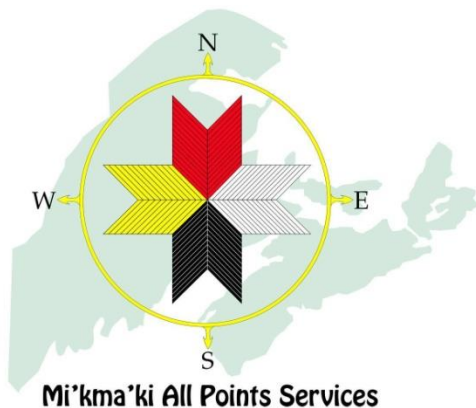


Mi'kmaw Ecological Knowledge Study

Cochrane Hill Gold Development Project by Atlantic Gold Corporation

Cochrane Hill, Nova Scotia

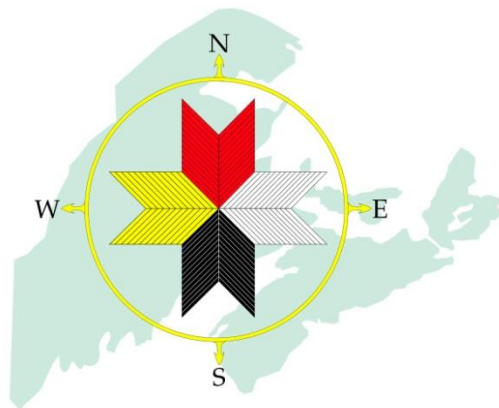


Mi'kmaw Ecological Knowledge Study

Cochrane Hill Gold Development Project by Atlantic Gold Corporation

Cochrane Hill, Nova Scotia

Prepared for the Mi'kmaq First Nation,
Atlantic Gold Corporation,
and the Province of Nova Scotia.



Mi'kma'ki All Points Services, Inc.

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Contents

1.	Introduction	4
1.1.	Mi'kma'ki All Points Services Inc.	4
1.2.	Project Description	4
2.	Methodology	8
2.1.	Purpose, Scope and Ethics of this MEKS	8
2.2.	Definition of Terms	8
2.3.	Research Methodology	10
2.4.	Limitations	11
2.5.	Study Area	12
3.	Section I: THE SETTING	13
3.1.	The Biophysical Environment	13
3.1.1	Surface Geology	14
3.1.2.	Vegetation and Habitats	15
3.2.	Project Location Within Mi'kma'ki	17
3.3.	Reserve Lands and Specific Claims	19
4.	Section II: HISTORIC MI'KMAW LAND USE & OCCUPANCY	19
4.1.	Pre-Contact Mi'kmaw Land Use and Occupancy	16
4.2.	Post-Contact Mi'kmaw Land Use & Occupancy prior to 1950	25
5.	Section III: CONTEMPORARY MI'KMAW LAND AND RESOURCE USES	35
6.	Section IV: IMPACTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MITIGATION	42
6.1.	Anticipated and Potential Project Impacts on Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Uses	42
6.1.1.	Anticipated and Potential Direct Impacts	42
6.1.2.	Potential Cumulative Impacts	43
6.2.	Conclusions	45
6.3.	Recommendations	47
7.	References	49
8.	Appendices	59

Figures:

1.	Atlantic Gold Corp. Projects	5
2.	Atlantic Gold's Proposed Four Mining Sites	7
3.	Cochrane Hill EIS – Atlantic Gold's Project & Study Areas	7
4.	Cochrane Hill Gold Mine Project & Study Areas	12
5.	Cochrane Hill Mine Site Detail, Project & Study Areas	12
6.	Ecosystem Classification of Study Area & Surroundings	14
7.	Significant Mainland Moose Concentration Areas	16
8.	St. Mary's River Conservation Lands Proposal	17
9.	Mi'kma'ki Districts of Nova Scotia	18
10.	Major Historical Mi'kmaw Summer Villages & Travel Routes	21
11.	Known Mi'kmaw-Related Archaeological Sites as of 2018	23
12.	Mi'kmaw Family Hunting Territories, early 1900s, according to F,G, Speck	33
13.	Reported Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land & Resource Uses	36

Tables:

1.	Mi'kmaw Placenames in Guysborough County	25
2.	Historical Gold Mining, Eastern Shore Region	32
3.	Reported Current Mi'kmaw Land & Resource Uses Within the Study Region	38
4.	Number of Identified Plant Species of Special Significance to Mi'kmaw	40

Appendices:

1.	Reported Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land & Resource Uses	60
2.	Historical Gold Districts in Eastern Nova Scotia	61
3.	Osprey Gold Development Ltd Exploration/Project Sites	62
4.	Anaconda Claims Map	63
5.	Forest Cover Loss 2001-2017	64
6.	Historical Review – Cochrane Hill, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia	66
7.	Archaeological/Cultural Aspects Assessment	92

This MEKS report does not and should not represent or be considered, in any manner in whole or in part, as consultation by government or any other third party for purposes of justifying an adverse impact on any Mi'kmaw Aboriginal or Treaty Right.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Mi'kma'ki All Points Services Inc.

Mi'kma'ki All Points Services Inc. (MAPS) is a not-for-profit research institution whose Board of Directors are those of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians (UNSI).

The objects of MAPS are to provide assistance and support to Mi'kmaq Bands, First Nation groups and organizations on the collection, preservation and promotion of Mi'kmaq history, traditions and culture in a manner that fosters First Nation capacity and resources in areas of education, research, environment, resource management, community land use and development.

MAPS was selected to prepare a Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Study (MEKS) for the Cochrane Hill gold development project proposed by Atlantic Gold Corporation.

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1.2. Project Description

Project description as given by Atlantic Gold Corporation on its website <http://www.atlanticgoldcorporation.com/projects/overview> (Aug. 2017)¹:

“Atlantic currently holds four gold development projects in Nova Scotia, Canada: the Moose River Consolidated Project (MRC Project) comprising the Touquoy and the Beaver Dam gold deposits, the Cochrane Hill gold deposit, and the Fifteen Mile Stream deposit, as highlighted in the map below. ...

¹ For more detail, see: FSSI Consultants Pty Ltd. 2014



Figure 1: Atlantic Gold Corporation Projects (Atlantic Gold 2017)

Cochrane Hill:

Location

The Cochrane Hill Gold deposit is located approximately 80 km from the central milling facility at Touquoy and is readily accessible by highway.

History

Gold was discovered at Cochrane Hill in the 1860's with production of about 1,353 oz. between 1868 and 1929. Ore was won by underground mining from three shafts. During 1974-1989 a total of 96 holes for 13,946m was drilled by Massval Mines Ltd (1973-74),

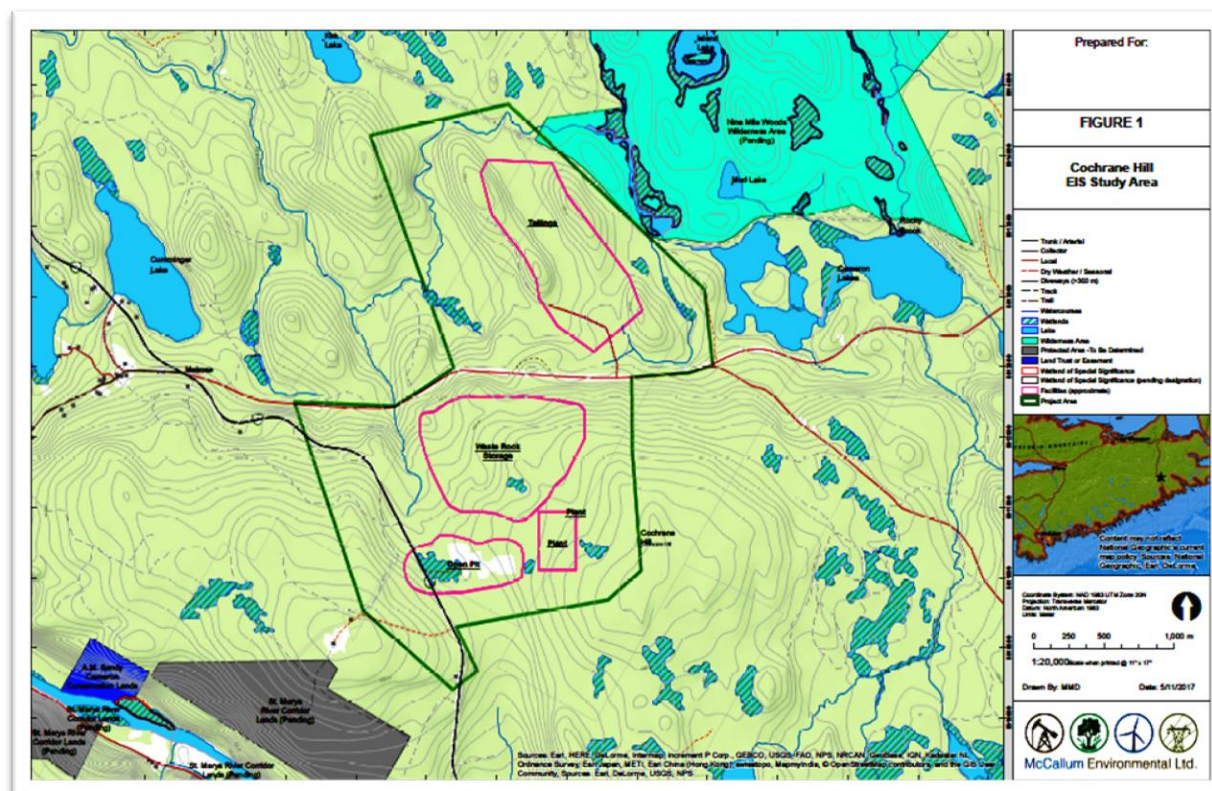
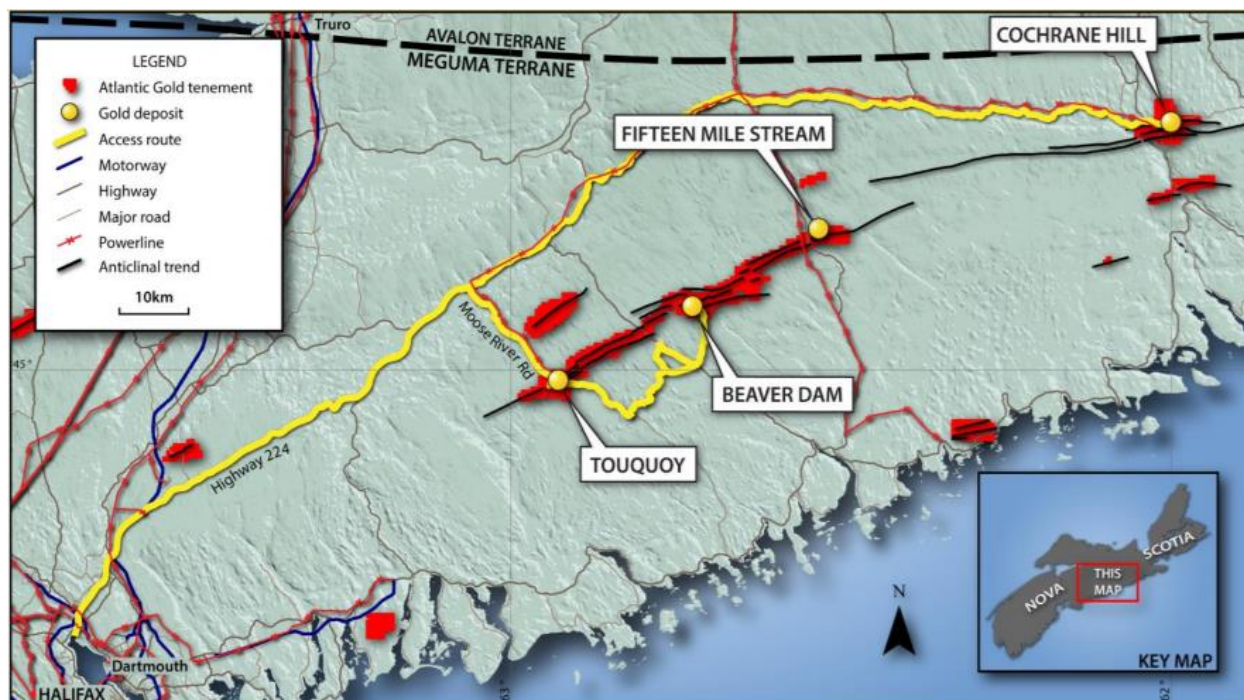
Northumberland Mines Ltd (1979-81) and Scominex (1984-87) and, in addition, underground development and exploration was undertaken by Scominex (1986-87) and Novagold Resources Inc (1988), with 56 underground holes for 2,873m drilled.

Mineral Resource Estimate

The drill database underpinning the current resource estimate for Cochrane Hill comprises 216 diamond drill holes from which a dataset of 11,329 two-metre composites have been created. The recent resource definition drilling evidences a halo of disseminated lower grade mineralization which has been incorporated into the estimate which is one of the drivers of the lower average grade of the resource in the measured and indicated category.

The composite dataset incorporates drilling along an 800m segment of the Cochrane Hill Anticline, a north-east trending tight to isoclinal fold which, in the vicinity of the Cochrane Hill deposit, is overturned with both limbs dipping to the north at 70°. Gold mineralization occurs within the southern limb of the anticline in a sequence of interbedded biotite schists representing well-bedded, though metamorphosed, argillites and greywackes. The mineralized zone is recognizable as a fairly discrete, tabular zone of about 2% disseminated sulphides (pyrrhotite and arsenopyrite) having a true width of 15-25m.

These resource estimates for Cochrane Hill have an effective date of July 20, 2017 and were prepared by Mr. Neil Schofield, a principal of FSSI Consultants (Australia) Pty Ltd. The tables below illustrate the current resource estimate prepared in accordance with NI 43-101. The Mineral Resources below are also based on Touquoy operating costs where the Company has been actively pre-production mining since July 2016. At a selected cut-off grade of 0.35 g/t Au the optimized pit shell for Cochrane Hill contains Measured and Indicated Resources of 10.66 Mt at an average grade of 1.16 g/t Au and 1.63 Mt of Inferred material at 1.32 g/t Au with a 3.1:1 strip ratio” (Atlantic Gold Corporation 2017)”.



2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Purpose, Scope and Ethics of this MEKS

Mi'kmaw Ecological Knowledge (MEK) has been defined in the Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Study Protocol as "...the collection and adaptation of knowledge that Mi'kmaq people have with all components of the natural environment and the interrelationships between all life forms from a unique historical, cultural and spiritual level." Outlining specific guidelines and conditions on the development of a Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Study (MEKS) in the province, the Protocol was ratified by the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs on November 22, 2007 and updated in 2014.

The purpose of an MEKS is to foster the integration of Mi'kmaw environmental knowledge into the environmental assessment process and development decisions. It also aims to identify and report any ecological concerns regarding the Project's impact on Mi'kmaw use of land, resources and special places within the Project Study Area.

This study does not include an archaeological screening and is not an Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment but can include archaeological information based on existing data and literature.

This, as any other MEKS, may not be considered consultation for justifying an infringement on Mi'kmaw aboriginal and treaty rights. However, the MEKS will recommend appropriate action should it identify possible infringements on Mi'kmaw constitutional rights. The MEKS does not intend to inform Mi'kmaw of the Project or promote the Project to Mi'kmaw communities.

MAPS' methodological approach includes the adherence to the Mi'kmaq Ecological Knowledge Study Protocol (2nd edition) as ratified by the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaw Chiefs (Appendix). Accordingly, this research initiative and its methodological approach were communicated to the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch Committee in 2017 whose mandate is to ensure research activities with the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaw community comply with the Mi'kmaq Research Ethics Protocol of 1999.

MAPS informed the Union of Nova Scotia Indians as well as the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaw and the Native Council of its intention to carry out this MEKS.

2.2. Definition of Terms

Environmental assessment: Environmental assessment is the process of identifying, predicting, evaluating, and mitigating the biophysical, social, and other relevant effects

of development proposals prior to major development decisions being taken and commitments made².

Cumulative effects: Cumulative effects are the accumulated spatial and temporal impacts to environmental and socio-economic values from multiple projects and other activities³.

Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Use: Includes any type of resource harvesting such as hunting and fishing of wildlife resources, gathering of plant (food/medicinal plants, wood, etc.) and mineral resources (stones, clays, etc.), as well as occupancy categories such as camp sites, travel routes, spiritually significant sites, burials, etc.

Current or Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Use: Respective activities occurring presently and recalled within living memory.

Historic Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Use: Respective activities that occurred before living memory, including the pre-contact era.

Living Memory: Living memory often extends to the knowledge and experiences of the parents and grandparents of the knowledge holder interviewed thus potentially reaching back two or three generations.

MAPS: Acronym for Mi'kma'ki All Points Services Inc.

Mi'kmaw Ecological Knowledge (MEK): The collective body of knowledge which Mi'kmaq possess based on their intimate relationship with their natural surroundings, which encompasses a distinct world view and environmental ethic, including harvesting, conservation and spiritual concepts, and has been passed on orally from generation to generation. In general, and outside Mi'kma'ki, such knowledge systems are generally referred to as Indigenous Traditional or Traditional Environmental Knowledge (ITK or TEK).

Mi'kmaq / Mi'kmaw: 'Mi'kmaq' is an undeclined form meaning 'the family' or 'the/our people', and the plural of the singular term 'Mi'kmaw'. 'Mi'kmaw' may also be an adjective preceding a noun.

Mi'kma'ki: The homeland or territory of the Mi'kmaq covering the Maritime Provinces plus the Gaspé peninsula and Newfoundland.

Comprehensive Land Claim: Comprehensive land claims arise from a First Nation's underlying Aboriginal Title to its traditional territory as long as it has not been dealt with by treaty or some other legal cessation. Aboriginal title to lands exist as a legal right

² IAIA 1999:2

³ Steffensen 2012:iii

flowing from a First Nation's historical occupation, use and possession of its traditional lands. Aboriginal title is recognized by the Canadian Constitution section 35 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Through the negotiation and settlement of comprehensive claims, often referred to as modern-day treaty making, clarifies ownership of, and access to, land and resources. Never having ceded any of their territory, Mi'kmaq have a potential comprehensive claim to all lands as well as inland and adjacent waters within the Province of Nova Scotia.

Specific Land Claim: These claims deal with grievances of a First Nation arising from a failure of the federal government to honour its treaties, agreements or legal responsibilities. The Mi'kmaq are currently pursuing several specific claims within Nova Scotia.

Significance: In general, the term denotes the extent to which something matters. In the contexts of social and environmental impact assessments, a newly introduced phenomenon, event, structure or activity that has a 'significant' effect if it impacts or alters in some way other pre-existing social or natural phenomena, structures, processes or conditions.

In the context of an MEKS, the term significance is understood to evaluate the degree of potential project impacts on Mi'kmaw rights, culture or economy based on the following criteria: a) Mi'kmaw constitutionally protected rights regarding land and resources; b) the nature of Mi'kmaw use of particular lands and resources; c) the uniqueness of such lands and resources; and d) the cultural or spiritual meaning of those lands and resources.

2.3. Research Methodology

The research involved in the preparation of this MEKS is based on several components:

- An assessment of the study area's archaeological resources or potential based on existing reports and archaeological records of the Nova Scotia Museum.
- A survey of archival, published and unpublished material relating to historic Mi'kmaw land uses and occupancy in the study area housed at the Nova Scotia Public Archives, the Nova Scotia Museum; as well as the internal archive of Mi'kma'ki All Points Services.
- A two-season ground survey in the fall of 2017 and spring of 2018 of local plant resources of special significance to the Mi'kmaw community.
- Community-based research on current Mi'kmaw land and resource uses was carried out between October 2017 and March 2018 among the neighbouring

Mi'kmaw First Nations of the Paqtnkek, Pictou Landing, Millbrook, Sipekne'katik and Annapolis Valley with Mi'kmaw knowledgeable about the Study Area, its resources and current Mi'kmaw land uses.

A detailed interview guide was developed specifically for this study in order to insure a consistent approach in the interviewing and recording of data by the interviewers in the above-mentioned communities.

- Collected information has been compiled and digitized in order to allow for an analysis of potential impacts on current Mi'kmaw land and resource uses. Due to the sensitive nature of much of the information it is reported in a general format only.

2.4. Limitations

- Little archaeological work has been carried out so far in the region of Guysborough County surrounding the project site. A scarcity of pre-contact archaeological evidence in this region does therefore not allow the conclusion of low Aboriginal use and occupancy during that period;
- The Centralization policy in Nova Scotia during the first half of the 20th century disrupted traditional patterns of Mi'kmaw land use and occupancy; Nevertheless, current Mi'kmaw land and resource uses still encompass all of Nova Scotia.
- Land and resource use information, both those stemming from MAPS' general data base as well as those collected for this study specifically, are based on interviews of samples of Mi'kmaw Elders and active land users. The land use data represented here therefore cannot be comprehensive. It serves as positive proof of Mi'kmaw land and resource use in the study region, but does not allow conclusion as to the intensity of land use, nor does it imply that locations or resources not identified here are indeed not utilized by Mi'kmaq.
- The land/resource use survey carried out specifically for this study did not include members of the Millbrook First Nation.

2.5. Study Area

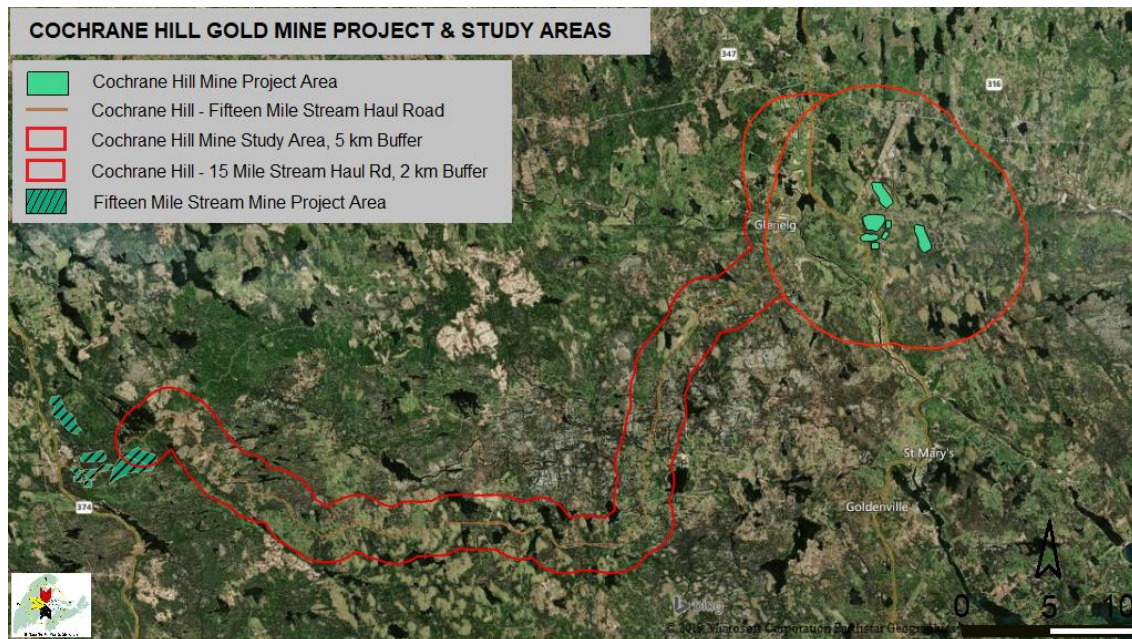


Figure 4: Cochrane Hill Gold Mine Project and Study Areas (Bing Map base)

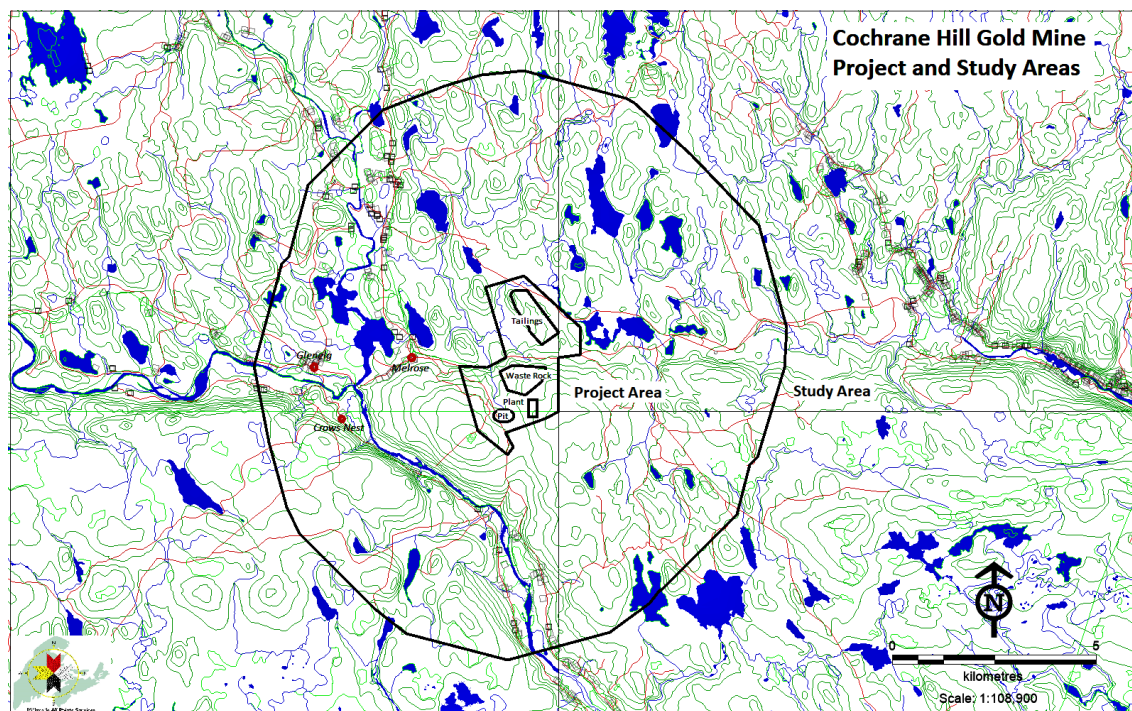


Figure 5: Cochrane Hill Mine Site Detail, Project and Study Areas (without haul road corridor)

In the context of this MEKS, the study area for the review of current Mi'kmaw land and resource uses consists of project area itself and a surrounding buffer of 5 km in radius, as well as a 2 km corridor along the haul road between the Cochrane Hill and Fifteen Mile Stream mine sites.

Historic information may relate to a wider surrounding area, and so may the review of external⁴ environmental changes potentially contributing, in combination with possible effects of the proposed mine, to significant adverse cumulative impacts on the Mi'kmaw community.

3. Section I: THE SETTING

The project footprint of the proposed Cochrane Hill Gold Mine is located in Guysborough County on the eastern side of the West River St. Mary's, about 5 km east of the community of Melrose, circa 12 km north of Sherbrooke and approximately 20 km inland from the Eastern Shore.

The Cochrane Hill Mine site is situated approximately 45 km from Atlantic Gold's proposed Fifteen Mile Stream Mine site and about 80 km from its main milling facility at Touquoy⁵.

The Liscomb River Road, from Aspen to Trafalgar is expected to serve as a haul road connecting the Cochrane Hill project site to the proposed Fifteen Mile Stream mine site and road #374.

3.1. Biophysical Environment

The biophysical environment of the Study Area and its wider surroundings can be characterized as a rolling, generally forested landscape of approximately 50-150 m in average elevation. Cochrane Hill itself, with the geographic coordinated of 45° 15' 0" N and 62° 1' 0" W, has an elevation of 169 m.

The Cochrane Hill project site is located on an anticlinal fold running roughly in a west-east direction, corresponding with the borderline between the St. Mary's River ecodistrict (370) to the north and the Eastern Interior ecodistrict (440) to the south.

⁴ to the proposed project
⁵ Atlantic Gold Corp. 2017

The Project Area is also situated on the upland between two major drainage basins, that of the St. Mary's River about 3 km to the west of it and the Country Harbour River approximately 6 km to the east. Both these river systems drain towards the Eastern Shore.

The terrain, particularly in the northern half of the main Study Area and the central portion of the haul road corridor, is interspersed with lakes, wetlands and brooks.

3.1.1. Surface Geology

The biophysical characteristics of the Project and Study areas can briefly be described as undulating, forested landscape centered around Cochrane Hill.

It is drained by McKean Brook and its tributaries flowing westward into the West River

St. Mary's, northward into Antigonish Harbour by the South River system, and

southward into Country Harbour River by Shingle Brook and a few smaller streams.

The soils are typically of gravelly or sandy loams, moderately well drained and relatively nutrient poor⁶.

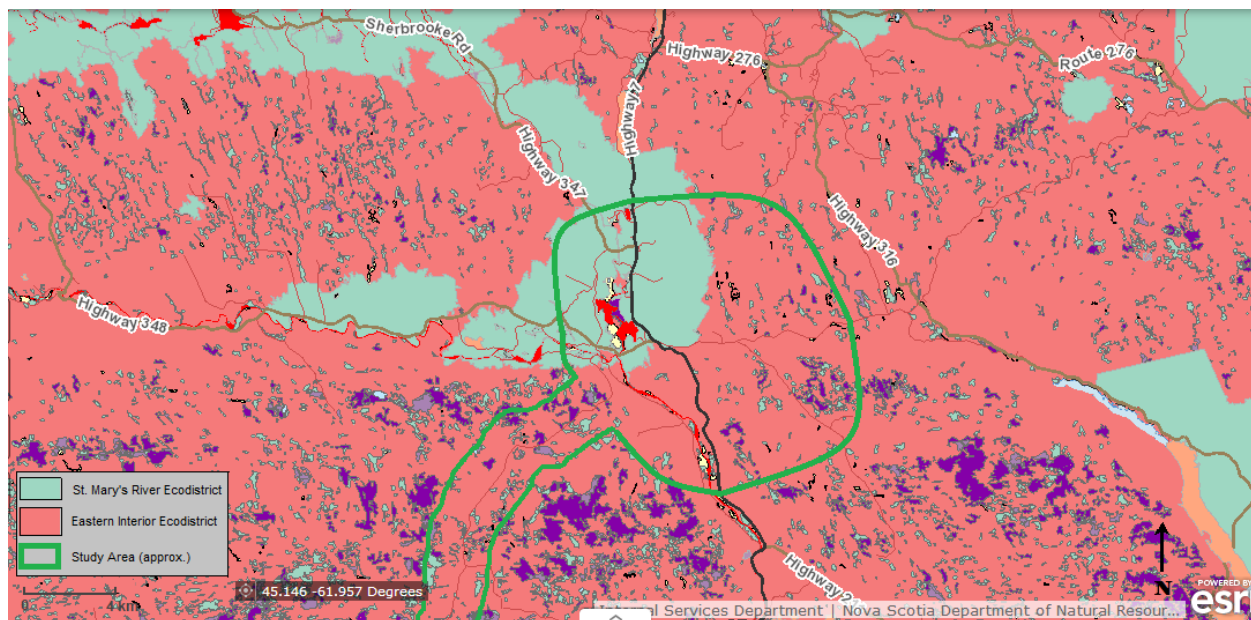


Figure 6: Ecosystem Classification of Study Area and Surroundings

⁶ Neily & al. 2017:100

The northwestern portion of the Study Area⁷, around the communities of Melrose Glenelg and aspen, is part of the St. Mary's River ecodistrict (370), an upland characterized by a rolling, hummocky till with scattered drumlins and wetlands throughout.

The surface geology of the remaining area, belonging to the Eastern Interior ecodistrict (440), is similar to what is found in the area surrounding Seloam Lake and the proposed Fifteen Mile Stream gold mine⁸. It features a gently undulating topography dominated by drumlins with scattered surface erratics, quartzite and slate tills, and patches of exposed bedrock. The stony, and in some areas poorly drained, terrain is interspersed with streams, lakes, bogs and other wetlands⁹

3.1.2. Vegetation, Habitats and Fish/Wildlife Resources

The dominant vegetation type of the portion of the Study Area extending into the St. Mary's River ecodistrict features a mix of black spruce, tamarack, red maple, yellow birch and other tree species tolerant of relatively nutrient poor soils. The richer alluvial soils along some sections of the St. Mary's River floodplain also support sugar maple, white ash, elm and others.

This ecodistrict provides important deer wintering habitat and supports the largest population of the wood turtle, classified as threatened by NSESA¹⁰ since 2013.

The St. Mary's River has long been recognized as one of the most important salmon producing river in Nova Scotia, still sustaining a population of the endangered Atlantic Salmon¹¹.

The forest vegetation of the Eastern Interior ecodistrict, with represents the remaining portion of the Study Area, is characterized by black spruce, white and jack pine, red maple, white birch, and in areas with deeper soils hemlock and beech.

The entire region harbours the largest concentration area of Nova Scotia endangered Mainland or Eastern Moose, with the St. Mary's Ecodistrict occupying the central portion of it¹².

⁷ See below, Fig. 5

⁸ MAPS 2018a

⁹ Neily & al. 2017:121-122

¹⁰ Nova Scotia Endangered Species Act

¹¹ <https://www.sararegistry.gc.ca/default.asp?lang=En&n=357EF835-1&printfullpage=true>

¹² Neily & al. 2017:104, Snaith & al. 2002

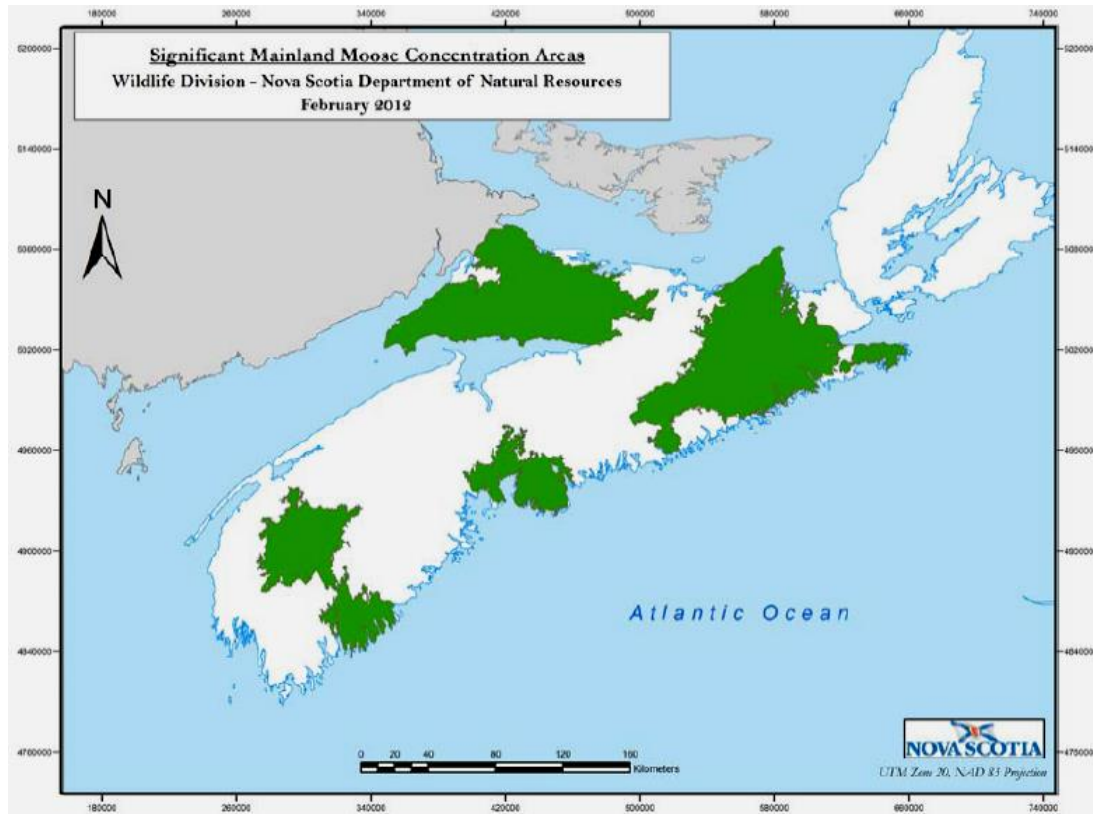


Figure 7: Significant Mainland Moose Concentration Areas (NS Dept of Natural Resources 2012:1)

Other terrestrial fauna common in both those ecodistricts include mammal species such as American Black Bear, Whitetail deer, Coyote, Bobcat, Red Fox, Porcupine, Snowshoe Hare, Red Squirrel, River Otter, Beaver, Muskrat, American Mink, Weasel, and others.

The current Big Bog and Boggy Lake Wilderness Areas are located within or immediately bordering the haul road portion of the Study Area.

The Project Area is also situated between proposed protected areas, the Nine Mile Woods Wilderness Area immediately to the northeast and the St. Marys River Corridor/A.M. Sandy Cameron Conservation Lands to the southwest.

Efforts by environmental organisations and the Province are currently under way to establish a 'St. Marys River Conservation Lands' protected area covering a corridor of over 30 km along the St. Marys River and West River St. Marys¹³. The primary ecological values of this area lie in its habitat for the threatened wood turtle, stands of old forests and Atlantic Salmon spawning habitat.

¹³ <https://www.novascotia.ca/nse/protectedareas/consult/AreaHandler.ashx?id=620&type=html>

Nova Scotia's Nature Trust has also protected nine properties along the St. Marys River totalling 800 acres of woodlands and wetlands.



Figure 8: St. Mary's River Conservation Lands Proposal (NS Nature Trust, adapted)

3.2. Project Location Within Mi'kma'ki

Mi'kma'ki, the traditional Mi'kmaq territory covering Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island the eastern portion of New Brunswick, the Gaspesie and southern Newfoundland, is comprised of seven districts. Its government structure was a system similar to a federated one with each district having its own independent government with a district chief (Saqmaw) and council and an overarching Grand Council (Santé Mawiomi) composed of representatives from each of the district and headed by a Grand Chief (Kji'saqmaw).

The Cochrane Hill gold mining project is located in the district Eskikewa'kik which roughly includes lands encompassed by the watersheds draining to the Eastern Shore east of Sheet Harbour¹⁴.

¹⁴ See Fig. 5

The Mi'kmaw district name “Eskikewa'kik” translates to “Skin Dressers Country” and refers to the region's historic richness in furbearers.

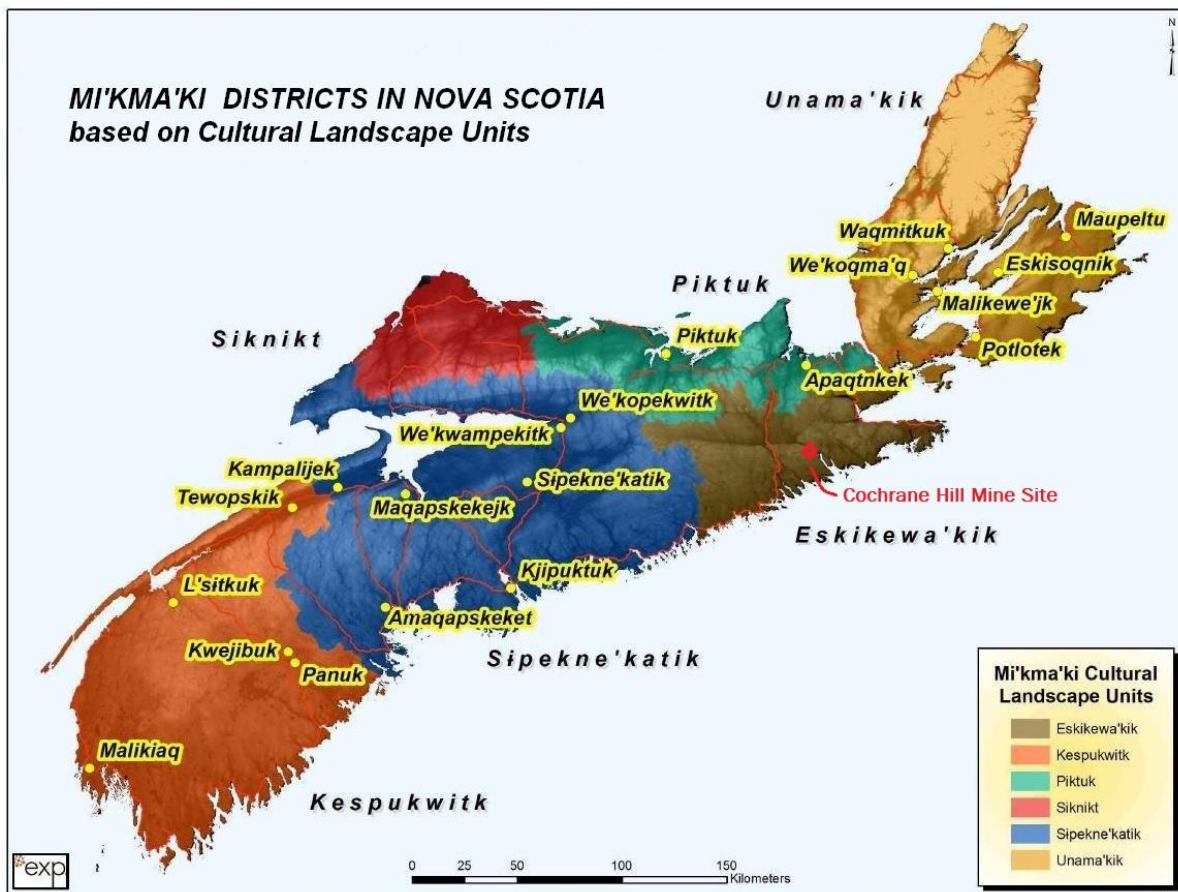


Figure 9: Mi'kma'ki Districts of Nova Scotia (source: Roger Lewis, NS Museum of Natural History) and Cochrane Hill Mine Site

Much of this region, particularly the interior, is still in a relatively undeveloped state and contains significant areas of intact ecosystems in areas that have so far escaped the accelerated clearcutting activities of the past decade or so.

It is, and has been since time immemorial, an important resource area for the Mi'kmaw of Nova Scotia.

The Mi'kmaw First Nations and communities closest to the Project Area are Paqtnkek, Pictou Landing, Millbrook and Sipekne'katik First Nations on the Nova Scotia mainland, and Potlotek and We'koqma'q on Cape Breton Island (Unamaki).

No currently recognized Mi'kmaw reserve lands are located within, or overlap with, either the Project or the Study areas.

3.3. Reserve Lands and Specific Claims

No presently recognized Mi'kmaw reserve lands are located within, or overlap with, either the Project of Study Areas.

The four closest parcels of reserve lands are:

Paqtnkek-Niktuek Indian Reserves #23 and #38 belong to the Paqtnkek Mi'kmaw First Nation (2018 membership of 594)¹⁵ and are located approximately 43 km from the Project Site.

The Pictou Landing First Nation (2018 membership of 670) owns Boat Harbour West Indian Reserve #37 and Fisher's Grant Indian Reserve #24, about 68 km from the Project Site.

Beaver Lake Indian Reserve #17 is a 49.4 ha parcel belonging to Millbrook First Nation (2018 membership of 1908), situated about 64 km to the southwest of the Project Area at Lower Beaver Lake, between Highway 224 and the West River Sheet Harbour.

Sheet Harbour Indian Reserve # 36, also belonging to Millbrook First Nation, is a 32.7 ha parcel located circa 57 km southwest of the Project Area and is bordering on Highway 7.

No specific claims are currently active within the Project or Study Areas.

4. Section II: HISTORIC MI'KMAW USE & OCCUPANCY

4.1. Pre-Contact Mi'kmaw Land Use and Occupancy

As the regional glaciers of the last ice age were receding and the region we now call Nova Scotia began to support habitats suitable to sustain human populations, it was progressively being populated by the ancestors of the Mi'kmaw. Mi'kma'ki, the district of Eskikewa'kik and the Study Area identified for the Cochrane Hill mining proposal identified have been occupied by the Mi'kmaq and their ancestors since the Deglaciation. The so far earliest material evidence of this occupation has been found in Debert whose archaeological record reaches back to about 11,500 BP¹⁶, a period labelled as Paleoindian by archaeologists or Sa'qewe'k L'nik by Mi'kmaq¹⁷.

¹⁵ Census figures by Indigenous & Northern Affairs Canada, <http://fnppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchFN.aspx?lang=eng>

¹⁶ Robinson 2011, Rosenmeier 2012

¹⁷ Mi'kmaq term for the pre-contact cultural period (Lewis 2011,2012,2018)

The three most significant factors for determining the potential for human occupancy are: food resources, access and suitability for habitation. In general, Mi'kmaw land use and occupancy involved semi-permanent and permanent settlement at resource-rich locations. Based on the overlapping seasonal fluctuations in the local availability and abundance of terrestrial and aquatic resources, Mi'kmaw groups exploited singular or multiple resources in a succession of habitats throughout their territory. Waterways provided the most efficient travel/transportation route between the seasonally varying resource areas. Consequently, Mi'kmaw camps or villages were usually situated at a navigable body of water.

At the time of contact Mi'kmaw occupied the shores of virtually all water bodies, both marine and freshwater. River systems and connected lakes were particularly important features in traditional Mi'kmaw land use as they offered a multitude of food resources as well as access routes to inland terrestrial habitats and their resources.

Preferred summer locations were coastal sites at the mouths of rivers with significant spawning runs of salmon, eel, gaspereau and other fish species as well as waterfowl. In general, among the most important coastal resources were migratory fish species such as salmon, eel, gaspereau, striped bass, smelts and sturgeon, marine species such as mackerel, skates, cod, marine mammals such as seals and porpoise, ducks and geese, various sea- and shore birds, clams, quahogs, limpets and other shellfish and whelks, lobster and crab.

These summer villages thus provided ready access to a variety of freshwater and marine resources, plus a waterway into the interior.

At the time of early contact, reports of large summer villages along the Eastern Shore with easy access to the interior included *Nipmanegatik* at Beaver Bank in Halifax Bay, *Esgegeogagig* at Indian Point in Ship Harbour (at the time the residence of the District Chief), *Goimotijig* ("little harbour") at Spry Harbour, *Megateoig* ("big eels") at Liscomb Harbour, *Gamsog* ("rock on the other side") at Canso, *Notogeteoalneg* at the mouth of the Salmon River emptying into Chedabucto Bay, and *Oalamgoaganeg* ("lobster ground") at Port Mulgrave¹⁸.

Similarly, summer villages were located along the opposite coast, the Northumberland Strait, for example *Piktuk* ("from great fire") at Pictou Harbour, at Merigomish (*Maligomitjk* or "Many Coves"), Antigonish (*Naligitgonietjg* or "broken branches"), Pomquet (*Pogomgeg* or "dry sand") and Tracadie harbours (*Tlagatig* or "encampment")¹⁹.

¹⁸ MPAS 2018:4, Hoffman 1955:536-537, MacDonald 1999

¹⁹ Hoffman 1955: 537, 539, 548; Denys 1908:172; Patterson 1877:22, 27; Speck 1915; MacDonald 1999; Allen 2006

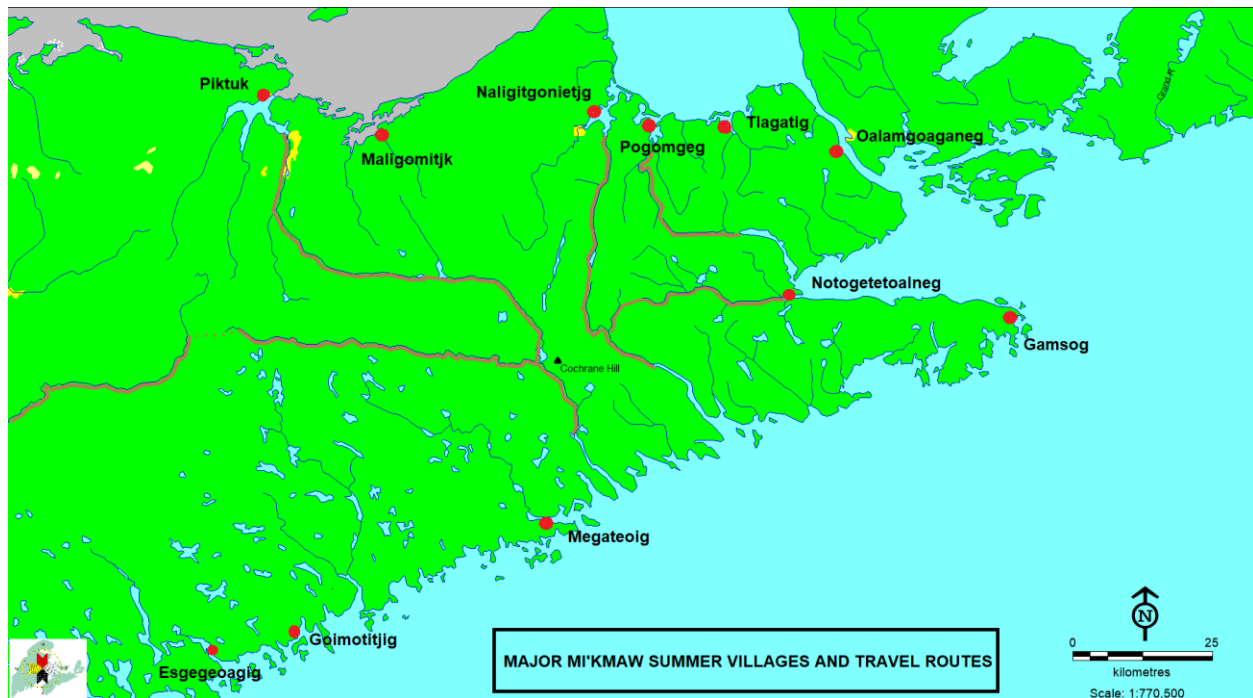


Figure 10: Major Historic Mi'kmaq Summer Villages and Travel Routes

Several long-distance travel (canoe) routes though the interior connected these settlements along the two shores²⁰.

Two of the main regional coast-to-coast travel routes connected Country Harbour with Antigonish Harbour via the South River, and Sherbrook with Pictou and via the East River St. Mary's and the East River Pictou (*Ogoasgog* or "drawing up canoes").

The Cochrane hill region and its resources are thus readily accessible from both the northern and southern coasts.

The West River St. Mary's (joining the East River St. Mary's branch just west of Cochrane Hill) offered an east-west travel route through the interior connecting with the Stewiacke-Shubenacadie River system which links the Minas Basin with Halifax harbour.

During fall and winter, terrestrial and other wildlife resources of the interior generally drew Mi'kmaq families into the region -including the Study Area- whenever their abundance favoured inland food resources.

²⁰ See also MAPS 2018b:10 (Appendix 6)

Mainland moose as well as the woodland caribou herds roaming the open inland areas, and in particular the barrens, black bear, beaver and other furbearers, the ubiquitous snowshoe hare and grouse, waterfowl, as well as fish species such as eel, salmon and gaspereau would have been able to support relatively large groups during the winter months. The district's name "*Eskikewa'kik*" or "Skindresser's Country" highlights the region's richness in terrestrial and semi-aquatic mammals²¹.

In both inland and coastal areas a large variety of plant species were utilized for food, medicines, housing, crafts and tool production²², as well as stones and minerals for tools and implements²³.

Besides providing a rich wildlife habitat, Nova Scotia's original Acadian forests offered an astounding palette of plant resources. The various varieties of maple, birch, spruce, fir, pine, beech, ash, yew as well as tamarack and hemlock were used in housing (wigwam frame and covering) and tool making (tool handles, baskets, traps), for nutritional (syrup, beverage, nuts) and medicinal (tea, poultice) purposes.

A large variety of edible berries, fruits (crabapple, service berry), roots (sweetflag, dandelion), tubers (groundnuts, cattails), shoots (fiddleheads), bulbs (wild leek) and leaves (lambquarters) provided high-quality food resources some of which could be preserved by drying.

In addition to their nutritional qualities, many of those plants possess medicinal properties which were known and utilized by the Mi'kmaq.

A large number of plant species were also used primarily for medicinal purposes (e.g. alder, wild sarsaparilla, gold thread, jewelweed, Labrador tea, sheep laurel).

The archaeological record for the Study Area, and the interior of the eastern Nova Scotia mainland in general, is presently very sparse. This, however, is mainly a result of the relative lack of archaeological research that has so far been invested in this region. The majority of archaeological discoveries have been incidental rather than the product of targeted archaeological surveys. More often than not they have been made in the context of some sort of development (residential, industrial or infrastructural) or agricultural activities – which the Study Area has not seen much of. The existing archaeological record relating to Mi'kmaw and their ancestors in this region consists mostly of sporadic surface finds.

²¹ The 'skins' referred to include the furbearers whose skins became trade items during the historic period (beaver, otter, marten, fox, etc.), but also moose, caribou and others whose hides were equally valuable in the manufacture of clothing and many other items.

²² E.g.: fiddleheads and groundnut/wild potato (*Apios americana*) for food, black ash for baskets, birch bark for wigwams, canoes, containers)

²³ E.g.: cherts and quarts for projectiles and cutting implements, clays

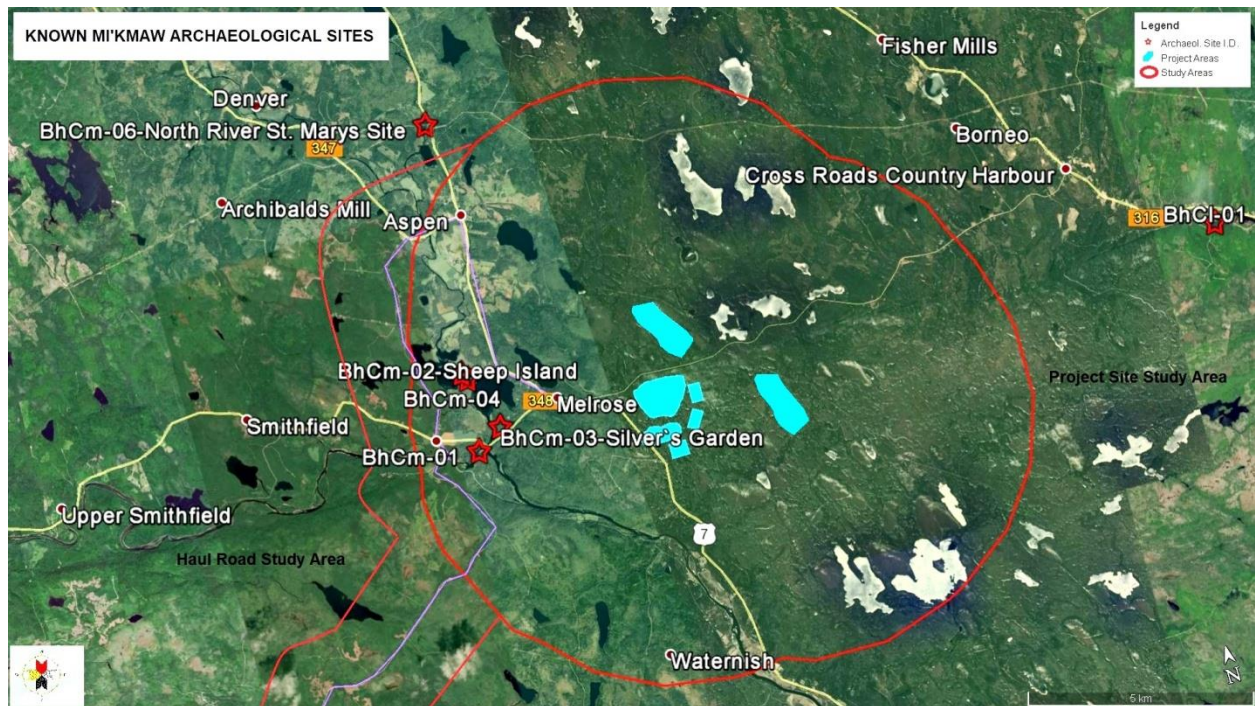


Figure 11: Known Mi'kmaq-Related Archaeological Sites as of 2008 (Google Earth base)

Based on the Province's archaeological sites database of 2008 a cluster of sites (BhCm-01 to BhCm-04)²⁴ is located within the Study Area west of the Project Site. One of those, the 'Sheep Island' site at Glenelg Lake (BhCm-02, BhCm-04), consist of several closely-situated finds and are part of a Mi'kmaq burial ground²⁵. A group of additional sites (BhCm-06 and others) has been found near Aspen, just beyond the Study Area boundary. One of those sites has also been identified as a Mi'kmaq burial site²⁶.

Considering the aforesaid, it is obvious that the paucity of existing archaeological evidence in the Study Area cannot be interpreted as indicator of a lack of Mi'kmaq pre-contact occupancy²⁷.

Quite to the contrary, the archaeological potential of the Study Area and surrounding region is been judged to be high. The entire region has a long history of Mi'kmaq occupancy and resource harvesting²⁸.

²⁴ Official Borden site registration numbers by the Nova Museum of Natural History

²⁵ Lewis 2018:59 (Appendix 7), Reports of this site also appear in the historical record, see MAPS 2018b:10,13

²⁶ Lewis 2018:58

²⁷ Lewis 2011, Sheldon 200:12

²⁸ Lewis 2018

Indigenous place names are a strong testimonial to long-term Mi'kmaw occupancy in the region. Proven to be very persistent through the generations many, if not most, of those traditional toponyms were in existence prior to settlement by Europeans²⁹. Most of the ones recorded by the newcomers relate to locations of early contact and colonization along the coast and estuaries.

Mi'kmaq place names generally name natural features, describe geological features, identify resources or relate to land use. Mi'kmaq place names thus reveal aspects of the social and political history within a region³⁰.

Of the Mi'kmaw names for geographic features or sites of Mi'kmaw occupancy in the inland relatively few have been documented thus far.

However, several of the documented Mi'kmaq place names are found in the surrounding region.

Official Placename	Mi'kmaw Placename	Meaning (where given)
Guysborough County	Esigeoagig ³¹	Skin dressers place
Cape Mocodome	Mkudomk ³²	Home of the black-backed gull
St. Mary's	Nabsoosakunuk ³³	
Wine Harbour	Pulamkeegunchk ³⁴	An outlet cut through the sand
Wine Harbour	Pelumkeagunech ³⁵	The fish spawning place
hill near Country Harbour	Weesik ³⁶	Home of the beaver
Indian Harbour	Utkgunaakade ³⁷	Autumn fishery
Liscomb Harbour	Medadawik ³⁸	Place of eel fishery
Country Harbour	Eskegawgek ³⁹	Skin-drying place
Country Harbour	Anukwakade ⁴⁰	Place for flounders
Country Harbour Valley	Moolabooqwek ⁴¹	Deep gully
Gegogan Harbour	Notjioganeg ⁴²	

²⁹ Weiler 2008, MAPS 2018a:21

³⁰ Leavitt1995:40-43

³¹ Allen 2006

³² Jost 2009:11

³³ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/micmac.html>

³⁴ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/micmac.html>

³⁵ Jost 2009:12

³⁶ Jost 2009:12

³⁷ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/micmac.html>

³⁸ Jost 2009:12

³⁹ Timmons 2010:11

⁴⁰ Jost 2009:12

⁴¹ Timmons 2010:11

⁴² Allen 2006

St. Mary's River	Naboosakunuk ⁴³	The black birch tree
St. Mary's River Forks	Mimniginetjk ⁴⁴	
St. Mary's River Forks, Melrose	Nimnoqinuk ⁴⁵	Big gray birch

Table 1: Mi'kmaq Place Names in Guysborough County

4.2. Post-Contact Mi'kmaw Land Use and Occupancy prior to 1950

In general, the pre-contact coastal summer villages and gathering places mentioned above remained active as far as the 19th century or longer.

The region of Nova Scotia that is today Guysborough County was of much interest to European explorers and newcomers because of the extraordinarily rich fishing grounds off its shores. The Europeans found the area populated by small groups of Mi'kmaq harvesting the abundant wildlife, freshwater and marine resources. It was these same indigenous residents who through trade assisted the newcomers to survive⁴⁶.

Direct but limited contact between Mi'kmaw groups in Eskikewa'kik began in the early 1500's with Basque and French operating a seasonal fishing station (cod and salmon) at Canso, and Fort St. Francois à Canso, established at Chedabucto in 1634⁴⁷. A number of Acadian families soon settled in the surrounding area in the decades to follow and a Catholic mission known today as St. Anne's Parish was established in Canso in 1642.

The 1687/88 census of Acadie listed 51 inhabitants in Chedabucto and 52 Indians, and described Canso as "a small Indian station"⁴⁸.

The interaction between the French/Acadians and the Mi'kmaq was mostly peaceful, based on a mutually beneficial trading relationship. Nicolas Denys set up a series of trading posts across Nova Scotia during his working life, among others one in Chedabucto in 1655. During the same time period fisher and fur trader La Giraudiere established a fort on the St. Marys' River at what is today Sherbooke and "supplied the Indians with nets and spears for the salmon fishery, in the river and in the Glenelg Lakes"⁴⁹.

⁴³ Allen 2006

⁴⁴ Allen 2006

⁴⁵ UINR 2006:11

⁴⁶ MAPS 2018b:5 (Appendix 6)

⁴⁷ Later renamed Fort St. Louis.

⁴⁸ MAPS 2018b:7

⁴⁹ MAPS 2018b:7

According to oral tradition, Abbé Pierre Maillard (ca.1710-1762) established a mission at “Memmenohenock”, located about two miles above the forks near Genelg⁵⁰. On an island called Nimnoqinuk (big grey birch), the Mi’kmaw built a chapel for St. Anne’s gatherings. A number of Mi’kmaw families are reported to have lived at the St. Mary’s River forks near what is today the community of Melrose⁵¹.

Archival records identified three Mi’kmaw burial grounds along the St. Mary’s River. One is located on Sheep Island in lower Glenelg Lake, another on a river island between Upper Country Harbour and Cross Roads Country Harbour, and a third one just north of Sherbrook⁵².

During the first half of the 18th century, Britain was seeking to end the French influence in, and claim to, the region and establish its dominance in Nova Scotia. To that end it expelled the Acadians, the first small but significant wave of European immigrants who managed to maintain good relations to the indigenous population. They fortified Canso and enticed settlers from New England with grants of ‘free wild lands’ to relocate to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. As a result, over 8000 newcomers heeded the call and settled there in the 1760s, particularly in the few fertile agricultural areas such as the Annapolis River, Minas Basin and the lower Shubenacadie River basin.

In response to the sudden onslaught of a large number of settlers from New England and the territorial and sovereignty claims of the British Crown, the relationship between the indigenous population and the newcomers soured quickly.

Historical records show that during the first half of the 18th century Mi’kmaw groups repeatedly attacked and seized British fishing and cargo vessels as well as fortifications and settlements, including Canso⁵³.

Fearing that the “*Indians want to declare war as they believe they are free people*”, Governors Lawrence Armstrong (in 1725), Edward Cornwallis (in 1749) and Charles Lawrence (in 1756) attempted to finally subdue and possibly eliminate the indigenous population.

At a Council meeting in October 1749 Edward Cornwallis “*gave orders to the Commanding Officers at Annapolis Royal, Minas & all others within the Province, to annoy, distress & destroy the Indians every where*” and that “*a Premium be promised of ten guineas for every Indian killed or taken prisoner*”⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ recounted by Jerry Lonecloud to Clara Dennis in the 1920s. NSA MG1 vol.2867 no.2, p.25, in: MAPS 2018b:14

⁵¹ UINR 2008:11

⁵² Location confirmed through archaeological work, see Lewis 2018:60-62; also UINR 2008:10-11

⁵³ MAPS 2018b:5,7-8

⁵⁴ MAPS 2018b:8

While Cornwallis rescinded the bounty by the time he left office in 1752, Governor Charles Lawrence issued a similar decree in May of 1756⁵⁵.

Abbé Jean-Louis LaLoutre, who had established a Catholic Mission in Shubenacadie and supported the Mi'kmaq resistance against the British, sent a petition to Governor Lawrence proposing, unsuccessfully, that the eastern part of mainland Nova Scotia (Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough counties) be set aside in perpetuity for Mi'kmaw use:

*“That in order to arrive at a solid and durable peace, there shall be ceded to them a certain space of territory which they only shall enjoy, suitable for hunting and fishing, and for the establishment of a village and a mission as a parish....That this space of territory shall extend from the south of Bay Verte, comprising Fort Lawrence and lands depending on it, to the entrance on Mines, these ascending into Cobequid as far as and comprising Chigabenakady, and leaving this latter place, formerly my mission, in ascending and descending afterwards as far as the river Mouskedaboveck; and from this place which is on the coast of the east about eight leagues from Halifax, passing by the bay of all islands, Saint Mary's bay, and Moukoudome as far as Canceau, and from Canceau by the passage of Fronsac to the said Bay Verte”.*⁵⁶

In 1761, the Royal Proclamation issued by King George III stated that Aboriginal Title existed and continues to exist and that all land would be considered Aboriginal land until ceded by treaty⁵⁷.

Open conflicts eventually died down at the end of the 18th century. In order to foster among the Guysborough Mi'kmaq a sense of allegiance to the Kings and their support of British troops in the event of an American invasion, Government provided them with supplies such as herring, potatoes, flour, gunpowder, shot, flint, blankets, cloth and clothes⁵⁸.

Although Nova Scotia was, through the 18th and 19th centuries, increasingly being settled by predominantly European immigrants, no portion of Mi'kma'ki has ever been formally and legally ceded.

Quite to the contrary, several 'Peace and Friendship' treaties between the sovereign indigenous nations and the British Crown were signed between 1725 and 1779 and affirmed Mi'kmaw rights to their territory and its resources, and pledging peaceful coexistence and Mi'kmaw loyalty to the British Crown⁵⁹. This covenant chain of treaties

⁵⁵ MAPS 2018b:8

⁵⁶ MAPS 2018b:9

⁵⁷ MAPS 2018b:9

⁵⁸ MAPS 2018b:10

⁵⁹ Wicken & Reid 1996

include the 1752 and 1760/61 treaties which were affirmed in 1985 by the Supreme Court of Canada as legal and binding⁶⁰.

Beyond reports of conflict and official Council meeting records, there are very few historical reports that refer to Mi'kmaw land use patterns at this early time of contact. As the settlers still tended to favour the coastal areas, their written reports obviously focus on observations and events relating to Mi'kmaq activities in the coastal region rather than in the interior of Eskikewa'kik.

Isaac Deschamps stated in 1783 that "*the chief resort of the Indian tribe called Mickmacks is on the Eastern Shore, between Halifax and Cape Breton*"⁶¹.

This suggests that the Eastern Shore region (now considered remote, under-populated and under-developed by many non-indigenous Nova Scotians) was at the time still an area of great importance with respect to Mi'kmaw occupancy, land and resource uses.

Country Harbour was reported to be one of the best Hunting areas as it offered plenty of trout, salmon, herring, mackerel and cod, as well as access to trade goods in exchange for the valuable furs from the hinterland. Country Harbour was a favourite camp site, and there were numerous other camps along the shore between Country Harbour and Isaac Harbour⁶².

Indian Harbour was another important Mi'kmaw village site. The surrounding area held many camp sites due to the rich resources. Indian Harbour Lake, a short distance from the shore, offered shelter during storms. There are reports of an 'extensive Micmac burial ground in this area'⁶³.

The area around today's communities of Caledonia and Trafalgar on the West Branch St. Mary's River was one of the interior regions that was identified as "*a great resort for Indians on hunting and trapping expeditions*"⁶⁴.

The St. Mary's River was particularly important to the Mi'kmaw population, partially due to its richness in salmon. Commissioner of Crown Lands Titus Smith reported in 1801 "*a multitude of their [Mi'kmaw] winter camps*" along its shores and a number of summer camps and discarded broken salmon spears around the lakes along the North Branch St. Mary's River⁶⁵.

As far as the early 1900s, the Mi'kmaq families from the encampment at Isaac's Harbour reportedly "*roamed from the Isaac's Harbour interior lakes to the Bay and*

⁶⁰ R. v. Simon 1985

⁶¹ MAPS 2018b:9

⁶² MAPS 2018b:9

⁶³ MAPS 2018b:9

⁶⁴ Hart 1975, in MAPS 2018b:9

⁶⁵ PANS RG1 vol 380 p1-40 m/f 15,441, in MAPS 2018b:11

*Country Harbour River as far as the headwater lakes which are: Sinclair, Pringle and Eight Island Lakes near Goshen*⁶⁶.

There are reports of two old Mi'kmaw burial grounds in the St. Mary's region, one being located north of Sherbrooke, the other on Sheep Island in lower Glenelg Lake⁶⁷. Recent archaeological work has identified the location of this burial ground⁶⁸.

Notwithstanding the series of treaties affirming Mi'kmaq rights to their territory and resources, European settlement expanded during the 1800s and 1900s and increasingly appropriated the most accessible and for their economic interests most productive areas - the safe harbours, resource-rich estuaries and near-shore fishing grounds all around the Nova Scotia coast as well as the few fertile agricultural regions.

To the Mi'kmaw population, the less disturbed inland areas and their resources gained in relative importance as a result, and the focus of much of their traditional harvesting activities was pushed into the Province's more remote regions.

New diseases imported by the immigrants, such as small pox, measles and whooping cough also took their toll on the Mi'kmaw population and caused many families to vacate settled areas for fear of infection⁶⁹.

In order to minimize Mi'kmaw interference in the settler economy and to facilitate, the government of Nova Scotia began in 1812 to relocate Mi'kmaw families onto a number of small reserves set up in areas deemed less productive and appealing to settlers.

These developments resulted in growing poverty and food insecurity among the increasingly marginalized indigenous population. This triggered a series of petitions by Mi'kmaq leaders to the government in Halifax or the Crown directly requesting land grants, guaranteed fishing and hunting rights at key location within their territories, or for relief in the form of food or other supplies⁷⁰.

Even some of the settlers expressed their concern about the state of the Mi'kmaw in their area through petitions for relief⁷¹.

In a 1801 letter to Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth Joshua Frost, for example, requests a land grant of five acres on Salmon River with "a free Privilege of fish" on

⁶⁶ Cooke 1976, in MAPS 2018b:11-12

⁶⁷ MAPS 2018b:10,13

⁶⁸ See above, p.21, fig. 8

⁶⁹ Expl.: 1801 letter of William Nixon to Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth, PANS RG1 vol 430 doc 88, in MAPS 2019:11

⁷⁰ see MAPS 2018b:14, tab 1: Distribution of Blankets and Coats in Guysboro

⁷¹ Expl.: 1801 letter of William Nixon to Sir John Wentworth, PANS RG1 vol 430 doc 88; letter of Joshua Frost to Sir John Wentworth in 1801, PANS RG1 vol 430 doc 71, in MAPS 2018b:11

behalf of seven Mi'kmaw whom he describes as "very much Discommoded" due to the disruption of their hunting and fishing through settlers⁷².

On December 10, 1801, the Committee of His Majesty's Council and House of Assembly appointed Edward Irish and Timothy Hierlihy to "*inquire and report*" on the conditions of the Mi'kmaw in Guysborough and other eastern settlements to support potential relief actions⁷³.

Throughout the 1800's, a number of Mi'kmaw leaders or heads of families themselves petitioned the government directly for land grants, provisions of food and supplies and, as resources began to dwindle, restrictions on hunting and fishing activities by settlers.

One such petition, for example, was submitted by Mi'kmaw John Battis, Joseph Battis and Francis Cope on April 6th, 1845 for land in Guysborough County "*in the neighbourhood of which they have many years sojourned. Each year their hunting ground and subsistence there from are more scanty and precarious*"⁷⁴.

On February 2nd 1848 Indian Commissioner Abraham Gesner submitted a petition to the House of Assembly, signed by eleven Mi'kmaw Chiefs and Captains, "*to prevent the Hunting of Moose by Dogs and to Secure to Them their Fisheries*" and to allow them to spear salmon in any of the rivers within the Province⁷⁵.

A similar concern was expressed in a petition by Newel Joe, Newel Dennis and others to Lieutenant Governor John Harvey for relief at St. Mary's, Guysborough County on December 8th, 1849, written on behalf of the families Joe, Dennis, Grigwell, Lewie, Toney, Cristifer, Glema, Louland, Michal, Potet, Forit, French, Caber, Prosper, and Sabia. The petitioners complained that fish and game for their families were scarce while 200-300 moose were taken in the previous spring by white people in the St. Mary's alone⁷⁶.

A similar petition was sent from Indian Agent John McKinnon to Secretary of State Joseph Howe on behalf of the families Gabril, Prosper, Joe, Pictop, Scotchman, Marble, Batist, Fraser, Marshal, Nicholas, Cope, Lafford, Newl, Tony, Phillip, Paul, McKeugir and McMillan⁷⁷.

⁷² PANS RG1 vol.430 doc #71, in: MAPS 2018b:11

⁷³ NSA RG1 vol. 430, doc. 34, m/f 23776, in: MAPS 2018b:10

⁷⁴ PANS MG15 vol.3 doc #81 m/f 15106, in: MAPS 2018b:12

⁷⁵ Haigh 2000:63, in: MAPS 2018b:12

⁷⁶ PANS RG1 vol 431 doc #56 m/f 15472, in: MAPS 2018b:12

⁷⁷ MAPS 2018b:13, spelling of family names as used in document

As a result of the wanton destruction of the moose population, a 1863 petition from Guysborough County requested that no moose hunting should be allowed for three years to allow the stock to recover⁷⁸.

The manner and volume of hunting and fishing by the settlers such as driving moose with dogs, claiming exclusive access to productive fishing pools and spanning nets across entire rivers were restricting access to, and depleting, food resources.

During this period of increasing food insecurity a number of Mi'kmaw hunters were compelled to work for usually one dollar and food each day as guides for 'sports' – the province's town residents or military personnel and wealthy visitors from New England⁷⁹. With alternative sources for employment and cash incomes extremely scarce, some local Mi'kmaw found seasonal work as guides in the new sport hunting/fishing industry that spanned from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s and naturally added to the pressure on the regional wildlife resources.

In 1861 gold was discovered north of Sherbrooke, and the town of Sherbrooke grew rapidly and experienced two decades of gold fever. During the same year, gold was also found near Goldboro, a short distance to the east, on Isaacs Harbour.

At Cochrane Hill, gold was discovered in 1868 and it was formally declared a gold district in 1979⁸⁰.

Several other gold mines were developed in the second half of the 19th century which brought about an additional influx of settlers.

These early mining activities and their environmental impacts remained fairly localized due to their relatively small scale and simple extractive technologies. However, their environmental legacy is still felt in some locations⁸¹.

<i>District</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Production (oz)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Beaver Dam	1889 - 1949	966.7	
Caribou	1869 - 1968	91335.80	
Clam Harbour	1904	53.9	
Ecum Secum	1893 - 1935	1300.00	
Fifteen Mile Stream	1878 - 1941	21291.60	
Gold Lake	1890 - 1899	38.6	
Harrigan Cove	1874 - 1961	8071.30	

⁷⁸ PANS RG5 Series P vol 18 doc #173, in MAPS 2018b:13

⁷⁹ Parker 1990:5,7; Dodds 1993:23-61

⁸⁰ Mosher 2004:17

⁸¹ Campbell & al. 2018

Killag	1889 - 1951	3583.60	
Lake Charlotte	1938 - 1964	77.5	
Little Liscomb Lake	1893 - 1935	51.9	
Lochaber	1883	2.3	
Miller Lake	1902 - 1951	538.8	
Moosehead	1899 - 1935	431.1	
Mooseland	1863 - 1934	3865.10	1860, First Discovery in Nova Scotia
Moose River	1888 - 1939	25917.20	Production before 1888 included with Caribou
Quoddy	1906	1	
Salmon River (Darrs Hill)	1881 - 1939	41805.40	
Sheet Harbour	1898 - 1935	3.9	
Ship Harbour	1935 - 1937	7.4	
Tangier	1862 - 1919	26286.50	
Upper Stewiacke	1906 - 1907	43.9	

Table 2: Historical Gold Mining, Eastern Shore Region⁸²

For the second half of the 19th century, census data for Mi'kmaw residents in Guysborough exist (see Appendix 1)⁸³, but population numbers are likely conservative due to the mobile pattern of Mi'kmaw land use, occupancy and residence during that period⁸⁴. It is also not clear what the radius of the surveys was beyond the community of Guysborough. The Guysborough County boundary was not surveyed until 1914⁸⁵. The Census data for the years 1871, 1881 and 1891 include the names and ages of individuals⁸⁶.

During the early 1900s, Frank G. Speck recorded what he described as 'Micmac family hunting territories', with the caveat that his records may not be complete⁸⁷.

These territories generally centre around waterbodies or watersheds. Their boundaries were, as Speck notes, rather vague and not exclusionary to trespassers. The

⁸² Bates 1987:33

⁸³ Appendix 1: MAPS 2018b:15-22

⁸⁴ As noted by Indian Agent William Chisholm in 1879/80, MAPS 2018b:20

⁸⁵ MAPS 2018b:13

⁸⁶ See Appendix 1: MAPS 2018b:15-19

⁸⁷ Speck1922:93-94, also Speck 1915, Chute 1999

individuals associated with them were not the 'owners' in the European sense of private property ownership, but persons who, with their extended families, were generally recognized as the primary users of these areas and their resources. The hunting territories identified by Speck were thus core areas used not only by the named individuals and their immediate families, but provided resources and sustenance, and likely a seasonal abode to members of their extended families and close friends.

Unfortunately, the family or families who were at the time the primary users of what is now the Cochrane Hill mine Project Area have not been identified by Speck. The haul road towards the proposed Fifteen Mile Stream mine site however cuts through the hunting territories that Speck identified as being used, and under the stewardship of, the extended families of Jim Paul, Michael Toney and Peter Joe Cope at the time⁸⁸.

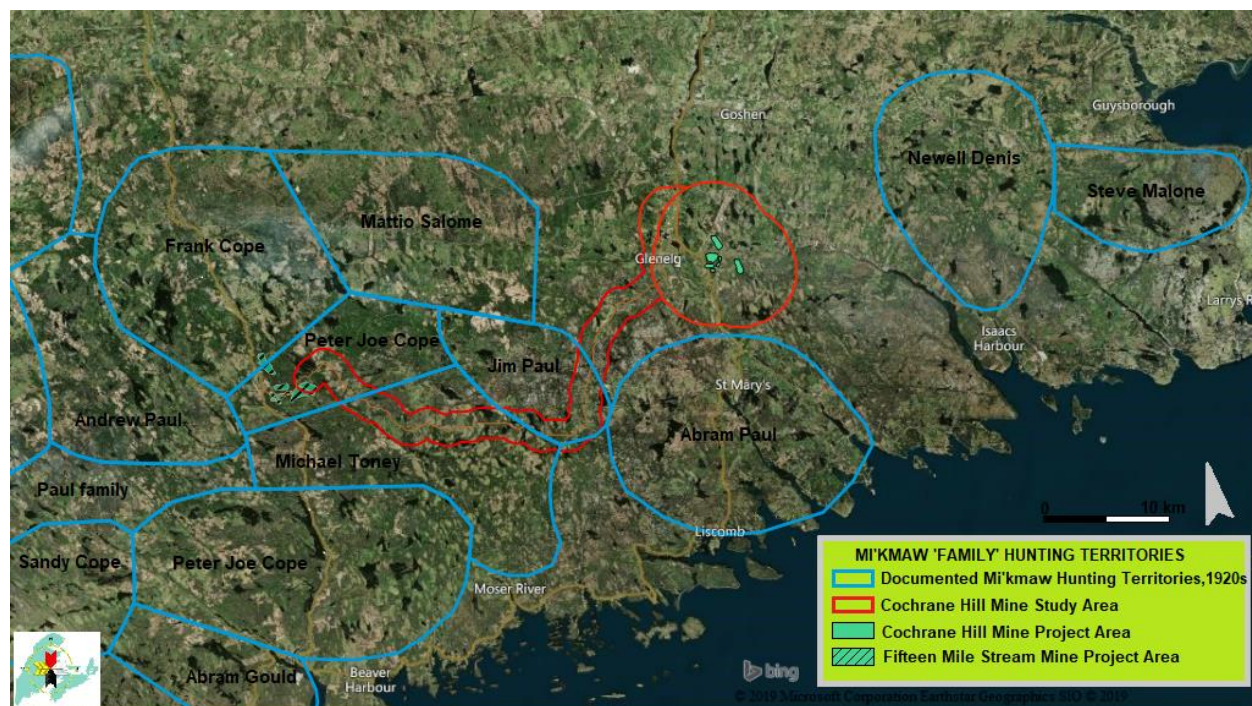


Figure 12: Mi'kmaq 'Family Hunting Territories', early 1900s, according to F.G. Speck (base Bing)

Needless to say, there were no areas of Nova Scotia that were not traditionally utilized by its indigenous population during the pre-contact and early contact periods with the exception of locations that were physically occupied or claimed by the newcomers through settlements, agricultural areas etc.

⁸⁸ Speck 1922:103-105, MAPS 2018b:14

Even among today's non-indigenous residents, elders remember Mi'kmaw families criss-crossing the region, maintaining hunting camps or cabins throughout. It wasn't until the 1940s when they reported observing a noticeable drop in the presence and extended stays of Mi'kmaw family groups in the region⁸⁹.

The 'Indian Residential School' policy carried out between the 1880's to the 1970's was an attempt at assimilating the Indigenous population and removing them from their traditional lands. It was aimed at disrupting the adolescent generation's connection to their families and the land, their traditional resource economy, their indigenous culture, language, world view and spirituality. The residential school in Shubenacadie was in operation between 1930 and 1967.

Another factor responsible for the change in Mi'kmaw land use patterns appears to have been the government's Centralization Policy⁹⁰, an attempt to further concentrate the Mi'kmaw population onto only two large reserves, Shubenacadie Indian Reserve on the Nova Scotia mainland and Eskasoni Indian Reserve on Cape Breton Island.

This policy ultimately failed⁹¹, was abandoned in 1949, and the majority of Mi'kmaq today live in 18 communities spread out over the province. Most of the families that were active in the Study Area eventually relocated to the Shubenacadie, Millbrook and Paqtnkek reserves.

The decline in the visibility of Mi'kmaw families or groups in the inland in terms of seasonal camps by no means implies that the importance of their traditional lands and resources began to decline and harvesting activities were being abandoned.

The general pattern of Mi'kmaw land and resource uses in the area gradually changed during this period from extended seasonal inland stays, often by complete families, to briefer, frequent hunting/fishing excursions. This trend was facilitated, possibly even stimulated, by increasing accessibility through a growing network of country roads and the use of motorized vehicles.

Mi'kmaw families were thus able to re-capture some of their never legally ceded traditional harvesting areas, as far as they had not in the meantime become subject to competing uses by the dominant society such as municipal, agricultural or industrial development, or parks and protected areas.

Despite progressive developments in the region and increasing pressures towards year-round settlement and centralization, the Mi'kmaw never voluntarily or wilfully surrendered or abandoned any part of their traditional territory.

⁸⁹ Lewis 2018a

⁹⁰ Lewis 2018a, Bernard 2018

⁹¹ Upton 1979:174-175, CMM & Peabody Museum 2001:51, 58, 69, Tobin 1999

5. Section III: CONTEMPORARY MI'KMAW LAND AND RESOURCE USES

Across Nova Scotia, the use of Mi'kmaw traditional lands and resources continues, and so does the retention of in-depth knowledge of the interdependent relationships between the territory's natural elements, plant, animal and human beings. This knowledge and the spiritual understanding of a proper balance between humans and their environment are expressed in the principles of Netukulimk, a code of conduct for ethical living⁹².

The pattern of Mi'kmaw land use has shifted, as indicated above, from that of a seasonally shifting residence between fluctuating resource-rich coastal and inland locations or areas to one of a permanent residential base with shorter-term harvesting excursions to specific seasonally productive resource areas.

The regional road network facilitates quick year-round access for harvesting excursions of one or several days by Mi'kmaw from the surrounding First Nation communities on the Eastern and Northumberland shores, the Shubenacadie River and Cape Breton, whether they reside on-reserve or not. Motorized transportation such as pick-up trucks all-terrain vehicles, snowmobiles, engine-powered boats put the Study Area's resources within relatively easy reach from any of these communities.

A number of Mi'kmaw residents maintain or regularly use cabins or cottages in the region. However, no Mi'kmaw owned or utilized cottages or cabin have so far been recorded in the Study Area.

The significance of 'traditional' land use activities to most Mi'kmaq today goes far beyond the aspects of recreation or sport. Traditional land use activities include hunting, fishing and gathering for food, social and ceremonial purposes, and for earning a livelihood.

The traditional land use activities of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering are an essential form of expression of their cultural identity. The relationships to the land itself and its non-human inhabitants are the foundation of the Mi'kmaq traditional economy and lifestyle, world view, philosophy, and even language⁹³.

These land use activities are an integral part of the domestic economy of many households and make an important contribution to their food security. Of the sample of Mi'kmaw individuals interviewed regarding their activities in this region, all considered the traditional sector of their domestic economy, the harvesting of wildlife and plant resources, an important part of their cultural identity and an indispensable component of their families' food security.

⁹² Prosper & al. 2011, Barsh 2002

⁹³ Sable & Francis 2012, Hornborg 2001

Both those aspects, the economic and cultural motivations for traditional land and resource uses, feed into a third impetus: the need to express, confirm and exercise their Indigenous rights to live their cultural heritage within Mi'kma'ki, and their treaty rights to continue harvesting the resources of their traditional territory.

Mi'kmaw individuals or families from all surrounding communities were involved in harvesting and other land use activities in the region including the Study Area.

The following map of recorded activities (Figure 13) represents a mere sample of Mi'kmaw land use in the area, since only a portion of the active land users were interviewed and respondents reported only a portion of the land use activities they have carried out⁹⁴.

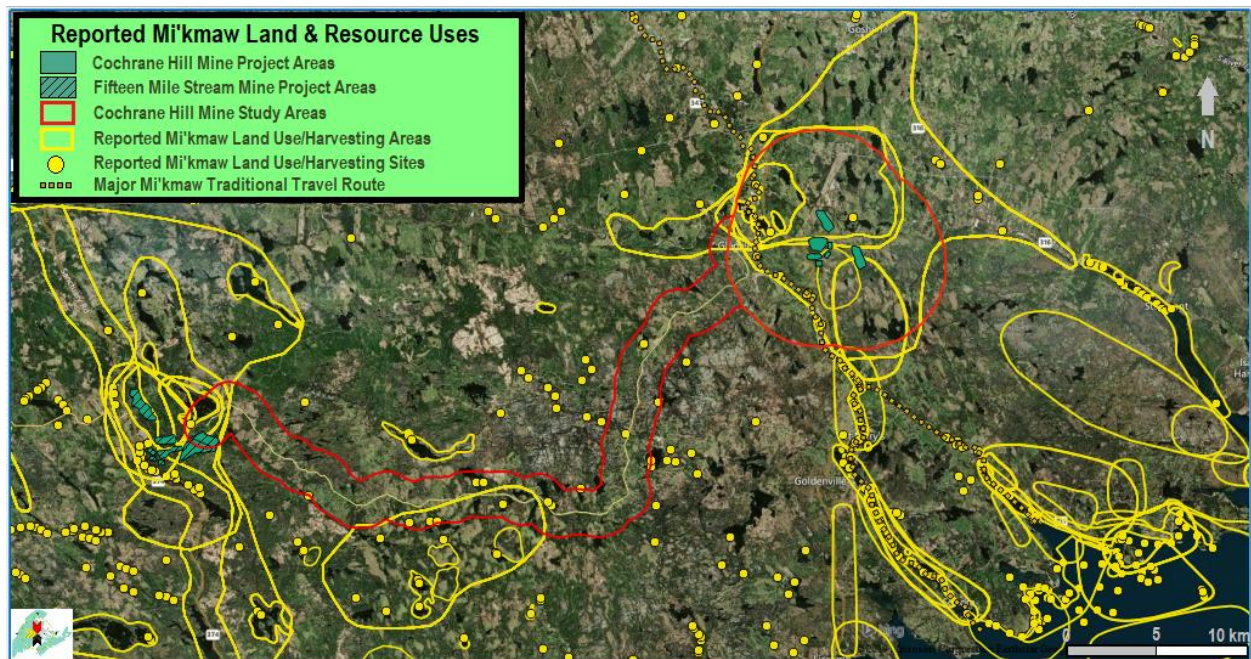


Figure 12: Reported Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land & Resource Uses (base Bing)

One also has to keep in mind that the importance of the discrete harvesting sites displayed on the map goes beyond the actual, distinct locations, but encompasses the surrounding habitats required to support the particular resources harvested at that location. The significance of a reported moose hunting site, for example, is not limited

⁹⁴ Due to the sensitive nature of some of the land use activities and MAPS's confidentiality commitments to the interviewees, the specific type of land use activities cannot be identified on the map.

to the spot where the animal was killed but includes the entire range and habitat that supported this individual animal⁹⁵.

It therefore follows that the map does not support the conclusion that certain areas and location that do not depict land use are indeed not being used by Mi'kmaq. It does clearly illustrate, however, that both the Project Area and the wider Study Areas are being utilized by the Mi'kmaw First Nation, and that these lands and their resources are integral parts of its traditional economic sector.

The pattern of documented activities shows three major clusters within, or overlapping, the defined Study Areas.

- 1) The primary Study Area around the Project Sites is centered within one of those clusters. Within this area, further concentrations of harvesting and other land use activities around the group of lakes around the northern portion of the Project Sites: Cumminger Lake, Glenelg Lake, McKeen Lake, Cameron Lakes, Louis Lake, Gouin Lake, and Lithgow Lake.
This area of concentration includes the Mi'kmaw burial ground on Glenelg Lake's Sheep Island.
Another concentration of reported activities lies between the southern Project footprint and the area around MacDonald and Archibald lakes.
The ancient travel between the Eastern Shore and Pictou Harbour following the St. Mary's River and its East St. Mary's River branch cuts through the Study Area and along the western side of the Project Area, within a distance of about 2 km.
- 2) The haul road and its Study Area buffer towards the Fifteen Mile Stream mine site cuts through another area of a relative concentration of reported Mi'kmaw use covering the region between East River, Melopseketch and Hunting lakes in the northeastern portion and Round, Kelly, Shoaly, Toadfish and Long lakes in the southwestern part.
- 3) The region surrounding the proposed Fifteen Mile Stream mine is the third area of reported high use and is discussed elsewhere⁹⁶.

The following table (Table 2) lists the sample of contemporary land and resource activities reported to occur within the Study Region and represented on the above map (Fig. 13)⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ Moose require a forest/wetland habitat of 24-40 sq.km, depending on availability and quality of suitable browse and shelter wood.

⁹⁶ MAPS 2018a

⁹⁷ Due to the sensitive nature of some of the land use activities and MAPS's confidentiality commitments to the interviewees, the specific locations of those land use activities cannot be identified on the map.

As indicated above, it needs to be kept in mind, however, that these are merely a reported selection of ongoing activities by a sample of the Mi'kmaw land users active in the region.

Land & Resource Use Category	Reported Resources & Activities	Mi'kmaw Term
Hunting & Trapping	Whitetail deer (<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>),	Lentuk
	Eastern moose (<i>Alces alces americana</i>) [sighting],	Tia'm
	Snowshoe hare (<i>Lepus americanus</i>),	Apli'kmuj
	Porcupine (<i>Erethizon dorsatum</i>),	Matues
	Groundhog (<i>Marmota monax</i>),	Mnumkwej
	Black bear (<i>Ursus americanus</i>),	Muin
	Red fox (<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>),	Wowkwis
	Bobcat (<i>Felis rufus</i>),	Pqajue'wj
	Lynx (<i>Felis lynx</i>),	Apuksikn
	Coyote (<i>Canis latrans</i>),	
	Beaver (<i>Castor canadensis</i>),	Kopit
	Muskrat (<i>Ondatra zibethica</i>),	Ki'kwesu
	Otter (<i>Lutra canadensis</i>),	Kiwnik
	Fisher (<i>Martes pennanti</i>),	Ahkumk
	Mink (<i>Mustela vison</i>),	Tiake'wj
	Raccoon (<i>Procyon lotor</i>),	Amaljikwej
	Ruffed grouse (<i>Bonasa umbellus</i>),	Plawej
	Ducks (<i>Anas rubripes</i> & al.),	Apji'jkmuj
	Canada goose (<i>Branta canadensis</i>),	Sinumkw
	Heron (<i>Ardea herodias</i>)	Tmkwaliknej
	Barred owl (<i>Strix varia</i>)	Ku'ku'kwes
	Loon (<i>Gavia immer</i>)	Kwimu
Fishing	Speckled trout (<i>Salvelinus fontinalis</i>),	Atoqwa'su
	Atlantic salmon (<i>Salmo salar</i>),	Plamu
	American eel (<i>Anguilla rostrata</i>),	Katew
	White sucker (<i>Catostomus commersoni</i>),	Komkwej
	Yellow perch (<i>Perca flavescens</i>),	Ajoqlue'j

	Gaspereau (<i>Alosa pseudoharengus</i>), Smallmouth bass (<i>Micropterus dolomieu</i>), Freshwater mussels (<i>Margaritifera margaritifera</i> & al.)	Kaspalew Ji'kaw Sipuwe's
Food, Medicinal & Decoration Plants Collection	Blueberries (<i>Vaccinium angustifolium</i>), Cranberries (<i>Vaccinium macrocarpon</i>), Strawberries (<i>Fragaria virginiana</i>) Raspberries (<i>Rubus ideaus</i>) Goose berries (<i>Ribes inerme</i> & <i>oxyacanthoides</i>) Chokecherries (<i>Prunus virgiana</i>), Fiddleheads (<i>Matteuccia struthiopteris</i>), Sphagnum moss (<i>Sphagnum spp</i>), Hazelnuts (<i>Corylus cornuta</i>), Mushrooms(<i>Cantharellus</i> , <i>Agaricus campestris</i> & al.), Mayflower (<i>Epigaea repens</i>), Cat tails (<i>Typha latifolia</i>) Sweet grass (<i>Hierochloe odorata</i>) Gold thread (<i>Coptis trifolia</i>), Goldenrod (<i>Solidago canadensis</i>), Labrador tea (<i>Ledum groenlandicum</i>), Princess Pine (<i>Lycopodium obscurum</i>) Lion's paw (<i>Prenanthes trifoliolata</i>), Bloodroot (<i>Sanguinaria canadensis</i>), Golden seal (<i>Hydrastis canadensis</i>), Flag root (<i>Acorus calamus</i>) Caraway seeds	Pguman Su'n Automkomin Kilitaq Kawaqtejk Maswenmaqsiei Pisaqnatkul Malipqwanj Lgetu Poqomaqn'skw Welima'qewe'l Wisawtaqji'jkl Pasipqaji'jit Ki'kwes'skl Puistina'jk
Wood & Wood Products Harvesting	White ash (<i>Fraxinus americana</i>), Black ash (<i>Fraxinus nigra</i>), Balsam fir (<i>Abies balsamea</i>), Hemlock (<i>Tsuga canadensis</i>), Maple (<i>Acer saccharum</i> & al.) Juniper (<i>Juniperus communis</i>), White cedar (<i>Thuja occidentalis</i>), Birch bark (<i>Betula papyfera</i>), Red oak (<i>Quercus rubra</i>)	Aqamoq Wisqoq Stoqon Ksu'skw Jioqsmusi Apitmkiejit Qaskusi Maskwi Mimkwaqanimusi

Ceremonial / Spiritual Activities & Sites	Sacred site
Burial & Birth Places	Burial
Habitation & Camp Sites	Camp/Cabin, travel route

Table 3: Reported Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Uses within the Study Region

A two-season plant survey was conducted by Mi'kma'ki All Points Services at sampling point through the Study Region in order to identify species considered of specific cultural significance to the Mi'kmaw community.

The following table (Tab. 4) displays the results of the survey, with the number of species broken down into the categories of food/beverage plants, medicinal plants and plants used for crafts and arts applications.

Cochrane Hill Plant Surveys		
Fall (2017)	Food/Beverage	13
	Medicinal	42
	Crafts/Arts	8
Spring (2018)	Food/Beverage	7
	Medicinal	21
	Crafts/ Arts	8

Table 4: Number of Identified Plant Species of Special Significance to Mi'kmaw according to Type of Use

As the harvesting and use of traditional medicines embody a spiritual component beyond their practical medicinal applications, many Mi'kmaw are reluctant to publicise the respective species names, specific harvesting locations and medicinal uses. Plant uses are therefore given here in a generalized format only.

None of the plant species identified in the surveys were found to be threatened or limited to local occurrence.

While all above-mentioned wildlife and plant species are of economic importance to Mi'kmaw harvesters, moose, salmon, eel, black ash, sweet grass and various other medicinal/ceremonial plants are of special cultural and spiritual significance as well.

The threatened and declining status of the mainland moose population further heightens the significance of the fact that its tenuous presence in the Study Area has been confirmed during the data collection for this study.

The evidence presented here clearly demonstrates Mi'kmaw occupancy and land/resource use in the Study Area and wider region of Eskikewa'kik – a changing but uninterrupted use from pre-contact times to today.

It also illustrates the economic and cultural significance of this region and its resources to the surrounding Mi'kmaw community and to the Mi'kmaw First Nation in general.

The influx of Euro-Canadian settlers with competing land and resource uses and the resulting changes in the landscape of the coastal and more fertile regions of Nova Scotia have dramatically limited Mi'kmaw access to what used to be their richest resources areas.

The interior of eastern Nova Scotia has so far been one of the two remaining regions of relatively large contiguous forests and terrestrial wildlife habitats on the mainland portion of the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq traditional territory, with the second one located in the interior of southwestern Nova Scotia.

This enhanced the relative significance of the hitherto lightly settled and less transformed region of Eastern Shore interior to the Mi'kmaw of mainland Nova Scotia. The continuation of traditional land and resource uses, both in principle and in this specific region, are thus of utmost importance to virtually all interviewees for economic as well as cultural reasons.

As was touched upon earlier, the relationship of the Mi'kmaw to their traditional lands extends far beyond economic interests. It provides the basis of Mi'kmaw philosophy and spirituality, therefore is the very foundation of Mi'kmaw cultural identity.

6. Section IV: IMPACTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MITIGATION

6.1. Anticipated or Potential Project Impacts on Mi'kmaw Land and Resource Uses

6.1.1. Anticipated or Potential Direct Impacts

As with any new large-scale industrial development in a hitherto fairly sparsely settled region with relatively large areas of intact forest and wetland ecosystems, the proposed mining activities will result in an influx of people and increased human activity in the area, both industrial and recreational, translating into additional stresses on wildlife habitats and populations.

The most obvious and unavoidable impacts of the proposed developments will be the loss of the ecosystems, wildlife habitat and their resources within, and in the immediate vicinity of, the project's footprint. This includes the project's entire infrastructure such as the mine pit, waste rock deposit piles, tailings pond, processing plant, the cleared areas surrounding these facilities and the new or widened transportation corridors between the proponent's other existing or proposed neighbouring processing or transshipment facilities.

The resulting immediate loss of Mi'kmaw harvesting areas also extends to the legislated 'no-shooting' buffers surrounding those industrial complexes, working areas and employee shelters, as well as alongside roads.

Equally unavoidable appear to be the increased noise and dust levels generated by the blasting, processing and trucking activities involved.

Such emissions are impacting directly Mi'kmaw use and resource harvesting by disturbing, dispersing or expelling wildlife, or by coating and potentially contaminating local food and medicinal plants and surface water with particulate matter.

Other types of emissions also threaten to impact wildlife, plant and water resources and therewith Mi'kmaw harvesting within, and even beyond, the Study Area.

It appears to be unreasonable to assume that effluents containing arsenic, mercury and other toxic chemical components used in ore processing, whether stored in tailings ponds or leaching out of rock stock piles, can reliably be prevented from entering local surface water features like the area's many streams, lakes and wetlands, and possibly even local aquifers. Discharge of such effluents into the local freshwater system may disperse for considerable distances through the downstream portion of the respective

watershed and contaminate water bodies, soils, aquatic fauna⁹⁸ and flora, and other wildlife depending on those habitats⁹⁹.

Of particular concern to the Mi'kmaw are potential adverse impacts on some key species in their traditional economy and spirituality whose life cycles are tied to, and dependent on, clean freshwater resources of the St. Mary's River watershed: Mainland moose, Atlantic salmon, American eel, bald eagle and sweet grass.

The Province and non-indigenous population of Nova Scotia share this concern enough to extend the legal protection of a 'threatened' species status to the mainland moose, the Atlantic salmon and the American eel¹⁰⁰.

The importance of the continued presence of those wildlife species and the plant species that support them as indicators of the health of local ecosystems and the intricate web of interrelated relationships and dependencies that humans are merely one part of, can not be understated.

As experience from small-scale historic gold mining in the area as well as modern gold mining elsewhere has shown, the discharge and resulting contamination from tailings ponds and waste rock piles may outlast the productive life of a mine itself by decades or more¹⁰¹.

These impacts would effectively remove the respective affected habitats and their wildlife and plant resources from Mi'kmaw use and further narrow both the useable land base and the spectrum of resources available to the traditional sector of their economy.

It also needs to be acknowledged that the increasing industrialization and contamination of the natural environment can not remain without adverse impacts on Mi'kmaw culture in a more general sense.

Secularizing the living world and reducing its meaning and purpose to its utilitarian aspects, it disrupts the philosophical relationship with it and contributes to the erosion of the Mi'kmaw world view and values, culture and self-understanding.

6.1.2. Potential Cumulative Impacts

It is generally accepted today that environmental and socio-cultural impacts of industrial developments are neither always direct, nor can they be understood without their historical context or in isolation from other concurrent changes. A meaningful

⁹⁸ Including fish, aquatic and waterborne insects and other invertebrates, mussels and others

⁹⁹ E.g. amphibians, beaver, muskrat, otter, mink, moose, ducks, geese, bald eagle, osprey, insectivorous birds, bats and others

¹⁰⁰ The wood turtle is another threatened species that so far manages to sustain a population in the St. Mary's River basin.

¹⁰¹ Campbell & al. 2018, Willick 2018a,b, Laroche 2018, Parsons & al. 2012

assessment must consider what are termed 'cumulative impacts'. Cumulative Impacts are defined as the accumulated spatial and temporal impacts to environmental and socio-economic systems and values from multiple projects and other activities¹⁰².

With respect to the proposed project assessed here, several external factors and developments concur to potentially amplify impacts on the Mi'kmaw communities and their operational environment¹⁰³.

With regard to population and development density, this region, the interior of eastern Nova Scotia, has so far been one of the two remaining areas of large contiguous forests and terrestrial wildlife habitats on the mainland portion of the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq traditional territory.

In the second one, located in the interior of southwestern Nova Scotia, harvesting access to the resources of the traditional economic sector of Mi'kmaw domestic or community economy has already been largely withdrawn through the protected lands status of Kejimikujik National Park and Historic Site and the Tobeatic Wilderness Area.

Similarly, Mi'kmaw access to the resources of the once rich harvesting area of the interior of the eastern mainland has increasingly been restricted over the recent past.

Over the past few years, a marked increase in large-scale clearcutting of the region's forests¹⁰⁴, has drastically altered wildlife habitats and reduced or locally eliminated populations of forest-dependent wildlife as well as plant species.

Small-scale historic gold mining activities between the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries has left a legacy of contaminated sites¹⁰⁵. Due to the modest scale of mining activities during this period, these sites are generally relatively small, concrete and localised. Nevertheless, they do still adversely impact animal and plant communities in the immediate surroundings and harvesting around these sites is generally avoided.

Osprey Gold Development Ltd. is proposing to re-develop several of the historic mine sites to extract remaining ore deposits in the near future. Its Goldenville Project site is located approximately 12 km south of Atlantic Gold's Cochrane Hill site¹⁰⁶.

Similarly, Anaconda Mining has put forward a claim to develop four mine sites located between the head of Isaacs Harbour and Gold Brook Lake¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Steffensen 2016:iii, CEAWG 1999

¹⁰³ A society's operational environment includes the natural setting, economic resources, laws

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 5

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix 2

¹⁰⁶ Osprey Gold Development Ltd 2018, see Appendix 3

¹⁰⁷ Anaconda Claim Map, Goldboro Project 2018, see Appendix 4

Atlantic Gold's Cochrane Hill gold mining proposal is also merely one component of its larger Moose River Consolidated Project. As outlined in the Project Description above, the Cochrane Hill Gold Mine is one of a string of four mines in various stages of the approval process or development.

Over the past years, Atlantic Gold has begun to clear the project areas, build access roads, set up an on-site field office and restrict entry into the area for non-employees.

The combined area anticipated to undergo significant environmental changes, and the lands and resources that, as a result, will be withdrawn from current Mi'kmaw use, is considerable.

This loss of accessible and uncontaminated lands and resources necessarily result in an increased concentration of, and competition amongst, individual Mi'kmaw land users in the remaining harvesting areas as well as heightened pressure on the resource base of those reduced areas.

The Cochrane Hill Gold Mine itself is expected to represent a significant agent of change and a contributor to the collective of anticipated environmental and social impacts.

In order to assess community impacts in any meaningful manner, the combined effects of all these recent and proposed developments and the resulting environmental changes need to be considered.

In other words, any EIS not considering cumulative impacts of surrounding and concurrent industrial activities and environmental stresses and changes on both human and non-human living communities must be considered insufficient.

6.2. Conclusions

Atlantic Gold Corporation's Environmental Impact Statements do not meet the expectations of adequate cumulative impact assessment as they examine potential environmental impacts of the four components of its Moose River Consolidated Project in isolation and without proper consideration of cumulative effects of other concurrent or recent developments or changes on the regional bio-physical and social environment.

While the cumulative impacts of Atlantic Gold Corporation's the Cochrane Hill mining proposal on the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia can not be quantified here, the conclusion is inescapable that adverse impacts will flow from it, and those impacts will indeed be significant.

As additional, formerly productive, portions of the Mi'kmaw territory and resource base will be removed from harvesting access, the anticipated impacts felt on an economic level include:

- The denial of physical access to customary resources by property boundaries surrounding the mine site,
- Further loss of harvesting areas through the additional buffer created by provincial legislation prohibiting the discharge of firearms in proximity to residences, work sites, roads, etc.,
- the displacement of wildlife resources through noise pollution and other human disturbances,
- the contamination of terrestrial and aquatic habitat through dust generated by blasting, crushing and transportation,
- the contamination of terrestrial and aquatic habitat and consequently local wildlife and plant resources by chemical effluent discharge,
- The increased concentration of harvesting activities on remaining resource areas, greater competition amongst active harvesters, and intensified harvesting pressure on the resources of those areas.

These losses in harvesting areas and resources, and the potential contamination of 'country foods' and traditional medicines are expected to weaken the domestic economy of Mi'kmaw families, potentially threatening food security and health.

It will also add to the corrosion of traditional Mi'kmaw world views, values and religious concepts, that is Mi'kmaw culture and identity as a whole, through the disruption of their relationship with the land and its non-human inhabitants. Further weakening of their cultural and spiritual connection to land may, result in a decline of their social and psychological well-being in general.

With these multitudes of recent, ongoing and proposed developments impacting the eastern interior region and significantly affecting Mi'kmaw access to what many consider to be the last contiguous natural area and its resources, there is little opportunity left to them to sustain their traditional economic sector and lifestyle.

It therefore stands to argue that this proposed project, as part of a larger-scale development push and its cumulative impacts, may infringe on Mi'kmaw aboriginal and treaty rights. It may indeed contribute significantly to other current factors that adversely impact Mi'kmaw constitutionally protected rights to continue their traditional

economic sector of natural resources harvesting and being meaningfully consulted on issues impacting the environmental integrity of their traditional territory.

6.3. Recommendations

1. It is strongly recommended that, before any decisions regarding the project is made, Atlantic Gold Corporation meet the current impact assessment standards and prepare a comprehensive cumulative effects assessment of its Moose River Consolidated Project as a whole, consisting of the Touquoy, Beaver Dam, Fifteen Mile Stream and Cochrane Hill mine sites.

Should permission be granted that Atlantic Gold Corporation's proposed Cochrane Hill Mine be developed, MAPS issues the following set of recommendations in consideration of the above discussion, and in order to minimize the potential and anticipated adverse impacts of the Cochrane Hill Gold Mine Project, and the Moose River Consolidated Project in general:

2. It is recommended that the details of the infrastructure layout (e.g. locations of waste rock deposits and tailings ponds) be developed in cooperation with Mi'kmaw environmental research institutions and experts such as the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources and the Mi'kmaq Conservation Group (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq).
3. It is also recommended that an environmental protection committee be established to develop environmental impact mitigation protocols, oversee monitoring procedures and evaluate test results. This committee should have an equal tri-partite composition of environmental experts of the proponent, Mi'kmaw representatives the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources and the Mi'kmaq Conservation Group, and the NS Department of the Environment.
4. Further, it is recommended that Atlantic Gold cease all on-site activities that significantly alter the local environment (e.g.: clearcutting, road construction, ground leveling or excavating, wetland draining) until the environmental assessment process is concluded and licences and permits are granted. This recommendation applies to all of Atlantic Gold's proposals under review, and become accepted policy for all future large-scale industrial developments.
5. It is recommended that the proponent and the Province be open to address the issue of Mi'kmaw access to impacted lands and resources.

6. Following the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples¹⁰⁸, it is recommended that future development planning by the Province of Nova Scotia be carried out with early-stage planning involvement by the Mi'kmaw, rather than attempts at late-stage consultation.

¹⁰⁸ United Nations 2007

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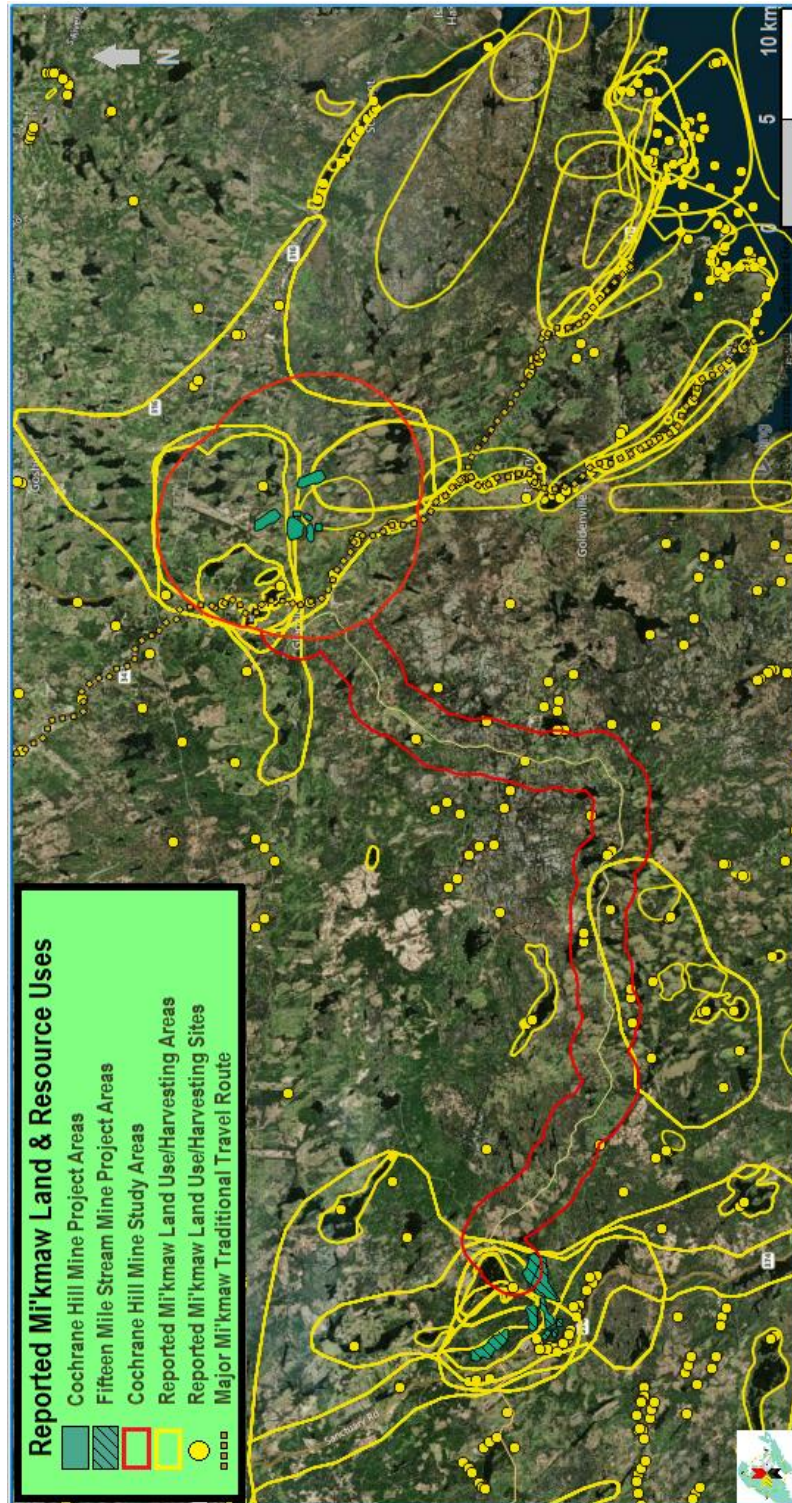
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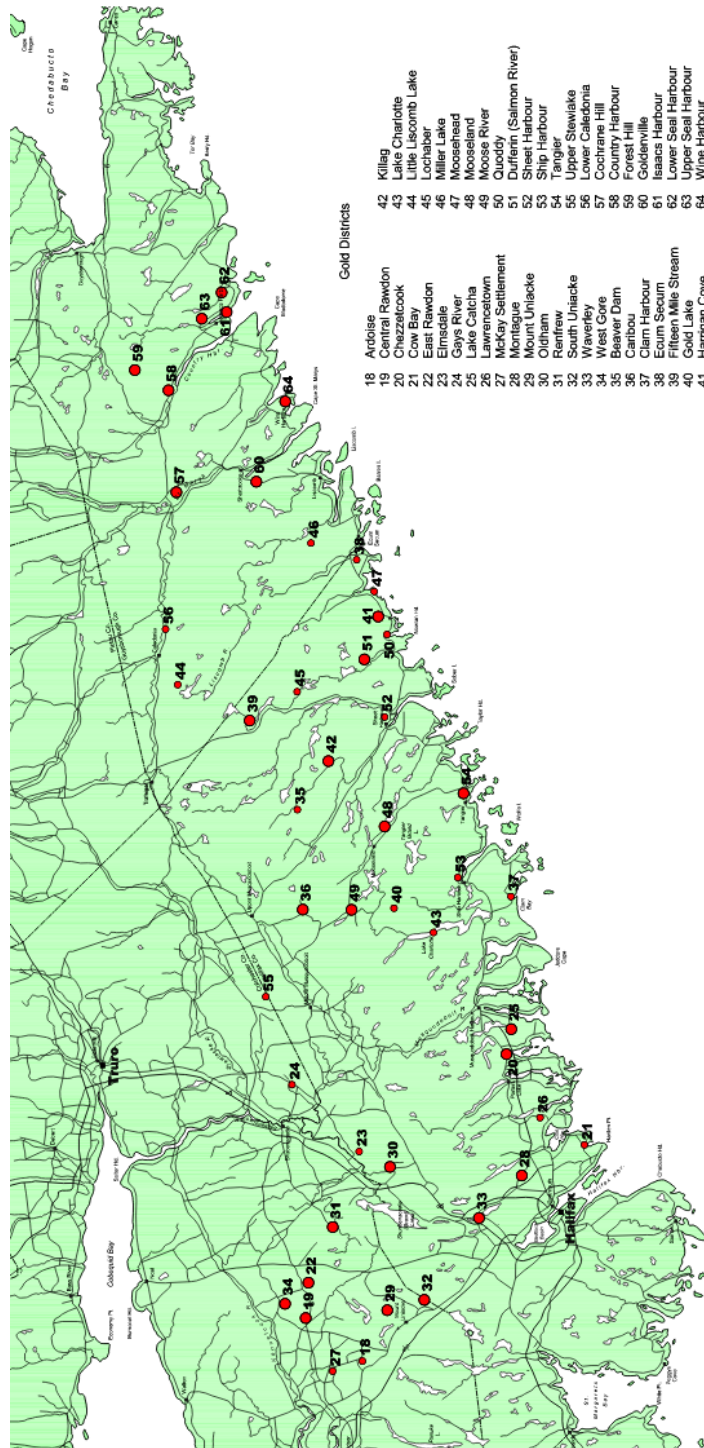
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



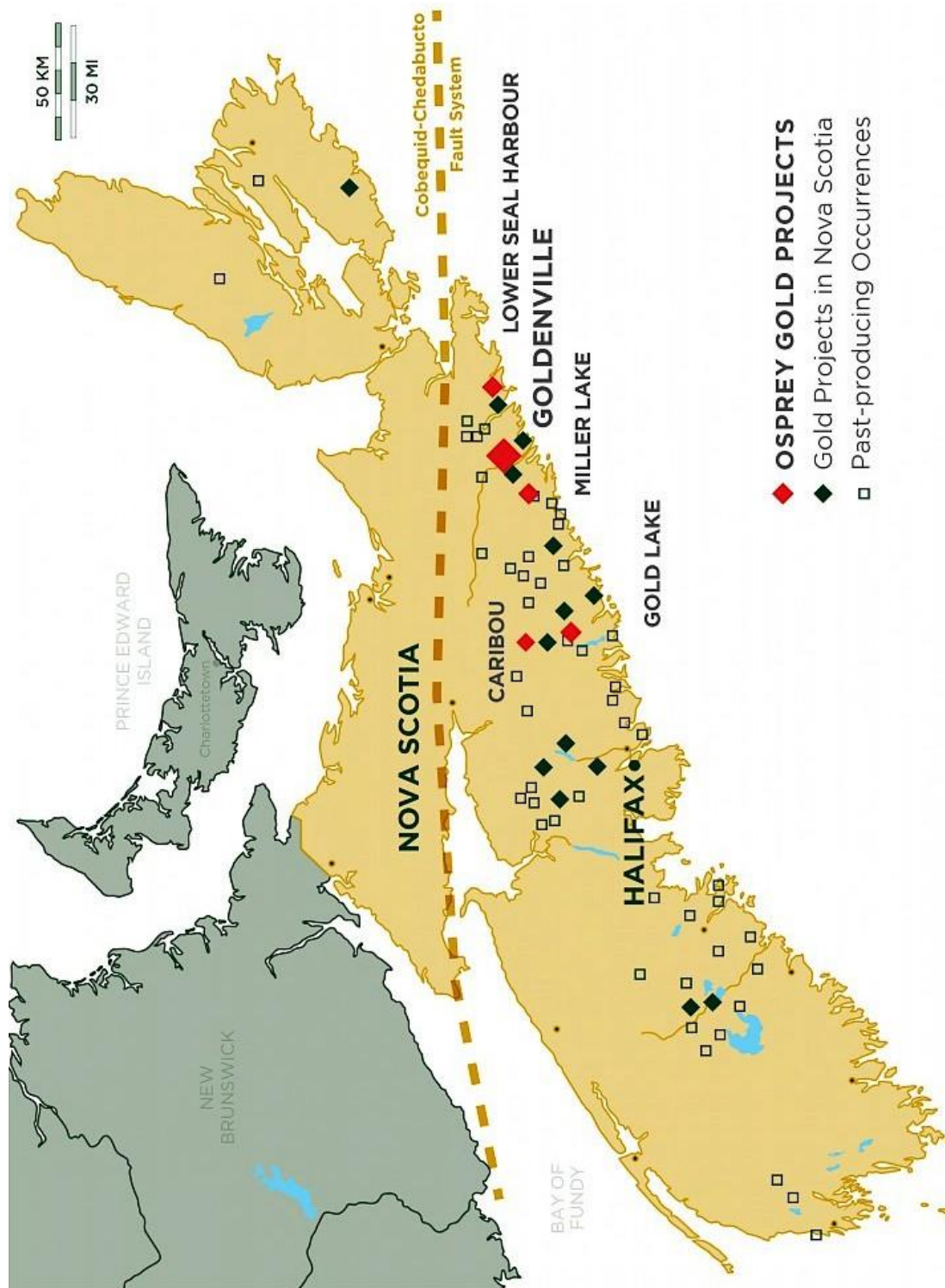
Reported Contemporary Mi'kmaw Land & Resource Uses

APPENDIX 2



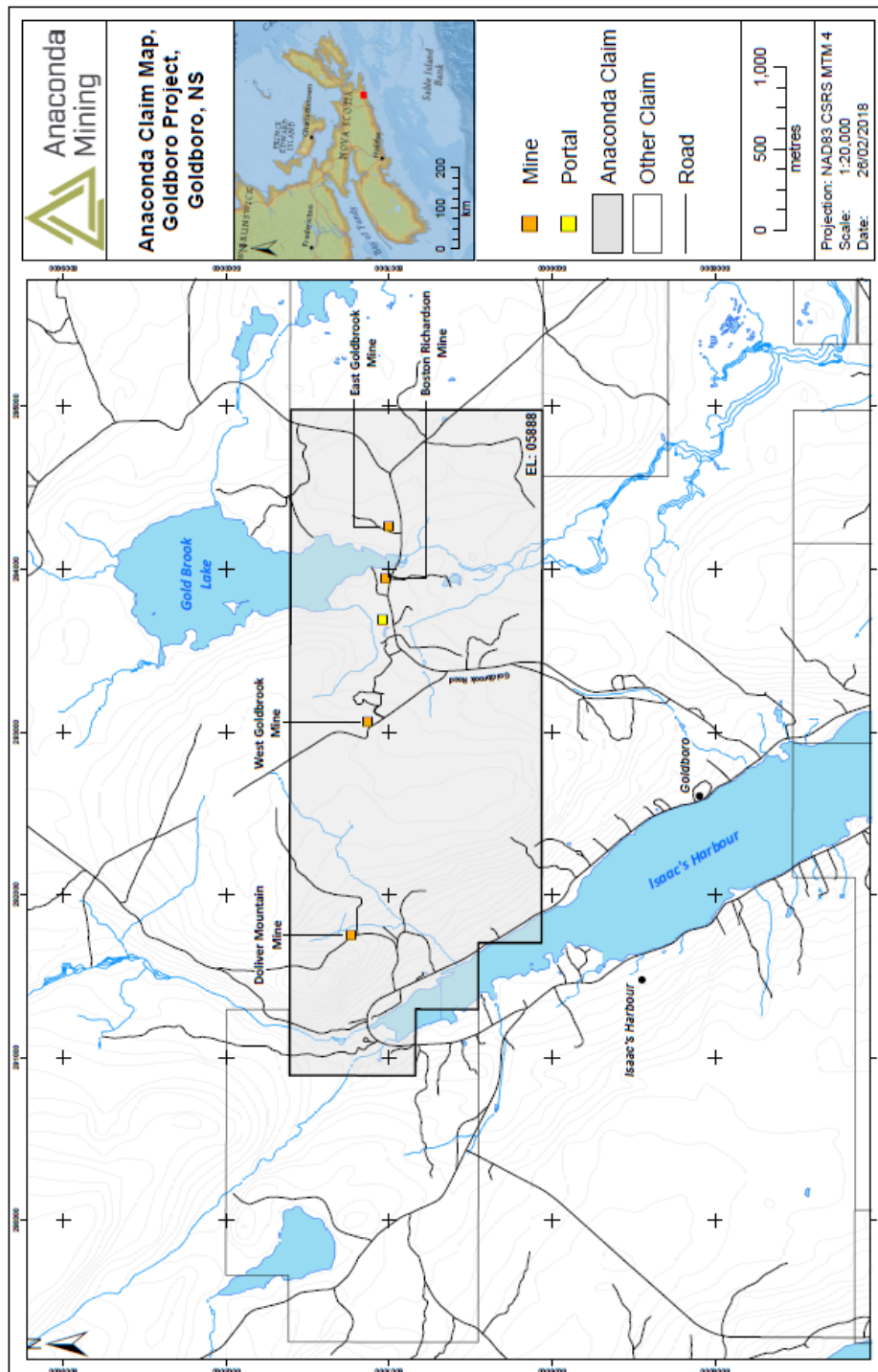
Historical Gold Districts in Eastern Nova Scotia (NS Dept. of Lands & Forestry)
<https://www.novascotia.ca/nse/contaminatedsites/docs/golddistricts.pdf>

APPENDIX 3



Osprey Gold Development Ltd Exploration/Project Sites
<https://www.ospreygold.com/projects/project-location-map/>

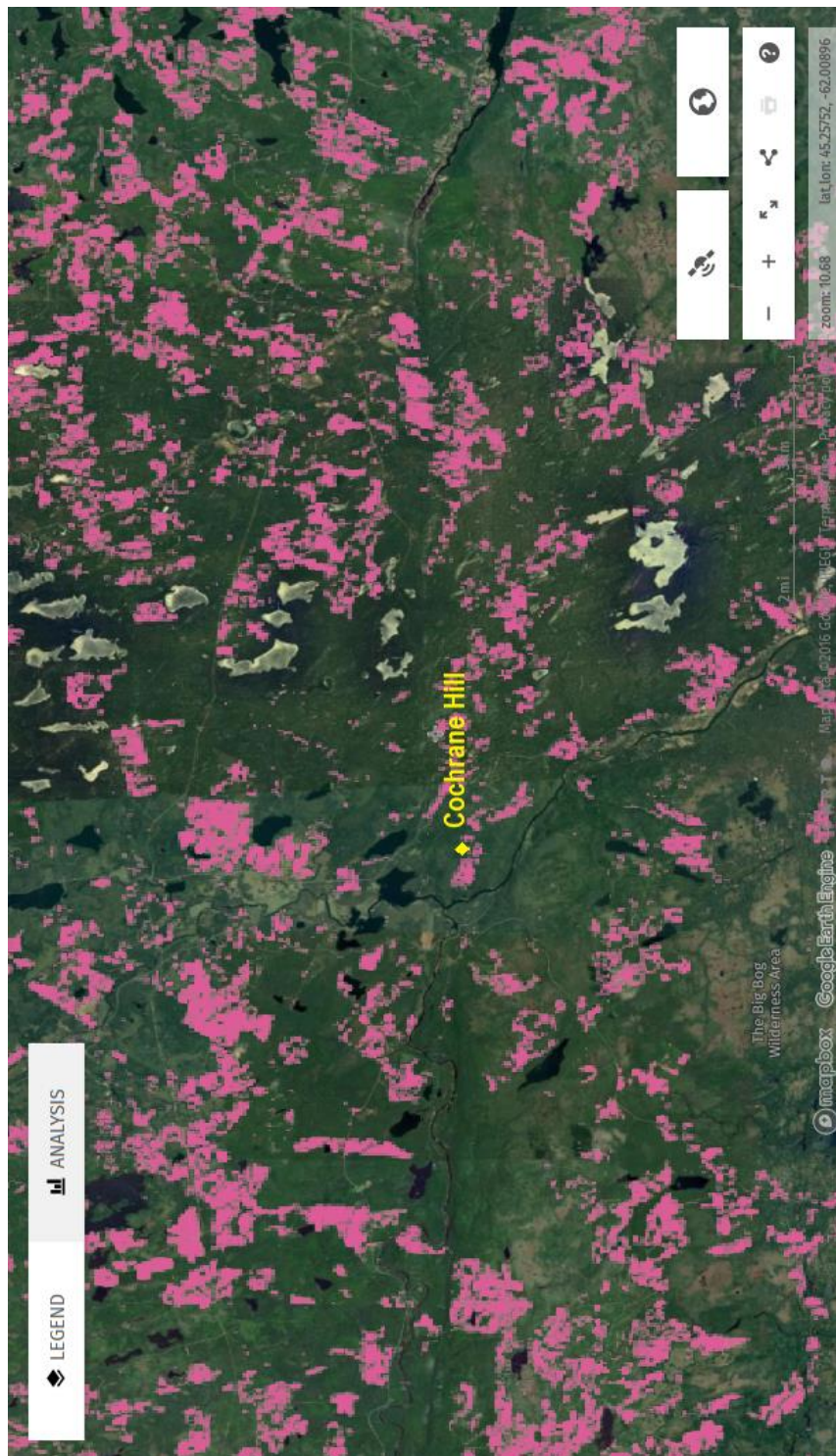
APPENDIX 4



Anaconda Claims Map

https://filecache.investorroom.com/mr5ircnw_anaconda/2284/download/Figure%20GB_Goldboro_Claim_Map_2018.pdf

APPENDIX 5



Forest Cover Loss with 50% Canopy Density, 2001-2017

<https://www.globalforestwatch.org/map>

APPENDIX 6

Historical Review

Mi'kmaw Presence in the Cochrane Hill Area, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia

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Table of Contents

1.0	Abbreviations.....	Page 3
2.0	Introduction.....	Page 3
3.0	Mi'kmaw Communities.....	Page 4
4.0	Historical Background.....	Page 4
5.0	Chronology of Historical Events.....	Page 6
6.0	Distribution of Blankets and Coats in Guysboro: Table 1.....	Page 14
7.0	Census Information	
	Mi'kmaq 1871 Census of Guysborough: Table 2.....	Page 15
	Mi'kmaq 1881 Census of Guysborough: Table 3.....	Page 16
	Mi'kmaq 1891 Census of Guysborough: Table 4.....	Page 18
8.0	Guysborough Mi'kmaq Population Information	
	Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports: Table 5.....	Page 20
9.0	Mi'kmaq Place Names in Guysborough County: Table 6.....	Page 23
10.0	Conclusion.....	Page 24
11.0	Sources Consulted.....	Page 25

1.0 Abbreviations

PANS – Previously the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia changed name in 2012 to Nova Scotia Archives (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

NAC – National Archives of Canada (Ottawa)

NSM – Nova Scotia Museum (Halifax)

TARR – Treaty & Aboriginal Rights Research Centre of Nova Scotia Archives (Indian Brook First Nation, Nova Scotia)

CMM – Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq (Millbrook, Nova Scotia)

AANDC – Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada

2.0 Introduction

The study area is Cochrane Hill, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. The historical review looked at the surrounding Cochrane Hill area in Guysborough County to gain an overall picture of the historic activity within the study focus area.

Historical records were canvassed from National Archives of Canada, Nova Scotia Archives, TARR Centre Archives, the Nova Scotia Museum, the Guysborough Historical Society, internet sources and secondary source print material.

It is important to note the limitations of research. Since Mi'kmaq history tends to be an oral history rather than a written history, it is sometimes difficult to put forward a complete history from documented sources as some history may be missing or not available. The following quote by H.C. Hart (1975) makes note of historical events not being recorded:

“There are no traces of French occupation here, and no written record of ancient events, but if one could understand the mysterious voices of nature, could know what the winds whisper to the hemlocks, could interpret the wild song Old Boreas sings to Mount Stor through many a long winter's night; if the old legends the waters tell to rock, and beach, and headland could find a hearing in man's dull ears; if the histories of races as well as the convulsions of the earth could be penetrated and made manifest by the geologist, then there would be revealed many a gathering of red braves around the council fire, many a stirring recital of prowess in hunting and skill in fishing; aye, and many a fearful tale of attacks upon the white man in distant settlements, planned here and celebrated here with feasts and rejoicing on their return”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, (p. 154)

3.0 Mi'kmaw Communities

There are two Mi'kmaq First Nations nearest the project site, Paqtnkek First Nation and Potlotek First Nation.

The registered population as of Oct 2018 for Paqtnkek First Nation is 594 persons¹¹⁰. Paqtnkek Reserve lands, as of January 2015, consist of Paqtnkek-Niktuek #23 (24 kilometers East of Antigonish), part of Franklin Manor #22 (32 kilometers southwest of Amherst) and Welnek #38 (18 kilometers East of Antigonish).¹¹¹

The registered population as of Oct 2018 for Potlotek First Nation is 748 persons.¹¹² Potlotek Reserve lands, as of January 2015, consist of Chapel Island IR #5 (69 kilometers southwest of Sydney) and Malagawatch IR #4 (62 kilometers southwest of Sydney).¹¹³

4.0 Historical Background

The study area is located within the District Esgigeoagig, the skin dressers' territory.¹¹⁴ Within this district Hoffman notes that there are seven important sites where settlements were or may have been located. One of these sites is Gamsog - Canso meaning "rock on the other side". A second, Notogetetoalneg, located at the mouth of Salmon River which empties into Setapogtog (Chedabucto Bay), meaning "*running far back*". A third site, Oalamgoaganeg (Port Mulgrave) is at the entrance to the Gut/Strait of Canso.¹¹⁵ Notogetetoalneg is known to be a summer village from historical sources as Hoffman states:

"...Chedabucto Bay was an important fishing station at a very early date, and that a Capuchin mission was already established there by 1634 – from which we may conclude that a relatively permanent Indian village must have been situated in the vicinity. Native tradition places such a village at the mouth of the Salmon River, and gives it the name indicated".¹¹⁶ Oalamgoaganeg is noted as being very important for the Micmac by Deny as Hoffman quotes "...those vessels which are going into the Great Bay of Saint Laurens to make their fishery, and which arrive on the coast at a very early time and are not able to enter into the Grand Bay of Saint Laurens by the Grand Passage [Cabot Strait] because of the ice-fields, come to seek this Little Passage, and place themselves at ancor in this cove to let the ice pass by...I have seen as many as eight or ten vessels,

¹¹⁰ http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=19&lang=eng

¹¹¹ http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNReserves.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=19&lang=eng

¹¹² http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=22&lang=eng

¹¹³ http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNReserves.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=22&lang=eng

¹¹⁴ Hoffman, Bernard Gilbert. The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955,(p. 536)

¹¹⁵ Hoffman, Bernard Gilbert. The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955,(p. 537)

¹¹⁶ Hoffman, Bernard Gilbert. The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955,(p. 537)

*and although the current was extremely strong in this Little Passage, the ice did not inconvenience the vessels at this place...".*¹¹⁷

Jost writes of the Micmac to be "A group of people so nomadic in their habits would not be long in establishing for themselves a number of well known travel routes, and one of the best known of these, on the trunk roads, extended almost the entire length of Guysborough County". One route was crossing the Straight of Canso following the north shore of Chedabucto Bay and entering at the Salmon River estuary. This river has a series of lakes that can be travelled for about twenty miles. From the head waters of the South River and a number of lakes will empty into Antigonish Harbour and the Gulf. Where the headwaters of Country Harbour River sit, a route exists near Cape Mocodome at Port Hilford. About ten miles is the eastern branches of the St. Mary's River. These branches could be followed to the junction with the West River of St. Mary's which would empty into the sea.¹¹⁸

John Reid writes that people had been in the Maritime Provinces "continuously for more than 10,000 years and the direct ancestors of the Micmac and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy Indian peoples had been established since about 1000 BC. Since then their culture had altered and evolved. Among the periods of most significant change was the century following the first European contacts in or about the year 1500".¹¹⁹

Explorers in the early 1600 have found Country Harbour to be naturally deep when charting the coastline of what is now Guysborough County.¹²⁰

Guysborough County was developed because of its close proximity to the abundant fishing grounds off of Canso. In the sixteenth century Europeans settled on the islands and mainland of the Guysborough County area. Europeans found "the area populated by small bands of native Mi'kmaq who had survived for many years off the abundant wildlife, river and ocean resources. It was these very same residents who would assist the European settlers to survive in this unsettled land".¹²¹

Paul Webster writes "The crucial period of vigorous Micmac resistance lies between 1749, when Cornwallis placed the bounty of Micmac scalps, and 1763, when a comprehensive treaty was signed between Micmacs and colonists. During this period the Micmac attacked the English repeatedly, at Chignecto, Canso, Chebucto, Dartmouth, Lunenburg and Halifax. The British attempt to expand settlement in Nova Scotia was severely impeded by Micmac resistance".¹²²

¹¹⁷ Hoffman, Bernard Gilbert. The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955, p. 538

¹¹⁸ Jost., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Kentville Publishing Company Ltd, Nova Scotia, (p. 7-10)

¹¹⁹ Reid, John. *Six Crucial Decades: Time of Change in the History of the Maritimes*, 1987, (p 3)

¹²⁰ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, Nova Scotia, 2010, p. 10

¹²¹ Fishing For A Living: 4.0 Guysborough County Historical Background, <http://people.stfx.ca/rsg/SRSF/GCIFA/Fishing/2.html>

¹²² Webster, Paul. *Pining for the Trees: The History of Dissent Against Forest Destruction in Nova Scotia 1744-1991*. M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University 1991

Prior to 1784, the Counties of Antigonish and Guysborough were called Sydney County. Sydney County was created in 1784 and the boundaries were:

*“Beginning at the Head of Tide at the Head of St. Mary’s River thence to run North by the magnet to the Sea Shore to the West of Cape St. Louis, and bounded on every other part by the Sea Coast and to include all Islands in front of these limits deemed to be in Nova Scotia”.*¹²³

Cod is easily dried, salted and stored making it a food staple among Catholic Europeans. This drove the markets for cod during the 1500’s to 1800’s in Guysborough County. The Fishery peaked at 30,000 fishermen in the year of 1880 in Nova Scotia.¹²⁴

Cochrane Hill is shown on the Historical Gold Districts in Nova Scotia map as site number fifty-nine (59) as a significant gold producer.¹²⁵

Present day maps show Cochrane Hill near Melrose where Highway 348 and Highway 7 meet. Following Melrose Country Harbour Road there is a road named Indian River Road. This road extends southerly to Indian Harbour Lake to the coast.

5.0 Chronology of Historical Events

Around the year 1000, it is suggested that the Vikings explored the Guysborough areas since a Norse axe was discovered there in 1880.¹²⁶

In 1398, the Earl of Orkney Prince Henry Sinclair is said to have set foot in Guysborough County. There is a monument at Halfway Cove paying tribute to Sinclair’s voyage. The Mi’kmaq legend of Glooscap is intertwined with Sinclair’s arrival.¹²⁷

In 1607 Marc Lescarbot reports that he met Captain Savalet of Saint-Jean-de-Luz on a voyage from Port Royal to France. Savalet was making his forty-second voyage to Canso, Nova Scotia where he worked in the dry fishery.¹²⁸

In the early 1680’s Fort Saint Louis was built in Guysborough. It was captured in 1690 by Sir William Phips.¹²⁹

¹²³ Cooke, Findlay *History and Stories of Issac’s Harbour and Goldboro*, Antigonish: Formac, 1976, (p. 6)

¹²⁴ Fishing For A Living: 6.0 Guysborough County Historical Fishery, <http://people.stfx.ca/rsg/SRSF/GCIFA/Fishing/2.html>

¹²⁵ Historical Gold Districts in Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia Natural Resources

¹²⁶ Grant, John N., *Historic Guysborough: Images of our Past*, Nimbus, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 2004, p. vi

¹²⁷ <http://www.threeshoresnovascotia.com/eastern-shore/about/history-and-culture>. Spicer, Stanley T. *Glooscap Legends*, Lancelot Press, 1991

¹²⁸ Reid, John. *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 1976, (p. 9)

¹²⁹ Campbell, G.G. *The History of Nova Scotia*, They Ryerson Press Halifax, 1948, (p. 46-7)

New England fishermen were interested in Acadia and since the 1620's they were fishing and drying their catch along the shores. Before the start of the Anglo-French wars in 1689 the Acadians and Mi'kmaq tolerated the fishermen's presence. Fishermen were attacked by French naval forces and by Mi'kmaq warriors in the coastal waters and on land. Fishing activity declined greatly during the wars¹³⁰.

In 1642 Catholic Mission was established at Canso and is known as St. Anne's parish today.¹³¹

In 1654 Frenchman La Giraudiere lived in what is present day Sherbrooke. He was devoted to the fishery and fur trade. He "*supplied the Indians with nets and spears for the salmon fishery, in the river, and in the Glenelg Lakes*".¹³² La Giraudiere built a trading post and resided at St. Mary's for many years, devoted to fish and fur trade. The French supplied the Indians with spears and nets for the salmon fishery in St. Mary's river and Glenelg Lakes. In 1669 La Giraudiere's fort was taken by the English.¹³³

The 1687-1688 census of Acadie collected by Gargas, listed 51 inhabitants in Chedabuctou and 52 Indians. Canso is described as "a small Indian station".¹³⁴

In the early 1700's, there was an attack three miles off Country Harbour. The Mi'kmaq captured an English schooner with eight aboard.¹³⁵

Near Country Harbour, four men who set sail from Halifax in a small schooner for Canso were captured and two were killed. The surviving two killed their captors and fled to Halifax in the early 1700's.¹³⁶

There was a Mi'kmaq summer village at Liscomb Harbour in the 1700's.¹³⁷

In August of 1720, Governor Philipps erected a fort at the Canso Islands and for the next twenty years the British enjoyed a fishery at Canso.¹³⁸ The Canso fort persuaded the French to stay away but Mi'kmaq warriors continued to resist for the next four years. On one occasion New England fishermen battled with Mi'kmaq warriors in captured ships. Bombs were tossed into the

¹³⁰ Reid, John G et al. The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710 Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions, University of Toronto Press, 2004, p. 69

¹³¹ Haynes, Mark. The Forgotten Battle: A History of the Acadians of Canso/Chedabucto, 2nd Edition, Trafford Publishing, Victoria BC, 2007, p. 15

¹³² Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, p. 160

¹³³ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, p. 160

¹³⁴ Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779), Volume I, Morse, W.I, London, 1935, p. 140

¹³⁵ Timmons, Marion, Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 12

¹³⁶ Timmons, Marion, Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 12

¹³⁷ Hoffman, 1955, p. 537

¹³⁸ Reid, John G et al. The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710 Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions, University of Toronto Press, 2004, (p. 81)

Mi'kmaq's ships and when they swam to shore they were fired upon, killing twenty-two men. The bodies were decapitated and set on spikes near Canso's fort.¹³⁹

In 1720, Governor Phillips stationed troops at Canso as it had become "*by far the most important commercial centre in Nova Scotia*".¹⁴⁰ Canso was the rendezvous point for the attack on Louisbourg.¹⁴¹

At a council meeting November 12, 1722, three boys who were taken prisoner on the Eastern Coast of Nova Scotia by Indians and ransomed by the French were questioned by the Lt. Governor.¹⁴²

In early 1725 the Micmac attacked Canso destroying two houses and killed 6 civilians. In June, Indians were reported to be seizing fishing boats along the Atlantic coast. Governor Lawrence Armstrong proposed a tour of the province the following spring to force the oath of allegiance. Armstrong hired 36 men with 3 whale boats to terrorize the Micmac around the fishing areas. However, on December 15 articles of peace were concluded and the treaty was ratified in June 1726.¹⁴³

Canso was seized by the French in 1744.¹⁴⁴

On October 1, 1749, a council meeting was held related to recent hostilities in Canso with the Indians. "Indians want to declare war as they believe they are free people". Orders were given by Edward Cornwallis to all within the province to "*annoy, distress and destroy the Indians every where*" and 10 Guineas was offered for "every Micmac killed or taken prisoner".¹⁴⁵

On October 8, 1749, a council meeting was held aboard the *Beaufort* regarding the recent hostilities at Canso with the Indians. Edward Cornwallis.

*"gave orders to the Commanding Officers at Annapolis Royal, Minas & all others within the Province, to annoy, distress & destroy the Indians every where" and that "a Premium be promised of ten guineas for every Indian killed or taken prisoner".*¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Reid, John G et al. The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710 Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions, University of Toronto Press, 2004, (p. 82)

¹⁴⁰ Jones, Elizabeth. Gentlemen and Jesuits: Quests for Glory and Adventure in the Early Days of New France, University of Toronto Press, 1986, p. ix

¹⁴¹ Jones, Elizabeth. Gentlemen and Jesuits: Quests for Glory and Adventure in the Early Days of New France, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1986, p. ix

¹⁴² NSA, Nova Scotia Archives III, Halifax, NS, 1908, p. 39

¹⁴³ Upton, Leslie F.S. Micmac and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes 1713-1867, p. 43

¹⁴⁴ Reid, John G et al. The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710 Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions, University of Toronto Press, 2004, p. 151

¹⁴⁵ PANS RG1, vol. 209, p. 22-23, m/f 15310

¹⁴⁶ PANS RG1, vol. 186, p. 22-23

Cornwallis, celebrated as the founder of Halifax, issued two scalping proclamations after he arrived in Mi'kma'ki in 1749. *"Ten guineas for every Indian taken or destroyed."* He rescinded both bounties by the time he left in 1752.

But four years later, Governor Charles Lawrence issued another cash bounty on the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia.

*"...a Reward of Thirty Pounds for every male Indian Prisoner above the Age of Sixteen Years brought in alive or a Scalp of such Male Indian Twenty five Pounds and Twenty five Pounds for every Indian Woman or Child brought in alive..."*¹⁴⁷

On August 27, 1754 Abbé LeLoutre wrote to Governor Lawrence proposing that all territory in the eastern part of Nova Scotia (Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough Counties) should be ceded in perpetuity to the Micmacs.¹⁴⁸

*"That in order to arrive at a solid and durable peace, there shall be ceded to them a certain space of territory which they only shall enjoy, suitable for hunting and fishing, and for the establishment of a village and a mission as a parish.... That this space of territory shall extend from the south of Bay Verte, comprising Fort Lawrence and lands depending on it, to the entrance on Mines, these ascending into Cobequid as far as and comprising Chigabenakady, and leaving this latter place, formerly my mission, in ascending and descending afterwards as far as the river Mouskedaboveck; and from this place which is on the coast of the east about eight leagues from Halifax, passing by the bay of all islands, Saint Mary's bay, and Moukoudome as far as Canceau, and from Canceau by the passage of Fronsac to the said Bay Verte."*¹⁴⁹

On December 9, 1761 King George III gave instructions to the Nova Scotia Governors to maintain treaties and to respect Indian land rights.¹⁵⁰

In 1763, the Royal Proclamation was issued by King George III which stated Aboriginal Title existed and continues to exist and that all land would be considered Aboriginal land until ceded by treaty.¹⁵¹

Isaac Deschamps 1783, *Sketch of the Province of Nova Scotia and chiefly of such parts as are Settled*, reports "the chief resort of the Indian tribe called Mickmacks is on the Eastern Shore – between Halifax and Cape Breton".¹⁵²

Country Harbour was plentiful with game and had an abundance of furs. It was considered one of the best Mi'kmaq hunting grounds. Living along the coastline, the Mi'kmaq had great opportunity for trading with Europeans.¹⁵³ The coastlines along both Country Harbour and

¹⁴⁷ Trina Roache, APTN National News, 21 Feb 2018: 'It's not forgotten: Mi'kmaq bounty never rescinded'

¹⁴⁸ Don Julien, Mi'kmaq History Presentation, undated

¹⁴⁹ NSA, Nova Scotia Archives I; Edited by Thomas B. Akins. Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869, p. 219

¹⁵⁰ Don Julien, Mi'kmaq History Presentation, undated

¹⁵¹ <http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/royal-proclamation-1763.html>

¹⁵² NSA, RG1, CO 217/56 f, 310, m/f 13860

¹⁵³ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010,

Isaacs Harbour had Mi'kmaq encampments where traders met to barter for valuable furs.¹⁵⁴
The Mi'kmaq encampments also have burial grounds.¹⁵⁵

Country Harbour was a favorite encampment for the Micmac.¹⁵⁶ It was plentiful with trout, salmon, herring, mackerel and codfish.¹⁵⁷

Indian Harbour is also a favorite encampment. There were once many villages of wigwams in the area as it was an ideal fishing and hunting area that provided all that the Micmac needed.¹⁵⁸ Beyond the beach at Indian Harbour is Indian Harbour Lake where shelter could be found from storms. At high tide large boats could be taken upstream. There is an extensive Micmac burial ground in this area.¹⁵⁹

On the West Branch St. Mary's River near Caledonia and Trafalgar was a "*great resort for Indians on hunting and trapping expeditions*".¹⁶⁰

Wine Harbour was named so because a Portuguese barque with a cargo of wine wrecked there during a storm. Indians from nearby fled with cargo and some froze to death near the wreck.¹⁶¹

There are two old Micmac burial grounds within the area of St. Mary's. One is on an island in lower Glenelg Lake and the other north of Sherbrook.¹⁶²

In 1783, French fishermen along the Guysborough County coastline would watch for pirates hidden in the coves.¹⁶³

The many lakes and streams provided a bounty of fish and provided an all season travel route by canoe in the summer and over ice in the winter.¹⁶⁴ There are many known Mi'kmaq travel routes are throughout Guysborough County. From St. Peters, Mi'kmaq would cross the Strait of Canso to Chedabucto Bay, then follow a series of lakes and rivers from Salmon River to South River into Country Harbour River to Cape Mocodome, to Eight Mile Lake near Goshen, to Port Hilford to the branches of the St. Mary's River and West River of St. Mary's to the sea.¹⁶⁵

p. 11

¹⁵⁴ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 7

¹⁵⁵ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 11

¹⁵⁶ Hart, H.C. *History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia*, 1975, (p. 154)

¹⁵⁷ Hart, 1975, (p. 154)

¹⁵⁸ Hart, H.C. *History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia*, 1975, (p. 157)

¹⁵⁹ Hart, H.C. *History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia*, 1975, (p. 158)

¹⁶⁰ Hart, 1975, (p. 169-170)

¹⁶¹ Hart, 1975, (p. 158-159)

¹⁶² Hart, H.C. *History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia*, 1975,(p. 160)

¹⁶³ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 7

¹⁶⁴ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 10-11

¹⁶⁵ Timmons, Marion, *Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour*, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, NS, 2010, p. 11

In a 1796 Letter of Sir John Wentworth is authorizing Major William Nixon, Manchester, for supplies for the Micmac in the area including potatoes, herring, gun powder, shot, lead, flints, baize, blankets, shirts, coats, trousers, jackets or under vests, blue cloth and flour.¹⁶⁶

In December 1796 the Indians of Guysborough received necessary articles of potatoes, herring, gunpowder, shot, flint, lead, baize, blankets, shirts, coats, trousers, jackets (under-vests), blue cloth and flour from the Government. It was expected that the Indians be faithful to the King and to take up arms on the English side in event of invasion.¹⁶⁷

On December 10, 1800, the Committee of His Majesty's Council and House of Assembly appoint Edward Irish and Timothy W. Hierlihy to "inquire and report" on the conditions of the Indians in Guysborough and other eastern settlements to support relief.¹⁶⁸

On May 6, 1801 Smith had no luck trout fishing along St. Mary's River probably because "*having been so much hunted by Indians formerly, as we saw a multitude of their old winter camps*".¹⁶⁹ Smith concluded that the North Branch of St. Mary's River was ideal for salmon because of the number of summer camps he observed along the lakes.¹⁷⁰ Smith found about twelve broken salmon spears along the bank of St. Mary's River.¹⁷¹

In 1801, Joshua Frost writes to His Excellency Sir John Wentworth stating that seven Indians have complained to him and are "*very much Discommoded*" in their fishing and hunting and the Indians are requesting that five acres of land be granted to them at Salmon River with "*a free Priveledge of fish*".¹⁷²

In a letter of William Nixon to Sir John Wentworth dated November 20, 1801 Scottish emigrants bringing small pox, measles and whooping cough to the area and the Indians have left for fear of disease and relocated at the head of Guysboro River. He is requesting relief for 40-50 families.¹⁷³

In 1802, potatoes were delivered to Indians in the eastern district paid for (receipt date May 30, 1802) by Michael Wallace, Treasurer for Nova Scotia.¹⁷⁴

In 1819 Thomas Munroe, his family and others came to Whitehaven and built log cabins up the river. Upon exploring the area they came upon Micmac Indians and together they proceeded to Molasses Harbour.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, (p 67-68)

¹⁶⁷ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, (p. 67-68)

¹⁶⁸ NSA, RG1, Volume 430, Doc. 34, m/f 23776

¹⁶⁹ PANS RG1 Vol. 380, Pages 1-40, m/f 15,441. Titus Smith's Eastern Tour May 6, 1801, (p. 8)

¹⁷⁰ PANS RG1 Vol. 380, Pages 1-40, m/f 15,441. Titus Smith's Eastern Tour May 6, 1801, (p. 9)

¹⁷¹ PANS RG1 Vol. 380, Pages 1-40, m/f 15,441. Titus Smith's Eastern Tour May 6, 1801, (p. 21)

¹⁷² PANS RG1, vol. 430, Doc # 71

¹⁷³ PANS, RG1, v. 430, Doc. No. 88

¹⁷⁴ NSA, RG1, Volume 430, Doc. 112

In 1819 women settlers at Whitehaven encountered Indians while their husbands were out fishing. The women were guided to the Indians wigwams then all went onto Molasses Harbour where they were received by a French family. Relations were quickly established with the Indians and settlers.¹⁷⁶

Between the years 1831-1835, a canoe trip from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia to St. John, New Brunswick by two Indians in one day. Noel Jeddore (who was born at St. Mary's Forks, Guysborough County) and Handley (Antle) Squegun were about 25 years old when they completed this trip.¹⁷⁷

In 1836, the boundaries of Sydney County were changed when Guysborough County was established out of the former lower part of Sydney County. In 1914 the Lt. Governor and Council authorized a surveyor to run the boundary line for Guysborough County. Indians from Isaac's Harbour encampments "*roamed from the Isaac's Harbour interior lakes to the Bay and Country Harbour River as far as the headwater lakes which are: Sinclair, Pringle and Eight Island Lakes near Goshen*".¹⁷⁸

On April 6, 1845 a Petition of John Battis, Joseph Battis, and Francis Cope was submitted for land in Guysborough County

*"in the neighbourhood of which they have many years sojourned. Each year their hunting ground and subsistence there from are more scanty and precarious".*¹⁷⁹

Rupert D. George's Memo of expenditures for the relief of Indians dated May 13, 1845 lists £50 being paid to Right Rev. Bishop Fraser for the Indians of the Eastern Counties.¹⁸⁰

On February 2, 1848 Abraham Gesner, Indian Commissioner, submitted a petition to the House of Assembly which was signed by eleven chiefs and captains of the Mi'kmaq "*to prevent the Hunting of Moose by Dogs and to Secure to Them Their Fisheries*" and to allow them to spear salmon in any of the rivers within the province. White man's hunting style was threatening the moose population as they only took the skin, leaving the rest behind.¹⁸¹

On Feb 19, 1849 a letter was written seeking relief for Indians. The Committee recommends that £30 be given to the Indian Commissioner at Antigonish for the relief of the Indians in Sydney and Guysborough Counties.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Hart, 1975, p. 144

¹⁷⁶ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, p. 144

¹⁷⁷ NSM, Harry Piers Papers, Volume III, 2002, page 119

¹⁷⁸ Cooke, Findlay *History and Stories of Isaac's Harbour and Goldboro*, Antigonish: Formac, 1976, p. 7

¹⁷⁹ PANS MG15, Vol. 3 # 81 m/f 15106

¹⁸⁰ NSA, JLA, Appendix No. 18, Page 66-67, 1846

¹⁸¹ Haigh, Elizabeth. They Must Cultivate the Land: Abraham Gesner as Indian Commissioner, 1847-1853; Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 3, 2000, p. 63

¹⁸² PANS, Journal of Legislative Assembly NS, 1894, Appendix No. 49, Page 362 Reel No. 3533

On December 8, 1849 a Petition of Newel Joe, Newel Dennis and others to John Harvey for relief at St. Mary's, Guysborough County. There was crop failure and fish and game are scarce. 200-300 moose were taken by white people last spring in St. Mary's alone. Family names listed are: Joe, Dennis, Grigwell, Lewie, Toney, Cristifer, Glema, Louland, Michal, Potet, Forit, French, Caber, Prosper, and Sabia.¹⁸³

In 1850[?] Chearnley tells a story of a bear given to him by "*an Indian of Great Hunting celebrity who had been dead some years, Joseph Glode*". Glode has shot and killed a female bear and found a cub beside it and presented it to Chearnley.¹⁸⁴

On October 6, 1851 Denny Michael to Joseph Howe Petitioned for relief for Mi'kmaq in Guysborough County, Country ____ (Harbour?). The Mackerel fishery has failed and white fishermen have no money to purchase their goods.¹⁸⁵

In the Spring of 1856, twenty-two bears were killed in Caledonia (west branch of St. Mary's River) showing this area was a great resort to the Micmac.¹⁸⁶

In the Fall 1857 Harry Piers, Stephen Piers, Charles McDonald and Peter Joe wished to participate in "*the mysteries and glories of Moose Calling*" at Lake Mooin, Guysborough County.¹⁸⁷

A 1863 Petition from Guysborough County regarding the wanton destruction of the moose population was received. No moose hunting should be allowed for three years to allow stock to recover.¹⁸⁸

Mi'kmaq guides received one dollar and food each day.¹⁸⁹ The St. Mary's River is noted as "one of the best rivers in the province for salmon fishing".¹⁹⁰

In 1869, Captain Campbell Hardy writes of St. Mary's River being one of the notable salmon rivers within Nova Scotia. Hardy writes "The St. Mary's is the noblest and most beautiful river in Nova Scotia, and its salmon are the largest. The nets overlap one another from either shore throughout the long reaches of interval and wild meadows, dotted with groups of elm, which

¹⁸³ PANS RG1 Vol. 431 # 56 (m/f 15472)

¹⁸⁴ PANS MG1 Vol. 1506, no page #, no doc. # (Chearnley Papers 2nd file folder, 1st story)

¹⁸⁵ PANS MG15, Vol. 4a, #101 (m/f 15107)

¹⁸⁶ Hart, H.C. History of the County of Guysborough Nova Scotia, 1975, p. 169

¹⁸⁷ PANS MG1 Vol. 1464, #45

¹⁸⁸ PANS RG5 Series P Vol. 18, No. 173

¹⁸⁹ Parker, Mike. Guides of the Northwest Woods Hunting and Fishing Tales from Nova Scotia, 1990, Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, NS, p. 5

¹⁹⁰ Parker, Mike. Guides of the Northwest Woods Hunting and Fishing Tales from Nova Scotia, 1990, Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, NS, p. 7

constitute its noted scenic charms, and the lumbermen vie with the Indians in skill in their mighty spearing expeditions by the light of blazing birch-bark torches”.¹⁹¹

On December 2, 1871 James B. Hadley Sr. writes a letter to an unnamed Sir that there are 8 Indian families staying in the woods for the winter near Port Mulgrave. He writes that they are very poor and cannot sell their items. He left them with forty eight blankets.¹⁹²

On Aug 23, 1872 Angus Cameron writes to the Honorable Joseph Howe of the Indians being deprived of their burial grounds in St. Mary's that they have claimed for 150 years. The burial is at *"Sheep Island at the Forks or Glenelge Lake"*.¹⁹³

An 1872 Letter to the Honorable Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Province from John McKinnon, Indian Agent. The letter refers to the conditions of the Indians in the district of Guysborough. It reports that *"considerably large tracts of land"* have been cultivated and abundant crops of hay, potatoes and oats. He reports that in the summer many Indians fish with but this year was not as successful. Last names of Indians listed: Gabril, Prosper, Joe, Sallome, Pictob, Scotchman, Marble, Batist, Fraser, Marshal, Nicholas, Cope, Lafford, Newl, Tony, Brassay, Meuse, Tom, Phillip, Paul, McKeugir, and McMillan.¹⁹⁴

In the 1890's until 1910, the Lone Cloud family lived near the Liscomb Lodge area.¹⁹⁵

In 1914 the Lt. Governor and Council authorized a surveyor to run the boundary line for Guysborough County. Indians from Isaac's Harbour encampments

"roamed from the Isaac's Harbour interior lakes to the Bay and Country Harbour River as far as the headwater lakes which are: Sinclair, Pringle and Eight Island Lakes near Goshen".¹⁹⁶

Oral accounts of Jerry Lonecloud, told to Clara Dennis in the 1920's, tell that Abbe Maillard established a mission at "Memmenohenock...At the Big Grey Birch". According to Lonecloud, this tree was 24 feet around located two miles above the Forks near Glenelg and still standing.¹⁹⁷

In 1922 the hunting territories within Guysborough included Frank Cope – Hunting Lake, Governor's Lake and Ten Mile Lake (#35); Peter Joe Cope – Fifteen Mile Lake, Rocky Lake (#36); Michael Tom (Toney) – Moser River (#37); Young Peter Joe Cope – Large District North

¹⁹¹Hardy, Captain Campbell; *Forest Life in Acadie-Sketched of Sport and Natural History in the Lower Provinces of the Canadian Dominion*, London: Chapman & Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1869

¹⁹² NAC RG10 Vol. 459 p. 122-123 (m/f 13329)

¹⁹³ NAC RG10, vol. 2134, file 27,046-1

¹⁹⁴ NAC RG10, vol. 2134, file 27,046-1

¹⁹⁵ Legge, Ruth M., *Sawdust & Sea Breezes: A History of Liscomb Mills, Guysborough County*, Casket Printing and Publishing Co, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 2011, p. 181-187

¹⁹⁶ Cooke, Findlay *History and Stories of Issac's Harbour and Goldboro*, Antigonish: Formac, 1976, (p. 7)

¹⁹⁷ NSA, MG1, Vol. 2867 (Clara Dennis fonds), No. 2, Page 25

of Sheet Harbour (#38) (p. 103); Mathew Salome – Big Liscomb Lake (#39); Jim Paul – Hunting Lake and Liscomb River (#40); Abram Paul – Lake Mooiin, Back of Liscomb (#41); Newell Denis – Country Harbour, Isaacs Harbour and north (#42); Steve Malone – Loon Lake (#43); Peter Anthony – Mill Village River, near Port Mulgrave (#44).¹⁹⁸

6.0 Distribution of Blankets and Coats in Guysboro

Distribution of Blankets and Coats in Guysboro: Table 1

Year	Indian Agent/Other	# Blankets/Notes	# Coats	Source
1801	Jonathan Tremain	Jonathan Tremain's receipt for blankets enroute by ship to Guysoro issued by Michael Wallace		199
1855	Wm. Chearnley	3 blankets issued to Joseph Nolan, his wife and three children at St. Mary's River		200
1858	Wm. Chearnley	£ 8 8 8 was paid to agent for blankets		201
1859	Wm. Chearnley	66		202
1862	Christopher Jost	10		203
1864	Christopher Jost	24	4	204
1865	Christopher Jost	26		205
1866	Christopher Jost	26	5	206
1870	Christopher Jost	16		207

7.0 Census Information

The 1861 Census of Nova Scotia lists 88 Micmac in Guysborough.²⁰⁸

The following table shows the Mi'kmaq names and ages from the 1871 Census of Guysborough²⁰⁹

¹⁹⁸ Beothuk and Micmac, Frank G. Speck, New York, 1922, p. 104

¹⁹⁹ NSA, RG1, Vol. 430, Doc. 84, m/f23776

²⁰⁰ NSA MG 15, Vol 5, No 69, p. 2, m/f 15107

²⁰¹ NSA, JLA, Appendix 68, p. 435, m/f 3536

²⁰² NSA, RG1, Vol. 431, No. 101, m/f 15472

²⁰³ NSA, JLA, Appendix 16, p. 5, m/f 3538

²⁰⁴ NSA, JLA, 1865, Appendix 19, p.3, m/f3539

²⁰⁵ NSA, JLA, 1866, Appendix 42, p. 4, m/f 3540

²⁰⁶ NAC RG10, Vol. 459, p. 83-85, m/f13329

²⁰⁷ NAC RG10, Vol. 459, p. 530-531, m/f C-13329

²⁰⁸ 1861 Micmac Census. Murdoch, Beamish, A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie Vol. III, Halifax, James Barnes, Printer and Publisher, 1867, p. ix

²⁰⁹ Strouthes, Daniel P. Change in the Real Property Law of a Cape Breton Island Micmac Band, Volume II, Yale University, 1994

Mi'kmaq 1871 Census of Guysborough: Table 2

Ann Basque 50 years	Mary Basque 18 years
Caroline Basque 4 years	Mary Basque 22 years
Jeff Basque 27 years	Mike Basque 14 years
Joe Basque 9 years	Noel Basque ? years
John Basque 21 years	Noel Basque 2 years
Larry Basque 50 years	

The following table shows the Mi'kmaq names and ages from the 1881 Census of Guysborough²¹⁰

Mi'kmaq 1881 Census of Guysborough: Table 3

Christy Christop 11 months	Ellen Christop 29 years
Elizabeth Duncan 35 years	John Christop 3 years
Francis Duncan 36 years	Mary Ann Christop 7 years
Elizabeth Francis 25 years	Michael Christop 8 years
Ellen Francis 2 years	Steven Christop 35 years
Mary Francis 1 month	Gregwell Humblewa 58 years
Noel Francis 25 years	Mary Humblewa 3 years
Bridget Humblewa 48 years	Benjamin Johnson 12 years
Charles Johnson 3 years	Elizabeth Johnson 14 years
John Johnson 20 years	Joseph Johnson 18 years
Mary Johnson 8 years	Richard Johnson 2 months
Sophia Johnson 10 years	Susan Johnson 50 years
Thomas Johnson 50 years	James Joseph 25 years
Mary Joseph 20 years	Isabella Julian 19 years
Maggie Julian 6 years	Mary Julian 15 years
Mary Ann Julian 28 years	Peter Julian 72 years
Tilias Julian 61 years	Benjamin Marshall 3 years
Bridget Marshall 1 year	Caroline Marshall 11 years
Caroline Marshall 1 year	Esther Marshall 42 years
Esther Marshall 18 years	John Marshall 28 years
Joseph Marshall 45 years	Joseph Marshall 4 years
Julia Marshall 29 years	Mary Marshall 10 years
Mary Ann Marshall 5 years	Mary Ann Marshall 23 years
Michael Marshall 6 years	Noel Marshall 37 years

(<http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/censuses-1871-1881-1891#1871>)

²¹⁰ Strouthes, Daniel P. Change in the Real Property Law of a Cape Breton Island Micmac Band, Volume II, Yale University, 1994.
(<http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/censuses-1871-1881-1891#1881>)

Peter Marshall 9 years	Steven Marshall 16 years
Steven Marshall 8 years	Susan Marshall 2 years
Clemmet Muse 48 years	Joseph Muse 2 years
Margaret Muse 16 years	Martha Muse 23 years
Mary Muse 2 years	Nancy Muse 80 years
Noel Muse 1 year	Bridget Noel 25 years
Caroline Noel 3 years	Christy Noel 15 years
Elizabeth Noel 21 years	Ellen Noel 17 years
Ellen Noel 16 years	Freman Noel 55 years
Harriet Noel 19 years	Lewis Noel 31 years
Margaret Noel 23 years	Margaret Noel 38 years
Mary Noel 8 years	Mary Noel 1 year
Mary Ann Noel 62 years	Michael Noel 34 years
Nancy Noel 28 years	Nicholas Noel 6 years
Noel Noel 12 years	Paul Noel 1 year
Peter Noel 24 years	Sarah Noel 33 years
Thomas Noel 11 months	Victoria Noel 13 years
Louis Peters 27 years	Mary Peters 13 years
Sarah Peters 57 years	Stephen Peters 67 years
Caroline Prosper 5 years	Catherine Prosper 11 months
John Prosper 33 years	Joseph Prosper 2 years
Mary Joseph 26 years	Noel Prosper 10 years

The following table shows the Mi'kmaq names and ages from the 1891 Census of Guysborough²¹¹

Mi'kmaq 1891 Census of Guysborough: Table 4

Harvey Andrews 2 years	John Andrews 4 years
Mable Andrews 13 years	Mary Andrews 37 years
Mary Andrews 7 years	Thomas Andrews 39 years
Andrew Basque 38 years	John Basque 7 years
May Basque 12 years	Nancy Basque 2 years
Susan Basque 27 years	Florid Christen 36 years
Joe Goodo 2 years	Mary Goodo 38 years
Peter Goodo 42 years	James Joe 13 years
Lewis Joe 39 years	Mag Joe 37 years
Margaret Joe 7 years	Mary Joe 16 years
Maze Joe 3 months	Michael Joe 4 years

²¹¹ Strouthes, Daniel P. Change in the Real Property Law of a Cape Breton Island Micmac Band, Volume II, Yale University, 1994.
<http://www.cbu.ca/mrc/censuses-1871-1881-1891#1891>

Amy Johnson 21 years	Ben Johnson 20 years
Charles Johnson 13 years	Elizabeth Johnson 18 years
Joseph Johnson 25 years	Mary Johnson 16 years
Richard Johnson 10 years	Sophie Johnson 18 years
Susan Johnson 63 years	Thomas Johnson 70 years
Agnes Marshall 2 months	Bridget Marshall 11 years
Caroline Marshall 21 years	Eleanor Marshall 9 years
Eleanor Marshal 10 years	Ester Marshall 51 years
Joseph Marshall 14 years	Joseph Marshall 58 years
Julie Marshall 39 years	Maggie Marshall 4 years
Mary Marshall 20 years	Mary Ann Marshall 17 years
Michael Marshall 16 years	Noel Marshall 43 years
Peter Marshall 19 years	Stephen Marshall 25 years
Stephen Marshall 18 years	Susan Marshall 12 years
Noel Michael 25 years	Fred Muse 14 years
Lizzie Muse 6 years	Mary Muse 10 years
Selina Muse 38 years	Agnes Noel 35 years
Alice Noel 7 years	Charles Noel 4 years
Eliza Noel 13 years	Elsie Noel 2 years
James Noel 44 years	Kate Noel 10 years
Theresa Noel 5 years	Bella Peck 10 years
Ben Peck 19 years	Charles Peck 2 years
Jane Peck 12 years	Mary Peck 75 years
Michael Peck 42 years	Peter Peck 21 years
Ann Mary Pictou 27 years	James Pictou 35 years
Joseph Stevens 5 years	Morris Stevens 24 years
Picto Stevens 15 years	Sally Stevens 27 years
Sam Stevens 44 years	Anabel Sulean 3 years
Carmel Sulean 4 months	Joseph Sulean 32 years
Joseph Sulean 9 years	Kate Sulean 30 years
Levi Sulean 7 years	Sulian Sulean 11 years

8.0 Guysborough Mi'kmaq Population Information from Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports

Guysborough Mi'kmaq Population Information from Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports:

Table 5

Year	Guysborough County Population	Antigonish County Population	Department Report Date	Other Notes
1861	88		1862 ²¹²	
1871	88	-	1872 ²¹³	-
1872	48	93	1873 ²¹⁴	-
1873	48	151	1873 ²¹⁵	Agent John McKinnon Jr.
1874	-	156	1874 ²¹⁶	Agent John J. McKinnon
1875	-	-	1875 ²¹⁷	Agent Rev. W Chisholm – no report submitted for this year
1876	154 (combined)	-	1876 ²¹⁸	Agent William Chisholm
1877	152 (combined)	-	1877 ²¹⁹	Agent William Chisholm
1878	152 (combined)	-	1878 ²²⁰	-
1879	166 (combined)	-	1879 ²²¹	Agent Rev. William Chisholm reports that the increase in population is due to Indians emigrating from Bras d'Or Lake and other parts of Cape Breton
1880	167 (combined)	-	1880 ²²²	Agent Rev. William Chisholm notes that houses have been built in this year and are occupied for only part of the year as the Indians go away during the fishing season and in the winter camp in the woods where they can easily gather materials for basket making and coopering
1881	162	-	1881 ²²³	Agent Rev. William Chisholm

²¹² NSA, JLA, 1862, Appendix 30, p. 4, m/f 3538

²¹³ Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of States for the Provinces, 1872 Sessional Papers No. 22, Page 35.

²¹⁴ Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the Year Ending June 30th 1872, Sessional papers No. 23, Victoria 36, 1873.

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²²² Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of States for the Provinces, 1881 Sessional Papers No. 14, Page 45.

²²³ Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of States for the Provinces, 1882 Sessional Papers No. 6, Page

	(combined)			
1882	169 (combined)	-	1882 ²²⁴	Agent Rev. William Chisholm reported that Indians have several small reserves
1883	170 (combined)	-	1883 ²²⁵	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1884	175 (combined)	-	1884 ²²⁶	Agent John J. Chisholm
1885	150 (combined)	-	1885 ²²⁷	Agent Joseph Chisholm
1886	180 (combined)	-	1886 ²²⁸	Agent Joseph Chisholm
1887	177 (combined)	-	1887 ²²⁹	Agent William C. Chisholm
1888	175 (combined)	-	1888 ²³⁰	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1889	168 (combined)	-	1889 ²³¹	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1890	171 (combined)	-	1890 ²³²	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1891	169 (combined)	-	1891 ²³³	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1892	168 (combined)	-	1892 ²³⁴	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1893	168	-	1893 ²³⁵	Agent W. C. Chisholm

45.

²²⁴ Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of States for the Provinces, 1883 Sessional Papers No. 5, Page 46.

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²³³ Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December 1891, Sessional Papers No. 14, Victoria 55, 1892.

²³⁴ Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December 1892, Sessional Papers No. 14, Victoria 56, 1893.

	(combined)			
1894	160 (combined)	-	1894 ²³⁶	Agent W. C. Chisholm
1895	167 (combined)	-	1895 ²³⁷	Agent Rev. William Chisholm
1896	158 (combined)	-	1896 ²³⁸	Agent William C. Chisholm
1897	130 (combined)	-	1897 ²³⁹	Agent John R. McDonald
1898	30	124	1898 ²⁴⁰	Agent J.R. McDonald
1899	32	146	1899 ²⁴¹	Agent J.R. McDonald
1900	32	146	1900 ²⁴²	Agent John R. McDonald
1901	31	155	1901 ²⁴³	Agent J.R. McDonald

9.0 Mi'kmaq Place Names in Guysborough County

Mi'kmaq words are different from English words. The main difference is the way the words are put together. A lot of information can be packed into a noun or verb and it can take many English words to properly translate them. Mi'kmaq place names name natural features and also describe geological features. Mi'kmaq place names reveal social and political history within a region.²⁴⁴

²³⁵ Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June 1893, Sessional Papers No. 14, Victoria 57, 1894.

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²⁴⁴ Leavitt, Robert M., Maliseet & Micmac First Nations of the Maritimes, New Ireland Press, Fredericton, NB, 1995 (page 40-43)

Mi'kmaq Place Names in Guysborough County: Table 6

Place	-	Mi'kmaq Place Name	-	Meaning (if given)
Guysborough County	–	Esigeoagig ²⁴⁵	–	– skin dressing place
Cape Mocodome	–	Mkudomk ²⁴⁶	–	– home of the black-backed gull
St. Mary's	–	Nabsoosakunuk ²⁴⁷		
Wine Harbour	–	Pulamkeegunchk ²⁴⁸		– an outlet cut through the sand
		Pelumkeagunech ²⁴⁹		– the fish spawning place
a hill near Country Harbour	-	Weesik ²⁵⁰		- the home of the beaver
Indian Harbour	–	Utkgunaakade ²⁵¹		- Autumn fishery
Liscomb Harbour	–	Medadawik ²⁵²		– place of eel fishery
Country Harbour	–	Eskegawgek ²⁵³		– skin-drying place
		Anukwakade ²⁵⁴		– the place for flounders
County Harbour Valley	–	Moolabooqwek ²⁵⁵		– deep gully
Gegogan Harbour	–	Notjioganeg ²⁵⁶		
St. Mary's River	–	Naboosakunuk ²⁵⁷		-the black birch tree ²⁵⁸
St. Mary's River Forks	–	Mimniginetjk ²⁵⁹		

10.0 Conclusion

The coastlines and river systems within Guysborough County provided an abundance of fish species with the interior providing an abundance of small fur bearing animals and large game.

²⁴⁵ Preliminary Historical Research on Mi'kmaq Place-Names in Nova Scotia, Volume II, Report prepared for the Aboriginal Title Project, 2006

²⁴⁶ Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 11

²⁴⁷ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/MICMAC.HTML>

²⁴⁸ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/MICMAC.HTML>

²⁴⁹ Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 12

²⁵⁰ Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 12

²⁵¹ Mi'kmaq Names in Guysborough County, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~guys/MICMAC.HTML>

²⁵² Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 12

²⁵³ Timmons, Marion, Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, Nova Scotia, 2010, p. 11

²⁵⁴ Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 12

²⁵⁵ Timmons, Marion, Wilderness Home: The Loyalist Founding of Country Harbour, Glen Margaret Publishing, Tantallon, Nova Scotia, 2010, p. 11

²⁵⁶ Preliminary Historical Research on Mi'kmaq Place-Names in Nova Scotia, Volume II, Report prepared for the Aboriginal Title Project, 2006

²⁵⁷ Preliminary Historical Research on Mi'kmaq Place-Names in Nova Scotia, Volume II, Report prepared for the Aboriginal Title Project, 2006

²⁵⁸ Jost, A.C., Guysborough Sketches and Essays, Revised Edition, Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 2009, p. 13

²⁵⁹ Preliminary Historical Research on Mi'kmaq Place-Names in Nova Scotia, Volume II, Report prepared for the Aboriginal Title Project, 2006

The many lakes and river systems within Guysborough County provided the Mi'kmaq with extensive travel routes.

The historical review concludes that it certain Mi'kmaq have used the surrounding study area.

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AANDC's Specific Claims Branch online registry was canvassed and currently there are no outstanding registered specific claims identified within the project area.²⁶⁰ This in no way infers that specific land claims may not arise in the future.

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Nova Scotia Crown Map Sheets 96, 97, 101, 102 Guysborough County, NS
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LAC-Online search

Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society

Acadiensis Journal

²⁶⁰ http://services.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/SCBRI_E/Main/ReportingCentre/External/externalreporting.aspx (accessed: May 15, 2015)

²⁶¹ July 20, 2013

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APPENDIX 7

ARCHAEOLOGICAL/CULTURAL ASPECTS REVIEW

**FIFTEEN MILE STREAM GOLD PROJECT
HALIFAX COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA**

**COCHRANE HILL GOLD PROJECT
GUSBOROUGH COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA**

Prepared for: Mi'kma'ki All Points Services

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Mi'kmaq Archaeological Services**

August 23, 2018

INTRODUCTION:

This report represents an Archaeological/Cultural Aspects Review prepared to provide better understanding of Mi'kmaq land and resource use activities in and around the Fifteen Mile Stream and Cochrane Hill Gold Project Sites. This assessment considers a detailed review of all current archaeological, historical, ethnological and other relevant cultural resource materials.

Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and/or intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, with the intent to be maintained in the present and preserved for the benefit of future generations.

Archaeology is the study of human activity through the recovery and analysis of material culture. The archaeological record may consist of such things as artifacts, architecture, biofacts, ecofacts, geofacts and cultural landscapes features.

Values considered for this report are:

- Site Location Data
- Archaeological Site Data
- Historical Data
- Landscape – Diversity and Productivity
- Archaeological Potential

Not all things that have heritage value are visible

MI'KMAQ CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Fundamentally, cultural landscapes are landscapes that have been affected, influenced, or shaped by human involvement. A cultural landscape can be associated with a person or event or a combination of both. Collectively, cultural landscapes are narratives of culture, and expressions of identity.

Most historical descriptions of Mi'kmaq society tend to focus on describing early Mi'kmaq-European relations (Wicken 1993). Rarely fused within these narratives are descriptions of a Mi'kmaq cultural landscape.

Recently, studies have moved towards a more comprehensive understanding of the ecological, socio-cultural, and economic values of a traditional Mi'kmaq cultural landscape of which rivers and associated landscapes have always been of principal importance.

Cultural geographer, Carl Sauer, provided the initial discourse for the term '*cultural landscape*' in the 1920's stating that '*cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group*' (Sauer 1925, 25).

R.G. Matson (1983) in his publication '*Intensification and Development of Cultural Complexities: The Northwest vs. the Northeast Coast*' argued that societies focused settlements and resource use areas in locales that allowed them control and access to critical resources which were not only abundant, but localized and predictable.

According to David Jacques the rise in the recognition of cultural landscape became associated with the recognition of differing value systems inherent in cultural landscapes (*Defining Cultural Landscapes* - 1995, 91-101).

Amos Rapoport purports that all landscapes are modified through human action and that they have been lived in and have meaning makes them cultural. He further states that they have unmistakable and easily identifiable characteristics (*Rapoport 1992, 33-47*). Rapoport also defines cultural landscapes as consisting of a system of settings.

The historical narrative as we know it, which is more about 'great events and great people', cannot communicate this. Within each of these systems of settings, are systems of activities and underlying characteristics that make them distinctive.

These settings or systems incorporate proximities, linkages, and even cultural memories tied closely to a traditional cultural landscape that is often overlooked (*Rapoport 1992, 33-47*).

Kenneth Taylor (2008) proposed that one of people's deepest needs is for a sense of identity and belonging. The one common denominator which influenced human attachment to land is determined by how one identifies within landscape and with place. He also adds that landscape is not simply what we see, but is a way of

seeing. We not only see cultural landscape with our eyes but interpret it with our mind and an ascribed set of values

Ludimir R. Lonzy (2006) states that two themes central to understanding a cultural landscape are landscape history and the concept of place examined in the time-space context of human activity. He defines landscape history as the study of past relationships between groups of people and their environment. He goes further to define ‘*cultural landscape*’ as being composed of places filled symbolically with diverse meanings and encompassing details of human past activities that can be captured.

The concept of place is not just about material objects, but other, intangible things such as memories, feelings, and sense of belonging. Landscape, has two distinct realms: cultural (recognized/meaningful) and natural. In any case, both can be experienced simultaneously (Lonzy 2006).

For Mi’kmaq peoples, ‘*place*’ becomes significant and is symbolically filled with specific meaning. **This is often unrecognizable to researchers, government officials and industry.** For example, a cultural landscape is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow. It has a consciousness and its own will towards life that cannot be taken away under the pretext of economic exploitation.

Land therefore, to the Mi’kmaq people is NOT an accidental find. In other words, they didn’t discover it. They viewed and continue to view it as a gift and the abundance offered by it is all part of that gift.

How the Mi’kmaq experience and perceive the landscape can be seen through legends, stories, music, and spiritualism. These are all filled with knowledge and references relating to the landscape and includes how one conducts oneself in relation to it.

SUBSISTENCE MODELS

From an archaeological point of view, several subsistence models have been hypothesized for a traditional Mi’kmaq economy (Hoffman 1955; Christianson 1979; Davis 1986; Nash, Deal and Stewart 1991).

Many of these models result from a review and interpretation of 17th century literature, but reinforce the reciprocal and continuous relationship Mi’kmaq had

and continue to have with their environment. Since then much of that interpretation has been expanded upon and complemented by a range of archaeological research.

Mi'kmaq often chose landscape areas that offered outstanding biodiversity and an overlapping seasonal availability of resources for settlement and resource use. This strategy of land and resource use has long linked Mi'kmaq and environment. Archaeologists continue to verify that specific locations have been used consistently over thousands of years.

Watersheds and associated river units are **high priority** land use areas for the Mi'kmaq. These locations have given rise to variability in archaeological site types, temporal range and use patterns. At the time of first European contact Mi'kmaq populations were living along each of the forty-two rivers and using and accessing the myriad of lakes found therein.

In fact, Marc Lescarbot in 1607, and Father Pierre Biard in 1610 ((Biard 1616; in JR. Vol. 3:87-95), noted that the Sagamies (Chiefs) divided up the country their territories identifiable according to bays or rivers.

Lescarbot (1607) noted the knowledge Mi'kmaq had of the overlapping resource sites;

‘...when the winter was over and the mildness of the weather allured the fish to seek fresh water, upon the 14th of April, men were sent out fishing. There are a great many streams at Port Royal, and among them three or four where the fish swarm in the spawning season. One contains vast numbers of Smelts in April. Another, Herring, another, Sturgeon and Salmon, etc. So some were then sent to the river at the [30] back of Port Royal, to see if the Smelts had come. When they reached the place, Membertou (who was encamped there), received them hospitably, regaling them with meat and fish. Thence they went to the stream called Liesse by Sieur des Noyers, an Advocate in Parliament, where they found so many fish that they had to send and get some salt, to lay in a store of them. These fish are very tempting and delicate, and are not so injurious as shellfish are apt to be. They remain about six weeks in this stream; after that there is another small river near Port Royal, where Herring is found, also another to which Sardines come in great abundance. But as to the river of the Port, which is the river Equille, since named the Dauphin, at the time of which we speak it furnished Sturgeon and Salmon to anyone who would take the trouble to fish for them. When the Herrings came, the Savages (with their usual good-nature) let the French know it by signaling from their quarters

with fires and smoke. The hint was not neglected, for this kind of hunting is much surer than that of the woods'. (Lescarbot, Jesuit Relations 1968, 165, 167).

Most archaeological sites today continue to be identified as being evenly distributed along shore districts, rivers, streams, and interior lakes and are contiguous in nature.

The defining qualities of landscapes and site locations are bio-diversity, localization, as well as the abundance and availability of overlapping seasonal resources. These landscape areas were also flexible and dynamic with generational changes in resource availability (populations /ecological cycles).

Aquatic and terrestrial resources associated with a myriad of lakes, rivers and forests were, and continue to be, basic to Mi'kmaq existence. Recent archaeological investigations (Lewis 2001-2006) support this hypothesis, as well as a long tenure of land and resource use by Mi'kmaq.

It is now accepted that Mi'kmaq people extended and modified plans and strategies to exploit singular or multiple resources in a succession of habitats throughout the province. For example, archaeological investigations have shown stone fish weir technology as having been used regularly on most rivers in Nova Scotia.

Four types of fish weir architecture were identified. The overlapping seasonal availability of resources allows for the seasonal harvesting of a river. Fence-stake weirs located at the mouth of rivers were utilized to harvest larger fish species that enter the river to spawn or feed such as sturgeon, bass, and shad. Their effectiveness was dictated by the rise and fall of tides.

Smaller (v-shaped) upstream oriented stone weirs at located at the heads of tide. These were used to harvest the smaller fish species such as mackerel, gaspereau, bass, and male eels.

Rectangular-ovate stone weirs were located on the intermittent portion of a river above the head of tide and designed to harvest salmon and larger (v-shaped) downstream-oriented stone weirs were located at the outflows of interior lakes. These were used to harvest out migrating female eels during a 4-5-week window of opportunity from mid-September to mid-October.

With increased infringement on their territories by newly arriving settlers, a new strategy was needed to deal with the loss of access to resource areas. That new colonial strategy came in the form of '*Licenses of Occupation*'. It can be assumed this new strategy was implemented recognizing the importance of ancient landscapes to traditional Mi'kmaq life ways.

OVERVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES HALIFAX COUNTY AND GUYSBOROUGH COUNTY:

There are approximately 100 Mi'kmaq related archaeological sites in Halifax County while 29 have been identified in Guysborough County (NSM 2018). The temporal range of land and resource use ranges from *Mu Awsami Sagiwe'k* (10,000 -3,000 years ago) to *Kiskukewe'k L'nuk* (3000 years ago – present) and includes historic period sites. (Lewis 2006).

MAPS:

Figure 1: Map provided by MAPS (2018) of the proposed Atlantic Gold Mines projects areas relative to Beaver Dam Site NNW of Sheet Harbour, Nova Scotia.

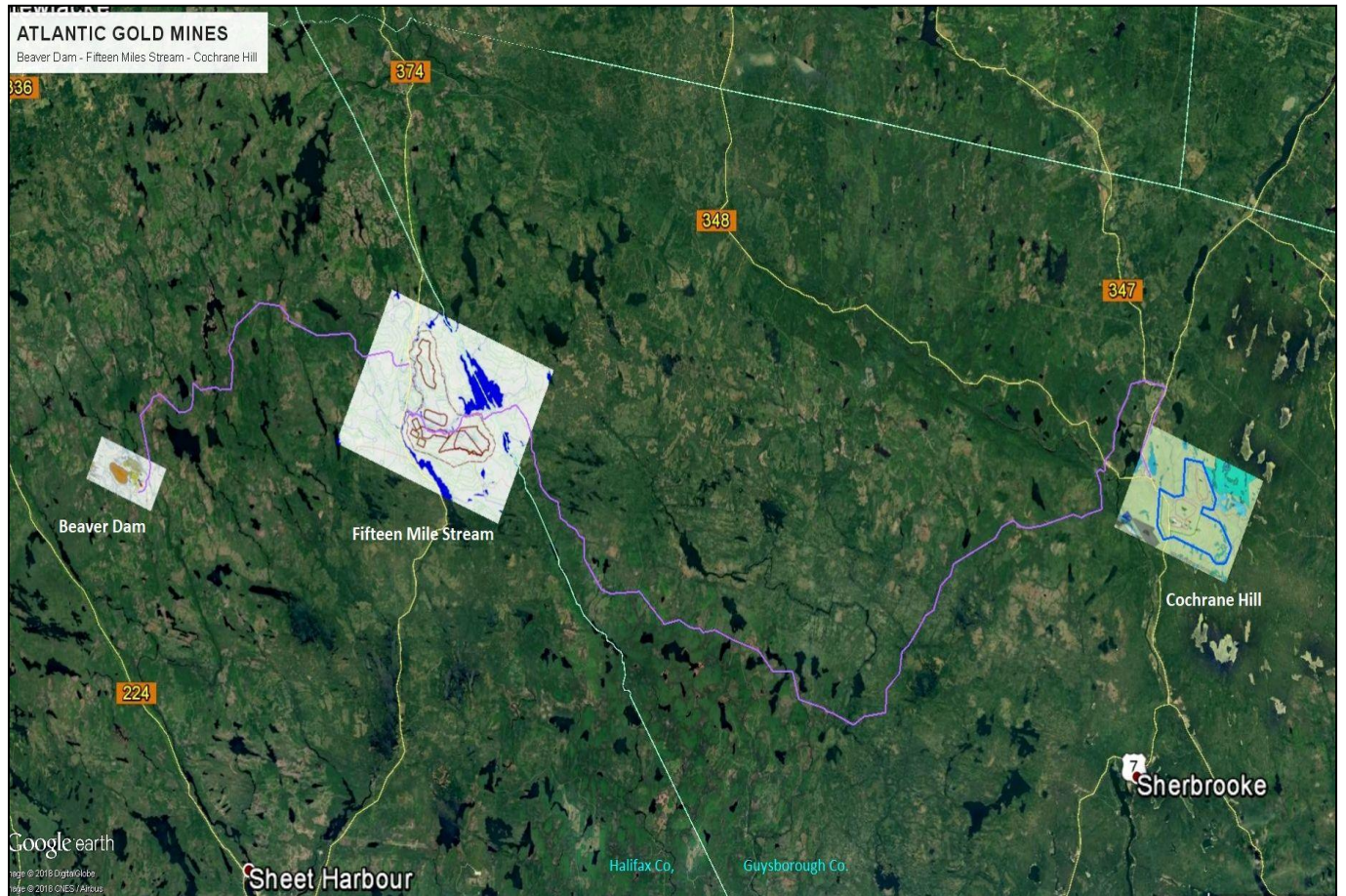


Figure 2: Archaeological Sites –Fifteen Mile Stream

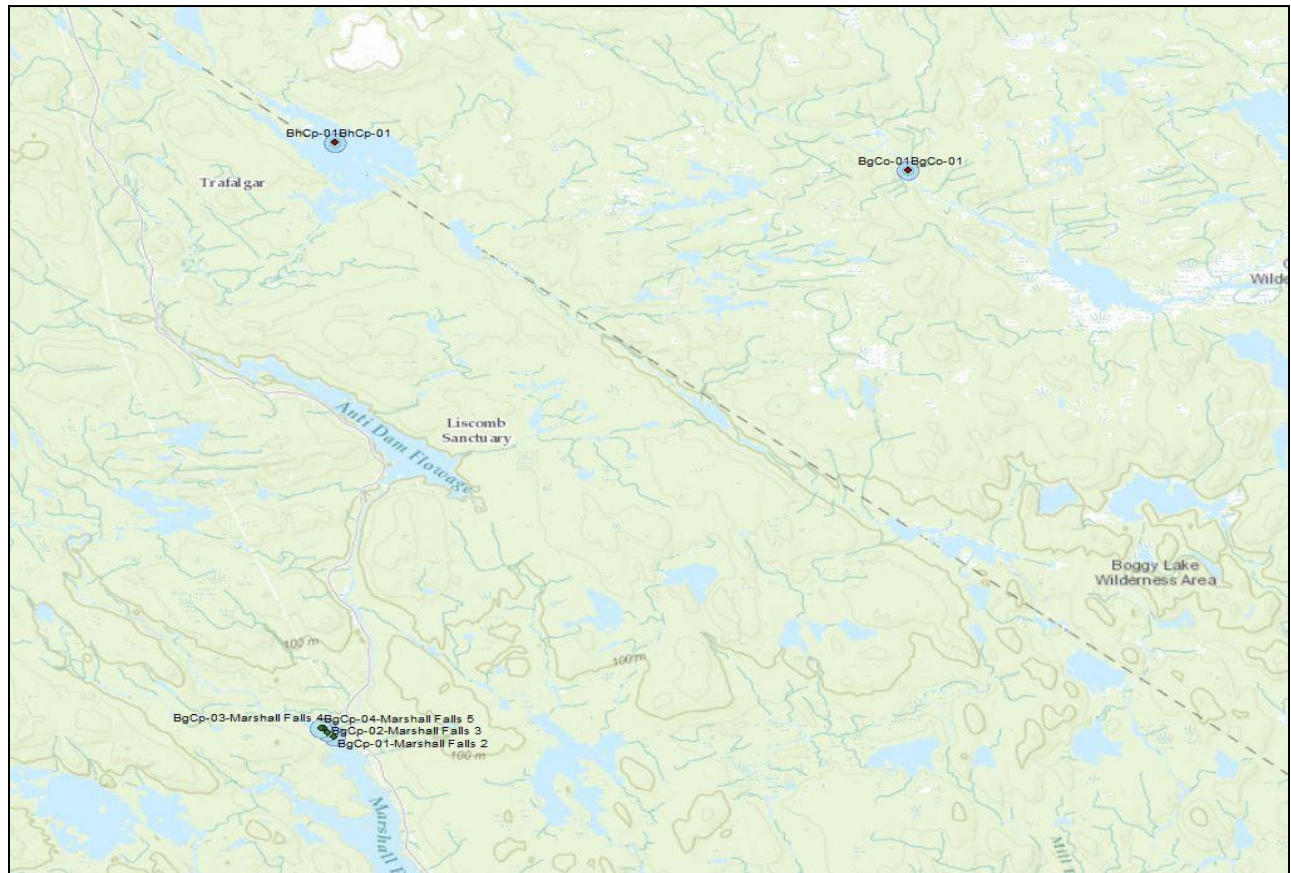
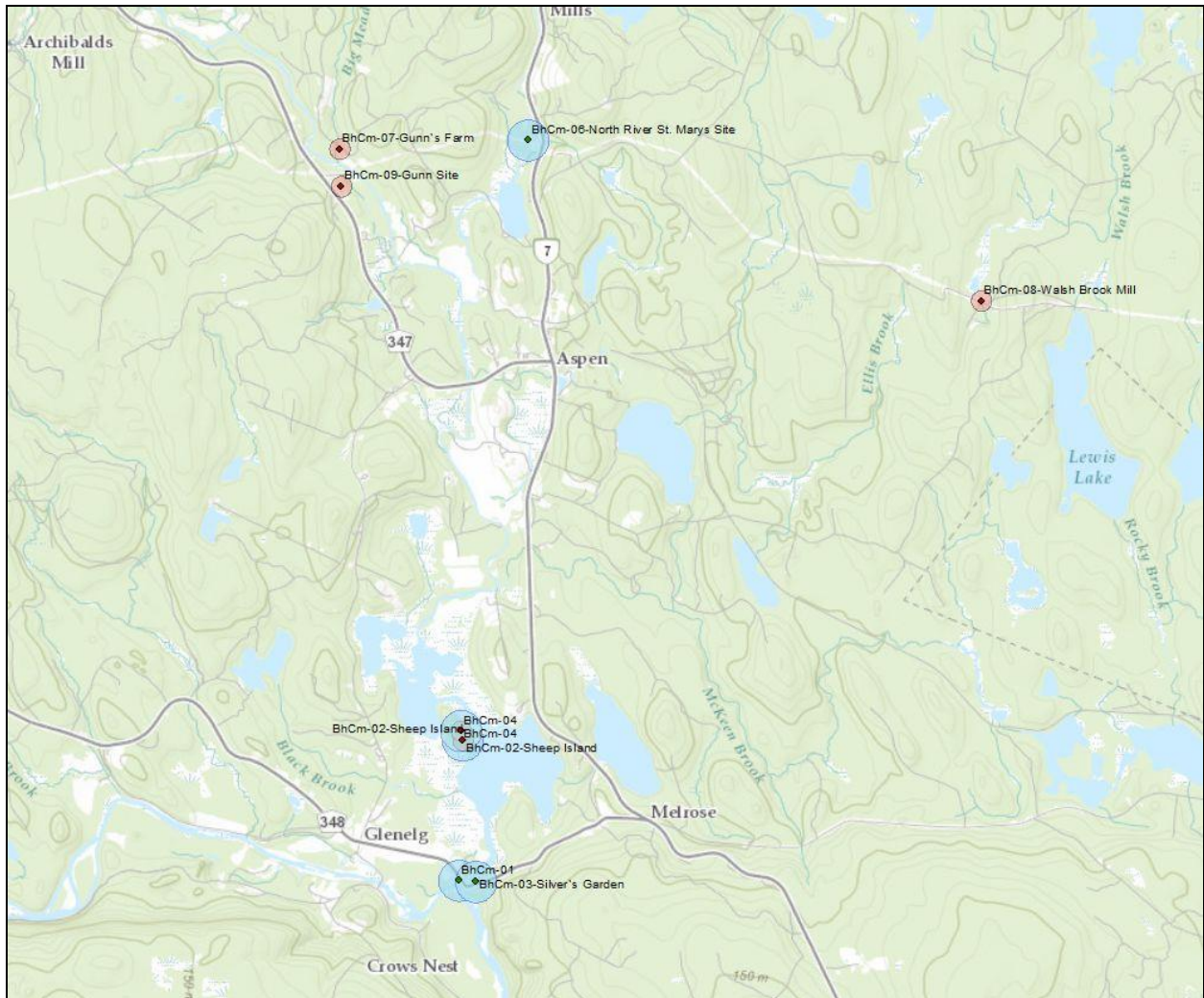


Figure 3: Archaeological Sites – Cochrane Hills



The current project areas (Fifteen Mile Stream and Cochrane Hills) are in close vicinity of known archaeological sites.

Fifteen Mile Stream Area (Figure 2):

A combination of both pre-contact and historic period Mi'kmaq sites have been identified in the immediate vicinity of the proposed Fifteen Mile Stream Gold Projects. More specifically, six (6) historic/precontract sites are identified immediately south of the Anti Dam Flowage at Marshall Falls. A historic period Mi'kmaq burial site is located at Seloam Lake.

According to Harry Piers Notes and Geological Survey (GSC) maps annotated by Mr. Piers, it is reported that 'old Matteo Selome (sic) buried his wife on an island in the lake'.

Approximately 15 kilometers east of Seloam Lake at Typhus Lake ... 'an Indian burying ground of Indians who took sick and died ... Fenian Raid about 1866'.

Approximately 8 kilometers 'northeast' of Seloam Lake and immediately 'south' of Big Liscomb can be found Prince Arthur Lake. This was a favoured hunting and fishing area of the Mi'kmaq. Prince Arthur, the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn and later Governor General of Canada visited Nova Scotia in 1869 and travelled to that location in the company of James Cope and William Chearnley, then Colonial Indian Commissioner.

Cochrane Hills (Figure 3):

Eight (8) archaeological sites have been identified in the immediate vicinity of Glenelg, Melrose and Wallace Lake area at Aspen. One (1) of these sites has been identified as a potential Mi'kmaq Burial Site location (Harry Piers notes and annotated GSC map).

Three (3) precontract period sites are located at Glenelg at the forks of the East/West Branch St. Mary's River, at Wallace Lake and Silver's Garden.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

The cultural heritage and cultural landscapes of the Mi'kmaq people dates back many thousands of years ago, to early post-glacial Indigenous occupation and encompasses the later arrival of immigrants and settlers from cultures worldwide.

Identifying and protecting cultural heritage values, as well as respecting cultural landscapes preserves a still living archive of this province's history for future generations to study and enjoy. Cultural heritage values and cultural landscapes are especially important to Indigenous people and intimate to their beliefs and society.

Modelling for areas of archaeological potential is often conducted using assessment tools that frequently overlook actual heritage and landscape values. Too often these models are based on statistical testing and disregard the Mi'kmaq experience.

In many instances areas protected for other identified values, also overlap with areas of high archaeological potential for cultural heritage and landscape values.

The Fifteen Mile Stream and Cochrane Hills project sites identified in this summary report are suggestive as being of **'HIGH POTENTIAL'** to contain Mi'kmaq heritage resources and form part of a greater Mi'kmaq cultural landscape.

These locations are known for both primary and secondary water sources critical to Mi'kmaq lifeways. They are known to contain topographical features that could be the sites of known/unknown Mi'kmaq burials. These areas also had a long history of Mi'kmaq harvesting/gathering and guiding (see the Old Man Told Us – at Liscomb River, Hunting Lake, Indian Rips, Squaw Point, Ladle Lake, Dreadnaught Dam, Lookout Hill).

There are recorded instances of Mi'kmaq guides selling Moose meat to the Fifteen Mile Gold mine when it was an active operation in the early 20th century (Jeremiah Lonecloud to Harry Piers 1918).

The family of Ned Isidore were born and lived at St. Mary's Forks, Guysborough County circa 1806 (Harry Piers Notes 2003). In fact, a significant Mi'kmaq

population resided in what they called the ‘Eastern District’ of the province throughout the 1800s (William Nixon Accts – PANS RG1, Vol 430, #109).

Of note, this writer spoke to many elderly non-Mi’kmaq residents of the Eastern Shore in the years 2005/06 and a common statement made by same was ‘*many Micmac lived down here, and we remember them, but all of sudden they disappeared*’. Further enquiries indicated the disappearance of the Mi’kmaq coincided with the failed Centralization efforts of the 1940’s.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on all available information and the proximity of these projects to existing heritage resources it is recommended that prior to any wide spread land alterations or deep disturbance that a ‘**High Potential**’ archaeological assessment be undertaken.

There should also be a reasonable expectation that ‘cultural importance’ of the landscape throughout the ‘Eastern District’ be considered in any assessment considerations.

