language of the Indians is very remarkable. One would think it must be exceedingly barren, limited in inflections, and crude; but just the reverse is the fact - it is copious, flexible and expressive. Its declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs are as regular as

⁹⁴ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 26.

⁹⁵ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 29.

the Greek, and twenty times as copious. The full conjugation of one Micmac verb will fill quite a large volume...⁹⁶

The Mi'kmaw language demonstrated the mastery they had of the animals, plants, lands and waters in Mi'kma'ki. Rand documented more than seventy words used for making a canoe and a similar count for words related to birchbark and its uses.⁹⁷

An important aspect of the Mi'kmaw worldview articulated through language is their relational and associative aspect. "In Mi'kmaw, everything or every person is spoken of in relation with something or someone else."⁹⁸ For instance, there is not a separate word for "father" in Mi'kmaw. The notion of father must be attached to a child. *Nujj*, means "my father" and if a father lost his child "the absentive case would be used to designate the deceased child, and the person would no longer be a father." For this reason, referring to a Catholic priest as "father" when he had no visible kinship ties was abstract and nonsensical for the Mi'kmaq.⁹⁹ Similarly, the names of colors demonstrated how Mi'kmaw language and culture were intrinsically linked to their environment and land. *Stoqnamu'k*, forest green translates to "like the fir trees," *musqunamu'k*, blue is glossed as "like the sky," and black, *maqtewe'k*, is rendered as "ash" or red, *mekwe'k*, "blood."¹⁰⁰ These examples demonstrate the ways culture was embedded into the Mi'kmaw language and represented the community bonds between individuals as well as their relationship to the natural world.

⁹⁶ Silas Rand, *Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians who reside in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and Newfoundland*, 1888 (reprint 1974): xxxiv, xxxvii.

⁹⁷ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 27.

⁹⁸ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 32.

⁹⁹ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 33.

As for the land, the Mi'kmaw phrase Weji-squalia'timk which is translated to "we sprouted from" implies that the Mi'kmaq people were like a plant that sprouted from the land and their belonging and cultural memory resides in a specific place.¹⁰¹ Mi'kmaq place names carry with them tribal stories, spiritual significance, relative relationships, or evidence of historical practices associated with a site. Andrews describes place names as "mnemonic devices, providing a mental framework in which to remember relevant aspects of cultural knowledge." meaning within Mi'kmaw society, the "landscape may be viewed as a collection of symbols which record local knowledge and meaning...physical geography is transformed into *social geography* where culture and landscape are fused into a semiotic whole. In essence, one cannot exist without the other."¹⁰² For example, Malikewe'jk, the Mi'kmaw name for Lunenburg, means "place of the barrel" because of the native work done at this site in connection with the European fisheries.¹⁰³ An example of "relatives" are the grandmother and grandfather rocks throughout the land.¹⁰⁴ These focal points on the landscape connected the Mi'kmaq to the history of the land and the stories of their ancestors, and they served to guide them through the land.

¹⁰¹ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 17.

¹⁰² Thomas D. Andrews, *Yamoria's Arrows: Stories, Place-Names and the Land in Dene Oral Tradition* (Yellowknife: National Historic Parks and Sites, Northern Initiatives, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1990); 3,8; Bernie Francis and Trudy Sable, *Language of this Land: Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012), 50.

¹⁰³ Bernie Francis, email correspondence, January 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 43-47.



*This image is of a grandmother rock on the Tusket river. Image taken from Bernie Francis and Trudy Sable, *The Language of this Land*, p.45.¹⁰⁵*

Grandmother rocks, place names, and Mi'kmaw legends served as “oral maps” which taught the Mi'kmaq of the land, placement of natural resources, and history.¹⁰⁶ Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis show how Mi'kmaw legends can be combined with archaeological and geological studies to locate past geological events, resource deposits, and land formations.¹⁰⁷ This demonstrates the historical memory and territorial maps that were embedded in the elders stories of the Mi'kmaq.

Command of the geography and topographical structure of Mi'kma'ki is crucial to our understanding of Mi'kmaq life. The territory of Mi'kma'ki was divided based on watershed and water divides throughout the peninsula and its forty-two principal river systems. The colonial period brought with it the division of the territory into seven districts named: “Kespukwitk, Sipekne'katik, Eskikewa'kik, Unama'kik, Epekwitk Aqq Piktuk, Siknikt, and Kespek” but Mi'kmaw cultural landscape was more homogenous and followed the water divide.¹⁰⁸ This

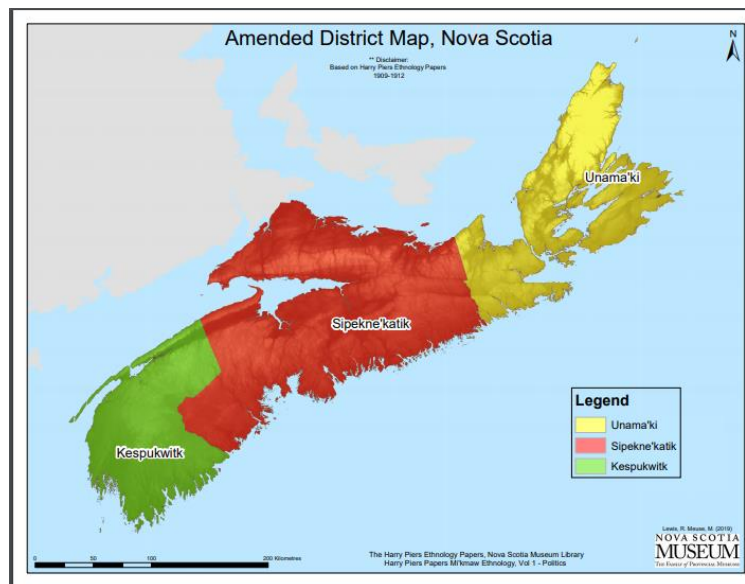
¹⁰⁵ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 45.

¹⁰⁶ For more on Mi'kmaw legends see also Silas Rand, *Legends of the Micmac* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co, 1894); Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History, 1500-1950* (Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 24.

¹⁰⁷ Francis and Sable, *Language of this Land*, 61-77.

¹⁰⁸ For the list of the seven districts see, Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 16; Lewis, *Mi'kma'ki at 13,500*, 27.

Mi'kmaw territory comprised modern-day Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, northern Maine, and eastern Québec. This dissertation focuses on the district of Sipekne'katik represented as the middle portion of the land on the map below. Sipekne'katik, which means "where the wild potatoes grow" included the region of the harbors of La Have, Mirliguèche, and the La Have River system.¹⁰⁹



Nova Scotia Museum, Amended District Map, Nova Scotia

The Northeast is characterized by the rivers, vast forests, and rocky soil that open to the Atlantic. Mi'kma'ki, especially the peninsula, has an intricate river system with over forty-two watersheds that criss-cross the land, connecting its people to the many lakes, coasts, and resources. The Mi'kmaw people were settled on all of the forty-two principal rivers as well as many other land-use occupied areas on the peninsula.¹¹⁰ The abundance of trees, including oaks, birches, ashes, maples, and pines, paint the

¹⁰⁹ Sipekne'katik 1752, <http://sipeknekatik.ca/> (Accessed January 2020).

¹¹⁰ Lewis, *Mi'kma'ki* at 13,500, 26.

region in a full range of autumnal hues as well as offering protection from the winds, tools for canoe making, cooking, and food preservation. The soil was rich and fertile on the Bay of Fundy side and rocky by the Atlantic with the coast there being dotted by long flat rocks and numerous harbors and river outlets. The fertile lands on the Bay of Fundy became productive agricultural landscapes while the Atlantic coast was sought for its excellent fisheries. The Atlantic Ocean kept the temperature on the Atlantic harbors such as La Have and Mirliguèche between twenty and thirty degrees Fahrenheit in the winter and between sixty and seventy degrees Fahrenheit in the summer. The smell of cool saltwater and fresh pine trees combined with the sounds of the waves and birds on the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki.

Inland these rivers created connected corridors of rivers, rapids, portages, and lakes that transverse the peninsula and seasonally were home to a rich diversity of aquatic life. Major fish migrations in the southern half of the peninsula included American smelt, gaspereau, Atlantic salmon, Atlantic sturgeon, mackerel, American eel, and tomcod. Rivers, such as the Allains-Mersey and La Have, drained eastward into the Atlantic where Atlantic cod, haddock and striped bass could be found.¹¹¹

These rivers, and their wealth of resources, were the highways and center of Mi'kmaq life. Archaeologists have studied Nova Scotian rivers, such as the Mercy-Allains river which runs between Port Royal and Port Rossignol, for pre-contact Mi'kmaw sites and have been able to date Mi'kmaq presence in the Mi'kma'ki to 12,000 years before the present.¹¹² Benjamin Pentz argues that the 203 Nova Scotia pre-contact sites

¹¹¹ Benjamin C. Pentz, *A River Runs Through it: An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Mersey River and Allains River in Southwest Nova Scotia*, Master's thesis (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), 184.

¹¹² Wicken, *Tall Sails tall tales*, 162; George F. MacDonald, *Debert: a paleo-Indian Site in Central Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1968); Stephen A. Davis and David Christianson, "Three Palaeo-Indian Specimens from Nova Scotia," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, 12 (1988), 190-196; Stephen A. Davis, "New Archaeological Discoveries at the Debert Tree Breeding Center," *Conservation*, 14 (1990): 9-11.

located at the time of his research, “reflect a human presence on the Mersey River for the last 10,000 years.”¹¹³ This dissertation will use the *Nova Scotia Cultural Sequence Timetable* which was created by the Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaq and the Nova Scotia Museum to designate the pre-contact, contact and post-contact periods.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 23; Mike Sanders and Bruce Stewart, *Mersey Hydro System Powerhouse Refurbishment Project: 2004 Region of Queens Municipality, Nova Scotia, Archaeological Reconnaissance and Documentation*, Interim Report, Heritage Research Permit A2004NS54, Manuscript on File, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, 2007, 6.

¹¹⁴ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 5.

Table 1.1 – Nova Scotia Cultural Sequence Timetable				
Mi'kmaw Chronology			Archaeological Chronology	
Period Dates	Period Terminology		Period Terminology	Period Dates
ca. 11,500 – 8,500 BP	<i>Saqiwe'k L'nuk</i> (Ancient People)	Pre-Contact Period	Palaeo Period (Early) (Late)	ca. 11,500 – 8,500 BP ca. 11,500 – 10,000 BP ca. 10,000 – 8,500 BP
ca. 8,500 – 3,000 BP	<i>Mu Awsami Saqiwe'k</i> (Not so Ancient People)		Archaic Period (Early / Middle) (Late) (Terminal)	ca. 8,500 – 3,000 BP ca. 8,500 – 5,000 BP ca. 5,000 – 3,500 BP ca. 4,000 – 3,000 BP
ca. 3,000 – 450 BP	<i>Kejikawek L'nuk</i> (Recent People – Woodland Period and Contact Period traditions)		Woodland Period (Early) (Middle) (Late)	ca. 3,000 – 450 BP ca. 3,000 – 2,000 BP ca. 2,000 – 1,000 BP ca. 1,000 – 450 BP
ca. AD 1000 – Present	<i>Kiskukewe'k L'nuk</i> (Historic / Modern Mi'kmaw People – Contact Period and Colonial Period traditions)	Contact Period	Late Woodland / Proto-Contact Period	ca. AD (1000) 1450? – 1500
			Contact Period	ca. AD 1497 – 1604
		Post-Contact Period	Colonial Period (Early / French) (Late / British)	AD 1604 – 1867 AD 1604-1763 AD 1763-1867
Post-Confederation Period	AD 1867 – Present			

Mi'kmaq timetable created by Roger Lewis¹¹⁵

The Woodland period saw a few key community developments that are important in order to understand Mi'kma'ki prior to European contact, namely that they were already skilled seamen and had developed extensive trade networks with other peoples into the interior of the Americas.

In the pre-history period, the Mi'kmaq community expanded in population and trade networks which established some key elements of the Mi'kmaq community the

¹¹⁵ Timetable created by Roger Lewis but reproduced in Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 5.

French would later encounter. This first factor, the rise in population occurred during the Woodland period, around 2,500 years ago. The Mi'kmaq also began to use pottery at that time as archaeologist Patricia Allen's research reveals. Allen contends that this population growth around 2,000 years ago was due to an abundance of "Spring and Summer fish runs, but more importantly, to the development of preservation and storage techniques."¹¹⁶ Mi'kmaq population estimates vary between 6,000-100,000. Virginia P. Miller's article "Aboriginal Micmac Population: A Review of the Evidence"¹¹⁷ contends that Mi'kmaq population probably exceeded 35,000 at early contact. Roger Lewis calculates that the archaeological evidence supports an early contact population of close to 10,000 residing on the territory's forty-two principal rivers.¹¹⁸ These two assessments estimate the contact population at the lower end of that spectrum.

The second significant shift of Mi'kmaq trade networks expansion occurred in the archaeological evidence of the late Woodland Period, 950-450 years ago which set the stage for the much later introduction of Europeans into these networks. The development of the birch bark canoe in this period, according to Archaeologist Dean Snow, allowed the Mi'kmaq to increase their ability to communicate with other Native communities. Excavation sites for the late Woodland period in peninsular Mi'kma'ki, revealed an increase in the presence of exotic metals which underline these broader communication networks.¹¹⁹ Likewise, archaeological evidence from Maine reveals "the presence of exotic coppers, cherts, and shells from Ohio, Carolina and southern New

¹¹⁶ 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), 17-20; William Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales*, 162-163.

¹¹⁷ Virginia P. Miller, "Aboriginal Micmac Population: A Review of the Evidence" *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring, 1976): 117-127.

¹¹⁸ Roger Lewis, email correspondence, May 2019.

¹¹⁹ Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales*, 163; Nietfeld, "Determinants of Aboriginal," 190.

England.”¹²⁰ This increase in Mi’kmaq networks meant the increase in trading partners, so that the late woodland period saw a greater emphasis on hunting fur-bearing animals to trade.¹²¹ Historian Jack Bouchard, looking at the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, finds pre-contact trade routes which reveal that trade goods flowed from “Canada into the Gulf, and vice versa, well before Europeans even arrived.”¹²²

Mi’kmaq and the water:

With the advent of the birch bark canoe which greatly increased trade,¹²³ the Mi’kmaq became maritime people. The Jesuit Sebastien Rale detailed the maritime skills of the Mi’kmaq “in these canoes made of bark” that they crossed “the arms of the sea, and sail on most dangerous waters, and on lakes from four to five hundred leagues in circumference.”¹²⁴ The Mi’kmaq designed several types of canoes and used each for a distinct purpose: longer voyagers, faster speeds, and better handling.¹²⁵ According to

¹²⁰ Wicken, 163. Bruce Bourque, Steven Cox and Arthur Speiss, “Cultural Complexity in Maritime Cultures: Evidence from Penobscot Bay, Maine,” *The Evolution of Maritime Cultures on the Northeast Coasts of America*, edited by Ronald J. Nash (Vancouver 1983), 100-101; Bruce Bourque and Steven L. Cox, “Maine State Museum Investigation of the Goddard Site, 1979,” *Man in the Northeast*, no. 22 (1981), 3-27.

¹²¹ Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales*, 163.

¹²² Jack Bouchard, “*Ces gens sauvages et étranges: Amerindiens and the Early Fishery in the Sixteenth-Century Gulf of St Lawrence*,” *The Greater Gulf: Essays on the Environmental History of the Gulf of St Lawrence*, eds. Claire Elizabeth Campbell, Edward MacDonald and Brian Payne (McGill-Queens’ University Press, 2020), 13; Donald H. Holly, *History in the Making: The Archaeology of the Eastern Subarctic* (AltaMira Press, 2013); Marcel Moussette, *A Universe under Strain: Amerindian Nations in North-Eastern North America in the 16th Century* (Post Medieval Archaeology, 2009)

¹²³ Archaeologist Dean Snow argues for the connection between the use of the birch bark canoe among the Mi’kmaq and the development of larger trade networks. Dean Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 298.

¹²⁴ “Sebastien Rale to his Brother, Narantsouak, 12 October 1723,” in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1900).

¹²⁵ “First Fishers Exhibit,” Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic, <https://fisheriesmuseum.novascotia.ca/what-see-do/exhibits/first-floor/first-fishers-exhibit> (Accessed April 2020); Kathy Johnson, “First Fishers: Basement treasure centerpiece of new exhibit,” *South Shore Breaker*, republished on the *Mi’kmaq-Maliseet Nations News*, <https://www.mmnn.ca/2017/03/first-fishers-basement-treasure-centerpiece-of-new-exhibit/> (Accessed April 2020).

historian Jeffers Lennox, “This maritime nature made the Mi’kmaq a distinct group among the Wabanaki.”¹²⁶ The majority of Mi’kmaq subsistence was sourced from the water. The Mi’kmaq were skilled canoemen along the rivers but also on the oceans as well as they “regularly crossed between islands to settle the south coast of Newfoundland.”¹²⁷ They built different types of canoes, such as a river canoe, lake canoe, and ocean-going canoes, for different conditions.¹²⁸ In one exchange with Europeans in the Gulf of Maine, the Mi’kmaq produced a map on tree bark which included the Atlantic Ocean and Newfoundland, demonstrating their knowledge of the Island and oceanic travel routes.¹²⁹ By the turn of the seventeenth century, the Mi’kmaq had adopted European boat designs which allowed them to trade even farther by water. They “acquired Basque-made shallops, enhanced their watercraft skills by learning to sail and traded southward along the coast of what became New England.”¹³⁰

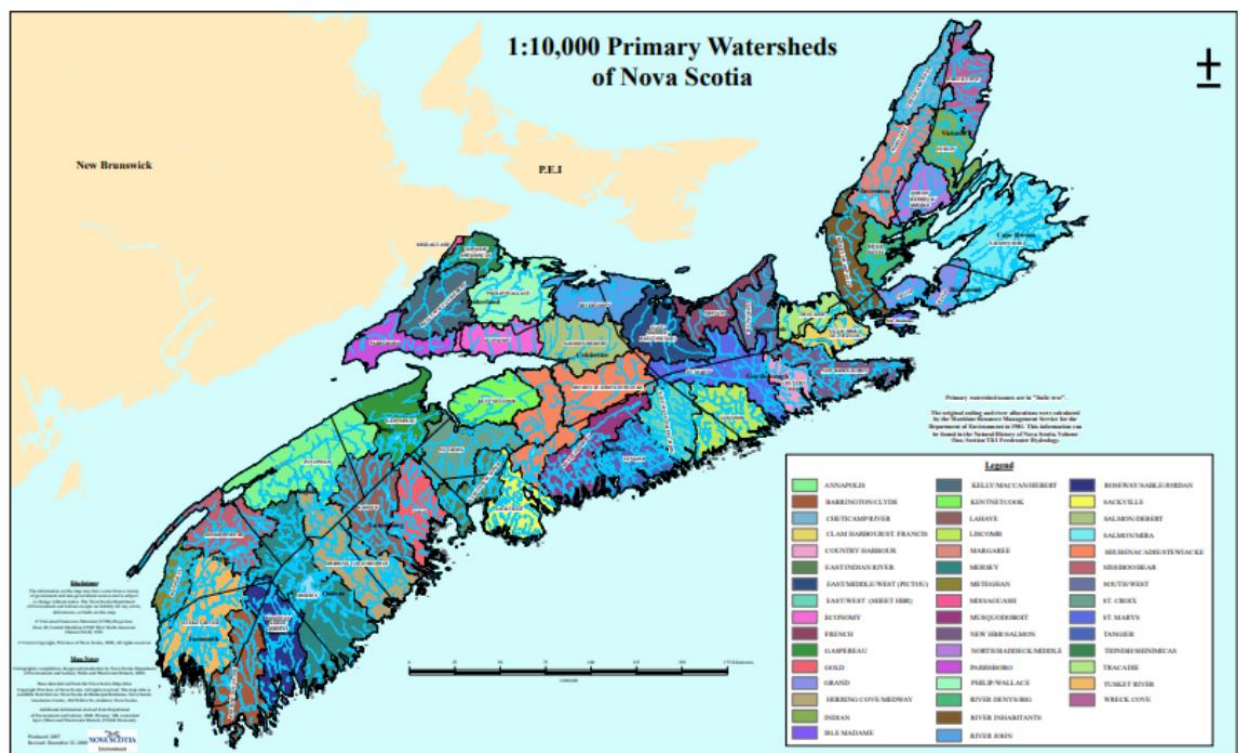
¹²⁶ Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 5; Charles Martinj, “An Eastern Micmac Domain of Islands,” *Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Quebec*, file:///C:/Users/Nicole/Downloads/1004-Article%20Text-2366-1-10-20161115.pdf (Accessed April 2020).

¹²⁷ Bouchard, *Ces gens sauvages et étranges*, 11.

¹²⁸ Roger Lewis, “First Fishers exhibit,” *Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic*, <https://fisheriesmuseum.novascotia.ca/what-see-do/exhibits/first-floor/first-fishers-exhibit> (Accessed November 2018).

¹²⁹ Lewis, *First fishers exhibit*.

¹³⁰ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 36.



*Nova Scotia's Primary Watersheds*¹³¹

Although they did venture into the Atlantic, Mi'kmaq existence was intimately tied to the forty-two rivers in Mi'kma'ki. The flow of life surrounding the river reveals Mi'kmaq life in the pre-history and early modern periods. On each river the Mi'kmaq utilized all the available resources along the river and surrounding forest for the sustenance of the families that lived there. The Mi'kmaq lived by and from the rivers until the nineteenth century when they were forced to move onto reservations. Before this rupture, the Mi'kmaq lived their customary lifestyle on the rivers and harbors. Archaeologist Benjamin Pentz states that until 1820, "the interior wilderness remained largely the domain of the

¹³¹ "1:10,000 Primary Watersheds of Nova Scotia," *Province of Nova Scotia*, Service Nova Scotia & Municipal Relations, Nova Scotia Geomatics Centre, 160 Willow St., Amherst, Nova Scotia, (June 2011) https://novascotia.ca/nse/water.strategy/docs/WaterStrategy_NS WatershedMap.pdf (Accessed November 2018).

Mi'kmaq.¹³² The first “Indian Reserves” were created in 1801 and expanded by 1821 when the Canadian colonial government established the Indian Reserve system still in practice today.¹³³ For those at La Have and Mirliguèche, the beginnings of this rupture from Mi'kmaq traditional life was seen in the mid-eighteenth century with the arrival of British settlers on the Atlantic coast, but until then, life was very much unaltered for those on these harbors and rivers.

Mi'kmaq settlement and subsistence practices on the river followed the flow of the seasons and water levels with their main settlement being at the Head-of-Tide. The Head-of-Tide was the place in the river where the water changed from salt to freshwater which offered the widest range of resources to the community. Each Mi'kmaq community had a large settlement around the Head-of-Tide, as well as summer habitations around the harbor, and smaller task sites or hunt camps along the river.¹³⁴ Nietfeld's doctoral dissertation explores how the abundance of maritime resources allowed the Mi'kmaq to live in large summer villages for nine months of the year.¹³⁵ The Mi'kmaq followed the cues of the seasons to determine their hunting, fishing, and movements. The work of archaeologist Roger Lewis on Mi'kmaq fishing weirs in Nova Scotia provides valuable insight into these systems and movements.

Mi'kmaq Fishing Weirs

Fishing weirs, structures built using stones or wood in a river or stream, direct fish into a holding place until they can be caught or speared. The Indigenous

¹³² Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 137.

¹³³ Alex Tesar, “Reserves in Nova Scotia” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, June 21, 2018. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/reserves-in-nova-scotia> (Accessed January 2020).

¹³⁴ Roger Lewis interview October 2018.

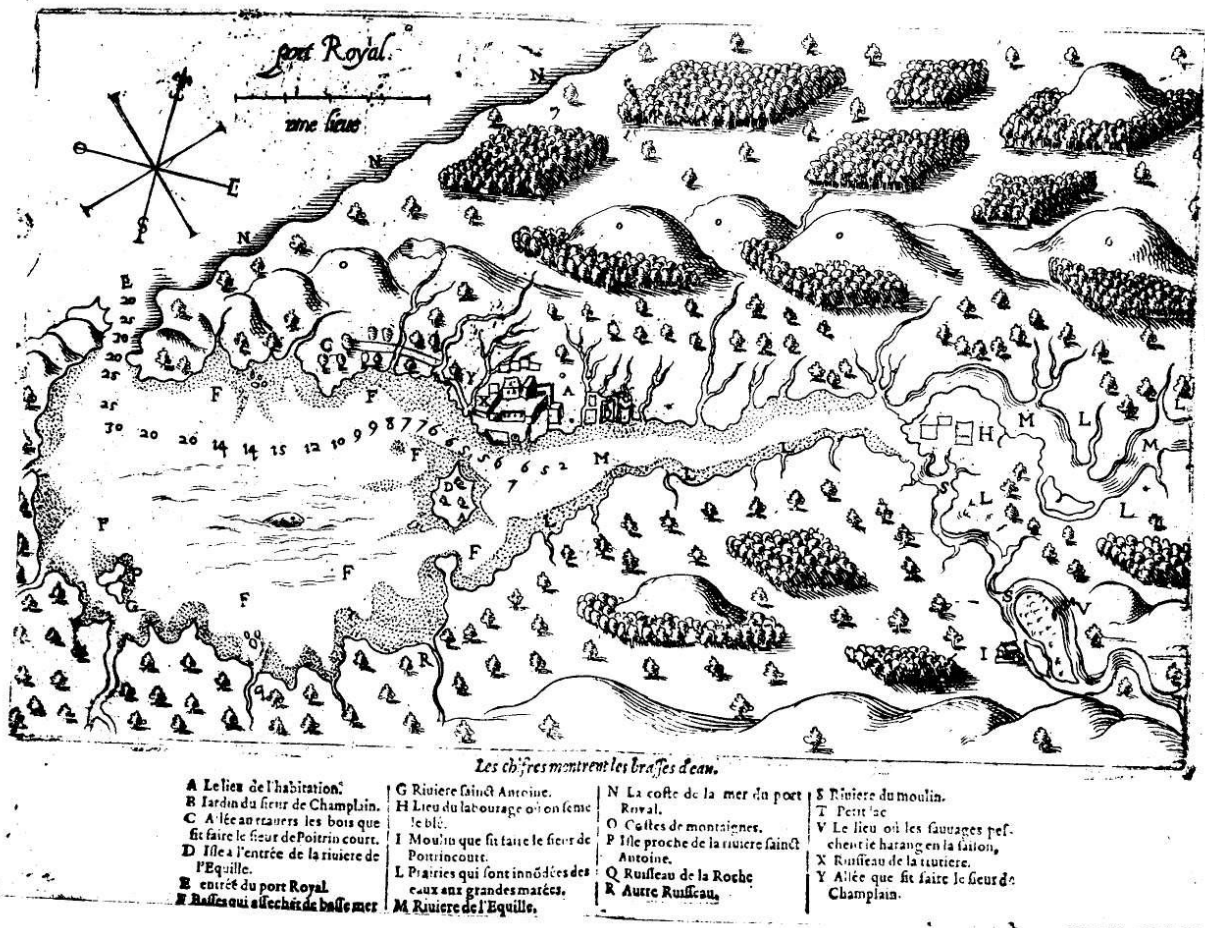
¹³⁵ Patricia Nietfeld, *Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure*, PhD Dissertation (University of New Mexico, 1981), 100-101.

technologies of fishing weirs as well as the tools used to harvest the fish, such as eel spears, offer insight into the methods used by the Mi'kmaq. These methods provide a better appreciation of how they experienced fishing on the river and what types of skills and methods would be shared with the French when they arrived in the seventeenth century. These methods required an awareness of the species of fish that used that part of the river as well as the seasonal variations to their migrations. Indigenous technologies such as eel spears were incorporated into Acadian fishing practices as well.

Having mapped all of the river systems of the peninsula by canoe, Lewis has been able to identify four types of fishing weirs that were used by the Mi'kmaq during the course of a year. Starting from the ocean moving inward along these river systems, the first weirs were the fence-stake weirs which caught big fish like shad, sturgeon, and bass below the head of tide.¹³⁶ They were designed to catch “anadromous, catadromous and euryhaline fish species that migrated in and out for feeding or spawning purposes.”¹³⁷ Champlain depicts a fence-stake weir in his map of Port Royal in 1613.

¹³⁶ Fowler, *Something of the Mixture*, 254.

¹³⁷ Seventeenth century French traveler Lescarbot described this type of weir at Port Royal in the early seventeenth century. Acadian settler Nicolas Denys described the working of these weirs: “At the narrowest place of the rivers, where there is the least water, they make a fence of wood clear across the river to hinder the passage of fish. In the middle of it they leave an opening in which they place a bag-net like those used in France, so arranged that it is inevitable the fish should run into it. These bag-nets which are larger than ours, they raise two to three times a day, and they always find fish therein. It is in spring that the fish ascend, and in autumn they descend and return to the sea. At that time they place the opening of their bag-net in the other direction.” Roger Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs: A Case Study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*, Master's thesis, (Newfoundland: Memorial University, 2006) 38-9; Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, edited by W. L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), 234. Nicolas Denys, *Description of the Natural history of the coasts of North America (Acadia)*, edited by William Francis Gagnon (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 437. See also, David Christianson, 'Wabanaki Subsistence Strategies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' Honours thesis, Anthropology Department, Saint Mary's University (1976), 35.



The fense-stake weir, letter "V" on Champlain's legend. He writes "Le lieu ou les Sauvages pecheut le harang en la saison" On the map, the weir is located in the bottom right hand corner, just after the river divides at the "S".



Figure 1 : Champlain's 1607 map of the lower Allain River (Pentz 2008)

The Mi'kmaq used the flow and size of the river, as well as the current to direct fish into their weirs. At times a basket was used to catch the fish, in which case someone would come to empty the basket, but the fence-stake weir, like many of the weirs, was often used to distract or redirect the fish so they could be speared. This technology was often maintained by women and old men with this specialty in the community.¹³⁸

The Mi'kmaq used two types of eel (Kat) spears to spear the fish: a summer and winter spear. These spears, also called Leisters, were made of wood, fiber, and bone

¹³⁸ Lescarbot describes the Sagamo Membertou "sent his daughter to the mill-stream" to check on the weir for gaspereau. In Marc Lescarbot, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by R.G. Thwaites (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 185. See also David J. Christianson, "The Use of Subsistence Strategy Descriptions in Determining Wabanaki Residence Location," *Journal of Anthropology at McMaster* 5(1): 98; Roger Lewis, *Pre-Contact fish weirs: a case study from southwest Nova Scotia*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 40.

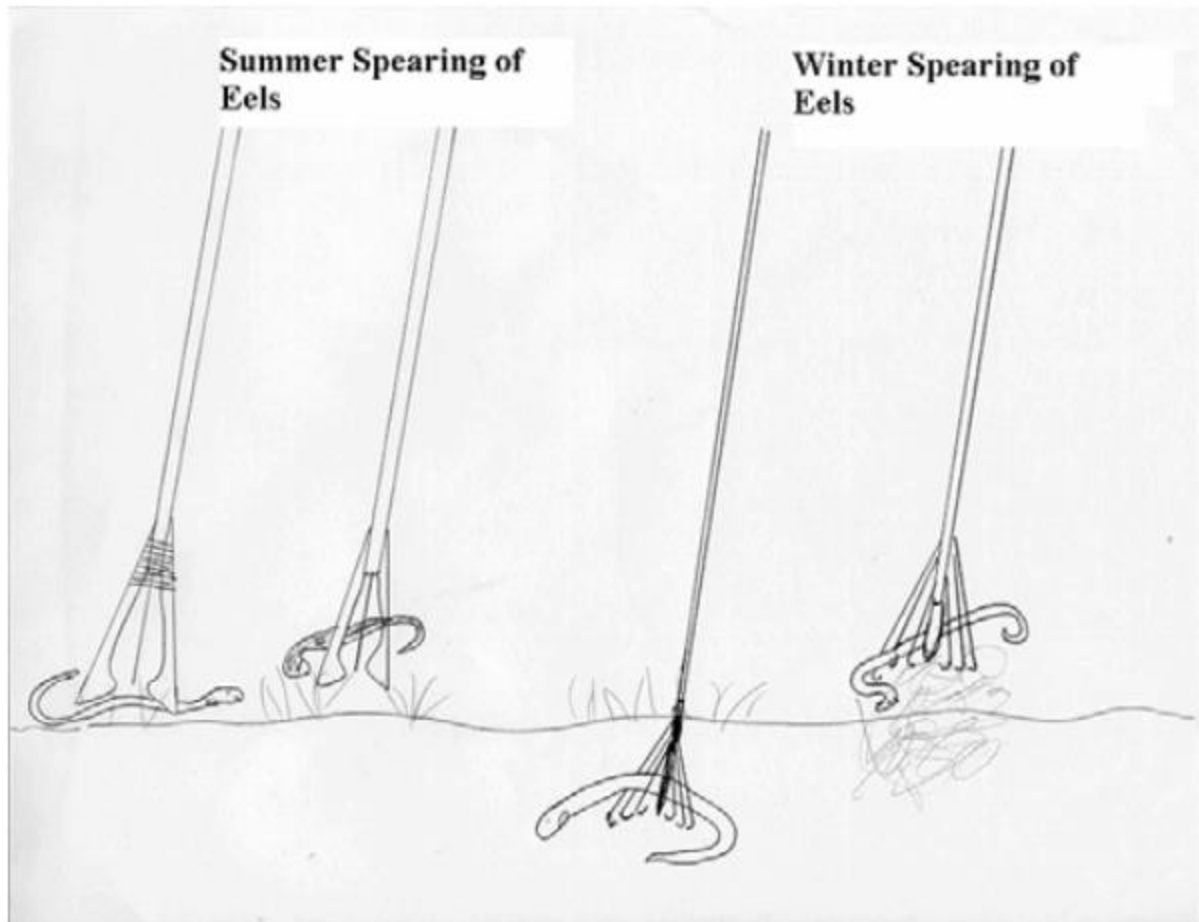
(which was later replaced with metal).¹³⁹ The summer spear consisted of two thicker wooden prongs and a sharp spear in between while the winter spear had more prongs on it to be used more as a rake when the eels were dormant under the mud. These spears were fifteen to twenty feet long.



*Mi'kmaq Leister, 1900-1914*¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Ralph T. Pastore, "Traditional Mi'kmaq (Micmac) Culture," *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador* (1998) <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/aboriginal/mikmaq-culture.php> (Accessed November 2018).

¹⁴⁰ "Leister," M49, Donation from David Ross McCord, *McCord Museum*, <http://collections.museum-mccord.gc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/M49> (Accessed November 2018).



*Summer and Winter Spears*¹⁴¹

In summer spearmen had a visibility of four to six feet in the water. In winter the Mi'kmaq cut a hole in the ice and use the winter spear with its extra prongs to dig for the eel in the mud. The eel, dormant when the temperature dropped below forty-one degrees Fahrenheit, slept in the mud. While Mi'kmaq fishermen also used nets, hooks, pots, baskets, and poles, spears were the fishermen's tool of choice. Archaeological

¹⁴¹ Kerry Prosper, "The Mi'kmaq and Kat (American Eel)," *Antigonish: Social Research for Sustainable Fisheries* (St. Francis Xavier University, 2001); Kerry Prosper and Mary Jane Paulette, "The Mi'kmaq Relationship With Kat (American Eel) Scientific Name: *Anguilla rostrata*" *Social Research for Sustainable Fisheries and the Paqtnekek Fish and Wildlife Commission*, St. Francis Xavier University and Afton First Nation (March 2002), <http://www.msvu.ca/site/media/msvu/Factsheet7.pdf> (Accessed November 2018).

evidence of these spears, along with harpoons for hunting seals, have been found in weirs, habitation sites, and shellmounds throughout Mi'kma'ki.¹⁴²

The fence-stake weir as well as the next two would have all been located relatively close to the main settlement at the Head-of-Tide. The second weir Roger Lewis identified was at the main settlement at the Head-of-Tide. The Head-of-Tide, which varied depending on the river, could be as close as a half a mile from the ocean, or as far as many miles upriver. At the Head-of-Tide there were small stone v-shaped fish weirs upstream that were used to catch gaspereau, mackerel, and male eels.¹⁴³ These v-shaped weirs directed the fish into its apex which was closed off, trapping the fish inside. These fish would then be speared or caught.



*Interior stone weir, image taken by Roger Lewis*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² "The Paq'tnekek Mi'kmaq and Kat (American Eel – *Anguilla rostrata*)," *Social Research for Sustainable Fisheries and The Paq'tnekek Fish and Wildlife Society*, Report 4 (August 2002) St. Francis Xavier University, 12, <http://www.msvu.ca/site/media/msvu/Report4.pdf> (Accessed November 2018); Daniel Paul, "Mi'kmaq Villages - Mersey River," *Daniel Paul - We were Not the Savages*, <http://www.danielnpaul.com/Mi%27kmaqVillages-MerseyRiver.html> (Accessed November 2018).

¹⁴³ Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs*, 40.

¹⁴⁴ Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs*, 42.

The third weir near the main settlement, the large rectangle/ovate stone weirs, were located a short distance upriver above the Head-of-Tide. The rectangle stone weir was used to catch salmon when they were at their fattest in their spawning cycle.¹⁴⁵ These square or circular weirs were used as traps for fishermen to spear fish caught inside.

Finally, a fourth type of weir was a reverse v-shaped weir at the interior lake(s) which the Mi'kmaq sent specialist teams upriver to fish. This downstream oriented weir had an opening at its apex where a basket was placed to catch female eels in fall. The spawning runs for the female eels in the interior lakes were the most time-restricted catch of the year. The rivers flooded in winter and spring, putting the water levels at their highest, and then dropped extremely low in the summer heat. As the river filled back up in fall the water levels would rise high enough for the eels to spawn but not so high that they could avoid the weirs.¹⁴⁶ This window for snaring these eels lasted for about a month in fall.

This example reveals how the Mi'kmaq calendar followed the rhythms of nature and how the people watched for the water levels to rise enough to send specialist teams upriver for the eels. This calibrated calendar followed the seasonal movement of game, spawning of fish, and changing water levels. Furthermore, this holistic use of the river was all separate from the beaches where European fishermen would begin to arrive in the 1490s and thus unknown to them. The movements and technologies of the Mi'kmaq which allowed them to master the fishing of Mi'kma'ki's rivers were not known to Europeans who did not venture farther inland than the beach as we will see in Chapter Three.

¹⁴⁵ Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs*, 41.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Roger Lewis, October 2018.

These four types of weirs demonstrate how the Mi'kmaq utilized the whole river and moved throughout the space to harness the resources of the river. Utilizing indigenous technologies such as the weirs and spears gave them access to a large supply and variety of sustenance. Given Lewis' mapping of the river allows for a deeper understanding of the wealth of resources around the Head-of-Tide which further demonstrates why the community would remain at the Head-of-Tide and around the Harbor for the longest part of the year. Furthermore, understanding the Mi'kmaq weir system demonstrates the abundance of resources available beyond the coast.

The majority of the Mi'kmaq fishing practices took place along the river in these weirs. These cycles would continue during the contact and settlement periods with the inclusion of an inshore fishery.¹⁴⁷ The Mi'kmaq incorporated European methods of inshore fishing practices in the sixteenth century which is an example of the reciprocal exchange among the French and Mi'kmaq which we will explore further when Frenchmen join Mi'kmaq networks.

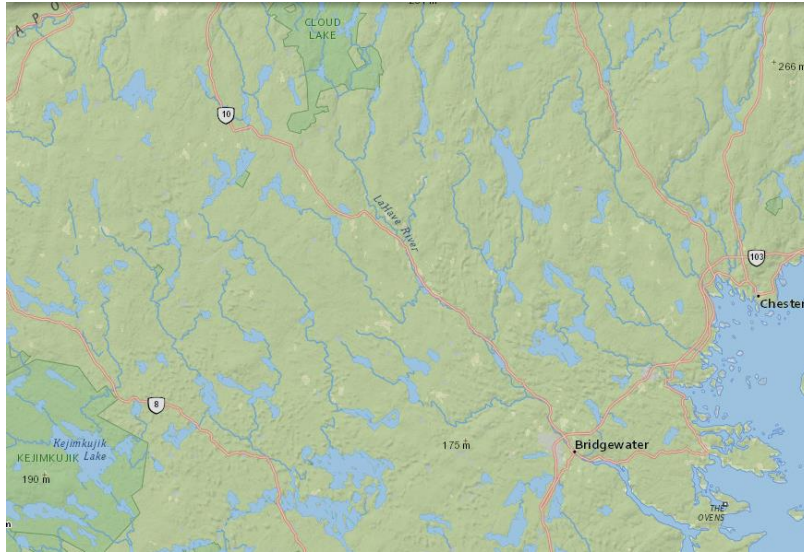
¹⁴⁷ Inshore fisheries are characterized by waters up to thirty meters deep and fished with the aid of a shallop.

La Have and Mirliguèche on the La Have River



Section of the *Pjila'si Mi'kma'ki - Mi'kmaw place names digital atlas* created by Roger Lewis, Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis.¹⁴⁸ This section of the map represents the Pijinuiska'q (La Have River) which stretches out with its “long limbs” across the peninsula and into various rivers and lakes. La Have and Mirliguèche are situated on the Atlantic coast south of Halifax.

¹⁴⁸ *Pjila'si Mi'kma'ki - Mi'kmaw place names digital atlas*, <http://gis.membertougeomatics.com/mpnmap/>.



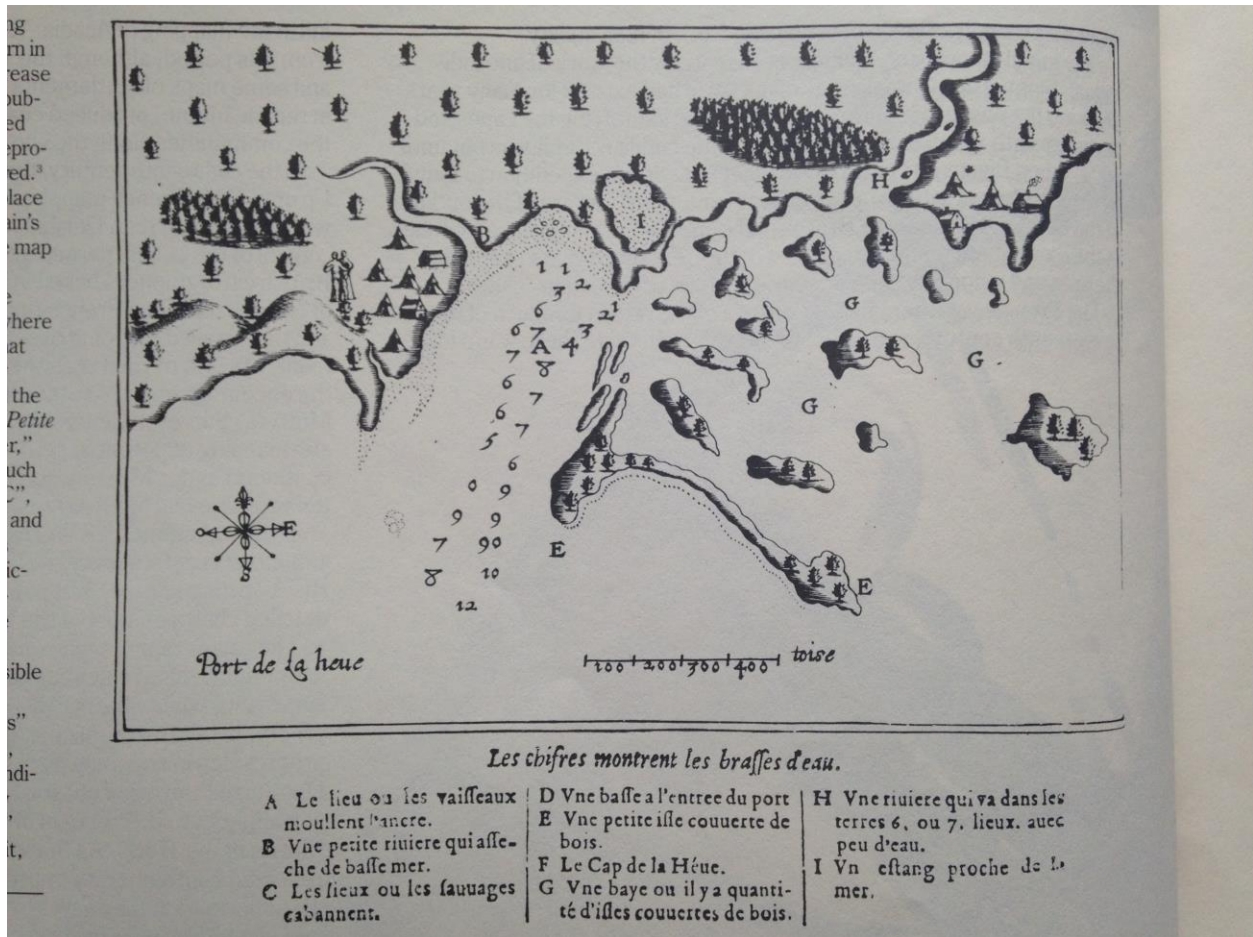
This is a close up of the La Have river system. Notice the vast amounts of river and lakes that make Mi'kma'ki so navigable to the Mi'kmaq.

The La Have community was situated on the La Have River, one of the largest watersheds in Sipekne'katik. Pijinuiska'q, or the La Have River, means “it has long limbs,” likely due to the many long branches in this river system.¹⁴⁹ Its Head-of-Tide is located fourteen miles up from the mouth of the river, at Cookville, Nova Scotia. The La Have runs far into the interior and splits into an east and west branch. For about four miles upriver starting with the Head-of-Tide, or between Cookville and Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, the La Have River has a series of natural ledges which serve as natural weirs which the Mi'kmaq used to fish gaspereau, mackerel, and male eels. The Mi'kmaq also fished salmon near Wentzells lake, close to five miles up from the Head-of-Tide

¹⁴⁹ Mi'kmaw Elder and Linguist Bernie Francis, email correspondence, January 2020; Chloe Ernst, Scenic Driving Atlantic Canada: Exploring the Most Spectacular Back Roads of, 96; Elizabeth Frame, A list of Micmac names of places, rivers, etc, 11, <https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/bitstream/handle/1974/9982/listofmicmacnam00fram.pdf?sequence=1>

(around Northfield, Nova Scotia). The La Have River also connected to a series of inland lakes such as New Germany and Wentzell lake, all of which offered female eels in the autumn.¹⁵⁰ The main settlement of Mi'kmaq on the La Have River was at the Head-of-Tide. They also had summer habitations around the harbor and numerous hunt and task sites along the large La Have River and in the surrounding forest. As depicted in Samuel Champlain's image of the La Have harbor, the dwellings seen by Europeans who were traveling up the coast to fish, trade, or later, to settle, were those around the harbor called "summer camps." On this 1613 map, Champlain recorded two groupings of Mi'kmaq dwellings around the La Have harbor sighted during his exploratory visit to Acadie in 1604.

¹⁵⁰ Roger Lewis, Interview October 2018.



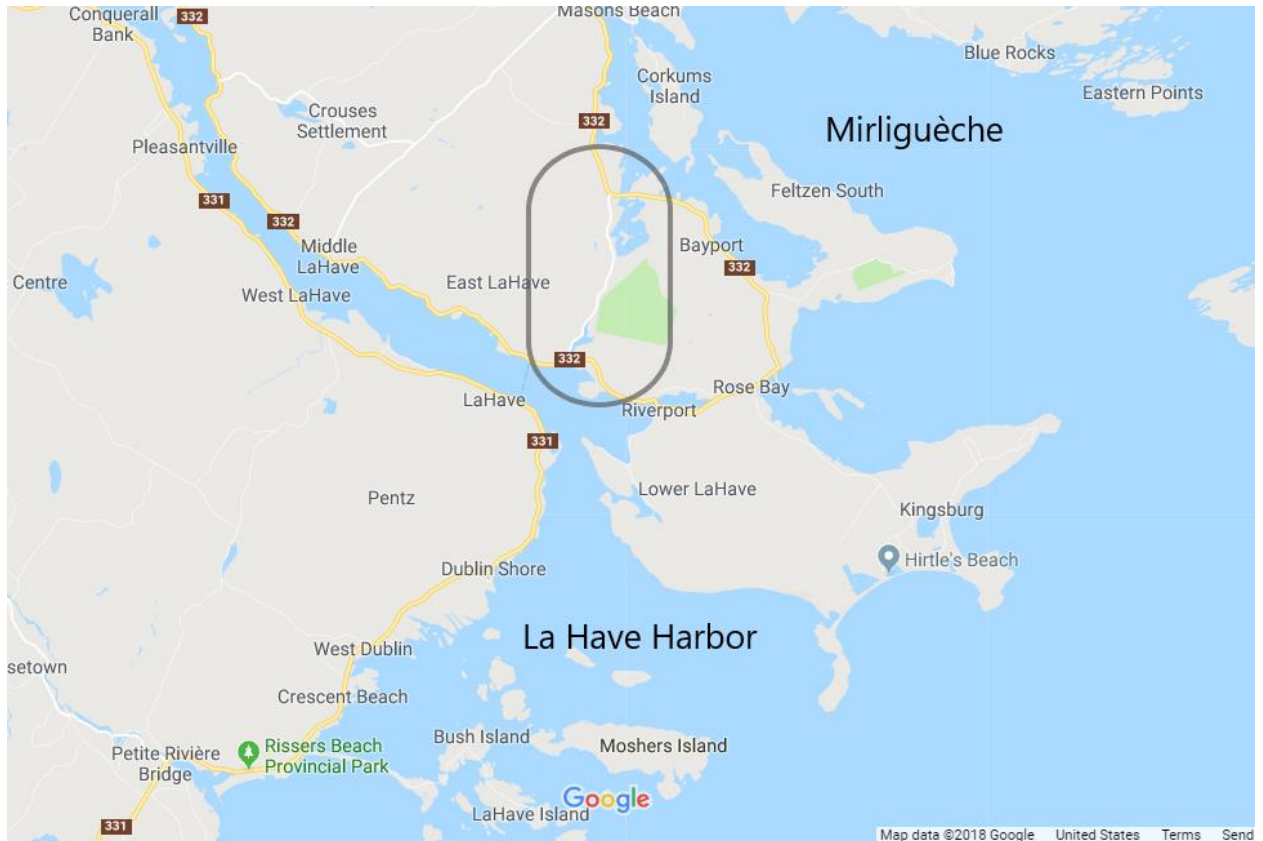
Champlain map entitled "Port de la Heue." H in his legend represents the La Have River. It is evident that they never ventured up the La Have as Champlain describes it as having "peu d'eau." (a little water)

From Champlain's description of the La Have River as having little water, we can confirm that his voyage did not include a trip up river. Thus, from Champlain's perspective, the Mi'kmaq had dwellings on the harbor which the Mi'kmaq inhabited in the summer months, but he had no knowledge of the main camp at the Head-of-Tide or anything else in the interior. It could be surmised that the vague notion of the Mi'kmaq retreating 'into the woods' promulgated by many primary sources meant that this limited European understanding of the Native community's whereabouts beyond the harbor continued for some time.

Mirliguèche, while on a harbor, was not directly on a river.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Mirliguèche and La Have communities were connected and often shared the La Have River. Mirliguèche or today, Malikewe'jk, means “place of the barrel” because this was where the Mi'kmaw made barrels for the European fishing industry.¹⁵² The Mirliguèche community was connected to the La Have River by the portage route called *Indian Path*, which is only about a thousand feet long and would bring them to the La Have harbor. The community at Mirliguèche was able to use the portage trail to get to the La Have River and from there canoe up to the various weirs and work sites. This geographic and community movement understanding reveals how connected these two Mi'kmaq communities were, a fact which was also represented in colonial records. From Nicolas Denys' journals and census records, we know that the Mi'kmaq at Mirliguèche and La Have were close enough to be in frequent contact with one another. In fact, the French in these two areas appeared at times as a single community in the census records, revealing how some census takers saw them as a single community, while others noted the different houses as being in slightly separate regions. This also reveals how considering the geographic space and the ways the Mi'kmaq used the whole river enhances our understanding of the community formations and the ways in which they were in contact with others, as well as the frequency of that contact.

¹⁵¹ Dr. Bernie Francis, Linguist once said at the Fishery Museum of the Atlantic in Lunenburg, NS meant 'place to make barrels'. Roger Lewis, email correspondence May 2019. Lunenburg was settled over the Mi'kmaw village of Mirliguèche.

¹⁵² The Mirliguèche spelling represents the French spelling of the Mi'kmaw name in the seventeenth century. We do not have the Mi'kmaw spelling of its Early Modern name. Malikewe'jk is its present name. Bernie Francis, email correspondence, January 2020.



Google map, November 2018. Circle indicates the portage route which is still a road today, called Indian Path

These four types of weirs helped the Mi'kmaq follow the movement of fish along the river but the changing of seasons in general also guided the movement of the community members. Rather than following a rigid calendar, they constantly adapted and accommodated the changes of the seasons. This land use strategy also “maximized the exploitation (harvest) of the seasonally overlapping resources.”¹⁵³ Other environmental factors such as variations caused by the Little Ice Age which peaked in the seventeenth century also informed their calendar.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Roger Lewis, Email correspondence, May 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 188; John S. Erskine, “Shell-heap Archaeology of Southwestern Nova Scotia,” *Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, Halifax Nova Scotia* 1957-58, 24(4), 1960, 355, 374.

Beyond the local Mi'kmaq community seasonal movements, the Mi'kmaq utilized Mi'kma'ki's connected systems of rivers, lakes, and portages to get anywhere in the territory in order to trade and gather.¹⁵⁵ As skilled canoe people, even a novice Mi'kmaq canoer could travel upwards of thirty miles in a day. Considering the small size of the Mi'kmaw peninsula, this ease of movement allowed community members to move among the settlements relatively easily throughout the year. As for the local subsistence, knowing that the distance between the Head-of-Tide and the harbor ranged between a quarter of a mile to, in the large river of La Have as much as fourteen miles, these stretches would have been easily navigable by the Mi'kmaq in the course of a day. Thus, community members could access all the weirs around the Head-of-Tide in a single day. To fish at the interior lakes or hunt inland, specialized groups were sent upriver for a few days at a time. These specialized groups, of two or more people, would have included both men and women, those who specialized in tasks of hunting, trapping, fishing, trading or meeting.

Mi'kmaq village on the river:

As maritime-riverine oriented people, the Mi'kmaq followed the fishing seasons as well as the hunting of large and small game. Incorporating an interdisciplinary approach enables a more holistic view of the Mi'kmaq community. When only Euro-centric sources are used the community is viewed from a distance and as described by outsiders; whereas the inclusion of Mi'kmaq community knowledge and archaeological records to the historical archive allows for a deeper understanding of the La Have village.

¹⁵⁵ Roger Lewis, Interview November 2018.

In the historiography the Mi'kmaq "traditional" subsistence calendar in which the Mi'kmaq lived in larger villages on the coasts for the summer months and moved into the interior to hunt during the winter originated from a Euro-centric source. Father Pierre Biard's account of his time at Port Royal in 1611 to 1613 included a description of the Mi'kmaq calendar which has been widely cited in support of this summer-winter subsistence cycle by many Canadian historians including J.M Bumstead, Margaret Conrad, Alvin Finkel, and Cornelius Jaenen, and Allan Greer.¹⁵⁶ The model has continued in many studies of Acadian history when describing the Mi'kmaq such as those by John Mack Faragher, Gregory Kennedy, and Geoffrey Plank.¹⁵⁷ Scholarship focusing more directly on the Mi'kmaq have nuanced this calendar, as in the work of L.F.S Upton, William Wicken, Jeffers Lennox, and Thomas Peace.¹⁵⁸ This recent scholarship on the Mi'kmaq presents the more dynamic character of Mi'kmaq movements which takes advantage of both the coastal and inland resources. This new scholarship also serves to demystify the early modern Mi'kmaq.

Where improvements can be made are in our understanding of the flexibility and adaptability of the Kiskuke'k L'nu'k (Today's People), which needs a less rigorous and prescriptive imaginary. The Mi'kmaq, like many Native communities, are frequently

¹⁵⁶ J. M. Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12-13; Margaret Conrad, Alvin Finkel, and Cornelius Jaenen, *History of the Canadian Peoples Volume I: Beginnings to 1867* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993), 19; Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 93.

¹⁵⁷ Faragher, *A great and Noble Scheme*, 12; Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 68; Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 23.

¹⁵⁸ Historian Thomas Peace argued that the Mi'kmaq were gathered in "summer camps" between spring and fall but "moved inland to hunt beaver, moose, bear, otter, muskrat and caribou in smaller groups." Nonetheless he noted that "The Mi'kmaq living... [in Kespukwitk] were able to move easily between their hunting territories and coastline at all times of the year." Thomas Peace, 56-57. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 2; Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 5; Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales*, 128-37; Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 30. See also Bernard Hoffman, *The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, PhD Thesis (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1955), 155-181.

presented with static and almost instinctual calendars which seem to suggest the behavior is akin to a bird feeling the yearning to travel south for the winter. When the subsistence calendar or other cultural events are presented as uniform, these versions often resulted from a single European source such as the description of Pierre Biard. Consider the oddity it would be to present the European planter with a similar rigidity which presents subsistence or festive activities in such a formulaic nature.¹⁵⁹ The described events likely occurred on numerous occasions but different versions and wide variations would have also occurred. Whether fiddle playing broke out would have depended on the family in question, the availability of the instrument, and one with the skill and desire to play. Some homes may not have played cards or women might have been the main players. The point being generic and rigid descriptions from a single event lead to stilted and inaccurate representations of the community which can caricature them. These generalized descriptions would not work for Europeans nor do they accurately represent Native communities.

In reality, the Kiskuke'k L'nu'k (Today's people) discerned the seasons, weather, tides and resources in order to hunt and fish when it was most profitable to do so. Longer summers or heavier frost and snow would alter these calendars which can perhaps more fruitfully be seen as overlapping windows for hunting and fishing. Mi'kmaw bands could send a group inland to hunt while another tended to the weirs or other familial needs. Without this rigidly routine calendar, the Kiskuke'k L'nu'k Mi'kmaq can be seen as knowledgeable riverine and woodsmen who were trained to adapt to the flow of the seasons. How this calendar unfolded and was adapted changed from year to year with the availability of resources, community needs, and trade demands.

¹⁵⁹ This would sound like "The Acadians celebrated in the evenings. After sundown they would eat a dinner of bread, beans, and wine followed by an hour of fiddle playing, dancing and end with hours of card playing for the men while the women tended to the children."

The Mi'kmaq use of the river system, coastal regions, and inland territories had for its anchor, or homestead, the Head-of-Tide. The village was placed at the Head-of-Tide of a river where the diversity of resources was most abundant and diverse and from there members or groups from the community moved down the river to the coastal regions, up river to the interior lakes and into the wooded interior. Work from Benjamin Pentz as well as Saunders and Stewart on the Mersey-Allains river system which builds upon decades of excavations and studies in this region effectively established a continuous line of pre-contact sites on the river (totaling more than two hundred sites). They had an established presence of inland sites before the advent of the fur trade.¹⁶⁰ Roger Lewis' work on the fishing weirs supports this Mi'kmaw land-use strategy.

Mi'kmaq tribal knowledge and archaeological findings suggest that a subset of community members remained near the harbor while others moved between inland and the coast throughout the winter. The Mi'kmaq regularly used specialist teams to conduct certain community tasks which means the community did not move as one unit. Mi'kmaq community utilized both inland hunting and river eel fishing, as well as coastal clamming and seal hunting in the winter months. Additionally, Roger Lewis, a Mi'kmaq archaeologist, described the groups sent inland for hunting or fishing as "Specialists groups" who would head inland for a few days or weeks to hunt or fish for the community which would point to other community members working in other capacities elsewhere or around the Head-of-Tide.¹⁶¹ Winter festivals, such as the Mid-Winter Feast, which we will discuss later, also point to breaks in the long winter hunt model for gatherings.

¹⁶⁰ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 23; Mike Saunders and W. Bruce Stewart, "Mersey Hydro System Powerhouse Refurbishment project: 2004," Region of Queens Municipality. Nova Scotia, Archaeological Reconnaissance and Documentation. Interim Report. Heritage Research Permit A2004NS54 Manuscript on file, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax., 6.

¹⁶¹ Roger Lewis, Interview October 2018.

This theory of Mi'kmaw land use is not shared by all, as scholars advance different hypotheses. For instance, archaeologist Mathew Betts represents a group of scholars who argue for a settlement pattern that utilizes the coastal harbor and close vicinity throughout the year.¹⁶² Lewis argues Betts' research data is consistent with tribal knowledge albeit presented without a Mi'kmaw interpretation. Archaeologists Catherine Cottreau-Robins represents a revisionist movement within the field in her treatment of dig sites on the coast of Nova Scotia by centering indigenous landscape into the

¹⁶² Archaeologist Matthew Betts' contends pre-contact Mi'kmaq subsistence patterns remained on the coast year-round and that the inclusion of annual inland hunting in the winter was a response adaptation to rise of the fur trade. See also, Bernard Hoffman, *The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, PhD dissertation, (Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley 1955), 236. Betts bases this argument from his work at Port Joli harbor, on the Atlantic Coast. He contends that the Mi'kmaq stayed on the coast year-round stating there were enough resources available at the coast. Furthermore, Betts insists on both summer and winter dwellings within a thousand feet of the harbor. (Matthew Betts, Interview December 2017 and November 2018. Upcoming publication in Spring 2019.) This theory of permanent coastal habitation has also been put forth by others as well such as David Christianson and Helen Sheldon and in David Sanger's research on pre-contact habitation sites in Maine. See, David Christianson, 'Wabanaki Subsistence Strategies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' Honours thesis, Anthropology Department, Saint Mary's University. 1976; Helen Sheldon, *The Late Prehistory of Nova Scotia as viewed from the Brown Site*, Curatorial Report Number 61. Halifax: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1984; David Sanger, 'Changing Views of Aboriginal Seasonality and Settlement in the Gulf of Maine,' *Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 2, no. 2(1982) , pp. 195-203; 'Testing the Models: Hunter-Gatherer Use of Space in the Gulf of Maine, USA,' *World Archaeology*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 512-526.

Perhaps what Bett's work might reveal rather than a sedentary presence of the community around the harbor, is a regular presence of some of the tribe on the coast during the year. Meaning, Mi'kmaq community patterns were more complex and varied than the whole groups residing at the coast or inland together. The Mi'kmaq at Port Joli may have had groups participating in different subsistence activities on or near the coastal harbor. In other words, knowing the Mi'kmaq elsewhere did utilise the whole river and moved to meet, trade, fish, and hunt, rather than those at Port Joli exhibiting a different model, perhaps Bett's archeological work at Port Joli demonstrates the regular return to the harbors for coastal fishing, clamming, and hunting throughout the year.

Lewis also pointed out the various shellmounds and habitation sites found around harbors prove the regular movement of camps around the harbor when refuse deposits became too large, rather than a sedentary subsistence model for those at Port Joli. Shell Mines are the large piles of shells left behind from a habitation settlement. See, J. S. Erskine, "Shell-Heap Archaeology in Southwestern Nova Scotia," *Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science*, Volume 24, Part 4, Wolfville N.S. The Mi'kmaq were river people and despite Port Joli not being on a river, it was only fifteen miles from the Liverpool harbor and the Mersey river system and easily connected to the rest of Mi'kma'ki, just as Mirliguèche was to the La Have River system (Interview with Roger Lewis, November 2018). He asserted that the Mi'kmaq at Port Joli, like those at La Have and Mirliguèche, were on the coast in January for clam digging, seal hunting, and ice fishing while other specialist teams hunted in the interior. Lewis incorporates both tribal knowledge and archaeological findings to interpret pre-contact and early contact patterns.

interpretation of archaeological findings. As she puts it: “Our project is situated within an Indigenous framework so, flipping the traditional colonial historical narrative of investigating a French fort/trade post where the Mi’kmaq came to visit, to investigating an ancient Mi’kmaq landscape where the French set up a fort/trade post for a while.”¹⁶³ Consulting with native community leaders and indigenous scholarship should be crucial to understanding tribal history and practice. An exclusive reading of European primary documents perpetuates the same distance from the Mi’kmaq community that the authors of those documents had.

Pausing to consider the limits of European colonial perceptions can help to illuminate the distance between early modern European and Mi’kmaq actors. Europeans, both in the contact and post-contact period (or settlement period, after 1604), were located on the coasts of Mi’kma’ki. Especially those fishermen who came for five months of the year in the summer, observed the Mi’kmaq descend to fish the summer fence-stake weirs, and to increase their coastal fishing, hunting, and clamming in response to the seasonal changes. They would have seen them depart in fall for an increased focus on hunting and inland fishing. Europeans who remained on the harbor could not see farther than the treeline and would not be aware of the ways the Mi’kmaq were moving up and down the river. Especially during the contact period when Europeans returned annually to Europe this observation was especially true but also among those positioned in the French settlements on the coasts.

This European distance from the Mi’kmaq shaped the colonial record. For instance, Father Pierre Biard, when describing the Mi’kmaq subsistence calendar in 1611, noted that “in the middle of September withdraw from the sea, beyond the reach of

¹⁶³ Catherine Cottreau-Robins, email correspondence, December 6th 2017.

the tide.”¹⁶⁴ This remark could point to the fact that the summer months the Mi’kmaq frequented the “sea” but which included up to where the tide reached, which depending on the river could be up from the harbor many miles. Marc Lescarbot’s description, “in winter, when the fish withdraw, feeling the cold, the savages forsake the sea-shores and encamp in the woods, wherever they know there is any prey”¹⁶⁵ can be misleading. Did the use of the term “sea-shores” include the extent of the tidal system as well? When these anecdotes are read alongside the insights scholars and the Mi’kmaq themselves have of the community settlement patterns, these comments come into a clearer context.

Pentz offers an assessment of Mi’kmaq subsistence which provides insight into their movements, bearing in mind that this model offers flexibility to adapt to each river, harbor, and estuary lake. Pentz alters archaeologist Lewis R. Binford’s forager and collectors model and argues the Mi’kmaq operated as an aquatically adapted, generally collector-based settlement system during the middle-late Woodland period (2,000-450 before the present).¹⁶⁶ According to anthropologist and archaeologist Kenneth M. Ames, aquatic hunter-gatherers make long distance trips to hunt or fish. They do not need field-camps, or task sites because they transport those resources back to the main residence for processing by the group. Additionally, aquatic hunter-gatherers tend to utilize food storage practices more than terrestrial-based hunter-gatherers because of the “rich,

¹⁶⁴ Father Pierre Biard, “Biard’s Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1616” in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 1898, Volume 3, 77-81.

¹⁶⁵ Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, ed. W. L. Grant (Toronto: The Champlain Society. Grant 1914), Vol. III., 219-220.

¹⁶⁶ Lewis R. Binford, “Willow Smoke and Dogs’ Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation” In *Working at Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 352; “Mobility, Housing, and Environment: A Comparative Study,” *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 46(2) 1990, 138; Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 171.

diverse, and predictable nature of resources provided by the marine environment.¹⁶⁷

These food storage practices are defined more as a collector-based lifestyle.¹⁶⁸ The limited ethnohistoric evidence points in Mi'kma'ki to food storage practices such as smoking meat and fish, as well as the use of skin bladders to store moose, caribou, grease and seal oil and suspending meat in sacks covered by bark in high tree branches.¹⁶⁹

Pentz' research suggests the Mi'kmaq were aquatic hunter-gatherers because they used food storage practices and moved large resources to a main settlement. They also utilized field-camps to exploit "terrestrial resources not closely associated with navigable waterways, or for acquiring resources beyond the foraging radius (half day canoe travel) of the base-camp."¹⁷⁰ Field camps, or task camps, were used to support large game hunting that required butchering before transport and acquiring "non-local lithic materials." These field sites also served as rest-stops or overnight travel-camps for messengers and traders.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Kenneth M. Ames, "Going by Boat," In *Beyond Foraging and Collecting: Evolutionary Change in Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems*, edited by Ben Fitzhugh and Junko Habu (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), 40-44.

¹⁶⁸ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 169.

¹⁶⁹ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 182; David W. Black and Ruth Holmes-Whitehead, "Prehistoric Shellfish Preservation and Storage on the Northeast Coast," *North American Archaeologist*, Vol. 9 (1) 1988, 17-30.; David J. Christianson, "The Use of Subsistence Strategy Descriptions in Determining Wabanaki Residence Location," *The Journal of Anthropology at McMaster*, 5 (1) 1979, 104-105,112; B.G. Hoffman, *Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Unpublished PhD. thesis (University of California, Berkeley, 1955), 193-195; Chrestian LeClerq, *The New Relation of Gaspesia* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), 110-119; Darlene A. Ricker, *L'sitkuk: The Story of the Bear River Mi'kmaw Community* (Liverpool, Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishing, 1998), 19; Marion Robertson, *Red Earth: Tales of the Micmac - An Introduction to the Customs and Beliefs of the Micmac Indians* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1969) 7; Richard Rostlund, *Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1952), 139, 301; R. G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, volume 3 (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 79, 101, 107; Ruth Holmes-Whitehead and Harold McGee, *The Micmac: How their Ancestors lived five hundred years ago* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1983), 12.

¹⁷⁰ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 170.

¹⁷¹ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 170, 177.

The archaeological evidence of hunt, task, and transit camps along the rivers that were utilized by smaller groups is well established. These camps were geared to specific, specialized tasks such as processing large game or eel fishing and processing. The continued subsistence practices throughout winter on the beach for seal hunting and clam digging could suggest that there were community members who remained around the base camp throughout the winter. The Head-of-Tide was strategically located behind the treeline which offered protection from the Winter winds and storms while remaining close enough that they could make daily trips down to the coast.

Meanwhile small specialized groups traveled to the task sites up river to process food for the main site at the Head-of-Tide, argues Roger Lewis.¹⁷² Those who hunted seals or dug for clams may have stayed at the main site or come back in January for this purpose. But as Pentz points out, the archaeological evidence leaves some room for different understandings of the Mi'kmaq movement patterns. For our purposes, it is important to understand the Mi'kmaq were riverine people who followed the movement of fish first but that they also hunted large and small game.

Mi'kmaq subsistence calendar:

Between Spring and Fall, the Mi'kmaq in southwestern communities were largest in numbers in the summer camps and at the Head-of-Tide where they went to fish and repair tools.¹⁷³ The abundance of fish in these months made it a sustainable place for the whole community. They fished American smelt, gaspereau, salmon, Atlantic sturgeon, mackerel, and American eel, with the addition of Atlantic cod, and haddock on inshore coastal waters like La Have and Mirliquèche. They found striped bass in estuary

¹⁷² Roger Lewis, Interview November 2018.

¹⁷³ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 56.

waters.¹⁷⁴ Spawning runs engaged many community members who took advantage of the abundance of fish.¹⁷⁵ Fishing in the ocean, lakes, and river provided, according to Bernard Hoffman, around ninety percent of the Mi'kmaw diet.¹⁷⁶ The people checked weirs daily, according to Denys, two or three times a day for fish.¹⁷⁷ He also stated that within an hour a Mi'kmaq could catch about two hundred bass.¹⁷⁸ Sturgeon were fished at night, burning birchbark to create a torch to draw the fish to be killed by harpoon or spear.¹⁷⁹

These Head-of-Tide locations also allowed for them to benefit from bird migrations and nesting waterfowl, such as passenger pigeons, great auk, Canadian geese, and various species of ducks for meat, eggs and feathers.¹⁸⁰ Eagles were kept and fed in order to collect eggs and feathers for making arrows. The Mi'kmaq collected clams, lobster, crab, oysters and squid the rest of the year on the coastal beaches.¹⁸¹ Parisian lawyer and historian Marc Lescarbot wrote in 1613 of the "abundance of lobsters, crabs, palourdes, cockles, mussels, snails, and porpoises."¹⁸² The processing

¹⁷⁴ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 184.

¹⁷⁵ Peace, 56, 59; More on co-operative fishing techniques see, Patricia Nietfeld, *Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure*, PhD Dissertation (University of New Mexico, 1981), 348-349.

¹⁷⁶ Bernard Hoffman, *The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, PhD thesis (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1955), 151.

¹⁷⁷ Nicolas Denys, *The description and natural history of the coasts of North America (Acadia)* edited by William Francis Gagnon (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 437.

¹⁷⁸ Denys, *Description*, 173.

¹⁷⁹ Harriet V. Kuhnlein and Murray M. Humphries, "Sturgeon," *Traditional Animal Foods of Indigenous Peoples of Northern North America*, McGill University <http://traditionalanimalfoods.org/fish/searun-fish/page.aspx?id=6447> (Access January 2020); FG Speck, and RW Dexter, "Utilization of animals and plants by the Micmac Indians of New Brunswick," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 1951, 41(8):250-259; DR Snow, "Eastern Abenaki," *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15: Northeast*. Edited by Trigger BG (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution; 1978), 137-139.

¹⁸⁰ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 186; Peace, *Two Conquests*, 57.

¹⁸¹ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 186; Peace, *Two Conquests*, 57.

¹⁸² Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (New York: Pageant Book Co., 1959), 1: 69. A. J. B. Johnston, "The Early Days of the Lobster Fishery in Atlantic Canada," *Material Cultural Review* (January, 1991) <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/17475> (Accessed January 2020).

of all of this shell-fish is what produced the large shell mines around the summer camps. Between July and September, they consumed berries, nuts, and roots as well.¹⁸³

In fall specialist teams were sent up river for eel and trout, or to hunt at various task sites, hunt camps and inland weirs to collect and clean food sources for the community to bring back to the main settlement at the Head-of-Tide. Game animals were hunted sporadically throughout the year, but in fall the community hunters were sent to hunt ruffed grouse, snowshoe hare, groundhog, porcupine, river otter, beaver, lynx, black bear, white-tailed deer, moose, and woodland caribou year-round but especially in fall and winter when the fish were less abundant.¹⁸⁴ The Mi'kmaw utilized a variety of snares, metal traps and deadfall traps to catch game.¹⁸⁵ Expert hunters used Birch bark "callers," which "looked something like an old-fashioned megaphone," to imitate the call of a moose.¹⁸⁶ When there was heavy snow, moose had a harder time running away and hunters could run on top of the snow with snowshoes to catch them.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ L.F.S Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 2. Nicolas Denys also mentions hiring Mi'kmaq children to collect berries for him at La Have.

¹⁸⁴ For a description of hunting a moose when there is no snow: Nicolas Denys, *Nicolas Denys account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672 : concerning the ways of the Indians, their customs, dress, methods of hunting and fishing, and their amusements*, p.21, Pictou-Antigonish Regional Library, 2007, Nova Scotia, Canada, <http://www.parl.ns.ca/nicolasdenys/> (Accessed January 2020); Christianson, 1979, 101, 102, 105-106, 110; Pentz, 186, 189.

¹⁸⁵ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, interview January 2020.

¹⁸⁶ Ralph T. Pastore, "Traditional Mi'kmaq (Micmac) Culture," *Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998) <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/aboriginal/mikmaq-culture.php> (Accessed January 2020).

¹⁸⁷ For a description of hunting a moose in heavy snow see, Nicolas Denys, *Nicolas Denys account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672 : concerning the ways of the Indians, their customs, dress, methods of hunting and fishing, and their amusements*, p.22, Pictou-Antigonish Regional Library, 2007, Nova Scotia, Canada, <http://www.parl.ns.ca/nicolasdenys/> (Accessed January 2020); Samuel de Champlain, *Oeuvres de Champlain publié sous le patronage de l'Université Laval*, edited by Charles Honoré Laverdière (Québec, Imprimé au Séminaire par G.-E. Desbarats, 1870), 191; *Jesuit Relations* (XXXII.41,XLV.6l,XLIX.1959); Ralph T. Pastore, "Traditional Mi'kmaq (Micmac) Culture," *Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998) <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/aboriginal/mikmaq-culture.php> (Accessed January 2020).

Whelping grey seals and walrus were hunted in January and February along the Kespukwitk coast, but may have been taken at other times of the year as well.¹⁸⁸ The Mi'kmaq also hunted black bears, beavers, and otters in winter to benefit from their thicker coats.¹⁸⁹ Hunting beaver in the winter involved using dogs to smell a beaver home through the ice and then cutting holes into the ice to be able to pull out the sleeping beavers to kill.¹⁹⁰ Winter was also the time hunters could capitalize on bears hibernating in order to kill them while they were still groggy.¹⁹¹ Along with seals and walrus, Mi'kmaq returned to the coast and Head-of-Tide in the winter to fish for eels, smelt, and tom cod as well as to dig for clams.¹⁹²

The Mi'kmaq followed the “the ebb and flow of available migratory aquatic species”¹⁹³ more so than game and migratory birds. Considering the Mi'kmaq were expert seaman and could easily canoe thirty miles in a day, they could keep residence fairly sedentary, traveling large distances and back to the base camp in a single day. While the Mi'kmaq functioned autonomously along the rivers, they were still connected to the other Mi'kmaq and wider Native world through kinship, annual meetings, and trade.

¹⁸⁸ Christianson, 96, 99, 114; Silas Rand 1999, 54; Thwaites, Jesuit, 1959, 79.

¹⁸⁹ For a description of hunting a beaver in winter see, Nicolas Denys, *Nicolas Denys account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672 : concerning the ways of the Indians, their customs, dress, methods of hunting and fishing, and their amusements*, p.25, Pictou-Antigonish Regional Library, 2007, Nova Scotia, Canada, <http://www.parl.ns.ca/nicolasdenys/> (Accessed January 2020); Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 187; Burley, “Proto-Historic Ecological Effects of the Fur Trade on Micmac Culture in Northeastern New Brunswick,” *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer, 1981), pp. 203-216; Nash and Miller, “Model Building and the Case of the Micmac Economy.” *Man in the Northeast* 34, (1987): 41-56.

¹⁹⁰ Denys, *account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672*, p.25.

¹⁹¹ Harriet V. Kuhnlein and Murray M. Humphries, “Sturgeon,” *Traditional Animal Foods of Indigenous Peoples of Northern North America*, McGill University <http://traditionalanimalfoods.org/fish/searun-fish/page.aspx?id=6447> (Access January 2020); PK Bock, “Micmac,” *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15: Northeast*. edn. Edited by BG Trigger (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution; 1978), 109-122; NB Stoddard, *Micmac Foods*, vol. re-printed from the Journal of Education February 1966 (Halifax: Halifax Natural Science Museum, 1970).

¹⁹² Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 2; Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests*, 56-57.

¹⁹³ Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 189.

The Mi'kmaq were able to maintain much of their traditional practices possibly until the arrival of the reservation system in the 1820s, but at least until the mid-eighteenth century. This persistence was especially the case for those located away from European settlements such as La Have and Mirliguèche. Understanding these practices and motivating factors in Mi'kmaq movement, as well as their continuity throughout the French colonial period, help to get a better sense of the world the French hunters and fishermen joined in the seventeenth century. This Mi'kmaq lifestyle, absent from European records written from the perspective of Port Royal or Quebec, is lost through vague references to men leaving for life "in the woods." Without the Mi'kmaq component, the picture of early French life in Mi'kma'ki can-not begin to be filled in.

Native networks:

While the daily and seasonal functioning of the Mi'kmaq community was in many ways independent from other Mi'kmaq communities, many kinship, trade, and political connections linked them to the other Mi'kmaq and even other tribes in the Wabanaki and wider native world. The occasions for these networks included trade, marriage and annual meetings.

Just as each community was equipped with specialists who performed the different hunting and fishing tasks needed by the community, certain Mi'kmaq communities were known for certain trade goods and skills. For instance, arrowheads in Mi'kma'ki came from Blomidon-Wolfville region and were traded with the other Mi'kmaq families. Likewise, not every community made pottery. Rather some communities did and traded this resource with others for things such as arrowheads. Along the intricate river system in Mi'kma'ki, the Mi'kmaq moved between these various centers to trade. In

the same way, emissaries and traders traveled across the Bay of Fundy or north to Cape Breton to trade, meet, and marry as well.

That Native men and women frequently moved into other communities for a variety of reasons is evidenced by two cases. First John Missel, a Mi'kmaq man became caught up in the 1726 piracy trial in Boston which we will discuss in Chapter Six. Trial records reveal that John Missel was from Chignecto, had spent two years among the Mi'kmaq at Minas, and was captured at Mirliguèche.¹⁹⁴ In a second case, Lescarbot noted "strange visitors" among the Mi'kmaq, probably from other Mi'kma'ki districts or the Wulstukiul and Abenaki communities.¹⁹⁵ Historian William Wicken proposes that the young and unmarried men, such as Missel, travelled to visit friends and relatives in other villages during the summer months. At that time the food resources were abundant, and they were not engaged in full-time subsistence activities. Peace sees these examples as an illustration of the "highly fluid nature of these communities and that residence among 'commoners' may have been based on a local chief's ability to supply the community."¹⁹⁶ Both cases point to interconnected communities and the abundance of resources either to travel to trade with other communities or sustain additional kinship members for a season or a few years.

Various Native alliance systems which stretched deep into the continent developed in the pre-contact period. Historian Elizabeth Mancke notes that systems were located south of the gulf and river of Saint Lawrence and that Wabanaki traders ranged from Cape Breton to the Gaspé and south to about Cape Cod.¹⁹⁷ These

¹⁹⁴ *The Trials of Five Persons for Piracy, Felony and Robbery... Held at the Courthouse 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); William C. Wicken, "26 August 1726: A Case Study in Mi'kmaq-New England Relations in the Early 18th century," *Acadiensis*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Autumn 1993), 11; Peace, *Two Conquests*, 75.

¹⁹⁵ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 76; Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, vol. 3, 204.

¹⁹⁶ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 75; Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales*, 11.

¹⁹⁷ Mancke, *Spaces of Power*, 36.

connections were maintained by the various tribal chiefs. Communities would send out emissaries to speak on behalf of the tribe if the chief could not go. One case of this occurred with the Watertown treaty in New England. Various Mi'kmaq communities sent emissaries to sign a treaty of peace and friendship with George Washington and the newly-formed United States of America. The Mi'kmaq delegation was instructed to enter into an agreement of peace, not war. Having signed the agreement of war against the wishes of the chiefs, the delegation was sent back to negate this agreement.¹⁹⁸ Despite this decision on the part of the delegation, this process was an example of how the Mi'kmaq and Malicite chiefs worked at a unified confederacy in diplomacy. French Lawyer and writer Marc Lescarbot witnessed another example of these inter-tribal political alliances as sagamos attempted to establish peace with a neighboring tribe. He describes two sagamos, Messamouet, the sagamo from La Have, and Chkoudun, the sagamo at Saint John, meeting with lieutenant-governor of Acadia Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt at Chouakoet, an Armouchiquois village. The sagamos attempted unsuccessfully to establish peace with the Armouchiquois.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless this exchange reveals the Mi'kmaq and Wulstukwiuk connection and alliance building.²⁰⁰

Kinship connections among other Mi'kmaq communities were also frequently made and developed by intra-community marriages which highlight the bilocal marriage practices in Mi'kma'ki. As Peace points out, the Saint Jean Baptiste parish records at

¹⁹⁸ Daniel Paul, "Watertown Treaty 1776," *We were not the Savages*, <http://www.danielnpaul.com/WatertownTreaty1776.html> (Accessed November 2018). "Treaty of Watertown," *Cape Breton University*, <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/unamaki-college/mikmaq-resource-centre/treaties/treaty-of-watertown/> (Accessed November 2018). "The Treaty of Watertown," *The Historical Society of Watertown*, http://historicalsocietyofwatertownma.org/HSW/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=86 (Accessed, November 2018); Roger Lewis, Interview October 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, vol. 2, 323. Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests*, 77.

²⁰⁰ There has been more work on the intra-tribal relationships in works such as Jeffers Lennox's *Empires and Homelands*, which reveal the established networks of connection among the tribes in the Northeast.

Port Royal contain some information about these marriages. Bearing in mind the limited parish records available for the colonial period as well as the number of marriages that took place without a French official present, these records still contain fifty-five entries that involved the Mi'kmaq. Of those, only half include geographic information. The large majority, twenty-two of the cases, involve Mi'kmaq from Kespukwitk showing the many kinship connections among the Mi'kmaq in the southern peninsula. The other three entries highlight bilocal marriages on a wider scale. Jacques Bernard from Cape Sable was married to Marie Kouare from Sipekne'katikik, Joseph from Cape Sable was married to Marie from Unama'kik, and Marie Anne Tannitech married Noel from Sikniktewaq.²⁰¹ These three entries reveal kinship connections outside of the southern peninsula, part of the larger movement and connections of men and women across Mi'kma'ki.

The final facet of Mi'kmaq interconnectedness discussed here occurred through annual gatherings and other political meetings. The Mi'kmaq gathered together at regular intervals throughout the year to celebrate and discuss important matters. For instance, Mi'kmaq from all over Mi'kma'ki gathered on Chapel Island, Cape Breton, every January/February for their largest feast of the year. These celebrations would include fasting followed by speeches, music, dancing rituals, and two to three days of feasting as a tribe.²⁰² Mi'kmaq elder Lillian Marshall revived this Mid-Winter festival in 1989. The Mid-Winter feast was celebrated shortly after the first new moon of Punamujuiku (January) and is “a thanksgiving to all spirits, especially to the Great Spirit, for the blessings of life, health, and sustenance and the privileges of community life.”²⁰³

²⁰¹ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 75.

²⁰² Mi'kmaq Mid-Winter Feast, <http://www.potlotek.ca/news-events/annual/7-mi-kmaw-mid-winter-feast> (Accessed October 2018).

²⁰³ Lillian Marshall, Elder Potlotek (Chapel Island), NS Mi'kmaw Nation, <http://www.ap.smu.ca/~thacker/IYAbio2.pdf> (Accessed October 2018).

Gatherings were held in other parts of Mi'kma'ki throughout the year, such as at La Have at the Head-of-Tide in July. Missionaries took note of these regular gatherings and during the eighteenth century they planned their annual trips to these regions during their festivals. As will be seen in Chapter Four, missionaries stopped in La Have in July after the 1720s in order to capitalize on the gathered Mi'kmaq, a convenient time to perform their mission's visit.

Although historical evidence is inconclusive regarding a formal Pan-Mi'kmaq political structure prior to the eighteenth century, the various Mi'kmaq communities in Mi'kma'ki did operate in a kinship network which met and made decisions together. Village chiefs, marriages, and trading practices formed various points of contact for these communities while the sagamos, chiefs, served as the foundation for these connections.²⁰⁴ Thomas Peace notes,

Some sources illustrate the connection between Mi'kmaq communities that lived hundreds of kilometers apart, indicating that the Mi'kmaq shared both a language and common identity if not a more concrete political association... There was no pan-mi'kmaw response, or evidence of broader discussions, to European actions until the late 1710s. Given the limited and Eurocentric nature of the primary documents, we cannot be more conclusive. Nonetheless, it is clear that many Mi'kmaw communities worked together, and that some kind of broad political body developed during the pre-conquest period.²⁰⁵

Despite the limited historical evidence available, it is clear that the Mi'kmaq had a system of regular meetings with the chiefs and the whole tribe during the annual gatherings. From early colonial records, they clearly had established a regular schedule of meetings with other tribes as well to discuss relevant matters to the political, social and military interests of the tribe and their allies. Additionally, they had ties to these other Mi'kmaq communities and broader tribal networks through trade relations. Within

²⁰⁴ Nietfeld, *Determinants of Aboriginal*, 523-524.

²⁰⁵ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 73-74.

Mi'kma'ki, parish records demonstrate the established practice of bilocal marriages with a patrilocal tendency, meaning that a new couple could live at either the husband or wife's river but that more often they settled among the husband's family.²⁰⁶ The fact that marriage partners were selected from Mi'kmaw bands across Mi'kma'ki served to strengthen community ties across the territory. This brief survey of the various types of networks the Mi'kmaq reveal the various opportunities for network building before the French arrived. Whether for trade, kinship, or marriage, the Mi'kmaq had a history of establishing inter- and extra-tribal networks and alliances, and some of these alliances would later be adapted for the French. Archaeological evidence proves the established trade routes prior to the colonial period.

As this research enters the contact period between Europeans and Natives these trade routes would expand by empires but also individuals. While scholars discussed the various ways the French and Mi'kmaq allied against the English or other tribes in the colonial period, this dissertation explores the ways individual men or families forged these alliances with the Mi'kmaq at La Have and Mirliguèche.²⁰⁷ Not speaking for a larger French or Mi'kmaq state or unified agenda, this research focuses on the local, familial level of connections among individuals. Beyond trade benefits, these individuals sought out their livelihood, community, and survival for themselves and their families through the construction of kinship connections, with or without marriages, in order to participate to a greater or lesser extent in the Mi'kmaq community.

This chapter introduced Mi'kma'ki as it functioned before the formation of the alternate Atlantic. A cursory look at the functioning of a Mi'kmaq before 1600 through

²⁰⁶ William Wicken, "Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial, 30; Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia*" (PhD diss., York University, 2011), 58.

²⁰⁷ See Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Space, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

their movement along the river and coastal systems, subsistence patterns, and alliance networks reveals this pre-existing world. Even with the infusion of Europeans into this system, its general patterns and networks continued until the eighteenth century began to test, stretch, and eventually alter them. Mi'kmaq life was centered on the watersheds and river systems as well as hunting territories which allowed them to access the range of maritime and terrestrial resources and to gather with other bands.

The colonial ghosts may have left much of the colonial Atlantic behind between the 1630s and 1740s but they did not disappear. These ghosts were only rendered invisible to the European states as they were residing in the alternate Atlantic. Life in this ghost community will be explored in Chapter Five, but for now it is essential to understand the world that welcomed them. Just as practices, travels and networks were occluded behind the phrase “into the woods” so too were these ghosts. Mi'kma'ki, like most Native communities in the Americas, fell into the blind spot of European empires because they lived in two different Atlantic worlds. Historians have often recreated those colonial blind spots by relying on European accounts and neglecting to utilize the evidence that does exist such as archaeology, Mi'kmaw language, and tribal knowledge.

Chapter Three:

European fisheries and the alternate Atlantic

European fishermen began entering the fringes of the Mi'kma'ki around the turn of the sixteenth century. The sixteenth century represented the beginning of the contact period.²⁰⁸ This chapter demonstrates that through the predominantly economic exchanges that resulted from the European fisheries, limited contact between the Mi'kmaq and Europeans continued for close to a century before European groups began to settle on the edges of Mi'kma'ki. During the sixteenth century Europeans established a temporary presence in the North Atlantic which included the development of trading relationships with the Native Atlantic. These trade networks were limited in scope and generally only served to graft European buyers into the Wabanaki trading networks that already existed. The sixteenth century for the Mi'kmaq did not disrupt their use of the land, or daily practice as Europeans remained in the open oceans and temporary beach and harbor dwellings. In other words, the European fisheries and the Alternate Atlantic still occupied separate spaces in the seventeenth century.

Fragmentary evidence documents a few children resulting from European and Native interactions in the early seventeenth century but to date there is no other evidence to point to fishermen joining the Mi'kmaq during this period. Since Europeans were frequenting the North Atlantic and contacting Native tribes in the area, it is possible some fishermen or traders joined Native communities. They did not qualify as colonial ghosts in this preparatory period since European powers were not yet attempting to claim these landed spaces. In other words,

²⁰⁸ The contact period according to the *Nova Scotia Cultural Sequence Timetable* is characterized by European presence in the North Atlantic and the beginning of trade through the cod fisheries.

some Europeans may have joined indigenous communities, in the sixteenth century, but firstly we do not have enough evidence to describe this practice but secondly, these Native adoptees predated the advent of territorial imperial claims, census records, and other tools of empire to infer territorial ownership through European bodies. Ghosts could not disappear from record keeping efforts that were not yet underway.

The sixteenth century in Mi'kma'ki can be viewed as two distinct worlds, the Native and European, which co-existed for part of each year. Despite the arrival of transient Europeans, these worlds made very little change to one another in the Northeast in the first century of contact. European fishermen and, later fur traders, came to extract resources from the space without attempting permanent settlement, much less importing a colonial apparatus or engaging in much cultural exchange. The North Atlantic was not a story of colonial failure in the sixteenth century, but a period focused on fish and furs, two valuable export commodities that did not require permanent settlement. With this focus from the European fishermen and fur traders, Native America and Europe remained largely separate until colonial projects began at the end of the century. The alternate Atlantic began to develop during this period as new trading commodities and resources began to filter into Native America but the community took off in the seventeenth century with the permanent arrival of Europeans.

As European imperial focus was concentrated further south and fishermen kept their new lucrative fishing locations to themselves, information about the North Atlantic remained slow in the early sixteenth century. Fishermen deliberately used the term *Terra Nova*, new land, to maintain a level of secrecy from other fishermen and the state. This chapter considers the work of historians

Peter Pope and Jack Bouchard which sets up the world of European fishermen and adds to this understanding the dual worlds or the Mi'kma'ki shores. For the cod fishermen, these beaches were extensions of Terra Nova and of a European economic system; for the Mi'kmaq, these beaches were part of Mi'kma'ki. Both of these groups frequented these shores but they did so focused on different worlds; the fisherman oriented to European markets and communities; the Mi'kmaq positioned towards Native communities.

This difference in focus on the part of the fisherman and later European settlers means that sixteenth century cod fisherman seasonally fished the North Atlantic as an extension of a European economic system while later settlers developed colonial systems on American land. Terra Nova's value was seen in its abundance of cod and later furs, but not in land during the sixteenth century. The fisheries were not maintained through typical colonial measures of protection such as forts, military support, and controlled ports, rather a sort of stasis developed among the fishermen who kept the region a secret and operated under a "first come first serve" matrix. That fishermen and traders explored and profited from the North Atlantic while colonial officials worked elsewhere highlights the various channels of knowledge that will continue to be important throughout this dissertation.

An important theme in this discussion are the channels of knowledge and how these different channels directed state information, desire, control, and intervention. Considering the disseminators of knowledge of the North Atlantic in the sixteenth century were fishermen, a group who avoided giving too many details to state officials, skirted taxes, and worked with secrecy to retain the economic edge in their fishing, they played a key role in trying to keep control of

access to the region. Comparatively the Caribbean was both geographically better known and sought after for its economic and political appeal while the North Atlantic remained opaque in its location and the value for colonial expansion.

European statesmen were limited in their knowledge of the geography and Native communities of the North Atlantic and thus focused their attention elsewhere. Mariner reports record very few locations and appear to conflate most of the Indigenous communities they contacted. The few written sources of the sixteenth century, both their volume and the paucity of their descriptions of the North Atlantic, serve to limit our understanding of this period. The sparse information available also reveals important information about the nature of European presence and how these different channels of knowledge directed colonial interests in the Atlantic.

Contact between the European and Native worlds was often diffuse and slow. For the Mi'kmaq, as with other Native tribes involved, interaction with Europeans was for trading purposes. They viewed trade with Europeans as a new economic venture which could be added among their other trade networks. For Europeans, the North Atlantic was a space where European commoners simply came to work. The local inhabitants were not prioritized or pursued as part of the scope of this enterprise. Cod fisheries of necessity focused on the water, not the land. Individual fishermen came to catch fish, and local trade represented a secondary and supplemental economic benefit. Fur traders increased

knowledge of the land by the mid-sixteenth-century and this information steadily grew as the trade took on more size and scope in the seventeenth century.²⁰⁹

The diffuse nature of this contact meant the descriptions of the First Nations these fishermen encountered were sketchy. Authors tended not to give tribal designations and thus it is difficult to differentiate if the Native person described was the Mi'kmaq, Beothuk, Innu, or from another tribe. These generic descriptions contributed to the faceless and oftentimes random contact that the Europeans established in this period, with severe limits on European cultural interaction with natives. These fishermen came to the North Atlantic, not as agents of empire, colonizers, or promoters of European contact, but as profiteering fishermen there to fish cod and benefit from opportunities to trade with Natives.

The available evidence of trade between these two groups reveals the limited nature of contact. Contact did not extend beyond economic and peace agreements until the early seventeenth century. Keeping in mind that the European seaman existed in a semi-nomadic subsistence pattern, this regular movement back to Europe further limited their interaction and involvement in the North Atlantic. These fishermen focused their attention on the waters and did not venture inland beyond the beaches where they dried their cod.²¹⁰ Despite the

²⁰⁹ For readings on the fur trade see, Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (University of California Press, 1982); Gilles Havard, *Empire et métissages: Indiens et Français dans le Pays d'en Haut, 1660-1715* (Sillery, Q.C. and Paris: Éditions du Septentrion and Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003); Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed. *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

²¹⁰ To see fishermen described as semi-nomadic see Jack Bouchard, "Ces gens sauvages et étranges: Amerindiens and the Early Fishery in the Sixteenth-Century Gulf of St Lawrence," *The Greater Gulf: Essays on the Environmental History of the Gulf of St Lawrence*, eds. Claire Elizabeth Campbell, Edward MacDonald and Brian Payne (McGill-Queens' University Press, 2020), 15.

proximity of the European fisheries and alternate Atlantic in this period, they existed largely separately. The biggest impact of the interaction that did take place was in new trade goods for both parties, as well as the development of a pidgin language to facilitate the coastal trade.

By the end of the sixteenth century, Europeans began to charter more “exploratory” missions to “discover” the land in the North Atlantic, including Mi’kma’ki, in the hopes of establishing settlement colonies which signaled the beginning of the interpenetration of these two distinct worlds, which had previously had only periphery contact on water and beaches. While some had attempted settlements in the Northeast, such as Jacques Cartier’s mission to Canada, none of these were sustained, and efforts were not renewed until the seventeenth century. For many communities, such as those at La Have and Mirliguèche, while residents were aware that European presence had shifted to settlement, this shift altered little of their daily life in the seventeenth century. This intrusion into Mi’kma’ki was slow and predominantly focused on the Bay of Fundy, not the Atlantic coast, so it had little effect.

The biggest changes confronted at La Have and Mirliguèche after European settlement began were the incorporation of some European-descended people into their kinship networks and an increase in fishing vessels docking to trade and fish in their harbor. Seventeenth century imperial tensions between France and England were occasionally felt by those on the Atlantic. The nascent colonies and wars that occasionally followed from settlement certainly brought more tumult to Wabanaki including the Mi’kmaq surrounding the Bay of

Fundy. For those at La Have and Mirliguèche, most tensions were kept at a distance until after the English conquest of Acadie in 1710.²¹¹

The cod fisheries of Terra Nova:

Fishermen across western Europe began the pursuit of cod in early spring.²¹² The old adage of the early bird gets the worm applied here as well, as vessels that arrived first in Terra Nova benefitted from both the fishing season and from establishing the legal authority over the harbor where they anchored. In this system, when more than one vessel docked at a harbor, whoever was the first to arrive would have legal authority over that site for the season. Merchant fishing vessels were outfitted from crews and supplies from the various ports in Western Europe and headed for Terra Nova in spring.²¹³

When a crew arrived in Terra Nova, it set up a “fishing room” on a beach for all or part of the fishing season. Fishing rooms are what Peter Pope calls the seasonal beachside production sites where fishermen treated the cod. In the fishing rooms men used equipment such as Flakes also called gelets, drying racks made of wood or cobble beaches, as well as wooden vats and strainers of fir boughs to salt and dry the cod and make train oil. The fishing rooms also had living spaces such as cook-rooms and small temporary cabins. These fishing

²¹¹ Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia*, PhD dissertation (Toronto: York University, 2011).

²¹² Fishing crews might leave as early as March to fish in Terra Nova. See Jack Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova: The North Atlantic Fisheries and the Atlantic World, 1490-1600*, PhD Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 2018), 130; Henry Percival Biggar, “The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534,” a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), 132-133.

²¹³ Peter Pope, “Transformation of the Maritime Cultural Landscape of Atlantic Canada by Migratory European Fishermen, 1500-1800,” *Beyond the Catch: Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850*, edited by Louis Sicking and Darlene Abreu-Ferreira (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 123.

rooms were set up upon arrival or reused from a previous season.²¹⁴ Beaches converted to fishing rooms were few in number and thus sought out by the various European vessels for the fishing season. Most of the spaces which have been excavated to date are in Newfoundland such as Camp Paya in Petit Nord, Newfoundland or Brest in Labrador. In peninsula Mi'kma'ki, a fishing room was established at Canseau in Mi'kma'ki.²¹⁵

Crews anchored their vessel offshore and used small shallops daily. Fishermen would set out in the morning, a few fishermen to a shallop, rowing up to a half a mile offshore, where they would hand-line cod all day.²¹⁶ At the end of the day, they would bring their catch back to the fishing rooms to be gutted, headed, split, salted, and laid on the racks. A piece of cod took a few days to cure in the sun.²¹⁷ Fishermen fished or caught herring, capelin, squid or sea-birds such as great auk for bait on sight.²¹⁸

Crews were in Terra Nova for a few months at a time, either docked at the same spot or moving farther along the coast every few weeks. Their time was largely spent on the waters. On land they were restricted to the beaches and the converted fishing rooms in select harbors. The vast majority of the lands

²¹⁴ Peter Pope, *Transformation*, 134-136.

²¹⁵ Pope, *Transformations*, 135. See also, Peter Edward Pope, Shannon Lewis-Simpson editors, *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); Peter Pope, "Bretons, Basques, and Inuit in Labrador and northern Newfoundland: The control of maritime resources in the 16th and 17th centuries," *Études/Inuit/Studies* (2015) 39(1), 15–36. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1036076ar>

²¹⁶ Peter Pope, "Modernization on Hold: The Traditional Character of the Newfoundland Cod Fishery in the Seventeenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History*, 2003, p.236; "Cod Hand-Line," TR*054503, *Smithsonian National Museum of American History* http://americanhistory.si.edu/onthewater/collection/TR_054503.html (Accessed December 2018).

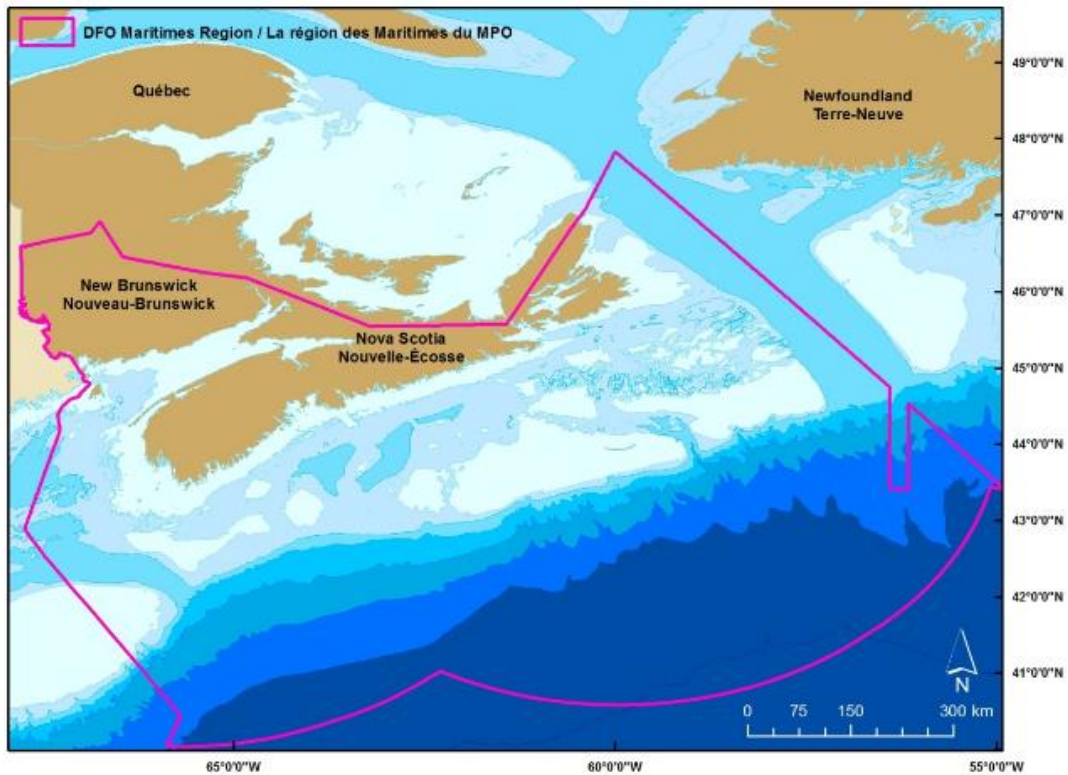
²¹⁷ Laurier Turgeon, *The Era of the Far-Distant Fisheries: Permanence and Transformation (circa 1500 - 1850)* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005), 7, 37; Jack Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova: The North Atlantic Fisheries and the Atlantic World, 1490-1600*, PhD Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 2018), 135.

²¹⁸ Pope, *Transformations*, 142. Also Great Auk are mentioned as bait for cod in Jacques Cartier's Account of his 1534 voyage in Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, edited by H.P. Biggar and R. Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 4-5.

surrounding “Terra Nova” were untouched and unexplored by the transient fishermen.

It is difficult to determine when fishermen began to visit the southern half of Terra Nova and ports like, what the French would later call, La Have and Mirliguèche. Most likely fishermen did not regularly fish in this region until the end of the sixteenth century. As it developed initially, fishing was concentrated on the Northern end of Terra Nova, around southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland island. By the 1560s, with increasing climatic shifts of the Little Ice Age and changing trade patterns with Natives from elsewhere in the North Atlantic, including the Mi'kmaq, fishing began to move southward to include the Scotian Shelf. Still it remained concentrated around the northern end of the peninsula with the shores of Unama'ki (today Cape Breton) and around the Banquereau and Sable Island.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Jack Bouchard, email correspondence, May 30, 2018.



Map of Scotian Shelf, Atlantic coast and the Bay of Fundy by Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Canada Government²²⁰

Over the course of the seventeenth century, then, European fishermen gradually fished farther south. Based on Cyprian Southack's map, New England fishermen were fishing up the coast of peninsular Mi'kma'ki by the 1730s. This area was known to fishermen and was visited during the late sixteenth century at least for trade with the Mi'kmaq. Etienne Bellenger's voyage in the 1580s around the coast of Mi'kma'ki and into the Bay of Fundy to trade for furs demonstrates a

²²⁰ "Scotian Shelf, Atlantic Coast and the Bay of Fundy," Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Government of Canada, <http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/oceans/management-gestion/scotian-ecossais-eng.html> (Accessed December 2018).

European presence in the late sixteenth century. Additionally, on Samuel Champlain's exploratory voyage to Acadie in 1603, he came upon Captain Rossignol and his crew at Port Rossignol trading with the Mi'kmaq. Champlain's observation suggests fishermen had been familiar and trading there with the Mi'kmaq in southern Mi'kma'ki, before Champlain's voyage of 1603.

Growth of the cod fisheries:

The cod fisheries began sometime around 1500 when word of "New-Found-Islands" was circulating in England and Portugal. Portuguese clerics attempted to tax the fish coming from Terra Nova, a fact which provides the first early modern recording of a European visit to land in the North Atlantic.²²¹ Given the different channels of knowledge among fishermen, scribes, and state officials, it is not known when these fishing expeditions moved farther east from the Iceland fishery to the waters of *Terra Nova*. While the advent of this fishery is unknown, the early sixteenth century saw the rise of this trade as fishermen from ports across Western Europe increasingly were making annual voyages to fish in its waters.²²²

The expanse of Western Europe between Portugal and Normandy, as well as England and Ireland, invested and sent vessels to the North Atlantic cod fisheries.²²³ Peter Pope states the Bretons may have had fishermen in Atlantic Canada as early as 1504 and a Portuguese Royal Order of 1506 refers to fish

²²¹ Henry Percival Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534, a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), No.XXIV. p.67-70. "Royal Confirmation to Michael Corte Real of the Lands Granted to him by his Brother Gaspar. 1502"; *Ibid.* No.XXVIII. pp.96-97 "A Tax Laid on Newfoundland Cod in Portugal. 1506."

²²² see Peter Pope, "Transformation of the Maritime Cultural Landscape," *Beyond the Catch*, 125.

²²³ Pope, *Beyond the Catch*, 124.

from Newfoundland. Along with the dominance of the English and Portuguese in the early cod fisheries, the Basque also fished extensively in the North Atlantic and were well-established at Canso in Mi'kma'ki by the 1560s.²²⁴ Norman crews also had an early start in Terra Nova and remained active throughout the sixteenth century. The Normans were particularly active on the east coast of Newfoundland as well as what they called *La Floride*, which was the coast north of Cape Cod, including parts of Mi'kma'ki.²²⁵

These men were semi-nomadic, following the change of seasons to maximize their time in the Atlantic for about five months of the year and heading back to Europe in fall to sell their fish and avoid the winter in North America. Historian Jack Bouchard notes that as early as 1520 Basque ship owners were fretting about needing to time carefully their voyages to coincide with the arrival of warm weather and the codfish.²²⁶ Mariners also remained finely attuned to the seasonal cycles in the North Atlantic and tried to follow its rhythm. Like the Mi'kmaq, European fishermen followed the seasonal patterns of fish.

The cod fisheries became a substantial business in the sixteenth century. By the 1560s likely between ten and fifteen thousand mariners fished in the northwest Atlantic on over three hundred ships.²²⁷ By 1580, historian Peter Pope finds this industry had grown to close to 500 vessels in the North Atlantic each spring, all seeking this food source.²²⁸ In a fishing season, just five men could catch and cure about 20,000 fish to produce ten tons of salt cod.²²⁹ With this level of productivity, the European fishing fleet was able to meet the growing demand

²²⁴ Pope, *Beyond the Catch*, 129.

²²⁵ Pope, *Beyond the Catch*, 127, 131.

²²⁶ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova* 15.

²²⁷ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 28.

²²⁸ Pope, *Modernization on Hold*, 234-235.

²²⁹ Pope, *Modernization on Hold*, 237.

for cod in Catholic Europe,²³⁰ as well as to supply Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.²³¹

When European fishermen began frequenting Terra Nova's waters at the turn of the sixteenth century, it was not the first-time visitors from the East came to the shores of North America. Norse mariners set up a Greenland colony in the tenth century and visited the land of the Beothuk and Mi'kmaq. One Viking settlement has been located at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, which dates to the eleventh century. It is difficult to determine where else Leif Eriksson and his crew visited.²³² The Greenland colony collapsed in the mid-fifteenth century, most likely due to the global cooling of the Little Ice Age which dropped temperatures in Greenland. Norse visits to the Northeast may have continued during the lifespan of the Greenland colony.

²³⁰ Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (Penguin Books, 1997), 24.

²³¹ For more on the size of the fisheries see, Peter E Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Laurier Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians During the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1998); Selma Huxley Barkham, "A Note on the Strait of Belle Isle During the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4, no. 1/2 (1980); George A. Rose, *Cod: The Ecological History of the North Atlantic Fisheries* (St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books, 2007).

²³² There are two surviving Norse sagas which detail some of the Viking experience in the Northeast called *Grænlandinga saga* ("Saga of the Greenlanders") and *Eiríks saga rauða* ("Erik the Red's Saga") which names locations such as Vineland but where this is exactly is not known. Birgitta Wallace, "Vineland," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Vinland> (Accessed November 2018); "L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site," *UNESCO*, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/4> (Accessed November 2018). See, William W. Fitzhugh, Elizabeth I. Ward, and History National Museum of Natural, *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, in association with the National Museum of Natural History, 2000); Andrew J Dugmore, Christian Keller, and Thomas H McGovern, "Norse Greenland Settlement: Reflections on Climate Change, Trade, and the Contrasting Fates of Human Settlements in the North Atlantic Islands," *Arctic anthropology* 44, no. 1 (2007); David B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Kirsten Seaver, *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America, ca. A.D. 1000-1500* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1996); Kevin McAleese, Newfoundland, and Museum Newfoundland, *Full Circle, First Contact: Vikings Et Les Skraelings A Terre-Neuve Et Au Labrador* (St. John's: Newfoundland Museum, 2000).

Because the visits to this region were without state organization, knowledge of this region took on a different nature. It is possible that mariners knew to fish in Terra Nova by the sixteenth century because it was already known to them. Perhaps they had previously been there, or they heard stories of the massive cod in the North Atlantic from other fishermen. Even if the North Atlantic was not previously recorded on imperial maps, we cannot conclude that the fishery was entirely unknown. This may not have been a new discovery for the European mariners.

Different Channels of knowledge:

Fishermen used the term “Terra Nova” to describe the fishing in the North Atlantic in order to keep some level of secrecy from other fishermen and officials. European colonial exploitation of the Caribbean and Latin America was well underway in the sixteenth century. By contrast Europeans focused on the economic benefits in the North Atlantic oceans. Imperial interest was temporarily detained from the North Atlantic by factors such as harsh winters, seasonal interest in resources, lack of imperial rivalry without colonies, and the nebulous way Terra Nova was described. So, what was Terra Nova?

Terre-Neuve or Terre-Neufve for the French, Tierra Nueva or Terranova for the Spanish, Newfoundland for the English, and Terre Nabe for the Gascon are some of the variants of Terra Nova that circulated in the sixteenth century to refer to the waters in the North Atlantic West of Greenland.²³³ It remains unclear

²³³ Jack Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 91. See also, Laurier Turgeon, “Pêcheurs basques du Labourd dans le golfe et l’estuaire du Saint-Laurent au XVI^e siècle,” in *L’Avenir maritime, du golfe de Gascogne a Terre-Neuve*, edited by Jean Bourgoïn et Jacqueline Carpine-Lancre (Paris: éditions du CTHS, 1995), 213-34, and Charles A. Martijn, ‘Early Mi’kmaq presence in southern Newfoundland: An Ethnohistorical perspective, c. 1500-1763,’ *Newfoundland Studies* 19 (1) (2003): 64-5.

why the North Atlantic was called “Terra”, or land, but this term was the name that appeared most often on sixteenth-century fishing records.²³⁴ This term was first seen in 1502 in a Spanish Crown document confirming explorer Gaspar Corte-Real’s discoveries of “Terra Nova.” The Portuguese applied the term again in 1506 in a Royal degree which related to the taxation of fish coming back from Terra Nova.²³⁵ From there, the term Terra Nova travelled throughout Western Europe from Rouen, Aragon, Nantes after these dates.²³⁶

Significantly the use of the term Terra Nova allowed fishermen to answer the state’s inquiries as to their activities at sea while avoiding administrators and keeping some secrecy. A known aspect of the fishermen’s craft was their use of secrecy to preserve favorite fishing spots. The fishermen deliberately remained vague as to their location. For this reason, few place names and descriptions of Terra Nova were recorded.²³⁷ Peter Pope also sees this same catch-all term for the North Atlantic being used. “Charter parties often speak only of ‘Terre-Neuve’ or even ‘Terres-neuves’ which in the early sixteenth century might be anywhere in Atlantic Canada.”²³⁸ Bouchard argues this term served to keep state officials in the dark; fishery records contain various complaints on the part of the scribes

²³⁴ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 90.

²³⁵ No.XXIV. p.67-70. “Royal Confirmation to Michael Corte Real of the Lands Granted to him by his Brother Gaspar. 1502”; No.XXVIII. pp.96-97 “A Tax Laid on Newfoundland Cod in Portugal. 1506.” in Henry Percival Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534, a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911).

²³⁶ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 93.

²³⁷ Olsen and Thuen discuss the use of secrecy and knowledge in the fishermen’s craft. See Bror Olsen and Trond Thuen, “Secret Places: On the Management of Knowledge and Information About Landscape and Yields in Northern Norway,” *Human Ecology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (APRIL 2013), pp. 273-283.

²³⁸ Peter Pope, Transformations of the Maritime Cultural Landscape of Atlantic Canada by Migratory European Fishermen, 1500-1800,” in *Beyond the Catch: Fisheries of the North Atlantic, in the North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 124.

who could not get the fishermen to pay taxes for the fish caught in Terra Nova or provide more details.²³⁹

The Admiralty system was put in place to regulate the fisheries but in reality, fishermen, like most people in the Atlantic space, had very little regulation in the sixteenth century. This same independent and withholding spirit when confronted by scribes was found in the Acadian population. For instance, when Pierre Melanson was questioned in a census in 1678, he refused to give more than his name.²⁴⁰ Perhaps this independent spirit was a common characteristic of those who opted for life or work in the Atlantic. In the case of fishermen, their withholding information caused the Spanish government to interrogate Basque fishermen as to their activities in Terra Nova in an attempt to understand more of what Terra Nova was like and what was going on.²⁴¹ By 1542 when these interrogations took place, fishing crews had already been visiting Terra Nova for at least forty years.

²³⁹ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, p. 100. Footnote 282: "For instance, one of the earliest records from 1514 involves an abbey complaining about the local fishermen who were visiting "la Terre-Neuffve" without paying their taxes. ADCA H 69. A transcript can be found in: Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534, a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), 118-123.

²⁴⁰ The census taker noted: "Pierre Melanson, Tailleur, a refuse de donner son aage et Le nombre de ses bestiaux et terres et sa femme ma respondu si j'estois si fous de courrir Les rues pour des choses de mesme." (Author's translation: Pierre Melanson, Tailor, refused to give his age, the nubmer of his animals and lands and his wife answered that I was crazy to run the streets asking for such things.) Charles Trahan, *Acadian Census 1671-1752* (Reyne, La.: Hébert Publications, 1994), 6; d'Entremont, "Census of Port Royal, 1678," FCAGR, vol. VII, no. 1 (Spring 1979), 64.

²⁴¹ Henry Percival Biggar, *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur De Roberval*. No.212. (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), 447-467.



*An approximate reconstruction of Terra Nova in the Sixteenth century
by Jack Bouchard²⁴²*

Terra Nova - literally “new land” - seems to refer to the water, not the land. The fur trade to Canada began to develop by mid-century which caused the use of two distinct places being used; Canada or Terra Nova. The former referred to the land while the latter continued to point to the water.²⁴³

The fishermen, being focused on water, had limited knowledge of Mi'kma'ki and the rest of the Native territories during the sixteenth century. While

²⁴² Jack Bouchard, “Figure 9. An approximate reconstruction of Terra Nova in the early sixteenth century,” in *Towards Terra Nova: The North Atlantic Fisheries and the Atlantic World, 1490-1600*, PhD Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 2018), 101.

²⁴³ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 102.

they may have docked on beaches and traded with Natives, they were looking to the water, not the land. European fur traders only utilized the beaches and harbors in the sixteenth century to conduct their trade. While contact was made, European knowledge and penetration of the land was limited to the shoreline. Peter Pope points out that “they impinged on only a small fraction of Newfoundland’s land mass.” In other words, just as fishermen remained on the shoreline, so too did European fur traders who could connect with Mi’kmaw near the harbors.²⁴⁴

Untangling the largely separate communication channels that existed in the North Atlantic in the sixteenth century reveals the limited ways they intersected and how there was still much unknown between these groups. Despite hundreds of fishing vessels frequenting the North Atlantic, their communication with state officials was limited. They held their knowledge which contributed to keeping the state at a distance from their profits and these waters. At the same time, these fishermen frequented the area on the fringes of Mi’kma’ki as well as other Native lands in the North Atlantic, engaging only in a limited scope of interaction and knowledge transfer among those two groups as well.

These diverse channels of knowledge reveal the importance of understanding the networks the authors of our primary sources would have been privy to as well as their perspective on the ground. For instance, the scribes in the Laroche port were interested in proper taxes and permits being paid but only had access to the limited information the fishermen would share. The fishermen were interested in reserving access to their fishing rooms for

²⁴⁴ Pope, *Transformations*, 139.

themselves to ensure a profitable fishing season, while they had knowledge of the waters but only a limited view of the land. These differing networks and foci should be kept in mind to be able to better understand the varying perspectives of Mi'kma'ki and Acadie. In other words, when French Catholic Bishop Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Valliers visited Acadie in 1686, his focus and channels of knowledge would not have put him in contact with the workings of the La Have or Mirliguèche community. While he sought to see religious conversion among the Indians, he did not visit the Atlantic Coast and was not educated on Mi'kmaq way of life there. An Acadian fishermen or tradesman with the Mi'kmaw at Minas, however, would have had more connection and kinship with the Mi'kmaq on the Atlantic and had access to greater information of those communities. Without writings from such individuals, scholars remain in the dark about this knowledge. Scribes at Port Royal would have had their own distances from the Atlantic coast which would have depended on the individual's networks.

Looking ahead for a moment, imperial access to community information remained a privileged commodity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Imperial distance and kinship networks interplayed to reveal more occlusions in imperial understandings of the Mi'kmaq communities on the Atlantic Coast and the Frenchmen who joined them. Some networks developed separately from the official channels of knowledge that existed between Port Royal, Quebec, and France, just as the knowledge of Terra Nova spread like wildfire across the fishermen networks of Western Europe while scribes in the same ports were frustrated by the lack of information.

The historian's challenge in reconstructing these early modern communities is that written sources were often penned by state officials who did

not have access to the same knowledge that Port Royal fur traders or kin of the Mi'kmaq had. Considering the multiple layers of knowledge circulating in a colony and how written sources, especially state sources, can reflect a slow and fractured understanding of the Atlantic world, historians should consider an interdisciplinary source base for studies into Mi'kma'ki, or for any subject removed from the colonial gaze.

Terra Nova on maps:

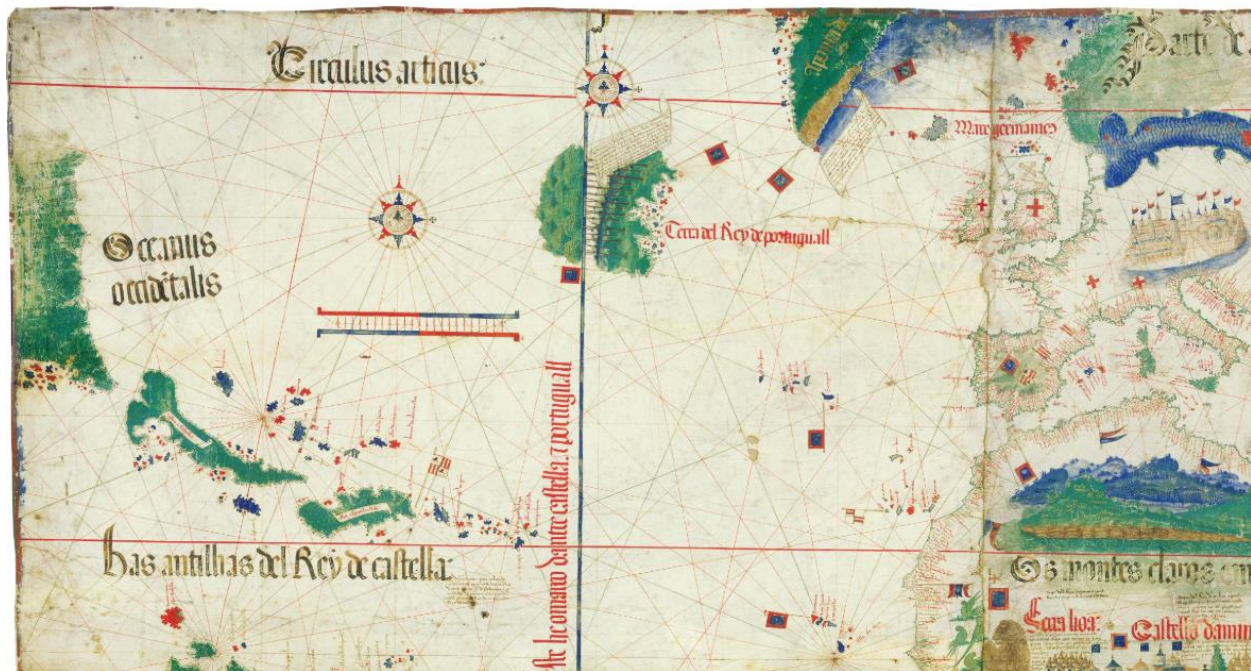
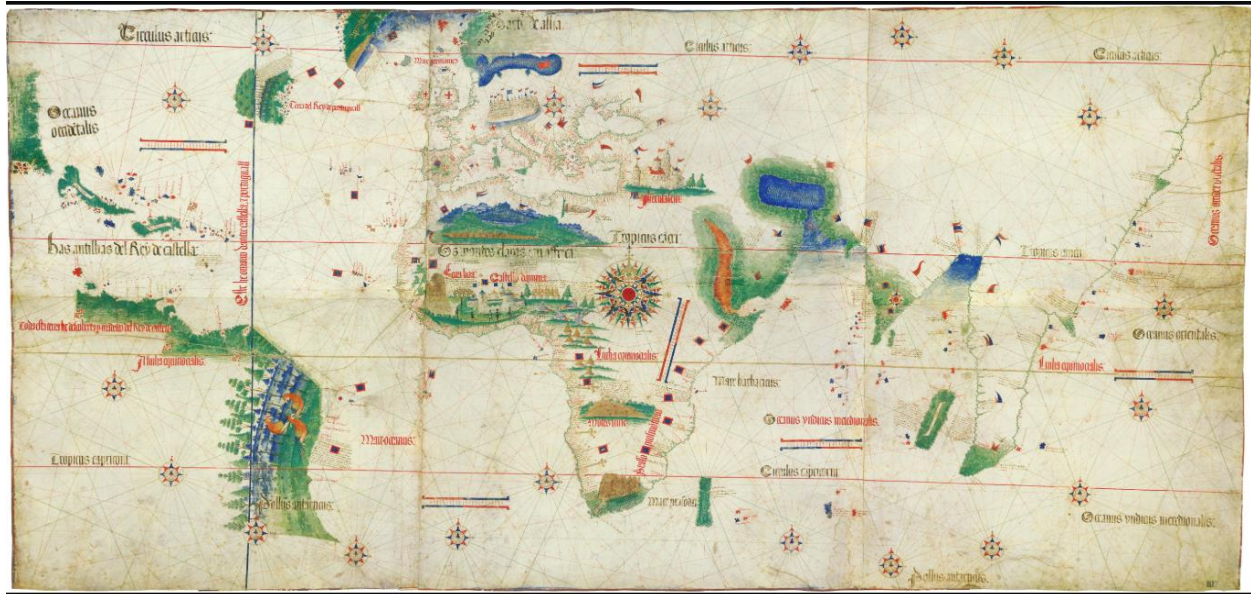
The slow process of understanding what land and peoples existed in the North Atlantic can be seen in contemporary imperial maps. The next series of maps reveal the limits in understanding of what existed in the North Atlantic for European map makers, royals, and elites. These maps also underline the general European lack of knowledge of the American communities and their lands. The North American continent remained a sort of blind spot of the imperialist officials who were very much aware of the promise of expansion, growth, and empire in the Caribbean and South America during the first half of the sixteenth century, but had yet to turn their sights north beyond the abundance of cod. Beyond cod, another area of resource extraction occurred the growth of the fur trade by the mid-sixteenth century. Unlike the fishery, that trade began to add limited knowledge of Canada but it was not until the seventeenth century that permanent settlements began to increase European knowledge of this region beyond the coastline.

European information about the North American territories was delayed before the seventeenth century because of confusion and duplicity. Early map makers were attempting to represent the landscape around Terra Nova based on

new and incomplete data which led to come creative representations of the Atlantic and Pacific in the following maps. These errors in representation were caused by both the incomplete nature of these new discoveries as well as the information misdirection and withholding on the part of the fishermen. The increased knowledge of the North American landscape by the mid to late sixteenth century was caused by increased traffic to the region which involved more mariners sharing information. In addition to the growth of the cod fisheries in Terra Nova and the greater mariner knowledge of the region, the greater cartographic clarity resulted from European explorers who were circulating in the North Atlantic in the sixteenth century. Explorers like French Jacques Cartier had been exploring the area since the 1530s.²⁴⁵ Explorers and the cartographers they travelled with provided European mapmakers with new information about these Northern territories.

Knowledge of these new lands and of “terra nova” was circulating early in the sixteenth century so that it began to appear on European maps as early as the Cantino Map of 1502. *Terra Nova* first appeared on Portuguese maps by 1506 followed by French and Spanish maps in 1510 and 1511 respectively, which further demonstrates the map makers’ knowledge of the existence of this region, maps of the North Atlantic and specifically Terra Nova or the continent remain vague and inaccurate until mid-century. This section analyzes six maps of the sixteenth century which represent the slow process of discovery Europeans engaged in with regard to the North Atlantic geography.

²⁴⁵ Bernard Allaire, “Jacques Cartier,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.biography.com/explorer/jacques-cartier> (Accessed March 2020).



1502 Cantino Map (original map in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, Italy. Reproduction in the National Archive of Canada) This image is courtesy of Wikipedia Commons.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶J.K. Hiller, "The Portuguese Explorers," *Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador*, <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/exploration/portuguese.php> (accessed November 2018).

The Cantino map, "*Terra del Rey de Portugall*," offers one of the earliest representations of Newfoundland and Labrador. It depicts these lands in the North Atlantic as much closer to Europe than in reality, an error that arose because they were based on hearsay garnered from sailors and fishermen. Additionally, the land mass is drawn as an island rather than part of the North American continent. The focus of those detailing the North Atlantic, being mainly fishermen, was not on land but rather on the abundant ocean. The Cantino map appears to represent the Treaty of Tordesillas division of 1494. The Treaty of Tordesillas was an agreement established between Spain and Portugal in 1494 to divide the newly-discovered Americas between them. Portugal tried to extend the treaty to the North Atlantic as the Cantino map represents. On the map the Terra Nova island was placed on the Portuguese side of the treaty division. While Portugal attempted to claim these new lands, as the royal decrees of 1502 and the Portuguese flags on the map suggest, this treaty was never enforced for Terra Nova and was quickly abandoned.²⁴⁷ Spain, among others, had a dominance in the Terra Nova cod fisheries without fear of the Treaty of Tordesillas. The representation of the land on the Cantino map also points to a clear imagining of the land mass while revealing the administrative knowledge of territory in the North Atlantic.

²⁴⁷ A 1511 Patent given to Juan de Agramonte from the Crown of Aragon, directing him to avoid the 'Portuguese' part of Terra Nova. There is no evidence that this was done. Henry Percival Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534, a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), Doc. XXXII. "Warrant of Queen Joanna to Juan de Agramonte Covering an Agreement with King Ferdinand for a voyage to Newfoundland." 102-107.



Original in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

Map entitled *Universalior cogniti orbis tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibus* (1508)²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ "Universalior cogniti orbis tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibus," John Carter Brown Library, 1508, https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1716~103410003:Universalior-cogniti-orbis-tabula-e?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=w4s:/when%2F1508;q:terra%20nova;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=0&trs=1# (Accessed November 2018).



Crop of 1508 Universalior cogniti map

This second map from 1508 offers a different interpretation of Terra Nova. The *Universalior cogniti* map is the first map to use the term “Terra Nova.” Revealing the limits of European understanding of the North Atlantic, it places Terra Nova (Newfoundland) next to Greenland, Tibet, and Hispaniola. Johannes Ruysch’s editors incorporated Greenland and Terra Nova on his famous map to represent these newly discovered regions of the world. This map incorporated knowledge from the Corte Real voyage in its representation of the “New World”,

as Newfoundland is drawn to be more of a half-island shape.²⁴⁹ Ruysch was reported to have been to Labrador and Greenland in a voyage between 1502 and 4.²⁵⁰ This map shows the process of the construction of the early modern European imagination of the world in that the map pieces together bits of information to fill in the North Atlantic. Its geographic inaccuracy hints at the effectiveness of the fishermen in keeping Terra Nova a space away from imperial eyes. Did a mariner suggest that Terra Nova was a place off the shore of Asia near the Caribbean?

²⁴⁹ For more information on the Johannes Ruysch map see, Gregory McIntosh, *The Johannes Ruysch and Martin Waldseemüller World Maps: The Interplay and Merging of Early Sixteenth Century New World Cartography* (Plus Ultra Publishing Company, 2015).

²⁵⁰ Historical Notes for Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, *Universalior cogniti orbis tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibus*, Z P975 1507 (1508), John Carter Brown Library, https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1716~103410003:Universalior-cogniti-orbis-tabula-e?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=w4s:/when%2F1508;q:terra%20nova;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=0&trs=1# (Accessed November 2018).



Original in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

Typus cosmographicus universalis map from 1532²⁵¹

²⁵¹ J. Herwagen, *Typus cosmographicus universalis*, J532 N945ol (1532), John Carter Brown Library, https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1267~115900800:Typus-cosmographicus-universalis-?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=w4s:/when%2F1532;q:terra%20nova;sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=0&trs=1# (Accessed December 2018).



Close up on *Typus cosmographicus universalis* map

By the 1530s, knowledge of South America was growing while North America still remained “under water,” as this 1532 world map shows. Map makers left more space between the Americas and Asia as the lower hemisphere filled in, revealing the space between the Americas and Asia. A close up of this map shows a representation of an “America Terra Nova” for the northern edge of South America as well as ‘Terra de Cuba’ and a few of the Caribbean islands. The mapmakers have given more space to allow the continents to take shape.

For the North Atlantic, however, a large empty ocean remains which reveals the limits of European states’ understanding. Although some explorers had been to these waters, these pieces of coast were interestingly represented in

a puzzle-piece-shaped island called *Tera Cor tefia*, just east of Terra de Cuba. Tera Cor tefia, most likely 'Terra Corterealis,' was the name given by many cartographers, especially Mediterranean cartographers, in the sixteenth century for Newfoundland, as they attributed its discovery to Azorean Gaspar Corte-Real and not Italian Giovanni Caboto.²⁵² North of Tera Cor tefia the pictogram of a large fish, perhaps a cod, is noteworthy. That represented the fact that the region was being frequented by cod fishermen.



Pierre Desceliers Map of the World 'Mappemonde', 1546 (Map of Atlantic coast of North America and Caribbean)

²⁵² Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 38.



Plate 1. Detail of the original Pierre Desceliers, *Mappemonde*, 1546, John Rylands Library, Manchester, French ms 1, showing a Basque whale-hunting scene, off northern Newfoundland, in the Strait of Belle Isle region. Courtesy John Rylands Library.

Close up on the Descelier Mappemonde map of 1546.



Pierre Desceliers world map made for Henri II in 1550. Held at the British Library.

By mid-century the coast of North America, including the Northeast was more fully represented, as these maps from French cartographer Pierre Descelier attest. The extent of the knowledge of the Northeast was limited to the coastline and harbors. While the shape of the land was still in formation, we can see recognizable landmarks such as the St. Laurent River and a cluster of islands and a coast where modern-day Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces lie.

Details up on the 1546 Desceliers map reveals the practices known to the French in this region. His map depicts a whaling scene, including a European vessel docked on the coast of the fisheries as well as a shallop filled with five whalers. There has been debate over whether the five whalers were Beothuk,

Innu, Inuit, St. Lawrence Iroquois, or Basque, which archaeologist and anthropologist Charles A Martijn discusses in a 2003 article.²⁵³ He posits that it could also be a mix of Europeans and Natives in the shallop but that intriguing possibility impossible to determine for certain. The mapmaker incorporated both European and Native elements in his representations in both the physical descriptors and the tools used, which obscures their identity. The presence of both Europeans and Natives on the shallop also suggests cooperation and awareness of native practices.

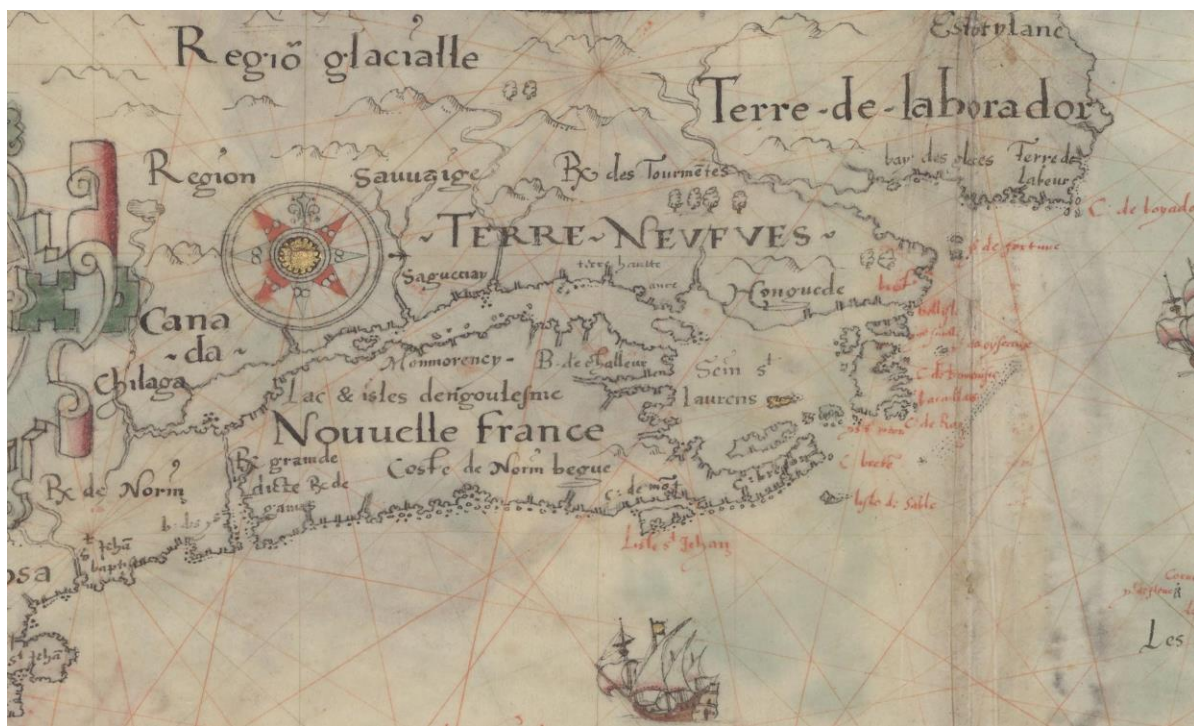
Some Native tribes hunted whales including the Labrador Inuit and even the Mi'kmaq, and the latter group even have red pointed caps which would match the drawing as well. The image contains enough confused elements that determining the ethnicity of the men on the map is not possible. That these images arose from the artist's imagination was also a possibility, as he drew two armored men jousting as well as some soldiers in Labrador.²⁵⁴ Desceliers may have been representing a whaling account he heard about in which Natives and Europeans worked together. Even with these confounding images his map still represents a large advancement in the map maker's knowledge of the North Atlantic.

The names ascribed to the numerous harbors all around Terra Nova displayed the advancement in knowledge about the coast. Desceliers also

²⁵³ Charles A. Martijn, "Basques? Beothuk? Inuit? Innu? or St. Lawrence Iroquoians? The Whalers on the 1546 Desceliers Map, Seen through the Eyes of Different Beholders," Research Associate Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Institute of Listuguj (Restigouche, Québec), *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, Vol 19, No 1: The New Early Modern Newfoundland: Part 2 (2003), <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/nflds/article/view/151/258> (Accessed December 2018).

²⁵⁴ Close up on Pierre Descelier's Mappemonde (1546), Facsimile by Esme-François Jomard, held at the National Archive of Canada. https://journals.lib.unb.ca/Texts/OJS_Journals/images/mababa_fig4.jpg (Accessed December 2018).

highlighted select harbors with the use of a colored circle at its entrance, perhaps noting those spaces that had fishing rooms or were typically assigned to certain states. This map was clearly created by the knowledge of fishermen and the cod fisheries of the coast. It reveals no specific knowledge of the interior rather depicting generic images of animals, Native peoples, rocks, and trees. The inclusion of a clearly medieval European jousting scene further proves the lack of accuracy regarding the interior spaces. The lack of information about the lands and people beyond the coast stemmed from the limited penetration, or reports, of Europeans within the territory. Fishermen would have known there were various tribes on land, but not much more.



“Les premieres Oeuvres de Jacques de Vaulx Pilote pour le Roy en la Marine” by Jacques de Vaulx (1580s) Courtesy of the Bibliothèque National de France.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Jacques De Devaulx, *Les premieres Oeuvres de Jacques de Vaulx Pilote pour le Roy en la Marine Contenantz Plusieurs Reigles Praticques Segrez Et Enseignementz très necessaires pour*
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The final map presented here was produced by Jacques de Vaulx in the 1580s. It was drawn from the notes and the now lost map that Etienne Bellenger created on his voyage around the coast of Mi'kma'ki and into the Bay of Fundy to trade for furs along the coast in 1583. Created late in the sixteenth century, this map shows some of the details now available among European statesmen shortly before the beginning of the colonial period. At this point, the cartographer had a detailed view of the coast, with numerous harbors and rivers represented in the Northeast. The coast of the Northeast, including Mi'kma'ki, comes into greater view despite still containing errors, such as the shape of peninsular Mi'kma'ki and the island of Unama'ki. Detailed maps such as these provided explorers such as Samuel Champlain a much clearer view of what they would find in the North Atlantic.

Through the eyes of fishermen: A Meeting of Maritime Peoples

Contact that occurred between Native and European peoples in the Northeast was just forming in this period. This contact was in the form of trade and friendship partnerships. As yet there appeared to be no effort to create community intermediaries or deep cultural exchange. Through the mid-sixteenth century Europeans only had light coastal contact on the land and with Natives. Much of the contact in this early period with Indian traders was performed on the open ocean and in the harbors and fishing rooms. Fishermen traded more by the second half of the sixteenth century and they were joined by more serious fur

bien et seurement naviguer par le monde... — En la ville françoise de Grâce, l'an M.D.L.XXXVIII,
Gallica, Bibliothèque National de France.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002476g/f72.item.zoom> (Accessed December 2018).

trade as the circulation of information about the North Americas increased in Europe. This increased traffic on the shores of Mi'kma'ki and elsewhere in the North Americas depended trade networks between Europeans and Indians. Europeans would even travel up river to trade at Indian villages but their penetration of the land was still limited. In general, European knowledge remained coastal and limited throughout the sixteenth century, though gradually increasing.

Recent scholarship analyzing maritime contact with indigenous communities showed that First nations, such as the Innu or Mi'kmaq, were maritime people who sought out trade with other maritime people on the coast.²⁵⁶ The distinction of "maritime people " is made because until recently scholarship has represented Indigenous communities as "landbound onlookers with little reach beyond their immediate shores" as historian Andrew Lipman pushed against in his work *Saltwater Frontier*.²⁵⁷ Rather than landlocked people, the Mi'kmaq were riverine people and highly skilled on the water. In the North Atlantic, the Amerindian societies which crossed these fishermen's paths, primarily the Mi'kmaq, Beothuk, and Innu, were fundamentally maritime communities that were seafood-eaters first and foremost.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ The Innu or (Montagnais) are the Indigenous inhabitants of Northeast Canada around Québec and Labrador but this same maritime trading perspective can be applied to the Mi'kmaq as well. Jack Bouchard, "'Gens Sauvage et étrangers': Amerindians and the early fishery in the sixteenth century Gulf of St. Lawrence," *The Greater Gulf: Essays on the Environmental History of the Gulf of St Lawrence* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2020), 11; Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Nancy Shoemaker, *Native American Whalers and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

²⁵⁷ Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 11.

²⁵⁸ Bouchard, *Gens Sauvage et étrangers*, 5-6, 10, 11.

Fishermen and traders did not come as part of an imperial plan to colonize or conquer which informed the nature of their interaction with the native communities. In general, fishermen met Natives to trade, not develop strategic relationships. Despite the annual visits to the North Atlantic in the sixteenth century, the European visitors were not coming with an agenda as colonial or conquering expeditions, nor did the French, Basque, Spanish, or English ships have any sort of unified vision from their respective sovereigns. They came for resource extraction and had no reading of royal proclamations; no official statements, or cross plantings; no treaties, edicts, or manifestos. Historian Elizabeth Mancke writes that those “were migratory and sojourning members of their home societies. They oriented themselves to North American spaces in relation to the needs of their home societies, rather than as spaces for new societies.”²⁵⁹ European focus in the North Atlantic during the sixteenth century was for the bounty of its waters, not its land. This orientation towards Europe produced limited contact with Native communities.

Historian Jack Bouchard effectively argues that the Newfoundland fisheries, or what the fishermen called *Terra Nova*, represented an extension of a medieval Atlantic European system, which did not become part of the Atlantic until around the 1580s.²⁶⁰ Until the end of the sixteenth century, repeated

²⁵⁹ Elizabeth Mancke, “Spaces of Power in the Early Modern Northeast,” *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, edited by Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 34.

²⁶⁰ Jack Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova: The North Atlantic Fisheries and the Atlantic World, 1490-1600*, PhD Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 2018), 20-24. See also, Jeffrey Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 48 where he states “Pressured by commercial capitalism and cornucopian fantasies, the Northwest Atlantic’s coastal ocean rapidly became an extension of Europe’s diminished seas.” As well as Brian M Fagan, *Fishing: How the Sea Fed Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Brian M Fagan, *Fish on Friday: Feasting, Fasting, and the Discovery of the New World* (Basic Books, 2007).

attempts to begin European settlements in the Northeast failed due to the harsh climate and the “insensible economic logic of planting settlers in a region whose resources could only be harvested for half the year.”²⁶¹ Without settlements and, by extension, colonies, there could be no quasi-state control of the fishery. As Bouchard rightly points out without colonies “there was no military presence... without forts... no group of fishermen could be excluded from the fishery, creating an open and competitive fishery. Without colonies...there could be no centralized body of regulation and record information about the fishery.”²⁶² In sum, the difference between Terra Nova and other “Atlantic” spaces such as the Caribbean in the sixteenth century was that “empires had no eyes in the northwest Atlantic.”²⁶³ Without these imperial agendas the fishermen sought out the North Atlantic to line their own pockets rather than to conquer or contact Native communities for conversion, assimilation, or state loyalty. The diffuse and disorganized nature of this contact formed the character of these encounters.

Europeans and Natives inhabited different parts of the land. The fishing rooms only occupied a small piece of the coastal beach or harbor to dry their fish and set up temporary dwellings. European fishing rooms “were concentrated in a few seasonally abandoned locations” thereby minimizing “conflict with Native people.”²⁶⁴ While the Mi’kmaq also settled around the harbor, they did not occupy the same space as these fishing rooms would. In addition, the limited number of fishing rooms would have localized European presence. Other Native groups,

²⁶¹ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 35.

²⁶² Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 35.

²⁶³ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 35.

²⁶⁴ Pope, *Transformations*, 139-140.

such as the Beothuk, chose to avoid European contact during this limited and seasonal European presence on the coast. They kept away from these spaces.

A period of widespread interaction would have left evidence. Yet no evidence survives of intermarriage or dedicated translators. As far as can be discerned, the Native communities and European fishermen shared very little cultural knowledge.²⁶⁵ This does not mean no contact occurred. Certainly, images like the Descellier map suggests at least stories of Euro-Native interactions but unfortunately, we do not have surviving archival data for such exchanges. Most likely any contact was not extensive or widespread. This period is challenging to reconstruct because the European presence left no written record, and visitors usually revealed little to the scribes in Europe who questioned them. The evidence available does nonetheless provide some information about the mode and practices contact did occur between these two groups.

Meetings on water:

The Mi'kmaq and other maritime tribes the Europeans encountered were already seasoned traders who were eager and willing to expand their trade networks. Thus, the main mode of contact between European and Native in the sixteenth century was for the purposes of trade. European seaman became accustomed to encountering Natives in the Northeast for this purpose and brought with them items to trade for personal profit which served to supplement

²⁶⁵ Bouchard, ““Gens sauvages et estranges”: Amerindians and the Early Fishery in the Sixteenth-Century Gulf of St Lawrence,” *The Greater Gulf: Essays on the Environmental History of the Gulf of St Lawrence*, Edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell, Edward MacDonald and Brian Payne (McGill-Queens' University Press, 2020), 19.

their earnings.²⁶⁶ This trade grew as furs circulated in Europe, and merchants began chartering trading expeditions to grow the fur trade with the Mi'kmaq and other Native groups in the late sixteenth century.²⁶⁷ Peter Pope notes that the Mi'kmaq and the Innu had long been practicing informal trade and had established friendly relations with the French fishermen in Newfoundland by the end of the seventeenth century. As the Beothuk, Innu, and Mi'kmaq did not depend on cod, the cod European fisheries did not threaten their survival but instead offered welcomed trading benefits.²⁶⁸

Trading between European fishermen and Native groups was often conducted on water on European boats. By analyzing a few examples of this contact we can get a picture of these encounters. Basque fishermen Clemente de Odelica stated that: "many Indians came to his ship in Grand Bay, and they ate and drank together, and were very friendly, and the Indians gave them deer and wolf skins in exchange for axes and knives and other trifles."²⁶⁹ This description makes clear that the encounter involved ceremonial practices of establishing kinship trading relations. These relationships were built using food and drink which facilitated the exchange of European metal works of American furs. Odelica also states that the Natives came aboard his ship which places this interaction on water, the shared space. That the Native traders boarded European ships to trade demonstrates Native willingness to trade and their confidence about interacting with outsiders. The addition of the food and drink shows the nature of this relationship was meant to be one of friendship and peace.

²⁶⁶ William Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaw Society 1500-1760*, PhD dissertation (Québec: McGill University, 1994), 170-171.

²⁶⁷ See "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh," 1597, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, VIII: 174; "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583," edited by D. B. Quinn, *Canadian Historical Review*, 63 (1962); Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618*, 27.

²⁶⁸ Pope, *Transformations*, 140.

²⁶⁹ Bouchard, *Gens sauvages et estranges*, 20-21.

Explorer and colonial administrator Samuel de Champlain offers us another example of building upon established trade relations in the early seventeenth century. Traveling with some Native guides in 1603, he was taken to the falls of the Norumbegue River where two Abenaki chiefs, Bessabec and Cabahis, were notified of his arrival.²⁷⁰ He noted the celebration of the local Natives when the chiefs arrived each accompanied by about twenty to thirty others who attended the meeting. This meeting contained both trading and friendship rituals to construct kinship among both parties.

The friendship rituals are similar to the ones seen in the 1540s with Odelica. While Odelica spoke to the Spanish Inquisitors about his actions in Terra Nova in the 1540s and Champlain recorded his exploration of Acadie about sixty years later, they involved similar themes of food, drink, and celebrations. In Champlain's description we get a glimpse into the performances involved in renewing trade relations and developing kinship ties among the Wabanaki.²⁷¹ They participated in acts of friendship such as the sharing of food and tobacco before discussing business. The discussions were then followed by a return to a time of fellowship which included music, dancing, and food. "All the rest of this day and the following night, until break of day, they did nothing but dance, sing, and make merry, after which we traded for a certain number of beavers."²⁷² The day was spent building friendship and community ties which was an important aspect in the building of trading relationships.

Champlain's account reveals French intentions to reside in the territory which involved developing relationships with its inhabitants. Champlain explains he was sent

²⁷⁰ Dean R Snow, "The Ethnohistoric Baseline of the Eastern Abenaki," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Summer, 1976), 300.

²⁷¹ Wabanaki, or "People of the dawn", is the confederacy of five Native tribes in the Northeast Maliseet, Micmac, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and Abenaki. See, <https://www.abbemuseum.org/about-the-wabanaki-nations/> (Accessed November 2018) and <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Abenaki> (Accessed November 2018).

²⁷² Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, 49-50.

by Sieur de Mont to “preserve friendship” and “that he desired to inhabit their country and show them how to cultivate it.”²⁷³ Champlain’s remarks in 1603 signals a different agenda on the part of the French. Odelia’s account revealed European willingness to trade with Natives in the 1540s but made no mention of intentions on the part of the European to establish a permanent presence within the land. This motivation evolved over the course of the sixteenth century so that by the turn of the seventeenth-century European groups, specifically the French in this case, sought out permanent settlement in the Northeast alongside the Native communities.

Champlain records that the Abenaki chiefs were pleased with this request for friendship and cohabitation for the purposes of increased trade. They desired “that we should dwell in their land, in order that they might in future more than ever before engage in hunting beavers, and give us a part of them in return for our providing them with things which they wanted.”²⁷⁴ The Abenaki saw an increased French presence as beneficial to them in terms of an increased influx of European trade goods which they desired. This intention to trade was further demonstrated by Champlain’s gifts of “hatchets, paternosters, caps, knives, and other little knick-knacks”²⁷⁵ after the speeches. For the Mi’kmaq the primary objective of trade was to obtain metal tools from the Europeans, and for the Europeans, it was furs from the First Nations in the Northeast.²⁷⁶ The Mi’kmaq could then trade these European goods, which ranged from knives, bells, glass beads and coats with other tribes in the interior or keep them for community use.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Bouchard, *Ces gens sauvages et etranges*, 23.

²⁷⁷ Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails*, 172; Bouchard, *Ces gens sauvages et etranges*, 23.

While European fishermen brought these trade items with them to supplement their income, specific trading expeditions began during the sixteenth century as well. Etienne Bellenger, a Rouen merchant, was on one such trading expedition in 1583. He chronicled his voyage to trade in Mi'kma'ki, and his return to France with 600 beaver furs and an unspecified number of elk, deer and seal skins and along with martin and otter furs.²⁷⁸

Being one of the few known accounts of the contact period in the North Atlantic, Bellenger's account serves as a valuable source for a trading expedition to Mi'kma'ki. It provides a look at Mi'kmaq settlement on the Atlantic coast. Bellenger travels by boat from Unama'ki down to Cape Sable before heading into the Bay of Fundy. Along the coast, the vessel penetrated "harbours and rivers as she went and sending fairly frequent shore parties to make contact with the Indians and, where possible, to trade with them."²⁷⁹ Most likely, Bellenger and his men stopped at the La Have Harbor and perhaps even travelled up the large watershed of the La Have River to visit the settlement there.

Whether he visited the big settlement on La Have River, or saw a subset of the community in the Mirliguèche or La Have Harbors, his writings reveal some of Mi'kmaq settlements he visited. He describes a large village near Cape Sable which comprised of "80 houses, covered with bark, on the bank of a river up which Bellenger penetrated."²⁸⁰ This large village which would have been gathered, considering he visited in the summer months, to run the fishing weirs and coastal activities. From this description we also know that this settlement

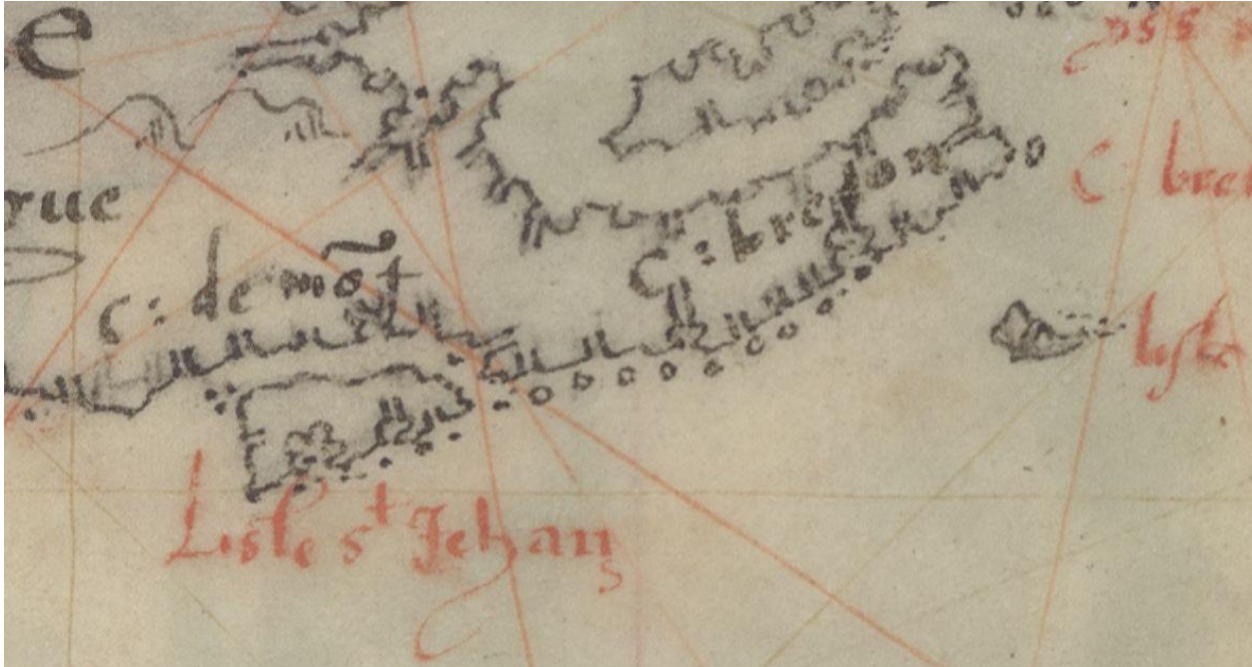
²⁷⁸ "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583," edited by D.B. Quinn, *Canadian Historical Review*, 63 (1962), 341.

²⁷⁹ Quinn, *The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger*, 332.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

was located up the river, presumably at the Head-of-Tide. An anonymous Norman mariner observed in 1539 that “The inhabitants [of the Gulf of St. Lawrence] live in small huts and houses which are covered with tree bark, which they build to live in during the fishing season, which begins in the spring and lasts all summer.”²⁸¹ These two descriptions of the summer dwellings appear similar. It seems clear that by the 1580s, Bellenger knew to find Native communities to trade in the harbors or up the river. His description also represents a development in European knowledge as well as his new desire to penetrate the mouth of the river, even for just a short distance, to trade with Native communities. Bellenger’s journal and the map he had drawn (which is now lost) served to increase European understanding of the Northeast.

²⁸¹ “Discurso d’un gran capitano,” Originally published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navagazioni E Viaggio*, 1559, Translation in Gilbert, “Beothuk-European Contact in the 16th Century: A Re-Evaluation of the Documentary Evidence,” 36; Bouchard, *Ces gens sauvages et etranges*, 8.



*A close up on Mi'kma'ki in 'Les premières Oeuvres de Jacques de Vaulx Pilote pour le Roy en la Marine...' by Jacques de Devaulx (1580s)*²⁸²

When colonization voyages began in the seventeenth century, explorers like Samuel de Champlain were entering a world already in motion both from a Native world perspective but also from that of European visitors as well. When Samuel de Champlain explored Acadie in 1603 he encountered a fur-trading vessel engaged in trading at Port Rossignol (five leagues south from La Have Harbor).²⁸³ This vessel, captained by Captain Rossignol, was visiting a well-

²⁸² Jacques de Devaulx, "Les premières Oeuvres de Jacques de Vaulx Pilote pour le Roy en la Marine Contenantz Plusieurs Reigles Praticques Segrez Et Enseignementz très nécessaires pour bien et seurement naviguer par le monde..." Bibliothèque National de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002476g/f72.item.zoom> (Accessed October 2018).

²⁸³ From Samuel de Champlain's journal, "On the 12th of May, we entered another port, five leagues from Cap de la Heve, where we captured a vessel engaged in the fur-trade in violation of the king's prohibition. The master's name was Rossignol, whose name the port retained, which is in latitude 44 15." in Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by W.L. Grant (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 27. https://archive.org/stream/voyagessam00chamrich/voyagessam00chamrich_djvu.txt (Accessed November 2018).

established Mi'kmaq-European trading port at the mouth of the Allains River. According to Europeans, the place became Rossignol Port but the Mi'kmaq called it Ogomkegea, meaning "place of departure" which confirms the harbors' historic use as a port.²⁸⁴

The Allains-Mersy River, as Benjamin Pentz' work showed, was a significant pre-contact Mi'kmaq route which was used for the community's subsistence needs as well as a travel and trading corridor.²⁸⁵ Rossignol was but one of a group of European vessels arriving to trade with the Mi'kmaq, even as Champlain was taking part in another facet of French enterprise: to begin French settlement in Mi'kma'ki. But what impact did these pre-settlement encounters have on these two communities?

Pidgin language development but limited cultural contact

Trade between the Northeastern Native traders and European fishermen and later traders, allowed the formation of a pidgin trade language. Basque fishermen Robert Lefant remarked in 1542 that "the Indians understand any language, French, English, and Gascon, and their own tongue."²⁸⁶ Lefant touched upon the growing pidgin trade language which would enable trade among the different Algonquian tribes and European ships. An English colonist in the early seventeenth century noted of the Mi'kmaq at La Have that the "french hath trad wth them for they used many french words."²⁸⁷ Peter

²⁸⁴ Jean Peterson, "Liverpool," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/liverpool> (Accessed February 2020).

²⁸⁵ His research details the archaeological findings along this river system and for the mouth of the Allains river, that it was a trading post in the 17th and 18th centuries. Benjamin Pentz, *A River Runs Through it*, 32.

²⁸⁶ Henry Percival Biggar, *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur De Roberval* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930).

²⁸⁷ Anonymous English colonist, "Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc, 1607-1608," In *Early English and French Voyages*, edited by H.S. Burrage (1906): 81-83; Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 28.

Bakker, Bruce J Bourque, and Ruth Holmes-Whitehead have published on this language formation during the sixteenth century.²⁸⁸ While these trading communities formed a common language to facilitate trading, evidence to date points to a limited cultural connection in the sixteenth century.

The fisheries did not require contact with other communities and often did not seek it. This limited contact between the two Atlantic groups in this period was due in part to the semi-nomadic movements of the Europeans who were only in the Northeast for part of the year, but also because of their focus on the waters which delimited this presence to the beaches of Terra Nova. Bouchard argues “Exchange between Amerindians and fishermen was therefore a beneficial ancillary to the functioning of the fisheries, but not a crucial component.”²⁸⁹ The fact that the Cod fisheries could operate and be profitable without Native contact can be drawn from the fact that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, “Norman fishermen largely shifted operations to the Grand Banks, severing ties with Amerindians completely. Bretons likewise increasingly focused on the Northeast coast of Newfoundland, where only the recalcitrant Beothuk lived. These shifts make sense only if we accept that fishing operations existed independently of trade.”²⁹⁰ Thus, the case can be made that fishing operations existed independently from contact with Native populations.

A revealing episode from Jacques Cartier’s exploratory voyage of 1535-6 further demonstrates the limited cultural contact between Europeans and Natives. While

²⁸⁸ See Peter Bakker, “The language of the coast tribes is half basque”: a basque-american indian pidgin, 1540-1640”, *anthropological linguistics* 31 (1989): 117-47; Bruce J Bourque and Ruth H. Whitehead “Trade and alliance in the contact period,” in Emerson W. Baker et al, eds., *American Beginnings: exploration, culture, and cartography in the land of norumbega* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 131-47; and Ralph Pastore, “Sixteenth century: aboriginal peoples and European contact, in Buckner and Reid, eds. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 22-39.

²⁸⁹ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 194.

²⁹⁰ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, 194.

attempting to winter in Canada, Cartier and his crew developed serious cases of scurvy and the men began dying. The local Stadacona Native population taught them that consuming boiled evergreen bark and needles would quickly restore the men to health. The men did as they were instructed and quickly recovered.²⁹¹ Bouchard notes that despite Cartier recruiting from a town filled with fishermen who “by the mid-1530s... had been regularly sailing to Newfoundland for three decades,” these men were unaware of the remedy.²⁹² The fact that the men did not know of this remedy underscores a distance between the two communities in that this knowledge had not previously been shared. Furthermore, Bouchard notes that Europeans were ignorant of Algonkian, Inuit or Iroquois names for places, showing another limit to the type of vernacular that was exchanged between the two groups.

Evidence suggests little cultural exchange occurred before the colonial period. The classic misunderstanding of the word “Canada” which is actually the word village which Frenchmen mistook for the name of the territory highlights the cultural distance that existed. Europeans came and fished or traded but appeared to have understood little of Indigenous ways in the Northeast. The fact that we have no evidence of intermarriage or dedicated translators indicates the functionality of the pidgin language to allow for basic trade but also suggests that further cultural integration and intermediaries were not needed in the sixteenth century. This distance changed on the coasts of Mi'kma'ki in the seventeenth century as Europeans began to seek out a more permanent presence in the Northeast and the regular contact increased.

This brief overview of European presence on the outskirts of the Northeast helps to set the scene for the arrival of European settlers in the early seventeenth century into

²⁹¹ Kenneth J. Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 8-10.

²⁹² Bouchard, *Gens sauvages et estranges*, 27.

coastal Mi'kma'ki. From the perspective of the Mi'kmaq, they had been accustomed to seeing European visitors for a century before successful colonial settlements began. European and Native contact was limited to the shores of Mi'kma'ki and of the larger Northeast as these visitors were seasonally on the harbors with fishing rooms and then back to Europe.

While trade and contact allowed for the development of a pidgin language, little other cultural exchange took place which is evidenced by the lack of intermarriage and of intermediaries as well as the ignorance of European fishermen to basic lifesaving remedies such as the efficacy of evergreen bark and needles for scurvy. Furthermore, the focus of the fishermen and traders was on extraction of resources and economic means to supply their lives in Europe, rather than a colonial mission to convert, settle, and maintain a life in the Americas. The differences between European presences in the North and South Atlantic world during this era was profound. By the 1580s, Bouchard argues, this region would increasingly integrate with other Atlantic systems and develop more "Atlantic" characteristics such as colonies, an export-oriented market economy, and state policing and enforcement of imperial claims.²⁹³ Prior to the advent of European colonialism in the North Atlantic these two worlds can be understood as a European economic ocean system and a Native America which barely crossed paths.

The growth of fur trading expeditions as well as renewed efforts to brave the cold Canadian winters shifted European focus from one of visitors to one of new settlers in this Indigenous territory. This shift in focus and a turn of imperial eyes to the North Atlantic brought the start of European settlements such as Boston, Port Royal, and Quebec, and a new phase of contact. For some communities, like those at La Have and Mirliguèche, the seventeenth century saw a bridging between these two Atlantics.

²⁹³ Bouchard, *Towards Terra Nova*, Chapter 6.

Chapter Four

Imperial Leaks: A Phantom Acadian Community

When Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, Acadie's new governor, moved the nascent colony of La Have to Port Royal in 1636, some of the men who had married into Mi'kmaq families stayed behind. This decision to stay at La Have reveals a preference these Frenchmen had in the 1630s: life in indigenous Mi'kma'ki over life as French colonists of Acadie. Communities at La Have and Mirliguèche existed on the fringes or, more than likely, outside colonial Acadie. The absence of the colonial apparatus in these two harbors was a significant factor in the creation of these families as colonial ghosts, as they sought out a Native way of life rather than a colonial one. This research understands the colonial apparatus to involve the imperial structures and people that form and maintain a colonial enterprise such as administrators, religious officials, and military garrisons. This four-year period between 1632 and 1636 marks the second phase of the colonial ghosts. The Razilly settlement attempt brought the first established group of male settlers who joined Mi'kma'ki, staying when the enterprise was moved to Port Royal. Despite France's desire to maintain control of these men to bolster their imperial claim on the Atlantic Coast of the peninsula, the men and women of La Have who chose indigenous communities over French settlements remained outside the control and influence of France and the Acadian community.

This second phase of the formation of the colonial ghosts involved the infusion of new families, not just children, into the Mi'kmaq community. Community adoptions occurred while the Northeast was shifting from a space Europeans visited for economic profit into one they settled. Even though settler colonialism in the Northeast was largely

focused westward in Québec as well as a smaller presence surrounding the Bay of Fundy in the seventeenth century, such marginal or Native places such as the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki were no longer thought of as just trading and fishing spaces, but as spaces of potential colonial settlements which could enhance the role of colonial bureaucrats and their paperwork. It is through this paper trail, and the holes in colonial authorities' understanding of the people at La Have and Mirliguèche, that we can follow the emergence of the colonial ghosts.

When examined for the limits of state knowledge, what this archive also uncovers are the lives lived outside of the imperial Atlantic. The alternate Atlantic world in which the colonial ghosts resided can be mapped onto the imperial Atlantic World but it was populated with European commoners, Native, and African actors who lived outside the theater of empire. These colonial ghosts lived, worked, married, and died not in the absence of empire and imperial life, but in the alternate spaces created by the extra-colonial activities in the Atlantic. This chapter is about agency of those who stayed back at La Have, electing to live in the alternate Atlantic.

This chapter demonstrates that not all the French in the Northeast were members of the French colony. In particular, those families living at La Have and Mirliguèche did not form part of the Acadian colony. As political actors, they could choose their communities, alliances, and lifestyles, and indeed they did. While most of the French in the region opted for life in the colony of Acadie, with varying degrees of loyalty, others, like those at La Have and Mirliguèche, preferred another life, one in which they lived as separate from France and the Acadian colony. They decided to live in the alternate Atlantic and, for the Guédry family, as adoptees of the Mi'kmaq. Chapter Five argues that indigenous communities provided spaces that these newcomers found attractive, but first we must establish how French paperwork created these ghosts in the

developed community and kin with the local Mi'kmaq. Though current historiography has treated these Atlantic communities as part of the Acadian colony they have not problematized their limited presence nor the contradicting evidence. This research revises the current scholarship to reveal how people in the margins of the French empire operated in the alternate Atlantic.

As historians Gilles Havard and Cecile Vidal explained, France had grandiose plans for state “hegemony” and overseas expansion. One goal was “to transplant across the Atlantic an ideal French society, forged in the absolutist mold.”²⁹⁵ Yet France struggled to realize this vision in the Americas. France’s centralized administrative state was founded on communication networks, government infrastructure, and legal codes which broke down when various interest groups evaded or influenced government regulations.²⁹⁶ When this French imperial vision is applied to the context of the Northeast, its failure at La Have and Mirliguèche can be understood through the limits of French communication and infrastructure, as well as the distance of its government agents. Acadie had a small number of French officials when compared with other French colonies like New France and Saint Domingue, and these administrators focused on the residents of the Bay of Fundy. Administrators may have perceived these two harbors as a sort of Acadian annex but when comparing imperial claims to the lived experience in these two harbors, dispels those colonial fictions.

This chapter will briefly describe the history of the French colonial presence at La Have between 1632 and 1636 and the decision of the colonial ghosts to remain behind. We will highlight the distance between Acadian colonial officials and the Atlantic coast.

²⁹⁵ Gilles Havard and Cecile Vidal, *Histoire de l’Amérique française* (Paris: Edition Flammarion, 2014), 147.

²⁹⁶ Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 174.

After analyzing the presence of the Catholic Church on the Atlantic coast, it will examine the understanding that French officials had of these two communities and their lack of effective control as seen in two sets of colonial documents. The Acadian census records often do not include the Atlantic coast. When they do, they reveal that distance created confusion among Acadian or French officials with regard to these communities. The writings of Acadian governors disclose the ignorance of colonial administrators of the region and its people.

Razilly's *Nouvelle Guyenne* and his decision to stay:

Despite the fact that distance would limit colonial resources and clerical support, these individuals did not follow Governor Aulnay.²⁹⁷ After Governor Razilly's death in 1636, his former lieutenant and the new Acadian Governor Charles de Menou d'Aulnay decided to relocate the fledgling colony from the western tip of the peninsula to Port Royal. Isaac de Razilly, a naval captain and colonizer, was given a royal commission on May 10, 1632 to take possession of Port Royal for France and make Acadie a French colony. He set sail for Mi'kma'ki with sailors, soldiers, workmen, and craftsmen which Razilly described as "300 hommes d'élite" (300 elite men).²⁹⁸ After his death and the relocation of the colony to Port Royal, not all of those at La Have accompanied Aulnay. A small number of men, most of whom are assumed to have taken native wives by this time, remained at La Have. This decision to live apart from the colony should be understood as a decision to remain in an intersectional social and economic community on the Atlantic. These men could have opted to resettle elsewhere, even if not in Port

²⁹⁷ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The tragic story of the expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 46. Tomas G. M. Peace, *Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia*, PhD Diss. (Toronto: York University, 2011), 68.

²⁹⁸ George MacBeath, "Isaac de Razilly," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/razilly_isaac_de_1E.html (Accessed November 2019).

Royal. They had built a life for themselves on the Atlantic Coast and among the Mi'kmaq. Therefore, the decision to remain at La Have when the rest of the settler colony was being relocated to Port Royal in 1636 was indicative of deeply-rooted community building and involvement with the Mi'kmaq at La Have and Mirliguèche.

The first European settlers at La Have came to the shores of the North Atlantic to help Governor Isaac de Razilly build a new French colony. There is no documentation of the early colonists at La Have.²⁹⁹ The *St. Jean* which traveled in 1636 to La Have as well as other French outposts remains the first passenger manifest to the region. Though the identity of these men cannot be confirmed, based on the fluctuation of the population in those four years which was between one and two hundred in the winters but swelled to about five hundred in the summer months, it is clear this group was mostly made up of contract workers who could built the original fortifications at La Have and transient fisherman and traders.³⁰⁰ The crew from 1636, which went to Port Royal and Canseau, as well as La Have, details the types of workers that would have been needed to build the La Have outpost. These tradesmen included woodworkers, carpenters, masons, lumbermen, coopers, cobblers, gardeners, lockmakers, gunsmiths, as well as farmers.³⁰¹ Many of these skilled workers would have been needed to build the fort, chapel, lumber company, and staff the company.³⁰²

Over the course of their first four years in Acadie, some of the settlers developed valuable familial and fishing relationships with the local Mi'kmaq as they worked as fishermen and hunters. Their connection to the region and its inhabitants is seen by the

²⁹⁹ Joan Dawson, "Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 9:1 (1989), 42.

³⁰⁰ Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage?*, 44.

³⁰¹ N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 54-55. Nicolas Denys, *The description and natural history of the coasts of North America*, (Acadia), ed. W.F. Ganong, 1672, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), 149-150.

³⁰² Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage?*, 42.

fact that these men opted to remain among their wives, Mi'kmaq families, and community, rather than relocate with the other French families. Their decision highlighted the cultural comfort and connection that had developed over those four years. Additionally, they were integrated into Mi'kma'ki via Mi'kmaw practices of adoption and kinship through marriage as well as partnership in fishing and hunting activities. Community incorporation could be done through marriage unions which involved the man residing with the fiancée's family for a defined period of time to hunt and fish for the family, thus giving the family time to discern if he would be a good addition to the unit.

Other forms of incorporation were also practiced, most notably "adoption." Father Chrestien Leclercq was perhaps the most documented case of Mi'kmaq community adoption. This practice involves the absorption of an outsider as a true member of the community which included family and social rights. Leclercq gives us some insight into this practice in the early modern period when he writes, "one of the Indians who called himself my father, and of whom I called myself the son, since the time when he had 'given me birth' in the midst of the usual feast of the Gaspesian nation with the corresponding ceremony."³⁰³ The practice of adoption, which is still practiced to this day, created kinship relationships between members of the band and the outsiders, such as father-son or mother-daughter, which not only grafted them genetically into the village but created a specific kinship bond that was tended to and developed. Leclercq was given birth as a Mi'kmaw son and identified himself in this way. It is possible that those who remained at La Have may have been adopted or married into the community.

These first colonists came to the coast of Mi'kma'ki to establish a French colony when Louis XIII and Cardinal de Richelieu sought to establish a French empire in North

³⁰³ Chrestien Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*. Translated and edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1910), 290, 305-315, 321.

America. To that end, the king and Richelieu formed the *Compagnie des Cens Associé* in 1627.³⁰⁴ In 1632 the *Companie* appointed Razilly, knight commander of the order of Malta and distinguished naval commander, both to bring a group of French soldiers to force out the Scottish garrison at Port Royal and to establish a settler colony in Acadie.³⁰⁵ Razilly came to La Have with “300 homme d’élite” in 1632. He sent one garrison to Port Royal to face Scotchmen Captain Andrew Forrester and his forces there and another to Canseau to secure the peninsula for France.³⁰⁶ As a naval man and soldier, Razilly chose the Atlantic port of La Have to be his headquarters for its strategic positioning in the Cod fisheries and as a first point of access from Europe which would serve to defend the territory. The remaining 200 began building the settlement at La Have. Nicolas Denys, colonist and business partner of Razilly, wrote of the great expenditure Razilly took to build his fortifications.³⁰⁷ During those four years the colony cleared a small amount of land, and built Razilly’s headquarters, a chapel, store, and houses for his workmen.³⁰⁸ Denys built a lumber mill between La Have and Mirliguèche. The French also began an inshore fishery at Port Rossignol, continuing the established tradition of Europeans fishing along the coasts of Mi’kma’ki. While this settlement was off to a promising start, it was missing a key demographic: French women. This absence served to fuel the social mixing between the Mi’kmaq and French.

³⁰⁴ Dale Miquelon, “Compagnie Des Cent-Associés,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/compagnie-des-cent-associes/> (Accessed June 2018)

³⁰⁵ Joan Dawson, “Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grace, LaHave, Nova Scotia: 350 Years of History,” *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 2, No. 2 (1982): 52; John Lenhart, “The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 27, No. 3 (SEPTEMBER, 1916): 200.

³⁰⁶ George MacBeath, “Isaac de Razilly,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/razilly_isaac_de_1E.html (Accessed November, 2019)

³⁰⁷ Denys, *Description*, 98.

³⁰⁸ Fonds Français, Vol 13423, f.350; Denys, *Description*, 147-148; N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 50; Dawson, *Fort Sainte-Marie*, (1984): 54.

Razilly's initial goals were to establish military control of the colony, set up his fortifications, and organize the economic functions of the new settlement, which meant his first priority was to bring enough men to act as soldiers, sailors, fishermen, and workmen to develop the colony.³⁰⁹ Whether by choice or design, female recruits did not come until later. Razilly feared his status as a single man had compromised his recruitment of married men and families to Acadie. Razilly considered bachelors to be 'birds of passage,' meaning they would only have a transient presence in the new colony in the same way as the European cod fisheries and fur traders did not establish roots locally but returned each fall to France. Furthermore, Razilly expressed his aim to recruit married men and their wives.³¹⁰ These remained just recruitment goals, however, and the population remained entirely male.

Male recruits were Razilly's first priority: between 1632 and 1636, the colony worked to develop the fishing and lumber businesses alongside the actual construction of the settlement, and these businesses needed laborers. The population until 1636 consisted mostly of contracted workers who came from France for the summer months to fish and work the lumber mill. There was also a military and naval population as well as some Capuchin priests to teach the local Mi'kmaq population.³¹¹ Denys stated that the permanent population of La Have was up to 40 *habitants* (which translates literally to *inhabitant* and is not gender-specific), while in the summer months it would swell to as

³⁰⁹ There has been some debate as to whether this initial settlement included women, but scholars have made a convincing case that the La Have settlement was populated by French men alone. This historiographical debate is discussed in Clarence-Joseph D'Entremont, *History du Cap-Sable, de l'an mil au Traité de Paris, 1763*. 5 vols. (Eunice: Hébert Publications, 1981), 2:645-7. N.E.S. Griffiths speaks to this debate in her monograph *From Migrant to Acadian A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 50-51.

³¹⁰ "Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 August, 1634," Fonds Français, Vol. 13423, ff. 349-350, Dept. des MSS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 51; Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 46.

³¹¹ Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 50, 54.

much as 500 men.³¹² Acadian historian N.E.S. Griffiths describes La Have before 1636 as an “overwhelmingly male world and the female presence was provided through contact with the Mi’kmaq.”³¹³ Joan Dawson, La Have historian, states plainly that there were “no women among the new arrivals.”³¹⁴ It appears that by 1635 Nicolas Denys had successfully recruited some families to Acadie. The French vessel, *Saint-Jehan*, arrived in 1636 with its first group of female settlers.³¹⁵ These French women did not stay more than a few months at La Have as Charles de Menou d’Aulnay, the new governor, had moved the settlement to Port Royal by the end of 1636.³¹⁶

Familial bonds were created between Mi’kmaq women and Frenchmen in part because these Frenchmen found Mi’kmaq life and culture attractive. The absence of European women did not necessitate Mi’kmaq unions in this Atlantic community. As B. R. Burg revealed in his work *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition*, the social and sexual practices of seafarers in the seventeenth century and discovered that these men, unlike those in other all-male spaces, widely accepted homosexuality.³¹⁷ Those at La Have were still connected to the Atlantic networks through the fishing and trading circuits, and they also could have moved onto other colonial outposts or returned to France to find companionship. Rather than relocating or fulfilling their social and sexual needs elsewhere, these men married into the Mi’kmaq women which highlighted their desire to join that community and forge those unions.

³¹² Denys, *Description*, 146; “Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 August, 1634.”

³¹³ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 51.

³¹⁴ Joan Dawson, *Nova Scotia’s Lost Communities: The Early Settlements That Helped Build the Province* (Nimbus, 2018), 49.

³¹⁵ The ship manifest for the *Saint-Jehan* is the only one known to date and it does list some women in attendance. Dawson, *Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grace* (1982): 56.

³¹⁶ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 54

³¹⁷ B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: NYU Press, 1983).

Of the small number of women recorded on the Saint-Jehan, they would not have stopped men at La Have from marrying within the Mi'kmaq community before the move to Port Royal. Of the female passengers, seven were wives of arriving colonists.³¹⁸ Only four single adult women travelled to the outpost including: a servant girl, Jehanne Billard; an older widow, named Perigault, who came with her two adult sons; and two adult women, Jehanne Motin and Jacqueline de Glaisnée. The latter two women were sisters of Anne Motin de Reux who was married to nobleman Nicollas LeCreux Dubreuil. Though these were eligible women, their status would have ranked them above a marriage with any of the working-class men in the fledgling colony. More importantly, the Dubreuil family, including the single women, did not long remain in La Have. Nicollas LeCreux and his family, which included the two single noblewomen, were sent to Canseau as Razilly appointed Le Creux to serve as the Lieutenant of the strategic fishing village.³¹⁹ Also included on the manifest were about a dozen children, whose gender is not recorded, as well as one other undefined servant. The majority of the passengers were male skilled workers. The manifest also indicates that many of the laborers who arrived on the Saint Jehan were continuing onto New France. By 1636 relationships had already been established with the local Mi'kmaq women. Thus, none involved in these relationships became colonial ghosts once the colony was relocated by the end of 1636.

In some respects, the relocated settlers could be seen as undertaking a new venture. Interestingly, in his 1634 letter to Lescarbott, Razilly calls the settlement at La Have "La Nouvelle Guyenne", after the French colony in South America, perhaps even

³¹⁸ Transcript of 1636 Saint Jehan Manifest from the Department of Records of Charante Maritime, <http://www.acadian-home.org/St-JehanShip1636.html> (Accessed October 2019).

³¹⁹ Brenda Dunn, *A History of Port-Royal-Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800* (Nimbus Publishing, 2004), 16.

signaling that the settlement between 1632 and 1636 under Razilly could be viewed as a different colony which failed upon his death and D'Aulnay's relocation of the settlers.³²⁰ In other words, it could be argued that the colony at La Have was a failed colony called Nouvelle Guyenne, and that Aulnay took the Acadian settlers to Port Royal to start the Acadian colony.

Upon Razilly's death, the naval and fishing outpost ended and Aulnay formed a farming and fur trading Acadie across the peninsula. In 1636, Aulnay vacated the La Have settlement for what he considered to be a favorable location on the Bay of Fundy, closer to Maine and to his rival Charles Étienne de La Tour's operations on the Saint-John River. The location also boasted fertile lands around the bay ideal for farming.³²¹ The economic goals of the colony shifted as well: while fishing and lumber had been the two mainstays of Nouvelle Guyenne, Acadie became an agricultural colony. Denys' lumber company at La Have failed when D'Aulnay would not uphold Razilly's promises to help him ship his lumber to France, eliminating his ability to sell.³²² Aulnay also preferred Port Royal for its proximity to the fur trade which he felt was the economic future of the colony, rather than fishing.³²³ Aulnay referred to La Have as one of the three military outposts of Acadie in a few letters but there is no evidence he set up troops at La Have nor was it discussed as a site of economic growth for Acadie. Likely this military presence would have been made up of a small contingent of men who remained at La Have and its fort.³²⁴

³²⁰ "Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 August, 1634," Fonds Français, Vol. 13423, ff. 349-350, Dept. des MSS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³²¹ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 55.

³²² Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, ed. W.F. Ganong (Toronto, 1908), Original edition: Paris, 1672, 149-151. René Baudry, "Claude de Menou D'Aulnay," DCB, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/menou_d_aulnay_charles_de_1E.html (Accessed August, 2018); Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 52.

³²³ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 55.

³²⁴ L. LeJeune writes that Aulnay requested three hundred soldiers to supply his three military garrisons, Pentagouet, Port Royal, and La Have, however he does not cite where he gets this

A small number of men stayed back at La Have when the colony vacated in 1636. These men were intimately or communally (or both) linked to the Mi'kmaq community at La Have and Mirliguèche.³²⁵ While the reason given for these men to stay behind was to maintain the fort, it allowed them to, in a sense, defect from the French colony and remain among the Mi'kmaq.³²⁶ Whatever the reasoning given, 1636 saw the colony relocated to Port Royal and a small group of men connected to the Mi'kmaw community stayed at La Have. For those at La Have this began a period of insertion into Mi'kma'ki over Acadie.

As with most all male outposts, some of the men sought out relationships from among the Indigenous community. In Denys' description of the settlement, it is apparent how close the two communities were. Denys' home and lumber mill was constructed "in the oak forest between the La Have and Merliguèche harbour."³²⁷ Denys recounts the skills of the Mi'kmaq being used as guides, hunters, and coopers. Even the children were recruited to pick berries.³²⁸ These regular encounters resulted in some of the men from among the forty *habitants* entering into marriages with Mi'kmaq women.³²⁹ The decision first to marry Mi'kmaq women and secondly to stay with them when the colony

information from or if the men were actually sent. Often, governors wrote letters requesting aid but this does not mean any was approved and sent and considering we have no evidence of troops at La Have it is likely this was not done. L. LeJeune, *Tableaux synoptiques de l'histoire de l'Acadie* (Ottawa: Juniorat du Sacré-Cur, 1916), Première partie, 18. It is possible that the troops, if sent, were reassigned in 1650 upon Aulnay's death, but when Emmanuel LeBorgne sends troops to destroy La Have in 1653 there is also no evidence of any resistance from resident troops. Thus, it is unlikely that a garrison of men was at La Have between 1636-1653.

³²⁵ Primary sources that attest to a continuing group of French inhabitants at La Have and Mirliguèche can be found in: "Maurepas à Beauharnois et Hocquart, 26 avril 1745," Archives National (AN) Col B 81, f.273v; J. B; W. M., *An account of the present state of Nova-Scotia...* 1756 (microfilm), University of Alberta https://archive.org/details/cihm_20189/page/n5/mode/2up. E.M. Rameau de St. Père, "Registres des Acadiens de Belle-Ile-en Mer: Remarques sur les mêmes registres par Mr. E. Rameau," *Documents sur l'Acadie, suppl. To Le Canada Français III*, 5 (Sept. 1890): 145.

³²⁶ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 54; Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 56.

³²⁷ Dawson, *Nova Scotia's Lost Communities*, 50.

³²⁸ Denys, *Description*, 154. Dawson, *Merligueche*, 1.

³²⁹ Dawson states that "only a few mostly those who had married Indian women, remained behind to man the fort and trading post." In, *Fort Sainte-Marie* (1982): 56.

moved suggests these men were gradually incorporating into the Mi'kma'ki community over Acadie. Dawson writes that "later records make it clear that a number of the early settlers took Indian women as wives or companions, and thereby established a métis population which survived in the La Have-Merliguèche area long after the departure of the majority of French settlers."³³⁰

As for those French settlers who remained behind at La Have, they would have served as intermediaries in the Mi'kmaw-European trade and would have been able to get supplies from the European fishing and trading crews that frequented the coast in the summer months. Despite the French strategic desire to maintain control over La Have, the view on the ground would have told a different story. Without colonial administrators, priests, or feudal lords, this region worked through Mi'kmaq practices and as a place of meeting for commerce.

Flashes of Empire:

The population at La Have would have continued to live on fishing, hunting, and trading during the subsequent decades largely as people in the region had before the Razilly colony, with the exception of events which took place in 1650 and 1657-8. The 1650s saw two short-lived series of events in which European forces fought over imperial claims to Acadie. Razilly's fort at La Have was used in these battles as a representative stronghold to claim the coast. This meant that whoever had control of the fort at La Have, whether France or England, claimed the coast. These attacks and the temporary European military presence at the fort aimed to maintain European claims, and were not part of a plan to develop the region or establish ties with the community there. La Have was a military pawn to bolster the competing claims of Scotsman Sir

³³⁰ Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 45.

Thomas Temple and Frenchman Emmanuel LeBorge. It is unclear whether there was a small military presence at La Have at some point in the 1650s or if the French and English sent troops. The latter seems more likely since the military forces appear to have arrived at La Have to claim the post and were, in the case of Sir Temple's control over La Have, to have left the fort unattended. The French troops in this event took possession of the goods left behind and reclaimed the fort for France.

The year 1650 stood out for the residents at La Have as the year when French financier Emmanuel LeBorge sent men to all of Razilly and Aulnay outposts to take what remained of Aulnay's squandered investment upon his death. During his collection campaign in the North Atlantic Le Borge's men set fire to the fort at La Have and took any remaining goods, including pelts or anything else of value. His effort further demonstrates the absence of Acadie and France at La Have; the fort was successfully destroyed and its effects taken without any counter action from Acadie. Even though Le Borge's men would have taken from and burned all the original buildings in the small outpost the ghosts did to leave the region. By this time, they were not dependent on the colonial infrastructure.

The residents of La Have saw imperial war come to their shores again in the 1650s as old claims were revived. In 1657 English Major Robert Sedgwick captured Charles de la Tour the Acadian governor. The issue was that Sedgwick had captured La Tour during a time of Franco-English peace. It took four years in an English prison before la Tour was granted an audience with Oliver Cromwell to discuss the matter. La Tour was finally able to negotiate his release with Cromwell. La Tour had to sell off part of Acadie to William Crowne and Scotsman Sir Thomas Temple to clear his name. Crowne and Temple divided Acadie and its two forts, Saint-John and Pentagouet, between them when La Tour sold them his remaining portion in 1657. Sir Thomas was

given Fort Saint-John and its surrounding territory, described as being from Mirliguèche to River St. George.³³¹

The next year a series of seizures of La Have ensued as French Emmanuel LeBorgne and Scotsman Sir Thomas Temple fought over the port. A portion of their land grants from England and France overlapped. By September 6th, 1659, Temple had written to Lord Keeper Fiennes stating his willingness to give up the port to Le Borgne who wanted to use the harbor as part of his Atlantic fishing enterprise which also encompassed Canseau, the valuable fishing outpost farther north.³³² This letter details his improvements to the settlements around the Bay of Fundy, which did not include La Have. Temple's claim on Acadie was overturned in 1667 with the Treaty of Breda in which the English surrender of the region. Charles II ordered Temple to cede the five outposts of Acadie to Le Borgne, a task he finally accomplished by the summer of 1670.³³³ The families at La Have and Mirliguèche did not fit into Temple's plans. After Temple's short-lived imperial gambit, their harbor was again off imperial radar.

While the inhabitants at La Have saw the harbor claimed and reclaimed in these international battles, these intrusions failed to pull its inhabitants into Acadian life. La Have was a strategic battleground between these European elites as they battled over

³³¹ Huia Ryder, "Thomas Temple," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/temple_thomas_1E.html (Accessed, June 2018); Huia Ryder, "William Crowne," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/crowne_william_1E.html (Accessed October 2019).

³³² Mason Wade, "Emmanuel LeBorgne," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/le_borgne_emmanuel_1E.html (Accessed October 2019). In an effort to secure his new territory, Temple is supposed to have built a wooden palisade on the foundations of the old Razilly fort at La Have, though archaeologists are still working on the site at Fort Point for these remains. Archaeologist and Curator for the Nova Scotia Museum, Catherine Cottreau-Robins, has recently been excavating at Fort Point where Razilly's small settlement was constructed. Digs between 2016 and 2019 has uncovered the location of the chapel area from the Razilly fort but because of coastal erosion and many subsequent building projects on the site, they are unsure if they will be able to locate remains from the Razilly Fort or of Temple's repairs until more of the data is processed.

³³³ Huia Ryder, "Thomas Temple," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/temple_thomas_1E.html (Accessed December 2019).

territorial claims. These contests did not alter the local level connections between La Have and Acadie anymore than connections between the French fishing village of Canseau and Acadie were affected during these European battles.³³⁴

Despite the imperial struggles over the harbor, the Mi'kmaq would have been able to avoid the conflict if desired because of how they used the land. Temple and LeBorge, on the one hand, wanted strategic control of the harbor at La Have but they did not move into the territory beyond the fort. The Mi'kmaq, on the other hand, moved across the land along the rivers and in the coastal regions depending on the season and their work. Considering Europeans remained on the shoreline of the land, the Mi'kmaq could avoid the Europeans if they chose. At La Have the central Mi'kmaq village was located fourteen miles up from the mouth of the river around modern-day Cookville, Nova Scotia.³³⁵ As for the colonial ghosts, it is impossible to determine where they resided in the 1650s, especially without census data for this period. They could have also been near the fort, without residing at it. In the 1726 piracy trial which tried members of the Guédry family, which will be discussed in Chapter Six, John Missel described navigating the English vessel “around the point” towards the Guédry plantation, implying that the regular trading port at Mirliguèche and the location of the Guédry mother's house was not the location of Jean-Baptist's home.³³⁶ Jean-Baptist's mother's home was where Jean-Baptist took the English to have a drink and discuss

³³⁴ Canseau was a strategically important fishing village, on the Northeastern coast of Mi'kma'ki. This harbor had been frequented by the European fisheries since the early sixteenth century. This outpost was considered part of the French Atlantic especially when discussing fishing possessions. Though it is mentioned in French claims in the seventeenth century, like La Have, the community is only loosely connected and may or may not appear on maps of Acadie. See, “Canso Island,” *Parks Canada*. <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/lhn-nhs/ns/canso>

³³⁵ Roger Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs: A Case Study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*, Master's thesis, (Newfoundland: Memorial University, 2006).

³³⁶ “The Trial of Five Persons,” *Evans Early America Imprint Collection*, 1726, 28 <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019).

affairs, implying it was a strategic trading entrepot, since his home was not in the harbor. We have no way of knowing how early these family residences were established. It is possible the families who married Mi'kmaq women in the 1630s may have lived at the Head-of-Tide, fourteen miles up from the mouth of the river, within the Mi'kmaq village. They also may have resided elsewhere than the Fort. If they did maintain the Fort, they were unlikely to have stayed there when Temple's men took control of it.

Without evidence of their presence at the Fort, perhaps the absence of reports of any struggle with local populations from Temple suggests the families were absent from the Fort itself. When Alexandre Le Borgne de Belle-Isle, LeBorgne's son, seized Temple's forts in 1658 he took the food and pelts left at La Have before continuing southward to the next fort at Fort Lomeron. Temple had the French troops removed and reclaimed the fort.³³⁷ The tug-of-war over the fort but without entanglements with the local populations further indicates that the battle was over the strategic control of the fort, not the region. It also appears that neither Temple nor his men were at La Have when Belle-Isle arrived; they left behind his unattended goods. The pelts were likely acquired through trade with the Mi'kmaq at La Have. This would make sense: while these two European elites were battling for control of the Forts that dotted the coast, the people continued to live, hunt, and fish as before. Whatever their location, the ghosts and the Mi'kmaq were able to avoid the French-English struggles over La Have in 1657 and 1659.

The fishing community of Canseau, north of La Have, was an example of another French outpost which developed and functioned independently. While La Have's ghost population operated with minimal ties to Acadie, it is helpful to remember that La Have

³³⁷ Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1968), p.107.

was not the only French outpost in the Northeast that was separate from Acadie. As was mentioned in Temple's letter in 1659, LeBorgne wanted to use La Have as well as Canseau as fishing villages. This separate imperial approach to Acadie and the Atlantic coast may indicate that European investors desired Acadie for its profitable fur trading and its agricultural potential, while the Atlantic outposts were considered part of the Atlantic fisheries, part of a separate economic zone. As Canseau and Cape Sable were more developed and maintained as part of the permanent Atlantic fisheries, harbors like La Have were left as part of a seasonal trading and fishing route traversed in the summer months.

In terms of colonial territories, perhaps the Northeast is better conceived as a collection of French privateering settlements, military outposts, and fishing communities. The communities that make up Acadie, Port Royal, Minas, Beaubassin, and Saint-Jean expanded out of the Port Royal settlement and had extensive ties of intermarriage and interaction. The villages that made up Acadie had developed differently than La Have. Breaking down the imperial and archival way of grouping these outposts and colonial communities might reveal a more accurate understanding of how each functioned individually as well as being able to explore linkages. Further research might also conceive of Cape Sable as a separate French fishing outpost outside of Acadie as defined by the French.

Little is known about La Have and Mirliguèche during the French colonial period between 1632 and 1713, or during the English period between 1713 and 1749. Only when the English settled Lunenburg at Mirliguèche in 1749 does it come into view. The region was devoid of resident French officials and clerics which meant that most of the events occurring on the Atlantic coast went unreported. Decisions were also made without colonial oversight. The location of the harbor, situated on the eastern side of the

peninsula, allowed for an increased autonomy from France and its colonial administrators in the West. Local disputes, marriages, baptisms, and contracts were all established and maintained using means other than the colonial priest or scribe. While the community could have these things ratified by a priest on his next visit, which was often a few year's wait, they regularly performed their own rituals and ceremonies, evidenced by the prevalence of lay baptisms and marriages. Some of these families made the trip to Port-Royal and perhaps Cape-Sable to have their Catholic rites performed while others appear to have foregone the rite altogether. The fact that so little was recorded from this period and that when a priest passed through the region, he had to ratify events that have long since taken place, reveals the distance from France and the independence of the communities at La Have and Mirliguèche.

A thin French state apparatus

The two possible gaps that might have created an official French presence at La Have were Catholic priests and French officials, both which were absent from the community. The latter were the appointed agents of the state in Acadie while the former played a role in Acadian culture that we can measure. Catholic priests in Acadie served to disseminate information, cemented French loyalty, perform rites, and direct French culture in Acadie. Priests were certainly not the only vector of culture within or outside of France, however, the presence of priests can be used as a tool to gage French colonial presence on the Atlantic coast. Their role in these communities was to relay information, inculcate religious tradition, and direct loyalties.

Priests, state officials who helped to articulate communities under a similar faith, were virtually absent from life at La Have and Mirliguèche. While those French who lived on the Bay of Fundy also faced an absence of priests during the seventeenth century,

this lack was far more extensive on the Atlantic Coast.³³⁸ Those at La Have and Mirliguèche could go a decade or more without a visit from a priest.³³⁹ Without church officials, the practice of performing lay baptisms and marriages became commonplace. A priest who entered the area would legitimize the long-ago performed ceremony, as we will discuss more later.

While religious officials offered an element of unity and cultural cohesion for communities on the Bay of Fundy, their absence on the Atlantic coast added another layer to the social distance between these geographically widespread communities. With no resident priest, religious practices went unchecked which permitted Catholic, Pagan, or Native American traditions to be practiced without oversight or interference. Residents of these two harbors could practice a blended spiritual practice in which Mi'kmaq beliefs coexisted with Catholic or other European beliefs. It is well established that Catholics throughout the Atlantic world were incorporating other religious traditions into their practice and away from the watchful eye of the priest, these practices could develop more freely.

Acadian inhabitants had developed an inclusive religious practice. Reverend Andrew Brown recorded aspects of Acadian culture after speaking to old Acadians in the late eighteenth century, which included the *festivals des oies*.³⁴⁰ The Festival called *le Retour des Oies* showcases the blended religious practices among the Acadiens who were adopting Mi'kmaq traditions. As the name suggests, this festival was performed to celebrate the return of the geese. Rev. Brown saw this *fête* as the combination of Mi'kmaw and Catholic traditions. "In the Algonquin ritual," he wrote, "this was the festival

³³⁸ N.E.S. Griffiths, "Mating and Marriage in Early Acadie," (Presentation, The 1988 Florence Bird Lecture, 1988), 13.

³³⁹ Griffiths, *Mating and Marriage*, 13-14.

³⁴⁰ Sara Beanlands, Annotated Edition of Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown's Manuscript: "Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's Council in October 1755." Masters Thesis (Halifax: Saint Mary's University, 2010), 191.

of dreams and riddles, all fools' day" to celebrate their deliverance from the previous winter. Onto this, the rituals of Catholic Easter were "engrafted on with some dexterity."³⁴¹ Acadians were open to accepting some Mi'kmaw festivals and beliefs.

Some French observers feared the Acadians were too lax with the Catholic faith. Francois-Marie Perrot, Governor of Acadie, writing in Port Royal in 1685 describes the early Acadians as having "lived in the woods... mixing with the Indians and pursuing a dissolute and sordid existence, without ever practicing their faith."³⁴² This commentary suggests Perrot was shocked at the Acadian's abandonment of Catholic orthodoxy. De Meulles, Intendant of New France, had to issue ordinances concerned "with the ways of remedying the libertinism of several of His Majesty's subjects, who keep Indian women in their dwellings, who desert father and mother and follow these Indian women into the woods."³⁴³ Perrot and De Meulles noticed these practices at Port Royal where the Acadian community was much larger than at La Have; they developed these, in the presence of colonial officials and French symbols of cultural normalcy such as churches, scribes, French forts, and European-style homes. Even in the French colonial setting these practices had developed.

As fishermen and tradesmen who were arriving from an already diverse French background of popular folk traditions and blended religious practice in the early seventeenth century, these men often deployed a religious dexterity which would allow for Native American traditions to be performed without scruples. While we do not have

³⁴¹ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 191.

³⁴² Carl A. Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765–1803* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 152; Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 69; Pacifique de Valigny, *Chroniques des plus anciennes églises de l'Acadie: Bathurst, Pabos et Ristigouche, Rivière St. John, Memramcook* (Montreal, 1944), 1-2; Rameau de St. Père, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 1, 75.

³⁴³ De Meulles, "Relation du voyage que j'ay fait dans l'Acadie..." DUA, W.I. Morse Collection, English Translation, Morse, *Acadiensis Nova* 1:110.

evidence of the religious activities of the colonial ghosts, they could have been identified as Catholic, Christian, Mi'kmaq or according to other religious categories while still receiving Catholic sacraments and participating in Mi'kmaq rites and traditions. Considering their deep connection to the Mi'kmaq community, and the prominent role of dancing, singing, and ritual in Mi'kmaq celebrations and ceremonies, it would be unsurprising if the colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche participated.³⁴⁴ Given the evidence available about Acadian religious practices this seems more likely for those who lived away from Catholic religious officials.

Although we have no firsthand accounts of shared religious ritual at La Have, outside the colonial setting extra-catholic festivals, practices and ways of life were freer to develop. We have one telling account from a fur-trading expedition that was attended by a Jesuit priest. Friar Biard recounted his experiences with Biencourt and his colonists on a trading mission with the Native Americans. On one occasion, they were invited to join an Abenaki ritual ceremony. During the ritual they danced and sang all night, Biard fearing their “songs and dances were invocations to the devil.” His attempts to change the music of the celebration towards “Catholic spiritual songs,” were in vain, however, as the French colonists continued to “mimic the Native Americans, chanting, dancing and singing together.”³⁴⁵ These Frenchmen not only witnessed these ceremonies but actively participated in them.

³⁴⁴ For more on Mi'kmaq Dance and Celebrations see, Gertrude F. Sable, “Another look in the mirror: research into the foundations for developing an alternative science curriculum for Mi'kmaw children,” M.A. diss. (St. Mary's University, 1996).

³⁴⁵ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 27; “Biard to Provincial,” 31 January 1612, in Ruben Gold Thwaites eds. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1898), 2:37; Lucien Campeau, “Pierre Biard,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/biard_pierre_1E.html (Accessed October 2019).

James Sweet's work which documents the participation of European Catholics in African religious ceremonies can be used to consider Catholics in the Northeast.³⁴⁶ Europeans in colonial Brazil sought out African practitioners for their bolsas, prayers, enchantments, and ceremonies, believing in their power. The Mi'kmaq also had many remedies and spiritual practices to heal the sick, pray for the dying, and perform rituals to commemorate life events such as marriages, treaties, and the advent of manhood. As Sweet demonstrates, European's sought extra-Catholic spiritual aid even when a Catholic priest was available. How much more would they seek out spiritual support when a priest has not visited in years? It is likely the colonial ghosts on the Atlantic coast who lived as hunters and fishermen without access to a priest were also spiritually flexible and adaptive.

Churches and priests helped to link American residents to France. Churches were also sites where community news could be shared, and where priests could moderate disputes and attempt to correct aberrant behavior. In communities with a resident priest, the Church symbolized civility, order, and orthodoxy while acting as moderators in disputes. Priests were also moral educators and symbols of church and state authority through the signing of birth and marriage records. Regular mass and the offering of sacraments continued cultural connection with France and the Roman Catholic Church.

France's authority in the region eroded as those officials were infrequent visitors to La Have and Mirliguèche. La Have had no resident priest after 1636. Couples had

³⁴⁶ James Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). See also, Cécile Fromont, *L'Art de la conversion. Culture visuelle chrétienne dans le royaume du Kongo* (Les Presses du Réel, 2018); John Thornton and Linda Heywood, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

their marriages and baptisms legitimized sometimes years after the fact, which shows their comfort with proceeding without the sacraments. Families could travel to Port Royal or Cape Sable or another church to receive the Catholic rites, but it appears that only a few did so, while many others did not. It seems likely that travel did not present an insurmountable obstacle as the Mi'kmaq, unlike the French, crossed the land easily. Although Acadians struggled to cross the Mi'kmaq peninsula to the Atlantic coast, demonstrated by the difficulties De Meulles experienced trying to get to La Have in 1686. In contrast, the Mi'kmaq crossed the land easily. The ghosts likely had the same ease in canoe and water travel given their similar riverine and marine lifestyle. Given this ease of canoe travel, the Guédry family travelled to Port Royal for the census in 1698 even though they lived at La Have. Some Guédry men, like Paul Guédry, were known to have been skilled coasting pilots, and a life on the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century certainly meant one of water transit.³⁴⁷ For this reason, whether the Guédry family and others at La Have were as skilled at traversing the landscape as the Mi'kmaq were, they would have had opportunity and skill to get to a priest for the sacraments if they so desired.

Another example of the choices available to the colonial ghosts, like the choice to live in Mi'kma'ki, was the decision to abstain from some or all of the religious rites. N.E.S. Griffiths accurately suggests that "at least some of those reported by both Jesuit and Recollet as living immorally among the Micmac would have contracted a formal marriage with their partners," although "such marriages would not be recognized by the priests, for whom any non-Catholic, let alone non-Christian, ceremony would be invalid."³⁴⁸ Griffiths rightly proposes that the Jesuits may be commenting on what

³⁴⁷ Stephen A. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Centre d'études Acadiennes, 1999), 772.

³⁴⁸ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 8.

appeared to their eyes as illegitimate unions, might have in fact been legitimate Mi'kmaq marriages. If these unions had been performed "à la façon du pays" or without Catholic services, the Jesuits would not have recognized them but this did not mean any less of a commitment for the married couple. Many of the ghosts at La Have had no Catholic marriage record and may have performed Mi'kmaq marriages.

Pausing to consider the push-pull factor for the settlers and fishermen who came to the shores of Mi'kma'ki, Europe's spiritual diversity and religious wars suggest the potential spiritual freedom sought by these Europeans in the Americas. Europe and France especially had been ravaged by Catholic and Protestant religious wars in the early seventeenth century. The Protestant city of La Rochelle had fallen in 1628 which unleashed a new wave of anti-Protestant crackdown around Tour and the Loire Valley where many of the Acadian settlers came from.³⁴⁹ While the Razilly settlement venture was officially a Catholic venture with the approval of Richelieu and the King, it is likely that Protestants were among the crew.³⁵⁰ The prolonged warfare which had created instability in rural France since the mid- sixteenth century would have increased interest in a life overseas, especially for plebians who might have been suspected of heresy. For those who sought freedom from the persecutions of the Church, the remote outpost of Acadie would have offered such a space, but perhaps the colonial ghosts desired an even greater level of freedom. As commoners from fishing and hunting families, passage to the Americas offered the possibility of a different life and new economic potential. Stuart Schwartz' *All Can Be Saved*, Michel de Certeau' *The Possession at Loudun*, and

³⁴⁹ Joan Dawson, "Colonists or Birds of Passage? A glimpse at the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636," *NSHR*9 (1989), 42-61; Gregory Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise? Comparing Rural Societies in Acadie and the Loudunais, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); *La Maison D'Acadie*, La Chaussée, France, <http://maisondelacadie.com/> (Accessed December 2019). Jacob F. Field, "Siege of La Rochelle," *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Siege-of-La-Rochelle> (Accessed December 2019).

³⁵⁰ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 45.

Robert Darton's *The Great Cat Massacre* reveal the religiously diverse folk Catholicism practiced in Spain and France around the time of the Religious wars.³⁵¹ The fishermen and settlers who came to the North Atlantic came from this blended European religious context. Religious officials in Acadie catalogued the heterodoxy of local religious folk traditions, to which had been added practices drawing on Native American traditions. The Atlantic coast offered even greater freedom from Catholic or Protestant orthodoxy and the consequences of religious pluralism of the religious wars in France.

Life in the Americas could offer new economic potential for commoners as well. Working in the cod fisheries was hard labor and dangerous work. Fishermen often ended up caught in a cycle of debt to their captains. Many were advanced a loan on their wages at the beginning of the fishing season, and tried to work off their debt during the summer, called debt peonage. When they failed to do so, they were locked into working for the same merchant year after year.³⁵² Peter Pope describes this debt cycle and notes that some English Newfoundland indebted fishermen escaped to the English North American colonies.³⁵³ The same debt and desire for new opportunities existed among the French and others as well. Life among Native Americans could offer a fresh start away from French merchant creditors. Razilly's expedition brought many tradesmen and fishermen to La Have to work. When Razilly died and Aulnay moved the colony these men might have grabbed an opportunity to escape their work and any associated debt. At La Have they still had access to summer fishing expeditions which brought trading

³⁵¹ Stuart Schwartz' *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Robert Darton's *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1984).

³⁵² Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill and London: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and the University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 364.

³⁵³ Stuart Schwartz, *All can be saved: Religious tolerance and salvation in the Iberian Atlantic world* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Robert Darnton, *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history* (London: Allen Lane, 1984).

opportunities and the benefits of the abundance of resources in Mi'kma'ki. Adopting Mi'kmaq fishing and hunting practices would have increased their ability to provide for their family and the trade, an opportunity to begin a new economic wealth might have attracted some.

The ghosts may have also found Mi'kmaq cultural and religious traditions inviting. The colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki were likely performing Mi'kmaq marriages. As early as 1611, Jesuit priests commented that “la plupart se marient à des sauvagesses, et passèrent le rest de leurs jours avec les sauvages adoptant leur manière de vie” (the majority of the men marry native women and spend the rest of their days with the natives, adopting their lifestyle. Author Translation).³⁵⁴ Priests complained that Frenchmen from Acadie were “living in marriage without the benefit of a priestly blessing.”³⁵⁵ It seems likely that the same practices were occurring at La Have and Mirliguèche. We know that the men who chose to stay back at La Have in 1636 had entered into marriages with the Mi'kmaq women which meant proving their social utility in a Mi'kmaq family and according to a Mi'kmaq way of life. It is likely that these marriages were not performed strictly in accord with Catholic ritual even in a lay context. These unions were likely formed “a la façon du pays” (according to the customs of the land) or they may have blended some Catholic ceremonial traditions into the Mi'kmaq ceremony. By the 1650s the next generation would have continued the practice of Mi'kmaq marriage in Mi'kma'ki. In other words, whether a Mi'kmaq or Catholic marriage took place would depend on whether those children remained in Mi'kma'ki. Marriages that did take place in Mi'kma'ki could be later blessed by a priest and recorded in the Church records, an option the Mi'kmaq sometimes took as well.

³⁵⁴ J.A. Maureault, *Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours* (Sorel, 1888), 62.

³⁵⁵ Griffiths, *Mating and Marriage*, 7; P. Candide de Nant, *Pages Glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne ou une mission capucine en Acadie* (Montreal, 1927).

French settlers and priests, Biard, Denys, Le Clerq, and Maillard, all recorded similar Mi'kmaq marriage customs ranging from 1616 to 1758 showing the continuation of Mi'kmaq marriage practices throughout the French and English colonial periods.³⁵⁶ In places where the cultural landscape was Mi'kmaq, such as La Have and Mirliguèche, those marriages would have been performed "à la façon du pays." Upton explains that "the lack of priests meant that the micmacs were largely responsible for maintaining their own Catholicism."³⁵⁷ He made this observation while describing the role of Catholic missionaries such as Maillard who worked with the Mi'kmaq in the 1740s. The Missions Étrangère did not have an annual visit to Mi'kmaq communities like La Have until the 1720s. In light of Upton's analysis of the Mi'kmaq Catholic faith in the eighteenth century, the seventeenth century would imply even more locally maintained cultural and religious practices at La Have which may have incorporated Catholicism into Mi'kmaq cosmology.

The scarcity of religious officials on the Atlantic Coast reveals one important feature of the absence of the French colonial state in the seventeenth century. Catholic priests were utilized in the Acadian colony to direct the colonists' loyalty towards the Church and France. The premise was that good Catholic colonists did not forget their Pope nor their Catholic King. After the British conquest of Acadie Catholic priests became especially important to French subterfuge plans. French priests were known to stir up French loyalty and breed resistance against a Protestant England under British rule. The English were constantly frustrated by the way the French priests encouraged the Mi'kmaq to fight for France and encouraged the French to resist the British. French

³⁵⁶ 'Courtship & Marriage,' *Excerpts from the Hoffman Thesis – Mi'kmaq of the 16th & 17th Centuries*, Cape Breton University. <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/unamaki-college/mikmaq-resource-centre/essays/exerpts-from-the-hoffman-thesis-mikmaq-of-the-16th-17th-centuries/#courtship-marriage> (Accessed September 2019).

³⁵⁷ L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 153.

priests Antonine Gaulin, Pierre Maillard, and Jean-Louis Le Loutre spent much of their pastoral careers in Acadie, proselytizing the Acadians and Mi'kmaq but also inciting animosity towards the British and orchestrating plans of duplicity, especially in the case of Father Le Loutre.³⁵⁸ Le Loutre was able to convince most of the French-descended living at La Have and Mirliguèche to relocate to Ile Royal, which was still French, in the 1740s for fear of encroaching English officials. The Catholic priests were so successful at inflaming the situation on the peninsula that when French colonial officer Charles Deschamps de Boishébert wrote of the French military losses to the British in the North East in 1760, he explained "If we are now in a war that has made the Acadians miserable, remember that it was the priests who were the cause."³⁵⁹

Catholicism at La Have:

The Catholic neglect of the coast manifests the harbors' peripheral position within the French Catholic flock. When Bishop Saint-Valliers made his grand tour of Acadie in 1686 and 1689, he did not visit La Have or Mirliguèche.³⁶⁰ We know of very few religious officials who came to this region. Going back to the early seventeenth century, while we have no evidence of any priests traveling to the coast with the cod fishermen in the first wave of Frenchmen on the coast, there were religious officials present among some of the initial settlement or exploratory missions to the Northeast which included a trip to

³⁵⁸ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 295. For more on the Catholic missions among the Mi'kmaq and their political influence see Maxime Morin, *Devenir « missionnaire des Sauvages » Origines, formation et entrée en fonction des sujets dans les missions amérindiennes du Canada et de l'Acadie (1700-1763)*, Dissertation, Laval University, 2018; Maxime Morin, *Le rôle politique des abbés Pierre Maillard, Jean-Louis Le Loutre et François Picquet dans les relations franco-amérindiennes à la fin du Régime français (1734-1763)*, Master's thesis, Laval University, 2009.

³⁵⁹ "Boishébert to Manach, 21 February 1760," Gaudet Appendix N, 190-94.; Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 413.

³⁶⁰ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 124-32; Alfred Rambeaud, "Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier," DCB, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/la_croix_de_chevrieres_de_saint_vallier_jean_baptiste_de_2E.html (Accessed, July 2018).

Port Royal in 1613. Stopping at La Have on his way to Port Royal in 1613, a Jesuit priest said a mass and erected a cross on one of the islands now referred to as Cross Island, along with the Marquise's coat of arms.³⁶¹ While the planting of the cross and coat of arms would have had religious significance for the French and represented French and Catholic possession of the harbor,³⁶² it would have been a notable experience for the Mi'kmaq as well.

Pierre Déléage explores the significance of the cross among the Mi'kmaq on la Miramichi and in the Gaspésie region through the writings of Priest Chrestien Leclercq. Although the Mi'kmaq of la Gaspésie were geographically closer to New France than those at La Have and Mirliguèche, they may have had a similar introduction to the cross. When Chrestien Leclercq arrived among the Mi'kmaq at la Gaspésie, they were already familiar with the symbol of the cross. He even called them 'Porte-Croix' (or those who carry the cross - author's translation) because they were frequently seen with the cross, using it in political negotiations and rituals and, according to a Mi'kmaq, as a way to distinguish themselves from the other tribes.³⁶³ Déléage notes that their familiarity with the cross while remaining ignorant of the Christian faith arose from exposure to missionaries who had passed through the region in the seventeenth century but did not stay to proselytize.³⁶⁴ The Mi'kmaq at La Have similarly saw priests pass through the port on their way to Port Royal. Déléage also noted the cross had a significant ritual importance to the Mi'kmaq, both as shamanistic fetish symbol for the purpose of

³⁶¹ Dawson, *Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce* (1982): 52.

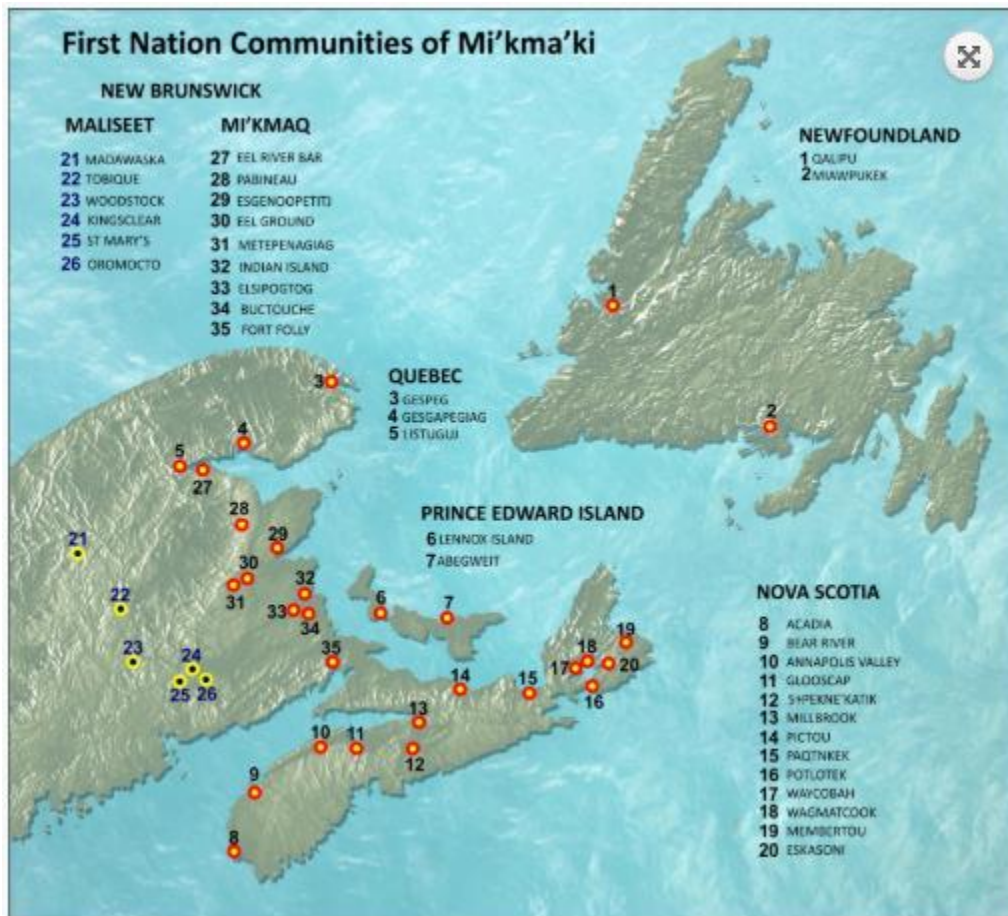
³⁶² Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180; Claude D'Abbeville, *Histoire de la Mission des Peres capuchins en l'île de Maragnan et terres circonvoisins* (Austria, 1963, original pub. 1614), 100, 15, 96-97. To read more on the practice of planting crosses see, Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*.

³⁶³ Pierre Déléage, *La Croix et les Hiéroglyphes: Écritures et Objets rituels chez les Amérindiens de Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Aesthetica, 2009), 21-23.

³⁶⁴ Déléage, *La Croix*, 10.

protecting them against illness and as a symbol in alliance formation or diplomatic negotiation.³⁶⁵

Considering the port at La Have was established as a place of commerce through trade and fishing, it is possible that a similar significance may have been adopted among these Mi'kmaq in the early seventeenth century. Without needing to know more of the Catholic faith, the Mi'kmaq understood that Europeans who came to trade in the port recognized and respected this symbol. Like the Mi'kmaq in the Gaspésie, Mi'kmaq of La Have may have utilized this same symbol in their dealings with Europeans.



³⁶⁵ Déléage, *La Croix*, 11.

“Map of First Nations in Mi’kma’ki (MAP)” from the Mi’kmawey Debert Cultural Center’s teaching materials.³⁶⁶ This map shows the distance between the Mi’kmaq in the Gaspésie (point three on the map) and the La Have community which is not represented on this map but would be across the peninsula from point ten and eleven. This map shows contemporary Mi’kmaq community placement.

The Razilly settlement came after the cross planting at La Have and involved the construction of a church and the presence of Capuchin missionaries. The chapel, along with the rest of the settlement, were burned down in 1653 when Emmanuel LeBorge sent a crew to collect on his lost investment from Charles D’Aulnay.³⁶⁷ Until that time, the church may have been used by the remaining Frenchmen and local Mi’kmaq, although they had no priest in residence after 1636. Unlike the Mi’kmaq in the Gaspésie in the early seventeenth century, those at La Have had spent time with the Capuchin missionaries from Razilly’s settlement, although to what extent they were proselytized is unclear. Six Capuchins left for La Have with Razilly in 1632 and during the four years of the Razilly settlement, 1632 to 1636, probably three Capuchins in residence worked at the church and with the Mi’kmaq.³⁶⁸ From the Capuchin *Relation* sent to the Propaganda office in Rome, we know that the Capuchins who were sent to Acadie set up two posts, one at Port Royal and one at La Have. Those Capuchins appear to have been travelling extensively, even as far as Virginia, to serve the missions.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ “Map of First Nations in Mi’kma’ki,” *Supplementary Materials for Teaching About the Mi’kmaq*, Mi’kmawey Debert Cultural Center, <http://www.mikmaweydebert.ca/home/sharing-our-stories/education-and-outreach/school-curriculum/supplementary-materials-for-teaching-about-the-mikmaq/#prettyPhoto> (Accessed December 2019).

³⁶⁷ Archaeologist and Curator of the Nova Scotia Museum Catherine Cottreau-Robins and team has recently uncovered the remains of the Chapel area of Razilly’s settlement. Publication of these findings from her team is forthcoming. (Email correspondence, October 29th 2019).

³⁶⁸ John Lenhart, “The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 27, No. 3 (SEPTEMBER, 1916): 196, 199, 200, 201; Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, (1988): 44, 50. M. Moreau, *Histoire de l’Acadie Française de 1598 à 1755* (Paris, 1873), 114-115.

³⁶⁹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relation*, July 19, 1632, Propaganda Office, Archivio di Prop. Fide, Atti. vol. VIII, no. 6, f. 209.6; Cesinale, III, p. 677, note 4; cf. Jeron, p. 294; cf. Atti Archivio di Prop. Fide, vol. VIII, no. 5, f. 66 (3 May, 1632); Lenhart, *The Capuchins*, 208, on the progress in Canada and the three missions of the French there.

Though the extent of Catholic presence during the Razilly settlement is unknown, the Mi'kmaq exposure to Catholicism increased over time. Razilly's letters attest to his belief that the Capuchins were a good influence on the settlement and Mi'kmaq population in the region. He tells Richelieu that because of the Capuchins, the Mi'kmaq submitted themselves "to all the laws which we wish to impose on them, both divine and human."³⁷⁰ Comments of exemplar settlement virtue and morality appear exaggerated, possibly expressed in the hope of securing more support and financing for the colony. It seems unlikely that any community had effectively banished "vice and made love and charity reign," and this was certainly especially doubtful in the case of seventeenth-century sailors, workmen, and the Mi'kmaw tribe who had sporadic contact with a few Capuchins. He went further to say "there has not been a single case of deceit among as many ships' companies as he has seen; and there were more than 500 Frenchmen at one time in this spot."³⁷¹ While clear exaggerations of conditions at the Acadian enclave, these statements reveal Razilly's continued efforts to recruit and market the nascent colony.

Despite the initial efforts to proselytize the La Have Mi'kmaq, none of the priests remained once the colony was relocated to Port Royal. Two Capuchins, Augustin de Pointoise, Superior and Cosme (Come) de Mantes, continued to work elsewhere in Acadie and among other Mi'kmaq until the 1650s.³⁷² Without a Catholic missionary or lay priest in residence on the coast, Catholic mass was an infrequent occurrence. This lack would have limited the cleric's ability to dissuade the Mi'kmaq from their spiritual beliefs

³⁷⁰ "Razilly to Richelieu, 25 July 1634." M. Moreau, (Celestin), *Histoire de L'Acadie Française*, (Paris, 1873), 135.

³⁷¹ Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 August 1634.

³⁷² Dawson, *Colonists or Birds of Passage*, 51; Série C11D, Vol. 1, f. 70v, Archives des colonies, Paris; Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, III, i, (Montréal, Éditions Fides, 1963-1999), 5 volumes, 110-112; G.-M. Dumas, "Côme de Mantes," *Dictionnaire des Biographies Canadienne (DCB)*, 1, 234.

and served instead as an opening to incorporate Catholic spiritual support into their spiritual cosmology in the seventeenth century.

One challenge in attempting to reconstruct marriages and records for the Acadian period (1636 to 1710) are the incomplete parish records. Stephen White assembled a list of the parish records that are known to have existed, noting the status and location of these records to aid researchers. His compilation reveals the large number of parish records that were lost. For example, Port-Royal's parish, St. Jean-Baptiste, was listed as having been founded in 1636, when the colony was relocated away from La Have, but only the records between 1702 and 1755 have survived. As for the Atlantic coast, Chebogue/Cape Sable and Pobomcoup are listed with parishes Ste-Anne and Notre-Dame, founded around 1651, but neither of those parish records survive. He lists no parish in either La Have or Mirliguèche.³⁷³ It is impossible to determine if any of the colonial ghosts were recorded in marriages or baptisms in those lost records. If they had partaken in sacraments in that time, they would not have performed the rite again when a priest passed through La Have. As some baptisms and marriages were performed upon a priest visiting without the residents feeling the need to seek out these rites sooner could indicate that Catholic rites were used when available, but were not seen as a necessity for those in these communities who did not travel to Port Royal for these services. Some families performed lay baptisms which are recorded, written as "ondé" when the sacrament was later officiated. This allowed families to perform the sacrament without a priest.

³⁷³ Stephen White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadienne* (Centre d'études Acadienne, 1999), xvii-xxii.

Between 1636 and 1754 when the “Acadians” were deported from the Atlantic coast, there had been no local parish and no resident priest in these two communities.³⁷⁴ This region was not part of the Acadian parish system which concentrated on the Bay of Fundy coast, and was instead within the territory defined by the Catholic Church as the *Missions Étrangère* - meaning foreign missions.³⁷⁵ This designation meant that the priests who were sent to the coast were trained and directed to proselytize the Indigenous peoples living on the land, rather than to attend to the spiritual needs of the French. By the eighteenth century they were being trained in Mi’kma’ki (the Mi’kmaq language) at Ile Royale before they were sent out, which was another clear sign as to their intended flock. Among those who worked as priests for the Missions Étrangère, Antoine Gaulin, Michel Courtin, Jean-Louis Le Loutre, and Jean Manach visited the region of La Have and Mirliguèche between 1725 and 1746.³⁷⁶ Prior to 1725, Pere Félix Pain, the missionary for the Minas and Beaubassin regions (Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy), travelled along the Atlantic coast performing Catholic rites. This outreach does not appear to have been an annual or repeated practice, for when Pere Félix produced the Acadian census of 1714 he did not include anyone from the Atlantic coast.³⁷⁷ The absence of the Atlantic coast from this census record could point to the fact that Pere Pain did not see those residing on the Atlantic coast as part of Acadie. Given that he had clearly journeyed there, his omission did not arise from his not knowing of their existence. Unlike other Acadian census takers, he did not even include a vague description of ‘ten or so families who reside along the Eastern Coast’. This omission

³⁷⁴ I have placed Acadian in quotations here because I argue that this is the legal designation they were given by the British through the deportation. While the categories of Acadian, French, Mi’kmaq were at play and these families were living in and among others with these categories, I argue that those with French blood on the Atlantic coast before 1750 were identified as Acadians by the British state while their own community identities were more complex and fluid.

³⁷⁵ Morin, *Devenir “Missionnaires des sauvages”*, 159-160.

³⁷⁶ Nicolas Landry and Nicole Lang, *Histoire de L’Acadie* (Québec: Septentrion, 2001), 77.

³⁷⁷ Acadian Census 1714; E. Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique 2*, 13.

suggests that for Pere Pain, the Atlantic coast may have only had Native American, not French subjects, in it. Given the mandate of the Mission Étrangère, which was to convert and maintain the faith of the non-French, the mission may have left the supposed “French” to the assigned priest, or educated them as one of the Mi’kmaq. In either case, this record reveals the potential distance of these Europeans from Catholic efforts to maintain its flock on the Atlantic coast.

Given the large geographic territory that a single priest was expected to serve in the Mission Étrangère, the mission developed a circuit in the 1720s to visit each region annually. This circuit did not visit each Mi’kmaq village but focused instead on being present for seasonal festivals and religious holidays when the Mi’kmaq gathered. The faith of all Kmitkinag was in the hands of a single priest at any one time. Antoine Gaulin, missionary to the Abenaki and Mi’kmaq in the Mission Étrangère, established missions at Cape Sable, La Have, Shubenakadie and Mirliguèche in 1720 and built a portable chapel in 1725 to begin ministering to these communities.³⁷⁸ These missions were not the sedentary, permanent missions like those at Maligaouèche in Cape Breton. They were rather what Maxime Morin calls “des missions volantes, ou sporadiques, sur le territoire acadien qui constituent des points de rassemblement ponctuel ou les missionnaires s’arrêtent quelque temps auprès des Micmacs entre le printemps et l’automne. Par exemple, les missions de Mirliguèche (La Have) et Cap Sable.” (*Moving or sporadic missions, on the Acadian territory which consist of seasonal points of gathering for the Mi’kmaq where the missionaries would stop for some time among the Mi’kmaq between spring and fall.* Author Translation). Père Le Loutre further describes his seasonal travels. In his autobiography he writes that,

Il faut observer que tout les missions sont dans l’intérieur de l’acadie; il y a plusieurs habitations francais le long de la cote de

³⁷⁸ Morin, *Devenir*, 451-452.

l'est qui sont obliger de ser servir au missionnaires des sauvages, parce qu'elles n'ont point de prêtres. Dans l'acadie il peut y avoir 900 sauvages qui habitent dans les bois, disperser le long des cotes dans l'espace de plus de 100 lieues, leur missionnaire est mr. le loutre des missions étrangères, la mission est dans le haut de la rivière de chigebenakadi a douze lieues de cobequid, les sauvages s'assemblent a la mission deux fois l'année ordinaire au pentecote et a la toussaint, le missionnaire hyverne ordinairement a chigebenakadi et l'ete il fait visite de la mission pour instruire les francais et les sauvages qui habitent le long de la cote est.... De la chegekkouk il va a mistigueche et haive qui est eloigne de 25 lieues: il ya douze famillie francaise et 3 a 400 sauvages qui s'y assemble.

(It should be noted that all of the missions are in the interior of Acadie, while there are many French residences along the East Coast who are forced to see the native missionaries, because they have no priest. In Acadie there can be about 900 natives who live in the woods, dispersed the length of the coast, in a space larger than 100 leagues, their missionary is Mr. Le Loutre of the Missions Étrangere, which is located above the river of the chigebanakadi at 12 leagues from Cobequid, the natives gather at the mission two times in a calendar year, during the Pentecost and Toussaint, the missionary spends the winter at Chigebenakadi and his summer he visits the missions along the east coast to teach the French and Natives who live there. From Chegekkouk he goes to Mistigueche and La have which is 25 leagues distance: there are twelve French families and 3 to 400 natives who gather there. Author translation.)

Le Loutre's account tells us that the mission of Mirliguèche was nothing more than a moving mission that visited the Mi'kmaq in a given region but once a year. The missionaries planned these visits when they knew the Mi'kmaq would be gathered. For the Mirliguèche region, summer meetings and feasts were held in June. This visit would have served to proselytize the many attendees among the Mi'kmaq from all over the peninsula had gathered to Mirliguèche. The priest would not have had the time or resources to offer individual or in-depth teaching under such circumstances.

Carte 1 : Les missions amérindiennes du Canada et de l'Acadie (1700-1760)

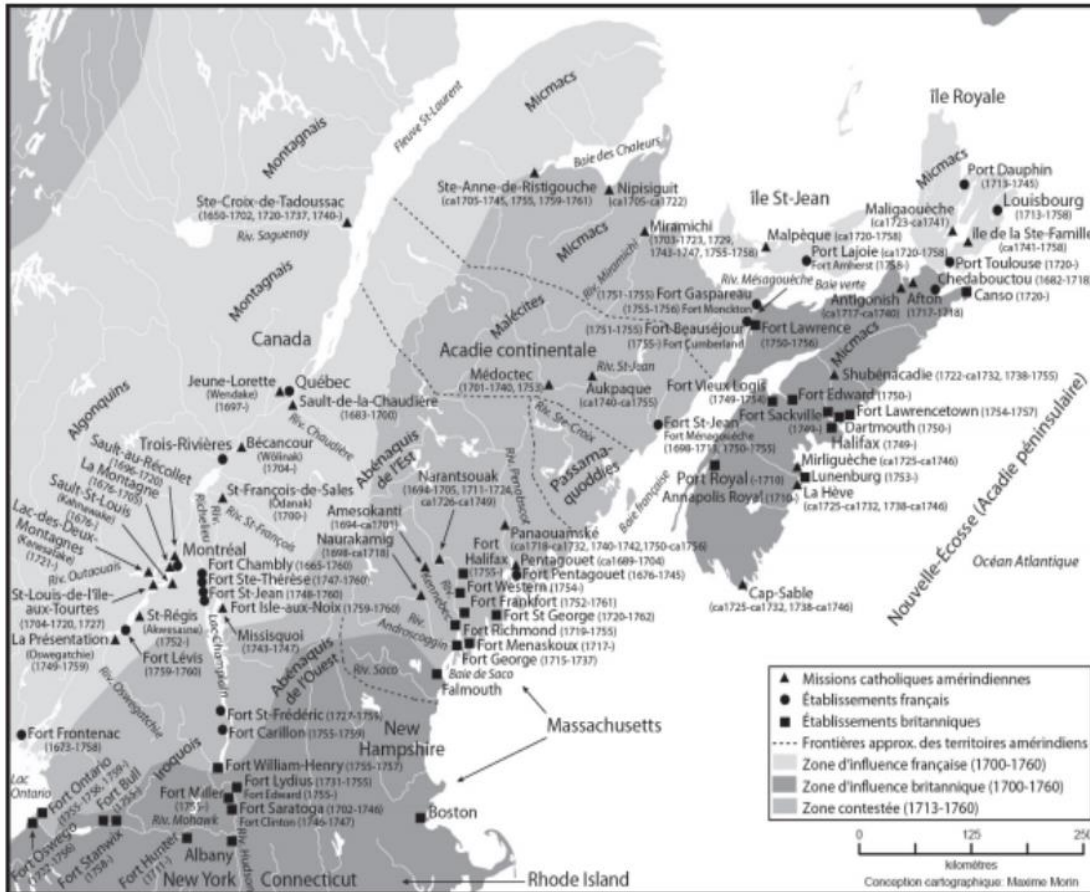


Image from Maxime Morin's dissertation on the Missions Amérindiennes du Canada et de l'Acadie (1700-1760) which shows Catholic missions at Mirliguèche, La Have and Cap-Sable between 1725 and 1746.³⁷⁹

There has been some confusion as to whether Le Loutre had chapels built in these communities which would have offered a more permanent Christian presence at Mirliguèche. In Le Loutre's autobiography he states that "Dans tous ces différentes lieux, il a fait bâtir autant de chapelles" (*In all these different locations, he had chapels*

³⁷⁹ Morin, *Devenir « missionnaire des Sauvages » Origines, formation et entrée en fonction des sujets dans les missions amérindiennes du Canada et de l'Acadie (1700-1763)*, Doctoral Dissertation, Laval University, 2018, 371.

built. Author Translation).³⁸⁰ He would have been visiting these communities between 1738 and 44, more than a decade after Antoine Gaulin's construction of the 'portable chapel.' In 1748 and 1749, there were conflicting reports of a chapel at Mirliguèche. In 1748 an anonymous French report on the coastal settlements described: "Mirliguech [Lunenburg] at three leagues from la Haive [La Have], the missionary had a church built, there are twenty French families."³⁸¹ Neither Charles Morris nor Edward Cornwallis mention a chapel in their descriptions of Mirliguèche in the same year.³⁸² If Le Loutre had a more permanent chapel constructed before 1744, had been it was destroyed by 1748? Did the French report rely on old information of the chapel that used to be at Mirliguèche but had been removed before Morris and Cornwallis came to survey the area? Regardless, there was no resident priest and the travelling priest performed services during his annual visit in the summer.

The Mission Étrangère had more structure and momentum in the eighteenth century because of the progress missionaries made in learning the Mi'kmaq language which missionaries had not done in the seventeenth century. Chrestien LeClercq reported that he had created a method for catechizing the Mi'kmaq in the Gaspé region in 1691.³⁸³ Before this time, Christian teaching to the Mi'kmaq would have been limited by the language barrier. Antoine Gaulin translated prayers and the catechism into

³⁸⁰ J.L. Le Loutre, *Une Autobiography de Le Loutre*, publiée et commentée par Albert David, Nova Francia, Paris, vol. 6 (1931), 5; Maxime Morin, *Le Role Politique des abbés Pierre Maillard, Jean-Louis Le Loutre...* Masters Thesis, Laval University, 80.

³⁸¹ Anonymous, 1748, Canada-France Archives COL C11D 10/6p http://bd.archivescanadafrance.org/acfpleade-3-images/img-viewer/CABAC/CABAC_PIAF_127761/viewer.html; Robert Shears, *Examination of a contested landscape : archaeological prospection on the eastern shore of Nova Scotia*, Master's Thesis (Saint Mary's University, 2013), 28.

³⁸² Charles Morris, "A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia, 1748" Library and Archives Canada, MG18, F10; Edward Cornwallis, "Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 11 September, 1749". Public Archives of Canada. MG1. Nova Scotia A. Vol. 35, 50.

³⁸³ M.G. Dumas, "Chrestien LeClercq," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/le_clercq_chrestien_1E.html (Accessed August 2018).

Mi'kma'ki by 1727, most likely building upon the method LeClercq had used.³⁸⁴ Both the beginning of annual visits to the Atlantic coast by priests after 1725 and the development of a Mi'kmaq catechism and prayers would increase Catholic efforts to convert the Mi'kmaq. The new attention in the eighteenth century underscores the relative limits of Christian teaching among the Mi'kmaq in the seventeenth century. Priests likely passed through the Atlantic coast region and ministered to the French and Mi'kmaq between 1636 and the early 1700s but there is no indication in the records that these visits became regular or systematic until the 1720s, when annual visits were performed.

Without the full parish records it is impossible to determine if and how frequently families from La Have and Mirliguèche did travel to a parish. We cannot know if any of these families attended mass for Catholic holidays or, more infrequently, only to receive the sacraments. If they did not attend mass in an Acadian village, they would have been limited to lay services. Even when it comes to the access to sacraments such as marriage and baptism, we know that some of these ceremonies were first being performed by family members out of necessity. For example, Paul and François Guédry were baptized in the Port Royal parish by Pere Felix Pain in 1705, but it is noted that they were both baptized previously, Paul by Dion and François by his brother Jean-Baptiste Guédry. Furthermore, Pere Pain legitimized their baptisms in 1705 when they were already three (Paul) and one (François) years old, according to the census of 1708.³⁸⁵

All of this evidence points to the fact that the communities of La Have and Mirliguèche operated largely independently from the observance and influence of the

³⁸⁴ David Lee, "Antoine Gaulin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gaulin_antoine_2E.html (Accessed August 2018).

³⁸⁵ *Parish of Saint-Jean Baptiste*, Port Royal, RG 1 volume 26, Nova Scotia Archives; Recensement Général 1708 Ayers MS 751, Newberry Library; Stephen White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton: Centre D'études Acadienne, 1999), 772.

Catholic Church. Most of the community's religious and cultural life was practiced without the oversight and correction of state or church officials. Even after 1725 when a priest visited the harbor of Mirliguèche annually, his focus was on the Mi'kmaq.

Claiming men through paperwork: Acadian census records and the Atlantic Coast

Beyond the clergy, the state might have made its presence felt at La Have and Mirliguèche through census records. By and large these census records demonstrate that the state had incomplete information for the families of these two harbors. One of the small glimpses the French had of life on the Atlantic coast was through census records in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. This section seeks to read these sources as a way to measure the distance that existed between the Acadian census takers and the colonial administrators and those residing on the eastern coast. The current discussion seeks to understand the way the colonial administrators sought to quantify the French people on the coast and in the process the ways they revealed, time and again, the limits of their knowledge.

Census records serve as a tool of empire. Among other things, they quantify a people's presence in colonial spaces. These records represent the empire's method of stamping populations as belonging to the state. The process of colonial census taking was not an unbiased system; rather the census represented the opinion of the census taker as to which communities to include and which members of each community to record. In keeping with a colonial patriarchal system, Acadian census records generally excluded Mi'kmaq men while Mi'kmaq women who married 'Acadian' men were included but were generally identified by their origins and marital status. In other words, their links to the French Atlantic were documented. The children of such unions were listed but without reference to their parent's native status on the records. Baptismal records

indicated the native status of the mother but not of the child and that child, once a parent, would not be identified as native on their own child's baptismal record. In other words, by the next generation the census listed those children as Acadian. The clerical practices offer a lens into the construction of a colonial population albeit through mediated and biased records. The lack of census information available for the Atlantic coast adds further illuminates the spaces that existed for colonial ghosts in the absence of colonial bureaucracy. In a sense, these spaces were created by the absence of colonial bureaucracy and the presence of an alternate Atlantic community.

The first Acadian census was taken in 1671 just after France regained control of the colony. The census, taken by Father Laurent Molins, records the names of Acadians present at Port Royal and those of the members of three families on the Atlantic coast, at Pobomboup, Cap Naigre and Rivière des Richelois.³⁸⁶ It records nothing for La Have or Mirliguèche. Without a travel narrative we cannot know if Molins ever visited LaHave or Mirliguèche, but as he was charged by Acadian Governor Hector D'Andigné de Grandfontaine with documenting the entire Acadian population, the absence of La Have and Mirliguèche means one of two things. Either Molins did not know of the population there or he knew but did not think of them as Acadian. These options signal either distance or disconnect between those who remained at La Have and the Acadian population that the Port Royal priest recorded and served. Considering that the Catholic's church role included offering services to the Atlantic coast Catholics, the fact that Father Molins did not record these families could indicate that those at La Have and

³⁸⁶ Father Laurent Molins served as missionary at Port Royal between 1664 and 1676. In Abbé J-B-A. Allaire, *Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français*, vol. I, 1910, 389.; L. LeJeune, *Tableaux synoptiques de l'histoire de l'Acadie* (Ottawa: Juniorat du Sacré-Cur, 1916), 77.

Mirliguèche either did not attend at Port Royal's parish or were seen as visitor Acadians when they did attend.

The 1671 census is not the only one mark of the distance between the Acadian capital and the communities on the Atlantic coast. Later census records show that there was a small group of families among a sizable Indian population on the coast throughout the period.³⁸⁷ The census records for 1686 and 1693, as well as the so called 'Indian' census of 1708 (so named because it aimed to count the Mi'kmaq as well as the French) included La Have and Mirliguèche. Twelve other known Acadian Census records do not list inhabitants of these two harbors. If we examine the names that appear on the Atlantic coast some families such as the Guédry, Petitpas, and LeJeune appear on more than one list but there are others who only appear once on any Acadian census record.

The colonial blind spots in the seventeenth century combined with the established trading and fishing networks along the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki provided a space for a variety of colonial ghosts. While this dissertation focuses on the Guédry family as a means to trace families who chose to make their life among Native communities, other colonial ghosts can and did reside in these regions. Because of the limits of our knowledge of these individuals and families, it cannot be known what they were doing on the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki. When we consider the ways this region was connected into Atlantic networks, however, it is impressive that these people were able to move through the space without colonial approval or tracking. Yet even given the very limited census data available for the Atlantic coast during the French period, traces of other ghosts can be seen.

Here are some examples found in the Acadian census records of individuals or families who had appeared on the Census records. It is unknown if any of these

³⁸⁷ Dawson, *Fort Saint-Marie*, 56.

individuals remained in Mi'kma'ki and were simply not recorded a second time, or if they died or went elsewhere in the Atlantic. A La Chapelle is listed at La Have in 1693 with his wife Marie Gareau.³⁸⁸ Marie was later married for a second time at Port Royal by which time La Chapelle was no longer found in the records. In this instance, his untimely death may have simply gone unrecorded. Amand Lalloue and his wife Elisabeth Nicolas were recorded at Cap-Nègre with their five children in 1671 but they are not seen again in the French records.³⁸⁹ Lalloue listed as a squire and nobleman at fifty-eight years old from De Rivedu; he may have been passing through, or may have temporarily settled in the region. The latter option was supported by the fact that he was listed with two arpents of land, twenty goats, and twenty-nine hogs. For whatever reason neither he, nor anyone in his family, appeared on another census. A naval captain named Guillaume Poulet was also censused on the Atlantic coast at the Rivière des Richelois with a unidentified wife and unnamed child in 1671. They never again appeared.³⁹⁰ François Michel dit La Ruine and Madeleine Germon appeared at La Have around 1690. Madeleine appears on two census records at La Have (1686 and 1693) while François was only enumerated on the 1693 census.³⁹¹ Again it appears that the census picked up naval families who were not a part of the Acadian colonial project but were on the Atlantic to trade, perhaps as transients, in the French Atlantic.

Imperial claims were built on bureaucracy, and that is why the census was ordered in 1671. Census lists served to quantify the colony in bodies to serve many

³⁸⁸ 1671 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1671.html> (Accessed November 2019); White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 893.

³⁸⁹ 1671 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1671.html> (Accessed November 2019); White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 909.

³⁹⁰ 1671 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1671.html> (Accessed November 2019); White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 1350.

³⁹¹ 1686 and 1693 Census Records, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1686.html> & <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1693.html> (Accessed November 2019). White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 714.

ends: they bolstered inter-state negotiations, they helped administrators negotiate for additional resources, and they charted the need for local military protection. Simply put, France wanted to know what land they held which was proved through the presence of people they could claim on that land. Despite the imperative to maximize colonial numbers, all but three census records make no mention of an Acadian population at La Have or Mirliguèche. Possibly the census taker considered neither the region nor its inhabitants to be Acadian. Considering the focus of the European bureaucrat was to enumerate the French populations to justify territorial claims against other European claimants, not against a Native state, the census taker or at least the state had an interest in numbering only inhabitants he considered French.

Although only the 1708 so-called 'Indian' census was framed as a multi-ethnic project, all other census records were limited in that anyone seen as Native would be left off. Native women who married French men in Acadie were included because they were given European status by their husbands; their children were categorized as French as well for the census, erasing their native identity within the context of the French enumeration practices. Thus, if we consider that the census list includes only those whom the census taker considered French in the territories he visited or knew about, then all those omissions can either be attributed to ignorance which suggests social distance or absence, or the assumption that these families did not fit the parameters of French subjects. Again, the mandate of the census would prioritize a maximum number of colonists in order to bolster French claims in Europe, which makes their absence noteworthy.

Few census takers made the difficult trip to these 'remote' communities on the Atlantic. Settlers on the Atlantic coast were left off of many Acadian census records either from ignorance or based on the perspective of the census taker. Given the

challenges Europeans had when travelling across the peninsula to the Atlantic coast without Native guides, these trips across the land were not made by the Acadians without strong motivation. In some cases, information given could have been provided by informants in neighboring communities rather than through personal visit of the scribe. For instance, Father Molins' recording of the Rivière des Richelois as simply 'Guillaume Poulet, sa femme et un enfant' (Guillaume Poulet, his wife and one child) suggests that he did not meet this family but rather recorded it from second-hand information. We will see that second-hand information was given again in the 1686 census for Mirliguèche. For the earlier Atlantic coast 'settlements' which consisted of one family, Molins records both parents' names, as well as all of the names and ages of their children and other details. One entry reads "Amand Lalloue, squire, sieur de Derivedu, 58, his wife Ellisabet Nicollas; their children: Jacques 24, Amant 14, Arnault 12, Jeanne 20, Ellisabet 12; goats 20, hogs 29; 2 arpents of land." Two of the three families he lists on the Atlantic coast, the Mius and Lalloue families, were headed by nobles. Their titles may have ensured that Father Molins knew they were there particularly (considering they would have had royal land grants). Other individuals, such as those settled at La Have and Mirliguèche, were less noteworthy, indistinguishable from natives, or unknown to Father Mollins.

References to the Atlantic coast made in the census were vague. The 1703 census lists the Acadian inhabitants then at the bottom is written: "other than the families above, there are ten or twelve families settled on the eastern coast".³⁹² This brief statement reflected challenges that census takers and other imperial administrators had

³⁹² In the colonial record they refer to the region between Cap de Sable and Canseau as the Eastern Coast. Since the Eastern Coast now refers to the stretch of Nova Scotia coast that runs north between Halifax and Canseau, and to avoid situating the coast within the framework of Acadian geography (i.e. the Eastern Coast of Acadie) I refer to the coast as the Atlantic Coast.

in visiting these communities. In De Meulle's account of traveling between Port Royal and La Have in 1686, he reported that inhabitants of Port Royal informed him that the voyage was very difficult if not impossible. Their impression of the journey between Acadie and the Atlantic Coast illustrates the very real geographic and environmental barriers that existed between the French colony and these communities. De Meulle describes the voyage as taking five days to get to the Atlantic Coast. It included twenty-four portages, many lakes, treacherous rapids and horrible conditions. While he survived the voyage, he only spent two days with the people at La Have, and his compilation shows notable absences.

He clearly did not travel the eight miles north to visit Mirliguèche. His report states that at Mirliguèche there were "Laverdure 32, Sa femme 25, et un enfant. Petit Pas 25 and his wife 18." This entry lacks the details found in the La Have report which included full names of adults and names of children, as well as some other types of information such as the presence of a Mi'kmaq wife and two servants as well as the number of guns, arpents of land owned and one hog. These details are completely absent from his record of the Mirliguèche community which simply includes vague information of the family name and rough numbers. Secondly, the information for Mirliguèche is incomplete. We know that in 1686 the 'Laverdure' family, which genealogists understood to be that of Claude Guédry, had between two and four children. So even his attempts to report on the community at Mirliguèche contained obvious errors. While Gargas does provide another census record for Acadie in 1687 and does visit Mirliguèche, his numbers are still considered to be low compared to the 1708 census.

In sum, the census records reveal the colonial imagination of most Acadian administrators who considered La Have and Mirliguèche as a part of the colony while at

the same time revealing the real lack of knowledge in the Acadian community regarding those on the Atlantic coast. This does not mean that those on the Atlantic did not travel to Port Royal or elsewhere in the peninsula but that when it came to imperial apparatus techniques, France's ability to lay claim to these villages was seriously compromised. This inability to report the accurate number of those residing on the Atlantic would also affect colonial efforts to communicate imperial messages or laws to these villages. That the Atlantic coast was apparently under the jurisdiction of the Mission Étrangère in Catholic affairs indicated how the official thought of the region: as native land into which French Catholic personnel sought to move. The fact that some census records included the Atlantic coast while others did not also suggest the inclusion of the Atlantic coast into Acadie was up to the discretion of the cleric and that many did not see La Have as part of the colony.

The continual 'rediscovery' of the Atlantic coast

Despite the short-lived Razilly settlement in the 1630s and the claim that La Have represented one of the ports of Acadie by Charles de Menou D'Aulnay, governors did not have a good sense of the port and its residents. In 1699, after French governor De Villebon had been serving in his post for eight years, he wrote a report on the Acadian settlements and harbors between Minas and Cape Breton. This report noted the landscape and commented on growth opportunities for each settlement. It was clear from his description of Minas and Port Royal that Villebon was describing a community he knew well. Not surprisingly, he had spent considerable time among both communities during his tenure as Governor. He mentions having spoken with the settlers about various issues and commented on the crops, dwellings, and temperament of the settlers.

If the people were as industrious as the Canadians, they would in a short space of time be very well off, but the majority work only

when it is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families. As for the women, they are always busy, and most of them keep their husbands and children in serviceable linen materials and stockings which they make skillfully from the hemp they have grown and the wool produced by their sheep.³⁹³

This contrasted with his description of the Atlantic coast. Of the La Have and Mirliguèche harbors he wrote:

Three leagues from Port Maltois east southeast, lies La Heve, which has without a doubt the best harbor and the most magnificent situation on the east coast. Like the others it is surrounded by hills but has much more land suitable for cultivation. It is true there is not much beach available for a large fishing industry, but it could be extended; moreover, flakes could be used, and they without question produce the finest quality of fish. The old fort is at the mouth of the very beautiful river, and vessels of 50 guns can enter and anchor under its cannon. Lumber mills could be built, for pine and spruce fur are plentiful. Two families are at present living there. There is plenty of hunting, and many good things to eat, such as herring and mackerel in season, eels at all times, as well as plaice, lobsters, oysters and other shell-fish.³⁹⁴

This description shows the potential that Villebon saw for the two harbors, but his description indicated not much had been done to change the landscape. Nor did his report suggest a familiarity with the region or its residents. His only mention of the residents at La Have, was limited to the simple statement that “two families are at present living there.” He also mentioned the abundance of hunting and fishing that goes on in the region, a general reference to the residents’ daily practice. The information for Mirliguèche is even more scant, with no mention of any residents. He writes: “From la Heve to the fort at Mirliguesche is three leagues east northeast, and half a league by a convenient portage. The soil is fair and there are a quantity of

³⁹³ Joseph de Robineau de Villebon, *Acadie at the End of the 17th century*, ed. John Clarence Webster (Sackville: The Tribune Press, 1934), 132.

³⁹⁴ Villebon, *Acadie at the End of the 17th Century*, 135.

red oaks.”³⁹⁵ Despite his position as governor, this report reads not like an imperial official surveying his domain but rather like an exploratory trip to the Atlantic coast. Villebon appears to have surveyed the Atlantic coast for possible growth as well as to familiarize himself with the landscape. His description of Mirliguèche makes it appear that he merely passed by, while at La Have it appears, he surveyed the harbor and the old fort with brief conversations with one or both of the local families he mentions. The report does not give the impression he spent time in the ports acquainting himself with the residents.

A few years later, in 1701, no progress had been made to develop La Have. It remained a site of promise for new governors. Jacques-François de Monbeton De Brouillon was the governor of Placentia, Newfoundland, before becoming Governor to Acadie in 1701 until his death in 1705. De Brouillon was assigned to Acadie for his military competency since France wanted to stave off British encroachments. His arrogant style unfortunately led almost all Acadian residents to despise him. One of the first things he did in his role as Governor was to visit all of the communities to get a sense of the number of fighting men, organize them into local militias, and provide them with military training.³⁹⁶ De Brouillon also created a census of the Acadian colony. Neither La Have nor Mirliguèche appeared on the census despite his having visited La Have. Interestingly he did list many of the small communities along the rivers around

³⁹⁵ Villebon, *Acadie at the End of the 17th century*, 135.

³⁹⁶ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 204; Gregory Kennedy, “Le Pouvoir d’agir et la mobilisation des habitants pour la guerre: les milices en Acadie et en Martinique pendant la Guerre de la Succession d’Espagne, 1702-1713” in Clint Bruce et Gregory Kennedy, dirs., *Repenser l’Acadie dans le monde : études pluridisciplinaires* (à paraître chez McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2023).

the Bay of Fundy, even listing three men at the *Baye de Cobequit*, in addition to the three main settlements of Port Royal, Beaubassin, and Les Mines.³⁹⁷

While not including La Have in his census of the Acadian population, De Brouillon does envision reviving the old fort as a strategic military stronghold. His 1701 report of his Acadian tour detailed his ideas and the problems of the colony as De Brouillon saw it. Coming from his background in the Newfoundland fisheries, De Brouillon looked to the waters for the economic future of Acadie. “Taking up the proposals of Razilly, Brouillon suggested establishing a powerful fort at La Hève (La have), which would become the chief port in the country. It would serve as a fishing port, but also as a naval base... and it could intercept communications between England and her colonies.”³⁹⁸ What Brouillon describes is what France later creates on Cape Breton in the Fortress of Louisbourg. A strategic military outpost that also had fishing and a greater trading function. La Have was also well situated for this potential use while France still had control over Acadie in 1701.

The issue with establishing a greater Acadian link with France through the development of La Have as a military and economic garrison was that it would introduce a trade monopoly to which the Acadian settlers were strongly opposed. Acadians had a greater economic advantage when they were able to skirt England and French trading regulations. De Villebon often turned a blind eye to Acadians trading with the English, even though this was illegal, because he knew the Acadians needed the trade to survive.³⁹⁹ The colonial ghosts at La

³⁹⁷ Census 1701, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1701.html> (Accessed October 2019).

³⁹⁸ René Baudry, “Jacques-François de Monbeton de Brouillon,” DBC, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/monbeton_de_brouillon_jacques_francois_de_2E.html (Accessed August 2018).

³⁹⁹ De Villebon’s journal includes entries where he leaves Acadian villages in order to miss the incoming English trading ships so that his citizens could trade. See, John Clarence Webster,

Have and Mirliguèche were able to trade with any ship that came to port without needing the governor's support as they resided outside of the colony's ability to monitor the trade. Brouillon's plans to develop La Have failed. French courts refused to renew the privileges of the *Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire de l'Acadie* which was needed to create the fishing monopoly. Furthermore, the War of Spanish Succession diverted any attempts De Brouillon may have been working on to develop La Have. Instead, De Brouillon spent his time completing the new fortifications at Port Royal.

The Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki was the location of an early settlement attempt with Razilly's brief settlement at La Have. With his death just four years later, the colony was moved elsewhere, and it developed into the colonial Acadie of the seventeenth century. The move abandoned the original vision, fishing and lumber economy, for the plantation and trading economies around the Bay of Fundy. While for Acadian history this was a moment of departure from the Atlantic, for those who frequented the Atlantic coast, the French colony was a passing moment in the life going on there. The Mi'kmaq had continued to live in these regions and to hunt, fish, and trade with others. The cod fisheries and other European traders continued to travel through these coastal inlets to trade with the Mi'kmaq and to fish these abundant waters. In the search for colonial Ghosts, the attempted Acadian settlement at La Have created the conditions for the official presence of the ghosts to commence as the colonial apparatus began to make passing and occasional reference to the European

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, The New Brunswick Museum, 1934).

settlers who remained on the coast. This chapter has explored the tangible limits of the French colonial reach while demonstrating the choice of these individuals and families to live in the Atlantic but not within the domain of colonialism.

Based on information derived from governor, cleric, and census records, there remained a small group of families in the region surrounding the old Razilly Fort at La Have. A careful analysis of the Acadian administrative paperwork reveals that this population was only loosely connected to the Acadian colony. Between 1636 and 1749 in France and Acadie very little was known about the French men and families who lived among the Mi'kmaq surrounding La Have, thus creating the necessary conditions for these ghosts to live, work, marry, and trade largely unseen by Acadian and Catholic administrators. Despite historian's inclusion of these two harbors in their maps and discussions of Acadie, they remained a marginal if often forgotten part of the Acadian tale these historians told. Thus, the colonial ghosts around La Have can be better understood when we remove the imperial claims over these people and examine the traces they left behind. More importantly than their absence from Acadie, was how the limited records available of the Guédry family and other colonial ghosts on the Mi'kmaq Atlantic give us a glimpse into another Atlantic world just beyond the sightlines of colonial authorities. This alternate Atlantic, one not governed by European colonies, involved European commoners who lived within Native territories and spaces in between or without European claims.

Chapter Five:

Phase Three: Ghosts in Mi'kma'ki, 1636-1722

“Many of them had friends who were Mi'kmaq, some had children who married Mi'kmaq, some were themselves adopted by the Mi'kmaq.”⁴⁰⁰

Ruth Holmes Whitehead

This statement was made by Mi'kmaw historian and ethnologist Ruth Holmes Whitehead about the Frenchmen who entered Mi'kma'ki, or as the French called it, Acadie, in the seventeenth century. As was discussed in Chapter Three, there was very little cultural contact among the Native and European fishermen who frequented the shores of the northeast in the sixteenth century. Thus, with the arrival of European settler populations to Acadie in the seventeenth century, more developed contact began.

Despite Whitehead's statement, the history and historiography of Acadians and Mi'kmaq have been viewed as separated into two silos. The reality is that many families on the Atlantic coast saw kinship connections like the ones Whitehead described. Chapter Four explored the ways Imperial empires attempted to claim the residents of the region of La Have and Mirliguèche for their own empire making, but that the limits of the colonial apparatus allowed for spaces for colonial ghosts to exist. This chapter examines French census records to see the limits and insights of census records to locate these ghosts. In addition, this chapter draws upon Mi'kmaw anthropology and history to provide insights into the life the ghosts may have lived. The evidence available reveals

⁴⁰⁰ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Mi'kmaq History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Inc., 1991), 19.

that these families connected themselves to the Mi'kmaq community and adopted their lifestyle, rather than cultivating French or European networks and daily practice. These families married, befriended, worked with, and celebrated with Mi'kmaw people. Between the paucity of evidence, and the fact that what little evidence existed told a story contrary to the Acadian narrative building process, the ghosts were relegated to the margins of Acadian society. When we recapture the silences, fragments, and stories of the ghosts and examine them for their own significance, the history on the Atlantic Coast of Mi'kma'ki tells a story of the alternate Atlantic, not colonial society. Most likely the cultural interactions and practice went beyond what will be explored in this chapter but this presentation follows a conservative approach in order to reveal that even in a limited view, the ghosts lived in Mi'kma'ki.

The Mi'kmaq at La Have and Mirliguèche welcomed European newcomers. The ghosts were incorporated into Mi'kmaw life at La Have in a variety of ways. One way they were included and educated into Mi'kma'ki was through a hunting “eat-all feasts,” where ghosts could participate in Mi'kmaw songs, dances, and stories which fueled their cultural incorporation in Mi'kma'ki. This significant cultural performance was complemented by the education in Mi'kmaw culture the Guédry family received from infancy. The Guédry family at La Have grew up as adopted Mi'kmaq.

Other histories have treated the archival evidence of the ghosts as ‘anecdotal’ Acadian evidence but when the ghosts are understood to be residing in Mi'kma'ki, the evidence is not anecdotal for Acadie, but rather fits for Mi'kma'ki. Historians have relied too strongly on the pull of colonial bureaucracy in obfuscating stories of colonial ghosts and folding them into the colonial narrative. Scholars have assumed genealogical “dead ends” in these families to have been the result of above average infant mortality, but other possibilities such as their living in Mi'kma'ki should be considered. By examining

the colonial ghosts residing in these harbors, this research demonstrates the historical value of these ghosts for the flexibility of the early modern world. That colonial ghosts existed and how and when they disappeared reveals new insights into the social possibilities that existed in the early modern Atlantic. The exploration of the colonial ghosts also establishes the need for not just “against the grain” archival reading, but for an incorporation of sources outside of the archive from other disciplines as a standard practice for a history of the Atlantic ghosts.

Census record particularities show the boundaries of the ghosts and the historical challenges in recreating them. The historiographical legacy of the deportation and the genealogical focus in Acadian history has played a significant role in assimilating the ghosts to Acadian culture in the pre-deportation period. When the claims of genealogy are weighed next to other revealing sources such as colonial letters, newspapers, and court records, the cultural weight of Mi’kma’ki reveals itself. The richness of the Acadian archives presents a significant opportunity to explore the margins of this French colonial community to reveal the process of colonial ghosting that permitted whites and especially poor whites, to escape colonial and European life for the Alternate Atlantic. The alternate Atlantic is not completely invisible from the European archives, though much of its substance took place outside of colonial eyes. Nevertheless, there are points of contact between the two.

Reconsidering colonial archives to see Native land:

As we saw, during the seventeenth century, the northeast boasted a collection of small European outposts within Wabanaki territory. Although the study of Mi’kma’ki is often obscured as a footnote or presented as a complicating factor in the study of Acadie, the Atlantic coast of the “Acadian” peninsula should

be understood as Mi'kma'ki. For this reason, scholars need to reframe our thinking of the region to give Mi'kma'ki full weight in our analysis of those who lived beyond those European settlements, such as at Mirliguèche and La Have. All too often historians consider the European born at Mirliguèche and La Have to have been part of Acadie. These understandings of the early modern colony are done without an understanding of the Native community they inhabited or the actions of those Atlantic coast families.

Acadian scholars have considered the European-descended families on the Atlantic to be Acadian in part because of the lack of weight given to Mi'kma'ki and in part because understandings of Acadia are biased towards European presence and dominance. By comparison, a French family living in England or Boston in the seventeenth century was not considered a part of France or Acadie because although they had French ancestry, they were living in another's territory. Assuming that a Bostonian Huguenot belonged to the French empire makes anachronistic claims of French nationality and French cohesiveness that would not make sense without ample historical evidence. Without that evidence of French loyalty, one would see a Bostonian Huguenot not through the lense of belonging to France. Rather the fact that he was a Huguenot in Boston would suggest his affinity with Protestantism more so than with France.

The case of Charles Melanson presents a more nuanced case. He could be seen as a English subject even while living in Port Royal, but this affiliation depends on documented evidence of his political affiliations. Melanson was the son of a Huguenot father and a Scottish mother; he lived in England until he was

about fifteen.⁴⁰¹ He came to live at Fort Saint-Jean in Acadie under English rule and although he married Acadian Marie Dugas, he worked to bolster the English position in Acadie.⁴⁰² Three letters Charles sent to Massachusetts Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton are preserved at the Massachusetts Archives in Boston prove he shared valuable information about French ships to Boston in support of English invasion plans.⁴⁰³ Based on these actions, Charles Melanson could be considered an English spy and loyal to England even in Acadie.

In the case of the Europeans at La Have and Mirliguèche, evidence is lacking of French loyalty before the 1740s. The families at La Have appeared at times on census records in Port Royal, but this appearance in the records does not signify that they were part of Acadie. While these European-descended families had kin in Acadie, they also had families in Mi'kma'ki. With limited genealogical information for the Mi'kmaq community for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we cannot recreate those family lines. Census records, however, have missing information which can suggest the members of the ghost community. As was the case of Charles Melanson who had kin in both France and England, Melanson's connections to English interests can be determined based on his actions in support of English rule. For the families on the Atlantic, historians use their European genealogy to define their loyalties, but their community involvement suggests otherwise.

⁴⁰¹ Paul Delaney, "Les Melanson en Angleterre," *Les Cahiers de la Société historique Acadienne*, vol. 43, no. 3, 44; Margaret, C. Melanson, *The Melanson Story: Acadian Family*, *Acadian Times* (Toronto 2003), 15, 63.

⁴⁰² Stephen White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton: Centre D'études Acadienne, 1999), 1146; Melanson, *the Melanson Story*, 63

⁴⁰³ "Charles Melanson to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton," *Massachusetts Archives*, vol., 2, f.541, 541a, 587.

Setting aside an Acadian identity for the families around La Have allows for a reconsidering of the available data. These families left France to come to the Americas as part of a colonial settlement. The French colonial presence at La Have, however, was limited to the four-year settlement project in the 1630s. The residents at La Have and Mirliguèche experienced the withdrawal and subsequent absence of the French colony and the impermanent presence of the European fishermen and traders. Yet the region of La Have continued to be the location of a Mi'kmaq settlement before 1753 and the British foundation of Lunenburg at Mirliguèche. In this native space, the European residents on the Atlantic coast could travel to Acadian villages for business and trade and maintain ties but the majority of those connections were made locally.

In many places in Mi'kma'ki, including the harbors of La Have and Mirliguèche, the Mi'kmaq maintained political power until the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁴ Yet we still need to decolonize our minds as scholars while the dominant view remains of the northeast as a series of European colonies, imperial battles, and contested borderlands among white men. Historians have studied Acadian life within the context of Imperial tensions and planter life, which while correct, is also limited and needs to be complemented with the Native realities of a predominantly Native territory. Important work has begun to address this Native context such as Jeffers Lennox's work *Homelands and Empires*. Lennox's monograph explored the Native and colonial perspectives in the

⁴⁰⁴ For other parts of Mi'kma'ki the Native dominance over the land continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713–1867* (Vancouver 1979), 81–95; John Reid, *Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes* (Halifax 1987), 61–93; Bill Wicken, "Mi'kmaq Land in Southwestern Nova Scotia, 1771–1823," in Margaret Conrad, ed., *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759–1800* (Fredericton 1991), 113–46; William C. Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

territory between New England, Acadie, and the Wabanaki territories. Most Europeans who made the trip between Port Royal and La Have required the help of a Mi'kmaq guide. Mi'kma'ki was all around them. Thus, studies of Europeans in Acadie's periphery must be situated in its Native context.

To view the Acadian and Mi'kmaq worlds separately misses a significant contributor to the political, social, and economic landscape. While many Acadians had their political, economic, and social sights set on European channels, either in Boston, Quebec or France, others traded and interacted in Mi'kma'ki. For instance, sections of the Acadian Beaubassin community had deep and enduring Native networks.⁴⁰⁵ Archaeologist Jonathan Fowler's work illustrated the daily interaction of the Mi'kmaq in the Acadian Community at Minas which further serves to illustrate the way these worlds cannot be viewed as separate on the Bay of Fundy.⁴⁰⁶ In other words, sections of the Acadian community had regular interaction with the Mi'kmaq.

While this French-Native connection was frequent and regular for many who resided along the Bay of Fundy, those dynamics intensified on the Atlantic coast. The small number of European born families who opted to live on the Atlantic coast, between Cap Sable and Canso, had much contact with the surrounding Mi'kmaq as well as a larger distance between themselves and the French settlements. Those on the Atlantic Coast lived in Mi'kma'ki with Acadie at a distance. For the Mi'kmaq, this region represented in many ways a continuation of the proto-contact period. They still saw regular ships visit their harbors to trade

⁴⁰⁵ Gregory Kennedy, Thomas Peace, and Stephanie Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto: Applying Social Network Analysis to Acadie, Mi'kma'ki, and Nova Scotia, 1670-1751" *Acadiensis* 47, No. 1 (2018).

⁴⁰⁶ Jonathan Fowler, *Untitled - Somewhat of the Mixture of Indians*, Dissertation Saint Mary's University (Halifax, 2017).

and salt their cod. The new addition of some Europeans who resided on these coasts with them, brought only small numbers compared to on the Bay of Fundy. That more distant and burgeoning European presence did not begin to threaten Mi'kmaq community functioning. The rhythm of Mi'kma'ki continued for much longer on the Atlantic Coast and especially in the interior of the peninsula, despite a few Frenchmen joining their ranks.

Mi'kma'ki needs to be further incorporated into scholar's understanding of the early modern period of the Northeast. John G. Reid has argued Mi'kmaw-English treaties in the mid-eighteenth century were negotiated by the Mi'kmaq from a position of power and that the Mi'kmaw people's military power did not begin to wane until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰⁷ My research seeks to flip this narrative away from European spaces with Native people on its fringes, to Native territory in which small European outposts were established on its fringes. This work contributes to a growing community of scholars such as Archaeologist Catherine Cottreau-Robins and Historians Jeffers Lennox, Thomas Peace, and Alexandra L. Montgomery, whose work seeks to center Native history in the Northeast.

Mi'kmaq welcome:

In addition to their decision to stay in Native territory rather than relocate with the French, the Mi'kmaq were hospitable and welcomed guests in the sixteenth century. Marc Lescarbot observed how the Mi'kmaq received "among them every man who is not an enemy."⁴⁰⁸ Many of the reports of the Mi'kmaq revealed a desire to create friendship

⁴⁰⁷ John Reid, *Nova Scotia: A Pocket History* (Fernwood Press, 2009), 23, 26.

⁴⁰⁸ Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 1968, 1:32-33; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us* (Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 24.

and trade relationships with the Europeans. Lescarbot's statement can help to explain why Razilly and his men were welcomed and aided in their settlement attempts at La Have in 1636. Considering the settlement was populated by Frenchmen such as Razilly and Denys who worked well with the local community, Lescarbot's words can also demonstrate the invitation newcomers felt to marry Mi'kmaw women and stay at La Have when the colony was relocated to Port Royal.

The Mi'kmaq at La Have's receptivity to outsiders was aided by the fact that the La Have chief, Messamouet, had already spent two years in France and had previously promoted contact. The southern half of the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki, which included La Have and Mirliguèche, had been frequented by European fishermen and later traders since the mid to late sixteenth century. These annual trips were carried out by transient and temporary fishermen or traders who sojourned to these waters for a few months of the year. Messamouet was brought to France for two years and stayed at the house of Philibert de Grandmont, governor of Bayonne around 1570.⁴⁰⁹ Messamouet's connection and experience in the Basque region made him a vocal supporter of trade with the fishermen.

Messamouet appears to have maintained friendships and a positive opinion of the French and Basque. His attitude may have carried forward to the acceptance the community had for the new Frenchmen in their midst in the 1630s.⁴¹⁰ As the community chief was viewed with respect and his opinions were highly valued among the tribe,

⁴⁰⁹ Matthew R. Bahar, *Storm of the Sea: Indians and Empires in the Atlantic's Age of Sail* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 45; Lescarbot, *History of New France* (1968) vol 2, 323-324; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 15, 27.

⁴¹⁰ Ruth Holmes Whitehead suggests that Messamouet may have died around 1612 when an epidemic hit La Have killing sixty people as he does not appear again in the records. The Mi'kmaq continued dependence on trade and annual visits from traders and fishermen would have continued this relationship until the arrival of Razilly and his men in the 1630s. Père Biard, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by R.G. Thwaites, 1896, Vol. 1, 77. Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 39.

Messamouet's opinion of the Frenchmen would have contributed to the community welcoming the French men and families. Lescarbot notes the Mi'kmaq "speak with much judgement and good sense; and if they intend entering upon any important undertaking their chief is listened to with attention."⁴¹¹ We do not have any of Messamouet's speeches to his kin at La Have. In 1606 Marc Lescarbot recorded Messamouet speaking to the Abenaki at what is now Saco, Maine, however about the importance of friendship with the French. Messamouet promised such a relationship would help them defeat their enemies and "bring merchandise to them and to aid them with their resources." Lescarbot notes Messamouet's talents as an orator as he spoke for an hour with "much vehemence and earnestness and with such gestures of body and of the arm." In his conclusion he reportedly threw three hundred crowns worth of merchandise into the canoe of the other chief to show the benefits of a friendship with the French.⁴¹² Messamouet would presumably have used the same skills of persuasion with his own community at La Have.

Messamouet no longer appeared in the records by the time of Razilly's La Have settlement. Nevertheless, ties the Mi'kmaq of La Have established with the French over the last forty or more years (counting from at least Messamouet's visit to France in 1570). The lasting impression Messamouet would have made with his enthusiasm for the relationship may well have continued. Nicolas Denys testified to a positive relationship with the La Have Mi'kmaq with whom he worked.⁴¹³ All signs point to the Native residents of La Have and Mirliguèche being receptive and welcoming to French settlers, especially as some of them began marrying their daughters and contributing to

⁴¹¹ Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 24.

⁴¹² Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 1968, II: 323-324.

⁴¹³ Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (1908), 154.

the community's hunting and fishing resources. As was previously mentioned, the Mi'kmaq had various options that lead to community incorporation including marriage and adoption. Given that European newcomers were participating in Mi'kmaw fishing and hunting practices adoption is likely for those who were not formally married. An unknown English colonist noted the many French words used by the Mi'kmaq, under "Cheef Comander Mesamott" on his stopover at La Have in 1607.⁴¹⁴ As we will see, the families at La Have and Mirliguèche were in regular contact with the Mi'kmaq both there but also elsewhere in Mi'kma'ki.

The early seventeenth century hit the La Have Mi'kmaw community with a series of deaths which may have increased their desire to work with and adopt European newcomers. In 1612 alone Père Biard recorded that "sixty have died at Cape de la Hève, which is the greater part of those who lived there."⁴¹⁵ This community tragedy meant that when Razilly arrived with his company in the 1630s the Mi'kmaw population at La Have had already been greatly reduced. The surviving Mi'kmaq may have received the French hunters and fishermen as a welcome addition who could help to support the needs of the community.

Hunting, fishing, and Celebrating together:

The colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche learned Mi'kmaq fishing and hunting methods and joined in Mi'kmaq hunting and fishing throughout the year. The Mi'kmaq taught early French colonists how to fish in Mi'kma'ki using various indigenous fishing techniques such as the weir system and eel spears described in Chapter Two.

⁴¹⁴ Anonymous English colonist, "Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc, 1607-1608," *Early English and French Voyages*, edited by H.S. Burrage (1906), 81-83; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 28.

⁴¹⁵ Père Biard, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by R.G. Thwaites, Vol 1 (1896) 1:77; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 39.

Prominent French colonial figures such as Nicolas Denys and Samuel Champlain wrote on these fishing practices.⁴¹⁶ Acadian Governor Joseph Robineau de Villebon notes Acadian use of the Mi'kmaq weir techniques at the end of the seventeenth century which demonstrates its inclusion into Acadian fishing practices.⁴¹⁷



Figure 1 : Champlain's 1607 map of the lower Allain River (Pentz 2008)

This image is from Champlain's travel narrative of his trip through Mi'kma'ki in 1604. The letter V identifies the illustration of the weir of the Allain River in The History of New France, edited by W. L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911).

⁴¹⁶ Nicolas Denys, *Description of the Natural history of the coasts of North America (Acadia)*, edited by William Francis Gagnon (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 437; Samuel Champlain, *The History of New France*, edited by W. L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), 234.

⁴¹⁷ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 98.

Many scholars have seen Acadian culture taking on practices and material culture from the resident Native communities over time. Archaeologist Jonathan Fowler affirms that “even a casual reading of the ethnohistorical record furnishes ample evidence” of the Mi’kmaq impact on Acadians communities.⁴¹⁸ British Captain John Knox references the Acadians as being expert woodsmen, and French Military captain and Sieur Antoine La Mothe Cadillac, comments how “bold” Acadian women were on the water which are both evidence of Mi’kmaq interaction.⁴¹⁹ English general Charles Morris who organized the Acadian deportation testified that the French in the region “delight much in wearing long hair, are of dark complexion, in general, and somewhat of the mixture of Indians.”⁴²⁰ Colonel Edward Cornwallis, the founder of Halifax in 1749, offered the following assessment: “...Some of them [the French] will probably take arms, as they can easily disguise themselves, many of them are of Indian Blood & not unlike them.”⁴²¹ Historian Gregory Kennedy notes the “way of living much like that of Aboriginal people based on fishing, hunting, and trade” among the small group of colonists at Pobomcoup (settlement in the Cap Sable region) and La Have.⁴²² He goes on to reaffirm that “in general, woods remained aboriginal frontier” during the Acadian period (between the 1630s and 1710s).⁴²³ That the interior of the peninsula, often referred to as the “woods” by contemporary writers, was still under Mi’kmaq control was also affirmed by

⁴¹⁸ Jonathan Fowler, *Untitled: Something of the mixture*, 341.

⁴¹⁹ Captain John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, vol. I. edited by Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1914), 111; Antoine La Mothe Cadillac, ‘The Cadillac Memoir on Acadia of 1692,’ vol. 4, no. 13, edited by William Francis Ganong (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, 1930), 101.

⁴²⁰ Charles Morris, *A brief survey* (1748), 85.

⁴²¹ Edward Cornwallis, “Cornwallis to Board of Trade 17 December 1749,” NSARM CO 217 vol. 9 nos. 128-129.

⁴²² Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 25.

⁴²³ Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 68.

William Wicken, Geoffrey Plank, and John Mack Faragher.⁴²⁴ It has been well documented that the Acadians had a marked influence from the surrounding Mi'kmaq, but when those "French" inhabitants resided full-time among the Mi'kmaq this cultural impact needs to be expanded. While this cultural interaction among sections of the Acadian community was regularly taking place, on the Atlantic coast the cultural lingua franca was Mi'kmaw.

Nineteenth-century historian Rameau de Saint-Père articulates the Mi'kmaq lifestyle lived by the French at La Have. Rameau describes the Native life lived by these individuals and families in *Une Colonie Féodale*. Rameau presents the region of La Have as a "peuple de Métis" (métis people)⁴²⁵ as hunters and fishermen with a small number of livestock and modest gardens. Moreau numbers them around thirty people who he argues "remain in a savage state of living... in the home of the Indians... living a lifestyle of half-civilized, half-savage" (*demeurent a l'état sauvage...au milieu des indiens... un régime de vie demi-civilisée, demi-barbare...*).⁴²⁶ He later describes those who live on the "cote de l'est, depuis la Heve jusqu'a Campseau" who preferred to live a vagabond life of trade or hunting: "vivant sur les cotes de l'Est, depuis La Heve jusqu'a Campseau... préfèrent la vie vagabond du trafiquant ou du chasseur..."⁴²⁷ Rameau notes that the population of Acadians could never be completely enumerated because of

⁴²⁴ William Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaw Society 1500-1760*, PhD dissertation (Québec: McGill University, 1994), 128-37; Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Nova Scotia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 23-25; John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 48.

⁴²⁵ A reminder that this dissertation does not invoke the term Métis when describing the European born Mi'kmaq community members of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. These individuals culturally adopted Mi'kmaw practices and were either fully in the community and culturally Mi'kmaq or outside of the community such as when members of the Guédry family were deported in the eighteenth century.

⁴²⁶ E. Rameau, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique: L'Acadie 1604-1710* (Paris Didier, 1877), 146.

⁴²⁷ Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 202.

the missing numbers of those who lived in the woods all year long. These woodsmen and women, he says, lived either singly or in families, and they spread out, living with the Native captains, trading and fishing in such places as at La Have and Mirliguèche.⁴²⁸ They were not just in the same geographic region as the Mi'kmaq, nor were they European intermediaries between Acadie or France and Mi'kma'ki, but rather these families were citizens of Mi'kma'ki, practicing Native hunting and fishing methods alongside their Mi'kmaq kin in Mi'kmaw territory.

As the Acadians learned and practiced some of the Mi'kmaq fishing techniques, it was even more likely that Europeans on the Atlantic coast, specifically those at Cap Sable and our target community around La Have, had adopted these fishing ways into their methods. Thomas Peace's dissertation, "Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia," explored the ways that the Frenchmen at Cap Sable had developed closer ties with the Mi'kmaq compared to elsewhere in Acadie. His findings further our understanding of the Mi'kma'ki in the early eighteenth century and shed light on the involvement of some French families in this native community. Through his analysis of Cap Sable and their fishing traditions, Peace argues that "French settlers were much more dependent on the Mi'kmaq at Cape Sable than elsewhere. Isolated from the larger settlement at Port Royal, one French official felt that the settlers could only survive because of their proximity to the Mi'kmaq."⁴²⁹ At Cape Sable the residents were recorded as fishing eel in the same manner as the Mi'kmaq as well as alongside the Mi'kmaq at Ouikmakagan, a Mi'kmaq village on the southern tip of the peninsula where eel fishing was abundant.⁴³⁰ Peace's research demonstrated the daily interaction

⁴²⁸ "Ceux qui vivent l'année longue dans les bois... ceux qui vivent soit seuls, soit en famille mais a l'état disperse, avec les capitaines de sauvages, avec les trafiquants, ou sur les pecheries du littoral, come ceux de La Heve, Mirliguèche..." Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 205.

⁴²⁹ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 98.

⁴³⁰ "The Examination of Charles d'Entremont of Pobomcoup in his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia," CO217-7, f. 182; "Mémoire joint à la lettre de M. de Bonaventure du 12 octobre sur le

and dependence of the French at Cape Sable. The case was even more so for those at La Have where Peace argued “Mi’kmaq community at la Have seems to have been the most disconnected from French settlers.”⁴³¹

This research supports the claim that the Mi’kmaq community at La Have was likely the most disconnected from Acadie and the larger French colonial presence. I argue that the French-descended ghosts at La Have were largely disconnected from Acadie as well. The reason La Have was not further explored in the scope of Peace’s research or other scholars of the Northeast is because of the dearth of information regarding the families and lives of the so-called “French” at La Have. The dearth of information resulted from this disconnection. The ghosts could connect with Acadie but were often more integrated into the European maritime networks through the fisherman and traders traveling the coast. As Peace points out, the Mi’kmaq at La Have were the most disconnected from the French, and this distance allowed these relationships to develop in what can be argued solely as a Mi’kmaq territory whereas regions such as Cape Sable to a lesser extent but also Port Royal and Grand Pré which were dual territories between Native and European.

The Guédry family, who serve as the model of a ghost family, spoke fluent Mi’kmaq, were raised in the Mi’kmaq culture and had close kin in the Mi’kmaq community. From evidence of Mi’kmaq influence at Acadie, such as the prevalence of hunters wearing moccasins, the typical Mi’kmaq footwear, the various uses of birchbark, and Native ways of hunting and fishing, these practices were certainly adopted at La Have.⁴³² What analyses of the La Have community such as the work of Wicken, Peace,

Port-Royal et les côtes de l’Acadie,” 12 Oct 1701, ANOM, C11D-4, f. 85v; Peace, *Two Conquests*, 98.

⁴³¹ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 102.

⁴³² John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 48.

Dawson have not recognized is that many of the French at La Have, certainly the Mius family but many branches of the Guédry family as well, had become part of the Mi'kmaq community. By joining the community, they were participants in its culture and daily practices of hunting and fishing.

Ghosts at La Have hunted and fished according to Mi'kmaq traditional practices. As French officer Denys De Bonaventure recorded about the French at Cape Sable in 1701, the "French" around La Have fished with the Mi'kmaq.⁴³³ The Guédry family shared the La Have river and moved up river to perform such tasks as spearing eels, using fence and basket weirs to catch gaspereau and salmon, night fishing for sturgeon, and utilizing natural infrastructure of the river to catch salmon. They also hunted with the Mi'kmaq in their kin-based hunting groups. These subsistence practices being shared with their Native community meant they were immersed in the Mi'kmaq way of life. The Mi'kmaq were also skilled hunters. They utilized many techniques including the bow and arrow, trapping with snares, metal traps, and deadfall traps as well as mimicking animal sounds.⁴³⁴ The Mi'kmaq were also familiar with leveraging seasonal changes such as using the snow and ice. For instance, a hibernating bear could be easier to kill while the use of snowshoes in the heavy snow gave the hunter the upper hand when chasing

⁴³³ "Mémoire joint à la lettre de M. de Bonaventure du 12 octobre sur le Port-Royal et les côtes de l'Acadie," 12 Oct 1701, ANOM, C11D-4, f. 85v.

⁴³⁴ Maillard, *An Account of the Customs*, 11-12. Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 83; Adrian Tanner, *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1979), 144.

down a moose.⁴³⁵ A bear could be found in winter by locating an occupied den when frost around the hole in the snow signaled the hibernating bear's breathing.⁴³⁶

The Guédrys and other adopted community members would have participated not only in the hunting and fishing that fed the community but also in the hunting celebrations that followed a successful hunt. Abbé Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard recorded many conversations he had with Mi'kmaq chiefs which revealed life in Mi'kma'ki in the mid-eighteenth century. One thing he recorded for posterity were many beautiful speeches delivered during Mi'kmaq gatherings. One common Mi'kmaw practice was for those returning from a successful hunt to gather friends and family from the community to feast together. Renowned anthropologist Ruth Holmes Whitehead, who has worked with the Mi'kmaq for over forty years, shared her insights into Mi'kmaq gatherings. She explains that food gatherings were not offered on a regular schedule but rather when held on occasions when there was a lot of food, such as during a salmon or eel run. Many people from the community came together to process the food and then they enjoyed the meat together.⁴³⁷ The killing of a moose was another occasion to feast. Moose were easier to hunt when the snow had fallen because they moved more slowly. Returning to the village, the hunter would send for all friends present to come and eat the game. This gathering would last until all the meat was gone and would be accompanied by "praising the host and his ancestors and telling stories, chanting and dancing."⁴³⁸ Thus, these impromptu events would gather the community and share in

⁴³⁵ Tanner, *Bringing Home Animals*, 51-52, 145. Nicolas Denys, *Description of the Natural history of of the coasts of North America (Acadia)*, edited by William Francis Gagnon (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 426-427; Chrestien Le Clerq, *The New Relation of Gaspesia* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), 276; "Excerpts from the Hoffman Thesis – Mi'kmaq of the 16th & 17th Centuries," *Cape Breton University*, <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/mikmaq-resource-centre/mikmaq-resource-guide/essays/excerpts-from-the-hoffman-thesis-mikmaq-of-the-16th-17th-centuries/> (Accessed March 2020).

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ruth Holmes Whitehead Interview, May 2019.

⁴³⁸ Whitehead interview, May 2019.

culture making together. Residing in Mi'kmaw territory and hunting and fishing with the community, it is natural to conclude the Guédrys participated in these community events.

These celebratory events would have been culture making occasions for the ghosts who heard and participated in the speeches, dances, songs and cuisine while enacting notions of hunter masculinity. Commonly, people present would praise the host for his hunting prowess. According to Maillard, a man's worth in Mi'kmaw culture was tied to his ability as a hunter.⁴³⁹ Anthropologist Tim Ingold describes hunter-gatherer cultures and the important sense of autonomy among hunters who are at the liberty of making their own decisions of when to hunt but also have a deep sense of trust among the hunters to share their catch communally.⁴⁴⁰ The hunters ability to provide for the community instills him with a sense of community value, technical skill, and masculinity. During the eat-all-feast speeches the masculinity of the hunter was elevated as he was called "father" and celebrated for his ability to hunt, in effect praising him as the provider of all in the village. One man was rewarded with praises such as "he never missed his aim," as well as being "particularly admirable for decoying of bustards by his artificial imitations" so much so that he "made it impossible to distinguish his cry from that of the birds themselves."⁴⁴¹ The hunters ability to mimic their prey was also reenacted during these community celebrations. Those present spoke of the ancestor's "miraculous" ability at "beating of the woods for elk, or other beasts of the fur."⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard, *An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmaki and Maricheets, Savage Nations, Now Dependant on the Government at Cape Breton*, 1758 (London : Printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley) https://archive.org/details/cihm_46065/page/n37/mode/2up (Accessed March 2020).

⁴⁴⁰ Tim Ingold, "On the Social Relations of the Hunter-Gatherer Band," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, ed. Richard B. Lee and Richard H. Daly (1999): 399–410.

⁴⁴¹ Maillard, *An Account of the Customs*, 11-12. Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 83.

⁴⁴² Maillard, *An Account of the Customs*, 8-9; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 78.

The human-animal exchange as the Mi'kmaq remembered, reenacted, and rejoiced over the eat-all-feats rituals.⁴⁴³ The Mi'kmaq hunting practices were built on the belief that the animal sacrificed himself to feed their human kin and for this reason demanded respect and gratitude from the hunter. Special protocols were developed in the treatment of the animal's body in order to show respect to the fallen animal.⁴⁴⁴ A new opening was created in a wigwam in order to carry in a slain bear because women and girls did not "deserve to pass through the same opening as the bear" and women who had not yet born a child had to leave the wigwam when the bear arrived and could not return until it was wholly consumed.⁴⁴⁵ A Mi'kmaq woman from Bear River First Nation suggested that human respect for animals was "essential to traditional hunting practices."⁴⁴⁶ The Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq stated in 2007 that: "the Mi'kmaq give thanks when they use part of nature for their own needs. For example, when they cut down a tree, or dig up plant roots for medicine, or kill an animal for food, there are certain rituals they must follow to pay the proper respect—to give thanks for things they disturb for their own use."⁴⁴⁷ This reciprocal respect between hunter and animal is similar to what anthropologist Philippe Descola observed among the Achuar people in that hunting was a dialogue between hunter and animal.⁴⁴⁸ The Mi'kmaq shared this hunter-

⁴⁴³ For more on the Fur trade and hunting practices and culture in Eastern Canada see, Calvin Luther Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (University of California Press, 1982).

⁴⁴⁴ Melissa Marie Legge, "Animals in Indigenous Spiritualities: Implications for Critical Social Work," *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, Volume 6, Issue 1: 3-4 https://umanitoba.ca/faculties/social_work/media/v6i1-02_legge_robinson.pdf (Accessed April 2020).

⁴⁴⁵ Chrestien Leclercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, William F. Ganong ed. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), 225-229; Wilson D Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 108.

⁴⁴⁶ L. Kinnear, *Contemporary Mi'kmaq Relationships Between Humans And Animals: A Case Study of the Bear River First Nation Reserve in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 2007), 71. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/thesescanada/vol2/002/MR39166.PDF>

⁴⁴⁷ "Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq," *Kekina'muek: Learning About the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia* (Truro, NS: The Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007), 50.

⁴⁴⁸ Philippe Descola, *Par-delà Nature et Culture* (Paris : Gallimard, 2005), 51.

animal dialogue as well as told stories of shapeshifting into animals which deepens the meaning of the eat-all-feast rituals.⁴⁴⁹

These community gatherings were also spaces where history was told. One successful hunter was given accolades for his ability but also for the remembrance of his “great, great, great grandfather” who was also a talented provider. These praise-filled speeches educated the ghosts in the history and values of the Mi’kmaq. Many first-hand reports spoke to the Mi’kmaq orator’s ability to persuade its audience through long and passionate speeches.⁴⁵⁰ These events honored the host as well as instilling in its participants the sense of history, heritage, and family that was knit into the fabric of these celebrations.

Speeches were accompanied by stories, songs, and dances which for the ghosts was a part of their cultural education. Anthropologist Trudy Sable discussed dance, song, and stories in her master’s thesis “Another Look in the Mirror: Research into the Foundations for Developing an Alternative Science Curriculum for Mi’kmaq Children.”⁴⁵¹ She argues that these three forms of expression, song, dance and story, were all modes of knowledge transmission regarding the “natural or physical world,” as well as a way to trace history.⁴⁵² In order to understand the culture-making significance for the ghosts,

⁴⁴⁹ Silas Rand recorded a few such stories including: First, the Beaver Magicians And The Big Fish where a Mi’kmaq hunter encounters an elderly man and his family in the woods. The hunter joins them for dinner and later discovers they were beavers whom he perceived as humans due to the magical power of the beaver elder. Second, a hunter transforms into a moose to feed his starving sister. S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*. Volume I. (West Orange, NJ: Invisible Books, 1893), www.invisiblebooks.com/Rand.pdf S.T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*. Volume II (West Orange, NJ: Invisible Books, 1893) Available online: www.invisiblebooks.com/Rand2.pdf (accessed April 2020).

There are also Mi’kmaq accounts of animals becoming human, marrying Mi’kmaq kin and raising children. M. Robinson, “Veganism and Mi’kmaq Legends,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XXXIII 1, (2013):189 – 196.

⁴⁵⁰ Abbé Maillard, *An Account of the Customs*; Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 1968 (Champlain Society, 1907), II:323-324.

⁴⁵¹ Gertrude (Trudy) Sable, “Another Look in the Mirror: Research into the Foundations for Developing an Alternative Science Curriculum for Mi’kmaq Children,” Master’s Thesis (Saint Mary’s University, 1996). <http://library2.smu.ca/handle/01/22133#.Xh4RJ0dKjIW>

⁴⁵² Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 1, 175.

these three elements of the gathering need to be briefly described. Even if their community exposure was just limited to attending hunting feasts, which is a very limited view, these events alone would have taught the ghosts what it meant to belong to the Mi'kmaw community and about their histories and community values.

The first of these three, stories, served to remind and instill community values and narratives through the speeches and orations given during the hunting feasts. Sable points out that stories and orations served to enforce “values and traditional beliefs” based on people’s experiences. In the case of the eat-all-feast oration, it values the hunting prowess of the individual as well as the valued skills and qualities of the man of honor. These oration gatherings served to construct a “mutual identity” from “a common pool of wisdom” which would have served as a culture-making event for all those in attendance.⁴⁵³ French colonist Nicolas Denys described the story telling among the Mi'kmaq during holiday feasts or celebrations, “there was always someone who told one [a story] so long that it required all the day and evening with intervals of laughter. If one was telling a story, all listened in deep silence: and if they began to laugh the laugh became general.”⁴⁵⁴ Storytelling was a “source of power, a way to channel energy and shape reality.”⁴⁵⁵ As Joseph Roach demonstrates through festivals, ritual, and performance around the circum-Atlantic world in his work *Cities of the Dead*, when ceremonies and rituals are revived and reinvented through the lense of the orator, dancer, or story teller, their meanings and significance are renewed, remembered, and recreated.⁴⁵⁶ In the same way, Mi'kmaw story tellers could provide fresh perspective and

⁴⁵³ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 223.

⁴⁵⁴ Nicolas Denys, *The description and natural history of the coasts of North America*, 1672, reprinted by William Francis Gagnon, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 418-419.

⁴⁵⁵ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 177-178.

⁴⁵⁶ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

educational significance to events described. The rich literature on oral histories uncovers the power and flexibility of these types of oral historical traditions which allowed communities to connect to their collective past while revising those meanings in present circumstances.⁴⁵⁷ As the community gathered to celebrate, on occasions such as the hunting feasts, the sharing of current events and historical memory was a common occurrence. The Guédry family would have learned Mi'kmaw history while sharing the spoils of the hunt together.

The second of these cultural modes of transmission at the hunting feast were the dances. As Abbé Maillard described, the hunting gatherings led into songs, chants and dancing and often one form of exaltation led to another. An anonymous Mi'kmaw orator explained, "All the praises my tongue is about to utter, have thee for their object. All the steps I am going to take, as I dance lengthwise and breadthwise in thy cabin, are to prove to thee the gaiety of my heart, and my gratitude."⁴⁵⁸ His verbal praises at the abundance of the feast sparked such joy that it led to dancing in appreciation. While the dancing was both beautiful and entertaining, the performers movements also comprised a significant mode of culture making.

Dance was powerful, as it was thought possible to dance "things into reality or existence."⁴⁵⁹ Sable described that dance was so intertwined into the everyday life for the Mi'kmaq that "most everything in Mi'kmaw culture was at one time danced into

⁴⁵⁷ Angela Cavender Wilson, "Grandmother to Granddaughter: Generations of Oral History in a Dakota Family," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Special Issue: Writing about (Writing about) American Indians (Winter, 1996), pp. 7-13. For more about the history of Oral history in History see: Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition, A Study in Historical Methodology* (Aldine Transaction: 1965); Joseph C. Miller, "Introduction: Listening for the African Past," *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Archon: 1980); Luise White, "Narrative, Event, History, and Blood in the Lake Victoria Basin," *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁴⁵⁸ Maillard, *An Account of the Customs*, 11-12; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 83.

⁴⁵⁹ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 225.

being.⁴⁶⁰ The use of repetitious movements and cultural symbols through dance allowed dancers and elders an avenue to connect to nature. Sable explains that dance was “never depicted as an abstraction, but an entering further into the world, joining with the rhythms of the drums, the earth, ancestors, and the other dancers.”⁴⁶¹ Based on these explanations, dances were also a way of producing as well as celebrating. To participate in this kind of creation allowed the ghosts to be a part of forming and breathing life into the Mi’kmaq world as well as learning from it. Being able to join into the steps and movements animated and reaffirmed their culture together.

Mi’kmaq dances were a cultural access point for outsiders to enter the Mi’kmaq culture and learn its ways. Catholic priest Leclercq recorded accounts of Mi’kmaq dances which were performed for all manner of social events, including funeral orations, births, and calls to war.⁴⁶² Jacques Cartier in 1534 witnessed a Mi’kmaq dance, which caused Sable to point out that often “dance and gesture were perhaps the first way foreigners saw and communicated with the Mi’kmaq.”⁴⁶³ Given that dances were a tangible way for the performer to present the world and communicate with an audience and that these performances were generally held during feasts where “everyone present partook of the dance experience,” the ghosts would have seen and participated in these culture creating events.⁴⁶⁴ Gatherings could also be followed by games and sporting competitions, such as canoe racing, archery and physical contact sports, which served to build community ties and comradery.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 224.

⁴⁶¹ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 225.

⁴⁶² Christien Le Clercq, *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, (1691) edited by William F. Ganong (The Champlain Society, 1968), 187.

⁴⁶³ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 227.

⁴⁶⁴ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 229.

⁴⁶⁵ “Peter Toney (Antoine) to Silas Rand,” Silas Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 1894, 182; Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 36-39.

Chants or songs were the third major form of cultural expression practiced during the hunting feasts.⁴⁶⁶ As with the other forms of community expression, chants and songs were performed at any types of Mi'kmaq gatherings, including hunting feasts.⁴⁶⁷ As with the other forms for expression, chants and songs served to educate, celebrate, and create.⁴⁶⁸ Chanting had a deeply spiritual meaning and purpose. Common Mi'kmaw monosyllabic chants such as, ho, hé, ha, houen, were replete with esoteric meaning.⁴⁶⁹ Mi'kmaw songs were based on sounds found in nature, such as the vocalizations of owls and birds in general. The rhythm, beats, and syllables all had meaning and significance.⁴⁷⁰ The chants and beats were combined with words to teach an audience about everyday life to convey general information. Songs could be accompanied by dances but songs could also be kept separate or as part of a myth-songs which also contained a story.⁴⁷¹ Songs and chants were another entertaining and powerfully moving form of community or individual expression. The song and chants would have been tailored to corresponding events, and they served to teach about but also to activate the natural world. Given the spiritual components to some of these chants and songs, the ghosts were practicing a part of Mi'kmaw spirituality as they celebrated life and death, the natural world, and the community during the hunting celebrations.

Mi'kmaw culture was likely the home culture for the children raised at La Have. Children born and raised among the Mi'kmaq around La Have were culturally informed by community events such as the gatherings and cultural expression detailed above but

⁴⁶⁶ To hear a modern version of Membertou's song see: Clint Goss, "Membertou's Three Songs: Sheet Music for Native American Flute," *Flutopedia an Encyclopedia for the Native American Flute*, (Accessed June 3rd, 2015) http://www.flutopedia.com/song_Membertou.htm. Umberto Belfiore, "Membertou's Song" *UCLA Early Music Ensemble*, UCLA Organ Studio, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VkTFbQH79g>.

⁴⁶⁷ Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 83,

⁴⁶⁸ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 257.

⁴⁶⁹ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 263.

⁴⁷⁰ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 264.

⁴⁷¹ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 268-269.

also from the Mi'kmaw division of labor which placed children to work with their mothers. The family of Jean-Baptist Guédry and Madeleine Mius provides an example of how ghosts raised their children in the Mi'kmaw community and culture. Jean-Baptist, though raised by European parents, spent the majority of his forty-two years at Mirliguèche among the Mi'kmaq. Madeleine Mius was the daughter of a French baron, Philippe Mius, and a Mi'kmaw woman, Marie, living on the Atlantic coast. Available evidence makes clear that Madeleine was raised by her Mi'kmaw mother and community. Madeleine spoke Mi'kmaq, lived near the Mi'kmaw village at Mirliguèche with her hunting, fishing and trading husband Jean-Baptist, and raised her children in her Mi'kmaw community. The 1726 trial transcript reveals that Madeleine's son, Jean-Baptist Jr., was fluent in Mi'kmaq, and "was born and educated in the Woods among the Wild and Salvage Indians."⁴⁷² Unsurprisingly, then, children raised in Mirliguèche with Mi'kmaw mothers appeared to Europeans who encountered them later as "Indian."⁴⁷³ Of course Mi'kmaw uncles, fathers, and elders played an important mentorship role as well, especially in the raising of Mi'kmaw boys, but children stayed with their mothers and even as the children aged, Mi'kmaw division of labor grouped women and older children together.

Women and older children farmed and collected food as well as cleaned and preserved produce, game, and fish.⁴⁷⁴ Mi'kmaw women sang and chanted with their children to teach them of the world, nature, and their people.⁴⁷⁵ Madeleine would have sung and told stories to her children just like her mother Marie had, and her children

⁴⁷² *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rqn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 14.

⁴⁷³ Madeleine's son, Paul, was identified as "Indian" when he was captured by English Commander Joseph Marjory. "Declaration of Joseph Marjory," 18 December 1724, vol. 63, fol. 416, Joseph Marjory to Lt.-Gov. Drummer, 15 August 1723, vol. 38A, Fol. 44, MSA.

⁴⁷⁴ Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: First Nations History - Collision Between European and Native American Civilizations* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 24.

⁴⁷⁵ Sable, *Another Look in the Mirror*, 272.

would have attended Mi'kmaw gatherings and heard the elders speak just as the other Mi'kmaw kids did. Children would have watched and learned from the methods of food preparation, hunting, fishing, singing, and many other things through watching their family and community life. Young girls worked with their mothers and other women in the community. They were taught how to forage, hunt for small animals, navigate the woods and maintain the fire among other things.⁴⁷⁶ Young boys were invited to join hunting camps by their fathers and uncles even from a young age to help maintain the fire, prepare food, and learn; and when those boys became old enough they could hunt themselves.⁴⁷⁷ A significant rite of passage for a boy was the killing of his first moose; this moment marked his becoming a man and was celebrated in the community. A girl was allowed to wear the Mi'kmaw peaked cap when she got her first menstrual period as she was ushered into womanhood.⁴⁷⁸ The children in the La Have Mi'kmaw community, whether of Native or French ancestry, learned the flow of life, community values, ancestral stories, and subsistence practices from their kin and family.

⁴⁷⁶ Nicolas Denys, *Nicolas Denys account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672 : concerning the ways of the Indians, their customs, dress, methods of hunting and fishing, and their amusements*, p.5, Pictou-Antigonish Regional Library, 2007, Nova Scotia, Canada, <http://www.parl.ns.ca/nicolasdenys/> (Accessed January 2020).

⁴⁷⁷ Denys, *account of the Mi'kmaq first published in 1672*, p.5.

⁴⁷⁸ Ruth Whitehead, Interview January 2020. "Ni'n na L'nu: The Mi'kmaq of Prince Edward Island" Confederation Center of the Arts, <https://confederationcentre.com/whats-on/nin-na-lnu-the-mikmaq-of-prince-edward-island/> (Accessed, Jan 2020).



*Mi'kmaw peaked cap worn by Mi'kmaw women*⁴⁷⁹

Considering the fact that the educational and familial chain was not broken for Madeleine's household, she was able to continue the tradition of her family. Since Jean-Baptist had also been at La Have since birth, he most likely would have seen, heard, and participated in community dances, songs, and stories himself from infancy. Hunting and fishing life at La Have in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century did not look like Acadian culture, but rather Mi'kmaw culture and the families that were there participated and raised their children in that world.

⁴⁷⁹ For more on Mi'kmaq art see, Julia D. Harrison, *The Spirit Sings. Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples. A Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Toronto: Toronto McClelland and Stewart / Glenbow Museum 1987, 1987).

Overlooked evidence:

A central goal of this dissertation is to encourage a revision of the archival bias which positions whites solely in relation to European societies in the Atlantic.

Documentation of these colonial ghosts was not completely lacking, but some might argue if there is enough evidence. Finding them is made more challenging because of the archival categories that pre-sort their data and the ways historians have analyzed this community to date. As was discussed in the introduction, the archive and the historiography of a field dictates many interpretations. Like bumper pads on a bowling lane, it serves to direct all incoming traffic into the same lane.

For the case of the families at La Have, including the Guédry family, these census records and deportation documentation served to direct archivists and historians to treat them as Acadian. At the same time, they formulated the experience of an Acadian around experiences as farmers on the Bay of Fundy. Many Guédrys did experience the Acadian deportation and belonged to the diaspora of the deported. But to sort the pre-deportation experience of these families into the Acadian rubric because of events that occurred in the late-eighteenth century silences the ways their experience differed from the Acadian story up to that moment. Important historical work has been done to recover the Acadian past on the Bay of Fundy. This alternate aspect of life in the Atlantic should be analyzed as well.

Acadian deportation genealogies and census records have been some of the main reasons the ghosts on the Atlantic coast were absorbed into the Acadian pre-deportation communities. Acadian history has a long tradition of genealogical studies which has yielded many fruitful results but which creates an illusion of community belonging and connectedness which serves to flatten the Acadian experience. Without social qualifiers, French-descended families have been included in Acadian genealogies

such as the *Dictionnaire des familles Acadienne*. As Trouillot accurately describes, “[t]he census taker is always a *censor*—and not only because of a lucky play of etymology: he who counts heads always silences facts and voices.”⁴⁸⁰ This chapter suggests some of those constructions and possible new understandings.

Genealogy, like maps or images, can represent historical constructions in that they omit, highlight, and organize information. Genealogies help to add details to the lives of ghosts which would otherwise be impossible to locate but this type of data needs contextualizing and an understanding of its limits. For instance, baptismal records can be used to determine progeny which satisfies the genealogical component, but we can also locate godparents in these entries which can reveal elements of their community networks. When this information is available, it reveals a greater social context than mere paternity. Genealogy can also flatten the various French descended communities under the same Acadian label without contextualizing these families. For instance, a family of farmers or merchants from Grand Pré belonged to a different community than the fisherman from Cape Sable or a hunter from La Have. When other contextual elements are omitted except for French parentage it can give the false impression of a similar French or Acadian cultural experience when the stories of these families were much more nuanced. Without other relevant data, a family like the Guédry family is presumed French.

Residence and culture are powerful contributors to a child’s social formation. For instance, a child of mixed Mi’kmaq and French parentage might live in a convent in France, as was the case of Charles de la Tour’s two Mi’kmaw daughters, or in a wigwam in a Mi’kmaq village, such was the case for the children of Philippe Mius and his two

⁴⁸⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Beacon Press, 1995), 51.

Mi'kmaw wives. So many factors go into the social construction of that individual from the culture given to the child, to the region where they were raised and the work they are skilled in, as well as their kin groups and choice of partners. In other words, mixed ancestry is significant but also is the social context and influences of the child in forming their cultural identity. Mere genealogical data can at times misrepresent this data first by omitting parental cultural data such as an indigenous mother, but second, when genealogical data is presented without the social context.

While genealogies have great value, they are incomplete to tell the story of a community. In the case of the Guédry family, their pre-deportation lives have not been analyzed to give weight to their Native cultural belonging. At worst they are presented as Acadians on the Atlantic without complication which misrepresents their experience, at best their Indigenous cultural heritage is mentioned but this has had the negative outcome of presenting them as an Acadian oddity. The Guédry family, among other ghosts, hold a certain fascination being portrayed as one of those “peculiar Acadian families who lived with the Mi'kmaq.” The historical value that this family, and others like it, represented can be overlooked. They have been reduced to the Acadian relative whose stories are always told at the family gatherings as an oddity, or worse, whose story is presented as not representative of anything at all. Yet the history of colonial ghosts on the Atlantic Coast holds historical significance for precisely the reason that it does not follow the established Acadian account.

Rather than an anomaly that needs to be justified in the dataset, the Guédry's and others who made a life along the coast stand as a different community. These families, though many were European-descended, lived and raised families away from the European colonies and among Natives. They hunted, fished, and celebrated with the Mi'kmaq community. From European accounts we know they also spoke Mi'kma'ki and

worked with and among the Mi'kmaq. These colonial ghosts, rather than an anomaly to the main narrative, represented a significant historical social group. These Europeans disappeared from the colonial apparatus because they lived outside of it.

Europeans coming to the Americas made these choices and their lives can be in some ways uncovered when census records are examined within the historical context. Their lives reveal the fascinating possibilities available in the early modern Atlantic, with the right survival skills and especially the experience of community adoption. At the same time the sources available often highlight the limits of our knowledge and ability to recreate that community. Perhaps it is for this reason that many scholars have ignored those living at these harbors except to note that those who lived there were Acadian even though they differed.

Finding ghosts in French archives:

The census conducted irregularly through Acadia reveals the nature of the settlement established there. In the settled region, where farming dominated, the census shows that households had on average more arpents of land, more livestock and fewer guns. In contrast, households recorded for the Atlantic coast were recorded to have fewer arpents and livestock while possessing a greater number of guns. I posit the ratio of guns to arpents can be analyzed to ascertain if the household economy was more weighted on farming or hunting. Farming households would have a greater number of arpents of cultivated land and livestock while hunting families had more guns and presumably other equipment which was not recorded rather than livestock and land.

When we consider the census data available it supports the fact that families along the Bay of Fundy had more arpents of land and livestock compared to those on

the Atlantic coast who had more guns.⁴⁸¹ The land around the Bay of Fundy had an abundance of rich farmland. Historian Gregory Kennedy shows how the Acadians developed a subsistence practice in Acadie that built upon the experience they had in France, but he notes that this was not the case for all who came to settle in the peninsula.⁴⁸² This type of dike and the rich soil it produced became an iconic trademark of the Acadians so that even after the deportation the English hired Acadians to maintain.⁴⁸³ The 1686 census data records ninety-five families who have seventy-five guns and 377 arpents of cultivated land. For some families the number of guns or land was not recorded. Such failure could signal that the head of household refused to provide this information; such was the case with Pierre Melanson in the 1671 census. Alternately it could mean simply that they did not have any.⁴⁸⁴ When we consider the families that did disclose the number of guns, they had the average response was one gun for a household and an average of 7-8 arpents of land. Interestingly often where the number of guns was elevated to two or three guns, the arpents of land was lower (between 1 and 5 arpents). While wealthier families recorded twenty, forty, or fifty arpents of land as was the case for Pierre Melanson, Philip Mius the royal prosecutor, and Jacob Bourgeois, many families had only between five and twelve arpents.⁴⁸⁵ If a family at Port Royal had a gun in 1686, they often only had one firearm along with five or

⁴⁸¹ For our understanding a square arpent is approximately 0.84 acres.

⁴⁸² Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise*, 25.

⁴⁸³ "The Acadians and the Creation of the Dykeland 1680–1755," *The Landscape of Grand-Pré: A Unesco World Heritage Site*, <http://www.landscapeofgrandpre.ca/the-acadians-and-the-creation-of-the-dykeland-1680ndash1755.html> (Accessed June 2019); John D. Wilson, "Acadian Prisoners to the Rescue of British Soldiers" *West Hans Historical Society*, <https://westhantshistoricalsociety.ca/acadian-prisoners-to-the-rescue-of-british-soldiers/> (Accessed January 2020).

⁴⁸⁴ Acadian 1671 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1671.html> (Accessed January 2020).

⁴⁸⁵ Acadian 1686 Census, an online transcription can be found here: <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1686.html> (Accessed June 2019).

more arpents of cultivated land as well as a combination of cattle, sheep, and/or hogs. This meant that their gun might have been for limited hunting as well as household protection while the majority of household subsistence was provided through farming.

Household subsistence was dominated by hunting and fishing, not farming, on the Atlantic coast. While scholars such as William Wicken, Naomi Griffiths, Maurice Basque, and Gregory Kennedy have argued that Acadians and Mi'kmaq maintained separate worlds in Acadie in part due to having different subsistence practices, many of them remark that Europeans who came to reside on the Atlantic Coast practiced a more traditional Mi'kmaq subsistence practice of fishing, hunting, and small scale farming. According to Kennedy, whose book looks at the Acadian settler farming economy, "small groups of colonists at Pobomcoup and La Heve adopted a way of living much like that of Aboriginal people based on fishing, hunting, and trade."⁴⁸⁶ Historian Thomas Peace also notes the two types of subsistence practices in the peninsula. The Acadians, "sowed fields of wheat, maintained gardens and kept livestock" while the Mi'kmaq hunted, fished and traded. However he also notes that in places "like Cape Sable or La Heve, with poorer soil than Port Royal, the French also hunted, fished and traded, drawing on the same resources as the Mi'kmaq."⁴⁸⁷ Despite the 'poorer soil' of these rocky coasts, there were a number of families who chose this coast over the rich soil of the Bay of Fundy and this can be understood by the fact that they had a subsistence practice and community belonging that suited them.

Census records for the families on the Atlantic coast show a different pattern emerging which suggests a lifestyle of hunting over farming. It is also important to remember that Mi'kmaq subsistence practices relied heavily on fish, shellfish, and eels

⁴⁸⁶ Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise*, 25.

⁴⁸⁷ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 96-97.

as well as foraging for plants, nuts and berries, not just the seasonal hunting. This meant that other tools in addition to guns were likely used such as fishing weirs, eel spears (leisters), lobster spears, snowshoes, traps, bows and arrows, axes, knives.⁴⁸⁸ Relying only on a single census record, that of Monsieur De Meulles in 1686, we can only get a glimpse of gun ownership on the Atlantic. Even with this limited data in a part of the Mi'kma'ki that French census takers rarely visited, patterns tell of a heavy reliance on hunting among these families.

The 1686 Acadian census suggests a greater dependence on hunting rather than agriculture among those on the Atlantic coast. Only three censuses recorded those living on the Atlantic coast, two of which contain scant notes on the residents' belonging. Census records have limits as an accurate source for these families, firstly, because families as well as data is missing from these records that make it hard to get a clear picture of the community. In fact, many people recorded in these census records appear only once and we are left with no other trace of them. Some regions like La Have or Cap Sable appear more consistently but their residents shifted vastly overtime, with some individuals never to be seen in the records again. Additionally, other ports or communities are recorded only once such as "Cap Neigre" and "Riviere des Richelois" on the 1671 census, a "Riviere du Port Royal" listed between Cap Sable and La Have in the 1693 census and "Port Rasoir" on the 1708 census. These regions do not show up again and disappear in a manner similar to many of the residents. These census records offer limited information regarding settler subsistence practices because the census

⁴⁸⁸ For Mi'kmaq subsistence practices see Chapter Two. Also, Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Mi'kmaw History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1991); Roger Lewis, *Pre-Contact Fish Weirs: A Case Study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*, Master's thesis, (Newfoundland: Memorial University, 2006); Thomas G.M. Peace, "Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia," PhD York University (Toronto, York University, 2011), 96-97; William Wicken, *Encounters with tall sails and tall tales : Mi'kmaq society, 1500-1760*, Phd dissertation (McGill University, 1994).

taker was focused on European centered markers of possessions, such as cultivated land, guns, and livestock. These records are designed to locate “French” settlers and get a sense of their accumulated wealth according to a few simple Euro-centric parameters.

Working with these limitations, the 1686 Acadian census reveals the most information to support a hunting and fishing lifestyle of the Atlantic coast that matches with other sources of life on the Atlantic. Thirty-four “French” residents were recorded along the coast between Cap Sable and Mirliguèche in 1686. We have the most information for Cap Sable. Cape Sable was recorded to have fifteen people who own sixteen guns, seven arpents of cultivated land and seventeen head of cattle.⁴⁸⁹ Broken down by family, those five households each had between two and five guns and overall, they had more guns than those in Acadian settlements. When we look at just the men, we find six adult men owning sixteen guns; the four male children appear to all be under seven years old. That ratio is almost three times higher than those of the same year at Port Royal where gun ownership was on average one per household.

⁴⁸⁹ The census for Cap Sable lists those five households and one entry which states “La Liberty Le Neigre” but no more information is listed.

1686 Acadian census on the Atlantic coast and Port Royal

Community	Total recorded Population	Number of adult males	Number of recorded guns	Guns per household
Cap Sable	15	6	16	2.7
La Have	14	8	9 (Only 2 households recorded)	4.5
Mirliguèche	5	2	No information recorded	no recorded data
Port Royal	592	197	75	0.78
	Arpents of land	Arpents per household	Livestock	
Cap Sable	7	1.1	17 head of cattle	
La Have	3 (only Two households recorded)	1.5 (for two households)	1 hog	
Mirliguèche	No Information recorded	no recorded data	No information recorded	
Port Royal	377	4		

Graph of gun to arpent ratios in the 1686 Acadian census. From these numbers we can see the comparison between Acadians at Port Royal who have on average more arpents of land per household compared to the available data for the Atlantic communities. In contrast, the Atlantic coast has a higher number of guns per household than the farming community at Port Royal. The limited data for the Atlantic coast suggests there could be even more guns per household at La Have and Mirliguèche than Cap Sable but without more data this can not be proven. Reports support this hypothesis, however, as the La Have and Mirliguèche were known as hunting and fishing communities with small garden plots which would suggest a larger number of guns compared to farmland.⁴⁹⁰

The information for La Have and Mirliguèche in 1686 is scant but reveals that residents depended on hunting even more if they lived farther up the Atlantic coast. Nineteen people are recorded at the two connected settlements: fourteen at La Have and five at Mirliguèche. For these eight “French” families which reside next to the Mi’kmaq village on the La Have river, we only have subsistence data for two of these families. Jacques Provost, who is listed with his wife, Jeanne Foucaux and a “volunteer” Jacques Petit, had three guns, two arpents of cultivated land and one hog. Pierre Lejeune dit Briars, with his wife Marie Tibaudaux have six guns and one arpent of

⁴⁹⁰ This data is taken from the 1686 census record which has been reproduced here: <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1686.html> (Accessed January 2020).

land.⁴⁹¹ Without more data we cannot draw firm conclusions. This information suggests a higher number of guns for hunting than in other areas. Again, it should be noted that Mi'kmaq subsistence practices relied more heavily on fishing than hunting so although the presence of a greater number of guns and more modest garden plots reveals more of a hunting tradition among these families, most likely these families were also fishing to provide a large portion of their diet. These families often had small plots of cultivated land, the 1686 census records plots of one and two arpents for La Have and three and four arpents for Cap Sable, but that was not incompatible with Mi'kmaq families who kept small gardens of corn or squash.⁴⁹²

As we have seen thus far with the effort to reconstruct the ghost community at La Have in French records, such as parish and census records, these datasets contain a Eurocentric perspective that leads to potential missing relevant data as well as a curated dataset which promotes European markers. We have also seen how census records, which are the main source of archival data for the ghost families, can be reinterpreted when the cultural context is included and the data interrogated. The fact that De Meulles recorded livestock, arpents, and guns reflects his understanding of colonial life. For this reason, tools necessary for a Mi'kmaw household economy were undocumented by the census.

Beyond conclusions that can be drawn from the number of guns in each household versus the size of the garden plot, we can examine other data peculiarities. Claude Guédry and his family were recorded at Port Royal in 1698 but not for the next Port Royal census in 1700. Some scholars have concluded Guédry and his family had relocated from La Have before 1698 only to move back before 1700. This reasoning

⁴⁹¹ 1686 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1686.html> (Accessed January 2020).

⁴⁹² Wicken, *Treaties on Trial*, 30; Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise*, 68.

assumes a European habitation perspective when a Mi'kmaw understanding of the La Have and Port Royal community provides additional insight. It is more likely that Guédry travelled to Port Royal for the census rather than having temporarily relocated. The 1698 census did not include the Atlantic coast which means if Guédry wanted to appear on the census he had to travel to Port Royal, Beaubassin or the Rivière St. Jean.

Claude Guédry's appearance on the 1698 Port Royal census can be understood by the fact that the Mi'kmaq La Have and Port Royal constituted one community. As Thomas Peace writes: "This census data that shows how Mi'kmaq families were moving between Port Royal and La Have on different censuses in the early 18th century" suggest why families from La Have appear on a Port Royal census record.⁴⁹³ If both are considered part of the same village then the Guédry can be understood to have been practicing regular Mi'kmaw movement patterns. Thus, the connectedness of the Mi'kmaq along the Mersey-Allains river system which connects Port Royal to the Atlantic watersheds meant that the Mi'kmaq along this corridor moved back and forth.

This connectedness and movement of the Mi'kmaq to other villages for food, gatherings, and safety was a regular and often seasonal occurrence. This same corridor had been a longstanding trade route between the Atlantic coast Mi'kmaq westward. When Antoine Gaulin's 1708 and 1722 census records as well as the 1735 census are analyzed the movement of Mi'kmaq can be preliminary captured. "Gaulin's 1722 census notes that the population living around Annapolis Royal [Port Royal as it was renamed under British rule] was only forty-six percent of the size it had been in 1708, while the Mi'kmaq enumerated at La Hève increased by twenty-four percent. In 1735, the village population returned to its 1708 level."⁴⁹⁴ This large-scale dispersal from Annapolis Royal

⁴⁹³ Thomas Peace, *Two Conquests*, 201.

⁴⁹⁴ Peace, *Two Conquests*, 215.

can be explained by the British-Mi'kmaw tensions of the 1720s which would have encouraged those around the English base to venture further away from English presence and control, such as was the case at La Have. Thus, movement and connection between Mi'kmaw families at Port Royal and the Atlantic can explain this census record "anomaly."

While it is known that many higher-ranking Frenchmen did marry a Native woman to solidify trade and friendship ties in the regions, as in the cases of Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin and Charles de la Tour, commoners did so as well. Families like the Guédrys found the Mi'kmaw community attractive. The French Cellier brothers, Antoine and Pierre, whose father had emigrated to Acadie in 1680, married into the Mi'kmaw, not Acadian, community. Despite having French lineage and cousins in the Acadian Grand Pré community, their letter to Philipps denotes their belonging to Mi'kma'ki when they wrote to him as Mi'kmaw chiefs.⁴⁹⁵ Their role as chiefs in the writing to Philipps suggests the well-established and respected position they had among their fellow Mi'kmaq. Historian C.J. d'Entremont says Pierre Cellier was the patriarch of the Acadian branch of the family while, according to d'Entremont, one of his brothers was the head of the Mi'kmaw line.⁴⁹⁶ Even if descendants moved in or out of the Acadian or Mi'kmaw community, defining Antoine and Pierre Couaret's lived experience based on the experience of future generations is anachronistic and ignores the letter from them naming them as Mi'kmaw chiefs.

⁴⁹⁵ Their names are given to Philipps as Antoine and Pierre Couaret which was their father's *dit nom* (a given name, usually in the military used to distinguish the individual) whose Mi'kmaw descendants were also called Charet, Memcharet or Nemcharet. Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 160; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Me*, 78-79; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:326-329.

⁴⁹⁶ C.J. d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, vol. III, p.1128-1129; Stephen White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des familles Acadiennes*, 327.

While Pierre “Cellier” may be the head of a family that d’Entremont calls an Acadian branch, considering the individual choice of the families is more revealing of the lived experience and personal agency. Pierre Couaret was married to Marie-Josèphe ditte Aimée LeJeune, whose family had many ties into the Mi’kmaw community. Of their ten recorded children, four are simply known as “fille” (girl) with an approximate date of birth. Without more data it is impossible to know if these girls grew up to marry in the Mi’kmaw community or died in their childhood. Others appear to have lived in Acadian or French colonial society which is a reminder that though Pierre wrote a letter to Philipps as a Mi’kmaw chief, his children had the option to continue in that life or marry or live outside the community.

A challenge in recreating the ghost community in Mi’kma’ki is the absence of genealogical records of the Mi’kmaw community in the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century. Because of Mi’kmaw community adoption practices which allowed outsiders to join the kinship structure, those who remained in the Mi’kmaw community after the eighteenth century are indistinguishable from others. Generations of cultural practice and often intermarriage obscured French heritage. The Mi’kmaw naming practice in which the son takes on the father’s first name as his family name often with a diminutive added caused the influx of Christian names to enter the Mi’kmaw community these fathers had been given Christian names at baptism. Those names remained fluid over generations as their son’s last name again took the father’s first name often; only in the nineteenth century were those names solidified. For this reason, over generations many established Mi’kmaw families are typically given names such as Paul.

Errors and the inscriber’s election when these names were written down also account for the many variances. European lexicons did not take into account the changing prefixes and suffixes added to these names gifted at various life events. Marc

Lescarbot explains, “they have a great quantity of names... the eldest son commonly bears is father’s name, adding at the end some diminutive; thus the eldest son of Membertou will be called Membertouchis, as it were the little or the young Membertou.”⁴⁹⁷ Each subsequent child’s name is unique but are often connected, “Memembourré had a son named Semcoud, whose younger brother was called Semcoudech.” Names could also change depending on a distinguishing event such as the name “Panonagués” given to the younger son of Panoniac who was against the Armouchiquois. Lescarbot also indicates that when there is a death, names are sometimes changed to avoid the painful memory of their missing loved one. When Memembourré and Semcoud died in 1607, “Semcoudech dropped his brother’s name and has not taken his father’s, but has styled himself Paris, because he has lived in Paris.”⁴⁹⁸

Other names may reveal European ancestry but these cannot be verified. For instance, Samuel de Champlain mentions in 1629 an Indian chief named Juan Chou which Ruth Whitehead notes could be “possibly Wanju, from French ‘Anjou’ and the Micmac ‘w’ prefix; a nickname meaning loosely ‘The Frenchman’.”⁴⁹⁹ These insights reveal some of the challenges in recreating the Mi’kmaq genealogy in this period but they also reveal the deeply connected and significance of naming in Mi’kma’ki. These naming practices among the Mi’kmaq as well as the static and ignorant way the many Europeans transcribed them can account for the variance of Native names in this period. This issue of European recordings of Native names combined with the general ignorance European scribes had of the Mi’kmaq families makes the recapturing of

⁴⁹⁷ Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 1968, III:81-82; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 32-33.

⁴⁹⁸ Lescarbot, *History of New France*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), III:81-82; Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 32-33.

⁴⁹⁹ Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 42.

families within this community elusive. Some of Claude Guédry's descendants can be traced today because of the data collected during the deportation and the work of genealogists to reconstruct the earlier American period. Not all the descendants of Claude Guédry can be traced however. In fact, the descendants of five of Claude's eleven known children are not traceable. We cannot know if those Guédry lines married and continued in the Mi'kmaw community, if some died without progeny, or if some relocated and are recorded under another name. We cannot definitively answer those questions, but based on the cultural and community understanding of La Have in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it is highly likely that some of Claude Guédry's descendants disappeared from the European records because they lived fully in Mi'kma'ki.

Without records detailing cultural anecdotes about the Guédry family in the seventeenth century, we can look to reports about others on the Atlantic coast in this period to help us understand the world in which they lived. Charles de la Tour, French trader and Acadian governor, lived at Cape Sable early in the seventeenth century. He wrote in 1627 that he lived with a hundred Indians.⁵⁰⁰ La Tour's rival and competing Acadian governor from the 1630s to 1650s, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, wrote about the life La Tour lived. Granted Aulnay was La Tour's political enemy which would have colored any report he gave of the rival governor; these words still point to a life with at least some presence in Mi'kma'ki. Aulnay described that La Tour,

Running in the woods with eighteen or twenty men, involved with the "sauvages" and living a libertine and infamous life like wild beasts without any exercise of religion not even having the care to baptise his children born out of unions between himself and these poor miserable women instead these children are abandoned to the

⁵⁰⁰ Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, Vol. 2, 400.

care of their mothers... La Tour and his gang lived with the savage people and dress as they do. (Author Translation)⁵⁰¹

While Aulnay includes his judgement and inflammatory descriptions, this letter indicates that La Tour was living with the Mi'kmaw communities of his wives. The eighteen to twenty men together in the woods fits with the description of a hunting or fishing group above the Head-of-Tide.⁵⁰² This description also suggests the people with La Tour dressed as the Mi'kmaq did which is unsurprising as Acadians also adopted moccasins and other practical Mi'kmaq wear.⁵⁰³ Aulnay also suggests that it was La Tour's wives who raised and cared for their children which, while castigating La Tour as an absent father, also hints that he had abandoned his children to their savage mother. Aulnay's comment implies the children were raised according to Mi'kmaw culture. Aulnay's letter of a French noble who allowed his wives to raise his children in the Mi'kma'ki is consistent with the fact that La Tour later brought two teenage daughters to France to join convents but that these girls had no previous paper trail, not even a baptismal record.⁵⁰⁴ Others, like the Guédry family, who had no noble status to protect were also being raised in Mi'kma'ki as the Boston and French court records would attest in the eighteenth century. As we will discuss in detail in Chapters Six and Seven, we have evidence that many in the Guédry family were raised with and by their Native kin.

⁵⁰¹ *Courant par les bois avec 18 ou 20 hommes se meslant avec les sauvages et vivant d'une vie libertine et infâme comme bestes brutes sans aucun exercice de religion n'ayant pas mesme le soin de faire baptise les enfants procreez d'eux et de ces pauvres miserables femmes au contraire les abandonnoit a leurs meres comme apresent encore ilz font." La Tour "et sa troupe" a vécu " avec les peuples sauvage vestu comme eux. (mémoire d'Aulnay, entremont p.401) (document de 1624. Entremont p.401)*

⁵⁰² More information of these fishing practices is described in Chapter Two.

⁵⁰³ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 48

⁵⁰⁴ George MacBreath, "Charles de Saint-Étienne de la Tour," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/saint_etienne_de_la_tour_charles_de_1593_1666_1E.html (Accessed January 2020).

When Frenchmen married into the Mi'kmaw community at La Have and Mirliguèche, they entered Native life as well. With a shared subsistence practice calendar and resources along the rivers, coasts, and forests around La Have, the ghosts adopted many cultural aspects of the Mi'kmaq. Conservatively, "French" families like the Guédry family participated in Native gatherings where they heard Mi'kmaw songs, dances, and stories. Guédry children were raised in Mi'kma'ki and learned from the teachings and example of their Native mothers and local Mi'kmaw family. Their experience exposed them to indigenous history, culture, and traditions.

The fact that the Guédry family is considered Acadian in this period is based on anachronistic understandings of the deported branch of the family in the mid-eighteenth century. Those who resided at La Have and Mirliguèche lived among the Mi'kmaq. The Guédry's and other ghosts' presence in European records such as the census records, does not confirm French cultural practice; rather, ghost families left evidence of their cultural and subsistence practices and their community belonging. The thrust of national narratives, in this case the Acadian national narrative, pushes against evidence which points to a diversity of lived experience and communities; this impulse flattens countervailing information to show a more homogenous colonial community. The reality at La Have and Mirliguèche in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a Native territory dominated by Native traditions and control. As with most Atlantic coastal regions, the residents at La Have and Mirliguèche saw frequent, traveling groups of European fishermen and traders to their shores which connected these coastal spaces to the wider Atlantic but it did not diminish the dominant core of this community which was Native.

Fragmentary evidence about the Guédry family and what we know about the people of and the place in which they lived suggests an alternate interpretation of their lives in the years 1636 to 1722. Far from being Acadian French living on the outskirts of the colonial community, as the literature on later colonial history would assume, they were residents of Mi'kmaw, with family, friends, cultural connections and daily practices in common with their neighbors. This chapter sought first to explore some of the Mi'kmaw cultural life the ghosts lived during a period when very few records exist. These cultural practices were based upon historical knowledge of the Mi'kmaw community at this time and the fact that the Guédry's and other ghosts were speaking and practicing Mi'kmaq between the 1630s and 1720s. The second aim of this chapter was to explore how archival and colonial biases have caused historians to overlook the evidence that indicate Frenchmen had joined Mi'kma'ki in the seventeenth century. A fresh look at the archives and the inclusion of interdisciplinary methods such as anthropological reports can allow for a reanalysis of these sources to reveal the Native belonging of these families.

Reimagining the European community at La Have and acknowledging their place in the indigenous territory allows for a much-needed revisionist perspective to reassess the American colonial landscape. Where colonial ghosts across the Americas have been assumed to be members of colonial communities, there can be a revision of the archival and interdisciplinary data to look for other community belongings and cultural practices that have gone thus far unexplored. When we stop defining all Atlantic whites in reference to the colonial or imperial centers, we can view them as actors with agency who could forge their own community alliances. These alliances might have other defining

factors than European descent. In the case of the Guédry's, they appear to have formed community ties along other lines such as shared subsistence practices. This analysis does not mean losing our understanding of the colonial presence for these communities but to include the dominant Native presence to rebalance their influence on these families. This historical perspective could open up the search for colonial ghosts elsewhere in the Atlantic where the colonial archives are limited.

Chapter Six

Phase Four: Frenchmen Fighting for Mi'kma'ki, 1722-1740s

This chapter examines the 1726 piracy trial where five men faced charges for overtaking a British vessel at Mirliguèche. This trial demonstrated how much the Guédry family was incorporated into the Mi'kmaq community at La Have through their shared language, culture, and kinship bonds. This type of trial record proves the need for historians to rely on contextual analysis of the colonial ghosts, rather than only genealogical data, to reveal their cultural and communal belonging. The Guédry family has been considered Acadian in the pre-deportation period both because of anachronistic understandings of the community taken from the deportation and post-deportation periods and the influencing role genealogy has played in Acadian history. The piracy trial and the Guédry involvement in Drummer's war between 1722 and 1726 clarifies that this family had a strong sense of Mi'kmaq belonging. The Guédry family fought alongside the Mi'kmaq, not the Acadians. While other historians have analyzed these trial records, none have considered the Guédry family to be part of the Mi'kmaq

community, but saw them as a separate French group also at Mirliguèche.⁵⁰⁵ Yet this chapter shows how their testimonies point to the Guédry family being deeply connected into Mi'kma'ki.

When the English began to expand their reach into Mi'kma'ki, they moved beyond the coastal fishing rooms onto the land. This process began early in the eighteenth century for the Atlantic coast and continued into the nineteenth century. Through this process they came into conflict with the people on the land. Because British officials sought to possess both the land and its resources for its Empire, they began categorizing the people within the territory in order to convert, nullify, or remove them. This process involved separate measures to conquer the Acadian and Mi'kmaq people. Both this chapter and Chapter Seven will look at the Anglo-French-Mi'kmaq wars that occurred between 1713 and 1761 and how the Mi'kmaq, and colonial ghosts, responded to these conflicts. This chapter covers the period from 1722 to 1744, the time of Drummer's War between 1722 and 1725 and the subsequent Mi'kmaq Treaty, the first of its kind, in 1725. The negotiated ceasefire of 1725 did not end English-Mi'kmaq hostilities.

The English foray into Nova Scotia, and thus Mi'kma'ki, began first with French-English imperial conflicts and the British conquest of Acadie before dealing with the Mi'kmaq people.⁵⁰⁶ The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which gave the British the colony of Acadie, granted them access to the small Acadian enclaves while the majority of the

⁵⁰⁵ Bill Wicken, "26 August 1726: A Case Study in Mi'kmaq-New England Relations in the Early 18th Century," *Acadiensis*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Autumn/Automne 1993); Alexandra L. Montgomery, "Pirates, 1726: The Regionalism of Danger in the Early Northeast," <https://earlycanadianhistory.ca/2015/12/07/pirates-1726-the-regionalism-of-danger-in-the-early-northeast/> (Accessed November 2019).

⁵⁰⁶ "Peace and Friendship Treaties at the Nova Scotia Archives," Mi'kmaw Holdings Resource Guide, *Nova Scotia Archives*, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/mikmaq/results.asp?Search=AR5&SearchList1=all&TABLE2=on> (Accessed September 2019).

territory was still in the hands of the Mi'kmaq. The British spent the eighteenth century working to nullify Mi'kmaq resistance through wars and treaties in order to control the rest of the region. Within the colony of Nova Scotia, the Acadians, for their part, continually attempted to assuage fears over the threat they might pose to British interests in a future war with France. For the Mi'kmaq, their imperial relationship was different. The Mi'kmaq, on the one hand, attempted to continue trading and maintaining an otherwise distant relationship with the English who visited their coasts but wanted no interference with Mi'kmaw life. Britain, on the other hand, sought a relationship of dominance over the Mi'kmaq. These competing visions forced violence to break out in Atlantic ports as the Mi'kmaq resisted the British presence. The period between the Treaty of Utrecht and the British settlement of Lunenburg at Mirliguèche saw not just native pushback, but a response from colonial ghosts as well.

The details given of Jean-Baptist Guédry and his son in the trial records reveal their proximity to the Mi'kmaw community and the Native lifestyle these men practiced. The lived experience of the imperial ghosts who inhabit the pages of these eighteenth-century documents attests to a time when the boundaries between foreign and local categories were less rigid. These colonial ghosts were well integrated into Mi'kmaq society. These men who fought for their kin were deeply invested in local society and in the preservation of a way of life that was rooted in local networks. While Acadian scholarship has attempted to locate families, such as the Guédry family, within the Acadian community because of the later deportation of some of the family, these records demonstrate that Jean-Baptist and his household belonged to the Mi'kmaq, not Acadian, community in the early eighteenth century. The categories of "Acadian" and "Mi'kmaq" have guided scholarship to divide members of the same community into two separate communities; their histories are also divided into these two distinct strands. The records

of the 1726 trial demonstrate that this Guédry family saw itself as living in the native local community rather than the distant European community. Finally, the trial records reveal the English attempt to categorize the five alleged criminals in terms of the increasingly complex racial categories of the eighteenth century. This chapter will first discuss Mi'kmaq-English relations at the beginning of the eighteenth century through Drummer's War, followed by an overview of the 1725 treaty and the fourth phase of the colonial ghosts.

Mi'kmaq-English relations & 1726 Peace Treaty:

Mi'kmaq-English relations on the Atlantic coast went beyond fishing and trading negotiations to imperial interactions by the 1690s, but a steep rise in tensions occurred in the 1720s.⁵⁰⁷ The Wabanaki Confederacy, which included the Mi'kmaq, had been involved in the imperial struggle over the Northeast since the early seventeenth century; but the Mi'kmaq of the Atlantic coast were peripheral to those events.⁵⁰⁸ The Mi'kmaq of the Atlantic coast were largely absent from these battles to the west for the simple fact that they resided outside the fought-over territory. This does not mean they were unaware of the conflicts, but at a distance the Mi'kmaq-English relationship at La Have continued to be one of peace and trade. As Britain began vying for more territorial control in Mi'kma'ki, tensions rose, and negotiations were needed. Although Acadie had been under British rule since the siege of Port Royal in 1710, after France's capitulation in 1713 and the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, King George I and the governors of

⁵⁰⁷ Jeffers Lennox, "A Time and a Place: The Geography of British, French, and Aboriginal Interactions in Early Nova Scotia, 1726–44," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (July 2015), 445; William Wicken, *Encounters with Tall Sails*, 396–402; Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial*, 107.

⁵⁰⁸ See Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

New England colonies saw the Acadians as conquered British subjects. At the same time, they considered the Mi'kmaq as an independent Native tribe that they still needed to subjugate.

After signing the Treaty of Utrecht -- between 1713 and 1722 -- the British moved further into the territory north of New England. Groups of settlers and fishermen began building settlements and fortifications in Wabanaki territory, where they faced resistance. Tensions between the Mi'kmaq and English in this period took shape largely through naval skirmishes. The Mi'kmaq, as skilled mariners, overtook English vessels that came to fish or trade in their harbors. Correspondence from the French fortress of Louisbourg describes that the Mi'kmaq naval assaults on the English took at least eighty fishing and trading vessels between 1713 and 1760 but historian Olive Dickason argues this number underestimated the size of this Mi'kmaq onslaught on English mariners.⁵⁰⁹ Catholic missionary Antoine Gaulin reported with pride how Mi'kmaq set out in canoes and seized more than twenty British coasting vessels during these attacks.⁵¹⁰ New England's leaders, fearing the collapse of the British cod fisheries in the region, appointed military vessels to safeguard their ships.⁵¹¹

Despite British and New England officials' desire to subdue Nova Scotia, English settlers were reluctant to relocate into the territory where they would face the growing number of Acadians and the powerful Mi'kmaq.⁵¹² Even fishing families that made their living from the Atlantic Cod on its coasts preferred the "dangers of sailing the North

⁵⁰⁹ Olive Dickason, "Sea Raiders of Acadia," in *Tawow, Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1976: 11.

⁵¹⁰ Dickason, *Sea Raiders of Acadia*, 11. For a look at Mi'kmaw naval warfare see: Kelly Chaves, "Blood and Saltwater: The Colonial Fight for an Indigenous Ocean, pre-contact-1763," PhD dissertation (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 2019).

⁵¹¹ William Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 18.

⁵¹² Acadian birth rate was healthy in the early eighteenth century causing the Acadians numbered 1,324 in 1703 and 6,958 in 1737 according to the 1703 and 1737 census records. AN, AC G1466, "Recensement de l'Acadie de l'année 1703"; G1466, doc. 29, 'Recensement de l'Acadie de l'année 1737.'

Atlantic” to the perceived peril of living next to the Mi’kmaq.⁵¹³ According to historian William Wicken, “Most fisherman from Salem, Marblehead, and other ports would have been able to recite a long litany of incidents, real or alleged, in which men had been killed or had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the ‘savages’.”⁵¹⁴ Mi’kmaq attacks on British fishing rooms, new settlements and fishing vessels fueled English fear. Between 1713 and 1722 the English built settlements in Wabanaki territory including along the Kennebec River and a permanent fishing settlement at Canso.⁵¹⁵ Both regions saw a strong native response. The Wabanaki at Kennebec and Mi’kmaq at Canso began to raid the settlements to disrupt English settlement and fishing.

The Mi’kmaq attacks were not one-sided. New England privateers had been raiding and attacking Atlantic coast communities since the late seventeenth century, provoking Mi’kmaq defense.⁵¹⁶ La Have and Mirliguèche, being established trading harbors, were spaces where this battle over Mi’kma’ki was waged. The *Boston Newsletter* reported an event in 1715 which featured one of our Guédry ghosts. New England Captain Odoiorn was taken prisoner by “47 Indians” at Mirliguèche. The *Newsletter* reports that “as soon as Monsieur Laverdure heard... he immediately express’d his son to Menis with an account of it; whereupon they dispatched Capt. Walker an Indian of as great power and influence... who no sooner came among them,

⁵¹³ Wicken, *Mi’kmaq Treaties on Trial*, 104.

⁵¹⁴ Wicken, *Mi’kmaq Treaties on Trial*, 104. See also *Vital Records of Beverly, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, vol. 2: Marriages and Deaths (Topsfield, Mass.: 1906-7), 416; *Vital Records of Newbury*, vol. 2 (Salem, Mass., 1911), 520; *Vital Records of Gloucester*, vol. 3 (Salem 1924), 127.

⁵¹⁵ The French fishery in this region had developed good relations with the Mi’kmaq there. See Nicolas Denys, *The description and natural history of the coasts of North America (Acadia)* ed. W.F. Ganong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908).

⁵¹⁶ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 18, he also provides an example of this New England raiding from the *Boston Newsletter*. “April 1705 Captain Jacob Fowle attacked Eastern Coast settlements at Pubnico, Port Razoir and La Have. He burned six houses and carried to Boston eight ‘French’ prisoners.”

than he Rescued the Prisoners and Delivered up the vessels to them.”⁵¹⁷ In the Boston account, Monsieur Laverdure, who appears to be Claude Guédry, was presented as a French spectator to the kidnapping who then sent his son to Minas to tattle on the Mi’kmaq to one of their powerful sagamos (chief) to come to the aid of the English.⁵¹⁸ William Wicken presented this case to illustrate the differing attitudes between the “Mi’kmaq and métis” on the coast and that Guédry interceded “on behalf of the fisherman in altercations with the Mi’kmaq.”⁵¹⁹

While it is not surprising to view a community as having many attitudes and approaches to social issues, Wicken erred in his assessment that the Mi’kmaq and what he called “Métis” were two separate groups. Claude Guédry was an active Mi’kmaq community member, as was the son he sent to get Mi’kmaq Chief Captain Walker. Sending his son to get the help of another Mi’kmaq chief offers evidence to support this interpretation. If he was from a separate community, he would not have the established relationship with Walker to seek (and receive) his aid and would have likely gone to fetch an Acadian or English official at Annapolis Royal to bring men and ships to rescue the New Englanders. Also, his and his family’s continued safety to stay at Mirliguèche after the incident would have been jeopardized had he and his son acted against the Mi’kmaq community at Mirliguèche in the way the *Boston Newsletter* and Wicken suggest. The

⁵¹⁷ *Boston Newsletter*, 1 August 1715; *Journal of the House of Representatives, Massachusetts*, 25 July 1715, 42.

⁵¹⁸ We can safely conclude that Monsieur Laverdure was Claude Guédry because the others who were recorded as having the alias Laverdure in this period, Germain Doucet, Francois LeClair, and Pierre Melançon were not in this part of the country. Claude Guédry was living at Mirliguèche in 1708 when the last census was taken.

⁵¹⁹ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 17-18. Wicken appears to imply ‘mixed blood’ (Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 11) when he uses the term Métis but this research does not consider those who were adopted by the Mi’kmaq to be ‘métis’ as the legal status was defined by the Government of Canada. This research consciously does not apply the term Métis to the European descended ghosts at La Have. Those who claim to be Métis are currently being debated in Canada and for more on this process of identity shifting in Atlantic Canada see, Darryl Leroux, *Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2019).

Mi'kmaq far outnumbered the Europeans at La Have and Mirliguèche. According to the 1708 census records, the French numbered forty-two in the La Have area compared to 127 Mi'kmaq.⁵²⁰ These numbers were likely underreported, potentially for both groups but the fact remains that Claude would not have been able to defend himself against the forty-seven Mi'kmaq involved in the kidnapping, and especially against the whole of the Mi'kmaq community.

What the *Boston Newsletter* reported without realizing it was more evidence of the colonial ghosts at Mirliguèche. Though “Monsieur Laverdure” and his son were depicted as Good Samaritan Frenchmen, they were actually Mi'kmaq community members with brothers, nieces, and nephews in the community at Mirliguèche. They were active and involved in the larger Mi'kmaq network to the point that Claude Guédry's son could be sent as a Mi'kmaq envoy to Minas to retrieve Captain Walker and be received as a representative of the Mirliguèche Mi'kmaq. Additionally, Menis was located about 75 miles away from Mirliguèche and would have required expert canoe and portage skills to traverse this terrain, and especially to do so quickly. By comparison, when New France Intendant De Meulles had to cross the peninsula, he was told by Acadians the journey was impossible. De Meulles described the journey to be “one of the hardest one could make in a lifetime.” He describes the mountainous terrain, numerous lengthy portages, and treacherous rapids and watersheds. He says he only survived by the quick strength and skill of his three Mi'kmaq guides. Claude Guédry had confidence in his son's ability to navigate these rivers.

Being asked to retrieve the Mi'kmaq captain would have only worked if he was known and trusted as a representative of the La Have Mi'kmaw community. That Claude

⁵²⁰ 1708 Census <http://www.acadian-home.org/ACADIA%201708%20Census.pdf> (accessed November 2019).

Guédry's son could make this difficult journey in such an important situation showed his knowledge of the route, mastery of the skill needed to make the journey, and familiarity with the Mi'kmaw at Minas in order to bring back the chief. If Guédry had been a Mi'kmaq outsider it would have made more sense for him to send his son to one of the French villages along the Bay rather than the Mi'kmaw village. Guédry sent his son to Menis and he returned safely with Captain Walker who negotiated with the English captain. This incident revealed the active role the Guédry family had within the Mi'kmaw community. Captain Walker came with Guédry back to the coast to help them with the situation. We do not know what deals and negotiations were necessary to secure Captain Odoriorn and his men's release (note that the *Newsletter* says there was a large group taken at Mirliguèche because it says the "prisoners" and multiple "vessel" were rescued) but it is likely that these talks aimed to establish mutual respect for continued trade. With British plans to annex the territory, any compromise was untenable, and the raiding and violence continued.

Tensions and naval attacks continued until Drummer's War was declared in July of 1722, signaling a change in the political landscape for those residing at La Have and Mirliguèche. As the eastern coast fishery was valuable to the New England economy and the raiding between Mi'kmaq and the English continued, the Massachusetts government commissioned a galley ship to protect its fishery.⁵²¹ Commander Joseph Marjory's patrols included intercepting Acadian vessels and attacking Mi'kmaq people. On the 28th of July 1723, while anchored near Mirliguèche, Marjory captured seven unnamed individuals who he described as "Indians."⁵²² Marjory reported the captives as consisting of "three adult men and four children, one 16 years old, another 10 or 12

⁵²¹ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 18.

⁵²² "Declaration of Joseph Marjory," 18 December 1724, vol. 63, fol. 416, Joseph Marjory to Lt.-Gov. Drummer, 15 August 1723, vol. 38A, Fol. 44, MSA.

years old and two others about 7 or 8 years old.”⁵²³ Although their names were not recorded, the events that took place on the 25th and 26th of August 1726 appear to have been in pursuit of liberating two of these captives: Paul Guédry and Francis Mews.

The 1726 treaty with the Mi'kmaq sought to end the violence between the Mi'kmaq and English and attempted to establish the British sovereignty they projected from the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht over Mi'kma'ki territory. The Treaty of Utrecht was, on the one hand, an end to the War of Spanish Secession which established new territorial boundaries of the French and British Empires. Between Britain and France, especially in Europe, this document meant Britain had control of Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the treaty, despite its pretensions to do so, did not fully address the situation in this region. In the Americas, Mi'kma'ki as well as much of Wabanaki territory, was out of British reach. As was common with European treaties of Atlantic territories in the eighteenth century, this document was, as Jeffers Lennox argues, an imperial fiction that the English then struggled to enforce.⁵²⁴ Although this treaty represented the unilateral nature of European imperialism, the Treaty of Utrecht was an imperial fiction as far as Mi'kma'ki was concerned. Neither the French nor the English had been able to control Mi'kma'ki before the treaty in 1713 and, although the dispute was, for the moment, settled between these two European states, neither had not been able to conquer the Wabanaki.⁵²⁵ The Wabanaki-English wars that ensued in the 1720s can attest to New England's "unsettled conquest." Britain had removed France's legal right to the land but the Mi'kmaw state remained independent. The 1725 and 1726 treaties negotiated

⁵²³ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 18.

⁵²⁴ Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 4.

⁵²⁵ See William Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 99-106; Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 70; Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

between the Mi'kmaq and British, "established a legal framework to deal with the Mi'kmaq as a separate people."⁵²⁶

Despite Mi'kma'ki remaining independent, Britain saw their territory as part of the land ceded to them in the Treaty of Utrecht. Britain intended to conquer the rest of the territory and set about this plan to annex Mi'kma'ki over the course of the next century. From the British perspective, the 1725 and 1726 Peace treaty with the Wabanaki was to enforce what they considered their right to the land based on its treaty with France in 1713. The second clause of the 1726 treaty makes it clear that for the British, the 1726 Treaty was written to place the Mi'kmaq under their authority.

At the Treaty of Utrecht is become ye rightful possessor of the province of Nova Scotia or Acadia according it its ancient boundaries, we the said chiefs...cape sable and of the other Indian tribes belonging to and inhabiting within this his majesties province of Nova Scotia of Acadia and New England do for our selves and the said tribes we represent acknowledge his said majesty King George's jurisdiction and dominion over the territories of the said province of nova scotia or Acadia.⁵²⁷

The clause mentions the Treaty of Utrecht directly as establishing their legal right to the province. The language also commits the Mi'kmaq and other Indian tribes as part of this possession when it says "Indian tribes belonging to and inhabiting within this his majesties province." Finally, the second paragraph cedes "jurisdiction and dominion" of the territories to King George. However, as Wicken states in *Mi'kmaq treaties on Trial*, for the Mi'kmaq this document established a relationship between the English and the Mi'kmaq similar to the one they had had with the French. Both sides were using prior experience of peace treaties to interpret the language in the text. Given that each had different experiences of such agreements, conflicting interpretations were unsurprising.

⁵²⁶ Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 81.

⁵²⁷ "Treaty of 1725 for Ratification at Annapolis Royal," *Nova Scotia Archives*, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=615> (Accessed November 2019).

The Mi'kmaq expected the new relationship established in the Treaty to function similarly to the relationship they had with the French which centered around trade and did not involve occupying the same territory for the most part. The British anticipated legal submission. The *Canadian Encyclopedia* conveys another view relating that the 1725 Treaty meant that "Indigenous peoples agreed to cease hostilities against Britain; in exchange, the British promised not to interfere with Indigenous hunting, fishing and farming."⁵²⁸ In other words, the encyclopedia represents the Treaty as it was seen by the Mi'kmaq, an agreement to cease attacks on English vessels that came to port. Otherwise, they expected to resume their previous trading relationship as the British would not attempt to control their activities. For the English, this was a recognition, by the Native tribes that signed it, of Britain's legal rights to the land and its inhabitants and the beginning of a process to establish the British rule of law there. Given British intentions to settle the region, the 1725 Treaty represented an attempt to mislead the Mi'kmaq to agree to British colonial dominance.

The British used the 1725 Treaty to begin treating Mi'kma'ki as a dependent state subject to Admiralty law. Geoffrey Plank explains that both the legal and actual status of the Mi'kmaq remained unclear under the Treaty of Utrecht as the British attempted to exert legal authority over the Mi'kmaq. The subsequent trial reveals that the British struggled to try the one case under two legal codes, as they understood to be their obligation.⁵²⁹ Two legal codes because the "French" were to be tried as subjects of Nova Scotia and the "Indians" were treated subjects under the new Anglo-Mi'kmaw treaty. The Treaty granted the right of self-governance under the British to the

⁵²⁸ Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Peace and Friendship Treaties," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peace-and-friendship-treaties#Treatiesof1725and1726> (Accessed November 2019).

⁵²⁹ Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 70-71.

Mi'kmaq.⁵³⁰ Defining the crime as one that had taken place on the “high seas” because of the nature of Mirliguèche as an Atlantic Ocean trading post and fishery, rather than as settled English territory, put the trial in the hands of the Admiralty.

1726 Piracy Trial:

The five men on trial in 1726 were part of a larger Mi'kmaq group at Mirliguèche who decided to take over “the next English vessel to pass through their port” in order to ransom the return of Native captives including Paul Guédry and Francis Mews.⁵³¹ The families at Mirliguèche were still waiting for the return of their missing kin after the signing of the peace treaty in December of 1725. The December treaty included the proclamation, “That all the Captives taken in this present War shall at or before the time of the further Ratification of this Treaty be Restored without any Ransom or payment to be made for them or any of them.”⁵³² When Paul Guédry and Francis Mews were not returned to their families by June of 1726 when the treaty was ratified at Annapolis Royal, the Mirliguèche men took action.⁵³³ They overtook Samuel Doty's vessel when it entered Mirliguèche harbor on August 25th in a plan to ransom the ship for their captured family. The attempted naval takeover went awry and five of the Mi'kmaq community members were seized by Doty and his men. These five men were brought to Boston on charges of piracy. The ensuing trial transcript reveals to the British that Europeans were incorporated into indigenous life at Mirliguèche.

⁵³⁰ Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 70.

⁵³¹ *The Trials of Five Persons*, 15, 23.

⁵³² “Treaty of 1725: The submission and agreement of the Delegates of the Eastern Indians,” *Cape Breton University*, <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/mikmaq-resource-centre/treaties/treaty-of-1725/> (Accessed November 2019).

⁵³³ The 1725 Treaty was the first treaty between the Mi'kmaq and the English. See a transcription of the 1725 Treaty here: “Treaty of 1725,” *Cape Breton University*, <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/unamaki-college/mikmaq-resource-centre/treaties/treaty-of-1725/> and 1725 Treaty, Nova Scotia Archives, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=615> (Accessed September 2019).

The trial proceeded on two tracks and in two languages. For whatever reason-- whether the court perceived them to be two distinct categories of persons or some individuals sought trial in one language or the other, the proceedings went forward first in French and then in Mi'kmaw. The trial began with a reading of the charges and then the prosecution of the "French" men on the first day, followed by the three "Indian" men the second day. All five men were charged with piracy, felony, and robbery.⁵³⁴ The French trial on the first day tried Jean-Baptist Guédry and his son Jean-Baptist Jr. Their lawyer George Hughes who did not dispute the facts but argued that this was a case of robbery, not piracy, and that the case should be moved to the Common Law court, not the Admiralty which dealt with crimes on the High seas.⁵³⁵ Hughes' second defense was that Jean-Baptist Jr was not yet fourteen and could not be tried as an adult given the fact that he had not yet passed the 'age of discretion'.⁵³⁶ The proceedings were given a sober ending when the Guédry men were unanimously found guilty and sentenced to death.

The second day of the trial moved quickly as the fate of the three remaining men seemed to have been all but determined with the sentencing of the Guédry men. His Majesty's Advocate did not give a speech as he had the day before and Hughes' defense was weakened as he commented to the judge, "I shall not now trespass upon Your Patience... especially when I consider they turn out as strong, if not stronger against them, than against those two that justly received their sentence yesterday -- And that this their Advocate is perfectly convinced..."⁵³⁷ For a second time he disagreed with the charge of piracy and argued for robbery instead. Hughes' second argument distinguished the French and Indian parts of the trial, as he insisted that the Mi'kmaq

⁵³⁴ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rqn=div2:view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 4.

⁵³⁵ *The Trials of five persons*, 13.

⁵³⁶ *The Trials of five persons*, 14.

⁵³⁷ *The Trials of five persons*, 33.

men acted under the assumption that there was still enmity between Britain and the Mi'kmaq. They were "in a state of enmity with us, ignorant of the ratification of the peace and therefore not guilty of piracy."⁵³⁸ This defense was not effective. The three men were doomed to the same fate as their fellows, and the court's verdict of unanimous guilt shocked no one. The five men were hung together on November 13, 1726.⁵³⁹

The rich detail in the testimonies points to the connections between the Guédry family and the Mi'kmaq at Mirliguèche. William Wicken and Alexandra Montgomery have analyzed these trial records from other valuable perspectives but for our purposes the trial records will be examined to see the colonial ghosts involvement in Mi'kmaq-English relations.⁵⁴⁰ What stands out in light of this research is, first, that the purported Frenchmen fought for Native, not French, wars. The second thing that stands out are the ways that the Guédrys were connected to the Mi'kmaq. While the Acadians endeavored to present their neutrality or loyalty with Britain, the Guédry men were engaging in warfare alongside their Mi'kmaw kin.

The five men on trial were Jean-Baptist Guédry, Jean-Baptist Guédry Jr, James Mius, Philippe Mius, and John Missel. The Guédry men were given the French trial, while the latter three received an Indian-language trial. Through their individual biographies, it becomes apparent the diversity of the Mi'kmaq community at La Have as well as the ties that connected these five men.

Beginning with the Mius family: James Mius was a Mi'kmaq man with both Native and French ancestry. James, the son of French Philippe Mius d'Azy and Native

⁵³⁸ *The Trials of five persons*, 33.

⁵³⁹ Clarence, J. D'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable de l'an mil au Traité de Paris, 1763*, Vol IV (Hébert Publications, 1981), 1601.

⁵⁴⁰ For other studies of the 1726 Piracy trial see: Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 5-22; Montgomery, *Pirates, 1726*, <https://earlycanadianhistory.ca/2015/12/07/pirates-1726-the-regionalism-of-danger-in-the-early-northeast/> (Accessed November 2019).

American Marie, was born in 1688. Other than the 1726 trial, we have one archival notation of his life, an Acadian census record in 1708 at La Have. In that 1708 record, James was twenty years old and living in his parent's household. For the trial, the Boston courts also allowed him to have a Native translator. Trial testimony revealed that James spoke some English with the English sailors. His English was likely limited to a trading vernacular which would explain his request for a Native translator.⁵⁴¹

Despite genealogical and French cultural conventions that would assign a French identity to a son born of a French father, because of the community to which James cultivated ties and his kinship connections to the Mi'kmaq, he was a Mi'kmaq man. James' father, Phillippe Mius D'Azy was the son of an early Acadian settler and baron of Pobomcoup, Philippe Mius D'Entremont. James' grandfather D'Entremont came to the southern tip of Mi'kma'ki with Acadian Governor Charles de Saint-Étienne De la Tour in 1653.⁵⁴² James' father, Philippe, was born around 1660 and married twice, both times to Native women most likely from the Mi'kmaq community. James was born in 1688, the offspring from Philippe's second marriage, with Marie.⁵⁴³ We do not have a baptismal record, and he was enumerated for the first time during the 'Indian' census of 1708 at the age of twenty. There is no record of his marriage or the identity of his wife but he was survived by a son, Antoine, who was a Mi'kmaq chief at La Have and born around 1715. Considering what we know of James and his son, Antoine, it is likely that James' wife was a Mi'kmaq woman like his mother.

⁵⁴¹ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 23.

⁵⁴² George MacBeath, "Charles de Saint-Étienne de la Tour," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/saint_etienne_de_la_tour_charles_de_1593_1666_1E.html (Accessed November 2019).

⁵⁴³ Stephen A. White, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles acadiennes (1636 à 1714)* (Moncton: Centre D'Études Acadienne, 1999), 1206.

The thirty-eight-year-old James appears to have played an important role in the raid on the *Tryal*. James and Jean-Baptist may have been in charge of the attack that took place on the twenty-fifth of August, 1726. Trial testimonies often describe James as the one who addressed the English crew and gave orders to his men. He is also reported to have called himself ‘Captain James Mews,’ according to English “Captain Samuel Doty.”⁵⁴⁴ English witnesses also said that James stated that the Mi’kmaq and English were at peace; he reportedly told them to ‘call for quarter’ when the raid began.⁵⁴⁵ James is also reportedly the one who told the English that the Governor had his brother in Boston, and that his captivity was the reason for the attack. All of this points to James’ motivation in taking over the *Tryal* as well as his leading role in communicating with the English. James may have had a role as community liaison in trading with the English, which would explain his ability to communicate with the sailors. Considering his son, Antoine, later became Mi’kmaq chief at La Have underlined James’ and his family’s belonging and role in the tribe. Other evidence of James’ valued role in the Mi’kmaq community was demonstrated when James included in his testimony that about a month before he was at Menis (the Mi’kmaq community next to the Acadian Grand Pré settlement on the Bay of Fundy). During this visit he described two-hundred “Indians with the French Fryar” to say prayers. James reported that the French priest had told them there was still no peace between the English and Wabanaki.⁵⁴⁶ James told the court that he visited Menis two more times from Malegash (Mirliguèche) before the

⁵⁴⁴ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 23.

⁵⁴⁵ Calling for quarters was a maritime saying which meant to surrender and you will not be harmed. This code was taken seriously among sailors and someone who called for quarters then engaged in further violence was seen as not playing by the rules and often considered a pirate.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 27.

August raid on the *Tryal*. This testimony demonstrated the involvement James had with the larger Mi'kmaq community. Referring back to our discussion in Chapter Four on the *Mission Étrangère* in Mi'kma'ki, James was travelling at this time to gather with other Mi'kmaq or Wabanaki community tribes for the summer festivals, community events or elder meetings. That the priest led prayers and gave community news was also consistent with the activities of the *Mission Étrangère*. James' comments in the Admiralty trial revealed his presence at such Mi'kmaq events either with other Mi'kmaq from La Have or as a community messenger.

James' brother Philippe was also revealed in the trial to belong to the Mi'kmaq community. Historian William Wicken writes of James and Philippe Meuse as being "Mi'kmaq."⁵⁴⁷ Both brothers, born of Philippe's second wife Marie, lived in the Mi'kmaq community in the early eighteenth century. Philippe was born around 1703 and appeared in the census for the first time, like his brother, at five years old in 1708. No records exist to reveal if Philippe ever had a wife or children, but, as he was twenty-three years old during the piracy trial in 1726, either possibility was feasible. The English sailor's testimonies also describe Philippe engaging in the raid. Nathaniel Sprague recounted asking Philippe and James what news; they responded that there was a 'very good peace.' Philippe was reported to have confirmed the peace by saying "the Penobscot and Cape Sable Indians had lately been at Annapolis with the Governor, who informed them he had made peace with the Indians."⁵⁴⁸ While the issue of whether the group knew of the peace treaty ratified in June of that year was arguably the primary discussion point in the trial, these recounted interactions also revealed the network and

⁵⁴⁷ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 11.

⁵⁴⁸ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 24.

exchange of communication that existed between the Mi'kmaq tribes and the extent to which the Mius brothers were engaged in those networks.

Acadian scholarship has often conceded that the Mius family had branches in both the Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities and points to the offspring of Philippe Mius and his two native wives as making up the latter line. The 1726 piracy trial supports this view. Scholars often argue that French involvement with the Mi'kmaq was limited to a small number of outliers like the Mius family. This research would agree with that statement in that many who lived and cultivated Acadian networks did not have daily interaction with or community knowledge of the Mi'kmaq. When we concede to the presence of colonial ghosts in the peninsula, however, we open the possibility that more Frenchmen may have been adopted into the Mi'kmaq community than the records can support. Colonial ghosts do not leave many or even any archival clues, making this elusive community difficult to recreate. Scholars are doing excellent work in retracing some of the social networks of those in Acadie: for instance, networks linking into the Mi'kmaq traders has been charted in Thomas Peace, Stephanie Pettigrew, and Gregory Kennedy's article, "Social Networks across Chignecto: Applying Social Network Analysis to Acadie, Mi'kma'ki, and Nova Scotia, 1670-1751."⁵⁴⁹ This research is helping to break down the walls that divide the Acadian and Mi'kmaq historiography. When we step outside of Acadie and enter the alternate Atlantic, we enter a region in which French traders, resident fisherman, and former Acadian families existed among and alongside the Mi'kmaq. The Mius and Guédry family present rare evidence of these Mi'kmaq community members embedded within the community, as we can see in the Mius presence at the Menus Mi'kmaq gatherings. This point will be discussed in detail in

⁵⁴⁹ Gregory Kennedy, Thomas Peace, and Stephanie Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto: Applying Social Network Analysis to Acadie, Mi'kma'ki, and Nova Scotia, 1670-1751," *Acadiensis* 47, Number 1 (2018).

relation to the Guédry men but the Mius brothers were also noted in the trial to speak Mi'kmaw, both in comments from the English sailors who did not understand what was being said amongst them as well as in their own request for an Indian translator. The trial also describes the Mius men without any differentiation between them and the other 'Indians' in the group.

The eighteenth-century Mi'kmaq network was seen in the presence of John Missel in the trial. John Missel was a Chenecto Mi'kmaq, closer to the Acadian community of Beaubassin, who had lived at Menis for some time before coming to Mirliguèche the summer of 1726.⁵⁵⁰ He was pulled into the raid by circumstance more than personal attachment to the missing Mi'kmaq kin, although he may have been affected by the larger struggle with the English. It was not uncommon for unmarried Mi'kmaq men to spend time with other Mi'kmaq tribes, especially in the summer. Not much more is known about John other than it appears that his alias was Attaw*n.⁵⁵¹ His presence however adds to the fact that this was an attack from the Mi'kmaq community at La Have and not just from the French men or those whose family members had been taken. Considering the dense kinship connection among the Mi'kmaq, any missing village members would have been a kin connection. The testimonies show that the group who raided the *Tryal* was larger than the five who were eventually captured as some of the raiding Mi'kmaq escaped. The other Mi'kmaq participants as well as John Missel testify to the larger community involvement than the nuclear families of those missing.

⁵⁵⁰ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rqn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 29.

⁵⁵¹ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rqn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 28.

Turning to the Guédry men, the Admiralty court tried Jean-Baptist Guédry and his son Jean-Baptist Jr. Despite the fact that the Guédry men had no recorded Native ancestry, the 1726 trial demonstrated their community belonging with the Mi'kmaq at Mirliguèche. Jean-Baptist was the son of Claude Guédry and Marguerite Petitpas. His father Claude appeared in the Acadian Beaubassin records in 1681 as the father to a Native American daughter Jeanne with Keska, his wife. Five years later he was enumerated at La Have as the husband of Marguerite Petitpas and with one child. A discrepancy exists between this record and the fact that he and Marguerite already had two or three children in 1686. Jean-Baptist was one of those children. Jean-Baptist, born around 1684, was forty-two at the time of the 1726 trial. In terms of records, he was counted in the census at fourteen in 1698 in Port Royal and age twenty-four on the 1708 census.⁵⁵² In that 1708 census record, Jean-Baptist was also found as the head of his own household with his wife, Madeleine Mius D'Azy. Madeleine was James' and Philippe's sister from the marriage of Philippe and Marie as well as a member of the Mi'kmaq community at Mirliguèche.⁵⁵³ Jean-Baptist's marriage to Madeleine deepened the connections between these two families and the Guédry family investment in the Mi'kmaq community.

Piecing together these families who did not appear on many colonial records can prove very challenging. Stephen White contends that Jean-Baptist and Madeleine had four children before his untimely death in 1726, an execution that also claimed his son.⁵⁵⁴ The lack of records for the colonial ghosts means that some of the family connections are based on plausible deductions since the linking data is not available. In

⁵⁵² 1708 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/ACADIA%201708%20Census.pdf> (Accessed November 2019).

⁵⁵³ White, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, 772.

⁵⁵⁴ White, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, 773.

the case of the Jean-Baptist family, only the youngest child, Joseph, had a baptismal record for Grand-Pré; it shows that Joseph was born on November third, 1716 and given a lay baptism by his grand-father, Claude Guédry.⁵⁵⁵ Stephen White assumes Marie and Claude to be Jean-Baptist and Madeleine's children because he does not know of another child of Claude Guédry who had started a family in the 1710s. Marie and Claude were listed at Ile Royale in 1752, and through that record White discovered these Guédry family members.⁵⁵⁶ Despite their presence under Jean-Baptist Guédry in White's dictionary, their parentage remains unconfirmed. These undocumented attributions are a common challenge with tracing genealogy; however, in a study of the Guédry family as colonial ghosts, these holes demonstrate the family's distance from French administrators. In other words, the lack of information to trace full family trees is symptomatic of the colonial ghosts.

For this reason, records like the piracy trial of 1726 can also reveal valuable family details we would not have access to otherwise. In this case, the trial reveals that Jean-Baptist had a son, Paul. During his examination Jean-Baptist confirmed that his "son Paul and his brother-in-law Francis Mews were detained by the English."⁵⁵⁷ Paul was taken by Commander Joseph Marjory in July of 1723 in the group he described as "Indians." There is no record for Paul's age but considering Jean-Baptist and Madeleine were recorded as married without children in 1708 that would suggest that Paul was under eighteen in 1726 and fifteen or less when he was captured. Returning to Marjory's description of the captives of that raid, he reported the "Indians" were "three adult men and four children, one 16 years old, another 10 or 12 years old and two others about 7 or

⁵⁵⁵ White, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, 774; Rg Grand Pré, 3 Nov 1716/12 Juillet 1717, Ondé par Claude Guédry.

⁵⁵⁶ White, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, 773-774.

⁵⁵⁷ *The Trials of five persons*,

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 15.

8 years old.”⁵⁵⁸ Marjory’s description implied that Paul could be any of the children taken. It comes as no surprise that Paul’s brother, Jean-Baptist Jr., then was also involved in the raid against the *Tryal*. At not quite yet fourteen years of age, Jean-Baptist Jr. too wanted to help liberate his brother.⁵⁵⁹

Frenchmen in Native Wars:

Further evidence found in the trial points to the Guédry family’s presence in Mi’kma’ki, but whether scholars regard this as a French or Acadian family, the fact remains that Guédrys were involved in this Indian raid against the English. Among the five men on trial, they each had their own stake in the raid against the English. John Missel probably understood the raid as part of the larger struggle against the English encroachment, though he may also have cared for the plight of his fellow Mi’kmaq and their missing kin. The remaining four alleged pirates were hoping to ransom the *Tryal* for the safe return of their family who were being held in Boston.

Colonial and Indian historiography in the Northeast has regarded families in the Northeast based on their ancestry, whether European or Native, to determine community belonging. In keeping with this tradition, European and Mi’kmaq histories have been kept separate as well. While it is significant to acknowledge Native ancestry, especially in a culture and field which regularly attempted to erase Native community belonging, for a study on colonial ghosts, community participation is key. Furthermore, this work does not put into question any of the Mi’kmaq community members in the eighteenth century. This research expands the European limiting idea of who could join or belong to the Mi’kmaq

⁵⁵⁸ “Declaration of Joseph Marjory,” 18 December 1724, vol. 63, fol. 416, Joseph Marjory to Lt.-Gov. Drummer, 15 August 1723, vol. 38A, Fol. 44, MSA.

⁵⁵⁹ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 14.

people. Community members from different ancestries could belong to the Mi'kmaq culture when they lived and practiced it. Previous studies on the 1726 trial from Alexandra Montgomery and William Wicken viewed the Guédry family as an Acadian family, distinct from their Mi'kmaw co-conspirators. This research makes the claim that the Guédry men acted as members of the Mi'kmaw community.

One reason the Guédry community belonging has not been questioned is because of the importance and guiding force genealogy has played in Acadian studies. While Acadian scholarship has been rethinking many aspects of its historiography in recent years, genealogy still noticeably casts a shadow on scholarship. In truth the richness of the genealogical dataset has been a marked benefit of Acadian studies which can recreate families' lines in ways others in the Atlantic fields could only dream of. At the same time, these genealogies can erroneously present entrenched European family groups and can lead scholars to unquestioningly accept the Acadian grouping which centers on those identified for deportation. As has been previously stated, serious anachronistic implications arise when genealogies are read backwards from the deportation into the early eighteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries. This point can be well made with the Guédry family. Foremost Acadian genealogist Stephen White regards the Guédry family as an Acadian family because of their French blood. While their genetic ancestry may be European, the many factors that comprised culture in the early modern period went beyond the European blood in the Atlantic, especially for whites. That whites were frequently making and remaking themselves has been brilliantly explored by Sophie White in *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*. White urges scholars to think more fluidly about social identities.⁵⁶⁰ The 1726 trial

⁵⁶⁰ Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/McNeil Series in Early American Studies, 2012).

demonstrated the Native cultural presence for the Mius and Guédry families. Meanwhile, Stephen White regards the presence of the Mius families on the 1708 census as an error. According to him, the Mius family was French Acadian family.⁵⁶¹ When other historical records are examined, such as the 1726 trial, it is clear why the Mius family would appear on the 1708 Indian census.

When we understand the Guédry family to be among the colonial ghosts of the Atlantic world, their belonging to the Mi'kmaq community can be determined through the lived experience of those individual Guédry men at that time. In this regard, the experiences of earlier or later generations of Guédry family members become less relevant. The Guédry as well as the Mius were actively cultivating community belonging for their family and that choice would be re-exerted or altered with each generation. In other words, should the parent be in the community but the child decided to leave Mi'kma'ki for Acadie, that individual's community ties would be cultivated in Acadie, not Mi'kma'ki. In the case of Jean-Baptist and his sons, it was not his French blood that determined his allegiances or community belonging in Mi'kma'ki, but his active participation in Mi'kmaq life and within the community.

In 1726, Acadie was under British rule, but despite that peace, Jean-Baptist and his son fought against the British alongside the Mi'kmaq. Throughout the trial, one of the main issues debated was whether these five men knew of the peace between the English and the Mi'kmaq. Samuel Doty, captain of the *Tryal*, recounted that he asked Jean-Baptist "what news" to which he said Jean-Baptiste replied, "there was peace between the English and Indians and particularly at Boston, Annapolis, and Causo

⁵⁶¹ Conversations with Stephen A. White July & August 2016.

(Canso).⁵⁶² John Robert, one of the English sailors, echoed Doty in his testimony saying Jean-Baptist told them “there was peace.”⁵⁶³ Jean-Baptist’s account differed slightly as he revealed the men from the French schooner who had come to buy cattle at Mirliguèche told them to take the English vessel in order to get his son from the English and further stated that Philippe Mews “told the English there was peace with the Indians.”⁵⁶⁴ What stands out in this peace discussion is that they were asking the Guédrys and the Mius about the peace between the English and the Mi’kmaq, not the English and the Acadians.

Although Jean-Baptist recounted that the news was not discussed until he came back to shore with Samuel Doty, it is more likely that this question was asked the moment Jean-Baptist boarded the English vessel. Considering the recent treaty and the regular practice of English vessels being attacked along the Mi’kmaq coast throughout Drummer’s War, Captain Doty was likely weary of the men at Mirliguèche. Guédry would have assured Doty of the peace in order to get the men to leave their ship. This coast and even the Mirliguèche harbor had been the site of more than one such raid on the English and it is likely Captain Doty would have wanted assurance of his and his men’s safety.⁵⁶⁵ The news that the Mirliguèche Indians, including Jean-Baptiste, knew of the peace Treaty would have served to give him false faith that they intended to honor a ceasefire.

⁵⁶² *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 9.

⁵⁶³ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 11.

⁵⁶⁴ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 15.

⁵⁶⁵ In 1715, an English Captain was captured at Mirliguèche. *Boston Newsletter*, 1 August 1715; *Journal of the House of Representatives, Massachusetts*, 25 July 1715, 42.

Interactions between the English and Mi'kmaq were also tense for the Mi'kmaq, since the families at Mirliguèche were still missing some of their kin. The Guédry men fought in this Mi'kmaq attack because of the personal loss of their son and brother Paul, and their brother-in-law and uncle Francis, not to mention the other missing Mi'kmaq from that and other previous raids. One reason which explained the Guédry involvement in Mi'kma'ki were their kinship connections. As described by Wicken, "in Mi'kmaq society, identity was closely associated with the family... these households were usually related by marriage through a parent, a brother, a sister, an aunt, or an uncle."⁵⁶⁶ According to the 1708 census record and the 1726 trial, we know that Jean-Baptist was related by marriage to the Mius family. Jean-Baptist told the Admiralty Court that his son Paul as well as his brother-in-law Francis Mews were being held by the English.⁵⁶⁷ It should also be noted that the events that caused the initial capture of Paul and Francis were also most likely an earlier engagement between the Mi'kmaq and English. Whatever actions, words, or just the mere fact of being involved in a Mi'kmaq attempt to thwart English fishing, all would have caused him to be identified as an Indian by Captain Marjory. Jean-Baptist and his son died to defend Mi'kmaq interests and kin at Mirliguèche.

In addition to the fact that the Guédry men engaged in the Mi'kmaq battle with Britain, the trial records also reveal a deep level of community and cultural ties between the Guédry men and the Mi'kmaq community. Throughout the testimonies it is clear that the Guédry men spoke Mi'kmaw. Captain Doty recounted how Guédry father and son

⁵⁶⁶ Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial*, 30.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 15.

spoke to each other “in a language unknown to the Deponent.”⁵⁶⁸ Throughout the testimonies, there were references to Guédry, Mius, and other Mi’kmaq who spoke to each other in the presence of the English men at times in an unknown language.

The trial also reveals the fact that Jean-Baptiste Jr. was being raised in Mi’kma’ki. Their defense lawyer Georges Hughes attempted to save Jean-Baptist Jr from the gallows based on the fact that he was not yet fourteen and thus had not reached the ‘age of discretion’. In his defense he relates that “It cannot be expected I should produce any Evidence of the Age of this Lad, who was born and educated in the Woods among the Wild and Salvage Indians, where no Register of Births or Burials is kept.”⁵⁶⁹ This defense is confirmed by the fact that we do not have these records for Jean-Baptist Jr. Like the captured Paul Guédry, we would not know of Jean-Baptist Jr. if it had not been for the trial that ended his life. Hughes’ statement also suggested that Jean-Baptist Jr’s upbringing was among the Mi’kmaq. It is likely not a lawyer’s embellishment to say that he was born and educated among the Mi’kmaq at Mirliguèche.

Wicken described the European-descended families that lived along the eastern coast as being connected, but separate, communities.⁵⁷⁰ His view of them as separate was complicated, however, when he discusses the Guédry children. Wicken noted that Madeleine, Jean-Baptiste’s wife, lived with him near her Mi’kmaq mother and sisters and would have moved between “her own home and the Mi’kmaq habitations.”⁵⁷¹ He went on to say “As Madelaine’s sons grew older, they likely spent an increasing number of

⁵⁶⁸ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 9.

⁵⁶⁹ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 14.

⁵⁷⁰ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 12-13.

⁵⁷¹ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 13.

hours with their uncles, James and Philippe Meuse, learning to hunt and to fish.”⁵⁷²

While I agree with Wicken’s assessment that Jean-Baptist Jr. would have learned how to hunt and fish as the Mi’kmaq did, Wicken’s view of the Guédry family places them more removed from the Mi’kmaq community than was actually the case. Madelaine would not have moved between her home and the Mi’kmaq village as if she was sharing time in two worlds. Rather she would have elected to marry Jean-Baptiste Guédry for his ability to provide for their family according to Mi’kmaq needs of hunting, fishing, small-scale agriculture and trading, and her home was an extension of the Mi’kmaq habitations.⁵⁷³ As Jean-Baptist Jr., Paul, and their other children grew, they were educated in Mi’kmaq economic and cultural practices.

The Guédry habitation was an extension of the Mi’kmaq kin group, and their belonging to Mi’kma’ki was also seen in Philippe Mius’ use of the word wigwams to describe their homes. During his testimony, Philippe recalled how they “sailed round a great neck in order to go to their Wigwams.”⁵⁷⁴ John Missel described them as “Baptist’s plantation round the point” and both seem to indicate more than one family residing together.⁵⁷⁵ Mrs. Guédry, who appears to be Jean-Baptist’s mother Marguerite Petitpas, was described as living in a house where the sailors went for a drink upon arrival. It appears most likely that Mrs. Guédry’s home was a European style structure. In the case

⁵⁷² Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 13.

⁵⁷³ Interview with Roger Lewis, August 2019. In this interview he explained how the daughter would not be going back and forth between the communities. She or he would join the community and develop ties in that community. For this reason one generation would enter Mi’kma’ki while the next might as well or they might leave and join Acadie. Considering the ties Jean-Baptist had within Mi’kma’ki, not Acadie, those ties would have been kept in Mi’kma’ki when Madelaine married Jean-Baptist.

⁵⁷⁴ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 28.

⁵⁷⁵ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 29.

of Jean-Baptist's residence it is unclear if it was a collection of wigwams or homes. For instance, the Englishmen saw Mrs. Guédry's house, but did not see the Guédry 'wigwams round the point.' John Missel described one as the "Old Woman's house" and for Jean-Baptist' "the plantation." Without being able to confirm the type of habitation Jean-Baptist and his family group lived in, their belonging to the Mi'kmaq community and location away from the trading post where Mrs. Guédry' home was, suggests it was a type of housing that supported a Mi'kmaq lifestyle.

It appears that the Mother Guédry house might have been an established meeting place for traders and sailors at Mirliguèche, which was held in a more European-style home, while Jean-Baptist and the others in his plantation group stayed around the point in wigwams. It is impossible to know who else lived near Jean-Baptiste, but that some of his Guédry brothers did so is likely, including those who were censused as children but not as adults. If the French census taker knew to visit Mrs. Guédry's home, from there they would not have seen this plantation or the Mi'kmaq village fourteen miles upriver. This geography would explain why the census records underreport the number of people actually in the region.⁵⁷⁶ Even in Acadie, men did not always want their numbers or possessions known as was evidenced by Pierre Melanson refusing to disclose his age or the number of livestock or the amount of land he owned. His wife scolded Father Molins, asking if he was crazy running the streets looking for such information.⁵⁷⁷ Documenting that the Guédry men spoke Mi'kmaw, were raised in Mi'kmaq culture, and fought with the Mi'kmaq at Mirliguèche, this trial record demonstrates Jean-Baptist and his son's place in Mi'kma'ki.

⁵⁷⁶ Wicken, *26 August 1726*, 12.

⁵⁷⁷ "Pierre Melanson a refusé de donner son aage et Le nombre de ses bestiaux et terres et sa femme ma respondu si jestoie si fous de courir les Rues pour des choses de mesme." Port Royal Census 1671; White, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, 1150. 1671 Census, <http://www.acadian-home.org/census1671.html> (Accessed November 2019).

Race-making in the eighteenth century English Atlantic:

One important factor which shaped the development of the colonial ghosts was the arrival of British colonizers and their increasingly complex system of race-making in the eighteenth century. Much scholarship has been dedicated to charting the construction of race, including in the English Atlantic, from the early modern world to the present era. While this literature will not be revisited here, a few concepts are needed to contextualize the rise and fall of the colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki through the settlement of Nova Scotia.⁵⁷⁸ As with all imperial ideologies, race-making took on an increasingly complex and solidified nature in the eighteenth century. In other words, the methods used to categorize the peoples of the Atlantic, and the broader world, were developed and adapted throughout the colonial period. They became more complex and rigid than they had been in their beginnings. Secondly, race-making developed differently depending on the people and society they, in this case the English, faced. The methods of racializing black societies had a different trajectory than the racializing of indigenous communities. In the context of the Northeast in the early eighteenth century, English racial ideology was constructed on different bases at the beginning of this century compared to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, concepts such as “savagery, government, and social structure,” as well as religion were key factors in the English determination of race.⁵⁷⁹ Literary scholar Roxann Wheeler’s research on British racial

⁵⁷⁸ For further reading on Racemaking in the English Empire see; Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

⁵⁷⁹ Roxann Wheeler, “The Complexion of Desire: Racial Ideology and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Novels,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Spring, 1999): 310.

identities explored these racialized concepts through a study of English novels to see how they worked to create difference. Wheeler described the early to mid-eighteenth century as an “ideology in transition” from the earlier racial differences being constructed on notions of religion, civility and savagery, to the later eighteenth century emergence of the importance of phenotype.⁵⁸⁰ Within this increasingly rigid racial framework the colonial ghosts saw their decline and end.

A more crystalized notion of race based on skin color and biological markers came to the fore later in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries with the rise of scientific racism. Increasingly during the eighteenth century, colonists sought more concrete ways to define Native Americans as subordinate to the British. This internal malaise at confronting other people who needed to be classified in order to reaffirm European notions of European dominance and civility can be seen in the English need to label and manage the populations within the spaces of Nova Scotia. This categorization of people into Acadian or Indian identifiers in order to facilitate English settlement placed stress onto the colonial ghosts who were forced to accept either category. Nancy Shoemaker argued that rather than a racial hierarchy that stemmed from difference, racial categories in the English Empire constructed racism as a reaction to similarities between Europeans on one hand and African and Indigenous peoples on the other. The construction of a European narrative of superiority was forged to draw attention to the differences between themselves and the perceived others.⁵⁸¹

These racial concepts were not yet as robust during the early eighteenth century, however. English “conquest” of Acadie in 1710 did not mark the end of the colonial ghosts but rather an omen of their impending end. As Britain had previously captured

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, 3.

Acadie on a few occasions and had been frequenting the Atlantic coast through the fisheries for close to two centuries, the conquest of Acadie did not change the daily lives of the colonial ghosts. The Treaty of Utrecht, however, signaled a new phase in attempts to increase British control of the Mi'kmaq territories around the Northeast, including those at La Have and Mirliguèche. These English-Mi'kmaq battles left traces of the colonial ghosts, like the Guédry family who were fighting alongside the Mi'kmaq. The colonial ghosts were forced into the Imperial light when Britain settlement plans for the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki were formed in the late 1740s. This settlement period sparked the decline of the colonial ghosts as populations were classified as "Acadian" or "Indian," and one group was deported, while the other saw the establishment of Nova Scotia on their coasts. Phases One to Three of the colonial ghosts saw French Imperial absence and a racial politics that permitted racial mixing under the plan of imperial and Christian conversion. Phases Four and Five of the colonial ghosts were shaped by English race-making in the early to mid-eighteenth century.

This French racial vision imagined European men converting and marrying Indian women and bringing them into French colonial society while at the same time using these ties as inroads into the Native American tribes their wives had left. Given this expectation, the colonial ghosts were still regarded as social outsiders both in their geographic distance from French colonial life but also in their cultural markers. Racial markers in the French Atlantic, centered around dress, language, social hierarchy and civility as was demonstrated in Sophie White's work *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*.⁵⁸² White's work, which explored racism in the French colonial North America, saw racial markers being expressed through material culture. For our conversation of the

⁵⁸² Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/McNeil Series in Early American Studies, 2012).

colonial ghosts it is useful to consider her findings for the Upper Louisiana territory. Even as Lower Louisiana, especially New Orleans, was developing a more racialized thinking, the “wild hinterlands” of Louisiana continued practices of great flexibility in defining identity, with cultural “cross-dressing” over a much longer timespan.⁵⁸³ In these Indian spaces, mutable identity through material culture continued. White explored how Frenchmen dressed and undressed in “Indian dress” in order to move through the upper Louisiana as she analyzed the ways that colonial frontiersmen borrowed Indian dress while still being able to later reclothe themselves in a French identity through a change of dress.

When we then consider the colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki, what this allows is an understanding of the circumstantial and adaptive nature of the French cultural, and later racial, model in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries North America. European men could put on indigenous identities in Native spaces. How racial markers were evoked and enforced differed depending on if one was in New Orleans or Illinois country.⁵⁸⁴ Mapping this increasingly racialized cultural imaginary onto Acadie and Mi'kma'ki, Frenchmen or women in Port Royal, but more so in Montreal, had a more developed racial understanding of their colonial space. Men and in the case of the Guédrys, families, on the Atlantic coast were able to make sincere ‘conversions’ or adoptions of Indian dress and customs that were neither perceived in the same way nor monitored as they would have been in the colonial spaces.

Wheeler’s observations of English racial categorization being based on factors such as savagery, civility and Christianity, can be considered in the case of the colonial ghosts in Mi'kma'ki. The 1726 piracy trial divided up the men into separate “Indian” and

⁵⁸³ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 146.

⁵⁸⁴ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, Chapter Six.

“French” trials. This division may have been simply guided by the men’s election of either French or Indian translators, a mere product of convenience. It is possible other concepts of race-making were guiding the choice. As was seen through the discussion of the Guédry men, their indigeneity was manifested through their mastery of the Mi’kmaq language and education in Mi’kmaq culture. At the same time, their knowledge in the French language gave them the ability to call on those concepts of European civility linked to European language and culture in addition to being categorized in this way. Jean-Baptist also attempted to portray himself as a rational gentleman when he describes how he was convinced to do this act in order to secure the release of his son but that he had “no design to kill any of the English, but hindered the Indians from hurting them with their knives.”⁵⁸⁵ He presented himself as civilized and rational, further distancing himself from his co-conspirators. Those defined as “Indians,” for their part, described Jean-Baptist as the instigator of the plot. Evidently, his use of the French language did not benefit him much. The choice of an Indian rather than French or English translator was likely not one of preferences for the Mi’kmaq tongue but indicative of their inability to defend themselves confidently in either English or French. Hughes also takes the time to defend Jean-Baptist Jr. by stating they have no birth record for him since he was “born and educated in the Woods among the salvage Indians” which continues the narrative that although this boy spoke French, he was culturally Mi’kmaq.⁵⁸⁶

Wheeler described that many Englishmen struggled to find consensus by the mid-eighteenth century as to their racial designation for Amerindians. Some in the

⁵⁸⁵ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 14.

⁵⁸⁶ *The Trials of five persons*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N02375.0001.001/1:5.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext> (Accessed November 2019), 14.

“natural history” field felt that Native inferiority was established on the basis of their cultural and political practices citing “inferior” intellect, government, and language. Intellect was evidently a difficult metric in that it is a personal attribute. Some saw either the “noble savage” or the “savage indian” and based their opinions on the perceived virtues or vices of the Native American “race.” Contemporary scholar’s opinions converged in the mid-eighteenth century on the idea that Indigenous inferiority was based upon their religious practices and more rudimentary social organization which lacked clear social distinctions common in Europe’s hierarchical society.⁵⁸⁷ The flexibility of the English racial system also allowed for rank to override other differences. The colonial ghosts were fishermen and hunters who practiced a Mi’kmaq culture which would have allowed them to be defined either as French or Indian based on a few optional criteria. They did not have a European social rank that would lean towards a European identity. The request for French over Mi’kmaq as the language for their trial could have been enough to identify the Guédry men as French before the Admiralty court. This tension over racial designation was overlaid by the fact that the 1726 trial was meant to see the practice of two different legal regimes, British subject and treated states. By defining the Guédry men as French, they could treat them as legally under the jurisdiction of the English rule of law, while the rule of law for the Mi’kmaq was not yet established. Mi’kma’ki was as a result seen as a dependent colony.

In the case of the men on trial for the raid on the *Tryal*, all five men perished. Categories of French or Indian, or even age, did not spare any of them from the gallows. This trial serves to provide us with a glimpse into the colonial ghosts in the Mi’kmaq community in the 1720s at a time when the British began to investigate the communities within its renewed colonial venture of Nova Scotia. These racial designations, as with the

⁵⁸⁷ Wheeler, *The Complexion of Desire*, 325.

rest of the English Atlantic in the eighteenth century, would become more rigid and complex as the century unfolded. When the British began to move into the Mi'kmaq territory in the 1740s and 1750s, this movement occurred as their racial categories incorporated more descriptors based on phenotype. For the moment, in the 1720s, the ghosts were still able to exist and fight for their land, people, and way of life, but the arriving English signaled the end of this phase.

A more accurate measure of the Guédry social network in the 1720s can be gained from an examination of their actions in the Anglo-Mi'kmaq battles. Rather than living and defending European interests in Acadie, this colonial ghost family fought and lost their lives to defend their kin and native community. The tragedy of the deaths, especially the fourteen-year-old boy, when their plan to free their relative through a hostage taking ransom attempt in fact left these records that allow us to see their lives and their loyalties. This court case drew me to reconstruct the Guédry family. The details of the case stood out to me for the ways it nuanced the Acadian account and through my research I found represented the alternate Atlantic. As unfortunate as the incident was, these records provided a moment of crisis and conflict when Mi'kma'ki loyalties met British imperial punishments that gave me a view into these peoples' lives.

Chapter Seven

The unconscious choice: The Breakup of the Ghost community (1740s-1762)

This chapter analyses the escalating wars for empire in the Northeast and how these clashes explain the end of the colonial ghosts. The wars between the Mi'kmaq and the English intensified around the time of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Increased tension continued on and off until the signing of the 1760 and 1761 peace treaties and Belcher's Proclamation in 1762.⁵⁸⁸ This chapter argues that the establishment of Halifax and Britain's broader settlement of the Atlantic coast closed the gaps in European colonial control which had allowed colonial ghosts to flourish. By limiting Mi'kmaq access to the land at Mirliguèche through the settlement of Lunenburg, while at the same time rounding up those classified as "Acadians" for deportation, British colonial policy, in effect, emptied the landscape around Lunenburg of the colonial ghosts. The individuals

⁵⁸⁸ Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Peace and Friendship Treaties," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peace-and-friendship-treaties> (Accessed November 2019).

and families who used to exist in Mi'kmaw communities and away from colonial bureaucrats were divided into "Indian" and "Acadian" categories and displaced through the project of British imperial progress and a remaking of the landscape from native land into colonial space.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw three distinct political and military agendas unfolding over the Mi'kma'ki/Nova Scotian/Acadian territory. Often these wars and negotiations have been considered from the perspective of Anglo-French imperial tensions, as each vied for Mi'kmaq alliances, and wider Wabanaki support, in their efforts to secure their territorial gains.⁵⁸⁹ Despite the focus on European players and native actors being viewed as secondary or support to a European defense, Native tribes had their own military and political objectives. This Mi'kmaq military effort was pursued independently from France. At times throughout this struggle, Mi'kmaq bands, individually or tribally, also worked with the wider Wabanaki community or in alliances with the French who had visions of regaining Acadie. The Mi'kmaq saw the violent and unilateral vision of the British colonists as an irreversible impediment to their independence and way of life. For this reason, the Mi'kmaw bands sought to thwart English rapprochement efforts. In order to understand the Mi'kmaw fight at La Have and Mirliguèche, we must analyze the significance of the development of Halifax.

Warfare threatened Mi'kma'ki harbors and rivers as did the beginnings of English settlement at Chebucto. 1748 and 1749 saw a ratcheting up of British pressure on the Atlantic coast which forced the end of the colonial ghost's existence beyond the margins between 1749 and 1755. The French fortress of Louisbourg fell into English hands in

⁵⁸⁹ For scholarship on eighteenth century Acadian and Nova Scotian history see, John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005); Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004); Carl A. Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803* (Lafayette: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

1748 but was returned to the French in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749. In the wake of the return of Louisbourg to the French, a disgruntled Governor William Shirley moved forward with plans to settle Nova Scotia. The central component of this settlement plan was a strategic military fort and settlement at Halifax. The rapid development of Halifax at Kijipuktuk and subsequent Atlantic coast English settlements sparked renewed fighting from the Mi'kmaq who saw this development as a dangerous threat to Mi'kmaw way of life and autonomy. This chapter continues to follow the Guédry family as they reacted to the establishment of Halifax in 1749. Some of the Guédry family moved to Ile Royale while others remained in the region.

In the course of the imperial conflicts in the American Northeast between the 1740s and 1761, members of the Guédry family made the pivotal decision to move to Ile Royale which would label them as Acadians and set them on the path for deportation. Their decision to move to Ile Royale and the French colony resurrected the colonial ghosts bringing them back into French archives. These families, who had only made peripheral appearances on French colonial records, reinserted themselves into the French imperial project as a means to escape English aggression. Through the use of governor correspondence, court records, census records, and government petitions the movements of the now Acadian Guédrys can be analyzed to see how they responded to imperial tensions. The Guédry's briefly attempted to return home to the forests and rivers they knew in 1754, but they ended up getting caught up in the early waves of deportation and were deported from George's Island in 1755.

Wars:

The imperial wars that were carried out in Mi'kma'ki/Nova Scotia/Acadie spanned from the turn of the eighteenth century to about 1761. The first two of these wars were

the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, which saw France lose Acadie and Drummer's War between 1722 and 1726 where Mi'kma'ki and Britain fought over the Atlantic coast. These two wars demonstrate that the Acadians and Mi'kmaq individually fought battles against the British. These battles had both naval and territorial elements, but Drummer's War was primarily a naval war. Anglo-Mi'kmaq sea warfare occurred between 1710 and 1730 with a period of general calm before a return to maritime battles in the 1750s.⁵⁹⁰

Three wars occurred on the Mi'kma'ki/Nova Scotian/Acadian peninsula between 1744 and 1761. These wars were the War of Austrian Succession, also called King George's War, between 1744 and 1748; the Le Loutre War or the Indian War between 1749 and 1755; and finally the Seven Years War between 1756 and 1763. Although the Seven Year's War overall concluded in 1763, the French and Mi'kmaq ended their fights with Britain by 1761. The Acadian deportation began in 1755, followed by the fall of Louisbourg in 1758 and the capitulation of the last pockets of Acadian resistance in November of 1759 which closed the French fighting.⁵⁹¹ For the Mi'kmaq, the signing of the 1761 treaty ended the period of fighting between the Mi'kmaq and British.

As the imperial incursion into the territory moved to the Atlantic coast in the 1710s, the Mi'kmaq became involved in the conflict and were forced to respond. The Mi'kmaq were not in the same position as other tribes in the Wabanaki confederacy; they have previously been removed from these engagements which is seen in their absence in other treaties between the Wabanaki and the English.⁵⁹² One reason for this in the seventeenth century was that the Mi'kmaq, especially at La Have and Mirliguèche, were

⁵⁹⁰ Olive Dickason, "Sea Raiders of Acadia," In *Tawow, Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 2 1976:11.

⁵⁹¹ Carl Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803* (Lafayette: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 30.

⁵⁹² The Mi'kmaq signed the 1725 and 1760/1761 treaty but did not sign the 1699, 1713, 1717 Wabanaki treaties. See the University of Maine, Wabanaki Studies information for more on these treaties: <https://libguides.library.umaine.edu/nas/wabanaki> (Accessed November 2019).

not affected in the same way as the Wabanaki west of the Bay of Fundy. This involvement changed when war came to their shores. Even with closer engagement in imperial conflicts, tribal and individual band responses differed across the Mi'kmaq communities.

The Mi'kmaq in the eighteenth century made decisions either at the local/band or tribal level. As a result, some treaties were signed by many Mi'kmaq chiefs and were understood to represent a tribal wide agreement while other agreements were negotiated and signed, or not, on a local level. Two examples of this were the Cope Treaty of 1752 and the Mi'kmaq Treaties of 1760/1761. Contemporary scholars disagree whether the 1752 treaty between Shubenacadie Mi'kmaq Chief Jean-Baptiste Cope and Nova Scotia Governor Peregrine Hopson was signed for all of Mi'kma'ki or was limited to those at Shubenakadi.⁵⁹³ The Wabanaki treaty, signed over 1760 and 1761, potentially demonstrates the limited range of any given signing ceremony. The Wolastoqiyik and Passamaquoddy signed in February, while the La Have, Sipekne'katik, and Richibuctou Mi'kmaq signed in March of 1760. The following year, the Miramichi, Shediac, Pokemouche and Cape Breton Mi'kmaq signed in June and the Chignecto and Pictou Mi'kmaq later signed on 12 October of 1761.⁵⁹⁴ These treaties demonstrate that the Chief often spoke only for the individual Mi'kmaq band in the early eighteenth century. Larger Mi'kmaq decisions had to be made by many Mi'kmaq chiefs who came together to sign treaties.

⁵⁹³ "Treaties," Mi'kmaq Rights Initiative, <https://mikmaqrights.com/negotiations/treaties/> (Accessed November 2019); Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Peace and Friendship Treaties," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peace-and-friendship-treaties> (Accessed November 2019).

⁵⁹⁴ Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Peace and Friendship Treaties," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peace-and-friendship-treaties> (Accessed November 2019).

In addition to Mi'kmaq-British relations, the French and English battles over the Northeast influenced Mi'kmaq political and military activities as well. They joined in the fighting when it seemed like a way of moving forward the Mi'kmaq cause. At the same time, the tension, violence, and unrest of the constant battles between the British and French and especially the encroachment into Mi'kma'ki, caused the wars of empire to come into their territory in a new way. The battles over the Northeast came to the heart of Mi'kma'ki with the development of Halifax as well as with the intensification of violence in the Acadian settlements on the Bay of Fundy which caused those living at La Have and Mirliguèche to be directly affected by their actions. The Wabanaki west of the Bay of Fundy had already been deeply affected by the seventeenth century French and English battles, but the eighteenth-century wars shook the Mi'kmaq on the Atlantic coast.

King George's war:

The first of these three wars, King George's War was the North American branch of the larger War of Austrian Succession that had France and Britain once again at war. King George's War reignited French interest in reclaiming Acadie. This return of French plans to control the region formed an alliance with the Mi'kmaq who also wanted the English out. This alliance caused New England Governor William Shirley to declare war on the Wabanaki. While the war effort in Europe saw significant gains for France, the North American territorial gains were taken by the British. Governor Shirley seized the opportunity to push into the Acadian and Mi'kmaw territories and gained strategic military outposts, none more important than the French Fortress of Louisbourg.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁵ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 214.

The impact of the imperial wars in the Northeast on the colonial ghosts was related to the fact that they were commoners. The wars affected them differently than it did empires or colonial administrators. In the case of the ghosts, these commoners could define themselves as either French or Native, using French or Mi'kmaq language, European or Native dress, and choice of political affiliation. Thus, it depended on how the individuals elected to be seen when the wars approached. As was seen in the choice of their ancestors to stay at La Have and the choice of each subsequent generation to choose a Mi'kmaq or French life, these families had to choose to stay with their Mi'kmaq community or leave it for a French one. But in this context, the commoners in the Northeast were forced to choose given the options available in this imperial struggle. While France, Britain, and the Wabanaki were battling for rights over use and control of the land, European and Native commoners were caught up in these wars as they tried to navigate the unstable politics of the eighteenth century.

For example, Acadian commoners took a range of positions in King George's War from pro-French, pro-British, to neutral. In other words, states and their governors, military commanders, and religious officials pursued state agendas in these conflicts while the common people made their own choices. For instance, military officer and Acadian administrator Paul Mascarene and his proponents fought for the survival of the Acadian people through a rapprochement with Britain, while Père Le Loutre and Captain François Dupont Duvivier sought the restoration of Acadie for France.⁵⁹⁶ Some Acadian commoners sided with these and other positions but nevertheless, commoners were pulled into these events and were affected. During the King George's War between 1744

⁵⁹⁶ Maxwell Sutherland, "Paul Mascarene," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mascarene_paul_3E.html; Gérard Finn, "Jean-Louis Le Loutre," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/le_loutre_jean_louis_4E.html; T. A. Crowley and Bernard Pothier, "Sieur Captain François Dupont Duvivier," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/du_pont_duvivier_francois_1705_76_4E.html (Accessed November 2019)

and 1748 the British and French both leaned on the Acadians to support their war efforts with supplies and local resources not to mention the peril and uncertainty commonplace in war.⁵⁹⁷ This war was grueling for the commoners both in Acadie and Mi'kma'ki.

Acadian populations were seen as essential to both the French and British efforts to hold the region. The experience exhausted local resources and tested alliances. With both pro-French and pro-British among the Acadian population, this war renewed local tensions among the colonists.⁵⁹⁸

The Native-Acadian tensions were also stirred up. For instance, the Acadian society at Beaubassin had social networks that stretched into the local Mi'kmaw community.⁵⁹⁹ Their research revealed the proximity of the Mi'kmaw community both geographically and in interaction to the Acadians at Beaubassin which they charted.⁶⁰⁰ As was previously mentioned, the Mi'kmaq had their own conflict with the British and during King George's War those Anglo-Mi'kmaq tensions played out in the Acadian-English interactions in a few ways. Firstly, the pro-British Acadians used Mi'kmaq-English hostilities to justify Acadian distance from Britain. Some Acadians maintained that Mi'kmaq threats prevented further cooperation with the British.⁶⁰¹

Ongoing Anglo-Mi'kmaq warfare caused Acadians to fear becoming collateral damage. In Massachusetts' declaration of war against the Mi'kmaq they included a bounty for Mi'kmaq scalps, a hundred pounds for an adult male and fifty pounds for the scalp of a woman or child. This bounty caused some Acadians to worry about their own

⁵⁹⁷ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 356.

⁵⁹⁸ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 248.

⁵⁹⁹ Gregory Kennedy, Thomas Peace, and Stephanie Pettigrew, "Chignecto: Applying Social Network Analysis to Acadie, Mi'kma'ki, and Nova Scotia, 1670-1751," *Acadiensis*, 47(1)(2018).

⁶⁰⁰ This research reveals an important aspect to Acadian society, especially at Beaubassin. The colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche for a different system from this given the distance between the Acadian community and the Atlantic coast which would flip the networks to be predominantly Mi'kmaq with some Acadians in the periphery.

⁶⁰¹ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 350.

safety to the point that in 1745 the deputies of Minas (Grand Pré) wrote to Paul Mascarene. This letter shows how the dual English conflicts at times served to draw the French and Mi'kmaw into alliance while other events contributed to division. The deputies promised Mascarene their loyalty and that they could deliver the French-supporting Acadians to Annapolis Royal, the English-controlled Acadian capital. In exchange for this support, they wanted Mascarene to secure their protection from New Englanders who had threatened "to destroy all the inhabitants that had any Indian blood in them and scalp them." Considering the "great number of mulattoes amongst them... it has caused a terrible Alarm which made many put themselves on their Guard being very much frighten'd."⁶⁰² The "mulattoes" among the population at Minas represent the members of the Acadian community that had Native parentage. The settlers feared that unfamiliar New Englanders would not know the difference between someone belonging to the Wabanaki community and one belonging to an Acadian one. This reference indicates that there were Acadian colonists with Native blood within the Acadian community. In other words, just as some French or mixed residents lived in Mi'kma'ki, others lived in Acadie and adhered to French colonial life. Because of their Native ancestry, however, a declaration of war on the Wabanaki still distressed these Acadians who feared their cultural choices would not take precedence over their phenotype. The regional effect of violence in wartime comes as a surprise to no one and yet it bears remembering as the imperial entanglements between Acadian, British, and Mi'kmaw interests and wars affected the neighboring groups as well.

⁶⁰² Governor Paul Mascarene, "at a Council held by order of the Honble. Paul Mascarene, Esq., President and Commander in Chief &c., at his own house in the fort of Annapolis Royal on Friday the 4th of January 1745." In *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, edited by Thomas Akins, 1869:153-154.

The French military officers also sought to capitalize on Mi'kmaq tensions with the British to form alliances and stir the Mi'kmaq to raid English settlements and vessels. The same threat of violence that sparked fear among the Acadians was present with the Mi'kmaq as well. The brutality of British soldiers was known throughout the Mi'kmaq tribe. It appeared as if Mi'kmaq lives, more so than the Acadians, had no discernable value to the soldiers. Stories of attacks on Mi'kmaq seemingly for sport spread among the Mi'kmaq. The term "black duck" became widely used among English soldiers, which served to dehumanize and trivialize the killing of Mi'kmaq people.⁶⁰³ The fact that Governor Shirley's declaration of war also carried with it a scalp bounty served to increase the level of fear of the Mi'kmaq as it attempted to draw bounty hunters and private citizens into the conflict. The Mi'kmaq situation was made worse because disease ravaged the community at the same time. Accounts of an infection which spread among the Mi'kmaq who came to the French encampment for "arms, ammunition and clothing" in 1746, "destroyed more than one third of the whole tribe of Micmacs."⁶⁰⁴ The Mi'kmaq were also formal allies of the French since the spring of 1745 which meant increased raiding and loss of life not just from disease and English attack, but also from combat as well.⁶⁰⁵

The peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749 which formally ended the war between France and Britain, so hostilities took on a more 'cold war' quality until violence broke out again with the Seven Years War in 1756. The period between 1749 and 1756 in the Northeast was a temporary ceasefire, but certainly not an end to tensions between the two European empires. The imperial plotting and plans were just done in secret more

⁶⁰³ Anonymous, *A General Description of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Clement H. Belcher, 1825), 46-47; Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 96.

⁶⁰⁴ Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: J. Howe, 1829), 1:129.

⁶⁰⁵ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 350-351.

than in the time of war. Governor Shirley was forced to retreat from the territory gained during the war in order to comply with the European treaty, which infuriated him. The loss of the strategic military outpost of Louisbourg was the greatest blow of the 1749 treaty for New England.⁶⁰⁶ Governor Shirley along with Thomas Pelham, the Duke of Newcastle, John Russell, the Duke of Bedford, and George Dunk, the Earl of Halifax, planned to secure Nova Scotia for Britain with the first “Plan for the settlement of His Majesty’s Colony of Nova Scotia” in March of 1749.⁶⁰⁷ This settlement plan for Nova Scotia centered around the development of a military fort and settlement community at Halifax as well as other colonial villages around Nova Scotia. This plan was quickly put into effect and, with a generous colonial promise of support, 2,579 colonists left England just two months later, in May of 1749.⁶⁰⁸ The New England plan was to develop Halifax as well as other colonial communities to undercut Louisbourg’s ability to control the region and effectively bring it back under the British control it had gained during the war.

The actions of New England and of Nova Scotia’s new governor, Colonel Edward Cornwallis, did not go unnoticed by Louisbourg or Mi’kma’ki. Rather, the foundation of Halifax at Kijipuktuk proved a pivotal event, which sparked an intensification of the Mi’kmaq motivation to wage war. This turn of events put the final nail in the coffin of the colonial ghosts. Kijipuktuk, which means “great harbor,” was an important region for the Mi’kmaq.⁶⁰⁹ The development of a massive military base there on the previously less disturbed Atlantic coast panicked the neighboring Mi’kmaq. This imperial outpost needed to be removed in order to maintain Mi’kmaq independence from the English. For those at La Have and Mirliguèche, this new fortress put the English in their backyard, less than

⁶⁰⁶ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 246.

⁶⁰⁷ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 248.

⁶⁰⁸ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 249.

⁶⁰⁹ Bernie Francis and Trudy Sable, *The Language of this land, Mi’kma’ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012), 53.

sixty miles away. Furthermore, Charles Morris, a British officer and judge, was sent to the coastal harbors including Mirliguèche as early as 1751 to survey the region for British settlement, and the English settlement of Lunenburg was established just shortly after in 1753.⁶¹⁰ While French settlement had been at a distance for the La Have residents, this rapid incursion into the Mi'kma'ki territory greatly worried the Mi'kmaq who saw that the English approach to settlement left no room for native use of the land and its resources.

A series of Mi'kmaq retaliations occurred in response to the founding of Halifax that year sparked the official beginning of the Indian Wars, also called the Le Loutre War.⁶¹¹ The Mi'kmaq responded to British violence in four events. First, the Mi'kmaq were so upset about the settlement of Halifax that they refused to attend the Wabanaki peace talks with the English and did not sign the subsequent treaty in 1749.⁶¹² Second, a group of Mi'kmaq attacked two of its vessels at Canso, the fishing outpost, killing three Englishmen.⁶¹³ Third, Mi'kmaq sent a letter to Governor Cornwallis in September 1749. The gathered Mi'kmaq at Potlotek, Unama'ki with the help of Abbé Pierre Maillard, they drafted the letter which details the Mi'kmaq frustrations with the English for having settled at Chebucto. The Mi'kmaq informed Cornwallis, "The place where you are, where you build, where you fortify, where you think to make yourself master - that place belongs to me... What you are doing at Chebucto cannot but alarm me... Where will the Indian live? When you drive me away where will I seek refuge?... Even an earth worm knows when it is attacked. I may be worth little more than an earth worm, but I know how

⁶¹⁰ Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Charles Morris," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morris_charles_1711_81_4E.html (Accessed November 2019)

⁶¹¹ The alternate name for this conflict, the Le Loutre War, referred to the French priests Jean-Louis Le Loutre.

⁶¹² Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Peace and Friendship Treaties," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peace-and-friendship-treaties> (Accessed November 2019).

⁶¹³ Thomas Akins, *History of Halifax City*. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1895), p. 18.

to defend myself when I am attacked...⁶¹⁴ This letter declared their stance against British encroachment.

Fourth, after this letter detailing the Mi'kmaq anger over the settlement of Halifax at Chebucto they attacked a sawmill at Dartmouth outside of Halifax. During this raid they killed four of the Englishmen working at the mill and took one prisoner.⁶¹⁵ Cornwallis responded to these actions with a proclamation for the emigrants to form "ranger companies" to hunt Mi'kmaq with the bounty of ten pounds per scalp and the promise to "root them out entirely" from the land.⁶¹⁶

Both Mi'kma'ki and French Louisbourg leaders noticed Britain's tactical move in constructing Halifax. Louisbourg's new commander Charles Des Herbies de la Ralière arrived in 1749 to take the fort back. The French mandate was to maintain control of the lucrative fishery and protect the two islands of Ile Royal and Ile Saint-Jean (today Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island).⁶¹⁷ Des Herbies was ordered to avoid compromising France through his dealing with the British and the unstable peace treaty, but he sought to undermine the English colony and bolster the French position in the region in any way possible.⁶¹⁸ Des Herbies worked to supply the French inhabitants with resources, capture English vessels, and move inhabitants out of the territory to the French islands. He also enlisted Le Loutre and Pierre Maillard to stir up the populations, by encouraging

⁶¹⁴ "Mi'kmaw chiefs to Cornwallis," 24 September 1749, in Henri Raymond Casgrain, *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des missions-étrangères en Acadie* (Québec: Pruneau & Kirouac, 1888-90) 1:17-19.

⁶¹⁵ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 260.

⁶¹⁶ "Cornwallis to Board of Trade," 11 September (22 September 1749), and Cornwallis, "Proclamation," 1 October 1749 (12 October 1749) in Thomas B. Akins eds. *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), 581-82, 583-84.

⁶¹⁷ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 374.

⁶¹⁸ John Fortier, "Charles Des Herbies de la Ralière," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/des_herbiers_de_la_raliere_charles_3E.html (Accessed November 2019).

the French inhabitants to leave, and the Mi'kmaq to menace the new English settlements.

Le Loutre took this assignment seriously and became a significant contributor to the mounting tensions in this powder keg situation. In order to implement this plan to undermine the British colony, relocate the French, and stir up the Mi'kmaq to fight, Le Loutre went on his regular missionary route through Mi'kma'ki and Acadie.⁶¹⁹ Le Loutre used any and all methods to coerce, manipulate, threaten, and instigate the people to act. He also promised all available resources and aid from the French. There were many reports of Le Loutre threatening parishioners even as they left mass.⁶²⁰ Le Loutre was so determined to get the Acadians to leave their homes for French territories that he even set fire to the church at Beaubassin and convinced some French-loyal Acadians to burn down their homes.⁶²¹ Cornwallis and his administration were aware that the French were stirring up local resistance and even blamed Le Loutre for the Mi'kmaq letter he had received in September 1749.⁶²² Le Loutre was often singled out by the British as the source of Acadian and Mi'kmaq resistance and violence.⁶²³ Hence the war was named for him.

The colonial ghosts of La Have and Mirliguèche witnessed the escalating tension and imminent violence as did the rest of the Mi'kmaq communities that surrounded Halifax. In the year of 1749, Halifax defined the decline of the colonial ghosts who could no longer reside outside the fast-approaching British imperial control. These increasingly regular, violent encounters meant that individuals and families were put in habitual danger and forced to fight for their place on the land. All those who inhabited Acadie or

⁶¹⁹ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 259; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 390.

⁶²⁰ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 263.

⁶²¹ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 266.

⁶²² Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 260.

⁶²³ Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 390.

Mi'kma'ki in this period were placed in situations in which they had to show allegiance. During these tense war years, the colonial ghosts had to decide whether to stay and fight alongside the Mi'kmaq or to leave and try to find a safer environment elsewhere. In August of 1749 as the Mi'kmaq at La Have and Mirliguèche were undoubtedly having many discussions about what to do with the growing English threat near their village. Hearing the threats and fear-mongering of Abbe Le Loutre, a group of six or seven men of European descent travelled to Louisbourg to meet with Commander Des Herbies.

These unnamed male heads of households went to Louisbourg in August of 1749 to request permission and aid to relocate to Ile Royal. Des Herbies wrote to the French minister that month to update him on the progress of French resettlement outside of Nova Scotia and tells of this visit and of their desire to reside at the newly formed fishing and planting outpost called the *Baie des Espagnols*.⁶²⁴ Des Herbies' agreed to assist them and promised to send a ship to Tatamagouche to collect the colonists and their livestock without drawing English attention. Tatamagouche was a native transit point and small Acadian village on the north shore of Mi'kma'ki along the Northumberland strait. Des Herbies notes that the six or seven families came with about a hundred inhabitants through Tatamagouche and Remchic from the "Cote de l'est."

While we do not have a passenger manifest from this list of emigrants, it is likely that some of the colonial ghosts from La Have and Mirliguèche were among the travellers. Des Herbies' reference to the "Cote de L'est" reveals that these families came from somewhere between Cape Sable and Canso. Although this is a large stretch of the Atlantic coast, making up about 300 miles, the populations of European-born inhabitants, according to Acadian census records, amounted to small groups settled between

⁶²⁴ The Spanish Bay or Baie des Espagnoles got its name from the Spanish fishermen who gathered there during the seventeenth century cod fisheries. Joel Cook, *America, Picturesque & Descriptive*, Volume 3 (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Publishers, 1900), 308.

Chebucto (Halifax) and Cape Sable. While we assume census records were often underreported for the eastern coast as the colonial ghosts were at times assumed to be Mi'kmaq or were not present for the census, the "eastern coast" or "cote de l'est" was often referred to when describing the settlements south of Chebucto. John Mack Faragher described this Des Herbies letter to refer to "about one hundred inhabitants from the vicinity of Chebucto"⁶²⁵ and the communities closest to Chebucto were Mirliguèche and La Have. Furthermore, the emigrants requested to be settled at the Baie des Espagnols which is where we find some of the Guédry family residing in the Ile Royal census of 1752.

The subsequent Le Loutre or Indian war between 1749 and 1755 saw the end of the colonial ghosts. The ensuing violence and new British legal system which was established in 1749 shone a light onto the communities at La Have and Mirliguèche. Everyone was forced into Indian or Acadian categories. The colonial ghosts who remained in peninsular Mi'kma'ki to defend their Native lands and rights were represented in the 1760 treaty and continued to live in the Mi'kmaq community. Those who moved to Ile Royale to avoid intensifying battles in their homeland mobilized an Acadian identity so that when they petitioned the Halifax government in 1754 to return home to the now English-town of Lunenburg (which was settled over Mirliguèche) they were permitted to do so as French families. Within a year of their return, these families were arrested and placed at George's Island to await their deportation along with the other Acadians.

Le Roque's census and the colonial ghosts

⁶²⁵ Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 261.

The 1752 census gives a sense of those groups that migrated to la Baie des Espagnols in 1749. This census, conducted by the Sieur Joseph de la Roque, recorded the French communities of Ile Royal and Ile Saint-Jean.⁶²⁶ La Roque wrote down the length of time most of the residents at the Baie des Espagnols had been on the land which allows us to identify with some degree of accuracy those in the group from August 1749. Unlike other colonial communities at Ile Royale that had existed before the fall of Louisbourg in 1748, the community at la Baie des Espagnols was formed only in 1749 upon the return of French control.⁶²⁷ Therefore, the families who came to la Baie des Espagnols in 1749 were among the first members of the community. Le Roque's census reveals later waves of connected families that arrived in la Baie des Espagnols to join the original group of former ghosts. What these details reveal is that there was a group that arrived in August of 1749 from the vicinity of La Have and that some more families arrived within the following year.

The colonial ghosts who settled at la Baie des Espagnols left the most detailed information but do not make up a complete list of these families. Colonial ghosts, by definition, eluded most colonial records. Therefore, finding them on the 1752 census provides an opportunity to examine some aspects of this community, but we must keep in mind that there is much we cannot know. Other branches of the Guédry family left the La Have area or stayed, as did other colonial ghost families. This wave of migration broke apart the larger colonial ghost community from the Chebucto region after the establishment of Halifax.

⁶²⁶ Sieur de la Roque, *The 1752 Census of Isle Royale*, Manuscript reprint. *National Archive Ottawa*, C585. NS69. A1. 1997 <http://www.acadian-home.org/1752laroque.pdf> (Accessed April 2020).

⁶²⁷ Anne Marie Lane Jonah and Rebecca Dunham, "Life in a French Atlantic Fishing Village: A Look at the Outports of Île Royale 1713–1758," in *Tu sais, mon vieux Jean-Pierre: Essays on the Archaeology and History of New France and Canadian Culture in Honour of Jean-Pierre Chrestien*, edited by John Willis (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2017), 85.

From the group who arrived before August 15 that Des Herbies described, we have nine families who might have come in that group. They list their time in the region between two and three years. A few families do not provide any length of stay and it is unclear whether families rounded the number of years up or down when providing this information. Among these nine families were included, one Guédry family; and Sieur Le Roque lists three more Guédry families who arrived at the Baie des Espagnols within the next year. The other eight families from the 1749 group list familiar Atlantic coast names such as the Le Jeune and Trahan families. The Le Jeune families made up six of the eight remaining families.

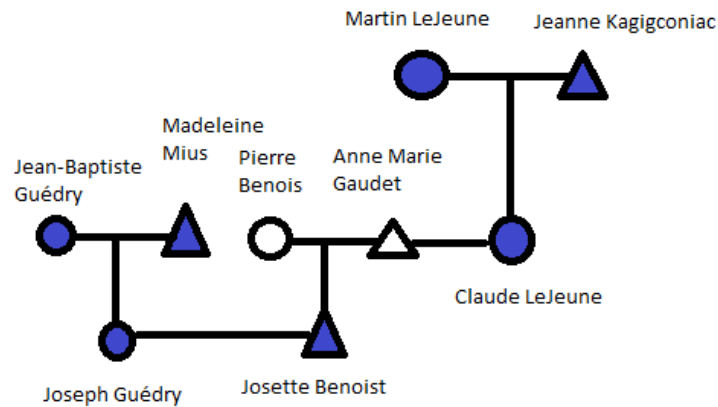
The first of the Guédry families who relocated to la Baie des Espagnols was Joseph Guédry and Josette Benoist and their three children. The following three Guédry families who had been at Ile Royale for about eighteen months were: Germain LeJeune and Marie Guédry with their five children; Jean Lejeune and Françoise Guédry with eight children; and Paul Guédry and Anne Mus with six children. Sieur La Roque did not record when these two last households arrived at the Baye des Espagnols but both had Guédry women. Paul Boutin and Eustache Guédry lived with her brother Paul Guédry; Charles Boutin and Josephe Guédry resided with three children and Josephe's sister Eleine Guédry. A few Guédrys also came to Ile Royale but settled elsewhere. Jeanne Guédry came to La Rivière de Miré with her husband Bourneuf, her four children and her brother Joseph Guédry. Helene Guédry came with her coasting pilot husband Charles Pinet to Port Toulouse on the south side of the island. Pierre Guédry and his wife Haniez Hiel were listed among the "refugees" at Iles Madame with her parents, Pierre Hiel and Catherine Bourg, their four children, and a niece. La Roque notes that their land was situated on the Isle a Descoust. The 1752 census gave a glimpse of the colonial ghosts at the moment when they were brought back into the French colonial system. This

section will explore what we know of four of the colonial ghosts at la Baie des Espagnols who came from the vicinity of La Have.

The first Guédry family to move to Ile Royale was Joseph Guédry and his wife Josette Benoist, recorded by Sieur La Roque in 1752. Joseph was the son of the same Jean-Baptist Guédry who was hanged in Boston in 1726 for fighting against the English alongside his Mi'kmaq brothers-in-law. Joseph had been given a lay baptism by his grand-father Claude Guédry in 1716.⁶²⁸ Joseph's eldest daughter Perrine--born to his first wife, an unnamed woman--was thirteen in 1752. His second wife, Josette Benoist, was with him at the Baye des Espagnols with their two children: Servant and Jeanne. The 1752 census was the first time Joseph's children appeared in the colonial records. From this information and the fact that his parents were last recorded at La Have and involved with the Mi'kmaq, his was one of the colonial ghost families that came into view at this moment.

⁶²⁸ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 774.; Grand Pré Registers, *Diocese de Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records*, vol. 1, Bâton-Rouge, 1978.

■ in the Mi'kmaw community at La Have
(either by birth or adoption)



Notably Joseph's wife, Josette Benoist, also had ties to La Have. Josette's mother, Anne-Marie Gaudet, was first married to Claude Lejeune dit Briart, before marrying Josette's father. Claude was recorded at La Have in 1686, the son of Martin Lejeune and Native mother Jeanne Kagigconiac.⁶²⁹ Josette's mother later married Pierre Benoist, Josette's father, and around 1749 they moved to the Baie des Espagnols.⁶³⁰ Joseph and Josette were married around 1748 and lived most likely around La Have for over a decade before relocating to Ile Royale. They had one pig, a large garden of turnips, cabbage, and beans as well as twelve arpents of land in 1752.

Germain LeJeune and Marie Guédry and their five children were the next Guédry line family recorded by Le Roque in 1752. Marie Guédry was also a child to Jean-Baptist Guédry and Madeleine Mius from La Have. 1752 was the first time she was recorded in the French records. She married Germain LeJeune around 1735 and they had at least

⁶²⁹ 1686 Census; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 1054.

⁶³⁰ La Roque, 1752 census.

six children together. No other record exists for the children born before 1752 than the Sieur Le Roque census. Her husband Germain Lejeune did appear in census records in his childhood, until the age of fifteen, when he was last found at La Have in 1708.⁶³¹ Germain was first married to Marie-Anne Trahan and of their seven children, only one, their eldest Marie-Josèphe, appears in French records before the Ile Royale census. It appears Germain Lejeune and his family were still at La Have a few years before they relocated to Ile Royal because Beauharnois notes that Germain and his family were residing at “la Petite-rivière a l’ouest de La Hève” in 1745 (the small river east of La Have. Author translation).⁶³² They most likely went from there to la Baie des Espagnols around 1750. In 1752, they were cultivating cabbage, turnips, beans, and pumpkins and had “cleared land for a half a barrel of wheat” while leaving six or seven arpents uncultivated.⁶³³

Germain’s brother, Jean Lejeune, and Marie Guédry’s aunt, Françoise Guédry, had also moved to la Baie des Espagnols with their eight children. Two of their eight children were recorded as baptized in the Grand-Pré parish on the 27th of September 1734 at the ages of four and almost two. Both parents were last recorded at La Have in the early eighteenth century before turning up at la Baie des Espagnols in 1752.⁶³⁴ Sieur Le Roque recorded that Jean had been granted rations for two years and that thus far he had been at la Baie des Espagnols for eighteen months. He had two oxen, one sow, and two sheep. It is unclear if they were growing anything on their land. Le Roque writes

⁶³¹ Germain was recorded on the Port Royal census in 1698 at five years old and again in 1700 at two years old and again in 1701 at 9 years old making the 1700 record an error. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 1052.

⁶³² “Lettre de Beauharnois au ministre sept 1745,” 11a, DXXXIII, fol. 18 and “Beauharnois et Hoquart au ministre 12-27 sept. 1745.” Fonds Placide Gaudet, 1. 10-13, Centre D’études Acadiennes Anselmes-Chiasson, Université de Moncton.

⁶³³ 1752 Sieur Le Roque census.

⁶³⁴ Jean Lejeune was recorded at in 1708 at eleven and Françoise was recorded in the same census at four years old. 1708 Census. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 772 & 1052.

“They have made a clearing on it (the land) of two arpents. They have no other pasturage than they can find in the woods.”⁶³⁵ This entry suggests that Jean and Françoise relied on other sources of subsistence found in the woods.

Paul Guédry dit Grivois and Anne Mus with six children represented another colonial ghost family. Paul Guédry, brother to Françoise and the late Jean-Baptist and uncle to Marie and Joseph Guédry, was given a lay baptism by a “Dion” before having it recorded at the Port Royal parish almost five years later.⁶³⁶ He was listed as Grivois at La Have in 1708, age six years old and, as with the other family members discussed here, he was not found on another record until his family was living at la Baie des Espagnols. By 1752 he was forty-five years old. Anne Mus, or Anne-Marie dite Nannette Mius d’Azy, Paul’s wife was born of Mi’kmaq family Philippe Mius d’Azy and Marie, a native woman, at La Have.⁶³⁷ She was recorded on the 1708 La Have census at three years old and not again until their move to Ile Royale. No known records exist of their ten children before 1749. Nine of their children appear first on the 1752 census but the youngest, François Guédry, was baptized at the St-Jean-l’évangéliste church at Port-Lajoie, Ile Saint-Jean (the second remaining French island to the West of Ile Royale) in November of 1749. This baptismal record included the information that François’ parents lived at Mirliguèche.⁶³⁸ In 1752 they had two cows and seven pigs. They had also cleared two arpents of land to grow cabbage, beans, and turnips and that they would use their fallow land next year.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁵ La Roque, 1752 Census, p.48.

⁶³⁶ White, *Dictionnaire*, 772.

⁶³⁷ White, *Dictionnaire*, 1207; C.J. d’Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, vol III, p.966-971, 1004-1018.

⁶³⁸ “Recensement,” St-Jean-l’évangéliste de Port Lajoie, National Archives of France (ANF), Col. G1 411; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton: Centre d’études Acadiennes, 1999, vol. 2,(unpublished), 593.

⁶³⁹ La Roque, 1752 census

Coming back to a reading of the 1752 Baye des Espagnols census as a whole, a few things stand out with regards to life in the community. The first is that the 1752 census reveals colonial ghost families who had not appeared on census records. Genealogists have reconstituted many of these families from the 1752 census alone or from that and deportation documents created between 1755 and 1785. Secondly, in February of 1752 residents were almost used all of the rations they had been given upon their arrival. By 1754, many residents had to vacate their homes near Louisbourg due to famine after the rations had run out and the land was not producing. The families from la Baye des Espagnols who petitioned the Halifax government in 1754 to be relocated to Lunenburg would state that they “had to escape to avoid starving.”⁶⁴⁰

Continuing this study’s focus on the daily practice of the colonial ghosts, it is important to consider their subsistence work during this phase. The coastal communities on Ile Royale saw the meeting of two distinct communities: the Atlantic cod fisheries and the colonial population. Le Roque’s census indicated that all household heads at la Baie des Espagnols, with the exception of those who came from the offshore fisheries, were listed as ploughman. Scholars Jean-Pierre Chrestien as well as Anne Marie Lane Jonah and Rebecca Dunham have explored the fishing communities of Ile Royale in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴¹ The 1752 census listed six offshore fishermen at la Baie des Espagnols. These families reveal an Atlantic orientation to the community with the residents having originated from St. Malo and Brest, France, Plaisance, Newfoundland, and Louisbourg and Scatary, Ile Royal. These families were oriented towards the

⁶⁴⁰ D. Luther Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians* (Utica: L. C. Childs & Son, 1891), 204-205; Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), 214-215.

⁶⁴¹ Anne Marie Lane Jonah and Rebecca Dunham, “Life in a French Atlantic Fishing Village: A Look at the Outports of Île Royale 1713–1758,” in *Tu sais, mon vieux Jean-Pierre: Essays on the Archaeology and History of New France and Canadian Culture in Honour of Jean-Pierre Chrestien*, edited by John Willis (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2017), 63-90.

Atlantic and its seasonal fisheries. One family with two fisherman listed notes that their dwelling place was Scatary, Ile Royal, a small island closer to Louisbourg where perhaps they spent the cod season. A number of 'domestics' are also listed among the fishermen. One, Simon Godet, was recorded as "36 month man." This seventeen year old informed Le Roque that he had "two years more to complete his term and have his liberty."⁶⁴² This Atlantic community with its livelihood in the fisheries may have felt familiar to the colonial ghosts, who had long seen fishermen and traders from around the Atlantic regularly come to their shores.

The small group of Atlantic fishermen at la Baie des Espagnols was joined by a larger group of what Le Roque calls "ploughman." These families were the emigrants from Acadie and Mi'kma'ki, including those such as the Guédry families, who were given provisions from Louisbourg as well as allotments of land. They grew crops of cabbage, beans, and turnips and some wheat as well as raising a small number of livestock. But these farms were nothing like those developed in Acadie around the Bay of Fundy with its highly productive farmlands and intricate dike system. Le Roque notes the small plots of cultivated lands which appear more similar to the small garden plots recorded at La Have in 1686.

Given the fact that Ile Royale's land was rockier than the fertile soil of the Bay of Fundy, this was not an ideal setting for farmers or "ploughman." Families from Acadie had been migrating to Ile Royale since the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 but Ile Royale was not attractive to farmers because it was 'densely wooded and unfurrowed by the plough.'⁶⁴³ Furthermore Pothier noted that farmers had the hardest time leaving Acadie

⁶⁴² La Roque, 1752 census

⁶⁴³ Bernard Pothier, *Acadian Emigration to Ile Royale After the Conquest of Acadia* (Carleton University Press, nd), 219, [file:///C:/Users/Nicole/Downloads/40548-Article%20Text-50670-1-10-20160902%20\(2\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Nicole/Downloads/40548-Article%20Text-50670-1-10-20160902%20(2).pdf) (Accessed November 2019)

because of the rooted nature of their family economy. The families from La Have and Mirliguèche are described as having small plots of land with what appears some livestock and an economy of hunting and fishing. This more flexible and mobile economy would have made it easier for them to relocate to Ile Royale. It is hard to say why the community at la Baie des Espagnols struggled. Perhaps the government support set them up for a plantation economy the land could not support. Perhaps they lacked the hunting and fishing tools that they used at La Have, such as a regular supply of bullets. The comment made by Jean LeJeune about the pasturage found in the woods connects this discussion to the wider environment available to the settlers in Ile Royale.⁶⁴⁴

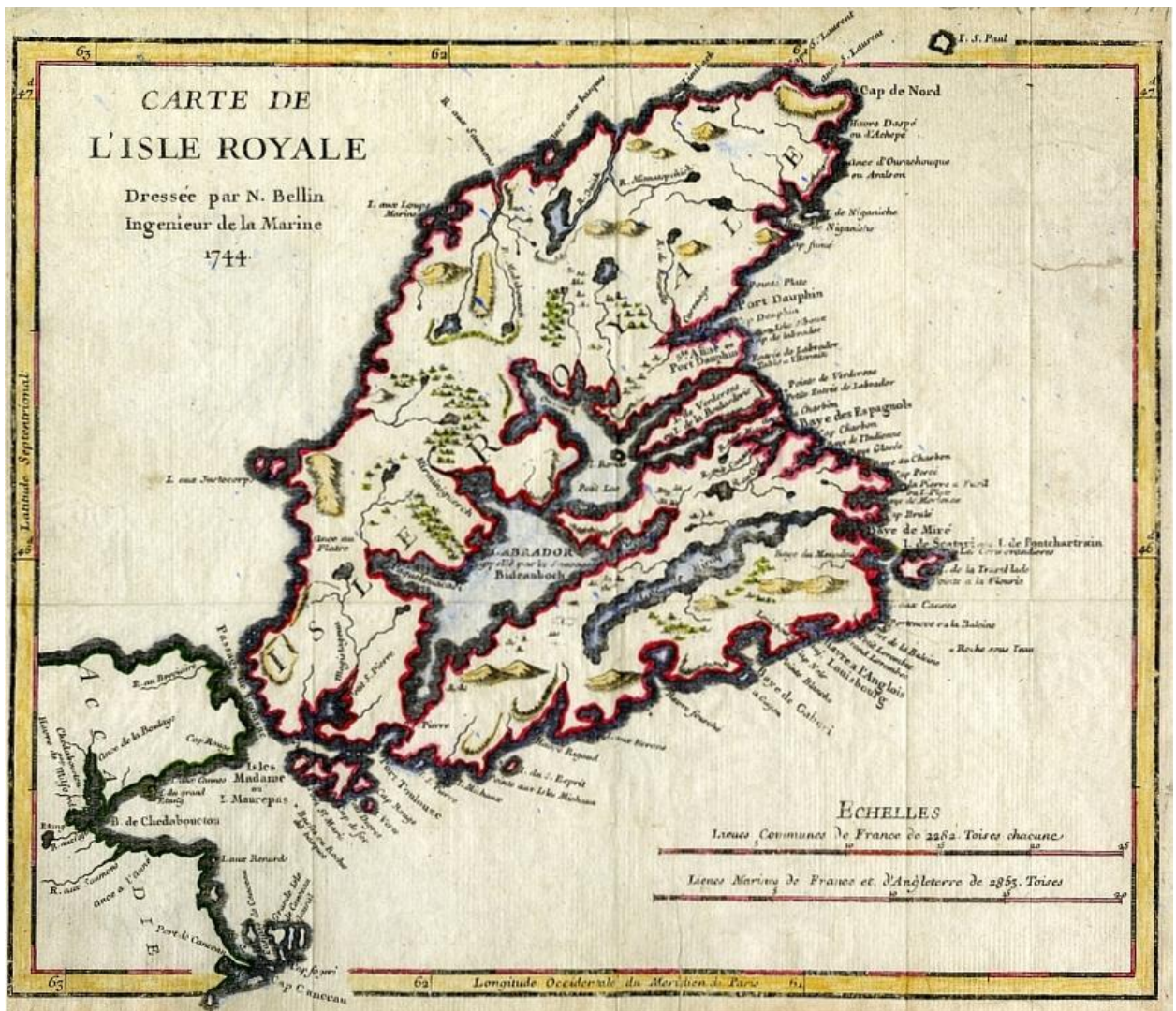
Ile Royale, or Unama'ki, as the Mi'kmaq call it, had an environment more similar to the Atlantic coast by La Have than the more protected climate around the Bay of Fundy. The rugged cliffs and rocks of Ile Royal exposed to the Atlantic salt water and arctic winds could be a harsh environment. The bay where these families settled between 1749 and 1754 dropped to between ten and fifteen degrees Fahrenheit in winter and warmed to the low seventies Fahrenheit in summer which was fairly similar to the climate of Mirliguèche and La Have.⁶⁴⁵ Contemporary snowfall averages indicate that Sydney, Cape Breton which is the municipality currently at the Baie des Espagnols, experiences about ninety inches of snowfall in a year.⁶⁴⁶ This Bay was not just an inlet bay from the Atlantic, however, the Baie des Espagnols was also nourished by three

⁶⁴⁴ Jean Lejeune in the La Roque, 1752 census at la Baie des Espagnols.

⁶⁴⁵ "Average weather in Sydney, Cape Breton," *Weather Spark*, <https://weatherspark.com/y/28838/Average-Weather-in-Sydney-Canada-Year-Round>

⁶⁴⁶ Laura Jean Grant, "Typical winter for Cape Breton," *Cape Breton Post*, <https://www.capebretonpost.com/news/local/typical-winter-for-cape-breton-8382/#:~:targetText=The%20total%20snowfall%20this%20winter,of%20snow%20fall%20this%20winter.> (Accessed November 2019).

rivers, the Rivière aux Mats, Rivières aux Cannes, and the Rivières aux Cerfs which connected the bay to the interior of the island.⁶⁴⁷



Map of Ile Royal in 1744. As Jonah and Dunham point out, “Note that the interior sea has Mi’kmaw communities indicated, and the French version of its Mi’kmaw name. Isle Royale, 1744. Map 711. N. Bellin. (Beaton Institute, Cape Breton University)”⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁷ Jacques Nicolas Bellin, “Map of Isle Royale, 1744,” the *Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1764 (Beaton Institute, Cape Breton University Collection) <https://novascotia.ca/archives/communityalbums/CapeBreton/archives.asp?ID=687> (Accessed November 2019).

⁶⁴⁸ “Carte de L’île Royale 1744,” *Nova Scotia Community Albums — Archives Celebrating Canada’s 150th*, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/communityalbums/CapeBreton/archives.asp?ID=687> & “Item MAP 711 - Carte de L’Isle Royale 1744,”

The interior of the island provided respite from the Atlantic winds and was an important Mi'kmaq territory. The mountains that make up Cape Breton or Unama'ki surround and protect the Island's interior lakes. Ile Royale was an abundant place for hunting, trapping, and fishing. The largest of the lakes, the Bras d'Or, spans most of the interior and houses an abundance of fish. Bras d'Or lake is home to salmon, and many species of trout as well as herring, gaspereau, smelt, and eel to name a few. The colonial ghosts who lived in Mi'kma'ki would have been familiar with many of the species of fish found in Bras d'Or lake because the same species were also found in the La Have river systems. Mi'kmaq fishing practices were also used in Unama'ki among the Mi'kmaq bands who lived on the island.⁶⁴⁹ The interior of the Island was also home to a variety of animals, including moose, deer, coyote, and snowshoe hare. One of the rivers connected to la Baie des Espagnols was actually named la "Rivière des Cerf," meaning the river of deer. The Mi'kmaq bands of Unama'ki resided on the rivers and lakes in the interior of the island and had access to its resources.

Beaton Institute, <https://beatoninstitute.com/map-of-isle-royal-or-cape-breton-island> (Interactive map) (Accessed November 2019).

⁶⁴⁹ Shelley Denny, "Mi'kmaq Traditional Knowledge: eels and the Bras d'Or Lakes," *Fish-Wiks News*, May 1, 2014

https://www.dal.ca/sites/fishwiks/news-events/2014/05/01/mi_kmaq_traditional_knowledge_eels_and_the_bras_d_or_lakes.html (Accessed November 2019).



*Bras D'Or Lake, Unama'ki*⁶⁵⁰

Presumably some former ghosts continued practicing the familiar fishing and hunting techniques when possible while in Ile Royale. Residing in the Baie may have limited their tribal contact, especially if they were attempting to make more use of the government issued crops as the base of their economy. Some of the colonial ghosts may also have been familiar with Unama'ki and may have previously visited Mi'kmaq bands before they relocated to the island. Unama'ki was often the gathering location for Mi'kmaq annual meetings. After the founding of Louisbourg in 1713, the French began to distribute regular gifts to the Mi'kmaq to maintain that relationship which also drew the

⁶⁵⁰ Amy Tikkanen, "Bras D'Or Lake," *Encyclopedia Britannica*
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Bras-dOr-Lake> (Accessed November 2019).

Mi'kmaq to the island.⁶⁵¹ Considering the Mius brother's testimony during the 1726 trial which described their frequent trips to Mi'kmaq gatherings and visits with other Mi'kmaq bands, it is likely some of the colonial ghosts had previously made the trip to the Merliguash, Potlotek, or other Mi'kmaq villages in Unama'ki. Merliguash was the name of a Mi'kmaq village in Cape Breton on the Bras d'Or lake and the place where the Mission Étrangère trained its priests in the Mi'kmaw language.⁶⁵² Potlotek was the Mi'kmaq village and the regular meeting place which was the gathering place for the Mi'kmaq meeting held in September of 1749 to discuss the new British fort at Halifax.⁶⁵³ The Mi'kmaw chiefs composed the 1749 letter to Governor Cornwallis during this September meeting.

It is also likely that the families who settled at la Baie des Espagnols would have ventured inland, as Jean LeJeune indicates in his report to Le Roque, to search for other forms of sustenance and perhaps to meet with the Mi'kmaq. Johan and Dunham pointed out that some of the settlers in these Atlantic settlements "interacted extensively with the Mi'kmaq population⁶⁵⁴" Père Maillard, one of the Mission Étrangère priests who spent considerable time with the Mi'kmaq in the mid-eighteenth century spoke of the French interaction with the Merliguèche community on Ile Royale (Unama'ki). His letter to Madame Drucourt describes the French men and women who "gave up their lives to life with the Mi'kmaw people" as well as those who spent winters with them and or traded

⁶⁵¹ John W. Johnson, *Life of John Johnson* (Portland, 1861), 32; NSARM, RG 1/431, doc.

⁶⁵² Morin, *Devenir « missionnaire des Sauvages » Origines, formation et entrée en fonction des sujets dans les missions amérindiennes du Canada et de l'Acadie (1700-1763)*, Doctoral Dissertation, Laval University, 2018, 401.

⁶⁵³ A.J.B. Johnston, *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory, and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 38.

⁶⁵⁴ Anne Marie Lane Jonah, *Life in a French Atlantic Fishing Village*, 89
https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctt1pc5fst.10.pdf?ab_segments=0%252Fbasic_expensive%252Fcontrol&refreqid=excelsior%3A39be4497244e0da3e8723e4da21f4b2f (Accessed November 2019).

with the Mi'kmaq.⁶⁵⁵ This letter was written around 1750 when the colonial ghosts would have been nearby. His writings also mention French men from Miré and other places in Unama'ki (Ile Royale) where colonial ghosts, in this case Jeanne Guédry and her family, settled. Given the size of the island and their previous experience among the Mi'kmaq at La Have, the colonial ghosts who chose to settle on the mouth of a river or harbor could travel into the interior to either hunt, fish, trap, or connect with the local Mi'kmaq.⁶⁵⁶ The Mi'kmaq use of the space was also such that Atlantic fisherman who remained on the coast would have had limited interaction with the Mi'kmaq who spent most of their time in the interior.

It is essential to bear in mind the fact that those who left La Have had also made a choice to draw closer to the French colony for protection from the English. Those who chose to stay in Mi'kma'ki would have remained in the community. As Mi'kmaq archaeologist Roger Lewis says, community belonging was a decision made by each generation and member of these families and one generation opted to come into the Mi'kmaq community while their siblings or children may have chosen to leave it. Thus, while it is likely that the new French colonists among the Guédry family would have used the hunting and fishing techniques they knew well, it is also possible they sought to integrate into French colonial life after their move to Ile Royale. This venture at social

⁶⁵⁵ Pierre Maillard, "Lettre a Madame de Drucourt," n.d. (ca 1750) in *Les Soirées Canadiennes* (Québec: Brousseau Frères, 1863), 316
https://books.google.com/books?id=mpQ0AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA28&dq=les+soir%C3%A9es+canadiennes&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi826GJqYHmAhWHJzQIHQI9BBAQ6AEwAHoECAMQAg#v=onepage&q=madame%20de%20drucourt%20&f=false (Accessed November 2019).

⁶⁵⁶ Pierre Maillard, "Lettre a Madame de Drucourt," n.d. (ca 1750) in *Les Soirées Canadiennes* (Québec: Brousseau Frères, 1863), 319.
https://books.google.com/books?id=mpQ0AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA28&dq=les+soir%C3%A9es+canadiennes&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi826GJqYHmAhWHJzQIHQI9BBAQ6AEwAHoECAMQAg#v=onepage&q=madame%20de%20drucourt%20&f=false (Accessed November 2019); Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History, 1500-1950* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 116.

integration generated documents when Marguerite Guédry attempted to marry a French officer.

Marguerite Guédry Trial:

For the second time a member of the Guédry family was found on trial. In 1754, the French Conseil Supérieur, the highest court of Louisbourg, considered whether Marguerite Guédry was too Native to marry a French officer, Chevalier Jules Caesar Félix de la Noue.⁶⁵⁷ The marriage was annulled for having been performed without receiving proper dispensation from Louisbourg. De La Noue had petitioned his commanding officer on two occasions to allow him to marry Marguerite Guédry but after he was refused a second time he found a priest who performed the marriage in the middle of the night.⁶⁵⁸ This marriage gives us more information on the colonial ghosts who were newly arrived in French colonial life on Ile Royale. The Guédry family were still in “transition” as historian Anne Marie Lane Jonah suggests in her article “Unequal Transitions: Two Métis Women in Eighteenth-Century Ile Royale.” In Marguerite’s case the transition is not so successful. Though Marguerite Guédry followed French marriage customs in her marriage to De La Noue, her Native heritage prevented her from fully integrating into the French culture of Ile Royale.

Marguerite Guédry was a colonial ghost from the La Have region and a member of the Mi’kmaq community from birth. Marguerite was the daughter of Paul Guédry dit Grivois who one of the Mi’kmaq adoptees alongside his brother Jean-Baptist who was hung in the piracy trial of 1726. Her mother was Anne Marie Mius dit Nannette, who was

⁶⁵⁷ Anne Marie Lane Jonah, “Unequal Transitions: Two Métis Women in Eighteenth-Century Ile Royale,” *French Colonial History*, Vol. 11 (2010), 118.

⁶⁵⁸ Trial records can be found here: ANOM, DPPC (Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies), GR 189 FF 270-360.

the daughter of Philippe Mius and a Mi'kmaq woman named Marie.⁶⁵⁹ Paul Guédry and his family were recorded by Sieur Le Roque in 1752 at la Baie des Espagnols with four sons and one daughter, Marguerite, when she was twenty. At Ile Royale the Chevalier de la Noue met and fell in love with Marguerite; he petitioned his commanding officer twice to have permission to marry her.⁶⁶⁰ Marguerite's father Paul loaned De la Noue 2,000 livres several months before the nuptials upon De La Noue's promise to marry her.⁶⁶¹ The custom of the bride's family gifting money to the male suitor was a European, not a Native, marriage practice. In other words, Paul attempted to follow the accepted protocol for such an engagement, given that his daughter's suitor was French.⁶⁶² Despite their intention to wed, De La Noue's commander would not give permission. The trial records do not say specifically what the reason for his refusal was, only that he was clearly insistent on the refusal since he brought charges of insubordination against De La Noue.

Jonah claims that the refusal to give permission and the subsequent annulment of the marriage after the investigation was because of Marguerite's Native heritage. Jonah contrasts Marguerite's case with that of Marie Joseph Le Borgne de Belisle, because in Marie Joseph's case her Native ancestry did not impede the marriage. Marie Joseph's mother was, like Marguerite's mother, also native. In Marie Joseph's case her great grandfather had been the Abenaki chief and her family were important trading and alliance brokers between the French and Abenaki in the St. John River region to the west of the Bay of Fundy. Marie Joseph and her family relocated to Louisbourg in the

⁶⁵⁹ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton: Centre d'études Acadiennes, 1999), Vol 1, 772; vol. 2, 593 (Volume 2 unpublished).

⁶⁶⁰ Permission to marry was needed in this case because De La Noue was in the Military. Anne Marie Lane Jonah, *Unequal Transitions*, 118.

⁶⁶¹ FR CAOM DPPC, Gr 2114, fol. 270; Anne Marie Lane Jonah, *Unequal Transitions*, 118.

⁶⁶² Bernard Hoffman, *Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (PhD. Dissertation, University of California, 1955), 287-94.

1720s and she adapted to French colonial life and in 1733 married the Louisbourg Treasurer Jacques Philippe Rondeau. Marie Joseph's marriage was permitted, and she was accepted into the upper echelons of Louisbourg's colonial society.⁶⁶³ Marguerite Guédry was not so fortunate.

De La Noue' commanding officer appears to have considered the match as unfavorable and a hindrance to his officer's career advancement.⁶⁶⁴ We get further evidence of this as seventeen of the twenty witnesses called to testify described Marguerite as a child of a "sauvagesse" or "mulatresse" when asked to give their testimony.⁶⁶⁵ De La Noue brought the aumonier, chaplain, from Port Dauphin under false pretenses to perform last rights for a dying man and then got him to perform the marriage rites in Paul Guédry's home during the night. The statements gathered were from other community members at la Baie des Espagnols. All those interviewed gave no reason for the impediment, rather all described her Native ancestry and outlined the crimes committed by De La Noue and the Aumonier. The court found both De La Noue and the aumonier of Port Dauphin guilty of insubordination and as complice in the crime.⁶⁶⁶ The court annulled the marriage the following year on the seventeenth of February, 1755.⁶⁶⁷

One reason for the different outcomes between Marie Joseph and Marguerite was the change in French racial ideas by the mid-eighteenth century compared to earlier as well perhaps, as the perceived status of the women. Although Marie Joseph had Native heritage, her family held an important place in the French alliance with the

⁶⁶³ Jonah, *Unequal Transitions*, 111-118

⁶⁶⁴ Jonah, *Unequal Transitions*, 118.

⁶⁶⁵ FR CAOM DPPC, Gr 2114, fols. 270-360.

⁶⁶⁶ FR CAOM DPPC, Gr 2114, fols. 270-360.

⁶⁶⁷ Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique*, vol. 2, p.376; C.J. D'entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, vol 3, p.1016-1018; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes: Première Partie 1636 a 1714* (Moncton: Centre d'études Acadiennes, 1999), vol. 2, 594 (Unpublished).

Abenaki. In addition, she had moved into a French community and had adapted to French colonial within the Louisbourg fort. In contrast, Marguerite came from the Mi'kmaq community on the Atlantic without the same familial links to Native nobility (despite the fact that the Port Dauphin Aumonier highlighted Anne d'Entremont's noble status on the marriage record to raise Marguerite's status).⁶⁶⁸ Marguerite's family also arrived in the French colony at a time when racial designations were becoming increasingly important as status makers. Rather than having resided in the French fort since her teenage years as Marie Joseph had (moving to Louisbourg at the age of twelve), Marguerite had only arrived in the newly founded French colonial outpost at the age of twenty and attempted to marry only two years later. With her ties to the Mi'kmaq community and her recent entry into colonial life, Marguerite appeared unworthy of marriage to a French officer. The fact that her father, Paul, was also a proficient coasting pilot who still maintained a home at Mirliguèche even as they built new roots on Ile Royale may have also discouraged the commander from seeing Marguerite as a "noble" French colonist and a favorable match for his subordinate.

Marguerite's trial meant that for the second time since 1726 a member of the Guédry family was brought before a European court because of their association with the Mi'kmaq community. The transcripts of these trials further demonstrated the native community belonging of the Guédry. Unfortunately, in both cases, the trial results were unfavorable: the hanging of two Guédry men and the annulment of a Guédry marriage to a Frenchman. For Paul Guédry and many of the colonial ghosts at the Baye des Espagnols, the four years at Ile Royale had been an experiment in French colonial society. If this trial was any indication, the experiment had failed. The instability near La

⁶⁶⁸ Anne d'Entremont's grandfather was the Baron of Pombcoup at Cape Sable. FR CAOM DPPC, Gr 2114, fol. 282; Jonah, *Unequal Transitions*, 121.

Have had pushed them to try life elsewhere, but the trial was just one of the ways this colonial setting was not working out. The French rations they had been given had run out in 1745. Unsurprisingly, some of these new French subjects sought to return to life around La Have, even if to do so brought them under British rule.

Going back to Mirliguèche:

In August of 1754 twenty-five people from Ile Royale went to Halifax to petition the government to be relocated to Lunenburg, former Mirliguèche. This move would solidify their fate in the deportation a year later. On the 24th of August 1754, English Governor Lawrence received these twenty-five “persons” from Louisbourg who wished to be resettled just north of the newly-founded Lunenburg. These families told Governor Lawrence that they were “nearly related to Old Labrador” who was already there. Old Labrador was most likely Paul Guédry, the same man who had given his daughter in marriage to De La Noue. As a coasting pilot, Paul was able to move easily throughout the area and also maintained a residence at Miliguèche even as the English settled the town of Lunenburg in its harbor. In 1753, Old Labrador was recorded as “Old Labrador, the only French family remaining.”⁶⁶⁹ Twenty-five new English emigrants took the oath of allegiance and were settled in Lunenburg by its colonel, Patrick Sutherland, and they were to receive tools and land, and to be added to the victual list.⁶⁷⁰ Another twenty-eight arrived in Halifax from Ile Royale that October, and twenty-four of them settled at the old Mirliguèche next to Lunenburg.⁶⁷¹ Amateur Historian Martin Guidry, and Cajun

⁶⁶⁹ Winthrop P. Bell, *The “Foreign Protestants” and the Settlement of Nova Scotia - The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 404, 483.

⁶⁷⁰ D. Luther Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, (Utica: Press of L. C. Childs & Son, 1891). pp. 204-205; Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), pp. 214-215.

⁶⁷¹ Winthrop P. Bell, *The “Foreign Protestants” and the Settlement of Nova Scotia - The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of

descendant of the Claude Guédry, has reconstructed the victual lists in an online article as follows: “Paul Boutin, Charles Boutin, Julien Bourneuf, Sebastian Bourneuf, Joseph Gedri, Pierre Gedri, Pierre Erio, François Lucas and Claude Erot.”⁶⁷² Guidry reproduced the list of these families as they appeared on the June 1755 Victual list including their family connections.

- 1402 – Francois Loucas (Francois Lucas)
- 1403 – Helena Loucas (Hélène Guédry, his wife)
[daughter of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]
- 1404 – Maria Loucas (Marie Lucas, their daughter)

- 1405 – Charles Boutein (Charles Boutin)
- 1406 – Maria Boutein (Marie-Josephe Guédry, his wife)
[daughter of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]
- 1407 – Jean Charles Boutein (Jean Charles Boutin, their son)
- 1408 – Pierre Oliver Boutein (Pierre Olivier Boutin, their son)
- 1409 – Maria Frans Boutein (Marie Françoise Boutin, their daughter)
- 1410 – Magd Perpeta Boutein (Magdeleine Perpetue Boutin, their daughter)

- 1411 – Julien Bourneuve (Julien Bourneuf)
- 1412 – Jeane Bourneuve (Jeanne Guédry, his wife)
[daughter of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]
- 1413 – Francois Bourneuve (François Bourneuf)
- 1414 – Jean Bourneuve (Jeanne Bourneuf, daughter of Julien Bourneuf & first wife)
- 1415 – Sophia Bourneuve (Sophie Bourneuf, daughter of Julien Bourneuf & first wife)
- 1416 – Francois Bourneuve (François Bourneuf, their son)
- 1417 – Sabastien Bourneuve (Sébastien Bourneuf, brother of Julien Bourneuf)
- 1418 – Leon Deran Bourneuve (Léon Deran Bourneuf)

- 1419 – Paul Boutein (Paul Boutin)
- 1420 – Ursula Boutein (Ursule Guédry, his wife)
[daughter of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]
- 1421 – Cathrina Boutein (Marguerite Catherine Boutin, their daughter)
- 1422 – Joseph Boutein (Joseph Boutin, their son)
- 1423 – Joseph Boutein (Joseph Boutin)
- 1424 – Pierre Boutein (Pierre Guédry, brother of Ursule Guédry)
[son of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]
- 1425 – Joseph Guedry (Joseph Guédry)
[son of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert]

Toronto Press, 1961), p. 483-484; Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), p. 228.

⁶⁷² Martin Guidry, “New Research Reveals Guédry’s exiled to North Carolina,” http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~guedrylabinefamily/genealogy/guidry_exiled_north_carolina.html (Accessed November 2019).

Reproduction of the June 1755 Victual list by Marty Guidry listing the 25 people from the August 1754 petition to relocate to Lunenburg.⁶⁷³ The numbers to the left are the victual numbers for each person.

The second group arriving from la Baie des Espagnoles consisted of six, this time called “French,” families. They told how the threats of Le Loutre had so terrified them that they relocated to Ile Royal. This situation was not sustainable for their families, however, because of the “land there being very bad” so that they were unable to support their families. The six families were able to take the oath of allegiance and be settled and victualed at Lunenburg.⁶⁷⁴ This next image is Guidry’s reproduction of that part of the June 1755 Victual list.

1448 – Charles King (Charles Roy) [1st cousin of Marguerite Trahan]
1449 – Margretta King (Marguerite LeJeune, his wife)
1450 – Peter King (Pierre Roy, their son)
1451 – Olive King (Olive Roy, their son)

1452 – Joseph Laberdore (Joseph Guédry, son of Jean-Baptiste Guédry & Madeleine Mius dit dAzy and the nephew of Augustin Guédry & Jeanne Hébert)
1453 – Joseph Laberdore (Marie-Josophe 'Josette' Benoît, his wife)
1454 – Bering Laberdore (Perrine Guédry, their daughter)
1455 – Jeane Laberdore (Jeanne Guédry, their daughter)
1456 – Servant Laberdore (Servant Guédry, their son)

1457 – Nore Trahan (Honoré Trahan)
[1st cousin of Anne Trahan below]
1458 – Maria Trahan (Marie Corperon, his wife)
1459 – Maria Trahan (Marie Trahan, their daughter)
1460 – Pierre Trahan (Pierre Trahan, their son)
1461 – Pellation Trahan (Marguerite Trahan, their daughter)
1462 – Jean Lejeune Lejeune (Jean Baptiste LeJeune)
1463 – Margretha Lejeune (Marguerite Trahan, his wife) [1st cousin of Charles Roy]
1464 – Jeane Lejeune (Jean LeJeune, their son)
1465 – Margretha Lejeune (Marguerite LeJeune, their daughter)
1466 – Blaise Lejeune (Blaise LeJeune, their son)
1467 – Marie Lejeune (Marie LeJeune, their daughter)

1468 – Jean Bonneau (Jean Benoît)
1469 – Anna Bonneau (Anne Trahan, his wife)
[1st cousin of Honoré Trahan above]
1470 – Anna Bonneau (Anne Casimere Benoît, their daughter)
1471 – Roze Bonneau (Rose Benoît, their daughter)

⁶⁷³ Marty Guidry, “New research reveals Guédry’s exiled to North Carolina,”

http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~quedrylabinefamily/genealogy/guidry_exiled_north_carolina.html

⁶⁷⁴ Winthrop P. Bell, *The “Foreign Protestants” and the Settlement of Nova Scotia - The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 483-484; Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), p. 228.

*Continued Victual List from Lunenburg June 1755 from Martin Guidry's article
New research reveals Guédry's exiled to North Carolina*⁶⁷⁵

Charles Boutin and Marie-Josèphe Guédry, Paul Boutin and Ursule Guédry, Joseph Guédry and Marie-Josèphe Benoist dite Josette, Hélène Guédry, Julien Bourneuf and Jeanne Guédry, and Jean Benoit and Anne Trahan are all heads of households that were recorded in Ile Royale in 1752. All were past colonial ghosts. By 1754 they made the decision to return to their old homes after four years away.

Their stay at Lunenburg was short lived. The Seven Years War looming in 1755 between France and Britain, and the British made the decision to deport the remaining French in what is called the Acadian deportation. This expulsion from the land was the end of the period that saw the death of the colonial ghosts. In many ways their lives as ghosts ended with their relocation to Ile Royale in 1749. As long as they could still access Mi'kmaq communities from Unama'ki and remained in the region, the community had the chance to connect with those kin and be reconstituted. The Guédry family who had stepped into the French colonial space utterly lost their ability to connect with the Mi'kmaq community after September 1755 when they were brought to George's Island to await their deportation from Nova Scotia. On the 23rd of October 1755, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that the month before, on the 27th of September, the ship *Jolly Bacchus* arrived in Halifax harbor "from Lunenburg, with inhabitants of the small French settlement a little above that place." The notice says they had removed "all except two, who we hear are fled to the Indians for Succour and Assistance."⁶⁷⁶ Though there is not a manifest of those taken, it stands to reason and Martin Guidry makes a strong case

⁶⁷⁵ "A List of Foreign & Other Settlers Victualled at Lunenburg Between 16 & 29 June 1755 both Days Included"; (Cambridge: Harvard University & The Houghton Library, Hyde Collection), fMS Can 76; "1755 Victual List for Lunenburg"; <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.co/~ked1/1755vict.html> (Accessed November 2019).

⁶⁷⁶ Pennsylvania Gazette newspaper (Philadelphia, PA; 23 October 1755, #1400), 2.

that the group mentioned were the approximately fifty “French” settlers who had arrived in the region the year before. The prisoners were held at George’s Island in Halifax harbor until their deportation to the British American colonies.

Conclusion

Life among the Guédry family at La Have represents one example of colonial ghosts in the Atlantic. The Guédry family joined Mi'kmaw kinship, hunting, and fishing networks in the seventeenth century when colonial control of the Atlantic coast of Mi'kma'ki was absent. A century later, the imperial encroachment as well as the developing racial categories of the mid-eighteenth century forced the ghosts to position themselves in that colonial system. This colonial exposure resulted in the end of the colonial ghosts in this region.

This research has served two goals. The first goal is to illuminate life among the Mi'kmaw for white adoptees and the second is to offer a case study for the exploration for colonial ghosts in the alternate Atlantic. This research has defined ghosts as those who came to the wider Atlantic world through the vectors of colonial expansion, but who opted for life among Native groups rather than in and with colonial communities. These individuals and families developed social, economic, and subsistence ties into these “subaltern” communities to the abandonment of most ties with the colonial world.

The context that most supported the advent of colonial ghosts was both geographic and temporal. Geographically, regions with poor or absent colonial control created an advantageous environment for the development of ghosts. These spaces had increased distance, both geographically and politically, from the European administration in order to develop these new social ties. Temporally, these prime colonial ghost spaces existed before European colonies took control over the region. The limits to imperial oversight created enough spaces for ghosts to operate and to be incorporated into other communities and ways of life.

The period before the imperial wars of the mid-eighteenth century provided a colonial opening in terms of racial categories as well. Racial markers that would govern political and social categories by the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had not yet formed in the pre-1750 era which allowed the ghost community to interact with colonial travelers with less scrutiny. Community boundaries in the early modern Northeast were established on Western notions of culture and civility. This identification process of either European or Native was flexible and subjective because it depended on the cleric, priest, or witness who was asked. This cultural flexibility explains why the members of the Guédry family could be described as either European or Native. By the mid-eighteenth century, the ghost climate was put under stress as British colonists and soldiers infiltrated the coastal region and settled Halifax and later Lunenburg. British presence occurred as European racial categories in Europe were beginning to form around a more complex matrix of racial markers. By the 1750s the cultural climate for ghosts disappeared from the coast as British settlement forced the ghosts into Mi'kmaq or Acadian categories.

This research leads to other questions such as where else can we find colonial ghosts? Were there colonial ghosts in Louisiana for instance or in the American west? To what extent can the alternate Atlantic and its trade and social networks be recovered? More exploration is needed to answer these questions.

The period of the colonial ghosts at La Have and Mirliguèche ended with the settlement of Nova Scotia. Lunenburg covered the old Mi'kmaq villages and pushed those communities off their land. The early modern spaces that had existed allowing colonial runaways and adoptees to find a new life among the Mi'kmaq had closed as the British colonial period began. The colonial ghost community was splintered during the period of the Seven Years Wars and the hardening ethnic boundaries of the late

eighteenth century. Some of the former ghosts remained among the Mi'kmaq to fight to preserve their way of life and territory. Others were scattered through the Acadian deportation and spent the next few decades in exile forming a new identity. The Atlantic was changing as the Seven Years Wars ended and the Age of Revolutions began and yet the ghosts continued to do one thing they had always done well: to adapt.

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