

The Dispossession of the Míkmaq Indians from Chignecto
to Elsipogtog¹: A Case Study Analysis of the Health
Determinants of the Physical Environment

by

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¹ The community uses the Pacifique orthography, while the Francis-Smith system spells it *L'sipuktuk* (Sable & Francis, 2012).

Abstract

Traditionally, the Míkmaq enjoyed an interconnected relationship with the land, harvesting what they needed from the earth and the ocean, guided by the concept of *Netukulimk*, the practice of sustainability. Upon the arrival of European settlers, new trade practices were introduced, and what was once plentiful was quickly depleted. Although the original inhabitants were assured that their lands would be protected by agreements and treaties, these assurances proved to be false, and the traditional relationship with the land was threatened, as the Míkmaq—presaging the fate of most Indigenous Peoples in Canada—were dispossessed of their historical lands and forced to live on reserves; many of them far away from the environments to which they had had biological and spiritual ties. Land is central to our understanding of current Indigenous health issues; centering around how the Míkmaq traditionally employed land and resources, what changes in that relationship were brought about by colonization, and how their removal to reserves influenced their relationship vis-à-vis their environment. In addressing the ways that land policies, post-first contact, were developed and implemented over time, it is possible and necessary to juxtapose that history with the story of the forced mobilization of the Míkmaq and examine the effects that the dispossession of land had upon their livelihood and economic activity. Informed by McGibbon’s paradigm of the cycles of oppression, Boyer’s study of the determinants of health is used as a lens to undertake an historical analysis of the habitation patterns of the Míkmaq who formerly resided in Siknigtuk (currently concentrated in Elsipogtog, once known as Big Cove Reserve and Richibucto Reserve #15). This critical ethnography argues that while dispossession from traditional lands and the subsequent decline of the Míkmaq population constitute a profoundly negative social determinant of health, the Elsipogtog community has responded to these conditions with resilience and perseverance.

Dedication

This is dedicated to all those who died before, during, and after the suicide crisis:

Daniel Sanipass, 29. Died in September 1989, by hanging

Marsha Clair, 23. Died in February 1990, by hanging

Andrew Augustine, 29. Died in May 1990, by overdose

Donnie Sanipass, 21. Died June 11, 1992, by hanging

Anthony Sacobie, 21. Died June 20, 1992, by hanging. Found after nine days.

David Augustine, Jr., 41. Died June 2, 1992, by hanging

Keith Augustine, 21. Died July 17, 1992, by hanging

Arthur Clair, 19. Died September 23, 1992, by hanging

Marlowe Augustine, 27. Died November 28, 1992, by hanging

Warren Augustine, 22. Died February 16, 1993, by hanging

From September 1975 to September 1992, there were twenty suicides in the community; fifteen were men, and four were women. Thirteen died by hanging; eleven were men. Three men and one woman died of gunshot wounds. Two men died of an overdose. Of those who died, two were over forty years old, three were over twenty-nine, and the rest were between ten and twenty-nine years of age.

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Figure 1: This work is for the future generations of Elsipogtog.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xii
List of Illustrations	xiii
List of Appendices	xvi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Research Design	6
1.1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.1.2 The Nature of the Problem.....	7
1.1.3 Promising Approaches for Improved Results	7
1.2 Historical Population Figures	8
1.2.1 Historical and Current Health Issues	10
1.2.2 Suicide Crisis, 1992 - 1993.....	12
1.2.3 Health Transfer Agreement	13
1.3 Summary	15
Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology	20
2.1 Literature Review	23
2.2 Mikmaq History and Indigenous Peoples' Land Loss	26
2.2.1 Indigenous Dispossession	26
2.3 Determinants of Health.....	35
2.3.1 Summary of Determinants of Health	38
2.4 Theoretical Framework.....	39

2.5	Site Selection	46
2.6	Effects of the Suicide Crisis, 1992 - 1993	47
2.7	Summary	49
Chapter 3: The History of Sikniktuk		51
3.1	History of Sikniktuk	51
3.2	The History of Chignecto and Surrounding Areas	54
3.3	The History of Specific Areas	101
3.3.1	Amherst and Sackville	101
3.3.2	Memramcook and Shediac	112
3.3.3	Moncton and Petitcodiac	117
3.3.4	Sussex and Saint John	119
3.3.5	Big Cove and Buctouche	127
3.4	Summary	139
Chapter 4: Kinship Groups and their Geographic Locations		140
4.1	Biographies	141
4.1.1	Paternal Augustine and Thomas Lineages	142
4.1.1.1	Patrick Joseph Augustine Sr. (CD) (aka Joe Patrick, Joe Pat, Gus)	142
4.1.1.2	Basil Thomas Augustine (aka Basil Tom, Bazil Tom, Thomas Theophile, Bazile Nicholas)	145
4.1.1.3	Thomas Augustine (aka Tom)	147
4.1.1.4	Pierre Augustine (aka Peter)	148
4.1.1.5	Thomas Augustine (Augustine Thomas)	149
4.1.1.5.1	Marie Anne [Paul]	149
4.1.1.5.2	Theotiste Barnaby (aka Mary)	149
4.1.1.5.3	Jean Barnaby (aka Jean Baptiste Barnaby, Jean Barnabe, John)	150
4.1.1.5.4	Vernarande Knockwood (aka Bella, Venerande Nocoute)	150
4.1.1.5.5	Joseph Noucoute (aka Knockwood)	151

4.1.1.5.6	Mary Elizabeth Bernard (aka Marie).....	151
4.1.1.5.7	Noel Bernard	151
4.1.1.5.8	Marie Anne Acoune	151
4.1.1.5.9	Mary Agnes Thomas	152
4.1.1.5.10	Francis Tomas (aka Francis Thomas, Frank Thomas).....	154
4.1.1.5.11	Alexander Thomas	155
4.1.1.5.12	Mary Labob	155
4.1.1.5.13	Mary Catherine Bernard.....	156
4.1.1.5.14	Gregoire Bernard (aka Gregory, Alexander, Sandy, Alick)	157
4.1.1.5.15	Peter Bernard.....	157
4.1.1.5.16	Mary Clements	157
4.1.1.5.17	Elizabeth Dominick.....	158
4.1.1.5.18	John Dominick	158
4.1.1.5.19	Mary Snake	158
4.1.1.6	Maternal Simon and Levy Lineages	158
4.1.1.6.1	Rita Simon.....	158
4.1.1.6.2	Simon Joe Simon (aka Simon Joseph Simon, Simon Joe, Simone)	162
4.1.1.6.3	Joseph Simon (aka Prosper, Christopher, Simon Cousper, Joe Simeon)	162
4.1.1.6.4	Catherine Sock (aka Kathleen Sark, Catherine Shaw)	163
4.1.1.6.5	Elizabeth Augustine (aka Isabel, Isabelle)	163
4.1.1.6.6	Noel Tom Augustine (aka Newel Augusteen, Newel Thomas Augustine)	164
4.1.1.6.7	Tom Augustine.....	165
4.1.1.6.8	Pierre Augustine (aka Peter).....	166
4.1.1.6.9	Mary Noel	166
4.1.1.6.10	Margaret Paul (aka Mrs. Noel Tom Augustine)	166
4.1.1.6.11	Mark Paul (aka Marc Paul Marquis)	166
4.1.1.6.12	Catherine Bernard (aka Kathelin Marc Paul)	167
4.1.1.6.13	Thomas Augustine (Augustine Thomas).....	168

4.1.1.6.14	Marie Anne (no last name found).....	168
4.1.1.6.15	Marquerite Poquechitte (aka Margaret Francis, Marichite).....	168
4.1.1.6.16	Jean Baptiste Poquechitte [Francis].....	168
4.1.1.6.17	Marie Agnes (no last name found).....	168
4.1.1.6.18	Mary Jane Levy.....	169
4.1.1.6.19	Peter Levy (aka Pierre, Peter Levi).....	169
4.1.1.6.20	Joseph Levy.....	171
4.1.1.6.21	Mary Narvy.....	171
4.1.1.6.22	Levi Young.....	171
4.1.1.6.23	Julie Augustine [Sutick, Judy or Judith].....	172
4.1.1.6.24	Mary Bella Napier.....	172
4.1.1.6.25	Louis (Tom) Napier.....	172
4.1.1.6.26	Isabel Francis (aka Esibella).....	172
4.1.2	Ancestral Geographical Locations.....	172
4.1.3	Summary.....	180
Chapter 5: The Historical Analysis of Dispossession.....		182
5.1	Historical Notes.....	183
5.1.1	A Narrative History of Big Cove.....	183
5.1.2	Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Reports.....	202
5.2	Agriculture.....	206
5.3	Education.....	212
5.4	Economic Pursuits.....	220
5.5	Health Issues.....	242
5.6	Territory and Resources.....	267
5.7	Politics.....	281
5.8	Social Issues.....	285
5.9	Criminal Justice Issues.....	289
5.10	Mobility.....	295

5.11	Other Laws and Bylaws.....	304
5.12	Information Derived from Death Certificates.....	307
5.13	Summary	311
Chapter 6: Intersectional Analysis		314
6.1	Social Determinants of Health.....	315
6.2	“Isms” as Social Determinants of Health	316
6.3	Geography as a Social Determinant of Health.....	316
6.4	French and English Colonial Era, 1600 - 1700s	325
6.5	English Colonial Era leading up to Confederation, 1800s.....	329
6.6	<i>Indian Act</i> Era and Later 1900s	335
6.7	Summary	341
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....		344
Appendices		355
References		404

List of Tables

Table 1: Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Annual Report, 2014.	14
Table 2: Historical Population Figures for Big Cove.	17
Table 3: Paternal and Maternal Lineages.....	180
Table 4: Type of Employment by Year.	223
Table 5: Types of Illness by Year	251
Table 6: Reserve Acreage (Canada, 1899, p. 465).	298
Table 7: Lower Frequencies by Sources.....	314

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: This work is for the future generations of Elsipogtog.....	vi
Figure 2: Outline of Sikniktuk	1
Figure 3: Sikniktuk Timeline	2
Figure 4: Cycle of Oppression - McGibbon, 2012a.....	6
Figure 5: Big Cove Population Growth	9
Figure 6: Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre Annual Report Graph for 2010-2014	15
Figure 7: Intersectionality of the SDOH, adapted from McGibbon (2012b), Synergies of Oppression	44
Figure 8: Map of Siknikt 1768.....	74
Figure 9: Map of Westmorland Region	93
Figure 10: Moncton-Amherst 1896	112
Figure 11: Hampton-Moncton 1896	125
Figure 12: Big Cove-Shediac 1896.....	139
Figure 13: Patrick J. Augustine CD	144
Figure 14: Basil Tom Augustine, Big Cove, NB. Thomas Augustine (aka Tom).....	147
Figure 15: Agnes and Patrick Joseph Augustine Sr.....	153
Figure 16: Saint Anne Church, Lennox Island, PEI	155
Figure 17: Simon Family John Simon (aka Joseph, John Joe, Johnny, “Big John”).....	161
Figure 18: Lord Beaverbrook greets my grandfather John Simon	161
Figure 19: My Great- Grandmother Elizabeth [Augustine] Isabel Simon.....	164
Figure 20: My maternal great uncles, the Levy Brothers	170
Figure 21: Chiefs of Big Cove by Year	183

Figure 22: Chief Anthony Francis	193
Figure 23: Population of Sikniktuk by Year: 1868 to 1913.....	204
Figure 24: Relief and Seed Grain.....	210
Figure 25: Annual Record of Teachers on the Reserve	212
Figure 26: Kings County Populations by Year	224
Figure 27: Medical Expenses by Year	243
Figure 28: Medical Expenses by Year 1893 -1923.....	244
Figure 29: Agnes Augustine, and others, walking the rails.	254
Figure 30: Chief Israel Knockwood: with headdress, holding child, Dorchester Reserve, possibly Indian Point or Beaumont, NB	266
Figure 31: Kent County Reserve Populations by Year	267
Figure 32: Westmorland County Reserve Populations by Year	268
Figure 33: Kings County Populations by Year	277
Figure 34: Population of Sikniktuk by Year: 1868 to 1913.....	285
Figure 35: Number of Convictions Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month.....	292
Figure 36: Number of Charges for Intoxicants Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month	293
Figure 37: Number of Driving Violations Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month ..	294
Figure 38: Deaths by Decade and Gender	307
Figure 39: Deaths by Location and Decade	308
Figure 40: Causes of Death and Secondary Diseases by Decade	309
Figure 41: Number of Deaths in Age Groups	310
Figure 42: Occupations Listed on Death Certificates	310

Figure 43: Other Information Derived from Death Certificates	311
Figure 44: Frequencies of References.....	317
Figure 45: Frequencies of Sources.....	320
Figure 46: Lower Frequencies by References	321
Figure 47: Lower Frequencies by Sources.....	324

List of Appendices

<i>A</i>	<i>Treaties and Land Documents</i>	355
A1:	1725 Treaty, Boston	355
A2:	1726 Ratification, Halifax	356
A3:	1749 Treaty, Halifax.....	360
A4:	1752 Treaty, Halifax.....	362
A5:	1760 Richibucto Treaty, Bay Verte.....	364
A6:	1761 Treaties, Halifax	366
A7:	1762 Belcher's Proclamation.....	366
A8:	1763 Royal Proclamation	367
A9:	1776 Watertown Treaty, near Boston.....	371
A10:	1778 Peace Conference at Saint John.....	374
A11:	1779 Treaty, Miramichi.....	375
A12:	1783 Chief Julien Lands.....	377
A13:	1784 Partition of Nova Scotia	377
A14:	1789 Julien Tribe land reduction.....	380
A15:	1802 Richibucto Indian Lands.....	380
A16:	1805 Richibucto Tribe land reduction.....	381
A17:	1816 Richibucto Tribe Petition.....	381
A18:	1820 Jacob Powell Petition	382

A19:	1823 Danial Hannington Petition	382
A20:	1824 Richibucto Reserve reduced	382
A21:	1844 NB passed Indian lands legislation.....	383
A22:	Reserve Reduction.....	385
A23:	1876 Big Cove land sale for Church	385
A24:	1885 Big Cove Lands sold	386
A25:	1885 Big Cove Squatters	387
A26:	1886 Big Cove land sales	388
<i>B</i>	<i>Comparing the Determinants of Health.....</i>	<i>389</i>
B1:	Comparing the SDOH of McGibbon and Boyer	389
B2:	SDOH from the Literature Review.....	390
<i>C</i>	<i>Elsipogtog Profile and Statistics.....</i>	<i>391</i>
C1:	Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Population figures	391
C2:	Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Household Figures, 2007	391
C3:	Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Religious Affiliation	391
<i>D</i>	<i>Death Certificate Information.....</i>	<i>392</i>
D1:	1880s	392
D2:	1890s	392
D3:	1900s	393
D4:	1910s	393
D5:	1920s	393

D6:	1930s	396
D7:	1940s	401
D8:	1950s	402
D9:	1960s	402
D10:	No Date.....	403

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Traditional Mikmaq District of Sikniqt/Sikniqtuk² extended from the Miramichi River in New Brunswick downward to approximately Amherst, Nova Scotia, and to all the tributaries draining into the Northumberland Strait. The anglicized name of the district was applied to the *Isthmus of Chignecto* proximate to the border between the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Oral tradition indicates there were originally six districts in traditional Mikmaq lands, or Míkmake; Sikniqtuk was the sixth. However, Kespek, or the Gaspé area in Quebec later became the seventh district.

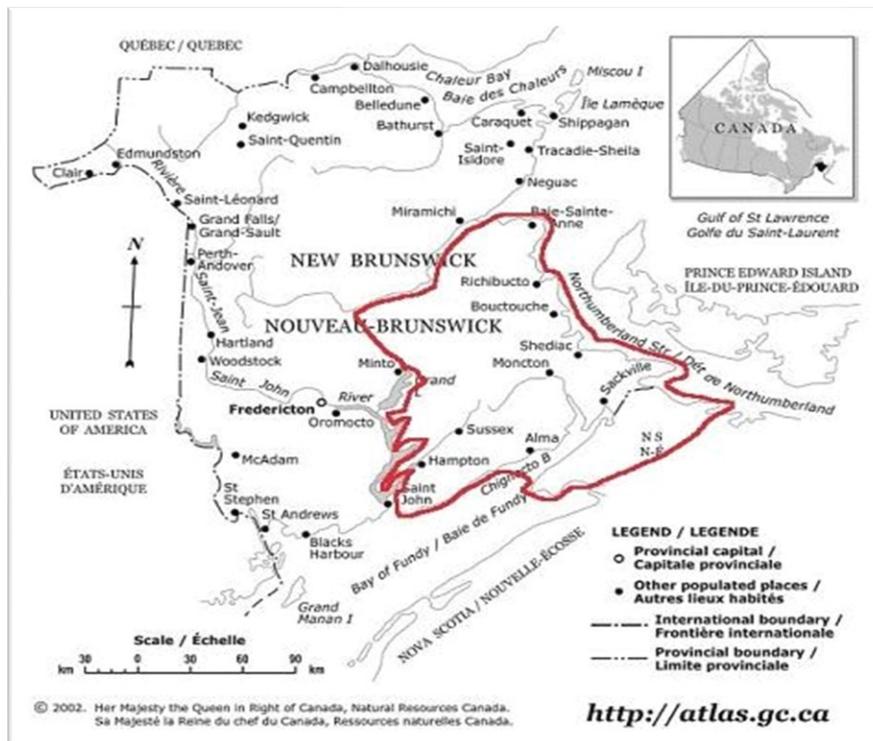


Figure 2: Outline of Sikniqtuk

² Sikniqtuk means “the drainage area” in the Mikmaq language (Sable & Francis, 2012).

There is no comprehensive history of the Míkmaq in Sikniktuk. We do know, however, that French explorers reached the area in the 1600s, followed shortly after by settlement across what is now the Maritime provinces. Jesuit missionaries, who arrived in company with the explorers, were sympathetic to the Míkmaq and described their lifestyles in journals, although these descriptions were influenced by their own cultural assumptions. During this time, according to their accounts, the French and Míkmaq shared land and resources. The French aristocrat and explorer, Nicholas Denys, (1908) recounted many societal changes, which resulted in the Míkmaq relying heavily on metal trade goods, introduced by European



Figure 3: Sikniktuk Timeline

settlers. Early trade was facilitated by ships whose crew bartered brandy for furs. Denys (1908), opined that alcohol, also offered in trade, was devastating to Míkmaq cultural integrity.

Trade continued in various harbours throughout the area during the seventeenth century. The Míkmaq found that shifting from subsistence to a fur trade economy caused great strain on the local food supply. Míkmaq men trapped for fur and the Míkmaq eventually depleted the available game (Bailey, 1969) while the women and children lived near trading posts or settlements and increasingly subsisted on European food (Neitfield, 1981). In conjunction with introduced diseases, these economic and societal events considerably reduced the Indigenous population through increased mortality. Throughout this early period, much of the land remained relatively undisturbed (Pellissier, 1977). However, by the early 18th century, and with little consideration for the Indigenous relationship to the land, European nations began entering into grants, charters, proclamations, and treaties dealing with *Mikmaki*, or Land of the Míkmaq.

In 1713, as part of the Treaty of Utrecht, the French ceded Acadia to the British (Laxer, 2006; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990; Scobie, 2008). Then, in 1726, the chiefs of Richibucto and Chignecto signed a similar treaty, consenting to peace and friendship with the British.³ These treaties with the Míkmaq were delayed European responses to previous land claims by the Míkmaq, who have always claimed they had never given up their land. Treaties had implied land transfers but did not deal with the actual land issues. The English and French vied to settle the land throughout Míkmake; however, English settlement in the region was tenuous. Although the Acadians were subject to the British, they would not bear arms against the French nor the Míkmaq (Laxer, 2006). In 1755, at the time of the Acadian Deportation, Fort Beauséjour⁴ fell to the British in the struggle for dominance between the French and English (Laxer, 2006;

³ The terms “English” and “British” are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

⁴ Fort Beausejour is southeast of present-day Sackville, NB, and is close to the border with Nova Scotia.

Pincombe & Larracey, 1990) and the Míkmaq Chiefs signed Peace and Friendship treaties in 1760 and 1761, near the end of the Seven Years' War. This era marked the beginning of a British colonial administration that subsequently neglected the Indigenous Peoples and deprived the Míkmaq of their rights and livelihoods.

During the mid-1700s, the British hypocritically maintained the treaty relationship of peace and friendship, while simultaneously allowing settlers to dispossess the Míkmaq of their land. The British issued proclamations enticing settlement of the region with land grants, including the Charter of Nova Scotia in 1759 (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). British and English Americans also vied for settlement of the region. During the American Revolution in 1776, a contingent of Míkmaq and Maliseet expressed their dissatisfaction with the British at Watertown, Massachusetts. The settlers supporting the Americans raised the Eddy Rebellion in 1776 but failed in their opposition against the British in Chignecto (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990, p. 60). There was no great Míkmaq support for the Americans during this uprising, as the Míkmaq men were loath to leave their families alone and defenseless in the face of potential British retaliation.

The Míkmaq petitioned the newly formed colonial administration of New Brunswick for their lands, which they felt were under threat, under a complex system of land grants and licenses (Hamilton, 1984, p. 3). The Loyalist incursion of the late 1700s was central to the displacement of not only the Míkmaq, but other settlers, as well. The majority of Loyalists were former soldiers of provincial armies from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware and they strongly campaigned for a new province, favouring “continuing imperial presence of Great Britain in North America (Reid, 1987, p. 64). Reid notes that

Between 1783 and 1785, approximately 15,000 loyalists arrived in what would become the colony of New Brunswick. Most of them landed at the mouth of the St. John River,

overwhelming the 400 plus civilians and troops living there, and founding the city of Saint John. As they made their way up the St. John River Valley, they also displaced the approximately 5000 people already living in the territory, including settlers from New England, Pennsylvania, Yorkshire, Ireland and other areas of Great Britain; the indigenous Wulstukwuk (Maliseet) and Mi'kmaq, who were forced unto reserves in Oromocto, St. Mary's and Kingsclear; and the recently returned Acadians, who migrated to Madawaska and elsewhere (Reid, 1987, p. 64).⁵

At the turn of the 19th century, Indian colonial policy sought to locate Mi'kmaq on reserves, which further prevented them from participating in local economies. Many Mi'kmaq were concentrated on reserves by the 1900s and federal Indian policies reflected and promoted that reality which McNutt (2020) referred to as “colonialism by neglect” (pp.2) which manifested as a general reluctance by the colonial government to aid the Mi'kmaq. The development and implementation of Indian policies increased sharply after World War II.

This case study focuses on the Mi'kmaq who formerly resided in Sikniktuk and who now, because of these interventions and subsequent policies, are concentrated in Elsipogtog, formerly known as the Big Cove Reserve and Richibucto Reserve #15. The study is also an historical critical ethnography and examines dispossession and oppression as a social determinant of health for the Mi'kmaq. Using McGibbon's (2012a) “cycle of oppression” paradigm, coupled with Boyer's study of Indigenous health and the law as a lens, the case study represents an historical analysis of Mi'kmaq oppression and resiliency through the intersections of the social determinants of health. A history of Sikniktuk from library and archival research is

⁵ See, also, the New Brunswick Loyalist Journeys project which recreates the stories of Loyalists of the American Revolution by using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology and resources in The Loyalist Collection and University of New Brunswick Libraries.

complemented by my personal family history, outlining both matri- and patri-lineages derived from archival documents and church records, consisting of birth, marriage, and death certificates, and census data. Historical records of Big Cove were obtained through both library and archival research, including official documents from the Miramichi Agency of the Indian Affairs Branch.

1.1 Research Design

1.1.1 Statement of the Problem

The Míkmaq dispossession from their traditional lands, through colonization and marginalization, created many social and health disparities. A history of land use, changing relationships to the land with the arrival of colonizing nations, overlaid with Míkmaq social and economic fluctuations, population loss, and dispersal, illustrates the fact that the health of the Míkmaq—on social, physical, mental, and spiritual levels—was impacted by land displacement, which ultimately became a determinant of their health.

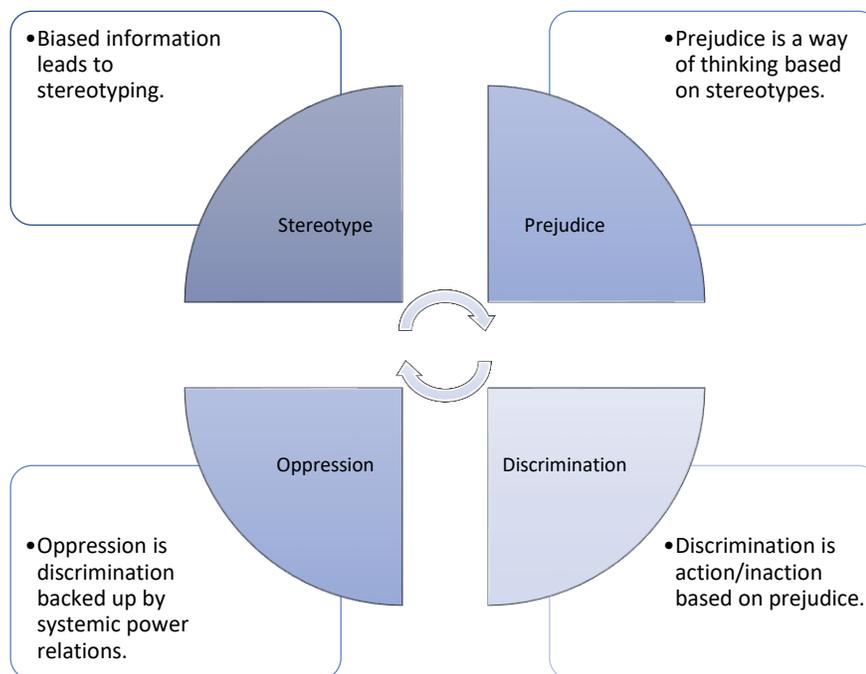


Figure 4: Cycle of Oppression - McGibbon, 2012a

1.1.2 The Nature of the Problem

There are different perceptions of land ownership and treaty relationships. The Míkmaq viewed treaty promises of peace and friendship as forms of protection because the Royal Proclamation (1763) did not explicitly mention or include Míkmaq lands in protecting Aboriginal Title.

International treaties between European countries were assumed to have previously addressed Míkmaq lands, transferred often between France and England. The British acquired Acadian land mainly through conquest, often with the assistance of American colonies. Acadia was alternately under French control through various treaties; the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1632), Breda (1667), and Ryswick (1697). Acadia was returned to the British through the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), went back to France through the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, and was lost again to the British at the end of the Seven Year' War through the Treaty of Paris (1763).

For centuries, governments ignored Míkmaq land title claims of ownership of the land (Peace, 2011, p. 200). The Euro-centric nature of treaty relationships rarely mirrors traditional Míkmaq cosmology regarding land use and occupation, resulting in a fracturing of the interconnectedness between the people and the land, and negatively impacting the wellbeing of both. The main problem is one of Míkmaq dispossession of their traditional lands, which led to issues of sustenance and survival, and, in turn, subsequent poor health and increased mortality rates.⁶

1.1.3 Promising Approaches for Improved Results

One helpful aspect of considering the social determinants of health is an examination of the nature of oppression. McGibbon describes the cycle of oppression as the “cause of causes” for ill health (2012a, p. 31). She outlines the cycle as follows: the creation of biased information

⁶ See Appendix 1, Treaties and Land Documents.

about Indigenous Peoples leads to the application of oppressive values, beliefs, and assumptions, subsequently influencing institutional practices through policies. Through the cycle of oppression, biased information leads to stereotyping; this creates oppressive power relations. Stereotypes create prejudices embedded within these oppressive power relations. As a result, the dual acts and inactions of prejudice lead to discrimination within those power relations. In turn, discrimination, backed by systemic power relations, creates oppression. Similarly, systemic racism promotes the development of a Euro-centric framework of “racialized ideas, stereotypes, emotions, and inclinations to discriminate” (Feagin, 2013, p 25). Feagin (2013) notes that both immigrants and Indigenous inhabitants are forced to assimilate to the “folkways” of settler society. My research focus is on the colonial aspect of systemic oppression. It examines the problem of dispossession by studying the oppression of Míkmaq and the intersectionality of various determinants of health, such as race/racism, sexism, and social exclusion, discussed in further depth in the theoretical framework.⁷ Further, it emphasizes the response of Indigenous Peoples, particularly those in Elsipogtog, to the practices of discrimination that have had a profound impact upon their health.

1.2 Historical Population Figures ⁸

In this section, I provide population figures which will be examined along with health reporting in the Indian Affairs annual reports outlined in the next section. It is important to note, here, the problematic nature of state-collected census data, which fails to address such issues as traditional adoption practices, and which does not always capture the full story of a given

⁷ Intersectionality describes the convergence of elements such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status and the ways in which these combine to compound the structural barriers faced, in this case, by Míkmaq.

⁸ Canadian censuses were not always accurate. For instance, the 1851 Census fails to include Indigenous Peoples in New Brunswick. Also, census-takers faced resistance from Indigenous Peoples who refused to be participate. From my personal recollection, for the longest time, my community of Elsipogtog First Nation refused to participate in census-taking as they did not recognize Canadian jurisdiction over the reserve.

community. An early 1708 census for the Chignecto Míkmaq listed 22 men, 20 women, nine boys over 15 years, 20 boys under 15, 23 girls, and 6 newborns, totaling 100 (Acadian Home, 2014). The 1708 census included 31 warriors. By 1882, the Big Cove population was 248 and by 1913, it was 335. These figures were taken from Indian Affairs annual reports (Library and Archives Canada, 2014). There were years that the population figures for Big Cove were not reported in the Annual Reports, and there is a significant sixty-two-year gap in population reporting between 1913 and 1982. The band population was 1,199 in 1982 and, ten years later, in 1992, had risen to 1,430. Canadian census data were used for the years 2006 and 2011; they recorded the population as 1,897 in 2006 and 1,985 in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2012). The Indian Register, currently maintained by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, listed the on-reserve populations for 1990, 1992, 2006, 2011, and 2013 as follows; 1479, 1607, 2131, 2347, and 2435, which suggests a possible under-reporting in the census (Canada, 2014) as a considerable number of community members refused to participate in census-taking.

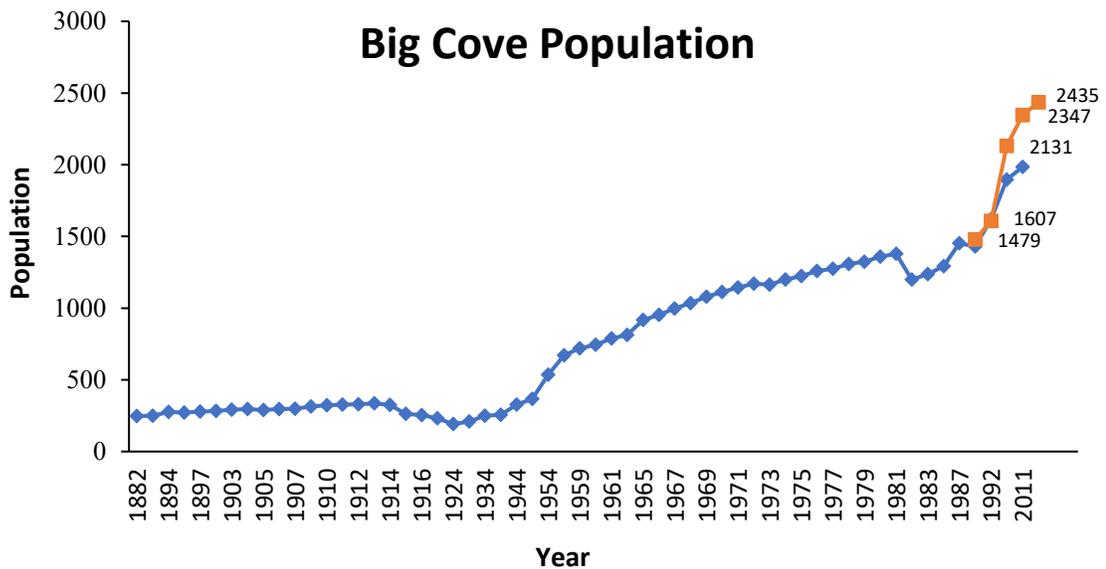


Figure 5: Big Cove Population Growth

1.2.1 Historical and Current Health Issues

In 1763, a proclamation was issued concerning the oversight of the colonies which were, at that point, predominantly in the hands of the British. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 established firm guidelines surrounding interactions with Indigenous Peoples and made the Indian Department the focal point of contact (Walters, 2015, p. 57; Titley, 1992, p. 2). Once Indigenous Peoples were less useful as allies in war, the approach of British colonizers towards them changed and they engaged in a campaign of controlling Indigenous Peoples, using the Indian Department as a vehicle in this endeavour. In 1857, enfranchisement, or the ability to obtain citizenship by renouncing one's Indigenous identity, was offered to eligible adult Indigenous men through the Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Canadas, and it became clear through the introduction of this legislation that responsibility for dealing with the Indigenous population was moving from imperial to colonial control (Titley, 1992, p. 4). It is in this post-imperial period that the records which I examine begin.

In the 1886 Indian Affairs annual reports, Big Cove was described as "pretty well off" in 1886 (Canada, 1887, p. 34), and "fairly comfortable" in 1887 (Canada, 1888, p. xxxix). It was cited as the most populous reserve in the Eastern Superintendency in 1888, with one doctor paid to take care of those in Big Cove. There were some cases of sickness and intemperance reported by the agency in 1889, and Big Cove was cited as "very well off" (Canada, 1890, p. 174.) No significant health issues were reported until 1898 when there were numerous deaths due to pneumonia, consumption, and measles. Those living off the reserve were making and selling baskets in the south and living in huts and shanties; these were described as "crowded and filthy" (Canada, 1897, p. 53) and the residents as "indolent and improvident" (Canada, 1899, p. 58) people who "depend on begging" (Canada, 1897, p. 53). Despite the on-reserve and off-reserve

migration, Indian Affairs deemed those off and those on reserve to be separate groups. Those living along the Intercolonial Railway were removed to other locations, and it is unclear whether that move was of their own volition or whether they were relocated by the authorities (Canada, 1898, p. 54). During the winter of 1899, there was “much sickness” reported by Indian Affairs, with a high death rate (p. 58). During the spring, filth and garbage were removed from the Mikmaq surroundings and burnt, which became an annual event. Their dwellings were also lime-washed. Houses on reserve were built by the federal government. Water access was limited to springs and artesian wells.

“A great deal of sickness” and death continued in the early 1900s, with occurrences of pneumonia, tuberculosis, and other lung conditions (Canada, 1900, p. 60). In 1901, a case of measles killed a number of children. In 1902, along with increased sickness, the Indian Affairs annual reports began reporting doctors’ salaries in locations such as Rexton, Buctouche, Sussex, Moncton, and Shediac. From the research, I was not able to determine if the doctors were adequately compensated and how their pay compared to that of other doctors. The death rate was higher in 1904, and a severe winter in 1905 resulted in “much sickness and destitution.” People from Big Cove spent the winter at Painsec Junction, outside of Moncton, where five died from pneumonia. In 1906, some Big Cove families were living outside Rogersville along the railway. That year, diphtheria broke out on the reserve, resulting in a quick quarantine. The 1908 annual report for Indian Affairs listed Grippe [influenza] as a health issue, but after 1907, “much sickness” (p. 52) declined to “some sickness” (1909, p. 58). “Much sickness” and a “few deaths” were reported the following years (1910, p. 57; 1911, p. 62), with diphtheria and smallpox cited for the latter. A smallpox outbreak required an increase in relief efforts; the Big Cove School closed, quarantines were ordered, and vaccinations were administered to the residents. The

majority of Indians were deemed to be “making no progress whatsoever” (1911, p. 63), in relation to their economic situation. Considerable sickness and the usual pulmonary ailments were reported in 1913 and 1914, (1913, p. 59; 1914, p. 29) and later declined in 1915, attributed to improved housing conditions. In 1916, Indian Affairs reported considerable numbers of cases of the flu, and a few cases of pneumonia. Reporting on the health conditions in the annual reports discontinued after 1916, although doctors continued to be salaried until 1922, after the Indigenous population in New Brunswick fell under National Health and Welfare policies which were administered by the federal government.

Population increases, lower infant death rates than before 1922, improved medical services, and better living standards were reported in 1953. There was a huge gap in the reported population figures within the departmental annual reports between 1916 and 1953, possibly due to changes in administrations and shifts in federal health policies. I researched the area where information was lacking. Health standards were classed as “high” in 1959, with the uptake of New Brunswick’s provincial health care. Relief assistance was more pronounced in 1960 than pre-1945, and the Big Cove Health Committee⁹ reported tuberculosis cases, reports which assisted the Indian Health Services. There was no further reporting of health issues by Indian Affairs after 1960, as jurisdiction for this moved to the province under its health insurance. The next major health issue was the suicide crisis in the early 1990s, which was not included in the annual reports.

1.2.2 Suicide Crisis, 1992 - 1993

A suicide crisis began on the Big Cove Reserve in 1992 with seven deaths and seventy-five attempts (Chenier, 1995). By 1994, ten youth had died, and, in commenting on this state of

⁹ This was an advisory committee set up in Big Cove and comprised of community members who reported their findings to Indian Affairs.

affairs, within a country profile, the U.S. State Department predicted more deaths due to social problems and inadequate housing conditions (U.S. Department of State, 1997). The U.S. Department of State (1997) reported on Canada's human rights and the suicide crisis, and Canada's 1991 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples reported the crisis (Chenier, 1995), as well. The community organized a seven-day mourning ceremony in order to prevent further suicides (Hornborg, 2005) and incorporated the church and traditional healers in the healing (McFarlane, 1997). An inquest held in 1992 included a recommendation to encourage relying on traditional healing in dealing with the issue (Chenier, 1995). A community sharing circle, held at the Big Cove Community Hall in March 1993, also favoured healing sought through traditional ceremonies where Native spirituality and Christianity could be mixed (Augustine, 1993). Inquest recommendations outlined the multifactorial aspect of the suicides and the multijurisdictional responsibilities involved (Augustine, 1993). These included: improved communications, community development, stricter control over substances, a community-based mental health program, improved policing, government support of self-determination, adequate funding for community services and programs, and studies to assess community problems (Augustine, 1993). The federal government was targeted to provide financial support for some of these recommendations, while the provincial government was asked to support areas of mental health, economic development, community development, and to return any lost reserve lands (Augustine, 1993).

1.2.3 Health Transfer Agreement

Elsipogtog entered into a federal health transfer agreement in 1992. The comprehensive agreement covered a broad range of community health services, including primary care, promotion of good health practices, various services offered in response to health issues within

the community, alcohol and drug addiction programming, and prenatal nutrition. The community fosters the notion of community-based health, relying on all strata of the society to put forward their mission; “the promotion and provision of wholistic health and wellness services, responsive to our community needs, to affirm confidence, pride and self-responsibility.”¹⁰ The Elsipogtog Health and Wellness annual report of 2014 outlines the following responses to various issues faced by the community, including the numbers of people assisted.

Communicable Diseases		Community Crisis Response	
Flu vaccines	624	Crisis calls	93
Contact tracing	99	Follow-up	68
Mental Health & Addictions		Information	62
Depression	271	Crisis calls and assistance	37
Anxiety	242	Other	34
Trauma	173	Assistance	32
Stress reduction	163	Community Justice	
Complicated grief	103	Restorative justice	34
Sexual abuse	77	Victim’s assistance	38
Family crisis intervention	57	Healing and wellness court	30
Suicide risk assessments	34		
Alcohol and Drug Prevention			
Adult counseling	405		
Adolescent counseling	269		
Primary interventions	12		
Sweats	138		
Anger management	18		
Restorative justice circles	15		

Table 1: Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Annual Report, 2014.

¹⁰ See the Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre pamphlet. <https://www.vitalitenb.ca/sites/default/files/documents/tsaf/EHWC-2018pamphlet.pdf>

The following graph provides comparative data for cases/visits for the Health and Wellness Centre from 2010-11 through 2013-14 (EHWC, 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014). However, these data do not reflect services obtained outside the reserve through other agencies, clinics, or hospitals. The report format for 2010-11 did not provide figures for Communicable Diseases and Community Crisis Responses, and subsequent years may not reflect consistent categories for reporting.

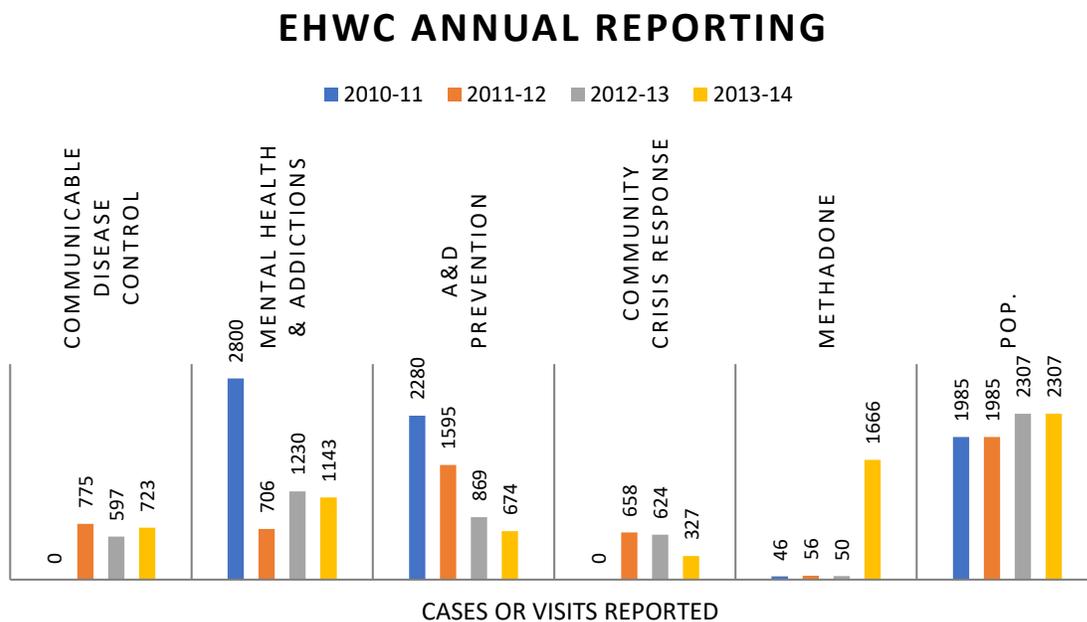


Figure 6: Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre Annual Report Graph for 2010-2014

1.3 Summary

There is a dearth of literature specific to the notion of land as a health determinant for the Mikmaq, and to the relation of land dispossession and health. These are obvious gaps, and my research provides an initial glimpse into this area of study. I did not find any research findings on the social determinants of health that applied directly to the Mikmaq. Historically, authors such

as Neitfield (1981) and Battiste (1997) wrote about the Míkmaq relationship to the land, while Whitehead (1991) briefly discussed conflict over land in Chignecto. Legislation allegedly designed to protect “Indian” lands did not prevent their appropriation to settlers (Dickason, 1992; Gould & Semple, 1980). Despite assertions that Míkmaq culture survived through accommodation of Euro-Canadian culture (Wallis & Wallis, 1955), Bartlett (1986) found they were dispossessed of reserve lands, which were referred to as “islands” (Hornborg, 2001). The Míkmaq were located away from industrial centres (Larsen, 1983), and pushed to the periphery of viable land use and development (Reid, 1995), resulting in dispossession from the land that was once entirely accessible to them. The Míkmaq resisted federal control of the Band Council political systems in the early 1900s (Walls, 2010). Some rationalized welfare as compensation for lost lands (Hornborg, 2008). Wicken (2012) described different interpretations of treaties over time; when these treaties were used as court arguments, he found that, although the Míkmaq won in court, they lost in public opinion (Wicken, 2002). The Marshall ruling, which determined that the Míkmaq had the right, under an existing treaty, to harvest eels, did not alleviate Indigenous-Canadian tensions, and land rights continued to be suppressed (Coates, 2000). The research for this dissertation determined that the continued existence of legislation and policies led to dispossession, which negatively affected Míkmaq health.

The historical population figures and the health data provide background for the current health issues of the Míkmaq. One hundred Míkmaq were listed in the 1708 Chignecto census (Acadian Home, 2014). The following table indicates a slow on-reserve population increase of

35% between 1882 and 1913. Between 1913 and 1982, the population increased by 258% increase, and between 1913 and 2013 it increased a further 627%.

BIG COVE RESERVE	Library and Archives Canada, 2014				Statistics Canada, 2014		Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 2014	
	YEAR	1882	1913	1982	1989	2006	2011	2011
Population	248	335	1,199	1,430	1,897	1,985	2,347	2,435

Table 2: Historical Population Figures for Big Cove.

Indian Affairs annual reports were the sources for the following historical health issues. The reports described those in Big Cove as living in “comfortable circumstances” with a salaried doctor serving them in 1886 (p. xxxvi). Death and disease were increasingly reported. Deaths resulted from tuberculosis and pneumonia, along with measles, reported in 1898. Those living off the reserve in 1899 had much sickness, together with a high death rate. Pulmonary ailments continued into the early 1900s, and measles in 1901 again resulted in the deaths of a number of children. Salaried doctors were located in Rexton, Buctouche, Sussex, Moncton, and Shediac, where some continued to practice into the 1920s. There was a higher Big Cove death rate in 1904, with further disease outbreaks in 1906, 1910, and 1911. Ailments declined from 1913 until 1916, due to improved housing. Flu broke out in 1916 along with a few cases of pneumonia. Health reporting by Indian Affairs was discontinued after 1916, and not until 1953 did the department report that health standards had improved for Big Cove, which came under provincial health care in 1959. The responsibility of Indian Health was transferred from the federal to provincial governments. The reserve was more dependent on relief in 1960 due to

unemployment¹¹; however, the annual reports gave no indication of the cause. By the mid-1900s, more people were located in Big Cove, with good living standards and under the provincial health system; however, they were dependent on relief assistance. There were no significant health issues on the reserve until the suicide crisis in the early 1990s.

Big Cove reported on its core services delivered on the reserve for the fiscal year 2010-11. According to the Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre's annual report for 2010-11, the highest number of visits to the centre were for mental health and addictions issues, followed by alcohol and drug prevention, communicable disease control, community crisis response, and Methadone treatment. This order of visits remained consistent over the years of reporting. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Big Cove experienced many diseases and deaths, possibly linked to geographical locations and economic opportunity.

My Uncle William John Simon was a police constable who kept monthly reports on policing in Big Cove. He noted that alcohol use increased during the mid-1960s. An alcohol referendum was passed around that time to legalize alcohol consumption in Big Cove. By the early 1990s, alcohol and drugs were so problematic they contributed to the suicide crisis. Recently, the number of persons receiving alcohol and drug counseling was 753, while 273 persons received services for mental health and addictions. Counselling services represented approximately 33 percent of the population but amounted to 1.14 times the community's total visits, and mental health and addictions services were given to about 12 percent of the population but amounted to 1.4 times the total visits. The health data illustrate that over time there is a link between historical loss of lands and traditional economies, Indian policy and colonization. This led to societal and health disparities, to the extent that this dispossession of land became a

¹¹ People in Big Cove had an increased dependency on welfare as employment was scarce in New Brunswick around that time. Some Mi'kmaq moved to New England to find employment.

determinant of health. Despite the challenges arising from oppressive policies, the residents of Eلسipogtog relied on the continuity of cultural practices and the creation of new community-led health services to take steps to return to a sense of well-being.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the pertinent literature related to Míkmaq land use and occupation, both traditionally and following colonization. In addition, it addresses the parameters of social determinants of health and the interconnectedness of land, spirituality, Indigenous cosmologies, and wellbeing. Further, the chapter outlines health reporting on the region of Big Cove, from such sources as Indian Affairs and the Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre, to demonstrate variations in the health of the community over time, culminating in the suicide crisis of the 1990s.

The body of literature addressed here was obtained through a rigorous and systematic search of several sources. Data collection was done through archival and library research, along with the collection of autobiographical data and the use of auto-ethnography. There is no single, continuous history involving the Míkmaq of Sikniktuk. Much of what was written about this group was obtained by the author through passing references in many local histories through the southeast region of New Brunswick. The historical component consists primarily of library research and involves the libraries of the University of New Brunswick, *l'Université de Moncton*, Mount Allison University, and the provincial libraries located at Richibucto, Shediac, Moncton, and Sackville, with interlibrary loans from the Sussex and Saint John branches. These provide a historical chronology of the local area within Westmorland, Kent, and Kings Counties, which formerly contained the Traditional District of Sikniktuk, or Chignecto. The study excludes Cumberland County in Nova Scotia, which comprises the Indian settlement of Springhill Junction and the abandoned Franklin Manor Reserve. The chronology covers the period from the early 1700s (involving the early treaty era, the fall of Fort Beauséjour, colonial settlement by the Loyalists and people from Yorkshire in England) up to the 1800s, when Indian reserves and their

administration were established. The history of the traditional district establishes the traditional locations of Mikmaq throughout the region in contrast to their subsequent dispossession. There are obvious and numerous gaps in the history of the region pertaining to the Mikmaq. Many of these gaps cannot be filled where records do not exist or were destroyed, as is the case for many births in Kent County, after New Brunswick became a province. The official record of the creation of the Big Cove Reserve in 1802 was torn from the colonial archival documents, and the information exists only in secondary sources.

The historical census study was derived from provincial archival sources located at the University of New Brunswick. This component is quantitative, as well as spatial. Initially, I conducted genealogies of my parents' families—including their extended families—who are multigenerational residents of Elsipogtog. Through provincial vital statistics, I examined my ancestors' birth, marriage, and death certificates, along with census data, and determined their historical location of residence. Information for the genealogies was obtained from the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. Some Catholic Church registers for Westmorland, Kent, and King's Counties¹² are located at the Provincial Archives housed at the University of New Brunswick campus in Fredericton. The Nova Scotia Archives in Halifax and the Prince Edward Island Provincial Archives were researched for genealogies, although the focus was on ancestors in New Brunswick. The ancestral data were coded chronologically and by place, and the information was developed into a narrative. The data were placed in their historical location to analyze the findings, spatially and chronologically. The genealogies also provided the historical auto-ethnographic narrative. Gaps also exist when the

¹² Westmorland County registers cover Barachois, Memramcook, Scoudouc, and St. Anselme Parishes; Kent County registers cover Buctouche, Carleton, Pointe-Sapin, Richibucto, and St. Louis-de-Kent parishes, and King's County for Hampton, Norton, and Sussex parishes.

region fell under the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia, prior to the formation of New Brunswick. Few births and deaths were recorded for the Míkmaq during New Brunswick's administrative infancy, and where the Míkmaq were illiterate, the Catholic clergy recorded names phonetically, resulting in numerous variations in spelling. I employed the best reasonable guess to which family the spelling likely refers. The archival records located at the *Centre d'Études Acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson*, Université de Moncton, were relied upon heavily as their database includes many Míkmaq from New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia. Oral tradition was also used to fill in some gaps, although lost information was anticipated.

This historical policy study was also carried out through a textual review of archival data compiled from the early government of New Brunswick and the Miramichi Agency of the Indian Affairs Branch. The study historically reviewed the relationship of the health determinants to the physical environment/land, and the Míkmaq movement upon it. This examination included early treaties with the Míkmaq and their impact on economic activity, followed by British proclamations dealing with land, as well as the petitions for Indian land grants and the establishment of Indian reserves in New Brunswick. The qualitative component also focused on information that pertained to the health determinant of income related to basket making, farming, crafts, fishing, logging, and welfare, or relief. Other determinants include the social safety net, social exclusion, unemployment, and geography. The data sources were derived from the New Brunswick government and the Indian Agents' correspondence that pertained to the Míkmaq in Elsipogtog and surrounding areas. These were obtained through Indian Agents' reports, interoffice memos, letters and correspondence, and policy bulletins. The study reviewed documents addressing Canada's Indian policy and the history of the Míkmaq in relation to the effects of colonial and Canadian policy, in a manner similar to my examination of the

ethnography that explored Aboriginal-state relations and drew comparisons between the institutional arrangements and trajectories of those relations (Dyck, 2006). These archival and historical documents were accessed through the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick and through Library and Archives Canada (LAC). They included Department of Indian Affairs' Miramichi Agency¹³ files, Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864-1990 LAC online documents, colonial New Brunswick Indian Affairs documents¹⁴ and anthropology/ethnology studies¹⁵ referenced in Indian Affairs files. I examined the Indian Affairs material in the context of a continuation of previous colonial policy. Gaps existed in colonial documents and Indian Affairs, as more detailed reporting did not occur until after World War II. Indian Affairs' focus during the early 1900s was on band government elections and agriculture. Economic development and treaty rights issues did not receive greater attention until the 1960s.

2.1 Literature Review

Colonization in Canada was characterized by the acquisition of Aboriginal lands and resources by non-Indigenous settlers which consequently limited the availability of resources and opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to maintain their health, through the traditional means of interconnectedness with their environment (Doyle, 2011; Nelson, 2012). In effect, the loss of traditional connection to the land, resulting from the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples' territories, arguably led to health disparities (De Leeuw et al., 2010). The interconnectedness

¹³ The LAC Indian Affairs files are also on microfilm reels C-15196 (Miramichi Agency – School Buildings, Medical Buildings & Installations, Administration Buildings, and Band Management), C-15195 (Miramichi Agency – Organization & Administration, Band Management, Staff matters, and Central Registry Files), C-15200 (Miramichi Agency – Law Enforcement, Economic Development, and Health Services), C-15199 (Miramichi Agency – Farming), vol. 8382 [RG216-504-6-E] (Central Registry Files, Miramichi Agency – Health Services, Farming, Arts & Crafts, Equipment & Supplies, and Welfare Equipment & Supplies).

¹⁴ The colonial NB Indian Affairs documents are available online from the University of New Brunswick Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁵ The Canadian Museum of Canada Archives have several ethnologies written on Big Cove, including by Algie Corsetti (1963), Edward A. Eagle (1963), and Mohamed Guessous (1960).

between land, food, and health were key components to Indigenous Peoples' well-being and all of these were affected by the loss of land (King, 2009). Colonization directly resulted in the displacement and marginalization of Aboriginal communities, and thus, arguably can be understood as a health determinant (Nelson, 2012; Richmond & Ross, 2008a; World Health Organization, 2007; Jacklin, 2009). Richmond and Ross make the argument that colonization and marginalization have created health and social disparities for Indigenous Peoples (2008b). Further to this, on a global scale, poor health, lower social gradients of health¹⁶ within countries, along with marked health inequities were caused by “the unequal distribution of power, income, goods and services” (Bryant et al., 2010).

The Míkmaq of Sikniktuk were centrally located at Richibucto in the nineteenth century. During the early 1900s, the colonial settlers pushed them to what is now Big Cove Reserve (Elsipogtog), according to a petition by the band that requests a land grant. (Hamilton, 1984, p. 4) This resulted in dispossession and displacement from their lands, followed by hunting and fishing restrictions. According to Reading and Wein, “the historic trauma experienced by many Indigenous Peoples is rooted in this dislocation from the land” (2009, p. 21). Many social determinants of health tied to the interconnectedness of the people and the land were previously accessible because Míkmaq had access to their territory. Now, the “displacement of Indigenous Peoples from their land through colonization is bound up with cultural disruption, social exclusion and tension, increased stress, diminished sense of identity and status, political and social subjugation, loss of control over lives and the loss of livelihoods – including proper nutrition” (WHO, 2007, p. 35).

¹⁶ The Commission on Social Determinants of Health cite health and illness follow a social gradient which states; the lower the socioeconomic position, the worse the health (WHO, 2008).

In the context of this dissertation, there was no literature specific to the Mikmaq pertaining to the land as a health determinant, which made it somewhat more challenging to situate within the existing literature. Two publications, one by Hornborg (2008) and the other by Boyer (2011), highlight the dispossession of Mikmaq from their traditional lands. Another theme related to land as a determinant of health is historical in nature; the British colonial settlement in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia rarely mentions the original inhabitants of Chignecto, although settlement policies are discussed. There is a wide spectrum of literature on the Mikmaq, including anthologies, ethnographies (Neitfield, 1981; Wallis & Wallis, 1955), folklore, legends, history (Whitehead, 1991; Reid, 1995), law (Gould & Semple, 1980; Coates, 2000), treaties (Wicken, 2012; 2002), and rights (Coates, 2000; Wildsmith, 2001). My focus was on recent and general publications on the Mikmaq and their history of land use and occupation as they might relate to determinants of health. The literature I encountered on the determinants of health referred little to Indigenous Peoples and was quite limited with respect to the physical environment as a health determinant. I will present the Mikmaq history and loss of land within the context of Boyer's (2011) health determinants' framework to address how Canadian legislation and policies impacted Aboriginal health. In addition, I link perspectives of colonialism as a determinant of health to the cycle of oppression, demonstrating that the influence of colonial and government policies of dispossession subjected the Mikmaq to dispossession of their lands and ultimately had a negative impact on their health.

2.2 Míkmaq History and Indigenous Peoples' Land Loss

2.2.1 Indigenous Dispossession

The primary accounts of Indigenous dispossession encountered in the literature were general histories of events that occurred during the development of the United States of America. In Marks' (1998) *In a Barren Land: American Indian Dispossession and Survival, from 1607 – Present*, the author provides an overview of Indian dispossession in the United States, noting that, “Hemmed in as Native Americans have been, buffeted, often lost to hopelessness, they have fought to hold onto homelands to adapt as traditional cultures to new lands and changes to the land, to regain regions and sacred places lost” (p. xvii). Marks compiles her information from various histories by researchers, writers, and scholars covering Native studies and the dispossession of Indians in North America over a span of four centuries from 1607 to the present, throughout the development of the United States, spreading from the East Coast toward the West Coast.

Similarly, Said writes of the Indigenous Peoples of the Middle East in *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian self- Determination, 1969-1994* (1996). Said states that Israel was created from what was formerly Palestine; “Israel not only eradicated a society but dispossessed its people and occupied the remains of its territory” (1996, p. 64). There were efforts at co-existence, as “Arafat was the first popular Palestinian to formulate the notion that Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews would, indeed, must seek a future together on an equal footing in a shared territory” (Said, 1996, p. 75). Palestinian dispossession is often compared to other groups and areas, and mirrors the experience of the Míkmaq, although the academic left did not champion the Palestinian cause:

Comparisons between the Palestinians and American Indians and South African Blacks are routinely made even though similarities between them are striking... moreover, we will find that during the years around and after 1948 Zionism was especially supported by liberals and socialists, precisely those political communities who, in similar circumstances, would be first to champion the cause of downtrodden populations, mistreated minorities, discriminated-against ethnic groups, victims of policies of separation. (Said, 1996, p. 89)

Said's descriptions of the Other mirror the Míkmaq experience with colonial settlers who viewed Indigenous Peoples as less than human, and not as persons under the law until well into the 20th century. Míkmaq dispossession is also quite like the description of the dispossession of Iroquois Peoples in L.M. Hauptman's (1999) *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State (The Iroquois and Their Neighbors)*. Hauptman described how, following the American Revolution, land speculators dispossessed the Iroquois of their lands through buying and selling their lands for the construction of canal systems in upstate New York.

The situation on the East Coast was also mirrored on the West Coast, as outlined in Ruby Brown's (1970) *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun*. The Spokane lived on the Columbia Plateau, east of the Cascade Mountains in Washington, extending eastward into Idaho, and bordered by Montana. Fur traders were the first Europeans to enter their territory, followed by missionaries and settler farmers, although most farmers were not interested in the rugged land. The Spokane were eventually removed from their traditional lands through treaties and legislation. It is a similar experience of dispossession of Míkmaq territory in New Brunswick.

Through an extensive search of archival data, academic works, and museum holdings, I encountered several publications on the Míkmaq related to ethnographies, legal studies, and

history. They were not all specific to land, although they touched on culture, identity, cosmology, environment, and resources often related to land and other social determinants of health. (Canada, 2012; Reading and Wein, 2009; Eagles, 1963) There were also several sources related to Míkmaq dispossession listed in ethnologies, history, economy, and Indian reserves (Dickason, 1992; Reid, 1995; Larsen, 1983). One source, Hornborg, dealt with land specifically, and while the remainder referred to it, not all publications focused solely on land occupation and use. Dickason and Bartlett provided an historical background which included mention of land occupation but did not foreground it, while Wicken approached the topic from an anthropological perspective. (Hornborg, 2001; Dickason, 1992; Wicken, 2012; Bartlett, 1996).

Historically, European descriptions of Indians were of *wandering vagrants*, and Indigenous Peoples were often called *children of the forest* (Hornborg, 2008). The Míkmaq used these negotiated stereotypes when they acquired headdresses of other cultures to play into the Indian image. Hornborg (2001) stated that Indians perceived welfare as compensation for stolen lands. Míkmaq, she argued, have always known they owned the land, and some viewed welfare as compensation. The terms “wandering vagrants” and “children of the forest” are representative of what Boyer (2011) called a “vocabulary of white racial superiority” used in the nineteenth century (p. 36), and the “welfare” and “stolen lands” references relate directly to Boyer’s points on factors that determine health; that is, “connection to the land” and “social economic factors” (p. 14).

Neitfield’s (1981) ethnography examines the determinants of the Míkmaq political structure and studied pre-contact resource utilization compared to that experienced during the 17th century. Her research reveals a lifestyle that was both mobile and sedentary. Despite a very good account of the physical environment and its resource use, Neitfield does not provide the

Mikmaq cosmology as it relates to land. Neitfield's physical environment is an environmental factor, according to Boyer; however, Neitfield's account fails to mention cultural factors. An earlier ethnographic study by Wallis and Wallis (1955) examines cultural loss, despite the prevalent view of the time that, "all the ethnographic accounts we will ever have are in the Jesuit Relations" (p. 9). They determined that, after four hundred years, much of the culture remained unharmed, despite the adoption of, and adaptation to, foreign traits, although they do not specifically address the Mikmaq relationship to their land. Based on what we, as a society, now know about Indigenous interconnection with all creation (Boyer, 2011), it is clear that Wallis and Wallis either ignored or did not accept the fact that there were "unjust criminal laws and policies" in regard to the Mikmaq bond with the land (p. 36).

Whitehead (1991) collected numerous historical documents spanning the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, along with an examination of oral traditions of the Mikmaq, in order to redress omissions, biases, and errors in the published histories. Although her work did not specifically address the Mikmaq relationship to land, it provided some documentation of the conflict between the Mikmaq and the British in Siknigtuk/Chignecto. Boyer (2011) points out that colonialism affected health because, historically, there was conflict over colonial land policies intended to dispossess Indigenous Peoples of their lands. The colonial land tenure systems aimed to replace Indigenous understandings of their relationship to and custody of the land. Reserves were located away from industrial centres (Larsen, 1983), reflecting the coopting of more desirable lands, as exemplified by the colonial tenure system. Despite this isolation, Larsen (1983) found that legal identity determined who could live on a reserve and that legal identity would be legislated through the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* and similar legislation and policies are what Boyer referred to as "colonization policies and tools of assimilation" (Boyer, p.

17). Reid (1995) also concludes that colonial society relegated the Míkmaq to the periphery. In her examination of Native-White relations in Acadia in the 1800s, she notes that the Míkmaq rooted in Acadia had their sense of continuity of place precariously disrupted. The colonial sense of place gradually changed the land-based connection of the Míkmaq by foregrounding the exploitation of resources and the concept of the only ‘good’ land being that which is developed (Reid, 1995).

The marginalization of the Indigenous Peoples resulted in two, among many, factors affecting health: poverty and geographic factors that limited access to health facilities (Boyer, 2011). The original Míkmaq relation to place was complex, both physically and culturally (Hornborg, 2001). In light of the image of Indians having deep connections to the land, Hornborg describes reserves as islands within their traditional lands. The Indian reserve archipelagos are another example of Boyer’s geographic factors which related to the access to quality health care. Battiste (1997) examines the causes of unemployment in the historical economic life of the Míkmaq on reserves in Nova Scotia. She observes that there was a close relationship to the land, and that the Míkmaq lived in harmony with nature. Although she refers to reserves, she also provides a brief explanation of the Míkmaq perspective toward land as central to their economic well-being, noting that “The Mi’kmaq had an intimate knowledge of the natural world. This close relationship was part of a balance, a harmony with nature that had developed over thousands of years and allowed the Mi’kmaq economy to rely on the natural abundance of the surroundings” (Battiste, 1997, p. 135-136). Despite Battiste’s focus on what Boyer calls “socioeconomic factors,” such as economic marginalization, her focus is also a cultural one in her attention to the Míkmaq response to economic upheaval.

Bartlett (1986) provides analyses of Indian Reserves in Atlantic Canada, stating that Canada established these reserves to provide protected land for Indians to settle and cultivate. I agree with this assessment. With legislation passed in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island ostensibly to protect reserve lands from encroachment, the Indians were effectively removed from and dispossessed from their traditional lands (Bartlett, 1986). The provinces provided land grants to reserve lands. Despite the introduction of legislation to protect specific reserve lands, the Míkmaq were not protected from removal from their homeland. In the early days of colonial settlement after New Brunswick was created in 1784, the Míkmaq were forced to apply for land grants but they instead received licenses of occupation (Dickason, 1992) which meant they could occupy the land but not own it; arguably, this was a precursor to the reserve system. Ironically, the Míkmaq applied for grants for the remnants of their own land (Dickason, 1992).

Walls (2010) studied the history of the implementation of the federal triennial election system for the Míkmaq. She does not discuss land issues, *per se*; however, she finds resistance to Ottawa's control of the Band Council political systems because the Míkmaq rejected programs aimed at their assimilation, including confining them to reserves. She also provides a snapshot of the Míkmaq in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, listing their living conditions and locations, economic activity, culture, religion, education, and language (Walls, 2010). Bartlett (1986), Dickason (1992), and Walls (2010) all touch on the colonial policies and tools of assimilation that affected Míkmaq health, including land grants, the creation of reserves, and the attempted extinguishment of treaty rights.

Gould and Semple (1980) review land settlement policies in the Maritimes together with supplying documentation supporting an Indian Land Claim for the region. They conclude that

British recognition of aboriginal title in the Maritimes existed, noting that “title based on aboriginal possession does not depend upon sovereign recognition or affirmative acceptance for its survival. Once established in fact, it endures until extinguished or abandoned. It is ‘entitled to the respect of all courts until it should be legitimately extinguished’” (Gould and Semple, 1980, p. 120) However, Indian Title was soon ignored after the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Canadian government carried on its own policy of assimilation by implementing the *Indian Act* (1876), and it was not until 1973 that the federal government introduced an Indian Land Claims policy, designed to extinguish Indigenous interests in exchange for compensation (Gould & Semple, 1980). Gould and Semple (1980) note that the federal government’s position in the seventies was that aboriginal title was superseded by law in the Maritimes. The Métis and non-status Indian populations of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island demanded that the federal government recognize their claim in the Maritimes (Gould & Semple, 1980). Gould and Semple’s book on land policies was informative and comprehensive as it related to Mikmaki, providing insight into how these policies were developed and implemented in the region.

In his book, *The Colonization of Mikmaw Memory and History, 1794-1928*, William Wicken (2012) probes even deeper than in his earlier 2002 examination of historical Mikmaq treaties. He outlines the Mikmaq oral interpretations of their treaties as they evolved through time, from 1794 until 1928, at the time of the Sylliboy case in Nova Scotia.¹⁷ In 1928, Mikmaq Grand Chief Gabriel Sylliboy was charged under provincial game laws and his defence drew

¹⁷ In 1928, Mikmaq Grand Chief Gabriel Sylliboy drew upon the 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty to fight for recognition of treaty rights, arguing that the treaty protected his harvesting rights. He was charged and convicted of illegally hunting and fishing. Years later, in 1985, the court found, in the case of *R. v Simon*, that the 1752 treaty did in fact grant Mikmaq the right to hunt on their traditional territories, a judgement which ultimately vindicated Sylliboy.

upon the 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty, arguing that his rights were protected to hunt and fish. Wicken also provides a historical account of colonial policies and the dispossession of the Míkmaq in the province. Although Wicken describes the experiences in Nova Scotia, there are strong similarities and similar time frames to those experiences in adjacent New Brunswick; the traditional Míkmaq district of Sikniktuk also includes Cumberland County in Nova Scotia, as all traditional districts fell under the jurisdiction of the Míkmaq Grand Council.

Coates (2000) studied the impact of the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC)'s *Marshall* decision, a case which elicited a severe response from the Canadian public, especially throughout the Maritimes, highlighting Indigenous-Canadian tensions.¹⁸ Despite a legal decision in favour of the Míkmaq, *de jure*, the public backlash resulted in continued *de facto* suppression of their territory-based rights assertions. Wicken (2002) examined historical treaties and testimony during the trial to understand the political and legal struggles of the Míkmaq. He found that, although they won in the courts, the Míkmaq lost in the court of public opinion, indicating that Canadian society held the ultimate power over the Míkmaq (Wicken, 2002). Wicken confirms Coates' findings of public resistance to Míkmaq Treaty rights. Hornborg (2001), Reid (1995), Larsen (1983), Dickason (1992), and Bartlett (1986) all confirm the Míkmaq dispossession from their homeland; however, some do not specifically address those impacts as health determinants.

Harvey (2003) addresses dispossession and globalization. In his book, *The New Imperialism*, he writes that his "aim is to look at the current condition of global capitalism and the role of the new imperialism might be playing within it" (Harvey, 2003, p. 1). He does so "from the perspective of the long durée and through the lens of what I call 'historical

¹⁸ Donald Marshall Jr, a Míkmaq man from Membertou, Nova Scotia was convicted of having illegally caught and sold eel in 1997. His conviction was overturned in 1999 by the Supreme Court of Canada which recognized the hunting and fishing rights promised in the Peace and Friendship Treaties signed between the British and the Míkmaq in 1760–61.

geographical materialism” (Harvey, 2003, p. 1). Harvey discusses accumulation through dispossession; he notes that “the theory of Manifest Destiny fueled its own particular brand of expansionary racism and international idealism” (2003, p. 47). Colonial legislation was used to allow resources to be utilized in capitalism, resulting in the dispossession of the land of Indigenous Peoples. An example of this is how Crown lands in New Brunswick have been used to generate provincial leases for commercial logging, not afforded to the Míkmaq or Wolastaqiyik.

One of the ways in which federal legislation affected Míkmaq politics is highlighted in Walls’ 2010 book, *No Need for A Chief for this Band: The Maritime Míkmaq and Federal Election Legislation*. Indian Agents in the early 19th century sought to provide Indians with land, and Indian Commissioners Moses Perley in New Brunswick and Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia recommended that the Míkmaq “be given clear title to fertile land and be provided schools and medical services” (Walls, 2010, p. 50). Some federal Indian Agents relied on the local chiefs to do their work, and their “ongoing neglect led agents to rely on chiefs to conduct day-to-day work” (Walls, 2010, p. 55). This would indicate their reliance on the chiefs to manage the reserves.

The imposition of federal election regulations of the *Indian Act* governing Indian Band elections in 1899 were slowly accepted, and, during an 1892 Band election on Chapel Island, Pictou County Indian Agent Roderick McDonald noted that, “for the first three years, the newly elected chief is only on trial. And if at the end of that time he proves himself worthy, he is confirmed in office for life chief” (Walls, 2010, p.55). The chief for life was previously the traditional chief, even if, as Moses Perley suggests of Mi’kmaki that “the post of chief is not for life but from year-to-year only” (Walls, 2010, p. 53). This was a transition from a hereditary

chief system to a federally regulated system which would profoundly affect land-use policies regarding Indigenous Peoples in the region and beyond. The triennial system was an attempt to impose a Western model of governance with wider implications on their traditional territories beyond the reserve.

2.3 Determinants of Health

I will discuss here the nature and theory of social determinants of health by examining the focus of some health organizations, followed by the views of authors who have touched on dispossession and poverty. The World Health Organization (WHO) (2013) lists the factors that affect health or “determinants of health” as one’s social, economic and physical environment, and the person’s individual characteristics and behaviours. The physical environment includes safe drinking water, clean air, healthy workplaces, safe houses, communities, and roads, and employment and working conditions (WHO, 2013). The Public Health Agency of Canada (2011) lists the key determinants of health as income and social status, social support networks, education and literacy, employment and safe working conditions, social environments, physical environments, personal health practices and coping skills, healthy child development, biology and genetic endowment, health services, gender, and culture. The above-cited health determinants are both similar to, and quite different from, those experienced by Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Raphael (2004) outlines the determinants to include Aboriginal status; early life; education; employment and working conditions, food security, health care services, housing, income and its distribution, a social safety net, social exclusion, and unemployment and employment security.

Inadequate housing, remoteness, and lack of access to health services have all affected Indigenous children and have led to health inequities (King, 2009). King also raises the cultural

factors of racism, language, connection to the land, environmental deprivation, and spiritual-emotional-mental disconnectedness, in relation to health. He notes that loss of connection to the land and spiritual-emotional-mental disconnectedness are key cultural factors that affect health. It was through dispossession and forced migration, caused by colonial policies, that the connection to land was lost. Being deprived of those positive factors that affect identity led to negative impacts on health—these factors were largely social in nature (King, 2009). De Leeuw *et al.* (2000) determined that colonial policies and practices led to poor health and, they argued, the colonial discourse was the ‘cause of causes’ that contributed to health disparities. My research is also premised on the idea that colonial and subsequent federal policies and practices contributed to the severe disruption, and, in some cases destruction of Míkmaq traditional practices, specifically for the Elsipogtog First Nation. Richmond’s *The Relatedness of People, Land and Health: Stories from Anishinabe Elders* confirms these disparities, noting that, “[S]ince the onset of colonialism in North America, Canada’s First Nations have endured centuries of environmental dispossession and cultural upheaval” (2018, p.47).

Richmond and Ross (2008a; 2008b) also conceptualize pathways of environmental dispossession and question the assumption that social support was primarily a health perspective. The determinants of health, according to the authors, were balance, life control, education, material resources, social resources, and environmental and cultural connections (Richmond & Ross, 2008b). They found environmental dispossession, or the “processes through which Aboriginal people’s access to the resources of their traditional environments [were] reduced,” compromised the connection between the land and identity, which led to poor health (2008b, p. 403). Richmond and Ross also find the normalization of poor health behaviours proliferated in the communities’ context (2008a). Richmond *et al.* (2005) noted that decreased economic choice

and opportunity in the Nangis First Nation in Ontario were due to the increasingly limited access to environmental resources. They investigated the First Nation's perceptions of links between the environment, economy, and health and wellbeing, noting that "[A]utonomy...is the central construct upon which all other determinants of health and well-being are intrinsically dependent" (Richmond *et al.*, 2005, p. 362).

Ford *et al.* (2010) found that poverty, information deficit, constrained institutional capacity, limited technological capacity, and socio-political inequality are all determinants of vulnerability. Vulnerability, determined by poverty, is a significant characteristic of Míkmaq dispossession from their traditional lands. Galabuzi (2004) demonstrated that social exclusion hindered some subgroups from accessing health and social services, and, subsequently, these groups experienced further marginalization and exclusion from the market economy.

The Report of the Chief Coroner's Office of Ontario (2008) resulted from a series of suicides experienced by the Pikangikum First Nation. In the report, the Chief Coroner lists determinants of health that were proximal (closely situated to the individual), intermediate, and distal (situated further away). The physical environment, employment and income, and food security are listed as proximal determinants; cultural continuity is considered an intermediate determinant, and colonialism, racism, social exclusion, and self-determination are distal determinants (Office of the Chief Coroner, 2008). The community of Pikangikum suffered removal from their traditional lands and were "forced onto reserves with overcrowded conditions" (2008, pp. 8-9). Chandler and Lalonde (1998) also note that ensuring cultural continuity—thus providing a sense of connection to the future—is a protection against Indigenous suicides. The WHO (2007) observes that colonization through settlement and control of people and their subsequent displacement from and dispossession of traditional lands are

fundamental determinants undermining Indigenous Peoples' health. Racism and exclusion experienced through colonization affected access to resources, power, freedom and control (Reading & Wien, 2009). Reading and Wien note that legislation and social policies rewarded assimilation and acculturation into the dominant society by providing resources and opportunities. In fact, in the case of the Mikmaq, this did not happen; instead, colonial policies of assimilation and acculturation resulted in poor health by gradually and surreptitiously removing Indigenous Peoples from their traditional territory. This illustrates the importance of land as a determinant of health.

2.3.1 Summary of Determinants of Health

The literature search did not uncover any publications specific to land as a health determinant for the Mikmaq, nor any on the social determinants of health particular to the Mikmaq. There are obvious gaps in the literature, and my research provides an initial glimpse into this area of study. Authors such as Neitfield (1981) and Battiste (1997) write about the Mikmaq relationship to the land, while Whitehead (1991) briefly discusses conflict over land in Chignecto. Legislation designed to protect "Indian" lands did not prevent their appropriation by settlers (Dickason, 1992; Gould & Semple, 1980). Despite assertions that Mikmaq culture survived through accommodation to Euro-Canadian culture (Wallis & Wallis, 1955), Bartlett (1986) found that the Mikmaq were also dispossessed of reserve lands, which were described as islands by Hornborg (2001). The Mikmaq were located away from industrial centres (Larsen, 1983) and pushed to the periphery (Reid, 1995) which amounted to dispossession—as a result of

their relocation from traditional territories, subsequent to government policies and legislation, they were forced onto land upon which they could not thrive.

The Mikmaq did not settle for this state of affairs for long; for example, in the early 1900s, they resisted federal control of the Band Council political systems (Walls, 2010). Some rationalize welfare as compensation for lost lands (Hornborg, 2008). Wicken (2012) describes different interpretations of treaties over time. When these treaties were used as court arguments, he found that, although the Mikmaq won, they lost in public opinion (Wicken, 2002). The Marshall ruling did not alleviate Indigenous-Canadian tensions, and land rights continued to be suppressed (Coates, 2000). The research determined that continued existence of legislation and policies led to dispossession, and negatively affected Mikmaq health.

There are several explanations of what comprises a health determinant (WHO, 2013; PHAC; Raphael, 2004; Richmond & Ross, 2008; Ford et al, 2010; Office of the Chief Coroner, 2008). The WHO lists colonization as an underlying health determinant for Indigenous Peoples, including legislation and social policies (Reading & Wien, 2009; De Leeuw et al., 2010). Cultural continuity connected Indigenous Peoples to their future despite government policy created to undermine Aboriginal culture (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). According to Galabuzi (2004) and King (2009), social exclusion and marginalization hinder access to those factors and services that determine health and result in health inequities. These policy implications affect cultural continuity as well as health. Richmond *et al.* (2005) identify political autonomy as the central construct of all other health determinants.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The Mikmaq traditional practice of *Netukulimk* provides the theoretical underpinning of this dissertation. *Netukulimk* is described as “a complex cultural concept that encompasses

Mi'kmaq sovereign law ways and guides individual and collective beliefs and behaviours in resource protection, procurement, and management to ensure and honour sustainability and prosperity for the ancestor, present and future generations” (Prosper *et al*, 2011). The Aboriginal right to harvest and gather requires being on the land; the health benefits of this include physical and mental wellbeing, and the continuation of cultural knowledge practices. It requires physical activity to go upon the land to harvest and gather natural resources; thus, the continuation of cultural practices influences the sense of wellbeing, improving mental and emotional health. Supplementing the diet with natural foods from the traditional territories improves physical health and saves financial resources. It also helps to eliminate the negative effects of a Western diet. A comparison of the tradition of *Netukulimk* to colonial practices of assimilation and displacement highlights the various ways in which an unbalanced and dysfunctional relationship to one's traditional land, or removal from it altogether, translates to mental and physical ill-health in the community.

Can McGibbon's notion of the “cycle of oppression” be applied to the case of those currently residing in Elsipogtog? McGibbon's work, which is my first mode of analysis, is an historical, critical, ethnographic case study incorporating various perspectives on the social determinants of health (Boyer, 2011; McGibbon, 2012a; Etowa & McGibbon, 2012; Raphael, 2004; Galabuzi, 2004). McGibbon examines oppression as a determinant of health, and, more specifically, outlines the cycle of oppression (2012a). She incorporates an analysis of those determinants through intersectionality (McGibbon, 2012b), along with race and racism (Etowa & McGibbon, 2012). McGibbon discusses the intersectionality of the social determinants of health, the ‘isms’—racism, sexism, and classism—as well as geography, as social determinants of health (2012b). Etowa and McGibbon (2012b) examine the ways in which the intersections of gender,

race, and social class affect the health and well-being of minorities in Canada. Other intersections of determinants I incorporate here are Aboriginal status, income, social safety net, unemployment (Raphael, 2004), social exclusion (Raphael; Galabuzi, 2004), and the aforementioned element of geography (McGibbon, 2012b).¹⁹

In McGibbon's work, *Oppression, A Social Determinant of Health*, Battiste and Youngblood Henderson point out that explanations about Indigenous health status such as those found in Indian Affairs reports are generally provided using Eurocentric methods and classifications which do not reflect Míkmaq cosmologies. Themes of oppression and its related stresses, racialization, and disparities in the provision of health care, forced cognitive assimilation, and genetic vulnerability all overlap; from the perspective of the Míkmaq, these intersections can be considered a "causal continuum of oppression" (McGibbon, 2012b, p. 90).

Wilson and Rosenberg (2002) suggest shifting away from an analysis of traditional activities to an analysis of cultural attachment by examining the distinctive use of traditional activities for economic or health reasons.²⁰ My research examines Míkmaq economic activities rooted to place, and how subsequent legislation and policies affected and continue to affect them. Bryant (2012) studies oppression, health, and public policy in Canada. The author found that public policy seemingly created barriers and prevented vulnerable populations from accessing some of the social determinants of health. I rely heavily on oppression as a determinant of health and how oppressive policies dispossessed the Míkmaq from their traditional lands and consequently subverted their capacity to maintain their health in traditionally appropriate ways.

¹⁹ See Appendix 2, Comparing the Social Determinants.

²⁰ Wilson and Rosenberg (2002) explore "whether measures of 'traditional' Aboriginal activities contribute to our understanding of Aboriginal Peoples' health within a determinants of health framework. Going beyond conventional measures that a determinants of health approach embraces, a set of variables are tested which look at the importance of traditional activities for the health of Aboriginal peoples" (p. 2018).

The intersections of Indian status, income, social exclusion, racism and classism, and the dichotomy of geographical locations on- and off-reserve are used in the critical analysis of data sets I encountered in the research. Economic marginalization resulting from the dispossession of the land and increasing reliance on social assistance are examples of such intersections.

I also utilize Boyer's (2011) framework, which suggests means by which to improve Indigenous Peoples' health in Canada, with a focus in her doctoral thesis section on the social determinants of health. She lists "environmental factors, connection to the land, culture and language, social economic factors, mental/psychological factors, access to services, family/child/kinship relations, as well as the practice of self-determination and self-governance" as social determinants of health (Boyer, 2011, p. 14). Boyer outlines socioeconomic factors influencing health, including poverty, shelter-housing overcrowding, substandard housing, and water quality. She mentions geographic elements related to access to quality health care. She examines environmental factors such as "[h]ousehold molds, poor sanitation systems, contaminated drinking water, and unsafe disposal of waste and refuse" (Boyer, 2011, p. 32) along with "[s]eptic systems, water treatment facilities, wastewater discharges and hazardous waste" (Boyer, 2011, p. 33) and the lack of regulations due to jurisdictional issues.

My primary focus is on colonialism as a determinant of health. Through law and public policy and the institutions that arose from them, Canada attempted to assimilate Indigenous Peoples and to subjugate them. Agents of the state, or those approved by the state, took possession of their lands, imposed Western ideologies, and sought to control them. All these actions marginalized Indigenous Peoples, causing great stress and impacting their health and the traditional roles of women, while also eliminating self-determination. Boyer (2011) argues that only by changing and influencing government policies can the health of Indigenous communities

be restored in Canada. All data sets were subjected to multiple layers of analysis, following the work of Boyer and McGibbon. The initial analysis was through the lens of oppression, followed by a subsequent analysis of intersectionality. Throughout the process of analysis, coding was done based on various determinants of health.

I examine the social determinants of health through the cycle of oppression, with oppression also defined as a determinant. According to McGibbon's *Cycle of Oppression* (2012a), the first step leading to oppression is biased and distorted information that leads to stereotyping. Step two, prejudice as a way of thinking, arises from these stereotypes. Discrimination, through oppressive power relations, is the third step. The final outcome is oppression as expressed through systemic power relations. The analysis of the library and archival data helped to determine if these systemic power relations existed in Indian Affairs policies as administered through the Miramichi Agency. Relationships between federal policies and administration, comparable to spatial movements through time, determined if dispossession affected the health of the Míkmaq through the loss of previously marketable activities.

A further mode of analysis considers the intersectionality of the following social determinants of health: Aboriginal status, income, social safety net, social exclusion, unemployment; racism-sexism-classism and geography as determinants, both on and off reserves in the region. Aboriginal status was studied through the usage of the term "Indian" in various historical texts, including correspondence and policy from Indian Affairs, birth certificates, marriage registries, death certificates, and census information. References to economic activity among the Míkmaq were reflected upon by examining the adequacy of their income and were derived from historical texts, Indian Affairs documents, and census data. The social safety net was informed by Indian Affairs' reference to various types of relief and services, as well as

historical texts that pertained to such relief efforts. Social exclusion was drawn from references to those Miikmaq relocated to the reserve.²¹ Unemployment was informed through the contrast of discussions of band or departmental employment initiatives. Social exclusion and unemployment determinants were accessed through both historical and Indian Affairs texts. Racism, sexism, and classism were more difficult to determine; however, the historical texts and Indian Affairs information were closely examined for these elements. Geography was studied through all texts inclusive of birth-marriage-death certificates, and genealogies in conjunction with census data.

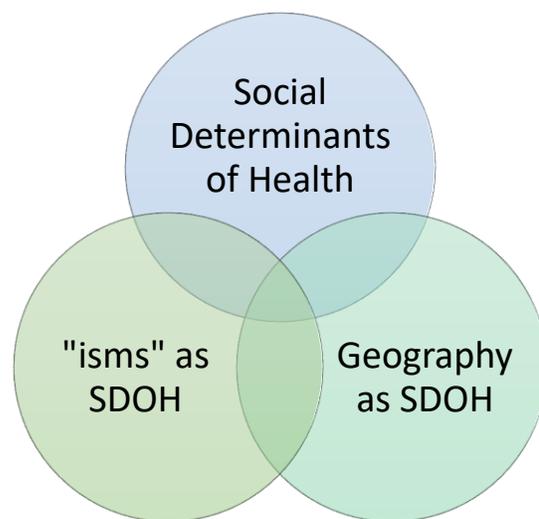


Figure 7: Intersectionality of the SDOH, adapted from McGibbon (2012b), Synergies of Oppression

I coded the texts of federal “Indian” policy and examined categories and their relationships (Gabrielian, 1999). During this process, I found that Shore and Wright (1997) were correct in their observation that “policy is increasingly being codified, publicized and referred to

²¹ Social exclusion is defined by Galabuzi as being “manifest through forms of oppression that order institutional groups in society. It occurs through structural and historical processes that systematically generate social inequalities, resulting in enduring health disparities.” (McGibbon, 2012b, p. 97).

by workers and managers as the guidelines that legitimate and even motivate their behaviour” and serve as “tools for studying systems of governance” (pg. 4). The coding I did was influenced by the social determinants of health (Boyer, 2011; McGibbon, 2012a; Etowa & McGibbon, 2012; Raphael, 2004; Galabuzi, 2004) and informed any relationships I found within McGibbon’s (2012a) *Cycle of Oppression*.

I situated my own story within what Davies (1997) terms an “individual autobiography, [that] recognizes the broader patterns at work in a particular set of experiences and makes connections outward to reveal social structures and processes” (p. 223). As a treaty beneficiary, I assured that my own narrative was involved within this study and stemmed from my ancestral story. My mother and relatives provided ancestral oral histories over the years, outlined genealogies, extended family groupings, their geographical locations, and economic activities. From this vantage point, I identified the connections, social structures, and processes affected by the administration of Indian policy. Jones and Jenkins note that “One’s experience, knowledge, and recognition by one’s own people provide an indigenous person with the authority and insight to contribute...to research” (2008).

Based on my cultural experiences, I have a broad background that I drew upon during analysis. Reflexivity and auto-ethnography connected me to my case study, as auto-ethnography “involves the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and understanding the nature of the encounter” (Tomaselli *et al.*, 2008). My undergraduate was a joint major in Sociology and Anthropology, with a minor in History. While an undergraduate student, I read Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies*, which influenced me to use auto-ethnography, as it is used by many anthropologists and ethnologists whom I found useful in Indigenous Studies. I was also influenced by Clifford and Marcus’ *Writing Culture* (1986) as

well as Clifford Geertz' use of "thick description"—a qualitative research technique which provides detailed descriptions and interpretations of situation observed by the researcher—as described in his book, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973). My preference for auto-ethnography came after having read David Hayano's comment that this approach connects the auto-biographical and the personal to the social. Reflexivity allowed for a cultural lens through the conceptualizing and categorization of coding.

2.5 Site Selection

The case study was site-specific to Elsipogtog First Nation (formerly known as Big Cove), located in what is now New Brunswick. Elsipogtog comprises two reserves; Richibucto #15 (also called Big Cove), consisting of 1667.3 hectares, and Soegao # 35, consisting of 104.7 hectares (Canada, 2012). It was population-specific to the Mikmaq residing at Elsipogtog. The registered population for 2016, according to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2016), was 3,313, with 2,587 living on the reserve. Those who spoke an Aboriginal language numbered 1,125, while about 965 spoke it at home (INAC). Those who were married totaled 465, including those in common-law relationships; 55 were separated, 70 divorced, 60 widowed, and 755 had never been married. Approximately 85 people had a university degree, 30 had a university certificate, 195 had a trade or apprenticeship certificate, 340 had a high school diploma or equivalent, and 480 had no degree, certificate, or diploma. The average annual income for residents was \$16,810. A 2010 CBC report cited Elsipogtog as one of Canada's poorest communities (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation).²²

²² See Appendix 3, Elsipogtog Profile and Statistics.

2.6 Effects of the Suicide Crisis, 1992 - 1993

The culmination of the effects of oppression on health in Big Cove was a suicide crisis which began on the reserve in 1992, with seven deaths and seventy-five attempts (Chenier, 1995). By 1994, ten youth had died of suicide. Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples specifically reported on the crisis (Canada, 1995); the 1995 special report on suicide acknowledged that [while] there were biopsychological factors associated with suicide (i.e., mental disorders)... other factors had greater bearing on Indigenous suicides, including (1) situational (e.g., disruptions of family life experienced as a result of enforced attendance at boarding schools, adoption, and fly-out hospitalizations), (2) socioeconomic (e.g., poverty, low levels of education, limited employment opportunities, inadequate housing, and deficiencies in sanitation and water quality), and (3) cultural stress (e.g., loss of land and control over living conditions, suppression of belief systems and spirituality, weakening of social and political institutions, and racial discrimination) (RCAP 1995).

The problem garnered international attention as well; the U.S. State Department, in its 1995 Report on Human Rights Practices for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stated that, according to the Nova Scotia Government, "the suicide problem among native youths [would] worsen unless the Federal Government initiate[d] a national campaign to address the problem" (U.S. Department of State, 1997). The community of Elsipogtog itself organized a seven-day mourning ceremony in order to prevent further suicides (Hornborg, 2005) and incorporated the church and traditional healers in the healing process (McFarlane, 1997). An inquest held in 1992 included a recommendation to encourage reliance on traditional healing (Chenier, 1995). At the time, I was a Community Economic Development Officer and was

requested to compile education levels and the socio-economic situation of the community for the Coroner. I also sat through the complete inquest and had much to reflect on. I wrote the following poem.

The Peace of Death

*They began the trek of the trail,
onwards towards the Light.
Beyond the time of no return,
destination without recourse.
Pound into the coffin, a nail.
Onward beyond, it's bright.
The desire to enter, the desire to burn,
embedded into mind with great force.
Escape from your mind, its jail.
Choking problems, just too tight.
Problems, problems, in the brain churn.
Strangling from the internal wars.
Will to Life begins to pale,
the door to escape within sight.
Beyond the door, from the path don't turn,
ignore the Will to Live, there's no remorse.
Will to Life is terribly frail.
Death no longer brings its fright.
Lack of fear, they longed to learn,
to ride onward with Death's horse.
All the Dreams look to fail,
they've never gotten anything right.
Life's restrictions are terribly stern,
all the anguish inward it soars.
All their Spirits began to ail,
lost in Loneliness of Darkest Night.
Social turmoil they never did earn,
alone in the night, the anger roars.
To hide beyond Death's gruesome veil,
crush the Will, and end its fight.
The Peace of Death they now yearn,
beyond the comfort, away from anguish cores.
Lost forever, the wounded cry, the awful wail,
lost beyond the warmth embrace of Light.
The Will of Life, they begin to spurn,
rejected often, away from friendly doors.*

December 21, 1992
Alquimou

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed and developed the dissertation's theoretical framework which incorporates the work of McGibbon and Boyer along with the traditional Míkmaq practice of *Netukulimk*. Boyer's 2011 thesis highlights the fact that Indigenous Peoples in Canada take "a holistic view of health. This includes environmental factors, connection to the land, culture and language, social/economic factors, mental/psychological factors, access to services, family/child/kinship relations, as well as the practice of self-determination and self-governance as a Nation and a people" (p. 14).

McGibbon (2011) underscores the notion of oppression as one of the systemic "causes of the causes" of ill health, suggesting that this issue be approached from a social justice perspective (p. 16). Through the concepts of Boyer and McGibbon, I am able to explore and demonstrate Míkmaq oppression and resiliency through the intersections of the social determinants of health that they describe.

I have explored the literature related to Míkmaq land use and occupation which indicates that there is further research to be done to fill in the gaps resulting from sporadic record-keeping and material that has been lost when New Brunswick became a province. Both primary and secondary sources outline the parameters of social determinants of health as they relate to Elsipogtog First Nation; these include cycles of oppression arising from racism, sexism, and classism. The community counteracts these negative determinants of health through their cosmology of *Netukulimk* which foregrounds the interconnectedness of land, spirituality, and

wellbeing. Health reporting on the region of Big Cove, from such sources as Indian Affairs and the Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre, suggests variations in the health of the community over time, culminating in the suicide crisis of the 1990s.

Within the next chapter, I will present a history of the area known as *Siknīktuk* from the pre-European contact period throughout the era of treaties between colonizers and the Míkmaq, up to the creation of the reserve system to provide a broader understanding of the land-based impacts of colonization on the Míkmaq. This chapter will outline the community's strong ancestral relationship to the land, and the ways in which this natural connection was forced to change as the colonial settlers implemented various strategies in an attempt to usurp land and resources from the Míkmaq.

Chapter 3: The History of Siknigtuk

This chapter provides a written history of the traditional territory of Siknigtuk (Chignecto), a history which, up to this point, has never been written. This will include the conflict over the Isthmus of Chignecto leading up to the Treaty Era, and the subsequent disregard of those treaty provisions. The chapter also provides a history of the establishment of the reserve system, from historical information gleaned from local historians and libraries. However, there was also a pre-contact period which will also be presented. This pre-contact period indicates a strong Míkmaq connection to the land which supported the culture and language through the many socio-economic activities tied into the land. These socio-economic activities were performed within family and kin relations and were all inclusive of tribal society. This chapter intends to invoke the elements of *Netukulimk* which illustrate the Míkmaq historical interconnectedness to, and respect for, their traditional lands.

3.1 History of Siknigtuk

According to Wright (1945), in approximately 500 BC, the ancestors of the Míkmaq from the Late Maritime culture utilized pottery, produced mats, bags, baskets, and clothing from plant fibers. During the winter, they lived in coastal settlements, subsisted on coastal and marine resources, and during the summer lived in riverine camps and harvested spawning fish species (Wright, 1945). Many years later, successive generations evolved into a people now known as the Míkmaq. Dickason (2002) described the Míkmaq as hunters of marine mammals and fishers, with a precontact population estimated at 35,000. Ray (2016) also described their economy, similar to the Subarctic peoples, as one derived from hunting and fishing: “On the beaches they collected a variety of shellfish, and from their canoes they caught fish, especially mackerel and

cod” (Ray, 2016, p. 10). Neitfield (1981) provided a detailed description of their economy. Beaver and muskrat were the most reliable food sources, and sea mammals were the most concentrated and easily obtained (Ray, 2016). Maritime anadromous fish were an extremely reliable and concentrated aquatic source, while herring and tomcod were important during the spring and winter (Ray, 2016). Flounder was a reliable coastal source of food, although not as concentrated, and eels were important for winter preservation (Ray, 2016). Ocean fish were less reliable and less abundant; however, marine vertebrates were a very reliable short-term source of food, and plant foods were used during times of famine or when other sources were scarce (Ray, 2016). Neitfield notes that, “[O]f the smaller plants, the most important for food were probably the many berry species and Indian potato or groundnut” (Neitfield, 1981, p. 39). Family and kin groups performed food-based socio-economic activities. Wallis and Wallis (1955) indicate that families were assigned hunting territories, and “without [a] firm and elaborate structure, the Micmac tribe was held together by the recognition of common need” (p. 176). “The most common and important game were deer, moose, bear, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit, wolverine, hedgehog, weasel, fox, beaver, otter, hair seal, muskrat, and fowl, including several species of wild duck, wild goose, loon, and crane” (Wallis & Wallis, 1955, p. 18). During the period since encounter, the Indigenous connection to the land was impacted by the arrival of Europeans, who placed their own mark on the geography of the region. Europeans, through their own cultures, had significantly different socio-economic interests in the region.

It is difficult to provide a documented history, both chronologically and spatially, for the traditional Mikmaq District of Siknikt, or Sikniktuk. I will begin by presenting a general historical description of Sikniktuk. The traditional district extended from the southern shore of the present Miramichi River, extending into the middle of New Brunswick, going south toward

Grand Lake near the Minto area, continuing south down the Saint John River to approximately Hampton and Saint John. It then followed the coastline of the Bay of Fundy toward the Chignecto Basin, including Chignecto Cape in Nova Scotia, possibly the Five Islands area, extending northward near Tatamagouche, following the coast of the Northumberland Strait toward the Miramichi along the eastern part of New Brunswick, inclusive of all tributaries flowing into the Northumberland Strait and the Bay of Fundy.

The current Mikmaq communities within the district are Elsipogtog, Indian Island, Buctouche, and Fort Folly First Nations in New Brunswick, along with the settlement of Spring Hill Junction in Nova Scotia. There were numerous encampments throughout the district, known to settlers as “Indian camps.” From historical materials that I encountered, I developed the following geographic groupings: 1) Amherst and Sackville area; 2) Memramcook and Shediac; 3) Moncton and Petitcodiac; 4) Sussex and Saint John; and 5) Big Cove and Bouctouche. Family and kin groups who performed socio-economic activities in these areas influenced these geographical groupings. The earliest contact was with the French in the Amherst and Sackville area, spreading outward to include places such as Beauséjour, Cumberland, Beaubassin, Bay Verte, and Westcock, which many people refer to as Chignecto. Also, during the French/Acadia period of settlement and after the conflict with the British post-1713, the Memramcook and Shediac area included Dorchester, Shepody, Beaumont, Fort Folly, Pointe-du-Chêne, Barachois, Grand Digue, and Aboujagane. With the arrival of the New England Planters²³ and Loyalists in the area of Moncton and Petitcodiac, repopulated by the English who replaced the displaced Acadians, this area encompassed Dieppe, Indian Mountain, Hillsborough, and Salisbury. The

²³ The New England Planters were settlers from New England colonies who settled “vacant” lands which were uninhabited at the time as a result of the Bay of Fundy Campaign and the 1755 Acadian Deportation. They were invited to immigrate to the region by Charles Lawrence, the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia.

latter are Indian settlements in the area. The Sussex and Saint John area included Sussex Corner and Sussex Vale, Millstream, Apohaqui, Anagance, Plumweseep, Penobsquis, Kennebecasis, and Quispamsis. For this dissertation, Indian Island, Richibucto, and Cocagne were grouped into the Big Cove and Bouctouche area.

3.2 The History of Chignecto and Surrounding Areas

The historical record indicates that early European contact in the Chignecto region began with John Cabot, who visited Newfoundland in 1497. He was followed by Jacques Cartier, who arrived at the Gaspé in 1534. Pierre du Monts settled in St. Croix in 1603, and the following year marked the arrival of Samuel de Champlain who resided at Port Royal (Acadia) in 1604. These early contacts gave rise to the European fishers whose economic activities (fishing and drying or salting cod) required that enterprise be conducted around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The competitive mercantile trade in fish expanded later into fur and timber. I posit that the Míkmaq of Sikniktuk were later centrally located at Richibucto, which was also called *Melsignatig*, meaning the “stronghold of Siknikt” and they were possibly drawn to Chignecto when the Acadians settled there and drained the marshes. There were Indian camp and village sites in the Petitcodiac-Missequash district, including Indian Mountain, Salisbury, the Bend (Hall’s Creek), Fort Folly, Indian Island (Shepody River), Dorchester, Westcock (Westcock Brook, Palmer Brook, and Allan Brook), Midgic, and Indian Point (Cape Tormentine) (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 10).

With little consideration for the Indigenous relationship to, and occupation of the land, European nations simply assumed their own sovereignty and began entering into grants, charters, proclamations, and treaties dealing with Míkmakei, or Land of the Míkmaq, thus representing early examples of social exclusion involving geography. Dickason (2002) notes that,

“[A]lthough the French had avoided raising the issues of lands and sovereignty, that did not prevent them from considering that France had sovereign rights in both Acadia and New France, as she demonstrated in the Treaty of Utrecht and later treaties” (p. 88). The English also made claims to the same land; Sir William Alexander received the charter for Nova Scotia in 1621 (Laxer, 2006). The French responded with their own land grants and as Daigle (1995) writes, “In order to protect his financial interest in the fishery and the fur trade, Nicolas Denys obtained on 30 Jan. 1654 a land grant that encompassed the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Canseau (Canso) to the Gaspé” (Daigle, 1995, p. 8). The Treaty of Breda returned Acadia to the French in 1667, and the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 recognized French North America (Laxer, 2006). From that point, French settlement expanded outward from Port Royal. The French settled in Beaubassin in 1672 (Scobie, 2008), and their primary economic activity was farming. The Annapolis, Minas, Chignecto, Shepody, Memramcook/Petitcodiac Rivers were the nuclei of Acadia (Wynn, 1979). Ray (2016) points out that the “tidal-flat farming system of the Acadians barely interfered with the lives of the Mi’kmaq because it did not impinge on the large tracts of tribal hunting grounds” (p. 143). Mi’kmaq families were “associated with a specific landscape” (Wicken, 2002, p. 132). Natural resources were allocated to specific families through the Mi’kmaq Grand Council. French religious practices also reached Mi’kmaq communities, with the congealing of Acadian culture before 1610; Father Claude Moireau baptized the children of Chief Arguimeau at Chignecto in 1684 and 1685 (Wicken, 2002, p. 42).

The Mi’kmaq lived off the lands assigned to them by their political body called the Grand Council.²⁴ The Mi’kmaq called Petitcodiac “Petgotgoiag”, Memramcook “Amlamgog”, and Shepody “Gategatig” (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). Their culture and language remained viable

²⁴The Grand Council (*Santé Mawiómi* or *Mi’kmawey Mawio’mi*) is a gathering of the representatives of the seven districts in Mi’kma’ki.

during the mid-1600s. French land grants, however, began to spread beyond the Beaubassin area; Michel LaNeuf de la Vallière was granted the French signeury of Chignecto in 1676, and Sebastien Villieau received the seigneury in Shepody in 1700 (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990).

Historian Will R. Bird (1928) portrays the early Mikmaq favourably, describing them as “these originals, whose etiquette was above reproach, whose morals were far better than our own” (p. x). Bird continued this flattering description, observing that they were “well-fed, light-footed, swarthy, beardless, pleasing specimens, with tall, slender, agile forms, high cheek bones and lustrous hazel eyes, with the five bodily senses trained to most exquisite keenness” (1928, p. 3). Dickason (2002) described the French approach toward the Indigenous groups as one that “treat[ed] them with every consideration, [to]avoid violence...and transform[ed] them into Frenchmen” (p. 141). Despite early settler goodwill towards the Mikmaq, French colonial policies slowly undermined Mikmaq self-determination. John Reid (1995) pointed out that the Loyalists’ influx impacted Mikmaq hunting, fishing and gathering areas. The French did not always treat the Mikmaq well— “La Vallière...intercepted an Indian Chief called ‘Negascouet’ and robbed him of seventy elk skins, sixty marten, four beaver, and two otter pelts” (Bird, 1928, p. 12). La Valliere was the one who controlled the seignorage in Shediac. This was a direct assault on Indigenous economic activity. In 1703, settlers of Beaubassin attacked and captured the Englishman Wells, in New England, with the help of the French and “Indians”. In addition, they “killed over three hundred whites” (Bird, 1928, p. 15; Peace, 2011, p. 139). The Mikmaq became involved early with conflicts between British and French settlers’ economic interests and land assertions, as allies on one side or the other.

In 1710, the British captured Port Royal. Sporadic attacks on the English by the French and the Mikmaq continued until 1713 “when hostilities, both in Europe and America were

terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht” (Daugherty, 1983, p. 19). This shift in power resulted in a dispersal of the Indigenous Peoples to more remote back areas for sustenance and clothing and this demonstrated a total disregard for the Mikmaq connection to the land. Early English settlers, far from recognizing Indigenous land-based cosmologies, were either entirely ignorant of them or considered them to be heathen. In contrast, colonial Indian Affairs remained neutral towards the Mikmaq of Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) during the period after the French Indian Wars of North America in 1763. MacDonald notes that the Indians of Île St. Jean who lived there permanently were not involved in the wars that raged in the rest of Acadia and “it was basically left alone for the Mi'kmaq most of the time” (n.d., p. 6). The Island Mikmaq were seen as insignificant, as “[T]he Micmac population on the island [Prince Edward Island] during these decades was never larger than a handful of families” (Rawlyk, 1994, p. 107). The Island fortification at Fort Amherst was viewed as “a minor outpost,” with little “military significance” (Rawlyk, 1994, p. 111).

International treaties between European nations continually granted lands to each other—lands formerly occupied by the Mikmaq. The Treaty of Utrecht, for example, gave Acadia to the British in 1713 (Laxer, 2006; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990; Scobie, 2008; Trueman, 1902). Fisher (1938) points out that

[T]his country continued for some time in dispute between the French and English but was finally ceded in full sovereignty to the British, at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713. Its limits, as ascertained at that time, were the southern banks of the St. Lawrence, to the North, and river Pentagoet, (since called Penobscot) to the West, being situated between the 43rd and 49th degrees of North latitude” (p. iii).

Acadia was geographically large and included all the seven Mikmaq districts; Kespu'kwitk,

Sipekne'katik, Eskikewa'kik, Unama'kik, Epekwitk Aqq Piktuk, Sikniqt, and Kespek. Although the French and English reached a peace between them, the Míkmaq were not invited to the table and did not appreciate the English incursion on their lands throughout Mi'kmaki. Hamilton (1874) observed that the Indian allies of the French “continued their depredations upon the lives and property” of the English (p. 30). Reid notes that there was “much more to native power in northeastern North America than tactical effectiveness in battle. Native control of large tracts of territory and the potential for native incursions into the far more limited areas of non-native settlement had wider implications that were strategic in two senses”; they were capable of doing significant damage to colonial settlements because of their stealth and skill in the woods, and they were already engaged in intertribal treaties and agreements (2016, p.131).

The British attempted to have the Acadians side with them; however, the French threatened the Acadians with violence. The Acadian population resisted British efforts, stubbornly refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, saying that such a position would likely result in immediate Míkmaq raids incited by the French. (Wrong & Langton, 1914, p. 79). An assault against Annapolis (formerly the French Port Royal) in 1724, a small party of English soldiers was sent to drive away the Indians. Bird (1928) observes that “[T]he Indians repulsed the party, killing and scalping a sergeant and private, and wounding four others” (p. 36). Although the British conquered Annapolis, that was not the case for Minas and the rest of the province (Bird, 1928, p. 36). Massachusetts, which then included Maine, had declared war on the Míkmaq (Bird, 1928, p. 36; Peace, 2011, p. 108). The 1725 Treaty was signed in Boston by British Major Paul Mascarene and Chiefs of the Penobscot, Norridgewak, Maliseet, and Micmac tribes. Treaties were entered into in the region ostensibly to establish conditions of peaceful co-existence between the Indigenous Peoples and settlers. The 1725 Treaty was mainly about peace

and friendship, with clauses that ensured the liberty of properties not formerly acquired by the British, and safeguarded trade, justice, and peace with Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Nova Scotia. The treaty reads, in part:

Whereas His Majesties King George by Concession of the Most Christian King made at the Treaty of Utrecht is become the Rightfull Possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie according to its antient Boundaries We the said Indians Sanguaarum alias Loron Arexus Francois Xavier and Meganumbe Delegates from the said Tribes Penobscott Naudgewaek St. Johns Cape Sables and other tribes Inhabiting His Majesties and Territories in Nova Scotia or Acadie and New England in the name and behalf of the said Tribes We Represent Acknowledge His Said Majesty King George's Jurisdiction and Dominion over the said Territories of Nova Scotia or Acadie and make our Submission to his said Majesty in as ample a Manner as We have formerly done to his most Christian Kings (Nova Scotia Archives, 2009).

Following the Treaty of 1725, similar treaties were signed in Nova Scotia; one of the clauses in the 1726 ratification of the 1725 Peace and Friendship Treaty stipulated that delegates agreed to “acknowledge His Said Majesty King George’s Jurisdiction & Dominion Over the Territories of the Said Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia & make our Submifsion to His Said Majesty in as ample a Manner as wee have formerly done to the Most Christian King” (Treaty of 1725).²⁵ The 1725 Treaty and its ratification a year later were signed by several chiefs and men of Sikniktuk

²⁵ According to the Nova Scotia Archives, “In December 1725, Governor William Dummer of Massachusetts initiated the first of a number of treaties of peace and friendship between the Crown and several Indigenous communities. This process led to a further treaty between the Mi’kmaq Nation leaders and the Nova Scotia colonial authorities, which was signed in 1726. Additional treaties or ratifications were signed in 1727 and 1728 to confirm the inclusion of most parties.”
<https://novascotia.ca/archives/Mikmaq/results.asp?Search=AR5&SearchList1=all&TABLE2=on>

and adjacent areas, including; “Piere X Martine, Chief of Refhiboucto (now Richibucto); Jirom X of Attanas, Chief of Gidiark (Shediac); Joseph Martine X, Chief Piere X Armquarett, Chief of Minis (Minas), Philip X Eargomot (Alguimou), Chickanicto (Siknituk, Chignecto) and Michel Eargamet (Alguimou, son of Philip)” (Treaty of 1725). During this period, as the British continued to expand their geographical reach the Governor of Nova Scotia promised the Acadians that they would be exempt from bearing arms against the French and the Míkmaq; Reid (2016) emphasizes how frustrated these efforts were in large measure by Míkmaq resistance (p. 168). Chief Pierre Martine of Richibucto signed the 1726 Treaty, consenting to peace and friendship with the British. Chief Philip Eargamet of Chignecto also signed the 1726 Treaty in Halifax, Nova Scotia, along with his son, Michel (Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs, 2000; Wicken, 2002). These Míkmaq Treaties were responses to previous land claims. The Míkmaq believed they had entered into a similar relationship with the British to the one they had with the French; one of “favour, protection, and friendship,” rather than one of submission (Wicken, 2002, p. 127). The English philosopher, John Locke, influenced the British view of Aboriginal Title. They believed that Aboriginal Title was restricted to lands Aboriginal People cultivated but not lands used for “hunting, fowling and fishing” (Wicken, 2002, p. 127). Aboriginal status was consequently understood in a Lockean-defined relationship to land.

Acadians settled at “Le Coude” in 1735, an area along the Petitcodiac River (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). The Acadians also settled along the Bay of Fundy, along the Minas Basin, and Chignecto Bay. Over the next decade, both the French and the British struggled to gain control of the region, often displacing the Indigenous population from their traditional territory in the process. A Catholic mission was established for the Míkmaq and in 1737 the Society of Foreign Missions sent Abbé Le Loutre to Canada to lead it; he lived with the Míkmaq at Shubenacadie

(Sipekne'katik) and focused on proselytizing them (Bird, 1928). Bird notes that “[L]arge sums of money, firearms, ammunition and other supplies were furnished him for aid in his work among the redskins” (1928, p. 43). With about two hundred warriors, Le Loutre attacked Mascarene’s fort at Annapolis, Nova Scotia in June 1744, captured the fort, and burnt it (Peace, 2011, p. 200). This conflict, known as Father Le Loutre’s War, continued when fighting broke out once again between the French and English which started in the mid-eighteenth century, the objective being over the boundary line of Acadia. The conflict was both secular and religious. La Loutre wanted French political control of trade in the region. Catholicism was the religion of the French and wanted the faithful, both Mi’kmaq and Acadian to support his efforts. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Mi’kmaq fought with the French against the English at Canso (Laxer, 2006). Hamilton (1874) writes that, “On the 30th March 1744, France declared war against Great Britain: on the news of this event reaching Cape Breton, M. de Quesnal, governor of the island, dispatched forces of French and Indians against the English settlements in Acadie” (p. 30). The French claimed that the border of Acadia was the Missaquash River in Chignecto (Scobie).

In 1744, Le Loutre, along with 300 Mi’kmaq warriors and two Acadians, demanded the surrender of the fort at Annapolis (Bird, 1928; Rawlyk, 1994). Le Loutre was involved in conflict throughout the region; “Shortly before the siege of Louisbourg, [Le Loutre] is seen, for the first time, with a crowd of his dark converts, making an unsuccessful attack on Annapolis” (Harper, 1876, p. 66). Le Loutre was leading the Mi’kmaq as he was supplying them with gifts. Aside from burning some exterior buildings and firing a few rounds of gunfire, Le Loutre and his followers retreated to Minas (Rawlyk, 1994). The French ships *Le Caribou* and *L’Ardent* failed to appear to provide support (Rawlyk, 1994). The priest was accused of supplying guns to the

Míkmaq. Le Loutre provided the “native chiefs [with] fire-arms, ammunition and presents” (Harper, p. 66). Sometime later, Acadian-born military officer Duvivier offered to pay the warriors four hundred livres to attack Annapolis as well, “but he had no greater success than the priest” (Bird, 1928, p. 46). The Míkmaq answered to both Duvivier and La Loutre, one was military leader and the other a religious leader. The Míkmaq received an income for their military service. Duvivier’s men included 160 Míkmaq, 70 Maliseet, and 280 French troops; however, the promised ships did not show and in October 1744, he was told to retreat. (Rawlyk, 1994, p. 124). The Acadian deputies, representatives to the British, claimed they had no knowledge of Le Loutre’s gifts to the Míkmaq, although they knew the warriors had in their possession gunpowder, shot, and blankets (Rawlyk, 1994, p. 123). Those gifts to the Míkmaq served an economic purpose. An early headcount of Mi’kmaki showed “Micmacs belonging to M. Loutre’s mission [Shubenacadie] 200, Isle Royale [Cape Breton], under M. Mailliard 80, Miramichi, under La Corne 195, Restigouche, under L’estage 60, 535” (Rawlyk, 1994, p. 48). The Míkmaq came from throughout the region; however, the British responded with their own Indian allies comprising of Indigenous Peoples of mixed ancestry. Milner (1911) notes that “[John Gorham] was afterwards in command of a body of Rangers (of half-blood Indians) raised in Boston for service in Acadia” (p. 39).

The Acadians ultimately swore an oath of allegiance to the British in 1749, but they would not bear arms against the French or Míkmaq (Laxer, 2006, p. 53). Chief Pedousaghtigh of Chignecto signed the Treaty of Halifax (1749); however, other chiefs refused to sign, in part because of the British presence in Chebucto (later known as Halifax).²⁶ The oath read,

I Joannes Pedousaghtigh Chief of the Tribe of Chigenecto Indians for my self and

²⁶Treaties were signed with the British in 1749, 1752, and 1760/61. These later Treaties were believed to be necessary by the British because, “up until the late 1750s, the Mi’kmaq remained allied with France and during

in behalf of my tribe my Heirs and their Heirs for ever and we Francois Arodowish, Simon Sacrawino and Jean Battiste Maddouanhook—Deputies from the Chiefs of the St. Johns Indians and Invested by them with full powers for that purpose do in the most Solemn Manner—renew the above Articles of Agreement and Submission and every Article Thereof with his Excellency Edward Cornwallis Esqr. Captn. Generl and Governor in Chief in and over his majesties Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie Vice Admiral of the same Colonel in his Majesties Service and one of his bed Chamber. In Witness whereof the said Joannes Pedousaghtigh have subscribed this Treaty and affixed my Seal and we the said Francois Arodowish, Simon Sacrawino, and Jean Battiste Maddouanhook—In behalf of the Chiefs of the Indian Tribes we represent have subscribed and affixed our seals to the same and engage that the said Chief shall ratifie this Treaty at St. Johns. Done in Chibucto Harbour the fifteenth of August one Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-nine. (Nova Scotia Archives, 2009).

That same year, Governor Cornwallis settled Halifax. The settlement had concerns regarding their Indigenous neighbours and according to Stephen Patterson “[f]ear of Native attacks led the government to concentrate first on building fortifications around the settlement, while the ravages of winter created the need for a hospital and then an orphanage” (Patterson, 2005, p. 128). British scalp proclamations intended to decimate the Mikmaq population, including women and children. It was issued by Edward Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, in

periods of British-French conflict, many communities chose to side with the French against the British. To a large degree, this decision was dictated by geography. For instance, up until 1758, France retained *de jure* (legal) control over Ile Royale, and Ile St. Jean, as well as *de facto* (actual) control over much of what is now the province of New Brunswick. Not surprisingly, Mi'kmaq and/or Maliseet communities living in these areas tended to side with France, a position that had as much to do with practicalities as with their political or cultural affinities with French officialdom” (Government of Canada, 2010).

October 1749 and has not yet been rescinded. It set the price for a Míkmaq male scalp at £100, a captive male £150, a female scalp at £55, or captive female at £50 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977).

This was a new source of income for those fighting for the British. In contrast, one report indicates that “The savages overran the country, scalping the inhabitants and committing every species of barbarity which their hellish imaginations could invent; in consequence of which, the English women and children were removed to Boston” (Hamilton, 1874, p. 30). The British established a fort at Chebucto [Halifax] in 1749, which grew to a population in excess of 5,000, although many inhabitants of the town returned to New England for fear of Indian raids (Laxer, 2006, p. 54). This situation could be viewed as illustrating psychological factors tied into a specific geography. Acadia was rampant with fear. Reid writes of this in detail, noting that Le Loutre harassed the English by “pirating the English vessels and sending crowds of stealthy savages to outrage Halifax” (Harper, p. 66). These derogatory and stereotypical descriptions of the Míkmaq fed into the racism of the time. The Mi’kmaq were portrayed as savage killers.

These concerns contributed to psychological factors associated with developing the British geographical expansion. The regional conflict intensified with the increased British presence and shift in policy around 1749 whereby “London shifted towards an imperial policy in which the possession of colonies became a priority” (Daigle, 1995, pp. 36). Cornwallis, however, needed peace with the Míkmaq to induce settlement of Nova Scotia (Patterson, 2005, p. 129). The renewal of the 1725 Peace Treaty was reaffirmed in the 1749 Treaty, which ultimately failed to endure as the Mi’kmaq were angered when Cornwallis established Halifax in 1750 (Reid (1987). The Míkmaq of Cape Breton and Antigonish informed the Governor that the British were illegally occupying their land, and they refused to make peace (Patterson, 2005), attempting to regain their connection to the land. Fisher (1938) indicated that the French had incited hatred

amongst the Míkmaq against the English settlers, “by burning their settlements and scalping the inhabitants” (p. vi). Peace was elusive and the British reverted to racist language to define their enemy; “When subsequently the British received information that Micmac raiders had seized a number of sailing vessels, captured English prisoners, and killed workers at a sawmill near Halifax, the governor and Council angrily replied with a proclamation ordering British subjects to ‘destroy the savage commonly called Micmacs wherever they are found’” (Patterson, 2005, p. 129). With the failure to obtain a general treaty in 1749, the war that had begun in 1744 continued through the 1750s, and blended into the Seven Years’ War (Patterson, 2005, p. 129). French troops and Míkmaq warriors amassed in Beaubassin in 1750 (Laxer, 2006, p. 56). The British sent troops to Chignecto the same year (Scobie, 2008). Abbé Le Loutre, representing the French, had the Acadian village burnt and encouraged the Acadians to cross the river to join the French at Beauséjour (Laxer, 2006, p. 56). Further, as Bird notes, “In January [1750, Le Loutre] took a party of Micmacs to Cobequid [Truro, NS] and at the church door, in the presence of the priest, forbade the inhabitants to cross the river Shubenacadie on pain of death” (1928, pp. 62-63). Again, psychological factors were tied into geography. The priest used the threat of death by the hand of the Míkmaq to intimidate the British forces; “In May 1751, a well-organized body of about sixty Native warriors swooped down on the tiny British settlement at Dartmouth...catching the small garrison and most of the inhabitants in their beds, killing eight, and capturing several others” (Patterson, 2005, p. 134). The chief, Major Jean-Baptiste Cope, traveled to Halifax in 1752 to enter into peace under the guise of obtaining presents, while the other chiefs refused to sign any treaty at that time (Patterson, 2005, p. 135). The Chief of Shubenacadie (Cope) signed the 1752 Treaty, wherein the 1725 Treaty articles were reaffirmed, and promises were made of presents and trade provisions. Promises allowing the Míkmaq to hunt and fish, unmolested, were

different from previous treaty provisions:

It is agreed that the said Tribe of Indians shall not be hindered from, but have free liberty of Hunting & Fishing as usual: and that if they shall think a Truckhouse needful at the River Chibenaccadie or any other place of their resort, they shall have the same built and proper Merchandize lodged therein, to be Exchanged for what the Indians shall have to dispose of, and that in the mean time the said Indians shall have free liberty to bring for Sale to Halifax or any other Settlement within this Province, Skins, feathers, fowl, fish or any other thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have liberty to dispose thereof to the best Advantage (Nova Scotia Archives, 2009).

The Míkmaq may have sought to retain their economic reliance on gifts (Peace, 2011, p. 105).²⁷

Some warriors requested a ship to take them and their presents home; they later turned on the crew, murdered them, and ran the schooner ashore (Bird, 1928). Cope and his men killed all who were involved, except for the Frenchman Anthony Casteel (Patterson, 2005, p. 135).

In 1753, Charles Morris, a British engineer, proposed removing the Acadians who supported the Míkmaq, in order to settle Nova Scotia (Laxer, 2006, p. 60), a proposal which would effectively have cut an important economic source of the Míkmaq. To bolster settlement by non-Acadians, Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia established German-Swiss settlers in Lunenburg the next year, 1754 (Laxer, 2006, p. 61). Hailing from the Rhineland, they were promised free land and free passage to the area (Patterson, 2005, p.136) and were invited in order

²⁷ Andrew Parnaby notes that “According to B.A. Balcolm, it was not uncommon in the 1720s and 30s for French officials at Fortress Louisbourg to provide Mi'kmaw fishermen with boats to hunt seals on the Magdalen Islands, and to receive, in return, seal oil for the winter. See Balcolm, “The Mi'kmaq and Louisbourg,” guide for interpreters at Fortress Louisbourg, revised edition, 2006, on file at Fortress Louisbourg” (p.82). Parnaby, A. (2008). *The cultural economy of survival: The Mi'kmaq of cape Breton in the mid-19th century. Labour/Le Travail*, 69-98.

to solidify Britain's geographical possessions in Nova Scotia. Despite threats of Míkmaq attacks, Peregrine Hopson, Governor of Nova Scotia, established a site, which the Míkmaq and French called Mirligueche, now called Lunenburg (Patterson, 2005, p. 139). The largest encampment of about four hundred Natives was near Bay Verte (Patterson, 2005, p. 139). This area is near Amherst, Nova Scotia, close to the provincial border with New Brunswick. Governors William Shirley of Massachusetts and Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia began jointly planning the Acadian removal from Chignecto in 1754 (Laxer, 2006, p. 61) to remove military and trade support to the Míkmaq. Encampment locations shifted as the Míkmaq were forced to abandon their subsistence areas. While mustering French-supporting allies, Le Loutre proposed to the British that most of Nova Scotia be set aside as Míkmaq territory, effectively creating an Indigenous buffer zone between the British and French, an idea that the Nova Scotia colonial government rejected (Patterson, 2005, p. 140).²⁸ The deportation of the Acadians soon followed and in "the fall of 1755, about 2,000 people were removed from Minas and another 1,100 from Annapolis" (Patterson, 2005, p. 144). Fort Beauséjour fell to the British under Colonel Monckton in 1755 (Laxer, 2006, p. 65; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). Beausejour fell before the deportation – the presence of Acadians there was part of the British decision to deport the Acadians. In response to the British attack at Beauséjour, that same year, a leader of the Acadian militia, Charles Deschamps de Boishébert attacked Major Joseph Frye from colonial Maine at Petitcodiac and then burnt British ships at Baie Verte in 1756 (Laxer, 2006, p. 108; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). Some Acadians refused the order of submission to acknowledge the King of English's jurisdiction over Nova Scotia which followed, and fled to the woods, refusing to bear arms against the French and Míkmaq:

²⁸ The Nova Scotia Council, in place from 1720–1758, was the British administrative and judicial body in the province.

Their refusal led the English to burn entirely the village of the River Chipoudy, without excepting even the church. M. de Boishébert, at the head of 125 Acadians or Indians, overtook them at the river of Petkoudiak; attacked and fought them for three hours, and drove them vigorously back to their vessels. The English had 42 men killed and 45 wounded (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 33).

In response to the attack against the British, Governor Lawrence issued a proclamation rewarding those obtaining Mi'kmaq scalps or prisoners, offering £30 for male prisoners or scalps for those over sixteen years old, and £25 for women and children prisoners (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Hay (1903) notes that “The Indian was looked upon as a wild beast to be hunted and killed, and reward was offered for his scalp, just as now we offer a bounty for the snout of a bear or other destructive animal” (p. 87). The racist views of the English weighed heavily upon the Mi'kmaq as much as they drove the English.

Direct British assaults on the Acadian farm economy shortly followed. In 1758, Colonel Monckton's forces destroyed Acadian homes, livestock, and crops along the Saint John River (Laxer, 2006, p. 108). The British also killed a number of remaining Acadians, as well as scalping Acadian women and children (Laxer, 2006, p. 108). The British participated in scalp rewards during this war economy. Also, in 1758, Nova Scotia proclaimed that Catholics could not own property—priests were required to leave by 1759 or face imprisonment (Thériault, 1982), fearing incitement by the Catholic clergy. The remaining Catholics faced social exclusion and economic sanctions for owning land. Some priests were admitted into the province to ensure peace between the Mi'kmaq and the British (Thériault, 1982). Governor Lawrence proclaimed in 1759 that vacated lands were open to be settled, and later stated the settlers would be protected by the military and offered religious freedom, with the exception of Catholics (Hamilton, 1984;

Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). The Acadians of Petitcodiac and Memramcook surrendered to Colonel Frye at Fort Cumberland (formerly Ft. Beauséjour) in 1759, followed later by the surrender of the Mikmaq (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). The Chief of Richibucto signed a Peace and Friendship Treaty in 1760, and the Chiefs of Shediac and Chignecto, as well as other Mikmaq Chiefs, signed the Treaty by 1761.

In the 1760s, the Mikmaq lived in coastal villages during the summer and migrated inland during the winter (Wicken, 2002). The traditional economy involved an annual harvest cycle and subsequent movement between the interior and the coast, which also involved the constant expansion and contraction of family and kin groups.

Because of the mercantilist conflict between the Acadians and the New England merchants, the Acadians were deported with the military assistance of the Governor of Massachusetts. Without consistent support from the French, the Mikmaq entered into Peace and Friendship treaties with the British. Chief Michael Augustine signed the Richibucto Treaty in 1760, at Halifax (Akins, 2012, p. 66). The Chief was also known as Augustine Michael, and lived at Big Cove (Cameron, 2009, p. 103). This peace and friendship Treaty represented a submission to the British Crown where promises were made in return for justice and regulated trade. The 1760 Richibucto Treaty was actually signed at Bay Verte, contrary to other statements that it was signed in Halifax (Bird, 1928). Treaty provisions included previous assertions of trade:

And I [Chief Michael Augustine] do further engage that we will not traffick,
barter or Exchange any Commodities in any manner but with such persons or the
managers of such Truck houses as shall be appointed or Established by His
Majesty's Governor at Lunenburg or Elsewhere in Nova Scotia or Accadia

(Canada, 2010)

The following year, 1761, Augustin Michael of Richibucto and Joseph Alegemoure of Chignecto, along with other Chiefs, travelled to Halifax and signed obligations of allegiance (Whitehead, 1991). The majority of the regional Chiefs, those within the traditional districts, signed this series of treaties with the same articles. According to Cape Breton University's Mi'kmaq Resource Centre, the adhesions to this Treaty were also signed by the Mi'kmaq of Shediac, Pokemouche, Cape Breton, Miramichi, La Hève, and the minutes of the Nova Scotia Executive Council also mentioned the Mi'kmaq communities of Chignecto and Pictou.²⁹ Settlers arrived in Amherst, Sackville, and Cumberland in 1761 (Wynn, 1994; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). In 1762, Governor Belcher issued a proclamation reserving the right to protect Indian lands and ensure the treaties were not violated, and to remove squatters from those lands (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). This proclamation reserved Mi'kmaq lands along the coast of Nova Scotia to Cape Tormentine, New Brunswick up to the Miramichi and the Bay of Chaleur in Quebec. These royal instructions resulted from treaty breaches, as the Proclamation states;

THAT the Indians have made, and still do continue to make great Complaints, that Settlements have been made, and possessions taken, of Lands, the Property of which they have by Treaties reserved to themselves, by Persons claiming the said Lands under Pretence of Deeds of Sale & Conveyance, illegally, Fraudulently, and surreptitiously obtained of said Indians (Cumming & Mickenburg, 1972, p. 285).

The treaties ensured that the Mi'kmaq connection to the land remained and assured that their land-centered, socio-economic activities of hunting and fishing continued, as formerly practised by family and kin groups. Shortly after the ethnic cleansing of the Acadian People during *le*

²⁹ This information can be found at Cape Breton University: Indigenous Affairs. "Treaties of 1760-1761". Mi'kmaq Resource Centre. <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/mikmaq-resource-centre/treaties/treaties-of-1760-1761/>

grand derangement, the Mikmaq lost the lands that they were promised and were ordered to move by the British to the interior (Faragher, 2005). This immediately disrupted the former Mikmaq connections to the land and coastlands, and their related economic activity, and forced a geographical displacement within their districts, an apparent social and economic exclusion and discrimination, undermining their self-determination.

France surrendered all its North American possessions to Britain through the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Patterson, 2005, p.143). The focus of Mikmaq socio-economic activities linked to geography shifted from French to British influence. At that time, there were about 2,000 Mikmaq in the Bay Verte region, 1,000 Maliseet, and no more than 100 Passamaquoddy, an alarming number to the English. A letter from Colonel Fry to the Governor indicated the size of the Mikmaq population: “they were very numerous, amounting to near three thousand souls” (Fisher, 1921, p.114). According to the historian Reid, it was the fear of the Indians that kept the settlers out of Nova Scotia (2016, p. 130).

The French lost their lands through the Treaty of Paris, and the British subsequently outlined the process for the acquisition of Indian lands in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Britain obliquely acknowledged the Indigenous connections to land through Aboriginal title, but, as Chamberlin (2004) points out, from a European perspective, social, political, and economic interests were not yet separate from one another in the sixteenth nor even the eighteenth century (p. 22). Under the Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal title could only be brought by the Crown and must be agreed upon by the majority of the tribe. The proclamation stated that,

if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the

Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie (Royal Proclamation 1763).

Asch (2014) notes, in reference to the Royal Proclamation, that “even when it claims sovereignty over the land and those who live on it, [it] recognizes that, in treaty negotiations involving the securing of permission to settle on Indigenous territory, ‘the Crown’ represents the interests of Settlers alone and Indigenous parties are represented by leaders of their own choosing” (p. 9). Thus, on the one hand, it acknowledged Aboriginal title, but it also set out the provisions for settlement and the conditions by which the lands could be acquired from the Indigenous Peoples. The Proclamation’s acknowledgement regarding Mi’kmaq lands was soon ignored but the rewards mentioned therein were taken advantage of; stating that “We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies, and to reward the same” (Royal Proclamation 1763).

The rewards of land fed into the careers of the political elite in the colony. (Patterson, 2005, p. 128). British economic interests also dominated regional governance and management. This is reflected by the fact that, “[i]n Nova Scotia, colonial politicians held the view that Britain had gained title in the area by defeating France and its Native allies. In other words, the Mi’kmaq had lost their lands to the British by right of conquest” (Ray, 2016, p. 146). This dispossession amounted to a total disconnection of the Indigenous Peoples from the land, the dominant aim of the British at the time. Despite their claims in the Royal Proclamation, the British disregarded Mi’kmaq ownership of their hunting and fishing grounds, continually impelled by the Lockean concept that whoever works the land should own it. Hamilton (1874) reported that the French

surrendered all their claims to the British through the Treaty of Versailles in 1763, “and a formal treaty between the English and Indians in Acadie was executed about the same time” (p. 41). This may have resulted in two treaty interpretations—the British goal of the total disconnection of the Mikmaq from the land, and the Mikmaq view of their self-determination, rooted in the land. Acadians were granted permission to return in 1764; however, their former lands were, at that point, occupied (Laxer, 2006, p. 113; Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). Thériault (1982) asserts that the 100 years following the Treaty of Paris (1763-1863) can be viewed as a period in which Maritime Anglophones acquired an identity and played a leading role in all the great issues while the Acadians, who were returning in small groups, attempted to resettle in their old land, many ending up in areas allotted by the British (p. 48).

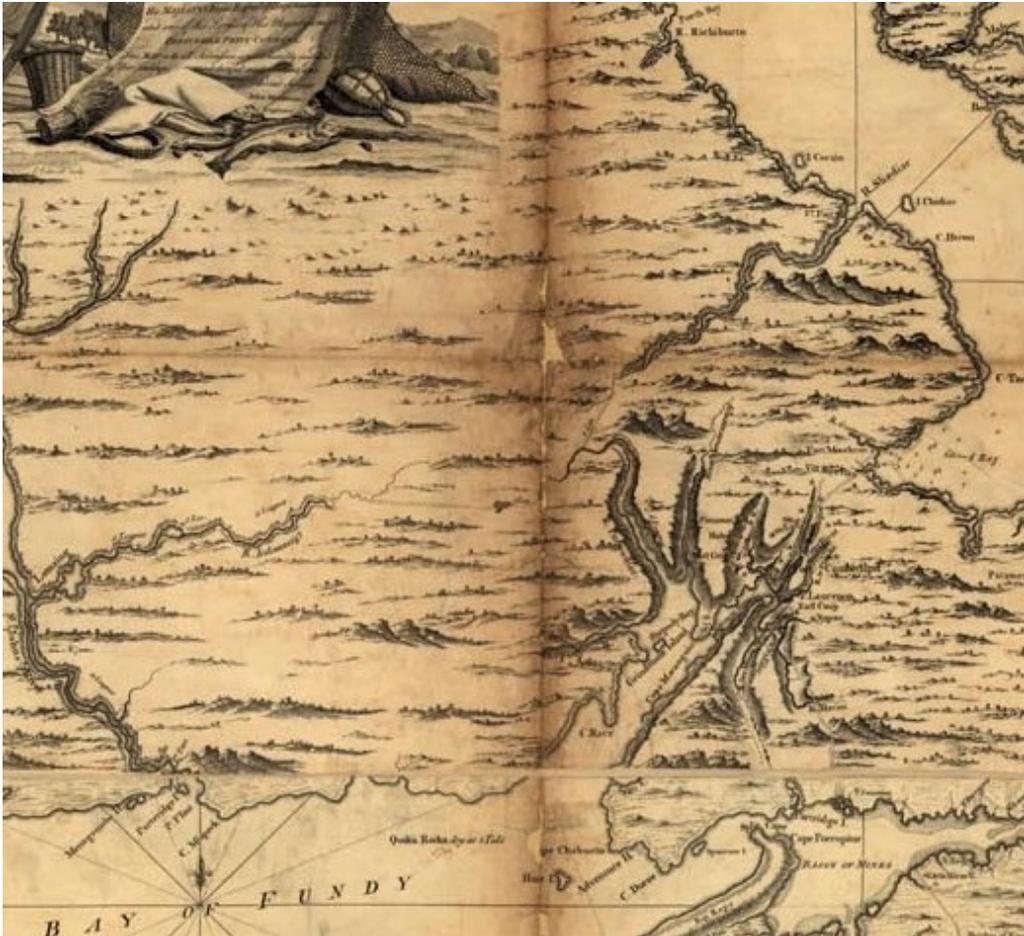


Figure 8: Map of Siganik 1768

The Monkton Township was granted in 1765 and settlers arrived the following year. Others settled in the Hopewell/Shepody area in 1767 and traded with Boston (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). These economic activities resulted from the geographical expansion of the colonies. Returned Acadians settled on substandard lands along the coast from Shediac to Bathurst (Laxer, 2006, p. 123) and at Fox Creek/Dieppe and Memramcook in 1770 (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). There were Acadian communities also forming in Barachois, Bouctouche, Richibucto, Neguac, Shippagan, and Petit-Rocher, in the late 1770's (Laxer, 2006, p. 122). Thériault (1982) notes that, "Despite [their] disadvantages, Acadians were involved in a market

economy, initially in fishing and later in lumbering” (p. 51). Although the Acadians suffered economically from the ongoing conflicts between the French and the British, they maintained their social identity. With the American Revolution/War of Independence in 1776, a contingent of Mikmaq and Maliseet travelled to Watertown, Massachusetts, and expressed their dissatisfaction with the British. According to the Department of Indian and Northern Development, “During the American Revolutionary War, the position of the Indians was less certain, and attempts were made by the American insurgents under Colonel John Allan to gain support from the Micmacs and Malecites” (Canada, 1869, p. 11). Peace and friendship, assured through treaties with the British, was a relationship akin to family and kin relationships. The Mikmaq and Maliseet perhaps felt a strain on their Treaty relationship as a result of the American Revolution; Hay notes that, “During the Revolutionary war, attempts were made to rouse the Indians to take the part of the revolted colonists, but without effect” (Hay, 1903, p. 109). Colonel John Allan, Superintendent of Eastern Indian Department, sent a contingent of canoes to the Miramichi with wampum to entice the Mikmaq to the American cause, relying on cultural protocols used within family and kin relationships (Hay, 1903, p. 110). American author, Frederic Kidder (1867), reported that the Mikmaq expected compensation for going to war, or at least provisions, as was the French custom. The Mikmaq claimed they were promised hard money and other things. Despite his lack of money and provisions including corn and cloth, Allan continued in his efforts to persuade the Mikmaq to support the British cause (Kidder, 1867). Some warriors offered their services in war as a source of income, perhaps, due to their economic situation at the time. Allan observed of the Mikmaq that “their Behaviour is so Changeable, and when any thing is on the Carpet on Either Side they appear so assiduous & Sanguine that I am often led to suppose they are come to final determination, which brings on an

unsteadiness in my own conduct with them” (Kidder, 1867, p. 193). A canoe returned from the Miramichi Mikmaq with wampum and an indication of their support (Kidder, 1867).

During their visit to Watertown in 1776, the Indians requested a French priest, presented a British sword and pistol, and sought peace, friendship, and trade (Baxter, 1916). The warriors reciprocated the cultural protocols involved in maintaining family and kin relationships with the Americans by rejecting the British gifts of weaponry. They informed the Americans they had 60 men at Winsor, 80 at Meremichi and Rechibucto, 40 at Beauséjour/Cumberland, 50 at Le Have, and 50 at the Gaspee (Baxter, 1916).

The Americans requested 600 men to fight the British and asked that they use their influence to encourage the Passamaquoddy and other tribes to join them. Joseph Denaquara of Windsor, Sebbattis Netobcobwit of Gaspee, and Peter Andre of Le Have enlisted immediately (Baxter, 1916). They were to be paid 40 shillings per month and would be provided with a rifle shirt, blaneit (sic) (possibly a blanket), shoes and buckles and were asked to bring their own guns (Baxter, 1916). The Americans relied on Mikmaq relationships with other tribes in order to entice additional warriors to their cause. The Americans also promised a Truckhouse at Machias and a priest, although not French (Baxter, 1916). The Indians requested ‘strouds’ and blankets, powder and shot, flints, knives and combs, hatchets, small axes of different sizes, paint, beaver traps, and guns for hunting (Baxter, 1916). This increased need for goods was an indication of the economic gap in Nova Scotia since trade was lost with the French.

The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance (Watertown Treaty) was signed on July 17, 1776 (Baxter, 1916). The Indians attending the treaty conference, Joseph Denaquara of Windsor, Sebbattis Netobcobwit of Gaspee, and Peter Andre of Le Have, also agreed to void previous agreements as it stipulated that “Delegates do hereby annul and make void all former Treaties by

them or by others in behalf of their respective Tribes made with any other power, State of person so far forth as the same shall be repugnant to any of the Articles contained in this Treaty” (Cape Breton University, n d.).

In late 1776, the Eddy Rebellion, whereby Massachusetts-born Jonathan Eddy, who resided in Cumberland County NS, formed a militia and led an attack on Fort Cumberland in bid to extend the American Revolution to the colony, failed, lacking the support of the Wolastaqiyik (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). Milner (1911) notes that “[Michael Franklin] had been a prisoner with Indians as a youth and understood their language and their ways. His personal influence was such that he was able to enroll a corps of volunteer militia in the Minas township 450 strong” (p. 47). Michael Francklin became Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia in 1767; he held that position for ten years, and later became the Indian Agent (Fischer, 1979). The American invaders, Eddy and his company attacked Francklin and other settlers; “On 28th, Batt made a sortie dispersing Eddy’s force and killing two Indians and one white man. Eddy and his compatriots fled through the woods back to the St. John River” (Milner, 1911, p. 48). The settlers along the Bay of Fundy were subjected to [New England] ship raids (Milner, 1911, p. 85). Francklin was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs early in 1777, to prevent the Indians from helping the Americans (Fisher, 1979). Extracts of a letter from Michael Francklin to Lord George Germaine (Colonel Secretary), 6 June 1778 read as follows:

I have every reason to believe, from undoubted authority, that at least 200 canoes of Mickmacs are now actually assembled at Miramichi, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and others are daily passing to join them. I am therefore under very great apprehension the result of their meetings will be to break with us, and should that be the case, small as the numbers of the savages shall appear to be, compared to the king’s troops that may be

stationed in the colony, they will be capable of ruining the interior settlements of the country (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 50).

We learn from Hamilton (1874) that in 1778, “about six hundred Indians assembled at the mouth of the Jemseg for the purpose of destroying the settlement of Maugerville, but the people escaped across the river to Oromocto, where a fort had been erected” (p. 43). A similar situation occurred in the Miramichi. Francklin, along with his deputy, James White, and the French missionary, Father Bourg, held a large gathering and provided the Míkmaq and Maliseet with many presents and entertainment before signing a treaty with them on September 24, 1778 (Shortt & Doughty, 1914, p. 138). The British followed an ancient protocol of maintaining relationships and providing gifts which was, at that time, an economic necessity. The date differs in Hamilton’s account which states that, “in the following year, 1780, numbers of Indian assembled at Fort Howe, at St. John, and swore allegiance to King George” (1874, p. 32). The Indians again promised not to help the Americans—their oath read, in part, “I do promise that I will not take part directly or indirectly against the King in the troubles now subsisting between Great Britain and His Majesty's Rebellions Subjects of America, but that I will follow my hunting and Fishing in a peaceable and quiet manner” (New Brunswick Historical Society, 1894). Several Míkmaq signed the treaty as well: Jean Baptiste Arimph, Second Chief; Louis Augustin, Captain; Antoiness, Deacon; Francis Joseph Arimph, Captain (all from Richibucto); Antoine Arnau, Captain; Jean Baptiste Heart, Principal Indian, from Miramichi; Michael Argimau, Chief; Pierre Bernard Cataup, Captain; Joseph Portis, Captain, from Chignecto; Francis Joseph Istashe, Captain, from Pokemouche; and Michael Sagaket and Charles Nocout, Principal Indians from Minas (New Brunswick Historical Society, 1894).

A conflict in 1778 about salmon fishing by the American English occurred in the Miramichi which resulted in another treaty that reaffirmed the 1760/61 treaty conditions, entered into with Mikmaq communities from Cape Tormentine to Baie des Chaleurs. A gathering of two hundred Indians at Miramichi threatened to attack the English settlements in Cumberland, Oslow, Falmouth, and Yarmouth (Milner, 1911, p. 46). The 1779 Miramichi Treaty was a peace and friendship treaty wherein the Mikmaq agreed to protect traders, undertake no correspondence with the Americans, and ratify all former treaties, in return for promises to remain free and unmolested in their hunting and fishing. Chiefs Julien (Miramichi) and Augustine (Richibucto) signed this treaty, along with several other regional chiefs. The conditions were negotiated aboard a British ship, *The Viper*, which had been sent up the Miramichi River to protect British traders from the Mikmaq, and were affirmed in Nova Scotia:

AND, we do also by these presents for ourselves, and in behalf of our several Constituents hereby Review, Ratify and Confirm all former Treaties entered into by us, or any of us, or these heretofore with the late Governor Lawrence, and other of His Majesty King George's Governors who have succeeded him in the Command of this Province.

In consideration of the true performance of the foregoing Articles, on the part of the Indians Affairs doth hereby promise in behalf of Government,

THAT, the said Indians and their Constituents, shall remain in the Districts before mentioned, quiet and free from any molestation of any of His Majesty's Troops, or other his good Subjects in their hunting and fishing;

THAT, immediate measures shall be taken to cause Traders to supply them with ammunition, clothing and other necessary stores in exchange for their furs, and other commodities. In witness whereof, we the above mentioned have interchangeably set our hands and Seals at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, this Twenty second day of September 1779 (Paul, 2015).

After the Revolutionary War, in 1783, approximately 15,000 Loyalists—men loyal to the British and who were forced to leave the Thirteen Colonies and their families—moved north to the British Colonies of the Maritimes. Hamilton (1874) listed them at about 5000 at Saint John in 1783. They joined British troops who fought in the war and were discharged in Nova Scotia in vying for land and were allotted lands “provisions and farming utensils, to enable them to become settlers” (Fisher, 1938, p. viii). The Loyalist influx created discontent among the Indigenous population; “The Indians of New Brunswick were inclined to be hostile because they did not like the rapid progress of settlement which restricted the extent of their hunting grounds” (Fingard, 1972, p. 34).³⁰ Impacts of their disconnection from the land through forced relocation affected their economic situation and resulted in the Míkmaq’s continued social exclusion.

During the 1780s and for decades after, the British failed to honour the treaties to protect Míkmaq hunting, fishing, and planting grounds (Nova Scotia Archives). This was likely due to the perception that the Míkmaq did not own the land; “Between 1782 and 1784, the Nova Scotia government responded to the Mi’kmaq petitions by granting them ten ‘licenses of occupation’ but these were almost useless because the areas awarded were never surveyed and could be claimed by newcomers with ease” (Ray, 2016, p. 146). Although there were other chiefs who signed the Miramichi Treaty in 1779, Chief Julien was the only one who received a land grant

³⁰ Indigenous Peoples were forced to petition for land grants along with the newcomers. See the Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives Project, “Contested Terrain: Aboriginal Land Petitions in New Brunswick, 1786-1878.”

from the colonial government of Nova Scotia; “On 30 Aug. 1783, Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia gave John Julien and his tribe a license to occupy, during pleasure, 20,000 acres along the shores of the Northwest Miramichi River” (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1983). It was the Loyalist immigrants who forced the Passamaquoddy from the colony altogether. At that point in time, there was no expectation that principles of fairness would be applied if the Governor chose to end that license to occupy the land. Nova Scotia was partitioned, and New Brunswick became a new province in 1784 (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990).³¹ In 1784, Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton was “appointed Governor on the 16th of August” (Fisher, 1938, p. viii). The partition was done through an executive order rather than an Act of Parliament, which read that,

His Majesty having taken the same into His Royal Consideration has thought it proper that the Province of Nova Scotia should be divided into two parts, by drawing the line of separation from the Mouth of the Musquat River to its source, and from thence across the Isthmus into the nearest part of the Bay Verte, and that the Tract of Country bounded by the Gulph of St. Lawrence on the East, the Province of Quebec on the North; the Territories of the United States on the West, and the Bay of Fundy on the South; should be erected into a Government under the Name of New Brunswick with a Civil Establishment suitable to its Extent (History of New Brunswick Canada, 2002).

These changes continued to negatively affect the Míkmaq connection to the land and the subsequent impacts upon their culture and socio-economic activities as “The Indians of New Brunswick could not be expected to view with favor the rapid progress of settlement by the whites, for every tree that was cut down in the forest restricted the area of their hunting grounds”

³¹ The term “province” was used, even though Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were still colonies.

(Hannay, 1909, p. 205). The New Brunswick legislature allowed settlers one year to register their lands or be escheated; that is, ownership of their land would revert back to the state (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990).

Colonial settlement continued throughout Sikniktuk despite its having taken place on lands considered by the Míkmaq as never having been surrendered. The Loyalists settled on Indigenous hunting grounds in New Brunswick, and the “Indians” were to be treated “benevolently,” which meant receiving “occasional aid and presents” (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 61). Early settlers placed their trust in the hands of the government; “In New Brunswick, the overwhelmingly Loyalist population founded a tradition of loyalty and obedience to authority at the start; so that the elected assembly was a docile body, content to leave real power in the hands of the governor and his appointed council” (Careless, 1970, p. 118). By this time, presents had lost their meaning in sustainable relationships and they had minimal economic value. The British discontinued the French practice to give presents because it was no longer feasible as they could not afford it. Indigenous Peoples’ social and economic exclusion from the development of Nova Scotia were also becoming apparent; “There are many causes operating against the increase of Indians in this country; among which are—the improvement of the lands—the number of French and English hunters—the scarcity of the game—and their wretched mode of living in the winter; being frequently found in their wigwams in a starving condition” (Fisher, 1938, p. ix). The government granted lands to the Míkmaq, but they also took them away. Chief Julien, for instance, had his land grants reduced to 3,033 acres in 1789. The mast and timber trade emerged as the centrepiece of the economy of New Brunswick. (Milner, 1911, p. 85). The colonial government was especially focused on the lumber trade, buoyed by the fact that the imperial government gave a preference to British North America timber in the British market, especially

during the Napoleonic Wars when war in Europe undermined European supplies. (Careless, 1970, p. 123).

Forestry on former 'Indian lands' had a negative impact on the Mikmaq by removing the home of wildlife. Felled trees cleared forests, disrupting woodlands, and lumber mills clogged rivers, which decimated fish stocks and the colonial government failed to intervene. For instance, the lichen habitat for the caribou was destroyed, decimating their population. "Occasional gifts and parsimonious allocations of relief" were allocated and these "failed to alleviate the causes of Native distress." (Wynn, 1994, p. 223). With woodlands decimated, the fur trade, once so important to the regional economy, could no longer support the Mikmaq, and many adapted their economic activities to account for settler incursions. They turned to other occupations and sold "moose meat, porpoise, and other food items, as well as...axe handles, barrels, baskets, and similar wood products" (Condon, 1994, p. 201). Mikmaq women sold handicrafts, berries, fruits, and fowl, door-to-door (Condon, 1994). Mikmaq men performed wage labour and farm work, and whole some women found work as domestics and craft workers (Condon, 1994). The government hesitated to grant land or financial support to alleviate the poverty of Indigenous communities. The Mikmaq had been reduced to poverty and resorted to petitioning the province for their lands; "Measures were taken to settle the Indians of the province on lands reserved for their use; but for a long time, they suffered much from the change. They felt the loss of their old hunting and fishing grounds and were often in sore straits for want of food" (Hay, 1903, p. 109).

A factor that had often compelled British to allay the hardships caused by settlement—a fear that they would take up arms—quieted after the American Revolution. While there remained some worry about the potential for the Mikmaq and Maliseet to side against the British, the perceived need to placate Indigenous Peoples with gifts and support tended to be offset by

financial considerations. By 1794, New Brunswick's Lieutenant Governor Carleton reported that he desired to keep the "Savages" from defecting to the Americans in any potential hostilities; however, he was reluctant to incur public expense (Hamilton & Spray, 1977).

Mi'kmaq loss of land also resulted in loss of economic activities exercised on that land and coincided with the creation of reserves. Establishing the Richibucto Indian Reserve (IR) # 15 was initially discussed in 1802, but it materialized in a smaller size than first envisioned, in 1805. Buctouche IR # 16 was established in 1810; Aboushagan IR # 29 in 1825; Beaumont IR in 1840; Indian Island IR # 28 in 1948 (although the community itself existed in 1635); and Fort Folly IR # 27, in 1969; these latter reserves were created by the government of Canada. Lands given to settlers through government grants were a clear indication the Mikmaq had lost their self-determination.

The New Brunswick government's policy during the War of 1812 was to keep the Indians neutral in the conflict, a goal at odds with the legislature's reluctance to pacify them with assistance; Hamilton & Spray (1977) note that "[the Indians were] not to be accepted as equals who might share in the growth and prosperity of the province" (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 65). In the end, the Mikmaq and Wolastaqiyik, although they were excluded from the growth of the province, did remain neutral in the War of 1812. During the 1820s, the province became Britain's chief supplier of wood, generating taxes from the lucrative timber trade (Sutherland, 1994). The Crown determined that Indians were not sufficiently responsible to have freehold title to their lands and decided to be trustees for them (Sutherland, 1994). Ommer (1994) writes that, "In New Brunswick, the Assembly was at odds over a variety of issues with the unpopular, Anglican-dominated, and Fredericton-based Council, which combined both executive and legislative functions and was dominated by the commissioner of Crown lands and surveyor

general, Thomas Baillie” (p. 300). The economic interests of the Loyalists dominated and influenced government and ensured their control over provincial land and its lucrative wood supply. Fisher (1921) reported a prediction of extinction for the Indians, observing that

The Indians of New Brunswick are fast declining, and although several attempts have been made to induce them to form permanent settlements and become planters, they still continue their migratory mode of life. The attempts that have been made to civilize them by educating their children have been equally unsuccessful (pp. 93-94).

The Míkmaq continued their attempt to remain connected to the land and retain some of their former economic activities but were stymied by the economic policies of the settlers, which pushed them further from their traditional territories. In 1827, the Crown introduced land policies which eliminated free grants of land and replaced them with either ownership through public auction or leasehold an arrangement in which the property owner or freeholder allows the leaseholder the right to live on a property for a specified period of time. (Fingard, 1972).³² Those settlers who could not afford either of the arrangements, squatted, or lived with no arrangement, on Crown and Indian lands (Ommer, 1994). There were calls to rectify the land situation and the unauthorized occupation of Indian lands (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Fisher observes that “The inhabitants of New-Brunswick may be classed as follows, according to priority of settlement or occupation, viz. Indians, Acadians, old inhabitants, Loyalists, Emigrants, and Blacks [and the] aborigines are fast declining” (1938, p. 42). Fisher (1938) states that

³² “Land grants were the accepted means of disposition of Crown lands until 1827, when, in need of money, the government first decided to implement land sales” See Vosburgh, M. (2004). *Agents of Progress: The Role of Crown Land Agents and Surveyors in the Distribution of Crown Lands in Upper Canada, 1837-1870* (Doctoral dissertation).

there were “upwards of sixty thousand acres of land reserved for the Indians” (p.43). This was further reduced to 40,447 acres within seventy years. The old inhabitants were located at Maugerville and Cumberland.

Interest in timber was widespread in the colony—the Miramichi, Saint John and “its hinterland on both sides of the Bay of Fundy became the shipbuilding centre of the region” (Fingard, 1972, p. 279) and shipping interests and lumber barons were very powerful in the colony. (Careless, 1970, p. 155). The lucrative forest industry produced generous incomes for those who managed the resource. The following detail shows the importance of the forest industry and the revenues from Crown land. There was great disparity in the salaries of officers of the Government, with the Lieutenant Governor receiving £3,500 followed by the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Forests, who was paid £1,750 (Fisher, 1938). The sale of Crown Lands in 1835 amounted to £46,000; however, proceeds from timber licenses were not published (Fisher, 1938). A couple of years later, the amount of “unpaid instalments on other lands sold [was] £44,795” (Fisher, 1938, p. 65). Trade included shipbuilding, a “very productive source of our export trade to the mother country” (Fisher, 1938, p. 82). Deals, boards, masts, spars, lathwood, planks, shingles, and staves were all exported, with an estimated four hundred mills in operation (Fisher, 1938). The timber economy was lucrative for all but the Míkmaq whose land was exploited and who were disposed of their traditional territories to provide lumber for settler entrepreneurs. The Legislative Assembly sought control of the timber trade; Careless (2012) notes that

The income from timber duties on crown lands, or from their sale, was the chief revenue that the New Brunswick assembly sought to control. And what it wanted, in essence, was control over the thickly wooded Crown lands themselves. There

were several delegations to the Colonial Office from the assembly. Seen of the list of the eight grievances which the mission of 1833 took with them concerned crown lands and timber. Receiving a ready hearing, the delegations were able to win concessions. Finally, in 1837, after some opposition from the governor and officials, that arose despite the expressed will of the Colonial Office, control of the crown lands and public revenues generally were transferred to the assembly in return for a permanent civil list (pp. 184-185).

Shipbuilding began in the Richibucto and Rexton area, and in Miramichi and Salisbury around the 1840s (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). A royal regulation allocated the province's pine to the Royal Navy (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). The pine timber trade fell off due to the lack of resources, however spruce was in great abundance (Fisher, 1938). There was a decline in the shipping and timber industries during the early 1840s, followed by a short decline in shipbuilding (Acheson, 1994). Bill Acheson points out that, "By and large, rural freeholders could easily survive, but not even the most self-sufficient farmer escaped the 1841-3 depression" (1994, p. 311). The Míkmaq, who were employed in these trades and whose traditional economic practices had been increasingly subsumed by the colonizing nations, did not escape the economic and social downturn.

Two proclamations by New Brunswick Lieutenant Governor Sir William Colebrooke were issued in 1841 for the removal of squatters from Indian lands, drawn there for timber resources (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Assembly House was trying to protect Míkmaq land from squatters at one point, but this changed after, when the government decided it was too expensive to remove the squatters (Upton, 1974). One report recommended the management and supervision of Indian lands (Hamilton & Spray, 1977), as Míkmaq could not own or manage

lands granted to them. The English involved in shipbuilding who located in previously lucrative lumber-producing areas, now relocated to other regions. A shipwright from Richibucto, for example, later worked at Salter's Shipyard in Moncton (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990).

The loss of land and encroachment on reserved lands, along with the subsequent socio-economic exclusion resulted in disease and poverty for the Indigenous population. Many Mikmaq families were decimated because of disease, and education suffered after the arrival of the English, who suggested that the wandering nature of the Mikmaq should be curbed by involving them in agriculture and by sending their children to schools (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The early 1800s marked several efforts at educating Indigenous children in the colony. What colonial benevolence existed towards the Indigenous population was underpinned by self-interest. Under the guise of fostering social inclusion, colonizers' efforts were geared to their own economic well-being. Organizations put in place to support the community appointed only settler members; as Johnson (1991) points out,

The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England...soon after the close of the American Revolution war transferred its operations to New Brunswick and Upper Canada, appointing as its agents or commissioners in this province Governor Carleton, Chief Justice Ludlow, Judge Allen, Provincial Secretary Jonathan Odell, Judge Bliss, Doctor William Paine and General John Coffin (p. 153).

The first residential school in the area at Sussex Vale, New Brunswick—a forerunner to the future destructive Canadian government's education policies—was established at the turn of the nineteenth century. The Indian school in Sussex Vale closed in 1804 for failing to convert children, but reopened in 1806, offering “White families” Indian apprentices and £20 per year to feed and clothe their acquired [indentured] labour until they reached twenty-one years of age

(Fingard, 1972; Wynn, 1994, p. 224). These children were instructed in the Protestant faith, but faced abuse and exploitation (Wynn, 1994). Oliver Arnold, the director of the school, had taken on six Indian children, earning him “£120 a year” (Wynn, 1994, p. 224). The Loyalists’ attempts at educating Indigenous children had failed; as Hannay (1909) observes, “Efforts were made to improve the condition of these unfortunate children of nature, although it cannot be said with any great degree of success. The Indian, in New Brunswick at least, has not yet been raised to the level of the white man” (p. 206). In 1817, Lord Dalhousie classified Indians as “little better than outcasts in society” (Wynn, 1994, p. 224), confirming their social exclusion and relegation to the lowest class. According to Lockean thought, Indians had to be improving land through agriculture in order to claim it as property and to own it, a notion that had never existed in Indigenous culture.

This sort of policy was instrumental in forcing a sedentary life upon the Mikmaq and further disrupting their traditional economic activities. The Maliseet fared no better in the province; “The Milicete Indians continue to wander about the country, few in number, degraded in appearance, and destitute in their circumstances” (Hathewa, 1846, p. 77). Their situation was blamed on their intemperance and “roving habits” and it was suggested that their children should be apprenticed in English occupations (Hathewa, 1846, p. 78). The Maliseet also sought to retain their connection to the land through hunting and gathering practices. The Mikmaq condition was viewed as “a barrier to the general progress of the whole community” (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 96). Assistance granted to Indigenous Peoples of the area was conditional on school attendance or expulsion from their communities (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The government approved, giving them seed potatoes and corn, along with relief for the old and sick (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Individual land allocations were suggested for those living on the reserve, and

sales of timber and reserve land would be for the Indians' benefit (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Thus, what can already be understood from the foregoing is that increasingly the colonial administration determined the socio-economic condition of the Mikmaq, not the Mikmaq themselves. Galabuzi (2012) informs us that social exclusion—one of ten social determinants of health identified by the World Health Organization—is “manifest through forms of oppression that order institutional arrangements and power relations with the effect of marginalizing particular groups in society” (p. 97).

Upton notes that, “In the early days of the colony, there had been no need for a policy, as the Indians were so few in number, and so scattered, that they were not considered a threat to the incoming whites” (1974, p.3). With the arrival of the Loyalists, however, “the Indians were driven back to the wilderness without much ceremony” (Upton, 1974, pp. 3-4). By 1842, “most Micmacs subsisted by hunting, selling crafts, and casual labour” (Acheson, 1994, p. 322). The Indian Agent in Nova Scotia was Joseph Howe, and the Indian Commissioner in New Brunswick was Moses H. Perley. Howe and Perley recommended converting Indian reserves into European villages “in which each family would own land for agriculture and wood, and common grazing land would be provided” (Acheson, 1994, p. 323). Agriculture as an economic activity was alien to Mikmaq culture. Legislation to sell Indian lands was passed in 1844; however, Commissioner Perley's recommendations that sufficient land be reserved for the use of the Indigenous Peoples and that the government should offer a fixed annuity for them were ignored (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Crown retained authority over reserve lands and ostensibly allowed the Indians the right “to occupy and possess during their pleasure,” as highlighted in the Surveyor General's report in 1841 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 108), but, in reality, the Mikmaq could only keep their land until the government chose to sell it. Revenues derived from the sale

and rent of Indian lands were to be allocated to the relief of the poor and sick, and for farm equipment and animals; Gould and Semple offer this excerpt from *An Act to Regulate the Management and Disposal of the Indian Reserves in this Province, 1844*:

And be it enacted, That the monies annually arising from the sales and leasing of the said Reserves, and also from the rents, issues and profits thereof, after payment of expenses aforesaid, shall be applied to the exclusive benefit of the Indians, having regard as far as practicable to applying the proceeds of the several Reserves in accordance with the terms in which such Reserves have been made in the following manner, viz: First, towards the relief of the indigent and infirm Indians of the several Tribes: Second, towards procuring seeds, implements' of husbandry, and domestic animals, in such manner and proportion as His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor shall direct (1980, p. 195).

Reserve land sales failed to provide economic benefit to the Míkmaq. Reserve land allocations would be through a location tickets system, and those tickets, which provided 200 acres of land, with the condition that a house be built upon it and that four acres would be cleared for agriculture, would “be granted from time to time” (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 116).³³ This was the closest semblance of ownership without actually owning reserve land, as, in reaction to

[the] *Indian Reserves Act* of 1844...portions of almost all of the reserves in the province were sold, with the Indians receiving very little benefit... The Indians lost land; at best, embittered and, at worst, driven off land and out of the province and the government, whatever short-term financial benefits it may have enjoyed, saddled itself with a bookkeeping nightmare of unpaid land accounts and an

³³ A member of an Indian band who lived on and made use of a plot of land on reserve could, conditional to the *Indian Act*, get legal recognition and protection of his or her right to continue using the land, on a semi-permanent basis. He or she was called a ‘locatee’, the land was called a ‘location’, and the document recording the right was labeled a ‘location ticket’. The terms of location changed after 1951. (*Centre de recherches historique*, 1982).

administrative mess to transfer to Ottawa in 1867 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 118).

In June 1841, Moses Perley was tasked by the provincial government of New Brunswick to conduct a survey of the Maliseet and Micmac communities of New Brunswick, to ascertain how the province should deal with land reserves set aside for the Indigenous Peoples in the region, and whether the province ought to build schools for those communities. In the course of completing his report on the Wolastoqiyik (previously called Maliseet Peoples), he visited settlements near Fredericton, at Meductic Point, at Tobique, and at Madawaska. He recorded approximately 440 members of the Wulustukieg Nation in these areas along the St. John River.³⁴

Promises of schools and medical attention failed to materialize, and conditions for the Indians did not improve. More settlement occurred, and hunting grounds were lost (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Perley's work, entitled "The Indians of New Brunswick," served as the basis for the *New Brunswick Indian Act*, yet it did not prevent encroachment on Indian lands; Soucoup (2009) notes that "Substantial Aboriginal land sales did occur with little benefit to the Natives" (p. 97). Perley, who was made an honorary chief in 1842—close to a kin relationship—by the Mikmaq and Wolastoqiyik in appreciation of his work on their behalf, ultimately failed to protect Indigenous interests. Acheson (1994) notes that, "By 1846, Perley realized that squatters were not being ejected and that the auction sales of lands not needed for Native agriculture were raising little money, but his demands that the policy stop were rejected by the Executive Council [of the colonial government] and resulted in dismissal" (p. 323).

Perley was fired during a time of economic change when free trade adversely affected the timber market as well as the monopoly on flour and grain. Careless notes that "The dependent

³⁴See Perley, M. H. (1848) "The Indians of New Brunswick", Colonial Office Series 188/106, pp. 206-22, Public Record Office [PRO], London.

British American colonies found themselves flung suddenly out of the world trade, where they were ill-equipped to compete” (1970, p. 208).



Figure 9: Map of Westmorland Region

The lumber trade in New Brunswick suffered and consequently the colony suffered, particularly the Mikmaq, who had never benefitted from the timber and shipbuilding industries. In 1847, Abraham Gesner, a geologist, wrote that

almost the whole Micmac population are now vagrants who wander from place to place and door to door seeking alms...They are clad in filthy rags. Necessity often compels them to consume putrid and unwholesome food...The sufferings of the sick and infirm surpass description, and from lack of humble degree of accommodation almost every case of disease proves fatal (Paul, 2013, p. 178).

Economic changes enveloping the colony were further influenced by the construction of the Intercolonial Railway which began in 1848 (Hamilton, 1874). By 1853, a railway ran from Saint John to Shediac in 1853, a railway line was built to Moncton in 1857 and to Buctouche in 1883 (Pincombe & Larracey, 1990). The European and North American Railway began construction

in 1854 from Saint John to the Northumberland Strait (Robertson, 1994). Rail generally served as an economic benefit for the province and it served well the shift in economic orientation away from an international trade market based on shipping to a continental one premised on rail. The Reciprocity Treaty, a free trade agreement signed with Washington in 1854, provided the free exchange of natural products between Canada and the United States. It also allowed for “free access to each other’s fisheries” and, for the Maritimes, resulted in trade of the region’s fish and timber” (Careless, 1970, pp. 210-211). It is worth noting that while the wider economy of New Brunswick was becoming increasingly continental, Indigenous economic activities in New Brunswick found some traction in global markets. For example, Míkmaq women, by the 1850s, found an international market for their distinct craft of porcupine quillwork on birch-bark (Robertson, 1994, p. 347). Despite such innovations, however, Míkmaq suffered economically in the emerging new economic order. In nearby Nova Scotia, Indian Commissioner William Chearnley convinced the colonial governing assembly that the Míkmaq were doomed and argued that “the government should give the unfortunate Mi’kmaq a few blankets and greatcoats to help them in their final days” (Ray, 2016, p. 149). This policy of relief would in place until 1862. The Míkmaq in Nova Scotia were believed to be a dying race—a concept fueled by notions of racial superiority in popular literature, and which encouraged their marginalization. These ideas were held in New Brunswick, as well.

Although the mid-19th century was an era of economic hardship for the Míkmaq, rail also became important to them as relied heavily on this transportation and often relocated to live in close proximity to the rail tracks that offered ready access to markets. Míkmaq men and women adapted their economic activities and their family/kin groups accordingly and on gender lines and sought employment and income that utilized rail transportation. This resulted in

cultural and socio-economic adaptation. The men sought wage labour and women started door-to-door selling of baskets. In an attempt to reclaim some of their traditional economic practices while adapting to settler expectations, Indian men worked as hunting guides to hunters brought to the province by rail and women, using rail lines as nexus of transport and source of markets, continued to sell handcrafts of baskets and moccasins, often door-to-door (Buckner, 1994). The division of labour fell along gender lines.

By the 1860s, squatters persisted on reserve land, many whom bought land but failed to continue paying for it while others neglected or refused to pay (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). These squatters felled timber on Indian lands, without censure from the government. (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 129). Unfettered squatting on Mikmaq land and theft of Mikmaq resources characterized the Indian land situation in New Brunswick leading up to the time of Confederation in 1867.³⁵

In the 1865, the much-revered free trade agreement between the United States and British North America lapsed. This economic reality prompted talk of a wider British North American union and the creation of an economy that was centered east-west instead of north-south. (Careless, 1970, p. 212). Such a union of the colonies was also viewed as a way of mitigating against American expansionism and a threat of annexation. (Careless, 1970, p. 238). An initial conversation around union of the Maritime colonies led, in 1864, to talks that included Canada East and Canada West in a wider union beginning in 1864, in a conference held at Quebec. Britain, anxious to rid itself of dependent colonies, supported the prospect. As New Brunswick negotiated its joining of Confederation, no Indigenous Peoples were consulted. While some

³⁵ Notably, New Brunswick was reluctant to join the federation. An initial proposal to join Confederation was rejected in 1865, but after some alterations and modifications, the province agreed to become part of Confederation (Hamilton, 1874, p. 51).

Indigenous People may have hoped that Confederation would lead to greater respect for their land rights (Walls, 2017), Mikmaq interests were not served by Confederation. By the time Confederation was enacted in 1867, the province had already sold thousands of acres of Indian land over the previous 20 years yet had generated insufficient revenue to provide assistance to the Indians. By 1867, as historian Phil Buckner writes, “only £2,853.10.0 was generated for the Indian fund, never enough to meet even the immediate needs of the Natives for relief, let alone provide them with schools or other forms of assistance.” (Buckner, 1994, p. 367).

The British North America Act that created a confederated Canada assigned control of “Indians and lands reserved for the Indians” to the new federal government. One of the immediate consequences of Confederation for New Brunswick Indigenous Peoples was the creation of a federal system of day schools; many of them had been previously attending common schools in the Maritimes (Fingard, 1972, p. 30). In 1868, there were increasing numbers of grants requested by Indigenous communities for establishing and maintaining Indian schools (Fingard, 1972).³⁶

Confederation did little to alter the lifeways of Indigenous Peoples in New Brunswick. As before Confederation, many Indians engaged in migrant employment in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, selling their baskets or performing odd jobs for local residents. The Indians were also camped near towns or summer resorts to sell baskets or woodwork, while looking for employment (Webster, 1928). This constant mobility made it difficult for Mikmaq children to attend school regularly. The Indigenous Peoples in the province were differentiated by federal officials according to their cultural and economic differences. Hamilton, a tourist guide-book

³⁶ According to Walls (2011), “Day schools operated in the Maritimes as early as the 1780s, when the London-based New England Company set about “civilizing” the Mi’kmaq and Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet) of New Brunswick using English-language day schooling, apprenticeship-based vocational training, and conversion to Protestantism” (p. 61).

author in New Brunswick (1874), for example, defined the Míkmaq as “possessing both moral and physical superiority over the others...a tall and powerful race of men...The other and less numerous and inferior body are the Milicetes” (p. 72). He indicated that the Míkmaq were located on the coast and that the Maliseet lived on the lakes and streams of the interior. The Indian population in New Brunswick fluctuated between 1841 and 1871, going from 1,377 in 1841 to 1,116 in 1851, and then increasing to 1,403 in 1871 (Hamilton, 1874, p. 74). Hamilton notes that,

In New Brunswick, but little improvement has been made, or attempted, in moral, religious, or physical condition of the Indians. The Micmacs subsist during the summer chiefly by fishing or hunting; during the winter many of them find employment with the lumbermen. The Milicetes hunt and trap during the winter; in summer they make baskets and other light articles, varying their labor with fishing and shooting (1874, p. 74).

Herring, cod, salmon, mackerel, and other fish provided over \$1 million in revenue for the province in the year 1870 (Hamilton, 1874, p. 71). As Buckner (1994) indicates; “By 1860, New Brunswickers were extensively engaged not only in processing timber but also in an ever-wider range of manufacturing activity; the 1871 per-capita output of manufacturing in the province rivalled that of Ontario and Quebec” (p. 364). Careless (1970) states that a global depression occurred in 1873, affecting all provinces. The National Policy, a series of policies to improve industrial output by taxing imports and to settle the west, in 1879, resulted in the creation of newer industries such as textiles, iron, and steel that offered an improved economic future in the Maritimes (Acheson, 1994) However, the economic surge was short lived and, by the 1880s, Maritime-based factories were closing and being bought out by foreign interests as Maritime

manufacturers, plagued by high freight rates, could not compete with markets of central Canada (Acheson, 1994).

While the region, as a whole, suffered economically after Confederation, Indigenous Peoples were further marginalized and dispossessed of their lands. The new federal government, like their colonial predecessors, tried to persuade the small migratory bands of Míkmaq to settle in permanent locations (Reid & Conroy, 2009, p. 26). Fishing became the main industry along the coast. Most men living on the reserve continued to hunt, trap, fish, and farm, while others worked in lumbering, sawmills, and river-drives. There were no substantial support services geared toward Indians. Those Indians who adapted to the forest industry were quickly impacted by its changes; “With hydro dams across many of New Brunswick’s major rivers, log drives were no longer practical, and with new portable sawmills and powerful log trucks, sawing logs close to logging sites became popular” (Soucoup, 2009, p. 39). Míkmaq men were employed as labourers during the log drives and trail blazes and provided manual labour at the mill site; trucking eliminated many of these labour jobs through mechanization. Trucking also eliminated the need for logging camps.

After World War I, staples were traded with the United States such as wheat, minerals, and wood pulp. Careless (1970) observes that “Large pulp mills sprang up in the north, driven by the plentiful water-power of these hilly regions. Whole new towns appeared among the rocks and birches of northern New Brunswick or northern Ontario and Quebec” (Careless, 1970, p. 353). There were few resources left, and “The Atlantic provinces still relied heavily on the fisheries, but since the war fish prices had been low” (Careless, 2012, p. 354). By 1920, the *Indian Act* made it compulsory for Indian children who were physically fit and between the ages of seven and fifteen years old to attend school (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,

2015, p. 87). In 1929, the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School was established proximate to the Shubenacadie Reserve in Nova Scotia and was designed, in theory, to accommodate and maintain orphans and neglected children from throughout the Maritimes (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). This development had a major impact on Mikmaq family and kin relations and on their cultural and language transmission. Children were removed from their large extended families and were not allowed to speak their language at the residential school. However, government encouragement to Indigenous communities at the time took a slight turn for the better; in 1938, the Department of Mines and Resources—the department responsible for Indian Affairs—noted that

The revival and advancement of Indian handicraft has been given particular attention during the past year. The services of one of the officials of the Branch have been devoted entirely to the organization of this work among the Indians in Eastern Canada. Although it is too soon to gauge the ultimate result, a good beginning has been made in stimulating the Indians to a greater output of articles of good quality, and to finding outlets for the disposal of their wares. (Canada, 1938, p. 12).

By the 1930s, a recession gripped the nation, and it was an economic downturn that began a full decade earlier in the Maritimes (Acheson, 1994). The Great Depression was hard on the Mikmaq. In a bid to cut costs, the DIA cut relief roles (Patterson, 1986). During the 1930's, hunting and trapping declined due to the scarcity of fur-bearing animals, an environmental factor further affecting the Indigenous relationship to land. Many Indigenous men had enlisted during World War I and returned home to veteran's benefits. Lackenbauer *et al* (2010) note that

Veterans' benefits and support from the Canadian government were put in place but the implementation of the programs on reserves was vastly different than elsewhere in

Canada. The *Soldier Settlement Acts* of 1917 and 1919 were key government initiatives that attempted to look after veterans by providing them access to land and low interest rate loans for farming implements/improvements (p.134).

In response to the decline of more traditional economic activities, other sources of employment were sought. Indians were employed in wage labour economy and selling of their crafts (McNutt, 2020). World War II created significant development in Canadian industry and finance; “Shipbuilding and war traffic brought prosperity to the Maritimes and British Colombian ports” (Careless, 1970, p. 383). In the late 1950s, most of the Indians of New Brunswick were engaged in seasonal employment. In the spring, they cut and planted potatoes in Maine, and later picked berries, peas, and beans. In the fall, potato picking occupied many of them who then returned to their reserves to work in lumbering operations throughout the winter. During the fishing season, they caught lobster, smelt and gaspereau.

McGibbon (2012a) reminds us that, through the creation of biased information about Indigenous Peoples, oppressive values, beliefs, and assumptions come to the fore, and these values and beliefs have a direct bearing on institutional practices and policies such as the creation of residential and day schools. Prejudices regarding the Míkmaq which arose from a misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Indigenous culture were embedded within oppressive power relations and this was evident in the policies regarding Indigenous peoples introduced by government throughout the 20th century. As more and more Míkmaq found it necessary to travel for employment, they were labeled “wandering vagrants” and “children of the forest” with what Boyer (2011) termed a “vocabulary of white racial superiority” (p. 36).

The historical record, as presented here, illustrates the negative impacts of the determinants of health outlined by Boyer (2011) and McGibbon (2012), as they relate to the

timeline of Indigenous disconnection from the land. These were presented in chronological order; however, I now provide additional detail regarding the ways in which the negative impacts relate to specific geographical areas.

3.3 The History of Specific Areas

There is, as mentioned, no comprehensive written history for the traditional district of Sikniktuk. Those histories I encountered were miniscule, often ranging from a paragraph to a page or two; they did not provide much detail. This dissertation provides a lasting record for people in the region who may previously have been unaware of the genealogical ties between families and the geographic changes brought about by colonization, thereby strengthening the kinship relationships within the community. I have compiled the available information into specific areas, in order to provide context for the various locations in which the ancestors of Elsipogtog have lived and worked throughout recent time. Early trade and alliances with the French, as well as the introduction of the railway influenced these specific locations.

3.3.1 Amherst and Sackville

Some of the earliest dated Indigenous artifacts were found on the Isthmus of Chignecto, going back approximately 4,000 years (Hamilton, 2004). Early Mikmaq summer camps were located by a Dr. Robert Hale at Westcock Brook and Allan Brook, near Wood Point, providing evidence of ancient subsistence connections to the land (Hamilton, 2004). A local chief was said to represent the areas of Almagog [Memramcook], Indian Island [Ha Ha near New Horton], Grindstone Island, Beaumont, Midgic, Dorchester, and Westcock (Ward, 2010). These political representations also ran along lines of family and kin relations. The traditional form of government for the Mikmaq Nation, uniting the seven districts of Mi'kma'ki, was the Grand Council. Known as the *Sante' Mawiomi*, it provides advice and defends Mikmaq territories.

Mikmaq culture and language were evident through geographically based place names and were reflected in how those names were changed by colonizing nations. The Shepody River was called “Chipody” or “Chipotee” by the French, and “the Indians’ name for the river had been *Es-ed-a-bit*, [meaning] it turns back on itself” (Wright, 1945, p. 7). Hamilton (2004) describes Sikniktuk as including the modern-day boundaries of Albert, Westmorland, and Kent counties in New Brunswick, along with Cumberland County in Nova Scotia. There were Mikmaq camps at Brownell’s Brook, back of Palmer’s Pond, on the John Chapman farm, and below Johnson’s Mills (Milner, 1967), as well as Indian Point near Cape Tormentine (Hamilton, 2004). As Hamilton observes, “Midgic was a cultural meeting or council place to which the Mikmaq resorted once a year to discuss matters of common interest” (2004, p. 35). Other lesser-noted camps included Upper Rockport, Harvey Creek, Grand Anse, Johnson’s Creek, and Wilbur Cove.

By the late 1600s, the Mikmaq camps along the Amherst ridge were long deserted, as the people moved to Port Royal (Bird, 1928, p. 31). The community of Beaubassin, co-founded by Jacques Bourgeois and Michel Leneuf de la Vallière de Beaubassin, became an important trading post a few years after 1672 (Clark, 1968, p. 145). These Mikmaq camps moved toward Port Royal in fewer numbers, following a great plague in 1694 which killed “nearly one half of the redskins of Maine and New Brunswick” (Bird, 1928, pp. 31-32).³⁷ In addition to socio-economic connections, there was a spiritual relationship between the Indigenous Peoples and the French settlers as well, with many of the Mikmaq converting to Catholicism. In a 1708 census, several Arguimeau families were recorded as having lived at Chignecto, including Philipe, his wife

³⁷ Bird notes that “This dread death was similar to the Egyptian plague. Persons in seemingly good health commenced to bleed at the nose and mouth and turned blue in spots. They died within three or four hours, and the disease seemed worse in cold weather” (p. 32). This disease, which killed many Mikmaq in the region, may have been variola hemorrhagica, a lethal form of smallpox, which killed the British Queen, Mary II, in 1694.

Anne, and children, Charles, Joseph, Guillaume, Jeanne, Michel, Françoise, and another Joseph (Whitehead, 1991).

Borders and boundaries continued to shift in this area, as the French and British fought over ownership of the land; according to Webster (1914),

This was the beginning of extensive agricultural land developments throughout Chignecto, which continued without interruption even after the transfer of Acadia to British rule by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713...the French announced that only the peninsula of Nova Scotia represented the Acadia which had been given to the British by the Treaty of Utrecht, the continental part (now New Brunswick) being claimed as belonging to Quebec, and the Missaquash River which runs through the Isthmus was designated as the boundary between the two territories (p. 5).

The escalating conflicts between the British and the French were taking place on the traditional homelands of the Mikmaq and Maliseet, negatively impacting the ecology of the land to which the Indigenous Peoples had a spiritual, emotional, and physical connection. This marked the beginning of the policy-driven rift that arose from the Mikmaq dispossession from their land.

By 1715, the Penobscot and Malecite were trading with the French at Chignecto, indicative of older relationships with the settlers (Bird, 1928, p. 32). Chief Philip Eargamet of Chignecto signed the 1726 Treaty in Halifax, Nova Scotia, along with his son, Michel (Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs, 2000; Wicken, 2012). Philip Eargamet was probably also known as “Alguimou” and was the father of Michael and Joseph, who also became chiefs. As previously stated, Sikniktuk was central to the conflict between the French and the English, and the area known as Chignecto witnessed several military campaigns. After the Treaty of

Utrecht (1713), the French ceded their colony of Acadia; however, the boundaries were not defined (Milner, 1967, p. 10). The next several decades were relatively uneventful until the arrival of Abbé Le Loutre.

Under the Treaty of Utrecht, the Acadians were to become British subjects (Peace, 2011, p. 166). The French, however, did not wish to forfeit the western half of Acadia. An earthenwork fortress was built at Beauséjour to house the French and Le Loutre moved his headquarters from Shubenacadie to Beauséjour to convince the Acadians in the Cobequid region to move there as well, under the threat of “Native massacre if they did not obey” (Patterson, 2005, p. 133). Le Loutre superseded the previous relationship between the Míkmaq and Acadians. According to General Winslow, “The Indians set fire to the village Hebert and another village opposite us and burnt a great many houses,” to coerce the inhabitants to settle on the French side of the Missiquash (Milner, 1967, p. 10). The Míkmaq were used as a threat by the French to block the Acadians from supplying goods to the British (Patterson, 2005). This economic sanction was detrimental to both the Acadians and the British. By May 1744, there were three hundred “Abenakis” [Wabanaki] amassed at Beaubassin en route to Quebec (Peace, 2011, p. 216). The French sent twelve medals with Le Loutre for the Míkmaq chiefs, to reward them for excelling in the attacks against the British (Bird, 1928, p. 50). A bounty was placed on Le Loutre and then the Indian scalp bounty was increased (Bird, 1928, p. 58).

The French Navy embarked from France with intentions of attacking Annapolis Royal in 1746. The governor of New France, Charles de la Boische de Beauharnois, assembled a company of 2000 men, including French-Canadien militia, along with eight hundred Indians, and camped at Beaubassin in anticipation of that attack (Webster, 1953). A storm they encountered off Cape Sable wreaked havoc on the French fleet, and upon arriving at “Chibouctou,” now

known as Halifax, they promptly returned to France (Webster, 1953). Boishébert captured Minas the next year without firing a shot and allowed the English to retreat to Annapolis (Webster, 1953).³⁸ By 1749, La Corne was established at Shediac to encourage Acadian allegiance to France (Webster, 1953). There were other French expansions in the area including fortifications at Grande-Pré, Pisquid, and Beaubassin (Daigle, 1995). Thus, war was effectively declared against the British in Nova Scotia. Daigle further notes that, “In the Beaubassin region, a number of inhabitants settled along the Memramcook and Petitcodiac rivers and to the west in Chipoudie (Shepody) region” (1995, p. 30). There were about 9,000 Acadians living around Minas, Cobequid, and Chignecto-Memramcook, with those living in Chignecto considered to be the most disloyal to the British at Annapolis (Rawlyk, 1994). These were all located around the Bay of Fundy, Minas Basin, and Cobequid Bay.

Le Loutre traveled to France to obtain funds to drain the marshes and build dikes on the French side of the Missiquash River (Patterson, 2005). He amassed 300 Mi'kmaq families at Beauséjour by the summer of 1753 (i Patterson, 2005). According to Daigle (1995), “Although the missionaries enjoyed a certain authority among the Natives, their power was never absolute, since neither the Mi'kmaq or the Abenakis allowed even their chiefs to exercise total authority” (p. 32). The Mi'kmaq took up and abandoned their alliances in quick succession, at times. No Acadian produce reached the Halifax market and the British troops cut off the food supply to Beauséjour and Louisbourg (Patterson, 2005). This was in retaliation to the French restriction on Acadian trade with the English.

³⁸ Boishébert belonged to the *Compagnies Franches de la Marine*, an ensemble of independent infantry units associated with the French Royal Navy, who served both on land and sea. These troupes comprised the principal military force of France and were capable of intervening in actions and holding garrisons.

The number of men fighting for the French increased to 1000 Acadians on the French side of the Missiquash River, 200 regulars, 300 warriors, along with an additional 90 Hurons from Quebec who served as rangers and scouts (Milner, 1911). These numbers represented a major influx of military power into the area. The Nova Scotia Governor, Edward Cornwallis, sent Major Lawrence together with 400 men to the region to investigate (Webster, 1941). Having surveyed the site, Major Lawrence returned later with a stronger force and was determined to build a fort and remain (Webster, 1941). The French and Indians attempted to prevent their landing but were driven off (Webster, 1941). Following his losses, La Corne's remaining strength was reported to be 150 regulars, about 700 Acadians, and 200 Malecites. The Míkmaq had abandoned this venture (Webster, 1941).

Webster (1941) notes that “[Le Loutre and] Germain were gone different roads to Collect more Indians [and] to recover the Michmachs” (p. 8). Le Loutre claimed he could not consult with all the Míkmaq villages in time but would be presenting their proposal to abandon the fort (Beauséjour) and retreat while in the company of the Maliseet (Webster, 1941). By September 24th, Captain Howe had received Le Loutre's proposal from the Míkmaq to abandon the fort and retreat, but this was rejected (Webster, 1941). Le Loutre reported that the Indians claimed Beaubassin as their own, when questioned about the burning of the community (Webster, 1941). The priest, however, claimed that Beaubassin belonged to the British king. That October, Captain Howe, having been sent to the area to negotiate, was ambushed by the Indians under a flag of truce (Webster, 1941). Milner notes that “[Le Loutre] had incited the Micmac named Copt [Cope] to commit the foul deed” (Milner, 1911, p. 14). This was possibly in reference to Major Jean Baptist Cope, a chief from the Cobequid area, and Patterson (2005) echoes this account; “In one famous incident, British captain Edward Howe, meeting under a flag of truce

with French officers to effect a prisoner exchange, was shot down from the French positions, purportedly by Natives, although the facts of the killing were never settled with any certainty” (p. 133).

The next year, the French erected another fort at Bay Verte, along with a smaller structure at Pont au Buot, armed with British cannon captured by the Míkmaq (Bird, 1928). These guns at Pont au Buot quickly proved useless; Webster (1936) states that “Their artillery force was directed especially at the emplacements of the four swivel-guns which were ineffective, and moreover, badly served; they were soon put out of commission. The Indians immediately abandoned the entrenchment and took up a position on a height beyond range of the cannon” (p. 23). The Míkmaq’s fighting abilities were belittled, according to Webster (1936); “The Micmacs, who took part in this skirmish, gave fresh proof of their cowardice; they did not fire a single shot unless they were three times out of range” (p. 28). Howe’s death was claimed to have been plotted by Le Loutre to quash trade between Howe and the Acadians (Bird, 1928, p. 87). According to Bird, there were about three thousand warriors located at Port Buot, the Míkmaq being the most numerous, with Chignecto as their principal settlement (1928, p. 215). These figures were about eight times greater than those reported by Milner (1911), and fifteen times [200] those recounted by Webster (1941). It is not clear how these figures became inflated so quickly. However, Bird (1928) points out that “though their number nor their valour may not make them a formidable enemy, their little wood skirmishing and bush fighting will always make them a very troublesome one” (p. 91). Warrior fighting tactics were described as being similar to those of guerrilla warfare. The Abenaki and Acadians were firing musket shots at the advancing British and they, in turn, shelled Fort Beauséjour with cannon fire (Bird, 1928, p. 135). It is unclear whether the Indians were actually Abenaki, or possibly Maliseet,

Passamaquoddy, or Penobscot; according to Webster (1930), in June 1755, “the French and Indians Come and attack our Camps and fired at our [British] Senterys” (p. 23). A chief from Prince Edward Island was reportedly slain by the British who testified that they “Killed the Chief Indian a Sagamore from the Island of Saint Johns which are Known by the name Mickmack” (Nourse, 1889, p. 45). Fort Beauséjour was besieged by three thousand troops and the French were ultimately forced to capitulate (Nourse, 1889). The conquerors consisted of 2000 British regulars and 1000 New England militiamen (Patterson, 2005). Within days, Fort Gaspereaux at Bay Verte was lost, as was Fort La Tour in Saint John (Patterson, 2005). The French troops were paroled to Louisbourg and the Acadians were pardoned (Patterson, 2005). Initially, Boishébert refused to surrender Fort La Tour, and when the Acadians and Indians, in turn, refused to provide him their support, he resorted to bush warfare (Patterson, 2005). There were no terms for the Mikmaq and Maliseet who still relied on the support network of French priests, but the British responded with a plan to deport the Acadians supported by the militia already in the region (Patterson, 2005).

Webster (1942) writes that Boishébert had utilized the help of Abenakis and neighboring Indians to harass the English; he ambushed a group of three hundred, killing eighty. Boishébert established his base in the Miramichi and encouraged the resistance in Chignecto (Patterson, 2005). Violence continued between the British and the Indigenous Peoples; Trueman (1902) observes that, “At Bay Verte, in the spring of 1755, nine soldiers, belonging to a party under Lieutenant Bowan, were shot and scalped while out getting wood for the fort” (p. 25). The Marquis de Vaudreuil ordered the continued harassment of the English to aid the Acadians in their flight to Quebec (Webster, 1942), a journey of hardship and struggle. The Indians recaptured Acadian cattle which had been taken by the British and herded about a thousand of

them to Boishebert's camp of six hundred (Webster, 1941). The English were attacked throughout that year, at Bay Verte, Shepody, and Westcock (Webster, 1941) and retaliation was quick against the Acadians. The English sought to destroy the settlements along the Petticodiac but were attacked by Boishébert's Acadians and Indians, killing Doctor Marsh and Lieutenant Billing along with six privates (Milner, 1911). By the end of the year, all the French villages at Chignecto were destroyed, and all their owners deported, from Quebec to Georgia, or hidden in the forest with their Indian allies (Milner, 1967). After the expulsion of the Acadians, Governor Lawrence issued a proclamation that promised free grants to encourage settlement in the region (Milner, 1967). Fort Lawrence became a trading post where Acadian scalps were brought in for their bounty and where a British captain, Huston, charged with the military chest, found Colonel Wilmot's order for payment to be scandalous (Milner, 1911, p. 32). Huston suspected that the fair-haired scalps belonged to the Acadians. Another notable scalp payment was to [Chief and Major] Baptiste Cope (Patterson, 2005). Milner notes, further, that guerrilla warfare in the area diminished along with the hopes of deported Acadians to recover their land; "In 1759, a grant of 50,000 acres at Chignecto, made in 1736, was rescinded, none of the conditions having been performed and the land remaining unoccupied" (1937, p. 17). This grant reopened the area for resettlement.

During 1760, Boishébert had to maintain the Acadians families and Indian fighters under his service, those at his base in Miramichi en route to Quebec, and those on the Isle Saint-Jean (later Prince Edward Island) (Webster, 1941). Rhode Island settlers were granted vacated Acadian farms, while the French and Mikmaq "scoured the woods, ready to pick off any stragglers" (Milner, 1937, p. 16). Eventually, the Mikmaq also sought peace terms with the British. They renewed their previous 'submissions' by entering into treaty articles at Bay Verte,

the participants including Chiefs Paul Lawrence and Augustine Michael, accompanied by a French priest (Bird, 1928, p. 186). Augustine, who was listed as the chief of the Richibucto tribe (Bird, 1928), but, according to earlier census data, was originally from the Chignecto area. This would suggest a disconnection from his traditional land.

The treaty trade provision of 1760/61 promising the Míkmaq, Wolastoqiyik, and Passamaquoddy “the right to hunt, fish, farm land, and earn a reasonable living without British interference” was soon forgotten. Government losses and mismanagement “brought a hasty end to the truck house system by 1764” (Patterson, 2005, p. 150).³⁹ The British failure to fulfil its treaty terms to provide economic opportunities to the Míkmaq through trade led to their eventual social exclusion.⁴⁰ A second proclamation to entice settlers allowed for freedom of religion, except for Catholics (Milner, 1937). This prejudiced proclamation ultimately had a negative socio-economic impact because Catholics, in consequence, could not own land or vote.

There were American planters, followed by immigrants from Yorkshire who settled around Sackville in the early 1770s (Milner, 1937). Some were sympathetic to the American colonies and sought to join Colonel Eddy’s attack on Fort Cumberland (Milner, 1937). The Maliseet were also involved in the plot. Saint-Aubin and Tomah had joined John Allan’s attack on the fort (Soucoup, 2009). In addition, “While the attack was in progress, the Indian got into the place and was in the act of unbarring the gates when he was discovered by Major Dickson.

³⁹ Two of the Peace and Friendship treaties have “a specific trade-related clause not found in the others, known as the “Truck House” clause. In the 1752 and 1760-1761 Peace and Friendship treaties, the British promised to establish a truck house, or trading post, for the exclusive use of the Aboriginal signatories. As one of the primary purposes of the treaties was to re-establish trade within the colony, these truck houses would serve to encourage a commercial relationship between the Míkmaq, the Maliseet, the Passamaquoddy, and British settlers. Refer to Canada. “Peace and Friendship Treaties: 1725-1779.” Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1360937048903/1544619681681>.

⁴⁰ Galabuzi states that, “Broadly defined, social exclusion describes both the structures and the dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society which, over time, structure access to critical resources that determine the quality of the membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce a complex of unequal outcomes” (McGibbon, 2012, p. 99).

The major spoiled the little scheme by slashing the Indian's arm with his sword, which left him maimed for life" (Trueman, 1902, p. 61).

The American sympathizers were unsuccessful in capturing Fort Cumberland, formerly Fort Beauséjour. Some Mikmaq traveled to Watertown, Massachusetts to offer their support to the Americans in their war against the British. They informed the Americans that they had 40 men at Beauséjour/Cumberland (Baxter, 1916). However, the promised warriors did not materialize from the various Mikmaq districts. Two years later, Michael Arjiman (possibly a misspelling of "Arguimeau" or "Augustine"), originally from Chignecto and who later resided at Richibucto, attended the peace conference in Saint John. Milner (1911) states that

On 24th September 1778, a Treaty of peace was made in St. John Harbour between Governor Franklin and 26 Indian Chiefs, which ended all wars. Michael Arjiman, Chief, Barnard Cataup and Joseph Portes, Captains, signed on behalf of the Micmacs at Chignecto (p. 37).

Michael Augustine would sign yet another treaty that stemmed from conflict in the Miramichi; Soucoup (2009) writes that, "In September of 1779, the Mi'kmaq bands of eastern New Brunswick traveled to Windsor, Nova Scotia, and signed a similar treaty, promising to remain loyal to British interests in the region" (p. 94). Most of the Mikmaq moved away from the area and did not return until about 100 years later, marking a severance from their traditional territory. During the 1800s, many Mikmaq traveled from Indian camp to Indian camp in search of wood resources to sustain them in the coopering trade and in making baskets; according to Trueman (2000),

About the year 1885, some Indians moved into the district and built three camps in the woods about one hundred yards off the Mill Road on land belonging to

Amos Trueman...The men would go through the woods in every direction to get their wood for their baskets, axe handles or whatever they wanted to make. The women would be seen on nice days on the marsh or in the fields gathering sweet hay and anything else they could make use of. They made some lovely sweet hay baskets (p. 58).



Figure 10: Moncton-Amherst 1896

This particular area—Moncton to Amherst—was central to the conflict between the French and English, which ultimately resulted in the severance of the trade relationship between the French and Míkmaq. Treaty provisions for continued trade were soon ignored, cutting off the bulk of Míkmaq economic activities. Their social exclusion and marginalization may have stemmed from racist factors rooted to the area and its many conflicts between the French and the British, as well as the role of the Míkmaq in those conflicts.

3.3.2 Memramcook and Shediac

Memramcook was an area closer to Sackville and served as a destination point between the Northumberland Strait and the Bay of Fundy, accessed by rivers and portages. This was an important geographical area for water transportation via canoe. Described as being within the

Richibucto District, Shediac was also an area of traditional Míkmaq encampments or enforcements. Hamilton and Spray (1977) write that, “On a small island at Shediac, called Indian Island, are remains of a small fort to be described later; [possibly] it was not a French, but an Indian fort” (p. 10). This could signify an ancient connection to the land. The Míkmaq traveled the Scoudouc River by canoe and portaged to the Memramcook River, also known as Indian River (Webster, 1953) or, alternatively, from the Shediac River to Fox Creek (Belliveau, 1974). This area was a prime location for travel between the Bay of Fundy and Prince Edward Island (LeBlanc & Leger, 2003), and was pivotal to travel between Prince Edward Island, Memramcook, and Saint John; “W. F. Ganong notes that there was a portage between the Frosty Hollow and Fort Folly areas, and that a canoe route passed around Cape Maringouin from Tantramar to the Shepody Marsh” (Ward, 2010, p. 18).

The seigniorship of Linoville was granted to Sieur Mathieu-Martin de Lino in 1697, a Quebec merchant, and the area included Shediac, Shediac Island, and Little Shediac Island or Indian Island/Skull Island (Belliveau, 1974). Other Indian camps were located at Brownell’s Brook, on John Chapman’s farm, and below Johnson’s Mills (Milner, 1967). The main Míkmaq settlements were around Memramcook, including Indian Island [at Ha Ha, near New Horton], Grindstone Island, Beaumont, Midgic, Dorchester, and Vestchak/Westcock, and lesser camps “existed on Maringouin, including Upper Rockport [possibly Pecks Cove], Harvey Creek, Grand Anse, Johnson’s Creek, and Wilbur Cove” (Milner, 1967, p. 19). Conflict between the French and English also affected this area.

The French had ceded their territory of Acadia to the English in 1713, although the borders were not defined (Webster, 1953). During this time, Father Maillard reported the English

disemboweling Mikmaq women and children in western Nova Scotia (Maillard, 1758).⁴¹ Missionaries and the Quebec military utilized Shediac for a munitions depot and rations were sent from the St. Lawrence (Belliveau, 1974). After Fort Beauséjour fell to the British in 1755, Boishébert used Shediac and Cocagne as his headquarters (Webster, 1953). This area served as his base for raids against the English. Several Mikmaq chiefs took an oath of allegiance to the British in 1760, including Chief Claude Atanage of Shediac (Webster, 1953; Belliveau, 1974). Atanage later became Attenass and is currently Tensas. Land settlement, predominantly by the British, increased following the end of French and English conflicts.

Shediac Island was granted to Joseph Dean in 1767, with mainland grants to Acadians in 1772 (Belliveau, 1974). People from Yorkshire settled at Dorchester around 1773 or 1774 (Milner, 1967). William Hannington established a trading post at Shediac in 1785, although the Acadians and Mikmaq were unfriendly at first (Webster, 1953). Ultimately, the Mikmaq actively traded with Hannington. The Elphege Poirier House was built at Indian Point around 1797 (Belliveau, 1974). The name “Indian Point” was indicative of earlier Indigenous occupation.

Early families in Pointe-du-Chêne found Mikmaq living there between 1815 and 1850 (Belliveau, 1974). This indicated continued occupation in the area. Martin MacDonald settled in Shediac during 1815, along with his five sons and, with the help of the Mikmaq, built an oak cabin (Belliveau, 1974). Shipbuilding was in its heyday after 1815, utilizing black spruce, white pine, and oak (Belliveau, 1974). A public road was built from Moncton to Shediac in 1816 (LeBlanc & Leger, 2003) and was used by stagecoaches and horseback riders (Belliveau, 1974). It was later expanded from Moncton to Chatham between 1830 and 1840 (Belliveau, 1974). The

⁴¹ Refer to the section of Maillard’s book called “Memorial of the Motives of the Savages, called Mickmakis and Maricheets, for continuing the War with England since the last Peace.”

first ship launched in Shediac was made by Bowen Smith in 1817 (Webster, 1953). Shipbuilding began in Dorchester in 1825 and continued until the 1880s (Milner, 1967). The Queen's wharf was built in 1839 at Shediac Cape and was later replaced by another at Pointe-du-Chêne (Webster, 1953). Belliveau (1974) notes that "construction of the wharf coincided with the construction of the European and North American Railway, which chose Pointe-du-Chêne as its eastern terminus. This allowed strong potato and livestock industries to arise in the community" (p.9). The first ferry between the region and Prince Edward Island began in 1840 and Shediac consequently became an important area for transportation (Belliveau, 1974).

An Indian Reserve was established at Fort Folly on lands formerly owned by Amasa Weldon, land that was not vested in the Crown but, rather, under a trusteeship of Westmorland County; Milner (1967) notes that "The community of a meagre 100 acres finally became a Crown reserve in 1966" (p. 20). The Band consisted of 126 Mikmaq living on 63 acres of land, purchased by the Province for £30. Thus, a miniscule percentage of the traditional land that had been used by the Mikmaq for millennia before first contact was now being bought for them to inhabit.

The chief of the Almagog [Memramcook] Band was considered an important individual, leading a community that had adopted European values; one British soldier notes of the chief that "He...informed me that they had taken the pledge, and were consequently sober and industrious; that they did not cultivate the soil so much as they would do, if they had land" (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 95). There was another reserve at Aboujagane (the Mikmaq word for "portage") or Aboushagan, utilized mainly for fishing and fowling (Hamilton & Spray 1977; Hamilton, 2004).

There was a significant timber trade in Shediac during the 1830s and 1840s (Belliveau, 1974; LeBlanc & Leger, 2003), further facilitated by the construction of the European and North American railway. Approved in 1853, with a route from Saint John to Moncton and Pointe-du-Chêne, the railway was completed in 1857 (Belliveau, 1974). Farmers supplied the wood for the railway line between Moncton and Pointe-du-Chêne, paid with wooden tokens (Belliveau, 1974). The lumber trade continued until 1930. After a new government wharf was built in 1853, prosperity began in Shediac, which included “extremely heavy shipping of lumber, potatoes and livestock and the import of salt and other goods” (Belliveau, 1974, p. 9). Aside from the transportation of goods, the railway also provided personal transportation; “The first passengers were transported from Shediac to Moncton on the European and North American Railway, in August 1857” (LeBlanc & Leger, 2003, p. vii). Once the railroad opened a regular line from Saint John in 1860, steamships also ran between Pointe-du-Chêne and Summerside [Prince Edward Island] (Webster, 1953).

In 1865, financing was obtained to build the railroad from Painsec to the Missiquash River going by Dorchester Island. The company providing financing failed; however, construction of the railway was finally completed in 1869 (Milner, 1967). The railway became involved in self-promotion and produced a publication of train trips along their rail line; one advertisement read; “A short distance beyond [Moncton] is Painsec Junction, where the [rail] road branches off to Pointe-du-Chêne” (Intercolonial Railway, 1877, p. 78). Grindstones and building stone were shipped from Memramcook and the Petitcodiac Rivers to the United States, using Indigenous labourers; “It must be assumed that Mi’Kmaq peoples were present on the Peninsula, either as vendors or as labourers. This is evidence, for example, that there were aboriginal employees at the Boudreau Quarry south of Dorchester” (Milner, 1967, p. 36).

The great potato boom began in 1877 (Belliveau, 1974).⁴² After the 1880s, however, shipbuilding declined around Dorchester and many families moved away (Milner), indicating increased mobility in the area. Cottage settlement and beach development occurred, however, near Pointe-du-Chêne, the location of the rail station, further encroaching on traditional Indigenous lands (Belliveau, 1974).

This area was not central to the French and English conflict, as suggested by the amount of history focused on that topic. However, it was soon involved in the development of the transportation industry; first, in shipbuilding, then the railway and subsequently, the introduction of the ferry to Prince Edward Island. The Míkmaq were involved economically only on the periphery, eking out a meagre living from agriculture at Fort Folly, but impoverished at Aboujagne. They were settled and working along the railways after those were constructed.

3.3.3 Moncton and Petitcodiac

The place with the most Míkmaq activity in the region also had the fewest historical accounts. Soucoup (2009) observes that “Moncton’s beginnings as an aboriginal campsite on the banks of the brown river (*sic*) (known as Pet-koot-koy-ek by the Mi’kmaq) are not well documented. However, William Ganong...cites the mouth of Hall’s Creek as a traditional Mi’kmaq encampment ground and nearby Indian Mountain as a probable caribou-hunting area” (p. 3), indicating ancient connections to the land. According to my family’s oral tradition, “Indian camps” existed throughout what is now the Greater Moncton area, in places such as Indian Mountain, Cape Breton Road, Irishtown, Berry Mills, Lutes Mountain, Humphrey’s Mills, Pacific Avenue, Jones Lake, Painsec Junction, and Fox Creek. These areas were populated

⁴² This was attributable to the vast numbers of Irish immigrants arriving in New Brunswick, escaping the Potato Famine in their own country. It is estimated that in a two-year span in the mid-1800s, at least thirty thousand Irish immigrants entered St. John, New Brunswick. See the Irish Canadian Cultural Association of New Brunswick. <https://www.newirelandnb.ca/irish-migration/>

after the railways were built, as the camps were in close proximity to the railway tracks, and many stories mentioned Míkmaq riding the trains while carrying baskets for sale. Prior to that, however, the Míkmaq traveled the Petitcodiac River by canoe, avoiding the tides of the Bay of Fundy. E. C. Wright (1945) indicated that canoe portages went from the rivers of the Petitcodiac to the Kennebecasis, and from the Petitcodiac and Memramcook to Shediac and Schoodic, stating that

The main route to the Petitcodiac went from Washademoak Lake along the Canaan River; it involved following the Canaan River just past Nevers Brook, where one of the longest portages in the area intersected the North River, a waterway that is not navigable for most of the year. The portage continued overland and met the Petitcodiac. The nineteen-kilometer portage could be reduced to twelve kilometers if the North River were passable down to the Petitcodiac (Soucoup, 2009, p. 85).

The geography was also rooted in the Míkmaq language; “The very name of the river [Petitcodiac] is derived from the Micmac word ‘Epetkutogoyek’, meaning *river that bends around back*” (Taylor, 1984, p. 13). There were also local encampments; these Míkmaq camps were considered seasonal and a regular camping area was located at Salisbury (Taylor, 1984). There is no mention of Míkmaq living in the area when Boishebert attacked Major Frye in the Battle of the Petitcodiac near Hillsborough, or when the English settlers arrived, but this, of course, does not mean that it was not a part of their traditional lands, nor that they were not actually inhabiting the area at the time (Taylor, 1984).

Industrial development followed the Intercolonial Railway, including a woolen mill, foundry, and stove manufacturing during the late 1800s (Soucoup, 2009). Oral tradition indicated

that Míkmaq lived in close proximity to the woolen mills. John and Christopher Harris, along with John Humphrey and Josiah Woods raised close to \$1 million to construct a sugar refinery, cotton mill, gaslight and power plant, several small iron works, and textile enterprises (Acheson, 1994). According to my late grandmother, the Míkmaq would frequent the local bakery [Marvens] and request stale baked goods. The rail promoted itself as “The Intercolonial Railway...opened for public traffic on the 3rd July, 1876” (Intercolonial Railway, 1877, p. iii). This opened Moncton to rail transportation. En route from Moncton to Saint John, there were many Indian camps along the railway line. A telegraph office, several stores, and two pulp mills operated in Salisbury, which was situated by the railway (Intercolonial Railway, 1877). Despite the activity around the railway, economic decline began to impact the area. By the early 1900s, the majority of New Brunswick manufacturing was owned and controlled by Montreal capitalists (Soucoup, 2009).

Historically, Indigenous populations were rarely mentioned by non-Indigenous authors, if revealed at all, in relation to this geographic area. The economic importance of the region was significant, and the Míkmaq participated in it, although on the periphery and out of sight of the towns. They camped deep within the woods and harvested wood to make baskets and wooden handles for tools. The encampments along the railway constituted another form of peripheral participation and were indicative, again, of the social exclusion of the Míkmaq.

3.3.4 Sussex and Saint John

Canoes either traveled from the Petitcodiac River, followed the Anagance upstream, and then portaged to the [Kennebecasis] River, going down to Saint John or, they portaged at Canaan to go north to Quebec up the Saint John River (Taylor, 1984). Coming from Chignecto via Petitcodiac and the Kennebecasis, canoeists avoided the rough water and strong tides of the Bay

of Fundy (Dalling, 1985). Early displacement of the Indians was documented; “The Indians formerly resorted here in considerable numbers as it was their rendezvous in starting or returning from the chase, but since the woods have been depleted of animals and the soil occupied or taken up by the settlers, they are seldom now seen on the path, once their wandering state of existence” (Aiton, 1979, p. 47). Louis Paul, a Maliseet, interpreted the Indian place names, some of which are a mixture of English and Maliseet, observing that “Apohaqui, ‘meeting of the waters’ replaced Studholm; Salmon River became Plumweseep, ‘salmon and river;’ Stone’s Brook was changed to Penobsquis, ‘stone and brook’ or perhaps ‘little fish;’ Anagance is pure Indian, ‘oo-ne-gunce’, a portage” (Aiton, 1979, p. 64). The culture and language are also rooted in the geography. In 1908, Vera Gars wrote that weapons, tomahawks, and stone arrowheads were found in an area in Hampton where Indian camps existed (Dearborn, 1997). Dearborn writes that “Indians gave [Hampton] its early name, Ossekeag (the little marsh), Passekeag (the great marsh) and of course the Kennebecasis River (little snake)” (1997, p. 92). Quispamsis was settled by the Maliseet and meant “Little Lake of the Woods” (Dearborn, 1997, p. 130).

The French trading post near Saint John served the Indians in the region but was also involved with dealings between them and the English; Dearborn (1997) writes of one intermediary that, “Francoise was also an interpreter when the articles of peace were signed at Chedabucto (sic) in 1749, appointed by the chiefs and captains of the River St. John” (p. 114). This area did not escape the regional conflict between the French and English, nor did the Indians. After the Fall of Beauséjour, Cornwallis found Boishebert strengthened by the assistance of 150 Indians, at Saint John, and a fight ensued where the English “repulsed the redmen and slew seven of them before they got away” (Bird, 1928, p. 59). The guerrilla and privateer, Beausoleil, was later captured and taken to Fort Edward, in 1762 (Taylor, 1984).

About a decade later, the Americans sought to entice the warriors to follow their cause; Dearborn (1997) notes that,

In 1778, American agents brought letters to area Indians in the Darling's Lake area...from General Washington and, in August that year, their chief sent notice to Studholme, at Fort Howe, of their intention to rise up against the English, Studholme invited them to a conference and was able to pacify them (p. 92).

Dearborn (1997) writes that "Much of the land in the Apohaqui, Millstream and Sussex area was 'burnt land' in the 18th century and the Indians were blamed for setting the fires in order to deter the Loyalists from settling there. Later, the fires were attributed to accident and the Great Gale of 1769" (p. 83). Apohaqui had a few peaceful Indians living in the area, but they soon died from the typhoid that spread because of poor sanitary conditions and a lack of medical aid (Dearborn, 1997).

The Loyalist influx into the area began in the latter part of the 18th century; in 1783, United Empire Loyalists arrived in St. John to take refuge under the Crown. After the American Revolution, a society for advancing the education of aborigines was moved from New England to New Brunswick, with Governor Carleton as its head (Webster, 1928), governed by Ward Chipman, General John Coffin, and Jonathan O'Dell (Soucoup, 2009). Through the New England Company, which was a London-based missionary society, "funds were largely appropriated to general educational purposes by Harvard College" (Aiton, 1979; Hannay, 1909, p. 206). Others involved with this commission were leading Loyalists, among them "Chief Justice Ludlow, Judge Allen...George Leonard...Jonathan Bliss, [and] William Paine" (Hannay, 1909, p. 207). Dalling (1985) points out that "Sussex was founded in 1786 by the Honourable George Leonard...leading resident and [he] soon realized there was great need of a school,

primarily to Christianize the Indian children, not excluding the English children, and so in 1787 the first school in the area was built by Isaiah McCarty” (p. 13). George Leonard, a New Brunswick politician, advocated for an Indian school at Sussex Vale for the numerous Míkmaq children living around the Millstream, Smith Creek, Salmon River, and the Dunsinace area, and an Indian College was subsequently built (Aiton, 1979). According to Aiton (1979),

Long before this statute [NB Schools Act, 1802] came into force, there were other agencies at work in Kings County which played an important part in providing educational opportunities for the children of the Loyalists as well as the natives. One of these was the Company of the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent to America, which appointed a Board of Commissioners in 1786 with power to engage and pay suitable teachers and provide books, clothes and implements for such of the Indians as should profess the Protestant religion, and to place them in English families to be instructed in the art and mystery of farming or some useful trade. One of three schools in New Brunswick was built at Sussex Vale by this company in 1787 through the influence of George Leonard, a member of the board, who asked ‘to have a school provided for the Mickmack tribe near the great branches of the Kennebecasis River (p. 102).

Around 1788, Indian schools were established at Miramichi, Sussex, Sheffield, and Woodstock (Fingard, 1972; Johnson, 1991). Their purpose was to convert the Indian children to Protestantism and teach them trades; however, the children actually served as domestic help and many were sexually abused (Soucoup, 2009). An Acadian priest, Fr. Bourg, suggested granting lands to Indians to convert them to agriculture and assimilate into English society—Hamilton and Spray (1977) provide an account of this correspondence:

Fr. Joseph M. Bourg to George Leonard, 12 February 1788...I have the honor of receiving your letter, by which I have been informed that there is a certain annual sum sent from England for the purpose of civilizing the Indians of the River St. John and its neighbourhood: that is to say, to render them the happier and more useful to Society...I think it desirable to grant to each family a little land, and, in order to encourage them to cultivate it, to make them at first some presents (p. 63).

Mr. Leonard recommended Oliver Arnold as the teacher and Arnold supervised the building of the school; "Built primarily for the Indians, the school was shared by the children of white settlers" (Aiton, 1979, p. 103). The *Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Natives of America* funded the Indian College built on Church Avenue in Sussex in 1792, with many white children attending (Dalling, 1985). Leonard saw the opportunity to capitalize on the educational grant for the Indians and to educate the Loyalist children, aside from the available private tutoring or sending them to England; however, they included a token number of Indian children (Dearborn, 1997). Arnold graduated from Yale University in 1776 and moved to Saint John in 1783, and later to Sussex in 1787 (Dalling, 1985). He preached in his own house and held church services at the schoolhouse after the Indian college was built (Aiton, 1979). The other Indian schools were not as successful; consequently, it was decided to concentrate the Indian educational work at Sussex (Webster, 1928). Ironically, it was through the funds allocated to children of Aboriginal status that these Loyalist children obtained their education.

Some viewed the school as a disaster; Indigenous parents complained they were left destitute with no children supporting their economy, and children became farm slaves while farmers were paid to house them (Dearborn, 1997). The children were removed from their

parents' socio-economic system, which also significantly impacted their family and kin relations. Hannay (1909) notes that "The Indians complained that the academy was of very little benefit to them, because very few of them could live at Sussex" (p. 208). Others contended that Arnold was being harassed by "indolent natives, who demanded they be given help because their children, who had assisted them in the hunt and chase, had been taken from them" (Aiton, 1979, p. 104). The Loyalists received a clearly defined personal benefit from the educational arrangement, coming in for their own share of criticism in regard to the education system; "The Honorable George Leonard, who built the new structure for the academy at Sussex was accused of jobbery." (Hannay, 1909, p. 208). The disparagement continued, including early suspicions of abuse; Hamilton and Spray (1977) point out that

The schools were not a success, nor was the apprenticeship system. Those who successfully completed their indentures did not pass what they had learned on to other Indians, and the morality of some of the masters was questioned. Those Indians who passed through the system were worse off than those who had never been exposed to it since they emerged as neither Indians nor whites (p. 67).

Hannay points out that "The school was exposed to much criticism, and among those who were dissatisfied with it were three of the commissioners, Chief Justice Ludlow, Judge Bliss and Judge Allen who resigned in 1804" (1909, p. 208). The Indian College was closed in 1826, and the Indians abandoned the church (Dalling, 1985); however, some children had to fulfil their apprenticeship until 1833, as the farmers were continually paid (Aiton, 1979). The Indian children had to bear out the remainder of their indentured contracts as the Loyalists received income for them and benefitted from their labour. As a result of these failed attempts at education and apprenticeship, the Indians

were reduced to a class of virtually unpaid labourers or, indeed, slaves. Hannay (1909) reports that, over the course of forty-seven years, \$140,000 was spent at the Indian College, of which \$40,000 was paid to officials who were not involved in any work of instruction. The Honorable John Coffin received £125 sterling a year acting as superintendent, Ward Chipman received £50 per year as secretary treasurer, Rev. Oliver Arnold received £50 per year as chaplain, and £20 per child each year for the children who worked on his farm (Hannay, 1909).

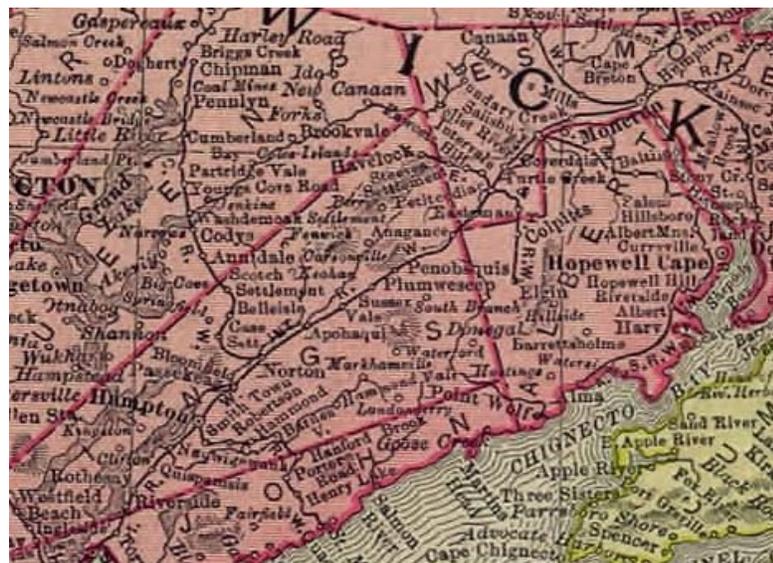


Figure 11: Hampton-Moncton 1896

According to the journals of Rev. John West, the Indians were formerly abundant in the Sussex area but were later seldom seen (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). West noted in his journal that “Today, there is no concentrated Indian area in the county, nor, indeed, many Indians” (Aiton, 1979, p. vii). This seemingly innocuous statement clearly reveals how the machinations of the colonial administration and the education system combined to disrupt and destroy completely the

Mikmaq presence in their traditional territory, further disturbing their relationship to the land. The Indians were said to have relapsed into barbarism and returned to their ancient faith, where “the majority of [Indians] show no desire to improve their lot. They prefer their own free mode of life, and it is a singular fact that there is a stronger tendency among white men to lapse into savagery than there is among the Indians to become civilized” (Hannay, 1909, p. 209). The settlers held racist views of the Mikmaq evidenced by their use of terms like “savagery” and “barbarism” while seeing themselves in contrast as being part of development and progress.

The railway represented a key component in the change in Indigenous Peoples’ lifestyle in the area of Penobscis, Plumweseep, Sussex, Apohaqui, and Norton (Intercolonial Railway, 1877). Indian camps followed the course of the railway, taking them away from their traditional territory and extended families. There were, for example, small groups of Indians living around Woodpecker Hall around 1885-1890, and a family living annually close to the train station (Dearborn, 1997). The economic and social activities that the Mikmaq had practiced for millennia were supplanted by new Eurocentric economies that were dictated by rail.

The area around Plumweseep was primarily a transportation corridor, although it was also utilized in hunting and gathering.⁴³ The majority of Mikmaq and Maliseet were displaced, however, their children’s status was used as a front to obtain educational funding for schooling for Loyalist children. Indian children contributed to the agricultural economy through the income paid to farmers for their indenture, as well as through their labour. The failure of colonial

⁴³ John Louis requested Indian Affairs establish a reserve near Plumweseep, as there were 15 to 20 families living in the area year-round, and up to 40 families, at times. A local resident indicated to the department that he desired to sell his land for the reserve. J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, said it was not advisable to purchase a reserve for the Indians and that they should locate themselves on to the existing reserves, where they already had lands set apart for them. He responded with the same message to the Indians who made the request.

assimilation efforts and the subsequent archival and historical documentation of that failure highlighted the racism that was in effect in this and other areas of the province.

3.3.5 Big Cove and Buctouche

The Indians along the Richibucto River had a dreadful reputation. According to Cooney (1832), “Perhaps the extraordinary ferocity of the Richibucto Indians, formerly very numerous and exceedingly cruel, coupled with the comparative smallness of the Rivers, and the then incapacity of the harbours, may account for the apparent discrepancy [of being behind in settlement]” (pp. 133-134). The history of the Richibucto Indians was rooted in the language of fear. During ancient times, there was a fortified Míkmaq village there (Webster, 1928), signifying a prehistoric connection to the land. Their territory extended from Montreal to Shediac (MacDonald, 1989). Their geographical location was vast; MacDonald (1989) writes that “The Micmacs were three miles deep when the first white man arrived on these picturesque shores. They who lived on the banks of the river were fishermen; the ones in the middle were farmers, while the deepest ones in the woods were hunters” (p. 15). Older maps indicated an Indian village on the south side of the river, below Kingston [now Rexton], with the possibility of other important villages in the district, with Big Cove or the current reserve at Molus River (Hamilton & Spray, 1977).

Early settlement in the area was predominantly French; as MacDonald (1989) notes, “The first Seigniory in Kent was given to Louis D’Amour in 1686 and he built Fort Richibucto on Richibucto Island (Indian Island)” (p. 8). According to a plan dated 1794, an Indian village was located west of Indian Point, between it and Black River or Mescoques, about two miles west of Buctouche (Hamilton & Spray). The Míkmaq from the Richibucto and Miramichi Rivers were considered by the English settlers to be the most ferocious, attacking the first immigrants in

Halifax and treated their captives with “wanton and inhuman barbarity” (Milner, 1911, p. 37). Settler depictions of the Richibucto Mikmaq were typically racist and employed language meant to instill fear, as illustrated by Milner (1911):

In 1723, assisted by a party of the Penobscot tribe, they raided Canso and carried off plunder to the amount of £20,000. They were commanded by Argimoosk – or “White Witch”, a very cunning and daring chief. Three years later they made another raid and captured 17 sail of fishing vessels from Massachusetts. Forty of the crew were captured, of them fifteen were rescued, 9 murdered and the remainder sent as slaves to Richibucto river (p. 37).⁴⁴

The Mikmaq were subsequently overpowered and forced from the ships, where they were shot or drowned. The remainder of the ship’s crew who were not murdered or held prisoner were, “after some difficulty, obtained by ransom” (Cooney, 1832, p. 138). Encounters with the English were usually conflictual. An English pirate brig was reported to enter the Richibucto Harbour in 1758, where the captain forced the Mikmaq into labour repairing the ship; “the Indians swarmed the vessel and killed every man on board” (MacDonald, 1989, p. 14). In 1760, a Treaty was signed by the chiefs of La Have and Richibucto; Fisher (1921) observes that, “With the French Priest, came two Indian Chiefs, Paul Lawrence and Augustin Michael; Lawrence tells me he was a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith: he is chief of a tribe at Richibucto” (p. 114). Chief Paul Lawrence was also known as Paul Laurent. In the period between 1760 and 1787, Cooney (1832) states that the Indigenous inhabitants of the Richibucto area had relapsed into barbarism. These descriptions are seemingly rooted in racist language;

⁴⁴ Chief Argimoosk could possibly have been Alguimou, originally from Chignecto. Cooney (1832) identified him as “Argimoosh.” He was also known as Augustine Michael, living at Big Cove (Cameron, 2009) and variously referred to as Michael Alguimou, Michael Augustine, Michel Alguimou, and Michel Arjiman; he signed various treaties through time as such.

civilizations were ordered at the time within a hierarchy, with primitivism and associated barbarism at the bottom. There were about 166 Mikmaq attached to the Saint Antoine mission located in Richibucto, including 40 families from Richibucto to Barachois, in 1772 (Webster, 1953). Those Acadians who returned after the Expulsion could not return to their homes; Hay (1903) points out that “Many Acadians settled on lands in Westmorland and along the North Shore, chiefly in Kent and Gloucester counties. The lands were afterwards granted to them, and in more peaceful times they again began to flourish as in the happy days before the exile” (p. 109). Some Acadians were captured, exiled, pardoned, and returned, and “many of them settled in different parts of Kent, particularly on the Richibucto, and the Buctouche” (Cooney, 1832, p. 134). The Loyalists followed, also settling in the area.

Milner (1967) notes that, “In 1786, Mr. Solomon Powell, an American Loyalist from Poughkeepsie, settled on the Richibucto River, where the ferocity of the Indians had previously deterred any English settlers from attempting it” (p. 23). Powell began fishing and shipbuilding, and the Richibucto Indians helped portage his supplies from Grand Lake to the head of the river (Milner, 1967). Aside from the Mikmaq, there were four Acadian families and only eight families of settlers between Bay Verte and the Miramichi (Milner, 1967). Economic activity, such as the shipment of alewives and lumber to the West Indies, generally benefitted the Loyalists. (Cooney, 1832).

It was around this time that the colonial government began to experience land problems. The Mikmaq could only enjoy their land at the discretion of the Crown. Licenses of Occupation allowed the Mikmaq to “occupy land at the Crown’s pleasure” (Hamilton & Spray, p. 70). A letter written by the Provincial Secretary in 1789, in reference to the Indians of Buctouche, stated that if they continued to allow large tracts of land to remain unsettled, the government would not

entertain their requests for land grants (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Crown viewed Indian settlements as a potential region for agricultural development. MacDonald (1989) notes that

It was the Powells who first petitioned for land and secured title to their holdings. The Powells were given the first English Grant it ranged from Mooney's Creek to Mill Creek (Upper Rexton) ... Their Royal Grant excepted the White Pine which King George the Third reserved for the Royal Navy masts (p. 8).

Captain Jacob Powell, along with William Pagan, of Pagan and Powell, based in Saint John, established their business in Richibucto (Milner, 1967). Mikmaq lands were increasingly encroached upon as a result of English land grants. The Richibucto Mikmaq sought to protect their lands by seeking land grants to prevent trespass and sale; however, the government rarely issued them to the Indians at the time (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The English ignored treaty conditions for over twenty-years; MacDonald (1989) writes that, "On the 28th of June in 1788, Chief Michael Morris wrote to Governor Thomas Carleton asking that no lands be granted until their treaties were settled" (p. 8). MacDonald (1989) notes, further, that "In the year of 1788, James Reynolds, Solomon Powell, James Powell and Abram Powell petitioned for a grant of land four mile from the mouth of the Richibucto River. This was denied by Governor Carleton. Acting on orders of the British Privy Council, he froze all grants between the years 1791 and 1802" (p. 8).

Mikmaq socio-economic activities were hampered by their growing disconnection from the land. The colonial government sought to have Indians take up agriculture in order to receive any land grants; Hamilton and Spray (1977) recount his correspondence:

Jonathan Odell (Provincial Secretary), to Gervas Say, 11 May 1789... If they are willing to learn, we are ready to teach them the arts of making and fishing with

nets and all the methods of agriculture by which an unfailing Subsistence is secured to all civilised and industrious Planters. But if they continue to insist on having a large tract of the Country left unsettled and uncultivated, their request cannot be complied with (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 71).

If the Mikmaq did not farm their own land, it would not be granted to them, and leaving it in a condition for hunting and gathering was not an option. Patrick Mealye was the next to petition for land in 1793, his request coming during the freeze on additional grants (MacDonald, 1989). In the meantime, those in pursuit of timber swarmed the area. By the early 1800s, the number of boat builders in the Richibucto region rivalled those from Saint John (Peck, 1983). The increased forestry activity that resulted from boat building affected the Richibucto Indians, destroying much of their traditional hunting grounds and driving them further into poverty; MacDonald (1989) writes that, “On the 2nd of July 1800, [Joseph] Gueguen wrote to Governor Carleton asking that treaties be respected and that something be done to alleviate the poverty and lack of industry” (p. 8). The Crown responded with the creation of Big Cove Reserve; established in January 1802, the Reserve was ten miles long by eight miles wide (MacDonald, 1989). Prior to 1805, the Richibucto Reserve was reported to consist of 51,200 acres (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Surveyor General’s Office, in Fredericton, recorded on 22 January 1802, a “Description of land applied for by the Richibucto Indians, containing 51200 acres” (University of New Brunswick Archives, 2002).

The New Brunswick government buckled to the pressure of settlers desiring the timber located on reserve lands, including Big Cove. Minutes from His Majesty’s Council records read as follows:

Minute of Council, 9th Sept. 1805. This quantity was reduced by minute of council, in 1805; and further reduced, 25th February 1824, to 4600 acres — some valuable portions within the reserve having been granted to applicants (Schoolcraft, 1885).

The Loyalists had persistently pursued their intentions of obtaining timber from Indian lands. MacDonald (1989) writes that,

In 1809, came the petitions of Amsa Killam, Jacob Powell, John Wheton and Andrew Ritchie. They were granted in the same year. The Powells were Loyalists from Long Island, N.Y. They were involved in helping the white settlers take this New York area from the American Indians and documents from the Provincial archives indicate that the same intentions may well have come with them to this new land (p.8).

Those were clear intentions of disconnecting the Mikmaq from their land and granting as much of it as possible to settlers. To this end, the Buctouche Reserve was established in 1810 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Buctouche Indians, despite the geographic division created by the colonial government, continued visiting the Big Cove Reserve to carry on their socio-political activities. Hamilton and Spray (1977) note, however, that systems arose that paved the way for conflict; “After contact with the French, a system evolved whereby the Micmacs and Malecites elected Chiefs on St. Anne’s Day (26 July), but most Chiefs seem to have held their positions for long periods of time, and the succession still seems to have been hereditary to some extent ... and the government practice was to issue commissions to elected Chiefs.” (p. 77).

Many of these decisions were possibly held in Big Cove for the Buctouche Indians.

There was a minor conflict at Platt’s Point in 1813 between the Mikmaq and John McAlmon, who killed a dog belonging to the Indians (MacDonald, 1989). In retaliation, the Mikmaq killed

an ox in his field and took Jim Ward as a prisoner (MacDonald, 1989). Further retaliation resulted in some Míkmaq women and children being taken hostage (MacDonald, 1989). Troops were called in from Halifax, yet Chief Peter Pierscroft refused to surrender (MacDonald, 1989). MacDonald (1989) notes that “Captain Powell rushed at the Chief and subdued him using the butt of a musket” (MacDonald, 1989, p. 15). In 1815, the government received a petition to remove Chief Andrew Julian from the Richibucto Reserve, and in turn recommended “Paul Alhinash [as] 1st Chief of the District of Rishibucto [and] Joseph Augustin [as] 2nd Chief of Rishibucto” (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, pp. 77-78).⁴⁵ “Alhinash” is likely “Altennas”, and would later become known as Tennas. The second chief served a similar function as a contemporary band councilor, indicating the beginnings of government interference in internal Indigenous governance structures. The colonial government acted on the petition to remove Chief Julian as leader of the Richibucto Reserve. Following Julian’s removal, the colonial government then imposed a new system of government on the two reserves by appointing Paul Alhinash as the principal chief and Joseph Augustin as a secondary chief whose role was similar to a band councilor in present-day band government systems. This action by the colonial government represented the beginning of government interference in the internal Indigenous governance structures and the direct management of their internal affairs.

⁴⁵ According to the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, “In 1812, [Chief Julian] and the other Micmac chiefs in the province agreed by treaty to observe a strict neutrality in the war which had erupted between Britain and the United States. These actions met with the approval of his tribe, but in 1813, when he and some of his relatives began to traffic in land at Eel Ground for personal profit, the tribe became concerned. When the abuses continued, his removal from office was demanded, not just by his tribesmen but by all the other Micmac chiefs of New Brunswick. In a petition addressed to the lieutenant governor the chiefs described Julian as a man ‘totally unqualified’ for the position which he was occupying and as a ‘palpable drunkard’ who was driving his people ‘headlong to destruction.’” Refer to Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. Dictionary of Miramichi Biography. <https://archives.gnb.ca/Search/Hamilton/DMB/SearchResults.aspx?culture=en-CA&action=0&page=514>

Petitions for Míkmaq lands continued. John and Robert Jardine petitioned for Richibucto Indian lands through memorials dated 1816 and 1817, and, upon receiving the land, established the company R. & J. Jardine, building over 100 vessels over the next sixty years (Peck, 1983). The two Richibucto chiefs launched a complaint in 1816 against the squatters on the reserve land; Augustine (1993) notes that “The government tabled the petition at the legislature and no action was taken to remedy the situation” (n.p.).

In May 1820, Thomas Powell petitioned on behalf of the Richibucto Indians to have their lands allotted according to the number of Míkmaq families, and to allow them to cultivate it (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Under this proposed plan, individual Mikmaq were to have received their own plots of land, cutting up the whole Indian Reserve. Powell served as the interpreter to Justice McKean and had “Piere Joseph Augusteen, Chief, Newell Augusteen, Newell Toma Augusteen, Piere Joseph Augusteen, John Baptist Augusteen, Piere Toma Augusteen, John Augusteen Jr., Joseph Augusteen, Mitchell Jos. Augusteen, John Jos. Augusteen” sign the petition as their “unanimous wish to have their Land as applied for” (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, pp. 74-75). In addition to the petition’s proposal for land allocation, it revealed the significant number of Augusteens—now Augustines—who were living at Big Cove at the time.

The son of a Philadelphia Loyalist, John Hamilton Clare, moved from Fredericton to Kent County in the early 1820s and was granted 200 acres of land on the south side of the Richibucto River, land which he later liquidated. He subsequently moved onto the Richibucto Reserve and leased land (Wosnow, 1994). His grant fell within the original 1802 Indian Reserve boundaries, making his occupation of that land illegal, as it was passed in the New Brunswick legislature prior to the New Brunswick *Indian Act* of 1844. Alliston, in Wosnow’s 1994 publication, notes that “Since the impoverished Micmacs were obliged to renew the lease or pay

for the ‘improvements’ made by the lessee, the lease was invariably renewed” (p. 2). The Mikmaq could not compensate Clare for his land improvements. Eventually, he sold his land and relocated to the north side of the river. A son, Peter Clare, resulted from a relationship that John Clare had with a Mikmaw woman. Peter later married another Mikmaw named Elizabeth Thomas and established the name Clair (Wosnow, 1994).

A great deal of economic activity for the English stemmed from the timber resources. Cooney (1832) observes that “a considerable trade has been carried in sawed Lumber, and the manufacture of ton Timber” (p. 136). Those activities impacted negatively on the Big Cove Reserve. In 1823, a petition drafted by Danial Hannington on behalf of Richibucto Indians requested the return of lands taken by deceit; Augustine (1994) writes that “They requested that the original boundaries that were established in February 1802 be left as they were set out according to the wishes of the Crown” (n.p.).

The Richibucto Reserve was again modified on February 25, 1824 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The government “Ordered that a Reserve be made for the use of the Richibucto Indians on the north side of Richibucto River extending from etc.” (*Warman v. Francis et al.*, 1958). However, almost immediately following this modification, land within the south side of the reserve was opened up to settlement. Wosnow (1994) writes that,

Finally, in 1825, the government of the province responded by opening for settlement all Reserve land on the south side of the river and shrinking the Reserve on the north side a mere fraction of what it had been. Overnight the Richibucto Micmac land withered from about two hundred and twenty-five square kilometers to only twenty-eight. The Micmacs were politically a negligible force

and even this theft of their land would not save them from further encroachment by white settlers (p. 1).

Indian Commissioner Hannington reported that the Indians abandoned the reserve in Buctouche due to lack of provisions for the winter, and Commissioner Welden stated there were about 240 Indians living on the Richibucto reserve in 1827 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Mikmaq land base was gradually being eroded.

John Hamilton Clare abandoned his Mikmaq family. He married Judith Ward in 1835 “whose father also farmed Reserve land on the north bank of the river” (Wosnow, 1994, p. 3). Neither John, nor his son, Joseph obtained proper title for the reserve lands they leased (Wosnow, 1994). Others also did not bother to lease Indian lands. A proclamation was issued that ordered squatters off reserve lands and to cease cutting timber (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Lawyer Moses Perley reported in 1841 that many Mikmaq from Big Cove were employed as labourers, worked in trade and lumbering, especially for John Jardine at the shipyard in Richibucto (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Although the Big Cove Mikmaq were employed locally and included in the local economy, Perley informed Chief Noel John of Buctouche that the government sought to manage the Indian lands, establish schools, and improve their condition (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The colonial government had further asserted management of Indian lands.

Not everyone viewed the Indian in a good light. Indian employees were considered unreliable, and some employers learned to accommodate their traditional practices. Hamilton and Spray (1977) recount one example:

Mr. Jardine, of Richibucto, stated to me that the Indians in his employ would quit work at certain seasons, when the shooting and fishing were good, and absent

themselves for several days together on sporting expeditions. He found it useless to object and allowed them to follow the bent of their inclinations. When the sport was at end, or they were satisfied, they returned immediately to their employment, and resumed work with a very cheerful and contented manner (p. 98).

The Big Cove Mikmaq, despite the loss of land and degradation of the reserves, held onto their ancient socio-economic activities. In his Indian Surveys, Perley reported the encroachment of settlers onto what little land the Indigenous communities had left; he notes that there were eight non-Indians living on the Richibucto Reserve, and as many as thirteen on the Buctouche Reserve in 1841 (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Several years later, in 1848, Perley's supplementary report further indicated the Richibucto Reserve's loss of land. He also indicated that earlier Mikmaq-English boundaries had been established, noting that,

At the outset, whole districts of country were assigned to the Indians, treaties were made by which the English settlers were restricted to certain bounds. But as the settlements advanced, the Indians were driven back, and tracts of land, called Indian Reserves, were set apart for their use and occupation, which were gradually reduced in extent. The reserve on the Richibucto River has been reduced from 51,200 acres to 4,600 acres (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 123).

There was little reference to the Richibucto Indians for the next several decades. In 1876, a parcel of Big Cove land was proposed for sale to build a church. A government official stated, at that the time, that,

As far as I can learn, never having been able to obtain an official statement, there are a few hundred acres on which whitemen are settled, many of whom have no grant, some of these parties have squatted, others bought under the old New

Brunswick laws but did not pay all the instalments, while many have grants some got before Confederation, and some I think since that time (Canada, 1875-77).

After 1876, the Intercolonial Railway ran through the area; one advertisement of the time read that, "Leaving Newcastle, we pass through an almost level and uninteresting country to Moncton, seventy-eight miles distant. This region is rich in timber resources." (Intercolonial Railway, 1877, p. 74). From a tourist perspective, the area had little to offer. In 1885, Chief Thomas Joseph received payment of \$600 for reserve lands sold. In a petition by the same chief, he outlined the amount of reserve land that held squatters and that they wished to sell; the petition reads,

That whereas the Mic-Mac Indians, of whom the undersigned form a part, were always before Confederation, recognized as having certain rights in lands known as Indian Reserves, in New Brunswick, and as your Department now controls their interest in those Reserves; and as your Petitioners are interested in 3000 acres of land known as the Big Cove Reserve in the County of Kent on which white settlers have made farms and of which they are now in possession, and as it was fairly understood the Dominion Government would collect from the settlers Two Dollars per acre for every acre of the said Reserve so appropriated by the said settlers; Your Petitioners respectfully ask that all sums obtained therefore be refunded the Chief of said Band in trust for your Petitioners (Canada, 1885).

The following year, in 1886, the Department of Indian Affairs indicated the Richibucto Indians had \$716 held in account of their lands sold.



Figure 12: Big Cove-Shediac 1896

The Míkmaq of this area experienced much disconnection from the land, even though lands were reserved for them. The Míkmaq had lost many of the socio-economic activities which had been tied to their traditional territory, yet they were actively involved in local employment and received an income from the lumber and shipbuilding industries. Those settlers who desired timber access, even if they obtained it through illegal measures, such as land squatting, encroached freely on traditional Míkmaq territory. Others petitioned for land grants from reserve land, leased it, or sought it through coercion or manipulation.

3.4 Summary

The rich history of the traditional territory of Siknigtuk (Chignecto) delineates the trajectory of post-contact land use and occupation, including the conflict over the Isthmus of Chignecto leading up to the treaty era, and the subsequent disregard of those treaty provisions. The establishment of the reserve system marked the beginning of the loss of Míkmaq territory, as outlined by historical and archival data. Despite the profound change to their relationship to the traditional territory—*Mi'kma'ki*—because of cultivation, forestry and European trade, the people maintained some of their traditional practices.

Chapter 4: Kinship Groups and their Geographic Locations

This chapter, outlining kinship groups in this area of Mi'kma'ki, has a quantitative component, as well as a spatial one. Initially, I conducted genealogies of my parental families, inclusive of extended families. Kinship ties are an intrinsic part of the economy of the region in Indigenous communities, as they are throughout Canada. Through provincial vital statistics, I examined birth, marriage, and death certificates, along with census data, and determined historical locations of residence. I placed these kinship groupings and their historical location data onto maps and analyzed the findings, spatially and chronologically. Additional commentary is provided from oral history. I discovered that several of my ancestors lived in close proximity to one another, often sharing a home, and that the local economy was frequently predicated on these close kinship relationships, with one or more of the adult males engaging in whatever occupation they could and bringing home their earnings to share with immediate and extended family. These histories also indicate that there was significant migration amongst the members of my family, illustrating both a move away from their traditional territories and a departure from their traditional economic practices.

There has, to this point, been no written history of the genealogy of the Chignecto region and this section provides a valuable outline of the genealogy of the Richibucto and Big Cove Reserve families. This knowledge of the past strengthens our kinship ties and promotes resilience and healing within the communities. As Boyer (2019) points out,

Health is obviously central to the total well-being of Aboriginal peoples. This includes environmental factors, connection to the land, culture and language, social/economic factors, mental/psychological factors, access to services, family/child/kinship relations, as

well as the practice of self-determination and self-governance as a Nation and a people (p. 15).

The ability of the Míkmaq of Elsipogtog to understand their history facilitates these kinship relationships and fosters improved mental and physical well-being.

4.1 Biographies

The following biographies are grouped into my paternal and maternal lineages. The paternal lineages consist of the Augustine and Thomas families, and the maternal lineages consist of the Simon and Levy families. My parents were related to each other and there is some common heritage along the Augustine line; therefore, some individuals are listed twice. In compiling the information for my family tree, I applied numerological coding to individuals; this coding has no numeric value other than preference as the data became available. For example, I assigned my father the code “1” as well as the paternal line of each of his male ancestors, “2” for his father’s mother’s line, and “3” for his mother’s line. Subsequent coding no longer followed these familial lines but was assigned to new lines when the information became available. These numbers served as an index when compiling all the information into a binder.

During the process of examining ancestral geographical locations, I assigned these individuals new numerical and colour codes to better analyze individuals’ specific locations through place and time. I coded my father as “1-1” in blue font and all the Augustine and Thomas lineages followed in successive order as they appeared in the binder. His father was “1-2,” his paternal-grandfather, “1-3,” and so on. I assigned my mother the code “5-1” in a red font, using red font for each successive individual in that line. Her father was assigned “5-2,” her paternal-grandfather “5-3,” and so on.

4.1.1 Paternal Augustine and Thomas Lineages

The individuals from the Augustine line are presented first, followed by the Thomas family.

4.1.1.1 Patrick Joseph Augustine Sr. (CD) (aka Joe Patrick, Joe Pat, Gus)

My father was born in an Indian camp near Humphrey's Mills, Westmorland County, New Brunswick on March 2, 1924 to Basil Tom Augustine and Agnes Augustine (Thomas). According to my mother, many Mikmaq lived in close proximity to the mills in the Moncton area. She described the Indian camps as quite similar to living in wigwams; however, the wigwams in the Indian camps were not covered with birchbark. Tarpaper or other available materials were often used to construct the camps. She suggested that our ancestors lived close to the textile mills because they asked for cloth or scraps from the business.

My father grew up in Big Cove. His godparents were Theodore Peter Paul and Susan Barlow, who came from Indian Island. He received his confirmation by Bishop P. A. Chiasson at the Big Cove Mission Church on May 29, 1933, with Jacob Augustine as his sponsor. His father was listed on the church register as Bazil Tom Augustine. My mother said that, early in his life, my father worked as a farm hand with his father at local farms near Big Cove. According to my mother, his Social Security Number, while he was living and working in the state of Maine, was registered under the name Joseph Patrick Augustine. At the beginning of the Second World War, he was almost required to join the American Army. He returned to Canada to enlist and found his name was actually Patrick Joseph Augustine. Both variations of his name were used in the United States for Social Security. He enlisted with the North Shore Regiment in the Miramichi and served during World War II with the 3rd Battalion, from July 6, 1944 until August 22, 1946. While stationed in England, he was trained as a dispatch rider, but never spoke about the war in

Europe. He married Rita Simon at the old St. Aloysius Church in Richibucto, Kent County, New Brunswick on October 16, 1946, where Father J. V. Pittman officiated; the ceremony was witnessed by William J. Simon and Eva Dedam. He submitted an application and requisition for a grant under the Veterans Land Act on January 20, 1948 and received \$2,320 to establish a home on the Big Cove Reserve. His application listed his occupations as fishing, farming, and woods work, prior to his enlisting in the army. Chief Peter P. Sock indicated in a support letter that my father owned three acres of land. My father re-enlisted on April 5, 1954 and served until May 19, 1970, later serving in the Black Watch Royal Highland Regiment. Stationed in Aldershot, Nova Scotia, he was able to return home to Big Cove to visit his family. According to Indian Affairs correspondence, he was registered with the Lennox Island Band in 1958, although he was not living there at the time. In 1959, he moved his family to West Germany and lived there until 1962. He was listed as Joe Pat Augustine on the Big Cove voters list for 1962.

Stationed in Base Gagetown, New Brunswick, my father lived, along with our family, adjacent to the base at Oromocto. Born in a humble environment, he would later return to Big Cove to work as a local farm hand. In 1967, he served in the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus for six months and finally retired from the army in 1970. He then worked for the Union of New Brunswick Indians on their Indian Housing Report in 1972, assessing housing stock on the Big Cove Reserve. Indian Affairs listed him as a band member of the Abegweit Band in 1973. His income was derived from metal salvage, bottle returns, lumbering, operating a

taxi, road construction, and hunting and trapping in Kent County. He died in Laketon on December 2, 1976, as the result of an automobile accident.

It is apparent that my father moved from place to place for economic reasons. After working in the seasonal potato harvest in the state of Maine, he returned to Canada to enlist in the army and make it his career. Primarily, he served in a clerical capacity while in the military. Upon returning to Big Cove after he retired, he again hunted and trapped, as well as being involved in small entrepreneurial activities. As a child, I learned from my father that, at one time, in the Moncton area, the Mikmaq were retreating from an attack on the British, who were in pursuit and following their tracks in the early snowfall. He continued, saying that the weather became warm, the snow melted, and they lost their tracks; thus, the Mikmaq escaped toward Big Cove. That is why, he explained, the place was called Indian Mountain.



Figure 13: Patrick J. Augustine CD

4.1.1.2 Basil Thomas Augustine (aka Basil Tom, Bazil Tom, Thomas Theophile, Bazile Nicholas)

My paternal grandfather was also born in an Indian camp near Fox Creek, Westmorland County, New Brunswick, to Tom Augustine and Theotiste Barnaby, on January 15, 1877. Fox Creek is located currently in Dieppe, next to Moncton. This location may have been along a traditional canoe route and portage to the Scoudouc River, near Shediac. He was baptized as Thomas Theophile on February 8, and his parents were listed in the parish record as Thomas Augustine (Indian) and Ansethe Noocoot [Knockwood]. His godparents were Isadore Augustine and a woman whose name was indecipherable on the record. Isadore was his paternal uncle, Tom's brother. His (my paternal grandfather's) own father died while he was young, and his mother remarried. He was listed as Bazile Nicholas in the 1881 Harcourt census and was recorded as living there with Newel [Noel] and Jalest [Theotiste] Nicholas. They were living in proximity to several people including Lewey [Louis] Nicholas and Eliza, Bask Nicholas and Madaline [Madeline], Suliame Augusteen [Julian Augustine, his paternal uncle] and Mary, Peter Augusteen [Augustine] and Lucy, and Newell Augusteen [Noel Augustine] and Margaret, along with children and other members of the household. The men were all recorded as being hunters. The mention of these neighbours and housemates indicates the strong familial ties at play within the Mikmaq community.

Julian Augustine was my grandfather's paternal uncle. My grandfather was listed as Basille Nicolas in the 1891 Harcourt census and living with Noiel and Libest Nicolas. His younger siblings were Lillies [?], Madelenne [Madeline], Marianne, and Margitte [Margaret]. They were living next to Noel Millier and Losie [Lucy], their children, and John Bernard (widower). The men were recorded as "*journaliers*," or labourers. He was listed as Bazile in the

1901 Richibucto census and a common laborer earning \$150 annually, living with Noel Sock, Agnes [Noel's mother, born in PEI], and Agnes, his wife. They lived next to Thaddey [Teddy] Sock, Mary Ann, and Elizabette [Elizabeth] Barnaby, his sister-in-law. The Richibucto census suggests that Basil Tom's residence was in Indian Island. He first married Agnes Jacques (Sock) on June 12, possibly in 1899. On his first marriage certificate, he was recorded as a fisherman (Indian) and a bachelor, born in Shediac. Witnesses to the marriage were Peter Sunnifast [Sanipass] from Big Cove and Lucie [Lucy] Barlow of Indian Island. Agnes was listed as a spinster, born and living in Indian Island, and her parents were Noel Jacques [Sock] and Madeline Copege [Coppage].

In the 1911 Weldford/Big Cove census, my grandfather was listed as Tom B. Augusten, living with his wife, Aggie. They lived next to Peter Sock and Louise, their children, and Mary Bask [Basque]. After his first wife's death, he later traveled to Prince Edward Island to see a young single woman he was told about. He subsequently married Agnes Thomas at St. Patrick's Church in Grand River, PEI, on February 6, 1922. On the second marriage certificate, he was listed as a basket maker and a widower, and the witnesses to this marriage were Peter Augustine from Big Cove and Mary Jane Knockwood of Lennox Island. His father was listed as Thomas Augustine, born in Richibucto, NB, and his mother was Eunice Barnaby. His marriage certificate indicated he could not read or write. My paternal grandfather, Basil Tom, worked as a farm hand during his life, and worked on his own 150-acre farm in Big Cove, according to my mother. He developed arthritis in his old age and moved to Lennox Island, PEI, with his wife in 1949. He died there around 1953. His death certificate incorrectly listed his father as Thomas A. Bernard and his mother as Elizabeth Barnaby.

My grandfather lived among his father's relatives in Harcourt after his father died and his mother remarried, possibly for over a decade. According to his marriage certificate, he was listed as a fisherman living in Indian Island when he was 22; a couple of years later, he worked as a common labourer. Ten years later, he was living in Big Cove, where his wife died. Ten years later, he married again in PEI, and was listed as a basket maker. Working as a farm hand around this time, he would later work on his own farm in Big Cove. He died in PEI, in old age, crippled with arthritis.



Figure 14: Basil Tom Augustine, Big Cove, NB. Thomas Augustine (aka Tom)

4.1.1.3 Thomas Augustine (aka Tom)

My paternal great-grandfather, Thomas Augustine, was born on April 17, 1826. I found no written indication of where he was born; his parents were Pierre [Peter] Augustine and Marquerite [Margaret] Poquechite [Francis]. Father Blanchete baptized him on April 25, 1826, and his godparents were Michel Roy and Elizabeth Augustine. It is unclear how many times he

was married; however, he married Mary Noel before he married Theotiste Barnaby. He was listed as Thomas Agustin (widower and basket maker) in the 1871 Shediac census and was recorded as living with Nuel [Noel], Peter, and Lencie. They were living next to Moise Nicklys [Nicholas] and Marg, and Nancy Nicklys [Nicholas]. Moise [either Moses or Mosey] was listed as a hunter and an Indian, and his son, Nuel [Noel] was registered as a basket maker. This was probably at the Aboujagne Reserve in Westmorland County, as he was listed as Thomas Augustine on a letter for the chief's commission, and appeared on this letter along with Larong Nacote [Laurent Knockwood] on the Shediac Reserve in 1875, John Barnaby (First Captain), Elas Peters [perhaps Elias] (Second Captain), Isadore Augustine [Tom's brother], Nuel [Noel] Augustine, Peter Augustine [possibly his son, and Basil's half-brother], Frank Augustine, Stephen Augustine [possibly his grandson, Peter's son], and others. He later married Theotiste Barnaby, and no date was found for the marriage. He died before 1880; no location was listed, and the record of his illness is indecipherable. Tom was also my mother's ancestor.

According to vital statistics, census records, and Indian Affairs files, he may have moved around quite a bit less than did his descendants. When he was about 45 years old, he lived in Shediac and worked as a basket maker.

4.1.1.4 Pierre Augustine (aka Peter)

My paternal great-great-great-grandfather was born about 1802 to Thomas Augustine and Marie Anne [Paul], but no location of where he was born was found. He married Marquerite (Marichite) Poquechite [Francis] on November 18, 1823 at St. Jean de Baptiste de Buctouche, Kent County. The following year, they lived in the Miramichi and had a son, Peter, baptized at Bartibogue on September 5, 1824. He and his wife may have been living in or near Buctouche.

Peter was possibly living in Aboujagne in 1875 and was probably listed on the letter for the chief's commission.

4.1.1.5 Thomas Augustine (Augustine Thomas)

No written information was found on my paternal great-great-great-great-grandfather. He would have to have been born in the late 1700s, possibly around 1760. I suspect he was from Aboujagne or the surrounding area. He was married to Marie Anne [Paul].

4.1.1.5.1 Marie Anne [Paul]

No information was found on my paternal great-great-great-great-grandmother. She may have been born in the late 1700s or early 1800s. She was married to Thomas Augustine, but no information or location was found in the written records.

4.1.1.5.2 Theotiste Barnaby (aka Mary)

My paternal great-grandmother was born around 1845 to Jean [John] Barnaby and Venerande Knockwood. She was baptized on January 9, 1848, and her godparents were Sylvain Noucoute [Knockwood] and Marquerite Noucoute [Margaret Knockwood]. The location of her birth and baptism was not decipherable but was possibly Barachois. She first married Thomas Augustine (listed in the records as Thomas Oustin), and later married Noel Nicolas [Nicholas] on May 27, 1880 (previously married to Mary Ginnis [Ginnish]); their witnesses were Chief Laurent Knockwood and his wife. My great-grandmother may have lived in Aboujagne, as her father was listed as the Second Captain in Chief Larong's [Laurent's] letter of commission, dated 1875. She was listed as Jalest Nicholas in the 1881 Harcourt census, living there with Newel [Noel] and her son [his stepson], Bazile Nicholas [Basil Tom/Thomas Theophile Augustine]. She was listed as Libest Nicolas in the 1891 Harcourt census, living with Noiel [Noel] and her son [his stepson],

Basille Nicolas. She died in Big Cove on May 10, 1935 from heart disease. She was listed as Mrs. Mary Nicholas on her death certificate; a 90-year-old housewife, widowed, and born in Shediac in 1845 to parents John and Bella Barnaby. Her first husband [Tom]'s son, Noel Tom Augustine, was listed as the informant and no relation.

Theotiste was born and lived on the reserve in Shediac. She lived in Harcourt with her second husband and her first husband's relatives when she was about 36 years old and was still there about ten years later. She died as a widow in Big Cove at 90 years of age.

4.1.1.5.3 Jean Barnaby (aka Jean Baptiste Barnaby, Jean Barnabe, John)

According to census data, my paternal great-great-grandfather was born around Beaumont or Dorchester, about 1821. However, it was highly likely that he was actually born on the Aboujagne Reserve. He married Venerande (Bella) Knockwood on April 15, 1844. During the Band elections held in 1875 for Shediac, he was listed as the First Captain, in the letter for Chief Larong Nacote's [Laurent Knockwood] commission, which also included Dennis Barnaby, Thomas Augustine, Peter Augustine, Isadore Augustine, Nuel [Noel] Augustine, and others. In a letter drafted by the Indian Agent, John was said to have moved to Big Cove from Shediac around 1895. He did not own any land, and lived with his son, Thaddy, who would be Theotiste's brother. He died in Big Cove on November 12, 1901; no cause for his death was listed in the death registry. Rev. E. J. Bannon officiated at his funeral.

4.1.1.5.4 Vernarande Knockwood (aka Bella, Venerande Nocoute)

My paternal great-great-grandmother was born near Shediac, possibly in Aboujagan (also spelled Aboujagne and Naboujagan) to Joseph Noucoute [Knockwood] and [Mary] Elizabeth Bernard around 1819. She was baptized on March 24, 1819, by Fr. Joseph Theriot, her

godparents were Gregoire Theriot and Blandine [probably Gregoire's wife], and her parents were listed as "Mickmacks" and could not sign, possibly an indication that they were illiterate. She married Jean [John] Barnaby on April 15, 1844, perhaps around Barachois.

4.1.1.5.5 Joseph Noucoute (aka Knockwood)

My paternal great-great-great-grandfather was possibly born around Shediac or Dorchester, and no date of his birth was found in the records. There was no information found on his parents. He first married Angelique, whose last name was unknown. He later married Mary Elizabeth Bernard on September 18, 1815; no location was found for the marriage, but it was listed in the St. Antoine Church register, in Richibucto.

4.1.1.5.6 Mary Elizabeth Bernard (aka Marie)

My paternal great-great-great-grandmother was born possibly around Shediac or Dorchester; her parents were Noel Bernard and Marie Anne Acoune. She married Joseph Knockwood on September 18, 1815, as recorded in the St. Antoine Church register, in Richibucto.

4.1.1.5.7 Noel Bernard

I found no information or location for my paternal great-great-great-great-grandfather.

4.1.1.5.8 Marie Anne Acoune

I found no information or location for my paternal great-great-great-great-grandmother. It is challenging for us, as Míkmaq, to chart our families seven generations in the past, as a result of the fracturing of communities through assimilative practices such as the introduction of residential schools.

4.1.1.5.9 Mary Agnes Thomas

My paternal grandmother was born on June 14, 1898 near Wellington, Prince County, Prince Edward Island, to Frank Thomas and Mary Catherine Bernard. She said she was born in a wigwam at an Indian camp near “Woolington.” These camps were set up close to groves of maple or ash trees, which were used in making baskets, axe or pick handles. Mary Agnes was baptized on July 8, 1898, at Immaculate Conception, by Fr. John A. MacDonald, who was also her godfather, at Richmond, PE. Her family also lived in a wigwam at Scotchfort when she was around 14 years old. As a teenager, she worked as a domestic or made baskets. She was listed as living with Sylvain Thomas [her half-brother; possibly Frank’s son from his first marriage] and Catherine, in the 1921 Lennox Island census. She married Basil Tom Augustine on February 6, 1922 at St. Patrick’s at Grand River; their witnesses were Peter Augustine of Big Cove and Mary Jane Knockwood from Lennox Island. On her marriage certificate, she was listed as a basket maker and spinster. Her father was Frank Thomas, who was born near Amherst location, Nova Scotia, and her mother was Catherine Bernard. The marriage certificate also indicated that Mary Agnes could read but could not write. She picked potatoes annually in Northern Maine from 1930 until 1974 and dove for oysters in the Malpeque Bay until around 1973. Her godfather, Fr. John A. MacDonald, officiated her wedding. She moved to Big Cove with her husband and lived on their farm until 1949. They moved to Lennox Island that year. Her husband died in 1953. She sold mayflowers, cut her own wood for fire and making baskets, and made axe handles and quilts until she was in her eighties. She, like other Míkmaq, would travel along the railroad tracks and wait for the train, which gave them a free ride. They would take their wares and sell them to farms or in town. She lived in Rocky Point, Vernon Bridge, and Scotchfort, PE, and claimed to have owned land in PEI given to her by her godfather, in Rocky Point, and she also owned land

in Indian Island (NB), from her husband. She suffered a stroke and moved to Big Cove, NB. She died in Rexton in December 1998.

My grandmother moved around quite often for economic purposes, and as a result of her marriage. Throughout her life, she worked as a basket maker. Born in Wellington, PEI, she was baptized in Richmond, and then lived on Lennox Island. She was married in Grand River and she then moved to Big Cove, NB, to live with her husband on the farm. She picked potatoes during the annual harvest in the State of Maine from the age of 32 and continuing into her seventies. Returning to Lennox Island with her husband, she was listed as basket maker. After my grandfather died, she later moved to Rocky Point, Vernon Bridge, and Scotchfort, all located on PEI. The Lennox Island Band consisted of Lennox Island, Rocky Point, Scotchfort, and Morell Reserves. During the 1970s, Abegweit was formed when the three smaller reserves separated from the Lennox Island Band.



Figure 15: Agnes and Patrick Joseph Augustine Sr.

4.1.1.5.10 Francis Tomas (aka Francis Thomas, Frank Thomas)

My paternal great-grandfather was born on July 15, 1835, possibly in Amherst, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, to Alexander Thomas and Mary Labob. He may have been married before his first recorded marriage. His first wife was Magdalen [Poirier] (anglicized to Perry), whom he married at Indian River on April 7, 1856. Her parents were listed as Fidel Perry and Mary Barache, and the witnesses to the marriage were Alex Thomas and Margaret Perry. Following Magdalen's death, he re-married on May 27, 1862, this time to Marie Elizabeth Knockwood. The wedding took place possibly near Barachois and their witnesses were Michael Paul and Theotiste, for whom no last name was written, although she may have been Michael's wife. He later married Mary Catherine Bernard on July 29, 1895 at Lennox Island, PE; their witnesses were Peter Paul—a possible relation to Michael Paul—and Agnes Toney. The marriage registry indicated that he was born in Amherst, NS, and was a basket maker. He was listed as being a cooper and Indian in the 1881 Lot 26 [at Bedeque] census, having been born into the lone Indian family living there. In the 1891 Lot 17 [at Summerside] census, again as part of the lone Mikmaq family living there, he was recorded as a cooper and a widower. He was listed merely as "Frank" in the 1901 Lot 16 [at Malpeque Bay] census, and was recorded as being a labourer, married to Catherine, and living next to a T. Labobe, basket maker, and his children.

Frank moved around throughout his life for economic purposes. He was born in Amherst, NS, and eventually moved to PEI, where his parents were from. Married in Grand River when he was 21 years old, he later re-married in Barachois, NB, when he was 27 years of age. Census data listed him as a cooper living at Lot 26, or in the Bedeque area, outside of Summerside. He was a widower, 10 years later, he was recorded as a cooper living at Lot 17, near Summerside.

Coopers worked with wood making barrels, assorted boxes, and tool handles. His third marriage took place at Lennox Island when he was 60 years old, and he was listed as a basket maker. Six years later, he was living at Lot 16, along Malpeque Bay, and working as a labourer. I did not find a record of his death



Figure 16: Saint Anne Church, Lennox Island, PEI

4.1.1.5.11 Alexander Thomas

My paternal great-great-grandfather had no information recorded about his life. He married Mary Labob, and no date or location for the marriage was found.

4.1.1.5.12 Mary Labob

My paternal great-great-grandmother also had no recorded information recorded on her life, but for her marriage to Alexander Thomas, with no corresponding date or location.

4.1.1.5.13 Mary Catherine Bernard

My paternal great-grandmother was born on February 17, 1879 to Gregory Bernard and Elizabeth Dominick, possibly around Lennox Island. She was baptized on March 9, 1879 at St. Simon and St. Jude Church, in Bloomfield Parish, and her godparents were Peter Buole [Paul] and Catherine Dominick. In the 1881 Lot 12 census, she was listed as being two years old. She was confirmed on July 9, 1894, and married Frank Thomas on July 29, 1895; their witnesses were Peter Paul [possibly her godfather] and Agnes Toney. She later married Sylvang Thomas—possibly Frank’s adopted son and her step-son—on July 14, 1917. On her second marriage certificate, Sylvang (born in Amherst, NS) was listed as a basket maker; his reputed father was Frank Thomas and mother was Elizabeth Knockwood. Catherine was listed as a fisherman, and her parents were recorded as Alexander Bernard and Elizabeth Domine [Dominick] of O’Leary. The marriage registry indicated she was born in Tignish. I have not found any information on the date or location of her death.

Mary Catherine lived in various locations throughout PEI, primarily for her husband’s economic reasons. She was born in Lennox Island, baptized in Bloomfield, and lived with her family at Lot 12 when she was 2 years old. When she was 16 years old, she married Frank Thomas, and she was 38 years old when she married her second husband, Sylvain or Sylvang Thomas. It is quite possible that Sylvang was Frank’s first wife’s son, as Frank and Magdalen Perry were married in 1856, the same year he was born. After Magdalen died, Sylvang was raised by Frank and his second wife, Elizabeth Knockwood. According to government documents, Sylvang received special dispensation from the Bishop in order for him to marry

Mary Catherine, thus possibly providing an explanation why Frank was listed as his reputed father. However, Elizabeth may not have been his natural mother. This situation created much animosity between my grandmother, Mary Agnes, and her mother, Mary Catherine. My grandmother believed that her mother married her stepbrother. The subject was rarely discussed throughout Agnes' life.

4.1.1.5.14 Gregoire Bernard (aka Gregory, Alexander, Sandy, Alick)

My paternal great-great-grandfather was born on March 31, 1858 to Peter Bernard and Mary Clements, possibly near Lennox Island. Fr. Peter McIntyre baptized him on May 13, 1858, at St. Anthony's in Bloomfield Parish, with Fidel and Mary Arsenaux as his sponsors. He possibly later married Frank Thomas's daughter. He was also married to Elizabeth Dominick, and no date or location was found for that marriage. He was listed as Alex, cooper, living with wife Elizabeth and Mary C., living next to Samuel Labob, and Noul [Noel] Dominick and Catherine, in the 1881 Lot 12 census.

4.1.1.5.15 Peter Bernard

My paternal great-great-great-grandfather was likely born around 1798 and was possibly the chief who died in 1877 at 79 years of age. If he was the chief, it was for Lennox Island, according to Haszard's Gazette, 28 January 1854.

4.1.1.5.16 Mary Clements

There was no information found on my paternal great-great-great-grandmother.

4.1.1.5.17 Elizabeth Dominick

My paternal great-great-grandmother was born around August 1860, possibly around Lennox Island, to John Dominick and Mary Snake. Fr. James MacDonald, at St. Paul's in Summerside, baptized her on January 27, 1861. She married Gregory Bernard, with no date or location found.

4.1.1.5.18 John Dominick

There was no information found on my paternal great-great-great-grandfather.

4.1.1.5.19 Mary Snake

There was no information found on my paternal great-great-great-grandfather; however, there was a Mary A. Snake listed in the 1881 Lot 18 census, who was born around 1836.

4.1.1.6 Maternal Simon and Levy Lineages

4.1.1.6.1 Rita Simon

My mother was born on March 12, 1929 in Big Cove to John Simon and Mary Jane Levy. Her parents grew a garden in Big Cove. As a child of about 4 years old [around 1933], she lived with her parents at Cape Breton Road [near the "Siding" close to Irishtown, New Brunswick] and in Northern Maine, possibly near Mars Hills. They lived in a log cabin near the train tracks at Cape Breton Road. Her parents made baskets and axe handles there while her father trapped, and they picked potatoes annually in Northern Maine. They lived in the cabin year-round and the children did not go to school. Her family returned to Big Cove during the winter one year, and found their home unlivable, and they then lived with Simon Joe Simon [John's father]. Her mother sometimes worked as a cook at a hotel in Moncton. Her father and

brothers would often trap furs. She married Patrick Augustine at St. Aloysius in Richibucto on October 16, 1946. She lived in Big Cove with her children while my father was stationed in the army at Aldershot, Nova Scotia. She was a homemaker all her life. They moved to Germany in 1959 and returned to Oromocto, New Brunswick, in 1962. After my father retired in 1970, they moved back to Big Cove. My father died in 1976 and shortly afterward, we moved to Fredericton. Several years later, she would return to Big Cove, where she lived as a pensioner. She died on February 14, 2015, in Saint Anne-de-Kent.

My mother moved around during her life for her father and husband's economic purposes, and at times, for familial reasons. She was born in Big Cove but lived at Cape Breton Road, near Irishtown, outside of Moncton from an early age. At one point, her grandfather, Peter Levi—a devout Catholic—was chief in Big Cove. Chief Levi would not allow unwed parents to reside on the reserve, and many people left to live elsewhere, including in the United States. My aunt became pregnant by a man who had gone off to war, and her parents took her and the family to live in northern Maine for the winter. The baby, born there, did not survive the harsh conditions of the Maine winter.

My parents subsequently moved back to Big Cove. My mother took care of her younger siblings when her mother died and looked after her orphaned nephews and nieces. After she married my father, they eventually moved to Germany, where he was stationed. They moved back to Canada where they lived at Oromocto, next to Base Gagetown. After my father retired, they moved back to Big Cove, and eventually took care of a grandchild and nephew. As a widow, my mother later moved to Fredericton for several years, where she took care of another nephew, grandchild, and niece. She would later return to Big Cove where she died.

4.1.1.6.2 John Simon (aka Joseph, John Joe, Johnny, “Big John”)

My maternal grandfather, John Simon, was born—possibly in Big Cove—to Simon Joe Simon and Isabel [Elizabeth] Augustine, possibly on August 11, 1899. He was baptized by Rev. E. J. Bannon, possibly at St. Louis de Kent, on August 13, 1899. His name appeared also as John Joe. He was listed in the 1901 Moncton census as a 1-year-old, along with his sister, Melane, aged 4 years. They lived next to Thomas Levi and Celena, Simon, Isaac, Nould [possibly Noel], and Peter [all children possibly being John’s paternal uncles]. He married Mary Jane Levy on March 28, 1925, at an unknown location; their witnesses were William Levy [his brother-in-law] and [later his bride] Mary Joseph. His father- and mother-in-law, Peter Levy, Mary Bella [Napier] Levy, and Tom Levy would all make baskets in Moncton.

My grandfather later married Annie [nee Thibodeau] Augustine; no date or location was found for the marriage, but it was likely in Big Cove. He was listed in the 1962 Big Cove voters list as a fisherman living with Mrs. Annie Simon. By invitation, he traveled to Lord Beaverbrook’s birthday party in England in 1964. Serving under Chief Larry Sock in 1965, he served as a Band Councilor. He died in Big Cove, on Oct. 23, 1976. My grandfather was born in Big Cove, baptized in Saint Louis, and lived in Moncton from an early age. His parents made baskets while living in Moncton. He lived in the Big Cove for the most part of his life, where he trapped, fished, and served briefly in politics.



Figure 17: Simon Family John Simon (aka Joseph, John Joe, Johnny, “Big John”)



Figure 18: Lord Beaverbrook greets my grandfather John Simon

4.1.1.6.2 Simon Joe Simon (aka Simon Joseph Simon, Simon Joe, Simone)

My maternal great-grandfather was born, possibly in Big Cove, to Joseph [Prosper] Simon and Kathleen Sark [Sock] on July 30, 1874. His name also appeared as Simon Joe. He was listed as Joseph S. Simon in the 1881 Richibucto [Indian Island] census, living with Joseph and Catherine, Steven, and Elizabeth. He was listed as Simon Simon, a cooper, in the 1901 Moncton [Lutes Mountain] census and was recorded as living next to Thomas Levi and his son [nephew], Peter. His younger siblings were living with Thomas Levi at that time. He married Isabel [Elizabeth] Augustine; no date or location was found for the marriage. He died in Moncton on June 18, 1957 from a stroke, and heart disease. He was listed as being 82 years old, Indian, and a labourer in 1947. His death certificate indicated his father was Prosper and his mother Kathleen Sark [Sock], both born in New Brunswick. William Simon was the informant on the document, and was listed as “no relation,” although he was Simon’s son. In Big Cove, my great-grandfather operated a farm, and he was said to be strict and very religious.

Simon Joe lived in Indian Island when he was 7 years old. Twenty years later, he was living in Lutes Mountain, in the Moncton area, and working as a cooper. He died in Moncton, at the hospital.

4.1.1.6.3 Joseph Simon (aka Prosper, Christopher, Simon Cousper, Joe Simeon)

No location or information on the birth of my maternal great-great-grandfather or his parents were found, but my great-great-grandfather was born likely around 1844. His name also appeared in written documents as “Prosper Simon.” His granddaughter, Freda (Simon) Augustine said he was also called Cristobal, which could possibly be Christopher. He married Kathleen Sark [Catherine Sock], but no date or location was found for the marriage. He was listed as a farmer in the 1881 Richibucto census, and was included in that list with Catherine,

Joseph S., Steven, and Elizabeth. They lived next to Michael Tadame [Dedam], Elizabeth, John Sanipas [Sanipass] and Mary. This was probably on Indian Island. He died and was buried around Salisbury, along the old Fredericton Road near the Intercolonial Railway (ICR). The death registry did not list the month, but it was recorded as the 4th day; he was listed as being 52 years old, and a laborer in 1896. In 1898, the Indian Agent mentioned a man named Joe Simeon whose father was originally from Big Cove but lived in Indian Island, Big Cove, Kouchibouguac, and Kingston [now Rexton], and returned to Big Cove around 1884. This could possibly be the same man, or his son.

4.1.1.6.4 Catherine Sock (aka Kathleen Sark, Catherine Shaw)

No location or information was found on my maternal great-great-grandmother's birth or her parents, but according to oral history, she was born probably around 1853. She married Joseph Simon, and no date or location was found. She was listed as a Catherine in the 1881 Richibucto [Indian Island] census, living with Joseph, Joseph S., Steven, and Elizabeth.

4.1.1.6.5 Elizabeth Augustine (aka Isabel, Isabelle)

My maternal great-grandmother was born to Noel Tom Augustine and Margaret Paul, possibly in Big Cove, on April 10, 1880. She was listed as Elizabeth in the 1881 Harcourt census, living with her parents Newel Augusteen [Noel Augustine] and Margaret, another Noel, and Lewey [Louis]. They were living next to Peter Augusteen [Augustine] and Lucy, their children, and Suliame Augusteen [Sulian/Julian Augustine would be her uncle, and Basil Tom's uncle] and Mary, their children and members of the household. She married Simon Joe Simon, but no record of this was found in the registers. She died in Big Cove on March 1, 1973, likely of old age. She was also my father's first cousin.

Isabel lived most of her life in or near Big Cove, but she also lived briefly in Dorchester and Harcourt. While at Harcourt, she resided among family and extended family, who possibly acted as an economic unit.



Figure 19: My Great- Grandmother Elizabeth [Augustine] Isabel Simon

4.1.1.6.6 Noel Tom Augustine (aka Newel Augusteen, Newel Thomas Augustine)

Born to Tom Augustine and Mary Noel, my maternal great-great-grandfather was born likely around Shediac or Dorchester on December 7, 1858. He married Margaret Paul, according to our family history. He may be the Nuel [Noel] Augustine present during Chief Laurent

Knockwood's commission at Abougagne in 1875. He was listed as Newel Augusteen [Augustine], a hunter, in the 1881 Harcourt census, and was living with Margaret, Elizabeth, Newel [Noel], and Lewey [Louis]. He was listed as Newel Thomas Augustine [Augustine] in the 1891 Dorchester census, living with his wife Maggie [Margaret], along with Elabeth [Elizabeth/Isabel], Daniel, Jacob, and Maggie Paul [undetermined relationship], possibly in Beaumont or Indian Point, near Dorchester. They were living next to Mark Paul and Catherine. Most of the men were listed as coopers. My great-great-grandfather died in Big Cove on January 5, 1939, from heart disease; at the time, he was 80 years old, and widowed. The informant on his death certificate was Stephen Augustine, his son. He was listed as a laborer five years prior to his death. In his death certificate, signed by Dr. W. F. Fenney, his father was listed as Noel Augustine born in Big Cove and his mother was recorded as Mary Noel, born in Cape Breton. One of his sons, Jacob, was born in Hampton, New Brunswick.

Noel Tom also moved about during his life, living in Shediac when he was 17 years old. When he was 23, he was enumerated as a hunter in Harcourt. The records also show that when he was 33 years old, he was working as a cooper in the Dorchester area or possibly in Beaumont. He lived, for the most part, among family and extended family.

4.1.1.6.7 Tom Augustine

My maternal great-great-great-grandfather was born possibly to Pierre [Peter] Augustine and Marguerite Marichite [Margaret Poquechitte Francis], again, possibly in Big Cove, on April 17, 1826. He was baptized on April 25, 1826, possibly in Buctouche, according to our family's history. He married Mary Noel, but no details of that were recorded. He may be the Thomas Augustine present during Chief Laurent Knockwood's commission at Aboujagne in 1875.

4.1.1.6.8 Pierre Augustine (aka Peter)

Born to Thomas Augustine and Marie Anne (no last name listed), my maternal great-great-great-great-grandfather was possibly born in Big Cove. He married Marquerite [Margaret Marichite; Poquechitte; Francis] on November 18, 1823, possibly in Buctouche.

4.1.1.6.9 Mary Noel

My maternal great-great-great-grandmother was born possibly in Cape Breton (according to Noel Tom Augustine's death certificate). No information was found in regard to her birth date or her parents. She married Tom Augustine, but no date or location for the marriage was found.

4.1.1.6.10 Margaret Paul (aka Mrs. Noel Tom Augustine)

Born to Mark Paul and Catherine (no last name listed), my maternal great-great-grandmother was born possibly around Dorchester, but no date was found. She married Noel Tom Augustine, but again, no date or location was found. She was listed as Margaret in the 1881 Harcourt census, living with Newel [Noel] Augusteen, Elizabeth, Newel [another Noel], and Lewey [Louis]. She was listed as Maggie in the 1891 Dorchester census living with her husband, Newel Thomas Augustine [Noel Tom Augustine], Elabeth [Elizabeth/Isabel], Daniel, Jacob, and Maggie Paul. She died in Big Cove on April 20, 1911, from tuberculosis; the death certificate was signed by Dr. Doherty Sr. and she was listed as "Indian." Rev. J. J. McLaughlin officiated.

4.1.1.6.11 Mark Paul (aka Marc Paul Marquis)

My maternal great-great-great-grandfather was possibly born around August 1825, near Dorchester; however, he may also have come from Nova Scotia. No record of his parents was found. He was living with his wife, Catherine, along with "Margaret, Thomas, and Stephen" as listed in the 1861 Memramcook census. They lived next to Peter Nocote [Knockwood] and

Agnes, and their children, Mary, Anthony, Joseph, Denny, Israel, and Madeline, a widow. He was recorded as being a cooper and “Indian” in the 1871 Dorchester census, living with Catherine, Stephen, Alexander, and Anthony. They lived next to Joseph Alexander and Mary A., Betsy Hammond and child, Peter Paul and Margaret, all listed as Indians. In the 1891 Dorchester census, he was listed as being born in Nova Scotia, although his mother was born in New Brunswick, and he was living with Catherine. In keeping with the social structure of the time, they were living next to Newel Thos Augustine [son-in-law] and his daughter, Maggie [Margaret], Elabeth [Elizabeth/Isabel], Daniel, Jacob, and Maggie Paul, of undetermined relation, according to the Dorchester census. They also lived next to James Noel and Philomen [Philemon] and James Nocote [Knockwood]. My great-great-great-grandfather was listed as a farmer in the 1901 Dorchester census, living with Catherine and Mary Joe, François Thanase [Frank Tennas], Marqueritte [Margaret], and Marie Jean [possibly Mary Jane]. He died in 1903 at Beaumont, New Brunswick and his headstone was inscribed “Marc Paul Marquis”.

4.1.1.6.12 Catherine Bernard (aka Kathelin Marc Paul)

My maternal great-great-great-grandmother was born near Memramcook, at Indian Point [Beaumont] around October 1824. No record of her parents was found. She was living with Mark, Thomas, and Stephen, as indicated in the 1861 Memramcook/Dorchester census. At the time of the 1871 Dorchester census, she was recorded as being 52 years old, and living with Mark, Stephen (7), Alexander (8), and Anthony (4). She was living with Mark in the 1901 Dorchester census. A. D. Cormier reported that she died in Dorchester on April 18, 1910, from old age, with no physician in attendance. She was listed as “Indian.”

4.1.1.6.13 Thomas Augustine (Augustine Thomas)

No information on the birth location or parents was found for my maternal great-great-great-great-grandfather. He married Marie Anne, for whom no last name is known.

4.1.1.6.14 Marie Anne (no last name found)

There was no information found for my great-great-great-great-grandmother in regard to her birth location, or her parents. She married Thomas Augustine.

4.1.1.6.15 Marquerite Poquechitte (aka Margaret Francis, Marichite)

My maternal great-great-great-great-grandmother was born to Jean Baptiste Poquechitte [Francis] and Marie Agnes, for whom no last name was found. They were married possibly at Buctouche. No information found on her date of birth. She married Pierre [Peter] Augustine, possibly at Buctouche, on November 18, 1823.

4.1.1.6.16 Jean Baptiste Poquechitte [Francis]

No definitive information was found on my maternal great-great-great-great-grandfather's birth location, although it was possibly Buctouche, nor was any information found on his parents. He married Marie Agnes (no last name found).

4.1.1.6.17 Marie Agnes (no last name found)

There was no conclusive information found on the birth location or parents of my maternal great-great-great-great-grandmother, although she may have been born in Buctouche. She married Jean Baptiste Poquechitte [Francis].

4.1.1.6.18 Mary Jane Levy

According to the church registry my maternal grandmother was born to Peter Levy and Marie Pelasie [Mary Bella Napier] in Big Cove, around January 1899, or sometime in 1901. She was baptized by Rev. E. J. Bannon on January 8, 1901. She married John Simon on March 28, 1925, possibly in Big Cove; their witnesses were William Levy [brother] and Mary Joseph [later William's wife]. She died Oct. 15, 1947.

4.1.1.6.19 Peter Levy (aka Pierre, Peter Levi)

My maternal great-grandfather was recorded as being born to Joseph Levy and Mary Narvy, at Indian Island, on January 4 or 14, 1877, but it is likely that he was adopted. He was baptized as Pierre by Fr. Babinaut on February 11, 1877 and his godparents were listed as Pierre Barrow [Peter Barlow] and Marie Pelagie. He was listed as Pierre in the 1881 St. Louis census, living with Joseph Lyvy [Levy] and Mary. They lived next to John Barriau [Barlow] and Marquerite [Margaret]. He was married to Mary Napier at St. Aloysius in Richibucto by Rev. E. J. Bannon on August 21, 1893, and their witnesses were Stephen Augustine and Christine Millier (both of Big Cove). In 1898, the Indian Agent erroneously reported that Peter Levi's father was from Big Cove but, according to Indian Affairs Bureau records from the Miramichi Office, he was, in fact, born in Indian Island and lived there, in Kouchibouguac, and in Kingston (now Rexton) before moving to Big Cove around 1888. He later married Madeline Sock, but no date or location were found for that marriage. He, along with Madeline, Lucy, and Susan, lived next to Joe Levi and Monique, their grandchildren, William and Mary J., and Tom Levi and Catherine, and their children, Noel S. [Simon] and Peter [Simon]. In the 1911 Big Cove census, he was listed as a labourer earning a total income of \$195 for working in lumber. He was living with Madelaine [Madeline], Lucy, and Susan according to the 1921 Big Cove census, and

earning his living from lumber. They lived next to William Levi and Mary, and their children Howard and Tom. He fished lobster at Richibucto and Point Escuminac. Peter acted as an undertaker on several occasions. Listed as a laborer as of Dec. 24, 1937, he died of a stroke in Big Cove on January 5, 1938. His widow was Madeline Sock, whose mother was Monica Patles (possibly his Uncle Tom Levy's wife instead) from Bathurst. My mother said her grandfather, Peter, moved back with his biological parents, who were living close to Kouchibouquac; however, he could not adapt to the non-Mikmaq culture and moved back home. His father, Joe, did not want him back, so, he lived with his Uncle Tom Levi, who my mother also called her great-grandfather. Old Tom Levi took care of Simon Joe Simon's younger siblings.



Figure 20: My maternal great uncles, the Levy Brothers

4.1.1.6.20 Joseph Levy

My maternal great-great-grandfather was possibly born in Indian Island around 1839, to Levi Young and Julie Augustine, according to his brother, Tom's wedding certificate. He married Mary Narvy, a marriage for which no date or location was found. He was listed as "*pecheur*" (fisherman) in the 1881 St. Louis census, living with his wife Mary, and "Pierre" [Peter]. He was said by the Indian Agent to have lived in Indian Island, Kouchibouquac, and Kingston (Rexton) prior to moving back to Big Cove around 1888. According to the 1911 Big Cove census, his birth was listed December 1834 and he lived in Big Cove with Monique, grandson William and granddaughter Mary Jane.

4.1.1.6.21 Mary Narvy

My maternal great-great-grandmother was born around 1850; no location or information on her parents were found. She married Joseph Levy, but no date or location was found in regard to the ceremony. According to oral history, she may have been from the Miramichi area.

4.1.1.6.22 Levi Young

No information was found on my maternal great-great-grandfather's birth date or location, although he was probably born around 1814, according to the 1861 Richibucto census. Levi married Julie Augustine. He is listed as "Indian" in the 1861 Richibucto [possibly Indian Island] census, living with Sutick [Julie or Judith], children, Joe, Tom, Lizabet [Elizabeth], and Mary. They lived next to Simon Simon and Christianne, their children, Noel, Graske, Mary, and Andrick, and Peir [Peter] Paul Sock and Ann, as well as their children, Tady [Thaddy or Teddy], Noel, Diana, and Moses. The Indian Agent in 1898 reported that Tom Levi's father (also Joe Levi's father) belonged to the Big Cove band.

4.1.1.6.23 Julie Augustine [Sutick, Judy or Judith]

There was no information available on my maternal great-great-grandmother's birth date, location, or the names of her parents, although she was probably born around 1814, according to the 1861 census. She married Levi Young.

4.1.1.6.24 Mary Bella Napier

Born to Louis (possibly aka Tom) Napier and Isabel Francis, my maternal great-grandmother was possibly born in Big Cove around 1879. She was married to Peter Levy by Fr. E. J. Bannon on August 21, 1893, and their witnesses were Stephen Augustine and Christine Millier (both of Big Cove). She was listed as a spinster on her marriage certificate. She died in Big Cove on March 20, 1901, with no cause listed, and with Fr. E. J. Bannon officiating.

4.1.1.6.25 Louis (Tom) Napier

There was no information found in regard to the birth date, and location of my maternal great-great-grandfather, nor anything in regard to the names of his parents. He married Isabel Francis. Louis Napier was listed as a voter in the Big Cove election of 1876.

4.1.1.6.26 Isabel Francis (aka Esibella)

No information was found on my maternal great-great-grandmother's birth, date location, or her parents. She married Louis (Tom) Napier.

4.1.2 Ancestral Geographical Locations

Location

Paternal
1700s

Maternal

PEI	3b-1 (1798) Peter Bernard	
	1800s	
Cumberland Co., NS	3-2 (1835) ⁴⁶ Frank Thomas	
Westmorland Co., NB	2-5 (1815) ⁴⁷ Mary Elizabeth Bernard	
	2-4 (1815) ⁴⁸ Joseph Knockwood	
	2-3 (1819) ⁴⁹ Vernerande Knockwood	
		6b-4 (1824) ⁵⁰ Catherine Paul
		6b-3 (1825) ⁵¹ Mark Paul
	2-3 (1844) ⁵² Vernerande Knockwood	
	2-2 (1844) ⁵³ Jean Barnaby	
	3-2 (1862) ⁵⁴ Frank Thomas	
	2-1 (1848) ⁵⁵ Theotiste Barnaby	
		6-2 (1858) ⁵⁶ Noel Tom Augustine
		6b-4 (1861) ⁵⁷ Catherine Paul
		6b-3 (1861) ⁵⁸ Mark Paul
		6b-4 (1871) ⁵⁹ Catherine Paul
		6b-3 (1871) ⁶⁰ Mark Paul
	1-3 (1871) ⁶¹ Tom Augustine	
	2-2 (1875) ⁶² Jean Barnaby	
	1-4 (1875) ⁶³ Peter Augustine	
	1-3 (1875) ⁶⁴ Tom Augustine	
	3b-1 (1877) Peter Bernard	
	1-2 (1877) ⁶⁵ Basil Tom Augustine	
		6b-2 (1886-8?) ⁶⁶ Margaret Paul/Mrs. Noel Tom Augustine
		6b-2 (1891) ⁶⁷ Margaret Paul

⁴⁶ *Amherst or Antogonish, NS*

⁴⁷ *Shediac, NB*

⁴⁸ *Shediac*

⁴⁹ *Aboujagan*

⁵⁰ *Memramcook/Indian Point*

⁵¹ *Dorchester*

⁵² *Barachois*

⁵³ *Shediac*

⁵⁴ *Barachois*

⁵⁵ *Barachois*

⁵⁶ *Shediac*

⁵⁷ *Memramcook*

⁵⁸ *Memramcook*

⁵⁹ *Dorchester*

⁶⁰ *Dorchester*

⁶¹ *Shediac*

⁶² *Shediac/Aboujagan*

⁶³ *Shediac/Aboujagan*

⁶⁴ *Shediac/Aboujagan*

⁶⁵ *Fox Creek*

⁶⁶ *Around Dorchester, dates may be wrong*

⁶⁷ *Dorchester*

		6-2 (1891) ⁶⁸ Noel Tom Augustine
Kings Co., NB	-	-
Kent Co., NB		8-1 (1823) Marqueritte Poquechitte/Francis
	1-4 (1823) ⁶⁹ Peter Augustine	6-4 (1823) ⁷⁰ Peter Augustine
	1-3 (1826) ⁷¹ Tom Augustine	6-3 (1826) ⁷² Tom Augustine
		9-3 (1839) ⁷³ Joe Levy
		9-2 (1877) ⁷⁴ Peter Levy
		10-1 (1879) Mary Bella Napier
		9-3 (1881) ⁷⁵ Joe Levy
		9-2 (1881) ⁷⁶ Peter Levy
		6b-2 (1881) ⁷⁷ Margaret Paul/Mrs. Noel Tom Augustine
		6-2 (1881) ⁷⁸ Noel Tom Augustine
		5b-1 (1881) Catherine Sock
	1-2 (1881) ⁷⁹ Basil Tom Augustine	5-4 (1881) Joe Simon
		5-3 (1881) Simon Joe Simon
		9-3 (1885) ⁸⁰ Joe Levy
	1-2 (1891) ⁸¹ Basil Tom Augustine	
		10-1 (1893) ⁸² Mary Bella Napier
		9-2 (1893) ⁸³ Peter Levy
		5-2 (1899) ⁸⁴ John Simon
Big Cove, NB	1-3 (1826) Tom Augustine	6-3 (1826) Tom Augustine
		5-3 (1874) Simon Joe Simon
		10-1 (1879) Mary Bella Napier
		6-1 (1880) Elizabeth Augustine
	-	5-2 (1899) John Simon

-
- ⁶⁸ Dorchester
⁶⁹ *Buctouche*
⁷⁰ *Buctouche*
⁷¹ *Buctouche*
⁷² *Buctouche*
⁷³ Indian Island
⁷⁴ Indian Island
⁷⁵ St. Louis
⁷⁶ St. Louis
⁷⁷ Harcourt
⁷⁸ Harcourt
⁷⁹ Harcourt
⁸⁰ *Richibucto*
⁸¹ Harcourt
⁸² *Richibucto*
⁸³ *Richibucto*
⁸⁴ *St. Louis de Kent*

Northumberland Co., NB	1-1 (1824) ⁸⁵ Peter Augustine	6-4 (1824) ⁸⁶ Peter Augustine 8-1 (1824) ⁸⁷ Marquerite Poquechitte/Francis
PEI	4-3 (1836) Mary Snake 3-4 (1858) ⁸⁸⁸⁹ Gregory Bernard 4-1 (1860) ⁹⁰ Elizabeth Dominick 4-1 (1861) ⁹¹ Elizabeth Dominick 3-3 (1879) ⁹²⁹³ Mary Catherine Bernard 4-3 (1881) ⁹⁴ Mary Snake 3-4 (1881) ⁹⁵ Gregory Bernard 3-3 (1881) ⁹⁶ Mary Catherine Bernard 3-2 (1881) ⁹⁷ Frank Thomas 3-2 (1891) ⁹⁸ Frank Thomas 3-3 (1894) Mary Catherine Bernard 3-3 (1895) ⁹⁹ Mary Catherine Bernard 3-2 (1895) ¹⁰⁰ Frank Thomas 3-1 (1898) ¹⁰¹¹⁰² Mary Agnes Thomas 1900s	
Cumberland Co., NS	-	-
Westmorland Co., NB		6b-4 (1901) ¹⁰³ Catherine Paul 6b-3 (1901) ¹⁰⁴ Mark Paul 5-3 (1901) Simon Joe Simon 5-2 (1901) ¹⁰⁵ John Simon 6b-4 (1910) ¹⁰⁶ Catherine Paul
Kings Co., NB	1-1 (1924) ¹⁰⁷ Patrick Augustine	
Kent Co., NB	1-2 (1901) ¹⁰⁸ Basil Tom Augustine	

-
- ⁸⁵ Baritobogue, NB
 - ⁸⁶ Bartibogue, NB
 - ⁸⁷ Baritobogue, NB
 - ⁸⁸ *Near Lennox Island, PE*
 - ⁸⁹ Bloomfield Parish, PE
 - ⁹⁰ *Lennox Island*
 - ⁹¹ Summerside, PE
 - ⁹² *Lennox Island*
 - ⁹³ Bloomfield Parish
 - ⁹⁴ Lot 18, PE
 - ⁹⁵ Lot 12, PE
 - ⁹⁶ Lot 12
 - ⁹⁷ Lot 26, PE
 - ⁹⁸ Lot 17, PE
 - ⁹⁹ Lennox Island
 - ¹⁰⁰ Lennox Island
 - ¹⁰¹ Wellington, PE
 - ¹⁰² Richmond, PE
 - ¹⁰³ Dorchester
 - ¹⁰⁴ Dorchester
 - ¹⁰⁵ Moncton/Lutes Mt.
 - ¹⁰⁶ Dorchester
 - ¹⁰⁷ Humphrey's Mills, NB
 - ¹⁰⁸ Richibucto, NB

	1-2 (1903) ¹⁰⁹	
	Basil Tom Augustine	
	1-1 (1946) ¹¹⁰	5-1 (1946) ¹¹¹
	Patrick Augustine	Rita Simon
	3-1 (1998) ¹¹²	
	Mary Agnes Thomas	
Big Cove, NB	2-2 (1901)	
	Jean Barnaby	
		10-1 (1901)
		Mary Bella Napier
		9-1 (1901)
		Mary Jane Levy
		6b-2 (1911)
		Margaret Paul/Mrs. Noel Tom
		Augustine
		9-2 (1921)
		Peter Levy
		9-1 (1925)
		Mary Jane Levy
		5-2 (1925)
		John Simon
		5-1 (1929)
		Rita Simon
	2-1 (1935)	
	Theotiste Barnaby	
		9-2 (1938)
		Peter Levy
		6-2 (1939)
		Noel Tom Augustine
		9-1 (1946-7)
		Mary Jane Levy
		5-3 (1957)
		Simon Joe Simon
		5-2 (1962)
		John Simon
		5-1 (1962)
		Rita Simon
		6-1 (1973)
		Elizabeth Augustine
	1-1 (1962)	
	Patrick Augustine	
Northumberland Co., NB	1-1 (1976) ¹¹³	
	Patrick Augustine	
PEI	3-2 (1901) ¹¹⁴	
	Frank Thomas	
	3-1 (1901) ¹¹⁵	
	Mary Agnes Thomas	
	3-3 (1917)	
	Mary Catherine Bernard	
	3-1 (1921) ¹¹⁶	
	Mary Agnes Thomas	
	3-1 (1922) ¹¹⁷	
	Mary Agnes Thomas	

1-2 (1922)¹¹⁸
Basil Tom Augustine
1-2 (1953)¹¹⁹
Basil Tom Augustine

Both of my parents' ancestors lived and worked throughout Sikniktuk.

Table 3: Paternal and Maternal Lineages

4.1.3 Summary

The kinship groups in this area of Mi'kma'ki have a quantitative component, as well as a spatial one. The genealogies of my parents' families show that familial locations were based on kinship relations as the family was the main economic unit, and various locations depended on the available resources utilized for income, including access to wage labour. Peter Levy, as indicated above, lived in close proximity to several family members and, according to the records, worked in a variety of jobs to provide income. My maternal great-great-grandfather, Mark Paul, worked as a cooper and a farmer and was recorded as living beside no fewer than ten relatives in Dorchester during the late 1800s. Through provincial vital statistics, I examined birth, marriage, and death certificates, along with census data augmented by oral history, and determined historical locations of residence, which suggest strong kinship groupings in the Elsipogtog area. The kinship groupings and their historical location data indicate that, from a spatial and chronological perspective, there was an exodus from Sikniktuk, Cumberland, and

¹⁰⁹ Richibucto
¹¹⁰ Richibucto
¹¹¹ Richibucto
¹¹² Rexton, NB
¹¹³ Laketon, NB
¹¹⁴ Lot 16, PE
¹¹⁵ Lot 16
¹¹⁶ Lennox Island
¹¹⁷ Grand River
¹¹⁸ Grand River
¹¹⁹ Lennox Island

Westmorland Counties in the east, moving westward into Albert County, following the railway into Kings and Saint John Counties, moving northward and settling in Kent County; mainly in the Richibucto, Indian Island, and Buctouche Reserves. As McGibbon (2012) makes clear, a migration of this kind—which was largely involuntary, subsequent to colonization—results in profound and lasting mental and physical health impacts amongst community members.

The upcoming chapter provides an in-depth examination of the records of the Department of Indian Affairs to illustrate the path of land dispossession in the area of Sikniktuk. These data, along with health and education records, suggest a strong co-relation between the loss of land, central to Mikmaq traditional practices and beliefs, and the subsequent long-term health crisis.

Chapter 5: The Historical Analysis of Dispossession

This chapter presents data on policy and correspondence related to “Indian” administration through a textual review of archival data compiled from the Canadian government’s Department of Indian Affairs: Miramichi Agency. I examine the records from the Department of Indian Affairs which outline the annual population of the Sikniktuk region, medical records, employment records of physicians and educators, along with records describing the social and economic status of the community. The records indicate a clear decrease in traditional livelihoods; for example, there were fewer and fewer people engaging in basket-making, crafts, and traditional medicine and there was, instead, a move toward Eurocentric social, medical, and economic practices. The population was forced to move from the traditional territories to settlements along the railways and near employment provided by the descendants of European settlers.

The qualitative and chronological component of this chapter focuses on information pertaining to the various social determinants of health, including income related to basket-making, crafts, fishing, logging, and welfare or relief. Indian Agents’ reports, interoffice memos, letters and correspondence, and policy bulletins will provide that component of the study. Supplemental data will include colonial and provincial land and settlement policies. The chapter is presented in thematic order, first providing a narrative history of the community of Big Cove, followed by Indian Affairs: Miramichi Agency’s annual report notes on agriculture, education, economic pursuits, health care, territory and resources, social issues, politics, mobility, and criminal justice. The chapter culminates with an examination of data derived from death certificates in Big Cove.

5.1 Historical Notes

5.1.1 A Narrative History of Big Cove

After having viewed microfilm reels from the Library and Archives Canada pertaining to documents on the Indian Affairs' Miramichi Agency, I have drafted the following narrative for the history of Big Cove from the early 1930s until the 1970s. There were several anthropological or ethnographic studies in the early 1960s that were mentioned by the Indian Affairs Branch, which were available from the Canadian Museum of History.

In the mid-1880s, following the *Indian Advancement Act* of 1884, there was increasing pressure on reserves to adopt a municipal style of government with elected chiefs and councillors, as opposed to the traditional practice of appointing hereditary chiefs. Indian Affairs records provide a list of chiefs from 1932 until 1965. The three-year political term was changed to a two-year term in 1953. The changed election terms, resulting from such issues as amendments to the *Indian Act*, were another example of ongoing eroding self-determination.

Chiefs of Big Cove by Year

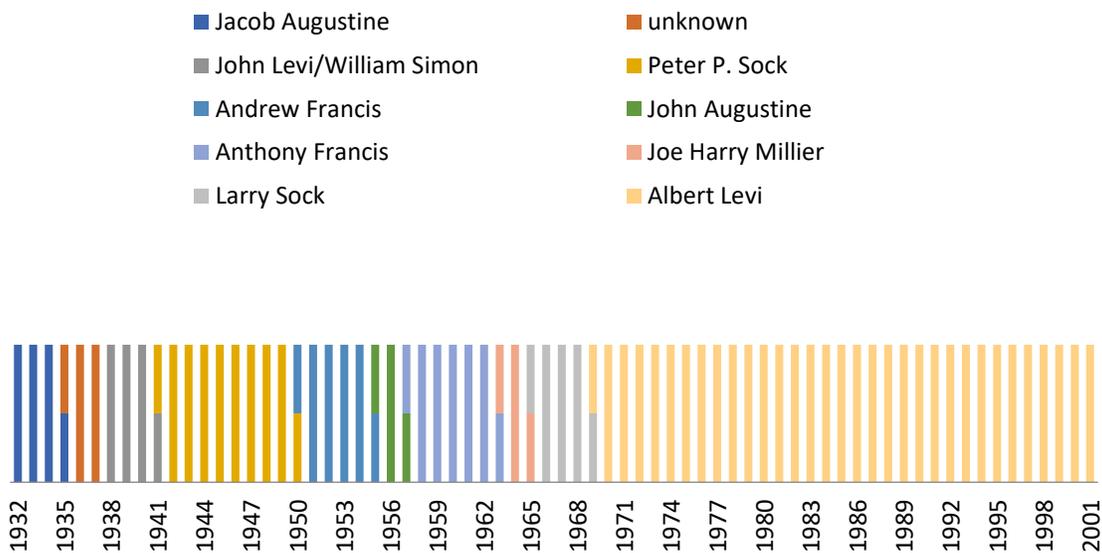


Figure 21: Chiefs of Big Cove by Year

Stanley (1983) observes that there was significant turmoil in the government's dealings with Indigenous Peoples in New Brunswick, stating that:

Inertia seems to have been the rule in all matters relating to Indian affairs. Unauthorized settlers occupied Indian lands; others stole Indian timber. Occasionally, members of the executive council uttered bleats of protest but did nothing. Nor could they do anything in the face of the pro-settler, anti-Indian lobby and the inadequate funds provided by the government for Indian affairs. When, by mid-century, the provincial authorities did get around to dealing with the Indian problem, they found it convenient to conclude that since the natives were a dying race, Indian lands might as well be put up for auction to the highest white bidders. On 12 April 1947, the assembly agreed that "in all cases where portions of the Indian Reserves in any parts of the Province may be advantageously sold, they should be disposed of for actual settlement so soon as practicable." When, in 1867, Indian affairs became a federal rather than a provincial responsibility, the new masters of the Indians' fate discovered that not only had the provincial governments pretty much ignored the Indians, but also that there were no Indian treaties and no body of provincial jurisprudence dealing with aboriginal rights (p. 6-7).

Chief John Levi's election was contested and William Joseph Simon¹²⁰ later won, in 1938. During that year's election, a postponement of the process was requested, granted, and later rescinded for the annual blueberry picking. In 1941, the election of Chief Peter P. Sock was contested by William Simon, and again in 1947 by Andrew Francis. Peter Sock served from 1941 until 1950. A complaint was filed by Peter Levy and others against Andrew Francis' election in 1953. This election was also contested by a group led by Peter Sock, based on errors

¹²⁰ William Joseph Simon is the uncle of William John Simon.

in the voting list and allegations that Andrew Francis allowed logging, which was previously closed for regeneration. Albert Peters inquired about a third party running in the 1955 election, to which Indian Affairs Branch responded that there were no restrictions. Joe Henry Millier's election was contested by William Simon in 1963. Do you need a note here?

Stephen Noel Augustine ascribed the political division on the reserve to a faction moving here from another reserve, writing that "many families moved from Indian Island reserve to Big Cove; these families were mainly: Barlow, Coppage, Dedam, Levi, Paul, Peter Paul, and Simon" (Guessous, 1960, p. 41). This was further explained by his statement in an interview with anthropologist M. Guessous that "this opposition between the Augustine's and the Levy's sides was first of all, an opposition of original residents against immigrants" (Guessous, 1960, p. 42). He asserted that "many people who are from the Levy's side are not full blood Indians" (Guessous, 1960, p. 42). Some of the Band members suspected the federal government had plans to eliminate the Indians. Anthony Francis, shortly after he became chief in 1957, said, "I knew that the Government had a long-range plan: they work for the complete extinction of the Indian Reserve System" (Guessous, 1960, p. 1). This plan also called for their integration into the Canadian system. He described the situation of Indigenous Peoples: "The Indians feel that the white people are responsible for their present condition and inferiority" (Guessous, 1960, p. 2).

The job description of the chief was unflattering. Willie John Simon described the role of the chief as such: "[The chief] must beg the money from the Indian Agent who is the real boss, and this latter works according to this 50-year [assimilation] plan I told you about" (Guessous, 1960, p. 53). His own requests around community matters were directed to the Indian Agent. He did not believe in voting in provincial elections, stating that "this right to vote [in provincial elections] is no more than another step toward integration" (Guessous, 1960, p. 54). Jacob

Augustine Sr.¹²¹ provided a description of what it meant to be a good chief, stating that “[A chief] is like a father to the Indians. But today, a chief is of no use to his people. It is the Indian Agent that matters” (Guessous, 1960, p. 22). He also described the power of the Indians, noting that there were some with a secret power; “This [ginap¹²²] power could even beat the nuclear weapons” (Guessous, 1960, p. 23). Wilfred Simon also commented about the chief, noting that “He should not complain like that. He is a chief, and we elected him to take care of us and to help us for whatever we need” (Guessous, 1960, p. 35). Guessous’ interviews not only touched on aspects of self-determination but also on the family and kin relationships, Aboriginal status, geography, social safety net, access to services, culture and language, and socio-economic factors.

During the ‘40s and ‘50s, several series of events were occurring. There was one Band bylaw related to the control of cattle which passed in 1940. Pressed hay was delivered to the reserve in 1946 from the Dorchester Penitentiary as cattle feed. Indian Affairs discouraged the formation of the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB) discussed by the Indians in 1948, and they refused to cover travel costs to Ottawa for meeting purposes. Some New Brunswick communities were tangentially involved in the United General Indian Council of Nova Scotia, formed as an offshoot of the NAIB (Walls, 2017). It was also during this time that outstanding Indian debts were brought to the attention of the government. A letter of complaint to Indian Affairs was delivered in regard to an outstanding debt of Peter P. Sock, who ran a store on the reserve. Issues such as these make reference to previously mentioned determinants such as the social safety net and self-determination.

¹²¹ Jacob Augustine Sr. was a veteran of the two World Wars.

¹²² *Ginap* is a physically strong man, often told in oral traditions.

The 1951 *Indian Act* outlined the handling and restriction of alcohol and intoxicants in First Nations communities, with a series of files relating to band constables, in the early 1950s. In that year, the Act was revised so that Indigenous people were allowed to possess and drink alcohol for the first time, but only on their own reserves. A nurse's station was proposed in 1952 and was later built; during its construction, Indian contractors were not considered as valuable as non-Native contractors because of the ongoing racism inherent in Canadian society. Indian Affairs did not take seriously Chief Andrew Francis' pursuit of obtaining magisterial¹²³ powers, or so it was perceived on the reserve, given the government's reticence to respond. During 1954, there were many requests for seed potatoes, grass seed, and fertilizer from band members. Fishing nets were seized in 1951, 1957, and 1958 by local police, and several court cases were argued and lost, based on aboriginal treaty rights to fishing and hunting. The bulk of the reporting covered, primarily, the social safety net, in the form of relief, seeds, policing, or health. Self-determination was predominant through the resurgence of treaty rights, as social justice issues of the late 1950s and the 1960s came to the fore.

New Brunswick health insurance legislation was passed in 1961 and would later include Indians under a federal-provincial agreement (Turner, 1958). Indian Affairs' seed policy was changed in 1961 to be restricted only for consideration on an individual basis as opposed to community-wide, and seed storage was encouraged for future plantings. There were many letters to Indian Affairs regarding Indian debts during the early 1960s. One letter suggested using relief payments for the payment of debt. Indian Affairs responded and stated that that plan was illegal (Public Archives Canada, 1965). There were several studies that occurred on the Big Cove Reserve, with the findings held at the Canadian Museum of History (formerly the Museum of

¹²³ Powers of a magistrate.

Civilization). Mohamed Guessous (1960) recorded interviews with several men from Big Cove on socio-economic, historical, and political issues. Algie Corsetti (1963) recorded several Míkmaq legends, as told by my grandfather, John Simon. One, in particular, mentions a “chief Alkiemo” [Alguimou]. Edward A. Eagles (1963), a professor at Acadia University, recorded a diary of his time in Big Cove when he failed at his attempt to record Míkmaq legends from John Simon.

The social safety net was expanding. Health services for Indigenous communities was formerly a federal responsibility and then expanded to the province. Various non-Indigenous and Indigenous researchers documented Míkmaq ways of life; Guessous (1960), for example, recorded conversations about culture and language, self-determination, connection to the land, socio-economic factors and touched on Aboriginal status, income, and social exclusion. Corsetti’s (1963) work focused on culture and language, connection to the land, family and kin relations, and geography. Scholar Edward Eagles’ (1963) main goal was to record culture and language through stories; however, he experienced some frustration in attempting to learn about self-determination, socio-economic factors, Aboriginal status, race and racism, income, and unemployment.

The band constable¹²⁴ had complaints against illegal wagers being made in a poolroom operated by Larry Sock, brother-in-law of Anthony Francis. Francis later applied for and obtained a gambling license in 1962 (Public Archives Canada, 1961). An Indian Advisory Committee briefly, was established in New Brunswick, with representatives at the regional and national levels. Chief Larry Sock and council, with the aim to pursue a referendum to allow alcohol on the reserve, passed a band council resolution. The band constable wrote and

¹²⁴ William John Simon, special constable authorized by the RCMP.

complained about an increase in alcohol violations since the new chief came in. He also reported bootlegging between 1965 and 1968. During the 1960s, the issue of self-determination was recurring with an increase in interest in treaty rights, although communities were still living under the *Indian Act* system (Public Archive Canada, 1960). Based on the report of William John Simon (Willie John), Guessous reported, “they can fish here smelts, bass, gaspereau, eels, salmon... perch...oysters and clams” (Guessous, 1960, p. 48). The fishery, however, declined over the years and he noted that “there are less and less fishermen year after year” (Guessous, 1960, p. 49). Simon saw fishing as a side-line or just for pleasure and indicated that “[y]ou could not make a good living out of fishing, especially when you have nine kids” (Guessous, 1960, p. 49). When World War II started, Simon reported that he had hunted and trapped, noting that “During all that [deer and moose hunting] time, they were always travelling from one place to another” (Guessous, 1960, p. 49). They would be “trapping...Snare rabbits, make a few axe-handles and baskets, cut and sell some firewood” (Guessous, 1960, p. 50). Simon mentioned that the number of trappers from the reserve declined after the era of World War Two, explaining that “[a]round 1945, there were only five Indians in Big Cove who would still go trapping: Willie John Simon; his father, John Simon; his uncle, William Levy (now dead); John Stephen Francis; and Tom Augustine [now dead]” (Guessous, 1960, p. 50). Both Simon and his father quit trapping in 1948 due to the poor fur prices and Simon reported that the demands of schools prevented his children from engaging in trapping, observing that “I could teach my children where and how to trap, but they would have to travel with me during a month; and this is impossible, since they must go to school” (Guessous, 1960, p. 51). He also described the old time Indians, or “real Indians” as fishermen, trappers, and hunters” (Guessous, 1960, p. 51). These activities had all declined or stopped by the time Simon was interviewed in 1960. Willie

John focused, in his interview with Guessous, on Aboriginal status and the culture with its connection to the land, and he cited lost economic opportunities.

Indian hunting and fishing rights continued to be under attack in the decade after the Second World War.¹²⁵ William John Simon had his nets seized in 1951. He argued that he had a treaty right to fish, but B. Barnes, the District Protection Officer in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans [DFO], wrote that “[t]he matter of fishing rights of Indians has been taken up with our Headquarters and I am advised under date of 28th that their rights are the same as those given the white population. Therefore, as regards the Indians on the Reserve, they will have to govern themselves by our Act and Regulations, and any nets found being used illegally by them will be seized by our officers.” (Public Archives Canada, 1951). The IAB indicated to the DFO that Simon was fishing for his own personal use; however, Blakey also stated that while “Mr. Simon maintains that Indians are not subject to game laws while on the Reserve... para 2 of Section 70, page 24 of the Indian Agent’s References and Regulations indicate that Mr. Simon’s views are not correct” (Public Archives Canada, 1951). The IAB also encountered issues of Indian hunting rights for the Red Bank Reserve the following year, and the problem of whites trespassing for their hunting and fishing on the Red Bank and Eel Ground Reserves in 1954. The Mikmaq assertion of treaty rights was an act of self-determination; however, the federal government rejected these notions through the departments of Indian Affairs and Fisheries and Oceans.

Simon was again charged in 1957, and when he had his nets seized, he requested that the Indian Affairs Branch assist in an appeal. The court documents outlined his defense, “the sole ground of appeal being that he, as a Micmac Indian, is exempted by virtue of treaty rights from

¹²⁵ Otherwise, there had been a few Indian rights protests before and during WW2. Jules Sioui, Andy Paull, and others had organized the Committee for the Protection of Indian Rights during WW2. After WW1, there had been a significant pan-Canadian Indian rights movement which Duncan Campbell Scott sought to discredit and shut down.

that provision of the Fisheries Act” (*R. v. Simon*, 1958). The judgment, though, stated that Simon could not prove to be an heir to the 1752 Treaty signed by Cope and alleged that “it necessarily follows from the terms of the treaty itself that if any benefits were to accrue, they would accrue only to the heirs or descendants of that band Indians which Cope represented” (*R. v. Simon*, 1958). The judge determined there was no existing legislation in Canada to provide relief through the treaties and dismissed the case. Big Cove, however, argued against this ruling and the Band Council asserted that it “would like to take the case of Mr. William John Simon, who lost his appeal from conviction under the Fisheries Act, to a higher court. In this conviction, they have asked if the Branch would consider bearing the cost of having Mr. Andy Paull brought to handle the case” (Public Archives Canada, 1958). The IAB refused to help but wished him luck. The IAB would cover costs for an Indian who committed murder, and in some exceptional cases, cover those for constitutional issues, but in this case, Jones noted that “it is not felt that the circumstances are such that the department should assume any of the costs or administrative responsibility of taking the case to a higher court.” (Public Archives Canada, 1958). The court maintained again that there was no ancestor to connect Simon to the treaties and stated that “[t]he appellant made no effort to establish any connection, by descent or otherwise, with the original group of Indians with whom the 1752 treaty was made” (*R. v. Simon*, 1958). The judge determined that Simon could not prove he was descended from a signatory of the 1725 Treaty and dismissed the appeal. The IAB advised its staff to familiarize itself with the court case and the contents of the treaty used in the argument, saying that “[w]hile the value of the treaty is a matter for the court to decide, it is felt that all field officials be familiar with its content” (Public Archives Canada, 1959). Income derived from the socio-economic efforts of the Míkmaq were

denied due to the inability to provide knowledge of family and kin groups who were descended from treaty signatories.

Nets were again seized from Big Cove fishers in 1958. The IAB purchased the smelt nets and feared for their loss. Superintendent Blakey noted that “I have advised the Chief Inspector, Mr. A. A. Robichaud, in Moncton, that since these [39] nets were, in most cases, provided at government expense, they are not to be destroyed” (1958). The chief of Big Cove stated he would contest the charges. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans returned the seized smelt nets in 1960. A. A. Robichaud, District Protection Officer for the region writes that “I have been advised that the Minister of Fisheries has approved the return of the twenty-four smelt gill-nets confiscated for violation of the Smelt Fishing Regulations, which are now at the Fishery Office at Richibucto.” (Public Archives Canada, 1960). The purchase of the nets was clearly to generate income and counteract unemployment, which involved socio-economic factors that were rooted in culture as well as connected to the land.

There was some correspondence between Chief Anthony Francis and the IAB regarding customs and the Jay Treaty which was signed between United States of America and Britain in 1794 and dealt with border and international trade, allowing free trade across the Canada-US border for Canadian-born Native Americans. Francis was interested in exporting baskets to the United States. The IAB regional supervisor, F. B. McKinnon, informed Chief Francis of the Supreme Court ruling on the St. Regis case and that “Indians are not entitled to exemption from the payment of custom duties by virtue of the Jay Treaty” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). Chief Francis was told that baskets exported into the United States were subject to an import duty—these, however, should have been exempt under the treaty. These socio-economic factors, historically a part of the culture, were thwarted in their attempt at self-determination.



Figure 22: Chief Anthony Francis

Sam Augustine was an individual on Band Council and worked closely with the chief. He said the Indians were not conquered and could easily have hindered the settlers. He also stated that “[t]he white men made treaties with us; they are responsible for our present condition. They must take care of us” (Guessous, 1960, p. 10). Augustine felt as though the Míkmaq were owed by the settlers for disrupting their livelihoods. He also spoke about the fishing industry on the reserve, noting that “they had a lot of trouble with the warden who used to seize the gill nets which were given to the Indians by the Government” (Guessous, 1960, p. 11). Wilfred Simon also fished and was in 1959 fishing gaspereau. (Guessous, 1960, p. 32). During the previous year, “he fished bass during a month (October 10 – November 10) with hook lines” (Guessous,

1960, p. 33). These are examples of socio-economic practices in the community in the late 1950s.

Jacob Augustine Sr. was a veteran from the First World War and provided an explanation of Creation: “The *guinap*¹²⁶ said, ‘I am looking for the man who created us and everything in this world.’ Our Lord said, ‘I am the man who made you and everything in this world’” (Guessous, 1960, p. 19). Jacob stated that the *Mikmaq* were warned of future conflict, that treaties would be signed, and that *Mikmaq* had been told as much in the story of creation; “Tell them that some white men will come in your country. They will fight you. Do not stop fighting them. Do not stop fighting them until they sign treaties with you and promise to take care of you” (Guessous, 1960, p. 20). Jacob spoke about his time in the army and stated that he was not required to enlist due to exemptions granted to Indians. He stated that, “[a]ccording to the Treaties, an Indian should not do any war” (Guessous, 1960, p. 21). Jacob believed that *Gluskap* would return to help the *Mikmaq* “since the white men have violated our Treaties many times—*Gluskap* will come back, and he will tell the Indians what to do” (Guessous, 1960, p. 23).¹²⁷ These were interesting perspectives on culture and language and the historical struggle for self-determination.

Stephen N. Augustine spoke about political parties on the reserve. He stated that “[w]hen my party was in power, we kept always fighting for our Indian rights, with the help of Andrew Paul[l], an Indian lawyer from Vancouver” (Guessous, 1960, p. 39). He described his party with some difficulty, though Guessous wrote of it, saying, “it seems the Augustine’s side worked more for the old people, fought more against the Government in order to get more help and to

¹²⁶ *Ginap* is a man with supernatural strength.

¹²⁷ Among the *Wabanaki* people—the *Maliseet*, *Micmac*, *Passamaquoddy*, and *Penobscot*—*Gluskap* is a cultural hero and creator who lived among them and who promised to return.

preserve the Indian rights, and respected more the principle of working for all the Indians without any favouritism” (Guessous, 1960, p. 43). Augustine focused on Aboriginal status as well as family and kin relations.

Hubert Levy, of Elsipogtog, when asked by Guessous how he felt about help from government, responded by saying that “the Indians are entitled to [government assistance]...the white men are even breaking many of the promises they made to the Indians when they signed treaties with them” (Guessous, 1960, p. 25). This appears to reflect a clear understanding of historical treaties. Hubert did not appear enthusiastic about a fisheries co-op, noting that “the Indians did not like that kind of [fisheries co-op] idea, because it might not work; they might lose their relief” (Guessous, 1960, p. 26). The treaty promises were thought by many to have created the social safety net, with welfare being a more important factor in decisions regarding development than employment income.

Willie John Simon also believed the white men wanted to get rid of the Indians, saying that “They killed many of us, took our land, destroyed the game and the forests, and brought lots of diseases. They signed treaties with the Indians and promised to take care of all their needs” (Guessous, 1960, p. 52). He insisted, in an interview with Guessous, that Ottawa wanted to be rid of them, observing that “Pretty soon, they will even cut our relief” (Guessous, 1960, p. 52). He described it as part of a fifty-year plan, by which in fifteen years the reserve would be gone. He did not think his children would remain on the reserve much longer, saying, “I would not even be surprised if they asked for enfranchisement” (Guessous, 1960, p. 52). Enfranchisement meant having status as a Canadian citizen, having the right to vote, liability to taxation and an erasure of “Indian” status and all connections with the programs and policies of the DIA. Indian Affairs was responsible for the Mi’kmaq on reserve according to the *Indian Act*. In becoming

enfranchised, they would forfeit their Indian status; one could not be both an “Indian” and a Canadian. The old way of life, Simon said, was gone; “We have already forgotten all the Indian ways of living” (Guessous, 1960, p. 53). He said that Indians want what the white men have and that “they need money; they have to live and work outside the reserve” (Guessous, 1960, p. 53). He raised issues of socio-economic factors rooted in culture, to which he found they were denied access—factors previously associated with Aboriginal status. The connection to the land was broken, replaced by the social safety net, which with enfranchisement would also be terminated, leaving only the dominant society’s mode of obtaining income.

Professor Edward Eagles visited the Big Cove Reserve to record some Mikmaq oral history; in particular, legends. He intended to interview my grandfather, John Simon; however, it proved difficult to meet and interview him. Eagles notes of his time there that, “I then spent some time wandering about the Reserve in an attempt to familiarize myself with it. I found it rather unsavoury. Apparently, the Indians take no pride in the appearance of their homes, nor it would appear in many cases, the cleanliness of their own persons” (1963, p. 1). His first impression of the reserve was not good; “My impressions of the day were distaste and trepidation, somewhat allayed by the surface friendliness of the Indians I had met at the reserve” (Eagles, 1963, p. 1). Having met an encyclopedia salesperson who sought a meeting on the reserve, and having directed him to his meeting, afterwards Eagles could not understand the sales inquiry; “I could not imagine what motive, other than sheer idle impishness would cause Sam [Augustine] to send in such an inquiry” (Eagles, 1963, p. 8). He could not understand a Mikmaq purchasing a set of encyclopaedias and asked, “Are these encyclopedias, as I suspect, a status symbol in the Reserve?” (Eagles, 1963, p. 8). Eagles touched on classism, social exclusion, environmental factors, and socio-economic factors during his study of culture and language.

Edward Eagles later met his informant, who was reluctant to give away his stories and complained about the Fisheries Officers. John Simon, Eagles stated, “explained to me that he been fishing the night before until 4 a.m. and had to pull in his net hastily because the fish wardens had come after him” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). The Míkmaq still asserted that they had the right to fish. Eagles recounted that John Simon “repeated a number of times the statement, ‘We have the right to fish’ and seemed quite incensed over the fact that portions of the river were leased to Americans” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). Other interests, such as American sport fishing, took precedence over the resource and “[John] said that the fish wardens were in effect, picking on the Indians” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). Fisheries Officers also ignored other violators; “[John] said that the fish wardens do not bother the [white?] farmers, although they, too, fish with nets” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). Eagles was astounded by Simon’s perceived resistance to his fishing, noting that “This was the first time that I have encountered any animosity towards the white man and his laws. I thought it significant that I have not heard anything of that matter from the younger Indians” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). Socio-economic factors were impacted, as well as income. Simon suggested the decision to ignore white violators of fishing rules was influenced by racism. Algie Corsetti, an ethnographer, visited Big Cove in March of 1963 to record Míkmaq legends and obtained several from John Simon. One legend is about a chief from Restigouche, Quebec, who engaged in war with the Mohawk. His father-in-law, Chief Peter Alguimou from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, came to his assistance. The importance of this legend is the connection of the name “Alguimou” to the area. One legend was recorded by Corsetti:

Getoasaloet¹²⁸ had a loyal friend called Sketgegemoj¹²⁹, who was a ghost. Getoasaloet sent the ghost to Sidney, with a message to the chief, his father-in-law, named Peter

¹²⁸ Corsetti stated he was a chief and ginap from Restigouche and pronounced “Ged-waz-all-wget.”

¹²⁹ Corsetti provided the definition as a “ghost” and pronunciation “Ske-day-ga-mouch.”

Alkiemo¹³⁰. Upon arriving, the ghost told Alkiemo that Getoasaloet was to be killed at once. Alkiemo reached into his bag and pulled out an already cleaned out, dead loon; he propped the loon so that it appeared to be alive; then he gave the loon this order; ‘Go to Restigouche and in the lake you will find Getoasaloet; bring him to me’ (1963, pp. 2-3). Kwimu, or the loon, carried him back to Cape Breton. “He flew with Getoasaloet back to Alkiemo’s wigwam” (Corsetti, 1963, p. 3). People were gathered from throughout Mi’kma’ki and established themselves in Kespek; Corsetti (1963) notes that “Once more they gathered many families from the different villages, to form a new village in Restigouche” (1963, p. 3). The mode of battle was described, as well; “The war wigwam was built. On one side sat the Micmac kinaps;¹³¹ on the other side the Mohawk kinaps. It was the task of a Mohawk warrior to pass from one opening of the wigwam through the other opening three times without being killed” (Corsetti, 1963, p. 3). Chief Alguimou’s son also entered into the battle:

Inside the war wigwam, the Mohawks, one by one continued their method of passing through. Each, in turn were killed, until the only Mohawks left were the chief and his son. Algomateemk¹³², the Micmac boy, said, ‘Why can’t you kill him this chief’s son continues to pass through safely?’ ‘Let me try!’ The boy succeeded in killing him (Corsetti, 1963, p. 4).

A simultaneous battle also occurred outside, according to Corsetti’s (1963) account:

As the war goes in the wigwam, so goes the war in the village. With the death of the chief’s son, the Micmacs in the village were victorious. The old Mohawk chief blamed

¹³⁰ Corsetti indicated he was his father-in-law and a chief from Cape Breton and pronunciation “Al-gwee-moo.”

¹³¹ Corsetti provided the definition of “kinaps” as “one who possessed supernatural powers” and gave the pronunciation as “gee-nup.”

¹³² Corsetti provided the pronunciation as “All-goo-ma-deemk.”

this defeat on his son's disobedience. He advised his son against attack during the night; his son refused to listen to him. It was now the chief's turn to pass through; he did so successfully. From this time on, there were no wars between the Micmacs and Mohawks (p. 4).

This also formed the basis for the name "Listigutj," meaning *disobeying your father*. This excerpt is rooted in culture and language, connection to the land, family and kin relations, along with geography.

In May of 1963, Edward A. Eagles again attempted to record Míkmaq legends but was not successful. After some time, he finally met John Simon who was reluctant to share his stories with him. Eagles writes that "Big John immediately insisted that he knew no more stories. He was very aloof and reticent about the whole venture, and I immediately felt quite disheartened about the whole business" (Eagles, 1963, p. 3). Eagles set forth into the reserve to interview others, as well, including Sam Augustine. A local resident of Rexton suggested that he continue his pursuit of John Simon for an interview and emphasized that if Simon "were not the first engaged to do the story-telling, the whole project could be placed on jeopardy" (Eagles, 1963, p. 4). It appeared that, without that interview, the project would not continue. Eagles contacted his supervisor at Acadia University to discuss payment for interviews. He wrote that "[Dr. Crowell] suggested we offer 60¢ an hour, knowing full well that they would soon be wanting more money. When we discussed the matter with Big John, he readily agreed and said that he would be willing to start work next day at 1:00 o'clock" (Eagles, 1963, p. 5). Upon the arranged meeting time, there was a change of compliance. Eagles wrote that "I arrived at Big John's doorstep, only to be met with an impassive refusal to work for such 'low money'" (Eagles, 1963, p. 7). John Simon's reluctance was based on an apprehension that others would benefit financially from his stories.

However, Eagles claims, “I tried to explain to Big John that, to my knowledge, nobody was going to capitalize on these legends, that they were being collected for preservation and study” (Eagles, 1963, p. 7). After explaining his predicament to a friend, one explanation was provided for Big John’s hesitation: “that they would be out for every cent they could get” (Eagles, 1963, p. 7).

Eagles also met Michael William Francis in Fredericton prior to his visit to Big Cove. According to Eagles, who worked for the Museum of Civilization, Michael “expressed his appreciation that the Museum was undertaking the collection of the folklore of his people” (Eagles, 1963, p. 9). A subsequent meeting with his potential informant produced no favourable results and as Eagles wrote, “John again made the claim that the Micmac legends were worth ‘a lot of money’ and that under the terms of my offer there was ‘nothing in it for him’” (Eagles, 1963, p. 11). John Simon wanted to negotiate directly with the project supervisor, Dr. Crowell. Eagles notes that “[t]he reason for Big John’s reluctance to deal with me is an obvious mistrust of me” (Eagles, 1963, p. 11). Mrs. Long, a local white who provided Eagles information, suggested to him that the chief was probably behind John Simon’s demands, and Eagles attempted to meet with the Chief but found the door locked. This was, Eagles reported, “the first locked door I have encountered anywhere on the Reserve” (Eagles, 1963, p. 11).

Edward Eagles’ supervisor, Dr. Crowell, arrived and met with Chief Francis. Afterward, Eagles writes, Crowell “told me that the Indians demanded that publishing rights to these legends be reserved in the name of the Micmac Indian Craftsmen. If they were not given the guarantee, they would not permit me to gather the legends” (Eagles, 1963, p. 13). The chief was not reassured, and Eagles states that “the Chief feels that somebody is going to capitalize on them. [Dr. Crowell] had assured them that the Museum would guarantee them publishing rights”

(Eagles, 1963, p. 13). Crowell had additional interests in gathering legends and explained “that two of the Indians were taking him to an old Indian burial ground” (Eagles, 1963, p. 13). Eagles eventually met with the chief, and writes, “[Anthony Francis] told me that Dr. McFeat, who worked at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, had declared the Museum’s intention to publish the folklore. This was completely unacceptable to him. He said that he was afraid somebody would get ahold of the stories and would capitalize on them” (Eagles, 1963, p. 17). Chief Francis’ understanding of the initial proposal was quite different, and they felt “that the Micmac Indians would get a percentage of the profits” (Eagles, 1963, p. 17). According to Eagles, Chief Francis “went on to cite the case of the Glooscap stories that had been dramatized on CBC Radio. He contended that somebody ‘made a lot of money’ of these tales – but not the Indians, from whom the stories originated” (Eagles, 1963, p. 17). Eagles remained persistent, however and “again argued with him that the Museum’s purpose was merely the study of the language and stories, and their preservation” (Eagles, 1963, p. 17). In response, Chief Francis responded that he “understood this, and argued that still ‘somebody could get ahold of them and make a profit of them [and he] reiterated that he had to protect the interests of his people” (Eagles, 1963, pp. 17-18). Chief Anthony Francis’ apprehensions were certainly valid and the examples he provides constitute a prime illustration of the ways in which the Mikmaq and the appropriation of their intellectual and physical property were found to be expedient to the government.

Eagles was surprised his typewriter survived the futile trip and “bumpy road to Big Cove” (1963, p. 19). After yet, after another meeting with the chief, he noted that “[Anthony] still would not agree to the collecting of tales unless he had written assurance that the Museum would make them inviolate against exploitation by other people” (Eagles, 1963, p. 21). Chief

Francis inquired about Eagles' understanding of the project and was told the people would be cooperative and Francis insisted that "he had not been told 'the truth' about the project when it was first discussed" (Eagles, 1963, p. 21). Francis also stated he was leaving reserve politics and "made some rather astute statements in which he linked the depressed economic situation of Kent County with the political situation" (Eagles, 1963, p. 21). A subsequent meeting with the chief produced no favourable results. In contrast to the museum's request for stories "the Chief said it might be just as well if they, themselves, collected recordings of the legends, then they could deal with the publishers" (Eagles, 1963, p. 24). The chief suggested that they abort the project. Eagles' interests were in the culture and language; however, he encountered socio-economic factors that suggested an insufficient remuneration for the sharing of stories and legends. There was evident and understandable distrust in outsiders, even those who sought to promote the Mikmaq culture.

The following section of this chapter will expand in detail the key themes addressed by the DIA over time, which were oriented around matters related to agriculture, education, economic pursuits, health issues, territory and resources, criminal justice issues, mobility, and politics.

5.1.2 Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Reports

The following sections address notes extracted from the Indian Affairs Annual Reports filed between 1864 and 1990, dealing with such topics as education, population, relief payments, health issues—including the ramifications of alcohol consumption—and changes in reserve acreage. In 1868, the year after Confederation, the responsibility for Indians was transferred from the provinces to the federal government. At that time, the records reveal that it was thought the

Indian tribes had sufficient income to supply their needs; however, Indian Affairs petitioned the federal government for an education grant for the Mikmaq;

Your Excellency will perceive that most of the tribes have a sufficient income, but that those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have no means of acquiring the education necessary to enable them hereafter to share the blessings of civilization.

It would, in my own opinion, be expedient to grant the sum of \$1000 to each of the two Provinces to procure for them this advantage (Canada, 1869, p. 6).

The Department of Indian Affairs took little notice of the Indigenous Peoples of New Brunswick during the mid-1800s, despite increased activity and attention towards Indigenous Peoples in other parts of the country. As Upton (1974) notes,

Inertia remained the rule in Indian affairs; inertia so strong that it was even able to withstand an imperial initiative. When Colonial Secretary Sir George Murray overhauled the administration of Indian affairs in the Canadas in 1830, he wrote Douglas to inform him of the changes and told him to be guided by the new instructions “in any measures which you may adopt for improving the condition and promoting the interests of the Native Indian Tribes.” Apparently, no measures were contemplated in New Brunswick, for there was no reply. The omission passed unnoticed, and so did the colony, throughout the extensive British parliamentary enquiries of 1835 and 1836 into the condition of the aboriginal peoples of the empire (p. 10).

Populations by years reported

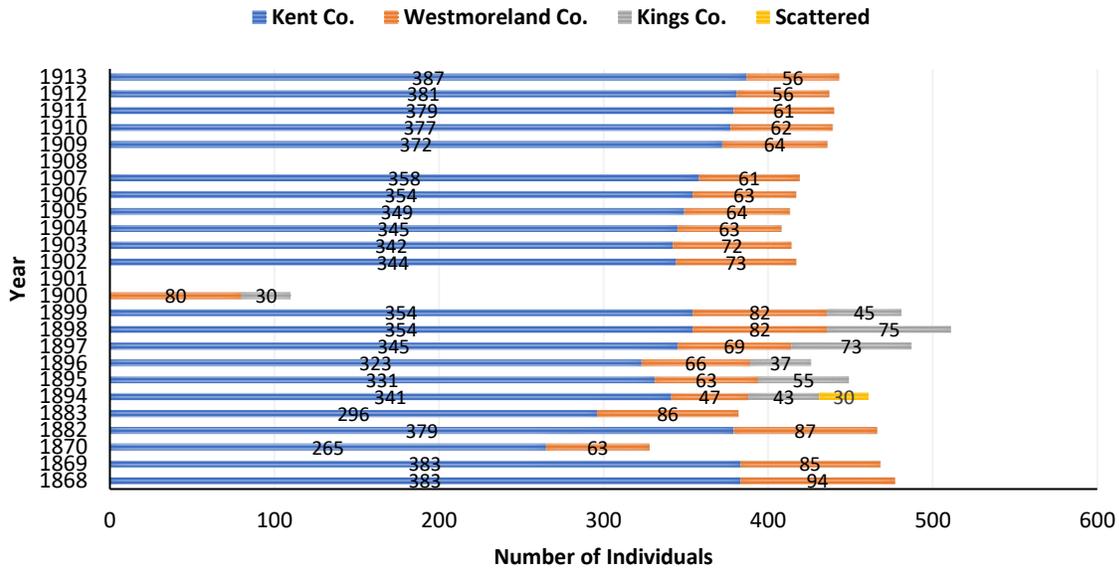


Figure 23: Population of Siknigtuk by Year: 1868 to 1913

The population of the Indians in the Siknigtuk District was listed in 1869 at 146 individuals. As I reviewed the annual reports, I noted that the Kent County reserves were not reported on in 1901 and 1908. I do not know why these years were missing but this could be due to inconsistencies of reporting by the Indian Agent. Population trends are addressed in the upcoming section, Territory and Resources.

In 1869, Indian Affairs began listing financial statements for the Mi'kmaq in the district. Expenditures for the relief of the Indians amounted to a total of \$120 for that year. This relief was supplemented with support for agricultural seed, costing slightly more than \$63.00. This was to support a population of 468, a significant population increase of more than 300 from the previous year. It is likely that an increased need of assistance resulted in more Mi'kmaq, who were mobile between traditional districts, identifying themselves to the DIA to access that

support. In 1870, Joseph Howe, as the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, reported on his visits to the Indian Reserves, and, in particular, to the Míkmaq. He wanted to implement the reserve system of Ontario in the Maritimes, and stated:

I have endeavored to visit a certain number of the reserves in all the Provinces during the past summer, and to make myself, by personal observation and intercourse, familiar with the progress which has been made in Canada to elevate the aborigines; and I am in hopes that during the current year something like an approach to the Canadian system may be introduced into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. All of which is respectfully submitted. Joseph Howe. (Canada, 1871, p. 3).

The Superintendent-General reported a decrease in activity aimed at assisting the Míkmaq and Malicite for the year 1872, writing that “[i]n Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, I regret to have to acknowledge that much less has been done. The Micmacs and Milicites of those Provinces were fine races, and the few thousands of them who remain often illustrate in single families, or by splendid specimens, the physical proportions and mental resources which a century ago made them formidable and respected” (Canada, 1873, p. 4).

In 1874, Indian Affairs reported, erroneously, that the Míkmaq were uninterested in educating their children stating that “[i]n New Brunswick, as in Nova Scotia, there is an apparent lack of interest manifested by the Indians in regard to the education of their children” (Canada, 1875, p. 47). As the following excerpt from the 1875 Annual Report indicates, it was hoped that education would elevate them to the level of other Indians living in Canada who were perceived as being more industrious:

In New Brunswick, the Reserves are larger and more valuable than in Nova Scotia and appear to have been better preserved. A vast deal of timber has, however,

been stripped off them, under a loose system which has produced but little or no revenue for permanent investment. A more vigilant supervision will turn this property to more account, and it is hoped that by the promotion of education, and through the agency of a more direct and vigilant superintendence than has hitherto obtained, the Indians in New Brunswick may yet be stimulated to come mere nearly up to the standard of intelligence and self-help which has been attained by so many of the Red men of Canada (Canada, 1875, p. 47).

The acreages for Big Cove, Buctouche, Aboujagan [Shediac], and the Kingston Reserve were also mentioned in the annual reports; “Kent [county], Weldford [parish], Richibucto River: 5,658 [acres]...Kent Wellington Buctouche [River]: 4,655 [acres], Westmorland, Potsford [Botsford], Gulf Shore, New Shediac: 1,250 [acres]...Kings, Kingston Reserve not shown on plan” (Canada, 1875, p. 166). There was no further mention of the Kingston Reserve.

The Fort Cumberland Reserve was first and last mentioned in the annual report as leased in 1875; “County Westmorland...Reserve known as Fort Cumberland, leased to James Louerson, yearly lease 72” (Canada, 1876, p. 281). There was no further mention of this reserve.

5.2 Agriculture

From the 1880s through to the mid-1950s, agriculture was a perennial concern in Indian Affairs records pertaining to Big Cove. I introduce the chapter with an overview of the community’s interaction with the government regarding agricultural assistance. Traditionally, the Mikmaq did not rely on agriculture for their sustenance, choosing instead to fish and hunt. However, Indian Affairs, who held a western worldview in which viewed but the use of agriculture was a marker of civilization and progress for the settler nations and the records reflect this, in this section and others.

The first band bylaw dealt with the control of cattle in 1940 and allowed for roving cows to be penned and their maintenance to be provided. Hay was delivered to the reserve in 1946. A Canadian National Railways Straight Bill of Lading, dated April 4, 1946, delivered from Dorchester Penitentiary to A. Lee Fraser, Indian Agent, in Rexton, listed “Bales Pressed Hay 35,800 [weight].” Families requested and were provided with seed potatoes in 1954, and oat seeds to Simon Joe Simon (William John’s grandfather), who was described by the Indian Affairs Branch as a “destitute Indian.” Eighty 75 lb bags of potatoes and eighty 100 lb bags of fertilizer were provided to Big Cove by Indian Affairs. Chief Andrew Francis requested hay in 1955; “For the wishes of my people, I am asking your assistance which I had been hesitating to ask but you know the situations here at the present time; they are unable to feed their horses so I would like if the Dept. could assist us for the carload of hay so to divide amongst the many horses on the res.” (Public Archives Canada, 1955). The Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) response to the hay request was a denial as it stated that “[y]our request for a carload of hay to be used to feed the horses of members of your reserve cannot be recommended to Welfare Division because it is their policy that Indians who keep horses must arrange to use them so that they earn their fodder.” (Public Archives Canada, 1955). Indian Affairs developed a seed policy in 1956 that stated band members were encouraged to set aside seed for future planting and not to rely on the Indian Affairs Branch, with these instructions provided to the Indian Agents; “Each Indian who has or will receive seed potatoes must be told that he is expected to save enough from his crop to meet seed requirements for next year” (Public Archives Canada, 1956). Seed was provided again in 1956 and fertilizer in 1957. William John Simon received grass seed in 1957 upon request. IAB’s E. J. Blakey, Superintendent, responded to Simon’s seed request by stating that, “[w]hen land is prepared and left unseeded, a crop of noxious weeds is the result, and it was to avoid this

that seed was provided.” (Public Archives Canada, 1957). Seed requests were made to H. J. Michaud, a Member of Parliament, in 1958, and the Miramichi Agency received a response from H. Gordon, Superintendent of Welfare, that the Indian Affairs Branch would only consider individual requests based on the new policy, requesting that “perhaps you would be good enough to ensure [the IAB Regional Supervisor] has this information since it appears that he will be receiving requests from the Band members.” (Public Archives Canada, 1958). The IAB Director stated that, “Prior to last spring, allotments of seed and fertilizer were made to farming members of the Big Cove Band and a number of other bands in eastern Canada. This practice was not general throughout the country, however, and the distribution of seed was curtailed last year, subject of course to the promise that assistance would be available in deserving cases” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). The situation had become unmanageable, and Indian Agents were warned by Regional Supervisor F. B. McKinnon not to exceed their annual budgetary allocations; “At the close of the past fiscal year, we were faced with the necessity of requesting Ottawa to approve of a considerable amount of seed potatoes and fertilizer where authority had not previously been granted, and we are not anxious to have a repetition this year” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). The IAB Circular #319, a report issued in 1961, indicated the departmental policy and stated that “All Indians, everywhere, who are financially capable, should be expected to purchase their own seed and fertilizer...Where it is necessary to provide seed or fertilizer, this should normally be issued subject to repayment, though in exceptional cases where circumstances warrant, the issue may be made on a non-repayable basis” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). The circular outlined some of the IAB procedures; for example, it stated that “[s]eed potatoes may be supplied to Indians who, though no fault of their own, had a

potato crop failure and could not save seed. Such persons should be informed that they are expected to save seed from the crop” (Public Archives Canada, 1961).

In the 1960s, there was some criticism directed by the community toward Indian Affairs’ agricultural policies. Stephen N. Augustine reported that the community used to have a tractor, and that “the Indians are mad at the Government which took this tractor away from them and stopped giving them also seed and fertilizer” (Guessous, 1960, p. 38). Jacob Augustine Sr. said the Míkmaq did not like farming; “Farming is too much bothering; it requires a lot of equipment and work, but you cannot make so much money out of it” (Guessous, 1960, p. 24). Indian Affairs’ efforts at developing agriculture were, initially, focused on socio-economic gain, but later, the Míkmaq became reliant instead on the social safety net. The Indians became dependent on “relief” and resented the policy shift.

Officials reported that Fort Folly had less land for opportunities for farming and the community received negative reporting for 1889. The annual report for that year notes that:

It is well that this band has good opportunities for fishing for their land is poor; in a dry season they cannot raise much but have a good market for anything they have to sell. Extensive stone quarries are worked a short distance from the reserve. There is a church here also. I cannot report anything very different from that of last year. There is a decrease in population. There is an improvement of some of the reserves, while on others they have gone back. As a general thing, farming is not natural to them, but the increase in the grant for seed purposes had a good effect and stimulated many of them to sow and plant more than they had ever before done. I regret the intoxicants can be so readily obtained, as they suffer so much by their use. It is almost impossible to get proof against those who

furnish the liquor. On the whole, I am quite ready to say there is improvement (Canada, 1890, p. 175).

Indian Island did well for farming in the early 1800s, despite their small size, and, in contrast, Buctouche fared poorly despite its arable land. The report points out that “Indian Island...depends chiefly on fishing. The reserve is small, and the land not very good, but they raise more or less crop every year. They have a nice church and deserve credit for the use they have made of their opportunities” (Canada, 1892, p. 167). Non-Indians were then living on the Buctouche Reserve; “Buctouche...is a good reserve for farming purposes as any in the superintendency, but it is now partly settled by white men. Many of the Indians have left, but those who remain are fairly comfortable, and can do very well by fishing and farming” (Canada, 1892, p. 167).

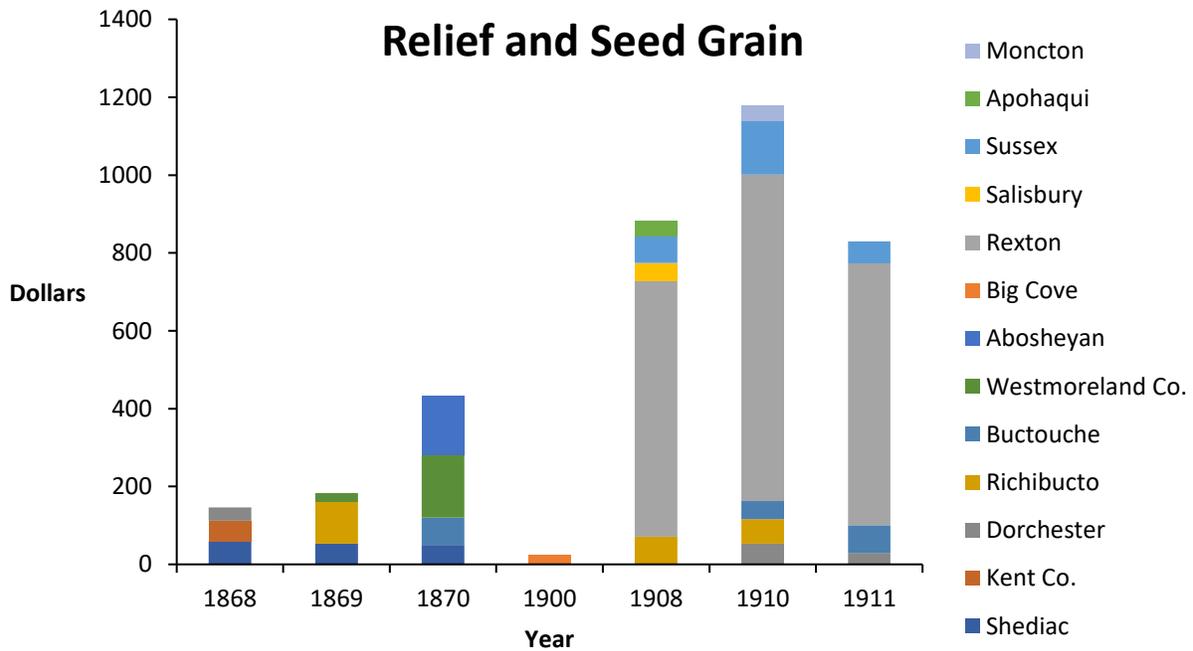


Figure 24: Relief and Seed Grain

Based on the above chart, payments for relief and seed grain were reported for seven years, and those years were not consecutive. Increased relief payments between 1908 and 1911 for Big Cove were reflected through the payments to retailers located in Richibucto and Rexton. Sussex also saw an increase in relief payments for 1908 and 1910.

Indian Affairs reported an interest by the Indigenous population in the potato harvest in the United States, in 1942, noting that, “Except for growing potatoes and vegetables for their own use, little farming is engaged in by the Indians...The potato crop in the State of Maine, however, provides seasonal employment for many Indians every year” (Canada, 1943, p. 145). They hunt and fish, act as guides, work in lumber camps and sawmills and as day labourers and are “engaged commercially in the manufacture of axe and pick handles and baskets” (Canada, 1943, p. 145). Their housing situation was similar to the previous year’s report.

Agricultural improvements were reported for 1953, with the focus toward home gardens and personal consumption; the annual report states that:

Indians interested in farming had a reasonably successful year. A bountiful crop of hay was cut, and root crops, particularly potatoes and turnips, gave a good yield. Gardens showed improvement and the usual competition created more interest than the past. Many hogs were slaughtered for home consumption in early winter. Lime was provided to improve soils in the Miramichi and Kingsclear Agencies (Canada, 1954, p. 49).

The focus of the Canadian government, in its attempts to assimilate Indigenous communities, was to promote agriculture as a means to discourage the “nomadic” lifestyle of Indigenous people. These records reflect that agenda and demonstrate the shift in subsistence practices in Big Cove and the surrounding area.

5.3 Education

Over the years, the accounting of relief efforts became more detailed. In 1870, there was a substantial increase from the previous year, amounting to \$552. Indian Affairs also provided a comparison of Indian reserve populations from the previous year; for example, in Dorchester, no one was listed as a resident (Canada, 1871, p. 24). The population shift could possibly be due to Mikmaq moving from Big Cove to Aboujagan (Shediac Reserve), which was also listed as having a teacher, Frank Bernard (Canada, 1871, p. 27). Bernard was again listed as the teacher for Aboujagan in 1871.

Teachers Employed by Year

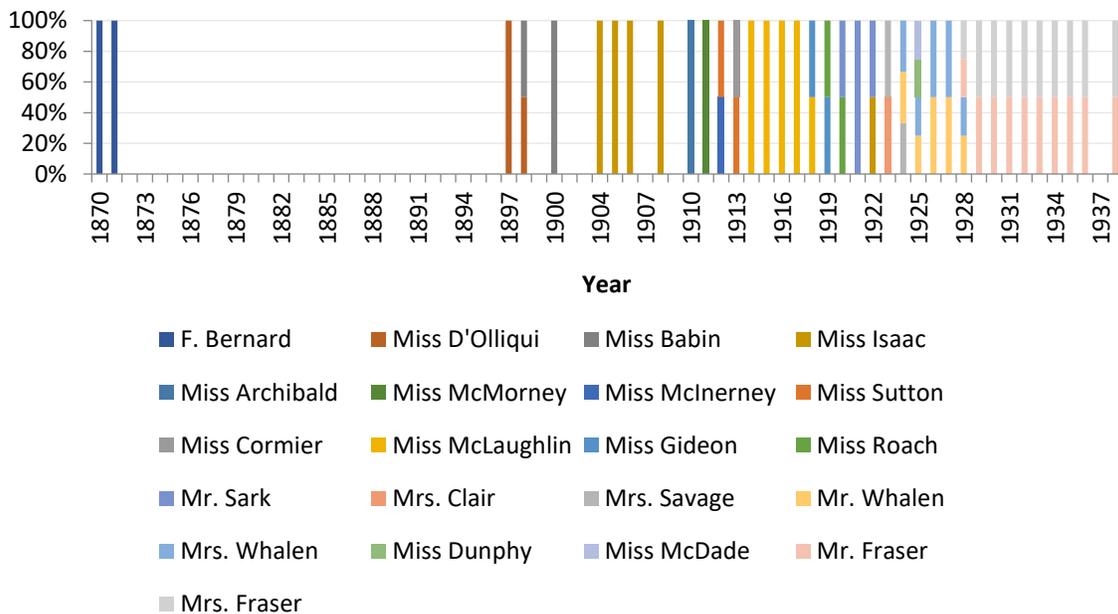


Figure 25: Annual Record of Teachers on the Reserve

The first teacher mentioned in the Department of Indian Affairs reports was Frank Bernard in Aboujagan (Francis Xavier Reserve in Shediac). It can be assumed that he was Mikmaq, as “Bernard” was a common name on that reserve. There were no others mentioned until 28 years later. Another Mikmaq teacher who worked there for several years was Miss Isaac,

and, some time later, Miss Gideon, who taught for two years (Walls, 2011). Miss Sutton taught the Fort Folly children off the reserve. Jacob Sark, another Mi'kmaq, taught for two years in Big Cove. It seems communities lobbied for Mi'kmaq teachers, at least, in the case of the Isaacs sisters and Reta Gideon, and, in their attempts to undermine mainstream policies, they were successful (Walls, 2011, p. 57).

The uptake of education remained slow and tedious. This lack of education may have possibly been due to the children travelling with their parents; Indian Affairs' report for 1901 notes that:

There are three Indian schools in this agency, located at Big Cove, Eel Ground and Burnt Church, respectively. About one hundred pupils attend these schools.

Of these, about a dozen attend regularly and are making excellent progress. The Indians, as a rule, take very little interest in education and it is almost impossible to induce them to send their children to school regularly (Canada, 1902, p. 56).

Lumber for the construction of the hall, costing \$33.80, and lime for cleaning the church at a cost of \$1.00, were some of the other expenditures detailed in the 1901 annual report (Canada, 1902, p. J-144).

1903 marked the beginning of the building of the community hall (Canada, 1903, p. 61). There was an increase in the importance of education, with the report noting that "These Indians are beginning to take a more interest in the education of their children than they formerly did" (Canada, 1903, p. 61). Again, Indian Affairs cited their lack of development; "These Indians, like all the others in this agency, are not very industrious and are in very much the same condition they were years ago, neither richer nor poorer. So long as their present necessities supplied, they do not trouble themselves about the future" (Canada, 1903, p. 61).

Indian Affairs reported in 1904 on the number of public buildings on the reserve; “The Big Cove band has a church, school-house and [jail] lock-up erected on its reserve and a council-house in course of erection” (Canada, 1905, p. 62). That year, the Band obtained the services of a Mikmaq teacher, and the records stated that “The Indians are greatly pleased at having a teacher [Miss Isaac] of their own nationality and are consequently taking more interest in education than they formerly did” (Canada, 1905, p. 61). Indian Affairs reported that the majority, however, were unprogressive; the annual report notes that “Some of these Indians are making progress, but the greater number are content to live a hand-to-mouth existence, without taking any thought of the future, so long as their present necessities are provided” (Canada, 1905, p. 61). Indian Island was again reported to be more progressive, with the report stating that “These Indians with few exceptions are industrious and are progressing. [They] engage chiefly in fishing...some farming...These Indians take more interest in education than most other Indians of this agency” (Canada, 1905, p. 61).

The Indian Island Reserve population was 32 at that time, a decrease of one, with one death and no births. Bouctouche’s population remained the same at eighteen people, made no progress, their education neglected, and “do a little farming...[but] chiefly engage in the manufacture of Indian wares and in begging” (Canada, 1905, p. 62). Mikmaq views on education slowly changed, and it was reported that “[the] Indians take much more interest in education than they formerly did” (Canada, 1906, p. 56). The contrast between progress and laziness, however, remained evident within the reports, one of which notes that “Some of these Indians are industrious and progressive, others indolent and careless” (Canada, 1906, p. 56). The population for Indian Island in 1906 was 35, an increase of 1. Their primary activities were “fishing...[and] some farming” (Canada, 1907, p. 58). The reserve made advancements in education and the

report notes that “all the children of school age attend a neighbouring white school. One young lad attends the Richibucto grammar school, where he is qualifying as a teacher” (Canada, 1907, p. 58). The band members were again described as “industrious and progressive” (Canada, 1907, p. 58). Indian Affairs reported changes in education in 1909, noting that “the Indians, as a rule, take very little interest in education, although I am pleased to say their interest in education is increasing, as well as the progress of the pupils” (Canada, 1910, p. 58). Of the 63 school-age children in Big Cove in 1910, 37 were enrolled in school, and 15 had average attendance. Indian Affairs reported poor educational results that year, stating that “The poor attendance at this school has prevented satisfactory progress being made” (Canada, 1911, p. 280).

The education in Big Cove suffered in 1911. Indian Affairs notes that it “seems a very difficult matter to secure a competent teacher for this reservation owing to the difficulty of securing suitable accommodation within a reasonable distance from the school” (Canada, 1912, p. 302). A solution was initiated to address the accommodation problem; “The interior part of the school building at Big Cove was repaired and painted last summer” (Canada, 1912, p. 305). Indian Affairs provided additional detail regarding the effects of ill health on education in Big Cove, observing that:

The attendance of the pupils has been greatly affected as a result of contagious diseases, measles, diphtheria, and small-pox...Big Cove school is closed, being quarantined...on account of the epidemic of small-pox...The deportment of the children for the past year was exceptionally good, and it is interesting to note the improvement that is taking place in the demeanour and bearing of the children from year to year. Many of them exhibit pleasing manners and an air of culture and refinement...[The] teachers...[are] instructing the children to sew and do

fancy-work. The health of the students throughout the year was good, with the exception of those who contracted the contagious diseases...Education, to my mind, does not only make the Indian people more industrious, independent, and progressive, but it makes them more peaceable, law-abiding, better morally and more devoted to their church (Canada, 1912, p. 305).

Of the 60 school-aged children residing in Big Cove in 1912, 46 were enrolled in school, with an average attendance of 18 students. Educational improvements included “arrangements made for the comfort and well-being of the new teacher” (Canada, 1913, p. 311). Further, in the report, Indian Affairs indicated that in Big Cove, there were 50 children of school age; 46 were enrolled, and 30 were present, who consisted of 18 girls and 12 boys. In 1913, in Big Cove, there were 67 school-age children, of whom 43 were enrolled and 16 had an average attendance. School children’s “attendance is fair,” according to the annual report for that year (Canada, 1914, p. 315). Big Cove Day School counted 12 students present, seven boys and five girls. In that case, there were 50 school age children, with 23 enrolled and an average attendance of 12. Indian Affairs’ Agent opines that “The reason for so poor an attendance is the fact that seven families were absent from the reserve and the further fact that the truant officer is careless in looking after delinquents as, in my visits to the camps during my stay, I found children upwards of 10 years of age who had never been to school” (Canada, 1914, p. 464). The schools used the Standards of Education to gauge grade levels of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The number of students graded were as follows: Standard I – 9 students, II – 6, III – 6, and V – 2. The report concluded that “a few did well in arithmetic...With so few attending it is hard for the teacher to organize her classes...Some improvement was made to the building occupied by the teacher as a residence and

the change should make her rooms more habitable and homelike and encourage her in her work” (Canada, 1914, p. 464).

In Big Cove, the 1914 report notes that “[school] attendance has improved” (Canada, 1915, p. 121). There were 16 pupils present, with an average attendance of 16, and the report observes that “the pupils are very backward” (Canada, 1915, p. 202). Indian Affairs notes, further, that “Conditions on this reserve are such that it is extremely difficult for a teacher to make success of the school” (Canada, 1915, p. 202). In contrast to the previous year’s report, Indian Affairs states, for 1915, that “children who are attending regularly are making good progress” (Canada, 1916, p. 132). There were 17 students present, who made progress in reading, spelling and arithmetic. It is also noted that “The children are very clean. The teacher intends to give sewing lessons” (Canada, 1916, p. 215).

Big Cove reported, for 1916, that “[school] instruction is also given in sewing and fancy work” (Canada, 1917, p. 128). There were 13 students present at the Big Cove School, but “Owing to the indifference of the parents, the attendance at this school is unsatisfactory...The school building is rather old” (Canada, 1917, p. 199). Further south, “[a]t Dorchester, several of the Indian children who attend the school in the town are making very good progress...Their writing and drawing are exceedingly good” (Canada, 1917, p. 128).

The reports continued in a similar vein through the 1920s. In 1932, Big Cove School reported the number of students enrolled under the teacher “A. L. Fraser; boys 21, girls 16, total 37, average attendance 27...Mrs. A. L. Fraser [number enrolled] boys 33, girls 24, total 57, average attendance 43” (Canada, 1933, p. 45). In 1933, only the economic activity and teachers’ salaries were reported. For the Big Cove School, enrolment numbers were provided for 1938; under the teacher “A. L. Fraser, [enrolment included] boys 30, girls 26, total 56, average

attendance 44...[under] Mrs. A. L. Fraser [there were] boys 24, girls 25, total 49, average attendance 44” (Canada, 1939, p. 221).

Indian Affairs began the process of building the Big Cove School in 1955. The report for that year states that “A small contract was let for the construction of a three-classroom school at Big Cove” (Canada, 1956, p. 65). The school was completed in the following year, as Indian Affairs notes; “Educational facilities were expanded by the construction of a new three-classroom school on Big Cove Reserve” (Canada, 1957, p. 66). The department of Indian Affairs also implemented a regional community development initiative, recording, for 1956, that “The Social Leader’s Course for Indian leaders from all reserves in New Brunswick was held on the Big Cove Reserve” (Canada, 1957, p. 66). There was a trend reported of an increase in students in 1957; the report for that year notes that, “In the past ten years, school enrollment has increased by 50 percent, and attendance has increased to well over 90 percent” (Canada, 1958, p. 78). Class enrollment was again reported, for 1958, with the observation that “Five hundred and ninety-two children are in school or receiving post-school training” (Canada, 1959, p. 80). Other classes were geared toward adults; Indian Affairs reports that “Evening classes in home economics for adults were conducted at Kingsclear, Tobique, and Big Cove Schools” (Canada, 1959, p. 80).

Three additional classrooms for the Big Cove School were announced in 1959, along with the school winning a regional hockey championship (Canada, 1960, p. 85). Some community development initiatives included sending “delegates from the Big Cove Band [who] attended a course in Nova Scotia conducted by cooperatives and credit unions” (Canada, 1961, p. 86). There were 686 provincial Indian students reported, of whom 31 were in high school, university, and vocational schools (Canada, 1961, p. 86). A community development project was also

reported for 1961; Indian Affairs notes that “The Big Cove group sent delegates to [a] week-long course held in Cape Breton and organized by the Extension Department of the St. Francis Xavier University” (Canada, 1962, p. 95). There were 741 provincial Indian pupils, 36 in high school, 17 in vocational schools, and 3 in university. Student progress and expansion were also reported; “One Big Cove student participated in a United Nations Seminar held at Mount Allison University. Two additional classrooms were built at Big Cove” (Canada, 1962, p. 95). Extracurricular activities were offered, as well; the report for 1961 observes that “The Big Cove School hockey team captured the High School Championship for Kent County” (Canada, 1962, p. 95). While the federal government seemed intent on providing education for the Míkmaq, the curriculum was entirely Euro-centric and did more to promote assimilation than Indigenous culture. It was during this era that the “Sixties Scoop”—a program aimed at removing Indigenous children from their homes—was implemented.

The Big Cove Band Membership was 1,360 and the population was 1,199 in 1982. For the year 1983, a tripartite child welfare agreement was entered into with Big Cove, involving the provincial and federal governments.¹³³ Indian Affairs began the process of constructing a new school in Big Cove; “the branch with Public Works Canada initiated the first application of the guideline school design system at Big Cove, N.B.” (Canada, 1984, p. 20). A \$3.2 million school was approved for Big Cove. The Big Cove Band Membership was 1,380, in 1983, with a population of 1,237. The Big Cove School was completed in 1984.

¹³³ “In 1979, negotiations began which led to the 1983 signing of a master agreement entitled the Canada-New Brunswick-Indian Child and Family Services Master Agreement (also referred to as the Tripartite Agreement). This agreement was signed by the Indian Bands of Big Cove (Elsipogtog), Burnt Church (Esgenoôpetitj), Eel Ground and Tobique, along with the Governments of New Brunswick and Canada. The purpose was to provide a vehicle for the Indigenous communities, under individual Band subsidiary agreements, to eventually assume full operational control of the child and family services in their communities.” Richard, B., & Whalen, C. (2010). “Hand-in-hand: A review of First Nations child welfare in New Brunswick.” Office of the Ombudsman and Child and Youth Advocate, Province of New Brunswick.

Education in day schools in New Brunswick—an education which was entirely western-based—provided the government of Canada with a tool to measure the “progress” of First Nations children and the community at large. The records indicate that problems arose with school attendance in communities who still engaged in seasonal practices of hunting, gathering, and fishing. Schools had difficulty in securing teachers who, for the most part, came from outside the community and could not find housing within a reasonable distance of the school. Overall, there was resistance to the notion of regular school attendance, as seen throughout all of Indian Affairs reports.

5.4 Economic Pursuits

In 1880, the men of Big Cove surrendered lands on the Reserve occupied by non-Indians to increase the economic intake from the Reserve and assist the band members; the report states that, “During the past year, a surrender of lands occupied by white people on the Big Cove Reserve, Richibucto River, was given to the Government, and the settlers are now required to pay two dollars (\$2) per acre; the interest on the money so received to go towards the assistance of the band on that reserve” (Canada, 1881, p. 49). The Indian Agent was also compensated for his travel to supervise the lands in question. The annual report notes that funds were allotted to “C. Sargeant [for] Travelling expenses in connection with surrender of lands at Richibucto. 18.00” (Canada, 1881, p. 210). Services for doctors were slightly over \$265 for 1881, with the majority spent on those living in Westmorland County, followed by Big Cove. The total population reported for Siknigtuk was 466 in 1882. This was the only item reported for that year. After 1882, Big Cove’s population slowly increased, while Indian Island had a sharp drop in 1883 that was not reported. Buctouche experienced a slow decline in population.

Big Cove was reported in the 1890 report as “doing well” and being “very well off” (Canada, 1890, pp. xxiv & 174). The residents there were involved in small-scale manufacturing and Ottawa reports that “Their wooden wares they ship to St. John, and generally realize remunerative prices” (Canada, 1890, p. 174). Indian Island was also described in a good light by the report, which states that “The principal means of support of this band is fishing, and they do some farming. They are well off. There is also a church here” (Canada, 1890, p. 175). However, the Indian Agent remained perplexed about the mobility evident in Buctouche as he noted that “[m]any of the Indians have left here and settled on other reserves, for what reason I cannot say. The land is good, and they have good fishing. Those who have remained are doing very well” (Canada, 1890, p. 175). Shediac continued to be portrayed in a poor light and their proximity to the railway was regarded as problematic; the 1889 report notes that “The Shediac Indians have done less to make themselves comfortable than any of the other bands in any superintendency. The land is pretty well broken up. I cannot account for it, unless that they are too close to the towns, and get back and forth on the railway. The land is poor, but so disposed the Indians could do well at fishing. This band is retrograding” (Canada, 1890, p. 175).

There was little mention of Big Cove for the year 1890. Indian Island was described thus; “This band is small. They plant a little, but depend principally on the fishing, from which they could derive a good living if they paid more attention to it. There is a neat church on the reserve” (Canada, 1891, p. 143). It is important to point out that the colonizers’ perception of what constituted “a good living” was in sharp contrast to the principles of *Netukulimk* which promote the idea of not taking more than one needs.

Absences from the Bouctouche Reserve continued to astound the Indian Agent; he notes that “Many of the Indian have left this reserve for no apparent reason. The land is fertile, and

they earn a good deal at fishing and at outside work, of which there is plenty to be had. Some of those who remain are doing well on their farms” (Canada, 1891, p. 143). Meanwhile, Shediac continued to regress in the eyes of Indian Affairs who observes that “[t]his band is retrograding: they move back and forth, and as a rule, when they do so, are never prosperous. I cannot account for their habit of moving from place to place, but they are so near the railway they can move very easily and are almost sure to contract bad habits under those circumstances” (Canada, 1891, p. 143). Fort Folly was a poor area for farming, and the Mikmaq in general, were slow to become farmers. The annual report found that

This band is not in a good position as regards farming. The land is poor, and firewood is very scarce. They do some fishing and easily sell their commodities as there are large stone works near the reserve. On the whole, there is not much change; there is a slight difference in the population. The increase of the grant for the purchase of seeds had in some cases good results; but the Indians in my superintendency will never be successful as farmers, they think for the present only, and for that reason prefer to work for wages which they spend as soon as they are earned. I have again to refer to the evil effects of strong drink, the sale of which to them it appears impossible to prevent; they will suffer imprisonment for a length of time rather than inform on the parties who sell to them (Canada, 1891, p. 143).

YEAR	farming	fishing	Indian wares ¹³⁴	lumber mills	lumbering	loading deals ¹³⁵	begging	river drive	hunting	Trapping	day labour	guides ¹³⁶	potatoes ¹³⁷	Christmas trees	Pulp
1888	☒	☒													
1889	☒	☒													
1890	☒	☒													
1891	☒	☒	☒												
1893			☒												
1894			☒												
1895	☒	☒	☒	☒		☒	☒								
1896	☒	☒	☒				☒								
1898	☒	☒	☒												
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1900			☒	☒	☒			☒							
1901			☒					☒							
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1903	☒	☒	☒	☒		☒	☒								
1904	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒								
1905	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒								
1906	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
1907	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒						
1909	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒						
1910	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
1911	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
1912	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
1913	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
1915	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒							
¹³⁸															
1916	☒	☒						☒				☒			
1929	☒	☒			☒				☒	☒					
1930	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒	☒					
1931	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒	☒					
1932	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒	☒					
1933	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒	☒					
1934	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒			☒	☒	☒					
1935	☒		☒		☒			☒	☒	☒					
¹³⁹															
1936	☒		☒		☒				☒	☒	☒				
1937	☒		☒		☒				☒	☒	☒				
1938	☒		☒		☒				☒	☒	☒				
¹⁴⁰															
1939	☒		☒		☒				☒	☒	☒				
1940	☒		☒		☒						☒				
1941	☒	☒	☒		☒						☒				
1942	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒				☒		☒	☒			
1943	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒				☒		☒	☒	☒		
1944	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒				☒		☒	☒	☒		
1945	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒				☒		☒	☒	☒		
1950			☒												☒
¹⁴¹															
1953		☒	☒									☒			
1955			☒									☒	☒	☒	☒
¹⁴²															
1957		☒	☒										☒	☒	☒
¹⁴³															
1958			☒												
¹⁴⁴															
1959		☒			☒								☒	☒	
¹⁴⁵															
1960		☒													☒
¹⁴⁶															
1961		☒	☒		☒							☒			
¹⁴⁷															

Table 4: Type of Employment by Year.

Kings Co. Populations by Year

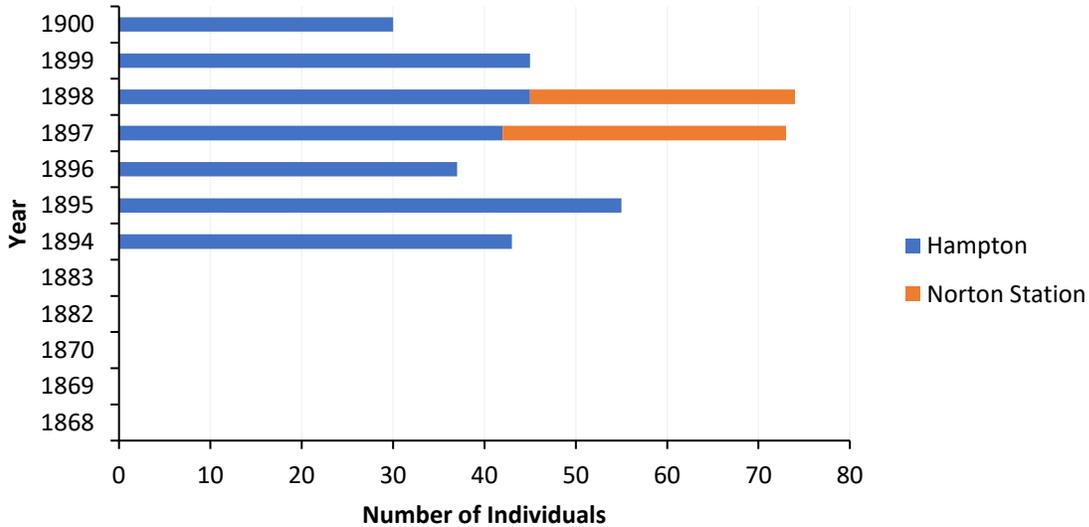


Figure 26: Kings County Populations by Year

By the end of the 19th century, the Indigenous population had shifted locations toward Big Cove and Sussex. Those living in close proximity to the town of Hampton were first reported in 1894. Norton Station was included in the report of 1897. Hampton and vicinity were listed in the following year and had the highest count. The grouping of population then became Norton Station, Hampton, and Sussex in 1900 and then the number of reserves was no longer reported. In 1895, Big Cove was described as “one of finest reserves” with the “largest population” (Canada, 1896, p. 45). Detailed information of their economic activities was provided in the report:

During the winter, fishing and manufacture of Indian wares were the chief pursuits. Two or three of these Indians who were provided with nets did well at smelt fishing last fall, but unfortunately there are very few nets among them. Eel

fishing and bass fishing were also engaged in. In summer many of them are hired in boats and engage in deep sea fishing. Others find employment in the lumber mills and in carrying and loading deals (Canada, 1896, p. 45).

The main occupation for Indian Island was also reported; “Fishing is the chief industry of this band” (Canada, 1896, p. 45). Bouctouche suffered physically and economically that year.

According to Indian Affairs,

There has been a great deal of sickness among these Indians during the year. The prohibition of oyster fishing through the ice has prevented them from engaging in that industry to as great an extent as formerly, and as a result there was much poverty among them last winter. The soil is fertile but not carefully cultivated (Canada, 1896, p. 46).

The Míkmaq population shifted throughout Westmorland County, moving away from Shediac toward Moncton and vicinity. Those living off the reserves in that county amounted to 31 people, as outlined in the report for 1895:

The Indians of this county number ninety-four, of whom forty-seven are located on Fort Folly Reserve, sixteen at Shediac, and the remainder in and around Moncton and Salisbury. Some farming is done at Fort Folly, but the greater number of these Indians gain a livelihood by selling Indian wares and by begging (Canada, 1896, p. 46).

Míkmaq economic activities in the province were outlined in the 1898 report, and the main difference observed was the type of fish that were caught; “The principal pursuits are agriculture, fishing, and manufacture of Indian wares. The Indians of Restigouche, Gloucester and

Northumberland Counties work in the salmon, bass and smelt fisheries, those of Kent in the lobster, mackerel, herring, gasperaux and smelt fisheries” (Canada, 1899, p. 54).

Economic activity slowly became more diversified, as outlined in the annual report of 1899 which stated that “[t]he principal pursuits are agriculture, fishing, lumbering, and the manufacture of Indian wares. All the Indians engage in the manufacture of baskets, tubs and other articles...Big Cove and Indian Island engage extensively in fishing” (Canada, 1900, p. 58). In regard to housing, the report notes that “[t]hose settled off the reserve live in shanties” (Canada, 1900, p. 58). Indian Affairs repeated their explanations for Indigenous poverty as, in previous years, being due to laziness and improvidence (Canada, 1900, p. 58); however, the alcohol problem lessened. The report indicates that “There is a marked improvement of late years in the matter of temperance. Considering the condition and manner of living of these Indians, they are remarkably free from immorality” (Canada, 1900, p. 58). Expenditures for Big Cove included a school expense of \$13.38 (Canada, 1900, p. G-7), they were owed timber dues of \$2, and the management fund balance for the community was \$0.20 (Canada, 1900, p. G-118). For that year, there was an amount “outstanding on account of Indian Lands (for) W. D. Carter, Richibucto 1,190.08” (Canada, 1900, p. G-150). The Agency’s population declined. Indian Affairs reported the historical acreage amounts and locations of reserve lands within the Agency.

The economic activity in the agency continued in 1900 similarly to previous years, however, there was an increase of wage labour in the lumber industry; “Many of the Indians of Big Cove, Red Bank and Eel Ground earn good wages in the lumber woods and in the saw-mills and in driving and rafting lumber” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). Those living in the northern part of the province worked as guides, as outlined in the annual report which stated that “[v]ery few Indians engage in hunting, but a number of the Red Bank and Bathurst Indians spend most of the

summer in guiding sporting parties up the Miramichi and Nepisiquit Rivers” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). The off-reserve housing situation continued to be poor and unhealthy—the annual report states that “[t]hose living off the reserves occupy rude huts or shanties. These shanties are in most cases a very poor protection from the cold and wet, and too often lead to cases of pneumonia and consumption among the occupants” (Canada, 1901, pp. 60-61). Mikmaq children continued to follow their parents in their economic activities, which may have resulted in their poor school attendance. The report of 1900, in a reflection of earlier reports, emphasizes that “[i]t is very difficult to impress upon the Indians the advantages of an education, and almost impossible to get them to send their children to school regularly” (Canada, 1901, p. 61). Indian Affairs continued to report them as lazy and improvident; “There are not more than a dozen Indians in the whole agency who can be said to be making any progress. It is useless to urge upon them the necessity of looking out for or providing for the future” (Canada, 1901, p. 61). Once again, their perceived “improvidence” was blamed for their poor situation; “In winter and spring there was a great deal of destitution among them” (Canada, 1901, p. 61). Colonizers, motivated by exploitation of the land, viewed the act of simply living in harmony with nature as laziness. However, government officials also note that “The majority of these Indians are temperate [and] are also remarkably free from vice and immorality” (Canada, 1901, p. 61).

Methods of employment among Indigenous communities during 1901 were outlined in the report:

The Indians of all bands, men and women, engage in the manufacture of tubs, baskets, rustic seats and other wares. The Indians of Burnt Church, Indian Island and some of the Big Cove band engage in sea-fishing, and in winter in smelt-fishing in the rivers. Many of the Indians of Big Cove, Red Bank, Eel Ground and

Eel River earn good wages in driving and rafting lumber and carrying deals at the shipping wharves (Canada, 1902, p. 56).

A detailed description of the community's economic activities in 1902 was provided in that year's report:

These Indians all engage to a limited extent in farming, but, owing to the extreme drought of last summer, very little grain was harvested. They also engage in the smelt and eel fishery in winter and in deep-sea fishing in summer. Many of them leave the reserve in the summer and settle in shanties in Bass river and Rexton near the lumber mills, where they secure employment in the mills and in loading vessels. They also manufacture and sell Indian wares (Canada, 1903, p. 61).

The report also observed that "These Indians earn their living by fishing, selling Indian wares, and by begging. They all do some farming" (Canada, 1903, p. 62). The reporting of economic activities was similar to previous years, with records of some farming, various fisheries, wage labour in the lumber-mills and loading-wharfs, and making baskets and wooden objects (Canada, 1904, p. 62). Those interested in progress and development were said to be the exception, rather than the rule. The 1903 report notes that

Some of these Indians are making progress. I might mention Abram Clare, John Joseph, Tom Joseph and some others who are beginning to improve their condition. There are, however, a great number who do not trouble themselves about their condition" (Canada, 1904, p. 62).

Bouctouche Reserve was a stark contrast to Indian Island where it was asserted by the state that "These Indians do a little farming, some fishing, and manufacture Indian wares, but they live largely by begging" (Canada, 1904, p. 63). The children did not attend school and they were

cited as “making no progress” (Canada, 1904, p. 63). Indians reportedly lived at Dorchester, Shediac, Moncton, and Salisbury, with three families living at Fort Folly; the population for that region was said to be 72. There was a decrease in the total population by one, with three deaths and two births. Indian Affairs despaired of the few Mi’kmaq living in Fort Folly, observing that “They reside in shanties and live by begging and the manufacture and sale of Indian wares. The three families at Fort Folly live in a frame house and do some farming. They are not making any progress” (Canada, 1904, p. 63).

In 1904, Big Cove was reported as the “largest band of Indians in the maritime provinces” and had a population of 295, which was an increase of four people, with twenty births and sixteen deaths (Canada, 1905, p. 61). The Band members “engage to a small extent in farming...[are] expert fishermen and engage in all kinds of fishing...obtain employment at good wages in the mills and at the wharfs loading lumber. In the winter they return to their reserve. They also engage in the manufacture of Indian wares” (Canada, 1905, p. 61). Fort Folly had three families; however, there were, increasingly, many living off-reserve in Westmorland and Kings counties. Indian Affairs notes that “There are a number of Indians at Dorchester, Shediac, Painsec, Moncton, Salisbury and other places in Westmorland county not settled on reserves. They number 63, a decrease of 4 since last year, caused by the death of four of their number” (Canada, 1905, p. 62). Further, “They reside in shanties and live by begging and the manufacture of Indian wares” (Canada, 1905, p. 62). The population for Big Cove in 1905 was reported as 290 people. Their economic activities were to “farm, fish, manufacture Indian wares and lumber [and to] secure employment in mills and loading lumber” (Canada, 1906, p. 55). Indian Island had a population of 34 in contrast to Big Cove. They were economically involved in “river and deep-sea fishing [and] some farming (Canada, 1906, p. 56). Indian Affairs observed of Indian Island that

“These Indians take more interest in education than most other Indians in the agency...These Indians, with few exceptions, are industrious and progressing” (Canada, 1906, p. 56).

Bouctouche’s population was reported to be 25 people in 1905, with “some farming...chiefly engage[d] in the manufacture of Indians wares and in begging (Canada, 1906, p. 56). The report goes on to note that “Education is altogether neglected by these Indians...They are making no progress” (Canada, 1906, p. 56). For the year 1906, Indian Affairs reported that Big Cove had a population of 295, an increase of five. Similar economic activities as in previous years were enumerated, including farming, fishing, making Indian wares, lumbering, working in sawmills and shipping wharfs, as well as on the river drive. Bouctouche’s population was reported in 1906 as 24; a decrease of one person. This reserve was negatively contrasted, in the Indian Affairs report, to Big Cove and Indian Island in regard to its economic activities, with “some farming...making and selling Indian wares...[and] begging...[with] no interest in education. They are making no progress” (Canada, 1907, p. 58). Further south, in Westmorland County, three families lived in Fort Folly, and 63 people were listed as not living on a reserve. Their economic condition was deemed to be the worst in the area, with the report noting that “They gain a poor living by making and selling Indian wares and by begging” (Canada, 1907, p. 59).

The activities of those who were making economic progress in 1909 were listed in detail and they were again compared unfavourably to those who earned a living by begging:

The Indians residing on the reserve near the sea engage in fishing; those further inland work in the lumber-woods and at stream-driving. In the summer season there is work for them in the lumber mills and in loading vessels, at which work they get good wages. Most of them do a little farming. They all engage in the

manufacture and sale of baskets, tubs and other Indian wares. Those living off the reserve live by begging and selling their wares. Very few of them do any hunting, but a number act as guides for hunting sportsmen (Canada, 1910, p. 58).

Economic activities reported for 1910 were “fishing...lumber-woods and stream-driving...lumber mills...loading vessels...a little farming (Canada, 1911, p. 57). The report goes on to note that “They all engage in the manufacture and sale of baskets, tubs and other Indian wares...begging; [they are] not so industrious” (Canada, 1911, p. 57). It is important to point out that the Indian Agents’ reports frequently mentioned the lack of “progress” on the part of the Indigenous Peoples, suggesting a clear divide in the two cultures’ cosmologies and ways of being.

Economic activities continued in 1911 with fishing, lumbering, stream driving with raft lumber and run rafts, working in lumber mills, loading vessels, a little farming, the manufacture and sale of Indian wares, and begging (Canada, 1912, pp. 62-63). A continued contrast was reported between the progressive minority and indolent majority; Indian Affairs notes that, in 1911, “There are several Indians of the different reserves who are industrious and progressive, but I regret to report that the great majority of them are making no progress whatever” (Canada, 1912, p. 63). A connection to laziness and sickness was made, attributed to the lack of thrift in places where they were “reduced to straitened circumstances, especially during the winter months and in case of sickness” (Canada, 1912, p. 63).

In 1912, their economic activities remained fishing, lumbering, stream-driving, working in the lumber mills, loading vessels, a little farming, manufacturing and selling Indian wares, and begging, with some described as “not so industrious” (Canada, 1913, p. 61). With Indian Affairs’

goal of progress through agriculture, the department continued to report the contrast between the progressive and the indolent:

As a rule, they do not take extra care of their stock or farm implements...Some of the Indians are industrious, progressive and willing to work, and those inclined are improving their position financially; but the great majority of them are making no progress whatever (Canada, 1913, p. 61).

Economic activities in 1913 included “fishing, lumbering, stream-driving, working in lumber mills, loading vessels, a little farming, and begging” (Canada, 1914, p. 59). People both on and off the reserves lived in “small frame houses [on-reserve], [and] small shanties, badly ventilated and dirty” (Canada, 1914, p. 59). Indian Affairs continued to report that those progressively inclined were in the minority; “Several of the Indians are industrious, progressive and willing to work, and those so inclined are improving their positions financially; but I regret to report that the great majority of them are making no progress whatever” (Canada, 1914, p. 59). Those who sought economic opportunities off the reserve experienced “straitened circumstances” (Canada, 1914, p. 59). As in previous years, employment for 1915 was reported in the areas of farming, fishing, lumbering, stream driving, and guiding. The report notes that the “manufacture of Indian wares is still followed to a considerable extent but the difficulty of obtaining suitable materials for this work near the reserves is having a noticeable effect in lessening the quantity of their output” (Canada, 1916, p. 29). This lack of materials was due to the depletion of White and Black Ash trees. Employment continued in 1916, to be obtained through fishing, lumbering, stream-driving, farming, and guiding; the report notes, as well, that “All make baskets and other Indian wares” (Canada, 1917, p. 30).

Indian Affairs reported less economic activity overall in 1929 than in previous years, but their records state that, “In the northeast Division, the Indians are mostly engaged in fishing, hunting, and trapping. Some farming is carried on, and the Indians have rather tended to increase their interest in this regard” (Canada, 1930, p. 37).

There was a similar report for 1930. The Big Cove band members were engaged in fishing, hunting and trapping, and some farming (Canada, 1931, p. 48). The report notes that “The lumbering industry employs quite a large number and the Indians all through the eastern provinces have become very proficient in the lumber camps, on the river drives and in the mills...In the Southern division, they support themselves chiefly by the manufacture and sale of Indian wares” (Canada, 1931, p. 48). Economic activity for 1931 was again reported as “fishing, hunting and trapping [along with] some farming...lumbering...river drives...mills... [and selling] Indian wares” (Canada, 1932, p. 20).

The annual report indicated that the economic activity for 1932 comprised fishing, hunting and trapping, some farming, lumbering, river drives, working in mills, and selling Indian wares (Canada, 1933, p. 18). Similarly, the economic activity remained as “fishing, hunting and trapping. Some farming...lumbering...river drives...mills...[and selling] Indian wares” were listed for the following year (Canada, 1934, p. 24). Again, in 1934, fishing, hunting and trapping, some farming, lumbering, river drives, working in mills, and the selling of Indian wares were the main sources of economic activity (Canada, 1935, p. 22).

There was a negative report in 1935 in regard to the New Brunswick Indians; the report states that “The Indians of New Brunswick are among the least progressive in the Dominion” (Canada, 1936, p. 21). Details of their economic activity was also provided in the report:

Their farming operations are restricted mostly to the growing of potatoes for their own use. Formerly, they derived a substantial income from hunting and trapping, but in later years this has dwindled to an almost negligible amount owing to the scarcity of fur-bearing animals. A considerable number find employment in the lumber camps and others as day labourers (Canada, 1936, p. 21).

As in previous years, they also supported themselves with the “manufacture and sale of Indian wares” (Canada, 1936, p. 21). A more general description of their buildings was provided, with the observation that “The dwellings of the Indians in New Brunswick for the most part are small, of poor construction and indifferently kept. In recent years, however, the department has been endeavouring to improve the situation, both by assisting in the repair of existing houses and, in some cases, providing new ones” (Canada, 1936, p. 21).

Indian Affairs repeated their assessment of the situation of New Brunswick Indians in 1936, although with less detail than in the previous year, noting that; “The Indians of New Brunswick are among the least progressive in the Dominion” (Canada, 1937, p. 21). Those in Big Cove continued in “farming [their own potatoes]...Hunting and trapping...Lumber camps...day labourers...[and] Indian wares” (Canada, 1937, p. 32).

Indian Affairs’ assertion that “The Indians of New Brunswick are among the least progressive in the Dominion” was repeated in the 1937 annual report (Canada, 1938, p. 21). The community continued with farming, hunting and trapping, lumbering, day labourers, and making and selling Indian wares (Canada, 1938, p. 202). Indian Affairs reported that their “dwellings...[were] of poor construction, and indifferently kept...[and the Department was] assisting in repairing of existing houses...[and] providing new ones” (Canada, 1938, p. 202).

In 1938, “Road Work [for] Big Cove and Tobique” was reported (Canada, 1939, p. 194), and, once again, the report notes that “The Indians of New Brunswick are among the least progressive in the Dominion” (Canada, 1939, p. 199). They continued with farming, hunting and trapping, lumbering, working as day labourers, and making and selling Indian wares (Canada, 1939, p. 199). The housing on the reserve was described favourably, with the report stating that “Many of the houses are solidly constructed of squared timbers, covered with shingles and often whitewashed” (Canada, 1939, p. 199).

The New Brunswick Indians were, again, characterized as “the least progressive” in 1939 (Canada, 1940, p. 233), emphasizing the government’s focus on western economic activities. The Mikmaq continued with the same economic endeavours of farming, hunting and trapping, lumbering, day labourers, and making and selling Indian wares (Canada, 1940, p. 233). The housing on the reserve was described favourably (Canada, 1940, p. 233). Indian Affairs reported, in 1940, that the Indians in Big Cove continued with “farming [their own potatoes]...[working in] lumber camps [working as] day labourers [and making and selling] Indian wares” (Canada, 1941, p. 195). New houses were constructed in the agency.

The Annual Report for 1941 was brief in its reporting of Miramichi First Nations’ economic activity and housing, noting that “The farming operations of the Indians are fairly well restricted to growing potatoes and garden vegetables: they also do some fishing. In certain parts of the province, they are engaged commercially in the manufacture and sale of baskets, axe handles, and small articles of furniture. The Indians are employed as day labourers and in lumber camps” (Canada, 1942, p. 175). The housing situation was comparable to that of non-Indians; the report states that “Housing is similar to that in other parts of the Maritime Provinces” (Canada, 1942, p. 175).

There was no report for 1943. In 1944, the Míkmaq did a little farming, worked in the potato crop in Maine, hunted and fished, worked as guides, in the lumber camps and sawmills, as day labourers, and manufactured wooden handles and baskets (Canada, 1945, p. 165). The report again notes that “Housing is similar to that in other parts of the Maritime Provinces” (Canada, 1945, p. 165). The report was repeated for 1945, with nothing filed for the next several years.

Provincial economic decline was reported for 1950; the report for that year notes that “Curtailed operations in New Brunswick during the autumn and winter brought considerable unemployment to the Indians, and unemployment relief was issued to many families” (Canada, 1951, p. 61). The Northeastern Agency became the Miramichi Agency in 1950 (Canada, 1951, p. 61). Indian Affairs states that “Potato-basket manufacturing and employment in the lumber and pulp industry continued as the principal occupation of the Indians” (Canada, 1951, p. 61). The provincial economic decline had an influence on the Indians’ employment situation; the report for 1953 notes that,

The poor demand for pulpwood and pit props created an employment problem and in many instances additional relief had to be issued. However, the Indians turned back to fishing, berry picking, basketry, and axe-handle making. Smelt fishing was delayed until after December because the forming of the ice, necessary for the setting of nets, was retarded. Spring employment was obtained for many Indians from Burnt Church at Loggieville fish plants and by the Big Cove Indians at the Richibucto canning plant...These plants process ‘gaspereau’ fish and operate about six weeks each spring. Some Indians worked on construction in the State of Connecticut, others in fertilizer plants and potato

warehouses in the State of Maine in an increased movement of New Brunswick Indians to the United States in search of employment (Canada, 1954, pp. 49-50). Some reportedly found employment in the army; “The Miramichi Agency reported five enlistments in the armed forces during the first quarter of the year. Quite a few Indians from New Brunswick are now in uniform, some of them serving in Korea” (Canada, 1954, p. 50).

The Annual Report for 1955 indicated some economic improvement in the province, which provided some benefit to the Indians, stating that “The prevailing demand for pulpwood, much of it available on the large New Brunswick reserves, work available in the State of Maine, reasonably close to many New Brunswick Indians, and the beginning of construction at Camp Gagetown opened up many employment possibilities for Indian workers of this province, many of them skilled tradesmen” (Canada, 1956, p. 65). The report did not indicate whether any workers on the army base were from Big Cove. The economic growth in pulpwood was affected and Indian Affairs observed that “unusually persistent and heavy snowfall over most of this province prevented for months any and all types of woodwork” (Canada, 1956, p. 65). Many sought work where they could find it; the report notes that “Seasonal employment as fishing and hunting guides, in the potato fields of Maine, and in cutting and shipping of Christmas trees helped many Indians, although work in this later field was minimal because of spruce bud worm infestation” (Canada, 1956, p. 65). Some of the Band members continued working with small family gardens and making baskets, as outlined by Indian Affairs; “Sustenance gardening is increasing annually and basketry and handle making continue to be a definite part of Indian economy” (Canada, 1956, p. 65).

Indian Affairs reported in 1957 that a brief provincial economic growth spurt had slowed down, noting that, overall, “Those living in eastern New Brunswick did not do as well, as they

were dependent to a great extent on seasonal employment in cutting pulpwood and Christmas trees, in the potato and berry fields of Maine, in the shell fish and smelt fishery, and in basketry and handle making. A few worked steadily in pulp mills and other industries” (Canada, 1958, p. 78). The Department began “the establishment of household arts departments at Big Cove and Burnt Church” in 1957 (Canada, 1958, p. 78). With a decline within the forest sector in 1958, Indians resorted to older forms of employment; “In the eastern areas, Indian forest workers were adversely affected by the reduced demand for pulpwood and a spruce bud worm infestation which damaged the annual Christmas tree harvest. The production of handicrafts in the form of baskets, rustic furniture and handles, however, gave them an alternative source of income” (Canada, 1959, p. 80). The reports reflect, again, the focus on a capitalist economic structure, which was counter to the traditional means of subsistence in the community. Those entering into professions were also cited in the annual report for 1958, which notes that “One registered nurse, two practical nurses and several stenographers graduated and obtained employment” (Canada, 1959, p. 81).

The 1959 Annual Report portrayed a slightly better situation for the Indians residing in New Brunswick, noting that,

The increasing mechanization of the potato industry in Maine has considerably reduced the annual jobs for New Brunswick Indians in seed-cutting and harvesting. As a result, more emphasis was placed on basic industries in the province such as lumbering and fishing. While opportunities for employment off reserves diminished, there was some movement of pulp and saw logs from the reserves and the Christmas tree trade was brisk (Canada, 1960, p. 85).

Indian Affairs provided loans for economic development, in 1959; the report states that “Six revolving loans funds were approved chiefly to establish individuals in fishing” (Canada, 1960, p. 85). Welfare was increased in response to the employment situation. Indian Affairs observes that, “Owing to the decrease in employment and the slow market for pulp, the cost of direct relief was about 14 percent higher than last year” (Canada, 1960, p. 85). In the new decade, the fisheries formed a component of economic development; the report states that “At Big Cove Reserve, a group of fishermen are cooperating to increase their production” (Canada, 1961, p. 86).

There were 1,800 Micmacs in New Brunswick, as reported by Indian Affairs in 1961. The economic situation in the province was similar to that of previous years; the department observes that, “In the eastern part of the province, fishing and lumbering are the principal sources of employment although seasonal employment in Maine continues to make a sizable contribution to their livelihood...the increasing mechanization of the Maine potato industry, [however], had more serious effects on the Indian people” (Canada, 1962, p. 94). Big Cove responded with its own economic initiatives, where the chief and council led a movement to increase income from fishing, lumbering and handicrafts. The annual report notes that

Smelt fishing restrictions along the river fronting this reserve have been lifted. Indians have organized a co-operative to fish gaspereaux, and a loan to provide nets was granted by the Branch to 15 fishermen. Timber is non-existent on Big Cove Reserve but a small contract for cutting on leased Crown land, employing 24 Indians for a short period, was arranged by the chief. Production of handicrafts has increased, and one Indian employed seven men during the winter making baskets and lobster trap hoops. A market for 250,000 hoops was available for them (Canada, 1962, p. 94).

The Department reported on the development of the craft industry in 1962, stating that a “project, involving Indians of the Big Cove Reserve, New Brunswick, is under negotiation with the provincial Department of Industry and Development. These programs are expected to serve as guides in developing handicraft projects elsewhere” (Canada, 1963, p. 39). In 1963, Indian Affairs reported crafts training provided by the province, noting that, “Under a grant loan from the Branch, the New Brunswick Department of Industry and Development has given instruction and supervision in weaving, textile printing, jewelry making and wood turning at the Big Cove Reserve. Designs used are mainly of Indian origin” (Canada, 1964, p. 30). Ironically, the government felt it appropriate to provide training to the Mikmaq in their own traditional activities. Later accounts indicate that the government enjoyed some economic benefit from the craftsmanship of the Indigenous Peoples, not only in New Brunswick, but across Canada. The 1965 Annual Report provides an update on the development of craft production and the increase in autonomy amongst craft workers, observing that “The people of the eastern woodlands are naming and getting their prices for porcupine quill, ash and sweetgrass baskets, birchbark miniatures, pottery and weaving...The Micmacs of Big Cove, in New Brunswick, through their Indian artist-designers, are now well-known to national buyers of silk-screened products” (Canada, 1966, p. 31). The craft project in Big Cove received federal funding in 1967, as noted in the report; “Craft Industries: During the year, the Indian Affairs Branch assisted with...marketing and promotion programs at Big Cove” (Canada, 1968, p. 56).

Jacob Augustine Sr. stated that his father, Noel Tom Augustine, “lived by trapping, hunting, cutting wood, farming and cattle-raising” (Guessous, 1960, p. 23). Hubert Levy was trained as a cabinet-maker and worked briefly in his profession. He earned his living by “cutting pulp-wood, picking potatoes, construction, etc.” (Guessous, 1960, p. 24). Mikmaq workers were

treated better in the United States, he said; “Here, the white men do not want to give us a job, or they let you wait during many weeks before they tell you a definite yes or no” (Guessous, 1960, p. 24). Jacob Augustine described his desire to travel in pursuit of other work saying “Then, I feel some kind of fever, and I know that I’ve got to move to another place and have some good time” (Guessous, 1960, p. 25). John Augustine, Jacob’s son, was formerly in the military and served briefly as chief. His main source of revenue was from relief and “his main occupation all year around is pulp-wood; he works in a piece of wood which is 12 miles away from the reserve” (Guessous, 1960, p. 30). Wilfred Simon worked mainly with cutting wood and fishing, “[and] he will work on road construction in the reserve” (Guessous, 1960, p. 31). His other income included relief and family allowance, and he later worked in Maine. He commented that since people received relief cheques rather than rations, the prices in the Big Cove stores dropped. Willie John Simon indicated that the “Indian constable, and Martin Francis, school janitor, are the only men who have a steady job in Big Cove” (Guessous, 1960, p. 44). He also worked as a carpenter on the reserve. Willie John said other men did not work on their own homes as “[t]hey would not get paid for this [construction] work; they would only have their rations increased” (Guessous, 1960, p. 45). Their focus of discussion was on income. These men had a combined revenue from labour and welfare and suggested that welfare was a very important source of income.

Edward Eagles also reported on employment. He stated that “When I questioned Sam about the dearth of people on the Reserve, he explained that many people were away in Maine working on the log drive or farming. He commented that it was ‘pretty hard’ to get work in the vicinity of Big Cove” (Eagles, 1963, p. 4). John Simon decried the economic situation for the Mikmaq and “bemoaned the fact that Kent County is so economically depressed. He said that

none of the Indians could get work here. The younger men have to go to Maine to get work, either in the potato[e] fields or working on the log drive. He said that when his father was a young man, he worked at shipbuilding near Rexton” (Eagles, 1963, p. 12). The socio-economic factors discussed above were connected to geography, especially income and unemployment.

The Big Cove community were engaged mainly in fishing and farming at the time the Indian Affairs reporting began. In the late 1800s, they began to work in the lumber industry, logging, log driving, and working in the sawmills. The early 1900s saw an increase in craftwork, for which the government began to provide grants in the mid-twentieth century. Communities were judged on their “progressiveness” or lack thereof, depending on how deeply they involved themselves in economic pursuits of which the government approved. A turn towards a capitalist system in Canada drove the Míkmaq further and further away from the teachings of *Netukulimk*.

5.5 Health Issues

In 1879, payments to doctors for medical services were reported, which amounted to slightly more than \$205, with the greater expense accrued in Moncton followed by Big Cove.

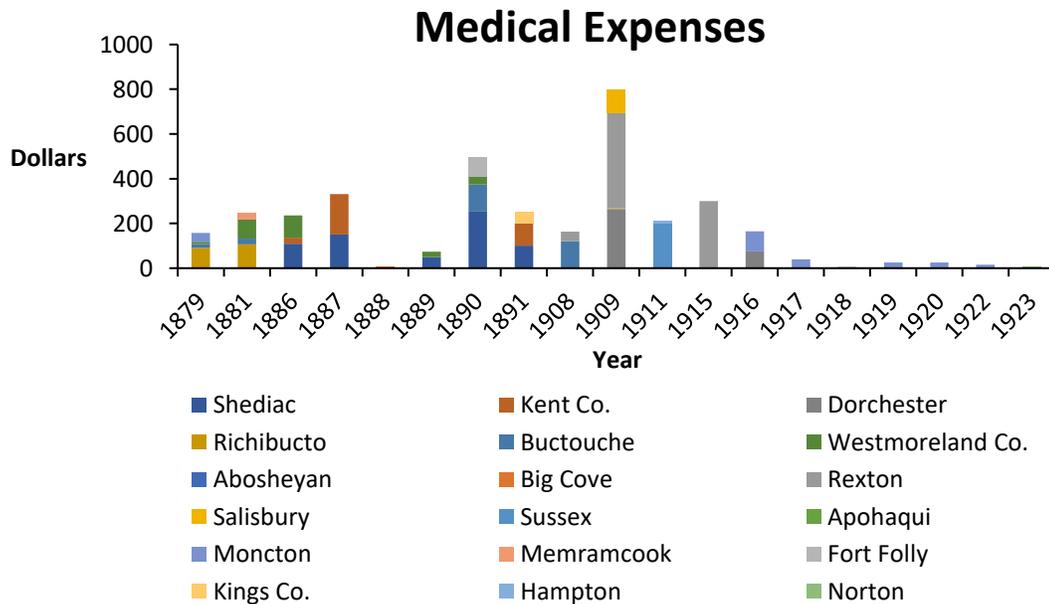


Figure 27: Medical Expenses by Year

The above chart indicates that the medical expenses were not listed in every annual report. There were various locations used, and their reporting was inconsistent, possibly for the overall lack of government attention paid to the Indigenous Peoples in New Brunswick. In addition, those Indian Affairs officials drafting the annual report may not have been familiar with the specific bands and their movements between locations, and this may have contributed to their inconsistencies. Big Cove would fall under the locations of Kent County, Richibucto, and Rexton. Shediac was listed along with Westmorland County, and this county could also include Dorchester, Salisbury, Moncton, and Memramcook. Shediac could have also referred to Aboujagan [Abosheyan], while Dorchester could also be Memramcook and Fort Folly, Sussex, Apohaqui, Hampton, and Norton, as all were located within Kings County. The bulk of medical expenses appear to have been incurred by the Big Cove residents, and later shifted to Shediac (possibly due to the movement of band members), and later to Dorchester, Big Cove, and Salisbury, where they peaked, and then later declined.

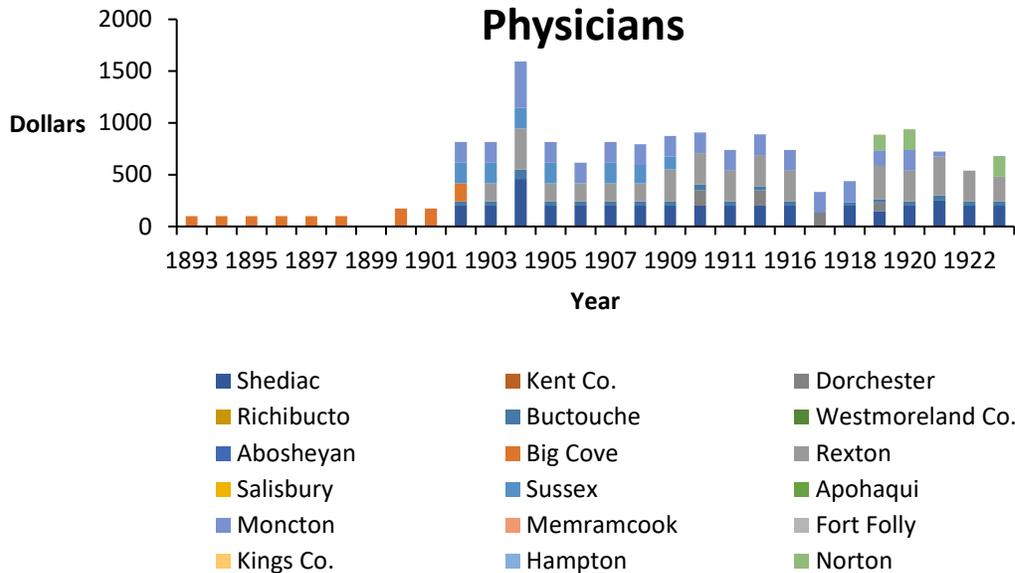


Figure 28: Medical Expenses by Year 1893 -1923

According to Figure 28, above, the annual reports indicated that the physicians on payroll remained consistent over the years, but also reflected shifts in which locations received departmental funds. The focus of the reports was initially on Big Cove and then on Rexton, whose physician continued to administer to Big Cove. The increase in remuneration in 1902 was due to doctors being paid in Sussex and Moncton, suggesting movement of band members. The spike in physician payments in 1904 possibly reflected a transition from paying physicians medical services to reflecting that they were receiving mainly payroll. The increase in physician payments might also have been due to changes from invoicing to payroll and possibly also due to changes in federal health policies and jurisdictions between provinces and the federal government. However, possible double entries occurred in 1908, that or the entries reflected additional amounts paid to doctors. If the latter were the case, the chart would show amounts lower than the actual expenses paid. There was a drop in payments in the 1917 records, which

only reflected the salary of doctors in Dorchester and Moncton. Payments rose again in 1919, with additional payments being made to a new doctor in Norton, in Kings County.

Despite a decrease in alcohol consumption reported in 1880, it was still reported by the DIA to be problematic in some areas (Canada, 1881, p. 48). Because of an amendment to the *Indian Act* in 1884, it was a felony for Indigenous Peoples to purchase or consume alcohol or to enter a licenced establishment selling alcohol; however, alcohol was still used as a bartering tool by traders who made it their practice to supply the Indians with an abundance of it prior to trading. In contrast, the early official stance of the government on controlling Indigenous peoples' access to alcohol was included in their instructions to Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents, Commissaries, Interpreters, and Missionaries in 1775, which stated that "No Trader shall sell or otherwise supply the Indians with Rum, or other spirituous liquors, swan shot, or rifled barrel led guns." (Canada, 1978). This injunction laid out the path for the federal government's later policies regarding Indigenous Peoples and alcohol; the laws were not changed to allow them to purchase alcohol until 1951 and after this year there were race-based proscriptions that criminalized alcohol use by Indigenous Peoples; the Drybones case, for instance, was tried in 1970. This, of course, did not mean that alcohol was absent from reserves until that time.

Indian Affairs' annual report for 1888 noted that, "The most populous reserve in the Eastern Superintendency is situated at Big Cove, in the County of Kent" (Canada, 1889, p. xi). Their economic activity was portrayed in a favourable light; "The occupants engage extensively, for Indians, in farming. Fish form, also, an important means of maintenance with them; and, altogether, they may be considered as being favourably circumstanced" (Canada, 1889, p. xi). Shediac was portrayed in sharp contrast and described as "retrograding morally" and it was noted

that intoxicants were obtained by the Indians, who “loiter about” and were subjected to “consequent demoralization” (Canada, 1889, p. xi). Their situation was attributed to the ease of acquiring alcohol. According to the report, “The situation of this reserve is disadvantageous, owing to its propinquity to towns and villages whereat intoxicants can be procured by the Indians with little or no difficulty” (Canada, 1889, p. xi). Anecdotal evidence shows that alcohol consumption was increasingly regarded by Ottawa as being problematic on reserves; this increased reliance on alcohol arguably reflects the decline in mental health stemming from the loss of the peoples’ essential connection to the land. In 1888, Big Cove was a large reserve with a large population; the report notes that “The band are fairly comfortable” (Canada, 1889, p. 33).

Indian Island was described as a branch of Big Cove, although they had their own chief and were said to be “doing very well” (Canada, 1889, p. 33). Buctouche were “making out pretty well,” while Shediac was described as “going back” and “less thrifty” (Canada, 1889, p.33). Living close to the railway and to non-Indians was viewed as problematic; “The Indians are going back, their reserve is too close to the white people and the railway; they have contracted habits consequent on their proximity to the drinking places” (Canada, 1889, p. 33). Fort Folly, according to the report, was “generally quiet and sober” (Canada, 1889, p. 33). The superintendency experienced a slight decrease in population. There were three doctors paid for medical services in Westmorland County and one doctor in Big Cove, R. A. Olloqui, who was paid \$5.00 (Canada, 1889, p. 138).

In 1889, the Míkmaq population had decreased by nine people overall. Alcohol was cited by Ottawa as one cause for the reduction; “Sickness, and in some cases, it is feared, dissipation, were the causes of the diminution in the case of the Micmacs” (Canada, 1890, p. xxiv), dissipation being the perceived squandering of money, energy, or resources. Intoxicants were

easily obtained, and they were believed to have caused much suffering, as outlined in the 1889 report:

The Micmacs' occupations of fishing and farming which they generally combine, are less likely to interfere one with the other, and there seems to be no reason why these Indians should not do well, as the land on most of the reserves is arable, and the fisheries in the vicinity are all that could be desired; but they, as a rule, appear satisfied to obtain barely sufficient to sustain life when by no very extraordinary effort they might rapidly become quite independent, the means being ready to their band (Canada, 1890, p. xxiv).

Doctors were paid for medical services in Buctouche, Big Cove, and Indian Island in 1889. Dr. R. A. Olloqui was paid \$100.00 for doctoring members of Big Cove and Indian Island. (Canada, 1890, p. 7). Indian Affairs paid for services for a Catholic priest and paid for the services of doctors in Westmorland County.

There was an increase in doctors' services in the late 1800s for Kent and Westmorland Counties, indicating a shift in the population most requiring services. Westmorland and Kent County population records illustrate the rise and fall of population numbers, as people moved to areas in which they were more likely to obtain employment. These moves further distanced them from their traditional homeland. Many of the Indigenous Peoples had been forced from their lands by settler exploitation of the territories and were again being compelled to move for economic reasons in search of wage labour, as was the case with my own ancestors, as outlined in a previous chapter. Indian Affairs reported that Dr. Olloqui was paid \$100.00 for services to

Big Cove and Indian Island in 1891 (Canada, 1892, p. 8). Big Cove members, they note, “are in good circumstances” (Canada, 1892, p. 166).

In the late 1800s, Shediac and Fort Folly were struggling to progress, and for this, their impermanence and intemperance were blamed; Indian Affairs states that “Shediac...is not improving. The Indians as a rule do not try to improve, their roving propensities are fostered by the ease with which they can move about by rail, and the bad effects are seen in their conditions. A few of them, living on the Aboushagan below Shediac, try to farm a little, and were more comfortable than the majority” (Canada, 1892, p. 167). Fort Folly, in particular, was singled out for its struggles:

This band has a poor chance, the land being poor and no firewood on it. The Indians manufacture their wares, and fish a little. They also have a church on the reserve. There is a stone quarry quite near, but that is work which they do not appear to try. I cannot say that this band is improving. There is little or no change; they move along in the usual way and will always do so. There appears to be a little ambition and a desire to improve in some sections, but the majority are careless, thinking only of the present, and feel as if the Governments should give them whatever they want. Notwithstanding the stringency of the regulations regarding the sale of spirituous liquour to the Indians they do procure it and are made miserable by its use. I trust we may by some means be able to put a stop to it (Canada, 1892, p. 167).

The level of detailed reporting declined in 1892. Indian Affairs continued to pay Dr. Olloqui for services for Big Cove and Indian Island. Big Cove slowly became the ideal, and it was reported that the “Indians are better individuals than in many other places” (Canada, 1893, p. 34). Indian

Island residents were also described favourably as being “sober, steady people” (Canada, 1893, p. 34). Bouctouche, on the other hand, did not fare as well; the report notes that “This band is not holding its own...some have left” (Canada, 1893, p. 34). The Míkmaq slowly dispersed from the Shediac Reserve, and the report observes that “This band is pretty much broken up” (Canada, 1893, p. 34). With limited resources, Fort Folly remained “very poor [with] a slight decrease in population...They have not so many opportunities for procuring liquor...There is nothing that renders them so perfectly miserable as the use of liquor” (Canada, 1893, p. 34).

In 1893, Indian Affairs reported that, in Big Cove, “Indians are better individuals...Those that have their health and are disposed to try, can make themselves very comfortable indeed” (Canada, 1894, p. 29). Indian Island continued to be described as “sober and steady people,” and Bouctouche was “not holding their own” (Canada, 1894, p. 29). Significantly, the department notes that Shediac was “very much broken up. They have moved to various places through the county, and are, as a general thing, unsettled,” indicating the drastic change in the Indigenous Peoples’ relationship to the land (Canada, 1894, p. 29). As we learn from McGibbon (2012a), Boyer (2011), and Feagin (2013), cycles of systemic oppression—in this instance, instigated by the ongoing colonial theft of traditional lands—informed future intersections of the elements of poor mental and physical health. The reports of the Indian agency reveal an underlying and often overt view of Indigenous peoples as less than human and in need of civilization. The essential theft of traditional territory is one manifestation of the ongoing claim of *terra nullius*, or empty land, which colonizers employed to justify the exploitation of Míkmaq lands.

Fort Folly, again, remained “very poor” (Canada, 1894, p. 29). The Míkmaq were, at that time, reported to be living close to Sussex and in Maine:

During the year, there has been committed to my care a band of [Míkmaq] Indians who reside in shanties at Hampton, King's County, N. B. Since their arrival at this place, they have experienced considerable sickness, which necessitated a large outlay for medical treatment. Most of these Indians at the present time are at watering-places in the State of Maine, where they with others frequent each summer to sell their wares. It is to be hoped, should they come back in the fall, which is most likely, that they will return to their reservation, as the place referred to is deficient or the necessaries requisite for Indian life (Canada, 1894, p. 32).

YEAR	Consumption	Grippe/flu	pneumonia	other pulmonary	measles	typhoid	chronic lung complaints	lung troubles	bronchial diseases	diphtheria	small pox	colds
1893 ¹⁴⁸												
1894 ¹⁴⁹	☒											
1895 ¹⁵⁰	☒											
1896 ¹⁵¹	☒											
1897 ¹⁵²		☒	☒	☒								
1898 ¹⁵³	☒		☒		☒							
1899 ¹⁵⁴												
1900 ¹⁵⁵	☒		☒									
1901 ¹⁵⁶	☒			☒	☒	☒						
1902 ¹⁵⁷					☒		☒					
1903 ¹⁵⁸	☒							☒				
1904 ¹⁵⁹				☒					☒			
1905 ¹⁶⁰	☒		☒									
1906 ¹⁶¹	☒		☒							☒		
1907 ¹⁶²	☒	☒	☒	☒								
1909 ¹⁶³	☒	☒	☒	☒								
1910 ¹⁶⁴	☒	☒	☒	☒								
1911 ¹⁶⁵	☒	☒	☒	☒						☒	☒	
1913 ¹⁶⁶	☒	☒	☒	☒								☒
1914 ¹⁶⁷	☒	☒	☒	☒								☒
1915 ¹⁶⁸	☒											
1916 ¹⁶⁹	☒	☒	☒									

Table 5: Types of Illness by Year

¹⁴⁸ Considerable sickness in Hampton.

¹⁴⁹ Consumption in Hampton.

¹⁵⁰ Great deal of sickness in Buctouche & Hampton.

¹⁵¹ Consumption in Kings & Westmorland counties.

¹⁵² These caused deaths in Kings & Westmorland counties.

¹⁵³ Great number of deaths.

¹⁵⁴ Much sickness & many deaths.

¹⁵⁵ Consumption quite common.

¹⁵⁶ Great deal of sickness & many deaths.

¹⁵⁷ Great deal of sickness.

¹⁵⁸ Many cases of sickness.

¹⁵⁹ Great deal of sickness.

¹⁶⁰ Much destitution & sickness off reserve. Five deaths from pneumonia.

¹⁶¹ Consumption & pneumonia in Westmorland County. Diphtheria in Big Cove.

¹⁶² Much sickness off reserve.

¹⁶³ Some sickness.

¹⁶⁴ Much sickness.

¹⁶⁵ Much sickness. Few deaths caused by pneumonia. Several outbreaks of small pox which were quarantined.

¹⁶⁶ Considerable sickness.

¹⁶⁷ Considerable sickness.

¹⁶⁸ Not much illness as usual. Chronic cases of TB.

¹⁶⁹ Considerable illness. Few cases of pneumonia. Few deaths from pneumonia. One death from consumption.

Table 5, above, indicates that tuberculosis (consumption), influenza (grippe), pneumonia, and other pulmonary diseases occurred regularly over the 23-year period of reporting illness.

In 1894, Big Cove was described in the annual report as, “one of the finest reserves” which “contains the largest population” (Canada, 1895, p. 36). The Agent notes, “I have endeavoured to enforce the laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to these Indians and have succeeded to a certain extent, but I find it impossible to stop the sale entirely” (Canada, 1895, p. 36). Shediac’s decline continued and the report notes that “This land is almost broken up, only half a dozen remain. Some have removed to Scotch Settlement and McDougald Settlement in the vicinity of Moncton and Hampton, Kings County; others have joined the Big Cove Band in Kent County. The chief of the band, Laurent Nacout, is now a helpless cripple living at Big Cove” (Canada, 1895, p. 36). Some of Fort Folly’s residents had moved close to Sussex and the Indian Agent indicated that “A number of Indians under my charge reside near Hampton, in King’s County. They appear to have chosen this location on account of the advantage it gives them to dispose of baskets, moccasins and other wares. They live in shanties during the winter, but in summer most of them move about from place to place” (Canada, 1895, p. 36).

Indian Affairs notes, in 1894, that “The total population of the Indians of this superintendency is nine hundred and twenty-five, including the Hampton Band” (Canada, 1895, p. 36). There were no previous reports of the Hampton Band; however, in this iteration of the annual report, Indian Affairs outlined health issues in Hampton and the general area:

I also procured a quantity of vaccine and all those not previously vaccinated submitted to the operation. During the winter and spring, there were a number of deaths, chiefly from pulmonary complaints. Consumption is the disease most

prevalent among the Indians of this agency. Full ninety percent of the deaths are due to its ravages” (Canada, 1895, p. 36).

The population in the Sussex area increased in the late 1800s. The inhabitants were described as wandering about, begging, and selling baskets, and with the poorest of health. The report states, in regard to King’s County, that

The Indians of Hampton number fifty-five and are engaged in making and selling Indian wares and in begging. They live in shanties during the winter, and in summer move about from place from place. There has been a great deal of sickness during the year amongst the Westmorland and Hampton Indians, due, no doubt, to exposure caused by their wandering habits and poor dwellings. The total population for this superintendency is nine hundred and fifty-six. Some of them show a disposition to improve their condition and are making fair progress. Others are content to eke out a miserable existence. Most of them are peaceable and law-abiding. I have endeavoured to enforce the laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to them and have succeeded to a certain extent, but I find it impossible to stop the traffic entirely. Consumption has been the cause of nearly all the deaths that have occurred during the year (Canada, 1896, p. 46).



Figure 29: Agnes Augustine, and others, walking the rails.

Tuberculosis, also called consumption, was the predominant cause of death, as noted by the report for 1896; it states that “there have been no infectious or contagious diseases or epidemics among these Indians during the year, unless we class consumption as such. Fully eighty percent of the deaths that have occurred have been due to pulmonary complaints” and, in response, Mikmaq health practices included the removal and burning of “all the garbage and filth” (Canada, 1897, p. 51). Poor health may possibly have been ascribed to “those who have no settled place of abode, in Westmorland and King’s counties, live in rude huts and shanties. Those huts afford but little protection from the cold, and are often over-crowded, dirty and unhealthful” (Canada, 1897, p. 51). The racism inherent in settler records regarding Indigenous Peoples was evident. Mikmaq were described as lazy, and absent of thought for their future. An 1896 report stated that “[t]hey are as a rule, a law-abiding, easy going, indolent race, never looking out for tomorrow so long as they have enough for today. I have endeavoured to impress upon them the

necessity of saving from their crops enough seed for planting in the following spring, but my advice has in most cases been thrown away” (Canada, 1897, p. 51). Big Cove had a small population decrease, while Shediac had a slight resurgence; however, there were those still living around Petitcodiac and Sussex.

Indian Affairs observes that, in 1898, “The death rate during the year has been heavy. The greater number of deaths have been due to pneumonia and consumption [tuberculosis]” although “there have been no contagious or infectious diseases, except measles” (Canada, 1899, p. 54). Every spring, from around their homes, they “removed...filth and refuse matter” and, in order to fight bacteria, “the Indians whitewashed, or lime washed their dwellings thoroughly inside and outside” (Canada, 1899, p. 54).

The winter of 1899 was difficult, from a health perspective, as “[d]uring the winter and spring there was much sickness, and many deaths occurred. The death rate was unusually heavy among the Burnt Church Indians, due principally to pneumonia and consumption” (Canada, 1900, p. 58). There were no epidemics and the Míkmaq continued to remove and destroy the waste around their homes, and they white-washed them (Canada, 1900, p. 58). The Míkmaq fared better health-wise in 1900 than in the previous years, as there had been “less sickness and fewer deaths during the year than for some time past” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). Respiratory illness appeared to be quite common; for that year, Indian Affairs observes that “there are several cases of consumption on the different reserves” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). Some practices to improve health were adopted by the Míkmaq, including the collection and burning of waste and the sterilization of buildings, inside and out, by whitewashing them with lime.

The Shediac Reserve was unoccupied in 1901, while Fort Folly had four families living there. The Agency’s population was 926 people, which was decreased by four, inclusive of 28

births and 32 deaths. People living off reserve in shanties were cold and wet; “Consequently there is much sickness and destitution among them in severe seasons” (Canada, 1902, p. 56). The report for 1901 continued:

There has been a great deal of sickness, and many deaths have occurred among the Indians during the year. There have been the usual number of cases of consumption and other pulmonary complaints and in addition an epidemic of measles, which carried off a number of children (Canada, 1902, p. 56).

As in previous years, the “filth and refuse matter [were] removed and burnt...Dwellings [were] lime-washed [and] cases of typhoid [were] rare among them” (Canada, 1902, p. 56).

The 1902 report addresses the area within the Big Cove Reserve, “a great part of which is fertile land. The Indians have cleared and occupy about three hundred acres. The remainder consists of woodland with some spruce and hemlock scattered throughout, and a quantity of bog land” (Canada, 1903, pp. 60-61). The population for Big Cove was 283 with 7 births and 10 deaths. The annual report states that “A family of five from Indian Island reserve joined this band last fall” (Canada, 1903, p. 61). Illness had increased from the previous year, according to Indian Affairs; “There was a great deal of sickness in this band during last fall and winter. An epidemic of measles broke out in the fall and continued all winter” (Canada, 1903, p. 61). Houses were again reported to have been lime-washed, and health-related pamphlets were distributed; the report notes that “A set of rules for health and on cleanliness printed in the Micmac language was distributed among those and other Indians in this agency for their guidance” Canada, 1903, p. 61).

The population for Indian Island in 1902 was 34, which was a decrease of six people, with one death and a family of five who moved to Big Cove. The band was portrayed

favourably, overall:

The health of this band...has been good, except in the case of three families. The chief, an old man approaching ninety years of age, has been an invalid for the past three years...These Indians cleaned their dwellings and premises last spring...These Indians are all engaged in deep-sea fishing in summer and in smelt and oyster fishing in winter. They do some farming but devote most of their time to fishing...These Indians are more industrious than some of the other bands”

(Canada, 1903, p. 61).

Bouctouche had 27 band members in its population, with one birth and one death reported, along with some sickness—possibly tuberculosis; the Agency stated that “There has been sickness during the year among all the families of this band, chiefly cases of chronic lung complaints” (Canada, 1903, p. 62). Those who had problems with alcohol were in a minority, yet they gained the attention of Indian Affairs who note that “A large number of the Indians do not touch intoxicants. There are some, however, who succeed in obtaining liquor and getting drunk, notwithstanding all efforts to prevent it” (Canada, 1903, p. 62). Rev. E. J. Bannon, who was paid \$100.00, served as priest in Richibucto (Canada, 1903, p. 157). The bulk of paid medical services for the Míkmaq were provided around the Moncton and Sussex areas. The health situation remained similar to that of the previous year. Much like 1902, in 1903 it was reported that “[t]here have been many cases of sickness during the year, chiefly consumption and lung troubles. The usual sanitary precautions were taken in the spring” (Canada, 1904, p. 62). Their health was similar to other bands in the province, however, Indian Affairs viewed Indian Island as faring better than other bands, stating that, for that year,

There have been several cases of sickness among these Indians, chiefly pulmonary complaints...The old chief, Peter Barlow, died last winter after several months of sickness...These Indians chiefly engage in fishing, but do some farming. The reserve is well situated for them to engage in smelt, oyster, eel and all other kinds of fishing...These Indians take more interest in education than most other Indians in the agency...These Indians are industrious and some of them are progressing. Peter Barlow, Thaddy Saulk [Sock] and others are amongst the most industrious (Canada, 1904, p. 63).

Bouctouche's population dwindled to 18, a decrease of nine, with one death. Four people moved to Indian Island, and four others left the district. Much sickness was reported for the year 1903. In addition, alcohol was problematic for a few of the people living in the region. The annual report states that "Many of these Indians are total abstainers from intoxicants. There are some, however, in all the bands who succeed in obtaining liquor" (Canada, 1904, p. 63). In 1903, Rev. E. J. Bannon received \$100.00 as the priest in Richibucto, and A. [Abram] Clare was paid \$20.00 to act as constable for the area (Canada, 1904, pp. 164 -165). The bulk of medical expenditures were focused on the area between Shediac and Sussex. Other expenses for Big Cove included \$10.25 for school supplies (Canada, 1904, p. J-87).

There was a great deal of sickness among the Mikmaq in 1904, with the records noting that "The death rate was higher than that of last year, chiefly from pulmonary and bronchial diseases," although they were described by Indian Affairs to have been "free from epidemics or contagious diseases" and that they practised health precautions to "remove the filth and garbage (Canada, 1905, p. 62). The report goes on to state that "Many of them limewashed and disinfected their buildings...Some of them are small, cheaply built and badly ventilated: but they

are much superior to the shanties of those Indians who are not living on reserves” (Canada, 1905, p. 62).

Rev. E. J. Bannon received \$100.00 for serving as priest in Richibucto, and A. Clare was given \$20.00 as constable (Canada, 1905, p. 157). Expenses for the Indian Agent were also reported; “W. D. Carter, agent...550.06 [travel 182.80]” (Canada, 1905, p. J-7). It is unclear why the medical services were listed twice in the annual report, with different or additional amounts.

Health precautions continued in 1905, according to Indian Affairs; the Mikmaq “lime-washed and cleansed their premises [and] removed all filth and garbage” (Canada, 1906, p. 57). The off-reserve housing situation continued to be a detriment to their health; the report notes that “The Indians living off the reserve live in small, cheaply built, badly ventilated, dirty shanties that afforded a very poor protection from the severity of last winter (Canada, 1906, p. 57). The report states, as well, that “The greater number of these Indians are temperate, but many will procure liquor and get drunk in spite of all efforts to prevent it” (Canada, 1906, p. 57).

Community health, in 1906, was reported as being equally poor, with the “usual number of cases of consumption and pneumonia” (Canada, 1907, p. 59). Indian Affairs reported a brief disease outbreak in Big Cove that year; “Diphtheria broke out among the children of the Big Cove band; the infected premises were promptly quarantined” (Canada, 1907, p. 59). Houses on the reserve continued to be lime-washed. Those off-reserve lived in “small shanties, badly ventilated and dirty” (Canada, 1907, p. 59). Alcohol abuse was problematic for a few of the Mikmaq in 1906 and the report reflects that fact, stating that, “The greater number of these Indians are temperate, but there are many who get liquor in spite of all efforts to prevent it” (Canada, 1907, p. 59).

Some expenditures for some of the bands within the Agency included payment to Rev. E. J. Bannon of \$100.00 as priest in Richibucto; and \$20.00 to A. [Abram] Clare as Band Constable

(Canada, 1907, p. 162).

Populations reported for reserves in 1907 were: Big Cove – 299, an increase of 4; Indian Island – 35; Bouctouche – 24; Fort Folly – 3 families; 61 off reserve at Dorchester, Painsec Junction, Salisbury, including Fort Folly; [total] Agency – 952, with an overall increase of 23. There was much sickness, “chiefly grippe, consumption, pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases” that year (Canada, 1908, p. 52). Indian Affairs observes that “There have been no epidemics or diseases of an infectious or contagious nature other than those mentioned” (Canada, 1908, p. 52). Again, the reserve houses were lime-washed and they “gather[ed] up and burn[ed] the dirt and refuse matter” (Canada, 1908, p. 52). There was some sickness reported for 1909, “chiefly grippe, consumption, pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases” (Canada, 1910, p. 58). The reserves’ houses were again lime-washed, and refuse was burnt as a health precaution.

According to Indian Affairs, in 1911, there was “much sickness...chiefly grippe [influenza], consumption [tuberculosis], pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases; and a few deaths have been caused by pneumonia” (Canada, 1912, p. 62). There were “several small outbreaks of smallpox” in Kent County (Canada, 1912, p. 62). Indian Affairs reported that “Several cases, fairly severe, occurred; but no deaths were recorded. Prompt vaccination and strict quarantine prevented the further spread of the diseases” (Canada, 1912, p. 62). An “epidemic of diphtheria also broke out” in 1911 (Canada, 1912, p. 62). Assistance for the Mikmaq increased as Indian Affairs reported that “the relief supplies during the year have been much larger” (Canada, 1912, p. 62). (Canada, 1914, p. 59). Health precautions were taken to remove filth and garbage, and to lime-wash, cleanse, and disinfect their dwellings once again, in 1913 (Canada, 1914, p. 59).

Indian Affairs reported many illnesses for 1914, noting that, “There has been considerable illness among these Indians during the past winter – chiefly colds, grippe, consumption, pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases [and] no epidemics or contagious diseases” (Canada, 1915, p. 29). There were no epidemics or contagious diseases reported the following year, and not as much illness as usual, although there were chronic cases of tuberculosis reported in 1915. There was slight improvement in dwelling conditions, but there was still great room for improvement. There was considerable illness, mostly grippe, but also a few cases of pneumonia, cited in the Annual Report for 1916; “There were a few deaths from the latter disease [pneumonia] and one death from consumption” (Canada, 1917, p. 30). Alcohol was problematic in a few cases during that year, but there was increased surveillance in this area; Indian Affairs observes that “There are a few in this agency who manage to get liquour when about the towns, but it is becoming more difficult for them to do so, on account of the close watch on the hotels by the police” (Canada, 1917, p. 30). The contrast was, again, highlighted between the industrious and the indolent; the report for 1916 observes that “Many of the Indians are industrious; those so inclined are making a very good living, while others are indolent and are very poor, requiring assistance in the winter. Very few try to save any money” (Canada, 1917, p. 30).

Health issues were not mentioned in the reports for several years. In the report for 1958, the observation is made that provincial programs were beginning to be implemented in the reserves; “With one exception, all Children’s Aid Societies in the Provinces have given serious consideration to the extension of their services to Indians on the reserves” (Canada, 1959, p. 81). Participation in provincial health programs was also reported; “Health standards are high and advantage is taken of all provincial public health services. The population growth is over three

percent per year” (Canada, 1960, p. 85). This change for the better within the community, at least from the perspective of the settlers, was concurrent with the social justice movements, such as the American Indian Movement, arising across the continent.

For 1960, Indian Affairs reported the need for welfare assistance, observing that “Restricted demands and low prices for pulpwood and logs affected the economy of reserves adversely, especially the Miramichi Agency, and the need for relief assistance was pronounced” (Canada, 1961, p. 86). Some health initiatives were assisting the federal health programs—the 1960 report notes that “A health committee at this last reserve [Big Cove] has provided valuable assistance to Indian Health Services in conducting TB [tuberculosis] surveys and polio clinics and has begun a program of sanitation” (Canada, 1961, p. 86). The Department dealt with welfare through newly introduced cheque payments to the regional Reserves’ Band members—the 1961 report notes that, “In all agencies, the system of paying food relief by cheque was introduced. Pilot projects the previous year had shown no substantial misuse of relief and experience with the use of cheques has confirmed this” (Canada, 1962, p. 94). Indian Affairs also cited the initiative of studying community development through health, noting that “The health and school committees there are quite outstanding” (Canada, 1962, p. 95). A nursing station was built on the reserve in 1952. Indian contractors were not considered as a serious option for its construction; Superintendent E.J. Blakey wrote to the provincial government that, “Chief Andrew Francis of the Big Cove Band could not be relied upon to undertake and complete, satisfactorily, the structure you wish to build at Big Cove. He has no experience in the building trade and is not in a position to finance the project” (Public Archives Canada, 1952). New forms for treatment were issued in 1953 by National Health and Welfare (Rutty & Sullivan, 2010, sec. 6.1). In 1954, an Indian Affairs Branch circular was published in reference to the Ministerial

regulations for medical services that were made in 1934, formerly under the *Indian Act*; according to Dr. P. E. Moore of the Indian Health Service and H. M. Jones of the Indian Affairs Branch, “It is the avowed intention of each department concerned to work towards the elimination of any discrimination between those Canadian citizens of Indian status and other citizens of Canada. In its work, Indian Health Services strives for the closest integration of health care of Indians and their neighbours” (Public Archives Canada, 1954). They continued with their discussion of eliminating discrimination by stating that “Where an Indian selects a physician not under agreement with Indian Health Services the Indian should pay all accounts” (Public Archives Canada, 1954). Information was provided to both the Indian Superintendent of Indian Affairs and the Director of the Indian Health Service (IHS), along with the new IHS regulations. The Maritime Zones, territories specific to the Eastern provinces, were established by IHS in 1956 and programs in 1959. The IAB provided patient transport in 1958. Jones observed that, “Frequently, the situation is aggravated by the failure of friends and neighbours to provide local transportation, by car, for sick Indians wishing to visit a doctor, as is normal in non-Indian communities” (Public Archives Canada, 1958).

New Brunswick Health Insurance was established in 1960, and a federal-provincial agreement provided health insurance to Indians in 1961; the Indian Affairs Medical Services Joint Committee notes that “The Government of Canada has of necessity cared for the Indians to such a degree that now they are supported by the very props of Government so created” (Public Archives Canada, 1960). IHS developed a policy for admissions in 1953, for the insane in 1961, and a policy for providing patients’ clothing in 1965. Concerning eligibility for health service coverage, P.E. Moore and H.M. Jones note that, “if he resides on a reserve or in an Indian community, and the Indian concerned is unable to obtain the required attention through his own

resources or any other source,” then he might receive health coverage (Public Archives Canada, 1954). Further, the two observe that “Since the *Indian Act* is silent with respect to this problem, the laws of each province apply, and it should not be assumed that there is the right to apprehend an Indian and have him mentally examined against his wishes unless there is a clear basis for such action in Provincial Legislation” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). National Health and Welfare (NHW) developed a policy for children in 1960, as well as policy regarding discharge in 1960, and for special treatment. NHW refused coverage for Indians who were in the United States in 1961 and, in an example of the service’s interaction with the Big Cove community, refused a request for Larry Sock to attend a TB sanatorium outside of the province, due to his having left the facility previously and its close proximity to his home. As the treatment was available within the province, his request was denied. He remained undiagnosed for TB and was refused outside treatment by the province. The IAB provided the Big Cove Health Committee with prize money for awards for the best lawn in 1961, highlighting a stark difference in perceptions of land use between Indigenous cosmologies and the colonial ideal of grooming nature; the Agent’s report notes that “The Health Committee at Big Cove are putting a big drive this spring in connection with Clean-Up Week. They are holding a competition for the best lawn, grounds, etc.” (Public Archives Canada, 1961). Community leaders were recognized for their achievements in community health by the health committee, along with William John Simon’s wife (Sarah) in 1964. Sarah Simon was the first woman elected to council in 1963.

Indian Affairs established a Medical Services Joint Committee in 1965 to address issues of employment. H. Lamb, secretary of the Indian Affairs-Medical Services Joint Committee noted that “Some [development] officers were of the opinion that employment or lack of it had a tremendous bearing on the action of the Indian. Reserve politics and discrimination by whites

plays a large part in all his actions and possibly on employment itself” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). The Medical Services Joint Committee also dealt with eligibility in 1966. More interestingly, staff and medical personnel were encouraged to treat Indians in a more progressive manner. For instance, the director of the Joint Committee, “Mr. McKinnon, expressed the wish that Medical Services staff doctors, nurses, public health inspectors, and administrative officers attend these [community development seminars] to broaden their knowledge of the new concept of treating Indians as people” (Public Archives Canada, 1966). The developments in the area of health during the two decades of the 1950s and 1960s revolved around increasing access to services, which also became a component of the social safety net. Committees promoting community clean-up and clean lawns fell under environmental factors. During the 1970s, there was no health-related information nor issues related to Big Cove in the annual report.

Reports on health issues in the Big Cove area were often tied to temperance or use of alcohol. Again, community members were judged for their adherence to western standards of cleanliness and management of the environment—being rewarded for having a tidy yard or being required to limewash their homes, for example. It is possible to see, in the Indian Affairs records, increases in various illnesses—particularly respiratory and pulmonary diseases—as the people were more and more removed from their traditional territories.



Figure 30: Chief Israel Knockwood: with headdress, holding child, Dorchester Reserve, possibly Indian Point or Beaumont, NB

5.6 Territory and Resources

Kent Co. Reserve Populations by Year

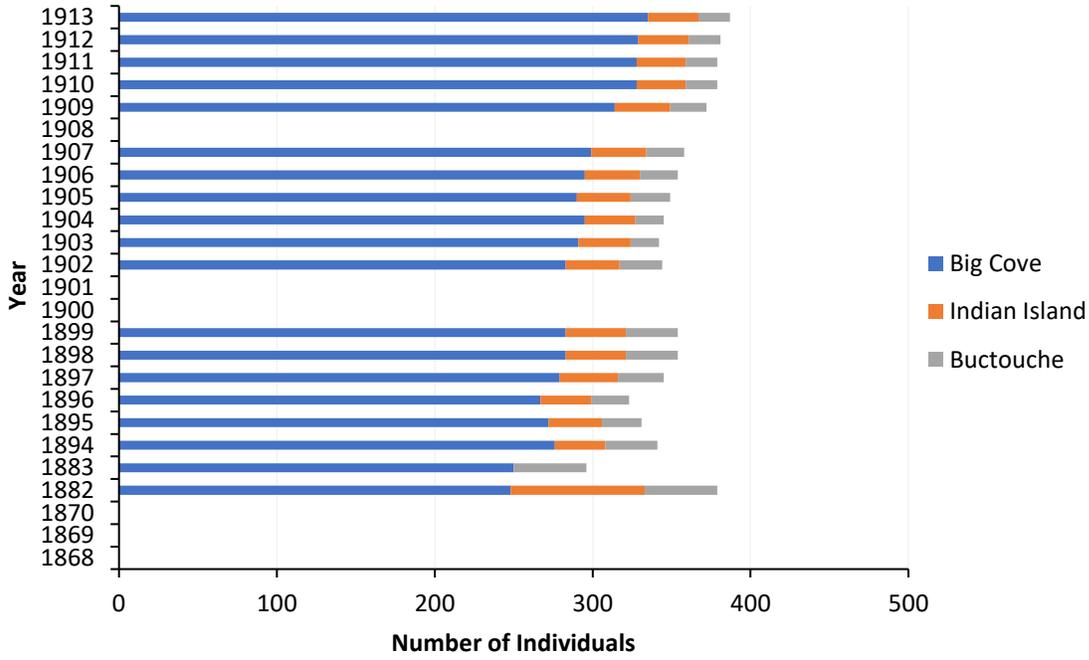


Figure 31: Kent County Reserve Populations by Year

Indian Affairs reported in 1877 that there were no Indian lands or timber from which to derive revenues, which forced the Míkmaq to depend on government relief for the year 1876. The report for that year notes that “The Indians in this Province, having no land or timber from the sale of which a revenue might be derived for their benefit, are, like their brethren in the Province of Nova Scotia, dependent for assistance to sow their land and support the aged and sick members of their communities, upon the appropriation made by Parliament for those purposes” (Canada, 1877, p. 103).

Westmorland Co. Reserve Populations by Year

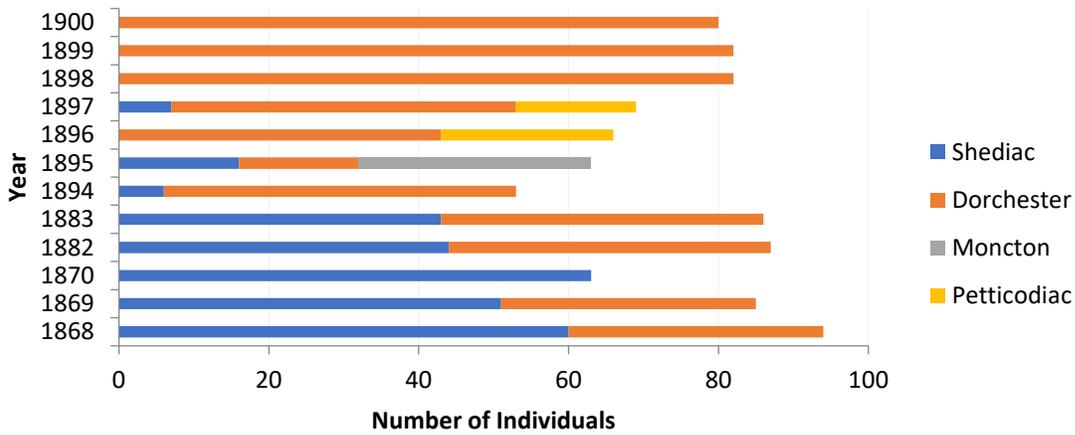


Figure 32: Westmorland County Reserve Populations by Year

In 1883, Indian Affairs reported that two doctors were paid for medical services in Westmorland County. Indian Affairs began reporting on agricultural development that year. Shediac was reported to be abandoned in 1897, although seven people were listed as living there. Moncton and vicinity were listed in the reports in 1895, and Shediac and Petticodiac were listed in 1896. The Indian Agents’ reporting determined the population counts and they were not always able to determine where the Mikmaq were residing, given their seasonal mobility between and within the traditional districts. Moncton and Petticodiac were not recorded as Indian reserves but contained Indian encampments. Shediac was reported abandoned in 1898, although it continued to be administered as a reserve. Fort Folly and vicinity were listed for 1899 and 1900, and after that date they were all reported under Westmorland County, which included places such as Dorchester, Shediac, Painsec, Moncton, Salisbury, and Fort Folly. Dorchester and Fort Folly are often considered the same reserve, as are Shediac and Aboujagan. The 1884 report

notes that “the Reserve [communities] at Shediac [Aboujagan] in the County of Westmorland...occupy 5 dwellings, have 6 acres of land under cultivation, own 3 heads of [livestock], and raised 408 bushels of produce. Their own industries brought them \$15” (Canada, 1884, p. xxxviii). A proximal comparison was provided, noting that “[inhabitants of] the Reserve at Fort Folly...occupy 12 houses, own 1 barn, have 4 acres of land under cultivation, and own 3 heads of [livestock]. They raised 210 bushels of produce and cut 1 ton of hay. The value of fish caught by them was \$45” (Canada, 1884, p. xxxviii).

Big Cove was expected to build its own school in 1885; however, its construction was delayed; the report observes that “A third school was to have been established on the reserve at Big Cove, in the County of Kent; but further action in the matter has been discontinued for the present, in consequence of the Indians not having fulfilled their promise to erect a frame for the building” (Canada, 1886, p. xxix).

In 1886, residents of Big Cove were described as living comfortably while Shediac Reserve residents were portrayed as nomadic, a state of being which settlers may have perceived as being uncomfortable, but which was a normal traditional practice for the Mikmaq. Sikniktuk made up the bulk of the Northeastern District at that time, according to Indian Affairs. The population for the Northeastern District was 932, an increase of six individuals. Big Cove was reported to be “pretty well off” and Shediac was described as “broken up and unsettled” (Canada, 1887, p. 34). Big Cove had a church built; the report notes that “There is a very good church here, in which they worship. It is now being finished inside; the money was granted in consideration of the lands on the reserve occupied by white people being surrendered to the Government by the bands” (Canada, 1887, p. 34). This money was collected from squatters who agreed to pay for the land they occupied on the reserve. Fort Folly was a contrast to this,

however, and affordable rail transport was blamed for the residents' impermanence; "They get into bad habits, and keep moving about, no doubt because they can go back and forth by rail at a very small cost" (Canada, 1887, p. 34). Expenditures for the region included "Travelling expense of Chief Tom Joseph from Ottawa to Richibucto. 16.90" (Canada, 1887, p. 97). Other costs were for services provided by a priest and doctors. Indian Affairs also reported on the status of treaties in Canada, stating that

It is now over one hundred years since the first treaty was made with the Canadian Indians by Britain, for the quieting of Indian titles and the surrender of the lands; and yet in all this time no drop of white blood has been shed by an Indian because of a broken treaty - and the reason is plain. The Indian saw himself regarded as an equal in all the treaties made, and the rights and privileges guaranteed to him, have been observed to the very letter. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, but it has taken deep root among the Canadian Indians, who have learned that the pledged word of the Great Mother, or her lawful representative, is a bond that will not be broken. If reserves are set aside they are secured for all time to their Indian owners; and so, in the very richest and most valuable territories of Ontario, the Six Nations reserve at Brantford, the Mohawk of Quinté, the Ojibbwa of Lake Huron, and the Moravian on the Thames, are held by the sons, grandsons, or great grand-sons of the Indian signataires of the respective treaties. For it must always be remembered that, in Canada, the policy of 'removal farther west' has no advocates. In every treaty, the Indians are allowed to select their own reserves on the surrendered lands, and they are guaranteed free hunting and fishing privileges over the whole lands covered by the treaty, so long as the

title remains in the Crown. When the land passes into private hands, all such privileges cease (Canada, 1887, p. 276).

In 1887, Big Cove residents were described as being “fairly comfortable” and “fairly thrifty.” Indian Island residents were “rather comfortable” and “fairly comfortable” and those in Shediac were indicated as being in “want of thrift” and “less thrifty than many others.” Fort Folly was described as having had a “slight decrease in population.” It was also reported that it was “impossible to prevent the frequent use of intoxicating liquors” there (Canada, 1888, pp. xxxix, 37). The medical expenditures were \$331, an increase from the previous year. The bulk of doctoring fees were paid in the Big Cove area, followed by Shediac. It may be argued that various Agents presented reports from a Eurocentric—and thus judgmental—perspective and the language of the reports reflects this bias. This is in accord with McGibbon’s ideas regarding the “creation of biased information.”

In 1905, the Big Cove Indian Land Statement reported that land sold was 96.88 acres, which amounted to \$193.76 (Canada, 1906, p. 58). Some expenses for the Mikmaq included payment to Rev. E. J. Bannon of \$100.00 [for missionary services] in Richibucto, and to A. [Abram] Clare \$20.00 [for Constable services] (Canada, 1906, p. 155). It was also noted that \$19.37, or 10 percent on the collection of \$193.76, was realized from the “Management Fund” for Big Cove (Canada, 1906, p. J-127).

One infrastructure project occurred in 1906, with the report noting that “the Big Cove band last year constructed a bridge over a cove and gully which had formerly been without a bridge” (Canada, 1907, p. 59). The Annual Report for 1908 was less detailed than that of previous years, and it focused mainly on some of the expenses for the Agency. Once again, Rev. E. J. Bannon was paid \$100.00 as priest in Richibucto, and A. [Abram] Clare was given \$20.00

as the band constable (Canada, 1909, p. 152). Indian Affairs began to report on the expenses for Indian Agents as well as for relief payments.

Agents: W. D. Carter, Richibucto	\$450.55
Relief ... Cameron, J. A., Rexton	656.75
Chapman, George, Salisbury, coffin	17.00
Crandall & Carter, Salisbury	29.38
Culbert, W. H., Sussex	68.00
Ferguson, Fred, Richibucto	71.20
Jones Bros., Apohaqui	40.40
Palmer, F. C. & Co., Dorchester	38.48
W. G. King, M. D., Bouctouche	83.96
D. V. Landry, M. D., Bouctouche	36.04
J. A. Legere, M. D., Shediac	200.00
D. H. McAllister, M. D., Sussex	180.00
L. J. McWilliams, M. D., Rexton	43.75
J. D. Ross, M. D., Moncton	200.00

(Canada, 1909, p. I-14).

The bulk of relief payments were spent in the Richibucto-Rexton area, which amounted to \$1,178.50, followed by the Salisbury-Sussex-Apoahaqui area, with \$154.78 and Dorchester with \$38.48. The remainder was dispersed either in additional payments to the doctors or was previously listed in the report.

Again, in 1909, Rev. E. J. Bannon was given \$100.00 as priest in Richibucto and, A. [Abram] Clare earned \$20.00 as Band constable (Canada, 1910, p. 118). Although medical services were covered in the report, other expenses were reported as well. Some of the medical expenses are repeated, although others appear as additional amounts. The report once again noted that Rev. E. J. Bannon was paid \$100.00 as priest in Richibucto, and A. [Abram] Clare was provided \$20.00 as Band constable, in 1911 (Canada, 1912, p. 136).

Expenditures in the Agency for 1911 were reported as:

Relief and seed grain	
Cameron, J. A., Rexton	\$673.18
Culbert, W. H., Sussex	34.00
Ferguson, F., Richibucto	92.33
Mills, Eveliegh, Ltd., Sussex	22.50
Palmer, F. C. & Co, Dorchester	29.33
Ross, J. C., Bouctouche	70.83
Miscellaneous and unforeseen	
R. A. Irving, Agent, Bouctouche	456.94
(Canada, 1912, p. H-13).	

Most of the non-medical relief efforts for 1911 seemed focused on the Richibucto-Rexton area, while those of a medical nature were in Westmorland and Kings Counties. According to the Indian Affairs' accounts, the Big Cove Day School had paid \$82 for clothing and \$8 for Christmas gifts. The Indian Agent for Big Cove was also reimbursed for land management activities; the report lists this as, "R. A. Irving, agent, inspecting timber lands on Big Cove [\$16 for 2 days]" (Canada, 1912, p. H-161).

Expenses reported for the year 1912 included, "Agent, R. A. Irving, Bouctouche, \$800 and Missionary, Rev. E. J. Bannon, 100.00" (Canada, 1913, p. H-11). Relief, medical, and education were the main expenses, as outlined below:

Relief...Allaire, J. O., Bouctouche	\$ 58.00
Cameron, J. A., Rexton	448.70
Ferguson, F., Richibucto	115.00
Grant, Wm., Port Elgin	48.00
Relief...Palmer, F. C. & Co., Dorchester	85.05
Robertson, G. A., Moncton	42.52
Ross, J. C., Bouctouche	33.82
Ross, N. J., Bouctouche	34.75
Tuttle, A. A., Moncton [funeral expenses]	69.15
Miscellaneous and unforeseen	
Irving, J. D., Bouctouche [coal 2 tons]	16.50
Agent, R. A. Irving	259.96
Day School account: Part of hall being	
for teacher's use	200.00
Christmas gifts	10.00

Quarantine funds paid to J. A. Cameron for Big Cove Reserve for small pox relief;	1,390.90
P. Ferguson– Indian Island	182.61
J. H. Irving– Hillsboro	167.46
F. C. Palmer & Co.– Fort Folly	63.78
J. C. Ross–	21.91
Bouctouche	825.00

Land Management Fund

R. A. Irving, agent, inspecting timber lands on Big Cove
(Canada, 1913, pp. H-11 - H- 13, H-30, H-120).

The bulk of relief payments were spent in the Rexton area; however, those funds included for quarantine relief pushed Bouctouche to the top, followed by Big Cove. Aside from the medical officers' salaries and services, Indian Affairs paid out funds for various activities performed by the Indian Agent. Some of the agency's expenditures for the year 1913 included payment of \$800.00 to R.A. Irving., the Indian Superintendent, \$100.00 to the priest, Rev. B. J. Bannon, and \$25.00 to Wm. P. Levi for his work as Band constable (Canada, 1914, p. 139). The Big Cove Day School was reported to have spent \$73.65 on supplies and clothing. Other expenses went to relief, agriculture, medical salaries, and attendance, as outlined:

Relief	
McKay, W. B. Co., Sussex	144.00
Palmer, F. C. & Co., Dorchester	42.56
Robertson, Geo. A., Moncton	50.75
Ross, N. J., Bouctouche	26.10
Smith, A. B., Hampton	49.25
Wallace, F. W., Sussex [funeral expenses]	27.00
Seed and encouragement to agriculture	
Cameron, J. A., Rexton	160.00
Miscellaneous and unforeseen	
Irving, J. D., Bouctouche [coal 2 tons]	24.18
Agent, R. A. Irving ...	267.12
(Canada, 1914, p. H-17).	

These figures indicate that the relief effort was focused on the Dorchester-Moncton-Sussex areas in 1913, and the medical doctors and attendance fees were similar, with the bulk paid in the Dorchester-Shediac-Moncton-Sussex areas. Seed was paid for in Rexton. Population figures were no longer reported in 1914. The expenditures were as follows; Rev. E. J. Bannon received \$100.00 and Wm. P. Levi was paid \$20.00 as Band constable (Canada, 1915, p. 170). Other expenditures included “Salaries [for] Agents...R. A. Irving, Northeastern Division, \$800” (Canada, 1915, p. H-14). According to the Big Cove Day School account, the truant officer was paid \$50 and supplies and clothing totalled \$30.38 (Canada, 1915, p. H-55). Further payments included “Collections on account of land payments [for] \$10.00 [and] looking after timber lands at \$2 a day, 50.31” (Canada, 1915, pp. H-140-141).

The following are some expenses for the Agency for 1915:

Hutchinson, Geo. A., Acting Indian Supt.	\$800.00	Richibucto
Barlow, Louis Constable	25.00	Buctouche
Augustine, S.	25.00	

Voted Rexton Salaries Agents Northeastern Division

R. A. Irving	533.33
G. A. Hutchinson	133.34
Missionary, Rev. E. J. Bannon, Richibucto	75.00
Constables: S. Augustine, Rexton	11.98
T. P. Augustine, Rexton	4.69
W. P. Levi, Rexton	8.33
Repairs to roads, Big Cove reserve road, labour	35.00

(Canada, 1916, pp. 187, H-12 & H-13).

An amount of four dollars was reported to be paid to the Moncton Hospital for treatment.

(Canada, 1916, p. 187).

Some of the expenditures in the Agency for 1916 were as follows:

Sheridan, J. B. Indian Agent	\$800.00	Buctouche
Barlow, Louis Constable	24.00	Buctouche

Salaries

Agents: Northeastern Division, G. A. Hutchins	300.00
J. Sheridan	533.33
Truant officer,	50.00
Janitor,	54.00
Big Cove Indians...Capital...land sold,	200.00
Guarding timber lands...	16.00

(Canada, 1917, pp. 174, 199, H-11, H-50, & H-124).

The Annual Report for 1917 included expenditures such as salaries for the Northeastern Division Indian Agent, J. Sheridan, at Buctouche for \$800, maintenance and treatment in Moncton Hospital for \$39.25 (Canada, 1918, p. H-12). The bulk of medical expenses were spent in the south.

As in previous years, expenses were reported for 1918, including capital land sold by Big Cove Indians for \$94.98, and guarding timber lands for eight days at \$16.00” (Canada, 1919, p. H-121). In 1919, expenses were reported for salaries in the Northeastern Division, to Agent J. Sheridan at Buctouche in the amount of \$600. (p. I-11). As in the previous year, there were expenses and revenues related to land; “Big Cove Indians made a Capital land payment for \$100 and \$16.00 was paid for guarding timber lands” (Canada, 1920, p. H-121). The 1920 Annual Report indicated that the majority of medical expenses were split between Shediac and Norton.

Relief for the agency was reported as \$7,042 in 1921. Capital costs included “repairs to [the] Big Cove Bridge [at] \$1,325.00” (Canada, 1922, p. I-11). The medical expenses for the doctor in Moncton were declined. Expenses reported included the protection of wood on Indian land; “Big Cove Indians...Capital...timber guardian...16.00, Big Cove Bridge...\$378.77” (Canada, 1922, p. H-139).

In 1922, it was reported that relief funds for the agency totaled \$10,860. The cost of care for the sick Indians in the agency was \$10. Other expenses included pay for “J. Sark, timekeeper,

Big Cove Bridge, 28 d [days]” at a cost of \$14.00 (Canada, 1923, p. I-15). Expenditures for 1923 were also reported; “Big Cove...Guarding timber lands, 8 d. at \$2...16.00” (Canada, 1924, I-181). Indian Affairs reported, in 1924, that they “combined [the] day school and teacher’s residence, Big Cove, N. B.” (Canada, 1925, p. 13). There was activity related to Indian lands for that year, including a “STATEMENT SHOWING PRINCIPAL OUTSTANDING ON ACCOUNT OF INDIAN LANDS... Agency– Chas. Hudson, Richibucto \$880.86” (Canada, 1925, p. 19). There was money owed from previous years, along with recently sold lands; the report outlines this as “INDIAN LAND STATEMENT...Richibucto (Big Cove)...[Number of Acres Sold] 80-63 [Amount of Sale] 161.26” (Canada, 1925, p. 100). Only teachers’ salaries were reported in 1925. Reserve boundaries were retraced in 1926, further benefiting colonial settlers; in New Brunswick, “Retracement surveys were made at Eel Ground Indian Reserve No. 2 and Richibucto Indian Reserve No. 15” (Canada, 1927, p. 23). There were also timber dues collected, of \$39.40 (Canada, 1927, p. I-114). In 1927 and 1928, only salaries for teachers and related costs were reported.

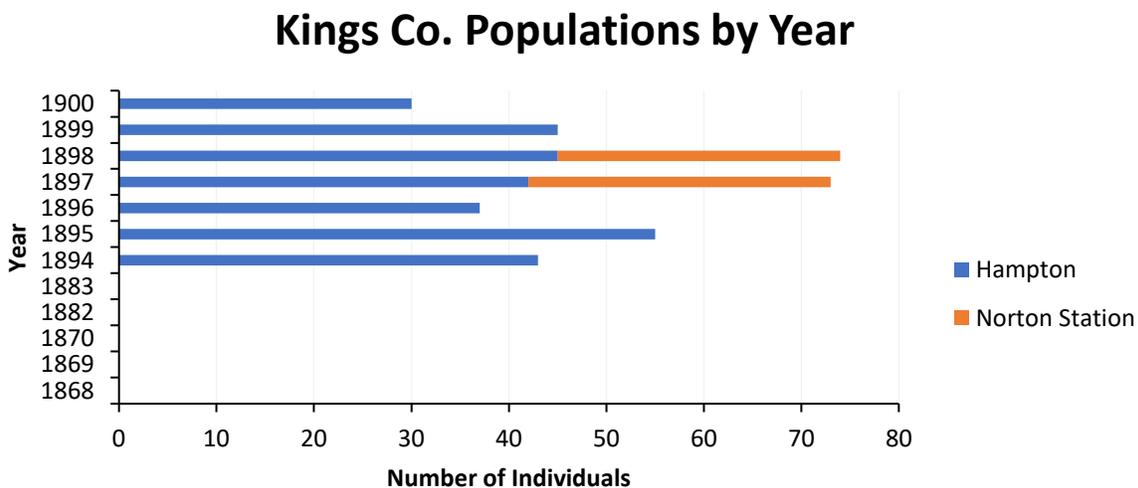


Figure 33: Kings County Populations by Year

The 1929 annual report, released at the beginning of the Great Depression, indicated some expenditures. Roads in Big Cove were included in the report; however, associated costs were not listed (Canada, 1930, p. 34). For several years following, reporting was sporadic.

Electrical power was provided to some reserves in 1950; “The electrification program was pressed forward, and, during the year, power was provided to all homes in the village of Tobique and extended to three reserves of the Miramichi agency” (Canada, 1951, p. 61). There were also school and housing expenditures reported; “Extensive repairs were made to the schools at Big Cove and Eel Ground...Good progress was made in the repair of homes, and in the provision of houses for veterans and aged Indians” (Canada, 1951, p. 61). Housing construction and repairs that began in 1952 continued, along with home improvements. Indian Affairs’ report notes that

Nineteen welfare houses were completed as the acute shortage of adequate housing on reserves was gradually being overcome. Repairs were also made to some sixty units. The home improvement competition was continued on all reserves and the awarding of prizes attracted considerable attention (Canada, 1954, p. 50).

The increase in numbers of residents and better health standards were attributed to provincial programs and federal assistance; “The population showed an increase, mainly because of a lower death rate among infants, improved medical services, and better living standards resulting in part from the introduction of Family Allowances a few years ago. In general, the children were better fed, better clothed, and better looked after. The construction of a new nursing station was started on the Big Cove Reserve” (Canada, 1954, p. 50). Some expenses mentioned in the report for 1958 included “roads, [which] were repaired on the Big Cove and Burnt Church Reserves”

(Canada, 1959, p. 81). In the end, the only services the department extended were protection services; none of the provinces extended the full range of family support services to the reserves.

The Agency also commented on Band governance, in the 1959 report, stating that “All councils are active, meet regularly, and take a keen interest in reserve management and development. Some are beginning to budget their expenditures while all deal consistently with housing and welfare needs, leases, land allotments, and other matters of reserve government” (Canada, 1960, p. 85). Infrastructure projects were underway in the early 1960s, with the report noting that “A program of road building was begun at Big Cove and will be completed in 1960. A bridge was replaced at this last reserve as part of the winter works program” (Canada, 1961, p. 86). Further infrastructure projects were initiated in the region, as reported by Indian Affairs; “Roads were reconstructed on Tobique, Big Cove and Burnt Church Reserves...[And] five wells were drilled on [the] Big Cove Reserve” (Canada, 1962, p. 95). The reserve land acreages were reported in 1965 as, “Big Cove, 2,609 [acres]; Buctouche, 352; Fort Folly, 63 [and] Indian Island, 100” [LIST C] (Canada, 1966, p. 1).

In 1976, a land claim for Big Cove was reported; Indian Affairs notes that, “In Big Cove, New Brunswick, 1,200 acres of unsold surrendered land were returned to the band in 1975, and a further claim was under negotiation” (Canada, 1977, p. 46). An additional detail of the Big Cove land claim was provided in 1977 with the observation that, “In Big Cove, New Brunswick, a claim by the band that its interest in 400 acres of land had never been extinguished was being negotiated by the Department with a view to achieving a settlement based on cash compensation and/or alternate lands” (Canada, 1978, p. 52). This claim was mentioned again in 1978. Indian Affairs once more reported on Big Cove’s position in the federal land claim negotiations, in 1979, stating that “The Big Cove Band had claimed that its interest in 400 acres of land had

never been properly dealt with, and in December 1978 advised the federal government that it would not accept a cash settlement but wanted the return of the land” (Canada, 1980, p. 45).

As outlined in the 1980 annual report, Big Cove withdrew from the land claim negotiations, affirming that “The Big Cove band (New Brunswick) terminated negotiations on its land claim, insisting on the return of the lands claimed. Later in the fiscal year, the band asked that negotiations be resumed, although a basis for reopening the negotiations had not been established by the end of March 1980” (Canada, 1981, p. 34). This was representative of the struggle over several Indigenous land claims across the country.

The Indian Affairs report for 1985 had 13,567 Status Indians listed in the Atlantic Region. The Big Cove Band Membership was 1,466, with a local population of 1,292. Big Cove Band Membership was 1,598 in 1987, with a population of 1,452. The Annual Report for 1989 outlined a resolution of land claim settlements in Canada, noting that “the Big Cove, River Desert and Eagle Lake specific claims were settled at a cost of \$6,352,187” (Canada, 1990, p. 14). Details for the Big Cove claim were provided; the department record states that “A major land claim settlement was achieved with the Big Cove Indian Band in New Brunswick. A total of \$3 million was paid in compensation for approximately 606 hectares of land” (Canada, 1990, p. 42). In 1990, the Big Cove Band Membership was 1,810 with a population of 1,430. There was no report for 1991. The Annual Report for 1992 had the Big Cove Band Membership at 2,025, with a local population of 1,620.

Changes in population density and land ownership reflected an increasing reliance on relief or welfare, as more and more people were displaced from their traditional lands. The records display changes in the types of payments being made to support the community; funds were disbursed for medical payments, religious leaders, Indian agents, and constables, all

expenses which Big Cove had not incurred before European settlement. As their land and resources were depleted or taken from them, the Mikmaq were forced to rely on government assistance, just to survive.

5.7 Politics

The Indians began organizing and attending conferences after the Second World War. In response to the organizing of the North American Indian Brotherhood in British Columbia and in Nova Scotia, the United General Council of Indians of NS, and numerous requests to fund Eastern delegates to the frequent meetings and conferences held in Ottawa, H. L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister of the Indian Affairs Branch, stated that,

While the department has no objection to the organization of Indians by Indians for their advancement, nor is there any objection to their action in bringing their problems to the attention of the Government, nevertheless, we feel that these organizations should be financed not by the Government, but by the Indians who make up their membership; in fact, a Government subsidy either by way of grants or by payment of convention expenses, would tend, in our judgement, to impair the usefulness of such organizations. (Public Archives Canada, 1948).¹⁷⁰

Only official visits to the government would be funded; not those of private individuals. There were several other documents related to conferences held regionally and nationally. The task of getting organized nationally was not an easy one; Davidson notes that “[A] century of indifference and neglect cannot be overtaken in a decade, or even in two decades” (Public Archives Canada, 1957). National Health and Welfare also held an Atlantic zone conference in

¹⁷⁰ Pierre Elliott Trudeau would later reverse this decision, choosing instead to fund the National Indian Brotherhood which later became the Assembly of First Nations.

1964. Without an agenda, some anticipated topics for discussion were public health inspections, the NHW dental program, and greater health education (Public Archives Canada, 1957).

The Indian Affairs Branch invited the chiefs to participate on their advisory board, established to provide data and information to government, in 1963. The IAB informed them that they had met with the provinces and that the IAB was not interested in transferring jurisdiction over Indian affairs to the provinces, although both levels of government acknowledged the need to consult with Indians. R. F. Battle, Assistant Deputy Minister with the IAB, writes that “It is envisaged that the Councils may also be used to advise provincial governments, municipal governments and voluntary organizations if requested to do so” (Public Archives Canada, 1964).¹⁷¹ Battle states that “we believe that the advice and views of the Indian people are essential to the effective administration of their affairs” (Public Archives Canada, 1964). However, that view waned during the next couple of years. The IAB community development newsletter, proposing titles for the newsletter, suggested adopting the term “‘The Emancipator’ – an agent for freeing the Indian from his assumed role of legendary recipient of special treatment, self-limitation, which add up to a form of slavery” (Public Archives Canada, 1966). The same newsletter portrayed a cartoon of an impoverished Indian in tattered and patched clothing, ragged and shortened pants tied with rope, stooped forward with arms dangling and barefoot, with the caption, “Can I get a grant to re-gain my initiative?” It was also reported that Bands circumnavigated the Development Officer, which amounted to another level of bureaucracy; one government official notes that “It would appear that if the signature of the Community Development Officer was not required, in this case the request for a grant would have gone forward without his views, making a farce of the very philosophy underlying the policy of Grants

¹⁷¹ Battle was part of a new administration that came in with the newly elected Liberal government led by Pearson.

to Bands” (Public Archives Canada, 1966). These were project-funding grants (but they only funded projects the IAB approved of and funding was short-term, which prevented any significant initiatives with long-term value). This section indicates an erosion of self-determination and the solidification of the social safety net. The portrayal of the destitute Indian strongly suggests racism.

In the early 1960s, the federal government established Indian Advisory Councils, to advocate for Status Indians, Métis, and Non-Status Indians’ interests; these operated at the national, regional and agency level. The Agency Indian Advisory Council was located in Chatham, NB, which consisted of ten members from the Fort Folly (1), Eel River (1), Eel Ground (1), Burnt Church (2), Big Cove (2), Red Bank (1), Indian Island (1), and Pabineau (1) Bands. They sent three delegates to the Regional Advisory Council located in Amherst, comprising the Shubenacadie Agency (3), Eskasoni Agency (3), Chatham agency (3), Saint John Agency (2), and PEI Agency (1). The Regional Advisory Council in turn participated in the National Advisory Council, located at Ottawa, including Saskatchewan (2), Alberta (2), BC and Yukon (4), Ontario (4), Maritimes (1), Mackenzie (1), Manitoba (2), and Quebec (2) Regional Advisory Councils. The regional council began demanding travel expenses to meet and consult with their region, which the IAB interpreted as reflecting a false sense of purpose for the councils; noting in Abstracts of Two Letters from Ottawa that “The Councils are set up to advise the government and their function is advisory only” (Public Archives Canada, 1965).

The Maritime delegates also served on the national committee in 1965 and discussed issues of allowing the consumption of alcohol on the reserve, taxable leases by the provinces, community development, child welfare, and Expo ’67. The IAB was slowly moving into provincial jurisdiction when discussing issues. In the area of social welfare, Superintendent

McKinnon remarks that “the *Indian Act* does not cover child protection. This is a provincial responsibility, and neither the Branch nor Indian Superintendents have any authority whatever in this field” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service held a joint committee in 1965 to address developmental blocks, and to address upcoming program eligibility in 1966. Their frustration was apparent in regard to garnering community input through health committees, groups, or members, input which was slow in coming. H. Lamb, the secretary of the joint committee, writes, “The answer is patience, but when patients are concerned, how patient can you be!” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). The access to services was often complicated by increased levels of bureaucracy, either through advisory committees or through joint committees, and the addition of Development Officers, who were government officials advocating for Indigenous health. Development Officers succeeded the original Community Development Officers who were considered too radical under the Community Development Program.

Politics and bureaucracy were predicated on western systems. Where the Mikmaq were involved in any Canadian political structures, their autonomy as a people was erased, and they were forced to participate in a system that sought to assimilate, not recognize them. A cultural dissonance was always in evidence, in the Indian Affairs records, and the most effective political organization, from a First Nations perspective, came from the establishment of organizations such as the National Indian Brotherhood in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

5.8 Social Issues

Populations by years reported

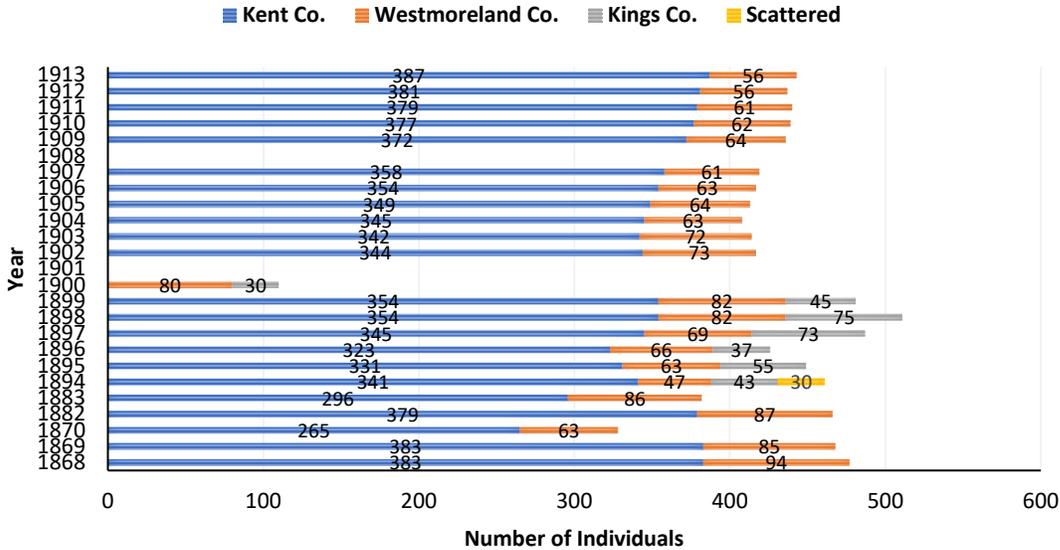


Figure 34: Population of Sikniktuk by Year: 1868 to 1913

The population for the Indians in the Sikniktuk District was listed, in 1869, as 146 individuals. As I reviewed the annual reports, I noted that the Kent County reserves were not reported on in 1901 and 1908. I do not know why these years were missing but this could be due to inconsistencies of reporting by the Indian Agent.

In 1869, Indian Affairs began listing financial statements for the Mikmaq in the district. Expenditures for the relief of the Indians amounted to a total of \$120 for that year. This relief was supplemented with support for agricultural seed, costing slightly more than \$63.00. This was to support a population of 468, a significant population increase of more than 300, from the previous year, speculating that an increased need of assistance resulted in more Mi'kmaq registering their presence with the DIA as people were often mobile between traditional districts. Joseph Howe, as the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, reported his visits to the Indian

Reserves, and, in particular, to the Mikmaq, in 1870. He wanted to implement the system in Upper Canada regarding Indian Affairs in the Maritimes, stating:

I have endeavored to visit a certain number of the reserves in all the Provinces during the past summer, and to make myself, by personal observation and intercourse, familiar with the progress which has been made in Canada to elevate the aborigines; and I am in hopes that during the current year something like an approach to the Canadian system may be introduced into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. All of which is respectfully submitted. Joseph Howe. (Canada, 1871, p. 3).

The Mikmaq, in general, had become practicing Catholics; the report for 1903 notes that “All these Indians observe the festival of Ste. Anne and keep up the festivities for two or three days” (Canada, 1904, p. 63). The Indian Affairs Branch developed objectives and policies for Indian crafts in 1951. Superintendent Jones wrote that “The primary objective of this Section is to assist Indians in securing necessary native materials and in the production and marketing of such goods as will find ready sale” (Public Archives Canada, 1951). The IAB suggested that the basket retail be undertaken through local merchants and roadside stands. There was interest in New Brunswick crafts training in 1951. Jones again writes “I discussed with the New Brunswick representative, Dr. Ivan H. Crowell, Director of Handicrafts, Department of Industry and Reconstruction, Fredericton, N. B., the possibility of his Department conducting special courses of instruction for small groups of Indians” (Public Archives Canada, 1951). Indian Affairs also outlined internal information on crafts branding in 1952. The government provided tags to indicate that items were authentic Indian crafts, and these would increase market volume as well as value.

The IAB established that there was potential supplementary income for bands from crafts

in 1956 and sought to publish a national inventory in 1957. J. P. B. Ostrander, Superintendent of Welfare writes that “All handicrafts that are produced by Indians in the region should be included in the return and if accurate figures concerning certain items are not available, the closest possible estimate should be made” (Public Archives Canada, 1956). Big Cove baskets were suggested for the publication, but the regional officials responded that the craftsmen lacked organization; J. H. Gordon, Superintendent of Welfare indicates that “The Bureau Director would like to have similar material concerning the availability of authentic Indian handicrafts in Canada” (Public Archives Canada, 1957). The Superintendent responded to the Regional Office’s request for basket production information on the Big Cove Reserve, writing that “there are some people who produce fancy colored baskets of different types, in the construction they use some sweet grass, and these baskets are quite attractive and sell readily when peddled by the maker from door to door” (Public Archives Canada, 1956). Superintendent Blakey adds; “I do not think this service should be listed now, because of lack of organization” (Public Archives Canada, 1957). There were some band members who reported that they continued with the older handicrafts. Stephen N. Augustine stated in an interview that one member “gets some extra money from making axe-handles” (Guessous, 1960, p. 37).

A crafts project was developed in 1962 and the artisans became the Micmac Indian Craftsmen in 1963, who operated for several years. F. B. McKinnon indicated Big Cove’s interest in developing crafts, writing, “I will like to assure you that the Chief of the Big Cove Band pressed me into taking him to meet Dr. Crowell to explore the possible development of handicrafts on his reserve” (Public Archives Canada, 1963). McKinnon was enthused that the province of New Brunswick was interested in providing support in craft development on the reserve and he was glad the Indians were turning to them for help, saying, “I lean to the belief

that we should not think in terms of a formal agreement with the provinces” (Public Archives Canada, 1962).

An individual band member on relief who also worked with the craftsmen was urged to return to work, after he quit working and bought a used car. The IAB highlighted its policy on relief and operating cars. J. H. Sheane, superintendent, notes that “Department regulations specifically state that individuals who own and operate automobiles are not entitled to relief assistance unless they utilize the cars to travel to and from temporary jobs” (Public Archives Canada, 1963). Regarding the handicrafts in 1966, Ivan H. Crowell, the New Brunswick government’s director responsible for handicrafts and industry, included craftsmen and workshops in his departmental write-up regarding handicrafts, in 1966. The Big Cove artisans were described as “the most progressive group of craftsmen...They are outstanding artists whose craft designs are based entirely upon their legends, of which they have many hundreds” (Public Archives Canada, 1966). Craft work, especially as it evolved following government involvement, primarily focused upon socio-economic factors in the community, as opposed to traditional practices.

After he failed to obtain Mikmaq stories, Eagles’ focus shifted to collecting some baskets for the museum and he solicited help from Phillip Francis, the brother of Michael, and a graduate of St. Mary’s University in Halifax (Eagles, 1963, p. 27). Eagles observed that “Phillip bemoaned the lack of ambition and initiative in his people” (1963, p. 27). Phillip had assumed the management of the handicraft shop. Eagles was clearly impressed by the Francis family, noting that “There is no doubt that the Chief and Phillip and Michael Francis comprise the nucleus of an intelligentsia – an intellectual class on the Reserve. Hanging on the fringe are Sam Augustine and Willie John Simon” (Eagles, 1963, p. 28). Eagles classified these men as trusting

and open with strangers. He wrote that “[t]hese are the ‘new frontiersmen’ of the Reserve – the ‘new frontier’ being, in this case, the competition of the white man’s world” (Eagles, 1963, p. 28). During their search for baskets, they encountered the home of Mrs. Simon J. Simon, John’s mother. Eagles writes that “ Old Mrs. Simon has a wealth of knowledge concerning the medicinal power of herbs and roots” (Eagles, 1963, p. 28). Also, during his quest for baskets, he made the observation that “there [are] so many old women around the Reserve – in contrast to the number of old men” (Eagles, 1963, p. 31). Although he was searching for baskets, Eagles encountered family and kin relations, culture, and commented on gender.

Most of the First Nations communities in Eastern Canada turned to Christianity, and Big Cove was no exception, according to the Miramichi records. Some community members returned to craftwork and traditional modes of healing, marking a resistance to the push towards western forms of culture. The sale of crafts and handiwork was met with its own challenges, as the government sought to impose restrictions and tariffs on what was produced.

5.9 Criminal Justice Issues

William John Simon¹⁷² was a special constable between 1954 and 1968, and Indian Affairs kept his handwritten notes on arrests between 1954 and 1968. These police notes were supplemented with RCMP court records on convictions and fines, primarily involving alcohol infractions under the *Indian Act*. The restrictions against status Indians being drunk or in possession of alcohol off the reserve were outlined in sections of the *Indian Act* in 1952. Simon also enforced traffic laws and Criminal Code violations. Legal or police costs which were not associated with the *Indian Act* were not reimbursable by IAB.

¹⁷² Willie John’s father, two brothers, a nephew, and niece were all Band Constables prior to reaching an agreement with the RCMP to police the reserve.

When Simon started as a constable eleven years earlier in 1949, things were a mess; “There were lots of bootleggers in the reserve; many white men used to come and spend the night with Indian girls in the reserve; whenever two young Indians were having an argument, they would pull out knives and wound each other” (Guessous, 1960, p. 47). There was “one case of suicide in 1954; it was an old woman whose daughter ‘had gotten into trouble’ many times” (Guessous, 1960, p. 48). He stated that the “biggest problem is the liquor” and that “[an Indian] drinks heavily whenever he has a chance. This is what they call ‘Indian drinking’” (Guessous, 1960, p. 48). From his perspective, alcohol abuse affected all families. The solution he offered was to decriminalize it; “He thinks there is only one way to stop it, and that is by giving the Indians the right to consume liquor” (Guessous, 1960, p. 48). Family and kin relations were stressed by alcohol abuse, and the resulting suicide amounted to being mental and/or psychological factors.

William John Simon wrote to Indian Affairs in regard to the transportation costs of those convicted in 1952. He also inquired about an instance where a non-Indian woman was residing on the reserve in 1954. The IAB policy on transporting Indians to court stated, in 1954, that “The office will only honor accounts when Indians are convicted under provisions of the *Indian Act*” (Public Archives Canada, 1954).

Simon filed a complaint under laws dating back to the 1930s where it was illegal to allow Indians into a poolroom, since the activity was perceived as wasting time. His complaint was against Larry Sock, who ran a poolroom for his brother-in-law, Chief Anthony Francis. There were complaints, as well, of men wagering. Anthony Francis later obtained a gambling license. Simon’s reports of alcohol violations became more regular in 1964. He reported an increase in bootlegging since Larry Sock had become chief and seized liquor from the chief at one point.

However, he reported bootleggers including his brother, along with others, in 1965. These are two examples of laws affecting family and kin relations.

The Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) provided information on a liquor referendum in 1962, and it was not until 1965 that a Band Council Resolution was passed to hold a referendum. The BCR for the referendum was passed Nov. 18, 1965 and required that “a liquor referendum be held on Big Cove Reserve to determine the wishes of the members of the band with respect to Section 96 A of the *Indian Act*” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). My grandfather, John Simon, voted in favour of the Band Council Resolution. The vote was held in February 1966 and it was not published in the regional paper, the *Gazette*, until August 1966. Clarification was sought from and provided by the IAB on alcohol being allowed to be transported to and consumed in the home, on the reserve. Special Constable Simon continued to make arrests for public intoxication and reported an increase of break and enters in 1967, increases in alcohol offences in 1968, two arsons in 1965 and 1967, several instances of transporting women to the mental hospital in 1967, and bootlegging during 1968.

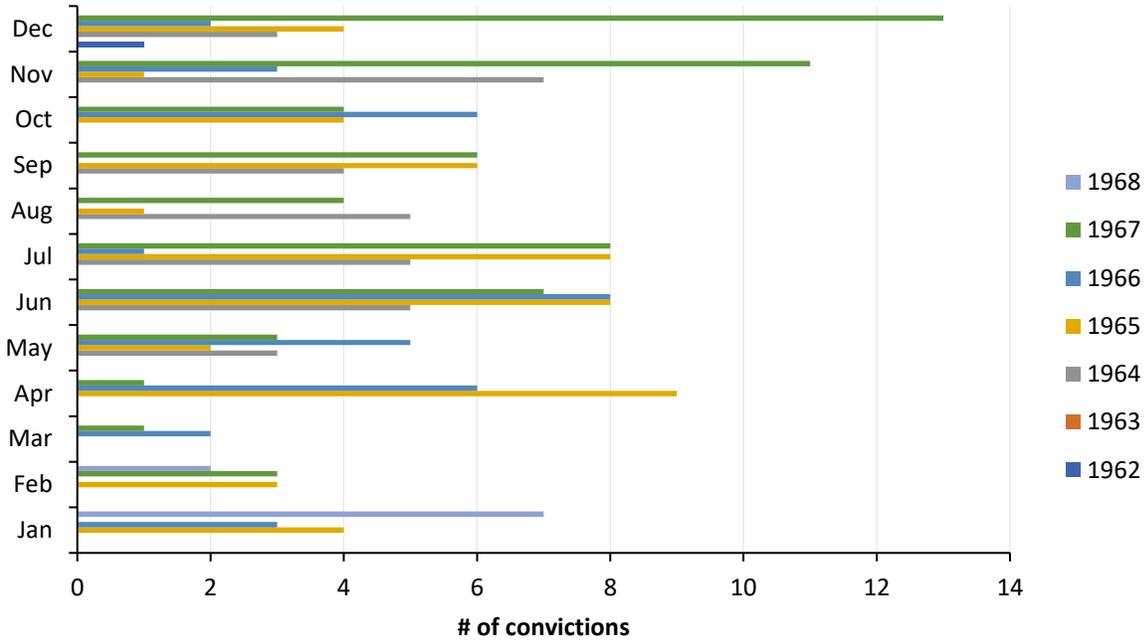


Figure 35: Number of Convictions Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month

The highest convictions for criminal offenses usually occurred during the month of June, in any given year of reporting, followed by December, November, July, and September.¹⁷³ The lowest convictions were in March, followed by February. There would have been a gap between when charges were laid and when convictions were obtained. The average monthly convictions for 1964 were 2.7; 1965 – 4.2; 1966 – 3.0; and 1967 – 5.1. The year of the alcohol referendum saw a slight rise in convictions with a slight decline after; however, there was an increase the following year.

¹⁷³ Notes: In June 1962, IAB announced Alcohol Referendums for NB Reserves. In September 1965, the Indian Constable complained about an increase in drinking with the new chief. In November 1965, there was a BCR for Alcohol Referendum. In December 1965, the IAB granted the referendum. During February 1966, there was a vote on the referendum; 85 voted in the affirmative, 87 cast votes, and there were 294 eligible votes.

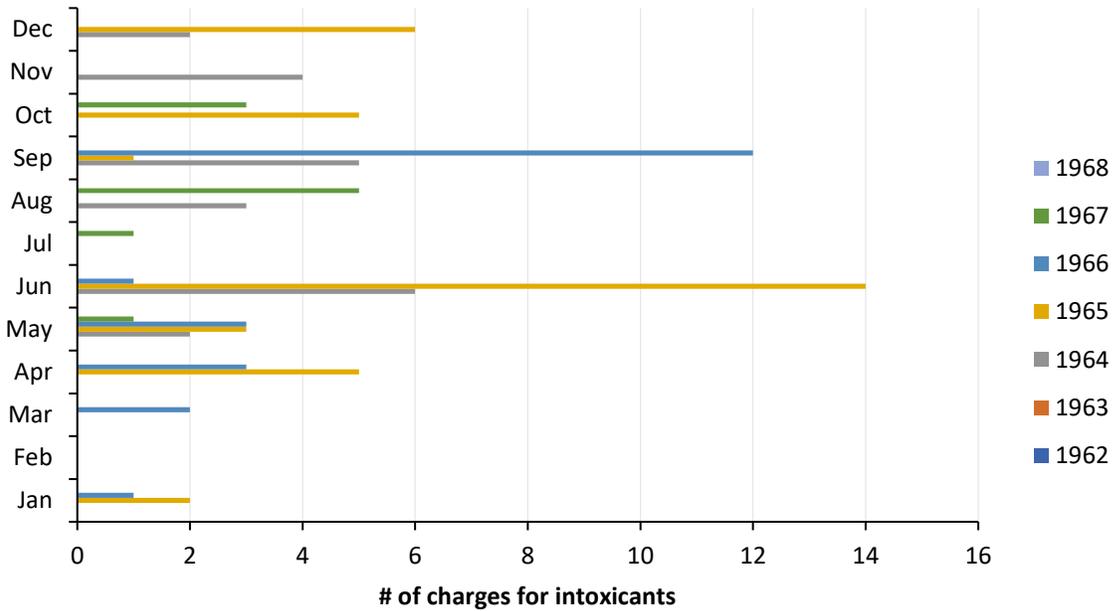


Figure 36: Number of Charges for Intoxicants Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month

The highest number of intoxication charges laid during any given month was around June, followed by September. The lowest number of similar charges was around February, which had none, followed by March, which all occurred in 1966. Monthly reports indicated the charges, but these events may have occurred in previous months. The average monthly charges for 1964 were 1.8; 1965 – 3.0; 1966 – 1.8; and 1967 – 0.8. The year of the alcohol referendum saw a slight rise in charges with a slight decline after; however, there was a decrease the following year. The charges for September 1967 were also for the months of June and July.

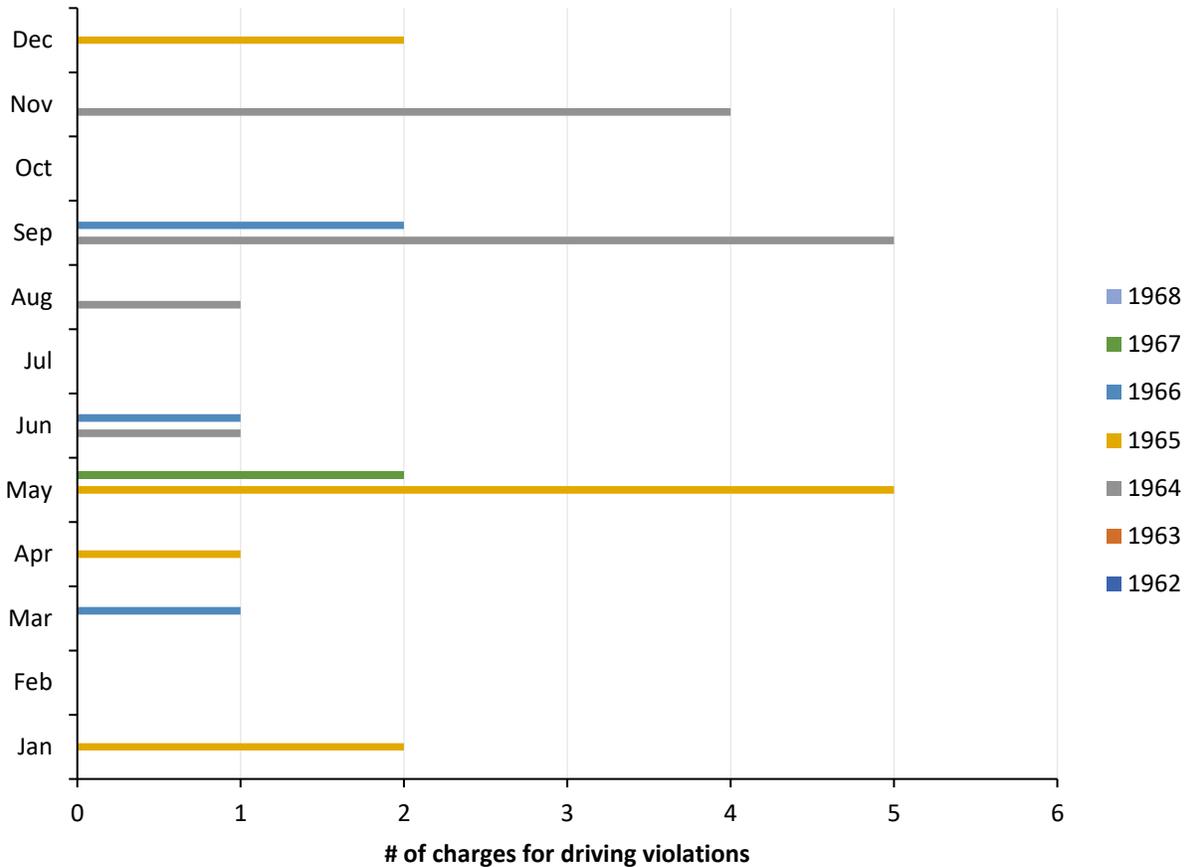


Figure 37: Number of Driving Violations Reported in Big Cove by Year and Month

The month with the highest number of charges for driving violations was in September, followed by November. The least charges were in June, February, and October where none were laid, followed by August, April, and March. The average monthly charges for 1964 were 0.9; 1965 – 0.8; 1966 – 0.3; and 1967 – 0.1. The year of the alcohol referendum saw a slight drop in driving violations with a further decline after, and another decrease the following year. There may be no correlation between the alcohol referendum and driving violations.

Criminal justice issues were strongly tied to alcohol consumption, according to the Indian Affairs records—substance abuse is noted throughout this work as a defining factor in both

criminal behaviour and health outcomes. Gambling licenses also became problematic, with several people being charged for offenses related to the same. Charges were, predictably, seasonal, with the majority being laid in the summer months.

5.10 Mobility

On behalf of Big Cove, there was a land sale for \$50.00 and the Indian Land Management Fund was reported to be \$11.90 (Canada, 1896, p. 107).¹⁷⁴ The tracking of the Míkmaq population made reference to those nomadic in nature and living around Moncton and Sussex, which then consisted of 86 people. The Census Return also made reference to “Nomadic Indians”, a term used by settlers which further emphasized the fracturing of the people’s connection to their traditional homelands as well as providing some evidence for the continued traditional seasonal uses of the land (Canada, 1896, p. 356).

Indian Affairs reported other reserves within the agency were being abandoned in 1896. The DIA indicated that “Pockmouche, Tabusintac, Big Hole, Renous and Shediac Reserves are not occupied by the Indians” (Canada, 1897, p. 50). The Northeast Agency population decreased by 40 individuals to 916, a decrease said to have “taken place in the counties of Kings and Westmorland, where many of the Indians do not have a settled place of abode but wander from place to place wherever they can find the most convenient locality for begging and disposing of their wares” (Canada, 1897, p. 51). According to the reports, Mikmaq continued to reply on

¹⁷⁴ According to Cape Breton University, the Indian Land Management Fund was “A federal fund intended to pay the expenses of managing Indian lands and to some extent, the costs of the Indian Department generally. It was established in 1856 and closed out in 1913-14. The fund consisted of a ten per cent “tax” or levy on all sales of surrendered Indian reserve land, minerals, and timber. This money was taken from the band trust funds, banked in the Indian Land Management Fund (Account No. 75) and used at the discretion of the Indian Affairs Department on a wide variety of expenses. These included land matters such as survey, clearing, and road building costs; administrative expenses relating to schools; medical care; loans to bands; departmental staff salaries and pensions; etc. The fund never covered even the full cost of land management and eventually had to be subsidized by Parliamentary appropriations”. See Cape Breton University. Glossary of terms used in Aboriginal historical research. <https://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/mikmaq-resource-centre/miscellany/glossary-of-terms-used-in-aboriginal-historical-research/>

several main economic activities, “fishing, farming and the manufacture of Indian wares” (Canada, 1897, p. 51).

In the 1897 annual report, the Big Cove Reserve boundaries became vague, and stolen timber was reported; “The lot lines in the Richibucto Reserve, N. B., have since become obliterated, a re-survey was made with a view to the prevention of trespass on the timber” (Canada, 1898, p. xxvii). Several of the Agency reserves—Pokemouche, Tabusintac, Big Hole, Renous and Shediac—were reported to be abandoned and residents “settled with the Indians of other reserves” (Canada, 1898, p. 52). The total Northeast Agency population was reported to be 937 and, of those, 96 were described as scattered “in different localities in Westmorland and King’s counties” (Canada, 1898, p. 53). Those living in those locations suffered from sickness and disease. Indian Affairs also noted that, “During last winter, there was a great deal of sickness among the Indians...*La grippe* [influenza], resulting in pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases, caused many deaths.” The report also indicated, however, that [t]here have been no infectious or contagious diseases or epidemics” (Canada, 1898, p. 53).

Those not living on reserve were reported to “depend on begging...[they] live in rude huts or shanties, which afford very poor protection and are often crowded and filthy” (Canada, 1898, p. 53). A possible relative of Dr. Olloqui, who served Big Cove, was hired as the teacher in Big Cove; “The services of Miss D’Olloqui, as teacher, were secured and the school is doing excellent work. There are sixty-three children of school age on the reserve, and of those fifty-six are enrolled on the school register” (Canada, 1898, p. 53). Based on those figures, seven children were not attending school. Indian Affairs reported that “nothing can induce to forsake their hand-to-mouth manner of living” (Canada, 1898, p. 53). Indian Agent reports note that “Those who live furthest from a town or village are usually the most industrious and progressive” (Canada,

1898, p. 53). The populations for the reserves in the agency were “Big Cove 279, Indian Island 37, Bouctouche 29, Fort Folly 46, Shediac 7, Petitcodiac and vicinity 16, Hampton and vicinity 42, Norton Station 31” [Sikniktuk total 487] (Canada, 1898, p. 355). These population figures suggest those formerly classified as nomadic in Westmorland and Kings Counties amounted to 89 people. The amount of \$200 was paid to build the schoolhouse; the material for the lock-up was \$1.41; and \$15.00 was paid for [Chief] Thomas Joseph’s travel (Canada, 1898, p. 580). Several of the Agency’s reserves were again reported abandoned in 1898; “Pokemouche, Tabusintac, Big Hole, Renous and Shediac Reserves are unoccupied. The Indians from these places have joined the Indians of other reserves” (Canada, 1899, p. 54). The agency’s population was listed at 926, which was a decrease of 11 from the previous year. The report notes that “The decrease is caused by the removal of several families residing along the Intercolonial Railway in Westmorland and King’s Counties” (Canada, 1899, p. 54). No explanation was provided for their possible involuntary removal or indication given as to which location they would be moved.

Poor health was linked to poor housing, and the 1898 report notes that “those living off the reserve live in rude huts or shanties which afford very poor protection from the cold” (Canada, 1899, p. 54). The Indians were reported as “peaceable and law-abiding, indolent and easy-going, never caring to provide for tomorrow as long as they have enough for to-day. As a result, there is sometimes a great deal of destitution” (Canada, 1899, p. 54). Their poverty was blamed on their lack of ability to plan for their future, despite the fact that this same poverty arose from the reality that they had been displaced from their land and livelihoods over decades. Those living around Sussex declined in population to 73. Other population numbers included the “Micmacs of Kings County at Hampton and vicinity 44 ... Norton 29” (Canada, 1899, p. 410). Indian Affairs’ expenditures for Big Cove included \$20.00 paid to constable John Simon, travel

costs paid to Indians of \$18.00, and wood for the school, totalling \$5.00. (Canada, 1899, p.115). There was a population increase of 19 people in 1899 for the Agency, which totaled 956. Indian Affairs reported that some Mikmaq were living along the Intercolonial Railway. Fort Folly and Shediac were sparsely populated; the report of 1899 observes that “The Indians of Indian Point, Big Hole and Renous Reserves several years ago left these places and settled on the Red Bank and Eel Ground Reserves. Only four families remain at Fort Folly. Shediac Reserve is also unoccupied” (Canada, 1900, p. 58).

15. Richibucto	On the Left Bank of the Richibucto River, about eight miles from its mouth.	Micmacs Big Cove Band. 2,202 ³ / ₄ .	Transferred to the Dominion Government at Confederation. The reserve originally contained about 5,720 acres. Two thirds of it was subdivided and a number of lots sold prior to Confederation
16. Bouctouche	On the Left Bank of the Bouctouche River, about three miles from its mouth.	Micmacs.	Transferred to the Dominion Government at Confederation.
27. Indian Island Reserve	A point on the main land at the mouth of Gasperau Creek, opposite Richibucto Island in Richibucto Harbour.	Micmacs.	A “Special Reserve” held by deed from J. C. Vautour to the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. John for the use of the Indians.
27. Fort Folly	On the Left Bank of the Petiticodiac River, due west of the town of Dorchester.	Micmacs. 62 ¹ / ₂ .	Purchased by the Provincial Government and deeded to and held in trust by the Magistrates of the County of Westmorland for the use of the Micmac Indians. Aug. 15, 1840

Table 6: Reserve Acreage (Canada, 1899, p. 465).

Indian Affairs reported in 1900 that there were a “few [Mikmaq] scattered along the Intercolonial Railway in King’s County” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). The Northeast Agency listed its population at “nine hundred and thirty, a decrease of twenty-six” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). The explanation provided was a transfer of responsibility to another agency; “This decrease arises from the removal of about forty Indians from this agency to the south-western agency of the province” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). Although most were reported to live on the reserve, there were those who left for economic reasons; “The majority of Indians live on the reserves. A number, engaged chiefly in the manufacture of baskets, tubs and other Indian wares, have left the reserves and settled at different points along the Intercolonial Railway, where they have better opportunities of shipping and disposing of their wares” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). The Indian Agent’s observation in regard to these railway settlements emphasized the lack of economic opportunity on reserve. Some of the reserves in the southern part of the agency were abandoned or they had dwindled in population. Indian Affairs’ annual report for 1901 notes that “Shediac reserve is unoccupied, and only four Indian families remain at Fort Folly” (Canada, 1901, p. 60). This was likely due to their inability to make a living on reserve. Population numbers were a crucial indicator of the increasing dispossession of the Mikmaq from their traditional territories as a direct result of economic forces stemming from colonization.

The annual report for 1900 highlighted the Mikmaq’s slow expansion into Kings County; The remainder of the Indians of this agency are located in small bands at Upper and Lower Gagetown, Hampstead, Queen’s County, St. John and Charlotte Counties, Apohaqui, Hampton and Norton Station, King’s County. They follow the Indian mode of life and derive a living from sale of their wares in the different localities referred to. All the Indians of this supervision, excepting those camped

at Hampton and Norton Station are of the Amalecite tribe, and I am pleased to report are making a steady improvement in their mode of living (Canada, 1901, p. 66).

Over 100 people were living in Kings County. Expenses for Big Cove included \$20.00 for Constable Tom Saulke [Sock] (Canada, 1901, p. 251). Other expenses for the band included \$23.80 for relief supplies, \$1.50 for travel for Indians (Canada, 1901, p. J-125), as well as amounts “outstanding on account of Indian lands on June 30, 1900...1,190.08” (Canada, 1901, p. J-167).

For the year 1901, the annual report described their annual movements and employment. It noted that “[t]he majority of the Indians live on the reserves during the winter season. In summer many of them leave their homes on the reserves and build small huts for themselves and their families in localities where they can more easily obtain employment” (Canada, 1902, p. 56).¹⁷⁵ Those unemployed sought an alternative means of a living, mainly making baskets and wooden handles; “There are, however, a number engaged chiefly in begging and the manufacture of Indian wares who have removed permanently where they can more easily move about from place to place” (Canada, 1902, p. 56).

Their housing situation was not much better for those living off the reserves, the 1902 report noting that “They live in small frame houses and shanties” (Canada, 1903, p. 62). Fort Folly had three families reportedly living there; however, there were some living off reserve between Moncton and Sussex. Indian Affairs writes that “There are a number of Indians at

¹⁷⁵ Mobility was not new to the Mi’kmaq, but it had traditionally been informed by seasonal availability of resources. Prosper et al. note that “Destruction of the habitat at the hands of the newcomers and increasing exclusion from land, shorelines and water had significant consequences for Mi’kmaq capacity to live the way of *netukulimk*, let alone maintain the integrity of their culture and relations. The demands of their daily struggle to satisfy the requirements for life placed the Mi’kmaq in constant stress” (2011, p. 6).

Dorchester, Shediac, Moncton and Salisbury, in Westmorland county, not living on reserves. They live in shanties and gain a livelihood by manufacturing and selling Indian wares, and by begging. They number seventy-three, a decrease of one for the year, caused by one death” (Canada, 1903, p. 62). The population for Big Cove in 1903 was 291, a decrease of eight people, with sixteen births and eight deaths. Four Indians had left the band and four from Indian Island moved to Big Cove.

A population decrease of one resulted in 33 people in Indian Island with three deaths and no births for 1903. The small exodus to Big Cove continued, illustrating inter-band migration as “four from this band joined the Big Cove band. Two moved to this reserve from Burnt Church and four from Bouctouche” (Canada, 1904, p. 62). South of Kent County, the Míkmaq population continued to decline. Indian Affairs captured some of their movements between districts and counties in 1905; “Including the three families residing at Fort Folly, Westmorland County, they number 64...A family of four of these Indians settled at Big Cove last fall and joined the Big Cove band; another family removed to Nova Scotia” (Canada, 1906, p. 57). The conditions of those living off the reserves were continually reported as poor;

Last winter was an unusually severe one, and there was much destitution and sickness among the Indians of this agency, particularly among those Indians who were living off the reserves. A number of Big Cove Indians spent the winter at Painsec Junction in Westmorland and among those Indians there were no less than five deaths of pneumonia. There are many cases of consumption [tuberculosis] among the Burnt Church and Big Cove Indians (Canada, 1906, p. 57).

Some of the Big Cove band members lived along the railway, closer to their own reserve. The report notes of 1906 that, “Last winter, several families left the reserve and settled on the

Intercolonial Railway near Rogersville” (Canada, 1907, pp. 57-58). Indian Affairs did not specify if those who were described as “progressive and industrious” were involved in agriculture, and those who were classified as “indolent” manufactured Indian wares, however, the contrast was highlighted annually, as in this example; “Some of these Indians are industrious and progressive; others indolent, careless and improvident” (Canada, 1907, p. 58). In 1909, Big Cove had a population of 314, an increase of six; that year Indian Island’s population was 35; Bouctouche, 23; Fort Folly had three families; and 64 people lived off-reserve near Dorchester, Painsec Junction, Salisbury, including Fort Folly. There were five births and two deaths. Those situated in the southern counties were described in contrast with those who were progressing in Kent County; “They have no stock or farm implements, pay no attention to the education of their children, and are making no progress whatever. The three Indian families on Fort Folly reserve live in frame houses and do little farming” (Canada, 1910, p. 58).

The reserves’ populations for 1910 were: Big Cove at 323, which was an increase of 9 people, with 12 births and 3 deaths; Indian Island had a population of 32, a decrease of 3, which was caused by migration; Bouctouche had 22 individuals, a decrease of 1; and, Fort Folly, again had only a few families living there. Indian Affairs reported that those living in the south comprised an “Indian settlement near Dorchester, another near Painsec Junction, on the Intercolonial railway. They number, in all, 62, including the families at Fort Folly reserve. They reside in shanties and pay no attention to the education of their children nor to agriculture” (Canada, 1911, p. 57). The Agency’s total population was 998, an increase of 15.

The reserves’ populations in 1912 were: Big Cove, 329, with an increase of 1, including eight births, two deaths, and five Indians who left the agency: Indian Island, 32, amounting to an increase of one, with one birth; Bouctouche had a population of 20, with 1 birth and 1 death; and

Fort Folly still had a few families. The situation of those who lived off reserve or in the southern counties remained similar to previous years—as outlined in the annual report, these included an “Indian settlement near Dorchester, [and] another near Painsec Junction, on the Intercolonial railway. They number in all 56, including the families at Fort Folly reserve. They reside in shanties and pay no attention to the education of their children nor to agriculture” (Canada, 1913, p. 61). In 1913, Indian Affairs reported the following: Big Cove’s population was 335; Fort Folly and vicinity housed 36; Indian Island had a population of 32; Bouctouche housed 20; the population of Nova Scotia Indians in King’s, St. John, Charlotte, and Queen’s Counties was 156; and Kings County had 75 individuals. Settlements near Dorchester, at Painsec Junction, and including Fort Folly had a population of 56. The Agency total population was 1009, an increase of seven. Also reported was “considerable sickness...chiefly colds, grippe, consumption, pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases” (Canada, 1914, p. 59).

Those on reserve in 1916 lived in “small frame houses...others are poorly built affording poor protection against the cold” (Canada, 1917, p. 30). Similarly, Indian Affairs notes that “The Indians who move away for the winters occupy small shanties, which are generally not very clean” (Canada, 1917, p. 30).

As they were increasingly displaced from their traditional territories and forced to take up economic pursuits, such as agriculture, that tied them to one area, the Mikmaq subsequently moved to places that provided employment. Many stayed on reserves in winter and then moved in summer for work. There were some who chose to live along the railway, which provided easy transportation to centers of employment or to cities where they could sell handicrafts. Those who stayed in one place were generally regarded as “progressive and industrious” while those who engaged in a more nomadic existence, whether to follow employment or practice traditional

ways of living, were seen as “indolent” and lazy.

5.11 Other Laws and Bylaws

Aside from the Control of Cattle bylaw, the Indian Affairs Branch had internal memos relating to migratory birds, in 1948; trespass, in 1953; and trespass of white hunters in 1954. T. R. L. MacInnes, Secretary of the Indian Affairs Branch, wrote an internal memo to his department that “Your attention is particularly drawn to the fact that Indians may enjoy no exemption from the provisions of these [migratory bird] regulations” (Public Archives Canada, 1948). This meant that Mikmaq could not harvest birds outside of federally sanctioned seasons. Although whites were trespassing on the reserve, the Indians were the ones to be watched, according to the IAB;

Because of uncertainty as to the boundary line between Indian reserves and non-Indian lands, there may be cases where there is a suspicion that the occupant of adjoining land is trespassing on a reserve. A resurvey is usually necessary to decide such cases, and until it can be made superintendents should endeavour to see that the situation is not aggravated by unreasonable actions by Indians” (Public Archives Canada, 1957).

The use of the term “unreasonable actions” may have suggested that negative mental or psychological factors were attributed to them by the settlers.

Provincial motor vehicle regulations were applied on the reserve in 1954 pursuant to the new Section 87 (now 88) of the *Indian Act* respecting the application of provincial laws on reserves. The IAB allowed these regulations to be enforced, according to W. E. Harris, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration; “regulations governing the operation of vehicles within Indian Reserves in the Province of New Brunswick were made and established pursuant to the provisions of the *Indian Act*” (Public Archives Canada, 1954). The RCMP and Indian constables

were authorized to enforce provincial motor vehicle regulations on the reserve. IAB also provided poolroom regulations in 1959, initiated by Duncan Campbell Scott in the 1928 *Indian Act* which stated that “Anyone violating any of the provisions of this Regulation shall, on a summary conviction before the Indian Agent or the Justice of the Peace, be liable to a fine or penalty not exceeding thirty dollars and costs and in default of payment shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding thirty days” (*Indian Act*, 1928). These regulations included issues of gambling within the poolroom. Bylaws for traffic and speed limits were passed in 1962. Changes in the *Indian Act* during the 1950s allowed for provincial legislation applied on the reserve. This, along with regulations and bylaw authority under the *Indian Act*, quashed any remnants of self-determination.

Indian Affairs declared it was not responsible for individual debt in 1965. Debts of Indians seemed to have been an ongoing issue. Local businesses were holding Indian Affairs to account for Indian debt and trying to receive payment for outstanding balances from Indian Affairs. The first mention of debt was by Atlantic Beverages, a soft drink manufacturer, in 1948, when a storeowner on the reserve sanctioned by IAB had offered a letter of guarantee in lieu of payment, and the beverage company approached IAB for some type of remedy. The Superintendent, Blakey, responded by stating, “Please be advised that the Indian Affairs Branch accepts no responsibility for the private debts of an Indian” (Public Archives Canada, 1948). An establishment in Richibucto, A & R Logie Co., Ltd., also supplied the same individual with rations and sought to collect outstanding payment. The general manager of the company, J.B. Estey, notes that, “We cannot afford to write this large debt off and as the regular processes of law cannot be used in this instance, we trust you may be able to arrange some settlement” (Public Archives Canada, 1956).

Another storeowner on the reserve obtained a lawyer, E. T. Richard, to obtain outstanding debt, who in turn approached the IAB; “My information is that there is no truck house for the use of the members of the Band and these small storekeepers apparently take the place of the truck house. Could it not be possible to help them out of their predicament [?]” (Public Archives Canada, 1956). The lawyer attempted to frame the issue within the language of treaties. The IAB again responded that the “Indian Affairs Branch do not assume responsibility for the debts of individual Indians and the merchants in Big Cove Reserve are well aware of this” (Public Archives Canada, 1956). The message was sent to all agencies in Canada, in IAB’s Circular #130; “under no circumstances should a field officer of the Branch guarantee payment of an Indian’s personal account” (Public Archives Canada, 1959).

The issue resurfaced again when lawyers for Zellers Department Store, Richard and Daigle, in Moncton also approached IAB for Indians’ debts; “Only a few weeks ago we seized a truck and we received a phone call from Mr. Mark Yeoman from Moncton, threatening us with legal action if we did not return the truck immediately. Section of 88 of the *Indian Act* is continually [invoked] to protected them” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). The lawyers attempted to seize an Indian truck in lieu of the debt but were warned of the protection of Indian assets on the reserve under the *Indian Act* and pointed out that all the Indians knew the legislation and could recite it like their prayers. J. H. Sheane, Superintendent for the IAB could not ensure their collection. The IAB began logging the outstanding debts, R. F. Battle, the Assistant Deputy Minister of the IAB, noted in Circular #568 that “the field manual states that a yearly report of outstanding Indian indebtedness is to be submitted, in duplicate, as of March 31” (Public Archives Canada, 1965). Aboriginal status and geography hampered the collection of

debt. The *Indian Act* protected the Indian from seizure of real or personal property, along with goods being located on the reserve.

5.12 Information Derived from Death Certificates

The following data were derived from a search of provincial vital statistics online, using the keyword “Big Cove,” along with several surnames common in Elsipogtog and variations to spelling, which produced over 100 responses for death certificates. The following was derived from the information provided by the death certificates, which indicated the name, residence, place of death, date of death, gender, age, employment, place of birth, cause of death, and doctors’ signature. See Appendix D.

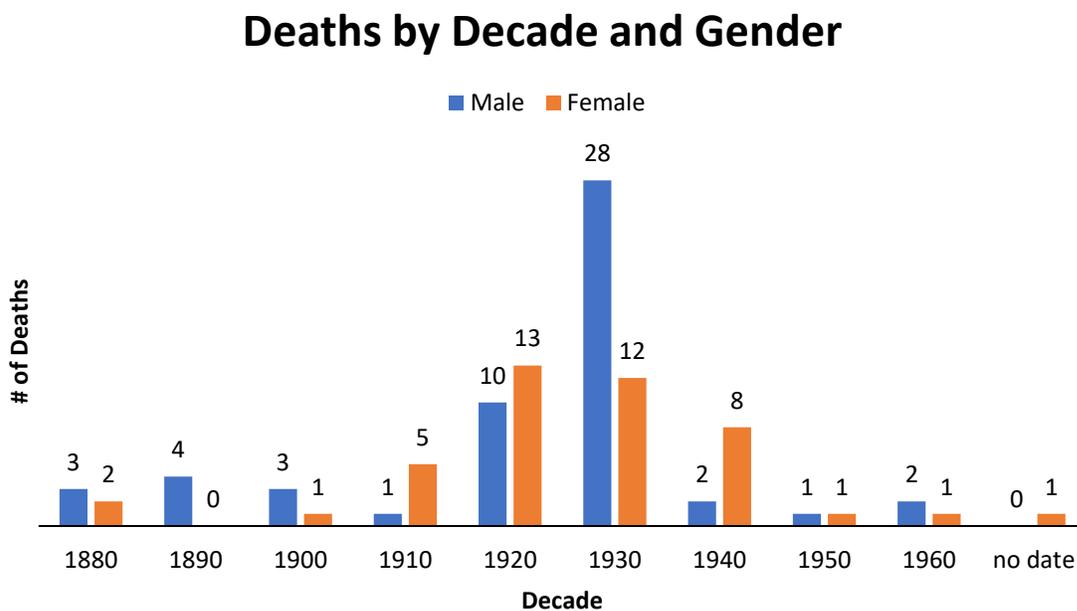


Figure 38: Deaths by Decade and Gender

The above graph does not capture all the deaths that would have occurred during those periods, but rather, they are a sampling of results obtained from the above-mentioned search query within those parameters. From those results, the most deaths occurred during the 1930s, followed by the

1920s. There were slightly more female deaths over males in the 1920s and more males over females in the 1930s.

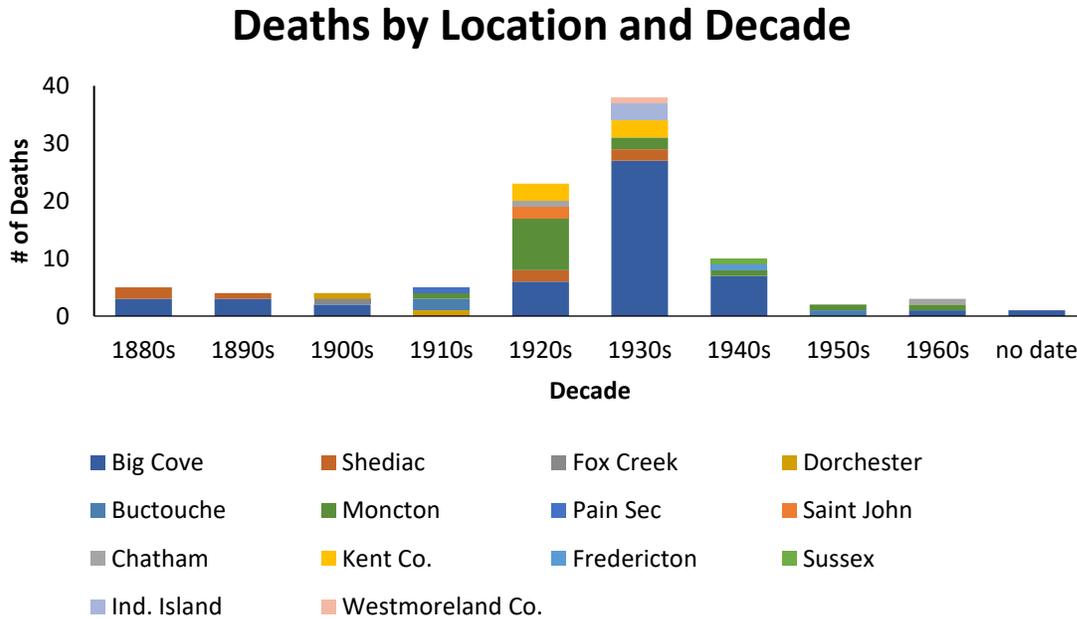


Figure 39: Deaths by Location and Decade

The most numerous deaths reported were during the 1930s and were located in Big Cove. Those that were next highest occurred in the 1920s and took place in the Moncton area. There were also several deaths in Kent County during the 1920s and the 1930s.

Causes of Death and Secondary Diseases

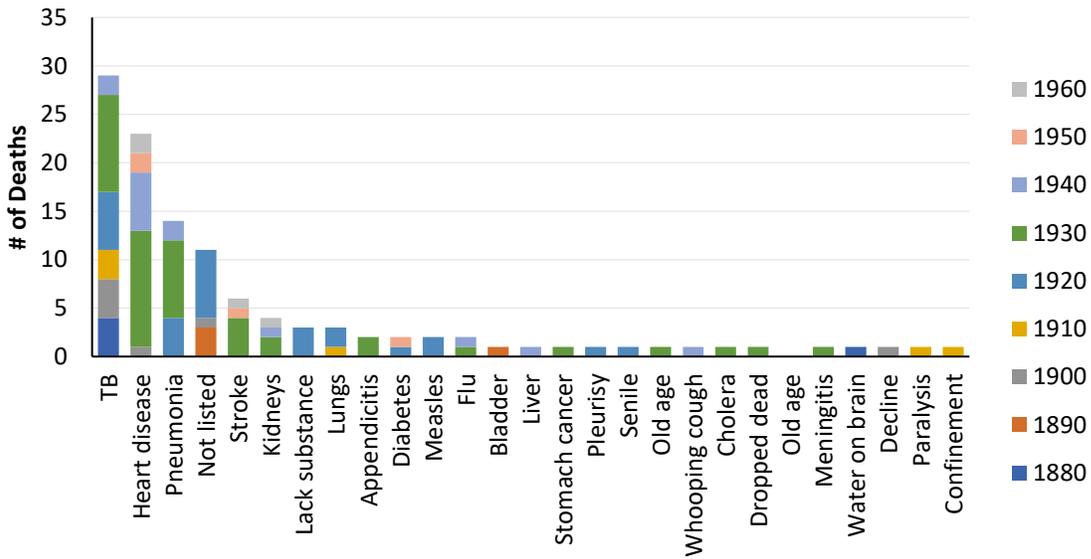


Figure 40: Causes of Death and Secondary Diseases by Decade

The above chart indicates the causes of death, along with any secondary illnesses listed on the death certificates. Tuberculosis, or consumption, was the highest cause of death throughout time but decreased after the 1940s. The second highest cause of death was heart disease, the numbers of which exploded during the 1930s, saw a slight decline in the 1940s and then remained low during the 1950s and 1960s. Pneumonia surged in the 1930s. During the 1920s the bulk of unidentified causes of death occurred. This was followed by stroke, mainly those that happened in the 1930s.

Number of Deaths in Age Groups

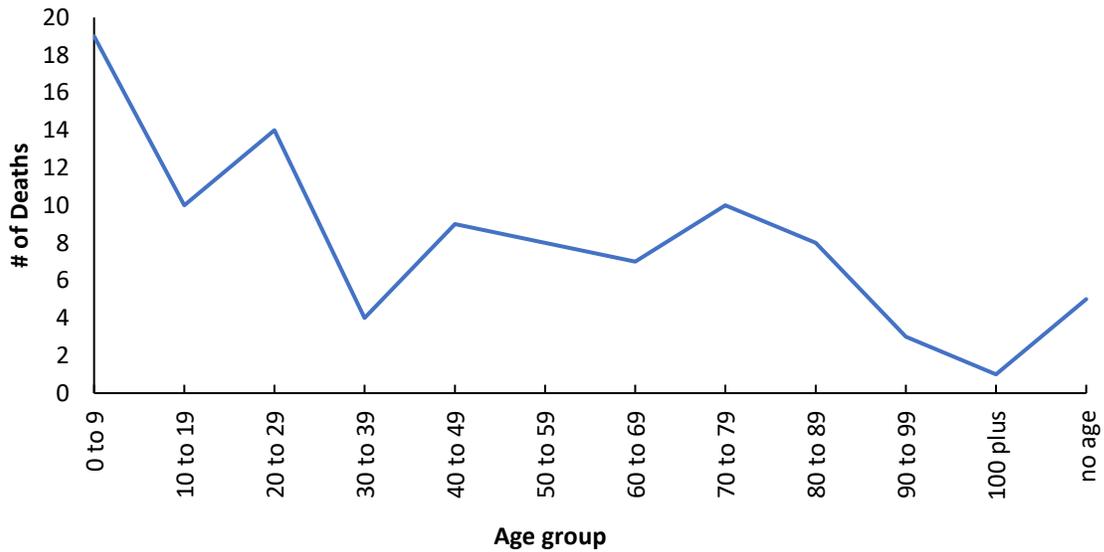


Figure 41: Number of Deaths in Age Groups

The highest number of deaths occurred in the age group of 0 to 9 years, followed by 20 to 29 years, and then the group of 70 to 79-year-olds.

Occupations Listed on Death Certificates

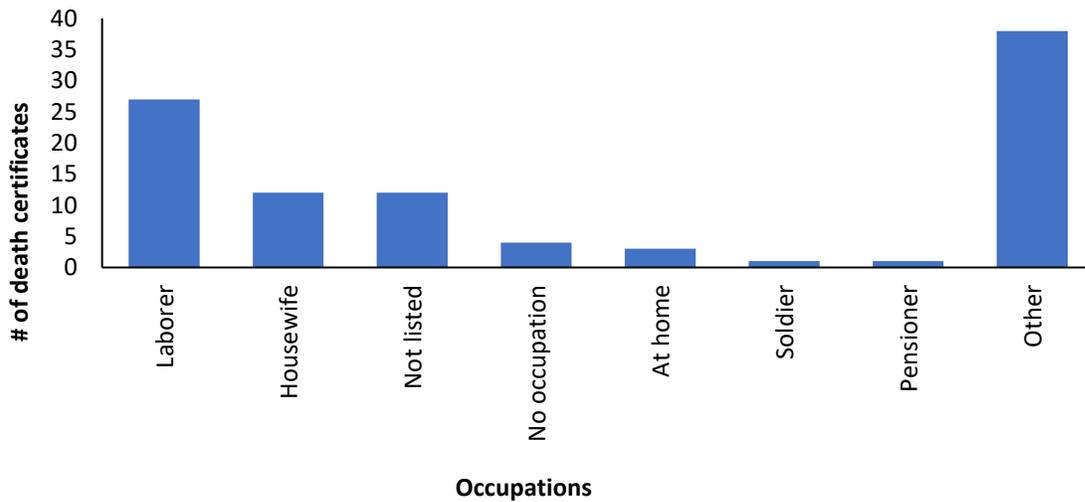


Figure 42: Occupations Listed on Death Certificates

The highest category of people who died with an occupation listed fell under the heading of Other, and consisted mainly of elderly people, widow/widower, children, and students. That category was followed in order by laborers, housewives, and those not listed. The category, ‘at home’ consisted of women or girls.

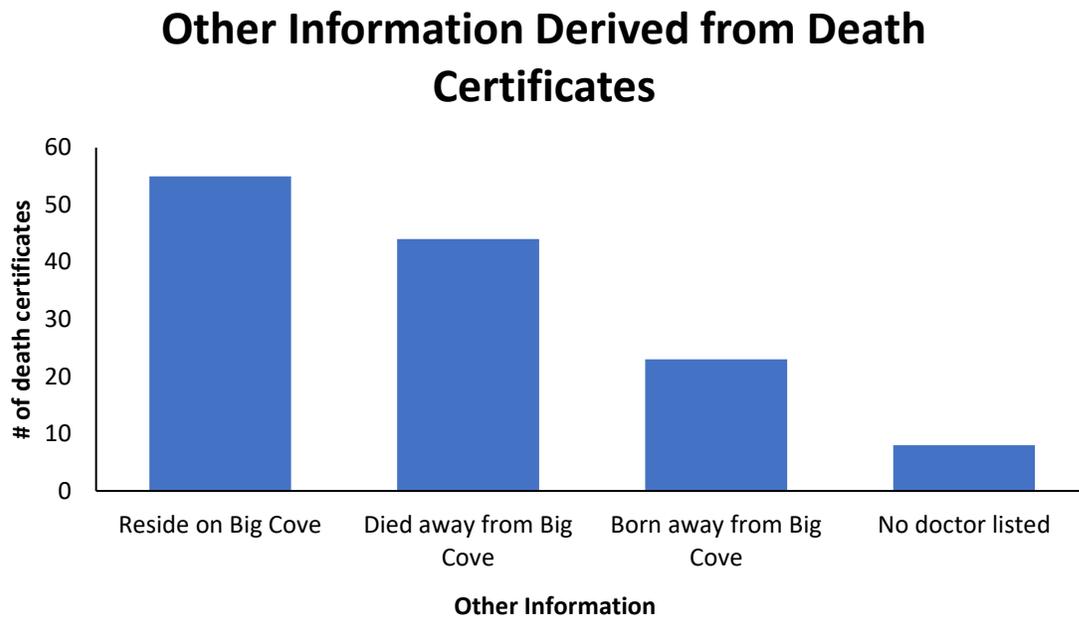


Figure 43: Other Information Derived from Death Certificates

From the 97 death certificates, over 50 of the people resided in Big Cove at the time of their death. Slightly more than 40 had died away from Big Cove. Twenty-three were born away from Big Cove, and eight had no doctor listed.

5.13 Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed record of Siknigtuk region, post-contact. Key themes have arisen in the chapter through the analysis of the data. These include a profound shift in

means of employment and livelihood, which were historically based in traditional activities such as basket weaving, fishing, and hunting informed by the teaching of *Netukulimk* which promotes balance and respect for nature. The data on policy and correspondence related to “Indian” administration suggests a qualitative and chronological component to various social health determinants; these components include income related to basket-making, crafts, fishing, logging, and welfare. The data were derived from Indian Agents’ reports, inter-office memos, letters and correspondence, and policy bulletins. The Míkmaq of Sikniktuk were forced off their traditional territory and, guided by financial need, were obliged to take on work that was considered acceptable by European standards.

Another key theme of this investigation was poor living conditions and housing, on and off reserve. There was little assistance for the Míkmaq, and this had an immediate and significant effect on their mental and physical health. There were frequent references in the archival data to a “lack of progress” among the Míkmaq, reflecting the fact that Míkmaq were not farming and Locke’s notion that land was only of benefit if it were being used in some way for profit or gain. This, of course, was directly counter to the traditional practice of *Netukulimk*, living in harmony with the land and all that lived on it.

The data additionally uncovered themes of disease and ill health related to the consumption of alcohol, which has had profound ramifications to the present day. Aside from the short-term effects of excessive alcohol consumption—injury, violence against self or others, and an increased risk of sexual disease transmission—long-term alcohol use has resulted in elevated numbers of people on reserve with heart and liver disease, cancers, fetal alcohol syndrome, and issues of social dysfunction. The availability of alcohol, which fluctuated with alcohol referenda on reserve, played a significant role in the decline in health of the residents of Elsipogtog over

the course of many years. The statistics indicate a year-to-year rise in cases of alcohol and substance abuse, which is directly attributable to post-contact settler influence.

The archival information also indicated that Euro-centric education, either in day schools or in a residential school setting, was expected and children were often recorded as being absent from school during hunting or fishing seasons. There was a high turnover of teachers in the mid-20th century as one culture attempted to instill its values onto another with varying degrees of success. Racism was rampant at the time, as Indigenous Peoples were considered to be less than persons, from both a societal and a legal standpoint.

As pride in Indigenous identity was re-kindled, following the social justice movements of the 1960s, the community began to exhibit signs of resilience and healing—a more hopeful theme arising from the data. We see this resilience in the creation of health services and programs for community and youth, operated by the Míkmaq themselves. It is evident, as well, in the resistance of some community leaders to unquestioningly participate in research aimed at gleaning information about their culture.

Socio-economic factors influenced the ways in which the Míkmaq were able to provide for themselves and there was a strong shift away from their traditional socio-economic practices and instead towards the employment provided by settler society. Federal policies and governmental regulations introduced over decades directly affected the health of the Indigenous Peoples, including Míkmaq, will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Intersectional Analysis

This chapter provides the analysis of the intersectional relationship between federal Indian policies and administration, discussed at the regional level, compared to spatial movements through time which determine that dispossession affected health through the loss of previously marketable activities. The analysis incorporates the intersections of social health determinants such as the social safety net, or relief as described in Indian Affairs, historical, and colonial documents; unemployment, or economic development for employment; social exclusion, or endeavours to relocate individuals to the reserve; and geography. Utilizing the Intersections of the Social Determinants of Health adapted from McGibbon’s (2012b) Synergies of Oppression, the determinants highlighted by McGibbon (2012) and Boyer (2011) are grouped under the categories of SDOH, “isms” of SDOH, and Geography as SDOH.

McGibbon (2012)	Boyer (2011)
Social Determinants of Health	
Gender ¹	Culture & language ¹
Aboriginal status ¹	Socio-economic factors ¹
Income ¹	Mental/psychological factors ¹
Social safety net ¹	Access to services ¹
Unemployment ¹	Family & kin relations ¹
Social exclusion ¹	Self-determination ¹
“isms” as SDOH	
Race/racism ²	
Sexism ²	
Classism ²	
Geography as SDOH	
Geography ³	Environmental factors ³
	Connection to the land ³

Table 7: Lower Frequencies by Sources

6.1 Social Determinants of Health

This group represents the greatest number of determinants, including gender, Aboriginal status, income, social safety net, unemployment, social exclusion, culture and language, socioeconomic factors, mental and psychological factors, access to services, family and kin relations, and self-determination. Socioeconomic factors stem from the social and economic environment (World Health Organization, 2013). Income and social status, education, social support networks, such as family, friends, communities, culture, customs, and traditions, are socioeconomic factors (World Health Organization, 2013). Discrimination, income, and gender also make up the social environment (Brennan Ramirez *et al*, 2014). Poverty is experienced when people cannot afford the human needs for clean water, nutrition, health care, education, clothing, and shelter (Brennan Ramirez *et al*, 2014). The World Health Organization (WHO) states that mental health is determined by socioeconomic, biological, and environmental factors. Well-being includes mental health that is affected by social, psychological, and biological factors (World Health Organization, 2013). This can also involve indicators of poverty and low levels of education (World Health Organization, 2013). The WHO also highlights the fact that poor mental health is associated with rapid social change, social exclusion, unhealthy lifestyles, and human rights violations (World Health Organization, 2013). The socio-political climate that respects and protects basic civil, political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights is fundamental to mental health promotion (World Health Organization, 2013). Their suggested strategies include housing policies, violence protection, such as the reduction of access to alcohol, poverty reduction, social protection of the poor, anti-discrimination laws and campaigns, and the promotion of rights (World Health Organization, 2013). Psychosocial determinants of health can

be affected by a stressful life event, such as unemployment, loss of self-esteem, and feelings of worthlessness (Martikainen, Bartley, and Lahelma, 2002). These psychosocial factors, such as stress, hostility, and hopelessness can cause heart disease (Macleod & Smith, 2003).

6.2 “Isms” as Social Determinants of Health

Race, racism, sexism, and classism are those determinants that make up the group of “isms” as social determinants of health. Racial discrimination is experienced when there is a denial of goods, resources or services, psychosocial stress, and assaults (Paradies, Priest, Ben, Truong, Gupta, Pieterse, Kelaher, & Gee, 2013). The Canadian Race Relations Foundation notes that “[t]he Aboriginal population, due to the reserve structure and the treaty agreements, are currently the only population in Canada where policy, law and politics (which are often contradictory) play a role in their daily lives. They are a group where race—and race alone—plays a major role in determining their access to health care” (Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2015).

6.3 Geography as a Social Determinant of Health

Geography is the most obvious determinant of this group; however, it also includes environmental factors and connection to the land. According to Paul Wilkinson, (2009) environmental factors include clean air, safe drinking water, and pollution. Some of these involve poor sanitation and hygiene, along with pollution of indoor and outdoor air (Wilkinson, 2009). Also listed are precarious housing and toxic wastes (Wilkinson, 2009). Low-income populations suffer disproportionately from household exposures to pollutants, inefficient and inadequately ventilated burning of biomass, which includes indoor smoke (Wilkinson, 2009). The Government of Australia listed environmental factors as food quality and safety, waste disposal, housing conditions, air pollution such as wood smoke and mold, water quality,

including fluoridation, food quality, incorporating contamination and nutrition, and infectious diseases, including viral infections (Victoria State Government, 2020).

There is an underlying assumption in the data that all activities are geographically based, whether they occurred on the land, or they involved the Míkmaq removal from the land, or they were denied access to it. Another fundamental premise of the data collection is that Míkmaq and Indian references are race-based.

Frequencies of References

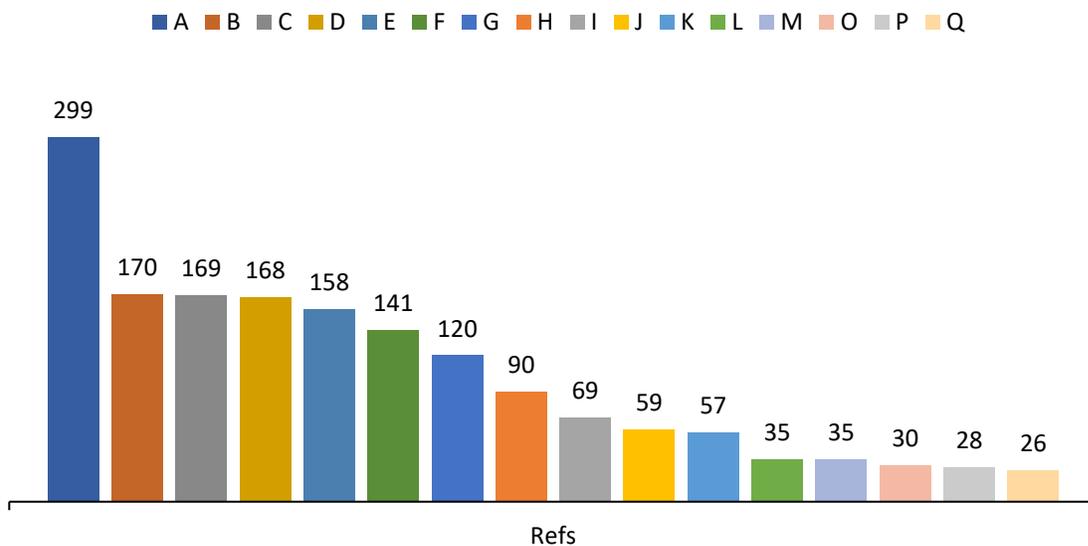


Figure 44: Frequencies of References

The social determinant of connection to the land (A) appeared most frequently in the data I found in the Indian Affairs files located at the University of New Brunswick archives. There were several references, for example, to Reserve lands and a request made for the creation of an Indian Reserve at Plumsweep in the Sussex area. As indicated earlier, all of the social determinants of health of the people of the Sikniktuk region can be tied back to their relationship with the land; the element of unhealthy lifestyles (B) is directly attributable to the physical and

social upheaval resulting from dispossession from traditional territories. Their family and kin relations (C) were disrupted by their relocation in order to follow settler-approved employment (G). Later mechanization of these jobs led to a reliance on the social safety net (D) and ensuing government policies which eroded their self-determination (E) showed a marked disregard for Míkmaq ontologies, in which their relationship to land was central. By including these frequency charts, I further explain my methodology and how, by reference to the various sources described in the previous chapters, I coded and then tabulated frequencies to demonstrate how dispossession and policies related to and reinforcing dispossession added up to various factors that, in their absence and/or in their existence, became negative SDOH.

The groupings with similar frequency of appearance to connection to land (A) were B) Unhealthy Lifestyles, C) Family & Kin Relations, D) Social Safety Net, E) Self-Determination, F) Race-Racism, and G) Income. *Unhealthy lifestyles* consisted primarily of references to alcohol abuse and were found in the Indian police reports and RCMP convictions. These were located in Indian Affairs Branch archival documents. *Family and kin relations* were mainly found in references to family in IAB archival data, and IAB annual reports. IAB archival data provided the main sources referring to the SDOH of the *social safety net*. These records detailed relief efforts before post-war welfare and were in the form of agricultural assistance providing seeds and fertilizer. *Self-determination* sources were found in Indian Affairs files from UNB and IAB archival data, which referenced treaties and band elections. The sources for *race-racism* were found in IAB archival data and historical information, referring to Indians and Míkmaq in the form of race or racism. *Income* sources were mainly from IAB archival data and historical information that referenced communal income from sales of reserve lands due to squatters, or from the sale of crafts. After that, groups of lower frequencies were H) Education, I) Culture &

Language, J) Denial of Resources, and K) Social Exclusion. The main sources for the SDOH of education were in the IAB archival data, as well as from historical information. These were references to schools, school operation, and attendance. *Culture and language* sources were primarily based on culture, such as basket making and crafts, and were located in the IAB archival data. The *denial of resources* was also situated in the IAB archival data, with references to criminal charges related to fisheries. *Social exclusion* was found in the IAB archival data and resulted from squatters on lands that were formerly occupied and utilized by the Míkmaq. Those with frequencies between 40 and 20 were L) Aboriginal Status, M) Assaults, N) Socio-Economic Factors, O) Access to Services, P) Housing Conditions, and Q) Infectious (Viral) Diseases. The SDOH of *aboriginal status* was located in the IAB archival data. *Assaults* were found from within historical documentation and involved events of conflict during earlier wars between the English and the French. Many *socio-economic factors* were from IAB archival data, Indian Affairs files housed at UNB, and historical information, which covered references to a national economic report, treaties, and other historical information. The IAB archival data were the main source for the SDOH of *access to services*. The services involved were health treatments, fisheries legal cases, health programs, and off-reserve services requested at Plumsweep. IAB archival data and historical information were the sources for *housing conditions*. These data were mainly referencing health regulations. Sources for *infectious (viral) diseases* were from both IAB archival data and historical information and referenced both health regulations and infections.

Frequencies of Sources

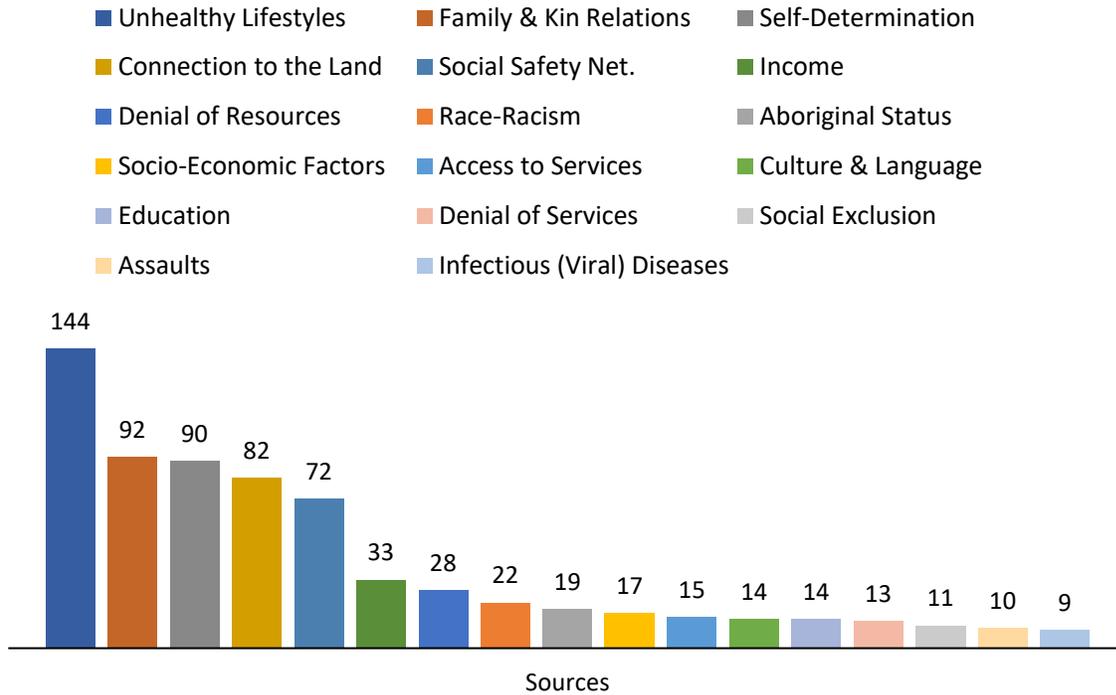


Figure 45: Frequencies of Sources

The highest frequency of SDOH from sources was 1) Unhealthy Lifestyles, primarily from alcohol abuse. The next group of SDOH from @ 90 to above 70 were 2) Family & Kin Relations, 3) Self-Determination, 4) Connection to the Land, and 5) Social Safety Net. The frequencies from @ 30 to 15 were 6) Income, 7) Denial of Resources, 8) Race-Racism, 9) Aboriginal Status, 10) Socio-Economic Factors, and 11) Access to Services. Those between 15 and 10 were 12) Culture & Language, 13) Education, 14) Denial of Services, and 15) Social Exclusion. 16) Assaults and 17) Infectious (Viral) Diseases were between 10 and 5.

Lower Frequencies by References

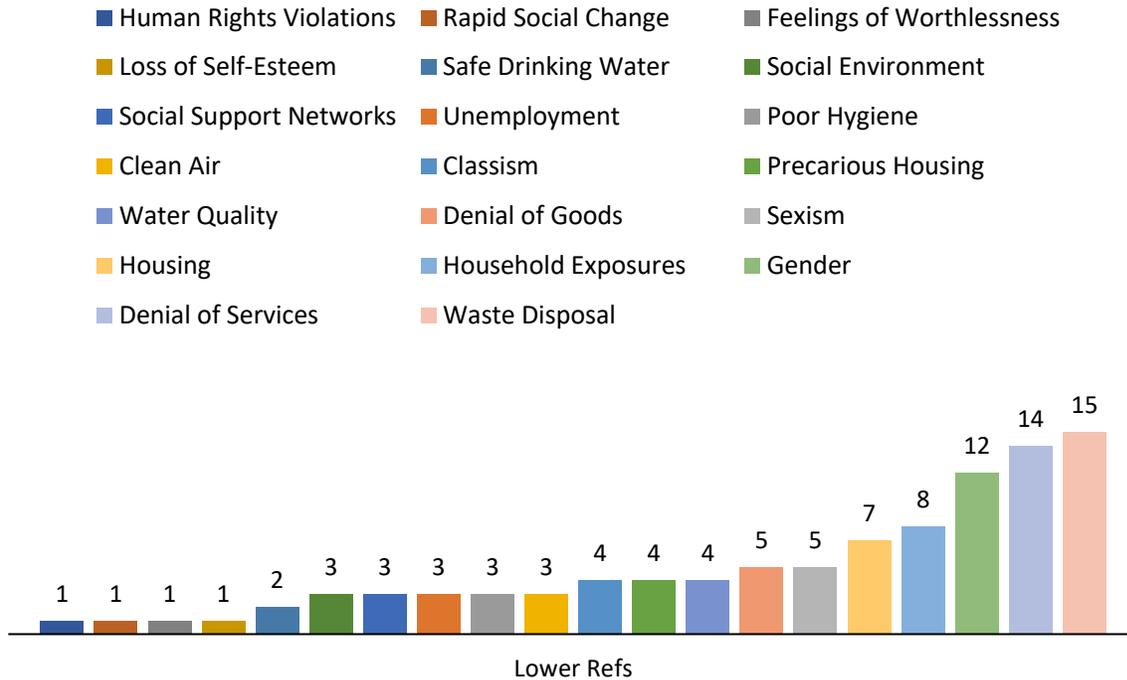


Figure 46: Lower Frequencies by References

The lowest frequencies by references were all at 1: a) Human Rights Violations, b) Rapid Social Change, c) Feelings of Worthlessness, and d) Loss of Self-Esteem. The issue of *Genocide* was the sole reference to human rights violations. Loss of Indigenous hunting and fishing grounds were referenced in the SDOH of *rapid social change*. *Feelings of worthlessness* were implied by the IAB archival sources describing the Míkmaq as beggars in several of their departmental annual reports. Historical documents provided the information for the *loss of self-esteem*, which related to suicide rates.

The next frequencies occurred between 2 and 3: e) Safe Drinking Water, f) Social Environment, g) Social Support Networks, h) Unemployment, i) Poor Hygiene, and j) Clean Air. The SDOH of *safe drinking water* was sourced from the IAB archival data with references to

unsafe water wells mentioned in the annual reports. IAB archival data and historical information were the sources for the *social environment*. These referenced departmental annual reports and various social committees. *Social support networks* were linked to family in departmental annual reports. *Unemployment* was sourced from IAB archival information through references to relief policy. IAB archival documents also provided the information for *poor hygiene* along with departmental annual reports. Departmental annual reports referenced reserve shanties as being poorly ventilated, the source for the lack of the SDOH *clean air*.

Those frequencies between 4 and 5 were: k) Classism, l) Precarious Housing, m) Water Quality, n) Denial of Goods, and o) Sexism. The sources for the SDOH of *classism* were from the departmental annual reports, ethnography, and a publication. They referenced an Indian Health Service circular that define classes, suggested class, and social class in society. *Precarious housing* was sourced from IAB archival documents and departmental annual reports. References were made to Indian Health Services' circular and health regulations on the destruction of condemned dwellings, and housing conditions from 1934. DIA/IAB archival information and departmental annual reports provided the source for *water quality*, and referenced through economic development reports, planned water projects, and the development of reserve wells in the early 1960s. Historical documents provided the source for the *denial of goods*. These occurred early in the colonial period where goods were denied through conflict, trade restrictions, collapse of treaty promises, and much later through departmental social policy. *Sexism* was discriminatory in nature and had some overlap with *gender* as a social determinant of health. This was found primarily in publications and referenced women losing their Indian status, and the exclusion of women who married non-Indigenous men.

The frequency of p) Housing was at 7, and for q) Household Exposures were at 8. IAB archival information and historical documents were the primary sources for the SDOH of *housing*. These referenced housing as security identified with living on the reserve, housing stock, historical housing, and departmental programs. A similar determinant, *household exposures*, was sourced from IAB archival data and departmental annual reports. One reference was made to the Indian Health Services circular on housing unfit for human habitation. The annual reports were mainly about lime-washing or whitewashing houses on the reserve.

Frequencies between 12 and 15 were: r) Gender, s) Denial of Services, and t) Waste Disposal. *Gender* was related to sexism and was sourced through IAB archival data and several publications. A referendum on alcohol reflected the votes of those women against it during a low voter turnout, although Indian Affairs interpreted the vote as in favour. Women could not vote in Band Council matters before 1951 (and not federally until 1960). A policy document on relief identified Indian widows eligible for services only if they returned to the reserve, and children of Indian women and non-Native men were eligible to be on the reserve through their mother, but only until they were 21 years old. The Indian registry, which kept track of Indians and bands entitled to benefits under treaty, excluded women and children who were not considered Indian by the government, negative images were associated with women, and Mikmaq were described as a matriarchal society, according to some publications. IAB archival information was the source for the *denial of services*. These denials came in various forms:

- criminals convicted under the Criminal Code rather than the *Indian Act* and denied transportation costs to court
- denial of legal counsel to fisheries cases that relied on treaties, although the department made exceptions that dealt with constitutional matters

- the discontinued payment for the priest in 1903
- denying widows relief who were located off the reserve, and
- denying health services to those living off the reserve, including transients in the province.

Historical documents referenced the failure to provide schools and medical attention during the colonial period. The Assembly of First Nations cited the denial of services which many Canadians took for granted. The SDOH of waste disposal was found in IAB archival information and departmental annual reports. References were made to prizes for the state of one’s lawn, cleaning up garbage around the homes, and annual reports on cleaning up and burning of garbage, between 1896 and 1913.

Lower Frequencies by Sources

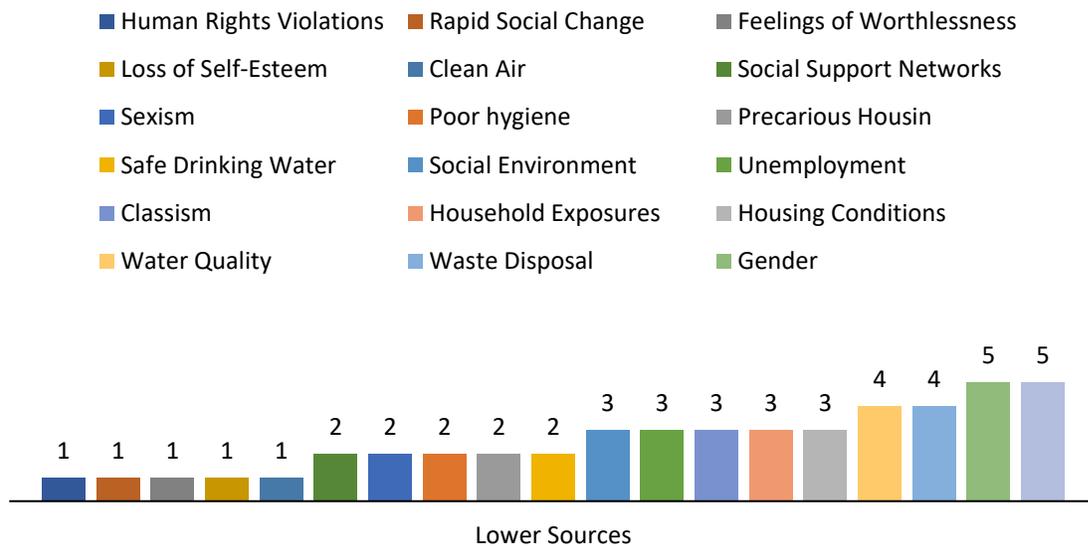


Figure 47: Lower Frequencies by Sources

The lowest frequencies by source were: i) Human Rights Violations, ii) Rapid Social Change, iii) Feelings of Worthlessness, iv) Loss of Self-Esteem, and v) Clean Air. Frequencies of 2 were: vi)

Social Support Networks, vii) Sexism, viii) Poor hygiene, ix) Precarious Housing, and x) Safe Drinking Water. The frequencies of 3 were: xi) Social Environment, xii) Unemployment, xiii) Classism, xiv) Household Exposures, and xv) Housing Conditions. xvi) Water Quality and xvii) Waste Disposal were both at 4, and xviii) Gender and xix) Denial of Goods were 5. The SDOH not coded by sources or references were: Mental and Psychological Factors (Biological, Stressful Life Event), Poor Sanitation, Mold, Pollution, Wood Smoke, Food (Contamination & Nutrition, Quality & Safety), Waste, and Toxic Wastes.

6.4 French and English Colonial Era, 1600 - 1700s

Several SDOH intersections were encountered in the early history of the region. Examples were taken from the period between French and subsequent English settlement. The first intersections discussed were in Kent County, and described the alleged savagery of the Indians at Richibucto, which was associated with the prevention of settlement in the area (Cooney, 1832). Chief [Michael] Augustine was said to have played a historic role in those interactions. The intersections involved in this example are *Connection to the Land*, *Race-Racism*, and *Family and Kin Relations*. Richibucto Indians have always maintained a connection to the area. This reinforces the ideas of Boyer (2011), in regard to the importance of ties to the land. In regard to Boyer's example, Indians were considered to be a race. Family relations as a SDOH are illustrated by the Augustines, who lived throughout the region.

In another early case of intersectionality in the literature, a Frenchman named La Valliere took skins from Chief Negascouet (Bird, 1928, p. 12). The determinants that appeared in this example were *Racism through Assaults*, *Racism through the Denial of Goods*, *Socio-Economic Factors*, and *Connection to the Land*. Despite the Mikmaq being, in many ways, allies of the French during that time, the assault was also economic in nature, which resulted in the loss of

goods that would ordinarily have been obtained through the trade of the furs.

Bird (1928) described the distrust of the Míkmaq by settlers in early Chignecto and suggested that they were dependent on the French, although other scholars have challenged this perception. Bird (1928) writes that “The Micmac was no longer to be absolutely trusted and he preferred to let the French feed him in the slack seasons.” (p. 25). Bird’s work provided the intersections of *Race-Racism*, *Social Safety Net*, and *Connection to the Land*. The races involved in this writing are distinctively Míkmaq and French, where the Indigenous population was increasingly dependent on the settlers. This may be indicative of an early form of *social safety net* in the Chignecto region.

There was an early incident during the conflict between the French and English, as described in Chapter 3, above, that also touched on the dependency on European goods. La Jonquiere supplied the Indians with arms, ammunition, food, and necessities, which supported the hampering of English settlement at Halifax around 1720 (Bird, 1928). Bird (1928) was the likely instigator of calling them “savages,” the word losing substance in his translation of Jonquiere’s original statement. *Connection to the Land*, *Racism*, and *Social Safety Net* intersect in this account. The connection to land, in this case, is illustrated by the Halifax region. *Racism* is evident between the Indians and the English, with the reference to “savages” in the reports and correspondence. Arms and necessities comprised this early version of a social safety net, on which, by this time, the Míkmaq had become quite dependent.

During these early conflicts, Governor Lawrence in 1763 issued a proclamation to prevent the supply of corn to the Indians and their allies. At the time, grain was produced around Minas and transported to Beausejour. The intersections at play were *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through Denial of Goods*, and *Social Exclusion*. Connection to the land is rooted to the

Beauséjour area and the denial of goods was demonstrated by the prevention of shipping corn there.

After the initial conflicts, Mikmaq entered into treaties with the English. One of the later treaties in this series was the 1779 Treaty. Chief Augustine of Richibucto signed the treaty. The Mikmaq of the region encountered a loss of supplies, one Mikmaq was killed, and several prisoners were taken to Quebec by the French in 1779. The chief of Shediac also signed the treaty. Among the many things the Mikmaq were promised by the English was to be unmolested in their hunting and fishing, along with promised trade of ammunition, clothing, and other necessary stores. The intersections illustrated here were *Connection to the Land, Family and Kin Relations, Self-Determination, Racism through Denial of Goods, Racism through Assaults, Socio-Economic Factors, and Culture*. The treaties were signed by those traditional districts extending from the Miramichi down toward Shediac, these districts having deep and long historical connections to the land. Family and kin relations existed between the districts. The Mikmaq chiefs asserted their self-determination by entering into treaty relationships with the English. Mikmaq experienced *racism* through the denial of trade goods during this brief conflict; one was killed, and prisoners were taken after the assaults. Hunting and fishing were affected, both as socio-economic factors and as cultural practices.

The memory of these conflicts and subsequent treaty promises were long held in Big Cove. Jacob Augustine Sr., in an interview with Guessous in the early 1960s, recounted the Mikmaq conflict, the treaties, and the government promises to take care of them. From his retelling of events, the intersections are noted as the *Connection to the Land, Self-Determination, Racism through Assaults, and the Social Safety Net*. The Richibucto Mikmaq have an ancestral connection to the land which they invoked in signing the treaty. Their self-determination was

exercised in their ability to enter into such an arrangement, despite the assaults they endured during the French-British conflict. Jacob Augustine's retelling of government promises to take care of the Mikmaq appears as the basis for government assistance.

Willie John Simon, my Uncle Bill, echoed similar sentiments, saying, "They killed many of us, took our land, destroyed the game and the forests, and brought lots of diseases. They signed treaties with the Indians and promised to take care of all their needs" (Guessous, 1960, p. 52). The intersecting social determinants of health in this interview were the *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, *Racism through Assaults*, and *Self-Determination*. These determinants were similar to those found in Jacob Augustine Sr.'s account, with the addition of losing the land and game, as well as experiencing disease.

Historians recount the Loyalist migration into the area and Britain's conquest of Acadia; these activities were destructive of Native populations, amounting to their dispossession. Reid (1995) notes that, by the time of this conquest, "the Indians were no longer of account as allies, enemies, or people" (p. 78). Intersections of the *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Socio-Economic Factors* are encountered in this account. The dispossession broke the Indigenous connection to the land. The notion of an overwhelmed Indigenous economy which Reid (1995) raised implies that resources were unattainable. The disruption to traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering practices ultimately had severe socio-economic consequences for the Mikmaq and their overall health.

Reid (1995) also pointed out that dispossession involved the Mikmaq traditional hunting territories, which also created similar tensions over fishing. The intersections involved in this instance were *Connection to the Land*, *Socio-Economic Factors*, and *Racism through the Denial of Resources*. The disconnection to the land was experienced by the Mikmaq and influenced

socio-economic factors that revolved around hunting and fishing. Their dispossession from the land also resulted in the inability to obtain resources previously utilized in their traditional manner, since settlers were now ensconced in places that these resources had been found.

The Indians were disturbed in their hunting grounds, Reid (1995) stated, by the influx of the Loyalists. The Indigenous populations were dispersed, and their livelihoods were threatened. Similar intersections of land and resources are continually encountered, through the juncture of *Connection to the Land* and *Racism through Denial of Resources*, in this instance. However, their displacement also resulted in their exclusion from Loyalist society, illustrated by *Social Exclusion* as a social determinant of health.

Several similar issues were brought forward in Fingard's (1972) study around the Sussex Vale school, including assimilation and extinguishment. The Indigenous populations were required to give up their language and culture along with their traditional economic pursuits. They were also expected to adopt an Anglo lifestyle and western property concepts. *Connection to the Land, Race-Racism, Culture & Language*, and *Socio-Economic Factors* are the intersections encountered in the situations described by Fingard. Extinguishment was an extension of Míkmaq disconnection from their land, which resulted in negative impacts to their culture and language, as well as their socioeconomic activities.

6.5 English Colonial Era leading up to Confederation, 1800s

One of the early intersections in the data regarding the English colonial period involved primarily environmental factors that were not necessarily encompassing the other spheres of determinants. However, this was an incident that fell within the traditional district of Sikniktuk. Measles were reported at Remsheg, in what is now called Wallace Harbour, in Nova Scotia, around 1803. The intersections illustrated here are *Connection to the Land* and *Infectious (Viral)*

Diseases. The colonization that led to dispossession brought with it communicable (and fatal) diseases such as measles and smallpox which decimated Indigenous communities, in the early years post-contact.

Reid (2009) highlighted the fact that, during this period, the Míkmaq faced reductions in the numbers of animals available to hunt, which contributed to their poverty. They did receive some governmental relief, despite their perceived enmity toward the settlers. The intersections of the *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and the *Social Safety Net* are encountered in Reid's work. Míkmaq poverty resulted from the loss of resources through the loss of hunting activities and contributed to their poverty. In response, colonial governments provided some relief, an early form of the social safety net. This was also an indicator of how the Míkmaq were expected to be part of the market economy being imposed on them and to become self-sufficient as individuals and families, counter to their traditional communal way of life.

An early impact on the environment was Francklin's development through road construction, which drove away animals and affected Míkmaq hunting (Fischer, 1979). *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Socio-Economic Factors* are the intersecting determinants. Development of the interior of Nova Scotia, including a portion of Sikniktuk, was accomplished through road construction. The negative impact on the environment was illustrated by the loss of hunting for the Míkmaq, affecting many of their socio-economic activities.

Another historical encounter was related by Wosnow (1994), who noted that squatters stripped timber from reserve land in New Brunswick (p. 1). *Connection to Reserve Land* and *Racism through the Denial of Resources* are the intersecting determinants in his work. Indians were removed from lands that were reserved for their use, when the reserve was opened up for

settlement, further shrinking their available land. This included being denied access to the resources on those reserve lands.

According to Upton (1979), the early New Brunswick colonial government approved revenue for relief for the Indians, including the Richibucto Indians. The colonial secretary was encouraged to abandon casual presents, and instead have the Indians adopt education and agriculture as a means by which they could “progress”. *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources, Social Safety Net, Education, and Language and Culture* are the intersecting determinants here. The social safety net had exchanged relief for presents. Denying resources through disconnection to the land was being replaced by the proposal for self-sustaining farming and education. Relief, in this instance, implies that a special relationship between the Crown and the Míkmaq was being supplanted by welfare, which symbolized the idea that the Míkmaq were to become dependent on the market economy and, when they could not engage in it, they would receive limited relief from time to time as needed.

A reduction of the Richibucto Reserve was due to a population decrease there in 1825 (Wosnow, 1994, p. 1). The Míkmaq were also deemed to have been unsuccessful at farming. Many were considered to be addicted to alcohol and were living proximate to stores and harbours in order to sell their baskets. Because of these issues with sustenance and the community’s marginalization from the new cash economy, alcoholism intensified while, at the same time, the Míkmaq were forced to rely on selling cultural artifacts to make money. As well, selling the baskets required living off of reserve lands. The pertinent intersections found in Wosnow’s work are the *Connection to Reserve Land, Racism, Unhealthy Lifestyle, and Culture*. Alcohol addiction was an unhealthy lifestyle, stemming from the loss of land, and making baskets was a cultural activity which was traditionally practiced and then later exploited by the

colonial governments.

The political response from the New Brunswick colonial government was to provide continued relief to the Indians after the settlers forced them from their lands (Upton, 1979). *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and the *Social Safety Net* are the intersecting determinants in this case. It appeared that the colonial policy in dealing with Indians “was to dispossess them from their reserve lands to make way for progress and to free the white taxpayer of the costs of relief” (Upton, 1979). Again, in this publication, the determinants intersecting are the *Connection to Reserve Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and the *Social Safety Net*.

The Richibucto Reserve, according to Schoolcraft (1855), was reduced in size and the land made available was granted to applicants. These were considered valuable portions of reserve land. The intersections involved in Schoolcraft’s report are *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Social Exclusion*. The Mi’kmaq were excluded from having a voice in colonial political considerations at the time, as well as being excluded from mainstream society.

Loyalist applicants, including Jacob Powell, petitioned the colonial government for [Big Cove] reserve lands. Powell and others had already taken Indian lands when then they were settled in New York. Intersecting determinants in this instance are the *Connection to the Land*, *Race-Racism*, *Social Exclusion*, and *Self-Determination*. Land, race, and exclusion are determinants found in previous circumstances MacDonald (1989) discussed. Mi’kmaq self-determination was clearly undermined when control over their lands and resources was denied.

When the New Brunswick colonial government opened up settlement of Richibucto Reserve, it realized the shrinking of the reserve posed no problem, and that the Mi’kmaq posed a

politically negligible force to stop it (Wosnow, 1994, p. 1). *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources, Social Exclusion, and Self-Determination* are the intersecting determinants encountered here. These are similar to the previously mentioned intersections.

John Hamilton Clare was the son of a Loyalist who farmed on reserve land (Wosnow, 1994). He is one example of squatters on the Richibucto Reserve. Similar intersecting determinants of *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources, and Social Exclusion* are found in regard to squatters on reserve.

Historians have reflected on the 20th century as a time of failed attempts at civilizing the Indigenous population. Fisher (1921) notes that “The Indians of New Brunswick are fast declining, and although several attempts have been made to induce them to form permanent settlements and become planters, they still continue their migratory way of life. The attempts that have been made to civilize them by educating their children have been equally unsuccessful” (p. 93). The *Connection to the Land* determinant remains a dominant factor, intersecting with *Race-Racism* in settlers’ continued efforts to assimilate the Indigenous Peoples as farmers into Western civilization. *Education* was also used to civilize the children, although it was reported to be a failure.

The colonial government sold many acres of reserve lands that were to provide resources to the Indigenous population (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). Promises of schools and medical attention failed to materialize, conditions for the Indians did not improve, more settlement occurred, and hunting grounds were lost. The *Connection to the Land* was broken when lands were lost. *Racism through the Denial of Resources* also occurred with the disconnection from their land. The Mikmaq were denied education and medical services despite their lands having

been sold for those purposes, highlighting an additional intersection of *Racism through the Denial of Services* and the *Socio-Economic Factors of Education*.

Through the *Indian Reserves Act* of 1844, New Brunswick sold reserve land—land that was originally set aside for the sole use of the Mikmaq—to raise money for the Indian fund; however, there was never enough to meet the needs of Indian relief or to provide schools or assistance (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The intersecting determinants involved were the *Connection to the Land, Social Support Networks, Social Safety Net, Socio-Economic Factors of Education and Income, Racism through the Denial of Resources, and Racism through the Denial of Services*. This multitude of determinants had a negative impact on Indigenous life and was compounded through their complex intersections. Social support for the Indigenous Peoples was, for all intents and purposes, non-existent. Income from the sale of their lands was absorbed by the colonial government, along with their intended proceeds for education and relief. As well, after Confederation and well into the twentieth century, it was common practice for the federal government to use band and/or trust funds to fund relief.

The Mikmaq requested the sale of Big Cove land to build a church in 1876 on lands that were granted to them before Confederation with monies derived from squatters who did not pay for the land they were occupying. (Hamilton & Spray, 1977). The Indian Agent reported that there were a few hundred acres vacant and several hundred acres with squatters. The new federal department of Indian Affairs had no official statement in regard to those colonial revenues. The intersectionality comprised *Connection to the Land* and *Racism through the Denial of Resources*. Income from the sale of reserve lands, despite their being communal in nature, was less accessible.

In 1885, Chief Thomas Joseph requested the proceeds from sold reserve lands—

approximately 3000 acres which “white settlers” then occupied—be refunded to the chief. The intersections involved in this request and its aftermath were the *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Social Exclusion*.

Indian Affairs’ annual reports in the late 1800s found some Mikmaq living off reserve, selling baskets, living in huts and shanties that were crowded and filthy. They were called “indolent and improvident” beggars, with “much sickness,” and they experienced a high death rate. To dispose of waste around their dwellings and surroundings, the inhabitants burned garbage, and their houses were lime-washed. The intersections involved in these descriptions are the *Connection to the Land, Racism, Infectious (Viral) Diseases, Feelings of Worthlessness, Housing Conditions, Household Exposures, Waste Disposal, Income, and Culture*. The determinant of *feelings of worthlessness* is implied. Infectious, viral diseases usually appeared in the form of influenza. Housing conditions were poor, and the people were likely to have experienced indoor wood smoke or poor air quality, which contributed to pulmonary conditions such as tuberculosis. Household exposures were probably eliminated through lime-washing. Making baskets was a cultural activity and the Mikmaq’s income was derived from selling them.

The situation experienced in the Hampton reserve in 1893 included poor housing conditions, considerable sickness, and the reliance on selling Indian wares (Canada, 1894, p. 32). The intersecting determinants in this case are *Housing Conditions, Infectious (Viral) Diseases, Culture & Language, Income, and Unhealthy Lifestyles*. There are also implied determinants of *Connection to the Land*, and *Racism* inferred from reports that pertained specifically to Indians.

6.6 Indian Act Era and Later 1900s

Indigenous identity is rooted in the land, and the definition of “Indian” had a major impact on both identity and its relationship to the land. Indian-ness determined who could live on

an Indian reserve, which foregrounds intersections of the *Connection to the Land, Aboriginal status, Race-Racism*; these, as a result, have undermined *Self-Determination*.

Defining “Indian” was an early part of the legislation of identity which resulted in other negative impacts. These included gendered violations of sovereignty under the *Indian Act*.¹⁷⁶ There is an implied *Connection to the Land* under federal legislation, as it determined who could live on an Indian reserve. The legislation is based on *Race* and the implications affect *Gender* and *Sexism*, which undermined *Self-Determination* of citizenship and membership. The subtle distinction is that the legislation dealt with gender, but it also discriminated against Aboriginal status and against the offspring of a particular sex, in certain situations.

Indian status is a subset of Aboriginal status. The early definitions of “Indian” were amalgamated from other colonial legislation under the federal *Indian Act*. Lawrence (2004) points out that “Indian status, above all, is a system that enabled Canada to deny and bypass Indigenous sovereignty, by replacing ‘the Nation’ with ‘the Indian’” (p. 229). An implied determinant, in this case, is the *Connection to the Land*, intersecting with *Race-Racism*, and *Aboriginal status*. Indian status is connected to who can live on an Indian reserve, and this status is the only race-based identity legislated in Canada.

Reserves and homelands became a part of Canada; however, Indigenous Peoples were left out of Confederation in the sense that they were not actively involved in its formation.

¹⁷⁶ Hanson, writing for the University of British Columbia, states that “The *Indian Act*, created by the federal government in 1876, was evidently designed with the colonial ideal of men as leaders and heads of households, and women as dependents of their husbands. The *Indian Act* denied women the right to possess land and marital property—only widows could possess land under the reserve system. However, a widow could not inherit her husband’s personal property upon his death—everything, including the family house, legally went to his children. Government agents modified the Act slightly in 1884, with an amendment that allowed men to will their estate to their wives, but a wife could only receive it if the Indian agent determined she was of “good moral character.” This particular amendment remained in the *Indian Act* until 1951, although to this day men still hold exclusive rights to property, even if a relationship ends. This has far-reaching implications in the lives and safety of the affected women.”

Ottawa created the legal construct of “Indians” with a national registry, excluding women and children not considered “Indian”. Underfunding of bands and reserves resulted in the near economic collapse of communities. The *Connection to the Land, Aboriginal status, Racism through the Denial of Resources, Gender, and Social Exclusion* are the intersecting determinants involved in this instance. The Indian registry reinforced Indian status and excluded women and their children, when they married non-Indian men (Hanson, 2020).

Thobani (2007) concludes that these activities under the *Indian Act* constituted race-making. Settlers dominated society and their assertions over Indigenous lands were protected by law. She notes that “Constituted as ‘preferred races’ within the bureaucratic apparatus of the settler state, the settlement activities of these true subjects accomplished the violent dispossession of aboriginal populations—a dispossession duly constituted and preserved as ‘lawful’ to this day” (Thobani, 2007, p. 13). The intersections in this focus on race are the *Connection to the Land, Race-Racism, Social Exclusion, and Aboriginal status*. Her statement would suggest that, despite many of the determinants being rooted in the introduction of the problematic *Indian Act*, they continue to the present.

Under the 1951 version of the *Indian Act*, Indian women who married non-Indians lost their rights and status. Similarly, an Indian Agent or the superintendent could remove chiefs and councilors from their office. There is, in this discussion of rights and status, an implied *Connection to the Land*, as women who lost status also lost the ability to practice land-based traditions. Other intersecting determinants include *Sexism, Gender, Racism through the Denial of Services, Aboriginal status, Self-Determination, and Access to Services*.

A royal commission on economic prospects commented on relief, stating that “An Indian not living on a reserve should return to the reserve if he is need of assistance.” (Royal

Commission, 1957).¹⁷⁷ The report continued along the lines of gender, stating that “An Indian widow who is in need can receive relief only on the reserve” (Royal Commission, 1957). The *Connection to the Land* is the determinant involved with assistance being obtained on the reserve. *Racism through the Denial of Services* is also involved with that connection to the reserve. *Gender* is connected to the reserve as well, with the *Social Safety Net* delivered to those living on the reserve.

The Indian Affairs Branch reported on an incident of relief provided to a relative of the author, in the mid-1900s; “seed oats and grass seed supplied to William Simon, destitute Indian No. 74, Big Cove Band 19.05” (Public Archives Canada, 1955). There is a *Connection to Reserve Land*. *Racism*, *Social Safety Net*, *Family & Kin Relations*, and *Aboriginal status* are other intersecting determinants.

An Indian Health Services circular included in the Indian Affairs Branch reports stated that the Superintendent enforces regulations (Public Archives Canada, 1952). The superintendent handles welfare, education, and other matters. The implied determinant of the *Connection to Reserve Land* intersects, and undermined, that of *Self-Determination*. These regulations are based on *Race*, which affected the Indigenous Peoples’ *Access to Services*. The *Socio-Economic Factors* of those living on reserve was also impacted. Other intersecting determinants are *Education*, *Social Safety Net*, and *Aboriginal status*.

After Confederation, Indigenous Peoples had to be enfranchised to vote and, upon enfranchisement, would forfeit their Indian status. This requirement was later dropped, having been in place for 93 years, to allow them to vote. The IAB notes that “Indians ordinarily resident

¹⁷⁷ The Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects was established by the government of Louis St. Laurent to provide recommendations on the economy of the country in response to increasing concerns about nationalism. Page numbers for these references are currently unavailable.

on an Indian reserve are disqualified from voting in a Federal election unless they waive any right from taxation on or in respect of personal property held on a reserve” (Public Archives Canada, 1950). The intersections noted here are the *Connection to the Land*, *Race-Racism*, *Aboriginal status*, and *Self-Determination*.

There were minimal references to socio-economic class in the data. An Indian Health Services circular issued in 1953 (Public Archives Canada, 1954) listed different classes of persons; an Indian who ordinarily lives on a reserve, a person who lives an Indian mode of life whether or not living on a reserve, and others living on a reserve. The most apparent social determinant of health is the *Connection to the Land*. *Racism*, *Classism*, and *Aboriginal status* are the other intersecting determinants.

Indian Health Regulations issued in 1954 granted the authority to the superintendent or medical officer to inspect the hygienic conditions of a dwelling situated on reserve, and to order the destruction of such building if required (Lux, 2010, p. 410). The *Connection to the Land*, *Housing Conditions*, *Poor Hygiene*, *Infectious (Viral) Diseases*, and *Precarious Housing* are the intersections here. In this unique situation, all the determinants are environmental or geographical.

A sign found posted on the Shubenacadie Reserve in Nova Scotia reads as follows; “No molasses sold to people on relief.” There are intersections here of the *Connection to Reserve Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Goods*, and an implied *Unhealthy Lifestyle*. The same sign posted off the reserve would be unlikely; therefore, it was connected to reserve land alone. Non-Indigenous Persons would not have been subjected to the sign, thereby making it racist. The sign

was also linked to an unhealthy lifestyle because the Míkmaq used molasses in making home-brew.

According to an interview with Sam Augustine, there was a seizure of government-provided nets that occurred on the reserve. The intersecting determinants that arise here are the *Connection to Reserve Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and the *Social Safety Net*. The determinant of land is the most obvious; however, the denial of obtaining the resource from those lands, a practice which occurred for millennia, was based on race. The provision of nets by the federal government in the first place was a form of social assistance.

There were reports of an unlawful net set in the Richibucto River by a registered Micmac Indian, or status Indian. The implied *Connection to the Land, Family and Kin Relations*, *Racism through Denial of Resources*, and *Aboriginal status* are the intersecting determinants. This is probably what Sam Augustine referred to and the connection is to reserve land. My uncle William John Simon was charged in one incident, and his father, John Simon, was very vocal about such events. The incident affected family and kin relations, their perspectives of cultural practices, highlighted historical injustices, and was a detriment to their economic activities. The confiscation of nets was a denial of resources and was, additionally, race-based, as charges were laid against an individual of Indian status.

The Indian Affairs Branch kept records of such fishery charges and had on file the case of *W. J. Simon v. Regina* (1958), which stated, “The appellant contends the privileges accorded by the opening clause of Article 4 entitle him to fish with nets in the waters of the Richibucto River, irrespective of any prohibitions contained in the *Fisheries Act* or the regulations thereunder” (*R.v. Simon*, 1958). In this case, the intersecting determinants of health are, again, the *Connection to the Land*, *Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Family and Kin Relations*.

The Big Cove Band requested legal fees for William John Simon in the loss of his appeal for his fisheries convictions. Indian Affairs' Branch responded that it only paid legal expenses in cases that involved constitutional issues and chose not to pay for them. The intersections are the *Connection to the Land, Family and Kin Relations, Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Racism through the Denial of Services*. Intersections are the same as those mentioned above with the addition of legal services being denied, grounded in a race-based policy.

Pratson (1970), commenting on traditional uses of land on the East Coast in Maine and New Brunswick, wrote, "these same [state and provincial] laws have been used to deny the People full accessibility to those lands where hunting and fishing are vital to the way of life – a deep physical and spiritual necessity" (p. 23). The *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources, Family and Kin Relations, Socio-Economic Factors*, and *Culture* are the intersections, in this case. The denial of resources from traditional lands impacted families and their cultural and economic practices.

The dispossession of Indigenous lands and resources and the ensuing economic and social dislocation have been well documented. A Federation of BC Educators report suggests that "Colonialism has three components: dispossession, dependence and oppression. Indigenous Peoples live with these forces every day of their lives" (McFarlane & Schabus, 2017, p. 19). This statement could easily be applied to the Mikmaq as well, with the intersections of *Connection to the Land, Racism through the Denial of Resources*, and *Social Exclusion*.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has examined social determinants of health, focusing primarily on racism, sexism and classism to illustrate the ways in which these, following McGibbon's (2012a) discussion of the links between challenging social determinants of health and the long-term well-

being of a given community, affect the Míkmaq of the Sikniktuk region. The perceptions of Indigenous Peoples by colonizing nations as “less than persons” underpins all early land-related policies introduced by their governments and imposed on them.

The frequency at which various social determinants of health appeared in the data indicated their relative importance and impact on the short- and long-term health of the community. *Connection to Land* was by far the predominant SDOH in my research, which supports the teaching of *Netukulimk*, “the use of the natural bounty provided by the Creator for the self-support and well-being of the individual and the community. *Netukulimk* is achieving adequate standards of community nutrition and economic well-being without jeopardizing the integrity, diversity, or productivity of our environment” (Unamaki Institute of Natural Resources). Language is central to the understanding of *Netukulimk*, as we learn in this BBC interview with Patrick Augustine:

When they lose the language, you lose a lot of concepts that don’t translate well into English. The English language uses “harvesting” but, in the Míkmaq language, it’s *Netukulimk* which is just—it’s a concept that you only take the things that you would need and use and you wouldn’t take any more than that. Like, I wouldn’t go and gather blueberries and, because there are a lot of blueberries there, I decide to take them all. I would just go and gather the ones that I would need and the ones that I would use and I would leave some there for other people or leave them for the animals—for Míkmaq the bears, or whatever (The Open University).

Intersectionality, the concept of perceived negative elements of a person’s characteristics—for example, race, gender, or socio-economic status—intersecting and compounding to further complicate their experience, was also examined at length in this chapter. In this instance, I

considered the intersectionality of social determinants of health, including *Connection to Land*, *Self-Determination*, *Racism*, and *Aboriginal Status*, among many others. The intersectional relationship between federal Indian policies and administration, discussed at the regional level, relates to Indigenous Peoples' spatial movements through time and determines that the dispossession of their land affected their health through the loss of previously marketable activities. The analysis of this intersectionality illustrates the junctures of social health determinants such as the social safety net, as described in Indian Affairs' historical and colonial documents, unemployment and economic development for employment, social exclusion through the relocation of Míkmaq to the reserve, and geography.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This dissertation's outline of the history of land use, occupation, and loss of the traditional territory of the Míkmaq District of Sikniktuk illustrates the social determinants of health which have influenced the wellbeing of the people; predominantly, interconnectedness with land, spirituality, Indigenous cosmologies, economic activity, the social safety net, and social exclusion, among others. From the arrival of French explorers in the 17th century, followed by settlement and trade, the French and Míkmaq shared land and resources in an increasingly imbalanced economic and social relationship. Early chroniclers of the Míkmaq—Jesuit missionaries, for instance—were sympathetic to the Míkmaq and described their lifestyles in some detail, although these descriptions were influenced by their own cultural assumptions.

Trade with European settlers continued into the 18th century, often including alcohol as a bartering tool, to the profound and lasting detriment of the physical and mental health of the community. In addition, the shift from subsistence to a fur trade economy caused great strain on the Míkmaq's traditional food supply. Míkmaq men trapped for fur to meet the voracious needs of European countries and eventually depleted a significant portion of the local game. While the men trapped, the women and children lived close to trading posts or settlements and became accustomed to European food; this change in diet, away from traditional foods, also resulted in long-term health impacts.

By the early 18th century, with little consideration for the Indigenous relationship to the land as central to their ontology, European nations began issuing grants, charters, proclamations, and treaties which decimated *Mikmaki*, the Land of the Míkmaq. It was believed that Acadia had been ceded to the British in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht; this marked the beginning of a long

history of the appropriation of traditional Míkmaq lands by settler nations. During the mid-1700s, the British disingenuously maintained the treaty relationship of peace and friendship while simultaneously allowing and facilitating the dispossession of Míkmaq lands. Fifty years of conflict and various agreements between settler nations resulted in a British colonial administration that subsequently neglected the Indigenous population in New Brunswick, and deprived the Míkmaq of their land, rights, and livelihoods. An Act designed to regulate the management and disposal of Indian reserves in New Brunswick was introduced in the 1800s and aimed to place Míkmaq on reserves which hindered their participation in the local economy. The federal Department of Indian Affairs Records offer detailed information regarding policies related to all aspects of Indigenous life and provide a telling map of the declining health of the Míkmaq in direct relation to the loss of their lands, and the concurrent loss of the spiritual and emotional connection they had with their traditional homelands. The development and implementation of Indian-centered policies increased sharply after the second World War, as the government sought to assimilate and/or eradicate Indigenous populations entirely.

This case study, an historical critical ethnography, focused on those Míkmaq who formerly resided in Sikniktuk and who now live on Big Cove Reserve and on Richibucto Reserve #15. Using McGibbon's "cycle of oppression" paradigm, in tandem with Boyer's health determinants framework as a lens, the case study represents an historical analysis of Míkmaq oppression through the intersection of land loss and the social determinants of health. This study was complemented by my personal family history, outlining both matrilineal and patrilineal histories derived from archival documents, as well as church records consisting of birth, marriage, death certificates, and census data, along with official documents from the Miramichi Agency of the Indian Affairs Branch. These biographies tracked my family's mobility over time,

from Bay Verte to Memramcook, Shediac, Moncton, to Sussex and Hampton, and to Harcourt and Big Cove, and were a personal indicator of the ramifications of land dispossession. A correlation between dispossession from traditional lands and the social determinants of health became evident in my family history; many of them were forced to relocate for employment and according to our oral history, were not immune from such issues as racism and classism. Further examination of the impact on other community members, using the context of McGibbon's work, indicated that the health impact was greatest where women and children living off-reserve had to return in order to obtain housing, education, and health services. It was not shown conclusively that government policies resulted in the actual relocation of Míkmaq from Sikniktuk, however this is an area that invites further investigation.

An overview of the literature related to Míkmaq land use and occupation, both traditional and post-colonial, addressed the subjects of interconnectedness of land, spirituality, Indigenous cosmologies, and wellbeing; all of which were affected significantly as the Míkmaq were forced to leave their land for economic or policy reasons. Health reports on the region of Big Cove – found in such sources as Indian Affairs reports and the Elsipogtog Health and Wellness Centre archives – demonstrated variations in the health of the community over time, culminating in the suicide crisis of the 1990s. The literature review itself indicated that there is no single continuous history involving the Míkmaq of Sikniktuk; the interruption of oral histories is mainly attributable to societal changes experienced in Indigenous communities, post-European settlement. Much of what was written about this group was obtained by non-Indigenous observers and was often included only as a passing reference to the communities in local histories about the southeast region of New Brunswick. Lacking the continuity of oral histories, this study depended predominantly on Western-based reports, genealogies, and accounts.

However, there were gaps in these sources; what is missing in the written history often cannot be discovered, as some records do not exist or were destroyed, as was the case for many birth records in Kent County after New Brunswick joined Confederation. In another similar instance affecting the continuity of these accounts, the official record of the creation of the Big Cove Reserve in 1802 was torn from the colonial archival documents, and the information exists only in secondary sources. The gaps in historical information influenced the way in which the community history is presented here.

In order to relate the story of land dispossession in the region, and the subsequent movement of my ancestors from place to place, I conducted genealogies of my parents' families—including their extended families—who were and are multigenerational residents of Elsipogtog. Through provincial vital statistics, I examined my ancestors' birth, marriage, and death certificates, along with census data, and determined their historical locations of residence. The ancestral data were coded chronologically and by place, and the information was developed into a narrative. This was categorized by historical location to allow me to analyze the findings, spatially and chronologically. The genealogies also provided an historical auto-ethnographic narrative. I was able to discern increased instances of mobility, which was imposed by economic necessity and by the loss of traditional lands.

According to McGibbon's (2012a) cycle of oppression framework, the first step in oppression is the use of biased information which, in turn, leads to stereotyping. Prejudice arises from these stereotypes followed by active discrimination exhibited through oppressive and systemic power relations. An analysis of the library and archival data determined that these systemic power relations were at play in the government policies administered through the Miramichi Agency, in the form of dismissive and discriminatory words such as "savages" and

“barbarism” and in reference to intemperance, “lack of progress,” and “roving habits.”

Relationships between federal policies and the subsequent administration of Indigenous territories illustrated the fact that dispossession affected the overall health and wellbeing of the Míkmaq through the loss of previously marketable and sustainable livelihoods, as well as through the fracturing of continuity in the Peoples’ spiritual and physical interconnectedness to the land, reducing them to wards of the state and stripping them of any meaningful form of self-determination.

A secondary mode of analysis used to connect the loss of land to wellbeing was the intersectionality of social determinants of health: these included Aboriginal status, income, the social safety net, social exclusion, unemployment, racism-sexism-classism, and geography, both on and off reserves in the region. Intersectionality illustrates the increased threat to a community via the overlap of various societal identifiers. As a treaty beneficiary and a descendant of treaty signatories, I found that my own narrative was central to this study, originating with my ancestors’ stories. My mother and relatives provided oral histories of our family over the years, and expanded on genealogies, extended family groupings, their geographical locations, and their economic activities, allowing me to identify the connections, social structures, and processes affected by the administration of Indian policy. Connection to land was the most significantly affected, and this, in turn, negatively influenced traditional social structures and ancestral cultural practices in which land—and all things living on and around it—were centered.

The Míkmaq of Sikniktuk experienced a profound dispossession from the land, at the same time as Indian Affairs Department stipulated that some lands were still reserved for Indians. A detailed history of the Míkmaq of that region, assembled from oral histories and archival data, outlines the sociological, physical, and economic changes

which ensued following European settlement. As a result of policies that removed them from their traditional homelands, the Míkmaq lost socio-economic activities that were tied to the land; however, they responded by becoming actively involved in local employment that arose from trade with Europeans, and many received an income from the lumber and shipbuilding industries. There were also non-governmental factors influencing the loss of land; non-Indigenous Peoples who desired timber access, even if they obtained it through illegal measures such as land squatting, encroached freely on traditional Míkmaq territory. Others petitioned for land grants for reserve land, leased it, or acquired it through coercion or manipulation; thus, even the small amount of land left to the Míkmaq after European conflicts and treaty agreements was at risk.

Míkmaq economic activities were identified by the fact that they were, traditionally, an itinerant society, living near the coast in summer to take advantage of marine resources, and moving inland to riverine sources in winter. Government policies which ultimately placed them on reserves denied their traditional mobile way of life and affected all aspects of their livelihoods. The near eradication of many of their natural food sources through over-fishing and over-hunting, and their subsequent reliance on foods introduced to them during the fur trade such as flour, sugar, and lard, had a profound impact on their health.

The depiction of kinship groups in this area of Mi'kma'ki provided a quantitative component of the dissertation, as well as a spatial one. The study included genealogies of my parents' families, including extended families, to illustrate the communal nature of Míkmaq societies; often, family members—youth, Elders, and other adults—and those not related to them, would live in one residence to provide support. These relationships and living

arrangements were recorded in archival records. Through provincial vital statistics, I examined birth, marriage, and death certificates, along with census data, to determine my ancestors' historical locations of residence. I placed these kinship groupings and their historical location data onto maps and analyzed the findings, spatially and chronologically; these indicated the relationship between enforced migration away from traditional territories and major life events. Mapping their movements provided a physical demonstration of the diasporic nature of Míkmaq families living off reserve in the last century.

Data on policy and correspondence related to Indian administration was examined through a textual review of archival sources retrieved from the Miramichi Agency of Indian Affairs. The qualitative and chronological component of the review focused on information pertaining to various social health determinants, including income related to basket-making, crafts, fishing, logging, and welfare or relief. Indian Agents' reports, interoffice memos, letters and correspondence, and policy bulletins provided a comprehensive account of the ways in which Indian Affairs increasingly involved itself in the day-to-day workings of the district, and later, on Big Cove Reserve and Richibucto Reserve #15. It is in these reports that the systemic oppression of the Míkmaq was made evident through the use of disparaging and denigrating language which described the people using negative stereotypes. This study exposed the problem of dispossession through the oppression of the Míkmaq and its intersectionality with various social determinants of health, such as race/racism, sexism, and social exclusion.

The dissertation also considered health reports filed on the communities within the Miramichi Agency region. Tuberculosis was prevalent, particularly in the mid-20th century, and several cases of similar respiratory illnesses, such as pneumonia, were reported, along with contagious diseases including measles, smallpox, and diphtheria. The reports made comparisons

to thrift, or lack thereof, in communities, noting a connection between illness and laziness on the part of the community. A cultural divide is evident in the health reports, between a European concept of what colonizers considered to be the ‘proper’ ways to spend time, and Indigenous traditional practices, which did not focus on “tidying” the environment, nor on farming. Community members were praised for lime-washing their buildings and burning trash. Often, the Mikmaq communities’ difficult circumstances were attributed to the ease of acquiring alcohol, which the settlers had introduced to them in the early days of trade. It was noted in the 1890 health report that Big Cove was faring well and was very well off; however, by traditional standards of interconnection with the land, and its concomitant health benefits, Big Cove was doing very poorly indeed.

This work conducted an analysis of the intersectional relationship between federal Indian policies and administration at the regional level compared to spatial movements through time, which determined that dispossession of land affected health through the loss of previously marketable activities. The analysis incorporated the intersections of social health determinants such as the social safety net, or relief, as described in Indian Affairs; historical and colonial reports; unemployment, or economic development toward employment; social exclusion—that is, endeavours to relocate individuals to the reserve—and geography. The social determinants of health that were considered in the study included gender, Aboriginal status, income, the social safety net, unemployment, social exclusion, culture and language, socio-economic factors, mental and psychological factors, access to services, family and kin relations, and self-determination. Socioeconomic factors encompassed income and social status; education; social support networks, such as family, friends, and communities; as well as culture, customs, and traditions. The study considered an intersection of three variables; social determinants of health,

geography, and “isms” such as racism, classism and sexism, utilizing McGibbon’s intersections of the social determinants of health, adapted from the framework of synergies of oppression, along with the determinants highlighted by Boyer. Psychosocial determinants of health can be affected by a stressful life event, such as unemployment, or the forceful removal of an individual or community from their homes and could lead to loss of self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. The resultant psychosocial factors—stress, hostility, and hopelessness—could contribute to the development of stress-related illnesses such as heart disease.

According to the reports studied in this work, the highest frequency of effects on social determinants of health appeared in relation to the connection to the land, as demonstrated in Indian Affairs’ files referencing Reserve lands. Similarly, the study found that lifestyle, along with family and kinship relations, were also affected; predominantly, by alcohol use. Other categories most influenced by the intersection of social determinants of health included the social safety net, self-determination, race, and income. Within later Indian Affairs reports, the use of the term “genocide” was the sole reference to human rights violations.

Historians recount the Loyalist migration into the area, Britain’s subsequent conquest of Acadia, and the decimation of Indigenous populations, culminating in the dispossession of their traditional territories; Reid notes that by the time settlers had been in the area for two centuries, “the Indians were no longer of account as allies, enemies, or people” (2009, p. 78). It is evident that, once the Indigenous population was dispersed, their livelihoods were threatened and, in many cases, erased. As a result of colonial appropriation of their land, the Míkmaq were required to relinquish their traditional economic pursuits. They were also expected to adopt a Eurocentric lifestyle and alter their concepts of property; this included a change in diet, language, and their interconnectedness to the land and the creatures on it. Moreover, it necessitated a change in their

livelihoods. A society which had previously lived in balance with nature, following the principles of *Netukulimk*, was now required to alter its migratory practices and conform to a foreign way of life.

In considering the long-term effects of the loss of traditional lands in Mi'kma'ki, there are some suggestions to be made regarding the devastation that this history has brought about in Mi'kmaq communities. True reconciliation requires trust, honour, respect, and dignity amongst the Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples of New Brunswick and across Canada.

Reconciliation, from this perspective, would be manifested by enabling Indigenous Peoples to practice their rights to access to their traditional lands, which, as this study has illustrated through the data contained in archival reports, oral histories and genealogical sources, is tied intrinsically to their physical, emotional, and spiritual health. An honest attempt at reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples also involves governments honouring the Mi'kmaq' full expectation of federal governments meeting their fiduciary responsibilities and recognizing the inherent right of self-government of all Indigenous Peoples, guaranteed in section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982.

Elsipogtog was successful in its health transfer agreement; a community health and wellness centre was built offering many services which were formally accessed off the reserve, including immunization and mental wellness, assistance from doctors, nurses, and dieticians. The community also created a Family Wellness Court and built its own pharmacy. Elsipogtog has tackled substance abuse issues through the establishment of an alcohol and drug rehabilitation centre. The community has numerous healers utilizing traditional ceremonies and medicines to assist community members in their path toward wellness. Many young people are entering the social work field and work within the community, where a new facility dedicated to social work

is being built by the federal government. In order to meet the needs of family and youth, Elsipogtog has constructed a Family Resource Centre and a Youth Centre, and next to them is the community gym, where families can improve their physical health.

The historical documentation presented in this study suggests a strong correlation between dispossession of land and the social determinants of health, but the community has exhibited resilience through the establishment of physical and mental health initiatives. I have attempted to demonstrate, through this dissertation, the Mi'kmaq profound ancestral connection to the land which informed their beliefs and way of life. This connection was all but severed by the influence of colonial settlers whose policies and perceptions of indigeneity promoted an exploitative capitalist ontology—one entirely counter to the views and practices of the Mi'kmaq, which ultimately led to a long-lasting health crisis in Mi'kma'ki. The community is only now emerging from this crisis through a slow and painstaking process of self-healing.

Appendices

A Treaties and Land Documents

A1: 1725 Treaty, Boston

This treaty was signed with the Penobscot, Norridgewak, Maliseet, Micmac and other tribes. It was mainly about peace and friendship with clauses that ensured security of their properties not formerly acquired by the British, and safeguarded trade, justice, and peace with Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Nova Scotia. The actual text is below.

Articles of Submission & Agreements made at Boston in New England by Sanguaarum alias Loron, Arexus Francois Xavier and Meganumbe Delegates from Penobscott Naudgewaek S. Johns Cape Sables and Other Tribes Inhabiting within His Majesties Territories of Nova Scotia and New England _____

Whereas His Majesties King George by Concession of the Most Christian King made at the Treaty of Utrecht became the Rightfull Possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie according to its antient Boundaries We the said "Indians Sanguaarum alias Loron Arexus Francois Xavier and Meganumbe Delegates from the said Tribes Penobscott Naudgewaek St. Johns Cape Sables and other tribes Inhabiting His Majesties and Territories in Nova Scotia or Acadie and New England in the name and behalf of the said Tribes We Represent Acknowledge His Said Majesty King George's Jurisdiction and Dominion over the said Territories of Nova Scotia or Acadie and make our Submission to his said Majesty in as ample a Manner as We have formerly done to his most Christian Kings _____

And We further promise on behalf of the said Tribes We represent That the Indians shall not Molest any of His Majesties subjects or their Dependents and their Settlements already made or Lawfully to be made or in their Carrying on their Traffick or their affairs Within the said Province _____

That if there Happens any Robbery or outrage Committed by any of the Indians The Tribe or Tribes they belong to shall cause Satisfaction and Restitution to be made to the Parties Injured _____

That the Indians shall not help to convey away any Soldiers belonging to his Majesties forts but on the Contrary shall bring back any Soldiers they shall find Endeavouring to Run away _____

That in the case of any Misunderstanding Quarrel or Injury between the English and the Indians no private Revenge shall be taken, but Application shall be made to Redress according to his Majesties Laws _____

That if the Indians have made any Prisoners belonging to the Government of Nova Scotia or Acadie during the Course of the War shall be Released at or before the Ratification of this Treaty

That This Treaty shall be Ratified at Annapolis Royal _____

Dated at the Council Chamber in Boston in New England this
fifteenth day of December Anno Domini one Thousand seven
hundred and Twenty-five, Annog: Requi Regis Georgu Magna
Britannica & Duo decimo _____

Signed Sealed & Delivered in the
presence of the Great & General Court
or Assembly of the Province of
Massachusetts Bay

Sanguaarum alias Loron

Arexus

Francois Xavier

Attest'd J. Williard Sec.

Meganumbe

<http://novascotia.ca/archives/virtual/Mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=609&Transcript=609>

A2: 1726 Ratification, Halifax

This was the ratification of the 1725 Treaty. It also assumed control of Acadia under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). It was primarily a treaty of peace and friendship with the ratification of articles that were agreed upon in Boston. The Chiefs of Richibucto and Chignecto were among the signatories.

Whereas by the Articles of Peace and agreement Made & concluded upon att Boston in New England the Fifteenth Day of Dec^r: One Thousand Seven Hundred & twenty five by our Delegates & Representatives Sanguarum (allias Laruns) Alexis Francois Xavier & Meganumbe as appears by the Instruments then Sign'd Seal'd & Exchanged in the Presence of the Great & Generall Court or Afsembly of y^e Mafsachusetts Bay by our Said Delegates in behalf of us the Said Indians of Penobscot, Norridgewolk, S^t Johns, Cape Sable, and the other Indian Tribes belonging to & inhabiting within these His Majesty of Great Britains Territories [of] Nova Scotia & New England & by Maj^r: Paul Mascarene Comifsioner from this Said Province in behalf of His Majesty by which Agreem^t itt being requir'd that the Said Articles Shou'd be ratified [?] at His Majesty's Fort of Annapolis Royall Wee the Chiefs & Representatives of the Said Indians with Full Power & Authority by Unanimous Consent 2 desire of the Said Indian Tribes are Come in Compliance with y^e Articles Stipulated by our Delegates as aforesaid and do in Obedience

thereunto Solemnly Confirm & ratifie y^e Same & in Testimony thereof with Hearts full of Sincerity. Wee have Signed & sealed the following Articles being Conform to what was requir'd by the Said Maj^r Paul Mascarene & Promife to be perform'd by our Said Delegates.

Whereas His Majesty King George by the Concefion of the Most Christian King made att the Treaty of Utrecht is become y^e Rightfull Profsefsor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia According to its ancient Boundaries wee the Said Chiefs & Representatives of y^e Penobscott, Norridgewolk S^t. Johns, Cape Sables, & of the Other Indian Tribes Belonging to & inhabiting within This His Majesties Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia & New England do for our Selves & the Said Tribes Wee represent acknowledge His Said Majesty King George's Jurisdiction & Dominion Over the Territories of the Said Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia & make our Submifion to His Said Majesty in as ample a Manner as wee have formerly done to the Most Christian King.

That the Indians shall nott molest any of His Majesty's Subjects or their Dependants in their Settlements already made or Lawfully to be made or in their carrying on Their Trade or Other Affaires within the Said Province.

That If there Happens any robbery or outrage Committed by any of Our Indians the Tribe or Tribes they belong to Shall Cause Satisfaction to be made to y^e partys Injur'd.

That the Indians Shall nott help to convey away any Soldiers belonging to His Majesty's Forts butt on the Contrary Shall bring back any Soldier they Shall find Endeavouring to run away.

That in Case of any Mifsunderstanding Quarrell or Injury between the English & the Indians no Private revenge Shall be taken, butt Application Shall be made for redrefs According to His Majestys Laws.

That if any English Prisoners amongst any of our aforesaid Tribes wee faithfully promifs that the said Prinsoners shall be releas'd & Carefully Conducted & Deliver'd up to this Governmen^{mt}, or that of New England.

That in Testimony of our Sincerity wee have for our Selves & in behalf of Our Said Indian Tribes Confirnes to what was Stipulated by our Delegates att Boston as aforesaid this day Solemnly Confirm'd & ratified each & ratified each & every One of the foregoing Articles which Shall be Punctually observ'd & duly perform'd by Each & all of us the Said Indians.

In Wittnefs Whereof wee have before the [?] [?] John Doucett & Councill for this His Majesty Said Province & the Deputies of the ffrench Inhabitants of Sd Province hereunto Sett our Hands & Seals att Annapolis Royall this 4th Day of June 1726 & in the Twelveth Year of His Majestys Reign.

Chief of
[?] Nipimoit
Nicholas X S^t. Johns

Chief of
[?] Paul Tecumart X one of ye

Cape Sables
Joseph Ounaginitish X of
CapeSables
Marquis X of St. Johns
Obin^a X
Piere X Benoit
Denis X
Puize X Paul
Louis X
Francois X
S^t Castine X
Jofeph X S^t Obin
Andre X
Simon X
Joseph X
Joseph [totem
Joseph [totem]
Francois X
Francois X
Francois X
Michel X
Joseph [totem]
Piere Benoit X
Charles X
Andre X
Chief of
Jean Baptist [totem] Pon
Chichabenady
Jean [totem] Baptist
Etiene fils de Baptist Pon
of
Piere X Martine Chief
Rehibuucto
Jirom X of Attanas Chief
Gidiark
Joseph Martine X
Chief of
Piere X Armquarett
Minis
Chief of
Philip X Eargomot
Chickanicto
Michel [tm] Eargamet

Mark [tm] Antoine
Joseph [totem le Grand
Claud X Grand Glode
Rene X Grand Glode
Francois X Grand Glode
of
Jean Baptist X Chief
Cape Sables
Matthew X Muse
Joseph X Miductuk
from
Jacque X Pemeriot
Pentaquit
Petit Jermain X
Piere Pisnett X
Antoin X Nimquarett
from
Lewis X Pemeroit
Pentaquit
Etien X Chegau
Reny X Nectabau
Piere X Nimcharett
of ye River Indians
Baptist X Tomus Chief
of Annapolis Royall
Jean X Pisnett
Francois X Jermain
from
Francois X Xavier
Pentaquit
Noel X Shomitt
Pafsmaquoddy
Piere X Nimcharett
Piere X Chegau
Francois X Chickarett
Antoine X Tecumart
Philip X Tecumart
Bernard X S^t aboqmadin
Tomas X Outine
Chief of y^e Eastern
Antoine X Egigish
Coast
Jean X Quaret
Simon X Nelanoit
Jacque X Denis
Francois X Spugonoit

Jacque X Nughquit
Claud X Begamonit
Jacque Penall
Claud X Migaton
Simon X Spugonoit
Louis X Lavoinst
Jean X Pinet
from ye Cape
Joseph X Chigaguisht
Breton
Jacque X Chegan

[Signed]

Otho Hamilton
Richard Bull
James Ershine
Geo^e Baker
Hugh Campbell
Robert Wroth

Eras: T. Philipps

[Produced by Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat 1999]

http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/treaties/1725#.VL_YPmOrySo

A3: 1749 Treaty, Halifax

The Chief of Chignecto signed this treaty along with the Maliseets. The 1725 Treaty conditions were reaffirmed. There were no other signatories due to the British settlement in Halifax.

Articles of Submission And Agreement made at Boston, in New England by Sanquaaram alias Loreon Areux, François Xavier and Meganumbe, delegates from Penobscott, Naridgwack, St. Johns, Cape Sables and other tribes inhabiting within His Majesty's Territories of Nova Scotia and New England. _____

Whereas His Majesty King George by concession of the Most Christian King, made at the Treaty of Utrecht, is become the rightful possessor of the province of Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries: We the said Sanquaaram alias Loron Arexus, François Xavier and Meganumbe, delegates from said tribes of Penobscott, Naridgwack, St. Johns, Cape Sables and

other tribes inhabiting within His Majesty's said territories of Nova Scotia or Acadia and New England, do, in the name and behalf of the said tribes we represent, acknowledge His said Majesty King George's jurisdiction and dominion over the territories of the said Provinces of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and make our submission to His said Majesty in as ample a manner as we have formerly done to the most Christian King. _____

And we further promise on behalf of the said tribes we represent that the Indians shall not molest any of His Majesty's subjects or their dependants in their settlements already made or lawfully to be made, or in their carrying on their traffic and other affairs within the said Province.

That if there happens any robbery or outrage committed by any of the Indians, the tribe or tribes they belong to shall cause satisfaction and restitution to be made to the parties injured.

That the Indians shall not help to convey away any soldiers belonging to His Majesty's forts, but on the contrary shall bring back any soldier they shall find endeavouring to run away.

That in case of any misunderstanding, quarrel or injury between the English and the Indians no private revenge shall be taken, but application shall be made for redress according to His Majesty's laws. _____

That if the Indians have made any prisoners belonging to the Government of Nova Scotia or Acadia during the course of the war they shall be released at or before the ratification of this treaty. _____

That this treaty shall be ratified at Annapolis Royal. _____

Dated at the Council Chamber in Boston in New England, this fifteenth day of December, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and twenty five, Annoq. Regni Regis Georgii, Magna Britannia, & c., Duodecimo.

I Joannes Pedousaghtigh Chief of the Tribe of Chigenecto Indians for my self and in behalf of my tribe my Heirs and their Heirs for ever and we Francois Arodowish, Simon Sacrawino and Jean Battiste Maddouanhook ----- Deputies from the Chiefs of the St. Johns Indians and Invested by them with full powers for that purpose do in the most Solemn Manner - renew the above Articles of Agreement and Submission and every Article Thereof with his Excellency Edward Cornwallis Esqr. Captn. Generl and Governor in Chief in and over his majesties Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie Vice Admiral of the same Colonel in his Majesties Service and one of his bed Chamber. In Witness whereof the said Joannes Pedousaghtigh have subscribed this Treaty and affixed my Seal and we the said Francois Arodowish, Simon Sacrawino, and Jean Battiste Maddouanhook ----- In behalf of the Chiefs of the Indian Tribes we represent have subscribed and affixed our seals to the same and engage that the said Chief shall ratifie this Treaty at St. Johns. Done in Chibucto Harbour the fifteenth of August one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fortynine.

In Presence of

P. Hopson
Robt. Ellison
Chas. Lawrence
John Gorham
Mascarene
James T. Mercer
Ed. How
Benj. Green
John Salsbury
Hugh Davidson
Wm Steele
Members of the Council for Nova Scotia

Joannes Pedousaghtigh (Totem) (LS)
Francois Arodowish (Totem) (LS)
Simon Sacrawino (Totem) (LS)
Jean Battiste Madoounhook (Totem) (LS)

<http://novascotia.ca/archives/virtual/Mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=611&Transcript=611>

A4: 1752 Treaty, Halifax

The Chief of Shubenacadie signed this treaty, where the 1725 Treaty articles were reaffirmed, and promises were made of presents and trade provisions.

Treaty or Articles of Peace and Friendship Renewed between His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson Esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie. Vice Admiral of the same & Colonel of one of His Majesty's Regiments of Foot, and His Majesty's Council on behalf of His Majesty.

and

Major Jean Baptiste Cope, chief Sachem of the Tribe of Mick Mack Indians Inhabiting the Eastern Coast of the said Province, and Andrew Hadley Martin, Gabriel Martin & Francis Jeremiah, Members and Delegates of the said Tribe, for themselves and their said Tribe their Heirs, and the Heirs of their Heirs forever, Begun made and concluded in the manner, form and Tenor following, vizt:

1. It is agreed that the Articles of Submission and Agreement, made at Boston in New England by the Delegates of the Penobscot Norridgwook & St. John's Indians, in the year 1725 Ratified & Confirmed by all the Nova Scotia Tribes, at Annapolis Royal, in the month of June 1726, & lately renewed with Governor Cornwallis at Halifax, & Ratified at St. John's River, now read over, Explained and Interpreted, shall be and are hereby from this time forward Renewed, Reiterated, and forever Confirmed by them and their Tribe; and the said Indians for themselves and their Tribe and their Heirs aforesaid Do make & Renew the same Solemn Submissions and

promises for the Strickt observance of all the Articles therein contained as at any time heretofore hath been done.

2. That all Transactions during the late War shall on both sides be buried in Oblivion with the Hatchet, and that the said Indians shall have all favour, Friendship & Protection shewn them from this His Majesty's Government.

3. That the said Tribe shall use their utmost endeavours to bring in the other Indians to Renew and Ratify this Peace, and shall discover and make known any attempts or designs of any other Indians or any Enemy whatever against His Majestys Subjects within this Province so soon as they shall know thereof and shall also hinder and Obstruct the same to the utmost of their Power, and on the other hand if any of the Indians refusing to ratify this Peace, shall make War upon the Tribe who have now confirmed the same; they shall upon Application have such aid and Assistance from the Government for their Defence, as the case may require.

4. It is agreed that the said Tribe of Indians shall not be hindered from, but have free liberty of Hunting & Fishing as usual: and that if they shall think a Truckhouse needful at the River Chibenaccadie or any other place of their resort, they shall have the same built and proper Merchandize lodged therein, to be Exchanged for what the Indians shall have to dispose of, and that in the mean time the said Indians shall have free liberty to bring for Sale to Halifax or any other Settlement within this Province, Skins, feathers, fowl, fish or any other thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have liberty to dispose thereof to the best Advantage.

5. That a Quantity of Bread, Flour, & such other Provisions as can be procured, necessary for the Familys, and proportionable to the number of the said Indians, shall be given them half yearly for the time to come; and the same regard shall be had to the other Tribes that shall hereafter agree to Renew and Ratify the Peace upon the Terms and Conditions now Stipulated.

6. That to Cherish a good Harmony & mutual Correspondance between the said Indians & this Government, His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson Esqr. Captain General & Governor in Chief in & over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie, Vice Admiral of the same & Colonel of one of His Majesty's Regiments of Foot, hereby Promises on the Part of His Majesty, that the said Indians shall upon the first day of October Yearly, so long as they shall Continue in Friendship, Receive Presents of Blankets, Tobacco, and some Powder & Shot; and the said Indians promise once every Year, upon the first of October to come by themselves or their Delegates and Receive the said Presents and Renew their Friendship and Submissions.

7. That the Indians shall use their best Endeavours to save the lives and goods of any People Shipwrecked on this Coast, where they resort, and shall Conduct the People saved to Halifax with their Goods, & a Reward adequate to the Salvadge shall be given them.

8. That all Disputes whatsoever that may happen to arise between the Indians now at Peace, and others His Majesty's Subjects in this Province shall be tryed in His Majesty's Courts of Civil Judicature, where the Indians shall have the same benefit, Advantages and Priviledges, as any others of His Majesty's Subjects.

In Faith and Testimony whereof, the Great Seal of the Province is hereunto Appended, and the party's to these presents have hereunto interchangeably Set their Hands in the Council Chamber at Halifax this 22nd day of Nov. 1752, in the twenty-sixth year of His Majesty's reign.

P. T. Hopson
Chas. Lawrence
Benj. Green
Jno. Salusbury
Willm. Steele
Jno. Collier

Jean Baptiste Cope, his Mark
Andrew Hodley, his Mark
Francois Jeremie, his Mark
Gabriel Martin, his Mark

<http://novascotia.ca/archives/virtual/Mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=617&Transcript=617>

A5: 1760 Richibucto Treaty, Bay Verte

This was a peace and friendship treaty with a submission to the British Crown where promises were made in return for justice and regulated trade.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded by [His Excellency Charles Lawrence] Esq. Govr and Comr. in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Accadia with Paul Laurent chief of the LaHave tribe of Indians at Halifax in the Province of N.S. or Acadia.

I, Paul Laurent do for myself and the tribe of LaHave Indians of which I am Chief do acknowledge the jurisdiction and Dominion of His Majesty George the Second over the Territories of Nova Scotia or Accadia and we do make submission to His Majesty in the most perfect, ample and solemn manner.

And I do promise for myself and my tribe that I nor they shall not molest any of His Majesty's subjects or their dependents, in their settlements already made or to be hereafter made or in carrying on their Commerce or in any thing whatever within the Province of His said Majesty or elsewhere and if any insult, robbery or outrage shall happen to be committed by any of my tribe satisfaction and restitution shall be made to the person or persons injured.

That neither I nor any of my tribe shall in any manner entice any of his said Majesty's troops or soldiers to desert, nor in any manner assist in conveying them away but on the contrary will do our utmost endeavours to bring them back to the Company, Regiment, Fort or Garrison to which they shall belong.

That if any Quarrel or Misunderstanding shall happen between myself and the English or between them and any of my tribe, neither I, nor they shall take any private satisfaction or Revenge, but we will apply for redress according to the Laws established in His said Majesty's Dominions.

That all English prisoners made by myself or my tribe shall be sett at Liberty and that we will use our utmost endeavours to prevail on the other tribes to do the same, if any prisoners shall happen to be in their hands.

And I do further promise for myself and my tribe that we will not either directly nor indirectly assist any of the enemies of His most sacred Majesty King George the Second, his heirs or Successors, nor hold any manner of Commerce traffick nor intercourse with them, but on the contrary will as much as may be in our power discover and make known to His Majesty's Governor, any ill designs which may be formed or contrived against His Majesty's subjects. And I do further engage that we will not traffick, barter or Exchange any Commodities in any manner but with such persons or the managers of such Truck houses as shall be appointed or Established by His Majesty's Governor at Lunenburg or Elsewhere in Nova Scotia or Accadia.

And for the more effectual security of the due performance of this Treaty and every part thereof I do promise and Engage that a certain number of persons of my tribe which shall not be less in number than two prisoners shall on or before September next reside as Hostages at Lunenburg or at such other place or places in this Province of Nova Scotia or Accadia as shall be appointed for that purpose by His Majesty's Governor of said Province which Hostages shall be exchanged for a like number of my tribe when requested.

And all these foregoing articles and every one of them made with His Excellency C. L., His Majesty's Governor I do promise for myself and on of sd part -- behalf of my tribe that we will most strictly keep and observe in the most solemn manner.

In witness whereof I have hereunto putt my mark and seal at Halifax in Nova Scotia this day of March one thousand

Paul Laurent

I do accept and agree to all the articles of the forgoing treaty in Faith and Testimony whereof I have signed these present I have caused my seal to be hereunto affixed this day of march in the 33 year of His Majesty's Reign and in the year of Our lord - 1760

Chas Lawrence [Emphasis added.]

<http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1739/index.do>

A6: 1761 Treaties, Halifax

The majority of the regional chiefs signed this series of treaties including those from Shediac and Chignecto, with the same articles.

Documented adhesions to this treaty were signed by the Mi'kmaq of **Richibucto** - March 10, 1760, Mouscadaboet - March 10, 1760, **Shediac** - June 25, 1761, Pokemouche - June 25, 1761, Cape Breton - June 25, 1761, Miramichi - June 25, 1761, La Heve - November 9, 1761.

In the Executive Council minutes there are also references to treaties signed with other communities though no copy of the Treaty has been found. These communities are: Chignecto - July 8, 1761 and Pictou - October 12, 1761.

http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/treaties/1760-1761#.VL_btWOrYSo

A7: 1762 Belcher's Proclamation

This Governor's proclamation reserved Mi'kmaq lands along the coast from Cape Fronsac [Canso, NS] to Nartigonneich [Antigonish, NS], to Piktouk [Pictou, NS], to Cape Jeanne [Cape John near Tatamagouche, NS], to Emchih, to Ragi Pontouch, to Tedueck, to Cape Rommentin [Cape Tormentine, NB], to Miramichy [Miramichi, NB], to Bay Des Chaleurs [Chaleur Bay between NB and Quebec], and the environs of Canso to Mushkoodabwet [Musquodoboit Harbour near Halifax, NS].

His Majesty by His Royal Instructions. Given at the Court of St. James, the 9th day of December, 1761, having been pleased to Signify.

THAT the Indians have made, and still do continue to make great Complaints, that Settlements have been made, and possessions taken, of Lands, the Property of which they have by Treaties reserved to themselves, by Persons claiming the said Lands under Pretence of Deeds of Sale & Conveyance, illegally, Fraudulently, and surreptitiously obtained of said Indians.

AND THAT His Majesty had taken this matter into His Royal Consideration, as also the fatal Effects which would attend a Discontent among the Indians in the present situation of Affairs.

AND BEING determined upon all occasions to support and protect the said Indians in their Rights and Possessions and to keep inviolable the treaties and compacts which have been entered into with them, was pleased to declare His Majesty's further Royal Will and Pleasure, that His Governor or Commander in Chief in this Province should publish a Proclamation in His Majesty's Name, for this special purpose.

WHEREFORE in dutiful Obedience to His Majesty's Royal Order I do according publish this proclamation in His Majesty's Royal Name, strictly enjoining and requiring all Persons what ever, who may either will fully or inadvertently have seated themselves upon Lands so reserved to or claimed by the said Indians, without any lawful Authority for so doing, forthwith to remove therefrom.

AND, WHEREAS Claims have been laid before me in behalf of the Indians for Fronsac Passage and from thence to Nartigonneich, and from Nartigonneich to Piktouk, and from thence to Cape Jeanne, from thence to Emchih, from thence to Ragi Pontouch, from thence to Tedueck, from thence to Cape Rommentin, from thence to Miramichi, and from thence to Bay Des Chaleurs, and the environs of Canso. From thence to Mushkoodabwet, and so along the coast, as the Claims and Possessions of the said Indians, for the more special purpose of hunting, fowling and Fishing, I do hereby strictly enjoin and caution all persons to avoid all molestation of the said Indians in their said claims, till His Majesty's pleasure In this behalf shall be signified.

AND if any person or persons have possessed themselves of any part of the same to the prejudice of the said Indians in their Claims before specified or without lawful Authority, they are hereby required forthwith to remove, as they will otherwise be prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Halifax the fourth Day of May, 1762, and in the Second Year of His Majesty's Reign.

<http://www.cifas.us/page/belchers-proclamation-1762>

A8: 1763 Royal Proclamation

Under this Royal Proclamation of the British Crown, aboriginal title can only be bought by the Crown and must be agreed upon by majority of the tribe.

BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION
GEORGE R.

Whereas We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris. the 10th Day of February last; and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects, as well of our Kingdom as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council. to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving Subjects, that we have, with the Advice of our Said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of Great

Britain, to erect, within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

First--The Government of Quebec bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John, to the South end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said Line, crossing the River St. Lawrence, and the Lake Champlain, in 45. Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John.

Secondly--The Government of East Florida. bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward by a Line drawn from that part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's River. and by the course of the said River to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Sea Coast.

Thirdly--The Government of West Florida. bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico. including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast. from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward by a Line drawn due East from that part of the River Mississippi which lies in 31 Degrees North Latitude. to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

Fourthly--The Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St. Vincent's and Tobago. And to the end that the open and free Fishery of our Subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador, and the adjacent Islands. We have thought fit. with the advice of our said Privy Council to put all that Coast, from the River St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller Islands Iying upon the said Coast, under the care and Inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council. thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to our Government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the Lands Iying between the Rivers Alatomaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling of our said new Governments, that our loving Subjects should be infomed of our Paternal care, for the security of the Liberties and Properties of those who are and shall become Inhabitants thereof, We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our Proclamation, that We have, in the Letters Patent under our Great Seal

of Great Britain, by which the said Governments are constituted. given express Power and Direction to our Governors of our Said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate Government: And We have also given Power to the said Governors, with the consent of our Said Councils, and the Representatives of the People so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain Laws. Statutes, and Ordinances for the Public Peace, Welfare, and good Government of our said Colonies, and of the People and Inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in other Colonies; and in the mean Time, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons Inhabiting in or resorting to our Said Colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England; for which Purpose We have given Power under our Great Seal to the Governors of our said Colonies respectively to erect and constitute, with the Advice of our said Councils respectively, Courts of Judicature and public Justice within our Said Colonies for hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, with Liberty to all Persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the Sentences of such Courts, in all Civil Cases. to appeal, under the usual Limitations and Restrictions, to Us in our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give unto the Governors and Councils of our said Three new Colonies, upon the Continent full Power and Authority to settle and agree with the Inhabitants of our said new Colonies or with any other Persons who shall resort thereto, for such Lands. Tenements and Hereditaments, as are now or hereafter shall be in our Power to dispose of; and them to grant to any such Person or Persons upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services and Acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in our other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the Advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and settlement of our said Colonies.

And Whereas, We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower our Governors of our said Three new Colonies, and all other our Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant without Fee or Reward, to such reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject, at the Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer--5,000 Acres.

To every Captain--3,000 Acres.

To every Subaltern or Staff Officer,--2,000 Acres.

To every Non-Commission Officer,--200 Acres .

To every Private Man--50 Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced Officers of our Navy of like Rank as served on board our Ships of War in North America at the times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them. or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.--We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure. that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida. or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments. as described in their Commissions: as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid.

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved. without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And. We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described. or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests. and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may

be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do. with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require. that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that. if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government. they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do. by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever. provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside. and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit. by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade:

And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our Colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Reward, taking especial Care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly conjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever. who standing charged with Treason. Misprisions of Treason. Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors. shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory. and to send them under a proper guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they, stand accused. in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of October 1763. in the Third Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/procl1763.asp

A9: 1776 Watertown Treaty, near Boston

Under this treaty with the newly formed United States of America, its Allies agreed to supply warriors and guns to the revolutionary cause, in return for a truck house in Machias, Maine.

A Treaty of Alliance and Friendship entered into and concluded by and between the Governors of the State of Massachusetts Bay, and the Delegates of the St. John's & Mickmac Tribes of Indians.

Whereas the United States of America in General Congress Assembled have in the name, and by the Authority of the Good people of these Colonies Solemnly published and declared, that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiances to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States they have full power to Levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances established Commerce, and to do all other Acts and things which Independent States may of Right do;

We the Governors of the State of Massachusetts Bay do by virtue hereof, and by the powers vested in us enter into and conclude the following Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, viz.,

1st. We the Governors of the said State of Massachusetts Bay and on behalf of said States, and the other United States of America on the one part, and Ambrose var, Newell Wallis, and Francis, Delegates of the St. John's Tribe, John Denaquara, Charles, Mattahu Ontrane, Nicholas, John Battis, Peter Andre, and Sabbatis Netobcobwit Delegates of the Mickmac Tribes of Indians, inhabiting within the Province of Nova Scotia for themselves, and in behalf of the said Tribes on the other part do solemnly agree that the people of the said State of Massachusetts Bay and of the other United States of America, and of the said Tribes of Indians shall hence forth be at peace with each other and be considered as Friends and Brothers united and allied together for their mutual defence Safety and Happiness.

2nd. That each party to this Treaty shall, and will consider the Enemies of the other as Enemies to themselves, and do hereby solemnly promise and engage to, and with each other that when called upon for that purpose, they shall, and will to the utmost of their abilities, aid and assist each other against their public Enemies, and particularly, that of the People of the said Tribes of Indians shall and will afford, and give to the people of the said State of Massachusetts Bay and the people of the other United States of America during their present War with the King of Britain, all the aid and assistance within their power. And that they the people of said Tribe of Indians shall not, and will not directly or indirectly give any aid, or assistance to the Troops or Subjects of the said King of Great Britain, or others adhering to him or hold any correspondence or carry on any Commerce with them during the present War.

3rd. That if any Robbery, or Outrage happens to be committed by any of the Subjects of said State of Massachusetts Bay, or of any other of the United States of America upon any of the people of said Tribes, and said State shall upon proper application being made, cause satisfaction and restitution speedily to be made to the Party injured.

4th. That if any Robbery, or Outrage happens to be committed by any of the said Tribes of Indians upon any of the Subjects of the said State or of any other of the United States of America the Tribe to which the Offender or Offenders shall belong, shall upon proper application being made, cause satisfaction and Restitution speedily to be made to the Party injured.

5th. That in case any Misunderstanding, Quarrel, or injury shall happen between the said State of Massachusetts Bay, or any other of the United States of America and the said Tribes of Indians, or either of them, no private revenge shall be taken but a peaceable application shall be made for Redress.

6th. That the said Tribes of Indians shall and will furnish and supply 600 Strong Men out of the said Tribes, or as many as may be, who shall without delay proceed from their several homes up to the Town of Boston within this State, and from thence shall march to join the Army of the United States of America now at New York under the immediate command of his Excellency General Washington, there to take his Orders.

7th. That each of the Indians who shall by their respective Tribes be appointed to join the Army of the United States of America shall bring with them a good Gun, and shall be allowed on Dollar of the use of it; and in case the Gun shall be lost in the service, shall be paid the Value of it. And the pay of each Man shall begin from the time they sail from Machias for Boston, and they shall be supplied with provisions and a Vessel or Vessels for their passage up to Boston. Each private Man shall receive the like pay as is given to our own private Men. The Indians shall be formed into Companies when they arrive in Boston, and shall engage, or enlist for long a time as General Washington shall want them; not exceeding the term of three years, unless General Washington and they shall agree for a longer time. And as Joseph Denaquara, Peter Andre, and Sabbatis Netobcobwit have manfully and Generously offered to enter immediately into the War they shall be sent as soon as may be to Gen. Washington to join the Army, and shall be considered as entering into our pay at the time of arrival at New York.

8th. The Delegates above named, who may return to their Homes, do promise and engage, to use their utmost influence with the Passamaquoddy, and other Neighbouring Tribes of Indians to persuade them to furnish and supply for the said service as many strong of their respective Tribes as possible, and that they come along with those of the Tribes of St. John's (and) Mickmac. And the said Governor of the said State of Massachusetts Bay to hereby engage to give to such of the Passamaquoddy or other Neighbouring Indians, who shall enter into Service of the United States of America, the same pay and encouragement, in every particular, as is above agreed to be given to the St. John's, or Mickmac Indians, and to consider them as our friends, and Brothers.

9th. That the said State of Massachusetts Bay shall, and will furnish their Tuckmaster at Machias as soon as may be with proper articles for the purpose of supplying the Indians of said Tribes with the necessities and conveniences of life.

10th. And the said Delegates do hereby annul and make void all former Treaties by them or by others in behalf of their respective Tribes made with any other power, State of person so far forth as the same shall be repugnant to any of the Articles contained in this Treaty.

In Faith & Testimony whereof we the said Governors of the said state of Massachusetts Bay have signed these presents, and caused the Seal of said State to be hereunto affixed and the said Ambrose Var, Newell Wallis, and Francis, Delegates of the St. John's Tribe, Joseph Denaquara, Charles, Mattahu Ontrane, Nicholas, John Battis, Peter Andre, and Sabbatis Netobcobwit, Delegates of the Mickmac Tribes of Indians have hereunto put their Marks, and Seals in the

Council Chamber at Watertown in the State aforesaid the Nineteenth day July in the year of our Lord One thousand and seven Hundred, and seventy-six.

[Produced by the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat 1999].

http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/treaties/1776#.VL_exWOrYSo

A10: 1778 Peace Conference at Saint John

Under this treaty, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet agreed to reject the American presents and realigned themselves with the British.

The main meeting occurred on 24 Sept. 1778. The Indians took an oath of allegiance to the king and signed a treaty agreeing to compensate the British for property stolen or destroyed, to remain neutral in the war, and to notify the British of American activities in the area. They solemnized these promises with a wampum belt. In return the British presented the Indians with gifts, introduced Bourg as the missionary who had been promised them, and agreed to build a trading post on the Saint John River. The following day the Indians visited a British ship in the harbour, where they drank the king's health. On 26 September they departed after a period of final speech-making, singing, and dancing.

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/akomapis_nicholas_4E.html

I do promise to bear faith and true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third.

I do promise to make known to the King's Officers, and Magistrates, any designs of the Enemy, against his Garrisons, his Troops, or good Subjects, that may come to my knowledge.

I do promise to protect and keep safe from any Insult, Outrage or Captivity, the persons of Michael Francklin Esq'r, the King's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Mr. Bourg, the Priest, whom the King has been graciously pleased to appoint to Officiate to us.

I do promise that I will not take part directly or indirectly against the King in the troubles now subsisting between Great Britain and His Majesty's Rebellious Subjects of America, but that I will follow my hunting and Fishing in a peaceable and quiet manner.

I do promise that I will not go to Machias, or hold any communication with the people of that Neighbourhood, or other the Rebellious Subjects of His Majesty.

All these things I do promise on the Holy Scriptures, and before God, upon the faith of a good Christian, so help me God.”

Pierre Thomas, Supreme Sachem or Chief of St. John's River.		
Francis Xavier, 2d Chief,		
Zackareen,	1	
Nicholas Ackmobish,		
Francis St. Aubin,	†	Captains
Jean Baptiste LaPorte,	1	
Pierre Turtou,	1	Malecite Indians
Pierre Paul Neptan,		of the River St. John
Paulsis,		
Jeanwishe,	†	Principal Indians
Nicholas Gaudin,		
Pierre Paul,		
Pierre Joseph,		
Michael Alnowishe,	1	
Jean Baptiste Arimph, 2d Chief,	1	
Louis Augustin, Captain,		Micmacks of
Antoiness, Deacon,		Richibucto
Francis Joseph Arimph, Captain.	1	
Antoine Arnau, Captain,	1	Mickmacks
Jean Baptiste Heart, Principal Indian	1	of Miramichi
Michael Argimau, Chief	1	Mickmacks
Pierre Bernard Cataup,	Capt. †	of
Joseph Portis,	Do. 1	Chignectou.
Francis Joseph Istashe, Captain,		Mickmack of Pogmousche.
Michael Sagaket,	1	Mickmacks of
Charles Nocout Principal Indians	1	the Bason of Minas.

Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, vol. 1, 1894.

<https://archive.org/details/collectionsofnew1t6newb>

A11: 1779 Treaty, Miramichi

This was a peace and friendship treaty, where the Mikmaq agreed to protect traders, have no correspondence with the Americans, ratified all former treaties, in return of promises to remain free and unmolested in their hunting and fishing. Chiefs Julien (Miramichi) and Augustine (Richibucto) signed this treaty, along with several other regional chiefs.

WHEREAS, in May and July last, a number of Indians at the instigation of the King's disaffected subjects, did plunder and rob William John Cort and several other of the English Inhabitants at Mirimichy of the principal part of their effects, in which transaction, we the undersigned Indians had no conscience, but nevertheless do blame ourselves, for not having exerted our abilities more effectually than we did to prevent it. Being now greatly distressed, and at a loss for the necessary

supplies to keep us from the inclemency of the approaching Winter, and to enable us to subsist our families;

AND WHEREAS, Captain Augustus Gervery, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Viper, did in July last, to prevent further mischief, seize upon the Mirimichy River, Sixteen of the said Indians, one of which was killed, three released and twelve of the most atrocious have been carried to Quebec, to be dealt with, as His Majesty's Government of this Province, shall in good future direct, which measures we hope will tend to restore peace and good order in that Neighbourhood;

BE IT KNOWN, to all men, that we John Julien, Chief; Antoine Arueau, Captain, Francis Julien and Thomas Dewagonside, Councillors of Mirimichy, and also Representatives of, and authorized by, the Indians of Pagumske and Restigouche, Michael Chief, Louis Augustine Cobaise, Francis Joseph Aruiph, Captains, Antoinnes and Guiassance Gabalier, Councillors of Richebouctou, and Thomas Tauros Lose, and representatives of the chief of Jedyac, do for ourselves, and in behalf of the several Tribes of Micmac Indians before mentioned, and all others residing between Cape Tormentine and the Bay De Chaleurs in the Gulf of St. Lawrence inclusive, solemnly promise and engage to and with, Michael Franklin Esq., the King's Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia,

THAT, we will behave quietly and peaceably towards all His Majesty King George's good Subjects, treating these upon every occasion in an honest, friendly and brotherly manner;

THAT, we will at the hazard of our lives defend and protect to the utmost of our power, the Traders and Inhabitants and their merchandise and effects, who are, or may be settled on the Rivers, Bays, and Sea Coasts within the fore mentioned district against all the Enemies of His Majesty King George, whether French, Rebels, or Indians;

THAT, we will wherever it shall be required apprehend and deliver into the hands of the said Mr. M. Franklin, to be dealt with according to his deserts, any Indian, or other person who shall attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the said District;

THAT, we will not hold any correspondence or intercourse with John Allan, or any other Rebel, or enemy of King George, let his Nation or Country be what it will;

THAT, we will use our best endeavours to prevail with all other our Micmac Brethren throughout the other parts of the Province, to come into the like measures with us for their several Districts;

AND, we do also by these presents for ourselves, and in behalf of our several Constituents hereby Review, Ratify and Confirm all former Treaties entered into by us, or any of us, or these heretofore with the late Governor Lawrence, and other of His Majesty King George's Governors who have succeeded him in the Command of this Province.

In consideration of the true performance of the foregoing Articles, on the part of the Indians Affairs doth hereby promise in behalf of Government,

THAT, the said Indians and their Constituents, shall remain in the Districts before mentioned, quiet and free from any molestation of any of His Majesty's Troops, or other his good Subjects in their hunting and fishing;

THAT, immediate measures shall be taken to cause Traders to supply them with ammunition, clothing and other necessary stores in exchange for their furs, and other commodities. In witness whereof, we the above mentioned have interchangeably set our hands and Seals at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, this Twenty second day of September 1779.

<http://www.danielnpaul.com/Mi%27kmaqBritishTreaty-1779.html>

A12: 1783 Chief Julien Lands

Chief Julien was granted 20,000 acres.

On 30 Aug. 1783, Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia gave John Julien and his tribe a licence to occupy, during pleasure, 20,000 acres along the shores of the Northwest Miramichi River.

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/julien_john_5E.html

A13: 1784 Partition of Nova Scotia

Through the partition of Nova Scotia the colony of New Brunswick was formed by Executive Order.

AT THE COURT AT ST. JAMES'S
THE 18TH DAY OF JUNE, 1784
PRESENT
THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL

WHEREAS there was this Day read at the Board, a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, dated the 15th of this instant, in the words following viz:

“YOUR MAJESTY having been pleased by your Order in
“Council of the 14th of last Month to referr unto this Committee
“a letter from the Right Honble Lord Sydney, one of your
“Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to the Lord President
“of the Council; signifying that a great Number of your Maj-
“testy's loyal Subjects who have been driven from their Habita-
“tions within the revolted Colonies having taken refuge in the
“Province of Nova Scotia, and settled upon the Banks of the
“Rivers St. John and St. Croix, and the country adjacent, with
“a considerable Body of disbanded soldiers who must of course
“be put to great inconvenience in having recourse to the Courts
“of Justice by their distance from the present Seat of Govern-
“ment at Halifax, and His Majesty having taken the same into
“His Royal Consideration has thought it proper that the Pro-
“vince of Nova Scotia should be divided into two parts, by
“drawing the line of separation from the Mouth of the Musquat
“River to it's source, and from thence across the Isthmus into
“the nearest part of the Bay Verte, and that the Tract of Country
“bounded by the Gulph of St. Lawrence on the East, the Pro-
“vince of Quebec on the North; the Territories of the United
“States on the West, and the Bay of Fundy on the South; should
“be erected into a Government under the Name of New Bruns-
“wick with a Civil Establishment suitable to it's Extent; That
“the part of the Province of Nova Scotia remaining, should have
“annexed to it the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and
“that Lieutenant Governors should be appointed to each of the
“said Islands with a proper Establishment on the former, sub-
“ordinate to Nova Scotia, and that the same System of Civil
“Constitution should be Established, thro' the whole, except
“upon the Island of St. John, which it is intended should con-
“tinue governed by it's own laws; And your Majesty having
“directed this Committee to consider what Form of Govern-
“ment will be proper to be Established in the said province and
“Island, together with an Estimate of the Expence of defraying
“the necessary Civil Establishments and Report Our Opinion
“thereupon to your Majesty in Council; The Lords of the Com-
“mittee, in Obedience to your Majesty's said Order of Reference
“have this Day taken the same into their Consideration, and do
“Report as their Opinion to your Majesty, That the Civil Con-
“stitution of the Governments to be Erected should be as analo-
“gous to that of Nova Scotia, as circumstances will admit; And
“humbly submit to your Majesty the following Estimates of
“the Annual Expence of the Civil Establishment for the Province
“of New Brunswick and for the Island of Cape Breton, to com-
“mence on the 24th of this instant June viz.

“NEW BRUNSWICK

	£ s d
“To the Salary of the Governor	1000 0 0
“To -- Do -- Chief Justice	500 0 0
“To -- Do -- Attorney General	150 0 0
“To -- Do -- Secretary, Register and Clerk of the Council	250 0 0
“To -- Do -- Naval Officer	100 0 0
“To -- Do -- Surveyor General of Lands	150 0 0
“To Stipends and allowances to Ministers	300 0 0
“To the Salary of an Agent	150 0 0
“To an allowance on account for unforeseen Contingencies	500 0 0
	£3100 0 0

“CAPE BRETON

“To the Salary of the Lieutenant Governor	300 0 0
“To -- Do -- The Chief Justice	300 0 0
“To -- Do -- The Attorney General	100 0 0
“To -- Do -- Secretary & Register & Clerk of the Council	150 0 0
“To -- Do -- Naval Officer	100 0 0
-- Do -- The Provost Marshall	100 0 0
-- Do -- The Minister	70 0 0
-- Do -- The Surveyor General	100 0 0
-- Do -- The Agent	100 0 0
“To an allowance for Contingencies	130 0 0
“To -- Do -- on Account for Fees on the Receipts Audits	100 0 0
	£1750 0 0

“The whole of which will amount to a £4850; The Lords of
 “the Committee however beg leave to Observe to your Majesty,
 “that a considerable part of the Expence so to be incurred, will
 “be compensated by savings to be made on the present Estab-
 “lishments of Nova Scotia, and the Island of St. John to com-
 “mence the 1st of January next to the amount of £2619/8/0 so
 “that the total increase of Expence will be £2230/0/12s per
 “annum, which Expence the Committee is of Opinion, will be
 “well warranted by the expediency of the Measure your Majesty
 “has thought proper to adopt, and the great advantages that
 “are reasonably to be expected from it -- and the Committee,

“in Order to carry into Execution what is above proposed, in
“case your Majesty should be graciously pleased to approve
“thereof, do humbly recommend it to your Majesty that the
“Right Honourable the Lords, Commissioners of Your Majesty's
“Treasury, and the Right Honourable Lord Sydney, one of
“your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, should receive
“your Majesty's Pleasure for the Appointment of the Officers
“necessary for the Administration of Government so far as
“relates to their respective Departments.” -----

HIS MAJESTY taking the said Report into Consideration, was pleased, with the advice of His Privy Council, to approve thereof, and also of the Estimates of the Annual Expence of the said Establishments, and to Order, as it is hereby Ordered, that the Right Honourable Lord Sydney, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, do receive His Majesty's Royal Pleasure for the appointment of the several Officers proposed as necessary for the Administration of Government, so far as relates to his Department.

(Sgd.) W. FAWKENER.

<http://webhome.idirect.com/~cpwalsh/nb/acts/ukoic1784.htm>

A14: 1789 Julien Tribe land reduction

Chief Julien had his granted lands reduced to 3,033 acres.

On 10 Jan. 1789 New Brunswick issued a licence of occupation to John Julien for 3,033 acres within present-day Newcastle parish, and warned that “all persons are hereby strictly forbidden to interrupt or molest the said John Julian and his tribe in the peaceable possession and occupancy hereby given.”

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/julien_john_5E.html

A15: 1802 Richibucto Indian Lands

The Richibucto Indians applied for lands granted to them for 52,000 acres.

“Surveyor General’s Office, Fredericton, 22 Jan: 1802
Description of land applied for by the Richibucto Indians, containing 51200 acres.”

https://media.lib.unb.ca/archives/finding/ia/ia_26.jpg

A16: 1805 Richibucto Tribe land reduction

The Richibucto Reserve was reduced to approximately 4,120 acres.

Minute of Council, 9th Sept., 1805.	This quantity was reduced by minute of council, in 1805; and further reduced, 25th February, 1824, to 4600 acres — some valuable portions within the reserve having been granted to applicants.
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Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Per Act of Congress of March 3d, 1847, Volume 5*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1855. [format: book], [genre: government document; guidebook; history; report]. Permission: Northern Illinois University.

<http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.2074:21:3.lincoln>

A17: 1816 Richibucto Tribe Petition

The Chiefs launched complaints of squatters on Indian lands.

Early petitions to the government indicate that the settlers wanted to cut lumber and set salmon nets inside the newly established reserve boundaries. By 1816, two Richibucto chiefs, Peter Joseph Augustine and Paul Attenass, petitioned to the government complaining that settlers had squatted on lands inside their reserve. The government tabled the petition at the legislature and no action was taken to remedy the situation.

A MicMac History of Big Cove by Stephen J. Augustine, Turtle Quarterly Fall-Winter 1994.

A18: 1820 Jacob Powell Petition

An individual misrepresented the Richibucto Indians who launched a petition and requested a reduction in the size of the reserve.

In 1820, the Richibucto tribe, represented by Jacob Powell, sent a petition to Fredericton to the government stating that the Richibucto Indians wished to reduce the size of their Reserve.

A MicMac History of Big Cove by Stephen J. Augustine, Turtle Quarterly Fall-Winter 1994.

A19: 1823 Danial Hannington Petition

This petition requested the return of lands taken by deceit on behalf of Richibucto Indians.

Not trusting the Richibucto Justice of the Peace, the two chiefs took a party of their people to Shediac, in front of Danial Hannington, and swore to a petition demanding that the lands that were taken had been taken by deceit. They requested that the original boundaries that were established in February 1802 be left as they were set out according to the wishes of the Crown.

A MicMac History of Big Cove by Stephen J. Augustine, Turtle Quarterly Fall-Winter 1994.

A20: 1824 Richibucto Reserve reduced

The Richibucto Reserve was reduced in size to north side of the Richibucto River.

The Richibucto Reserve was established by Order of the Governor in Council of New Brunswick in 1805. It comprised large areas on both sides of the Richibucto River. Its extent was reduced to an area on the north bank only by an Order in Council dated February 25, 1824: "Ordered that a Reserve be made for the use of the Richibucto Indians on the north side of Richibucto River extending from etc."

WARMAN v. FRANCIS ET AL.

(1958), 20 D.L.R. (2d) 627 (also reported: 43 M.P.R. 197)

New Brunswick Queen's Bench, Anglin J., 20 May 1958

http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CDoQFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgsdl.ubcic.bc.ca%2Fcollect%2Ffirstna1%2Fimport%2Fcourt%2520decision%2FNew%2520Brunswick%2Fwarmanvfrancis.PDF&ei=HFLBVK94ku-DBPWag7AE&usq=AFQjCNHQpEb1Vu4E_YjPizAmGJpgPFyveQ&bvm=bv.83829542,d.eXY

A21: 1844 NB passed Indian lands legislation

Legislation to manage and sell Indian lands, money to go back to Indians.

An Act to Regulate the Management and Disposal of the Indian Reserves in this Province
[New Brunswick]
1844

Whereas the extensive tracts of valuable ad reserved for the Indians in various parts of this Province tend greatly to retard the settlement of the Country, while large portions of them are not, in their present neglected state, productive of any benefit to the people, for whose use they were reserved: And whereas it is desirable that these Lands should be put upon such a footing as to render them not only beneficial to the Indians but conducive to the settlement of the Country:

- I. Be it enacted by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, Legislative Council and Assembly, That from and after the passing of this Act it shall and may be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government for the time being, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Executive Council, from time to time to cause Surveys to be made of the Indian Reserves in the respective Counties of the Province where such Reserves are situate, or of such portion or parts thereof as His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice aforesaid, may deem expedient; such Surveys to distinguish the improved from the unimproved Lands in the respective Reserves, and the Green Forests from the Burnt Lands, and the Lands fit for Settlement from those unfit for the purpose, with such other information as His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor may deem it desirable to obtain.
- II. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government for the time being by and with the advice aforesaid, to cause such Indian Reserves or any part or parts thereof, under the direction and superintendence of the Local Commissioners to be appointed under the provisions of this Act, to be leased or sold to the highest bidder by Public Auction, in the Shire Town of the County wherein such Reserves are situate, giving sixty days previous notice thereof in the Royal Gazette, and by posting hand bills in three of the most public places in the County where such Reserves are situate, upon such term not exceeding fifty years, as His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice aforesaid, may deem expedient for the best interest of the Indians and the settlement of the Country.
- III. And be it enacted, The better to carry into effect the object of this Act, it shall and may be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government, by and with the advice aforesaid, to appoint one or more Commissioners, not exceeding three for each County in which such Reserves are situate, for the purpose of looking after the Reserves in their respective Counties, and superintending the Survey and the sale thereof, or such part or parts thereof as may from time to time be directed by the Lieutenant Governor to be sold under the provisions of this Act, and also to look after the interest of the Indians generally of the Counties in which such Reserves are situate, and to prevent trespassing thereon.

- IV. And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of the said Commissioners of the respective Counties, and they are hereby required well and faithfully to attend to and execute the services required of them under the provisions of this Act, and to keep a regular and correct account of all the Lands leased and sold under their supervision, and the proceeds of such sales and leases, and all other monies coming into their hands under the provisions or any of the provisions of this Act for behoof of the Indians, whether from the proceeds of such sales and leases, or from the rents, issues and profits of such Reserves, or from any other source, and to make semi-annual returns of their doings, receipts and expenditures under oath, with the necessary vouchers to His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor.
- V. And be it enacted, That all the monies arising or that shall arise from the sales and leases of the Indian Reserves in the respective Counties, together with the rents, issues and profits of such Reserves, shall be paid into the hands of the local Commissioner or Commissioners of the County, who are hereby required to receive the same, and to pay over such monies semi-annually into the hands of the Provincial Treasurer, less a Commission of five per centum on all such monies received and paid by them for their trouble, and also less the costs of Survey and other necessary expenses incurred in and about the carrying out the provisions of this Act.
- VI. And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of the said Treasurer, and he is hereby required to keep a distinct and separate account of all monies so paid into his hands by such Commissioners, shewing the amount received from each County.
- VII. And be it enacted, That the monies annually arising from the sales and leasing of the said Reserves, and also from the rents, issues and profits thereof, after payment of expenses aforesaid, shall be applied to the exclusive benefit of the Indians, having regard as far as practicable to applying the proceeds of the several Reserves in accordance with the terms in which such Reserves have been made in the following manner, viz: First, towards the relief of the indigent and infirm Indians of the several Tribes: Second, towards procuring seeds, implements of husbandry, and domestic animals, in such manner and proportion as His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor shall direct, which money shall be drawn from the Treasury by Warrant under the hand and seal of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, in favor of the Local Commissioner or Commissioners, as required for the purposes aforesaid: Provided always, that the amount to be annually drawn from the Treasury of these monies, shall not exceed the amount of the rent, issues and profits realized from the Reserves the preceding year, and the annual interest of the purchase money of the Lands sold and placed in the hands of the Treasurer, under the provisions of this Act.
- VIII. And be it enacted, That all the monies so paid into the hands of the Treasurer, shall be on Interest from one month after they are so paid into the Treasurer's hands until they are again paid out, which Interest shall be provided for by an annual grant of the Legislature.
- IX. And be it enacted, That in the leasing, sale and disposal of the Indian Lands or portions thereof, due regard shall in all cases be had to the improvements made by the person or persons who may be in possession of the Lands to be sold, whether under sale or lease from the Indians or otherwise, so as to secure to the person or persons who shall have made such improvements, a fair and just remuneration for the same.
- X. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the local Commissioners, or the major part of them, under the direction of His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, to

lay off any Tract or Tracts of the Indian Reserves, or any part or parts of the same, into Villages or Town Plots for the exclusive benefit of the Indians of the County in which such Town plots shall be situate, and to apportion such Villages or Town Plots into allotments of not more than fifty nor less than five acres, Location Tickets of which shall be granted from time to time by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to such Indian as His Excellency may seem fit objects for such exclusive appropriations, and to any or all of whom it shall and may be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice aforesaid, to make absolute grants after the Indians to whom such Location Tickets have issued shall have resided upon and improved the same for a period of not less than ten years.

- XI. And be it enacted, That all Grants and Location Tickets made under the provisions of this Act shall issue to the parties free of expense.
- XII. And be it enacted, That in order to cause proper surveys to be made and otherwise to carry into effect the provisions of this act, it shall and may be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor or Administrator of the Government, to draw by Warrant from the Treasury a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, to be returned to the Treasury from the proceeds of the Indian Lands.
- XIII. And be it enacted, That this act shall not come into operation until Her Majesty's Royal approbation shall be thereunto had and declared.

Our Land: The Maritimes by G. P. Gould and A. J. Semple.

A22: Reserve Reduction

Between Confederation and 1902, the reserve was reduced to 2,022 acres.

A23: 1876 Big Cove land sale for Church

Chatham Head
November 25, 1876

[“Reserve on Richibucto River contains 5,658 acres” written on top left corner]

Sir,

Louis Nicholas Chief of the Indians of Big Cove Reserve, Richibucto, County of Kent, and a few of the principal ones of the Bands recently visited me, and informed me, that they were very desirous of obtaining means for the purpose of building a new church, and proposed, that they give to the Crown (in accordance with Section 25 of the *Indian Act* on Surrenders) their right to all of the Reserve, outside of certain limits, within which the bands reside.

As far as I can learn, never having been able to obtain an official statement, there are a few hundred acres on which whitemen are settled, many of whom have no grant, some of these parties have squatted, others bought under the old New Brunswick laws but did not pay all the instalments, while many have grants some got before Confederation, and some I think since that time.

Should their proposal meet with your approbation be good enough to further instruct me in the matter.

E. A. Meredith Esqr.
Indian Branch

I am
Sir
your most Obt. Servt.

Ottawa

Chas. Sargeant
Dist. Supt.

A24: 1885 Big Cove Lands sold

Kingston, Kent County, New Brunswick, 30 July 1885

Sir,

I beg to remind you of the promises made when I had the honor of waiting upon you in Ottawa on the 17th March last on behalf of the Big Cove Indians of Richibucto River viz. that a grant of \$1000 would be given this summer, to complete our new chapel, now in course of erection.

This would be a favourable time to go on with work, if we had the funds at command, as wages and prices of materials are low. It is reported that about \$600 are already paid over on account of our lands by some of the White Settlers – and several others. I believe I have been exerting themselves to get the money ready to pay for their holdings in consequence of the notices served on them last spring by C. Sargeant, Esquire. Some of them say they have the money now in hand, but are dubious about paying it over, as John Warman the first settler who paid for his lot in full, has never yet received the “letter patent” promised, although he paid his money in April.

I would respectfully suggest that his title be made out and forwarded to him forthwith, together with those of the others who have paid, and I think that most of the settlers would at once take steps to get out their grants - and sooner measuring be saved – and I would also request

that the amounts already paid into the department on account of the lands be made available, so that we could contract for either a portion or the whole of the work on the chapel before long.

Right Hon. Sir John A. MacDonald & other
Ottawa

I have the honor to Be Sir,
Your most obedient and humbler servant
Thomas Joseph
Chief of Richibucto Indians
At Big Cove

A25: 1885 Big Cove Squatters

To the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs
The Petition of Thomas Joseph, Chief of the Big Cove Band of Indians,
In the County of Kent, Province of New Brunswick, and sixty others,
The whole of the adult male Indians of said Band,
Humbly Sheweth:

That whereas the Mic-Mac Indians of whom the undersigned form a part, were always before Confederation, recognized as having certain rights in lands known as Indian Reserves, in New Brunswick, and as your Department now controls their interest in those Reserves; and as your Petitioners are interested in 3000 acres of land known as the Big Cove Reserve in the County of Kent on which white settlers have made farms and of which they are now in possession, and as it was fairly understood the Dominion Government would collect from the settlers Two Dollars per acre for every acre of the said Reserve so appropriated by the said settlers; Your Petitioners respectfully ask that all sums obtained therefor be refunded the Chief of said Band in trust for your Petitioners.

That in a letter from your department no. 13145, and bearing date March 14th 1885, the present Chief Thomas Joseph was informed that they must pay the purchase money due there on by the first of May.

and that proceedings would be taken to explore payment, on the failure of which the lands would be publicly sold, and that moreover as all the said Band belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, there was no reason why \$1000 of said moneys should not be devoted to the completion of the Indian Church at Big Cove. But although nine months have expired since the date therein fixed for payment of the purchase money, Your Petitioners have not received one cent thereof for the purpose therein designated or for any purpose.

That the Indian Church at Big Cove is still unfinished being in the same condition as when the Chief Thomas Joseph visited Ottawa last March and obtained the promise in the said letter stated, and although Your Petitioners have made many sacrifices in completing the exterior of the Church, they do not have no fit place of worship being unable to finish the inside of their church without considerable aid from your Department.

That the \$1000 promised in March last would be gratefully received as a substantial aid in that direction, and as it of right, belongs as the said Band, Your Petitioners ask that their

consent demand in this particular be carefully considered, and, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Toms Joseph Chief

["E. J. Bannon Pt. Missionary for Big Cove Mic Mac Indians"]
Chas. Sargeant Indian Agent

A26: 1886 Big Cove land sales

MEMORANDUM

[indecipherable handwriting on top left corner]

Department of Indian Affairs
Ottawa 11 Jan 1886

\$716⁷⁴ stands as the credit of the New Brunswick Land Fund for the Richibucto Inds. as proceeds of sales of their lands.

B Comparing the Determinants of Health

B1: Comparing the SDOH of McGibbon and Boyer

Determinants of Health	McGibbon (2012)	Boyer (2011)
	Race/racism	Environmental factors
	Sexism	Connection to the land
	Classism	Culture & language
	Geography	Socio-economic factors
	Gender	Mental/psychological factors
	Aboriginal status	Access to services
	Income	Family & kin relations
	Social safety net	Self-determination
	Unemployment	
	Social exclusion	

B2: SDOH from the Literature Review

	WHO (2013)	PHAC (2011)	Raphael (2004)	King (2009)	DeLeeuw et al. (2000)	Richmond & Ross (2008)	Ford et al. (2010)	Galabuzi (2004)	Chief Coroner's Office (2008)
D H	Social & economic environment	Income & social status	Aboriginal status	Inadequate housing	Colonial policies & practice	Balance	Poverty	Social exclusion	Proximal ¹⁷⁸
	Physical environment ¹⁷⁹	Social support networks	Early life	Remoteness	Colonial discourse	Life control	Information deficit		Intermediate ¹⁸⁰
	Individual characteristics & behaviours	Education & literacy	Education	Lack of access to health services		Education	Constrained institutional capacity		Distal ¹⁸¹
		Employment & working conditions	Employment & working conditions	Cultural factors ¹⁸²		Material resources	Limited technological capacity		
		Social environments	Food security			Social resources	Socio-political inequality		
		Physical environments	Health care services			Environmental & cultural connections			
		Personal health practices & coping skills	Housing						
		Healthy child development	Income & its distribution						
		Biology & genetic endowment	Social safety net						
		Health services	Social exclusion						
	Gender	Unemployment & employment security							
	Culture								

¹⁷⁸ Proximal: physical environment, employment & income, and food security.

¹⁷⁹ Physical environment: safe drinking water, clean air, healthy work place, safe houses/communities/roads, employment, and working conditions.

¹⁸⁰ Intermediate: cultural continuity.

¹⁸¹ Distal: colonialism, racism & social exclusion, and self-determination.

¹⁸² Cultural factors: racism, language, connection to the land, environmental deprivation, and spiritual-emotional-mental disconnectedness.

C Elsipogtog Profile and Statistics

Aboriginal Affairs (Canada, 2012) reported that there are 1,150 over the age of 15 with income and 685 with earnings.

C1: Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Population Figures

680 people - under the age of 18 years	95 - over the age of 65	520 families - private households	150 - married couples	110 - common- law	265 - lone- parent families
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(Statistics Canada, 2012).

C2: Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Household Figures, 2007

750 private households	505 - single- detached houses	145 - apartments	215 - single people living in a private household
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(Statistics Canada, 2007).

The First Nation received approximately \$31.0 million for the 20120-13 fiscal year from Indian Affairs, Health Canada, CMHC, Fisheries & Oceans, Justice, and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Canada, 2014).

C3: Statistics Canada Elsipogtog Religious Affiliation

On-reserve population 1690	Roman Catholic 1560	85 other religions	40 no religious affiliation
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(Statistics Canada, 2002).

D Death Certificate Information

D1: 1880s

Silvain Agustin [Augustine]; residence Big Cove; Mar. 25, 1889; male; 28 years; laborer; born Big Cove; Pulmonary – Phthisis [TB]; Dr. Olloqui

Peter Augustine; residence Big Cove; May 3, 1889; male; 44 years; laborer; Born Big Cove; Phthisis [TB]; Dr. Olloqui

Marie Rose Soc [Sock], married to L. X. Nockwood [Knockwood]; residence Shediac; Sep. 16, 1889; female; 60 years; born Richibucto; consumption; Dr. Leger

Thomas Agustin [Augustine]; residence Big Cove; Sep. 18, 1889; male; 7 years; born Big Cove; Sxrofulosis (Tuberculosis); Dr. Olloqui

Marie Rose Nockwood [Knockwood]; residence Shediac; Dec. 31, 1889; female; 10 weeks; occupation Indian; born Shediac; water on brain; Dr. Belliveau

D2: 1890s

Peter Francis; residence Aboujagne (Shediac); Feb. 25, 1891; 18 months; Indian; born Miramichi; Ed. E. Labbe making return

Lorenze Nockwood [Laurent Knockwood]; residence Big Cove; Apr. 9, 1896; male; 68 years; occupation non an invalid; born Shediac; Cistitis [inflammation of the bladder]; Dr. Olloqui

Roland Knockwood [possibly same as Laurent Knockwood] Formerly Indian Chief at Shediac; residence Big Cove; Apr. 9, 1896; 66 years; Dr. Olloqui (possibly); E. J. Bannon making return

Stephen Joseph Augustine; residence Big Cove; Feb. 20, 1899; 20 years; labourer; born Big Cove; Dr. Olloqui; Rev. E. J. Bannon making return

D3: 1900s

Pierre Augustine; residence Fox Creek; Jul. 26, 1900; male; 20 years; farmer; born Fox Creek; consumption; Dr. White

Anthony P. Augustine; residence Big Cove; Dec. 5, 1905 Big Cove; 2 years & 7 months; born Big Cove; consumption; Dr. McWilliams

Noel Denis Augustine (Big N. D); residence Big Cove; Nov. 22, 1906; 41 years; born Big Cove; decline; Rev. McLaughlin making return

Marguerite Augustine (Mrs. Thomas Bernard); residence Dorchester; Oct. 6, 1909; female; widow; born Richibucto; heart trouble; Dr. Teed

D4: 1910s

Mary Ann Tony (Mrs. Israel Noucouste [Knockwood]/Indian); residence Dorchester; Feb. 18, 1910; female; aged 34; no occupation; born Shediac; Consumption; Dr. Teed

Annie Jane Simon; residence Buctouche; Apr. 8, 1910 Buctouche; female; born Buctouche; 1 year 9 months; consumption; Dr. King

Abraham Simon; residence Buctouche; Apr. 26, 1910 Buctouche; male; 5 years; born Buctouche; inflammation of the lungs; Dr. Landry

Jeanne Augustine Indian of Gregoire Marquis; residence Beaumont; Jun. 9, 1910; female; 28 years; confinement; Dr. Teel; B. Lecavaliet making return

Catherine Levi; residence Grunble Road; Sep. 10, 1914 Moncton; 59 Years; Paralysis; no doctor; C. E. Northrup making return

Mary Labove [Labobe]; residence Painsec Junction; Apr. 5, 1916; female; 2 years; born Painsec Junction; Consumption; Dr. Burpee

D5: 1920s

Stephen Clement; residence Richibucto; Apr. 5, 1920 Shediac; male; born Richibucto; no cause of death; 10 months; father Noel Clement Big Cove, mother Lucie Francis NS; informant Noel Clement father; buried St. Joseph's Cemetery; no undertaker; no doctor

Simon Paul; residence Humphrey's; Mar. 18, 1922 Humphrey's Mills; male; born Quebec; Senile Debilels [debility?]; 95 years; making baskets & handles & etc.; father Peter Paul Fredericton, mother Mary Kokea Quebec; informant Joseph S. Paul son; buried Richibucto; undertaker Tuttle Bros; Dr. Coleman

Madeline Paul; residence Humphrey's Mills; Nov. 27, 1922; female; born Richibucto; Tuberculosis, pneumonia; 10 years' at home [occupation]; father Joseph S. Paul Richibucto, mother Elizabeth Johnstone Burnt Church; informant Joseph S. Paul father; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Robichaud

Mrs. Joseph Augustine; residence Big Cove; Jan. 17, 1923 Kent; female; born Indian Island; "no doctor"; 24 years; housewife; father Sylvan Barlow Indian Island, mother NB; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; "no undertaker"

Mrs. Steven Clemens [Clement]; residence Big Cove; Jan. 19, 1923 Kent; female; born NB; "no doctor"; 70 years; parents NB, NB; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; "no undertaker"

Thomas Sanipass; residence Main River; Jun. 19, 1923 St. John; male; born Richibucto; Pulmonary Tuberculosis, lb of intestine; 28 years; laborer; father Peter Sanipass Richibucto, mother Mary A, Augustine Kent Co.; informant Joseph Sanipass brother; disease contracted in England; buried Indian Reserve; undertaker P. J. Fitzpatrick; Dr. Granis?

Mary Nocoat [Knockwood]; residence Albert Mines; Feb. 24, 1924; female; born Boudrau [Boudreau] West. Co.; Pneumonia; 4 months 15 days; father Israel Nocoat [Knockwood] Boudreau, mother Bessie Paul PEI; informant Israel Nocoat [Knockwood] father; buried Albert Mines; undertaker A. B. Landry; Dr. Lewis

John Peter Paul; residence Humphrey's Mills; Jun. 14, 1924 Moncton; male; born St. Louis; Tuberculosis; 54 years; Laborer, Indian work; father Alex Peter Paul, mother Charlotte Joseph Richibucto; informant Thomas Levi uncle; buried Big Cove; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Allaire

Mrs. Isaac Clements [Clement]; residence Big Cove; Aug. 9, 1924 Kent; female; born St. Ann Restigouche; pneumonia; 20 years; housewife; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Arseneau; length of residence – only a few months moving quite frequently

Teddy Sock; residence Richibucto (Big Cove); Oct. 11, 1924 Chatham; male; widowed; born NB; Enlarged Prostate; 81 years; basket maker, fishery; father Peter Paul Sock Indian Island, mother Agnes Sock Indian Island; informant Noel Sock brother; buried Richibucto; undertaker Thos. Phalen; Dr. Marven

Noel Denis Augustine; residence Big Cove; Oct. 13, 1924; male; born Big Cove; diabetes; 55 years; travailant; parents not known; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; no undertaker

Mrs. Wm. Lewis, nee Frances Augustine; residence Big Cove; Feb. 12, 1925; female; born Big Cove; "no doctor in attendance. ? tubercular condition"; 19 years; housewife; father Noel Tom Augustine, mother Napier Big Cove; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; no undertaker

Elizabeth Paul; residence Humphrey's Mills; Mar. 16, 1925 Moncton; female; born Burnt Church; Fibrous phitrosis [pleurosis – pleurisy]; 43 years; at home [occupation]; husband Joseph S. Paul; father Thomas Johnson Burnt Church, mother Madeline Joseph Richibucto River; informant Joseph S. Paul husband; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Coleman

Stephen Clements [Clement]; residence Big Cove; Jun. 2, 1925; male; born Digby NS; Hypostatic pneumonia, emphysema; 77 years; making baskets etc.; father Joseph Clements NS, mother ? NS; informant John Clements Rexton son; buried Big Cove; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Forbes

Mary Elizabeth Paul; residence Pacific Ave. Moncton; Dec. 30, 1925; female; born Pacific Ave. Moncton; Inanelen [lacking substance]; 4 days; father Alex Peter Paul Richibucto, mother Minnie Thomas PEI; informant Alex Peter Paul father; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle Bros.

Stephen K. Simon; residence Jones Siding; Apr. 30, 1926 Moncton; male; born Big Cove; Bronchial, Pulmonary Tuberculosis; 23 years; laborer; lumber; father Simon Joe Simon Richibucto Indian Point, mother Isabelle Augustine Big Cove; informant Simon Joe Simon Jones Siding father; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Nora Margaret Augustine; residence ~~Pacific Avenue~~; May 18, 1926; female; born Big Cove; Tuberculosis, measles; 4 years; father Stephen Augustine Shediac, mother Helen Copage [Coppage] Big Cove; informant Stephen Augustine father; buried Big Cove; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Coleman

William Simon; residence Jones Siding; Jun. 29, 1926; male; born Jones; Measles; 17 days; Enfant; father Wm. Simon Big Cove, mother Irene Clare Big Cove; informant Jos. Clare uncle; buried Shediac Road; Dr. Coleman

Mabel Paul; residence Moncton; Jun. 30, 1926; female; born Moncton; Inanelen [inanely – lacking substance], influenza; 6 months 4 days; father Alexander P. Paul Big Cove, mother Minnie Thomas St. Louis PEI; informant Mrs. Thomas PEI grandmother; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. ? coroner

Mary Ginnish; residence Big Cove; Aug. 2, 1927 East St. John; female; born Richibucto; Pulmonary tuberculosis; 18 years; Scholar; parents Not ?; informant Hospital Records; buried New Catholic Cemt.; undertaker P. J. Fitzpatrick; Dr. Harris

Mary Bernard; residence Shediac; Jun. 12, 1928; female; born West. Co.; undernourishment, tuberculosis; 5 years; father David Bernard Wellington PEI, mother Mary Anne Sark Richibucto; informant David Bernard father; buried Shediac; undertaker by Family; Dr. Somany?

Mrs. Thomas Peters; residence Big Cove; May 25, 1929; female; born Shediac; "no doctor"; 44 years; housekeeping; father Frank Nockwood [Knckwood] Shediac, mother Sarah (no information as to family name) unknown; informant Thomas Peters husband; buried Big Cove; undertaker George Peter Paul

John Henry Barlow; residence Indian Island; Sep. 23, 1929 Richibucto Village; male; born Big Cove; no cause of death listed; 16 months; father Louis James Barlow, mother Roseann Peters Big Cove; informant Louis James Barlow father; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; no doctor

D6: 1930s

Newell Sock; residence Richibucto River; Mar. 28, 1930; male; born Indian Island; Pneumonia, (hypostatic) heart trouble, cardiac vlvular heart disease; 79 years; no occupation; wife Mary Jane Newell; father Peter Paul Sock , mother Agnes Sark Lennox Island; informant Moses Sock son; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Remi Francis; residence Big Cove; Feb. 1, 1931; male; chronic valvular disease; born Indian Island; 58 years; laborer; wife Rose Joseph; father Stanislaus Francis PEI, mother Nancy Joe Augustine Big Cove; informant Peter Levy no relation; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Peter Sock; residence Big Cove; Sep. 8, 1931; male; laborer; dropped dead at a neighbor's house; 75 years; born Big Cove; wife Louis Sanipas [Sanipass]; father Noel P. Sock, mother Madeleine Joseph; informant Peter Levy no relation; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; no doctor

John T. Augustine; residence Big Cove; Nov. 19, 1931 Rexton; male; born Big Cove; Appendicitis; 21 years; laborer general; father Tom P. Augustine, mother Anna Mary Rauches [Roach]; informant Tom P. Augustine father; buried Big Cove; undertaker Peter Levy; Dr. Kenney

Noel Andrew Augustine; residence Big Cove; Feb. 17, 1932; male; born Big Cove; pneumonia; 85 years; laborer; wife deceased; father Andrew Augustine , mother Frances

Ward Red Bank; informant Peter Levy no relation; buried Big Cove; undertaker Peter Levy; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Joseph Augustine; residence Big Cove; Feb. 23, 1932; female; born Big Cove; Pneumonia (child stillborn Feb. 21, 1932) [typed]; 25 years; housewife; husband Joseph Augustine; father Barney Peters, mother Elizabeth Simon; informant Peter Levy [no relationship]; buried Big Cove; undertaker Peter Levy; Dr. Kenney

Peter Francis; residence Big Cove; Feb. 28, 1932; male; born Big Cove; apoplexy [stroke]; 102 ? years; laborer – general; wife Mary Leblanc; father Andrew Francis, mother Bessie Thibeau St. Louis; informant Noel Francis son; buried Big Cove; undertaker Peter Levy; Dr. Kenney

Mary Agnes Labove [Labobe]; residence Shediak; May 1, 1932; female; born Shediak; [indecipherable] Pulmonary; prob. “At home”; 13 years; father Peter Labove [Labobe] Lennox Island, mother Lucy Sark Big Cove; informant Peter Labove [Labobe] father; buried Shediak; undertaker Indian; Dr. ?

Joseph M. Augustine; residence Indian Reserve Kent Co.; Jul. 31, 1932 St. John; male; born NB; tuberculosis of lungs & epileptic dementia; 18 years; no [occupation]; father Thom. P. Augustine NB, mother Mary Ann Francis NB; informant no record; buried Richibucto; undertaker Frank W. Morris; Dr. McAnglin

William John Augustine; residence Shediak; Aug. 7, 1932; male; born Shediak; Acute Broncho Pneumonia; 3 months 19 days; father Sylvester Augustine Big Cove, mother Mary Jane Labove [Labobe] Pain Sec; informant Sylvester Augustine; buried Shediak; undertaker Sevrin Richard; Dr. ?

Thomas Levy Young; residence Big Cove; Jan. 1, 1933; male; born Indian Island; probably “Old age” [typed]; 91 years; laborer; father Levy Young Big Cove, mother unknown; informant Peter Levy (Young) nephew; buried Big Cove; undertaker David Sock; no doctor [typed]

Pat Peters; residence Big Cove; Apr. 12, 1933; male; born Big Cove; meningitis – Tuberculosis [typed]; 30 years; laborer; father Barney Peters, mother Elizabeth Simon; informant Barney Peters father; buried Big Cove; undertaker John Joseph; Dr. Kenney

Daniel Augustine; residence Big Cove; Sep. 8, 1933; male; 48 years; laborer; Nephritis, chronic valvular disease; wife Suzie Jerome; father Noel Tom Augustine, mother Margaret Paul; informant Jacob Augustine brother; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. William Augustine; residence Big Cove; Oct. 10, 1933; female; born Big Cove; Tuber. Lung; 22 years; housewife; Wm. Clare husband; father Robert Paul NS, mother Mary Sapier NS; informant William Augustine husband; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Joseph Harry Paul; residence McKinnon's Siding; Apr 8, 1934 Westmorland; male; born Moncton; This child died without being seen by a physician but from the history ? probably influenza was cause of death; 7 months; father Harry Peter Paul Big Cove, mother Annie Jerome Big Cove; informant Harry P. Paul; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle bros; no doctor

Agnes Ginnish; residence Big Cove; Jan. 19, 1935 Big Cove; female; born Burnt Church; 19 years; at home [occupation]; father Peter Ginnish, mother Nancy Bernard NS; informant Mrs. Noel John Augustine mother; buried Big Cove; undertaker Stephen Simon; Pulmonary T.B.; Dr. Kenney

Marie Louis Peter Paul Barlow; residence Indian Island; Mar. 12, 1935 Richibucto Village; female; born Indian Island; Chronic valvular heart disease; 75 years; [no occupation]; father Gregoire Peter Paul St. Louis, mother Marie Charlotte Joseph Burnt Church; informant John Barlow son; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Mary Nicholas; residence Big Cove; May 10, 1935; female; born Shediac; Chronic valvular heart disease; DOB nobody knows; 90 (she said so); housewife; husband Late Noel Nicholas; father John Barnaby NB, mother Bella Ylla NB; informant Noel Tom Augustine no relation [step-son]; buried Big Cove; undertaker John Joseph; Dr. Kenny

Mary Margaret Sock; residence Lennox Island; Jun. 15, 1935 Big Cove; female; born Big Cove; T.B. Lung; 14 years; at school; father Jacob Sark Lennox Island, mother Late Mary Louise Augustine Big Cove; informant Jacob Sark father; buried Big Cove; undertaker Stephen Simon; Dr. Kenney

Angelique (Simon) Peters; residence Big Cove; Jun. 21, 1935; female; born Big Cove; 23 years; housewife; husband John Peters; father Simon Joe Simon, mother Isabel Augustine; informant John Peters husband; buried Big Cove; undertaker none; T.B. Lung; Dr. Kenney

Peter G. Barlow; residence Indian Island; Jul. 11, 1935; male; born St. Louis; Chronic valvular heart disease; 85 years; pecheur; wife Marie Louise Peter Paul; father Gregory Barlow PEI, mother Anastia Bernard PEI; informant John Barlow son; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

John Dennis Peters; residence Newton Heights [Jones Lake]; Oct. 18, 1935 Moncton; male; born Grand River PEI; Persistent hiccoughs, tuberculosis; 61 years; Indian trade, making baskets; wife Mary Ann Peters (Paul); father Frank Peters (Snake) name changed to Peters, mother Ann Knockwood; informant Augustine Bernard uncle; buried Shediac Road; undertaker Tuttle Bros.; Dr. Coleman

Paul Peter Paul; residence Big Cove; Nov. 6, 1935; male; born Big Cove; Chronic TB Lung; 65 years; laborer; wife Late Henrietta Augustine; father Gregory Peter Paul,

mother Charlotte Joseph; informant George Peter Paul son; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

John Barlow; residence Indian Island; Jan. 3, 1936; male; born Indian Island; chronic valvular cardiac disease; 49 years; laborer; wife Catherine Johnstone; father Peter Barlow, mother Mary Louise Peter Paul; informant Mrs. Walter McDonald sister; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Gregory Barlow; residence Big Cove; May 13, 1936; male; born Big Cove; T.B. Spine; 16 years; school boy; father Louis Barlow Richibucto Village, mother Rosanne Peters Big Cove; informant Louis Barlow father; buried Big Cove; undertaker John Joseph; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. John Peters (Mary Angelique Peters) [typed]; residence Big Cove; female; born Big Cove; May 21, 1936; Pneumonia; 87 years; housewife; husband Late John Peters; father Tom Louis Burnt Church, mother Mary Jane ? Burnt Church; informant Tom Peters son; buried Big Cove; undertaker John Joseph; Dr. Kenney

Fred Clare; residence Big Cove; Jun. 10, 1936; male; born Big Cove; pneumonia; 15 years; child born idiot; father Jim Clare, mother Madeline Simon; informant Jim Clare father; undertaker none; Dr. Kenney

Louis Barlow; residence Indian Island; Jul. 2, 1937; male; born Indian Island; Pneumonia, auricular [probably atrial] fibrillation [abnormal heart rhythm] with Ht failure; laborer; wife Elizabeth Macleod; father John Barlow, mother Marguerite Peter Paul St. Louis; informant Mrs. Louis Barlow wife; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Giovnietta

Peter Denis; residence Big Cove; Aug. 7, 1937; male; born Big Cove; apoplexy; 76 years; laborer; wife Teresa Joseph; father Augustine Denis, mother Madeline Saw; informant Peter Levy no relation; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Stephen Simon; residence Big Cove; Aug. 8, 1937; male; born Big Cove; Cerebral Haemorrhage and Chronic Myocarditis; 60 years; laborer; wife Kalabe Millea [Milliea]; father Prospere Simon Indian Island, mother Catherine Sock Big Cove; informant Peter Levy no relation; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Daniel Nicholas; residence Big Cove; Sep. 13, 1937; male; born Big Cove; 52 years; cardiac disease, chronic myocarditis; journalier; wife Eunice Narby [Narvey]; father Newell Nicholas, mother Harriet Andrews; informant Mrs. Jacob Augustine daughter; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Anthony Clair; residence Big Cove; Sep. 20, 1937 Big Cove; male; born Big Cove; 31 years; journalier; wife Elizabeth Anne Peter Paul; father Abraham Clair, mother Mary Francis Dedam Indian Island; informant Mrs. Anthony Millie sister; appendicitis, peritonitis; Dr. Kenney

Mary Frances Sock; residence Indian Island; Mar. 23, 1938; female; born Indian Island; Cholera; 6 months 4 days; father James Sock, mother Jane Sark Big Cove; informant James Sark father; buried Richibucto Village; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Joseph Sanipass; residence Big Cove; Sep. 9, 1938; male; born Big Cove; Uremia, acute nephritis; 42 years; Indian Soldier; wife Sadie Sanipass; father Peter Sanipass, mother Mary Ann Augustine; informant Sadie Sanipass wife; buried Big Cove; undertaker Wm. Thompson; Dr. Kenney

Marquerite Sanipass; residence Shediac; Sep. 12, 1938 Moncton; female; born Eel River; Bronchial pneumonia, both sides, had rheumatism; 31 years; housewife; husband David Sanipass; father Peter Labove [Labobe] PEI, mother Lucy Slarke [Sark] Big Cove; informant David Sanipass husband; buried Shediac; undertaker Sevrin Richard; Dr. Myers

Peter Levy; residence Big Cove; Jan. 5, 1938; male; born Indian Island; apoplexy [stroke]; 60 years; laborer; wife Madeleine Sock; father Joseph Levy Indian Island, mother Monica Patles Bathurst; informant John Levy son; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Noel Tom Augustine; residence Big Cove; Jan. 5, 1939; male; chronic valvular heart disease; born Big Cove; 80 years; labourer; father Tom Augustine, mother Mary Noel Cape Breton; informant Stephen Augustine son; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Anne Marie Francis Tennass; residence Big Cove; Mar. 21, 1939; female; born Big Cove; 51 years; housewife; father Noel Francis, mother Mary Frances Millier; informant Peter T. Augustine, son of first marriage; buried Big Cove; undertaker Wm. Thompson; cancer stomach; Dr. Kenney

Noel Peter Paul; residence Big Cove; Sep. 9, 1939; male; born Burnt Church; chronic valvular heart disease; 78 years; laborer; father John Peter Paul, mother Mary Tenass; informant John Peter Paul son; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Peter J. Simon; residence Big Cove; Dec. 17, 1939; male; born Big Cove; pneumonia; 42 years; laborer; wife Cecile Caplin; father Simon Joe Simon, mother Catherine Sock; informant Simon Joe Simon father; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

D7: 1940s

Nancy (Sark) Sock; residence, Studholm; Mar. 14, 1940 Plumweseep; female; born Big Cove; Pneumonia, whooping cough; 2 months 22 days; father, a fisherman; father, James Sark, Indian Island, mother, Jane Sark, Indian Island; informant, James Sark, father; buried Richibucto; undertaker Wm. Wallace; Dr. Herman.

Noel John Augustine; residence, Big Cove; Jun. 26, 1940; male; born Big Cove; chronic valvular heart disease; 85 years; laborer; wife Nancy Bernard; father, John Augustine, mother, Isabel Ginnish, Burnt Church; informant, Mrs. Noel John Augustine, widow; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney.

Sadie Paul; residence, North Devon; Aug. 20, 1940 Big Cove; female; born Grand Matane PQ; TB Lung; 17 years; at home [occupation]; father, Joseph Paul, Big Cove, mother, Elizabeth Johnson, Burnt Church; informant, Sadie Sanipass, sister; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney.

Joseph Millea [Milliea]; residence, Big Cove; Nov. 20, 1940; male; born Big Cove; cardiac valvular heart disease; 84 years; laborer; father, Noel Millea, mother, Jane Peters; informant, Mrs. Frank Dedam, niece; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; Dr. Kenney

Mary Augustine; residence Big Cove; Aug. 31, 1941; female; born Bathurst; cardiac, chronic valvular heart disease; 74 years; housewife; husband, Late Sam Augustine; father, Peter Smith NB, mother, Ellen Prisk, NB; informant, John Augustine, Red Bank son; buried Big Cove; undertaker none; Dr. Kenney.

Mrs. Esther Levy; residence Big Cove; Oct. 5, 1942; female; born Big Cove; 20 years; housewife; T.B. lungs; husband Fred Levy; father Jacob Sark PEI, mother Mary Louise Augustine Big Cove; informant Jacob Sark father; buried Big Cove; undertaker Martin Francis; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Madeleine Levy; residence Big Cove; Nov. 13, 1942; female; born Big Cove; Cardiac disease; 57 years; housewife; husband Peter Levy; father Peter Sock, mother Louise Bass Gaspé; informant Peter Levy son; buried Big Cove; undertaker Marin Francis; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Mary Ann Denis; residence Big Cove; Dec. 11, 1942; female; born PEI; Cardiac disease; 86 years; housewife; husband Peter Denis; father Noel Augustine, mother Mary Francis; informant Martin Francis none [relationship]; buried Big Cove; undertaker none; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Louise Sock; residence Big Cove; Apr. 10, 1943; female; born Gaspé P.Q.; chronic cardiac disease; 74 years; housewife; husband Later Peter Sock; father Joseph Basque Gaspé, mother Sarah Ward Eel Ground; informant Peter Sock son; buried Big Cove; undertaker Simon Joe Simon; Dr. Kenney

James Francis; residence Big Cove; Jan. 7, 1944; male; born Big Cove; Apoplexy, chronic-cardio, renal vascular disease; 77 years; laborer; wife Madeleine Francis; father Louis Francis, mother Margaret Augustine; informant Peter Sock no relation; buried Big Cove; undertaker Leo Peters; Dr. Kenney

Mrs. Nancy Bernard; residence ?; Dec. 5, 1946 Moncton; female; born Eel River; Pneumonia, influenza; 82 years; at home, housewife, living on old age pension; father Peter Bernard, mother Eliza Esliges; informant Mrs. Narcise Poirier Eel River Crossing niece; buried Big Cove; Dr. MacDonald

D8: 1950s

Simon Joseph Simon; residence Big Cove; Jun. 18, 1957 Moncton; male; born NB; Cerebral thrombosis, arterioindemia, arterosclerosis, heart disease; 82 years; laborer; wife Elizabeth Augustine; father Prosper Simon NB, mother Kathleen Sark [Sock] NB; informant William Simon "evid. no relation" [typed, probably son]; buried Big Cove; undertaker H. C. Thompson; Dr. Sommer

Elizabeth Paul; residence Big Cove; Oct. 27, 1957 Buctouche; female; born NB; Chronic myocarditis, arterosclerosis, diabetes; housewife; husband Joseph S. Paul; father William Brown NB, mother Elizabeth Coyle NB; informant Joseph S. Paul husband; buried Big Cove; undertaker H. C. Thompson; Dr. Allaire

D9: 1960s

Oliver Simon; residence Big Cove; Aug. 17, 1960; male; born Big Cove; coronary thrombosis, artero sclerosis, hypertension; 49 years; labourer; wife Lena Augustine; father Stephen Simon, mother Philomene Joe; informant Lena Simon wife; buried Big Cove; undertaker H. C. Thompson; Dr. Roy

Mary Ann Peters; residence Big Cove; Nov. 2, 1961 Moncton; female; born NB; Uremia renal lesions ??, hypertension & enlarged heart; 51 years; housewife; husband Barnage Peters; father Noel Peter Paul NB, mother Monique Platules [probably Patles] NB; informant John Peter Paul brother; buried Big Cove; undertaker H. C. Thompson; Dr. Roy

John Augustine; residence Red Bank; Feb. 15, 1963 Chatham; male; born Big Cove; 76 years; Cerbral hemorrhage; labourer; wife Mary J. Tennass; father Samuel Augustine Big Cove, mother Mary Smith Bathurst; informant Mary Jane Ward daughter; buried Red Bank; undertaker Bell & Sons; Dr. Morrissey

D10: No Date

Mary Rose Simon, wife of Jacob Augustine; residence Big Cove; female; born Big Cove; T.B. ?; 25 years; housewife; father Steven Simon, mother Ely Joe; informant Rev. McLaughlin; buried Big Cove; no undertaker; J. J. McLaughlin, priest

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