Toponomy and Cultural Landscape in Central Cape Breton, Unama'kik, and Cheap Breattain

Emma Kemp
Honours, Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology
Saint Mary's University
Copyright by Emma Kemp, 2021
April 16th, 2021

Overseen By:
Sara Beanlands
Dr. Rylan Higgins
Dr. Michelle MacCarthy
Dr. Heather McLeod-Leslie

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, acknowledgement must be made to the name makers and people who have inhabited what is now known as Nova Scotia since time immemorial. Although the specific place name makers are not always known, without those individuals and groups who named the places of this study, be them individual or general, the landscape would not be so full of meaning and memory.

I would like to pay a special acknowledgement to Saint Mary's University professors and my committee members, Sara Beanlands, Dr. Eric Henry, Dr. Rylan Higgins, Dr. Michelle MacCarthy, and Dr. Heather McLeod-Leslie, who not only agreed to assist me throughout this process by being part of my committee, but without whose expertise and guidance this thesis would not be possible. Thank you for your wisdom, knowledge, guidance, and most of all patience – I could not have done this without each and every one of you.

In addition to Saint Mary's staff and my committee members, I would like to thank Mr. Will Flanagan, the cartographer and lab technician in the Geography department at Saint Mary's University for assisting me with the creation of mapping for this thesis. Your assistance and expertise, especially considering the complexity of my data, is greatly appreciated.

I would also like to thank the countless correspondents through which many conversations, articles and books were discussed. Without you, I would not be able to present this product. I would like to thank Shamus MacDonald, whose willingness to contribute information and guidance led to my ability to comprehend and delve into a topic I care a lot about. I would like to thank Gerald Gloade for his correspondence, namely the clarifications and ability to provide information for me when my research was lacking.

To all my friends, thank you for all of your support and aid, without it both myself and my sanity would be lost. A very special thanks to my family, especially my mother and father, Karen and John Kemp, whose support in my education and pursuit of understanding has always been immeasurable. Thank you for listening and reading, thank you for calling, and thank you for teaching me to always press on even if the way ahead is not clear.

Abstract of

Toponomy and Cultural Landscape in Central Cape Breton, Unama'kik, and Cheap Breattain
Emma Kemp
April 16th, 2021

This thesis examines the relationship between toponomy and cultural landscape of Mi'kmaw and non-Indigenous populations in historical Cape Breton. The goal is to demonstrate the ways in which place names are indicative of identity, social relationships, and power dynamics. This paper engages in analyses involving cultural landscape anthropology, examining the various theoretical approaches involved in assessing the ways Mi'kmaw and settler groups associated and named the landscape.

A historiographical analysis of prolific record-keepers and maps that contain toponymic information for this region was completed. This thesis explores the processes in which bias and cultural power is expressed through the ways maps, dictionaries, and place name records are kept. An intensive analysis of Baptist missionary Silas Rand as well as an examination of his records and other maps demonstrates the validity and applicability of certain records to the study of toponomy and cultural landscape. Further, the theory and historiographical components of this thesis will serve to demonstrate the interconnected nature of place names and culture within Central Cape Breton through several case studies.

Through this information, an in-depth place name analysis of the toponyms of Cape Breton, Unama'kik, and Cheap Breattain has been completed. The various omissions, replacements, and retention of place names are demonstrative of the fluidity of culture landscape and the ways in which power is exerted between and within populations.

Contents

PREFACE 1

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ANTHROPOLOGY 4

WHAT IS PLACE? 4
WHAT IS PLACE-MAKING? 6
PLACE AS AN INDICATOR OF POWER 8
THEORIES OF PLACE-MAKING 12
PLACE-MAKING IN MI'KMA'KI 16
PLACE-MAKING IN ALBA NUADH 19
PLACE MARKING AND ARCHAEOLOGY 23

REGIONAL HISTORY OF THE TOPONYMIC RECORD 25

MI'KMAQ IN UNAMA'KIK 25
SCOTTISH GAELS IN CHEAP BREATAINN 28
HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF TOPONYMIC RECORDS 31
SILAS TERTIUS RAND 35

PLACE NAME ANALYSIS 44

CASE STUDY: CAPE BRETON, UNAMA'KIK, CHEAP BREATTAIN, ISLE ROYALE 47
CASE STUDY: THE BRAS D'OR LAKE 52
CASE STUDY: BADDECK 53
OMISSIONS 54
REPLACEMENT 58
RETENTION 60

CONCLUSION 64

NOTES 67

REFERENCES 68

APPENDIX 71

APPENDIX A - ARCHIVAL MAPS 71
APPENDIX B – DIGITAL MAPS 71
APPENDIX C- IMAGES 72

Preface

As this thesis intends to demonstrate, place names hold great significance to people of all origins. When we give a place its name, we inscribe meaning and value into the landscape, indivisibly imbuing identity into earth. This thesis will examine place names and populations, all of which have a complex and ongoing presence in Central Cape Breton. I intend to demonstrate the significance of these places in all of their iterations, but with recognition that many of these sites reflect much older places which have and still continue to be removed from the maps by means of acculturation.

This thesis engages in a discussion about both Mi'kmaw and settler place names in a historical and modern sense. It is important to clarify that my intention is to examine existing interpretations of Mi'kmaw place names rather than synthesise new interpretations. I am not an expert in the Mi'kmaw language, nor have I consulted the appropriate elders and communities to make any assertions with regards to translation or interpretation of the place names and their meanings. This work will solely focus on the interrelationship between toponyms in Cape Breton, especially considering the complexity and intersection of cultural landscapes in this area. Future research will illuminate even deeper connections between toponomy and culture, but the agency to begin that should remain with the Mi'kmaw Nations and communities themselves. In place of interpretation, I have turned to many sources who have engaged with Mi'kmaw scholars to define place names and translations: these works – which will be cited throughout this thesis - will provide the basis from which I begin my work.

Introduction

The landscape of what is now known as Nova Scotia bears the names of many cultures and peoples. The oldest prevailing names are Mi'kmaw, while others are all settler in origin, but each of them makes their appearances on the maps of this region.

Cape Breton Island, flanked by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cabot Strait, and Atlantic Ocean, is separated from the mainland by the Strait of Canso, making up the northeastern part of Nova Scotia. Central Cape Breton, like the other regions in Nova Scotia, has been characterised by the place names of many different peoples. In this area, the distribution of Mi'kmaw and settler place names can indicate the ways in which identity is established for different groups within a landscape. As well, these toponyms are demonstrative of the ways different populations interact, dominate, and flourish. Names call upon memories, traditions, experiences, and above all, they connect a place to a person or population. When place names intersect, identities and the social connotations that go along with place naming diversify – they become layered with multiple meanings for multiple populations. Cape Breton represents the convergence of Mi'kmaw and settler cultural landscapes, the former which has millennia of experiences imbued into the landscape and the latter several hundred years of settlement that has imparted significant meaning into the same region. These multiple worldviews have long existed in the same space, but to date there has been little analysis into the ways these cultural landscapes may be examined through comparative toponomy and cultural landscape anthropology.

As a result, my thesis explores the names imparted by the inhabitants of Unama'kik, Cape Breton, Isle Royale, and Cheap Breatainn, to further understand how

those names are reflective of cultural landscape, identity, and power. Through an examination of maps and records found at the Nova Scotia Archives, I have intended to unfold – to some degree – the intricacies of place naming and the ways in which place names can demonstrate deeply complex social interactions. The significance of this research is to provide a synthesis of information that will regard the import of place names, those that remain, those that have fallen out of fashion or memory, and those that were never written in the first place: the significance lies within the meaningful understanding of places and those who named them.

Cultural Landscape Anthropology

Cultural landscape anthropology is the study of the ongoing processes of integrating culture with nature and the ways in which people attribute meaning to the places they inhabit. Cultural landscapes, as described by Baird, are material and natural, "they are also, more importantly, inscribed with meaning by those for whom they are heritage" (Baird 2013, 327). The way that populations and individuals inscribe meaning into a natural landscape varies greatly depending both on the specificities of the culture and the physical characteristics of the landscape itself. The study of toponomy and the changes in place names within a study area is truly the examination of the ways people make places and form identities within landscapes. In order to analyse place and toponyms, the anthropological positions on place must first be discussed.

What is place?

Place has always had significance in the field of anthropology. Ethnographers and archaeologists work 'in the field' in a given study area, and archival experts can determine the intricacies of a location through records and toponomy. Until recently there has been a long history of anthropological inquiry into people and their cultures as belonging to a specific place. However, as the discipline grows, anthropologists are becoming aware of the ways in which understandings of place have focused on binding culture to localities, rather than understanding how meaning is imparted onto landscapes by people. This shift is critical to the understandings of place within this thesis.

Place is a multi-valent concept. It can be specifically a location, all-encompassing or unique, but it may also be tied to emotion, feeling, and human identity: in other words,

"place can suggest both the generic and the particular, the metaphorical and the literal" (Ward 2003, 80). Ward's article (2003) outlines the ways in which anthropologists have conceived of place. In many cases anthropological inquiry has actually contributed to a limited understanding of how people actually make places with reference to cultural landscape and identity. Ward seeks to examine the pitfalls of neo-colonial inquiry and incomplete definitions of place making by examining how the phenomenon of making place is actualised in an increasingly modern, mobile, and transnational world. These new conceptions of place are being identified as populations grow and change, especially in a post-colonial environment. Historically, as well as to some extent today, anthropological and ethnographic study was typically an "encounter of the voluntarily displaced anthropologist and the involuntarily localized 'other'" (Appadurai 1988, 16). Proper attention to the actualities of movement and fluidity within populations that create places will disentangle this association of culture and locality. The imagined reality of cultures and people as bounded and static entities within which a mobile, fluid anthropologist could approach to determine differences is not a feasible or ethical approach. Ward (2003) writes:

> While some ethnographers working in Australia (such as Munn and Strehlow) constructed culturally meaningful notions of landscape based on Aboriginal mythology and iconography, there remains in these accounts an implicit understanding of the timelessness and rootedness of people in place. As a consequence place is conceived of as static. (Ward 2003, 81).

Certain anthropological ideas of rootedness and place inhibited the possibility for an understanding of this concept as a more complex and fluid phenomenon. Today, place must be considered as an idea with multiple qualities. It is not simply a geographical location or positionality, rather place must be understood as "constituted, relational and

fluid, and human movement is significant within this formulation" (Ward 2003, 81). Although places exist in and of themselves, for the purposes of this thesis, place must be recognised as a socially constituted and fluid phenomenon, that may be used to locate a specific point in the landscape while simultaneously acting as an indicator of meaning and movement imparted upon it by people. Although the places that will be discussed in this work likely have coordinates that can be plotted on a map that refer to the physical place, I will be concerned mainly with the notions of place as they contribute to an understanding of how people identify, move within, and make meaningful their environments.

What is place-making?

As beforementioned, it is only recently in the realm of anthropological theory that this reorientation of place has occurred. However, conceptualising place in itself must be completed while simultaneously considering people, their movements, and culture, after all place in this sense, is constituted in the minds of humans. Explorers, mariners, colonials, and even anthropologists have contributed to the "implicit mapping of the world as a series of discrete, territorialised cultures" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997, 3). However, it is clear through examinations of the societies that existed (and still exist) within central Cape Breton - pre- and post-contact Mi'kmaw societies and settler societies - that cultures "have never been entirely bounded, homogenous or static" (Ward 2003, 81). Movement and fluidity are concepts that represent human social nature in tandem with the activity of place-making. The main issue with conceptualising how people make and name places arises from the dual nature of humankind's ability to firmly locate and situate themselves in a landscape, while continuously growing, changing, and moving

within that space. Major upheaval is required to halt conceptualising pre-contact societies as objects that remained in stasis until the advent of exploration and European interaction took place. These themes are ethnocentric and should be avoided, for it is known that in the case the Mi'kmaq - complex histories and cultures flourished, changed, and grew continuously for millennia before any engagement with colonists occurred (Sable & Francis 2018). It is also critical to consider, that the Mi'kmaq have not stopped continuously creating place or that the place names of Mi'kma'ki have ceased to exist since European arrival. With the tendency to root "people in place and in the past, there is a denial of the ongoing cultural production of place", and like any population, the Mi'kmaq are no exception to this statement (Ward 2003, 83). Place-making is an active and changing form of culture, it occurs within populations as well as between them, it can be examined to illuminate dynamics of social power and dominance.

Through newer conceptions of place, it can be shown that place names – especially in the context of Cape Breton, Unama'kik, and Cheap Breattain – are directly related to the ways people make places and define themselves within a cultural landscape. Interestingly, the complex nature of the region, more specifically the intricate interactions between the various populations who have lived or settled there, are reflected in the place names. When examining this region today, one can see the memories, events and individuals who made places meaningful for those who inhabit the island. By conceptualising these places as representations of people have continuously made these spaces meaningful - through fluid and constantly changing process of identification - one can garner a fuller understanding of the complex and interrelated nature of toponymy and cultural landscape.

Place as an Indicator of Power

> Being from somewhere is always preferable to being from nowhere.
>
> (Basso 1996, 148)

In order to examine place names and their relevance to understanding identity and power within populations, a cogent understanding of how people make places is necessary. The traces of place-making and identity can be followed most simply through the place names themselves. For the most part, toponyms are linguistic terms that refer to localities, imparted to places by the populations that inhabit them. There are also place name constructions for locations that have been fashioned by those who do not inhabit the area, for example, many people have names for countries and regions they do not inhabit, which do not always reflect the place name as if it were spoken in the dominant language of that space. In this sense, people can also conceptualise place through their own perspectives and ascribe it meaning without ever inhabiting it. On the whole, place names encapsulate a dual functionality of place, all at once retaining referential qualities, while echoing the identities and relationships of the people who gave the place its name. It may seem difficult to imagine momentum and change when considering toponyms, as they hearken to certain levels of permanence that are attributed to a spot within the landscape. However recent anthropological conceptions of place describe cultural identities as "negotiated and constructed between cultural worlds rather than being 'rooted' to a singular, stable ethnic locale." (Ward 2003, 81). Although tradition and longevity contribute to the imagining of place names as ancient and unchanging, the means through which certain names are maintained or lost in time is through social and cultural interactions.

Toponyms are indicative of social power in many ways, namely through omission, replacement, and retention of place names. This is especially relevant when examining regions with intersecting cultural landscapes, like central Cape Breton, where Mi'kmaw and various settler names are prevalent. This analysis may also be extended in future research to pre-contact time periods where the Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous groups with distinct language families interacted with one another constantly. Fluctuations of dominance and power occurred in these settings as well, albeit the traces of changes are more obscured. This is due, in part, to the difficulty of obtaining information about pre-contact societies. Oral traditions are extraordinarily useful and explanatory, however this type of knowledge has been devalued or in many cases, it has been overlooked. In the future, turning to the correct authorities – Mi'kmaw knowledge holders – in combination with post-colonial research and archaeology, a fuller understanding of the intersection of toponymy and pre-contact society could be gained. When examining place names within colonial and postcolonial settings, it is often much easier to trace the names that settlers imparted on the land. It must be noted that this is due to the devaluation of oral tradition, stories, and traditional knowledge. It may seem easier for a scholar using Western, Eurocentric research methods to divulge settler place names rather than Mi'kmaw place names from maps and records that follow in Western tradition. This does no mean that Indigenous peoples from various Nations do not have access to the place names within their landscape, they are just accessed through different methods. It is important to note that settler scholars face challenges in understanding Mi'kmaw toponomy because of the history of devaluing oral tradition, linguistic and cultural barriers between researchers and knowledge holders, as well as purposeful knowledge protection on behalf of communities. As a consequence of several hundred years of an assumed dominance and

superiority over Mi'kmaq and their traditions, culture, and place names has ignited a need to reframe the ways in which scholars of non-Indigenous and settler descent approach research into topics involving the Mi'kmaq.

Colonialism and hegemonic ideologies about ownership and place affect the way place is made in a post-colonial setting. This phenomenon attests to the notion that settler names were imparted to the landscape with intention to 'own' that space by means of naming it. An aspect of territorial dominance is the absorption of not only land, but the naming of the newly 'discovered' region. In renaming places, agency is given to the coloniser in the sense that the space not only appropriated by them but is meaningful and recognisable as a location in which people of the same culture can exist. This has been done in so many instances across the globe in cases where colonisers of any era often adopted cities or entire territories, stamping them with toponyms of their own making.

Omission, in toponomy, is the deliberate or unintentional failure to apply previously given place names to an area. Naturally, the Mi'kmaq had named their places in Unama'kik (see Table 1), but for reasons of perspective or dominance the settlers largely chose to ignore those names in favour of blank spaces on maps. Alternatively, settlers may have been unaware of Mi'kmaw place names or did not deem the same areas useful or meaningful in their perspective. Although there is reference in records that show missionaries and explorers describing the names that may have been used by Mi'kmaw people, the majority of maps from early eras up until recent years display an astonishing lack of correct or complete Mi'kmaw toponyms. As will be discussed in later chapters, omissions lead the way for replacement of toponyms. In the study area, the replacement of place names does not only occur when considering the Mi'kmaq and settlers, but the

varied settler groups engaged in significant replacement of place names in the region: these interactions happened between groups asserting the region as Cape Breton, Isle Royale, or Cheap Breatainn. These non-inclusions of toponyms indicate lack of understanding and communication between cultural groups, as well as power. In the case of the French and English names for Isle Royale or Cape Breton, years of competition and war to clarify and claim ownership over the region resulted in intentional naming and renaming of places as a way to assert territorial dominance. Once the land 'belonged' to the English, the name Isle Royale and other French toponyms were significantly diminished or replaced.

As beforementioned, the replacement of a name indicates the interaction of populations, oftentimes in ways that demonstrate the flow of power. It may serve as a mark of ownership over territory or a mark of home and culture. Otherwise, it may altogether represent the ways in which people attempt to make new places fit into the worldview of different cultural landscapes. Replacement of place names is the most tangible demonstration of power when examining toponomy, as the changes are often easy to notice, and they usually follow along with historical events chronologically. For example, the various names of Cape Breton follow the trajectory of history, with the Island first being called Unama'kik in the pre-contact era, then Isle Royale by the French until the mid 18th century, when the English renamed it Cape Breton. It is important to note that although the place has undergone significant changes in nomenclature, this region has been and continues to be called Unama'kik by the Mi'kmaq and retained that name during the colonial period for Mi'kmaw people. Although changes in the dominant power or government occurred, it is critical to understand that place names for specific

populations, like the Mi'kmaq, have been retained and used, even throughout colonial onslaught. This reinforces the notion that place names are not static, but changes can represent how populations interact with one another.

Lastly, power dynamics can be detected by examining the toponyms that have remained for many years. These are demonstrative of the nature of human culture as place names often remain due to significant social factors like war or colonialism. In other cases, the reasons why a place name or an interaction of a toponyms has remained is more shrouded. Perhaps toponymic retention is due to the name being conveniently euphonious or linguistically compatible for new populations. These specificities of place naming are complex and very difficult to trace, for example, the Mi'kmaw place of Apatakwitk is known as Baddeck to the English and Badaig to the Scots Gaels. Although anglicised or gaelicized in either case, the name has, for the most part, been retained. Perhaps it remained so because of a lasting presence of Mi'kmaw people in the area, or perhaps the reason for its retention is due to the pronunciation or compatibility of the toponym with the languages of settler populations. This is the most interesting category for a multitude of reasons: often the reasons why a place name sticks can be identified, but in some cases it would seem that names remain without explanation, perhaps indicating that the complexities certain toponyms might never be fully unraveled.

Theories of Place-Making

> Place and identity are locked into a knot, but it is a knot which continually slips and reconfigures itself; place-making and people-making are intertwined processes (Ward 2003, 93).

No matter their origins, people develop complex relationships with the landscape in which they reside: their identities are indelibly imbued into the landscapes and locations where they have lived through ascribing meaning to and naming a place. Just as each individual's perception of the meaning of a place may vary, so too does this difference extend between different populations. When considering the theories of how people make and name places, it would seem these are universal processes that are applicable to the ways all people associate with their landscape (Basso 1996). Gathering a general understanding of how place-making and names factor into the identities of communities outside and within Nova Scotia provides a basis for understanding the anthropological underpinnings at work when examining how place names change or stay the same. Place-making has always been a way to imprint cultural identity upon a landscape, and this identity or multiple identities can be examined by watching how place names changed or stayed the same. Although the act of making and naming places is recognised as a universal action for all people, the ways in which different populations create and conceptualise cultural landscape in the same space requires analysis. A perfect example of the different conceptions of place can be made using central Cape Breton in Nova Scotia. The place names in Table 1 exemplify the ways in which one area can represent several distinct and interwoven cultural landscapes, all of which can be accessed in different ways by different populations and individuals.

Table 1: Mi'kmaw, English, French, and Gàidhlig Regional Toponyms

Mi'kmaw	English	French	Gàidhlig
Mi'kma'ki	Nova Scotia	Nouvelle-Écosse	Alba Nuadh
Unama'kik	Cape Breton	Isle Royale	Cheap Breatainn

In addition, Table 1 will be the basis through which place names are addressed throughout the remainder of this thesis: for example, when discussing the Scots Gaels, Alba Nuadh will be referred to instead of Nova Scotia, or in the case of discussion about Mi'kmaw names, Unama'kik and Mi'kma'ki shall be used rather than the English, French or Gàidhlig toponyms. This will be done to ensure recognition for the multitude of cultural landscapes that intersect in this area.

Walking through the forests and hills of Cape Breton, one is also travelling in Unama'kik, Isle Royale, and Cheap Breatainn. Cultural landscapes are mutable, fluid, and also multi-faceted. The complexities of place names derive from the ways in which different populations and individuals created place through the act of naming. For example, the place name Barra Strait in Cape Breton was named after the Barra clan in Scotland. It is likely that this place was named to honour the ancestry of the Gaels, directly connecting them with memories and people from home, while simultaneously creating a place that seemed to be distinctly 'their own' (MacDonald 2018). The process of making places flows through naming it, and the place name can symbolise the unique identities of people. These processes and concepts are performed differently by diverse populations and individuals: they are fluid and change over time.

The area of Cape Breton hosted several complex interactions between Mi'kmaq and colonial peoples, whose place names and conceptions of place overlap. In many ways, central Cape Breton represents the intersection of multiple interactions of boundaries between different cultural landscapes. These border zones "are the connecting points between two places as much as they are the separations between them" (Ward 2003, 87). This unique area does not require the navigation of physical borders in order to

experience either the Mi’kmaw or Gàidhlig cultural landscape, rather they exist concurrently. It is difficult to perceive the specific ways in which this area can be considered as multiple cultural landscapes, but the plethora of names in the region indicates that multiple identities have been imparted into the area over time. One way to grasp the specificities of each landscape in a seemingly fluid landscape is a “matter of recognising the particular juxtaposition and adaptation of cultural elements which constitute places and thereby render them unique” (Ward 2003, 88).

Cultural landscape is almost exclusively perceived through knowing the names and stories associated with it. Naturally, a settler might have encountered the Mi’kmaq when arriving in Cape Breton, but little would be known about their concepts of life or landscape without first understanding the names of Unama’kik. These specific renderings of place “invite a focus on a realm situated between particular places and generic place, and again a rather fluid realm; between the local and the global, dwelling and movement, home and away, past and present, physical geographies and cognitive maps” (Ward 2003, 87). All of these specificities exist in each and every conception of cultural landscapes, meaning that a person can examine these intricacies for the worlds of Cape Breton, Cheap Breatainn, Unama’kik, and Isle Royale, as they exist distinctly from one another, while overlapping synchronously. This complex area, like so many other regions, represents the intersection of people and place. Through an analysis of those different places, a fulsome image of how cultural landscapes interact can be created.

Place-Making in Mi'kma'ki

> Why don't you make maps over there," the chairman suggested firmly in his office at Whiteriver one day. "Not whitemen's maps, we've got plenty of them, but Apache maps with Apache places and names. We could use them. Find out something about how we know our country. (Basso 1996, xv)

Motion and fluidity are characteristic of the ways in which people identify with their landscape and subsequently name their environments. Ward (2003) asserts that notion human movement is more mobile than ever before, and this is the catalyst for a new formulation of conceptualising place. Although the transnational mobility of people in the modern world is certainly relevant to many populations, it is important to reiterate the notion that flux and change place-making and naming occurred in a world where mobility, as it is perceived today, was significantly more limited. Just as it remains today, for pre-contact Indigenous societies, place naming and identity was an ongoing process despite any perceptions of long-standing connection to a given area. Change and movement can occur within spatial regions, as well as between them. A critical aspect of Mi'kmaw worldview is the notion of *Ta'n Weji-Squalia-tiek,* meaning "we sprouted from here": it is important to note that this statement, although it relates the Mi'kmaq to the region that they have called home for ages, does not imply an inherent sedentarism (Sable & Francis 2018, 17). Rather, it points to notions of identity as connected and rooted to the land rather than shackled there permanently without the possibility of change or mobility.

Before entering into a discussion of the specificities of place-making by the Mi'kmaq, a comparative analysis of the ways in which other Indigenous Nations conceptualise place will be presented. There is evidence of settler nomenclature all

around the globe – places are recounted often through the lens of the explorers, colonials and settlers who settled far and wide. Indigenous perspectives on place and identity are critical to garnering an understanding of how place was, and continues to be, constituted in Indigenous cultural landscapes. Basso's work *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996) examines the Western Apache and the ways landscape and language coincide. He writes:

> Investigations have shown that indigenous populations may adapt with exquisite intricacy to the physical conditions of their existence (including, of course, the presence of other human populations), and that modifications in these conditions may have a range of dynamic effects on the structure and organisation of social institutions. (Basso 1996, 67)

Indigenous populations have made places in their environments in ways that must be analysed through an Indigenous perspective. The Mi'kmaq of Mi'kma'ki and Unama'kik are no exception to having a particular way of relating to their landscape, one that is representative of a culture that has existed in the region since time immemorial and continues to thrive in a post-colonial environment.

The specificities of place-making in Mi'kma'ki are best examined through the voices and stories told by Mi'kmaq themselves[1]. Conceptualising Mi'kma'ki through a Western lens is extraordinarily limiting: Mi'kmaw cultural landscape is created and maintained in a different way than English or Scots Gaelic populations might complete this phenomenon. Sable and Francis describe the Mi'kmaq as "as part and parcel of the animal and plant life", whereas "the ongoing conditioning of Christo-Europeans to have "dominion" over the plants and animals, as written in the Christian Bible so long ago is antithetical to Mi'kmaw world view" (Sable & Francis 2018, 102). Some analyses of culture and place have attempted to conceptualise Indigenous place and identity through a

colonial perspective, but this approach is not conducive to gathering real understanding. Perceptions of the land as a literal landscape to which a group is 'bound', minimises the notion that landscape is a "mirror of Mi'kmaw psyche, embedded in their culture, and inseparable from their being" (Sable & Francis 2018, 25).

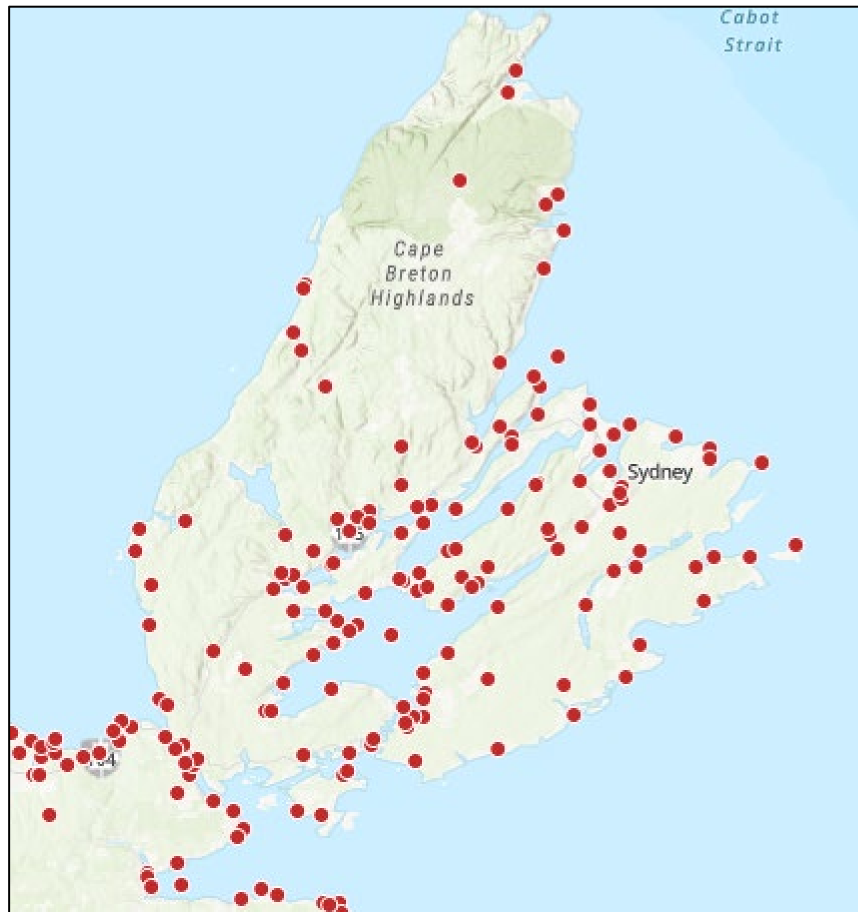


Figure 1: Mi'kmaw Places in Unama'kik - Courtesy of Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas

Mi'kmaw place names must not be solely considered as referential tools, like most other place names they "tell of features of the landscape, historical events and important resources, and acted as a mnemonic device to help people find their way" (Sable & Francis 2018, 42). After any perceptions of boundedness are diluted, one can begin to see the ways in which names and stories are fluid and representative of the mobility of people: "Much like place names, Mi'kmaw legends most likely served as oral maps of

valuable resource areas as well as acted as account of natural events caused by climactic fluctuations resulting in changes to the landscape, such as the advancement of ice sheets and the opening of river valleys" (Sable & Francis 2018 ,61). However, although depicting an incredible array of memories and events, place is also processual and socially constituted. The continuous existence and growth of Mi'kmaw people meant the constant change of place. Ward (2003) suggests that:

> The constituted nature of places and the embodied nature of culture, places, cultures, and people are all situated on shifting ground. The idea that culture and cultural identities are made, in flux and through connections, is a central premise to theoretical accounts which approach place as a process. (Ward 2003, 87)

Although Mi'kmaw perceptions of place and cultural landscape may be vastly different from settler perspectives, there have always been similarities between the way in which place is constituted. No matter the origin, place-making and naming is universal, and it is a processual phenomenon through which people imbue their environments with meaning.

Place-Making in Alba Nuadh

Like the Mi'kmaq, English, and the French, the Scots Gaels of Cheap Breattain developed place in a distinct way. This population moved into a landscape that had already been occupied by different populations for generations in the case of other colonials, and for millennia, in the case of the Mi'kmaq. When theorising the ways in which the Scots Gaels made place in Cheap Breatainn it is important to note their positionality as migrants into several existing cultural landscapes, both settler and Mi'kmaw. Ward (2003) suggests that "those who move between cultural worlds hold contextual identities and multiple sites of belonging" (Ward 2003, 81). This is an

important theoretical concept to consider when examining the place-making tendencies of the Scots Gaels in Alba Nuadh. This population had already built-up conceptions about place that were developed in their previous home, conceptions that were fluid and changing. These relationships to place and landscape modified upon reaching Cheap Breatainn (see Figure 2).

The conceptualisation of culture and people being localised inhibits notions of change and fluidity when it comes to places. Imagining populations solely as products of their environments suggests that certain traits, cultural elements, and even place names are an innate part of the space itself. More accurately, place and place making are cultural, mental constructions that consider the locality and specificity of an actual landscape: above all, these constructions are subject to change, meaning conceptualisations of cultures as fixed to localities are inaccurate. The Mi'kmaq, for example, while having inextricable and ageless ties to the area 'from which they sprouted', recognise the fluidity and mutability of place and landscape (Sable & Francis 2018). All at once places are both physically bound and a cultural concept: cultural landscape is mutable in the same ways that populations develop and grow through cultural change, or how the landscape itself undergoes physical changes. Recently, studies have arisen with regards to deterritorialising "cultural difference due to the mass migrations and transnational culture flows of a late capitalist, postcolonial world" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997, 3). The migration and relocation of many Scots Gaels into Cheap Breatainn is an example of a specific populations maintaining and developing identity in a new landscape. Identity in this sense is tied not only to the places of home but recreated

and remembered in a new landscape. Culture is not bound to one place, rather it travels with people and changes as they do.

It could be argued, that in their migration to this region, the Scots Gaels might be considered in some ways, distinct from their kin across the sea. However, this kind of distinction can also be made for each individual that makes up the 'same' cultural group. Even though a place may be named by a group, called that name by each and every individual, the ways in which one person relates to that place differs from the next. It is more sensible to imagine the Gaels of Cheap Breatainn as having a compound identity, one that draws from the history and traditions of home, as well as the events and interactions in a new land: all of these experiences and memories contribute to the ongoing formulation of a distinct Scots Gaelic identity in Cheap Breattain. There has been some suggestion in anthropological theory that "it is through movement away from a home that one is able to sense a more complete characterisation of it" (Ward 2003, 88). This statement suggests the notion that the Scots Gaels, in formulating place in Cheap Breatainn, amalgamate their perceptions of the homeland into a new synthesis of cultural landscape in Alba Nuadh. The major takeaway of deterritorialization of culture is to identify the notion that people make place wherever they go, and those places are constantly changing.

Figure 2: Gàidhlig Place Names of Cape Breton - Courtesy of the Dept. of Gaelic Affairs 2015

The ways in which Gaels made place in Alba Nuadh in the earliest years was largely generic, for example: “An Gleann Mór (The Big Glen), An Caolas (The Strait) and An Cùl (The Rear) are typical examples.” (MacDonald 2013, 209) As time progresses, settlers often apply more specific and locally identifiable names to their landscape as populations increase and communities diversify. The Gaels, like many other populations, make use of referential toponyms, like those of Mi’kmaw origin which refer to and describe the resources within the environment. However, one determinant characteristic of Gàidhlig place naming is allusion to specific ancestors or former community members. This can be examined all throughout Cape Breton with names like Beinn Phàdraig (Patrick’s Mountain) or Cladh Nìll Bhàin (Fair Neil’s Graveyard) on

Christmas Island, which dot the landscape (MacDonald 2013, 210). There is a significant density of both major and minor Gàidhlig place names within Cheap Breatainn, all of which highlight the level to which the Gaels associated with their landscape.

Place Marking and Archaeology

Although this thesis will not include any archaeological analysis with relation to place names, it is impossible to ignore the connection of material culture with places and toponymy. Future research may include a more significant assessment of place name sites for archaeological material, which will only serve to bolster the concept that place names are indicative of interactions and relationships. Place names imbue the landscape with cultural meaning and the potential for uncovering material culture in areas that have been identified as meaningful to any population or individual is very high. A fulsome understanding of toponymy can lead to an understanding of sociocultural relationships, but also a broadened archaeological understanding of a landscape and the sites found within it.

In Nova Scotia, archaeological investigation is completed through a permit process, through which the regulator, often the Department of Communities, Culture, and Heritage, allocates specific permits to archaeologists who work individually or establish teams to complete archaeological survey, screening and reconnaissance, archaeological testing, and if necessary, excavation and mitigation of sites. Although it is commonplace to imagine the archeologist waist-deep in a test pit, examining copious amounts of artifacts covered in dirt, the steps to locating and preserving cultural sites begins with research, i.e., determining the background and history of a study area through an

examination of documents, historical records, and a consequent compilation of the known information. Place name research and analysis is an incredibly important aspect of the archeological process. Although not every place name will direct attention to sites that have material culture, a place that is named is already imbued with cultural meaning, thereby increasing the resource's potential.

The importance of toponymy to Indigenous cultural sites is also echoed through archeological investigation. A well-rounded knowledge of local place names and sites near to any area of study may allow for better inference in the field. For example, if descendants of the Scots Gaels of Cheap Breatainn sought to preserve artifacts of their ancestor's livelihoods, it would be important to trace the places they made and understand their meanings in order to determine site locations.

Place names and toponomy are useful tools, applicable to many forms of anthropology and heritage studies. As Basso suggests, "place-names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations – associations of time and space, of history and events, of person and social activities, of oneself and stages in one's life. And in their capacity to evoke, in their compact power to muster and consolidate so much of what landscape may be taken to represent in both personal and cultural terms" (Basso 1996, 76). Place names exceed their usefulness as simply referential terms. They can indicate stories and identities that are culturally significant, leading to the preservation and maintenance of cultures simply through knowing a name or following those place names to artifact recovery.

Regional History of the Toponymic Record

Mi’kmaq in Unama’kik

The Mi’kmaw presence in the Eastern regions of North America has been felt for over 11,000 years (Sable & Francis, 2018). The territory of these original inhabitants is divided into several districts which are likely influenced by nature and access to resources.[2] These divisions reflect the landscape, “the changing conditions and the needs of people in each area, rather than acting as geopolitical boundaries” (Sable & Francis 2018, 21). Conceptualising how the Mi’kmaq envision the regions that make up Mi’kma’ki is helpful to understanding how deeply the land is connected to identity and place naming.

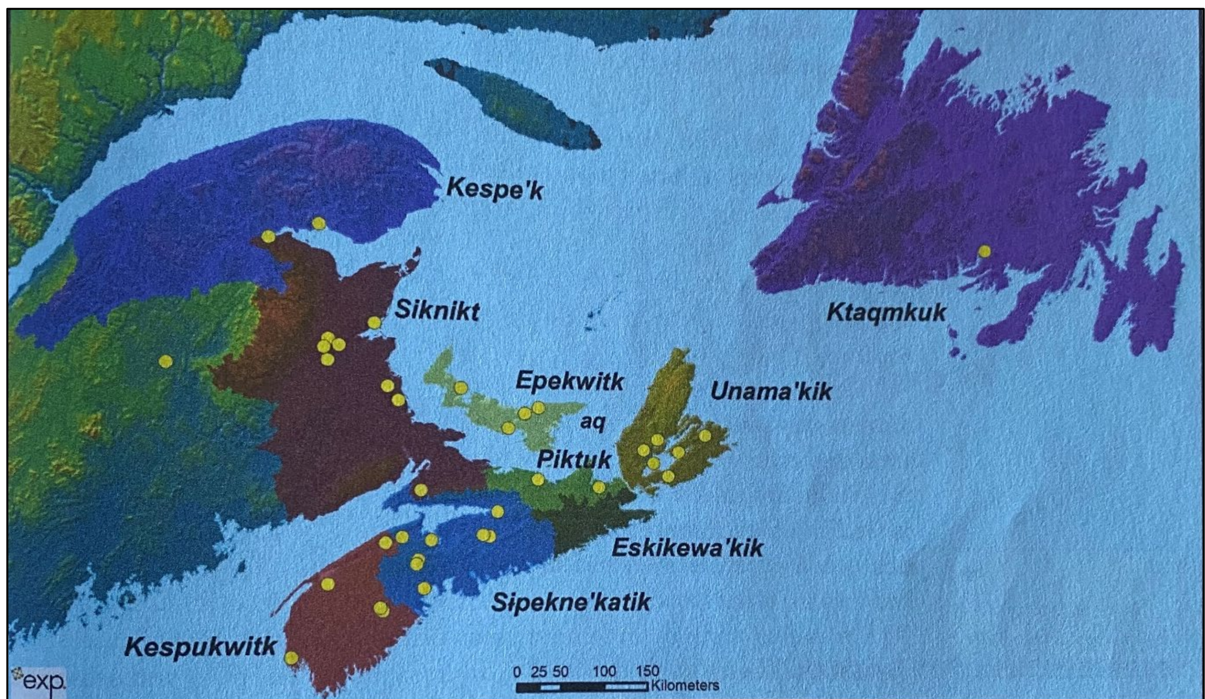


Figure 3: Mi'kmaw Cultural Landscape Areas and Communities – Courtesy of Sable & Francis 2018)[3]

Although archaeological evidence has verified the presence of Mi’kmaq in this region for over 11,000 years, it must be noted that “Mi’kmaw ancestral presence in Eastern North America” was continuously remembered through “Mi’kmaw place names, along with legends and oral histories” (Sable & Francis 2018, 19). The Mi’kmaw language is “a continuous link” that bonds the pre-contact Mi’kmaw society to the modern day (Sable & Francis 2018, 28). Prior to European involvement in this region and continuing in Mi’kma’ki today, Mi’kmaw place names have been spoken, taught, and remembered by the people who use them. It is important to note, that like the fluid and changing districts of Mi’kma’ki, place names and places changed, moved, and developed as the Mi’kmaq moved and changed within their environment. Place and place names are often perceived as static or tied irrevocably to a singular location. However, when examining them through the worldview of the Mi’kmaq, fluidity and change are essential to conceptualising places and place names.

Upon the arrival of early explorers and seasonal fishermen to Mi’kma’ki in the early 1500s, both the Mi’kmaq and the Europeans developed an understanding of their respective languages: the Europeans began to transcribe the Mi’kmaw language soon after. Colonials, who developed their own writing systems for this language, often had political, cultural, or religious biases (Sable & Francis 2018). From a linguistic standpoint, many of these writers were conceptualising the Mi’kmaw language through an English, French, or Portuguese framework, all of which were not necessarily effective in properly capturing the sounds or meanings that made up words and names. Errington (2008) examines the role of linguistics in the colonial era and suggests “wherever colonial agents stopped short (as some did not) of brutal violence, they were obliged to find ways

of bridging those linguistic gaps with acts of verbal communication, however rudimentary or inadequate" (Errington 2008, 3). At the very basis of any encounter, language, either verbal or non-verbal, is the conduit through which most interactions must occur, therefore colonials needed to formulate some concept of linguistic communication (Errington 2008). In most cases, those linguists who were at the forefront of these colonial encounters often conceptualised and compared the 'new' languages of Indigenous groups in what Errington (2008) calls an 'image' of other more recognisable languages. From this point, this group of colonial linguists adapted "European letters to alien ways of talking and, by that means, devised necessary conduits for communication across lines of colonial power" (Errington 2008, 4). The orthographies that were created through this methodology often contributed to misspelling and mistranslation of words and place names, an issue that is being mitigated by current Mi'kmaw scholars, communities, and elders. It is only through the development of modern orthographies and understandings of the language through a Mi'kmaw lens that the written language has been developed into its more accurate form.

The Mi'kmaq have been marginalised not only linguistically, but culturally, politically, and economically since the arrival of Europeans. In many ways, settlement and policy have attempted a cultural genocide, with the assignment of European names of places where Mi'kmaw names had long stood, or legislation and institutions actively trying to extinguish linguistic and cultural differences. Over 500 years of colonialism has attempted to stamp out the Mi'kmaq and their history in this region. The establishment of geopolitical boundaries, reservations, and residentials schools, all of which removed Mi'kmaw people from their traditional areas, contributed to marginalising Mi'kmaw

language and culture. However, the fortitude of oral history and tradition cannot be erased so easily. Although there has been significant setbacks and loss of language and tradition, a major aspect of the vitality of Mi'kma'ki comes from its place names. Oral histories and traditions supplement the colonial accounts of places and place names. Many places in Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, still bear Mi'kmaw names, and those that are named after European places or people, often have a Mi'kmaw place name as well.

There is a plethora of Mi'kmaw names in central Unama'kik which signify the connectivity of people to place. Names like Baddeck, Benacadie, and Wagmatcook are examples of places which still bear Mi'kmaw nomenclature in the modern world. Other names have been erased from the maps due to centuries of omission and replacement on colonial maps. It is important to note that in spite of systemic erasure of Mi'kmaw language and place names on behalf of various colonial powers and institutions, the toponyms of Mi'kma'ki remain, even if not accurately or physically represented on Euro-Canadian maps. The Mi'kmaq made maps of their own prior to the involvement of Europeans in this corner of the world, maps which remain in the oral traditions, dances, and cultural behaviours of this population. When considering Mi'kmaw conceptions of place, it is important to shift the understanding of this subject from an examination of marginalised people and language to the study of fluid and dynamic cultural creation that is still ongoing.

Scottish Gaels in Cheap Breatainn

> …the shapes and colors and contours of the land, together with the shifting sounds and cadences of native discourse, thrust themselves upon the newcomer with a force so vivid and direct as to be virtually inescapable. (Basso 1996, 71)

The early 19th century marked a significant movement of Scottish migrants into Cape Breton: “by the time the Gaels arrived in Nova Scotia, Europeans had called it home for generations” (MacDonald 2018, 88). Lack of land and economic opportunities in Scotland created discord among residents, making emigration a major avenue for opportunity for many Scots. Promises of the New World in Europe were becoming part of the drive for many immigrants to begin their journeys across the sea. MacDonald (2018) writes that a large push was made for immigration to Alba Nuadh (Nova Scotia) rather than New England due to the complications of the American Revolution. The economic and social strain in Scotland at the time made emigration an attractive option to many disillusioned Scots who felt they had no real future in the Highlands. An important aspect of Scottish emigration was the notion that Highland Gaels “usually relocated in family and community units”, which indicates that “emigration from the Scottish Highlands was thus a true community movement” (MacDonald 2018, 71). These unique circumstances of upheaval and relocation are connected to the ways in which the Gaels interacted with the landscape upon their arrival in Cheap Breattain.

Migration provides a unique set of experiences and understandings for any ‘newcomer’ to a region. The Gaels in Alba Nuadh faced an incredibly harrowing and frightening journey from their homeland across the sea to Cheap Breatainn. The uncertainty and unfamiliarity of a new place undoubtedly informed the ways in which this population associated with their landscape. Although the Mi’kmaq and settlers had names and made places in this region, this conception may not have been considered by a group of disenchanted migrants who escaped financial and religious distress in Scotland to arrive in Cheap Breatainn. The crossing was no doubt a perilous, often unfinished journey

with many people never reaching their destination, however the greater distress would often come from the separation from family, friends, and all of the comforts of home (MacDonald 2018). The newly settled Scots Gaels would begin to impart memories of home and stability onto the landscape of Cheap Breatainn. This would bolster the "shared linguistic and cultural framework possessed by residents" which was "shaped by a common history of dislocation and settlement" (MacDonald 2018, 68). As a result, places names would become reflective of this new collective identity, while simultaneously hearkening to the identities they forged in their homeland.

Figure 4: English and Gàidhlig Road Sign in Cheap Breatainn - Courtesy of Windsorscottish.ca

The Scots, like earlier settlers, also had to negotiate their existence in this region with the Mi'kmaq and other settlers. The convergence of multiple cultural landscapes is interesting in terms of historical events, but also for toponomy. The multiplicity of names existing concurrently in Central Unama'kik or Cheap Breatainn is significant and relevant to understanding the ways in which these different groups interacted and related to one

another. The Scots Gaels, through the unique circumstances that brought them to Cheap Breattain, as well as the interactions between the Mi'kmaq and other settler populations, developed a distinct identity through naming places. These names are endowed with meaning that reflects the experiences, memories, and interactions of the Gàidhlig population.

Historiographical Review of Toponymic Records

Place names are recorded in different ways: on maps, in legends or stories, and in extensive lists kept in careful order by those interested in toponymy. Historiographical analysis is of importance when considering all of these kinds of records, as it serves to examine the ways a specific record can be reflective of the person who created it, rather than the entire truth. When considering place names of Mi'kmaw origin it is especially important to assess the ways in which place names are recorded, specifically if they have not been recorded by a Mi'kmaw person. The innate biases, worldviews, and perspectives of non-Indigenous people can confuse the meanings behind Mi'kmaw ideas of place or prioritise a western understanding. Much of the data used in this thesis represents settler perspectives on Mi'kmaw place names: future research may include more focus on Mi'kmaw records and information with regards to toponomy, however since my linguistic ability in Mi'kmaw is limited, this analysis of settler records will form the basis of analysis. Also, since settler records inform much of the modern understanding of Mi'kmaw place names (the Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas draws heavily on these sources – albeit adjusting spelling and translations through research and collaboration with communities and Elders, specifically through the expertise of Bernie Francis): it is

important to assess them in detail.[4] Place names connected to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have been collected from maps dating back to the La Cosa Map of 1500. Each map includes a variety of place names: some are similar, others very different, improperly spelled, or altogether excluded.

Figure 5: New Map of Nova Scotia 1829 - Courtesy of NS Archives[5]

For the most part, European maps label Mi'kma'ki with English, French, or Portuguese names, largely ignoring the existence of Mi'kmaw people and their place names. Historiographical analysis can be completed by considering the author of each map, their origins, as well as the purpose for which the map was created: this information can illuminate biases within maps and records. These analyses can provide insight into the perspectives that influence the creation of maps and records, further information that unravels the complexity of biases that are latent or intentional can be revealed. Figure 5

depicts a sample from the New Map of Nova Scotia from 1829. Upon an initial glance, a viewer will notice most names are of settler origins with a few Mi'kmaw names. In some cases, Mi'kmaw communities, rather than being denoted by their actual name, are simply referenced as 'Indians' on maps. The highlighted area indicates one of these instances.

This is a common occurrence in colonial mapping examples, and it is only with the advent of new mapping of traditional Mi'kmaw places that the extent of Mi'kmaw names is now being visualized. The Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas is the most accurate and complex depiction of Mi'kma'ki.

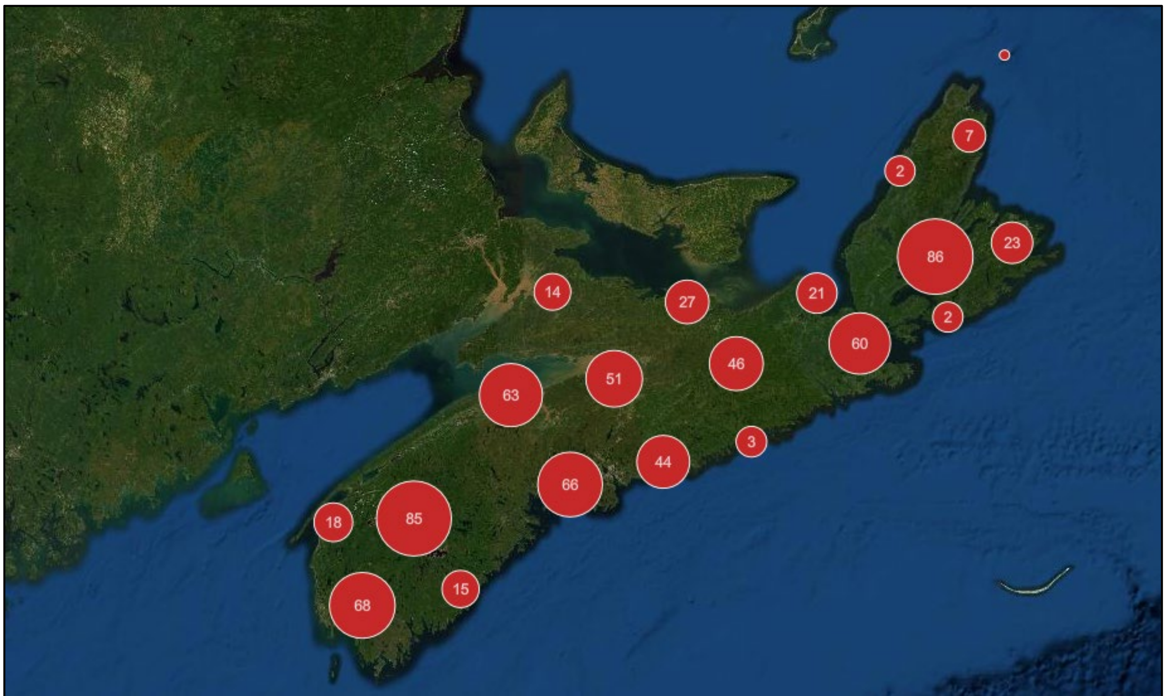


Figure 6: Mi'kmaw Names - Courtesy of Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas

The importance of this map (see Figure 6) lies in the notion that it was created with and by Mi'kmaw knowledge holders. All the information within this map has been authorised by scholars, Elders, and linguists of Mi'kmaw origin, as well as of non-indigenous origin. This map contains information that represents Mi'kma'ki in a way that the Mi'kmaq themselves have defined.

In some cases, certain toponymic records are difficult to assess for valid information. Some maps are nautical and do not concern the names that are present on land, however the Mi’kmaw and settler populations still had significant interactions and activities on the water. For example, Figure 7 shows Paqueluacadi, which would later be known to the English as West Bay.

Figure 7: N. Bellin. “Karte Von L’Isle Royale” (1744) - Courtesy of NS Archives

The Mi’kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas refers to this location as Wiaqaji'jk which translates to “at the little mixing place". This goes to show that maps that may not necessarily refer to land features and place names can be useful in understanding both settler and Mi’kmaw usages of waterways, lakes, and oceans.

Those completing historiographical analyses of maps and records must also be aware of the pitfalls of poor-quality maps which is sometimes a result of general simplicity and lack of documented features, or in other cases, some older manuscripts are

in poor condition, making it difficult to gather information from them. In the case of early maps, these two circumstances are often conjoined. On the whole, when considering the innate biases and logistical challenges within place name records, it is important to ensure each source is analysed and interpreted with these ideas in mind.

Silas Tertius Rand

Missionaries, mariners, scholars, and many colonials have written about the Mi'kmaq since the Europeans arrived in Mi'kma'ki. One of these missionaries, Silas Tertius Rand, cannot be ignored when considering Mi'kmaw place name recording in Nova Scotia in light of this work. His recordings have contributed to much of the data for this research.

Rand was born on May 17th, 1810 in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia to parents Thomas and Deborah Rand. His family settled in the region following the Acadian expulsion by the British in the mid 18th century, which initiated a massive emigration of settlers from Europe and New England. Rand became passionate about connecting himself to Christianity in his early twenties after expressing concern for his "eternal state"- committing to baptism on December 15th, 1833 (Lovesay 1992, 17). This inspired Rand's long journey into preaching, mission, and pastorship. By 1845, Rand developed a concern and interest for the Mi'kmaw people and their customs. Eventually, members of the

Baptist Association would recognise this interest which flowed into the congregation's decision to attempt to evangelize the Mi'kmaq.

Throughout the late 1840s, Rand immersed himself in the study of Mi'kmaw language, legends, and culture with the intention to set out among different communities and offer them the Baptist faith. His enthusiasm for the Mi'kmaq is referred to by George

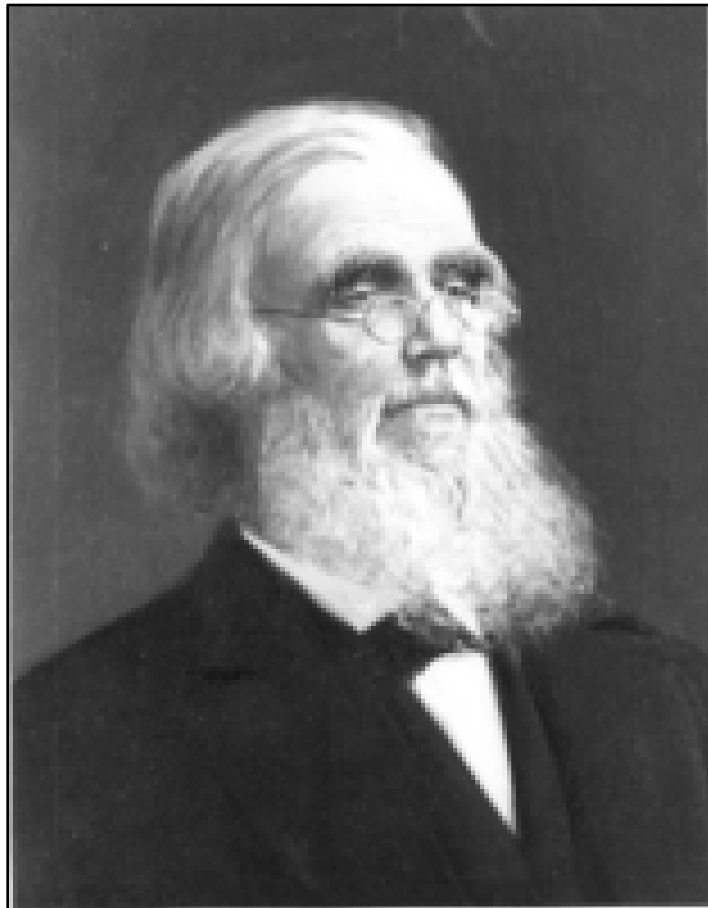


Figure 8: Portrait of Silas Rand - Courtesy of Acadia University Archives

Rawlyk in his foreword to Elizabeth Lovesay's biographical work on Rand writing, "though his ministry to the Micmacs was largely a failure, Rand nevertheless was widely regarded by many of his contemporaries … as a world-class authority on Micmac life and culture" (Lovesay 1992, xi).

Although this thesis is not necessarily concerned with the work of Silas Rand as a missionary, it is important to note how his work as a missionary tied into his work as a linguist, philologist, and place name recorder. There is no doubt that as a Baptist minister, Rand likely had certain inclinations and biases reflected in the ways he approached Mi'kmaw language and culture. Anthropological theory suggests that it is very difficult to remove one's own bias from any form of inquiry and work that concerns different cultures. When examining Rand's records through a historiographical lens, much of his work could be tainted by a colonial, religious, or linguistic lens. The examination of recorded place names by the creators of the Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas, as well as Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis in their book *The Language of this Land: Mi'kma'ki,* take into account that "a number of names are incorrectly translated"(Sable & Francis 2018, 52). Naturally, the work of a missionary is inherently colonial. Missionization assumes the dominion of one religion over another, diminishing the values of non-dominant religions which are often perceived as more primitive. When analysing the behaviours of missionaries, no matter how well-intentioned or seemingly helpful their actions and involvement could be, the prioritisation of one way of life over another is a bias that must be recognised. That being said, when comparing Rand to other missionaries and thinkers of the same calibre, Rand set himself apart by demonstrating care and interest in the prevalent forms of Mi'kmaw culture at the time. Other missionaries did have the Mi'kmaq in mind, although oftentimes the dialogue and reasoning behind there interactions were coarser and more blatantly racist. Abbe Maillard writes of Mi'kmaq, French, and English relationships as follows:

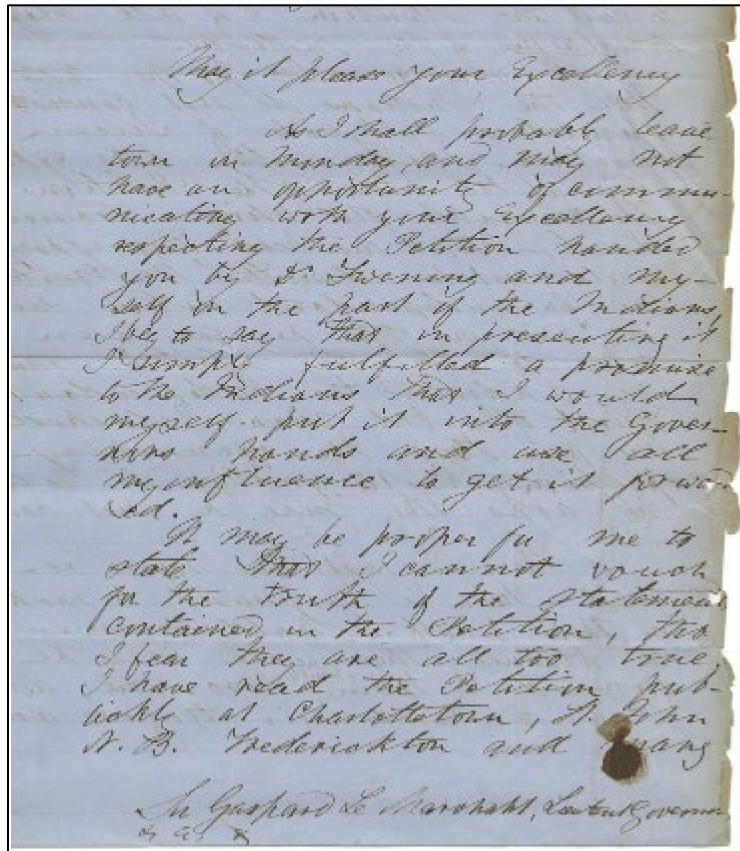
> It would not, perhaps, be impossible for the English, if they were to apply proper means, and especially lenient ones, to recover the affections of these people, which,

> for many reasons, cannot be entirely rooted in the French interest. That great state-engine of theirs, religion, by which they have so strong hold on the weak and credulous savages, might not, however be an invincible bar to our success. (Maillard 1758, v-vi)

Maillard is positions the Mi'kmaq as weak, subject to the will of any domination power that chooses to control them, describing interactions with the Mi'kmaq as a means to achieving success. Although Rand certainly had his biases, both religious and colonial, he had voiced his interest in studying and helping the Mi'kmaq early in his career and expressed, often emotionally, that "all men are brothers" (Lovesay 1992, 52). Naturally, this concept is flawed in that it fails to recognise women as part of this unity of humankind, and it assumes that people are united under God, which was Rand's ultimate goal. Rand's religiosity can also be noted in his translations and formulations of certain words and phrases in Mi'kmaw, one of which would certainly not have been a part of pre-contact Mi'kmaw vocabulary: *baptisawi* – which he translated as part of the statement "I am a member of the Baptist body of Christians" – is indicated as an answer which Dr. Rand would often give in response to inquiries about his personhood (Rand 1902, 31).

In the published lecture "A Short Statement of Facts relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language, and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians, in Nova Scotia and P. E. Island," Rand attempted to demonstrate the complexities of colonial interaction. He recognised how the language and culture of the Mi'kmaq "bears the imprint of the nation that first took up lodgement among them" (Lovesay 1992, 53). Rand passionately asserted the common ancestry of the Mi'kmaq and European settlers, as well as the need to reconcile the interactions and conflicts between the feuding parties. Additionally, he explored the European culture's damaging effects on the traditions, language, and general wellbeing of Mi'kmaw people. Lovesay's (1992) work

continuously underscores Rand’s attention and empathy toward the Mi’kmaw people’s strife. Where Maillard had described feasts and traditions of the Mi’kmaq as resembling “more of the carnivorous brute in it than the human creature”, Rand attempted to understand the ways of Mi’kma’ki, perhaps with some criticism and bias, though certainly less so than his predecessors (Maillard 1758, 20).



May it please your Excellency

As I shall probably leave town on Monday and may not have an opportunity of communicating with your Excellency respecting the Petition handed you by D^r [illegible] and myself in the part of the Indians, I beg to say that in presenting it [illegible] fulfilled a promise to the Indians that I would myself put it into the Governors hands and use all my influence to get it forwarded.

It may be proper for me to state that I cannot vouch for the truth of the statements contained in the Petition, tho I fear they are all too true. I have read the Petition publickly at Charlottetown, St. John N.B. Fredericton and many

Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, Lieut Governor

Figure 9: Letter from Silas Rand to Lt. Gov. LeMarchant Regarding the Petition of the Mi'kmaq - Courtesy of NS Archives

This is echoed through Rand’s works, as well as in Lovesay’s (1992) examination of his life. Although biases certainly exist within Rand’s works, the language he uses to describe the Mi’kmaq is markedly less hostile than those within the tradition of missionization. Several instances in which the Mi’kmaq directly approached Rand to seek advice or assistance occur in Lovesay’s (1992) text. For instance, in 1853, Rand was

consulted to help draw up a petition to the Crown describing the Mi'kmaq suffering and need for aid (see Figure 9). The written document can be viewed through the NS Archives and indicates the attention and care that Rand was willing to take on behalf of communities who trusted him with their words. This mediation may represent a significant moment of trust between Rand and the Mi'kmaq who appointed him with the task of translating their needs into an official document. The Mi'kmaq indicated to Rand that previous attempts by other translators were insufficient, condescending, or did not accurately represent the feelings of the Mi'kmaw people. It is not known what the true motivations of either Rand or the Mi'kmaq may have been at the time, perhaps the Mi'kmaq were just as suspicious of this interaction and had to access Rand's assistance out of necessity. However, at some level, it represents an important interaction between Rand and the Mi'kmaq that sets him apart from other colonial linguists and explorers.

However, Rand, alongside other Europeans such as Pacifique, Maillard, and Le Clerq, still used terminology and descriptors for the Mi'kmaq that are inaccurate, derogatory, or steeped in colonial connotations. Possessive plural pronouns were frequently applied in reference to the Mi'kmaq. For example, "our Indians" is used in various written accounts about the Mi'kmaq (Lovesay 1992, 100; Maillard 1758; Pacifique 1934). Historically, numerous authors referred to the colonised Indigenous populations as 'our tribes' or 'our savages'. Referring to Mi'kmaw people in conjunction with possessive pronouns perpetuates – whether intentionally or not – colonial ideals of ownership and dominance over Indigenous populations. There is the potential that in some instances it may have been used to indicate camaraderie or inclusion, as in "our friends" or "our associates." Regardless of intention, this language furthers ethnocentric

ideologies of possessing colonised peoples, an assumption that is being actively deconstructed and removed in the modern world through language change and advocacy.

In examining his work, one can assume that Rand's relationship with religion overlapped with his relationship with the Mi'kmaq. Afterall, he was a missionary attempting to convert people to Christianity. Regardless of his success as a missionary, faith and religion were driving factors in Rand's approach to the Mi'kmaw people. He may have had a more temperate approach to some of the issues in the world when compared to his contemporaries or predecessors, but to put it simply, Rand was a white settler attempting to convert the Mi'kmaw people to Christianity: there is a religious bias present in Rand's work. Perhaps due to his intentions as a practicing missionary, Rand may have left out or improperly translated place names and words related to the traditions and spirituality of Mi'kmaw people. There were also significant tensions in Nova Scotia with regards to the varied denominations and their prominent differences in the teachings of the Bible. These issues required attention from Rand and his fellow clergymen: Rand was not solely devoted to missionizing the Mi'kmaq, but also defending his own work among his peers, completing linguistic works, and vying for the protection of his faith in an ever-changing social world.

One cannot truly know the intentions of Rand, but his work displays far more care and attentiveness to the needs, problems, and successes of the Mi'kmaw people. He made countless efforts to display Mi'kmaw industry and skill, in spite of being consistently ridiculed for his opinions which differed greatly from the general consensus of Mi'kmaw people as "deficient in these qualities" (Lovesay 1992, 115).

As a settler, Rand's perception and understanding of the Mi'kmaw worldview and how they named their landscape was certainly affected by his own knowledge. Rand developed a writing system for the Mi'kmaw language, took down legends and places, translated the Bible, and created dictionaries for Mi'kmaq and English speakers. Linguistic perspectives play an important role in understanding culture and people. The structure of a language, especially one like Mi'kmaw that had not been written for the larger part of its history, connects to how native speakers perceive and connect with their environment. Rand and his contemporaries imposed their own linguistic perspectives upon the Mi'kmaw language in creating their writing systems. The potential for misspelled and mistranslated place names within Rand's records is highly likely. Mi'kmaw linguists and scholars "consider that the system that Rand devised overstressed the language and included extra sounds that did not exist", but the writing systems of later missionaries like "Father Pacifique, a Capuchin of Restigouche, P.q … is now considered too limited because it did not succeed in capturing all the Micmac sounds" (Lovesay 1992, 238). European linguistic frameworks were often imposed onto the sounds of Mi'kma'ki and as a result "these conceptual and medial differences continue to manifest themselves at the level of the letter, a European unit of expression, which remains an anticipated ingredient in the scholarship about these place names and embodies the imposition of one culture upon another" (Beck 2016, 19). A new orthography was developed by in the 1970s, by Douglas Smith and Bernie Francis, who designed this system via the linguistic perspectives of Mi'kma'ki, rather than through a settler language.

Rand's work represents a complex blend of religious and social biases, juxtaposed against his willingness and relatively forward-thinking opinions about language conservation and maintenance. His work remarks "The Indians claim to the right of possession of the land has never been admitted by the white man. From the beginning, the white man disavowed the Indian names of places, giving them names of their own, such as Acadia, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the like, as though they were first comers" (Lovesay 1992, 113). This statement echoes any scholar of toponymy in the world, who knows that place names imparted onto the land by colonials were not the first, nor will they be the last. Lovesay describes Rand as a "gadfly, provoking others through his example to become more aware of the needs of the Micmac Indians." (Lovesay 1992, 239) The complexities of an individual are hardly accounted for through biographies, nor are they totally encapsulated in their work. From a historiographical perspective, it is fair to assume many aspects of Rand's religious and social biases certainly affected his work as a linguist and place-name recorder. However, it must be noted that Rand, for one reason or another, had a greater understanding and attentiveness toward the Mi'kmaq, unlike most of his predecessors and contemporaries.

Place Name Analysis

As mentioned before, there is a body of work that relates to place names in Atlantic Canada. Although place names and the act of bestowing them is a universal process, precise acts of naming – especially in a historical context - are difficult to trace. Place names direct attention to important social connections and relationships to the landscape, but the exact temporal and contextual information that relates to how a place is named is not always known. This is especially significant when considering Mi'kmaw names in Cape Breton. When studying place names in a landscape that has been influenced by Mi'kmaw culture for thousands of years, it is important to pay attention to ancient concepts of mobility. In chapter one, discussion about the fluidity of cultural landscape was presented, especially with regards to interpreting names. Future research may consider concepts of paleogeography with reference to the formation of place names. In his article, "Geomorphic Evidence of Postglacial Terrestrial Environments on Atlantic Canadian Continental Shelves", John Shaw (2005) examines the paleogeographic changes which might be of significance to the ways places were named by the Mi'kmaq in pre-contact society. It has been suggested that "the ocean flooded across a sill 25 m below modern sea level at *ca.* 6 ka BP, and created the Bras d'Or Lakes inland sea", meaning occupation and place name in Unama'kik at this time would have been influenced by these environmental changes (Shaw 2005, 144). These kinds of paleogeographic changes are indicators that the place names currently seen in the study area were likely constituted by Mi'kmaw people within the pre-contact period. Otherwise, names that have been forgotten or undocumented might be due to the fact that they are now submerged: " It can be argued that part of the missing archaeological record of human occupation during the

Archaic Period in Nova Scotia (9000 to 2500 years ago) might be found on the submerged coastlines in this area" (Shaw 2005, 151-152). Again, in the future, it may be plausible to approach submerged sites and seek place names through collaboration with the Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous communities whose traditional knowledge of the landscape can illuminate those places that are missing on maps.

Before delving into the place names of Unama'kik and Cheap Breatainn, there is an important linguistic feature of Mi'kmaw language that should be analysed. A toponymic scholar will realise after examining any significant amount of Mi'kmaw place names that the common suffix of "akade" or "katik" is tagged onto several toponyms. Some examples include Pne'katik, Kun'tewe'katik, or Mukla'qatik. Rand's dictionary lists "akade" as a term for "a place where something abounds" (Rand 1902). In Unama'kik, for example, the place name for Sunacadie comes from the Mi'kmaw, Sule'katik. When spoken, the pronunciation for words with this ending sounds similar to the French pronunciation of Acadie, which has caused confusion for scholars in determining whether or not there was a relationship between this sound and the French word. Hamilton (1996) and others indicate that Acadie had often been traced to this suffix in many Mi'kmaw place names.[6] Also, like Rand, Hamilton suggests that the "Mi'kmaq word quoddy or cady meant 'a piece of land or territory'", but with regard to the relationship between the sounds of these two different words "there seems little evidence to substantiate this explanation, and the similarity of cadie to Acadia is probably coincidental" (Hamilton 1996, 7). This phenomenon demonstrates the complexity of language interactions between multiple groups. Naturally, early scholars would assess the sounds of Mi'kma'ki through the framework of their own language or perhaps other languages that had

presence in a region. When examining all of the Indigenous toponyms "it also must be acknowledged that spoken form of communication as well as an oral as opposed to written history captures the legacy of time in many Indigenous cultures", and the pronunciation would often be rendered incorrectly by those listening to speakers (Beck 2016, 18) This seems to be the case with the association of the "cadie" or "katik" suffix with the French place name Acadie.

This commonly used suffix in the Mi'kmaw language is interesting since it seems to be associated with words that indicate place. As before mentioned, Rand indicated that

Place	Meaning
Quospem	Lake
Pim'tin, km'tm	Mountain, ridge
Sibu,sipu	River
Ikan, agen, agn,unikan	Portage, passage
Iktuk, iktook, etek, oktek, igtog	At the place of; into, within, in, on, at, among
Ku'k, kuk, kook, cook, took, dook	Location, or place
Walney, waln'k	Cove
-akade, -agadīch, -gadīk , -katik, -atik, -adek, -e'kati, -a'ki	Ground, or place of
opscoochk, qapskuk	Rock feature or falls, water running over rocks
unchik, okchuk	Water feature, often referring to waves
Pookwek, boogwek, pukwek, ukwek	Pertaining to a river, or tidal river
-kek, -ek, -ik	Belonging to, the place of
-bek, -pe'k, -pe'q, -po'k	Lake or pond
mi'niku	Island
Gapskw(sing.), Gapskul(plu.)	Waterfall(s)
Kimu'j	Dead tree, stick, bog
ek	Indicates location when using proper names
-astuwek	River, stream (flow of the river over the land)
-amkiaq	Beach
-amtitk	Rapids

Table 2: List of Common Terms, Place Names, Suffixes and Phrases -Courtesy of Matthews & Robinson, 2018.

the word itself means 'a place where something abounds' (Rand 1902). New research within the Mi'kmaq communities of Newfoundland have illuminated an entire wealth of words that relate to place, some of which may not apply to the Mi'kmaq of Unama'kik but demonstrate the abundance of words relating to describing and defining place.

Table 2 derived from research approved by the Qalipu First Nation in Newfoundland shows this common suffix for place names. This represents the lengths at which this language was and continues to be spoken, showing the mobility of Mi'kmaw people predating the arrival of Europeans. This common feature can be found in Mi'kmaw place names all over the northeastern Atlantic coast, either in their original forms or somewhat adjusted.

Case Study: Cape Breton, Unama'kik, Cheap Breattain, Isle Royale

Cape Breton, as well as the many iterations of this place name, has a long and complex history. The Mi'kmaq call the island Unama'kik, a variation on Mi'kma'ki, which translates to "Mi'kmaw Territory" (Sable & Francis 2018, 21). With reference to postcolonial names "the first hint of the name is found on an anonymous Portuguese map of 1516-20… opposite was placed the inscription 'the land which was discovered by the Bretons.' C. dos Bretoes appears for the first time as a place name on the Miller Map of approximately 1521" (Hamilton 1996, 7-8). This region has the imprint of many different people: first the Mi'kmaq who were followed by a number of "early 'name makers'… the Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, West Country English, and French" (Hamilton 1996, 8). Although this region saw the influence of many different populations, both the French and English colonised this area most substantially, thereby "their imprint on place names was inevitably greater" (Hamilton 1996, 8). Early maps of Cape Breton are representative of significant French influence, which can be shown to shift into a highly English-dominated region following the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755.

The 18th century represents significant interaction between colonial powers in this region which can be documented through an analysis of place names.

Map Name and Date	Place Name
Karte Von L'Isle Royale – N. Bellin 1744	L'Isle Royale
Plan De L'Isle Royale – Franquet 1751	L'Isle Royale
A New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island – Jeffreys 1786	Cape Breton Island
A Plan of the Island of Cape Breton 1789	Cape Breton Island
New Chart – Capt. Holland 1798	Cape Breton Island

Table 3: Place Names for Cape Breton in the 18th Century

Table 3 demonstrates how maps can show the passage of events in history which ultimately influence on the place names within the region. The events and interactions that occur between groups of people had significant effects on the ways places were named. Unama'kik was renamed Ile-Royale in 1713 under the French, but after the social and political factors that removed the French from this region the names began to shift. The early portion of the 18th century demonstrates the retention of French names in the region, but as this power lost their hold on their territory and faced eventual defeat the toponomy shifted significantly. It is important to consider who is designing these maps when analysing toponomy. There are instances in which places are renamed as a way to assert new dominance over the area, laying claim to the landscape through language. For example, in the 1789 map "A Plan of the Island of Cape Breton, Divided into Counties", the Bras D'or is labelled as Lake George (see Figure 10).

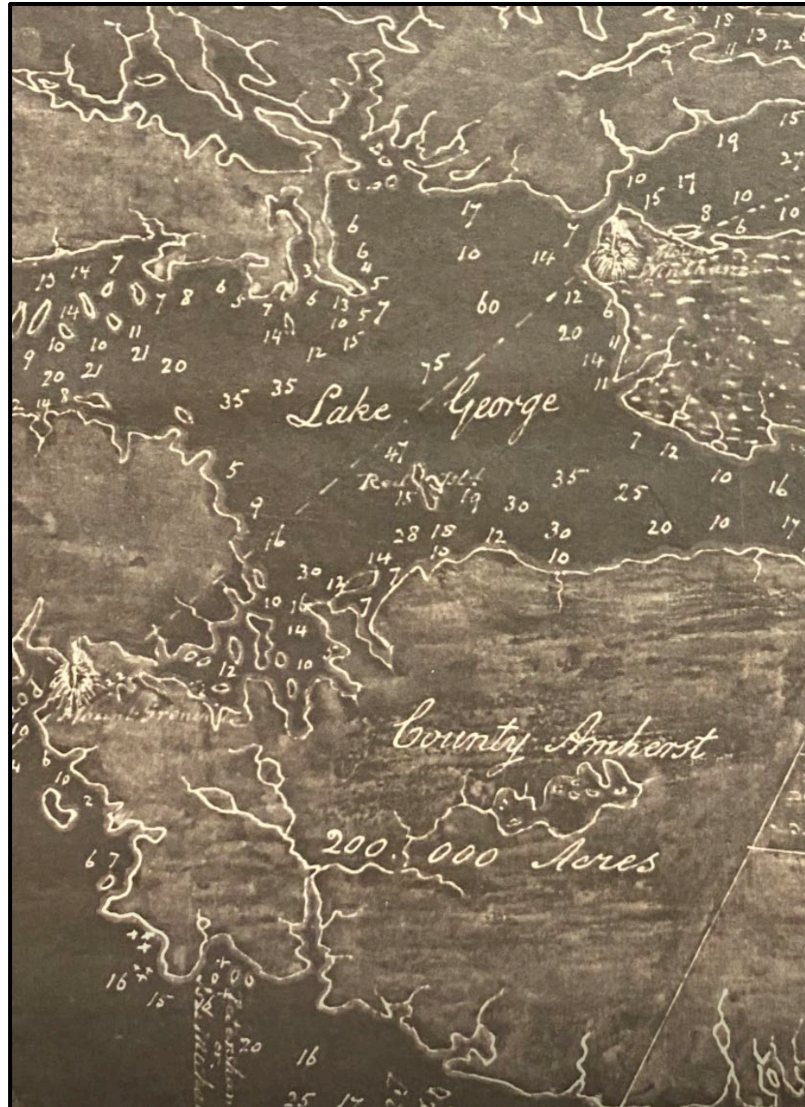


Figure 10: A Plan of the Island of Cape Breton, Divided into Counties (1789) Courtesy of NS Archives

On Franquet's map, the "Plan De L'Isle Royale" (1751), the lake was named Grand Lac de la Brador. The name Lake George was likely attached to this body of water after the English claimed the territory following years of warfare and conflict between the English and French, who had been warring over the region. In this case, toponyms are used as a representation of power and dominance over territory.

Until the creation of distinctly Gàidhlig and Mi'kmaw maps in recent years, most 'official' maps do not include the names Cheap Breatainn or Unama'kik. These populations represent minority groups in the region and general mapping of the area was often completed through the framework of dominant settler groups like the English or the French. The Department of Gaelic Affairs maps, Nova Scotia Open Data, and the Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas all represent new formulations of mapping completed recently by those wishing to create visualisation of cultural landscape that have existed in the region for a very long time.

Figure 11 shows a map developed by Will Flanagan, a cartographer from the geography department of Saint Mary's University. This map uses historical maps and records, as well as the contemporary resources that have made up the data for this thesis. The intention of this map is to show the multiplicity of place names in central Unama'kik, Isle Royale, Cape Breton, and Cheap Breattain. This map depicts the places, with several different iterations of their names, allowing a viewer to conceptualise the concurrent existences of places from the perspectives of each of the populations who have long existed in the region.

Although Cape Breton has not been consistently mapped through all of these cultural perspectives, those cultural landscapes did exist and continue to intersect. As time goes on, agency is being reinstated into both the Gaelic and Mi'kmaw communities to develop and chart maps and records that accurately and effectively depict these landscapes within similar frameworks.

Figure 11: Map of Unama'kik, Isle Royale, Cape Breton, Cheap Breattain

Case Study: The Bras D'or Lake

One of the oldest settler names in Cape Breton is the Bras D'or Lake. La Terra doo Laurador can be noted on the Lazaro Luis map of 1563 with reference to the island of Cape Breton and mainland Nova Scotia. This toponym would resurface much later in 1672 as Lac Labrador, the name given to the present Bras D'or lake that strikes through the center of Cape Breton Island (Hamilton 1996, 7). It is important to note that maps from these early periods can often be interpreted as incomplete cartographies or maps that are not accurate or complete enough to concretely associate certain places with exact locations. The current spelling of the Bras D'or lake can be noted as early as 1829, where the lake itself is listed as Le Bras D'or on the New Map of Nova Scotia (New Map of Nova Scotia, NS Archives, 1829). Although the retention of 'Labrador' is likely credited to mapping errors, Hamilton (1996) writes that the ", the mistake resulted in the euphonious place name Bras D'or Lake" (Hamilton 1996, 7). Today, the Bras D'or is often interpreted through the French "Golden Arm." Although beautiful, this translation does not represent the application of this name first by the Portuguese and the consequent reiterations of the toponym into its current form.

The Mi'kmaw name for this lake is Pitu'pok which translates to "long dish of salt water" (Mi'kmaw Place Names. "Mi'kmaw Place Name Digital Atlas."). Until Rand's 1852 work, *Micmac Place-names in the Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé Peninsula Recorded between 1852 and 1890,* the Mi'kmaw name is not noticeably referenced in any map or place name record. Rand cites many different spellings and definitions: Petuobok – a long dish of salt water, Petoobok, Petuboke – extended saltwater lake, Pegoodebek-long basin of salt water (Rand 1919, 66). This omission of the Mi'kmaw name until

Rand's records beginning in 1852, is demonstrative of social dominance and power. In many ways, the act of mapping a place is an act of domination. This exertion of power is completed through usurping place names in favour of new toponyms.

Case Study: Baddeck

The town of Baddeck - and its toponyms - has an extraordinarily long history. This is one of the few Mi'kmaw toponyms that endured colonial onslaught and the general replacement of Mi'kmaw names on many maps and records. An examination of the instances of its appearance on several maps from the Nova Scotia Archives reveals an anglicization or francization of the toponym, but the reference to the older Mi'kmaw name is still in place (see Table 4). The Mi'kmaw name for Baddeck is Apatakwitk, meaning "reversing flow", Rand recorded this place name as Abadak, Abadakwitk, or Abadeck, which he cited as meaning "a portion of food put aside for someone" or "a sultry place" (Mi'kmaw Place Names. "Mi'kmaw Place Name Digital Atlas."; Rand 1919, 11). Hamilton (1996) writes of Baddeck, "the only certainty concerning the source of this name is its Mi'kmaq roots" and despite any different orthographic, anglicised, francized, or gaelicized versions of this name, it is inherently Mi'kmaw. However, although the origins of this name are firmly rooted in the Mi'kmaw language, the different iterations of this toponym indicate different perceptions of cultural landscape.

Record	1751	1852	1866	1934	1996	2015
Toponym	La Bedeque	Abadek, Abadak, Abadakwitk	Baddeck	Epateg	Baddeck from Mi'kmaw 'Petek'	Badaig

Table 4: Iterations of the Place Name 'Baddeck'

The Mi'kmaq continue to exist in this location that is called Apatakwitk, the English imagined this place as Baddeck, the French as La Bedeque, and the Gaels as Badaig. Given the earlier discussion in chapter one about this region maintaining multiple different, overlapping cultural landscapes, it is safe to assume that these different imaginations of place actually have significantly different meanings and uses. The complexities of the reasons behind how a place name remains is often difficult to uncover. The final portion of this chapter will outline the reasons, cultural, social, and arbitrary, for the retention of place names. The reason why Baddeck been retained, albeit adjusted in many ways, is likely due to the prevailing presence of Mi'kmaq in the area, who undoubtedly referred to this location by the name Apatakwitk, combined with other populations making use of a similar pronunciation for centuries.

Omissions

Colonial maps often omit information and toponomy from maps. In the case of Cape Breton, the names of Unama'kik, Isle Royale, or Cheap Breattain are often ignored or less represented than the English, 'official' name. This of course changes depending on the mapmaker: for example, when Isle Royale was under the dominion of the French, the

maps made within that tradition would likely reflect French nomenclature, albeit still leaving out groups they considered to be on the periphery. The nature of omissions depends on who is creating the record. On the whole, colonial maps often reflect grand political changes between warring powers, while simultaneously revealing systemic and intentional omission of Mi'kmaw place names. The creation of maps that disregarded existing Mi'kmaw names had been the norm. This effect also occurs on other settler groups or on local names that are perceived as referential or unimportant. This is typically a result of hegemonic and colonial ideals that influenced most explorers and cartographers in the early years of colonial interference in Mi'kma'ki. In some cases, proper names are omitted in favour of out-of-date indicators, especially in the case of the Mi'kmaq.

Figure 12: Figure 5: A New Map of Nova Scotia -Courtesy of NS Archives (1829)

Figure 11 and William MacKay's 1834 "Belchers Map of the Province of Nova Scotia Including the Island of Cape Breton" (not pictured) both demonstrate the tendency for colonial maps and cartographers to not only prioritise English, French or Gàidhlig names over Mi'kmaw toponyms, but also indicates the eradication of place names through generalising indicators like "Indians." Both maps direct a viewer's attention to the mouth of Middle River, here listed as the Wagmatcook River, where a Mi'kmaw community still resides. The indication of 'Indians' in this area hints at long-term occupancy in this area on behalf of the Mi'kmaw population. This seemingly harmless omission of Wagmatcook's original name – Waqmitkuk - reinforces notions of colonial power steam-rolling the identities and cultural landscape of others. This was recorded before the Smith-Francis orthography contributed to the standardisation of Mi'kmaw spelling, the correct spelling and this earlier form are relatively similar in pronunciation. However, this highlights the ways in which colonial mapmakers would impose their own linguistic understandings upon names of various origins. The removal of any traditional name and the consequent replacement of that name with generalised, racist indicators of difference contributed to marginalisation of Indigenous communities, as well as significant loss of place name records. Perhaps if colonials and explorers had attentively documented the names of the Mi'kmaq instead of erasing them, there might be a much greater wealth of toponyms to analyse. However, that being said, many names are remembered, as well as created by the Mi'kmaq today. These names, and those that have prevailed in the historical records have done so through the minds of the people who created them. The Mi'kmaq, in spite of the efforts of colonialism, still exist in Mi'kma'ki, and so too do their place names regardless of what the maps may or may not indicate.

Gàidhlig place names are omitted on maps of Cheap Breatainn largely due to the fact that the Scots Gaels did not arrive in large numbers until the middle of the 19th century. What is lacking in terms of historical mapping and records of Gàidhlig place names in the region is made up for by a significant local memory in a living population with close temporal relationship with those who arrived, as well as a representation of place names in provincial road signs. Omissions with regard to the Scots Gaels in Cheap Breattain is likely related to the recency of their settlement in the province itself. Places are usually the primary means of association with the environment, but in order for places to become significant, events need to occur, and time needs to pass. As before mentioned, the Gaels had a determinant place naming characteristic of naming areas after locals and ancestors who inhabited the area. These names record the association of people with features of the environment, but also the passage of time. Places named to honour those ancestors of a community are often commemorated after they have passed on. This is a unique aspect showing how the Scots Gaels impart identity into the landscape and make place, hearkening back to the discussion in chapter one about the variability between different populations and their conceptions of place. This passage of time and change reinforces the notion that Gàidhlig place names began to settle and take hold – at least in terms of recognition outside of the communities themselves – several decades after the first migrants arrived. As a relatively recent migrant group to the region, the omission of the toponyms of the region has taken a toll, but institutions like the Department of Gaelic

Affairs and the actions of the Gaelic community have imprinted their place names in the area very notably.

Replacement

Aside from omission, colonial maps often simply replace Indigenous place names, as well as past settler names that are not representative of the ideal and language of those in power. It seems to be the exception, rather than the rule, that Mi'kmaw place names are retained in their original forms. Often these toponyms are replaced in favour of settler iterations of toponyms. This concept in itself is indicative of the ways power and dominance have been expressed through place names in Cape Breton.

The Gàidhlig population who entered this region in the mid-19th century imparted several place names on the region. These toponyms, like so many French, English, and other settler names, replaced the names of Unama'kik. Interestingly, though the Gaels were migrants to a new area, their names took precedence over Mi'kmaw names in most cases. This is likely due to the association of Scotland with dominant powers like England, whose settlers assumed their right to land and ownership. It was the French and the English who warred over the fate of the Atlantic coast, so naturally their toponyms in the region are overrepresented. It is interesting to consider the power of a settler group like the Gaels who arrived in the province fairly late – especially considering that fisherman, explorers, and colonials had been in the region since the 1500s – received much more freedom and recognition of place names in the area than did the Mi'kmaq. This is connected to colonial ideologies and narratives about the perceived Other. The

Scots Gaels, although not English or French, are still part of the European tradition that incited colonialism and settlement. It is important to note the impetus for leaving their homeland was not exploration or expansion, but rather, to escape from poor conditions. Whether or not the Scots Gaels who migrated to Alba Nuadh felt any filial duty to the English, or if they were simply escaping certain demise in their home country, the differences between the French, English and Scottish – cultural, social, and linguistic – were far easier to reconcile and represent than the attributes of Mi'kmaw communities. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons behind the overrepresentation of settler names on maps and records in Cheap Breatainn.

Mi'kmaw toponyms are sometimes altered to reflect the settler names within the area. For example, take the fortress of Louisburg or *E'loibolg*, as called by the Mi'kmaq in Rand's *Micmac Place-names in the Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé Peninsula Recorded between 1852 and 1890.* This simple shift represents the adoption of a settler name into Mi'kmaw spelling. This is not an isolated case and there are many instances in which Mi'kmaw communities took settler names and adjusted them or adapted them for their own uses. Perhaps in the case of *E'loibolg*, the reason why this name was taken on by the Mi'kmaq was due to the fact that the French had drastically altered the physical environment in that area. This kind of permanent change to the landscape – i.e., the massive fort – would likely signify that this place 'belonged' to the French and so referencing this area by its French name was most common.

An exploration of Gàidhlig micro-toponomy in Alba Nuadh will demonstrate the rapid replacement of place names in favour of Settler names. The "relative paucity of Mi'kmaw place names adopted by early settlers" in the region is attributed to the desire

for a straightforward way of claiming land and space (MacDonald 2013, 210). Basso (1996) suggests that “knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, including one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.” (Basso 1996, 34) This concept is useful for conceptualising the reasons behind replacing existing toponyms. Creating place for oneself and one’s community is necessarily connected to personhood and identity. Without place, what are people? The seemingly laissez-faire appropriation of place and replacement of toponyms by most groups is likely the enaction of natural human desire to situate themselves within a landscape. Unfortunately, these activities have been enacted in a way that has failed to recognise the limitations that replacement of place names can enforce on already existing communities. Often times toponyms were meant to “serve as propaganda in favour of the enterprise of exploration and colonization” as well as represent the communities who were newly settling in regions (Beck 2016, 19). These connotations complexify the act of naming place in this era and denote the ways that toponyms can be used to interpret power and dominance between populations at this time. It is the duty of anthropologists and all people to recognise the import of toponomy to the various cultural landscapes and worlds that constantly collide and overlap.

Retention

Retention of place names often does not occur in ‘perfect’ forms. Toponyms change and morph as meaning is inscribed and continuously created in those places. However, in some cases traces of much older names can be echoed and retained for a very long time. In Table 4, the iterations of the place name Baddeck are listed. Although

there are various spellings and linguistic influences in each of the toponyms, the general root of the word remains the same. The reasons for retention are not always easy to trace, but it is likely that this name has been retained because of its inclusion in multiple maps and records that were created by dominant cultural groups. The name itself comes from a Mi’kmaw toponym but following the involvement of early colonial explorations and subsequent mapping, the name survived various political and social changes with the removal of one government in power to the next, the migration of multiple new settler groups, and the interaction of all of these forces.

This also occurs in the case of Sunacadie, which remains today in very similar form to its earlier Mi’kmaw toponym (see Table 5). This place name has seen a long history of retention in records and maps of both settler and Indigenous origins.

Table 5: Toponyms for Su'ne'katik

Record	1829	1866	1852	1902	1911	1922
Toponym	Sunakady	Sunakadie	Soonakade	Soonakade	Shenacadie	Soonecaty/Cranberry Head

Rand's translation of Soonakade is "The Cranberry Patch" or "Cranberry Head" (Rand 1919, 75). The correct, modern Mi'kmaw spelling of this place name is Su'ne'katik which is translated as "At the cranberry place" (Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas). Clearly, the name has avoided erasure on behalf of colonial record keepers and the name remains associated to this location to date. This is perhaps due to traditional use activities, both the Mi'kmaq, French, and English recognised this area as a place where resources could be gathered. Although perceived and named differently, in this region, the environment had been accessed similarly and a referential name persists. In the case of Anglicisation, the meaning of this toponym is reflected in English iterations of the place name with mentions of cranberries or "Cranberry Head", a location where the resource can be found is noted (Brown 1922). The Gàidhlig toponym for this area, An Arcarsaid, seems to be unrelated to the other toponyms, perhaps due to the notion that the Gaels had not been performing similar activities in this region, or the place had a different meaning to this population.

Figure 13: We'koqma'q Community Sign - Courtesy of Saltwire.com

It would seem that in places associated with Mi'kmaw settlement, like reservations, place names have long been retained in these areas. Eskissoqnik (Eskasoni),

We'koqma'q (Wycocomagh), and Waqmitkuk (Wagmatcook) are all represented in historical records and modern, anglicised iterations of these toponyms are relatively similar to Mi’kmaw spellings. This may be due to the population of these areas being mainly Mi’kmaw, both historically and contemporarily.

Figure 14: English/Gàidhlig Road Sign - Courtesy of Capebretonpost.com

All of these locations still retain their Mi’kmaw toponyms and in the case of We'koqma'q, the Gàidhlig spelling of the word is Hogoma - which although different, still represents the same toponym. As a result, we can see that community areas which have existed for extended periods of time often retain the toponym of the origin group, in spite of the influence of other names and forces.

Conclusion

> In this convulsive age of uprooted populations and extensive diasporas, holding onto places- and sensing fully the goodness contained therein- has become increasingly difficult, and in years to come, I expect it may everywhere be regarded as a privilege and a gift. (Basso 1996, xvi)

In many ways, place represents the creation and continuous formation of the identities of individuals and populations. The ways in which place names adjust and change can contribute to analysing social changes and elements of power. There has been scholarly neglect towards the study of toponomy and its uses, arising out of the assumption that names "have meaning solely in their capacity to refer and, as agents of reference, to enter into simple and complex predications" (Basso 1996, 76). On the contrary, place names are highly complex markers of identity, culture, progress, and interaction. Place names call on a vast range of emotions, events, and ideas instantaneously and without impediment. Since a person's sense of place is "inseparable from the ideas that inform it" and "locked within the mental horizons that give it life", regions that demonstrate multiple interactions between populations and cultural landscape can be analysed for distinct patterns and power dynamics (Basso 1996, 144).

Heather McLeod-Leslie, in her work *SANKOFA: Return and Get It* (2012), writes about the experiences of Black communities creating and defining identity in Nova Scotia: "through the experiences of slavery and political tumult in a racist Atlantic World society, among the most archaeologically-enduring aspects of African-derived cultural identity would have been those that were practiced in private and semi-private contexts or in the construction of space and the creation of place" (McLeod-Leslie 2012, 2). Groups

regardless of origin - Indigenous, settler, previously enslaved populations, or otherwise - all imprint their identity either physically or linguistically upon the landscape through place naming. The ways in which different groups complete this act is significant, but ultimately "how a group of people distribute themselves across a natural landscape, employ it in the physical organization of social space, and accord it meaning, is a wholly cultural act" (McLeod-Leslie 2012, 109). This examination of places and cultural landscape can and should extend to all anthropological inquiry, as it encompasses the ability to delve into the basis of how people begin to create culture. Lauren Beck (2016, 20) writes:

> Scholarship in this area as well as studies devoted to the historical development of Indigenous languages often have been carried out by non-Indigenous peoples, who to this day have remained custodians of the authoritative source governing the meaning of historical toponomy.

As a non-Indigenous person writing this thesis the statement still rings true. It is clear that all place names deserve attention and proper analysis. The perceived difficulty of analysing Indigenous place names comes from the constant analysis of these topics by non-Indigenous people whose perspectives and syntheses are not wholly reflective of actual Indigenous analyses. In this work, although not nearly delving into the wonderful expanse of Mi'kmaw knowledge available, I have attempted to use the appropriate works, contacts, and inquiries to ensure that my perspective is my own, while still reflecting a desire to gain understanding of Mi'kmaw perspectives that have long been ignored, misinterpreted, or controlled. Without a movement in the future to include greater understandings of the importance of preserving and analysing the toponyms of every cultural landscape through multiple perspectives, we cannot hope to garner better understanding of one another.

Place-making and naming are both simple and complex. At the root, they are acts completed by almost every individual or group. In a more complex sense, place indicates the specificities of culture, identity, and ways of knowing. This complexity is further diversified with the concept of interactions between people within the same group and different groups. Place in this sense can become an assertive and powerful act of determination and culture. The Mi'kmaq have long named and lived in this region and identified their landscape in a unique way, so too have the settler groups who arrived in the region several hundred years ago. Attention must be paid to the ways in which these various toponymic landscapes intersect, as social and cultural creation can be analysed through this detailed lens. Place names are memories, events, and people all bound up in a word, words which can indicate the exceptional ability of humankind to create and define the places they call home.

Notes

[1] Aside from speaking with Mi'kmaw Elders or community members, the foremost resource for Mi'kmaw authorised toponyms is located at: Mi'kmaw Place Names. "Mi'kmaw Place Name Digital Atlas." Accessed November 21. 2020. https://placenames.mapdev.ca/

[2] As described in Sable and Francis (2018, Pp.21-22), there are 8 currently accepted districts. These include: Kespe'k (Saint John River Valley and Gaspe Area of Quebec, Epekwitk aq Piktuk (P.E.I), Sipekne'katik/Sikipne'katik (Shubenacadie and Minas Basin), Kespukwitk (South Western Nova Scotia from the LaHave River), Unama'kik (Cape Breton Island), Siknikt (Miramichi River and Bay of Fundy Region), Eskikewa'kik (Sheet Harbour to Canso), Ktaqmkuk (Newfoundland).

[3] Map compiled by William Jones with data adapted from content contributed by Roger Lewis, Trudy Sable, and Bernie Francis. Sourced by exp Services Inc. Base map layers c 2012 ESRI. (Sable and Francis 2018, 21).

[4] Bernie Francis is a Mi'kmaw scholar and linguist. The Smith-Francis Orthography, created by Douglas Smith and Bernie Francis, was created in 1974 and became the official orthography of the Mi'kmaq as declared by Grand Council. Today, it informs most modern spellings of Mi'kmaw words and place names.

[5] "A New Map of Nova Scotia," 1829, 3.5.8 201-1829. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.

[6] Arcadia, later Acadia or Acadie can be credited to the application of this name by Giovanni da Verrazano to the entire mid-Atlantic coastline in 1524 (Hamilton 1996, 7).

References

Appadurai, Arjun. "Introduction: Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory". *Cultural Anthropology 3*, no. 1 (1988): 16–20.

Baird, Melissa F. "The Breath of the Mountain Is My Heart: Indigenous Cultural Landscapes and the Politics of Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies 19*, no. 4 (June 1, 2013): 327–40.

Basso, Keith. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque, USA: University of New Mexico Press, 1996

.

Beck, Lauren. 2016. Early-Modern European and Indigenous Linguistic Influences on New Brunswick Place Names. Journal of New Brunswick Studies 7(1), 15-36. https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/JNBS/article/view/25195/29164

Bowser, Brenda J. "Prologue: Toward an Archaeology of Place." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2004, pp. 1–3. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/20177489. Accessed 23 Feb. 2021.

Brown, Thomas J., *Place Names of the Province of Nova Scotia*. Halifax, Canada: Royal Print & Litho, 1922.

Chatwin, Bruce. *The Songlines*. New York, USA: Penguin Books, 1988.

Errington, James Joseph, and Wiley InterScience. *Linguistics in a Colonial World a Story of Language, Meaning, and Power*. Malden, MA ; Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2008.

Frame, Elizabeth. *A List of Micmac Names of Place, Rivers, etc.. in Nova Scotia.* Cambridge, USA: John Wilson and Son. University Press, 1892.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson, eds. *Culture Power Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. London: Duke University Press, 1997.

Hamilton, William B. *Place Names of Atlantic Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Lovesay, Dorothy. *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889*. Hansport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1992.

Maillard. Abbe. *An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government Of Cape Breton.* London: S. Hooper & A. Morley, 1758. - Canadiana Online." Accessed January 26, 2021. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.46065/5?r=0&s=1

MacDonald, Shamus. "Micro-toponomy in Gaelic Nova Scotia: Some examples from Central Cape Breton." In *Celts in the Americas*, edited by Michael Newton, 208-216. Sydney, NS: Cape Breton University Press, 2013.

MacDonald, Shamus. "*"Dh'fheumadh iad àit' a dheanamh*" (*They would have to make a Place)*: **LAND AND BELONGING IN GAELIC NOVA SCOTIA**" PhD diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2018.

Matthews, Michelle, and Dr Angela Robinson. "Newfoundland Mi'kmaq Place Names: Ktaqmkuk Across the Waters" Qalipu First Nation, 2018, pp.1-35. http://qalipu.ca/qalipu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Ktaqmkuk%20Handbook.pdf. Accessed 20 Nov. 2020.

Macleod-Leslie, Heather. "SANKOFA / Return and Get It: An Archaeological Exploration of Black Loyalist Identity and Culture." PhD diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2012.

Rand, Silas Tertius. *Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians, Who Reside in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and Newfoundland*. Halifax, N.S.: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1888.

Rand, Silas Tertius, and Jeremiah S. 1872-1950 Clark. *Rand's Micmac Dictionary: From Phonographic Word-lists Prepared By Rev. Silas T. Rand, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.* Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Patriot Pub. Co., 1902.

Rand, Silas Tertius, and William Patrick Anderson. *Micmac Place-names in the Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé Peninsula Recorded between 1852 and 1890*. [Canada : (Ottawa: s.n.] Printed at the Surveyor General's Office), 1919.

Sable, Trudy. and Bernie Francis. *The Language of This Land, Mi'kma'ki*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing, 2018.

Shaw, John. "Geomorphic Evidence of Postglacial Terrestrial Environments on Atlantic Canadian Continental Shelves". *Geographie Physique et Quaternaire 59,* no. 2 (2005): 141-154.

Valigny, Father Pacifique de. *Le Pays Des Micmacs: Liste de 2500 Noms Géographiques Des Provinces Maritimes (l'ancienne Acadie), de La Gaspésie et de Terreneuve En Langue Micmaque Avec La Signification, Quand Elle Est Connue, Les Noms Correspondants En Anglais Ou En Français et de Copieuses Notes Historiques et Géographiques; Contient Cinq Cartes Régionales, Selon Les Anciens Districts*. chez l'auteur, 1934.

Ward, Sally. "On Shifting Ground: Changing Formulations of Place in Anthropology". *The Australian Journal of Anthropology 14*, no. 1 (2003): 80–96.

Appendix

Appendix A - Archival Maps

N. Bellin. “Karte Von L’Isle Royale”. Scale not given. 1744. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. F/201-1744.

Franquet. “Plan De L’Isle Royale”. De trois lieues, 28.5cm x 38.5cm. 1751. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. V_1/201-1751.

Jeffreys, T. “A New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island”. Scale not given. 1786. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. 3.5.7 201-1786.

Unknown. “A Plan of the Island of Cape Breton, Divided into Counties”. Scale not given. 1789. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. 3.6.4 201-1789

Captain Holland. “A New Chart of the Coast of Nova Scotia”. Scale not given. 1798. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. 3.5.7 201-1798.

Unknown. “A New Map of Nova Scotia”. Scale not given. 1829. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. 3.5.8 201-1829.

Mackay, William. “Belchers Map of the Province of Nova Scotia Including the Island of Cape Breton. Scale not given. July 10th, 1834. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. F/202-1866

Commission of Conservation Canada. “Water-Powers in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Scale not given. 1911. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS/ F/200-1911.

Unknown. “MacKinlay’s Map of the Province of Nova Scotia”. Scale not given. 1928. Oversize Collection. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, NS. R/202-1928.

Appendix B – Digital Maps

Flanagan, Will. “Map of Unama’kik, Isle Royale, Cape Breton, and Cheap Breattain”.1:400,000. 2021. Geography Department. Saint Mary’s University, Halifax, NS.

Gaelic Affairs. “Na Gàidheil Agus An Ainmean-Àite An Albainn Nuaidh”. 1:500,000. From Canadian Geographical Names - Nova Scotia. Government of Canada; Natural Resources Canada; Earth Sciences Sector; Canada Centre for Mapping and Earth Observation; Geographical Names Section. 8 January 2015. Retrieved February 2015

from Geogratis. Map located at http://www.heathergabrielsmith.ca/GaelicPlaceNamesinNSMap/.

"Gaelic Placenames in Nova Scotia | Open Data | Nova Scotia." Accessed October 6, 2020. https://data.novascotia.ca/Arts-Culture-and-History/Gaelic-Placenames-in-Nova-Scotia/wwaq-2akq.

Mi'kmaw Place Names. "Mi'kmaw Place Name Digital Atlas." Accessed November 21. 2020. https://placenames.mapdev.ca/

Appendix C- Images

Matuscak, Maria, and F A Barkhouse. "Languages & Education: Canadian Gaelic." Windsor's Scottish Heritage . Accessed March 19, 2021. http://www.windsorscottish.ca/sc-le-lang-cangaelic.php.

"Silas Rand." Acadia Archives. Acadia University. Accessed February 20, 2021. https://archives.acadiau.ca/islandora/search/mods_note_part_of_ms%253A%2522Silas%20Tertius%20Rand%2522?page=1.

King, Nancy. "Whycocomagh Also Facing Wastewater Woes: Cape Breton Post." Local News | Cape Breton Post, September 4, 2019. https://www.capebretonpost.com/news/local/whycocomagh-also-facing-wastewater-woes-348564/.

Baker III, Oscar. "We'koqma'q First Nation Hosts Fast Pitch Tourney." SaltWire, September 27, 2020. https://www.saltwire.com/sports/regional-sports/video-wekoqmaq-first-nation-hosts-fast-pitch-tourney-502495/.