L’nuwi’teytasik Ke’kanakweje’ka’tik

Thinking about the Mi’kmaq use of the Green Cove area

INTRODUCTION

I was requested by the group "*Friends of Green Cove*" to do an ethnobotanical and cultural significance survey of the area of the Cape Breton National Highlands Park ("CBNHP"), called Green Cove, known to the L'nuk (Mi'kmaw) as Ke'kanakweje'ka'tk.[1] The survey was requested in order to document the Ethnobotanical and cultural significant usage or significance of the Green Cove area to the L'nuk[2]. This request was sent to Dean Stephen Augustine[3], Unama'ki College, Cape Breton University. I was particularly interested to conduct the survey as my background and expertise is in L'nu Ethnobotany.[4]

The Green Cove area is part of the CBNHP and managed by the Parks Canada Service. Any major significant changes in park usage must be undertaken in consultation with a variety of partners and the L'nu community, bearing in mind that such changes have the potential to impact the Aboriginal & Treaty Rights of the L'nuk.

Currently there is a proposal by the *Never Forgotten National Memorial Foundation*[5] to construct an extensive memorial complex in the CBNHP, specifically in the Green Cove area: a 24-metre high (60 m²) concrete statue called "*Mother Canada*" in Green Cove, along with an interpretive centre, a pavilion and a square. In addition to this, a concrete pathway is proposed from the parking lot to the granite outcrop along with a possible expansion or modification of the existing parking lot. According

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[1] Ke'kanakweje'ka'tik refers to the general area around present day Ingonish. Green Cove is about 7kms north of Ingonish thus falls into the general area and is included in the name.

[2] I use the term "L'nu, L'nuk [pl]"" because this is how the L'nu refer to the nation as opposed to Mi'kmaq or Mi'kmaq which is how the people refer to themselves to non L'nuk people.

[3] Augustine is also an Elder & Keptin of the Sante Mawiomi (the Mi'kmaq Grand Council) and also is a reviewer on the Mi'kmaq Ethics Watch.

[4] I graduated from Cape Breton University with a BA in Mi'kmaq Studies with a specialization in ethnobotany.

[5] http://www.nfnm.ca

to the Foundation's website, this site will also become a cemetery where cremated remains of veterans will be placed or scatted.[6]

The proposed size or "footprint" of the project is expected to dominate the Green Cove location. While no part of the location will escape a negative impact, of particular cultural as well as ecological concern is the fact that once the proposed project is completed, the high and the pink granite outcrop will no longer be recognizable.

Given these major and significant changes to the CBNHP, Parks Canada has begun a consultative process and is trying to reach out to interested and possible impacted communities. One of these communities is the L'nuk people and, in particular, the L'nu communities of Unama'ki. Currently, Parks Canada has informed the L'nuk, through the Mi'kmaq Rights Initiative ("KMK")[7] that this project is being proposed and that they will formally engage the L'nuk in a consultative process to ascertain whether any Aboriginal and/or Treaty rights will be impacted, and also whether the area has any cultural significance to the L'nuk.

Parks Canada has retained the services of Membertou Geomatics Solutions (MGS)[8] to conduct a Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge ("MEK") survey of Green Cove. This survey has been completed and a formal report will be forwarded to Parks Canada who will then use this report as a basis to engage in formal consultations with the L'nuk, under the consultative tables established by the Assembly of Nova Scotia Chiefs.[9] This consultation table and process has been delegated to the Mi'kmaq Conservation Group[10] that is housed with the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq.[11]

The Mi'kmaq Rights Initiative has established a protocol for doing MEKs and has listed a number of consultants who they suggest should be used when conducting MEKs. There is no formal protocol to determine who can provide cultural data when engaging in MEK surveys but the advice given is that: *"The Consultant must confirm that the Participants interviewed are recognized by their Mi'kmaw community and acknowledged by their community as a credible provider of MEK data."*[12] Thus the *Friends of Green Cove* must be comfortable knowing my background and that I am recognized by my L'nu community and acknowledged as a credible provider of MEK data.

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[6] http://www.nfnm.ca/#slide11

[7] http://mikmaqrights.com

[8] https://membertougeomatics.com/solutions.php

[9] http://mikmaqrights.com/consultation/

[10] http://www.mikmawconservation.ca

[11] http://cmmns.com

[12] Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Study Protocol, Assembly of NS Chiefs, 2nd ed at 16.

LEK[13] Qualifications

With this in mind, I shall provide a brief outline of my qualifications here in this report but also provide to *The Friends of Green Cove*, my Curriculum vitae (appendix "A"). I trust that the *Friends of Green Cove* will find that my qualifications far exceed what the Mi'kmaq Rights protocol for MEK requires.

First and foremost, my primary qualification is that I am the son of the late William Frederick Young and Veronica (Flo) Young (nee Phillips). My ethnic, cultural, and social identity is that I am an L'nu, having being brought up traditionally on the Malagawatch reserve, on the West bay area of Unama'ki.[14] My family is one of the last traditional families who lived off the land. My parents hunted, trapped, gathered and made herbal medicines, peddled baskets, axe handles, clothes poles, wreaths, grew vegetables, canned fruit, jams and were self-sufficient in all aspects. My mother is one of the last traditional herbalists left in Nova Scotia (she is one of a few still living) and has taught all of her children the art of gathering, identification of plants that are used by the L'nu. I am a fluent speaker of the L'nu language.

While these cultural credentials should suffice, I will also note that I also have a Bachelor of Arts in Mi'kmaq Studies from Cape Breton University with a specialization in Mi'kmaq Ethnobotany. I have completed a conspectus of L'nu names of plants (documenting almost a thousand names of plants found in Atlantic Canada), and this work is the process of being considered for publication. I have also made numerous presentations on L'nuwin Pisun (Mi'kmaq medicines) to a variety of groups plus I have done several legal presentations on the liability of traditional practitioners in the provision of cultural and healing services. Finally, I have followed up on my teachings on the subject of Sisipk (birds) from my parents and am currently compiling an L'nuwey nomenclature of Birds found in Mi'kma'kik.

Lastly I have trained and taught a number of L'nu knowledge holders about ethnobotany and several of them have gone on to act as MEK consultants.

Methodology

My methodology in conducting this survey is a modified Two-eyed Seeing approach that was first reintroduced into mainstream scientific surveys by noted L'nu elders Murdina and Albert Marshall of Eskasoni.[15] Etuaptumk is the process that describes the approach by looking at it from two different perspectives. In keeping with the L'nu perspective, I have used an L'nuwey methodology that utilizes L'nu ecological knowledge and will be presenting my findings using this approach. My justification for this approach rather than the mainstream approach to doing botanical surveys is that the L'nuwey perspective is often left out or discounted in western surveys. For example a common plant that may

[13] L'nuwey Ecological Knowledge

[14] Unama'ki is the L'nuwey name for Cape Breton or for the district of Cape Breton. It means "Land of the fog."

[15] http://www.cbu.ca/news/two-eyed-seeing-model-developed-cape-breton-drives-new-national-grant-aboriginal-health-research

be considered a weed by botanists can be considered very sacred or very rare, in light of issues such as accessibility or how pristine or sacred the location is to L'nu people.

The first step was for me to actually go to the site and do an extensive survey of plants that grow in the area and that are used by the L'nu people. A listing of all plants is contained in this report. The second step was to identify the L'nu uses of these plants so that this cultural knowledge becomes known and how the location is of significance to L'nu people. Finally I also identified other cultural issues (besides herbal plants) that Parks Canada needs to examine more closely to see how the impact of building the statute will affect L'nu people.

Site Visit: 2015 June 20

Prior to my visit, I had communications with Parks Canada personnel, namely Mr. Edward Kennedy, Parks Manager with CBHNP who granted permission for me to arrange a site visit to the location. Mr. Kennedy asked me to contact Membertou Geomatics about the possibility of sharing my findings with them. I have obtained permission from *Friends of Green Cove* (Mr. Sean Howard) that I can share my findings with Membertou Geomatics so that we can compare findings and ensure that a full and complete report will be presented to Parks Canada and to the Assembly of NS Chiefs. This will ensure that the Chiefs of NS can make a complete and informed assessment of the proposed Mother Canada project and decide whether it may entail any infringement or erosion of their cultural heritage, spirituality and access to L'nuwin Pisun.

Parks Canada also suggested that I inform Dr. Donald Julien[16], Executive Director of the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq about my visit so that he would be aware of it. I did leave a message to Mr. Julian informing him about my upcoming visit and if he had any concerns to give me a call. I did not receive a reply from Dr. Julien.

Arrangements were made to meet up with Parks Canada staff at the CBNHP administration office in Ingonish and Mr. Kennedy offered to have either a staff member or himself escort me to the Green Cove Site and show me the "footprint" of the proposed project. Membertou Geomatics asked whether some of their staff come along to map the coordinates of what I might find. I had no problem with this request but on Saturday morning (June 20), I received an email from the staff indicating they would be unable to meet up with me.[17]

Upon arrival at the administrative offices, I was pleasantly surprised to see my cousin, John Sylliboy[18] of Waycobah, also there. Mr. Sylliboy informed me that he had already gone to the site, on behalf of

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[16] Mr. Don Julian, is an Honorary Patron of the *Never Forgotten Memorial Foundation* who are the project proponents.

[17] I received an email from the GIS technical who was unable to come map the area because of previous family commitments.

[18] Since both of my parents are originally from Waycobah, I have numerous relatives living or are form there from either side of my family. Thus, almost every family in Waycobah is related to me. John is a very good LEK holder and has learned extensively from my mother and myself.

Membertou Geomatics as one of their MEK consultants[19] but once he found out that I was going to be there, he asked to tag along to learn more about doing cultural surveys from me. This was not an issue with me, as I am more than willing to share my LEK with others and I welcomed him to come assist me. Mr. Nicolaas Honig[20], of Atlier Vogel Studios, also accompanied me, in order to photograph the area, the plants and whatever else I wanted to record.

Mr. Kennedy then took us to the site and showed me the area under consideration. We had some preliminary conversations about the current zoning of the area within the park, the scale of the proposed development, its potential ecological footprint, the specific areas where it is anticipated that significant disturbance or permanent changes may occur, and other related issues. Mr. Kennedy, then left us to begin our survey. I had already informed Mr. Kennedy that I would not be collecting any specimens; thus no collecting permit was required or issued by Parks Canada.

We then proceeded to do a LEK survey of the plants, the rocks and general scan of the area under development consideration. I, also, noted other LEK items that require further study prior to approving or starting any construction. Our primary survey was about the identification, type and scope of the plants that are growing in the area. I started the survey at 10:15 and finished at 1:30pm.

Here are the results of our survey:

L'nuwey Ecological knowledge of Ke'kanakweje'ka'tik:

L'nuwey Pisun (Mi'kmaq Herbal Medicinal Plants)

1. Kawatkw — Picea glauca (Wasapeklaw-used as ointment, cold treatment, source of wood)
2. Pesaqanatkw — Sphagnum spps. (Used as diapers, water storage, menstrual pads, bandages)
3. Sesu'k — Scripps spps. (Used in weaving of mats for wigwams)
4. Sesu'klk — (a reed like grass used in pouch weavings).
5. E'pitowey — Oenethera biennis (women's medicine, regulating menses)
6. Sqoljmanaqsi'l — Iris versicolor (emetic)
7. Kisilapa'tko'tekemkew — Ranunculus spps. (Skin cancer treatment, minor surgery uses)
8. Pipukwesmanaqsi — Hieracium spps. (Expectorant)
9. not Pipikwanatql — Taraxacum officinale (food/green source)
10. Te'sipka'qsit — Trifolium spps (nectar source)
11. Essawiaqn — Galium spps (dyes for baskets, clothing, bedding material, insect repellent)

[19] The other MEK consultant that Membertou Geomatics uses is Mr. Lawrence Wells, who is an elder in residence at Unama'ki College, Cape Breton University.

[20] In spirit of full disclosure, Mr. Honig is my spouse, an excellent studio, nature, landscape photographer and he operates Atlier Vogel Studios from our home.

12. Temkwete'timkewel Viola spps. (Traditional dispute resolution, meditation)
13. Atuomkominaqsi Fragaria vesca (intestinal disorders, stomach ailments, food source)
14. Attu'tuejualu Achillaea millefolium (breaking fevers, induce sweats to combat infections, bruises, swellings, poultice)
15. Pakosi'jij Angelica lucida (infections, amulet)
16. Klitawmanaqsi'k Rubus idaeus (stomach ailments, intestinal disorders, food source)
17. Kaqwejmnal Empetrum nigrum (antifungal, antibacterial)
18. Wijikanipkl Plantago major (dressing, infection prevention, poultice)
19. Pkwimanaqsi Vaccinium angustifolium (food, diabetic prevention/control, antioxidant benefits)
20. Poqomann Vaccinium vitis-idaea (food source, urinary tract infections)
21. Maqtopkwimanaqsi Aronia melanocarpa (circulation and heart strengthening)
22. Ka'qipkwoqsi Kalmia angustifolia (foot ulcers wash).
23. Kl'jimanqsi Myrica pensylvanica (Smudge, spice, tonic)
24. Alawey Lathyrus palustris (food source)
25. Kisipaqka'luwejkl Rosa virginiana (scurvy, vitamin c source, facial wash, tonic)
26. Sapoqwqanipako'sit Maianthemum canadense (headaches, sore throats)
27. Kini'skweji'jik Juniperus communis (also alpine) (scalp treatment, lice control, dandruff, colds, influenza, lung disorders).
28. Wso'qmanaqsi'l Cornus canadensis (Emergency food source)
29. Maskwe'smanaqsi Prunus pensylvanica (food source, preserves)
30. Tupsi Alnus spps (astringent, dye, cultural toys, shelter & cultural uses i.e. sweat lodges).
31. Altaqiaqewel Lycopodium spps (cultural crafts, bedding)
32. Sewkewe'l Rumex acetosella (food source, spice)
33. Sewkewe'ljijl Oxalis acetosella (food source, spice, settling of stomach)
34. Katanpisun Rumex crispus (iron deficiency, women's medicine)
35. Amjaqa'taqnmanaqsi Artemesia stelleriana (Smudging, cleansing)
36. Mi'jimsiku Calystegia sepium (purgative)
37. Kjimskiku * Toxicodendron radicans (not used but avoided. Name is different outside of Unama'ki).
38. Kloqwejmanaqsi Trientalis borealis (used for consumption)
39. Miti Populus tremuloides (worm medicine)
40. Maskwi Betula papyrifera (large variety of uses, including treatment of eczema, canoes, basketry).
41. Ma'susi'l Pteridium aquilinum (liner for egg baskets, insect repellent).
42. Stoqn Abies balsamea (wigwam liners, insect repellent, colds, coughs)
43. Puku'kewij Abies balsamera sap (wounds, lungs, colds, pneumonia, consumption)
44. Wenju'sunaqsi Pyrus malus (food source)
45. Sukula'tieskl Equisetum hyemale (cleansing agent).
46. Ewlamkwa'teketjit Amelanchier spps (food source)
47. Malsnawey Acer rubrum (basketry-once cut, logs are called Kumujijapi)
48. Wopapa'kjukal Aralia nudicaulis (lung disorders, cystic fibrosis treatment)
49. Epsimusi Sorbus americana (food source)
50. Kapaqtejmusi'l Ribes hirtellum (food source)

51. Kinnickick — Arctostaphylos uva-ursi (tobacco mixtures, sacred smudge mixture, spiritual usages).
52. No'qomteskowey — Veronica serpyllifolia (cough medicine, learned from the French at Louisbourg).
53. Na'namaqsi — Potentilla anserina (food source, women's medicine for cramps)
54. Winiksinukowaqnmanaqsi — Ranunculus cymbalaria (veneral disease treatment).

Fishing

This area has been noted as a prime lobster fishing ground. The potential impact on the aboriginal/ treaty right to fishing by the L'nu needs to be seriously considered by everyone involved. Though it may be that, currently, the L'nu are not fishing in this area, this does not preclude the possibility they did so in the past and do so in the future as the L'nu move more and more toward the fishing industry for food, ceremonial, social or commercial usages. This area needs to be protected for any future exercise of the L'nu aboriginal and/or treaty rights to fishing.

I also found small pools of water at the edges of the granite outcrop containing small fish. These areas need to be investigated in more detail as they may be breeding pools for fish. More study is necessary to determine whether the breeding pools are important in the maintenance of certain fish species.

Avian species

The primary avian issue that presented itself during the survey was the appearance of a *Nanamiktes* (Actitis macularius). This bird was sounding a warning call and trying to lead us away from the the beach area (on the right hand side of the location). As a birder, I immediately noted the behaviour, identified the bird and realized that it was trying to lure us away from a possible nest. In my opinion this area is a possible nesting area for the *Nanamiktes*.

Some other avian species spotted during the survey were: *Watapji'jit* (Carduelis tristis), *Mui'aq* (Somateria mollissima), *Ta'taku'k* (Morus bassanus), and *Msikuwejk* (Melospiza melodia). I was not really looking for possible nesting or localized species but noted these as I was conducting my survey. However, as the *Ta'paku'k* and the *Mui'aq* are birds hunted by L'nu, and as their eggs are also traditionally gathered, any impact of the proposed development upon the Aboriginal and Treaty rights to hunt these species needs to be seriously considered.

Insects

A number of insect species were noted and found at the site. Further study is needed to find out about the types, occurrences, ranges, and whether there were any L'nu uses of, or cultural connections to, these insect species.

Geology

Pink Granite Quartz

The most surprising discovery was that of the large amount of quartz crystals present in the geology of the area. Virtually all of the pink granite contained quartz crystals. This is a significant cultural issue and may be the most important one of all.

The L'nu worldview is how the L'nu see the ecological world around them and what their roles are in this world. This worldview is expressed through the language, the songs, the ceremonies and the

stories that have been passed down from one generation to another. The L'nuk have stories that explain how they came to this area, how they came to being, how the lessons that are contained in the ecological landscape are taught to successive generations and how things came to be.

KLUSKAP: THE GOD OF THE L'NU

A very significant part of the L'nu worldview is the stories of Kluskap, a spiritual leader, prophet, and god-like being with supernatural powers. Kluskap and the stories about him, his pets, his canoe and the like, all explain, encode and express the worldview of the L'nu. There are stories, carefully and lovingly transmitted through innumerable generations, about Kluskap breaking his canoes, fighting Abamu, and bringing water to the L'nu, his family and his travels around the world, etc.

A central teaching theme in many stories about Kluskap is that wherever he lay or sat down to rest, he did so on a bed of crystal, either quartz or amethyst. For traditional L'nu people, the appearance of crystal is evidence of where Kluskap rested. It is clear that Green Cove would be seen one of those places and traditional L'nuk would naturally have used this place as teaching area to tell the stories about Kluskap.

There are significant stories about Kluskap living in this area, close as it is to Kluskap's cave (Cape Dauphin) and the bird islands where remnants of his canoes are believed to exist. There are still offerings and treks made to this area by L'nuk from all over Atlantic Canada. Folks come to make offerings, pray and generally experience one of the spiritually significant areas to traditional L'nuk.

The presence of quartz crystals (in significant qualities) would be considered strong evidence of L'nu usage of the area as a spiritual site. At the very least this site would be known as one of the places where Kluskap rested. This knowledge has been saved only through oral history and has been subject to colonization pressure. This particular L'nu ecological knowledge needs to be brought out and any impact from the building of the Mother Canada statues has to be considered in light of how it would destroy the quartz crystals that, for the L'nu, is evidence of Kluskap's presence in Unama'ki.

HISTORICAL L'NU USE & OCCUPATION

There is ample historical and archaeological evidence to prove occupation and use of the area by Saqa'wek L'nuk (Paleo-Indians and Maritime Archaic peoples). Archaeological field work conducted in the area in the 1970's disclosed numerous artefacts produced at a local L'nuk quarry on Ingonish

Island, including high-quality spear-points and blades crafted from rhyolite material. Rather than go into a significant examination and discussion of the archaeological history of L'nuk (including Saqa'wekaq-the Old L'nuk), I would like to reference the report by Mr. Ken Donovan, retired Parks Canada Historian that is attached as an appendix[21] to this report. I fully concur this Mr. Donovan's report and adopt it as part of my report (although it can very well stand on its own). This approach is in keeping with the Etuaptumk methodology used in my site survey visit.

Accessibility

I wish to make a note about harvesting accessibility of traditional medicines. Before European contact, the L'nu lived and made use of all of the land in Mi'kma'kik.[22] Today, seventy-six (76%) percent of Nova Scotia is private land and 24% is considered Crown land but 13% of this is designated protected lands (provincial, municipal or federal parks or game reserves/sanctuaries). The CBNHP also takes up a sizeable chunk of land and resources that would have been used by the L'nuk. This leaves, perhaps a maximum of only 18% of Nova Scotia land (excluding anything that is under license for other uses such as pulp and paper companies). The L'nuk cannot exercise their Aboriginal and Treaty rights to this land and are left with a minuscule area in which to gather traditional medicines. This area of Green Cove is currently inaccessible or cannot be used by the L'nuk in the exercise of their Aboriginal/Treaty rights, but this could be changed as a result of negotiations with Parks Canada over the CBHNP management plan.[23]

While many of the traditional medical plants used and listed here may be deemed fairly common by western biologist or botanists, the main cultural point is that these "common plants" are *not* readily accessible to the L'nuk. The argument that the L'nuk can harvest common plants alongside the road is misleading, as such plants are generally heavily contaminated and are no longer accessible or useful to the L'nuk. The primary requirements for traditional plant harvest is that the plants need to be pristine condition or have grown in non-polluted conditions. As this eliminates many areas of the province, the L'nu have sought out areas near national or provincial parks to try and ensure that the plants they harvest are pristine.

This is a very significant issue that both the L'nu leadership and Parks Canada need to address and resolve. Currently, if the L'nu were to try to utilize Green Cove for any spiritual, ecological or medicinal gathering purposes and without a permit issued under the Parks management plan, they would run the risk of being in violation of the *Canada National Parks Act*. [24]

If the *Never Forgotten Foundation* is able to build the *Mother Canada* monument it would forever eliminate the possibility of the L'nuk ever having the opportunity to exercise their Aboriginal and Treaty rights in an area that is considered pristine. The *Mother Canada* proponents will argue that the

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[21] Appendix "B"

[22] Mi'kma'kik refers to the land of the L'nu or the Mi'kmaq. It encompasses current day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Gaspe' area of Quebec and northern Maine.

[23] http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/ns/cbreton/plan.aspx

[24] Canada National Parks Act, S.C. 2000, c.32.

"footprint" impact is minuscule to the L'nuk but the reality is that this development, if allowed to proceed, will deprive the L'nuk of yet another piece of their worldview and culture.

Conclusion

The Green Cove site has been used by the L'nu prior to contact, after contact and before the creation of the CBHNP. However, it remains inaccessible for usage by contemporary L'nuk other than what is allowed under the existing CBHNP management rules. If the proposed *Mother Canada* development were to proceed, any future use of the area and any future exercise of any Aboriginal and Treaty Rights by the L'nu would be extinguished. This would have a tremendous impact on the aboriginal and treaty right of the L'nu to hunting, fishing, gathering of medicines and practicing their culture in a place that is clearly significant both culturally and spiritually for the L'nuk.

Issues to be considered in any consultation process

- **The significant impact on or elimination of any aboriginal and treaty rights to hunting, fishing and harvesting of traditional medicines in the Green Cove Area.** This is not to be taken lightly or dismissed out of hand just because the "footprint" is small compared to the rest of the province. Anytime there is a potential extinguishment of Aboriginal and/or Treaty Rights, whether through express intent or benign denial of accessibility to the L'nu through conversion, is a matter that needs to be taken seriously.
- **The significant impact of destroying part of the cultural worldview of the L'nu, specifically the sacred stories about Kluskap resting on quartz crystal.** This L'nuwita'simk (worldview) is part and parcel of the identity and cultural experience of the L'nu people and the proposed Mother Canada monument will served to destroy this L'nuk cultural connection to Ke'kanakweje'ka'tik (Green Cove).
- **The elimination of another part of Unama'ki from being used by the L'nu** (even though it is very small part of the overall area), adding to the larger (and huge) loss of land to the Mi'kmaq. This is a trauma that has been inflicted over and over again on the L'nu. Rather than allowing the *Mother Canada* development to take this area out of L'nu hands forever, the CBNHP should seriously consider giving the land back to the L'nu.
- **Rather than permitting the *Mother Canada* development, it makes more sense for the CBNHP to reconsider designating the Green Cove area as an "Important L'nu Ecological Site" ("ILES")** and promote the traditional history, culture, language and spirituality of the original inhabitants of the area, the L'nuk.
- **If the project is to proceed, a starting point in accommodating the concerns of the L'nuk people would be to change the design of the *Mother Canada* statue.** Most L'nuk would see the current design as an image of an oversize, dominant Catholic nun. Given the recent release of the Truth & Reconciliation report, the design needs to be reexamined so as not to remind L'nu's of the cultural genocide and rampant abuse practiced at the Shubenacadie Residential School.

Retired Parks Canada Historian (Responds to the Detailed Impact Analysis (DIA): the Never Forgotten Memorial, Cape Breton Highlands National Park Monument, 7 June 2015.

Brief Background

I am a retired historian from Parks Canada with 35 years' service in Cape Breton. I am a native of Ingonish and still live there for much of the year. I have published widely on the social and cultural history of Cape Breton, including Ingonish and Green Cove. (For almost half of my 70 historical publications, see the link below my signature block.) I have also interviewed approximately 200 people on audio tape from the Ingonish area over the past 40 years. Many of these people lived and worked at Green Cove including my great grand aunt, Annie Belle (Donovan) Gillis, 1874-1980. The typed transcript of her interview is 18 legal-size pages and available as a PDF.

Critique: the Detailed Impact Analysis.

Green Cove is a unique site

The Detailed Impact Analysis is not detailed. Rather, it is a document full of half-truths and misleading statements. The best part of the document are the engineering specifications for the construction of the monument, hardly surprising since Stantec is the both design engineer for the monument and did the environmental assessment. This is clearly a conflict of interest.

The DIA states that "the residual effects of the project on the environment are generally predicted to be negligible to moderate in magnitude…." (DIA, p. vii) Dr. Sandra Barr, one of Canada's most accomplished geologists, strongly disagrees. Barr has authored more than 200 scientific publications, many focused on Nova Scotia rocks. Moreover, she has taken her class on field trips to Green Cove over the past 35 years.

At a meeting in Sydney, N.S. on 2 June 2015 Dr. Barr stated that 25 percent of Green Cove will be destroyed outright by the construction of the monument. The rest of the headland will be inaccessible due to the size of the base for the monument and the accompanying infrastructure. Green Cove has a granite

outcropping known as the Black Brook Granite suite that extends for 26,000 hectares within the northern part of the park . The iconic pink granite is only one part of a complex intrusion at Green Cove. The site is remarkable because it is one of the few places that are accessible for public viewing, due to the wave-washed surface of the outcrop that reveals many details of colour and texture. According to Dr Barr- and this is a key point- the granite outcropping is inaccessible because it is covered by soil and dense vegetation. According to Dr Barr, Green Cove is unique and therefore it is one of the few proposed geo heritage sites advocated by the Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources.

This site is unique in Canada and it just happens to be located within Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Does Parks Canada want to destroy a unique, natural feature? Does Parks Canada want this destruction to be part of its legacy? Where is the good governance? Where is the due diligence?

Ethical Issues for Parks Canada

If this project goes ahead as planned, I believe it has the potential to do great harm to Parks Canada's reputation at the regional, national and international levels.

When the land was expropriated for Cape Breton Highlands National Park in 1936, there was an understanding that the land, flora and wildlife would be protected. People had to give up their land, including the right to fish, hunt and cut wood within the National Park. (There were 70 homes and 300 private landowners within the park, including those at Green Cove). I interviewed GWR Creighton, the man who did the expropriations in 1936, on three separate occasions. For summary see Ken Donovan, "Wilfred Creighton and the Expropriations: Clearing Land for the National Park, 1936", *Cape Breton's Magazine*, no. 69, 1996, pp. 1-20. [interview] I have researched and published on the expropriations so I know this topic intimately.

Is this large monument an appropriate development in a National Park?

I very much support our veterans, but a national park is not an appropriate place to locate such a monument. My father, who lives in Ingonish and landed at Juno Beach in 1944, is a WWII veteran and my grandfather, who was from Meat Cove/ Bay St Lawrence, was a WWI veteran. My father, by the way, is not in favour of

the monument.

Up to now, Parks Canada has been one of the bastions of protection for the environment in Canada. Parks Canada has among the strictest environmental protection in the world. We need to protect the environment for future generations. Is this an appropriate development in a National Park? The building of this large monument and associated infrastructure is contrary to the National Parks Act. Subsection 4 (1) of the Canadian National Parks Act states: "the parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for future generations." Section 10 of the National Parks Act Regulations under the authority of the National Parks Act states: "No person shall remove, deface damage or display any flora or natural objects in a Park."

Finally, the mandate of Parks Canada states: "On behalf of the people of Canada, we protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage and foster public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment in ways that ensure the ecological and commemorative integrity of these places for present and future generations. If the proposal to build a large monument and associated infrastructure at Green Cove is not a legitimate 'park management purpose', then it follows that it is contrary to the *Canada National Parks Act* - the very legislation that has been established to protect our national parks.

Parks Canada appears to be breaking the laws by which it is governed. These laws may be overcome by legal loop holes but the spirit of the law will be broken. Parks Canada risks losing the confidence of the Canadian people. If anyone doubts this lack of confidence, please examine the wide opposition to this project throughout the country and the scepticism that it has provoked.

The Process

Since the Never Forgotten National Memorial is to be a national memorial proposed for Parks Canada land, the memorial should be selected by public process. Instead, a private -interest group has spurred this development and it is directing the process. Since when is Parks Canada governed by private interests? Parks Canada: do you have any ethical concerns about this project? Where is the leadership?

The Never Forgotten National Memorial will destroy Cultural Resources at Green Cove

Evidence of Human Occupation at Green Cove from Pre Contact to the Present.

The DIA states on p. 36 that "there is low archaeological potential at the site." This in incorrect. There is evidence of Pre Contact people at Green Cove. Did the archaeological research design, submitted as part of the permit application, include testing, screening, etc., for pre-contact lithics, given that a pre-contact biface was located in Green Cove during an archaeological survey in 1982? A water worn, chipped stone artifact was found at Green Cove (15B17) during the 1982 archaeological survey by Doug Ross. The exact form (uniface/biface/tool fragment) of this artifact cannot be determined due to the heavy wear. The 1982 investigation was limited to surface survey, no testing was conducted. Thus there is potential for a pre-contact site at Green Cove. For evidence of Pre Contact occupation in the Ingonish /Green Cove area, see Ken Donovan, "Precontact and Settlement: Ingonish and Northern Cape Breton From the Paleo Indians to the 18th century" *The Nashwaak Review*, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, vols. 22-23, (Spring- Summer 2009), pp. 330-87. This publication is available at the link below and I have also attached a copy.

Occupation of Green Cove from the 16th to 20th century

There is a great deal of evidence to support the constant movement of the Mi'kmaq throughout Green Cove and northern Cape Breton. Since the 1520's the Bretons, Normans and Basques were also fishing off and out of Ingonish and using Green Cove as a *petit degrat*, a temporary fishing station. Green Cove always had rich fishing grounds and still does. There is documentary evidence to support this and Ingonish families at Green Cove were digging French artifacts out of the grown when planting their gardens. (Interview of Walter LeFriend, 6 February 1985). Ingonish fishermen and their families moved to this summer fishing station for much of the 19th century and continued to do so until the mid-1950's. I have attached a map of house locations at Green Cove in 1886, based on the AF Church's map and census of households.

By April 1901 there were eight permanent families at Green Cove, a small fishing station some seven miles north of Middle Head. The eight permanent families included Ann and John McNeil, Esther and Joseph MacKinnon, Sarah and John Roberts, Catharine and Henry Dupe, Sarah and James Dupe, Melinda and Donald McKinnon, Annie and Donald McLellan and Jane and Thomas McLellan for a total of 44 residents Annie Belle Donovan recalled that she often walked barefoot from her home in the Clyburn Valley to Green Cove during the 1880's and the 1890's to her family's summer fish house. As a young girl, Annie Belle, who was born in 1874, worked in her uncle George Brewer and uncle Jed Donovan's lobster factory at Green Cove. The Irish Catholic fishermen were joined by other fishing families from North Bay, Ingonish, and from Neil's Harbour as well as communities farther north in Cape Breton. (See Ken Donovan,"Mary Grace Barron and the Irish of Ingonish, Cape Breton, 1822-1999," *The Nashwaak Review*, Fredericton, New Brunswick, St. Thomas University, Number 6-7 (Fall, 1999), 177-237.)This publication is available at the link below and I have also attached it.

The DIA refers to the 19th and 20th century occupation of Green Cove and notes "there are no visible signs of these structures today…." The report also states: "Based on initial cultural resource scans, it is unlikely that human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony would be discovered during construction of the NFNMC." p.36

I know and can prove that there are cultural remains at Green Cove. On a field trip to Green Cove on 6 July 2008 my friends and I found house remains and other artifacts. One house with had a dry stone foundtion, measured 24 by 15 feet, and had various artifacts lying within the house on the surface. These artifacts included stove parts, ceramics, earthenware items as well as parts of glass bottles. (Ken Donovan, Field notes, 6 July 2008) Nothing was touched or disturbed. At the time, I attempted to encourage Parks Canada managers to investigate these archaeological resources but my requests were not successful.

Visitor Experience at Green Cove

There is tremendous potential to interpret Green Cove and its settlement by aboriginal people and Europeans over the past 10,000 years. Leave everything in its natural state and use the natural and cultural resources (archaeological,

documentary) that are available. Parks Canada is not aware of the rich cultural resources it has at Green Cove. The proposed monument will destroy the opportunity to interpret these resources for future visitors.

In conclusion, I am appalled by what is happening at Green Cove. I worked as an historian for Parks Canada for 35 years and I was proud of my employer. To see what is now proposed, goes against the values Parks Canada built up over many years.

Sincerely,

Ken Donovan

Ken Donovan

Precontact and Settlement: Ingonish and Northern Cape Breton From the Paleo-Indians to the 18th Century

Introduction

Due to the mountainous terrain of the Cape Breton Highlands, Ingonish and northern Cape Breton remained relatively isolated from the outside world until the 1960s. Located north of Smokey Mountain, Ingonish was inaccessible by road throughout much of the 19th and the 20th centuries. The communities of northern Cape Breton gradually became more accessible to the outside world but progress was slow. The mail was carried from St. Ann to Ingonish in 1853 by horseback or on foot once a week yet in practice postal delivery to the community remained irregular throughout the 19th century. Telegraph service was extended to Ingonish in 1879 so the community had communication with much of North America.[1] With the beginning of the steamship *Aspy* in 1909, passengers and freight were shipped from Sydney and North Sydney to northern Cape Breton on a regular schedule.[2] In 1929 the ferry line began a twice- weekly service that continued until 1964 with successive vessels known as the *Aspy II* and *Aspy III*.[3]

Yet, even with the introduction of the steam ferries, the communities north of Smokey remained isolated. During the winter, as late as the 1940s, people usually walked to Little Bras d'Or or North Sydney stopping for a rest with hospitable neighbours at Smokey and along the way.[4] Some individuals travelled over Smokey by horse and sleigh but this was only possible if weather permitted and the snow was not too deep.[5] Since Ingonish and most of rural Cape Breton had a cashless economy during the 1920s and 1930s,[6] many people could not afford the ticket prices on the *Aspy* and thus they relied on local fishing boats for travel.[7] Besides isolation, the communities of northern Cape Breton have endured years of chronic economic underdevelopment. Victoria County, of the 18 counties in Nova Scotia, remains the least populated and has among the lowest per

Ken Donovan, "Precontact and Settlement: Ingonish and Northern Cape Breton From the Paleo Indians to the 18th century" The Nashwaak Review, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, vols. 22-23, (Spring- Summer 2009), pp. 330-87.

capita income in the province. This may explain why northern Cape Breton has received little scholarly attention, in spite of a long history of aboriginal and European occupation.

This paper, based on archaeological, documentary, cartographic and oral evidence, presents an overview of precontact activities as well as European interaction with the Mi'kmaq in Ingonish and Northern Cape Breton from the 16th to the 18th centuries. European settlement in northern Cape Breton began shortly after the voyages of John Cabot in 1497 and 1498. The great majority of fishing voyages to Cape Breton waters in the 16th century were shore-based operations. Temporary in nature, there was no intention to establish a permanent residence, yet fishermen started to winter over during the early 16th century and this was the beginning of first contact with the Mi'kmaq in northern Cape Breton.

Precontact Aboriginal Settlement in Ingonish

Archaeological excavation has unearthed a rich aboriginal presence in Ingonish for thousands of years dating back to the Paleo-Indians and the Maritime Archaic peoples. Paleo-Indians, North America's first peoples, adapted to the changing climate as the glaciers gradually melted. Constantly on the move, they hunted big-game animals such as mastodons, mammoths, caribou and long-horn bison. During the 1960s the first human occupation in the region was discovered at Debert, Nova Scotia dating back to 10,600 years. The Paleo-Indians may have existed from 15,000 to 6,000 years ago but a more cautious estimate places the time frame from 12,500 to 7,000 years ago.[8] The Paleo-Indian peoples eventually gave way to Archaic cultures. Paleo-Indians relied on chipped-stone tools whereas Archaic cultures developed sophisticated techniques for grinding and polishing their stone tools. It is thought that Archaic peoples lived in Atlantic Canada from 10,000 to 2,500 years ago.[9]

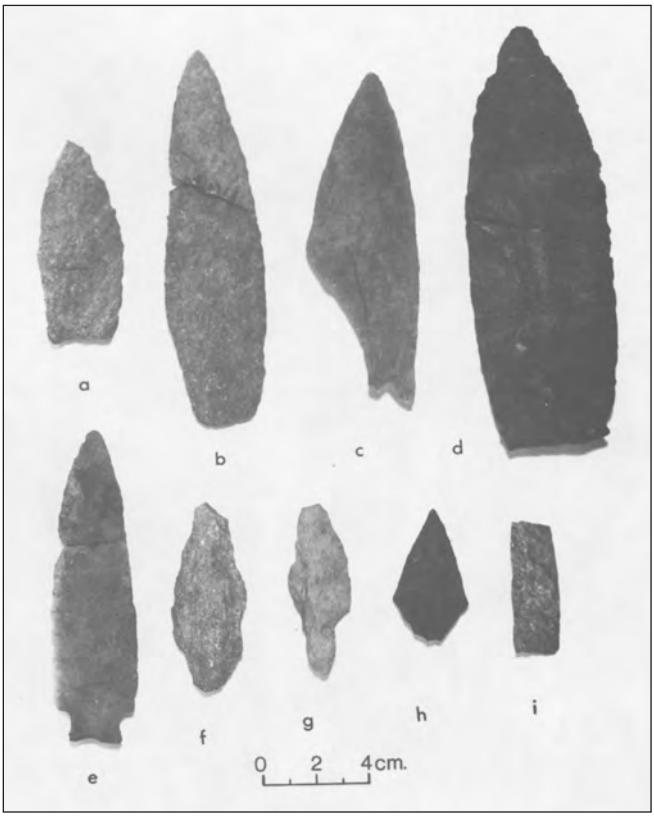
Two seasons of archaeological field work on Ingonish Island in 1975 and 1976 yielded much precontact aboriginal material. Archaeologist Ron Nash, who discovered the quarry site and conducted the excavation, noted that most of the arti-

facts were Archaic but there was evidence of Paleo-Indians, the earliest North American peoples. The archaeological excavation, a workshop and quarry site, is known as *Geganisg*, a Mi'kmaq name meaning remarkable place. Ingonish Island has an outcrop of rhyolite, a volcanic rock on the northwest side. A dark-grey stone, rhyolite was quarried and fashioned into knives, spear points, blanks, and large tools. Some 40 boxes of artifacts were removed from the excavated quarry site measuring 85 square metres on the western side of the Island, facing Jackson's Point at Ingonish.

Aerial photograph of Ingonish Island facing southeast. The arrow indicates the approximate location of the quarry site and workshop (Bill Budge)

Nash found a smaller version of the quarry above a beach on the precipitous north east side of the Island. Two tons of the cultural material were excacated including waste flakes and cores, plus a small number of broken tools, but no pottery and practically no bone or shell. The vast majority of the artifacts were of Archaic origin but there was one spear point, measuring 7.9 x 3.2 x 0.9 cm, believed to be Paleo-Indian. [10] (See figure 2 a.) This material has been stored at the Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History in Halifax.

Although a fairly large site, the excavation was complex and presented interpretative difficulties. There were three separate layers in the excavation but practically all of the excavated points (see figure 2, b, e, g, i) were found at the gravel or bottom level "measuring from 19 to 26 cm. deep". Comparative analysis of the material was difficult because the site was a quarry and workshop area and therefore not like a typical village. There was also evidence of some disturbance during the French regime, 18th century and possibly earlier, as well from the post French regime occupation of the Island. [11] Today, some of the site has eroded into the sea and thus Nash's excavation has preserved the cultural material for future generations.

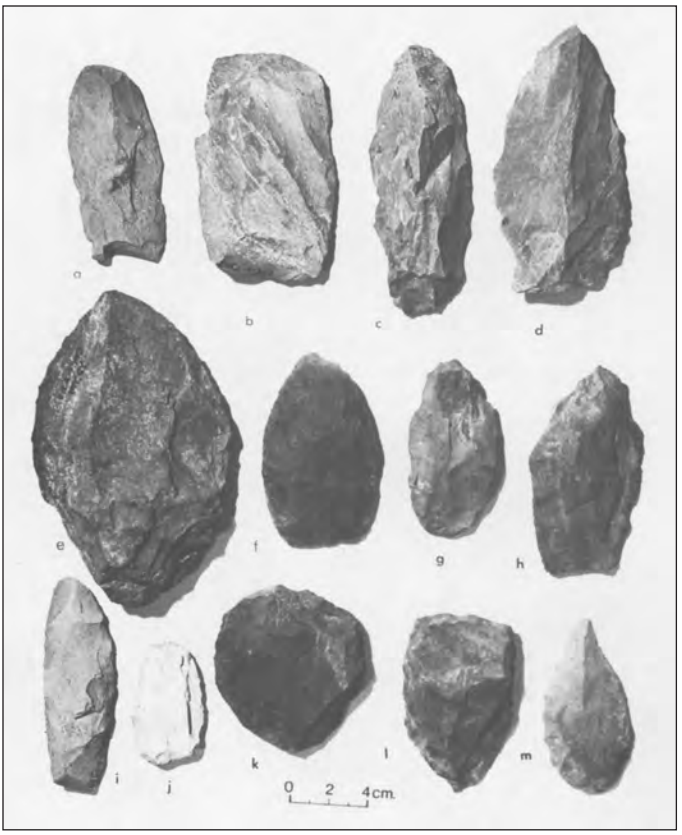


Ron Nash identified (2b & c) as spear points ; (2d) may have been used as a knife or harpoon blade; (e) was "a large corner-removed point"; (f) an unfinished stem point; (g) "a small, tapered stem point" (h) a pentagonal point and (i)a possible parallel-sided point.

At the time of the Ingonish Island excavation in 1975-76 there were few precontact sites available in Atlantic Canada but since then more excavations have allowed better comparisons. Since the Ingonish Island rhyolite has distinctive characteristics, it has been relatively easy to identify in various excavations in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. An igneous rock, rhyolite has a rich silicone composition and the rhyolites on Cape Breton and mainland Nova Scotia are reddish to light pink to cream in colour. The Ingonish Island rhyolite, however, ranges from "dark grey to black and show well preserved flow banding." Sandra Barr, a geologist at Acadia University, has published a petrological study of the metavolcanic rocks on Ingonish Island and the nearby Clyburn Brook area. Barr analyzed 23 representative samples, five from Ingonish Island and 18 from the Clyburn. She demonstrated scientific, petrological differences between Ingonish Island and mainland Cape Breton rhyolites.[12]

Ingonish Island Rhyolite Ideal for Tools

Since it has such high silica content, the Ingonish rock and other rhyolites produce conchoidal fractures, meaning that it will break with an uneven fracture that usually has a sharp edge, making it ideal for arrowheads, knives, scrappers and other tools. This type of fracture normally has a scallop shell appearance. The cleavage, according to Barr, was "present only locally [on Ingonish Island] and may be related to small shear zones."[13] To complement the cleavage, the rhyolite has a harness ideal for tools since it is as hard as steel. Although Mohs' scale is usually used to describe minerals, rocks can also be ranked on a relative basis. The Ingonish rhyolite, on a scale of 1 to 10, ranked at a seven, harder than a steel file that has a hardness of 6.5. The rhyolite was equal in hardness to chert or flint, which has a chemical composition of 100% silica. The Ingonish Island rhyolite was also exceptional because it is slightly magnetic, meaning that a magnet is attracted to the sample because of magnetic minerals, probably magnetite (Fe304). Volcanic rocks are usually not magnetic.[14]



Nash selected "large percussion flaked specimens, most often knives" for this photo (3d-f, i, j,m); (a) a single gouge like implement; (b) a rectangular knife; (c) a pick; (k) a circular knife or scraper;(i) a plano-convex adze.

Ingonish Island Rhyolite Traded in the Region

Archaeological excavation of similar lithics from sites throughout Atlantic Canada over the past 25 years has revealed that that there was social interaction among precontact peoples throughout the region and beyond. Aboriginal people travelled long distances and had contact with people in distant regions. Ramah chert, an excellent tool-making stone, indigenous to Northern Labrador, has been found at sites as far south as New England. Archaeologist James Tuck refers to a Maritime Archaic tradition that extended from Maine to Northern Labrador and from Newfoundland to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Maritime

Archaic peoples, part of the Coastal Late Archaic, according to this interpretation, lived along the coast from the time of the Paleo-Indians to European settlement.[15]

The Archaic peoples, like the Paleo-Indians before them, relied on hunting, gathering and fishing and there was doubtless cultural interaction or trade between coastal and interior peoples. Due to shoreline submergence, coastal erosion and global climate change melting the polar ice, it is difficult to find similar evidence of the activities of people after the time of Debert in the Maritime Provinces.[16] Since Ingonish Island is protected by rock on almost all sides, it is an ideal location that has preserved the evidence of the activities of the quarry site.

The history of precontact peoples of the Maritimes changes as new archaeological excavations and theories emerge. Lithic fingerprinting studies enable archaeologists to map the geographic distribution of "sourced lithic material, which in turn may provide reliable clues about precontact communication networks."[17] David Keenleyside and Helen Kristmanson, through archaeological investigations over the past 20 to 30 years, have revealed that there was social interaction among precontact aboriginal peoples throughout the Maritimes.[18] Ingonish rhyolite has been excavated at sites across Prince Edward Island, northern Nova Scotia and occasionally at sites along the northeast shore of New Brunswick. On Prince Edward Island the rhyolite "is associated with some of the earliest cultural deposits, perhaps associated with late Paleo-Indian period. Predominantly, it is seen in late pre-contact sites after about 1500 years ago and is a favored material for large blades and spear points. As you move westward across the Island's north shore its occurrence tends to diminish, however a site we recently identified just west of Malpeque Bay showed quite a bit of Ingonish material."[19]

European Contact - Ingonish and Northern Cape Breton

The Norse were the first Europeans to arrive in Atlantic Canada approximately 1,000 years ago. In 1961 a Norse encampment was authenticated at L'Anse Aux Meadows on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula. Scholars today generally

agree that L'Anse Aux Meadows was a base camp for further exploration into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Norse encounter with North America, however, was brief and they failed to establish a permanent European settlement.[20] The European fishery expanded to the New World shortly after John Cabot's voyages in 1497 and 1498 it and may even have preceded it. Some of the first fishermen to cross the Atlantic at the beginning of the 16th century were the French and the Portuguese followed by the Basques who fished cod and dried them ashore. Soon, fishermen of Breton, Norman and Basque origin were coming to fish off Cape Breton, including Ingonish. By the 1520s various sources suggest that Breton fishermen had begun a migratory fishery to Cape Breton.[21] Between 60 and 90 French ships sailed to the Avalon, the Gaspe and Cape Breton during the 1520s.[22] Ingonish, long known for its rich fishing grounds, was one of the key Cape Breton ports of this migratory fishery. Writing in 1672, Nicolas Denys (1598-1688), one of the leading figures in Acadia, stated that Ingonish was the first place occupied on the coast because the fishing there was good and prime. By prime, Denys meant that the fish was plentiful and caught early in the season.[23] The great majority of fishing voyages to Cape Breton waters in the 16th -century were shore-based operations. Temporary in nature, there was no intention to establish a permanent residence, yet fishermen started to over winter during the early 16th century.[24]

Portuguese Settlement in Ingonish

During the late 19th and 20th century there were a number of publications describing the Portuguese settlement of Ingonish in the early years of the sixteenth century.[25] Historians and writers such as George Patterson, John Bourinot, Clara Dennis and Samuel Elliot Morrison maintained that Ingonish was the site of the Portuguese settlement of Joao Alvares de Fagundes sometime between 1521 and 1525.[26] These publications relied upon accounts of Portuguese explorers such as Francisco de Souza, whose *Tratado da Ilhas Novas* had been written in 1570. Souza's manuscript, believed lost during the "Great Lisbon Earthquake"

of 1 November 1755, was eventually found in smaller, provincial libraries throughout Portugal and published in 1877. Approximately 100 copies were distributed to repositories throughout Europe and America. The preface to the 1877 publication was significant because it referred to "the establishment of a Portuguese colony on Cape Breton Island at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century." [27] Within the manuscript, Francisco de Souza named Cape Breton, "as well as a coast that runs north and a beautiful bay" as the Portuguese settlement location. Emily Burton, in a recent graduate thesis on Portuguese 16th century settlement, has noted that most historians have agreed that de Souza was correct in "naming *cabo de Britao* as an area that corresponds to present-day Cape Breton."[28]

Seventeenth-century explorers and writers such as Samuel de Champlain (1613) and Joan de Laet (1625) also wrote that Ingonish was the possible location of 16th century Portuguese settlement. In his work published in 1613, Champlain, renowned as the father of New France, noted that fishing was carried on primarily at English Harbour [Louisbourg] and Niganis [Ingonish]. "The Portuguese formerly attempted to settle upon this island, and passed a winter there but the rigour of this season and the cold made them abandon their settlement."[29] Champlain had visited Ingonish and eventually became familiar with much of the Nova Scotia coastline. By 1633 Johannes de Laet's history of the New World, *Novus Orbis*, published in Latin at Leiden, noted that Port Ningani was the Portuguese settlement site. [30] The first Dutch edition of *Novus Orbis*, had appeared in 1625 as *Nieuwe Werldt* and de Laet's description of Ingonish was similar to Champlain's written account. [31] It was typical of historical writers as late as the 20th century, to use the research and writing of others without giving credit to the original authors.

Writing in 1890, George Patterson relied upon oral and archaeological remains to argue that there had been Portuguese settlement at Ingonish. There were on Ingonish Island and at Jackson's Point "within the memory of the last generation, what were called mounds, which were probably the remains of an earthwork fortification, but which have now been levelled so as

to be scarcely discernible. These were believed by many to be older than the French era, and might have been the work of the Portuguese."[32] A recent publication confirmed that there was oral evidence in Ingonish of Portuguese settlement in the community. Geoffrey Cornish, a golf course architect who worked with Stanley Thompson on the construction of Cape Breton Highlands Links Golf Course in 1938-39, believed that an early burial ground at the mouth of the Clyburn River was of Portuguese origin.[33] Cornish relied on the word of Peter Henry Dauphinee (1881-1975), an elder and tradition bearer in the community. Peter Henry Dauphinee was the grandson of Peter Christopher Dauphinee (born 1799) who had settled in Ingonish during the 1830s with his wife Mary Ann Donovan (born 1809) and their four daughters.[34] There were numerous other oral testimonies describing this cemetery from people such as Earle Donovan (1913- 2000) and John Dauphinee (1914-2004), among others.[35]

The Portuguese or French cemetery was located in a beautiful location on a drumlin parallel to the fourth fairway of the golf course. Located on high ground facing east, the drumlin formed part of the south bank of the Clyburn River. Stanley Thompson, the golf architect who designed Cape Breton Highlands Links, identified the site of the cemetery on a golf course plan dated 16 January 1939.[36] W.F. Lothian, in his *History of Canada's National Parks,* also noted that the site of an early graveyard was discovered at Ingonish in 1938 during the construction of the golf course. [37] The graveyard may well have been Breton, Norman or Basque since these people had fished out of communities such as Ingonish since the mid-1520s.[38]

Historians must adopt a cautious approach to the alleged Portuguese settlement of Ingonish. The Portuguese had stayed only one winter in Cape Breton. Moreover, early writers such as Patterson, Bourinot and Dennis were amateur historians and they tended to base interpretations on slender pieces of evidence. To date, there has been no archaeological evidence that there was a Portuguese settlement in Ingonish.[39] Parks Canada archaeologists and historians recently toured the cemetery in July 2008 and found what appeared to be numerous grave depressions.[40] The

graveyard, identified as a cultural resource, will be investigated by archaeologists.

Even though the graveyard may well be Breton, Norman or Basque, Emily Burton nevertheless has argued that the Ingonish oral testimony describing the cemetery at the Clyburn estuary as Portuguese was significant because it gave increased credibility to the belief that Ingonish was the site of the Fagundes' settlement.[41] Although Burton emphasized a cautious approach to the alleged Portuguese settlement of Ingonish, she also noted that Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad discovered L'Anse Aux Meadows, the first authenticated Norse site in North America, partly through oral testimony. In 1960 George Decker, an elder in the community, pointed out ancient mounds to the Ingstads that proved to be the Norse site at the tip of northern Newfoundland.[42]

Ingonish and Cape Breton Settlement - the Seventeenth Century

The French, long familiar with Ingonish and other Cape Breton fishing outposts, had been fishing there since time immemorial, according to an anonymous memoir published in 1706. Harold Innis, an authority on the history of the cod fishery, identified a fishery at Ingonish in 1604. [43] Hundreds of ships came to the harbours and coves of Aspy Bay, Ingonish, St. Ann, Little Bras d'Or, Sydney and Lingan. Prior to 1713, however, there were only a few fishermen staying over winter in Cape Breton.[44] James Stewart, Fourth Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish explorer, was the first European to attempt a permanent settlement of Cape Breton in 1629. Stewart constructed a fortified post, Fort Rosemar, at Baleine, a few kilometres north of Louisbourg. That attempt at settlement was short lived because Charles Daniel, a French captain and founder of Fort Saint-Anne, raided Ochiltree's settlement later that summer. With the help of the captured prisoners, Daniel built Fort Saint Anne at Saint Ann and that outpost lasted until 1641. [45] A decade later, Nicolas Denys (1752) attempted a permanent settlement for France, this time with more success. The fishing and fur-trading fortified post he established at St. Peters survived until it was destroyed by fire in 1668-89. [46]

Exploratory Missions to St. Anne's and Ingonish, 1692 to 1713

Prior to the their removal from Newfoundland to Cape Breton in 1713, the French sent a number of exploratory missions to Cape Breton to examine the resources of the island and to investigate harbours suitable for settlement. Nicolas Denys's grand nephew, Louis Denys De La Ronde, was one of a number of delegates who visited the coast of Cape Breton seeking suitable locales as well as making charts of the various harbours and reporting on his observations. A naval officer and garrison captain at Placentia, De La Ronde was an experienced navigator who knew the coast from Newfoundland to New England. [47] After surveying Cape Breton, Denys wrote from English Harbour (later named Louisbourg) on 13 October 1713 that he had visited St. Ann and saw the wheat fields that his grandfather (Simon Denys) had planted some 60 years earlier. The Mi'kmaq maintained that the fields produced "the most beautiful wheat in the world". He also tasted apples from the trees that his grandfather had planted during the 1650s. He "strongly recommended" that a settlement be established at St. Ann because the codfish was abundant and the land was good for farming. Moreover, he noted that St. Ann was near Bras d'Or and only five leagues from Ingonish, "where the cod fishery began earlier than any other part of the island".[48] The cod appeared first on the coast at Ingonish and this was a recurring theme in assessments of the Cape Breton fishing grounds.

Besides Louis De La Ronde, Joseph Guyon, a ship's pilot from Quebec, and Jean-Baptiste Hertel De Rouville, a captain in the garrison at Placentia, were also sent to explore Cape Breton during the summer of 1713. Guyon, who had an excellent knowledge of the coast of Cape Breton from Cape North to English Harbour, maintained that Ingonish and St. Ann were the best locales for the inshore fishery.[49] By the summer of 1714 Guyon had settled at St. Ann and his son, Jean Baptiste Guyon, also a respected pilot and guide, eventually married Servant Comere, a woman from Ingonish.[50]

Like Joseph Guyon, De Rouville also explored the coast during the summer of 1713, describing the benefits of various

harbours from Louisbourg to Ingonish. De Rouville asked to be granted the concession for Ingonish Harbour.[51] Although denied his request, De Rouville was compensated by being appointed commandant of the St. Ann's garrison and he received a concession in the northern branch of the harbour. The river that flows into that section of St. Ann's harbour, known as North River, was referred to for years as Rouville's River.[52] Louis-Simon Le Poupet De La Boularderie, a fellow officer of De Rouville, was granted a concession for Ingonish five years after De Rouville's initial request. Boularderie was destined to play a leading role in the development of Ingonish.

The French Move to Cape Breton in 1713

Although French fishermen had fished out of Ingonish since the early 16th century, the French only permanently settled Ingonish after 1713. When the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) established British control of mainland Nova Scotia and confirmed British title to Newfoundland, the French moved to Cape Breton. The French settlement on Cape Breton, particularly Louisbourg, was intended to replace Placentia, Newfoundland, as the headquarters for the fishery. The French fisheries in Newfoundland moved to Cape Breton and by 1717 and the French began a major fortification at Louisbourg, the largest of its kind in North America.

The Cape Breton fisheries were soon substantial; by 1720 they produced about 150,000 quintals (one quintal equals 50 kg) of dried cod a year, almost half the output of the English fisheries at Newfoundland. Migrants and residents, fishing from ports in eastern Cape Breton, practised an inshore fishery. Schooners, based in Louisbourg and Ingonish, made voyages of 20 to 30 days to the fishing banks. [53] Cape Breton cod production in the first half of the eighteenth century accounted for one-third of all the cod caught by the French in North American waters.

Ingonish: Shore-Drying Space and the Winter Fishery

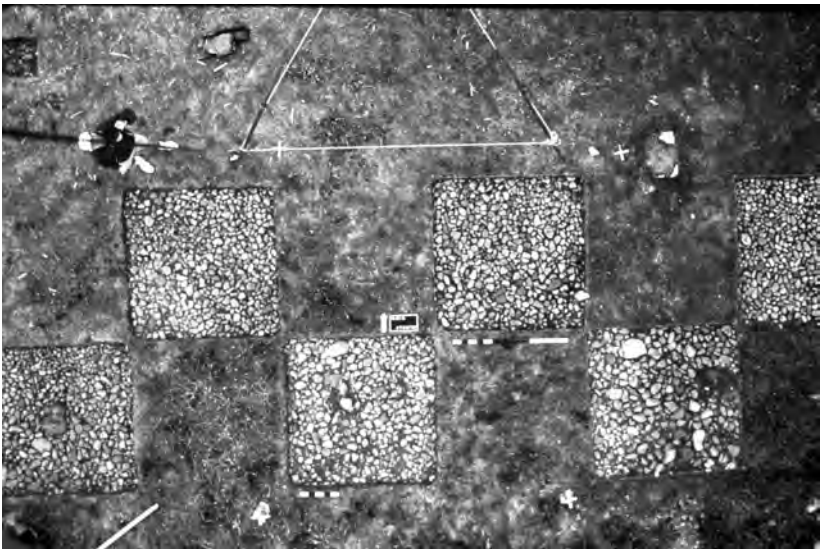
Ingonish and other northern communities had rich fishing grounds but the outports of Louisbourg also offered beach

frontage for the drying of cod. Codfish cannot be dried on a sandy beach because the sand damaged the fish. There was not enough shore-drying capacity in Louisbourg harbour for all of the fishermen transferring from Placentia and St. Pierre. By November 1714 Governor Pasteur de Costebelle stated that Louisbourg residents had 80 shallops whereas the officers of the colony, himself included, had another 25 vessels. Yet, "there was not any beach frontage intended for the officers." Forced to give preference in the harbour to the officers' shallops, the fishermen had "to search for a place on the coast of the north or south of Louisbourg" to dry their fish.[54] Louisbourg officials thus visited Ingonish between 1715 and 1720, reporting their findings. Port captain Pierre Morpain, for instance, sailed to Ingonish on 24 June 1716 seeking provisions for the troops at St. Ann. The following February Sieur Duligondes, commander of the St. Ann's garrison, again ordered Morpain to Ingonish to purchase codfish and seal oil for the soldiers.[55] During the winter fishery from November to January the cod returned to Cape Breton's inshore waters but the fish were always more plentiful in Ingonish and along the north-east coast compared to the Louisbourg- Scatary fishery in the south. The shallops of the southern ports thus moved to Ingonish in late fall for the winter fishery.[56]

Burning of the Beach on Ingonish Island- 1716

The beaches of Ingonish also had to be prepared to dry the fish. Writing from France in December 1716, Captain Courbon St. Leger reported that he had just returned from Cape Breton where he had spent 20 days in St. Ann and Ingonish. The beach on Ingonish Island had been "burned" during his visit.[57] Beaches were usually hand pruned at the beginning of the fishing season to remove grass and other vegetation from the carefully placed and complementary stones so that the codfish could dry as efficiently as possible. As for Ingonish Island, the beach was burned at the end of the fishing season since there was no danger of the fire spreading to the mainland. In 1990-91 an 18th century fishing property was excavated in Louisbourg harbour that revealed a carefully prepared grave without a pebble or rock out of place,

even after 250 years of soil cover. The grave, much like a modern rock patio, had spaces between the stones to permit the circulation of air. Such meticulous, hand-placed stones, at least by the 18th century, were vital components of the summer-long drying process. The grave allowed for a slower cure since it was more sheltered from the wind and the rocks retained the sun's warmth. Shore workers had to be vigilant and move the cod to the flakes because there was a risk of fish cooking in the hot sun.



Rob Ferguson excavated this grave at the rear of a Louisbourg fishing property in 1990- 91 (Parks Canada)

Ingonish and the Migratory fishery, 1715-1720

The French migratory fisheries increased in Cape Breton after permanent settlement. By the beginning of the 18th century most northern European countries had participated in the migratory fishery for roughly 200 years off the coast of Atlantic Canada. The mother ships typically anchored in Ingonish bay between Jackson's Point and the Island, where there was good bed rock for anchoring. Ships in Ingonish, however, were exposed to northeast and southwest winds. "Ingonish", wrote Nicolas Denys "is nothing but a roadstead, between islands which make a little

out to sea opposite a cove of sand. Ships anchor there between the islands and the main land. Sometimes as many as three ships are there, but they are not in safety." Although exposed to hazardous conditions, ship captains were willing to accept the risk because of the abundant catches.[58]

By 1715 Ingonish was known as the best fishing locale in Cape Breton. Reporting to France on the summer fishery, Governor Pasteur de Costebelle stated that there were 50 ships along the coast in the fishery and trade. The fishery, he wrote, "up to the present was very unproductive particularly at Louisbourg and Gabarus". Although a little better at Baleine, Mainadieu and Scatary, the fishery still had not approached its potential in these areas. As for Ingonish and St. Anne, there were five ships drying their cod in these ports and they "are very content with their catches and the good quality of their fish." [59] Such was the reputation that had attracted fishermen to Ingonish and northern Cape Breton for more than 200 years by 1715.

Throughout 1716 and 1717 only a handful of ships called at Ingonish to fish since French outfitters were taking tentative steps in developing their Cape Breton-based migratory fishery. By 1716, 15 ships visited Cape Breton. Of the 15 ships, only the *St Urulle* with 62 men and the *St François* with 65 men, of St Jean De Luz, fished at *Niganis*.[60] There were a total of 30 shallops and 150 men fishing out of Ingonish during the summer of 1716.[61] The following year 52 ships fished and traded in Cape Breton but only two, of these vessels, the *Notre Dame de la Paix*, with 64 men, and the *Notre Dame*, with 60 men, again of St. Jean de Luz, fished in Ingonish.[62] By 1718 the catches from the Ingonish inshore fishery began to be reported in the Island's fishing statistics. In 1718 three men, Sieur Vildieu, Pierre Courtiau, and Guillaume Coupeiaux dit Le Desaleurs operated a total of 14 shallops out of Ingonish. To date, Ingonish was only a small player in the inshore fishery since there were a total of 304 shallops fishing out of seven ports in Cape Breton and the Nova Scotia mainland. They included Louisbourg, Baleine, Scatary, Petit Degrat, Canso, St. Esprit, and Ingonish. Besides the Cape Breton-based fishery, there were also ships coming from

France that carried another 322 shallops. In total, there were 3,130 fishermen employed in the Cape Breton fishery and it was almost equally divided between Cape Breton-owned vessels and those from France. The value of the Cape Breton-based fishery amounted to 1,672,000 *livres*; the French overseas migratory fishery in Cape Breton amounted to 1,771,000 *livres*. [63]

The Migratory Fleet in Ingonish - 1719

Four ships - three from Brittany and one from the Basque country - sailed to Ingonish in 1719 to take advantage of the lucrative fishery. Another vessel also anchored in Aspy Bay that spring. On 20 April 1719 the *St Helaine* of St Malo was the first vessel to arrive in Ingonish. Displacing 200 tons, the *ship* had a 55 -man crew and 12 shallops. The *St Helaine*, a formidable vessel, carried 18 cannons and offered protection from raiding ships such as pirates and foreigners. Ten days later, 30 April, the 80-ton *La Notre Dame de Bonsecours* of St Jean de Luz anchored with a crew of 21 men and seven shallops. The 100-ton *Jacque* arrived on 2 May from St Malo with 39 men and seven shallops. On 2 August another St Malo vessel, the 90-ton *St Anthoine*, with 16 men and three shallops, dropped anchor. The last vessel to appear on the northern coast called at Aspy Bay on 30 September. The 80- ton *Sirenne* of Grandville had a 39-man crew. Except for the 200-ton *St Helaine*, none of the other ships carried any cannon. These ships were the working vessels of the migratory fleet.

The arrival of the migratory fleet in Ingonish and Aspy Bay in 1719 was typical of what was happening throughout Cape Breton that summer. In total, 88 migratory vessels had arrived with 1921 crew and 255 shallops.[64] The days of the migratory fleet, however, were numbered since Cape Breton proprietors eventually controlled the fishery.[65] Communities along the northeast and southwest coasts of Cape Breton, including Ingonish, expanded to exploit the fishery, both inshore and offshore.

Mi'kmaq - French Relations in Ingonish

Aboriginal people have lived in the Maritime Provinces for more than 10,000 years and thus the Mi'kmaq presence in

Ingonish and northern Cape Breton was part of a larger story. Since they were hunter/gatherers, the Mi'kmaq travelled to Ingonish and throughout the Cape Breton Highlands fishing at the mouths of the Clyburn, the Aspy, the Cheticamp and the Margaree Rivers, hunting moose and caribou and trapping beaver, fox and other animals for the fur trade.[66] Cartographer Samuel Holland, in his 1767 map of Cape Breton, noted that "the Savage Country or Principle Hunting District" covered a vast region from Cape North to Lake Ainslie in the south.[67] Ingonish elders such as Maurice Donovan (born 1904) recalled that the Mi'kmaq went up the Clyburn Valley into the Highlands via "Indian Rising", a plateau that offers a panoramic view of the Clyburn River Valley and watershed. Facing east, the plateau comes to a point that divides the Clyburn River into the North and South Branches. Still identified on maps, "Indian Rising" was part of a passage way for aboriginal people into the Highland plateau where they hunted caribou, moose and other wildlife. Within living memory in the early part of the 20th century, the Mi'kmaq came to the mouth of the Clyburn River to fish. They had encampments on the north side of the Clyburn River along and adjacent to the beach. [68] Some Ingonish families such as the Doucettes and the Youngs (formerly Le Jeunes), and numerous other people north of Smokey are part of this continuum since they have Mi'kmaq ancestry. Other Ingonish elders such Annie Belle Gillis (1874-1978) and Mary Grace Barron (1908-2001) noted that the Mi'kmaq continued to come to Ingonish and other northern communities until the mid-twentieth century selling fish, baskets, butter tubs and axe handles as well as visiting their traditional hunting grounds.[69]

The Mi'kmaq and the Saint Ann's Mission, 1629-1641

When the French claimed possession of Cape Breton on 20 March 1713, they reported that there were 25 or 30 families of Mi'kmaq and only one French man living on the island.[70] When Captain Charles Daniels founded Fort Saint Anne in 1629, he established a dwelling, a chapel, a garrison of 40 men and a magazine. There were two missionaries at the mission in 1629, including Jesuits Barthlemy Vimont and Alexander Vieuxpont, who ministered to the Mi'kmaq.[71] Vimont, the chaplain of the

garrison, was the first priest to establish a mission in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish. It was Barthlemy Vimont who founded the first chapel in New France dedicated to Sainte Anne. Even more significant, Vimont instilled in the Mi'kmaq their love of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her mother. This devotion inspired the Mi'kmaq to devote most of their chapels to Saint Anne, Mary's mother. To this day, the Mi'kmaq refer to Saint Anne as "our Grandmother".[72] Thus, priests such as Vimont and Vieuxpont ministered to the Mi'kmaq at the Sainte Anne chapel but they also had to be prepared to travel with the people on their hunting and fishing excursions.

Vimont and Vieuxpont were transferred in 1630 but they were replaced in July 1632 by Ambroise Davost and Anthony Daniel, a brother of Captain Daniel, better known today as Saint Anthony Daniel. They departed in June 1633 with Samuel Champlain on his voyage to Quebec and were succeeded by Julien Perrault and Andre Richard in 1634. The final missionary, Georges d'Eudemare, was posted to St. Ann in 1636.[73] Of the seven missionaries at St. Ann from 1629 to 1641, Perrault wrote the most comprehensive assessments in the Jesuit Relations for 1634 and 1635. His reports focussed on the Mi'kmaq whom he compared favourably to the more "civilized" Europeans. The Mi'kmaq "were more comfortable here than in many other places. If the winter supplies them with fewer beavers upon the water, it gives them, by way of compensation, more moose upon the land. In summer, they live very well on marmots [woodchuck] and parrot fish [blue perch], with cormorants and other marine birds. They have also bustards, smelts, mackerel, codfish, and like supplies according to the different seasons, in the forests or upon the coasts of the sea."[74]

The Mi'kmaq were also attentive to the instructions of the missionaries, wrote Perrault. "They very willingly make the sign of the Cross, as they see us make it, raising their hands and eyes to heaven and pronouncing the words 'Jesus Mary', as we do." The Saint Ann mission ended in 1641 and during the next 60 years various missionaries served the Mi'kmaq. In 1650 Nicolas Denys set up a post at St. Peters and his brother Simon

established a post at St. Ann but these settlements were attacked in 1651 and the mission and settlement at St. Ann ended.

French–Mi'kmaq Trade at Ingonish, 1635-1641

During the years 1635-1641 the marine archives in La Rochelle provided details on French-Mi'kmaq trade at Ingonish and St. Ann. On 10 April 1636 Captain Jacques Dendron and first mate Jacques Vignault appeared before Jean Touloran, a notary in La Rochelle, to sign a contract to trade for furs with the Mi'kmaq. Captain Vignault, the commander of the 90-ton *Le Nom de Dieu*, fished out of Ingonish and traded with the Mi'kmaq at Ingonish and St. Ann. *Le Nom de Dieu* had a 25-man crew and participated in the green and dry fishery at Ingonish but the ship also carried various goods to trade for furs with the Mi'kmaq.[75]

The French continued to fish in northern Cape Breton well into the 18th century when they established a permanent settlement at Ingonish in 1713. During the 18th century the Mi'kmaq concentrated their hunting and fishing in the southern part of Cape Breton, particularly the St. Peters and Bras d'Or Lakes area. They had their own chapel at Mirligueche (Malagawatch) and after 1750 at Chapel Island.[76] The Mi'kmaq also travelled to Ingonish and northern Cape Breton on various hunting and fishing excursions and they also used Ingonish as a departure point for going to Newfoundland to hunt and fish. Occasionally, some of the Mi'kmaq children were baptised at the French chapel in Ingonish throughout the 18th century.[77] The descendants of some of the Mi'kmaq baptised in Ingonish during the 18th Century may well still live in Cape Breton today, and thus there is a tangible direct link between Ingonish of the 18th century and the aboriginal people of Cape Breton today.

Boularderie Gains Fishing Privileges at Ingonish - 1720

Within two years of the French arrival on the island in 1713, Ingonish was permanently settled.[78] Louis-Simon Le Poupet De La Boularderie (1674-1738), a former naval officer and member of the colonial forces, was instrumental in carrying troops and supplies from Quebec to Cape Breton. Well connected,

Boularderie was the son of Antoine Le Poupet, the King's Secretary, and Jacqueline Arnoulet. In 1693 he entered the colonial regular forces at Port Royal (later Annapolis Royal) and was eventually promoted a lieutenant to Governor Pastour de Costebelle in Placentia, Newfoundland. By 1702, Boularderie was appointed a captain and he became a naval sub-lieutenant while serving at Port Royal. That same year he married Madelaine Melancon, an Acadian, at Port Royal and they had two children, Antoine and Marie-Madeleine. During two successive sieges against Port Royal by Massachusetts forces in 1707, Boularderie was wounded while leading a defensive sortie. He subsequently returned to France with his wife and two young children in order to let his wounds heal. During his convalescence, he renewed his connections with the royal household. It was during this time that he secured an appointment for his son, Antoine, as a page in the household of Her Royal Highness, the Duchesse of Orleans.[79] Upon his return to New France in 1712, Boularderie had become disillusioned with the naval service because of his inability to gain promotion. The French navy had never recovered from its major defeat at La Hougue in 1692 and thus opportunities for aspiring officers were limited.[80]

Boularderie, only 38 years old, sought new opportunities. Turning to merchant shipping, he hired his own vessel, transported 40 soldiers and supplies from Quebec to Cape Breton, and was paid 12,000 *livres*.[81] By 1715 he gained approval with French royalty and Louisbourg officials when he brought foodstuffs to the starving garrison at St. Peters, Cape Breton. Boularderie's rescue mission caught the eye of Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte of Toulouse (1678-1737), the Admiral of France and the third legitimate son of King Louis X1V, who had recommended the relief mission in the first place.

Basking in the glow of royal favour, Boularderie proposed to the Comte of Toulouse that an agricultural settlement be established at Ile de Verderonne (renamed Boularderie Island) to supply Louisbourg.[82] Boularderie also asked permission to set up a fishery at Ingonish in order to provide return cargoes for vessels transporting supplies to Boularderie Island. Granted a seigneury

at Little Bras d'Or on 15 February 1719, Boularderie was also given rights to the beaches at Ingonish in order that 100 fishermen could dry their catch. As part of his certificate of occupation, Boularderie was provided the use of the King's ship *Le Paon* for two years and he agreed to bring 100 settlers the first year, 50 the second, and to employ 100 fishermen. With the King's approval, Boularderie also received a letter of "safe conduct" for three months thereby making his authority superior to all judicial and police magistrates. [83] One year after receiving his certification of occupation, in February 1720, Boularderie was also granted shore privileges on Ingonish Island because of the overcrowding on the beaches along the Ingonish shoreline. Boularderie's rescue of the St. Peters' garrison in 1715 had paid off handsomely**.**

Permanent Residents of Ingonish 1723 -1737

The first detailed census of Ingonish in 1723 included 19 men, 10 women, 19 children and 400 fishermen for a total population of 448. Five detailed censuses conducted over the next 14 years revealed that Ingonish's population increased steadily so that there were 741 people in the community by 1737, making Ingonish the second largest settlement in Cape Breton after Louisbourg. [84]

TABLE 1: CENSUS OF INGONISH POPULATION 1723-1737

Year	Men	Women	Children	Fishermen	Domestics and hired men	TOTAL	Shallops	Vessels
1723	19	10	19	400	--	448	80	--
1724	19	15	28	214	13	289	33	5
1726	39	27	76	424	43	609	33	5
1734	37	29	110	375	66	617	59	15
1737	32	30	124	500	55	741	100	--

The first nominal census in 1724 provided a more detailed profile of the people, even though it only listed the name of the head of the head of the household, usually a male. Of the 19 people noted by name, nine were fishing owners who had shore-based establishments. The census recorded the place of birth of the head of household together with a list of the wives, number of children, indentured servants, fishermen, household domestics, as well as the shallops, schooners, and other vessels employed in the fishery and trade. The nine fishing owners included Dernadere Pontil of St. Jean de Luz, Jean Destouchere of Grandville, Estache La Garenne Le Petou of Grandville, Yves Glamare of St. Brieux, Jean La Fitte of Siboure, François De La Rue of St. Malo, Jean Hiquart of Grandville, Thomas Gaudin of Grandville and Jean Daurelle of Hendaye. These nine men employed a total of 205 fishermen. The four largest employers were Le Petou with 50 men, followed by La Fitte with 42, Daurelle with 30 and Glamar with 26. At least one of the fishing proprietors, François De La Rue, had previously sailed to Ingonish as captain of the migrant fishing ship *Le Jacque* on 2 May 1719.[85]

The other 10 heads of households included Guillaume Coupier, a washerman from Placentia, and Guillaume Agnes, a tavern keeper from Paris, Pierre Part De La Forest, a blacksmith of unknown origin, Thomas Le Tessier, a tavern keeper and carpenter from Coutance, Jacques Dingle, a surgeon from Graveline, Jean Sorn, an apprentice surgeon from Gascogne, Jean Spart, a day labourer from England, Estache Vincent Desmaret,a fisherman from Placentia, George D'Hiartre, a day labourer also from Placentia and Bonnaventure Le Brun, the manager of the Island of Orleans [Ingonish] fish company. Of the 19 head of households, 16 were married.[86] (The majority of the population were from the provinces of Brittany and Normandy).

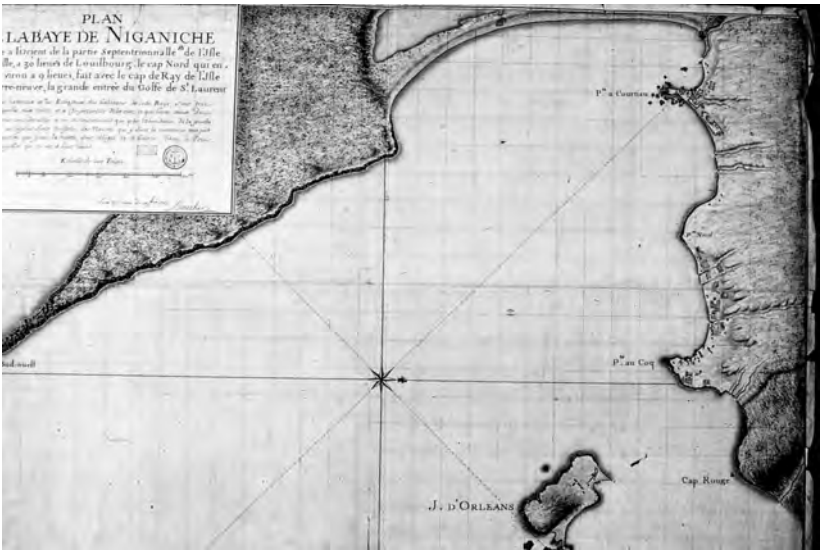
Ingonish Population Growth 1724 to 1726

Ingonish's population was 448 people in 1723, 289 in 1724 and 609 in 1726. The decrease in population from 1723 to 1724 reflected 186 fewer fishermen coming to the port in 1724. A more accurate measure of the permanent population was the

increase in the number of households which almost doubled from 19 in 1724 to 39 by 1726. There were 17 more married women in the community from 1723 to 1726 and the number of children increased from 19 to 76. Twenty families moved to the community to take advantage of the bountiful fishery since the number of fishing owners increased from nine in 1724 to 18 in 1726. Most of the new families moving to Ingonish were employed in the developing service industry catering to the fishing owners and their fishermen. By 1726 there were three taverns in the community operated by Renaud Carrere of Saint Malo, Guillaume Agnes of Paris and Thomas Le Terriad of Coutance. Two of the tavern keepers were married with a total of 11 children. There were also two merchants in the community, Sieur Deshaury and La Chernay Le Petay, both of whom were from Saint Malo but neither of whom was married.

Besides tavern keepers and merchants, there were also five carpenters in the community since tens of shallops were built and repaired each year as well as new homes and out buildings constructed for the fishery. Two of the carpenters, Jean Landry and François Prejan, were Acadians whereas the other three were from Europe. Serralton Lame and Joseph Bonnie were from Saint Malo while Jean Spart was an Englishman. All five carpenters were likely young men beginning their families since they were all married yet only had six children among them.

Other men employed in the construction trades included J. Birau dit Poilteum, a mason from Poitou, as well as two lime burners, M. Bonetiere from La Rochelle and Jean Rieu dit St. Pierre from Nantes. All three men had families with seven children. Pierre Parc dit La Forest, another man employed in the construction and repair trades in 1726, had sold his house in block two of the town of Louisbourg and moved to Ingonish during the 1720s. Forest was married with five children. There was also one laundry woman, a widow named Saint Louis, who had two children. The largest single employer, apart from the fishing industry, was the households who hired full-time domestic servants. Thirty two of the 39 households in Ingonish employed 43 servants.[87]



Plan of Ingonish Bay in 1737 (Library and Archives Canada ph/240)

Conflicts with Boularderie in Ingonish

As the Ingonish population increased from 289 in 1724 to 609 people in 1726, there were conflicts with Boularderie because there was limited shore front available for drying fish. Under the King's order for Boularderie's establishment at Ingonish, he was entitled to the beach, land and stages necessary for development of the cod fishery. He also had the right to forbid all fishermen and others from troubling his establishment. This authority, however, was conditional since Boularderie had to employ 100 fishermen in the community. There was one other condition to Boularderie's authority; he was to command in his concession under the authority of the governing officers of Ile Royale and, in their absence, his concession was under the King's pleasure.[88] Boularderie formed a company to develop his concession and by 25 June 1719 he had sent a director of his company, a carpenter, a labourer, a tanner and a valet on the ship *Dromadaire* to his Ingonish concession. [89] Boularderie arrived in Ingonish during the summer of 1719 and he wrote a letter to the Comte De Toulouse, the King's son, from Ingonish describing his difficulties attempting to establish his company. Boularderie asked

"His Most Serene Highness" for "a place in Niganiche, presently called Port of Orleans" to establish 100 fishermen. Although Boularderie had been granted permission on 19 February 1718 to occupy the land, the beaches and wharves in Ingonish necessary for the fishery, a problem had arisen because the port was overcrowded with fishing owners as well as migrant fishing crews from France and other settlers. Boularderie complained to his Royal Highness that "there is not any place, in the circumference of Ingonish where one can dry codfish, except on the Island of Ingonish, which is at the entrance of the port."

Fishing Admirals at Ingonish

Boularderie encountered another problem besides the crowded shoreline properties. [90] As was the ancient custom, the first overseas captain to arrive at the summer fishery was entitled to privileges in the port. Under this long-held custom among French and English fishermen, the first ship captain to arrive in a new world harbour had the right to choose the best site for the current fishing season. To prevent further competition among the other arriving fishing crews, the first captain to appear was designated the "admiral" of the harbour. He selected his own place for drying and then determined the locations for the other captains of the vessels that arrived later. The admiral of the harbour also settled any disputes concerning the occupation of the shoreline in the harbour. [91] Boularderie requested, as part of his concession, that he be given exclusive rights to the beaches, land and wharves of Ingonish Island so that he could employ 100 fishermen. Boularderie's request was approved on 27 February 1720 and thus he was granted exclusive use of the beaches, land and wharves on Ingonish Island, provided he lived up to his part of the agreement to employ 100 fishermen on the island. [92] Boularderie was an influential man since he had been able to overcome the centuries-old tradition of the fishing admirals coming to Ingonish Island.

The authority of the fishing admiral, however, continued in the rest of Ingonish throughout most of the 18th century. On 15 April 1725 a 100-ton fishing ship from Saint Malo was lost

in the ice seven or eight leagues southeast of Ingonish attempting to be the first vessel to arrive in the harbour. All of the crew escaped in one of their shallops but the cargo was lost. [93] Eighteen years later another vessel, the 140-ton *Grand Saint Esprit* under Captain Joannis Dalfouet of St. Jean de Luz, left France on 17 March 1743 in an attempt to be the first vessel to reach Ingonish. The *Grand Saint Esprit*, after a 42-day crossing, sailed into Louisbourg harbour on 28 April because it was impossible to get into Ingonish due to the ice between Cape North and Scatary Island. Captain Dalfouet, with 34 passengers and crew, immediately went to the admiralty court to register that his ship was one of the first off the coasts of Ingonish and Aspy Bay and thus he reserved "the right of the Admiral". [94]

The Company of the Island of Orleans, 1720-1725

Boularderie overcame the difficulty of the rights of the fishing admiral on Ingonish Island but this was a minor irritant compared to the lack of financial support for his company. Well aware that he required credible investors, Boularderie finally succeeded in forming a Saint Malo-based company in 1723 to raise the necessary capital to develop his concessions at Ingonish and Boularderie Island. The company had a shaky beginning, however, since Boularderie, his company director, Bonnaventure Le Brun, and 20 workers left Saint Malo on the ship *Dauphin* bound for Louisbourg, only to be captured by pirates near Cape Breton. The 80 ton-pirate ship, heavily armed with eight cannon and 16 swivel guns, had a 150 mostly English- speaking crew. The pirates set Boularderie, his workers and most of the crew of the *Dauphin* adrift 100 miles from Cape Breton in "a small English schooner" that had been captured the same day. Boularderie and his fellow captives eventually made their way to Louisbourg. Boularderie had lost his baggage and was poorly treated but he had survived. Undeterred, he boarded the King's frigate *Victoire* in Louisbourg and departed for France to begin new preparations for his fishing and farming establishment. [95]

Although Boularderie left for France on the *Victoire*, Bonnaventure Le Brun, the company director, and approximately 20

workers departed for Ingonish to prepare for the winter shallop fishery. Lasting from November to January, the winter fishery occurred when the cod moved inshore in great numbers following the caplin along the coves and inlets of northern Cape Breton. Ingonish and the northeast coast were the best areas for the winter fishery, far superior to the Louisbourg, Scatary and south-western coast of the island. [96] Although the winter fishery was restricted to resident fishing owners (the migrant crews had returned to France), there was a considerable movement of shallops to Little Bras d'Or and the northeast coast in general in preparation for the fall and winter fishery.[97] Hence, when Boularderie's fishermen came to Ingonish to fish for his company, they were not permanent residents in the same sense as the men of Ingonish resident fishing owners in the community. Most fishing owners in Ingonish and other communities were married, had their own homes and land and at least one third of their fishermen stayed for the winter in Ingonish. Thus, the Ingonish resident fishing proprietors had considerable investments in their shore operations whereas Boularderie and his Ingonish fishermen, in contrast, worked for a St. Malo company. Shortly after Boularderie left for France on the *Victoire*, Governor Saint Ovide noted that "These sorts of establishments cause a prejudice for the inhabitants and the merchant fishermen by depriving them of their autumn fishing banks."[98] Boularderie, the absentee proprietor of a large fishing company, was a constant source of friction and jealousy between his company and the fishing owners in Ingonish.

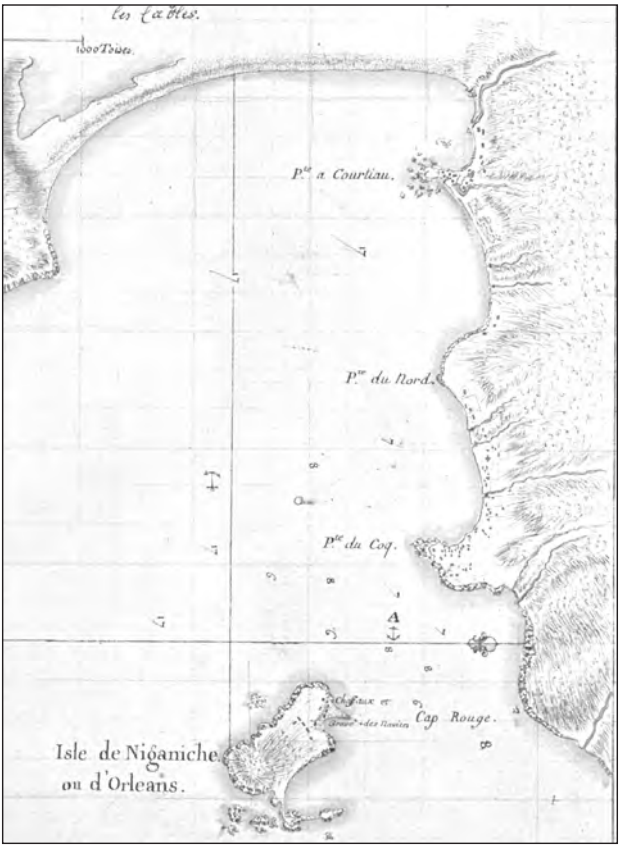
Le Brun Attempts To Enforce Restrictions against Fishermen - 1725

The tension between Boularderie's fishing company and other fishermen only increased in 1725 and subsequent years because Bonnaventure Le Brun, Boularderie's Ingonish manager, attempted to levy a fee of two and one half quintals of fish per shallop for fishing vessels using the company's lands at Little Bras d'Or and Ingonish. (One quintal weighed 50kg or 112 pounds.) Disruptions ensued and the Louisbourg authorities sent an officer and soldiers to Little Bras d'Or in 1725 and 1726

to prevent the inhabitants from being disturbed and to restrain the sailors and fishermen. Authorities in France disapproved of Governor Saint Ovide allowing Le Brun to levy a charge against the fishing shallops because Boularderie's land had not been surveyed and marked and thus there was no way of knowing what lands belonged to the company. [99] As for Ingonish, Le Brun was entitled to put 100 fishermen on the company's property and "to leave everyone free" on the mainland. On Ingonish Island, however, the company's proper concession, Le Brun was in charge and he dictated the conditions. In order to cut wood, to make stages and to dry fish, it was necessary to pay the company two and one half quintals of fish per shallop for the season. [100]

Boularderie Evicts the Company of the Island of Orleans from his Concessions - 1726

During 1726 further difficulties developed in Boularderie's company but this time the troubles were among the shareholders, not with neighbouring fishermen. Boularderie travelled to Cape Breton on the ship *Néréide* to inspect his properties. At Little Bras d'Or he discovered that there was no establishment or clearing on his concession and the people he had put in charge were merely cutting wood for boards. They were, however, content to proceed to Ingonish to work in the fishery and to promote their commerce. Boularderie was particularly critical of Bonnaventure Le Brun, the manager in charge of his concessions. Le Brun, sent out by the Saint Malo shareholders, Sieur Pignonvert and Sieur La Hublaye, had not carried out any of the conditions of Boularderie's concession. In other words, Le Brun had neglected the promotion of settlement while taking advantage of the lucrative fishery. Boularderie planned to dissolve the company and to force LeBrun to clear out of the fishing properties, especially Ingonish. [101] Boularderie dissolved the Company of Island of Orleans but Le Brun defied his authority and continued operations from Ingonish Island until as late as 1729.



Detail of Ingonish Bay c. 1737 (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Cartes et Plans, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, 131-6-5D, n/a)

Ingonish Developed Reputation as the Best Place for the Fishery

In the meantime, Ingonish's reputation as the best place for the fall fishery continued to be enhanced throughout the 1720s and 1730s. On 27 November 1724 Louisbourg financial administrator Le Normant De Mezy had written to officials in France that "since several years" the fall fishery at the end of September was "very good" at Ingonish and the harbours to the northeast of the Island, while the summer fishery was "good" at Scatary, Louisbourg and the harbours to the south.[102] By 1728 it was clear to the authorities in France that the bountiful summer and autumn fishery "has made the port of Niganiche one of the

best established on Ile Royale." Governor Saint Ovide reported to the minister of the marine that by 1728 there were more fishing shallops in Ingonish than all the rest of the island.[103] (See the table below.)

TABLE 2: ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SHALLOP FISHERY IN CAPE BRETON FOR SELECTED YEARS 1718-53 IN REAL NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES[104]

	1718		1723		1727		1731		1735		1739		1753	
Harbour	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Aspy			17	4.8	24	6.2	14	3.6			21	7.5		
Ingonish	14	2.2	63	17.9	69	17.9	70	17.9	34	11.1	51	18.1	42	16.8
Lingan	6	0.9	35	9.4	15	3.9	8	2.0	4	1.3	11	3.9	5	2.0
Scatary	117	18.7	20	5.7	25	6.5	23	5.9	17	5.6	13	4.6	20	8.0
Baleine	74	11.8	21	6.0	25	6.5	44	11.3	34	11.1	30	10.7	18	7.2
Little Lorraine			13	3.7	23	6.0	45	11.5	36	11.8	27	9.6	54	21.6
Louisbourg	145	23.2	45	12.8	50	13.0	36	8.2	34	11.1	21	7.5	28	11.2
Fourchu			7	2.0	19	4.9	31	7.9	33	10.8	23	8.2		
Saint Esprit	16	2.6	55	15.6	43	11.2	46	11.8	28	9.2	27	9.6	9	3.6
Michaux Islands					6	1.6	6	1.5	4	1.3	6	2.1		
Petit Degrat	43	6.9	24	6.8	33	8.6	26	6.6	24	7.9	26	9.3	24	9.6
P. E. I.					38	9.9	40	10.2	30	9.8	22	11.4	25	10.0
Magdelaine Islands							2	0.5	2	0.7	1	0.4	2	0.8
Elsewhere	184	29.4	52	14.8	15	3.9			25	8.2	2	0.7	23	9.2
Total	626		352		385		391		305		281		250	

TABLE 3: ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOONER FISHERY IN CAPE BRETON FOR SELECTED YEARS 1718-53 IN REAL NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES

	1718		1723		1727		1731		1735		1739		1753	
Harbour	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Aspy														
Ingonish			7	7.5	10	15.0	10	13.5	3	4.1	2	3.3		
Lingan													1	2.0
Scatary			16	17.2	4	6.0	8	10.8	6	8.2	2	3.3		
Baleine											1	1.7		
Little Lorraine			3	3.2			1	1.4						
Louisbourg			57	61.3	49	73.1	53	71.6	60	82.2	54	90.0	48	96.0
Fourchu									1	1.4	1	1.7		
Saint Esprit			4	4.3										
Michaux Islands														
Petit Degrat			3	3.2	1	1.5			1	1.4				
P.E.I.									1	1.4				
Magdelaine islands							1	1.4	1	1.4			1	2.0
Elsewhere			3	3.2	2	3.0	1	1.4						
Total			93		67		74				60		50	

The Lawless Nature of Ingonish

Although a thriving fishing out port, Ingonish was remote from law-enforcement and there developed a lawless nature in the community. The nearest garrison, located at St. Ann, was the better part of a day's sail from Ingonish. Since the colony was isolated, Governor De Mezy reported to the minister that there was great disorder between the inhabitants and the crews of visiting merchant ships. In 1727 a number of itinerant sailors and indentured servants stole Ingonish fishing shallops and sailed to Cape Ray, present -day Port Aux Basques. The Governor noted that the principal inhabitants employed upwards of 40 to 50 men and they reported to De Mezy that "they cannot control them and are nearly always exposed to the danger of being robbed or murdered." As a solution, De Mezy proposed that an officer and a garrison of 15 to 20 soldiers be established there to keep the peace. The principal citizens of Ingonish offered to build a house for the officer and to construct a guard house with a small redoubt for the defence of the community. [105]

Governor's De Mezy's proposal to establish an Ingonish garrison was turned down by the King because the division of troops into small detachments was too expensive and unnecessary. The Minister of the Marine suggested to the governor that the several voyages that Michel de Cournoyer, a sub delegate of the King at St. Ann, made to Ingonish each year was sufficient to keep the peace there. [106] To ensure that residents in outlying communities had access to justice, the *commissaires-ordonnateur*, responsible for the judicial, commercial and administrative affairs of the colony, appointed a sub delegate of the Admiralty Court and the Superior Council to visit the out ports to settle disputes. Marc- Antoine de La Forest and Michel de Cournoyer, the sub delegates for Ingonish throughout the 1720s and 1730s, resolved conflicts but their decisions could be appealed to the *commissaire-ordonnateur* at Louisbourg.[107]

By 1720 the Admiralty Court had appointed sub delegates at St. Peters and St. Ann. The sub delegates visited the various out ports and examined migratory fishing vessels as well as trading ships from France to collect information from the ship's officers

as to the state of the ship and if it was suitable to make the return voyage to France.[108] Ingonish, for a number of years, at least had a clerk of the Admiralty Court who registered transactions, contracts or agreements of sale relating to marine matters. On 29 September 1721 Guillaume Coupieaux, son of Guillaume Coupeiaux dit Le Salleur of St. Ann and Marie Joseph Hébert, daughter of Michel Hébert of Mines (Minas) in Acadia, signed a marriage contract in front of Pierre Courthiau, junior, who was a clerk of the admiralty court. [109] Since the marriage contract was a civil procedure, it was registered before the only civil authority in Ingonish.

Pierre Courthiau's sister, Marie Anne, had married Marc Antoine de la Forest, the King's attorney of the Admiralty Court, at St Ann three years previous and thus young Pierre Courthiau had an influential in-law who helped to ensure his appointment as a clerk of the Admiralty Court. [110] Pierrre Courthiau junior, like his father at St. Ann, became a fishing owner at Ingonish.[111] Courthiau's fishing property, located at present-day King's Point, was known as Courthiau Point during the French regime.

Criminal Activity at Ingonish 1725-1745

Although the sub delegate for justice lived at St. Ann, Ingonish residents often went to Louisbourg to seek due process in any criminal or civil matter. Such was the case in August 1725 when Le Grande Le Pastour, an Ingonish fishing owner, appeared before the Superior Council in Louisbourg to lodge a complaint against two "considerable fires" on his property. Several of his shallops and buildings were burned and Le Pastour claimed that he was almost unable to continue his fishery. Such a claim was an exaggeration because Le Pastour was a wealthy man. Since he believed the fires were deliberately set, Le Pastour asked to obtain and to have published a "monitory", a formal clerical request so that he could enlist the religious authorities in Ingonish to identify the people responsible for the criminal activities. Le Pastour's unusual request was reflected in the remarks of Antoine Sabatier, clerk of the Superior Council, who wrote on the bottom of the submission that he could not

agree to the request. [112] The fires were doubtless set by economic competitors or bitter employees.[113] Six months after the fires on his property, Le Pastour had come to Louisbourg seeking legal redress for his complaints but he did not receive any satisfaction from the Louisbourg authorities. As late as 1729 Le Pastour was still complaining to the Louisbourg Superior Council, the court of last resort.

Le Pastour, one of the most powerful and wealthy men in Ingonish, showed little hesitation in going to the courts to seek redress for grievances against him. By 1726 he employed 52 fishermen in 11 shallops and one schooner. Eight years later he employed 79 people including 13 servants and 64 fishermen in 9 shallops, two schooners, and four trading ships, two of which were built in Ingonish in 1734.[114] Le Pastour apparently aroused jealouy and harsh feelings in his business dealings.On 19 July 1730 Jean Fanton, an indentured servant in Jean Detouches' fishery, attacked Le Pastour with a stick from behind a pile of codfish along the quay. In such a status-conscious society for a servant to strike such a powerful man in a premeditated attack was a grave offence. Fanton was immediately arrested, taken to Louisbourg, and imprisoned on 24 July until he could be interrogated. He eventually confessed to his crime, doubtless in the hope that the courts would have mercy on him. Indentured servants, hired on a 36-month basis, were paid a fixed amount at the end of each year. A native of Saint Malo, Fanton had been hired by Detouches on 12 March 1728 so he still had eight months to complete his indenture. On 14 August the Superior Council rendered its decision. Fanton had languished in prison for three weeks but he and all other indentured servants had to be taught a lesson since it was unacceptable for an indentured servant to strike an employer.

As part of Fanton's sentence, all indentured servants in the fishery in Louisbourg, Baleine and Laurembec were ordered to come to Louisbourg and stand along the waterfront with whips in their hands. Bare shouldered, Fanton was brought from the prison and forced to run the gauntlet of the indentured servant's whips seven times. Fanton was then taken to "Port of Orleans

formerly Niganiche" where he endured the same punishment from the indentured men in that harbour. [115] Although there was no law courts in Ingonish, Jean Fanton met quick justice: he was jailed for three weeks and suffered the indignity of two public whippings. In the end, he was fortunate since other options included banishment from the colony or execution.

At least two other indentured servants besides Jean Fanton struck their masters in Ingonish. On 4 October 1735 brothers Pierre and Louis Lamec were sentenced to four days in jail for attacking Jean Dobiola, a fishing proprietor, with a stick. The Lamec brothers claimed that Dobiola "mistreated the men who were in his service" and, at various times, he had hit them. During the winter, the brothers had walked through the woods and snow to St. Ann to lodge a complaint with a judge. Even if the attack was justified, such behaviour was not tolerated because the hired men were revolting against constituted authority and the assault had been premeditated. Since the brothers had waited until the day after their 36-month indenture expired to attack their former master, they received a relatively light sentence. More significant, the court agreed that two brothers had been poorly treated. [116]

Murder at Ingonish - 1731

The most serious crime in Ingonish occured on New Year's Eve 1731 when Jean Gauthier dit L'Huonda murdered his wife. A native of Brittany who had first come to Ingonish in 1724, Gauthier married his wife at Ingonish in 1726. Gauthier's wife was not named in the court case but she was described as a laundress and the widow of a soldier. On the morning of 1 January 1732 Hippolite Herpe, the priest at Ingonish, learned that there was a body in the house of Jean Gauthier. Three surgeons, Jacques Dingle, the surgeon major, together with two of his assistants, Jean Desourn and Mathieu Dupuy, were sent to the house to investigate. [117]

Upon approaching the residence at 9:00 am, they found the window and door open and inside the dead body of a woman lay on a bed. She had contusions on her face, one the size of an

egg. After examining the corpse, the surgeons concluded that she had been strangled. Since he was the only suspect, Gauthier was arrested and sent to prison in Louisbourg. His trial proceedings lasted for the next year and a half. At the time of the murder, Gauthier was 35 years old and his wife was approximately 28. They had been married for five years and had four children, two sons and two daughters. At the time of the mother's death, there were only two surviving children, a boy and a girl.

As part of his defence, Gauthier claimed that he found his wife in bed with another man on the night of her murder. He also alleged that she frequently had sex with other men and occasionally left home during the night. [118] Gauthier's accusations against his wife had little effect on the five judges of the Superior Council since they sentenced him to hang, in a unanimous decision, on 3 June 1733. All five judges insisted that Gauthier make the customary public act of forgiveness. Sentenced to kneel in front of the door of the chapel in Louisbourg, Gauthier was to wear only a long under shirt, to have a noose around his neck, and to have a burning torch in his hand. He was then to "declare in a loud and intelligible voice that...he had killed his wife for which he repented, and to ask pardon of God, King, and Justice".[119]

After receiving the sacrament of confession from the priest Zacharie Caradet, Gauthier was to be handed over to the executioner, Santiago Detchivery, and to be taken to the gallows at Black Rock to be hung until death. Gauthier's body was then to be placed on the gibet and left there for 24 hours. Back in Ingonish, Gauthier's execution and display of his body was the talk of the community. Gauthier, who had lived in Ingonish for eight years, was known by every permanent resident in the village. His public execution was intended to send a strong message: murder was not tolerated because it could lead to the breakdown of the social order.

Complaints Against Public Taverns in Ingonish - 1733

There would have been plenty of opportunity to discuss Gauthier's execution in the public houses of Ingonish since they remained open almost everyday and kept long hours. Dur-

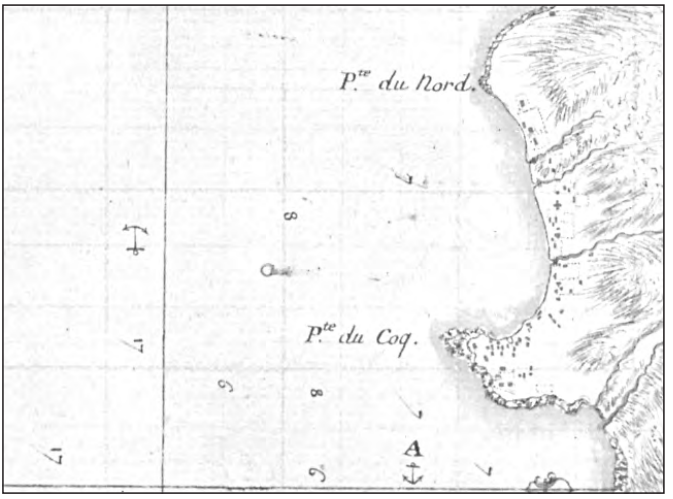
ing the summer of 1733 Ingonish fish owners and ship captains complained to the authorities at Louisbourg that tavern keepers were supplying liquor to their crews, often keeping them from their work. As a result of the complaints, officals in Louisbourg passed an ordinance on 24 July 1733 that no tavern owner was to supply liquor to fishermen without the permission of their employers. Tavern keepers were also forbidden to serve anyone during divine services on Sundays and holidays. The ordinance also included penalties should tavern owners break the new law. The penalties included confiscation of the wine and liquor and a 50 *livres* fine to be paid to the Ingonish parish church. [120]

A similar law had been passed in Louisbourg during the summer of 1733 and it was obvious that the Ingonish fishing owners had caught the spirit of reform. At first glance, it might appear that the fishing owners were only concerned with the productivity of the fishery and the welfare of their men. The reality though was much different since the fishing owners were jealous of the successful drink trade of the taverns which took money away from their pockets. By 1733 there were three taverns in Ingonish. The owners included Guillaume Agnes of Paris, Thomas Le Terrier of La Houge and Marianne de Galandien of La Rochelle. All of the tavern owners had large families who helped to serve liquor and food in their establishments.[121] Since all fishermen were paid at the end of the season, the fishing owners supplied their men with food, lodging and liquor. The fishing owners kept detailed ledgers listing every item that their men consumed. The most costly item was liquor and since the fishermen were heavy drinkers, the fishing owners made a significant profit from their crews. Successful tavern owners were the source of unwanted competition to the fishing proprietors.

Present-Day Ingonish and the Connection with the French Past

The French had settled Ingonish Island and as well as the shoreline from Jackson's Point to King's Point. There were 100 dwellings (including outbuildings) along this two-mile stretch of coast with a permanent population of 741 by 1737.[122]Although

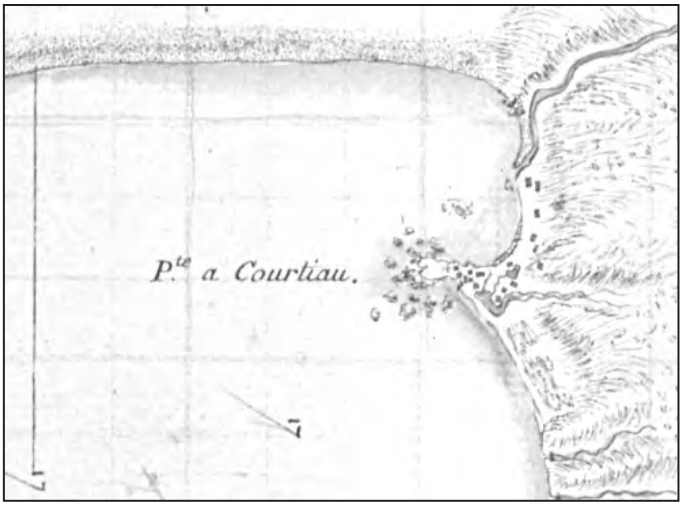
there are no descendants of these early settlers in Ingonish, the French have left their mark - a rich archaeological and documentary record of their presence in the community. Writing about Ingonish in 1818 Augustin Desbarres, attorney general of Cape Breton, noted: "The lands in this neighbourhood appear to have been originally improved by the French: they are still clear of trees, except in partial spots, and they are of a fir scrubby growth: the lands are generally covered with grass; and I was informed, by some of the settlers, that there are many wild meadows in the vicinity, from which some hundred tons of hay might be procured." [123] The cleared French lands of Ingonish continued to provide hay well into the 19th century. During the summer of 1800 John Girvois was paid £15 for transporting 12 tons of hay from Ingonish to the coal mines at Sydney Mines. On 12 August 1800 Patrick Kehoe was paid £12 for a "voyage to Ingonish with my sloop to carry men to cut hay." In September the following year hay was brought from "Niganish" to supply the animals at the mines. [124]



Detail of Ingonish plan showing settlement around Jackson's point, c. 1737

The settlers of Ingonish, who first came to the community in the early 1800s, were well aware of the previous French vil-

lage and they took full advantage of the cleared lands.[125] Annie Belle Gillis (1874-1980), a third generation descendant of the first Irish settlers in Ingonish, remembered when she was a young girl: "I used to hear them talk about when they drove the French out." Born 25 December 1874, Annie Belle recalled "All of them (the French) had shops and stores and everything over across the interval there."[126] She also remembered finding broken pottery from the French regime on her father's land around 1885.[127]



Detail of Ingonish Plan showing settlement at King's Point, c. 1737

The Archaeological Evidence

Charles Vernon had visited Ingonish approximately 15 years after Annie Belle Gillis found the pottery shards on her parents' land. He wrote that "The remains of French cellars can still be seen."[128] Since that time, many of the French shoreline properties in Ingonish, as in Louisbourg, have given way to the relentless serf. In 1990 and 1991 there was a fishing property excavated within Louisbourg harbour and by comparing 18th century plans with a 1936 aerial photographic survey together with present-day global positioning, it has been calculated that 20 metres of shoreline have been lost within the harbour. Since Ingonish, site of the French settlement, is more exposed to ocean

waves, tides and wind, it has been estimated that approximately one foot of shore line per year has been lost to erosion during the 20th Century. Archaeologists refer to this wearing away of the shoreline as episodic erosion. By comparing a detailed 1737 map of Ingonish with the 1936 aerial survey and present-day satellite trajectory, the loss of one foot of shoreline per year remained consistent with an examination of the 18th and 20th century maps. The erosion of the shoreline in Ingonish was particularly dramatic near the Royal Canadian Legion, which was located in the midst of the French regime settlement. When the legion was constructed in 1947 the public road was situated on the water side of the building. Approximately 50 feet of shoreline has been eroded since the legion was first constructed and the main road had to be relocated behind the legion away from ocean.[129]

Remains of Settlement at Jackson's Point and King's Point

Remains of French earthen ware pottery and other iron artifacts continue to erode out of the shoreline in Ingonish, especially near the headlands at Jackson's Point and King's Point, which had the largest concentrations of properties during the French Regime. There were 32 buildings at Jackson's Point in 1737 and 16 buildings at King's Point. Glenn Warren, a resident of King's Point, has gathered artifacts from 1967 to 1987 as they eroded out of the bank along the shore. With sensitivity to archaeological and cultural resources, Glenn only collected items that eroded out of the cliffs and exposed fishing properties. (He did not do any digging or use metal detectors.)

The artifacts, similar to those excavated at 18th century Louisbourg, included Saintonge ware, wine bottle fragments, pipe stems, fragments of lead and other artifacts of the French regime. James Campbell, a material culture specialist at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, examined these artifacts in order to establish their provenance. Louisbourg has five and one half million artifacts, the largest archaeological collection in the world relating to an 18th century town. The Ingonish artifacts had a consistent archaeological provenance with those excavated at Louisbourg.

Glenn Warren holding artifacts collected at King's Point, 1987 (Ken Donovan)

TABLE 4: INVENTORY OF ARTIFACTS GATHERED BY GLENN WARREN AT KING'S POINT, 1967-1987

MATERIAL CATEGORY	MATERIAL TYPE	WARE TYPE	ORIGIN	FRAGMENTS	MINIMUM OBJECT COUNT	COMMENTS
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	COARSEWARE	FRANCE	36	5	1 BOWL LOUISBOURG TYPE L1 THIS MIXING BOWL HAD HOLES DRILLED THROUGH IT IN ORDER FOR IT TO SERVE AS COLANDER. 1 BOWL ? LOUISBOURG TYPE L2. 1 BOWL LOUISBOURG TYPE L4 2 UNIDENTIFIED VESSEL FORMS ONE OF WHICH IS TYPE L1

CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	COARSEWARE	NEW ENGLAND	12	2	1 BOWL LOUISBOURG TYPE L27 1 UNGLAGED JUG
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	FAIENCE	FRANCE	20	6	FRAGMENTS TOO SMALL TO DISTINGUISH THEIR VESSEL FORMS.
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	REFINED 19TH & 20TH C.	ENGLAND	53	12	6 PLATE, 4 HOLLOWWARE VESSELS 2 UNDISTINGUISHABLE.
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	SLIPWARE	ENGLAND	2	1	1 POSSET CUP, STAFFORDSHIRE SLIPWARE TYPE.
CERAMIC	KAOLIN CLAY	SMOKING PIPES	HOLLAND & ENGLAND	47	7	1 DUTCH PIPE 6 ENGLISH PIPES
CERAMIC	PORCELAIN	BLUE & WHITE	CHINA	2	2	1 PLATE 1 BOWL
CERAMIC	STONEWARE	COARSE	FRANCE	10	4	4 JARS, NORMANDY TYPE
CERAMIC	STONEWARE	IRON STONEWARE	ENGLAND	1	1	1 PLATE
GLASS		BLUE GREEN 18TH C.	FRANCE	8	4	3 CASE BOTTLES 1 UNDETERMINED
GLASS		DARK GREEN 18TH C.	UNDETERMINED	2	2	1 WINE BOTTLE
GLASS		GREEN 19TH & 20TH C.	UNDETERMINED	1	1	1 BOTTLE
GLASS	TABLEWARE		UNDETERMINED	3	3	FRAGMENTS TOO SMALL TO DISTINGUISH THEIR VESSEL FORMS. (1 FRAGMENT BURNT).
GLASS	WINDOW GLASS		UNDETERMINED	3	2	2 FRAGMENTS 18TH CENTURY 1 FRAGMENT 19TH CENTURY
INORGANIC	FLINT			2	1	
METAL	COPPER ALLOY			5	5	1 CANDLE SNUFFER 1 BUCKLE 2 COINS 1 NAIL
METAL	IRON			28	27	1 S-SHAPED HANGING HOOK 1 FISH HOOK 1 PAIR SCISSORS 1 HINGLE (PINTLE) 1 FOLDING KNIFE BLADE 1 TACK 15 NAILS 5 UNIDENTIFIED OBJECTS

METAL	LEAD			4	4	
TOTAL:				239	88	

TABLE 5: INVENTORY OF ARTIFACTS GATHERED BY GLENN WARREN AT JACKSON'S POINT, 1967-1987

MATERIAL CATEGORY	MATERIAL TYPE	WARE TYPE	ORIGIN	FRAGMENTS	MINIMUM OBJECT COUNT	COMMENTS
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	COARSEWARE	FRANCE	7	2	1 BOWL LOUISBOURG TYPE L1 1 BOWL LOUISBOURG TYPE L12
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	COARSEWARE	WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN	2	1	2 BURNT FRAGMENTS REPRESENTING 1 STORAGE JAR LOUISBOURG TYPE L13
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	FAIENCE	FRANCE	5	2	2 PLATES
CERAMIC	EARTHENWARE	REFINED 19TH & 20TH C.	ENGLAND	5	5	3 PLATES 1 LID 1 BOWL?
CERAMIC	KAOLIN CLAY	SMOKING PIPES	UNCERTAIN	14	1	14 STEM FRAGMENTS
CERAMIC	STONEWARE	COARSE	FRANCE	57	2	2 BUTTER POTS, NORMANDY TYPE
GLASS		BLUE GREEN 18TH C.	FRANCE	3	1	1 CASE BOTTLE
GLASS		CLEAR	UNKNOWN	2	1	1 TUMBLER (FRAGMENTS BURNT)
GLASS		DARK GREEN 18TH C.	FRANCE	1	1	1 WINE BOTTLE
INORGANIC	COAL			1	1	
INORGANIC	FLINT			1	1	
INORGANIC	STONE			1	1	WHETSTONE OR TILE?
INORGANIC	STONE			2	1	
METAL METAL	CAST IRON CAST IRON			1 1	1 1	1 COOKING POT 1 MORTAR SHELL
METAL	IRON			5	1	5 UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS POSSIBLY FROM A NAIL.
METAL METAL	IRON IRON			1 5	1 5	1 FISH HOOK 5 NAILS
ORGANIC	BONE			5	1	
TOTAL:				119	30	

On 17 November 1996 Glenn Warren and I visited the headlands at Jackson's Point after a two-day, northeast storm. We uncovered French regime iron nails, a piece of a mortar bomb, part of an iron pot and a shard of Normandy stone ware, as well as Chinese export porcelain. Thousands of French-regime artifacts have been found in Ingonish since the beginning of the present-day settlement in the early 1800s. Alfred Jackson, born 2 January 1924, a life-long resident of King's Point, recalled that as a boy he found iron pots, long laced-up boots, clay pipes, and bones in the house depressions near his parent's home. On some occasions he found complete clay pipes, ideal for toy "bubble pipes".[130] Albert Harvey, born 16 June 1922, also recalled that when he went to school near the present-day fire hall, in the midst of the French settlement, the children often went to the eroding bank and dug out clay pipes, including pieces of stems and bowls.[131]

Conclusion

Ingonish, like all of Ile Royale's outports, was burned and destroyed as part of the siege of Louisbourg in 1745. On 9 May Louis Du Pont Duchambon, acting commandant of the colony, sent word to the men of Lorraine, Baleine and Ingonish to hasten to Louisbourg to help prepare for the defence of the capital.[132] On 18 May several New England vessels including the *Prince of Orange* and the *Defense*, as well as the 40-gun Royal Navy warship *Eltham*, attacked St. Ann. Two days later, the *Defence,* a Connecticut sloop with a crew of 100 men mounting 12 canon and 12 carriage guns, and possibly the *Prince of Orange* as well, raided Ingonish. Reverend Adonijah Bidwell, a chaplin on the *Defense*, described the attack: "Two boats went on shore up Angonish Bay & burnt a Town of about 80 houses which stood up that bay, about noon stear'd for Louisbourg."[133]

In the meantime, the women and children of Ingonish and St. Ann had escaped with Eleonore-Jeanne de Beaugny, wife of Antoine Boularderie, junior, to the woods near Little Bras d'Or. Since they were unable to reach the safety behind Louisbourg's walls, they were short of food even though efforts had been made to bring them relief.[134] After the raid on Ingonish, Captain John

Prentice, commander of the *Defence*, sailed into to Gabarus Bay the on 21 May and reported to Peter Warren, the British naval commander, that they had burned 80 houses and destroyed 40 shallops in Ingonish.[135] The efforts of the Ingonish men and the French defenders in general proved to be in vain since Louisbourg capitulated after a six week siege on 28 June 1745. The New Englanders, as well as the British forces in 1758, sought to destroy the French fishery and thus they burned all of French fishing villages throughout Cape Breton during the sieges of 1745 and 1758.

Besides the documentary record, there was also archaeological evidence of the New England and British attacks on Ingonish. During the summer of 1974 Donald Blake Webster, curator of the Canadiana Department at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and other team members, visited Ingonish in a six-week test excavation looking for evidence of the 1520s Fagundes' Portuguese settlement. Although they did not find any evidence of the Portuguese colony, they found artifacts from the French settlement. "There are," Webster wrote, "considerable remains of the French occupation both along the north shore of the north bay, and on the northern slope of the island. We found some artifacts along the bluff, which is badly eroded, at the point (Jackson's), including a bit of green glaze pottery, nails, pipe stem, and so on. We also found a fragment of a nine pounder hollow case-shot, which would suggest that at some time the British at least fired over if not at the village".[136] By far the best archaeological remains of the French period are located on Ingonish Island, largely because the Island had little post-French occupation settlement and the Island is high enough so the ocean did not destroy the extensive base for the French fishery there. "Building remains on the island," noted Webster, "can in fact be picked out almost precisely according to the two existing early French maps of Ingonish".[137]

Other artifacts relating to the 1745 siege of Ingonish have also been found over the years. Gordon Hardy, only 12 years old, discovered a six-pound grenade in 1935 while out clearing their field of sod with his brother Claude and his father Levi in

preparation for planting potatoes. Gordon still has the five-inch diameter grenade displayed in his home and this shot doubtless came from cannons of the Connecticut sloop. [138] Gordon's family home, located above Jackson's Point, was consistent with the Connecticut sloop's devastating attack on the community on 20 May 1745. As for the fragment of the "nine pounder hollow case shot" uncovered by Donald Webster and his team in 1974, that shell doubtless came from the larger British naval ships that fired on Ingonish during the 1758 raid.

Gordon Hardy holding a six pound cannon grenade he found on his father's property in 1935. Photo taken in 1996 (Ken Donovan)

Ingonish was resettled after the French reoccupied Cape Breton in 1749 but by 1751 there were only 33 residents in the community, a far cry from the large population prior to 1745. The Ingonish people included five fishing proprietors and their four wives as well as eight boys, six girls and 10 hired fishermen using 16 shallops.[139] The Ingonish residents had returned to Cape Breton in 1749 but practically all of them, just as in the other outports, were now re-established in Louisbourg. Some of their descendants doubtless live among the Acadians in Atlantic Canada today since some Ingonish people intermarried with the Acadians and moved to Acadia, present-day Nova Scotia.

Although Ingonish and northern Cape Breton remained isolated, especially during the winter, people have been attracted to this part of the Island for thousands of years. The aboriginal peoples, traditional hunter- gathers, sought the resources of land and sea. Archaeological excavations on Ingonish Island and in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have revealed that early aboriginal peoples, especially Archaic cultures, traded rhyolite from Ingonish Island in the Maritime region. The Ingonish Island excavation was particularly valuable because so much of the aboriginal coastal resources have been eroded by the sea. The archaeological evidence in Ingonish and northern Cape Breton after European contact in 1500 was also significant because it supplemented the European documentary record. When the reconstruction of Fortress Louisbourg National Historic Site began in 1961, researchers were sent to archives throughout France, England, the United States and Canada searching for material relating to European settlement in Cape Breton during the 17th and 18th centuries. Approximately 750,000 pages of documentation were gathered, including thousands of pages on Ingonish and other out ports. The extensive documents ensure that this paper on Ingonish and northern Cape Breton is part of a larger project.

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122 On the importance of Ingonish, see McLennan, *Louisbourg From its Foundation to its Fall*, p. 71.

123 A.W. Desbarres, "A Description of the Island of Cape Breton, in North America; including a Brief and Accurate Account of its Constitution, Laws & Government" (London, 1818) in Brian Tennyson, ed., *Impressions of Cape Breton* (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1987), p.80.

124 Receipts and expenditures of His Majesty's Colleries, Spanish River, nos. 1-319. For the carrying of hay from "Niganish" in 1801, no. 84; for Patrick Kehoo's journey to "Ingonish", no. 51; for John Girvois, no. 50. Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS], RG 21, Series A.

125 Ken Donovan, "Mary Grace Barron and the Irish of Ingonish," pp. 177-237.

126 Interview of Annie Belle Donovan Gillis by Ken Donovan, 27 December 1977.

127 Ken Donovan, "The History of Ingonish, 1521 - 1971", p. 22.

128 C.W. Vernon, *Cape Breton Canada* (Toronto, 1903), p. 300.

129 Interview of Albert Harvey, 16 November 1996 and Gordon Hardy, 17 November 1996 by Ken Donovan. Albert Harvey was born on 16 June 1922 and Gordon Hardy was born 18 December 1923.

130 Interview of Alfred Jackson by Ken Donovan, 16 November 1996.

131 Interview of Albert Harvey by Ken Donovan, 16 June 1996.

132 Rapport du Nomme Girard La Croix, 9 May 1745, fol. 3v. in Julian Gwynn and Christopher Moore, eds*., La Chute de Louisbourg. Le journal du premier siège Louisbourg du 25 mars au 17 juillet 1745 par Gilles Lacroix-Girard* (Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Université d' Ottawa, 1978).

133 Adonijah Bidwell, "Journal of the Rev. Adonijah Bidwell," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1873, vol. 27, pp. 154-55.

134 Statement of Joannis et Monjouito Detchevery, sailors from Bayonne, coming from Niganiche with Sieur Bellefeuile de Pabo, Gaspe, 20 June 1745 ,A.N., Outre-mer, Depot des fortifications, ordre 215, Quebec. Thanks to Sandy Balcom for providing this reference.

135 Peter Warren to William Pepperrell, Gabarus Bay, 13 May 1745, The Pepperrell Papers, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Sixth Series, Vol X (Boston: Published by the Society, 1899), p. 166. Note the French sources used New Style dates and the English used Old Style dates. Hence, it is necessary to add 11 days to the English dates for the modern date.

136 Donald Blake Webster to Ken Donovan, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 9 August 1976.

137 Webster to Donovan, 9 August 1976.

138 Interview of Gordon Hardy by Ken Donovan, 17 November 1996. Gordon was born on 18 December 1923.

139 France, Paris, Archives du Genie, Carton 1, no. 25, Ile Royale, 1751, Census of Niganiche.