

**A POST-COLONIAL ERA?
BRIDGING MI'KMAQ AND IRISH
EXPERIENCES OF COLONIALISM**

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the links between the past and present impacts of colonization in Ireland and colonization in Mi'kma'ki (the unceded territories of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy known to Canadians as the Maritimes provinces). It asks how might deepening our understandings of these potential links inform accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq? In doing so, it argues that comparatively examining Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences of colonialism can offer concrete insights not only into the way that the Irish and the Mi'kmaq have an interwoven past, but also the way that the legacies of colonialism are permeating everyday life in the present in both regions. Refusing colonial representations of Mi'kma'ki and recentering Mi'kmaq worldviews throughout this comparison, this dissertation presents Mi'kma'ki as a discrete and sovereign (occupied) territory. The dissertation begins by providing an overview of the geographical and sociopolitical context of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki while introducing some of the links that have caused community members in both nations to call for this type of comparative research to be completed. The second chapter explores key historical moments in Irish and Mi'kmaq history which serve not just as a foundation for understanding the historical context of current experiences of colonialism in both regions, but also highlights the way that Ireland and Mi'kma'ki have had their pasts interwoven by British colonialism and the Irish diaspora. Drawing on oral life histories gathered in the bordertowns between County Donegal and Derry/Londonderry in Ireland, as well as Eskasoni First Nation in Unama'ki (Cape Breton) in Mi'kma'ki, the third and fourth chapters respectively explore the way that Irish and Mi'kmaq community members are currently experiencing the impacts of the legacies of British colonialism in everyday life. Finally, the dissertation concludes by reiterating the main insights shared by community members around the current state of colonialism, postcolonialism, and decolonization in both regions, before briefly discussing the postdoctoral research (and other areas of inquiry) that are expanding the inquiry of this project further while highlighting how the Irish and L'nuk might use the insights from the project to increase their collaborations and support one another.

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Gary Cheverie.

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First and foremost, this project could not have come into being without the enthusiastic support that I received from community members in Mi'kma'ki and Ireland. Each of my collaborators who took the time to share their life stories with me, to let me into their homes, and to spend time getting to know me in order to make this project a reality deserves more thanks than a written space can really afford. I say this, knowing too well, that part of what I have struggled with in writing this project is wanting to highlight all of the moments that each of you shared with me, and as a result I am so grateful that you have allowed your oral histories to be shared with archives as part of this process - and that readers will be able to find summaries of your recordings in the appendix of this dissertation. To the people of Eskasoni, Donegal, and who welcomed me and helped me to find my way during my fieldwork -- I am so happy to be a part of highlighting just a small bit of the contributions your communities have been making to the world. I want to especially thank the members of the West Inishowen History and Heritage Society and the members of Eskasoni Cultural Journeys for helping to make this dream a reality. Beyond this the institutions in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki like University College Dublin (UCD) and Unama'ki College deserve a huge thanks for their commitment to supporting my research.

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Preface: Positioning the Project

This dissertation is one piece of a constellation of projects that make up my journey attempting to contribute to intergenerational accountability, healing, and decolonization for all of the nations my family descends from. The learning and research that went into this project took place during a time period where I have been working hard to reconnect with my family, nations, and Indigeneity. While in most cases, I identify as Mi'kmaq and Irish or Mi'kmaq and Celtic in my work, my family is British-Irish on my mother's side and Irish, Acadian and Mi'kmaq on my father's side. As my paternal grandfather lived off reserve prior to starting a second family at Six Nations, and has now passed away, part of this journey continues to be painful, as we still do not have the type of answers that are demanded of most Indigenous scholars regarding claiming right now. For my father, who was raised in foster-care, and for me who was shuttled from place to place by a white pastor from a royalist family and eventually placed me into the child welfare system, we may never have the level of connection that other community members have. Nevertheless, this project is just one part of the way that my family is trying to take up our responsibilities in a good way. I have been extremely privileged to have this project allow me to travel to Mi'kma'ki and Ireland to start building relationships and to learn with community members. This this project also emerged alongside other efforts that I have made as a scholar to address the disconnect between settler discussions of Canada and the many conversations I have had with Indigenous community where Canada is acknowledged as an ongoing British occupation and settler colony existing on unceded territories. While this dissertation does not take up the immense task of attempting to defend community discussions about Canada being a British colony (although I take up this argument in Alderson 2019b), these memories have sat with me while trying to use this project to unsever the connections between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, whose experiences of colonization have become somewhat compartmentalized internationally. It should go without saying, but is a necessary caveat to point out, that I am still learning, that my contributions still do not make me the official voice of any nation or government, and that it would be wrong for any research project to claim to represent the totality of Irish or Mi'kmaq views on any subject matter. I present this work to the world with an honest and humble heart, knowing that any mistakes that are in it are my own, and that the knowledge within it will continue to grow long after this project is complete.

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Chapter 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO MI'KMA'KI AND IRELAND

Introduction

Separated by a mere 3164 kms of ocean from Taqamgug (3780 kms from Unama'ki), Ireland is the second closest location in Europe to Mi'kma'ki (after Iceland). Given their extremely close proximity, it is no wonder that there is a rich and varied historical relationship between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, especially as both regions have been linked through British colonization. Taking on the work of highlighting some of the connections between both regions, this dissertation explores the following research questions: “What are the links between the past and present impacts of colonization in Ireland and colonization in Mi'kma'ki? How might deepening our understandings of these potential links inform accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq?”

Throughout the following chapters, this dissertation explores these areas of inquiry, while arguing that comparatively examining Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences of colonialism offers concrete insights not only into the way that the Irish and the Mi'kmaq have an interwoven past, but also the way that colonial legacies permeate everyday life in the present in both regions. In doing so, this dissertation takes up the following structure: First, it presents a brief overview of the geographical and sociopolitical contexts of both regions to lay out the basis of this comparison (Chapter 1). Second, it details the historical context, comparing key moments in the colonization of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, while presenting a brief discussion of Irish participation in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki (Chapter 2). Third, it moves beyond theoretical discussions about impacts of British colonialism, presenting themes from oral life history interviews with community members in the bordertowns of Ireland and Eskasoni First Nation in Mi'kma'ki (Chapters 3-4). Finally, it concludes by discussing new areas of inquiry while reiterating insights that were shared around the current state of colonialism, postcolonialism, and decolonization in both regions and the role that the Irish and L'nuk¹ might play in supporting each other.

¹ Through this dissertation the singular nouns Mi'kmaw (English) and L'nu (Mikmawisimk) are used interchangeably usually centering the latter (and are also used when referencing language), making use of Mi'kmaw

Table 1:
Research Argument, Questions, Objectives and Strategies of the Dissertation

Main argument: Comparatively examining Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences of colonialism offers concrete insights not only into the way that the Irish and the Mi'kmaq have an interwoven past, but also the way that colonial legacies permeate everyday life in the present in both regions.		
Research Questions 1. What are the links between the past and present impacts of colonization in Ireland and colonization in Mi'kma'ki? 2. How might deepening our understandings of these potential links inform accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq?	Research Objectives 1. To provide community members with a resource that highlights examples of how Irish and Mi'kmaq struggles with colonialism have been linked in the past and present. 2. To present the comparison of Mi'kma'ki and Ireland in a way that intervenes (and provides resources to continue to do so) on representations of Mi'kma'ki which take for granted the idea that the land is subsumed by Canada. 3. To gather oral life histories in both regions that can allow listeners to hear from community members themselves about how colonial legacies continue to impact everyday life as potential sources of co-learning.	Strategies of Inquiry 1. Drawing together sources from Irish and Mi'kmaq scholarship, Chapter 1 and 2 examines historical links between Mi'kma'ki and Ireland by exploring processes and policies that began in Ireland and were applied to Mi'kma'ki by the British as well as the Irish diaspora's role in Mi'kma'ki. 2. Comparatively examining socio-economic, geographic and historical information, Chapter 1 and 2 presents foundational information about both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki while treating them as discrete and sovereign territories. 3. Exploring data from oral life history interviews, Chapter 3, 4 and 5 presents a discussion of some of the current impacts of legacies of colonialism on everyday life in both regions presenting themes raised by community members themselves.

language where possible. Similarly, the plural nouns Mi'kmaq (English) and L'nuk or L'nus (Mikmawisimk) are used when referencing the broader community, nation, or culture.

Laying out the basis for comparison: Terms and debates

Before presenting overviews of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki which can help to inform the comparisons within this dissertation, it is crucial to establish how major terms like colonialism are being operationalized as well as the way that this project intersects (and differs) with other types of comparative colonialisms. Numerous authors offer discussion about how the term colonialism has been taken up in a variety of ways across different disciplines (including history with Stoler, 2007; Indigenous studies with Tuck and Yang, 2012; and Irish studies with Howe, 2002). For example, dictionary definitions continue to take up the term colonization to mean “the action or process of settling among and establishing control over the Indigenous people of an area”, and similarly describe colonialism as “the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically” (Oxford, 2021). Problematically, both of these commonly referenced laymans definitions seem to conflate all types of colonialism with settler colonialism. In both the cases of Mi'kma'ki and Ireland, there is a need to differentiate between settler colonialism - which Wolfe (1999), and others have argued is a structure which perpetuates invasion through the occupation of Indigenous lands by settlers who mean to stay, and other colonial forms such as mercantile colonialism - which were focused on gaining monopoly access to resources for trade by colonial powers and merchants. Kohn's (2017) discussion of the term colony reminds readers that the word comes from the term "colonus" which means farmer, and argues that this is linked to the general transfer of populations to a new territory who settle permanently - however, this is simply not the case in terms of either Mi'kma'ki or Ireland's first waves of colonists who largely stayed temporarily for economic gain and who could (and in some cases were expected to) return back to Europe after a set duration of time. For a more inclusive definition of colonialism that can afford these differences, this dissertation operationalizes the interpretation put forward by Ruane (1992) in his foundational work on Ireland and colonialism:

Colonialism as a process refers to the intrusion into and conquest of an inhabited territory by representatives (formal and informal) of an external power; the displacement of the native inhabitants, (elites and/or commoners) from resources and positions of power; the subsequent exercise of economic, political, and cultural control over the territory and native population by the intruders and their

descendants, in their own interests and in the name and interests of the external power (295).

Throughout this dissertation, I also discuss colonial legacies that emerged after the 1800s when Ireland became part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland - effectively marking its shift from being a colony to joining the core of the empire (while still not quite becoming a postcolonial society). Many of the legacies I discuss here relate to the continuation of the colonial social system which evolved in spite of and in reaction to integration with Great Britain and later movements for union and independence. Ruane (1992) provides a useful definition that has helped to inform my discussion:

A colonial social system [is a society where] conflicts and contradictions associated with an initial colonizing process remain salient for its present structure and functioning... the degree of salience may vary from one time period to another and from one institutional sphere of the system to another (economic, politics, culture) (296).

This definition becomes especially important when discussing the dual legacies of colonialism that emerge after partition in Northern Ireland (which is discussed in more details later on in this section).

The use of colonization as a term of reference is also contested in both Mi'kma'ki and Ireland. In Mi'kma'ki, this contestation is not in reference to the fact that colonization exists, but rather in the ahistorical representations of the Canadian public and state which often present colonization as an event that took place in the past that successfully conquered (and thus legitimately subsumed) the territories of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy. Colonization as a process in Mi'kma'ki remains incomplete, and through the ongoing assertion of historical memory, sovereignty, and resistance by the L'nuk, continues to be unsuccessful in legitimizing the occupation of Indigenous lands (while resorting to violent measures to quell resistance). Furthermore, the way that the Confederacy continues to uphold and articulate the treaties, which are the basis for any legitimate Canadian rights in Mi'kma'ki, as being agreements with the British (with Canada only representing the foreign crown) effectively disrupts Canada's attempts to present itself as a postcolonial inheritor of a settled state.

In Ireland, contentions around whether Ireland can be considered a former colony have been much more widespread. Howe (2009) argues that this debate began primarily among revisionists in the 1980s during the height of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Questions of what constituted colonialism in Ireland, which periods are applicable, and how to navigate the need for specificity continue to be a major discussion in Irish Studies.

Howe (2008) notes that the debate over whether Ireland can be considered a colony has been largely shaped by Irish historians not wanting to be associated with the scholarship being put forward in postcolonial and cultural theory in Ireland, which they view as lacking the specificity needed to be accurate (141). Howe notes that postcolonial theorists have focused on legacies of cultural ideologies and literature, arguing that historiographic approaches concerned with presenting absolute truths of the past are part of a colonial legacy themselves (142). Nevertheless, Howe's article points to more specific concerns throughout his writing which have been taken up by some scholars as reasons why colonialism is not a useful lens of analysis for Ireland. These include issues around a lack of shared definitions of colonialism, the need to address romantic mythologies of Irish anti-imperialism through specific research, questions about why Welsh and Scottish invaders and planters would be viewed as British colonizers, the existence of large-scale transfers of wealth from England to Ireland after the 19th century, the argument that all of the Irish are settlers from one time or another² and the belief that there has been a full erosion of the structures and privileges which once separated settlers from the Irish native. Nash (1999) notes that contemporary anti-colonial approaches to Irish history often fall into the trap of attempting to present visions of a "pure" pre-colonial culture which needs to be recovered from a corrupting colonial influence, while ignoring Irish colonialism abroad and other things such as the Anglo and white European characteristics that set apart the territory from so many other places. Further, Nash (1999) notes that while some scholars like Miller (1998) and Clayton (1998) have found it useful to frame Northern Ireland as a settler colony (or at least, settler colonial society), all of these scholars fail to

² This argument references comparisons that have been made between the arrival of the Anglo-Irish and New English and the waves of settlers documented by the oral traditions written in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of Invasions) - arguing that if the Irish are really descendants of the successive waves of peoples who came to live in ancient Ireland, they are reducible to settlers. This has broader implications for discussions of "the native Irish" and Indigeneity when compared with the historical traditions present within L'nuk society (which reject notions of the Mi'kmaq being ancient settlers of North America).

present any basis for breaking down divisive legacies of colonial categorizations that would allow new generations to no longer be viewed as descendants of "planter stock". Cavanagh (2013) adds to this discussion of detractions from the colonial framing highlighting how there continues to be unresolved disputes. First Cavanagh (2013) discusses debates around whether to call Ireland a colony or kingdom (he argues, as do others like Canny (2001) that it was both). Secondly, Cavanagh (2013) highlights ongoing tensions around the colonial role of the transformation of Gaelic Ireland by examining Canny's (2001) *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* alongside Ohlmeyer's (2012) *Making Ireland English, The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*, the latter which argues that "Catholics, especially the peers, together with many Protestant planters, not only [co-opted] the colonial processes to strengthen their regional power bases but even to subvert the original civilizing agenda" resulting in multiple colonizations (10). Finally, Cavanagh (2013) also notes there are debates around which geographical lens Ireland is viewed in with its relationship to the United Kingdom (should it be the Isles or the Atlantic) - pointing out that some scholars use the proximity of Ireland to Britain as a reason why it could not be considered a colony.³

Howe's (2002) book *Ireland and Empire* also attempts to present an overview of what he considers the six main views held by people in Ireland about both imperialism and colonialism. The first view, held primarily by IRA socialists, argues that British imperialism played a deliberate and unbroken role in modern Ireland, leading to a neocolonial state in the South and a classic colonial enclave in the North which both need to be overthrown (7). The second view takes the position that Britain's role in Ireland is colonial and the unification of all of Ireland and the end to colonial rule in the North is the best pathway forward (ibid). The third view considers that regardless of the current state of Ireland in the British empire, colonial legacies remain the key psychological and cultural battleground in both Northern and Southern Ireland (8). The fourth view argues that British imperialism in the current era is not all pervasive and is largely reactive in Ireland having lost its power over the majority of the world quite some time ago and had [until Brexit which took place after this book was written] become a junior partner in the collective

³ This point echoes some of the discourse that has been used to refuse North American Indigenous nations the right of decolonization.

imperialism of the European Union (ibid). The fifth argument, taken by revisionists, is that Ireland achieved independence in 1921, and that the resulting remainder of counties in Ulster that did not join the Republic, and civil conflict that happened afterwards bears no useful relation to British imperialism or colonialism in the current era (ibid). The sixth and final view that Howe (9) discusses is one taken up by Ulster Unionists who claim their heritage in the British empire as a civilizing force, and Northern Ireland is a key member of the United Kingdom which may or may not see itself as Irish. For references to Ireland being under the British Empire, Howe argues that the English and later British empire were in fact terms used to assert sovereignty from Rome and it was only after the acquisition of the distant colonies that Ireland being a part of what we now think of as the British empire could take place. Howe's (2008) response to the entire debate is laid out in the article: Questioning the (bad) question: 'Was Ireland a colony?', where he argues that the most important task is identifying colonial features and graduated degrees of coloniality in Ireland.

In spite of these many areas of contention around the use of colonialism in reference to Ireland, the main rejection of integrating an analysis of colonialism when examining Ireland is not based on whether Ireland was a colony but is instead focused on *when* Ireland was a colony. Most of the major theorists who have taken part in debating colonialism in Ireland readily admit that Ireland was a colony during the early modern era - pointing to the undeniable presence of plantations, extraction and settler colonialism - and the links that this had to other colonies around the world (Howe, 2009). As Gibney (2008) notes, even Niall Ferguson's pro-imperialist study of the British empire described early-modern Ireland as a laboratory of British colonization (175, citing Ferguson, 2004, 57).

On the other hand, Gibney (2008) notes that medievalists tend to place the starting point of colonization at the Norman invasion and subsequent settlements by English and Welsh settlers in the 13th century (and agrees with this position). Authors like Canny (1988) have also noted the start of colonization to have begun with the Anglo-Normans in the 12th century. This type of argument appears even within texts that put forward the early modern era as the best suited starting point for an analysis of colonialism. For example, in Smyth's (2006) foundational study which lays out information about the plantation era, the author argues that placenames in Dublin demonstrate the evidence of

"Anglo-Norman and Viking colonization" (145). In addition, the Oxford History of the British Empire series' book on Ireland contains an introduction by editor Kevin Kenny (2005) that states:

The Norman Conquest certainly involved colonization and it would be a useful exercise to compare it with latter settlements under Elizabeth, James I, Cromwell, and William of Orange. Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales) penned his prototypical denunciations of Irish barbarity in his *Topographic Hibernica* as early as 1185. Thus, when Edmund Spenser and others followed suit in the sixteenth century, they were drawing on precedents long since established (5).

Nevertheless, arguments against calling the Anglo-Norman invasion a period of colonization generally point to this being a period of annexation, with England's boundaries only beginning to solidify itself through territorial acquisition, as well as the continuation of Gaelic rule in huge segments of Ireland and collaborations between the "invaders" and the native Irish. Further, to characterize the Anglo-Norman invasion as a foreign intervention also runs the risk of ignoring that the entire affair was more of a civil war - as the Anglo-Normans and involvement of the English crown were recruited by the deposed Irish King Mac Murchada (Martin, 2008).

Conflictive views also exist in relation to the application of the term colonial to any discussion of Ireland past the 19th century. McDonough's (2005) introduction to the edited collection *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* addresses this debate by presenting case studies that support the argument that post 19th century Ireland cannot be fully understood without analyzing it through the lens of colonial relations. The resistance against this kind of analysis being applied to post 19th century Ireland, McDonough (2005) argues, is largely the result of historians being anxious about creating resources that could be used by the new IRA (in the North) and the emphasis Southern elites have put on Ireland being a member of Europe rather than a space that could be compared with Global South countries.

In taking a position in these debates about *when* Ireland was a colony, this dissertation teases out three distinct time periods which are relevant to any discussion of Ireland and colonialism (discussed more extensively in Chapter 2), starting with the era between the 1150s and 1500s, which I take as the precolonial era in Ireland where many of the precedents for formal colonialism both in Ireland and abroad were being set by the

English and its agents. Secondly, it identifies the start of the formal colonization period as the 1500s with the rise of the plantation system and settler colonialism. Third, it differentiates this period from the post-1800s era of competing colonial (and anti-colonial) legacies of the Catholic and Protestant communities in Ireland, during the integration of the island into the United Kingdom of Great Britain, struggles for Home Rule, and later partition and independence. In all three of these periods, this dissertation teases out precedents that have impacted both Ireland and other sites of British colonialism. Making a concrete contribution to the debate around whether Ireland should be understood as a previous colony, this dissertation works to highlight some of the ways in which not only was Ireland a colony, but it served as a foundational landscape for the types of policies and colonial strategies that were applied to Mi'kma'ki and other Indigenous nations.

While comparative studies of colonialism themselves remain nothing new, examining the way that core-periphery relationships have shaped colonizing and (incompletely) colonized locations around the world has formed the basis of numerous social, political, and economic research areas including world systems theory, dependency theory, and postcolonial studies. It is worth noting that anxiety around the nation and nation-state as a point of reference and a push for internationalist research continues to be a hallmark of much of comparative colonial research - with some postcolonial scholars going so far as to argue that the nation itself is an exclusionary political grouping that can never truly be decolonial. As this study is specifically rooted in oral history, historical geography, Indigenous studies (if not specifically Mi'kmaw Studies) and Irish Studies, my emphasis on national comparisons likely brings some of the scholars in this field unease. Stoler (2001) notes these tensions around nation-states calls for attention to the politics of comparison and questions of what themes are being defined as commensurable and comparable in research. As this study responds specifically to calls from both Irish and Mi'kmaq scholars to produce a nation-to-nation comparison for the potential of co-learning, it is my hope that the politics of comparison within this project are laid bare from the start. Furthermore, I have done my best to be specific in what I compare between both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki in both my contextual (see Chapter 2) and interview-based chapters (see the thematic subheadings).

Returning to broader questions of specificity, Stoler and McGranahan (2007) note the term *colonie* was used on a huge range of exercises by European powers (although here they are concerned with the post 19th century era) and put forward an argument for examining "imperial formations" which sees global histories of reactive empires engaging in "polities of dislocation... refiguring spaces and populations [... as well as] redistribution of peoples and resources in territories, contiguous and overseas" (9). De Juan and Pierskella's (2017) examination of the field, *Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies: An Introduction*, also emphasizes the reactionary and haphazard processes of colonization arguing that (at least in its early stages) colonization needs to be understood as decision making under incomplete information, often leading to mismatched structural preconditions and colonial policies. These histories result in what Lowe (2015) describes as a colonial archive portraying strategic, permeable, and improvisational processes of colonial governance. Lowe (2015) describes the separation of colonial archives on transatlantic slavery, settler colonialism in the Americas, European liberalization and trade in the East Indies and China as a barrier which prevents researchers from making correlations unless they transgress their organization by reading *across* the separate repositories. Similarly, my research project provides insights into how the precedents that were set in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki have become part of a colonial playbook which is used in reactive situations by colonial states - while transgressing the typical separation of Irish (as European) and Mi'kmaq (as Indigenous) histories.

It is worth noting that any research that goes beyond pan-Indigenous studies of Indigenous nations experiences of colonialism in North America could be qualified as comparative colonial studies - and to this end there is no need to go beyond one settler state's territorial boundaries to do so. While my dissertation may contribute to more broad examinations of global interactions within the British empire outside of this nation-to-nation comparison, it is my hope that it also encourages more comparative research that *does* take a nation to nation point of reference for comparative colonial studies (for example looking at specific nations' experiences within what is called North America by

settlers).⁴ Furthermore, I continue to hope that scholars of postcolonial studies will look to trouble Eurocentric conceptualizations of nationalism which project colonial and capitalist forms onto Indigenous nations whose foundational forms of governance, ways of knowing, and worldviews may actually provide alternative polities to the world.

It is unsurprising given the colonial framework which presumes to subsume all Indigenous nations into "Canada's First Nations" that this study is one of a very few that take up comparison between Mi'kmaq experiences of colonialism and nations outside of North America.⁵ In practice, however, it is necessary to acknowledge there is a plethora of work being done comparatively and collaboratively between the L'nuk and other Indigenous nations both within the continent and around the world (and much of this takes its shape in the form of policy research, Traditional Ecological Knowledge research, and international working groups at the global level). These efforts do not necessarily situate themselves in a comparative colonial studies framework, in spite of involving the work of scholars, community members, and nations experiencing colonialism.

In Irish Studies/History, this dissertation adds to an ongoing body of work comparing Ireland with other sites of British colonialism. Ironically, as Canny (1988) notes, the first comparisons of this nature were actually produced in the writings and communications of colonialists themselves who explicitly framed their work to plant Ireland in relation to the colonization of North America. Canny (1988) writes:

Almost every promoter of English settlement in Ireland, whether in state-sponsored plantations or private colonization, compared their work to that of those contemporaries who were attempting to settle among the North American Indians... and Fynes Moryson [had stated that there were] "no less cautions to be observed" by those engaged in the plantation of Ulster "than if the new colonies were to be led to inhabit among the barbarous Indians (2).

While colonists made this connection quite clearly, somewhat ironically, many Irish scholars sought to further independence for Ireland and to move away from union with the

⁴ This does not mean, however, that there is a lack of utility in comparing settler colonial governments themselves and the way they continue to manufacture consent on occupied territories (see for example Audra Simpson's 2017 article, The ruse of consent and the anatomy of refusal: cases from Indigenous North America and Australia).

⁵ Other examples of scholarship that has been produced in this area include the working group that helped to create Battiste's (2013) book on education, the comparative work done by Baskin (2021) with her kin in Brazil, and the Basque-Mi'kmaq working group that was headed by Hereditary Chief Stephen Augustine (2018).

United Kingdom of Great Britain by articulating their struggles as synonymous with settlers who were gaining rights over governance in Canada (rather than other colonized Indigenous peoples) (Dunne, 1982).

It was only in the post 1950s time period that scholars began to produce work comparing the colonization of Ireland with the colonization of North America, beginning with Quinn's (1958/66) work on Ireland and European expansion. Following Quinn's discussion of the Irish influence on Elizabethan policy, Canny's (1976) article, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A pattern established, 1565-76*, argues that 16th century Ireland laid the precedents for imperial policy in North America. Canny's (1988) book, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800*, expanded on this argument in great detail highlighting the way the plantation system was transplanted from Ireland to America (and making brief mention of the "Viscount Falkland" who had plantations in Ireland and Newfoundland/Mi'kma'ki). Canny's (1988) book corresponded with the rise of the debates around Ireland being a colony, and came slightly after a lesser known contribution to the field of political theory that was made in a doctoral dissertation by Simon (1986), who comparatively examined settlers as "fragment communities" who imposed internal colonialisms on native communities in Canada, the United States, Ireland, and Northern Ireland. Simon's (1986) discussion of colonialism starts with the Anglo-Norman invasion and works its way through a discussion of a wide range of policies including the Indian Act in Canada. Continuing the trend of producing comparative research with settlers, the 1980s also saw research produced by Auger (1981) focused on the stability of Francophone-Anglophone and Catholic-Protestant populations in New Brunswick which did not engage with their joint investment in settler colonialism in Mi'kma'ki.

By the late 1990s, scholars in postcolonial studies like David Lloyd (1999), examining economic and population flows from Ireland to other countries that were colonized by Britain, were putting forward calls for more comparative work to be done. Over the past 30 years, there has been an expansion of comparative colonial studies with Ireland, examining the relationships between Ireland and India (Foley and O'Connor, 2006), the Benghali famine (Bender, 2007), Israel and South Africa (Akensen, 1992), Zimbabwe (Weitzer, 1990), as well as further writings on English colonization of the

Americas and Ireland (Smyth, 2006).⁶ Finally, McDonough's (2005) book, *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, explicitly takes up some of the more well-known approaches towards comparative colonial studies.

Outside of Simon's (1986) dissertation, however, any potential comparative discussion of Irish-Indigenous relations in North America was left relatively untouched until Morton and Wilson released the book, *Irish and Scottish Encounters with Indigenous Peoples*, in 2013. Morton and Wilson call for further comparative research in this area with special attentiveness to the complicated role played by the Irish. Most recently, comparisons between Irish and Indigenous experiences of colonization emerged from Peace and Conflict Studies, with Sean Byrne, a consultant in the Northern Ireland peace process both in the Republic of Ireland and the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee co-authoring (with Aziz Rahman and Mary Anne Clarke) the article, *The Art of Breaking People Down: The British Colonial Model in Ireland and Canada*, in 2017, which explicitly looks at commensurable experiences of dehumanization, religion, apartheid, localized nationalism, discriminatory laws, and residential institutions while arguing that colonization persists (but remains incomplete) in both Canada and Ireland.

In adding to the existing comparative work being done by Irish scholars, this dissertation addresses gaps that are left behind by the lack of comparisons between specific Indigenous nations in what is known as Canada and Ireland - something that necessitates inclusion of actual Indigenous voices and representations of territories.⁷ Furthermore, whereas many comparative colonial studies projects make broad strokes based on examining statistics, archival data, or other forms of records devoid of living human context, my comparative research is grounded in an effort to connect current articulations of experiences of colonial legacies in everyday life. While it still engages with various forms of data to present the context of comparing Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, my dissertation intentionally treats oral histories as its primary source and other data as secondary to the contribution made by linking the living histories that are present in both regions.

⁶ Smyth (2006) notes that five of the eight main architects of English settlements and colonization in Munster had connections with English overseas enterprises in America and Asia, representing that coalition of government, gentry, and mercantile interests which laid the foundations of the early British Empire.

⁷ Returning to Table 1, by representations here, I mean that this is the first study that I am aware of that attempts to articulate this type of comparison between Ireland as a distinct territory, and Mi'kma'ki as a distinct territory (rather than Ireland and Canada) and the following section demonstrates what that can look like in comparative research.

From Pre-Colonial Roots to a Colonized Relationship

It is worth noting that the relationship between the Irish and the L'nuk (the people of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy) could very well have begun long before the colonial period in Mi'kma'ki, with the arrival of the Norse from Greenland, and the establishment of the settlement known as Vinland. Vinland is estimated to have been established around 1000 AD, in the region now known as L'Anse aux Meadows, in Taqamgug (Newfoundland). The integration of Norse and Irish populations is well known to have flourished during this time period and to have preceded the colonial period in Ireland, resulting in mixed settlements in Greenland and the Faroe Islands (Føroya landsstýri, 2020; Icelandic Times, August 28, 2017). Vinland, which is thought to have been established by Lief Erickson (the son of Erik the Red), is widely believed to have been abandoned because of war with the local Indigenous nations (Government of Canada, 2003). While it may be true that skirmishes took place between the Norse populations and Indigenous nations like the L'nuk or Beothuk, it may also be the case that this belief is an ahistoric projection of contemporary Eurocentrism onto the past – propagating the belief that Indigenous civilizations did not have the capacity or ability to absorb European travelers into their societies, which contradicts much of the historical data we have around the Mi'kmaq history of diplomacy, and the hospitality shown by various Indigenous host-nations to European arrivals on the continent. There is also evidence that the Norse may have hosted the L'nuk in Europe, with books like Thomas Osborne's (1747), *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, stating that local records showed that Indigenous peoples from Baccaloas (the Basque name for Newfoundland) were known to have arrived at Lubeck, Germany in 1153. Despite the belief that Vinland was a failed settlement, in 2016, a second site which could establish a potential longer history of Norse settlement in North America was recently found at Point Rosee in Taqamgug (Farand, 2016). Whether or not the Irish arrived with the Norse, the first confirmed arrival of people from the Celtic Isles in Mi'kma'ki also preceded the start of colonization, with Mi'kmaq oral histories documenting the arrival of Henry St. Clair, who “landed in Guysborough Harbour and travelled to Pictou and Stellarton” in 1398 (Cape Breton University, 2007).

A century later, Eurocentric misportrayals by John Cabot (1497) and Jacques Cartier (1534) who both claimed to discover Mi'kma'ki, hid the fact that the Mi'kmaq were highly

politically organized, adept international diplomats and fluent in European languages like Basque (Trigger, 1978). Frequent visitors from Europe were already common in Mi'kma'ki for centuries prior to these claims, with Basque, Portuguese, Breton, and Norman fishers visiting the coast of Mi'kma'ki to fish and trade. When the French and British colonists arrived to Mi'kma'ki, they found a robust society, governing as a Confederacy of many Mi'kmaq nations, treaty-making using wampum and participating in international diplomacy with neighboring Algonquin nations (which laid the groundwork for the later establishment of the Wabanaki Confederacy). Unlike representations of colonial history which claim that Indigenous nations had no sense of territorial sovereignty, the Confederacy not only had established boundaries with its neighbours, but had a highly trained political class dedicated to Indigenous law and especially treaty law (the Pu'tus) (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007). The international diplomacy of the L'nuk also served to warn them of the coming invasion, with the Confederacy aware of what was happening with the invasion of other nations in the South of the continent. Furthermore, oral traditions from Mi'kmaq medicine people documented prophetic visions announcing the arrival of an era when Europeans would show up to Mi'kma'ki en masse (Augustine-McIsaac, 2020).

After the arrival of French colonists, the Mi'kmaq sent leaders (sagmaws) like Messamouet to Europe to deal with issues of trade and politics, helping to establish a concordat with the Vatican in Rome by 1610, which gave the Confederacy recognition as a vassal state. The recognition afforded by the concordat should have established the legitimacy of the Confederacy's sovereignty as a Christian territory, preventing Euro-Christian invasions that were taking place at the time under the pretense of conquering heathen territories via the authority of papal bulls (Henderson, 1997). Unfortunately, when the English began to invade Mi'kma'ki, the recognition of the concordat was limited due to England's rejection of Roman authority that had solidified itself through the reformation in Europe (Lydon, 2008). The refusal to recognize Mi'kmaq-Catholic rights, the subsequent intercolonial war with France, and centuries of British colonial settlement on land gained through genocide and white supremacy in Mi'kma'ki, has allowed Europeans and their descendants to normalize erroneous representations in cartography, geography, historical narratives and colonial law that aim to erase the existence of Mi'kma'ki as a sovereign

territory (Alderson, 2019b; Christmas and Cormier, 2017; Scott, 2016; Lawrence, 2002; Paul, n.d., a).

Whatever the pre-colonial relationship was between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki had been, the Irish arriving to continent after the 1500s were entrenched in the British invasions and seizures of land that took place during the so-called Age of Discovery.⁸ The plantation system the English had been developing in Ireland from 1556 could be seen as marking the birth of British settler colonialism itself, with the plantation system and by the 1600s the logic of replacing/removing Indigenous people becoming the basis for the actions taken by the British and their allies in the Americas. From the start of this transplantation to the east coast of the continent (the first colonies being just south of Mi'kma'ki), the Irish were a main population used to transplant settler colonialism. In the first half of the 1600s, many of the communities came from Ulster (where I did my oral history fieldwork for this project) including a mix of Ulster-Scots, loyalist native-Irish, and Irish mercenaries (Betit, 1994).

By the 18th and 19th century, as more Irish populations began to arrive to Mi'kma'ki, the L'nuk continued to develop relationships with the Irish, both within and outside of the context of Irish participation in colonization: For example, Anderson (2000), notes that oral histories indicate that it was common practice for L'nuk communities to take in Irish babies that were at risk of being abandoned for economic or cultural reasons (when born to unmarried parents). While there are many stories yet to be uncovered about Irish-Mi'kmaq kinship in Mi'kma'ki, the fact remains that the Irish presence in Mi'kma'ki has been primarily colonial, in spite of the parallel struggles that could have been exposed to forge international allyships between both regions.

Beyond addressing the historic foundations of Irish-Mi'kmaq relations, in order to build capacity for proper engagement with the comparisons in this study, the next section provides a cursory introduction to the sociopolitical, economic, and geographic character of both regions. It is worth noting, that part of addressing the need to deepen the capacity for accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq is taken up

⁸ After the era known as the Flight of the Wild Geese, when Irish Jacobites fled to France at the end of the Williamite war (the 1690s), numerous generations of the Irish (known as "wild geese") fled to work as mercenaries for other colonial powers, who undoubtedly used the diaspora to help colonize other regions as well.

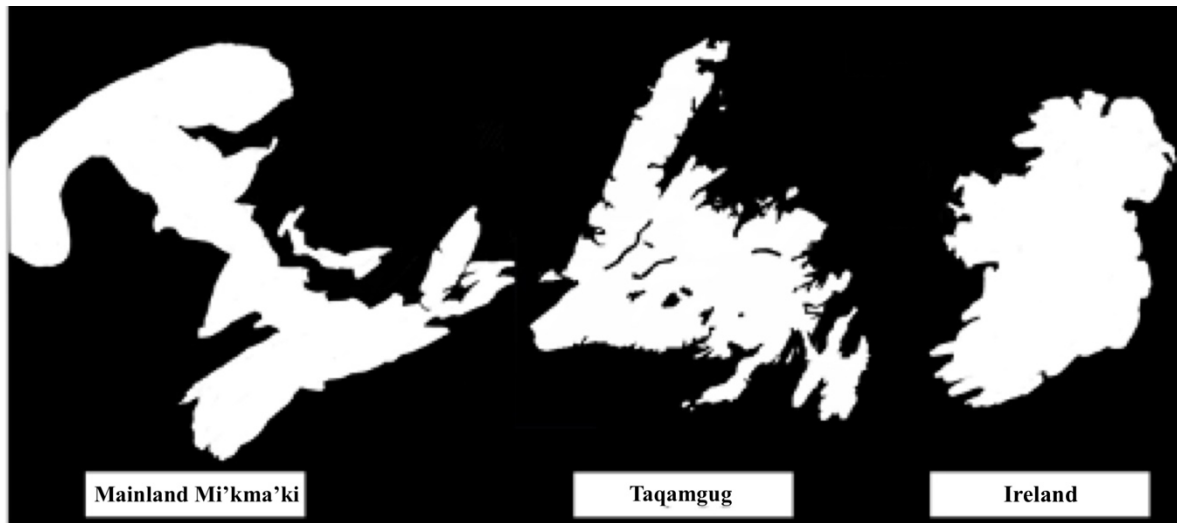
in the way that I approach this work, affording Mi'kma'ki the same level of political recognition that has been afforded to Ireland. For those who may be used to discussing the territories of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy as if they are subsumed by Canada, the next section also serves to demonstrate what a true nation to nation/region to region comparison of Mi'kma'ki and Ireland might look like if Mi'kmaq perspectives on their territory were centered (rather than colonial politics of recognition).

Mi'kma'ki: A Geographical Introduction

As keepers of the Eastern gateway of North America, the Mi'kmaq Confederacy have, for centuries, been the point of first contact with numerous nations arriving to the continent. Mi'kma'ki, the unceded territory of the Confederacy, is one of the largest land bases held by any Indigenous Confederacy in the Americas, and stretches from what settlers refer to as Maine, through Nova Scotia, New Brunswick (North of the St. John River) and up to the Gaspé Peninsula on the mainland, and also includes Newfoundland Island (Paul, n.d., b). Mi'kma'ki's territory is significantly large, at well over 200,000 kms² (108,860 kms² being Newfoundland Island).⁹ In comparison, it is over twice as large as Ireland (see figure a), and two-thirds the size of Scotland, England, and the entire island of Ireland combined.

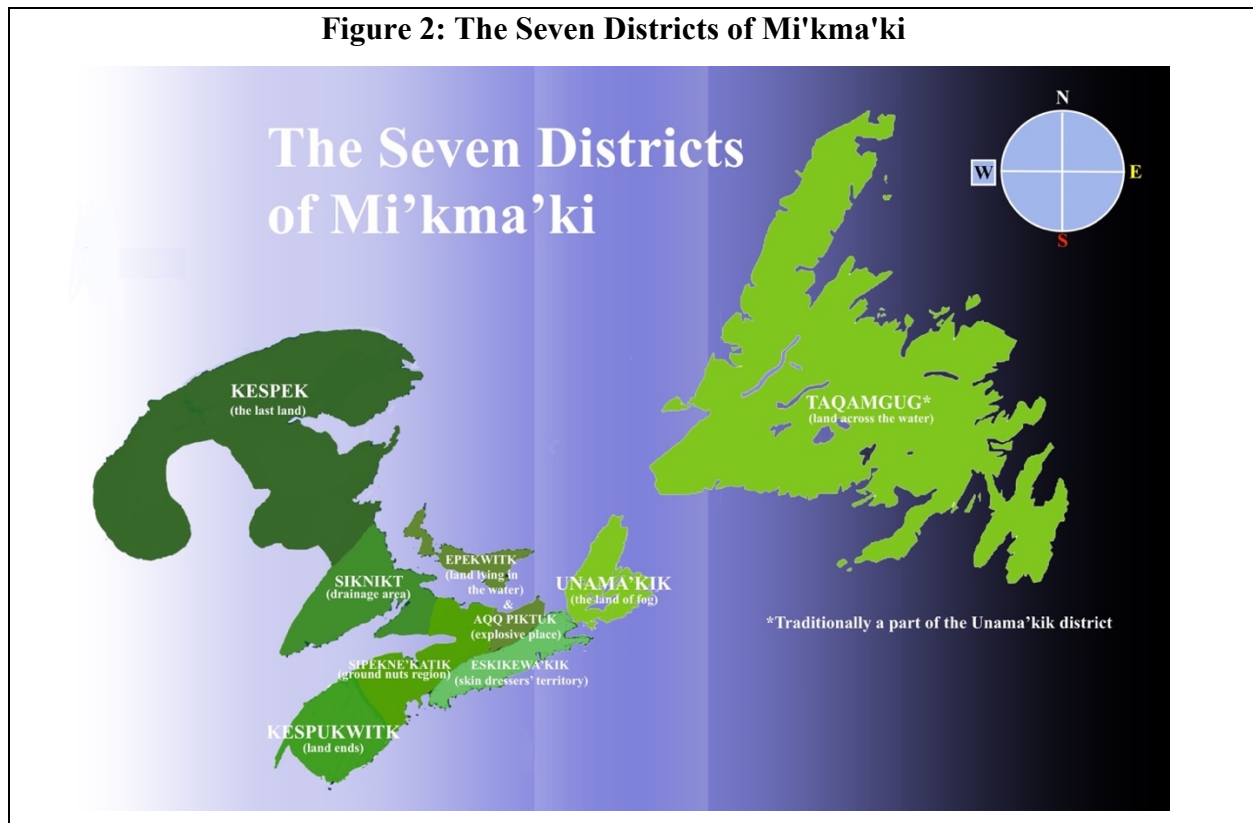
⁹ Statistics Canada data (2016) was used to calculate the approximate land base of Mi'kma'ki, combining the areas demarcated to each of the provinces, and deducting approximately half of the land base from the amount given for New Brunswick. In addition, data from the Aroostook band of Micmacs was used as well.

Figure 1: Relative Size of Mi'kma'ki and Ireland



Note: To create this visual aid, I first produced a composite of satellite images of all three land masses at the same scale, bringing them side by side before tracing them with guidance from traditional maps to match the boundaries of Mi'kma'ki (see Paul, 2017).

Figure 2: The Seven Districts of Mi'kma'ki



In Mi'kma'ki, regional place names are imbued with rich geographical and historical knowledge (Paul, n.d., b).¹⁰ The names of the Seven Districts of Mi'kma'ki contain information not only about geography and history, but also about governance. For example, Kespukwitk, which roughly translates as "Land Ends" indicates the territorial boundary to Mi'kma'ki in the South, while Kespek, or "the Last Land" indicates the territorial boundary in the North. In the South, Sipekne'katik, gets its place name from the Ground Nuts (Wild Potatoes) which grew in the district. Eskikewa'kik or "Skin Dressers Territory" is named for being the region where people were able to hunt and gather skins and furs. The district of Epekwitk Aqq Piktuk, which includes both Prince Edward Island (indicated by a place name which roughly translates to, "Lying in the Water") and Aqq Piktuk, which translates to "The Explosive Place" on mainland Nova Scotia is also part of a larger history of place names. Epekwitk's name not only indicates the small island's geography, but also links to creation stories, about the island being created from the remnants of an ice vessel that was created by the L'nuk medicine person Sebanees to carry animals and the L'nuk through a global deluge (Whitehead, 1991), or by the Great Spirit placing the left over red clay into the water after creating the Mi'kmaq and Glooscap (the first human made by creator, who is credited in L'nuk oral histories as a protector, co-creator and transformer of the natural world) (Dodge, 2017; Sylliboy, 2000). Piktuk or "The Explosive Place" is a region that had large deposits of coal coupled with methane in the area which is known to leak from the ground and shoreline, causing explosive gas clouds to emerge (Nova Scotia Museum, 2020). Sikniqt or "The Drainage Area" is a district with an isthmus which connects Nova Scotia to the rest of the continent, and has both fresh water and sea water marshes, historically important dense forests that provided the L'nuk with shelter in the winter, and accessible portage routes.

Just off the mainland is Unama'ki or "The Land of Fog" named after the engulfing fog that continues to descend on the island frequently (as seen below). Taqamgug¹¹ (Land Across the Water) (Marshall, Marshall, and Bartlett, 2010), was originally governed as part of the same district as Unama'ki until the 19th century, and was shared with the Beothuk

¹⁰ There is a wonderful resource for Mi'kmaq placenames at even more scales than are presented here which draws on L'nuk oral history presented in the Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas (<https://placenames.mapdev.ca/>).

¹¹ This dissertation uses the older spelling for Taqamgug, which is used interchangeable with the newer (more commonly used) spelling Ktaqmkuk, both words have the same pronunciation.

prior to the remaining Beothuk clandestinely merging with the Mi'kmaq when the colonists tried to hire the L'nuk to kill the Beothuk off (Hopper, April 18, 2013). Located in the Appalachian region in the mainland, and the Boreal Shield region in Taqamgug, the territory boasts mountain ranges, dense forests, freshwater and seawater waterways, numerous islands, and a wide range of animals, plants and sea creatures who are a part of a reciprocal ecosystem that the Mi'kmaq have lived in since time immemorial.



Figure 3: Unama'ki Covered in Fog in the Morning, October 2019

Under colonial law in Canada, statistics gathered about the Confederacy's population include only those people who are able to claim 'Indian-status' (i.e., recognition of membership in their nation determined by the colonial state). By this method of counting, the Confederacy had a population of 60,545 at the time of the last Canadian federal census (with 6,307 in Quebec, 8,438 in New Brunswick, 1,327 in Prince Edward Island, 16,723 in Nova Scotia, and 2,7750 in Newfoundland Island) (Statistics Canada, 2016a).

Additionally, there are another 1,450 L'nuk, recognized by the United States government in the Aroostook Band on Presque Isle in Maine. Interestingly, the 2016 Canadian census, also documented that 168,480 people claimed Mi'kmaq ancestry (with only 17,330 of them living on reserve) (Statistics Canada, 2016b). If we were to count the actual population of all residents in Mi'kma'ki, however, there are over 2 million people who call Mi'kma'ki

their home.

Historically, the strategic and economic importance of Mi'kma'ki (for military, and various industries such as fishing, logging, mining, and hunting) has led to centuries of intercolonial fighting over non-Indigenous claims to the territory, and the portrayal of the territory as being subsumed by Canada. This misrepresentation of Mi'kma'ki remains crucial to prevent Canada from being seen by the international community as landlocked (especially if it were to acknowledge its other unceded coast in what is known as British Columbia). Economically, Mi'kma'ki's main industries continue to include the production of land-based resources including agriculture, food manufacturing, oil, mining and natural gas extraction, and ship making. Additionally, the region's economy is heavily linked to the Canadian defense industry (it is home to over 30% of Canada's main defense corporations, including the largest military defense contractor) (Government of Halifax, 2020; Nova Scotia Business Inc., 2020). In 2018, the GDP of Mi'kma'ki (which was subsequently claimed as part of Canada's GDP) sat at around \$100 billion CAD in 2018, comparable to that of a country like Ghana (The World Bank 2020a).¹² Although this is substantially lower than the GDP of Ireland (478.46 billion CAD in 2018) (The World Bank, 2020b), it is still notable given that the territory contains less than a tenth of the population density of Ireland (3.9/km² versus 72/km² respectively).¹³ While many of the industries which produced this GDP in Mi'kma'ki are likely to decrease due to changing circumstances for extractive industries (for example the current crash of the oil industry during the COVID-19 pandemic) (Roberts, 2020), Mi'kma'ki arguably has many of the preconditions (lack of overpopulation, agriculturally fertile land, access to freshwater and seawater fishing, large forests, large open space for wind power, solar power, and sea power) which could allow its residents to have an easier transition away from relying on extractive industries than many other regions in the continent.

Politically, the Mi'kmaq Confederacy spent centuries coordinating sustainable governance of the seven districts via district Sagmaws (chiefs) and a Grand Chief, who would periodically meet in a grand council, the Mi'kmawey Mawio'mi's (Mcmillan, 1996).

¹² Statistics Canada as well as provincial resources were used to calculate the current GDP of Mi'kma'ki, as well as prominent industries. Ireland's GDP was converted into Canadian dollars.

¹³ Population density was used by combining provincial information and comparing it to the combined population density information for the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland respectively.

While the grand council has taken on more of a role as spiritual leadership in the past decades, it still represents a separate political body that exists in spite of colonial rule in the region. Transnational diplomacy also allowed the L'nuk to work through territorial conflicts and broker peaceful relationships with neighboring Algonquin nations, the Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, and Penobscot (Leavitt, 1995). Together, as members of the Wabanaki Confederacy or "the people of the dawn", these nations have had crucial impacts on global history and continue to come together when there is need to protect the Eastern doorway of North America. Like the place names of the districts, the transmission of traditional knowledge about land and relationships through language are interwoven into Indigenous legal and political orders. This can also be seen at a local level, where the Mi'kmaq nations use the clan system as a vehicle for intergenerational transmission of important responsibilities and relationships to the beings the L'nuk live with, and in doing so become closer to embodying the principals of netukulimk (Government of Nova Scotia, 2012). While "netukulimk" does not have a precise translation in English, generally it indicates the need for maintaining balance and connectedness with all beings for the benefit of current and future generations (Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources, 2020). Many of the community leaders, pipe carriers, Elders, and hereditary chiefs, take up active roles in supporting language resurgence, transmission of knowledge, and Mi'kmaq governance in ways that support restoring netukulimk.

While L'nuk communities continue to live out broader (parallel) governance system, securing alternative pathways for Mi'kma'ki beyond colonial rule, Canada refuses to acknowledge the Confederacy's traditional governance structures, or the existence of its many nations, instead using paternalistic terms by calling them "bands". There are currently 30 Mi'kmaq bands in Mi'kma'ki (Cape Breton University, 2020a) (see Table 1), each representing reserved lands that Mi'kmaq communities now live in. Canada's refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy is further cemented by the fact that membership within these bands remains regulated by the Canadian government, rather than communities themselves (although some are developing community-led citizenship codes to try to change this). While "bands" do have a co-relation to the nations that make up the Confederacy, the colonial government limits their recognition of Mi'kmaq governance to allowing participation in "band councils" who are forced to operate under

Canadian rather than Mi'kmaq laws and jurisdiction. Band council members who take up these roles balance their commitments to community members while also fighting for resources via the 'Indian Act' and other paternalistic legislation. Furthermore, the Canadian government takes contradictory approaches towards the limits of band council jurisdiction by both expecting them to only govern land within reserves, while also treating them as if they have sole authority to extinguish Indigenous rights to land outside of reserves during modern treaty processes. Through the reserve system, Mi'kmaq communities have been allocated just 0.15% of the Confederacy's land (roughly 302.1176 of the 200,000 kms²),¹⁴ and even these lands are considered under Canadian jurisdiction. Assertions of L'nuk sovereignty over Mi'kma'ki inside and outside of reserves continue to be met with violent resistance from settlers, Canadian police, Canadian military, and judicial suppression in Canadian courts. As a result, new political organizations have been formed to allow political organizing between band communities, such as the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, the Union of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq, and the Mi'kmaq Confederacy of Prince Edward Island.

While the Canadian and United States governments solely negotiates with band governments to ensure its paternalistic control, the many nations of the Confederacy have been extremely resilient in maintaining strong levels of collaboration between band governments and traditional governance structures, producing a necessary hybridity between traditional and colonial governance in the current era. Furthermore, L'nuk communities actively resist encroachment from the colonial state, while also continuing to live out the peace and friendship treaties with the British Crown, improving Canadian society and helping to transform the Canadian state. For example, L'nu scholar Pamela Palmater has contributed to Canadian governance as a Senior Director at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in the areas of treaties, land claims and self-government, while at the same time leading a long career as an educator and making room for bringing forward Indigenous voices holding the colonial state and the public accountable (Assembly of First Nations, 2020; Palmater, 2019-present). The L'nuk are also working to transform the Canadian government from the inside with Jaimie Battiste becoming the first L'nu MP to

¹⁴ Lands allocated to reserves were calculated using the data within the Cape Breton University's (2021) demographic profiles for Mi'kmaq First Nations available on the Unama'ki College website,

sit in Canadian parliament, engaging other MP's in Mi'kmaq language before speaking in English (CBC News, December 12, 2019). Canadian educational institutions continue to rely heavily on the expertise of community leaders like Hereditary Chief Stephen Augustine, Elder Albert Marshall, and the late Murdena Marshall. At the international level, Mi'kmaq scholars like Marie Battiste and Cyndy Baskin have worked directly to advise the United Nations on Indigenous issues, continuing the long tradition of shaping global politics.

Table 2: Mi'kmaq Band Names (by Mi'kmaq district and colonial demarcations)

Kespek District (demarcated by Canada/the U.S.A as part of Quebec, New Brunswick and Maine)

1. Listukujk (Listuguj)
2. La Nation Micmac de Gespeg
3. Keskapekiaq (Micmacs of Gesgapegiag, Maria)
4. Eskinuopitijik (Burnt Churchj) First Nation (Burnt Church, Tabusintac, Pokemouche reserves)
5. Metepna'kiaq (Red Bank First Nation (Red Bank, Big Hole Tract, Northern Indian Point reserves)
6. Oqpi'kanjik (Eel River Bar) First Nation (Eel River, Moose Meadows, Indian Ranch reserves)
7. Natuaqaneq (Eel Ground) First Nation (Eel Ground, Big Hole Tract, Renous reserves)
8. Ke'kwapskuk (Pabineau) First Nation
9. Aroostook (Presque Isle) Band of Micmacs

Siknikt District (demarcated by Canada as part of New Brunswick)

10. Elsipogtog (Big Cove) First Nation
11. Puktusk (Buctouche) First Nation
12. Amlamkuk Kwesawe'k (Fort Folly) First Nation
13. L'nui Menikuk (Indian Island) First Nation

Epekwitk Aqq Piktuk (demarcated by Canada as part of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia)

14. Lennox Island First Nation
15. Epekwitk (Abegweit) First Nation (Morell, Rocky Point, Scotchfort reserves)
16. Puksaqte'kne'katik (Pictou Landing) First Nation (Fisher's Grant, Boat Harbour, Merigomish Harbour, and Franklin Manor reserves)

Sipekne'katik (demarcated by Canada as part of Nova Scotia)

17. Kampalijek (Annapolis Valley) First Nation (Cambridge and St. Croix reserves)
18. Pesikik (Glooscap) First Nation
19. Sipekne'katik (Shubenacadie) First Nation (Sipekne'katik, Indian Brook, Pennal, and New Ross reserves)
20. We'kopekwitk (Millbrook) First Nation (Millbrook, Beaver Lake, Truro, Cole Harbour, Sheet Harbour Reserves)

Kespukwitk (demarcated by Canada as part of Nova Scotia)

21. L'setkuk (Bear River) First Nation
22. Malikiaq (Acadia) First Nation (Gold River, Medway, Ponthook Lake, Wildcat, and Yarmouth reserves)

Eskikewa'kik (demarcated by Canada as part of Nova Scotia)

23. Paqtnkek (Afton) First Nation (Pomquet - Paq'tnkek, Franklin Manor, and Summerside reserves)

Unama'ki (demarcated by Canada as part of Nova Scotia)

24. Potloteq (Chapel Island and Malagawatch reserves)
25. Eskisoqnik (Eskasoni) First Nation (Eskasoni and Malagawatch reserves)
26. Maupeltuk (Membertou) First Nation (Membertou, Caribou Marsh, Sydney, Malagawatch reserves)
27. Wagmitkuk (Wagmatcook) First Nation (Wagmatcook, Margaree and Malagawatch reserves).
28. We'koqma'q (Waycobah) First Nation (Whycocomagh and Malagawatch reserves).

Taqamgug (demarcated by Canada as Newfoundland Island)

29. Miawpukek (Conne River) First Nation
30. Qalipu (Caribou) First Nation

Unceded, Unconquered, Unsurrendered: Unpacking the Cultural Misunderstanding Thesis in Mi'kma'ki

It is perhaps the most concrete evidence of the current colonial occupation in Mi'kma'ki, that until this point there has never been a proper geographical treatment presenting what it would look like to examine the territory's demographic, economic, political, and physical geographies as separate from Canada. In order to provide an informed context while comparing and examining linkages between Mi'kma'ki and Ireland, this type of representation is necessary. It is also more historically accurate to examine Mi'kma'ki in this way. For over 250 years, the colony now known as Canada has sought to assert its jurisdiction over Mi'kma'ki through forcible displacement, dispossession, and assimilation (Paul, 2007). Canada's sovereignty in Mi'kma'ki has relied upon uncritical participation by Canadians in enforcing unilateral policy decisions onto Indigenous populations to uphold the supposed "rule of law" (Palmer, April 24, 2019). The use of the Indian Act and other legislation to replace, erase, and criminalize pre-existing legal orders of Mi'kmaq sovereignty has resulted in a long history of dehumanization, physical violence, and forced assimilation (Palmer, 2011). Most recently, the state has focused on using celebratory narratives to continue the paternalistic positioning it has taken in the past, presenting the Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous nations as members of "Canada's First Nations", rather than as separate sovereign powers with territories that Canadians are guests on (Elliot, January 7, 2018). In Mi'kma'ki, Canada continues to attempt to forcibly assert its jurisdiction over L'nuk lands and waters, despite ongoing claims by the Mi'kmaq Confederacy that the land remains unceded and unsurrendered.

In 2016, Nova Scotia's provincial government filed a legal brief in response to the Sipekne'katik Mi'kmaq nation's request for a judicial review of the provincial permits that approved the Alton Gas natural gas storage project. In it, the Crown claimed that the Mi'kmaq were "a conquered people" and that they had no duty to consult the Mi'kmaq Confederacy regarding land use or natural resource projects (Roache, November 18, 2016). The fall-out from this event resulted in the Crown's lawyer, Alex Cameron, who wrote the brief, being rebuked by the province and presented to the public as having acted independently in making these statements. Disputing this claim, Alex Cameron sought to have the records of communication pertaining to the case unsealed and the government

took 3 years to approve this request (APTN News, July 18, 2019). In the interim, when public institutions, including public schools at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels worked towards reconciling themselves to the treaties the Crown has with the Mi'kmaq through land acknowledgements, the office of Aboriginal Affairs of Nova Scotia was caught instructing schools in Halifax to remove the term “unceded” (Brake, November 11, 2018). To avoid ambiguity, ceded is defined as "a verb that can be defined as to transfer, make over, or surrender (something, esp. territory or legal rights) the lands were ceded by treaty... [or] to allow or concede (a point in an argument, etc.)" (Random House, 2019). Even though the government and many academics note that land acknowledgements aren't seen as having legal standing (Bundale, January 28, 2019), the Crown agency and school board lawyers stated that “the word is so heavy and without the education a lot of people don't understand what the word is” (Brake, November 11, 2018). Rather than seeing this as an opportunity for increasing literacy around Canada's responsibilities to the Mi'kmaq Confederacy by removing this term from land acknowledgements, the colonial school boards were able to use words like “traditional”, which imply that Mi'kma'ki existed in a past era rather than as a current parallel sovereign legal order. The Canadian government has obvious reasons for promoting this past-tense acknowledgement of sovereignty. The interpretation that the land is Crown-owned continues to be the principal that underpins Canada's actions in Mi'kma'ki. As the struggle in Sipekne'katik continued, Mi'kmaq land defenders Kuku'wis Wowkis, Kiju Muin and Thunderbird Swooping Down Woman brought forward the request for the Nova Scotian Supreme Court to make a formal acknowledgement of Mi'kma'ki remaining unceded in the province, in response to them being brought to trial for “violating a Canadian injunction” by protesting Alton Gas (McSheffrey, 2019). To this day, in spite of the claims that land acknowledgements are only symbolic, the Supreme Court has refused to do so. After more than five years of Canadian officials struggling against the work of land defenders living near the site, who have worked tirelessly to physically and legally challenge the unilateral imposition of the Alton Gas project (Treaty Truck House, 2018), the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia has deemed that the provincial approval of this project was a “palpable and overriding error” (Grant, March 24, 2020). In particular, in March 2020, it was found that Alton Gas had not engaged with Indigenous rights or treaty rights during any of its consultations, or

adequately consulted Mi'kmaq communities, and that the project could represent a mass violation of the Fisheries Act and Mi'kmaq treaty rights (ibid). While this may seem like progress, less than a month later in April 2020, Canada dismissed a request from the Mi'kmaq Confederacy for a judicial review of the province of Prince Edward Island making a private sale of 150 hectares of unceded Mi'kmaq land, without any consultation whatsoever with Mi'kmaq communities (CBC News, April 23, 2020). The Supreme Court of Canada has refused to provide a legal justification for this decision, and has upheld the right of the Crown to selectively ignore the duty to consult during land use decisions (a common interpretation of Section 35 in the planning industry) (ibid).

In 2020, the fact that Canada continues to think Mi'kma'ki is rightfully under its jurisdiction was highlighted by the large influx of settler violence towards Mi'kmaq fisher people. In response, many Mi'kmaq community members and allies directed attention to the Treaty of 1752, and the Canadian court cases that enshrined the Mi'kmaq right to a moderate livelihood. Nevertheless, there remains a huge lack of treaty education in Canadian education in Mi'kma'ki. The 1752 Treaty of Peace and Friendship is only one of many that were made with the Crown, but it is crucial because it has no discussion of surrender, or ceding sovereignty to the British Crown and its agents (Cape Breton University, 2020c). It specified that on October 1st every year, the Crown would deliver gifts to the L'nuk, and there would be an annual renewal of the treaty's commitment to peace and friendship. In contemporary times, since 1986, leaders of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy have celebrated this day as "Treaty Day", renewing the treaty with the crown in Halifax as a measure of good faith (Wi'kipatmu'k Mi'kmawey, 2020). However, the written records of other treaties held by the Canadian government, document the intent of using treaties to ensure the surrender of Mi'kma'ki to the English. For example, the treaty of 1725 (ratified in 1726) was signed between the English and the Penobscot, Naridgwack, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and contains claims that these nations resided with "his majesties territories" and further states:

"Whereas, His Majesty King George, by concession of the Most Christian King, made at the Treaty of Utrecht, is become the rightful possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia ... do, in the name and behalf of the Nations we represent, acknowledge His said Majesty King George's jurisdiction and dominion over the territories of the said Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and make our submission

to His said Majesty in as ample manner as we have formerly done to the King of France.”

and also

“If any controversy or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on either side no private revenge shall be taken for the same but proper application shall be made to His Majesty's government upon the place for remedy or induce thereof in a due course of justice. We submit ourselves to be ruled and governed by His Majesty's laws and desiring to have benefit of the same” (Cape Breton University, 2020b; Government of Nova Scotia, 2020).

This document, and the later 1761 treaty, make claims that the Mi'kmaq acknowledged King George's "Jurisdiction and Dominion over the Territories of said Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie [sic] and make our Submission to his Said Majesty in as ample a manner as We have formerly done to the Most Christian King" (Cape Breton University, 2020d). While these documents have let many settler scholars and colonial agents feel justified in asserting full and unilateral Canadian jurisdiction over Mi'kma'ki and the L'nuk, the 1725 document directly contradicts the oral testimony of Sagouarram, the leader of the Penobscot, who was present at the original gathering in Boston (Romeyn Brodhead, 1855; Paul, n.d., c). Written records of Sagouarram testimony recount that the written treaty was verbally translated to all leaders present, and that he himself verbally clarified with the governor that this was not a treaty of surrender, ceding of land, or acknowledgement of the English King's authority over Wabanaki territories, but was, instead, a peace treaty (ibid). This directly contradicts the notion that the treaty's contents could have been lost in translation or the result of a cultural misunderstanding. Considering that oral traditions were the main vehicle for transmitting history and law in the Wabanaki Confederacy, and the Algonquin nations had a long history of international diplomacy, there is good reason to believe that the oral testimony given by Sagouarram should be seen as at least as valid as the written documents themselves.

Krasowski's (2019) research provides substantive evidence that the type of misrecognition and denial of these clarifying moments within colonial interpretations of treaties between the Crown and Indigenous nations across the continent was characteristic

of the manipulation of the treaty process. In particular, Krasowski's research highlights that the British Crown and Canada have a long history of suppressing both written and oral histories available from Indigenous and non-Indigenous sources regarding the terms of the numbered treaties. By suppressing sources that contradict unilateral claims of sovereignty made by Canada, the state is able to promote the ahistorical cultural misunderstanding thesis. This thesis, originally put forward by Canadian theorists like George Stanley in the 1960s, posits that Indigenous nations like the Mi'kmaq simply did not have the capacity to understand what they were signing away during the treaties, and that Canada cannot be held responsible for the lack of advanced diplomacy in our nations. In the case of the Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki Confederacy, who were already treating with the Vatican and sending diplomats to Europe long before any treaty was signed with the Crown, nothing could be further from the truth.

The veracity of Mi'kmaq oral histories and oral transmissions of law (and treaties) helped set the precedent for Indigenous oral histories to have legal standing in Canadian courts (alongside the *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* case on the other unceded coast of the continent in 1997) (University of British Columbia, 2020). Precedents set in the Donald Marshall Jr. case (*R. v Donald Marshall Jr.*, 1999) not only demonstrated the importance of the oral transmission of treaties, it found that the treaties between the Crown and the Mi'kmaq was to sow peace between the two sovereign peoples and did not grant the colony the right to infringe on Mi'kmaq sovereignty or access to lands. Knowledge Keepers like Elder Daniel N. Paul have drawn on oral and written histories to demonstrate that Crown claims to jurisdiction over Mi'kma'ki have relied on deceitful interpretations of the treaties (Paul, n.d. c), which could offer an explanation why the only treaty that the Mi'kmaq Confederacy offers to renew yearly with the Crown is the Peace and Friendship treaty of 1752.

Beyond Canada, the cartographic, historic, and socio-legal misrepresentations of Mi'kma'ki under colonial rule is also present in the United States (given that part of the territory goes into Maine). The L'nuk have a significant treaty relationship with the United States as a signatory on the first treaty made after the Declaration of Independence, called the Treaty of Watertown (Cape Breton University, 2020e; Government of Maine, 2013). Like the 1752 Treaty with the English Crown, the treaty itself only provided the basis for

peace and resulted in the Mi'kmaq being one of the nations who is allowed free movement under the Jay Treaty (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2016). There continues to be no document containing any surrender of Mi'kmaq territory to the United States or Canada, and the Mi'kmaq continue to live on both sides of the border in Wabanaki and Mi'kmaq territories (this point is explored more in the oral histories in Chapter 4).

Addressing the misrecognition of Mi'kma'ki by the international community has implications for how the entire world represents North America, which may be part of why it has never gained the same levels of recognition given to contained geographies like Ireland. Nevertheless, Ireland has had its own struggles seeking international recognition and many of the challenges it has faced have been linked to similar experiences in Mi'kma'ki. As critiques of histories of dehumanization, white supremacy, and myths about colonial sovereignty are being brought forward through historical and sociolegal research, there may be a potential to use studies like this to examine how and why sites of colonial occupation, like Mi'kma'ki and Ireland, have had such different experiences - and what similarities might be gleaned at a historical, societal, and community level. In order to deepen the capacity to do so, I now turn from Mi'kma'ki to Ireland to provide foundational information that can inform our discussion further.

Ireland: A Geographical Introduction

Across the Atlantic Ocean, on the North-Western edge of Europe lies Ireland, the traditional land of the Irish and the third largest island on the continent. Ireland is considerably smaller than Mi'kma'ki, having a land mass of just 84,421 kms², but the role that the Irish have played in the evolution of the British empire, and the diaspora's role in the entire North American continent and beyond, has cemented the urgency of examining their histories with colonialism and imperialism. Ireland remains, to this day, one of the original sites of English colonialism, with the Crown's first claim on the island being laid in 1155 when King Henry II claimed kingship over the island (Martin, 2008). Like Mi'kma'ki, Irish movements to assert sovereignty have also been complicated by intercolonial and antiimperialist fighting in Ireland, and in particular the island has also been a landscape transformed by tensions between the English and French (Bew, 2007). The current political configuration of the island was brought into place through the

partition treaty at the end of the Anglo-Irish war in 1921, which established the Irish Free State (later to become the Republic of Ireland) and Northern Ireland (Crowley et al, 2017). In the current era, the Republic of Ireland governs 70273 kms² (83.2% of the land) with an estimated population of 5.01 million, and Northern Ireland, a member state of the United Kingdom, governing 14130 kms² of the land with an estimated population of 1.9 million people (Central Statistics Office, 2021; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2021).

In spite of being two separately governed modern territories within the island, Ireland is geographically split into four provinces based on older historical traditions. The dynastic names that mark the provinces carry on histories from pre-English Ireland, where the Brehon (Gaelic) law system structured society on the island through the sept (sliocht) and clan system (Gorman, 1913). Although the clan system no longer politically or legally structures Ireland, there are still well over 200 clans in Ireland, and many carry on oral traditions that maintain important and sometimes contested historical knowledges in local heritage societies (Maclysaght, 1991). Despite there being four provinces, the term used to denote each province in Irish remains the word “Cúige” or “a fifth” (Kearney, 1977), a peculiarity carried forward from when there were five provinces, prior to Meath being subsumed into Laighean (Leinster). Cúige Laighean (Leinster) lies in the South and central East of the island, and has continued to be the region where the majority of the wealth has been concentrated in Ireland since pre-colonial times because of Dublin (Martin, 2008). The province derives its name from the Gaelic Kingdom of Laighean, which itself has its name from the early tribe of people known as the Laighean, whose descendants ruled the region (Fletcher, 2015). In the Southwest of the island, Cúige Mumhan (Munster) is named after the men of Mumha, which is derived from the historical-mythological tales of the Queen Mor Mumhan, who is regarded to have been a queen or a goddess figure in Irish literature (O’Nolan, 1912). The Anglicized name for this region, however, seems to be a Christianization of the region, having the same spelling as the German and Dutch topographical word (rooted in Latin) for locations near monasteries, which is also used elsewhere in Europe (Hanks, 2013). In the West of the Island is Cúige Chonnacht (Connacht) named after the descendants of Conn, who claimed that their dynasty descended from the high king Conn of the hundred battles (Gallagher, 2017). Finally, in

the uppermost North of the Island, lies Cúige Uladh (Ulster), which gains its name from the Ulaíd people, their pre-English kingdom and long history in Ireland, which is chronicled in both historical sources and one of the main traditions of Irish myths known as the Rúraíocht (The Red Branch cycle/Ulster cycle). The 9 counties of Cúige Uladh (Ulster) were divided by the partition of Ireland, with Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan remaining part of the Republic. At the county level, the Gaelic roots of Anglicized place names also offer geographical land-based knowledge, as can be seen in the map below. Many of these place names match the current and past topographic environments referencing local landmarks such as bogs, lake-lands and mountain ranges.

Figure 4: Gaelige County Names in Ireland
(Geographical & Kinship-based Place-Names)¹⁵



¹⁵ Map © Aedan Alderson, 2021, drawing on placenames from O'Connor, 2021.

At a local level, numerous researchers like Duffy (1981) and governments across Ireland have looked to the way that townland boundaries and placenames continue to have traces of pre-colonial Gaelic society's territorial organization in them. Townlands are subdivisions of civil parishes which are a unique territorial division to Ireland (they do not exist in England). Ireland has over 60,000 townlands, which Nash (1999) notes range from 50 to 250 acres. While, it goes without saying that placenames and territorial configurations also contain the legacies of colonial rule, examples like County Monaghan (which Duffy focuses on) demonstrate the strong presence of pre-colonial legacies in the landscape of Ireland. Duffy (1981) points out that "continuity of farm family names and coincidence of farm and townland boundaries today attest the operation of a territorial order over many generations" (59). Duffy's research on County Monaghan shows that placenames in the county have remained entirely Gaelic in heritage, while also nearly matching the documented boundaries inherited from tates (the territorial unit given for plots within larger kin-controlled territories known as ballybetaghs). Townland names offer insights both into the heritage of *who* historically lived in these areas, while their boundaries also offer insights into *where* previous generations lived.

At an even smaller scale, Duffy (2004) notes that there are also tens of thousands of small fields units, scattered across the landscape of Ireland, many being remnants of the rundale (shared lease) system that was used by Irish farmers for hundreds of years. In characterizing the potential of researching placenames at this micro scale, Duffy (2004) quotes Robinson who says: "All these fields of shaggy grass and herbs struggling up through are fiercely individualistic too, if one makes the mistake of paying attention to them... thousands of names must have been given to them over the centuries, most of them forgotten" (708).

Duffy (2004) notes that one of the larger collections of field names and minor names exists in The National Folklore Collection of Ireland at University College Dublin where the records of The Irish Folklore Commission from the late 1930s are held, while many of the ordnance maps of townlands show various fields and minor locations absent of names entirely. Nevertheless, Duffy (2004) notes that research on these fields has uncovered over 7,500 field names in County Kerry alone, and some sites like a small twenty-acre mountain farm in County Mayo, have uncovered forty-seven different place

names that have been used over time. Placenames at this scale continue to be largely descriptive Gaelic (or in some cases English) names referencing “descriptions of size, shape, quality of land or situation of the field.” (705). However, place names contain important information for local communities as they have allowed communities to locate each other in specific plots across large communal areas.

The integration of these different scales of Gaelic placenames in discussions of Ireland (like L'nuk place names in Mi'kma'ki) can offer insights into the historical, geographic and cultural transformations that have shaped the island. For example, McLoughlin (2016) notes that some Gaelic placenames provide clues about what Ireland looked like prior to mass deforestation (when Ireland still had 80% tree cover - prior to tree cover dropping to 1% by 1900). Others, such as placenames explored in the oral history in this dissertation by local archaeologist J. J. Hegarty (2019) have allowed historians to relocate the sites of important events in Irish history.

Further, in the past as well as the present - toponymy has formed an important part of Irish culture: first with the oral tradition of ancient lore, song and poetry known as the Dinnseanchas - some parts of which have made it into the written text; and secondly, from the 19th century onward, with efforts to relearn, recover, and re-establish Gaelic placenames across Ireland (much of which has been done through folklore research and oral history research engaging local communities' oral traditions around various scales of land).

In terms of laying out the foundation for understanding the impacts of colonialism, an introduction into the topic of placenames is also important. As Smyth (2006) demonstrates, Ireland was transformed in the colonial period by the use of surveying, cartography and detailed research undertaken by the English to make the land visible, knowable, and seizable.¹⁶ Nash (1999) points out that transforming areas like Offaly and Laois into King's County and Queen's County, on local and international maps was part of inscribing British authority over the landscape. This process, she argues, combined with the establishment of the plantation plots across Ireland was also part of an official attempt

¹⁶ Smyth (2006) who explicitly links these efforts to what took place in the Americas, echoes the sentiment put forward by former Irish president Douglas Hyde who in 1892 made the clear comparison that Irish placenames had been treated with “about the same intelligence and contempt as vulgar English squatters treat [Indigenous] topographical nomenclature” (Nash, 1999, 462).

to replace Gaelic names from Ireland as a whole (pointing to a 17th century edict). It is no wonder, then, that part of the investment in toponymy since the 19th century has been rooted in a reclamation of Ireland after colonial rule and a desire to recover and re-establish understandings of Gaelic placenames that many believed contained communal and ancestral knowledge.

In Irish writing, authors have mourned the perceived loss of the public's ability to translate "coded landscapes", land having become unreadable social and collective histories, with patterns of identification with land no longer available due to the use of a foreign language (see Nash, 1999 and Duffy, 2004).¹⁷ Duffy (2004), in his study of minor placenames, adds to this by highlighting both the alienation that this process can create through the quote "[a] farmer with no Irish is a stranger in his own land," which he contrasts with a description of the kind of intergenerational belonging that people often feel when they are able to establish roots in the areas their ancestors are from (694).

In spite of historical attempts to extinguish Gaelic placenames, Nash (1999) notes that not only did many Gaelic names remain in use, but studies have shown that many anglicized toponyms were obvious attempts to phonetically transcribe Gaelic names via the use of the English language.¹⁸ Nash's (1999) article also provides some common examples of these types of phonetic anglicizations and their Gaelic counterparts, for example, "batter (bothar, road), boy (buidhe, yellow), carrick (carraig, rock), drum (druim, ridge), glass (glas, green), inch (inis, island), kill (cell, church), knock (cnoc, hill), letter (leitir, slope)" (465). Pointing to the importance of this link with English names, Nash (1999) points to the fact that the ordnance surveys that sought to re-establish proper Gaelic names in the South and North were able to look to these names alongside oral testimonies at a local level in order to uncover Gaelic placenames.

Nash's (1999) article also provides an accessible overview of the way that efforts to restore Gaelic placenames have impacted Ireland since the 19th century. She highlights the way that local governments who sympathized with Irish cultural nationalism began to

¹⁷ It is worth noting that similar views around language and land were discussed in my interviews with L'nuk community members, where the message that language contains world views that are crucial for understanding the world around us was repeated in various ways.

¹⁸ The continued use of Gaelic placenames in everyday life in the colonial period calls into question representations of their use as a vehicle to the pre-colonial. Similarly, in Mi'kma'ki, L'nuk placenames have been used in spite of occupation and their use (or the rejection of colonial names) would be misrepresented as a romantic turn to the past.

introduce Gaelic placenames in 1898, the foundational study *The origin and History of Irish names of places* created by P.W. Joyce in 1910; the Gaelic League distributing lists of Gaelic placenames in 1905 and 1911; the Free State Post Office publishing toponymic guides to Southern Ireland in 1922; the Irish Automobile Association taking on the task of putting up bilingual road signs in 1937; Dublin corporation's establishment of bilingual street names and area names (which they did without the Free State's approval); the South's official adoption of bilingual road signs after 1952 (and the official prohibition of this practice in Northern Ireland between 1947-95); as well as the official Placenames Branch of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland being established in the South in 1955 to establish the proper forms of Gaelic geographic names. Nash (1999) also discusses the way that the Republic aimed to continue this practice through guidelines for developers (in 1977, 1986, 1992) that sought to establish traditional names for new development projects. Importantly, in all of these examples, Nash (1999) lays out evidence that these efforts were linked closely with efforts to establish a link between Irish nationalism and Gaelic Irish.

Without discounting the value of the knowledge transmission that is possible through the study of Gaelic placenames, Nash (1999) puts forward an important critique of the way that Gaelic placenames have been linked to ideas of Catholic nationalism which imagine what she calls a "pure Gaelic Catholic Irishness" that can be recovered from the precolonial past (464). For Nash, this type of position also problematically imagines a pure Gaelic culture against which the placenames and other cultural influences of groups like the Norse, the Norman, the Scots, and the English are seen as having no role other than corrupting Ireland (and necessarily excludes their descendants from Irishness). Nash also provides examples from the Troubles era in 1980s West Belfast, where Catholics explicitly used Gaelic street names and housing estates alongside Republican imagery to distinguish themselves from the unionist community. Duffy (1981) points out one of the ways this type of position has also resulted in knowledge being lost/unrecorded as "elitism amongst Irish scholars in their readings of what is significant and what is not in terms of place names... found expression especially in ignoring English names entirely and in recording only those which acquired some sort of exoticism by being in Irish" (706). Duffy argues that at the turn of the 20th century, it was quite common for researchers to also especially

ignore any placenames that seemed too simple (in spite of many of the Irish placenames being quite basic when translated into English).

Of course, the knowledge that is inherent in native languages and land-based knowledges inherent in placenames does not necessarily need to be taken up in an exclusionary way. To this end, Nash (1999) offers a clear and hopeful example of Gaelic Irish has become central to efforts to celebrate cultural pluralism and to move away from colonial relationships in Northern Ireland. She highlights the way that Catholics and Protestants in the North came together in their response to changes in mail delivery which threatened the use of townland names, and how this developed into broader projects like the British government Northern Ireland Place-name Project and Ultach Trust/Iontaobhas Ultach which has produced bilingual townlands maps,¹⁹ community projects with inner-city youth from both communities celebrating shared and diverse histories and cultures in the province (Nash, 1999, citing Doherty, 1989) and The Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland's bilingual Eire Thuaidh/Ireland North cultural map project which now has over 450 placenames listed. In celebrating the way that Gaelic placenames can have a role in rooting all community members to the land, these initiatives have begun to help build bridges between communities in Ireland.

The landscape also offers clues as to why ideas of Catholic cultural purity exist. Of course, it is true that older pre-Christian traditions in Ireland are also evidenced in the landscape, through placenames, territorial boundaries, and heritage sites that continue to pay homage to the nature and goddess worshipping traditions of Ireland's past. However, the landscape in Ireland is replete with remnants of monasteries and sacred places that highlight the deep pre-colonial monastic tradition of Christianity in Ireland. Indeed, much of what we know about pre-Christianity is a direct result of monks who helped to transcribe oral traditions into the ancient texts (the *Leabhar Buidhe Leacáí* and *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*) which continue to help guide studies of early populations and beliefs in Ireland. While traditions of pagan/Catholic hybridity and syncretism are not unique to Ireland, these traces in the landscape offer some insights into why Catholicism (linked with this early monastic tradition) has been portrayed in some cases as being traditional to the native Irish (while also questioning the notion of "cultural purity" in the interpretation of

¹⁹ See the *Beal Feirste/Belfast, Bailte Fearainn/Townlands*.

the land, echoing Nash, 1999). As we shall see in Chapter 2, dehumanizing narratives that claimed that England would take up the role of properly reform the type of Christianity prevalent in Irish communities date back to the time period of the Anglo-Norman invasion and later, after the reformation, became the basis for largescale interventions on the Gaelic governance structures that had existed in the pre-colonial period.

In terms of the current structures of governance on the island, the Republic of Ireland functions as a parliamentary representative democracy, with partisan government representation at scales that are similar to most modern nation-states in the EU (with county councils, national representatives, and EU representation). While there is a broader list of political parties who run for election in the Republic, the political landscape has been primarily shaped by the two conservative political parties, Fine Gael (family of the Irish) and Fianna Fáil (soldiers of fortune) - while more recently some inroads have been made by the republican (left-wing) party Sinn Féin. All three of these parties exist because of political divides within the original government that emerged after the Irish War of Independence and subsequent Irish Civil War. Nevertheless, the conservative and Catholic cultural landscape of the Republic is beginning to change, with recent successful challenges to secular based laws like the 8th amendment and increasing multiculturalism in the island. In Northern Ireland, the current government structure is a devolved government within the United Kingdom. Unlike previous eras in Northern Irish governance where power was primarily in the hands of the unionists, the Good Friday Agreement era led to an agreement for the politicians who represented the interests of the paramilitary forces that had been fighting during the Troubles arranging to take part in power sharing via the National Assembly. Through this system, the Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland and Sinn Féin (the Republican party) are meant to represent the interests of unionists and nationalists while jointly governing the country. While Northern Ireland has both a National Assembly of Northern Ireland and National Executive (Stormont) that can legislate on most issues other than international relations and defense for the country, it also has representation in Westminster (the United Kingdom parliament), although Sinn Féin has historically refused to sit in Westminster as an act of political refusal. However, it is worth noting that during and slightly before the time when my fieldwork was conducted (between 2017 and 2019 more precisely) the National Assembly and power sharing within

Northern Ireland had broken down over clashes between The Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Féin, after which Sinn Féin had stipulated that it would not return to power sharing unless the government agreed to pass legislation in support of the Irish language. For some of the community members in Ulster that I interviewed, this refusal to continue power sharing seemed insulting to the sacrifices that were made prior to the Good Friday Agreement to win political representation for nationalists. Since January 2020, however, both major parties have returned to Stormont and have continued their powersharing arrangement in Belfast (The Government of Northern Ireland, 2021; McCormack, 2019).

Economically, in 2019, the Republic of Ireland had a GDP of 353.66 billion Euros (519.28 billion CAD) (The World Bank, 2020b), while Northern Ireland had a GDP of 44.6 billion pounds (50.8 billion Euros/74.59 billion CAD) (European Commission, 2019). While the Republic and Northern Ireland have similar industries (e.g., textiles, fishing, manufacturing, and agriculture), there are significant differences between the economic histories of both regions. For example, Ulster was a primary centre for economic investment during the rise of the proto-industrial linen industry and remained a major hub of the industrial revolution in Ireland (Almquist, 1979). In more recent years, as the linen and ship-building industries have decreased, the Republic experienced major economic growth during the Celtic Tiger era in the mid-1990s which resulted from diversification of industries and increased foreign investment as part of the European Union (alongside numerous programs to reduce taxation and government spending, and increasing skilled workers) (O'Hearn, 2003). The Celtic Tiger era transformed the historically agricultural economy into a country with mainly secondary and tertiary sector employment (attracting large multinational companies and providing various professional services to them). In the North, in spite of new efforts towards equity between Catholic and Protestant communities, the economic ramifications of the legacies of non-secular divides in economic, educational, and political opportunities in the country are still present in the distribution of wealth in urban cities like Derry (Haverty, May 24, 2019). In Northern Ireland, manufacturing still remains a major industry (11.1% of the economy), but the largest industry by far is the service industry which account for 81.5% of all jobs as of 2020. More than a quarter of the country is employed in the public sector (27%), which is the result of a long history of UK subsidized employment in education, healthcare, and social work (Northern Ireland

Statistics Agency, 2020). In spite of both countries having had different economic impacts from the political struggles for Irish independence from British rule (and subsequent push back by loyalists for the continuation of a unionist state in Ireland), the two economies have always been heavily linked. This is why, with the current context of Brexit, serious concerns have been raised about any potential restrictions on fluid travel between both sides of the border impacting the post-Good Friday relationship between both countries and Ulster's integrated economy (Mccan & Mccorley, May 31, 2017). Regardless of whether or not there is a return to a hard border, differing costs for goods in Northern Ireland, opportunistic uses of currency exchanges and differing employment opportunities will continue to lead people living in the border towns to have distinctly transnational economies.

The interwoven economies of the Republic and Northern Ireland are also directly linked to their ongoing interactions with global colonial politics, and this is especially evident when examining the reliance that both territories continue to have on migration agreements with settler countries around the world (Kenny, 2018; Embassy of Ireland USA, 2020). The fact that the global Irish diaspora from both territories continue to play a major role in the histories of most settler colonies necessitates that any discussion of the Irish interactions with colonialism must extend beyond a simple discussion of the island itself. Indeed, as Howe (2002) seems to suggest in *Ireland and Empire*, there is an Irish legacy of hybridity, involvement and investment in the empire itself that has made the Irish struggle, which is so often characterized as a fight against British invaders, more complex. Even historical figures who are often heralded as anti-colonial leaders have, upon further inspection, provided the means to implicate themselves as disgruntled imperialists. For example, Theobald Wolfe Tone, leader of The United Irishmen, famously offered to work for the British in establishing a settler colony in Hawaii before turning against the British on behalf of the Irish struggle when he was refused (Moody et al., 1998). In almost every instance of the Irish fighting for liberation, other Irishmen were involved in fighting for a better position within the British empire. These kinds of in-fighting and class politics are important because they are linked to the ongoing history of entrenchment, assimilation, and enfranchisement. Where some scholars may see this as evidence that colonialism cannot rightly be characterized as having been the major driving force in Irish history, it is

important to note that the long history of manufacturing consent through involvement is instead a key instrument in the British strategies that have been deployed all around the world, not the least of which in North America. Nevertheless, while numerous scholars including Irish studies scholars David Lloyd (1999), post-colonial scholar Edward Said (2003), and Hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy (2016) have argued for the urgency of doing comparative research that examines the shared histories of the Irish people and Indigenous nations, scholars like Wilson (2013) have rightly noted that this type of research must also be attentive to the role that the Irish have played as colonizers and imperialists. In my 2019 article, *Decolonizing the Irish*, which expands on the research I did for this dissertation, I take this argument a step further arguing that the Irish who claim to have taken up anti-colonialism must attune themselves to the entrenchment of the diaspora and the global nature of decolonization struggles. Chapter 2 explores some of the roles of Irish colonizers in Mi'kma'ki itself - while the dissertation as a whole attempts to move beyond theorizing this type of comparison with secondary sources by presenting an opportunity to learn directly from the lived experiences of Irish people themselves.

Methodology and Methods

The research that went into this dissertation represented my best efforts to take up my responsibilities as an Irish and L'nu scholar²⁰ - and in particular, efforts to deepen my understandings that inform my worldview. In terms of responsibilities, I recognize that my family has played roles in both upholding and resisting colonization, and I see efforts to create resources for accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq as being direct contributions to future generations of my kin. Beyond my personal motivations, however, my investment in completing this project was rooted in a desire to

²⁰ While extolling personal motivations for research may be atypical for some disciplines, in keeping with best practice for Indigenous scholarship this is seen as instrumental in doing research in an honest way and deepening learning. A great example of this type of discussion can be found in Hampton's 1995 article, *Memory comes before knowledge*. For me, not only was this research project instrumental in giving me an opportunity to deepen my learning about both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, it was also motivated by wanting to contribute to broadening discussions of the time period (post 1960s) when my father was in foster care experiencing much of the same conditions as other L'nuks who were taken during the 1960s scoop.

respond to calls from community members in both Mi'kma'ki and Ireland and to learn directly with community members in both regions.

The worldviews and methods that are presented in this dissertation are informed by my relationships, e.g., engaging in refusal of colonial misrecognition in Mi'kma'ki is (as you will see in the oral histories chapter) not an avant-garde position in everyday discussions with L'nus. It *is* however, a position that is largely unheard of at the international scale (where Canada continues to enjoy presumed authority over the Confederacy when interacting with other nations) and in many academic circles, where Mi'kmaq sovereignty rarely gets more than a token land acknowledgement. The methods I take up here are also directly informed by my experience thinking about the truth regimes that shape the colonial worldviews that deny recognition to Mi'kma'ki. I have tried my best to engage with a variety of formats that are used by these truth regimes in my methods presenting demographics, maps, chronologies, and testimony from community members that can help to shift worldviews away from ahistorical and prejudicial positions.

Similarly, my experiences with Irish community members prior to this project informed my methodological approach to investigating Ireland. Generally speaking, in the years leading up to this project, I encountered five types of views while advocating for the need for comparative research between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq. The first articulated the belief that the conflict in Ireland since the reformation was religious in nature and had nothing to do with colonialism. The second articulated the belief that the Irish had been through the same oppressions as Indigenous people and were allies of Indigenous nations. The third were Indigenous people with Irish heritage, who were able to have frank discussions about the conflictive relationship Irish people have to both decolonization abroad and colonization in Canada. The fourth, recognized Ireland's role in British imperialism but did not find it possible to equate or compare it with Indigenous oppression. Finally, the fifth category recognized the role the Irish have had in British imperialism, but still equated it with Indigenous oppression. For my own part, falling into the third category, I was often shocked when Irish people claimed Ireland had never been a colony, but was equally shocked when people had no concept of how Irish people have continued colonizing North America (even if it was on behalf of the British). To present my worldview back to the people in my life, I have taken up methods like producing a

comparative chronology that moves beyond theoretical debate by highlighting key events of British colonialism in Ireland with demonstrable similarities to British/Canadian colonialism in Mi'kma'ki, while also making an effort to raise concerns around my findings about the Irish participation of the colonization of Mi'kma'ki.

In terms of methods, this dissertation's primary data was gathered through oral life history interviews and fieldwork in the bordertowns of Donegal and Derry/Londonderry²¹ and Eskasoni First Nations. In addition, this dissertation presents insights gained from exploratory literature reviews of secondary materials like Mi'kmaq history books, Irish history books, Irish Studies books discussing debates around colonialism, empire, and postcolonialism, books on Irish diaspora, Indigenous studies texts with debates sovereignty, Canadian history texts (particularly pertaining to "The Maritimes"), and newspaper articles. It also draws upon exploratory reviews on primary documents such as laws, statutes, constitutions, and court decisions from both Canada and Ireland. Beyond reviews of secondary sources, this research is also grounded in insights gained from experiential learning and service learning at my fieldwork sites before and during my research. Since 2016, I have been able to deepen my learning by participating in online courses, conferences, cultural exchange events, as well as attending heritage centres, libraries, museums, taking walking tours, visiting universities, and attending Elders' circles.²² As part of taking up the method of reciprocity (or what could be considered service learning), I also volunteered at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys during Mi'kmaq history month and the Celtic Colours festival in October 2019.

²¹ Throughout this dissertation the term Derry/Londonderry is used in recognition of the contention between the single use of either Derry (the anglicised toponym for Doire, which is Old Irish Gaelic for Oak Grove, and the original name of the area in question) and Londonderry (a name that was formally applied to the area through a Royal English Charter after 1613).

²² Some but not all of these included, the Learning with the Knowledge keepers course at Cape Breton University, the ANSUT Indigenizing the Academy Conference in Membertou, the Atlantear tepktepa congress with delegates from the Basque mountains (cultural exchange conference at Unama'ki College), Membertou Heritage Park, Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, the Mi'kmaq Resource Centre at Cape Breton University, the peace garden initiatives consultation with elders from Membertou and Eskasoni, the Global Irish Diaspora Congress, the Bogside walking tour in Derry, the Tower Museum in Derry, the Kilmainham Gaol Museum, University College Dublin, the Bloody Sunday Massacre museum, the national museum in Dublin and various libraries in both Unama'ki and Ireland.

Centering Indigenous Approaches to Research

This research is theoretically grounded in what I have learned from studying and utilizing Indigenous research methods in my efforts to produce accountable research. In particular, in my time with community members: I worked to explicitly communicate my relationship to the project and to the knowledge I aimed at gathering (Absolon, 2011; Hampton, 1995). As part of my learning, I have continued relationship building and reciprocity (volunteering, sharing food and drink, sharing stories) that continues to extend beyond the scope of this project (Archibald, 2008; Baskin, 2016) - although the pandemic has setback in my ability to travel. Further, for my work in Unama'ki I worked to avoid pan-Indigenous approaches²³ to this project by seeking out guidance from Elder Albert Marshall prior to my fieldwork beginning, as well as other community members who I did not interview. I began building relationships prior to starting my research and embedded my learning in other initiatives to learn more about Mi'kmaw culture (which has been part of my own efforts to reconnect). To the best of my ability, I have also attempted to represent my own worldviews around Mi'kmaw sovereignty as a reconnecting Indigenous researcher in this project. To follow the Confederacy's specific protocols, I took the time to seek out approval from the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, designing my project to meet the demands they set forward (offering translated ethics forms, compensation, access, ownership of data). Following these protocols, I also have worked to avoid the pitfall of claiming to present a complete picture of Mi'kmaw culture or nationhood which is constantly evolving or to have the authoritative interpretation for community members' interviews. My contribution of oral recordings is also part of my engagement with Mi'kmaw ways of knowing as I decentered written texts as the primary source of Mi'kmaw histories in this project. In keeping with protocols around access and ownership of data, the oral histories gathered here have been distributed to contributors and will also be accessible in community on reserve and at the Mi'kmaw Resource Centre in Unama'ki College.²⁴

²³ Here I echo the points raised by Kovach (2021) where she states that Indigenous research must engage Tribal specific epistemologies and methodologies (though I do not use "tribe" in my research) the intention remains the same.

²⁴ Beyond my attempts to engage with nation-specific ways of knowing when producing this nation-to-nation research - which similarly required me to attune myself to protocols within the bordertown communities, my work around research *with* Indigenous peoples also draws inspiration from the writings on ethics and oratory by Archibald (2008) and Maracle (2015) and various institutional protocols like OCAP (The First Nations principles of

Oral history methodology as a tool for Irish-Mi'kmaq co-learning

My use of oral history methods in this research project are rooted in a desire to learn from living community members' understandings of the past and present rather than simply presenting back an archival or literature review of generalized accounts of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki. As Abram (2016) notes, “oral history involves communicating with living, breathing human beings. No other history method does this” (19). As Portelli (1979) noted in his foundational essay on oral history in 1979, what makes oral history different is its focus on the meaning behind events - telling us “not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did” (52). While, of course, my research does look to other historical sources to add to and verify things that were told to me, oral historians note that even when things are presented in a way that isn't entirely accurate - personal reconstructions of history tell us what is true to individuals.

As Beiner (1999) notes the academic field of oral history often divides oral sources into two categories: "Oral History: recollections of contemporary events... [and] Oral Tradition: a body of knowledge transmitted orally over several generations as the collective property of a community" (10). In sharing personal rememberings of life stories that relate back to the intergenerational legacies of colonialism and how they impact everyday life, the oral histories that I have gathered in this project present both of these types of data.

In gathering oral histories, I wanted not just to gather facts but, as Abram (2016) notes, are the key features of oral history research - to highlight the way that emotional, political, and subjective human experiences of Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences of recent history are communicated. The oral histories gathered in this research represent layers of memory, individual, collective and public which are interwoven to present discussions of the current state of everyday life in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki and how it is linked to intergenerational understandings of the past (for more on this, see Abrams, 2016). While other forms of history often link to public commemorations and official narratives of

ownership, control, access, and possession), which helped guide my additional ethics considerations laid out later in this dissertation.

memory (by institutions and nation-states), and these do inform the way that people reconstruct their past in oral history interviews, oral history is unique in that it can help provide insights into how the past and present is being discussed, understood, and communicated by individuals at a grassroots level²⁵.

Doing oral history research was also especially important to me because I continue to use research as a vehicle for relationship building and co-learning. Oral historians have noted for decades that this type of method explicitly lays bare the fact that knowledge production in this context occurs as a collaboration between researchers and contributors in a dialogic, dynamically interpersonal way and cannot feign to be a complete representation of either history or memory (Portelli, 1979; Abrams, 2016). Abrams (2016) notes that even if oral historians try to repeat the same interview a second time with the same people, that the results will always be different, mediated by relationships, and particular contexts that remembering arises in. This insight is crucial in relation to my views about accountable research, acknowledging that the contributions that I make here originate in where I am in my learning right now and the dynamics that emerged from where my relationships were with community members when this dissertation was written. While some historians would shy away from this type of discussion, Abrams (2016) emphasizes that it is in centering rather than resisting expressions of personal experiences, reflexivity and the inconsistencies of memory that oral history is able to make important contributions around how history is understood and experienced.

Trying to gain insights into how experiences of colonialism have been experienced, are remembered, and understood in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, made it important for me to also think about how oral historians can approach trauma and memories of harm without perpetuating harm on contributors. Fields (2006) work on this area highlights that oral historians should not expect trauma to be describable, and should make room for discussions to be expressed in various forms of narrative (rather than detailed recollections of violence). Abrams (2016) argues that listening to memories of trauma cannot be seen as

²⁵ Indeed, in discussing Irish experiences of colonialism, for example, Irish historiography might leave out huge segments of time which are publicly understood as being time periods of colonial oppression - especially if these are informed not by clearly academically defined characteristics of politics, economy, and territory but instead are rooted in cultural representations (for example, the oft quoted Michael Collins statement "We have been waiting 700 years" alluding to a much longer stage of colonial interference which appears in the movie of the same name).

a passive role as researchers are the ones facilitating speech, listening, and mitigating other cues (such as body language, tone, etcetera). Importantly, she argues that oral historians need to recognize that it is inappropriate to request certain types of stories with no training or ability to offer the kind of support speakers may need. Importantly, Fields (2006) cautions researchers to avoid the fantasy (he admits to having entertained in the past) that gathering testimonies will produce healing and to avoid seeing their work as therapy for traumatized people (here he points to critiques of the Truth and Reconciliation process in South Africa).²⁶ At best, oral history research that deals with histories of trauma, Fields suggests, can take part in supporting regenerative processes that increase understandings of social connectedness between survivors and to articulate their sense of self beyond just traumatic events. Beyond paying attention to the impact these types of interviews may have on speakers, Fields (2006) points to the challenge that researchers must undertake to navigate empathic listening and sensitive introspection, refusing to try to be emotionless, while also checking in with yourself during and after the interview in order to ensure that researchers themselves are respectful without taking on counter-transference or vicarious/secondary trauma as listeners.

For this dissertation, I have used a life history approach in my oral history research both to help navigate the ethics of being an outsider seeking to learn about the impacts of colonization in a respectful way, while also attempting to prevent the potential re-traumatization of my collaborators. Recognizing that I would likely be speaking to survivors of the Troubles and residential schools, I actively resisted centering either colonialism or these types of traumatic events as the main topic we would be discussing - instead I asked collaborators to describe their lives, what the environment they grew up in was like, and gained a wide variety of insights linking experiences in Mi'kma'ki and Ireland in doing so. Through this practice, I worked to avoid engaging in what Tuck (2009) refers to as damage-centered research practices, and what is known in oral history theory as crisis oral history (Abrams, 2016). When discussions of the Troubles or residential schools did emerge in our discussions they did so as part of a wider organic narrative of memories of the past and present that was being led primarily by my contributors.

²⁶ Similar critiques about Truth and Reconciliation processes and their related settlements being a cure for trauma have been raised by authors like Green (2012).

Knowing that damage centered researchers often try to get community members to focus on these topics, I attempted to build in room for ethnographic refusal²⁷ and only introduced related questions I had been thinking about when they seemed appropriate (for example, asking how/if they remembered people discussing colonialism or British/Canadian rule when they were youth, what they felt constituted Irishness or Mi'kmaq identity, or if they felt that colonialism had directly impacted their lives - as a follow up question near the end of our interviews).

Beyond the strengths and considerations around oral history methodology listed above, my choice to center oral history research in this project has also been an intentional engagement with traditional practices of knowledge transmission in both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki (something which represents an important similarity between both cultures).

In Ireland, oral history has been part of a larger oral tradition that has included poetry, music, folklore and mythology and these forms of narrative often offer insights into each other (and help to inform public understandings of history). For example, while Duffy (2016) notes that placename research has been taken up by surveyors and folklorists, local and regional oral histories like those presented in this dissertation also present important examples of placename -based knowledges being transmitted.²⁸

Beiner (1999) identifies six major barriers that have prevented oral histories (and other oral traditions) from becoming more popular as primary sources of historical information. First, he points to the fact that Irish historiographies continue to try to legitimize themselves through discussions of separating themselves from Irish myth and mythology.²⁹ Second, he argues that there is the belief that oral history is a populist tradition mostly embedded in fictional narratives. Third, Beiner notes that the Irish academia tends to be conservative in character and to uphold rigid disciplinary boundaries which oral histories threaten to transgress. Fourth, because much of the archive in Ireland is in English, Beiner highlights the fact that many historians have not bothered to develop

²⁷ See Simpson (2007) who lays out an example of her work with community members refusing the idea that all topics are appropriate for ethnographic discussion and allowing privacy for her contributors.

²⁸ Beiner (1999) notes that crossing the disciplinary boundary, the archives of the Irish Folk Commission (Coimisiun Bealoideas Eireann) also contains testimonies specifically labelled as "historical traditions (seanchas)" (17).

²⁹ Howe (2008) notes that there are now some historians, like Kevin Whelan, who are critical of the claims that discernment between myth and history are truly possible, when history itself is a form of myth and requires constructive elements of narrative form.

the literacy needed to engage in oral interviews with Irish communities who speak Irish.³⁰ Fifth, he notes that because the oral tradition has been a vehicle for partisan politics, historians try to separate their field from oral testimonies (in spite of written histories being equally susceptible to politicization of narratives). Finally, Beiner points to taboos around engaging with oral narratives that may contradict widely accepted written accounts of recent historical episodes (like the War of Independence) -- something that interrupts historiographic aims to represent whole truths.

Nevertheless (and fortunately for me), there has been work done to establish a place for oral histories within the academy, largely led by organizations like the Oral History Network of Ireland, who work with historical researchers from various fields who engage with oral sources. Furthermore, there is no shortage of engagement with oral history (and tradition) at a local level across Ireland with heritage societies being present in most of the Irish counties.

In Mi'kma'ki, Hereditary Chief Stephen Augustine (2002) notes that L'nuk culture has relied on oral transmission of history and knowledge as an essential tool for negotiating survival since time immemorial. Rather than differentiating between oral traditions and oral histories in the way that is noted above, these oral transmissions combine current generations knowledge with the memorization of long-term cyclical patterns across generations. The L'nuk oral tradition has been a resource for learning about the local environment, human/nonhuman/spiritual relationships, historical events (including geological events and social nation-to-nation histories like treaty history), patterns of migration and more (see e.g., Augustine, 2002). Community consultations led by L'nuk communities (and others) continue to engage oral histories as a primary source for numerous decision-making processes informing nation-to-nation collaborations, ecological policies, and education initiatives. Oratory experts/knowledge keepers continue to play key roles in the community, and, as Augustine (2008) notes, Mi'kmaq uses of talking circles have allowed for increased accuracy through communal remembering: "The Elders would serve as mnemonic pegs to each other. They will be speaking individually uninterrupted in a circle one after another. When each Elder spoke they were conscious that other Elders would serve as 'peer reviewer'."

³⁰ In the region I selected for my fieldwork this was not, however, a major barrier for my research.

While my research project engaged in one-to-one oral history interviews rather than talking circles, the discussions that this project will open up in community will no doubt have a similar effect.

Because L'nuk society was an oral rather than written society at the time when colonization began, dismissals of oral history traditions from colonialists have been key in allowing writers to misportray the L'nuk and Mi'kma'ki as having lacked law, sovereignty, self-governance, advanced civilization, science, and other areas of knowledge which colonialists pretended to impart on the Confederacy by imposing their rule. These colonialist traditions of written history offer clear examples of both politicization, bias, and mythology forming the official narratives that are taught to the non-Indigenous public, creating barriers in understanding that persist today. Furthermore, the attempted extinguishment of Indigenous language, bans on cultural traditions, and the residential school system all attempted to disconnect Mi'kmaq people from the knowledge held within their oral traditions (and subsequently failed). In spite of this, there has been some improvement in acknowledgement of the contributions made by oral histories in Mi'kma'ki (for example, court cases deeming oral testimony admissible as evidence, archaeologists finding evidence to match Mi'kmaq oral traditions, and cross-cultural collaborations looking to integrate Mi'kmaq ways of knowing with other cultures).

Finally, my engagement with oral history was also rooted in my understandings of the benefit of aural learning, and the potential that orality can bring to deepening co-learning. As Abrams (2016) states:

Orality comprises the rhythms and cadences, repetitions and intonations, the use of particular speech forms such as anecdote or reported speech, the use of dialect, as well as the volume, tone and speed. Without attention to these features... we risk flattening 'the emotional content (20).

Abrams (2016) notes that unlike oral traditions of storytelling and folktales which have always looked to orality and the speech act as contributing important parts of the meaning of what is said, oral historians often fail to look as closely at their recordings of speech, viewing their interviews as "as a means of only accessing information". While oral historians have tried to navigate this in their writing through taking interview notes on nuance, tone, pace, spirit, and emotion (Sheftel and Zembrzycki, 2013), these notes are

either produced after the interview (as an act of remembering) or run the risk of disrupting the active listening or deep listening that is taking place during an interview.³¹ While I did take notes after my interviews, I believe that the characteristics which constitute the speech act are necessarily meant to be conveyed orally. Fortunately, this project benefits from being an oral history-based project in a digital age where it is now possible to distribute recordings (with permission) in numerous locations³² in order to create resources for aural (listening) based learning rather than simply engaging in academic acts of translation. Echoing the L'nuk teaching that knowledge is alive, aural learning produces insights differently in us all - and that is why I attached the audio files from my interviews to this dissertation. As I continue to believe listening to the life-stories that were shared with me in this project represents an incredible opportunity for Irish and Mi'kmaq co-learning, I have taken time to complement my insights/learning with abstracts of each interview to encourage community members to take the opportunity to engage with the oral histories themselves.

Fieldwork Site Selection

In Mi'kma'ki, Unama'ki (and in particular Eskasoni First Nation) emerged as an ideal site for my fieldwork during the time period when I was designing this research project in 2016. During an online course on Mi'kmaq studies, I encountered a call from hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine for research examining links between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq (Augustine and Cunsolo, 2016). The following year, during my first trip to Unama'ki I was able to visit Unama'ki College, discuss my project with Hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine and began to form relationships that allowed me to do my fieldwork in 2019. Beyond the experiences I had in Unama'ki, I was also drawn to choose it as a site because of its historical importance to the Confederacy, its current role in L'nuk resurgence of education, language, and culture, -- and the fact that my distant ancestors had lived there prior to moving to Epekwitk. While initially I had hoped to do interviews in both Membertou and

³¹ Abrams (2016) highlights the difference between active listening which re-iterates what speakers say during your interview or deep listening which leaves speakers uninterrupted while withholding judgement as methods for use during difficult interviews where trauma is discussed.

³² My oral histories will be accessible in Cape Breton University, York University, University College Dublin and a variety of archives in Canada and Ireland (with permission from collaborators).

Eskasoni over the course of the summer of 2019, personal circumstances required me to reschedule my fieldwork for a shorter trip during October where I decided to focus on Eskasoni.

In Ireland, I chose my fieldwork site during my visit to Dublin for the inaugural Global Irish Diaspora Congress at University College Dublin, where I was one of only two speakers discussing Irish-Indigenous relations (University College Dublin, 2017). During the conference, I was fortunate enough to arrange a meet with Dr. Arlene Crampsie to discuss my goals for the dissertation research project and her work as the Chair of the Oral History Network of Ireland and a Professor at University College Dublin. After speaking at length about the bordertowns between Donegal and Derry/Londonderry, we both agreed that it would be an ideal spot to do my fieldwork, given the historical importance of Cúige Uladh (Ulster) both in the deep past (the Ulster Plantations), the recent past (The Good Friday Agreement), and the present (I was enthused at the possibility of speaking to people who lived and worked on both sides of the border in spite of the different jurisdictions, and Brexit was also on the horizon). When it came to going to Donegal, I initially had planned on staying in Bridgend (which is actually quite small), but instead found housing in Buncrana -- only a short bus ride from the border and Derry/Londonderry. Prior to my fieldwork in summer 2019, I spent 3 months in Donegal as an Ireland Canada University Foundation Dobbin Atlantic Scholar hosted at University College Dublin, and got to visit sites and getting to know the people and the area. Through this process, I was able to develop key contacts who were interested in my research and who later became collaborators in the project when I returned in June that year.

Participant Selection

In terms of participant selection for the oral histories presented in this research project, the main criteria was age. Contributors were gathered from people born in or before the 1960s (with a few exceptions). This age range was chosen primarily due to the possibility of gathering stories about the post-1960s in both regions, as not was this time period the post WWII decolonization era, it was also the era of the 1960s scoop in Canada, and the civil rights movement and Troubles in Northern Ireland. The past 60 years, which is explored in more details in Chapter 2, has been a very significant time period in Irish and L'nuk

history. Outside of seeking people who would have lived through the 1960s or earlier, I also tried to mitigate any potential gender disparity in my oral histories by aiming to work with at least 5 collaborators in each country who were not men. This ended up being important in Ireland, where I had a majority of men volunteer to participate. In Mi'kma'ki on the other hand, the majority of people that I interviewed were women. Since my focus was on everyday life, I did not focus on any particular sector or group of people to speak to within the community, and instead spoke to as many people as I could, while relying on the snowball and word-of-mouth recruitment method. In Donegal, I also put an advertisement up on a group for the West Inishowen Heritage Society via social media, and many members ended up having interest in this research project.

Research Protocols: Going About the Research in a Good Way

This project was approved by and follows the protocols laid out by the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch (2019) who govern research done within the Mi'kmaq Confederacy, including having made room for L'nuk translations of research documentation (my collaborators did not deem this necessary as they spoke English) and allowing contributors to own their contributions which are deemed lent to me and the archives at York University, Unama'ki College's Mi'kmaq Resource Centre, The Beaton Institute Mi'kmaq Archival Collection, Membertou Heritage Park, University College Dublin, and the National Folklore Collection. Additionally, this project contains access to the contributions of my collaborators in full, to retain their complete contribution. While this research project attempts to provide useful resources and information about Mi'kma'ki, it also emphasizes the point made by the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, that Mi'kmaq knowledge, culture, spirituality, governance, etcetera, can never be fully represented by any one research project and is alive and growing. This project also underwent York University's Human Research Participation Council's review and their subcommittee's review for research with Indigenous communities (York University, 2020a; York University, 2020b). In Ireland, specific protocols were put into place to ensure that this project met the General Data Protection Regulation guidelines, including developing and using specific copyright forms, and reproduction permission forms that allow contributors full retention of their rights via the EU guidelines (University College Dublin, 2018). As part of achieving informed

consent in both regions, all participants were offered anonymity (which they waived) and the choice of which archives to contribute to, as well as the full right to withdraw consent at any time during the creation of this project up to the point of its submission. Outside of organizational and institutional protocols, this project relied on Indigenous protocols, including sharing stories, sharing ceremonial tobacco and sweetgrass, reciprocity via volunteering, and offering people food or beverages (Acadia University, 2018).

In Donegal, I went for tea or food with people who were interested in hearing about the research project and got to know them prior to the interviews themselves (replacing what may have otherwise been a formal overview interview with an informal setting of socializing). I also provided many of the people I interviewed a list of general questions prior to holding more open life history oral history interviews. In both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, my interviews focused on letting people discuss their life stories, beginning with their childhoods and moving towards the current era, which let them be open ended rather than completely structured. During my interviews in Donegal, I hosted people at my flat in the heart of Buncrana and offered participants food and honorariums, though most chose not to accept any cash incentive. My interviewees were primarily members and friends of members of the West Inishowen Heritage Group with the exception of others I met in Derry/Londonderry and visitors from Donegal Town.

In Mi'kma'ki, I volunteered every day at the Eskasoni Cultural Journeys site on Goat Island, which allowed me to develop friendships with community members and to organically use the snowball and word-of-mouth method. While I conducted interviews with some of the staff who contributed to the snowball method by connecting me to their family members, I also got to learn with community members who were too young to be within my participant range, who in turn helped use word of mouth to connect me to pipe carriers and Elders. Connecting to Elders and other community members also played a role in me finding new people to speak with. In Mi'kma'ki, more of my preliminary discussion of themes or questions that I wanted people to think about took place verbally, rather than me giving them written questions (which most of my Irish participants were given). In both Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, the theme of reciprocity was important for the trust that I built with the contributors in this research project; I didn't expect individuals to automatically entrust their life stories with me, and sharing my own life story in conversations with community

members happened over time so that they were informed of my motivations, positionality, and worldviews prior to agreeing to being interviewed. Unlike in Ireland, where I had a set location for doing interviews and was able to offer food and beverages to contributors, in Eskasoni I shared food and drink with many of the contributors who were at Goat Island and some of the contributors like Elder Albert Marshall, outside of our interview times, but did most of my interviews in their homes or in other spaces where I was not hosting. On the other hand, I was able to ensure that all of my L'nuk participants received sweetgrass and tobacco-ties that I made, as well as a cash honorarium and Indigenous art thank you cards for their time.



Figure 5: Tobacco Ties Made for Indigenous Contributors Following Mi'kmaq Protocols

Conclusion

Throughout this introductory chapter, I have worked to present foundational information that can be used to understand the relationship between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq, comparing geographic and sociopolitical overviews of each region, as well as debates around colonialism in each region. Exploring the methodology and methods that were used, I have also highlighted the way that this dissertation has worked to ground discussions of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki in community voices. Oral history research has been central to this dissertation to ensure that it responds to calls from community and stays grounded in discussing insights that can inform better futures for the current generation of Irish and Mi'kmaq community members. Disconnected from community voices, theoretical discussions of colonialism risk becoming reductive, disregarding messy inside/outside relationships, and the different and personal ways that national, cultural, and community identity are expressed by individuals. Rather than aspiring for universal representations of nations and cultures that are alive and constantly changing, oral history research like those gathered for this dissertation offer stories of individual experiences and key insights that can foster co-learning between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki. Given that this research project is the second of its kind to academically address the links between the Irish and Indigenous nations in North America (Morton and Wilson's 2013 book being the first) and the only study comparing the Irish and their Mi'kmaq transatlantic neighbours, each chapter represents a different kind of resource for supporting decolonial co-learning.

The next chapter aims to put to rest the abstract debates about whether or not Ireland was colonized or is worth comparing to nations like those in the Mi'kmaq Confederacy, providing information on key historical events/the broader historical context of the impacts of colonialism that were raised by community members in Chapters 3 and 4. It remains my hope that this dissertation will be one of many projects supporting the positive transformation of Irish-Mi'kmaq relations, inspiring future generations of L'nus and Irish people to take up bridge building work with other nations. Beyond simply sharing our knowledge and growing together, I believe this type of co-learning may be able to play a crucial role in resolving and healing the legacies of colonization around the world.³³

³³ It is my belief that co-learning, especially international co-learning between nations that have experienced colonial occupation and dispossession globally will be crucial for laying the foundation for a potential future beyond

Chapter 2

TRANSPLANTATIONS OF COLONIALISM: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

Building on the previous chapter's discussion of the basis for comparing Mi'kma'ki (as a discrete territory) and Ireland, this chapter looks to the past to provide resources in support of deepening understanding of the substantive links between the history of British colonization in both regions. While the introductory historical, geographical, and sociopolitical information in the previous chapter clearly lays out similarities between both regions, this chapter helps to tease out how even the differential outcomes of colonization in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki have been impacted by the connections between both regions. Particularly, this chapter offers concrete evidence of the transplantation of colonial precedents between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, drawing attention to how these precedents emerged and were refined in both regions.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: First, this chapter contributes a substantive resource for people seeking to understand what strategies of British colonization originated in Ireland and were later transplanted to Mi'kma'ki (to support a transnational institutional memory of British colonialism). To do so, this chapter primarily draws on selected texts (for Irish history) from Oxford's collection, *A New History of Ireland* (Various editors); *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (Various editors); Willy J. Smyth's (2006) *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory*; Crowley et al.'s (2012/2017) *The Atlas of The Great Irish Famine* and *The Atlas of The Irish Revolution*; Aalen et al.'s (2011), *Atlas of The Irish Rural Landscape*; Kenny's (2005) *Ireland and the British Empire*; Bew's (2007) *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006*; as well as the journal *Historical Geography's* special issue (2014) on Ireland. For Mi'kmaq history, various texts were used but two books that

colonization. In other articles produced during my doctoral research I have reaffirmed my own stance that healing or resolving colonial legacies will require a global commitment to ending colonization as a political, economic, and social structure on this planet. To put it more plainly, healing begins after harm ends. So while I do believe this research project contributes to co-learning that can help to heal and resolve colonial harms or legacies, I do not presume to have produced the healing by creating this project, instead offering up this effort with the hope that it adds to wider intergenerational work to end the persistence of colonization itself at a global scale.

were especially helpful were Paul's (2007) *We Were Not The Savages* and Cuthbertson's (2015) *Stubborn Resistance: New Brunswick Maliseet and Mi'kmaq in defence of their lands*. Secondly, this chapter works to provide some of the historical context to better understand the discussions of how legacies of British colonialism are impacting everyday life in the present in the following chapters. The chapter begins by discussing the way that colonial approaches to "the Irish problem" ended up informing approaches to "the Indian problem" while also examining some of the ways that Ireland became differentiated from other colonized regions. Then exploring key moments in Irish history, this chapter traces foundational colonial precedents that became central to ongoing colonization in Mi'kma'ki back to Ireland. This section of the chapter also contributes a discussion of how the development of these strategies and their uses emerged in distinction time periods -- tracing their legacies to the precolonial, colonial/early modern, and post-integration/independence eras in Ireland. Finally, the chapter briefly discusses further links with Ireland through a discussion of the role of the Irish diaspora in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki. For further reference, the table at the end of the chapter highlights some of the precedents discussed in this chapter while providing the page numbers for where these discussions (and footnotes) can be found.

The Irish Problem and The Indian Problem

Some scholars, like De Juan and Pierskella's (2017), have argued that descriptions of colonization often underestimate how reactionary, uninformed, and haphazard European colonization was across the world. While both Irish and Mi'kmaq history provide examples of how colonial strategies often required colonists to develop new strategies as their original plans failed to materialize reactionary strategies fall back on the institutional memory provided by past instances of colonization. For example, we can look to the way the British had to adapt to the harsh condition in their efforts to colonize Taqamgug in Mi'kma'ki or the trial-and-error experience of attempting to establish plantations prior to the Ulster Plantation in Ireland. In the case of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki the use of institutional memory by English, British, and Canadian regimes is explicit in the strategies they have used to deal with what has been termed "The Irish Problem" and "The Indian Problem." Linked conceptualizations of Indigenous people in Mi'kma'ki and in Ireland as being less

than human were repeatedly made clear through the direct comparisons deployed by colonists. Furthermore, as Ohlmyer (2005) notes, from the 1620s onward, many colonists in Ireland (see George Calvert for example) were also leading the investment and administration plantations in and around Mi'kma'ki (making it possible for them to have a more concrete perspective of how to deploy lessons from Ireland to Mi'kma'ki and vice versa). Ohlmyer also highlights that many of these colonists deployed identical instructions for the development of both regions in Ireland and North America.

Discussions of the Irish problem, or how to "civilize" the native Irish while also subjecting them and their lands to English rule in order to subdue and reform them, had been a theme of discussion since as far back as the 11th century when Pope Adrian VI issued the *Laudabiliter* in 1155 (which granted England the permission to rule over Ireland and other areas for the purpose of reforming them to Catholic standards). Martin (2008) notes that Roman support for granting the English authority over Ireland had largely been influenced by ongoing anti-Irish representations being made by church officials like Bernard of Clairvaux who published the 1149 book *Life of Malachy* where the Irish were described as not men but "beasts" who were more barbaric than any other population know, "so shameless in regard of morals, so dead in regard of rites, so stubborn in regard of discipline, so unclean in regard of life... Christians in name, in fact pagans" (quoted in Ohlmyer, 2005, 60).

Canny (1988) describes how shortly after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, renewed calls for the complete dispossession and subjugation of the native population through English rule were also put forward by local rulers wanting to expand their territorial control. The Anglo-Norman invaders, Ohlmyer (2005) notes, "viewed themselves as the protectors and promoters of the English interest in Ireland against the degenerate native, Gaelic-speaking population" (4). The scholars that travelled with them, like Giraldus Cambrensis published foundational texts like *Topographia Hibernica* (1188) and the *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189), which included retellings of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland from the perspective of the invaders and providing the representations that would be used to describe the Irish problem for centuries to come, framing the Irish as barbaric, rude and animal like (Ohlmyer, 2005, 4).

By the 16th century, the Gaelicization and hybridization of the Anglo-Normans (commonly referred to as Old English) was used as further evidence of the corrupting influence of the native population by a new wave of colonists (commonly referred to as the New English) who became leading administrators of the colonial era in Ireland. Ohlmyer (2005) notes that "English expansionists -- including Sir Walter Raleigh, Humphrey Gilbert, and William Penn -- used their Irish experiences to confirm their assumptions of savagism, paganism, and barbarism and applied these to the Indigenous population of the New World" (20). Magee (2018) notes that 16th century writers whose views greatly influenced the attitudes taken by these colonists continued to draw on the earlier tropes developed in the 12th century representations of the Irish, however, while invoking "classical precedents for settlement in Ireland, including the concepts, drawn from the Roman Empire of hierarchy, colonisation and military subjugation"(560). Spenser's 1596, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, for example, highlights the view that England's previous attempts to settle Ireland had been inadequate and argued that only military conquest and replacement of Gaelic Ireland with a new political order established by the English could civilize the lawlessness of the native Irish. The problem of having failed to gain control over Ireland's territory and people in the pre-colonial era was also compounded with renewed calls for intervention on Catholicism in Ireland.

Importantly, the need to prevent Ireland from threatening the security of England as it sought to expand its control to overseas colony was, as Ohlmyer (2005) argues, one of the most pressing issues during the establishment of the British empire. This sentiment was also echoed by authors in the 16th century like Richard Hakluyt whose (1584) book *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* highlights the strategic importance of the Ireland as the Western gateway to the Atlantic and various colonial opportunities overseas (Hakluyt also particularly discusses the importance of Ireland in relation to interests in Mi'kma'ki). Hakluyt based much of his writing on experiences in Newfoundland and encouraged English investments in Taqamgug. Also highlighting this important connection in English expansion, Smyth (2006) notes that early maps of Ireland, like *the cotton map* of 1526, included Galway among an otherwise unmarked Western coast due to English awareness of the way that "Bristol fisheries [made their way] through Galway and on across the Atlantic to Newfoundland -- known in Irish as *Talamh an Éisc* (the Fish Bank)

(23). Ohlmyer (2005) notes that as the British were able to more fully implement English legal, political, social, and economic processes through their colonization of Ireland in the 17th century, so too were they able to facilitate their ability to focus more on expansion of the British empire abroad.

Numerous similarities exist in the approaches that were taken to address the Irish problem between the 12th and 19th century and the treatment of the L'nuk by British and later Canadian colonial officials. However, in the 19th century, just as much of colonists began to intensify their implementation of strategies that were first experimented on in Ireland to Mi'kma'ki, more differences than similarities between approaches towards the Irish problem and "the Indian problem" begin to emerge. What can be regarded as the start of the formal end of Ireland being a colony (with the Act of Union in 1801) brought with it attempts to integrate the Irish into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a new discourse around "The Irish Question" in response to the strong grassroots organizing around home rule, land reform acts that returned much of the land to the native Irish and finally the signing of the Anglo-Irish treaty. While this description jumps over much of the events that took place in-between, the point to be seen from this is that none of these opportunities have been afforded to Indigenous people within British North America or later Canada, in spite of their being other assimilatory frameworks that have been put into place. Numerous contributing factors, including the varied participation and key roles that some of the native Irish took up in supporting the British empire,³⁴ tensions with the descendants of planters and England, and emergent ideas about race could have all played a factor in the shift in recognition around Irish decolonization, not just from England but from the rest of the international community.

However, since the mid-19th century in the colonies recently amalgamated into Canada, there has been no such recognition from the international community and the colonial regimes have been able to (for the most part) act with impunity in their efforts to extinguish sovereignty and exterminate Indigenous populations. Instead, the "Indian Problem" has been clearly articulated as the need to dispossess and subsume all Indigenous nations in the territory now known as Canada, drawing on similar tactics of

³⁴ See Ohlmyer (2005) and Alderson (2019) for a discussion of some of the roles taken on by the Irish in colonization.

dehumanization, as well as papal edicts like ‘The Doctrine of Discovery’, and anti-Indigenous propaganda in order to justify foreign intervention over Mi'kma'ki and other Indigenous territories. Under the Canadian regime, numerous politicians from the first Prime Minister J.A. Macdonald to the 1920s Indian Affairs minister Duncan Campbell Scott have gone on the record proposing a final solution to "The Indian Problem" through genocide (murder, kidnappings, forced starvation, and criminalization) (Queen's University SHARE research group, n.d.). For example, in 1920, when Scott successfully introduced new legislature that made attendance in Indian Residential Schools mandatory for all Indigenous people within the territory now known as Canada, he clearly articulated his intention to use the schools for this purpose:

"I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone... Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill" (Scott, April 12, 1910).

Rather than honouring nation-to-nation treaties, entering into union with the confederacy, or even considering ideas around home-rule that might have integrated the L'nuk into the British colony (or vice versa), colonists in Mi'kma'ki have sought to address "The Indian Problem" by denying, erasing, or severing L'nuk communities from their sovereignty and status as nations. In doing so, however, they have reproduced, adapted, and intensified numerous strategies and policies that were used to address the Irish problem between the 12th and 19th century -- which we will now explore in further detail.

Pre-colonial Traces: Colonial echoes in Mi'kma'ki from 12th to 16th century Ireland

As was previously mentioned in Chapter 1, in the debates around *when* Ireland can be considered colonial, numerous scholars (Smyth, 2006; Lydon, 2008; Siochru, 2018) have referenced the time period between the Anglo-Norman invasion and the start of the plantation system as being colonial in nature. Lydon's work, for example, joins most chapters in the *New History of Ireland Volume 2* in explicitly refers to Ireland as a colony during the 13th century. Smyth (2006) writes:

In the centre of the feudalized realms of twelfth-century Europe, the concept of core and periphery was a reality in the minds of people who saw themselves as heirs to the civilization of Latin Christendom. In these core European cultures this consciousness of superiority was one of the driving forces of medieval colonization. The Anglo-Norman colonization of Ireland can be located in this wider European framework - Ireland at the western edge shares similar colonial experiences to those of the Slavic peoples at the eastern periphery of the medieval core area of Europe (22).

Nevertheless, framing the Anglo-Norman invasion as colonization is worth problematizing for numerous reasons. First, this position does not take into consideration the fact that Irish King Mac Murchada initiated the invasion (making it more constitutive of an Irish civil war). Furthermore, while this period did involve the English monarchy laying the precedents for claiming sovereignty over Ireland for nearly 700 years, the boundaries of England itself were also largely in flux (as is characteristic of the ongoing annexation of warring kingdoms that took place in the medieval period). Other kingdoms like that of the Dál Riada for example, had incorporated parts of both Scotland and the North of Ireland in the 6th and 7th century. In short, what would later be known as England, could very well have become a different territorial boundary based on the events taking place during that era. Finally, given the impetus put on English rule over Ireland *on behalf of* Rome, arguably if we did characterize this period as colonization we would have to ask whether England was partaking in Roman colonization.

Smyth differentiates this time period of the Anglo-Norman invasion from the post 16th century colonial era through highlighting the shift towards embracing ideas of modernity and civilization. Yet, there can be little doubt that English engagement with these ideas were (at least initially) rooted in the 12th century discourses that existed around Ireland (which were also used by England's allies to seek Roman approval of English-rule on the basis of reforming Irish Catholicism) (Martin, 2008a).

This 12th century use of papal approval of colonization via the dehumanization of native populations was mirrored in the invasion of Mi'kma'ki and has continued occupation under Canada. In spite of the Mi'kmaq Confederacies' status as a vassal state of Rome, the British draw on papal bulls, notably The Doctrine of Discovery, and other dehumanizing rhetoric to ignore the Confederacy's sovereignty until Mi'kmaq resistance forces them to make treaty in 1725. Among other discourses, ahistorical presentations try to promote the

view that L'nuk were 'savages' incapable of self-government, nomads with no fixed settlements, and had no sense of sovereignty in order to justify intervention and occupation by colonists (Paul, 2007).

It was only after the 13th century (in 1254 via the July Charter), however, that England (under King Henry III) started to begin to claim that the monarchy held the right to rule Ireland in perpetuity outside of Roman authority (Lydon, 2008). This started a gradual assertion of unilateral authority to rule which accelerated as the English crown began to renege on paying tithes to Rome and culminated in the post-16th century reformation period when the crown fully turned away from Roman Catholicism as a whole. Rejecting Roman authority became an important precedent as well (if not a contradictory one given the reliance on papal decrees) in the colonization of Ireland and Mi'kma'ki after the English monarchs assumed the role of being the spiritual head of their church.

Martin (2008a) notes that King Henry II's agreement to support the deposed Irish King Mac Murchada through the Anglo-Norman invasion in the 12th century also allowed the English to redirect hostilities from surrounding neighbour-states away from England towards a venture which enlisted them into swearing fealty to the monarchy. This emphasis on gathering potentially conflictive populations from the surrounding areas around England and enlisting them into invasions that allowed the crown to exchange foreign wealth for fealty only increased by the mid-18th century when English settler colonialism really began to take hold in Mi'kma'ki.

Beyond simply settling on Mi'kmaq land and swearing loyalty to the Crown, recruited groups like the Irish were also recruited for militias like the Gorham's Rangers to take part in genocide against the Mi'kmaq through scalping bounties and other military actions (Campey, 2016; Carroll, 2012; Symonds, 2003).

The Anglo-Norman invasion was also an precedent that for the crown implementing exchanges of lands and titles to pay off debts to soldiers and other populations who helped to establish English-rule.³⁵ Ohlmyer (2005) notes that while the Anglo-Normans (later, the Old English) did feel they had taken the role of proxy-rulers for the crown (setting an important precedent), unapproved territorial disputes, collaborations with the native Irish,

³⁵ In Ireland, this continued in the colonial era, with processes set in place like *The Act of Satisfaction 1653* which allowed people with all types of debt claims against the English crown to request land grants.

and violation of agreements with the monarchy all demonstrated the fact that England had not yet developed the techniques to functionally execute foreign rule during this period.

In Mi'kma'ki, after the arrival of the British in the 1600s, royal charters and grants of titles and lands were used to recruit merchant and courtiers to establish colonies on behalf of the Crown (e.g., Cupid's Cove or Alexander's Scottish Nova Scotia), and eventually other proxy-governments would also be established on behalf of the Crown (e.g., the New Brunswick Colony). As part of the culmination of the Seven Years War, the issuing of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 presented a paternalistic view of the role the British would play in colonization from that point forward, claiming to be the sole authority that settlers could purchase land through, and supposedly taking responsibility for preventing settler encroachment and violence against Indigenous nations in British North America (King George III of England, 1763). While the terms of the proclamation were, crucially, only able to be ratified by Indigenous nations themselves at the Treaty of Fort Niagara (1764) (Borrows, 1997) -- the years that followed demonstrated that the British and their allies had no real intention of following the proclamation, either in the loyalist communities which fought for the Crown or the American revolutionary communities which fought to completely remove the monarchy's control of the settler colonies. It is worth noting that another subsection of the proclamation made it legal to grant lands to soldiers who had fought in the war (again paying English debts with occupied territory), and this resulted in large tracts of land being occupied by new loyalist populations in Mi'kma'ki (something that occurred again after the US-Great Britain War of 1812) (King George III of England, 1763; Cuthbertson, 2015). With the French ceding their illegitimate claim to Mi'kma'ki and the Confederacy's population decimated from years of anti-colonial resistance, the British felt free to establish new settler colonies/plantation style land distributions that would later correspond with what are now viewed as the Maritime provinces in Canada (with the addition of the occupation of Gaspé).

Martin (2008) notes that tensions with Anglo-Norman aspirations to expand their dominancy across Ireland also led to the crown striking deals with Gaelic lords and others to try to prevent any territorial threat from emerging that could challenge the monarchy. It is worth noting that even after centuries of effort, between the 12th and 16th century, Anglo-Norman and English territorial control remained limited to the area that became

known as the pale as well as south Leinster and north Munster with Gaelic control in the ascendancy across the rest of the island. Areas still controlled by Gaelic communities continued their use of Gaelic law, and many Anglo-Norman communities began to display increased hybridity with Gaelic culture.

In Mi'kma'ki, the divide and rule tactic that had been used to try to limit native power in Ireland would be escalated with Indigenous nations. By the 17th century, British colonists saw ample opportunity to sow discord through similar tactics when their invasion began in earnest in Mi'kma'ki and the surrounding regions. With an emphasis on securing a monopoly in the fur trade, fish trade, and land for settlement, the British turned to making alliances with the Haudenosaunee who had been involved in numerous skirmishes in the previous century with the L'nuk, the Wəlastəkwewiyik, the Wendat, Huron and Algonquin nations. Furthermore, as the plantation system in Virginia began to get underway, alliances between local Indigenous nations against other colonial powers led to the Indian wars, and the L'nuk establishing the Wabanaki Confederacy (Prins, 2002).

While it has been standard practice for invading forces to take over enemy strongholds for thousands of years, the precolonial period also demonstrated the importance that English forces taking over previous Indigenous centres would have in Ireland, erecting stone forts and cementing strategic control over crucial sites like Dublin that strengthened their position in both the precolonial and colonial period. After the 13th century, the establishment of these strongholds also allowed enough stability for English settlements to turn to advancing their administration of Ireland -- founding the first exchequers who kept accounts of who owed money to the Crown in exchange for land titles, and building a repository for laws written by the monarch, known as King's writs. Later during the colonial period in Ireland, this practice would become crucial to establishing plantation towns and settlements for planter communities who needed to quickly find shelter in order to survive (see Margey (2018) for example for failed attempts to take over existing sites in the initial private plantations of Ulster in the 16th century or the identification of existing sites that could be confiscated and used by planters in the Bodley survey in 1609).

This practice also became crucial in the establishment of colonial administration in North America, where the survival of British colonists often relied upon residing at sites

that Indigenous nations like the L'nuk had chosen because of their knowledge of negotiating survival in the surrounding ecosystems. For example, British establish a military outpost and settlement at the site of Kjiptuk (now known as Halifax) to counter the French position in Unama'ki (at Fort Louisbourg) which was recently under British control. Both forts were established on or nearby existing settlements of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy. In Kjiptuk, the lack of consent in the establishment of the British fort caused the L'nuk to launch an attack on encroaching settlers at a local sawmill. This conflict was what led to the infamous scalping proclamation by Cornwallis and the British officializing a policy of genocide towards the Mi'kmaq (also in 1749) (Cuthbertson, 2015).

The introduction of King John's "King's writs" after 1210, started the precedent of distributing English common-law which would become instrumental to foreign rule (Martin, 2008c). In Ireland, in spite of common-law being preceded in this time period, Ohlmyer (2005) notes that it was not until the refinement of colonial governance during the 17th century and the use of national assize courts that real engagement with English legal systems became prevalent among all populations in Ireland. In Mi'kma'ki, the use of common-law as a foundation for all manners of governance and claims of jurisdiction became instrumental in colonial interpretations of legal agreements and the ongoing denial of Indigenous legal orders. The Canadian government, for its part, claims that English common-law became implemented everywhere but Quebec by 1759. However, the separate colonies on Mi'kmaq land claimed to establish English common law at various times including 1758 in Nova Scotia, 1763 in New Brunswick, 1763 in Prince Edward Island, and 1832 in Newfoundland (Government of Canada, 2017; Laskin, 1969).

During King John's reign in the 12th century, increasing debts due to war with France and resistance to taxation from the Crown during this time period also led the Baron class to revolt forcing the Crown to sign the Magna Carta Libertatum (great charter of freedoms), which limited the amount of wealth that could be extracted by the Crown and allowed the wealthiest Barons to join the King's Great Council to oversee regulation of the baronies in 1215. This council provided the precedent for what would later be known as "parliament" in 1236 (Martin, 2008c; UK Parliament, 2021). The sociolegal attempts to rule by the English continued with King John's successor, Henry III, who went on to decree the rejection Roman of authority through the July Charter and the claim that the

monarchy would rule Ireland in perpetuity. Further, he refined the use of an exchequer system in Ireland, introducing a judicial system for the sole purpose of enforcing debts. Introducing the parliamentary system to Ireland, in 1264, King Henry III only allowing participation by barons, landlords and merchants on the island (before allowing for local representation in 1297).

In Ireland, while this introduction of an English parliamentary system on foreign soil laid the groundwork for later colonial governance models around the world, it wasn't until the 17th/18th century, that the Irish parliament became explicitly driven by colonial intentions within the plantation system. In Mi'kma'ki, however, as the British worked to consolidate control of their colonies, the parliamentary system was brought into Mi'kma'ki through general and legislative assemblies. By 1758, the first English parliamentary style assembly was held in Nova Scotia, followed by the legislative assemblies in St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island) in 1773, New Brunswick in 1784, Newfoundland 1832, and Gaspé (as a part of 'The Province of Canada' in 1841) (Forsey, 1980; Legislature of Ontario, n.d.). None of these assemblies involved participation by the L'nuk.

Watt (2008) argues that in the 13th century, the crown began treating Ireland as a colony based on three logics: First that it should be both self-sufficient and supply resources to the crown (for example in the wars that came with Wales and Scotland). Secondly "the structures of government, the law and legal system, the relationship of church and state would be the same in Anglo-Ireland as in England itself" (374). Finally, the English maintained control of justice, through common law, and royal legislation, and a judicial system controlled by the crown. However, *The New History of Ireland* series notes that by the 14th century many of these aspects of Anglo-Irish relations and English rule became strained as the crown worked to draw on the native Irish and the Old English in support for war against Scotland, and areas under Old English control became further Gaelicized (Lydon, 2008).

The 14th century was also one of crucial precedents being set around attempts to control culture, likely as a reaction to the resurgence of Gaelic and widespread integration of the Old English into Gaelic culture. The threat posed by the Old English and local populations resulted in Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland passing the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), serving as a crucial sociolegal precedent for later cultural bans

across the British empire. Criminalizing an extensive range of cultural expressions, each of the banned activities was deemed punishable by death (although this was rarely implemented). The statutes include: Bans on the use of the Irish language (by both the English and any Irish Gaelic communities living with the English); bans on the use of Irish Gaelic by the Irish living amidst the English; criminalization of miscegenation and fostering of Irish children; making native Irish names illegal; banning Irish traditional clothing, music, and bardic traditions; and banning hurling (traditional Irish sport). Fortunately, the implementation of this level of control over local interactions proved almost impossible, and the Irish culture not only survived but cultural mixing continued at a local level.

For the Mi'kmaq however, the precedents set by this legislation, as well as the later legislation during the colonial period, built the foundation for both the sociolegal tactics used by the British and later Canada, and the extreme measures that were put into place to implement them. For each of the themes listed above, there is a correlating piece of legislation that was put into place to control Mi'kmaq populations. In 1722, miscegenation was criminalized between Acadians and Mi'kmaq communities and Canada continued to use discriminatory frameworks in the 1868 Indian Act to discourage miscegenation (at the risk of losing recognition of their Indigeneity for themselves or their children) (Sark, September 22, 2020; Thompson, 2008). In 1876, the adoption of 'Christian'/European names was also forced onto L'nuk communities, giving the discretion to assign names to the Indian agents. However, many Mi'kmaq families, having been converted to Catholicism, have already received Christian names prior to this point (Government of Canada, 1985; Joseph, 2020). Colonists implemented bans of the use of language (post-1884 via Indian Agents on reserve empowered by the Indian Act and post-1921 via compulsory attendance in language suppressing residential schools) (Government of Canada, 1985; Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b). L'nus were forced to not wear traditional native fashion customs (in 1914) as well as dealing with enforced removal of Indigenous hair and clothing at residential schools (post-1930s in Shubenacadie) (Government of Canada, 1985; Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018; Weeks, 2018). Violent suppression of traditional music took place (post-1885 via the Indian Act, as music was seen as part of

traditional ceremonies that have been banned until the second half of the 20th century) and residential schools violently punished singing anything other than hymns (Lepofsky, Fernández-Llamazares and Recalma-Clutesi, January 2, 2020). Like the Irish, the L'nuk also had their traditional sports banned. For the Mi'kmaq this took place in 1867, when The National Lacrosse Association [of Canada] was founded and took on the task of preventing Indigenous participation in the sport (which was traditionally played by both the Haudenosaunee and the Mi'kmaq)(Edwards, 2021). Further, at various points in history, the crown took on the right to ban L'nus from accessing guns or ammunition: First in 1677 during King Philip's War and then again after 1884 with the Indian Act granting the superintendent general the right to restrict and/or prohibit the sale of ammunition to the L'nuk. Conditions on the use of weaponry also became part of the information put onto permission letters given to people leaving reserves by Indian agents (CBU, 2007a; Government of Canada, 1985).

It is noteworthy, too, that in 1324, the crown criminalized non-Christian religious practices and witchcraft as well in Ireland (Riddell, 1917). While undoubtedly the overarching colonial focus in Ireland would take the shape of persecution of non-Protestant Christians, this has important parallels in Mi'kma'ki. In 1885, Canada officialised the ban on spiritual gatherings and potlatches that involve sharing between Indigenous communities. This was extended in 1914 with the ban of traditional regalia, and 1925 with the criminalization of Indigenous dancing (which is integral to many ceremonies) (Government of Canada, 1985; Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). In the case of the Mi'kmaq who were seen to be both Catholic and traditional,³⁶ the sociolegal precedents set to either reform, assimilate, or forcibly convert L'nus drew on the wealth of experience provided from centuries of similar legislation in Ireland.

By the end of the 14th century, Cosgrove (2008) notes that the English began losing territorial control in Ireland, peaking in the 15th century as "more territory passed into the hands of 'Irish enemies' and 'English rebels' (hostile Gaelic Irish and rebellious Anglo-Irish)" (533). The area that remained under English control became known as the pale (ibid). At the same time, England also took on the role of attempting to prevent raids from Brittany, Scotland and Spain from attacking - something that became a recurring theme in

³⁶ Or Catholic and Pagan - as the Irish were.

English colonialism (and that became more of a necessity as intercolonial competition increased in the 16th century). Whether to characterize this as "protection of Ireland" or prevention of other colonial interests from gaining a foothold over an area that the English wanted a sustained monopoly in is debateable. In any case, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the theme of juggling Indigenous resistance alongside intercolonial warfare is one that is central to the history of British colonialism in Mi'kma'ki.

A Laboratory for Empire: The Development of Colonialism and Plantations in Early Modern Ireland

Ludlow and Crampsie (2018) note that the start of the 16th century saw land ownership beyond the pale largely in the hands of Gaelic Irish chieftains and Irish society remained organized through Brehon laws and customs, alongside Anglo-Norman areas that "exhibited various degrees of hybridity". While numerous precedents for colonialism had been set in the previous centuries, it was only after the 16th century that the English (and later British) began to develop strategies, policies, and technologies for exercising more complete control over Ireland. Like the earlier period, the use of dehumanizing rhetoric to justify interventions continued to draw and build upon the 12th century writings about how the Irish were barbaric, but whereas previous calls of intervention had focused on reforming Irish culture and Irish Catholicism, the impacts of the English reformation coupled with ongoing resistance from Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Norman (Old English) Catholics renewed these calls with new fervor from protestant communities.

After the English had struggled to increase control over the island in the 15th century, new techniques like King Henry VIII's surrender and regrant agreements attempted to quell the ongoing rebellions against the pale. Siochrú and Brown (2018) note that this technique was first developed to confiscate Catholic lands as part of the dissolution of the monasteries (during the reformation period), which led King Henry VIII to working to repopulate monastery lands with New English Protestants in Ireland.³⁷ In Mi'kma'ki, the surrender and regrant system has continuously shaped colonial policy both from British North America's written understandings of the treaties and Canada's

³⁷ The integration of the New English to challenge the Old English (Anglo-Irish) populations would become a major theme as the reformation solidified itself in England after Queen Elizabeth I's rule.

approaches towards negotiations around unceded land. These agreements work on the principal that all the land is held by the crown and some of the land is, conditionally, granted back to those who receive recognition. This precedent is arguably one of the most crucial as the surrender and regrant is central to current attempts by the Canadian government to extinguish all unresolved land claims over what it considers Crown lands (Pictou, June, 5, 2018; Pictou, 2017; Fraser, March 07, 2017)

King Henry VIII also attempted to implement new sociolegal controls over Gaelic culture that echoed much of the contents of the 1366 *Statutes of Kilkenny*, with the 1537 *Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language* (but given the lack of control that the English had over much of the island the application of this act was inconsistent at best). Between the 1530s and 1540s, as his attempts to implement surrender and regrant policies largely failed, King Henry VIII also changed the status of Ireland to a Kingdom as part of his attempts to assert England's jurisdiction over the island (Crown of Ireland Act 1542, Irish Statutes, 1995).

The first British plantations emerged shortly after these policies in the former territories of Laoighis and Uíbh Fhailí as a response to acts of rebels from these areas frequently attempting to attack the Pale during the 1520s. As Margey (2018) notes, King Henry VIII's advisors had called on him to establish a new settlement of loyal Englishmen to subjugate the region, however it was not until the 1540s under King Edward VI that the plantation was first attempted. The first plantation attempt in these counties used rudimentary surveying to identify lands in the region, which represented a crucial turn away from previous eras where Uíbh Fhailí had been known as "Terra Incognita" to the British (562). This became part of the process, as Smyth (2006) notes, that made Ireland visible through cartography pointing to the fact that most of the island had not been mapped by 1526's Cotton Map, while in the colonial period the English had achieved almost complete representation of the island via Petty's map of 1659. This start of the cartographic advancement in Ireland was also crucial, as is noted in chapter 1, in helping to inscribe the landscape with colonial names via Anglicization that represented ideas about sovereignty over land back to colonizers. In Mi'kma'ki, cartographic representations portraying the region as British also began early on with representations of the territory after the arrival of John Cabot. However, after the Seven Years War, the British worked to

survey and map all of Mi'kma'ki. In Epekwitk, they did this with the entire island in 1764-1765, implementing a campaign to populate the island with protestant planters who would serve as landlords. In 1767 townships were divided into Queen's County, King's County, and Prince's County. By 1769, the newly established colony of 'St. John's Island' separated itself from the administration of Nova Scotia, establishing its own central government without the consultation of the Mi'kmaq (Belshaw, 2015; CBU, 2007a; Edelson, 2018). As was discussed in Chapter 1, cartographic representations continue to be used to undermine Indigenous sovereignty and to portray the land as subsumed by Canada.

Through the surveying of land in the Laoighis and Uíbh Fhailí plantation resulted in a total of 29 grants in Laoighis and 11 in Uíbh Fhailí were given to English and Welsh soldiers, Anglo-Irish and Scottish settlers with some land being granted to the native Irish. However, terms of rent, tenure, and other policies for administering the plantation left it largely unregulated until after Queen Mary I's reign.

Among other policies, Queen Mary I established a system of reserved lands that would allow for the removal and (attempted) containment, the precursor to reserves. These lands were 1/3 of the traditional territory of the Gaelic Irish communities who had lived in the region. Nevertheless, as Margey (2018) notes, in spite of extremely important precedents being set, this phase of the plantation system also resulted in failure due to a lack of precise maps and a settler population that was unable to suppress consistent incursions by Irish warriors. It goes without saying that the reserve system preceded during this time became instrumental in the policy taken up by British colonists in North America. In 1801 in Mi'kma'ki, British colonists turned to also establishing reserve lands, relocating L'nus away from areas the English hope to settle under the pretense of protecting them from settler encroachment, a claim that was debunked quickly as the colonies begin decreasing the size of reserves throughout Mi'kma'ki and enacting restrictions on mobility for Indigenous populations confining them to reserve (through the pass system) (CBU, 2007a; Cuthbertson, 2015; ICTINC Staff, June 23, 2015).

With the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, new land surveys were undertaken for the Laoighis and Uíbh Fhailí in 1562 and new patents were granted to attract larger amounts of settlers. These came with the new caveat that settlers had to provide military support, adhere to English law and custom and restrict their interactions with the native Irish

(Margee, 2018). The Queen's addition of the condition of providing military support showed evidence of the growing evolution of the plantation system, building on the failings of her predecessors while also supporting ongoing military incursions against Gaelic Irish leaders, some of whom she attempted to negotiate with.

Gaelic leaders who did negotiate with the crown were often still treated as savages and subjected to a colonial gaze however. For example, when Gaelic leader Shane O'Neill went to negotiate at the English court of Queen Elizabeth I, it was recorded that he was treated with the same level of shock and awe as recent visitors from America or China, and that the crowd was eager to see the savage Irish in person (Jaster, 2007). Given the oral histories of L'nus being taken by Cabot to England and other instances like the travels of Massamouet, it is likely that this type of colonial gaze also had parallels in Mi'kmaq experiences in England (CBU, 2007a).

In spite of Queen Elizabeth I's attempts to secure the plantation, ongoing attacks on the plantation caused many settlers to leave during by the 1580s. However, this second phase of plantations in Laoighis and Uíbh Fhailí endured in various forms and was still ongoing in the early 17th century (Margey, 2018).

By the second half of the 16th century, Queen Elizabeth began to work to shift the cost of colonization through collaborations with private investors/adventurers. Margey (2018) notes that the establishment of private plantations (in Ulster) was taken on by private investors who saw themselves as bringing to a savage land, law, peace and civilisation. For the crown, these plantations also posed the potential to destabilize the threat of both Irish and Scottish chieftains in the north (Ohlmyer, 2005). However, as Margey highlights, efforts by private enterprises like that of Sir Thomas Smith and Walter Deveraux ultimately failed in spite of being granted claims over large swaths of land (in Great Arde, Little Arde and Clandeboye for Smith, and Clandeboye and County Down for Deveraux). These private plantations, however, also offer important precedents for understanding the techniques that were then applied to Mi'kma'ki. Margey (2018) points out that Smith's use of promotional literature to recruit adventurers represented a precedent for the plantation system. While Smith's plantation ultimately failed when the Indigenous structures they hoped to settle in were destroyed by the Gaelic Irish, Smith's use of recruitment materials laid the foundation for other literature used in Ireland and abroad.

For example, a 1610 Ulster plantation brochure referred to as 'The Printed Book' was printed in London England. The Printed Book called for planters and undertakers to take on the task of clearing the native Irish from confiscated lands in exchange for land grants (Blenerhasset, 1610). In Mi'kma'ki some of the earliest examples of this can be seen in the literature distributed after the Royal Proclamation of 1763 when the colonies began attempting to recruit settlers en masse via loyalist recruiters who communicated offers of land grants (often without cost) to newcomers who agreed to work the land for a specified number of years (Government of The United Kingdom, March 7, 1748-9).

Deveraux's private plantation scheme was able to amass a larger force of businessmen and soldiers with additional troops being granted by Queen Elizabeth, which they used to successfully attack and murder one of the Gaelic Leaders (Sir Brian McPhelim O'Neill). However, they still failed to establish a plantation over the territory they wanted to claim and ended up with only a settlement at Carrickfergus. Margey (2018) notes that these failures were important precedents for future plantations, because they led the Crown to understand the importance of having the full financial and military support and local government when working to establish plantations (567). Given the extensive use of military actions and establishment of local government in the areas where the British set up plantations in and around Mi'kma'ki, the implementation of these lessons became quickly applied.

The next of the major plantations in Ireland was developed in Munster, benefitting from the confiscation of large tracts of land from the Old English after the failed Desmond Rebellion ended in the 1580s. Margey (2018) notes that during the rebellion, the Queen's advisors called for the eradication of all rebels and replacement of their populations with a completely new society. This type of call for outright genocide and replacement can be seen echoed in the plantation warfare both in Virginia and in Mi'kma'ki in later years.

Building on the failures of previous plantations, Queen Elizabeth had the land surveyed (although, as Margey points out that the results were inaccurate) and attempted to implement a much more organized plantation within Munster, introducing large seignories of 4000+ acres, deploying the use of undertakers who agreed to bring 91 English settlers to their estate and to implement English settlement styles and protestant churches. Margey writes that Justices of the Peace in England advertised the scheme and helped to choose

who would receive the opportunity to be undertakers, with each having to invest £2,577 (approximately \$4,000 CDN). This plantation scheme demonstrated how much improvement could be made with more detailed surveying, cartography and planning - although inaccuracy in all three made for major drawbacks. Issues around vague boundaries and challenges over title from the Gaelic Irish proliferated and the English attempted to use judicial processes (a commission on titles) in 1588 to assert legal right for the planters. The importance of the Munster plantation is highlighted by the way that, as Smyth (2006) notes it provided precedents for the settlement model used in later land grants in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas (426).

Further, large increases in population overtime demonstrated new hope for the British that plantations could be resilient with 3000 settlers in 1590, 12,000 by the end of the century, 22000 by 1641, and 30,000 after 1660 -- allowing them to slowly outnumber the Gaelic Irish and Old English populations (Ohlmyer, 2005). The consistent rise in planters (outside of the period of destruction caused by the Nine Years war in 1593 to 1603) transformed local architecture, implemented English agricultural practices and developed an increasingly strong timber industry.³⁸ Even the failed rebellion against the plantation, instead of deterring planters, only led to landlords like Boyle using the unrest to gain control of seven plantations and the area of Bandonbridge -- this consolidation of property in the hands of larger landlords continued until 1/3 of all of Munster was in the possession of just two landlords in by 1622 (Margey, 2018).

This time period also brought with it the start of the plantation system in the region near Mi'kma'ki with the Virginia, and Phippsburg plantations (1606 in Maine). The first plantation in Mi'kma'ki, however, failed largely due to harsh weather in Taqamgug (the Cupid's Cove plantation founded in 1610). Researchers often state that the harsh winters and land weren't conducive to plantations in Mi'kma'ki, however, examples like planters extracting wood from New Brunswick, and Newfoundland (where slave boats were built), demonstrate that the plantation logic of replacing Indigenous peoples with settlers and creating mass extraction of resources was a foundational part of the British settler colonial project in the region. Furthermore, there were also examples of slavery plantations, like the

³⁸ The Munster Plantation was also briefly instrumental for supplying furs, tallow (fat used in candle making and other goods) and wool to England.

estate of Timothy Ruggles in what is known to as Annapolis Nova Scotia (Bonikowsky, 2013; Cell, 1965; Houston and Smyth, 1987; Marks, n.d.; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, 2021; Cottreau-Robins, 2014)

The previously mentioned Nine Years War in Ireland, also led to the formal end of the Gaelic Chieftdoms in Ireland, with the surrender of Gaelic forces after the Battle of Kinsale, the flight of the Earls in 1607, and the failed rebellion of the O'Doherty's in Inishowen in 1608. For the first time, the Gaelic Irish were no longer able to defend Ulster from mass confiscations by the English. Kearns (2013) notes that one of the results of the Nine Years War was a campaign, led by the English via Lord Mountjoy to implement a scorched earth policy that effectively halved the population of Ulster, allowing for the newly vacated land to be an ideal spot for colonization (which Kearns notes was seen as the first cooperative enterprise of King James I/VI's Kingdom of Great Britain).

While Ludlow and Crampsie (2018) note that scorched earth tactics were used by both the Gaelic Irish and the English in military conflict, this became a widespread colonial tactic in warfare in Mi'kma'ki as part of British colonization. One of the first recorded examples of this type of warfare is recorded in the records of the Virginian colonies after the first Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614), where British planters officially endorsed a policy of scorched earth, murder and enslavement of local Indigenous communities. Similarly, historical records of the great expulsion of the 1750s saw the British use this tactic across Mi'kma'ki to try to suppress Acadian rule (indeed the burning of Mi'kmaq settlements during the time period also gave way to the name Burnt Church) (Belshaw, 2015; Waterhouse, 1622).

Almost immediately following Mountjoy's campaign in 1605, the British turned to criminalizing traditional Gaelic legal systems around land, banning the gavelkind, or the traditional shared inheritance of land by all sons that underpinned communalism and the kin-based rundale systems of septs in Irish society. For Kearns (2013), this marks an important turn in English colonialism towards abolishing traditional legal orders and relations to land. As King James VI/I assumed more authority over Ulster, he also turned to other sociolegal measures to confiscate land through the application of English law establishing the 1606 "Commission for the Remedy of Defective titles which, on pain of fine or forfeiture, required all Irish landowners to prove their title to their holdings"

(Ohlmyer, 2005, 11). Without question this approach towards the legality of confiscating land laid the foundation for future colonial strategies in Mi'kma'ki as this tactic continues to be applied when the Confederacy and other nations have to prove their title (via colonial law) rather than the onus being on the colony.

In 1608-1609 as King James VI/I looked to establish what would become the Ulster Plantation, the king commissioned two surveys of the region that greatly improved on the level of detail seen in previous plantation schemes: The first examined a wide range of details about seizable lands, including land qualities, potential values, and existing titles, while the second (which became known as the Bodley's Survey) contained over forty detailed maps of Ulster's baronies with information on exact boundaries, areas of interest and even buildings that could be used by settlers (Margey, 2018). As Ludlow and Crampsie (2018) note, at the center of the plantation system was the planning and establishment of four hundred new plantation towns to attract new settlers, which also served religious centers for the Protestant religion.

The plantation scheme also built on past lessons by working to integrate undertakers from both England and Scotland (as part of the newly formed United Kingdom of Great Britain) alongside granting lands to "deserving natives", incentivizing participation in the plantation by locals (ibid). Conditions for undertakers included: taking the oath of supremacy (to the Church of England), storing arms to protect against insurgents, and remaining in Ulster for at least the first five years all aimed to help solidify the start of the plantation (ibid). While this new plantation scheme aimed at including the native population, most of the grants offered to natives were the worst quality land and those that failed to receive grants had to move to bogs or woods (ibid).³⁹

In Mi'kma'ki numerous parallels around both the idea of "granting land to deserving natives" and displacement to less fertile lands to benefit settlers exist. In terms of displacement, the L'nuk were forced to try to move away from depleted foodways as encroachment continued in much of the 18th century and by the 19th century were facing relocation by colonial officials. This was compounded by the use of sociolegal

³⁹ Later displacement to infertile land the 18th century saw a shift towards lands being allocated to cattle fattening in the midlands, dairying in the South, linen spinning and weaving in the North, tillage in the East, and settlement patterns of small farms along the Western edges of the island (Whelan, 2011, 77). The increased demands of landlords gave reason for relocation to less fertile lands even when the Irish were able to achieve tenancy.

displacement through the confiscation of lands via the 1844 Act to Regulate the Management and Disposal of the Indian Reserves (in New Brunswick) which allowed the colonists to auction lands deemed 'excessive' and the 1905 Indian Act amendment allows forcible relocation from reserves if nearby towns have more than 8,000 residents (Paul, 2007; Legislative Council of New Brunswick, 1845; Government of Canada, 1985). The idea assimilation tactics used to deny the right to property without enfranchisement also allude to a "deserving natives" discourse within colonial society in Mi'kma'ki, building on this approach in Ireland.

Working to strengthen the recruitment of merchants and private adventurers, King James VI/I also offered land to merchants who had invested in Virginia from the city of London in Coleraine and North Tyrone forming the new county "Londonderry" which would be controlled by investors from the city's "twelve great livery companies – the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners and Clothworkers" (Margey, 2018, 574). Together these companies invested £60,000 (approximately \$100,000 CDN) into the plantation by 1616, and formed the United Irish Society (a defacto joint stock company) to manage their plantation. Margey argues that the use of frequent surveys in this time period also increased the ability of the crown to assess whether or not undertakers were fulfilling their obligations. Ohlmyer (2005) notes that the planters from the London company were found to have taken part in various unsanctioned activities exporting timber and felling trees, and setting up "breweries, mills, and tanneries without license" while drawing extortionate rates from Irish tenants (11). However it was primarily a lack of follow through in terms of undertaker commitments and a lack of wealth being remitted to the crown that drew disdain from the monarchy resulting in the London company having their charter revoked after 1623.

During the first half of the 17th century, Margey (2018) notes that other smaller plantation schemes were also being implemented in Ireland to decrease the power of the native Irish, while restructuring traditional landholding in other regions of Ireland, as part of the continuation of surrender and regrant policies. These largely took place in Wexford, Longford, Leitrim, King's County, Laois and Westmeath, between "the 1610s and 1620s, affecting 110,000 acres" (Margey, 2018, 578). According to Margey, this time period was

marked by issues with settlers moving beyond plantations outside of their officially granted lands became commonplace during this time period as well, with reports of losses showing evidence that planters had entered almost all of the counties on the island. Adding to the encroachment, Ohlmyer (2005) notes that unofficial plantations in Ulster also began to flourish by the 1630s with roughly 7,000 migrants, mostly of Scottish provenance moving to County Down and Antrim.

This issue with expansion beyond official settlements echoes one of the largest issues in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki regarding refusing to enforce Crown obligations, that of squatters. Prior to confederation, this issue came to a head in the colony of New Brunswick, who took on the task of assessing the total amount of squatters on reserve lands (Cuthbertson, 2015). After debating about removing them in 1841, a 'select committee' in 1843 instead decided that the squatters were contributing to the development of the colony and could be sold any reserve lands not actively being used by Indigenous people. This led to the (1844) Act and Surveyor General Thomas Baillie writing up a list of the total amount of necessary land that should be kept for Wabanaki people and what could be sold to squatters. In 1871, the federal government found that records had not been kept of where the money had gone. After confederation, Canada refused to put resources towards stopping squatters from claiming any land they wanted and ignoring all agreements that had been previously made with the L'nus. Even the Indian agent McIsaac attempted to alert the federal government to the way that colonists treated the land as an open frontier but instead Canada sided with the squatters -- for example, in 1894, Chief Peter Julian wrote to Ottawa about squatters invading and occupying his tract of land that had been settled with King George and the federal government in turn sold the land to the squatters rather than paying to have them removed (ibid).

Ohlmyer also highlights that the first half of the 17th century in Ireland was also instrumental in developing strategies to recruit Gaelic Irish lords who then became integrated into the colonial elite, adopting Anglicization while upholding surrender and regrant policies. As Ohlmyer (2005) notes:

[D]uring the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the Crown (and its agents) bestowed 258 new Irish knight-hoods, 'of which just under a third was awarded to men of Old English or Irish name'. Between 1603 and 1640, the

resident Irish aristocracy more than doubled, from twenty-nine peers to sixty-nine. The number of Protestant peers increased tenfold over the same period, from three to over thirty-six. Thus, the Crown created a new generation of ambitious and avaricious peers, usually Protestant and largely of English and, to a lesser extent, Scottish extraction who were determined to make their fortunes in Ireland and to secure public reward and social recognition [...] In addition to promoting newcomers to Irish peerages, the Crown continued to cultivate influential Gaelic-speaking native lords, many of whom had entered into surrender and regrant agreements in the previous century" (13).

Ohlmyer shows that the Irish Catholic elite became active participants in manipulating their roles in plantation politics to secure better positions in the landed class and that many, while gaining power from their work to adopt English custom and practices (including architecture) also became further indebted to the Crown. Parallels with Mi'kma'ki can be seen here in the implementation of the band council system and the forced participation with the settler economy in Canada after the 19th century.

The time period of the "Early Stuart peace" or stability of the plantation system between 1603 and 1641 saw the gradual anglicization of Ireland, the transformation of Irish landholding, and implementation of English law, measurements, and control over land seeming to gain momentum until it was violently interrupted by the 1641 rebellion (Ludlow and Crampsie, 2018). The rebellion (which was led by the Irish confederates working with King Charles I) saw Catholics and the Old Irish English rising against planters and the New English, causing an outmigration of large numbers of settlers, massive destruction of the homes and structures from the early Ulster plantation (Margey, 2018). Rather than ending the colonial period, however, this rebellion led to colonial forces intensifying their resolve to control and conquer Ireland. Between 1641 and 1653, the impacts of the rebellion and the subsequent victory of Cromwellian forces in the 11 years' war resulted in even greater devastation⁴⁰ and set the stage for the further consolidation of control over Ireland by the British in the years to come.

Cromwell's regime advanced many of the strategies that had been used by colonial regimes in the past. While perhaps being most infamous for attempts to dispossess the

⁴⁰ This time period saw a huge drop in population, as well as renewed use of scorched Earth tactics which devastated much of the landscape of Ireland.

native Irish and Catholic communities from their land, Cromwell's government was also as Smyth (2006) notes, responsible for introducing the first systematic field survey of any European country, *the Down Survey* in 1659, which represented a huge leap forward from the surveying and cartography used by previous regimes. It was only with this level of detail that the colonial intervention put forward by Cromwell was able to facilitate "one of the largest transfers of land anywhere in early modern Europe... [reducing Catholic ownership of land from] 50% of the total in 1641 to just 14% by the late 1650s, concentrated exclusively in the western province of Connacht" (Siochrú and Brown, 2018, 584).

In order to pay for debts for the war, the government looked to confiscate and redistribute as much Catholic land as was possible. They did so through the Act of Settlement of 1652, which sought to offer pardon to all Catholic populations deemed to be peaceable and obedient to the colonial government, while excluding any populations deemed to have supported the rebels. For those who were deemed to be outside of good affection towards England at any point during the war, the government claimed that one third of their land would be forfeit while two thirds of their land would be offered to them elsewhere in the country. As Siochrú and Brown (2018) note while this Act could have potentially charged thousands of Catholics with the punishment of death, the implementation of the act focused on gaining access to land.

Starting in 1651, 40,000 Catholics soldiers were sent to work in Spanish and French armies, while civilians deemed to be vagrants were transported to the Caribbean. Ohlmyer (2005) estimates that as many as 10,000 people were transported via these policies. It is worth reiterating that even with their forced transportation, the Irish diaspora were not taken into chattel slavery. For L'nuk populations, as Lawrence (2002) notes, we are only beginning to see researchers start the work of examining the extent of forced transportation between continents and enslavement of L'nus at the hands of Europeans. We do however know that oral histories indicate that Cabot may have taken back L'nuk from Mi'kma'ki to England, and there are also reports that Gaspar Corte Real (of Portugal), Giovanni da Verrazano (of Florence), and Esteban Gómez (of Portugal) taking captives back to Europe in the 1500s (CBU, 2007a).

Those who were deemed to forfeit 2/3 of their lands as part of the Act of Settlement were ordered in 1653 to move to west of the River Shannon in Clare and Connacht. However, as Siochrú and Brown note, the necessity of having Irish Catholics available to work as tenants resulted in the government deciding to only force the removal of existing landowners. In practice, the removal was greatly overestimated with only 72 of 256 landowners taking part in the scheme and only eight being listed as landowners in the records in Connacht for that time period. Siochrú and Brown point to the fact that evidence has shown that most of the Catholics either remained in their homes or became tenants in their previous lands. As claims for land began to be brought forward by soldiers and other groups, the Cromwellian government undertook a forensically detailed survey of land known as the Civil Survey which identified which land had become forfeit and was available for redistribution, Siochrú and Brown note that while many possible lands were identified, Catholic lands provided more than enough room for grants with over half of the land of Ireland confiscatable (596). The final survey of that time period, the Down Survey, which Smyth (2006) noted demonstrated the colonial status of Ireland, became one of the most detailed studies of the landscape of Ireland (599). As was previously mentioned, the development of advanced cartographic, land surveying, and planning skills continued to evolve in Mi'kma'ki through the planning of different settlements including that of St. John's Isle in the 1700s. Further, to this day, the colony continues to invest in adapting new techniques for controlled land use and assessment of natural resources in support of continued colonialism.

Once land began to be redistributed through the Act of Satisfaction in 1653, Siochrú and Brown noted that The Committee for Adventurers and the Council of State in London began to receive requests for compensation in Irish land for all types of public debts and other practices like senior army officers and Protestant landowners buying lands owed to soldiers allowed for some landlords to gain even greater portions of land for a fraction of their (deemed) value. While the end of Cromwellian rule and the restoration of King Charles II to the English throne did result in a fraction of land being returned to Catholics (up from 14 to 22% by the 1680s) (Ohlmyer, 2005), the redistribution of land and the restructuring of land ownership had deeply transformed the landscape of Ireland.

The introduction of sociolegal measures to disempower the Catholic majority in Ireland further cemented the rise of the Protestant landed class, with several forms of legislation building on the previous cultural bans of the past, the penal laws restricted Catholics (and at times, Presbyterians allies) from having full access to roles in parliament, legal profession, education (leading the formation of hedge schools), purchases of land, or the right to bear arms (Kearney, 2014). Hedge schools allowed for the continuation of traditional education systems based on the bardic system in Ireland. Parallels to this type of suppression of traditional education exist in Mi'kma'ki where, as is discussed in my oral history interview with Pipe Carrier Clark Paul, the Mi'kmaq survived numerous bans and criminalization in the 19th and 20th century by adopting new practices to transmit knowledge intergenerationally (including language, ceremony, chants, dances, medicines, governance, etc.). Some of this was done through gatherings of the Confederacy like the annual pilgrimage to Chapel Island, where the Pu'tus would pass on historical and legal knowledge. Some of this was also done on the land through traditional subsistence under colonial rule. Like hedge schools, much of this was also done in secret within reserves, at great risk amongst the Indian agents (Clark, 2019).

While some of these measures were slowly devolved as through the post restoration era (after the 1660s),⁴¹ the Protestant victory in the Williamite wars created more precedents for utilizing sociolegal measures to suppress Catholic rights.

Overarchingly the refinement of the precedents set in the precolonial era in Ireland between the 16th and 18th centuries had led to a wealth of knowledge gained by trial-and-error schemes set up by various English monarchs and their colonial regimes. Further as the "first step on the western expansion" of the British empire, Ireland had truly become a laboratory for empire. As Ohlmyer (2005) notes that the processes which were used to complete conquest of Ireland, establish political, administrative and legal control over Irish society, while aiming to secure religious conformity together and transform legal relationships to land through the plantation system, all constituted key experiments in British imperialism. Further, in spite of ongoing grassroots resistance to Anglicization and the hybrid culture of the Old English, the integration of the Irish elite into the colonial

order both within Ireland and abroad alongside the introduction of the New English peerage allowed for both Irish and British landholders to experiment with colonial techniques that they applied elsewhere in the world. For Ohlmyer the true character that made Ireland a colony during the Early modern period had been achieved and Ireland's role as a crucial site in the expansion of empire was clear:

“[B]y the end of the seventeenth century England had finally—after two centuries of trying—conquered and colonized Ireland. English legal, political, and administrative institutions and procedures prevailed and all landed and commercial transactions were now recognizably English.”

Ludlow and Crampsie (2018) note that Ireland by the start of the 18th century had reached a state of relative stability. While the dominance of the Protestant Ascendancy (landed class) had been cemented through the Williamite wars, natives and settlers were able to begin to rebuild their homes and livelihoods. Smyth (2006) notes that following the 1641 rising/rebellion, the increasing stability over the latter half of the 17th century (with the exception of the Williamite war) and the 18th century allowed landlords to focus on maximizing outputs, increasing industrialization across the country and transforming architecture and institutions within the island. While Smyth (2006) notes that the Charter Schools movement in 1733 used to teach Protestant culture and English and the final legislation in the infamous penal laws were put into place during this time period, he noted that Catholic toleration had increased across the island, radical Presbyterianism was no longer seen as a threat to the landed class, and a flourishing linen industry in the North and woolen industry in the south saw members of all communities taking part in industrialization (418). The relative stability of the 18th century became upended, however, after the French Revolution of 1789, which as Bew (2007) notes, challenged the very principals that aristocracy and monarchism was based on in Ireland -- and led to the creation of the Society of the United Irishmen who sought to challenge what they saw as the lack of equal representation within Irish government. Through the 1790s, this Presbyterian led movement sought to disrupt the divisions between Protestant and Catholic society in Ireland in a series of confrontations (both in written, and physical form), finally culminating in the outright rebellion of 1798 with the arrival of French Republican forces in Mayo.

Colonial legacies in Mi'kma'ki and Ireland

After the suppression of the 1798 rebellion, as Crampsie (2014) notes, the 19th century brought with it a series of shifts that eventually led to what could be considered the end of Ireland being a colony, and the start of it being an integrated nation with colonial legacies. Although the rebellion had been unsuccessful, the demonstration of the instability produced by Protestant-Catholic inequality and the debates that had been raised around governance in Ireland had obviously made an impact. Crampsie notes that as a result, the British government sought to bring Ireland into the fold, or as Crampsie writes from "the periphery and into the core", through the Act of Union in 1801. This act, at least formally, took Ireland out of its status as a colony, and created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. While this marked a major shift in the representation of Ireland, Crampsie notes that at a local level the colonial legacy around governance being controlled by the landed protestant community initially went unchallenged, through their use of grand juries (elected by sheriffs of the largest landowners at the county level) and municipal authorities (who mostly focused their attention on ensuring parliament maintained Protestant representation). Further, Crampsie provides other examples of the centuries colonial character continuing in British-Irish relation, including the stark revelation in 1898, that the island had been overtaxed £2.5 million (approximately \$4.2 million CDN) per year above that of other members of the union. Nevertheless, as Crampsie (2014) notes, British policy continued to drastically shift through distance and disinvestment in the Protestant Ascendancy, and concessions to grassroots movements calling for Irish autonomy. The 19th century was also one of intensified study of statistical data, which led to increased information being produced on local populations in Ireland offering new insights to the British (and later to Irish researchers as well, for example with the Ordnance Survey that became the basis for much of the placename work that was done in the early 20th century).

In the two centuries that have followed, events demonstrated tensions between two competing legacies: that of unionists who felt disempowered by the reforms of the 1800s who sought out (and acted on) new possibilities for expressing colonial articulations of power outside of the colonial period and that of nationalists who increasingly saw any form of union with the British government as a continuation of the oppressive legacies from the colonial period. The British for their part, as Crampsie (2014) shows, entered a period of

integration and assimilation seeking to answer the Irish question once and for all through establishing a new framework for the Irish to see themselves as a part of the imperial core. Indeed, the focus on integration of colonies and assimilation of Indigenous populations dominated colonial politics on both sides of the Atlantic during this time period, with the mid-19th century being the time period when Canada confederated and attempted to enforce assimilation of Indigenous nations into its body politic.

Significant shifts in policies towards Ireland began to emerge starting in 1814. First, the government replaced the authority held by the unreliable militias that served the landlord class with the first British colonial police force (the Peace Preservation Force) which integrated members from all communities into its ranks (Bew, 2007). Then in 1826, the government officially ended the use of the penal laws. By 1831, the British Chief Secretary for Ireland, Edward Stanley established the first British national system of primary education, with teachers' salaries almost entirely paid by the government (although they only offered free classes in English) (Craith, 2012).

The work of the Peace Preservation Force in Ireland (which later became known as the Irish Constabulary and after successfully suppressing the Fenian Rising in 1867 was renamed the Royal Irish Constabulary), became the model for British colonial policing around the world. In Canada, the Royal Irish Constabulary laid the precedent for the creation of the Northwest Rifles (later known as the RCMP police force) in 1873. In Mi'kma'ki, the RCMP took on the role of enforcing colonial rule, including removal of children to residential schools (Gerster, 2019). Public education was also brought forward in Mi'kma'ki by British colonists, first in Prince Edward Island, with the Free Education Act of 1852, followed by Nova Scotia's the Free School Act of 1864, and the Common Schools Act of 1871 in New Brunswick, implementing public schooling for settlers across Mi'kma'ki. For L'nus, however, attending residential schools from 1928-1967 was also considered mandatory, and this was replaced by another violent system called Indian Day Schools between 1920-1989, alongside integrated schools where L'nus attended with settlers. Fortunately, for L'nus the advent of the Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey system has resisted full settler control over education in the present (since 1989) (Robinson, 2019; Simon, 2014 Walls, October 24, 2019). While L'nus now have access to their own language in education through the Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey system, the use of the main

public education system for colonial education has been underscored even in recent years by the inclusion of anti-Indigenous propaganda in their curriculum. Recently, Nova Scotia education boards for example, were told they could no longer use the term *unceded* in their land acknowledgements by the provincial government. The presentation of the Confederacy as conquered or being past (rather than present) sovereigns over the land is inherent in the way that Canadian history is taught about the Maritimes in many schools (Willick, June 18, 2021; Brake, November 11, 2018).

In Ireland in 1838, the Poor Relief Act bypassed the Protestant Ascendancy's authority over local politics. As Crampsie (2014) notes, the Poor Relief Act through the creation of the Poor Law Commission, created boards of guardians representing the central government. These boards were given increasing power and by 1840, the government even began to dissolve the majority of town corporations (further removing local control from the landed class) through the Municipal Corporation (Ireland) Act. Crampsie's (2014) article maps out some of the tensions that this first half of the century produced through both relieving the Catholic population from much of the types of control that had been previously used against them, while also consolidating centralized state control over affairs and surveillance in Ireland. However, Crossman (2018) argues, on the other hand, that it was only after the Land War that tenants began to have significant representation in the Poor Law Commission boards.

The Great Famine which devastated Ireland from 1845 to 1852 played a huge role in the types of reforms that took place in the latter half of the 19th century and reshaping the relationship between the landlord class in Ireland and the British state:

“Up to this point, the landed class, descendants of the initial colonizers, were viewed as the representatives of the colonizing state in Ireland. By the 1850s, the inefficiency, poor management and inability to pay for famine relief exhibited by a portion of the landlord community, combined with wholesale land clearances, evictions and the ruthless implementation of the Gregory Clause by a further portion, reduced the British government's sympathy for the Irish landlord class” (Crampsie, 2014, 209).

While the efforts of landlords to address the crisis of the famine were mixed, the scapegoating of the landlord class also proved useful in coercing attention away from the

colonial relationship that had been made evident between Ireland and Britain during the famine.

Nally (2012) notes that the British government had been aware of the extreme poverty and food instability in Ireland for years leading up to the famine, with many British authors debating whether the government should be sending populations from overly populated areas in Ireland overseas to partake in colonization, relocating families over larger areas of wasteland within Ireland or implementing a mix of public works and emigration (all of which were based on viewing the Irish as in need of intervention because of their primitive, deficient, nature). The introduction of Poor Laws had attempted to intervene on some of the abject poverty (alongside ongoing efforts to reform Irish labour and agriculture), however the Irish remained food insecure as the potato remained a staple of the Irish diet because of the fact that it allowed them to receive maximum nutrients without having to interact with the cash economy. Once the famine began, the mixed (and inadequate) approaches from the government aimed at relieving poverty through public works programs while providing aid (by Russell) and efforts to utilize the famine to discipline the population's work ethic and enforce further dispossession (by Trevelyan and Gregory) reinforced distrust between the poor and the British government (Nally, 2012). Indeed, in spite of the genuine concern shown by some British politicians like Russell, the spread of popular anti-Irish sentiments about the famine being an act of "divine providence" were commonplace and reinforced increasing tensions in British-Irish relations.

Reiterating the British government's role in creating the conditions that caused the famine, Nally (2012) argues that while the Great Famine began with the potato blight of 1845, it was colonization (and the dispossession of Irish people from their land to a mere 5% of land on the Island by the 18th century) that was at the root of the mass devastation experienced by the Irish during that period. While much of the population was reliant on potatoes, it is also worth noting that even populations living near rivers and the ocean who tended to supplement their diets with fishing had in the 1840s found their foodways disrupted by landlords who the government had allowed to lease entire rivers to sportsmen (Dublin University Magazine, 1840) and high tariffs on salt made it difficult for fish to be accessible to in-land populations (Roney, 2019). In Mi'kma'ki, colonists explicitly turned

to examples from Ireland arguing that rivers should be leased to sports fishermen using the same regulations that had been introduced in Ireland and Scotland just a decade before (Landry, 2010; Parenteau, 1998). They also developed an act to prevent moose hunting in the traditional seasons, the New Brunswick colonists introduced the 1851 Act for the protection and regulation of Sea and River Fisheries. This act banned traditional salmon fishing and the sale of fish in the autumn (which was the traditional season for fishing for L'nus).

The colonial roots of poverty, the dispossession of native populations from land, and the fact that for those with access to wealth, there was ample food in Ireland is part of why some authors continue to articulate this period as an act of genocide. Reardon (1997) notes, at the height of the famine, in 1847 alone, exports of food from Ireland included over 4,000 vessels carrying food -- including 822,681 gallons of butter, 9,992 Irish calves, 1,336,220 gallons of grain-derived alcohol, as well as peas, beans, onions, rabbits, salmon, oysters, herring, lard, honey -- amounting to over £1.2 million (approximately \$2 million CDN) worth of food being supplied to England's population that year (Reardon, September 27, 1997).

Kearns (2013) notes that during the five years of the famine perhaps 1 million people died, another 1.5 million emigrated and Ireland has never regained its previous population of nearly 9 million. Gràda's (2012) chapter in *The Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* provides more detailed estimates of the mortality while highlighting the reasons why historians can only (at best) estimate based on population measures taken before and after the famine. This loss of population transformed presence of the Irish in Ireland. If we take into account the colonial roots of the famine itself, as Kearns argues, the famine has resulted in some of the most impactful colonial legacies effecting Ireland today. Kearns notes that after the famine, emigration also exceeded immigration in every decade from the 1840s until the 1990s.

Another legacy of the famine is highlighted by Craith's (2012) chapter, *The Great Silence*, which offers a highly accessible discussion of the decimation of Irish language use before and after the Great Famine, while also offering key discussions about worldviews and language and the unique forms that the Irish language has taken and gifted to hybrid

English dialects in Ireland. Craith (2012) argues that while the Irish language was declining, the impact of the famine merits its second name "The Great Silence".

Kearns (2013) argues that the intolerable violence of the Famine caused very many Irish people to experience an enduring legacy of shame, causing them to prepare their children for exile and also making widespread investment in English (the language and cultural of emigration and business) much more prevalent (23). Further, Kearns argues that this transformation of Ireland cemented the adoption of mass starvation for social engineering as a part of the arsenal of British colonial technology. While I would argue that the colonial era also provided examples (albeit less impactful ones) of this taking place (making this adoption a colonial legacy as well), Nolan's (2012) discussion of the post famine 1851 census offers evidence to support Kearns' argument. Nolan notes that the commissioners of the 1851 census praised the famine, while they enthusiastically reported results of the removal of surplus mass of population, interrupted the system of minute divisions of land, and increased the potential for creating large sized grazing farms for cattle raising.

Colonially enforced famines played a key role in decimating the L'nuk population from around 500,000 people at the start of British contact to a meagre 20,000 people by 1752. This not only involved mass exportation of traditional food sources including fish, and fur bearing animals; but also was a result of settler overfishing and overhunting that took place alongside military actions by the British that used slashing and burning crops and poisoning food as a major way to kill off allies of the Acadians (Paul, 2007; Lawrence, 2002). The obvious impacts of British settlement and loss of traditional foodways left the L'nuk in such an extreme state of famine and poverty that colonies like Nova Scotia began to offer (insufficient) relief funds to cover food, shelter, and clothing to L'nus. Noting just how inadequate these funds were for the survival of the Mi'kmaq, numerous petitions were launched by settlers to ask the government to take more responsibility for the communities before confederation (Paul, 2007). It is also noteworthy, given the research that has been done on "the Great Silence" by Craith (2012), the integral role that returning to accessing traditional foodways, and landbased practices continues to have in relation to language resurgence in Mi'kma'ki. While the comment by Kearns (2013) around shame in relation to the Great Famine and assimilation into Anglicized society has very harrowing echoes in

the shame that some of my oral history contributors discussed around residential schools and how this system was linked to broader attempts to enforce dependency through containment, displacement, and criminalization of L'nuk ways of life.

Another legacy in Ireland was the huge influx of children who ended up living in workhouses and industrial schools after this time period. Nicholls, who in 1856 published his study on the workhouses in Ireland, found that by 1853 there were over 75,000 children under the age of 15. In 1868, the Irish Industrial Schools Act, set up residential institutions for teaching neglected, orphaned and abandoned children, which peaked in 1900 (Caranua, 2021).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, recognizes that the roots of the Indian Residential School System were in the industrial school system in the United Kingdom, and these types of industrial schools for wayward children and orphans were established in the Maritimes in 1871. While I have not found evidence as to whether or not these schools took on Indigenous children, the use of industrial schools (and also the precedent for religious reform and assimilatory processes set in Irish charter schools), represent an important connection between Irish and Mi'kmaq history. In Mi'kma'ki, the only residential school was Shubenacadie residential school which ran between 1930-1967 on a property that had previously been a farm. Unlike industrial schools which were supposed to foster self-sufficiency in wayward or orphaned populations, these schools were explicitly intent on committing genocide against Indigenous peoples -- meant to erase their identity, bonds with family and community, expose children to extreme abuse, while also forcing them to do hard labour and farming to ensure that there was very little cost to the colony. Shubenacadie was operated by The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax, the Missionary Oblates of Marie Immaculate, and the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of Halifax (Government of Canada, 2020; Nova Scotia Archives, 2021).

After the famine, the Irish government turned to engaging in a transformative redistribution of land from landlords to Irish tenants redistributing the population across the island. This differed greatly from Mi'kma'ki, where containment and famine had resulted in increased grants of land being offered to settlers (Paul, 2007; Lawrence, 2002), this redistribution of land focused on assisting the native Irish.

By the end of the 1860s, the government began enacting government and land reform

measures that (over the next 50 years) began to clearly distance the state from landlords and the distribution of land that existed in the plantation era, seeking a way to integrate and pacify nationalists and the lower classes of the Catholic Irish population. The 1869 Disestablishment Act, for example, sought to allow tenants to purchase previously occupied church lands for one fourth of the purchase price and to enter into a mortgage with the government (Nolan, 2012). Building on this, the 1870 Land Act attempted to attract tenants who needed help buying property but was found to be too restrictive to be accessible for most.

Crampsie highlights that many reforms were made during this time period as well, including the introduction of secret ballots, attempts to produce more equality in religion, and the introduction of the 1870 Land Act (a quite restrictive land reform act that did not end up having as many applicants as later versions would). By 1872, the government also changed the Irish Poor Law Commission into the Local Government Board, giving more roles and purview over local affairs to the state.

In Mi'kma'ki, while the native Irish were being brought into more rights as citizens of the union, the second half of the 19th century was marked with the introduction of legislation to presume control over all aspects of L'nuk life via the Gradual Civilization, Gradual Enfranchisement and Indian Acts. From the time of confederation onward, legislative oppression, dispossession, and displacement would begin to mark a clear divergence between Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences with the British (beyond the fact that Ireland no longer was considered a colony). Further, in this time period, a shift away from colonial comparisons between the Irish and Indigenous societies and comparisons with other settler societies like Canada began to take the stage, even in nationalist traditions.

A key example of this kind of comparison can be seen in the 1870s shortly after the colonists in Canada were granted home rule (in 1867), when nationalists began calling for home rule for the Irish.⁴² The success of Canadians being granted independence was framed in parliamentary debates by nationalists as a reason to implement the same measures in Ireland (Dunne, 1982). Mohr notes that (2019) Isaac Butt, one of the founders of the Irish Home Rule movement is quoted as saying “Why should not the self-

⁴² This form of self-government would involve continued participation in Westminster while allowing for Ireland to gain independence over executive functions and its own legislative assembly.

government which has made Canada contented and loyal be equally successful in Ireland in attaining the same results?" (10). Further Mohr writes:

“[The famous Irish nationalist leader] Redmond and other members of the Irish parliamentary party argued passionately that Irish home rule would strengthen the Empire and not weaken it.⁵³ Their main argument was that home rule, in removing the sense of injustice felt by many Irish people at the abolition of the autonomy that they had enjoyed in previous centuries, would eliminate a major source of discontent within the Empire. They also argued that autonomy would reconcile Irish people to the British Empire as had allegedly occurred in Canada” (8).

This kind of conflation between the struggles of the Irish and the progress of colonization calls into question the amount of resistance the Irish put into distancing themselves from racialized people and other colonized peoples globally around the turn of the 20th century. If it is not clear, Canada ‘achieving home rule’ is an absurd concept because the people whose homes Canada resides on were not the nations getting to experience that partial self-government. Instead, what was happening in Canada was a graduated form of independence within proxy-rule with the monarch remaining the head of state.

The late 1870's in Ireland also brought with it a more unified nationalism through the Land League who took actions against large landlords throughout Ireland (in the period now known as the land war, 1879-1882). Crampsie (2014) notes that in response to the ongoing conflict around the land question, the government took on the task of both granting concessions and implementing Coercive Acts (like the Protection of Properties and Persons Act of 1881 that allowed for detainment of anyone found partaking in the land war and the 1887 Perpetual Crimes Act that criminalized organizing actions related to refusing to pay rents).

The concessions made in the 1880s included subsequent land reform acts being put forward, like the 1881 Land Act and 1885 Ashbourne Act, which sought to increase the access tenants had to advanced purchase costs, legalized dual ownership, fixed rent provisions, and long-term mortgages. Further concessions followed, which Crampsie notes, attempted to kill the home rule movement with kindness, in response to the coalition between the Liberal Government and nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party which put forward the first (failed) Home Rule bill in 1886.

The decade that followed, in the 1890s saw the creation of Congested District Boards that aimed to relocate people within Ireland to less populated lands, as well as the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act which allowed landlords to paid guaranteed land stock in exchange for allowing lands to be purchased. But the most important move towards integrating the Irish into the union came in 1898, when the Local Government Act was introduced. Crampsie (2014) notes that this act sought to truly decolonize Ireland bringing it into parity with the other members of the union and allowing democratic, representative self-government for the citizens of Ireland. Crampsie notes that even as previous Protestant authorities in government lost some of their vestiges of power, communities elected a mix of representatives to local government allowing nationalist representation to emerge (with the continued demand for home rule) alongside collaborations which formed the basis for the island achieving a system of sanitary social housing, sewer and water supply schemes, increased environmental standards, and decreased outbreaks of disease.

The first decade of the 1900s also saw a continuation of land reforms (such as the Evicted Tenants Act and the 1906 survey of untenanted land for redistribution). Nevertheless, as concessions continued towards constructive unionism, nationalists continued to call for home rule, and as Bew (2007) writes that by 1912, unionists turned to creating the Ulster Volunteers (later renamed the Ulster Volunteer Force), developing the military capacity (through smuggling in arms from Germany) to resist any attempt to implement home rule in Ireland. In response the Irish Volunteers (or Irish Volunteer Force) was created to challenge the Ulster Volunteer Force should a conflict occur. Further resistance to the union appeared during World War 1, during the Easter Rising of 1916 when members of the Irish Brotherhood, Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizens Army took over the national post office in Dublin taking part in armed conflict with British soldiers and issuing the Proclamation of the Republic. In spite of these tensions, at the height of the war, Britain attempted to conscript the Irish to support their war efforts and were met with mass resistance and a general strike (Travers, 2017). However, large numbers of Irish nationalists had also fought in the war believing that it would further their chances to achieve home rule by exemplifying their loyalty to the crown.

While the context of Ireland was quite different, in 1917, during World War I, the Canadian government also worked to conscript status Indians, causing a huge backlash

from Indigenous communities who saw the notion that they could be forced to go to war for Canada to be a violation of the terms of treaties made with the Crown. At this time, Indigenous communities were still not considered citizens and had to give up recognition of their nationality if they wanted access to basic rights via compulsory enfranchisement. By 1918, an Order-in Council officially exempted status Indians from combatant duties. However, the Mi'kmaq had already sent many people to fight for their treaty allies (Belshaw, 2016; Royal Canadian Army, 2014). During World War I, many L'nu sma'knisk (warriors) went to war to protect Mi'kma'ki and their treaty allies in spite of facing discrimination in Canada and not being considered citizens. During their time at war, veterans were promised pay and supports upon returning home which many did not receive. Further, while the Military Voters Act of 1917 allowed status Indians serving in the armed forces to vote in federal elections until they were demobilized, these rights were not extended permanently and Indigenous suffragettism had to go on for much longer. To make matters worse, for those soldiers who spent four years away from their reserve, Canada stripped them of Indian status. The Mi'kmaq participation in World War II was even larger with at least half of all eligible men going to war in Europe. The fact that so many warriors were away was taken advantage of by the colonial government, and many of them came back to find that their communities had been relocated under the centralization policy in Nova Scotia, and that their communities were now facing even more hardship than before. This mistreatment of veterans was finally acknowledged in 2003, when the Canadian government acknowledged the lack of support and promised compensation that had been received by the colony for their military service, with a public apology and compensation being offered to surviving veterans (Belshaw, 2016; ICTINC, November 2, 2020; Royal Canadian Army, 2014; Mi'kmaq History Month).

In January of 1919, 28 elected members of Sinn Féin met to hold the first Dáil Éireann proclaiming it to be the new legislative assembly for Ireland, issuing a provisional constitution, and began taking on government functions (such as surveying the resources and industries of the country) (Daly, 2017). Augusteijn (2017), surveying the armed conflict between 1916 and 1921 (when the War of Independence ended) noted that the Irish public became increasingly radicalized due to the violent suppression of non-violent actions in the country, while almost all of the counties of Ireland had their towns

devastated by British forces seeking to repress the Irish Volunteers (and later the Irish Republican Army, Old IRA). Kearns (2013) notes that the attempt to prevent a civil war through partitioning Ireland at the end of the War of Independence is a fitting "postcolonial legacy" of both the Ulster plantation and the divide-and-rule strategies of British colonialism (23) -- through the creation of a space for unionists, while also giving them a familiar space to allocate control of governance and land to loyalist/Protestant communities. Kearns highlights the writing of Friel that for nationalists who found themselves in Northern Ireland, they became both at home and in exile on their own land.

The civil war that followed the partition of Ireland saw families torn apart and traumatized due to differing stances on the Anglo-Irish treaty.⁴³ People who had fought for independence together were now split into factions of Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty and found themselves fighting one another. In spite of the devastation wrought by this conflict, which Bew (2007) notes, exceeded the casualties of the Irish Volunteers in the War of Independence (443), the Anglo-Irish treaty had attempted to create a peaceable solution that would not result in the Ulster Volunteer Force being at war with the rest of Ireland. Further, it set the precedent for the South's secession from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland agreeing to allow Ireland to form the Irish Free State in 1922.

Like many newly decolonized states, the Free State was impoverished, and their refusal to pay back land annuities that had been inherited from before independence, also caused the Free State to have to negotiate their way through an Anglo-Irish trade war.⁴⁴ In the decades that followed, Ireland adopted a new constitution and name in 1937, and officially became a Republic in 1949.

In the South the stage was set for the legacies of Irish nationalism to continue as communities asserted themselves as a nation among nations, working through numerous colonial legacies, responding to past discrimination, loss of language, rekindling relationships with land, while the continuation of others (reliance on trade and emigration with settler colonies and participation in colonialism abroad) continued.

⁴³ For example, see Loughman's (2021) discussion of the prominent family the Ryans who fought together in the War of Independence but became split because of the civil war.

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that Canadian attempts to regulate trade and restrict access to local and global markets via the fisheries continues to be one of the most pressing conflicts in Canadian-Mi'kmaq relations.

In the North, the Protestant and unionist communities who had formed the Ulster Volunteer Force found themselves succeeding in maintaining the link with empire, but in a much smaller geographical space. Home rule granted to the Northern Irish government themselves, they gained new control over governance, while inheriting the familiar environment that had hosted much of the Ulster plantation. With many community members descending from the Protestant ascendancy, Northern Ireland represented a new opportunity to establish the supremacy of their community above Irish Catholics and lower-class protestants. Through sociolegal and cultural measures, Northern Ireland was shaped into a decidedly Protestant state in spite of formally being open to all of its citizens. The struggle that ensued, coming to a head in the civil rights movement and attempts to suppress it, demonstrated the different trajectory that Northern Ireland was on in comparison to the south and the way that some viewed the legacy of the Irish fight for freedom from crown rule to have continued into the modern era.

One of the main legacies of the violence that ensued in the Troubles in Northern Ireland, where Loyalist and Republican paramilitaries fought each other (which are discussed more in the following chapter), has been what Kearns (2013) refers to as scholarly post-colonial anxiety, which causes some authors to refuse to provide historical research that is not inoculated against nationalist use -- some going so far as to pretend that colonialism never occurred or has no discernable legacy in the present (which he argues *is* a colonial legacy). Nevertheless while their trajectories greatly differed from each other, when comparing the precedents in this chapter with the issues faced by community members in the present in both sides of the border, it is obvious that colonialism has endured as a shaping force breaching the past (Ireland as colony) and present (Ireland as independent) distinction, complicating Ireland as a whole in its attempt to assert postcoloniality.

In Mi'kma'ki, the post mid-19th century context demonstrates the tightening of colonial control, suppression, and oppression. While settlers around the L'nuk celebrated their slow path towards "independence" and achievements as recognized members of the empire, linking them with the Irish in public discourse, the L'nuk were treated as an afterthought or blemish on their own territories. Furthermore, as the comparisons above make clear, the oppressive tactics used to attempt to colonize Mi'kma'ki turned to

advancing the refinement of what had succeeded in English-rule in Ireland in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-integration time periods, much with the participation of the Irish themselves. Before discussing Irish participation in colonization in Mi'kma'ki however, this chapter now turns to articulating in more detail the trajectory that characterized the rise of the current colonialism in Mi'kma'ki.

Formidable Resistance, Fatal Suppression: British Settler Colonialism in Mi'kma'ki

While the English had previously had a presence in Mi'kma'ki before the 1600s, the advent of the settler colonial plantation system marked a gradual shift from the erroneous claims of discovery (like those made by John Cabot) to what would become a full-scale invasion and occupation of the Confederacy's lands in the following two centuries. Like the Ulster Plantation, the rise of British settler colonialism in Mi'kma'ki relied upon attracting mercantile colonists through forming new chartered companies like the Virginia Company (who established a plantation to the South of Mi'kma'ki), the Plymouth Company (who established a plantation in Maine near Mi'kmaq territory), and the Newfoundland Company (who established a plantation, focused on gaining a monopoly in the fishing industry in Taqamgug) (Bonikowsky, 2013; Cell, 1965; Marks, n.d.; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, 2021). The colonies grew and exported various raw materials and money rents. In Ulster, lumber, grain and other crops were sent to England. In Maine, whale oil was a major export, alongside lesser exports of food products. In Virginia, tobacco and cotton became the most prominent crops but exports of livestock grain and vegetables were also common. Taqamgug, which served as a major hunting reserve for the L'nuk was a source of much of the fur traded to Europeans, but the plantations on the island primarily focused on the global supply of salted codfish and the islands' role in providing lumber (both were instrumental to the British slave trade).

Spurred on by intercolonial competition with France and other European nations (like the Dutch), the English also worked to gain enough power to extract profits from offering monopolies to merchants and companies like the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Company over the fur trade in and around Mi'kma'ki (Oxford University, 2019). It is notable that the development of the Ulster plantation took place simultaneously to the development of the North American plantation system for the British, but the North

American plantation system ultimately advanced the techniques of dehumanization and genocide that had been developed in Ireland through forcibly transporting Indigenous Peoples from Africa and other areas to serve as chattel slaves in the new colonies, allowing for a new level of social mobility within the stratifications of European populations travelling with the British (Asante, August 21, 2007).

The security of British plantations was challenged consistently by Indigenous nations including the Mi'kmaq, who readily went to war when planters encroached on their lands and were also allied with other colonial powers like the French. The British for their part also invested in military alliances with the Confederacy's traditional rivals, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, who had in the 1500s had numerous military skirmishes along the St. Lawrence River near Kespek territory. Responding to this, the Confederacy eventually partnered with surrounding nations who recognized the growing threat of the Haudenosaunee and English alliance on the East coast, forming the Wabanaki Confederacy with the Wolastoqey, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot (Prins, 2002). Between the start of the 1600s and 1725, the Confederacy went to war with the English and their allies six times, often devastating the British grip on the region (ibid). The French for their part were able to use their military alliance to their advantage by calling on Mi'kmaq warriors to defend their settlements when the British would raid Acadia (Government of Canada ,2016; Prins, 2002).

In New England, the colonists initially called the L'nuk who lived in Maine the Tarrantines, meaning "monster like", because of the proficiency of the sma'knisk (L'nuk warriors) at war (Scott, 2016). Indeed, there can be little doubt that the military power of the Mi'kmaq and their allies must have been extremely formidable given the fact that the skirmishes known as the Indian Wars (between 1677 and 1760) also took place directly after the period known as "the great dying", where Indigenous populations on the East coast were continuing to drastically decrease because of European diseases (Rowley, November 13, 2020). Most scholars believe that the early 1600s saw the loss of nearly 90% of the Indigenous population along the East coast and surrounding interior of North America due to the spread of European diseases like smallpox (Paul, 2007). In the following century the British are known to have intentionally distributed diseases throughout numerous Indigenous nations in the year leading up to and directly following

the Pontiac Rebellion (Reid, 1995). The Mi'kmaq also maintained a steady resistance in spite of having to survive skirmishes with colonists who openly adopted scorched earth policies which caused widespread famines (this tactic continued on into the mid 1700s after the British secured more of a foothold in Mi'kma'ki) (Waterhouse, 1622).

Furthermore, unlike Ireland, the planters in places like the Virginia colony also advanced official policies of forcing captured Indigenous people to become chattel slaves (see the next section for a quote from the official policy around this practice) (ibid). The British colonists and their allies also utilized their presence in areas like Taqamgug to build slave ships, and provide cod to the slave expeditions, and, in some cases, established slave plantations in Mi'kma'ki (CBC News, August 18, 2019; Lee, November 11, 2019).⁴⁵

Of Peace and Friendship, Dehumanization and Betrayal

While current descendants of Acadians tend to continue to make assertions about their historic alliances with the L'nuk, sometimes romanticizing notions about intermarriage and presenting fantasies of a joint society, the reality of the matter is that regardless of the steadfast loyalty shown by the Confederacy to their treaty partners, the character of the French colonization in Mi'kma'ki was ultimately one of dehumanization and betrayal which laid the foundation for the ahistorical claims of sovereignty made by the current colonial occupation. There are, of course, some examples of intermarriage have taken place, that are recognized by the Confederacy (see Sark's September 22, 2020 discussion for example). However, historically, the official policies of the Acadian regimes betrayed their political and military partners, and romanticized lore around Mi'kmaq-Acadian histories are at present in need of clarification for their current impacts on Mi'kma'ki. Not only have these Eurocentric representations of sovereignty over the L'nuk led to long-term harms, but lore around racial-mixing is also being weaponized against the Confederacy by some Acadians who want to claim title over Mi'kma'ki in the present (Palmater, November 14, 2018; Leroux, November 1, 2018).

In the early 1600s with the Virginia colony's attack on the French settlement in Mi'kma'ki, King James I began to provide grants to even more colonists, notably providing Sir William Alexander with permission to found a colony for Scottish loyalists in 1621

⁴⁵ The article cited here is one of my colleagues exhibitions based on their ongoing dissertation research.

(New Scotland, which became the basis for today's Nova Scotia) (Harvey, 2003; Pratt, 1922). One interesting link to the Ulster Plantation can be found in this renaming of Mi'kma'ki, as Sir George Rawdon, 1st Baronet of Moira, County Down, is known to have used the nickname Nova Scotia to refer to the lowlands from Strangford Lough to Lough Swilly to differentiate from the areas where the English were residing in the 1670s (Andrews, 2009). However, attempts to bring settlers to Mi'kma'ki were short lived for the British loyalists due to the signing of the 1632 Treaty of St. Germain, which returned what were presumed to be 'French possessions' in what is now known as Quebec and the Maritimes provinces back to the French Crown King Louis XIII (Ryan, 2013). While the Mi'kmaq supplied much of the military power to protect their territories and the French in the coming years, it is evident that the French themselves were engaged in politics of dehumanization that allowed them to believe that they had ownership of Mi'kma'ki (rather than being guests). This betrayal of the Confederacy by European colonists continued in the resolutions to skirmishes between not only the French and English, but also the Dutch (who briefly captured what the French called Acadia and attempted to establish New Holland before ceding the area back to the French through the 1678 Treaty of Nijmegen) (Jack, 1905). Each time that the French regained access to Mi'kma'ki, they did so with the help of the L'nuk and yet in their discussions with other colonial powers, negotiated a return to 'possession' of the Confederacy's lands. This Eurocentric positioning became the basis for the English believing, incorrectly, that they had secured ownership of Mi'kma'ki by 1713 through treaties with France. Other examples of this back-and-forth discussion of which European powers had ownership of Mi'kma'ki can be seen with the 1667 Treaty of Breda that also involved the Dutch, and the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick that also involved the United Provinces/Spain/Rome.

Of particular importance, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 saw France ceding 'control' of the region now known as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland while retaining 'control' of Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island), and present-day New Brunswick (Kennedy, 2013). The Mi'kmaq, however, had not been consulted in the Treaty of Utrecht, and as a result the only way to prevent the Confederacy from raiding British settlements along the East Coast was to work towards securing Peace and Friendship treaties, the first of which was signed in 1725 (Belshaw, 2015). Without recounting the

treaty history presented in Chapter 1, suffice to say that the British went on to betray the terms of the treaties they signed. In particular, the British ignored the assertion of Mi'kmaq sovereignty, and the Governor of Nova Scotia, Edward Cornwallis established the first survey general to help him with his task of developing free fee-simple land grants to attract loyalist settlers to the region, with zero taxation for the first three years (Nova Scotia Archives, 2019). This system was later followed by the sale of land grants as settlement became more widespread (ibid). Furthermore, in the same year, the governor established the Halifax Fort near one of the most important settlement and governance sites of the Confederacy, causing a confrontation to escalate between local L'nuks and settlers (Cuthbertson, 2015). Rather than negotiating with the Confederacy, the British under Cornwallis issues the now infamous scalping proclamation which offered payment to bounty hunters who were willing to murder the L'nuk (Tattre, April 20, 2017; Cuthbertson, 2015).

While this was clearly an act of war against the Mi'kmaq, it is worth noting that Governor Cornwallis is reported to have utilized the conflict to lay the precedent for all future British colonial misrecognition of Mi'kma'ki:

“A member [of the council at Halifax] asked Cornwallis if they should declare war against the Mi'kmaq. “I am of the opinion that to declare war against them would be in some sort to own them a free and independent people,” he said, “whereas they ought to be looked on as rebels to His Majesty’s government, or as so many bandit ruffians, and treated accordingly” (Nova Scotia Council, October 1, 1747).

By the mid-1750s, it became obvious that the French would not be converted to loyalism and after attempting to forcibly assimilate Acadia into the British colonies, the British led a campaign now known as The Expulsion (1755-1764) forcing Acadian communities to flee from Mi'kma'ki, while also laying waste to the territory that surrounded their settlements during their attacks on what they viewed as French property (Belshaw, 2015). Furthermore, as Mi'kmaq historian Daniel N. Paul (2007) reports, by 1752, over 150 years of war, genocide and ecocide the confederacies population had dwindled to about 4% of its original size. The British waged all means of war against the Mi'kmaq both before and after the peace and friendship treaties were established, including poisoning food (in diplomatic gatherings in 1712) (Reid, 1995), deploying biological

warfare with small pox infected woolen cloth (sold to the Confederacy in 1746) (ibid), setting bounties on L'nuk scalps (in 1749), committing numerous scorched Earth campaigns against Mi'kmaq settlements (Hudgins, 2018), and otherwise encouraging settlers to extract natural resources (food, and fur bearing animals) with impunity while refusing to mitigate encroachment on Mi'kmaq lands (Gwyn, 2003). By the end of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), where the Mi'kmaq had fought against the British at the Battle of Restigouche (1760) (Parks Canada, 2021), the widespread influx of settler populations increasingly positioned the British in a way that allowed them to selectively ignore treaties with the Confederacy from that point forward (Paul, 2007).

Squatter Colonialism and the Rise of 'Canada'

From the 1780s settler encroachment, the collapse of local ecologies due to settler populations was so evident that the Nova Scotian colony began to distribute (inadequate) rations in response to petitions to intervene on widespread destitution and famine in L'nuk communities (Paul, 2007; Upton, 1975). By 1801, the colonies in Mi'kma'ki began to implement a reserve system supposedly with the intention of securing dedicated spaces for the L'nuk to live without encroachment (CBU, 2007a). Of course, this type of system further disrupted the traditional access of L'nus to their territories, which involved migratory patterns based on seasons for most of the Confederacy's nations. Arguably in the years that followed, the shift towards implementing British colonial rule over Mi'kma'ki's land and people as well as other techniques like the recruitment of undertakers, distribution of land to landlords who were to oversee tenant farmers in the colonies, continued to colonial strategies from the colonization of Ireland (see for example what took place in Epekwitk in Bumsted, 1987). However, aside from the transplantation of British settler colonial practices, the rampant expropriation of Indigenous lands outside of official land grant systems might give cause for the 1800s to be better characterized by the term 'squatter colonialism.'

As industries like logging, fishing, shipbuilding, and agriculture began to draw increasing numbers of settlers to Mi'kma'ki, many of these settlers gained access to the supposedly reserved lands that had been set aside for the Mi'kmaq Confederacy through simply squatting on the lands, violently resisting regulation from colonial governments and

then taking possession of the lands either through official sale from the colonies or through continued occupation (Cuthbertson, 2015). As a result, it is estimated that most reserves in Mi'kma'ki were reduced to about a tenth of their initial size (ibid).

By the time that the colonies began to consider consolidating into one federated nation (in what now is known as Canada), the L'nuk had been so thoroughly dispossessed that the colonists found no reason to involve them in decision-making and gave them no consideration in regard to the terms of union (thus Mi'kma'ki was forced to join Canada without any consent) (Walls, 2017; Hanran, 2003; Tompkins, 1988). While the newly formed government took account of the Indigenous nations present in Mi'kma'ki, presuming jurisdiction over them, it immediately set about implementing a host of laws that took up the position argued for by English Governor Cornwallis so many years before, that the Mi'kmaq were to be treated as wards of the Crown and not an independent nation.

The act of Confederation which consolidated the colonies of British North America into what became known as Canada explicitly excluded the L'nuk from the process of granting consent to join the union. The British colonies (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island) helped to host discussions of the terms of union in Mi'kma'ki without any Mi'kmaq representatives present during the Charlottetown Conference, and attendees like George Brown who wrote down all of the topics discussed at the Conference noted that Indigenous nations were not one of them. Nevertheless, confederation brought with it the registration of existing nations and reserves by the federal government. In Taqamgug, in the years leading up to settlers joining confederation, the traditional foodways of the Mi'kmaq who had divided the interior into family-based hunting territories, were unable to sustain the L'nus and the population relied on the Commission of Government so the idea of joining confederation seemed hopeful. However, the settlers negotiating the 1949 terms of union explicitly deleted all references to Indigenous peoples on the island, effectively excluding L'nus from access to reserves, provisions from Canada, the Indian Act, and political existence under Canadian law. It is worth noting that the Mi'kmaq have continued to be left out of the governmental decisions related to Mi'kma'ki, including Canada's supposed further 'independence' gained through joining the commonwealth without the consent of the nations whose landbases it occupies (in 1931) (Cuggy, October 20, 2011; Jackson, 1993; Joe, 2009; Hanran, 2003, Walls, 2017).

In the years that followed from the 1850s to the present⁴⁶ the L'nuk were forced to survive an amalgamation of many of the cruelest techniques that had been used to suppress the Irish in Ireland, which had been refined through the use of Early Modern Ireland's experiments in colonial statecraft and adapted through years of struggle in the Americas. From containing the L'nuk to reserves, banning them from partaking in their own culture to outright genocide, Canada worked to forcibly assimilate the remaining Mi'kmaq into their colony and to extinguish any notion that Mi'kma'ki as a territory outside of colonial rule. As is noted above, these eras marked a shift from the Ireland being a colony to Ireland being integrated into the core of the British empire and its subsequent independence after the 20th century (with the continuation of colonial dynamics) and the colonial/intercolonial to centralized settler colonial experience in Mi'kma'ki, with the Irish (including the nationalist Fenians) attempting to leverage the opportunities presented by the colonization of North America to solidify Ireland's role as a nation among nations.

Irish Colonizers in Mi'kma'ki

For many Irish people on the East coast, romantic tales about their families being poor and making new lives upon arrival to the Maritimes overshadow the fact that they were participating in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki. While it is true, as is attested by community members, that many of destitute Irish who fled to Mi'kma'ki did make homes there and were (at least prior to engaging in colonial harms) welcomed by L'nuk communities, to misportray the Irish influence in the region as being simply that of being paupers or refugees would cover up a wide range of historical harms that remain unaddressed (and evidence that the Irish internalized the oppression they experienced and becoming oppressors themselves). Even for many of the people fleeing plantations in Ireland, their travels to Mi'kma'ki took them from plantations to being planters, and for some from planters to being slavers (Byrne, 1988). Addressing these historical legacies is undoubtedly a part of the work that must be done if Mi'kmaq and Irish people are to continue to build

⁴⁶ Some of these measures, of course, wound down after the reforms to *The Indian Act* after the 1960s. However, in spite of attempts to assimilate the Mi'kmaq into the body politic with less restrictions on access to colonial rights, the continuation of many of the techniques used to suppress Indigenous sovereignty to the present and the ongoing refusal to follow on the colony's conceded recognitions of Mi'kmaq sovereignty, we arguably have still not yet entered a stage in Mi'kmaq history that would be comparable to the post-1800s political landscape of Ireland.

foundations for nation-to-nation alliances. For example, while many people know about the history of military leaders like Edward Cornwallis who implemented the scalping law in Mi'kma'ki, it is possibly less known that he was a descendent of the Old English (Butler House) with family from Ireland (Murray Beck, 2003).⁴⁷ Even many of the militiamen who took up arms to profit off of collecting L'nuk scalps (the Gorham's Rangers) were known to Scotch-Irish (Carroll, 2012). As shown in Table 3 below, it was not only the Irish peasantry looking to farmlands free from discrimination that shaped the history of the Irish in Mi'kma'ki. It was the Irish who took on the role of running the proxy-government in many of the colonial governments in Mi'kma'ki: from the first lieutenant governors to the politicians who oversaw the colonies amalgamating into Canada (without Mi'kmaq consent) these are but a few of the prominent colonizers who have shaped the occupation of Mi'kmaq land. Furthermore, Irish merchants, industrialists, and slave owners also made their fortunes in Mi'kma'ki. In places like Taqamgug, which the Irish had called Talamh an Éisc or the land of fish (Gardiner, December 8, 2020), for centuries, it is known that not only were Irish merchants feeding Ireland (trading with Waterford) but they also were part of the island gaining a monopoly on the cod trade with slavers (Lee, November 11, 2019; Daly, March 16, 2020) - indeed, the fact that many of the Irish were involved in building boats in Taqamgug, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, could also indicate a broader involvement in helping to build the 19 slave ships that were forged on the island (O'Grady, 1988; Houston and Smyth, 1987; CBC News, August 18, 2019).

⁴⁷ Prior to arriving in Mi'kma'ki, Cornwallis had also spent time in Ireland establishing masonic lodges, as part of his political career, according to King Solomon Lodge #54 (2021).

Table 3: Prominent Irish Colonizers in Mi'kma'ki⁴⁸

Actor	Role
General Thomas Carleton (b. in Strabane, Tyrone to a unionist Irish family) 1735-1817	First Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (Godfrey, 2003)
Charles Hastings Doyle (b. in London, son of Sir Charles William Doyle from Kilkenny) 1803-1883	Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick at the time of Confederation with Canada; shortly thereafter the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia (McDonald, 2003)
Walter Patterson (b. Ramelton, Donegal, grandson of William Thornton Todd of Buncrana Castle) 1735-1783	First Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island Slave Owner. (Baglole, 2003; Henry, 2020)
William C. F. Robinson (b. in Westmeath, Ireland) 1834-1897	Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island who worked to negotiate joining confederation (Robb, 2003)
Charles Stanley Monck (b. Templemore, Ireland, part of a long line of prominent Anglo-Irish viscounts) 1819-1894	The last governor-general of the Province of Canada (which governed Gaspé) and the first Governor General of Canada after Canadian Confederation. (Monet, 2003)
Matthew Archibald (Irish planter from Londonderry and Truro, Nova Scotia) (1745 - 1820)	Prominent planter, business owner and political figure (serving in Nova Scotian House of Assembly), slave owner (Smith, 1899)
Rev. James Lyon (b. in Maine) 1735-1794, Irish minister	First Presbyterian Reverend in Nova Scotia, slave owner in 1771 (Smith, 1899)
Lt. Henry Denny Denson (b. in County Mayo) c1725-1780	Agent for the Nova Scotia government migration of New England loyalists, politician (Nova Scotia Assembly), slave owner (Bumsted, 2003; Cooper, 2019; Smith, 1899)
Patrick Morris (b. Waterford, Ireland) c1789-1814	Fish merchant and migration agent, who ran passenger ships to Mi'kma'ki from Ireland, and was also involved in the agricultural movement that transformed the British settlements to permanent fixtures on the island. (Mannion, 2003)
Prime Minister John Sparrow David Thompson (b. in Halifax) (1845-1894)	Scottish-Irish Canadian politician who served as premier of Nova Scotia, served as the justice minister where he ordered the execution of Louis Riel. He also introduced the colonial criminal code and served as the Prime Minister of Canada. (Waite, 2003)

⁴⁸ It is worth emphasizing that while this table provides insights into key figures that can be examined to explore the Irish and Anglo-Irish role in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki, new research is required to fully attend to the complexity and history of the Irish diaspora in Mi'kma'ki. A notable gap in data around the historic interactions between Irish and Mi'kmaq community members continues to exist. Furthermore, while current descendants of the Irish diaspora are entrenched in the mechanisms of settler colonialism, historic relationships offer further complications worth analyzing around forced displacement (and how the Irish became settlers), class stratification (for example, the difference between undertakers working to establish settlements for the British and the paupers/peasants who were brought to work the land), and differential ascendancies in colonialism as Catholic and Protestant communities.

To the south, it is well documented that the initial settler colonial plantation at Virginia was also populated by Ulster-Scots, Irish loyalists and Scottish planters (Betit, 1994). Beyond transplanting the technologies of colonialism that they had known in the past, the planters (many of them from the Donegal and Derry/Londonderry region) invested time and energy into the development of the chattel slavery industry, becoming increasingly cruel as their colonial encroachment led to wars with neighbouring Indigenous nations. For example, in the 1620s after the first Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614), it is clearly documented that Virginia Company planters officially endorsed a policy of scorched earth, murder and enslavement of local Indigenous communities, turning away from previous diplomatic relations. Their official report "A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia" states:

"Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situated in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us... Because the way of conquering them is much more easier than of civilizing them by faire means, for they are a rude, barbarous and naked people... Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but civility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time and great industry. Moreover, victorie of them may be gained many wayes; by force, by surprise, by famine in burning their corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses, by breaking their fishing Weares, by assailing them in their huntings, whereby they get their greatest sustenance in Winter, by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood-Hounds to draw after them, and Mastives to teare them, which take this naked, tanned, deformed Savages, for no other then wild beasts, and are so fierce and fell upon them, that they fear them worse then their old Devill... By these and sundry other wayes, as by driving them (when they flye) upon their enemies, who are round about them, and by animating and abetting their enemies against them, may their ruine or subjection be soone effected... Because the Indians who before were used as friends may now most justly be compelled to servitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men that labour, whereby even the meanest of the Plantation may imploy themselves more entirely in their Arts and Occupations, which are more generous. Whilest Savages performe their inferious workes digging in mynes, and the like" (Waterhouse, 1622).

While the military prowess and population size of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy would have made it difficult to launch a full-scale enslavement of the L'nuk into the plantations, it remains a known fact that groups of L'nuk were captured and forced to work alongside other Indigenous groups by Europeans in this time period. Further, within the terms of Treaty Ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1646), the British claimed to begin to offer

Powhatan children ‘protection’ while they were under the age of 12 among English households -- as long as they would join their houses as servants and agree to be ‘Christianized’ and ‘civilized’ by them (General Assembly of Virginia; 1646; Shefvland, n.d). Many of the Irish loyalists who fought in these wars would later settle in Mi'kma'ki, and some of them like those listed in the table of prominent colonizers above, brought enslaved peoples to work on their estates in Mi'kma'ki.

During the establishment of the United States of America, four of the founding fathers of the United States Constitution, and eight of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence also came to the colonies from Ireland, including Edward Cornwallis' relative Pierce Butler of Old English descent (Beresford, July 4, 2021; NCC Staff, March 17, 2021; Coghlan, 1977). Since the country was established, the trend of the Irish having powerful roles in the colonization of the east coast has continued, with nearly half of the Presidents of the United States have been descendants of Irish settlers (O'Connor, September 25, 2020), including Andrew Jackson who is known for his brutal acts of genocide towards Indigenous people (Butler, March 4, 2017).

Further evidence of Irish colonizers both inside, and just outside of Mi'kma'ki, can be seen in the attempts to found two ‘New Ireland’ colonies on the East Coast. The first attempt to found an ethnic colony was at Epekwitk (Prince Edward Island), directly after the island was ceded by the French in 1763. The first Lt.-Governor Walter Patterson from Donegal requested that the island be renamed New Ireland and made into a colony for Irish settlers (O’Grady, 2004). While his request was denied, the subsequent transplantation of landlord lots and tenant farming brought a huge influx of Irish (both loyalist and Catholic) in the coming years. The second attempt was, at least temporarily, successfully founded by British and Irish troops travelling from Halifax Fort during the US Revolutionary War in 1779 (National Post, January 24, 2015). When the British gave up possession of the colony as part of the Treaty of Paris, the Irish colonists in ‘New Ireland’ joined other United Empire Loyalists and migrated to Mi'kma'ki. Launching a second attack during the War of 1812, New Ireland was once again briefly established prior to the Treaty of Ghent.

While there is a long history of Canada's occupation of Mi'kma'ki being seen through rose coloured glasses for offering Irish people a chance to escape religious skirmishes and the oppression they faced under British rule in Ireland (echoing the dreams of Irish father

of Confederation D'Arcy McGee), the reality is that these conflicts have also historically been transplanted with little regard for where the Irish have gone. For example, regional colonial policing in Mi'kma'ki was initially introduced because of skirmishes between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants (St. John's police force) (Marquis, 1990). Plans to attack the colony in order to use Indigenous lands as leverage for the conflict in Ireland played a major role in the consolidation of British colonial control through confederation (see the Fenian Raids, Senior 1991) and examples of revolt against the British in Mi'kma'ki have been rooted in the Irish attempting to gain control over Mi'kmaq lands (see the United Irish Uprising in FitzGerald, 2001).

It is worth noting that even if we were to focus on the paupers who arrived with barely anything to their name, we would still find Irish people at the centre of British colonization in Mi'kma'ki. For example, during the early to mid-1800s where the colonial government was dealing with huge issues around squatters violently occupying and extorting reserve lands from the L'nuk and engaged in rampant logging without regulation, the population of New Brunswick was at least 50% Irish (Cuthbertson, 2015; Irish Canadian Cultural Association of New Brunswick, 2020). Given the fact that many of the Irish did not arrive with wealth to buy or found a new way of life in the colonies, this type of frontierism is demonstrative of an their adaptation to and participation in colonialism in Mi'kma'ki.

The extent to which the Irish as participants in colonization have also come to possess sacred items from other nations in their institutions (and especially, the way that this has happened in the areas still a part of the United Kingdom) is yet another legacy of colonialism that demonstrates cause for concern. For example, as noted during the Learning With the Knowledge Keepers course at Cape Breton University, Hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine's ceremonial pipe is only a replica of his family's pipe, which is being held in a National Museum in Northern Ireland in Belfast (Augustine and Willox, 2016).⁴⁹

This brings us to an important point.

⁴⁹ For further discussion, see the discussion of 4500 objects being contested in Northern Ireland's National Museum (Jackson and Winters, April 23, 2021), repatriation attempts for items taken by soldiers at the National Museum of Ireland in the Republic (Coyle, January 10, 2021), King's (2019) article about the struggle to get the Wolastoqiyik Akwiten Grandfather Canoe repatriated from the National University of Ireland, O'Toole's (November 9, 2013) discussion of looted items at the National Museum of Ireland, and Roche's (November 2, 2011) article about struggles to repatriate an Egyptian mummy that was found concealed at University College Cork.

Finally, given that the purpose of this chapter is to provide a deeper historical context for the discussions raised by community members in the following chapters, it is crucial to add a caveat to the discussion here highlighting how residential schools in so-called Canada parallel the types of institutions that emerged earlier and during the same time period in Ireland (see The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015a). With the unearthing of mass (and/or unmarked) burial sites at residential schools across Canada right now, many of the Irish people I have encountered on social media groups while finishing this dissertation have turned to centering Irish history in conversations about Canada. Beyond being tactless (and not showing the allies people think it shows), this type of behaviour also constitutes a move to innocence⁵⁰ in a country where it is known that Irish priests and nuns were among the employees of these schools committing genocide against Indigenous children. The frustrating collusion between the churches and the colony (who the churches were working for) around ensuring that all employees of the schools were kept secret has made it nearly impossible to find out exact numbers, outside of the stories that survivors are willing to share (Toroian, February 2, 2016; Rosemary, 2013). Anonymity of perpetrators was part of the agreement that was made during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process. What we do know is that in schools like Kamloops children were forced to learn Irish dance alongside their religious education (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b). While the residential school survivors I spoke to in this project did not identify whether or not they survived abuse at the hands of Irish employees at Shubenacadie residential school in Nova Scotia, there is little doubt that there are survivors out there whose memories of genocide took place at the hands of the Irish in the schools. For those of us who would build bridges between survivors of church-led institutions in Ireland and so-called Canada, it may be worthwhile to take a step back and reflect on the impact that centering Irish experiences in ways that speak over the particularities of the Canadian situation in these discussions could have with survivors.

Conclusion

Beyond providing some historical context for the current impacts of colonialism discussed by community members in the following chapters, the histories highlighted in this chapter

⁵⁰ See Tuck and Yang (2012) for a broader discussion of settler moves to innocence.

work to provide concrete examples of the transplantation of colonial strategies first used in Ireland that were transplanted to Mi'kma'ki. Given that some of the strategies used hundreds of years ago in Ireland are being used by Canada today in order to suppress Mi'kmaq sovereignty, these shared histories expose a deep potential for developing deeper institutional memory in support of contemporary decolonization struggles. In spite of the differential outcomes that have resulted in both regions, these similar struggles point to the potential of communities in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki sharing important insights with each other that have been passed down through their intergenerational struggles.

In drawing attention to the historical participation of the Irish diaspora in the colonization of Mi'kma'ki, this chapter also aims to demonstrate the urgency for continuing to invest time in comparative research that can be used in support of forging accountable nation-to-nation relationships (with the L'nuk and other Indigenous nations) as the diaspora continues to be a major population within the settler colonies of Canada and the United States of America.

Additionally, based on the striking similarities between strategies deployed across the commonwealth (where the Irish diaspora has also travelled) some of the information in this chapter when combined with the insights into contemporary experiences of colonialism that are offered in the following chapter, might provide crucial insights into opening up a broader discussion of interconnection between the Mi'kmaq, the Irish, and other nations across the world.

Chapter 3

ORAL HISTORIES FROM THE BORDERTOWNS IN IRELAND:

LEGACIES OF COLONIALISM IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Introduction

Given the concrete historical links between the precedents for colonial rule set by the English in Ireland and the strategies of current colonial regimes that have inherited power from the British in places like Mi'kma'ki, debates around whether or not Ireland can be truly considered a colony seem misplaced. However, as it has been noted in the previous chapters, it is widely accepted that there should be a separation of pre-colonial attempts to annex Ireland (before the 1500s), the widely accepted colonial era (post-plantations, between the 16th and 18th centuries), and the formal end of Ireland being a colony while still experiencing colonial legacies (after the Act of Union and other processes of integration and independence began in the early 1800s). Following through on this separation, the struggles put forward in the Irish War of Independence and subsequent conflicts that were postured by many people as decolonization struggles can be thought of as struggles to reach a postcolonial era. In my fieldwork in Ulster, however, it was made extremely clear that contributors understood the present to be linked to the legacies brought on from the plantation era, through to the War of Independence, the Irish civil war, Troubles, and the subsequent shifts in everyday life since the Good Friday Agreement. It is worth noting that even though these legacies of colonialism were made clear in my interviews, many community members commented about the lack of the use of the term "colonialism" in everyday life in spite of more frequent discussions about the lasting impacts of British rule, occupation, wars, and the Troubles. It is also worth noting that this also had parallels in my interviews in Eskasoni, where rather than colonialism being centered as a form of analytic, conversations around the discrimination of Canadian Aqqlaseows (English) and the Canadian government were more common.

For those who visit Ireland and only spend time in the southern counties, it is easy to see why discussions of contemporary impacts of colonialism would seem out of place in a

landscape where statues, plaques, and historical sites continue to commemorate the long-road to Irish freedom and inscribe the separation of a post-colonial present from Ireland's colonial past. These monuments to decolonization sit atop of more obvious enduring legacies of colonialism that persist, however, in language (the Anglicization of Ireland's public spaces and placenames), as well as cultural (social practices, religion) and economic ties (with continued close ties to the United Kingdom and its commonwealth countries). Further, one need to look no further than the land itself to find the continuing legacies of British colonialism in everyday life. During my fieldwork in the bordertowns, this was most evident when I visited a farm in the hillsides surrounding Letterkenny, where land tenureship practices that emerged from the Ulster plantation continue into the present, with plots of flat, arable land continuing to be passed-down intergenerationally through Protestant families, while Catholic farms take up visibly rocky, rough terrain that was deemed unfit for loyalists. Minutes away, beyond the border in Derry/Londonderry City, the cityscape has been so transformed by the Troubles Era that one scholar I met during my fieldwork described the city as having underwent urban planning and redesign by bombing. Even in this era of peacetime, the intergenerational traumas and ongoing efforts to heal in Derry/Londonderry are made almost palpable by an urban landscape of murals on houses and buildings, memorializing those lost during the conflict between Irish loyalist and Republican paramilitaries and the British army as little as 30 years ago. Exploring the bordertowns between County Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland and County Donegal in Ireland, visitors find that the region has been a pivotal location for struggles against British-rule and the evolution of Irish politics for centuries - and this intergenerational retelling of the past colours struggles that might be otherwise deemed to be conflicts within the British state (in Northern Ireland) rather than part of a larger struggle between two populations vying to use the territory as a site for either a resurgence or end to the exploitation that was made possible during the formal colonial period.

On the Northern Irish side, Derry/Londonderry was the site of one of the largest plantations in Ulster, named after the members of the London Company, merchants in England who had been persuaded to invest in founding and running the plantation in the early 17th century. On the edge of the border sits the city of Derry/Londonderry, a site which was repeatedly used by different waves of British settlers and military forces since

the garrison of 1566. The current walled city was built between 1613 and 1618, as part of a broader campaign of the plantation of Ulster, which sought to destroy the final stronghold of Gaelic Ireland through dispossession of the Irish and the mass migration of settler colonists in Ulster. The city is perhaps best known for its role in the Williamite War (1689-1691) which was the battleground of the "Glorious Revolution" which served as one of the major precursors for the conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Unlike in the current era where Catholics are often equated with the struggle for Irish independence, during the Williamite war, the faith communities were struggling to support their respective churches ascending to the English throne (by supporting James II and William of Orange, respectively). However, for the native Irish, supporting a Catholic monarch's claim over Ireland represented an urgent opportunity to end the increasing displacement they had been enduring under Protestant rule since the Acts of Settlement. For Derry/Londonderry's Protestant community, the fact that the city refused to surrender to the Catholic monarch James II and held out during an unrelenting siege that lasted 105 days is seen as a formative part of the city's history and loyalist character.

On the Republic side, Contae Dhún na nGall (County Donegal) is the fourth largest county in the Republic and the largest county in Ulster, covering 4861kms² of Ireland. The place name, which translates to "Fort of the Foreigners" is believed to be derived from the long history of interactions the region had with Vikings and the establishment of a Viking fort in Donegal town (which was subsequently destroyed in 1159). As part of the Northwest coast, and home to the most northernly tip of Ireland (Malin Head in Inishowen), the long history of incursions from foreigners in the region from both the east (towards England and Scotland) and the north towards the Western Isles of Scotland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland is not at all surprising. In fact, the area now known as Malin Head, used to be known as Cluain Catha or "battlefield" because of the Gaelic clans' long history of defending Ireland from invaders at the northern tip of the island and evidence of Norse place-names still exist in the region (McGinty, November 13, 2020; Dobbs, 1947). In the centuries of struggle between the Irish and the English (and their Scottish planters), County Donegal became famous for being the last stronghold of the Gaelic clans, and one of the sites of the Ulster Plantation. Since the partition of Ulster, County Donegal has also

been the home of disproportionate number of bordertowns, sharing its border with three of the six Northern Irish counties (Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Derry/Londonderry).

Near where the border meets County Derry/Londonderry is also one of County Donegal's largest urban centres, Letterkenny, rolling farmlands, and the geographically secluded Inis Eoghain (Inishowen in English), the largest peninsula in Ireland, separated from the rest of the mainland and Western Donegal. Being the northern gateway to the island, Inishowen has played a key role in numerous in Irish resistance to invasions for over 1000 years ago when skirmishes broke out with the Norse.⁵¹ It was also the site of decisive moments in Ulster's attempts to prevent the fall of Gaelic Ireland and the location of the flight of the Earls.⁵² For the British, securing control over Inishowen's land and people was crucial to the Ulster Plantation and to establishing a military presence (through forts) that would be able to quell future resistance in the North (e.g., the capture of Wolfe Tone, leading Irish revolutionary and leader of the 1798 Irish Rebellion). These are only a few of the historical events that were raised in my discussions with community members linking the present to intergenerational legacies of resistance to colonialism.

In more recent years, the bordertowns near County Derry/Londonderry have continued to play a pivotal role economically, politically, and culturally. In Northern Ireland, Derry/Londonderry has been one of two major urban centres and sites of industry (alongside Belfast), the site of competing political and military campaigns around Ireland's integration into the British empire and the home to the rise of the Irish civil rights movement which swept Northern Ireland. In the Republic, Letterkenny is one of the main urban centres for NorthWest Ireland, and the historical significance and landscape of Inishowen has allowed locals to rely on revitalizing much of its pre-Troubles tourist industry in spite of ongoing underdevelopment in the region. For many of the people whose oral histories provide the insights in this chapter, their relationship to land and community in the bordertowns has been transgressive of the imposed national boundaries between both countries since long before the militarized checkpoints ended in the post-

⁵¹ See above citations for Malin Head, as well as discussion of the hordes of silver attributed to Viking fleets from the early 10th century (Sheehan, 2008).

⁵² While the Flight of the Earls refers to the culmination of the Gaelic resistance in Ulster resulting in the last of the Gaelic Chieftains failing to return to Ireland to continue fighting against English-rule (most ending up in Rome), the actual *flight* of the Earls took place in 1607 on a French boat in Rathmullan in Lough Swilly (Inishowen).

Good Friday Agreement era. Furthermore, the life stories that were gathered during this project highlighted that the people of Ulster, on either side of the border, have been linked by a sense of abandonment from the post-colonial state of the Free State, Ireland and the Republic after the time of the Irish civil war. Beyond simply recounting how the everyday life of the teachers, nurses, archaeologists, artists, museum workers, shopkeepers, and hospitality workers I spoke to have been shaped by colonial legacies, this chapter highlights themes that around how community members have continued to deepen their connection with each other by exploring their identities, histories, cultures, and the land around them.

Figure 6: Research Contributor Locations in Ireland (2019)



Table 4: Research Contributors in Ireland

John Bradley (b. 1969) is a mechanic from Donegal Town John Deery (b. 1958) is a historical tour guide, and educator from Buncrana, and later Glasgow and Derry Dermot Doherty (b. 1972) is a business-owner and mattress maker from Derry Jim Doherty (b. 1970s) is a college teacher and documentary maker from Buncrana, Donegal Ann Hagan (b. 1953) is a retired teacher and civil rights activist from Derry John J. Hegarty (b. 1949), is an ex-navyman and archaeologist from Buncrana, County Donegal John "Jackie" Henderson (b. 1952), is a shopkeeper from Buncrana, Donegal	Colum Lynch (b. 1963), is a museum guide and educator from Derry/Londonderry John McCarron (b. 1966) is a sculptor and artist from Letterkenny, Donegal. Collette McDaid (b. 1976) is a server and cook from Buncrana, Donegal Owen McDaid (b. 1945) is a business-owner (transportation) and bus driver in Buncrana Marie McLaughlin (b. 1952) is a community organizer, scholar, and historian in Buncrana, Donegal Tina Porter (b. 1980s) is a nurse, teacher at the Letterkenny Institute, and genealogist from Inch Island Terry Tedstone (b. 1952) is an artist in Buncrana originally from Herefordshire, West Midlands, England (U.K.)
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The Chilling Effect of Intergenerational Trauma

In the bordertowns of Ireland, whether speaking to people in the Republic or Northern Ireland, it was evident that most of my collaborators were experiencing intergenerational impacts of British colonialism (including social, cultural, physical, environmental impacts). However, as an outsider hoping to gain insights into the Irish struggle against colonization in the bordertowns, I was often surprised to hear that some of my collaborators (Porter, C. McDaid, Doherty) reported not really thinking about political issues or British-rule or colonization. In hindsight, it became evident to me that this was part of the way that communities in the border towns have taken up lives that are transgressive of colonial borders,⁵³ institutions and authority. While almost all of the people I spoke to had a sentimental investment in the unification of all Ireland (identifying with the legacy of Irish nationalist/liberation movements rather than contemporary unionism) -- most were content to have the informal freedom to treat the border as non-existent. The fight for fully decolonizing Ireland posed the risk of returning to violence which had caused intergenerational traumas in most families lives in the bordertowns, and being apolitical was one way of disinvesting in the feuds. The fact that their families had found a way to reduce a new generations' experience of intergenerational trauma became obvious as many of the same people I spoke to articulating apolitical positions told their stories of coming from highly political families. Tina Porter's family had been involved in creating the first Dáil (Government Assembly) but had in her time settled amidst Protestant families on Inch Island. Collette McDaid's family had been at the heart of the struggles in Derry/Londonderry and her ancestors were prominent members of the old I.R.A. but she had been sheltered from much of the struggle her family had endured. Dermot Doherty, a successful business owner in Buncrana, had been part of a family that fled Derry/Londonderry when a bomb exploded sending shattering glass over his crib as a toddler. In this way, the depoliticization of their generation represented their families responding to danger posed by the competing colonial legacies (of Irish nationalism and unionism) that had emerged in the post-colonial eras.

⁵³ It's worth noting that the border being "colonial" in nature is contentious - this phrasing is intention due to the sentiment that was communicated around the lack of consent/abandonment of nationalists via partition. However, for pro-treaty communities in the South and their descendants as well as the loyalists who demanded a space to stay unified with the United Kingdom the border might be theorized as more of a postcolonial configuration instead.

For others, who survived the Troubles (1968-1998) while growing up in the Creggan/the Bogside, too much of their lives had been upended by the recent conflicts and fallout of the feuds between Republicans and Loyalists for this form of refusal of the legacies of colonialism in everyday life to be possible prior to the Good Friday Agreement. However, Ann Haggan highlights how even in areas like the Bogside, where discriminatory practices in housing and employment impoverished the community, families had attempted to avoid involving youth in the conflict. Ann's family avoided discussing the true history of her family's involvement in the fight for Irish freedom until they needed to help her understand the context of the Protestant paramilitary attack on her neighbourhood in the Bogside when she was 16 (in January 1969). Others were raised political as a mode of survival, with Colum Lynch, for example, growing up in a household in the Creggan with Irish republicans hosting organizing meetings for the civil rights movement and running the pirate radio station Radio Saoirse. Politicization in this context was necessary for survival as the Protestant community took up legacies of colonial discrimination towards Catholic communities and adapted them for use in the new nation of Northern Ireland. These struggles become more complicated, however, through the history of campaigns in the North which have sought to confront this discrimination by articulating the goal of unifying Ireland into one country separated from the imperial core once and for all. It is also worth noting that some families with kin in Derry/Londonderry also came from mixed religious background - resulting in a commitment to both nationalist and unionist communities - Jim Doherty, for example, talked about how the Troubles caused his Protestant uncle to quit the police force in refusal of joining violence against his own people on the basis of religion.

Travelling into Derry/Londonderry, the graffiti and memorials to those who have been lost on both sides of the conflicts between loyalists and republicans makes it is obvious even after over 30 years after the Good Friday Agreement, the memory of the Troubles continues to live on in everyday life both within communities and the landscape. Furthermore, speaking with community members, it becomes clear that many people are wary of the real-life consequences (the risk of rioting, feuds, or new violence in the community) that can come from rehashing the traumas that families have gone through

rather than seeking new ways to experience the freedom previous generations sought from decolonization by working to transform the way that Irish culture interacts as a whole.



Figure 7: Free Derry Sign in the Bogside (foreground)
with a mural of Bernadette Devlin (background)



Figure 8: Mural of the Bloody Sunday Massacre

This mural shows Bishop Edward Daly waving his white handkerchief while helping the wounded, like the man seen being carried here, Jackie Duddie

From Freedom Fighting to Fighting Neighbours

The bordertowns in Ulster have in many ways borne the brunt of a lot of the Irish struggle for generations and it is not surprising to see people disinvest themselves from discussions that could lead to further armed conflict. The people that I spoke to were not only witnesses and in some cases survivors of the violence of the Troubles, they also came from families that were torn apart by the intercommunity conflicts caused by the Irish Civil War. At the end of the Anglo-Irish war in 1921, communities in Ulster became divided on the issue of the partition that runs directly through this region with many people feeling like the province had been sacrificed to the English in exchange for freeing the South (indeed this sentiment of the South not caring about the impacts of partition, and political abandonment of ALL of Ulster as being part of the foundation of the Republic was echoed through most of the oral histories I gathered). Nevertheless, according to Marie McLaughlin, the disillusionment created by the fact that the families who had fought alongside each other for Irish independence now fought against each other in the pro-treaty or anti-treaty forces had a lasting impact on many of the families in the North, including her own. This disillusionment can only have been bolstered by the fact that there was a larger loss of life in the Irish civil war than in the entirety of the Irish War of Independence, with the pro-treaty side in the Free State using arms they had received from the British (Clark, 2014).

Marie McLaughlin's oral history explores this experience in further detail, highlighting the way that her family had been involved in the fight for Irish independence for generations, with members in the old Irish Republican Army (IRA), and her father served as a courier in the War of Independence. Marie also shared how her grandmother ran a safe house that allowed people to rest when they were on the run from the Black and Tans (or Royal Irish Constabulary), using the fact that the house was built into the side of a hill to allow people to come and go from a window (that led to a bedroom with fresh clothes, food, and money). However, the devastation of the Irish civil war led her father to change his entire perspective because of the way Irish families took up arms against each other, and from that point on, as Marie explains, he refused to advocate for any further wars for Irish independence.

Marie's father's generation, the survivors of the civil war, also had to work their way through the poverty that followed Ireland's independence in the Free State and the harsh realities of discrimination in the newly established Northern Ireland. In Northern Ireland, discrimination against Catholics was rampant: John J. Hegarty shared the story of his great uncle Alan Jackson who had tried to keep his religious identity private while living and running a hardware store in Belfast in the 1920s, hiring people from Inishowen. When the local Protestant community found out that he was a Catholic, they burnt his store down, shot one of his workers, and forced him to leave the city along with other Catholics, his wife, and two children on foot (they walked all the way to Derry/Londonderry). His great uncle decided to settle in Buncrana and to open a mobile shop but the amount of poverty caused him to go bankrupt as he kept letting community buy things on credit that they could not pay for. According to Hegarty, on the Republic side of the border, this poverty had been greatly deepened in the North during the Anglo-Irish trade war of 1932-1938), and it was only the wool industry in World War II that really led to any kind of recovery. In the early stages of independence, poverty was so rampant in the north that it was not uncommon for school children to have to walk far distances to attend school taking their turn to bring peat in their backpack to serve as fuel for warming the schoolhouse.

In order to survive, Jackie Henderson recalled how his father, in the 1950s, worked Jackie Henderson recalled how his father worked shoveling coal off of boats from Poland, while others like John Deery noted that most people worked in shirt factories in Derry/Londonderry where, according to Ann Hagan, there were up to 1000 workers crowded together in each building. In spite of the rampant poverty, Jackie describes growing up in that era in Buncrana as having a strong community that supported each other, lots of land which he was able to wander and explore, and a mix of Catholic, previously Presbyterian, and Protestant community members. The mixing of Protestant and Catholic community members in Inishowen (the area on the Republic side of the border) only increased in the later 1950s the area became a popular tourist destination for Scottish vacationers who traveled on inexpensive Scots boats and roomed with locals for the season which brought increased interfaith socializing. However, in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland, the same time period was marked by increasing impoverishment, discrimination and segregation of wealthy (primarily Protestant) neighbourhoods and poor (primarily

Catholic, with some exceptions) neighbourhoods like the Bogside. Ann Hagan noted that houses built in the 1920s, often had up to 20 occupants, with no internal heating, no inside toilet, and annual flooding (in the winter). Echoing past hardships faced by Irish Catholics at the hands of the crown in Ulster, these harsh conditions fueled Ann's family's support for the IRA's border campaigns which sought to end the partition of Ireland and union with United Kingdom once and for all (by force).

Church Repression and Colonialism

In spite of anti-Catholicism and sectarian fighting being a clear legacy of the colonial era in Ulster, it is worth noting that both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Ireland have played a role in suppressing Irish struggles for decolonization in the past.⁵⁴ While, internationally, the treatment of Indigenous populations at the hands of colonizers working on behalf of Christian churches has led to a general understanding the Churches themselves are colonial institutions, Ireland's precolonial Catholicism makes the situation more complicated. Nevertheless, Indigenous scholars like Emma LaRocque (2010) have written extensively on the ways that these colonial institutions brought with them ideologies of sexism, homophobia, racism, and materialism which became foundational parts of colonial culture and many of these areas of discrimination were articulated in the critiques I heard in oral histories regarding collusion between churches, Britain, and Irish governments in the oppression of Irish people.

Many of the people I spoke to, conveyed a genuine sentiment that the Catholic Church had abandoned Catholics in Northern Ireland providing little to no support to communities that increasingly bore the brunt of the rise of a new Protestant dominated political and economic landscape. To this end, Marie McLaughlin's oral history critiqued the way that Catholicism is often conflated with Republicanism or Irish nationalism, noting that beyond letting community members experience discrimination without active support, the Catholic Church in Ireland took official positions against the old IRA, threatening

⁵⁴ While arguably religious institutions have not endorsed all of the religious conflicts within Ireland, both churches have played key roles in the history of struggles with English rule. The Church of Ireland/Church of England has a long history of having played a key role in suppressing the native Irish in their access to land, freedom of religion/culture, etc. The Catholic Church has also been directly involved in these struggles going back to the precolonial period with the church granting English rule over Ireland through the *Laudabiliter* and later helping to provide material support to the Gaelic forces during the Nine Years War.

excommunication to members. Indeed, according to Ó Ruairc (2019), the fact that many Catholics took part in fighting for the independence of Ireland⁵⁵ has been used to gloss over the role of the Catholic Church in colonialism, overlooking the historical opposition the institution took to the United Irishmen (1798), the republican politics of Sinn Féin in the early 20th century, the participants of the Easter Rising, and the old IRA (during the war of independence).

Another area of colonial behaviour by the churches that was discussed in my interviews in Ireland was the sentiment that church-controlled schools had been engaged in repression of history in an effort to suppress rebellion against the status quos in both the Republic and the North. It is worth noting that at every stage of the past 100 years, the bordertowns have been on the brink of rehashing the discontent caused by the Anglo-Irish Treaty and years of conflict between Protestants and Catholics dating all the way back to the time of the Ulster Plantation. It is not surprising, then, that after the Irish civil war, church-ran schools in the Republic and Northern Ireland did not teach recent history from the curriculum being taught to the new generation. Most of the people I spoke to reported learning nothing about the past 100 years of political struggles in their public schools. Jackie Henderson, for example, reported learning up until the history of the landlord evictions and nothing more in his Catholic school in Buncrana. Colum Lynch noted that his Catholic school in Derry/Londonderry took it a step further, not even teaching Irish history and focusing on English history instead (though it is unclear how much of this was chosen by the school versus the state's curriculum requirements).

While it may be that schools were working to prevent further eruptions of violence, the people I spoke to who had to work to uncover the historical context they were living through saw it as a type of historical erasure that helped to suppress conflicts around the failed attempt to fully decolonize Ireland and form a Republic. It is worth noting this type of distrust in church-ran schools could have been informed by physical abuse endured within the schools. Violence at the hands of educators was a recurring theme in my interviews, and in some cases, like Colum Lynch's description of attending the Christian Brothers schools in Derry/Londonderry (which are infamous for violence towards

⁵⁵ Alongside Protestants as well (especially Presbyterians).

children), the abuse endured was almost identical to descriptions of abuse I heard from Robert Stevens about Indian Day Schools in Mi'kma'ki.

With documented church repression like the above, it is perhaps unsurprising that some people held sentiments that the church played a key role in actively suppressing the establishment of a truly independent, decolonized, Irish Republic. Consider the following anecdote that was shared with me by J. J. Hegerty:

"We set out to make a republic... the old people told us, when they had got an attendance from the British government, the politicians that were here at the time said they were going to have some sort of socialist republic state, but Bishop McQuade, the archbishop of Dublin went to De Valera and said "Oh no you're not. You are going to have exactly as we had before. The names may be different. The politicians may be different but we're going to have exactly the conservative government that we had before." He [McQuaid] was so powerful and the church was so powerful at that time that he could do that and De Valera had to do it, so we didn't get our republic."

While this anecdote may not be entirely accurate, it conveys an important sentiment that recurred throughout my interviews - that people were turning away from the Church because of their belief that it had been involved in the oppression of the Irish people. In reality, it is true that members of the Catholic church like Bishop McQuaid played a key role in helping to inform the structure of Irish politics in the South, as an invited party in the writing of the Irish constitution who helped to imbue it with Catholic values. However, it is problematic to claim that the ability of a largely Catholic community to gain a safe space to express their values via their legal system after centuries of political negotiations, wars, and grassroots struggles to gain religious toleration under Protestant rule should be seen as an attack on Irish self-determination.

More obvious examples of church support for colonialism can be seen with the Church of Ireland in Northern Ireland, where open promotion of hatred towards Catholics and fervent unionism in speeches made by Protestant religious leaders and politicians like Ian Paisley (First Minister of Northern Ireland from 2007 to 2008) demonstrated clear examples of how religious extremists used their churches as an arm of British colonialism.

Marie McLaughlin relayed similar sentiments about the role of Churches in supporting the continuation of colonial culture, arguing that she had seen the Protestant and

Catholic churches focused on controlling the Irish through their faith and that this had especially devastating consequences for women. As an example of the way that the religious culture created extra pressures on women, Collette McDaid shared her story about how her family had to hide pregnancies conceived out of wedlock to avoid shunning in local towns.

Beyond stigmatization, though, Marie McLaughlin noted that in Ireland women were targeted for criminalization and institutionalization for anything deemed wayward in the eyes of the churches. Church-ran baby and Mother and Baby homes known as Magdalene Laundries for women considered wayward, mirrored much of the kind of forced cultural assimilation, abuse and death faced in modern residential schools in Canada -- with the institutions only closing in 1990s on both sides of the border. In total, so far it is believed that over 9,000 children died in these institutions between the 1920s until the 1990s in Ireland.⁵⁶

Impacts of the Irish Civil Rights Movement

For many of the people I spoke to, the rise of the Irish civil rights movement corresponded with a general sense of hopefulness that social mobilization could change the world. Inspired by the Black civil rights movement in the United States, the feminist movement and the student movement in France, the new social movements era helped to encourage the people of Derry/Londonderry to take to the streets. Many of the oral histories I gathered from people on the Republic side of the border remembered that people would gather to go support the civil rights marches on the weekend for fun, but that quickly changed as the violence escalated after 1969.

⁵⁶ Between 2000 and 2009, a nine-year-inquiry led to a 2,600-page report from Ireland's Commission to Inquire Into Child Abuse, drawing on testimony from thousands of survivors who were sent to the 250 church-ran residential institutions between 1930 to the 1990s. In the boys' institutions, run by the Christian Brothers order, and the girls' institutions run by the nuns called the Sisters of Mercy, the inquiry found that children experienced ritualistic physical, mental, and sexual abuse, arbitrary punishment and terror. After the Christian Brothers order successfully sued to have its members dead and alive unnamed in the report, none of the perpetrators or victims were identified by name in the final report and no charges were laid. Most recently, two inquiries into the abuses within the Magdalene Laundries (and other mother and baby homes) in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland have uncovered the abusive conditions that (at least) 10,500 women in Northern Ireland (with total deaths pending) and 56,000 women (with 57,000 children, 9000 of whom died) in the Republic of Ireland between 1922 and 1990 (McCormick et. al, 2021; Carrol, 2021; CBC News, 2009).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are parallels between the processes that were used in Canada to try and enforce assimilation through the denial of Indigenous rights and the systematic preclusion of Catholics from social, economic, and political life by the British in the colonial period. However, when Northern Ireland emerged, there was no organized attempt to assimilate Catholics and even in the case of mixed marriages people who adopted Protestantism would face barriers around acceptance from local communities.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, systematic discrimination served as a similar type of strategy to pressure people into attempting to present as loyalist/protestant to survive because of the discrimination faced by Catholics. Stories like J. J. Hegerty's example of his uncle's experience being found out as a Catholic and forced to flee Belfast highlight the great risk that this type of attempt to assimilate sometimes posed.

Marie McLaughlin's oral history recalls her experiences being a teenager during the rise of the Irish civil rights movement and the issues that the community was responding to. Describing the harsh conditions that led people to take to the streets, Marie recounted that Catholics were kept from gaining access to the political system, while only being able to find work in harsh overcrowded factories and enduring extreme housing insecurity, homelessness and dismal housing conditions in the city with lack of heating, electricity, toilets, and enduring annual flooding. Beyond these conditions, people were also mobilizing to try to gain equitable access to healthcare and investment in education (especially for a university to be founded in the city).

Exclusion from the political system is one of the most famous issues that the civil rights movement was organized around, and much of the protests are remembered for the slogan 'one man [sic], one vote.' At the time, only ratepayers (property owners) and their spouses were able to take part in voting – and people who owned multiple properties as landlords were given extra votes for those properties. The systematic exclusion of Catholics from equitable work ensured that they (alongside a small subsection of the Protestant community) would never have access to power in the Northern Irish political system. Furthermore, the official British report, The Cameron Report on Civil Unrest in

⁵⁷ It is worth noting that this bares similarity to the experiences of exclusion that were faced in white-supremacist communities where mixed marriages took place - even though Indigenous people may have lost status or access to their reserves in some cases, this does not mean that local towns assimilated them into the privileges afforded to settlers.

Northern Ireland, c1969, found that there was also blatant manipulation of electoral districts (gerrymandering) to ensure that Catholic areas would not be able to elect as many officials to government even if they did secure a vote (Hewitt, 1981).⁵⁸

Marie McLaughlin details how quickly things escalated between the start of the civil rights movement's marches in 1968 and the violent clashes that took place between the state, British military members, the Orange Order, and civil rights activists. At 16, Marie joined many youth from the Republic side of the border who had gone to the Derry Housing Action Committee's October march for housing, only to find themselves cornered by a huge amount of police who battered children, women, men, and elders indiscriminately. Marie described how the film and photos of the police brutality led to around 30,000 people showing up to the next march, and how they had bricks thrown at them by local Protestants and water cannons used on them by police before making it to the site where leaders were giving speeches. Marie described how the state enabled Protestant paramilitaries and members of the Orange Order to assault activists during their protests and recalled that civil rights marches were banned while Orange Order marches were promoted as being "traditional cultural events." Marie also shared her memories of how influential women like Bernadette Devlin, who she met in 1969 when Devlin arrived in Derry/Londonderry after the Burntollet Bridge incident, where police allowed Protestants to freely attack marchers. Devlin would recall Protestants beating half-unconscious activists in the ditch, dragging them from the water, and multiple men attacking her with a board with nails that went through her hand. Marie remembered how inspiring it was that Bernadette gave a speech in Derry/Londonderry, even after surviving the incident. As violence escalated during that time period, many people tried to pressure her into joining the IRA but Marie believed that people should have focused on the social movements tactics that had garnered the world's attention but that this became impractical as the local government began allowing Protestants to attack the Catholic community with impunity. In her interview she goes on to explain:

"My own view was that we should have never left the street. That we should have stayed in the street. We got beat up again and again, but I thought that's the only

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that due to the lack of franchise for people who did not hold property, many Protestants were also excluded from voting, and that the discrimination described here is only applicable to property owners.

way to defeat an army that was always bigger than you. I was going with the Ghandi option then... I thought get beat enough times out here, they are shamed, it's all over the newspapers. The world's press was staying down here at the local hotel, we went out and socialized with them at night and see where the riot was going to be the next night... But it wasn't too long until it started to go darker, and there were gun men on the streets. In the beginning because for protection, because all protection laws in Catholic areas were lifted."

Marie goes on to describe experiences after the arrival of the B Specials⁵⁹ and the British Army, and how the violence against Catholics became emboldened by the sense that areas like the Bogside were outside of the rule of law, and that these necessitated IRA presence to protect the community. As Marie states: "They told you they were going to kill you – 'I'm going to kill you when I catch you' -- these would be officers, not the rank and file." Remembering being hit by one officer by the wall in Derry/Londonderry, Marie shared how she fled and believed that if she had been caught in that moment she would have been murdered.

In spite of the progress that has been made in Derry/Londonderry during the post-Good Friday Agreement era, for many of the people I spoke to who were involved in the civil rights struggles before and during the Troubles, the sacrifices made by their generation have still not fully resulted in resolutions to the main issues facing Irish people in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, civil rights activist Marie McLaughlin noted that if she were able to go back knowing what she knows now, she would likely have been organizing around civil rights in the Republic during this time period as well because not only did the Republic not do anything to support the Irish people being attacked in Northern Ireland, they also used the escalation of violence to justify enacting laws which allowed the state to raid homes of anyone suspected of being a dissident. Other civil rights issues like gender rights and anti-racism, which Marie also spoke about in her oral history, have become formative struggles for grassroots activism in recent years in the Republic.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The B Specials were a section of the Ulster Military Constabulary, a reserve force created by the British during the Irish war of Independence to assist in military and police operations during times of crisis in Northern Ireland. During the troubles they served as a quasi-military police force that worked with both the British army and the local Royal Ulster Constabulary.

⁶⁰ See for example the grassroots campaigns to support same-sex marriage (Hakim & Dalby, May 23, 2015; Coulter, January 13, 2020), successful efforts to repeal the ban on abortion (De Londras, 2018; Caffola, October 22, 2019), and the large-scale protests that erupted in response to police violence against racialized communities (Gallagher, April 27, 2021; Beresford, June 20, 2021; BBC News NI, June 6, 2020).

From the Civil Rights Movement to the Troubles

It is clear that the Troubles era, which lasted from 1968 until (at least) the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, has had an impact on everyone I spoke to while in Ireland. While much can be said about the way that the Troubles became centered around secular violence between Protestants and Catholics, the oral histories I gathered more clearly point to a struggle for civil rights under the (at least neo) colonial rule of Northern Ireland. While the state attempted to try to reinvigorate the legacy of the Ulster plantation through empowering wealthy Protestants, entire communities of Irish Catholics and poor Protestants who descend from the native Irish who worked the plantations were kept under duress after the creation of Northern Ireland. The oral histories I gathered demonstrate the way that community members who were engaged in civil rights struggles to end discrimination ended up having their homes turned into a war zone with direct conflict with loyalist forces, the British military, and the impacts of British-rule (after the fall of Stormont in 1972). While many people remembered feeling hopeful that the arrival of British intervention was aimed at limiting Protestant impunity, the violent tactics of the British forced many people to feel the need to join the struggle against the British just to survive. This transformation was especially highlighted in the oral histories of people who lived in the Bogside during the Troubles like Ann Hagan and Colum Lynch.



Figure 9: The Derry Civil Rights Association Banner

This is the banner that was carried during the march now known as Bloody Sunday, currently on display in a museum in Derry/Londonderry City, showing signs of enduring wear and tear during the conflict.

Listening to Ann Hagan, it would almost be hard to believe that she grew up in the Creggan in the Bogside in the 1950s, as she recalls gardening food, spending time with her parents, attending and excelling at school, spending time with her Protestant best friend, and getting her first job to work part-time at Woolworths in downtown Derry/Londonderry. Ann recalled not realizing the civil rights issues most people were facing until the day of the October march for housing in 1968, when her best friend told her that they may not be able to speak again after that day because of what was happening on the bridge. After that, as a teenager living in the Bogside, Ann described how she had no option but to witness and become involved in the Troubles as they began to impact her entire family. For Ann, everything about how she saw her life in Ireland changed when at age 15 there was a sudden shift in life in the Bogside at the start of the new year in 1969, first with the city cutting off power to all of the neighbourhood and trying to block food from entering the neighbourhood and then with the vicious attack on January 5, 1969 that marked the start of the time period that is now known as the battle of the Bogside. Ann explains:

“That was January 1969... a week before we were attacked in the Bog, all the electricity was turned off. So there was no electricity. I always remember people coming in from Inishowen, Buncrana, Strabane, and they brought us in milk and bread, because the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] surrounded the area, the Bogside and they wouldn't let the milkman and the breadman, and the shops were closed... I always remember young men coming in from over the border, saying they were from Strabane, they were from Buncrana, from Clady, from everywhere to help. Our house because it was the biggest house on the street was what you call an open house. My mother and all the women in the area were baking and making tea and trying to do as much as possible, and dealing with all the bread and milk that was brought in. Because the men were getting ready to fight, because we were told that the B Specials were going to be coming in... They were nearly all Protestant farmers getting paid big money to go in. That afternoon, it was January so it was very cold. My mother wanted to light the fire (we only had open fires then we didn't have central heating) and my father says no we can't light the fire because if they see the smoke coming out of the chimney, they'll know there is somebody in here and they'll come in and they'll kill us. All the men were out in the streets. They opened manholes, they had sticks and stones ready. There were no guns. The next thing was we heard them coming, and I'll never forget it, because we had a side window, and I looked out that window and they had those old war time lights beamed along, and I could hear these Belfast accents saying “if you see

them, shoot them” and all the men, and boys - young boys - my two brothers were out in the middle of it -- my father wasn’t -- but my two brothers were hiding behind walls. I’ll always remember the lights shining on their hard helmets, they were like beetles crawling along the ground and screaming. My mom was in the bed with my wee sister and my father was there, and he had his hand and was saying “don’t let them see you, don’t let them see you because if they see you they’ll kill you” and the next thing they opened fire. And I says “Jesus”, I remember cursing, and my father putting his hand over my mouth and saying don’t talk, and they opened fire on whatever they seen. It seemed to go on all night... and they did shoot into people’s houses as they went along. I remember this guy calling “Yous Fenians are going to end this tonight” in other words, no more rioting in the Bog, no more fighting the police, no more this. One of them fell down a manhole outside of our house and I could hear them screaming “get him out,” and they got him out anyway and away they went. The next morning when the light came about 5 o’clock or 6 o’clock, it was a little later than that -- the people were, the men that were in the area, they were sitting with bloody heads... My mother was screaming, my father says “Brigid, you listen to me now” he put his hand on her shoulder “this generation is going to finish this war once and for all” and I says to my father “what are you talking about” and then he told me everything... about 800 years of British rule. He took me right up to [19]22, and he told me that campaigns continued right into the [19]50s. He told me that a cousin of my mother’s was involved in hijacking a train and they were all caught but they all got out to America. It was then I realized.”

From that point on Ann felt like her entire community became involved out of necessity.

After 1972, with Britain implementing direct rule in Northern Ireland and bringing in British troops, Ann remembered feeling sympathy for the soldiers that were sent into her area, thinking they were just youth who probably didn't know what they had gotten into. She expressed how she felt like her generation, friends and family had also been robbed of their lives, going from just focusing on working and going to dances to being thrust into a war they never asked for.

Ann also details her experiences of the march now remembered as the Bloody Sunday Massacre, emphasizing how people felt hopeful that it was going to be the march that won the rights the civil rights movement had been fighting for, as a non-violent protest with huge numbers of people and international media attention. Listening to Ann's memories of being pregnant and watching the situation devolve, seeing people killed, and putting herself into the line of fire to try to save two small children who were in the street where there was crossfire, ushers up the heartbreaking feeling that must have been left with

the entire community. This moment in history, acted as a crossover event in many of the oral histories I gathered, with Marie McLaughlin sharing a story of having to sneak into the city for the funeral held for the victims of the massacre on a lorry (cart), and the entire downtown being covered in thick CS gas from the conflict; and people like John J. Hegarty recalling making it home from a navy ship just to attend and finding the city streets eerily empty as most of the Catholics had gathered in mourning.

Colum Lynch provides a deeper perspective of what it was like to be a child during this period of the Troubles, as well as recalling his memories of serving as an altar boy at the funeral for the Bloody Sunday Massacre. Colum describes growing up in a household of civil rights activists and nationalists who ran the republican pirate radio Radio Saoirse. He recalls how the Troubles split apart friendships his family had with Protestants and how as a child he began to live with a constant fear of being lifted by soldiers and imprisoned without provocation, which happened to many people he knew. Colum's community survived nightly raids by Crown forces, and had to develop tactics like opening all of their houses blinds and turning on lights so there would be witnesses if they were assaulted or killed. He described how children were being used by the IRA to collect shells after shootouts and British soldiers trying to bribe them with candy. Recalling how normalized riots became, Colum described how he grew up playing soldiers and rioters with other children, with 'rioters' throwing bricks and rocks at 'soldiers' who held makeshift shields. Colum also highlighted what it was like experiencing abusive church-ran schools during the troubles, going to schools where riots took place every day and how he was able to escape gang violence as a young adult.

These are just a few of the memories that were shared with me from community members, as many of the people I spoke to lived or worked on both sides of the border (including Collette McDaid and John Deery) and the trauma that the Troubles produced went on for decades. For Marie McLaughlin and Ann Hagan, the lack of supports that were put into place for survivors was devastating and this was echoed by John Deery's description of working with people in a mental health institution in Derry/Londonderry, where he witnessed the impacts of post-traumatic stress disorder causing addiction issues and depression. Marie McLaughlin noted that the loss of life caused by experiencing the trauma of the Troubles have probably never truly been accounted for:

"Three and a half thousand people died, and many more who are undocumented have died from the Troubles. People died from heart attacks and high blood pressure and bad health conditions. You live in a war and you are going to be unhealthy. Bad mental health. Loads of people. You could say 10,000 died and you would still probably not be anywhere near the number."

Like some of the people I spoke to in Mi'kma'ki who moved away from their communities after surviving genocide in residential schools, being able to cross the border into Donegal to find a space beyond the warzone played a key role for many of the community members I spoke to (even though, like the L'nuk, many of them returned to help with the healing process overtime).

For Ann, the trauma that she experienced in Derry/Londonderry made crossing the border and living in Inishowen like entering a different world - but her memories and post-traumatic stress is still triggered whenever she visits the Bogside. Colum, who lives in Derry/Londonderry now as an adult, also reiterated the way that crossing the border acted as one of his main sources of joy and rest when he was a child -- allowing him to connect with nature in the landscape of Buncrana and the surrounding area, away from the Troubles which surrounded his entire life.

From the Republic side of the border, the sense of the separation that Ann McLaughlin and Colum Lynch talked about was echoed in the oral histories of community members from County Donegal, who recalled having Derry/Londonderry in the back of their mind at all times, but also feeling like the violence was somehow distant. Part of this, Tina Porter noted, was due to the way that families would hear updates on TV or radio, though people often spent time in those moments making sure their family members and friends were okay by telephone. Places like Buncrana became known as on-the-run-towns where fugitives of the conflict would take shelter.



Figure 10: Buncrana's Main Street,
surrounded by a mountain to the North, and beaches to the East, South and West

When violence did spill over into the Republic (for example with John Deery's story of the riot at the Garda station in Buncrana when IRA members had been arrested by police in the 1970s or Jackie Henderson and others discussing the murder of Eddie Fullerton by the Ulster Volunteer Force, a loyalist paramilitary group, in 1991), this was seen as a major event. From Marie McLaughlin's description of the violence reaching Dublin (in the bombing of 1974), to Tina Porter's description of losing friends and the huge impact on the younger generation of the Omagh bombing in 1998, to the oral histories I gathered demonstrated the ways that the conflict was itself not contained to the North.

It became evident that in both sides of the border people tried their best to live full lives in spite of the violence and one of the ways this took place was by learning to cope with violence that was in their environment as if it was just a normal everyday environment. As the conflict went on for decades and also stretched from historical periods, for some people it was the only life they knew. Tina Porter, for example, shared a story of how it took her sister's boyfriend visiting from another country to make her realize how abnormal the environment actually was -- when he began to panic because they were

stuck in traffic in Derry/Londonderry due to a bomb scare, all she was focused on was whether that meant they should get take away for dinner. John McCarron recalled that his mother took him out of a store they had been shopping in right before it exploded, and others recounted similar stories of it being common to witness bombings during their day-to-day routines in the city.

Nevertheless, none of this meant that the bordertowns did not mobilize for the people bearing the brunt of the Troubles in Derry/Londonderry, as evidenced by the many oral histories that highlighted local participation in the civil rights movement. As mentioned above, Ann Hagan remembered that it was people from local towns in Donegal who smuggled food, water, and supplies to her neighbourhood in the Bogside when Protestants attempted to block any shipments from reaching her family to starve them in January 1969. John Deery described how the people of Buncrana, hearing that the British army were bringing 22,000 troops to the Bogside during Operation Motorman, organized taking in families as refugees from Derry/Londonderry, housing them in their sports halls and gymnasiums in 1972. Further, one of the most important stories of resistance in the bordertowns was shared by John Bradley, who highlighted the ways that people in the Republic were able to exploit the assumptions about the religious character of the conflict. John Bradley described how, even after the Republic's military began raiding homes on behalf of the Northern Irish state (which he saw as a form of colonial collusion), people in Donegal town were able to hide members of the IRA by using Protestant safe houses which were always precluded from searches looking for fugitives. According to John, the safe houses in Donegal Town were key in securing safe passage for key negotiators in the Good Friday Agreement like politician Gerry Kelly. These and other stories highlight the way that the impact (and history) of the Troubles cannot be seen as being contained within the border of Northern Ireland.

Border Crossing

The oral histories I gathered continuously demonstrated that everyday acts of refusal around the limitations of the border were central to the history of the bordertowns in all eras since partition. Community members on both sides of the borders recalled using the border to their advantage: the ability to use different exchange values to their benefit has

gone beyond being a survival technique to becoming one of the appeals of living in the borders. Tina Porter recounted memories of her father being known for gathering grocery lists from the elders in the community and smuggling items back to them from Derry/Londonderry in a large trench coat.

Nevertheless, memories of a hard border also solidified the notion of British control with the arrival of the British military. Tina Porter described the shock of having a rifle pointed at her by a soldier when she was just going to go shopping with her family. John J. Hegarty recalled how having customs agents and later soldiers search their busses for illegal goods confronted his ideas about the entire area being his country and home. In areas like the rural borderlands outside of Donegal Town, where John Bradley was shocked to learn as a child that his father, who shepherded sheep, was shot by the military from Northern Ireland, while recovering a wayward herd, thinking he was illegally crossing the border.

Throughout the stories about how everyday life continued to transgress the boundaries set by both nation states, the community members I spoke to made it clear that even without formal unification, there continued to be an underlying understanding that all of Ireland was for all of the Irish. No matter how slow or difficult it was to travel through, for people in the North, border crossing has remained a consistent part of everyday life -- John Deery discussed how travel became drastically slower for lorry drivers like his father but his work continued on no matter how aggressively soldiers would check the trucks at multiple checkpoints. The fluid border of the post-Good Friday Agreement landscape has really demonstrated the way that this is true, but even with the then looming threat of a return to a hard border, there was a resounding sense in our conversations that no matter what, the people of the borderlands would continue living a life beyond borders.

Nationalistic portrayals of all people in Northern Ireland viewing themselves as completely separate or British, clearly run contrary to the sentiments shared in my fieldwork. When it comes to colonial legacies of national identity, authors like Nash (1999) have noted that these types of separations, do, however, continue to abound in the North because many Protestant communities orient themselves around Britishness and distinct separation from the rest of the Irish and many Catholics refuse to consider these communities anything more than the newest generation of descendants of invaders. In this

project, however, while some collaborators like Terry Tedstone described the shock of travelling through loyalist areas in Belfast, where he, as an immigrant from England with mixed heritage, was made very uncomfortable by the hyper-nationalist British symbolism, the majority of people I spoke to emphasized that living or being born into any religion in Northern Ireland didn't make you any less Irish than those communities living in the Republic.⁶¹ This sentiment is underscored by the access that people in Northern Ireland have to Irish citizenship, that the political, religious, and cultural borders cannot truly sever the ties between communities on both sides of the border.

Furthermore, discussions I heard about emigration from community members, highlight the way that the Irish diaspora are eager to live lives beyond their context of their relationship to the British (indeed even sometimes at the expense of ignoring the context of the relationship the places they travel to have with the British).

Experiences of Internal Migration and Emigration

While a lot has changed since the 1600s, Irish emigration continues to be rooted in colonialism in its push and pull factors. Since the establishment of the Free State, poverty faced on the Republic of Ireland's side of the border in Ulster often served as a push factor for them to seek work in The United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland).⁶² However, according to Marie McLaughlin, the assimilatory practice of reserving jobs for fully pledged loyalists often resulted in the availability of opportunities for good paying work to be limited for Catholics and Republicans who served as the main source of hard labour in textiles and other industries. Whether scholars look to the time of the famine, the era of post-independence poverty, post-World War II in the North or the struggle to survive disinvestment during the Troubles, the economic hardships faced by the Irish continued a longstanding legacy of British colonialism of pushing the Irish from their homelands and

⁶¹ While certainly this may not reflect the fervent British nationalism present in many unionist representations of Northern Ireland, it is worth noting that there is a clear parallel that can be drawn between the way that the Irish people I spoke to acknowledged the possibility of dual citizenship to both the U.K. and Republic, while being Irish first and the way that Mi'kmaq community members talk about being L'nuk first rather than Canadian in spite of the existence of the Canadian state.

⁶² While some might argue that seeking work across the border is not truly a form of emigration, it *is* an international border whether or not we believe it is legitimately so. As a result, fact that people from the Free State, and later the Republic who do not wish to be a part of the United Kingdom were pushed or pulled to take part in another economy/state/tax base does represent a type of emigration regardless of the lack of geographical distance.

promoting the pull factor of the places where colonialism had created further opportunities (in Scotland, England, and the North American colonies). The almost necessity of emigration is a hardship that had become normalized in the lives of the people I spoke to. Jacky Henderson, for example, happily told about having a large family before mentioning that none of his children lived in the area anymore, having all left to pursue better opportunities elsewhere.

Given the proximity of the province of Ulster to Scotland (separated by a mere 16 kilometers at its closest point), it is no surprise that many of the people I spoke to either had gone to Scotland to find work at one point or another, or had family members who worked in Scotland (either seasonally or permanently) as part of supporting their families back home. For some of my contributors who spent time in Scotland, the impacts of the ongoing colonial violence in Ireland were evident not just with the Irish but with the British people as well.

John Deery recounts how he had dinner in Glasgow near an off-duty British soldier who was obviously experiencing post-traumatic stress because he had a panic attack upon hearing John's Irish accent. Other community members that I spoke to noted the lack of awareness about what was happening in Ireland in places like England. For Terry Tedstone, who immigrated to his family's area in Buncrana after growing up in England as a child, the kind of loyalism/British nationalism that he encountered in Northern Ireland was extremely shocking, in no small part because of the lack of anti-Irish rhetoric he had grown up around. This could also explain why Collette McDaid noted that living in England, she was welcomed with open arms by people who were Irish or English -- because the feuding itself within Ireland is fed by a type of trauma that does not exist in England, where the landscape has remained relatively untouched by the Troubles in Ireland. On the other hand, Marie McLaughlin noted that at the heights of the Troubles, studying in England many of the Irish people she knew would hide their Irishness to avoid discrimination from the English. In any case, the pull factors (mixed heritage, opportunities for employment, education, lack of outright violence in the streets) alongside the close proximity of all nations in the Common Travel Area, easily explain why so many Irish people have found themselves in Scotland and England.

For many Irish people, however, travel to the colonies abroad remains one of the most appealing prospects -- not only because of opportunities for advancement, but also because the colonies themselves have a long history of being presented as a land where the Irish could escape the internal feuding caused by religion. This notion was evident in some of my discussions with community members and is evident in the long history of pre-existing Irish communities in North America who actively offer cultural activities and supports.

For John Bradley, the immigration scheme set up by the United States to encourage the peace process between Irish Protestants and Catholics under Bill Clinton in the 1990s had a transformative impact. John noted that he was able to travel to Boston to work in exchange for participating in classes and activities with other Irish people who had been recruited from both sides of the border, and how this program had not only created lasting friendships but had led John to become interested in working in Boston on a longer-term basis before returning home.

Jim Doherty, on the other hand, had visited Mi'kma'ki in order to produce a documentary exploring how and why Irish Catholics and Protestant communities had demonstrated the potential for living peacefully on the East coast of Canada, in the hopes to support this kind of change in the dynamic back in Ireland. Jim noted that the Indigenous people he encountered during his trip were very kind to him, but the members of the Irish diaspora were often flagrantly racist, transformed into colonizers themselves.

It is ironic that the romanticization of Irish participation in colonization is so closely linked with stories about how the Irish have survived colonization in Ireland. In one interview, after recounting histories of their families' involvement in the struggle for Irish independence, one of my contributors also shared that a family member had travelled by boat to New Brunswick (in Mi'kma'ki), not knowing if he would survive, but ultimately making a huge success off of the exploitation of natural resources as a logging industry founder. This kind of excitement of being linked to Mi'kma'ki seemed to outweigh any concern around ancestral roles in ecocide, dispossession, or settler colonialism -- articulating again the way that colonialism as a lens can both be present (for example in discussions of ancestors needing to leave a colonial space to find work) and absent (in discussions of how ancestors chose to take part in colonizing to escape poverty) in

discussions of Irish emigration. Similarly, while cultural/linguistic and familial connections often informed where people chose to emigrate to, from an Indigenous perspective, it was interesting that people shared stories of family members fleeing to escape discrimination, hardships (or, in the case of members of the IRA, persecution for their involvement in the struggle to decolonize Ireland), with no consideration of the fact that they fled to other lands occupied by settler colonies to seek refuge.

The Post-Good Friday Agreement Era

The Good Friday Agreement which was negotiated between the British government, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and paramilitary groups like the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Ulster Volunteer Force, transformed life in the bordertowns by achieving a tentative end to the Troubles during a general ceasefire in the North in 1997. The agreement was ratified on April 10, 1998, and approved via referendum on May 22, 1998. In Northern Ireland 71% of voters backed the Agreement in spite of previous tension in both loyalist and nationalist communities that had been caused by the Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland refusing to stay in the peace talks, and the IRA stating in April that the tentative agreement would not be good enough for it to disarm (BBC, n.d.). While the customs posts in the North had already been abolished under the single market EU in 1993, a key aspect to the agreement was the complete opening of the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland leading to the phased removal of military checkpoints which was completed by 2007 (Reuters Staff, February 13, 2007; Addley, July 31, 2007). Additional terms of the agreement included Northern Ireland promising to implement a reformed electoral system with proportional representation (to help fix the legacies of the gerrymandering and exclusion of Catholics from Northern Ireland's voting). Northern Ireland created an Independent Commission on Policing tasked with making the state's police force composed of both Catholics and Protestants; and the state agreed to release political prisoners who had been imprisoned for paramilitary activity. The Republic of Ireland agreed to end its constitutional claims to Northern Ireland that had been written into Articles II and III of the 1937 Irish Constitution, instead coming to an agreement with the British government that Irish unification would be possible only through democratic referendum with a majority vote from both sides of the border. Britain

agreed to replace the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. Collaborators from both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland committed to create a north-south ministerial council, responsible for cross-border cooperation and to set up the Council of Isles with representations from all of the Celtic Isles' governments (Citizens Information Board, 2021).

In spite of the many reasons to celebrate the Good Friday Agreement, Marie McLaughlin noted in her oral history that not all of the Good Friday Agreements resolutions have been successful, given that (in 2019 when I was doing my fieldwork) Stormont hadn't sat in 2 years,⁶³ the Democratic Unionist Party was continuing to foster resentment towards nationalists and Sinn Féin was continuing its refusal to take part in Westminster or to use the power that so many people in the Irish civil rights movement died to make possible. Nevertheless, the Good Friday Agreement brought a period of reinvestment in the North and deeper integration of everyday life on both sides of the border. As a result, most of the people I spoke to in the Republic are part of the community commuting to work in Northern Ireland. What used to be a hard border is now barely noticeable on the road to Derry/Londonderry, as you can see in the photo below - with only a local “border cafe” to really draw attention to it.



Figure 11: Border Between County Donegal and County Derry/Londonderry
(seen in both directions)

⁶³ As discussed in Chapter 1, the National Assembly and Executive returned to powersharing via Stormont in 2020.

Like the previous generations who have tried to peacefully recover after eruptions of violence between loyalists and republicans in the past, people of the bordertowns have worked towards creating integrated spaces for peaceful dialogue and reconciliation. These efforts have been bolstered by support from the PEACE IV funding in the EU, which continues to support new projects like the recent documentary *North West Border Stories: Tales of the Trouble* featuring children and their grandparents sharing border stories from County Donegal, County Derry/Londonderry and County Tyrone (Donegal County Council, 2021). Much of the hope for preventing a resurgence of violence between the Irish in the North comes from the youth who were born after the Good Friday Agreement, some of whom are now 23 years old. In our oral history interview, reflecting on being a child with a rifle pointed at her by British military members at the border and the type of normalization of violence that she grew up around, Tina Porter said she hoped that her children would never have to experience another era of conflict like The Troubles. For her, and many others, the new generation are "peace babies", young adults and children who have grown up without the backdrop of the civil war, the border campaigns, or the subsequent skirmishes of the 1970s to 1990s. Unfortunately, not all the youth have had this experience, however. Jim Doherty noted that as a teacher in Derry, he still encounters many Catholic youths living in intergenerational poverty who are radicalized by the fact that they continue to experience the legacies of colonial violence that led to the Troubles in the first place. It is these youth who Jim worries are among the highest risk of falling back into violence -- living in no-go areas previously underserved or terrorized by local police that became completely unregulated with the withdrawal of the IRA after the Good Friday Agreement, many of these youths have seen the rise of gangs claiming control of Catholic territories, and offering the only real promise of a better life. Without real opportunities for material change and with the intergenerational trauma of the feuds between loyalists and Catholics, it is easy to see how gangs are able to recruit new members with the promise of direct-action and routes to power. Collette McDaid recalled how she loved living in the Bogside but left when her son became a teen to avoid him joining gangs there. In addition, many people I spoke to said that current groups like the 'New IRA' seem to also be primarily involved in gang activity rather than the political struggles they claim to identify

with.⁶⁴ During my fieldwork, riots involving youth, gangs, and the New IRA frequently took place in Derry -- and one resulted in the murder of the respected journalist Lyra McKee. In the following days, the New IRA released the following statement:

“On Thursday night, following an incursion on the Creggan by heavily armed British Crown forces which provoked rioting, the IRA deployed our volunteers to engage. We have instructed our volunteers to take the utmost care in future when engaging the enemy, and put in place measures to help ensure this. In the course of attacking the enemy Lyra McKee was tragically killed while standing beside enemy forces. The IRA offer our full and sincere apologies to the partner, family and friends of Lyra McKee for her death” (Weaver and Rawlinson, April 23, 2019).

Lyra McKee's death also highlighted the way that communities from all faiths on both sides of the border are invested in preventing intergenerational trauma from continuing through violence from either Protestants or Catholics in Northern Ireland. Community members from both faiths spent the weeks after the shooting decrying the murder as tragic and letting the New IRA know that this would not be accepted in the general public's name.

During my time in Ireland, I also learned about some of the new opportunities that have arisen from the post-Good Friday Agreement era. In Buncrana, I stayed in a small apartment owned by a teacher in Derry's first integrated faith school. Renewed efforts for integration in the community also allowed people like Colum Lynch to buy a house in a predominantly Protestant neighbourhood and to become employed in The Tower Museum in Derry. Part of this work to integrate the community echoes the previous generations' attempt to recover after the Irish Civil War, and teachers like Jim Doherty shared their stories about working in schools where even sportswear is banned (as it may be affiliated with faith groups), taking an approach of secularism to avoid stirring further conflict. For people like Colum, who works at the Tower Museum in Derry, it can be frustrating when

⁶⁴ Historically, there have been numerous splits from the original IRA (which fought in the Irish War of Independence), the provisional IRA (which rejected the partition of Ireland and fought in the Irish civil war), the Real IRA (which rejected the ceasefire made by Protestant forces and the provisional IRA in 1997 which led to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement), and the New IRA (which is composed of the Real IRA and various dissident Republican groups who continue to believe that Ireland must be unified by force). Bradley's interview echoes concerns raised by numerous others in my interviews around the way that these organizations have become a front for gangs that are able to recruit dispossessed youth by claiming to be motivated by the same goals as the Old IRA but in practice partaking in territorial conflicts that lack the kind of political organization of previous eras.

seeing people discuss official narratives of the history of Derry, as staff are expected to remain apolitical in serving the public, but the shift away from the extreme violence of the Troubles is a welcomed change in the city.

While there is reason to be hopeful, the fear of re-emergence of the conflict in Northern Ireland bears witness to the persistence and durability of the colonial legacies of the plantation period. For Republican dissidents, the forms of resistance that have been taken up are part of a legacy that harkens back to the physical force tradition that was present during the initial phase of resistance to discrimination and integration into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the 19th century. Public commentary from these groups continues to phrase the Troubles and even recent interventions in terms that colour all types of conflict with a colonial lens: referring to state police and military as crown forces (terminology that was more correctly used during the time periods of direct intervention by the Crown in the last century). For unionist paramilitaries and their counterparts in politics in the conflict in Northern Ireland, they continue a legacy put forward by planters who sought to resist both the dissolution of their power after the colonial period and any possible weakening of Ireland's union with the crown. While Northern Ireland took on an entirely different format than any of the Protestant led governments of the past, new adaptations of discriminatory frameworks, social cultures of exaltation of Protestant unionists and exclusion of Catholics and republicans all represent a new outgrowth of the colonial society that existed in previous generations. Aspirations by both Protestants and Catholics to come together, then, represents a turn towards forging a postcolonial legacy that may become something new.

On Brexit

The threat of Brexit causing violent legacies of colonialism to re-emerge via reinstating a hard border in the North was one of the main issues that was raised by people in my interviews in regards to the current issues facing the border town communities. In addition to concerns around the potential return of violent clashes between Northern communities, there was also a recurring sentiment that the fact that Northern Ireland voted no, the thoughtlessness (at least initially) put into addressing how Brexit would play out in Ireland (by Britain), and the escalating refusal of the United Kingdom to mutually negotiate or

follow through on its Brexit agreements all represented echoes of the colonial paternalism and unilateral approach that the British had taken to Ireland in the past.

Indeed, indications of tensions with between the United Kingdom's imperial aspirations have been present since they first joined the European Economic Community (EEC), the precursor the EU, in 1973 after having been rejected twice via veto by France's President Charles de Gaulle in 1963 and 1967. It is worth noting that Ireland's application to the EEC in 1963 was withdrawn directly as a result of this turn of events due to an attempt to keep trade open with the British. One of the main concerns held by President de Gaulle, according to the UK's national archive was Britain's commonwealth ties, which foreshadowed the kind of attitude taken up by Brexiteers in recent years (National Archives UK, n.d.). For decades, the UK worked to distinguish itself from other European countries, for example, by rejecting the agreements made in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 by refusing to adopt the common (Euro) currency (Wilson, April 1, 2014). While the UK did ratify its participation in the Lisbon Treaty, which helped formalize the transformation of the European Economic Community to the EU in 2008, the global financial crisis of the same year and the following years of the Eurozone debt crisis, which attempted to bailout smaller economies in the union like Greece, led to huge backlash from conservative politicians who led the call for Britain to leave the union. Preying on racism, xenophobia, and conservative culture in Britain, politicians like Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson helped drive a campaign of advertisements showing images of huge crowds of racialized men (supposedly lined up to get into the UK) with statements like "The EU has failed us all", and false statements claiming that Britain was sending the EU "£350 million a week" (approximately \$590 CDN) that would be spent in the National Health System if people voted to leave (Stone, October 28, 2018; Johnston, June 22, 2017). In 2016, when the referendum for Brexit was held, the UK vote to leave was decided only by a very slight majority, with results that were geographically split (with Scotland and Northern Ireland voting to remain) (Etahad, June 24, 2016). For many people that I spoke to in Europe, the populism driving the leave vote was an obvious backlash against the hurt pride of British imperialists, who felt they had been forced into paying fealty to a new empire that threatened to flood its land with immigrants. For many of the Indigenous people I spoke to, the notion that Brexit was about making Britain independent was laughable, considering

that the British monarch still claims leadership over so many commonwealth colonies and there has been zero discussion of 'Brexiting' their way out of their occupation of other nations' territories. In England, the kind of extremist fervor that was spurred by the movement became evident when Labour MP Jo Cox was murdered by Thomas Mair, who later in London Court refused to state his name instead saying "Death to traitors, freedom for Britain" (Kennedy, June 18, 2016). The fact that Brexit was led by populism was further evidenced during the hours and days following the referendum, when all of a sudden across Britain, Google data reported that there was a sudden spike in searches for "what is the EU" and "what is Brexit" after people had already voted (Selyukh, June 24, 2016). In Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement's progress for the peace process and the soft border between Northern Ireland and the Republic had been given basically no thought by the United Kingdom's government, nor the question of how to prevent a hard border taking center stage before the agreement for the UK could be ratified. Beyond this, the lack of planning behind the leave campaign became even more clear as the UK, under Boris Johnson, continuously struggled to come to terms that it could not dictate trade favoritism with the EU and leave the union without any penalty. As more and more details emerged around the actual cost of leaving and people began to realize the threat this posed to peace in Ireland, opponents began to call for a second referendum (which never took place) (Kirby, January 31, 2020).

During my fieldwork, the tangible threats that Brexit posed to peace in the bordertowns of Ireland was one of the most urgent issues being raised by community members I spoke to. Protests like the ones held in Muff in October 2019 demonstrated the public outcry against a return to a hard border (O'Connor, October 17, 2019), while the Irish passport authorities reported a huge rush of citizens of Northern Ireland filing to get their Republic (EU) passports to maintain access to Europe (O'Carroll, April 3, 2021).

According to Colum Lynch, in Northern Ireland, the prospect of returning to a hard border after voting to remain seemed like an insult to both loyalists and republicans. For survivors of the troubles that I spoke to, the prospect of returning to a militarized border and that triggering a return to violence had remained a serious concern since the Good Friday Agreement. Furthermore, with 5,600 people commuting to either side of the border for work per day, there were growing concerns around how a slowed border could have

seriously negative impacts on employment even without visa issues (Kelpie, September 26, 2017). For business owners like Dermot Doherty, other considerations like the cost of tariffs was also a serious concern. Even though community members were adamant that they would continue living life in a way that transgressed borders, they were seriously concerned about the backlash that these impacts could result in.

On the other hand, some people like John Bradley had been hopeful that inconveniences caused by a Brexit return to a hard border might encourage all parties to seek out unification once and for all, but he emphasized this was only likely to happen if Brexit had a negative impact on people's pockets. Beyond the costs of Brexit, this same kind of emphasis on the economic costs vs. benefits of unification were reiterated in almost all of my interviews, with people like John J. Hegarty noting that unification could require Ireland to work through another period of poverty like the Republic had post-independence, considering the Northern Irish government costs the UK government billions of euros in subsidies each year (recent figures put this amount at just over 12 billion euros per year (Gillespie, December 8, 2018).

During the time I undertook this research, the community waited with bated breath for a resolution, only to have the deadline met and extended repeatedly until the withdrawal of the UK was formalized in January of 2020. The contentious deal that was struck to avoid a hard border in Ireland saw the implementation of a sea border process, whereby Northern Irish ports are supposed to collect duties on items destined for the Republic from the United Kingdom rather than at the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Unfortunately, during the six-month grace period where the new customs process was supposed to be established, the UK government failed to implement checks on a variety of items (including grocery items) being imported to Ireland, putting it in violation of international law (BBC News, June 9, 2021). Furthermore, in spite of the fact that this was designed to prevent outbursts of violence over the border, multiple loyalist protests have erupted in some areas with messages like "EU out of Ulster" on placards as they take to the streets (Leebody, July 8, 2021).

In addition to the unresolved strain that Brexit is putting on the Belfast agreement, in regard to borders, not long after the Irish sea border solution was ratified, restrictions regarding entry to both sides of the border began shifting from both the Republic of Ireland

and Northern Ireland due to the bordertowns having the highest rates of transmission for COVID-19 in both countries (BBC News, July 3, 2021; Clancy, May 3, 2021) Unilateral approaches to restrictions related to both Brexit and COVID-19 continue to demonstrate that while the Irish view may be that movement between both borders is a right (and that moving from one area to the other is internal migration) the border still represents an international border between the Republic and the United Kingdom.

Bread and Butter Issues

Throughout my interviews, people returned to the fact that everyday life is shaped by "bread and butter" issues -- whether or not colonialism was the driving force behind the systemic challenges that people faced was less important to many people than 'how they could make a good life for themselves and their families'. Given the fact that so many people reported that the lack of support for diversifying employment and education opportunities in the area was causing a steady emigration of the younger generation out of the bordertowns, it is perhaps unsurprising that for those who did stay, a large part of the oral life histories was centered not on survival of British colonialism but on the bread and butter issues of providing for their families. The bordertowns continue to go through shifts of boom and bust in response to the current geopolitical climate and the oral histories that I gathered demonstrated the way that things have shifted from poverty post-independence to boom due to tourism, to poverty after the Troubles to boom during the Celtic tiger, to poverty after the 2008 collapse to recovery in the current era (although the lasting impacts of economic setbacks caused by the pandemic are outside of the purview of this research).

Collette McDaid and her father Owen McDaid highlighted the way that their family had found joy in running small businesses that adapted to the communities needs in each era. To people in Buncrana, the McDaid's are famous for having had one of the most successful chip shops, bakeries and transportation services (which continues today) in the area. Like many of the older generation that I spoke to, Owen had witnessed the Buncrana era during the height of its pre-Troubles existence as a tourist destination, with visitors to the beaches and daily dances making it an ideal place to run a chip shop that stayed open late. After becoming a father of 6 in the 1960s and 1970s, Owen described continuing to think of new ways to provide for his family, shifting to running his mini-bus service where

he was able to work with community members on both sides of the border (including those on the run) without getting involved in the conflict during the Troubles. Later on, his family opened a bakery in town, which was one of the first places Collette worked. I met Owen's daughter, Collette at the Coffee Cup Cafe where she worked. Collette clearly knew everyone who entered the shop and was quite knowledgeable about local history. Once again highlighting the way that bread and butter issues of survival take center stage in people's lives, Collette's oral history centered around the way she had navigated motherhood while unmarried, and her experiences living in Derry with her aunt and in England where her baby's father was from before returning to Buncrana. Collette had worked numerous jobs during this time period and reported having spent time working in most places in Buncrana. More recently, Collette had pursued to upgrade her education at a women's center in Derry, taking part in a program to upgrade her English, Mathematics, Psychology, and Business. Both of their life stories highlighted the way that the main opportunities they had found for employment in the bordertowns centered around the service industries or transportation.

For others like Jackie Henderson and Terry Tedstone, going to vocational schools helped to prepare them for working in trades or manufacturing on either side of the border. Working in hard labour in the Republic was also one of the only opportunities for people living in the Bogside, noted Colum Lynch, and he spent years trying to get a foothold locally before leaving for Australia for a few years. For many of the people who had trained in the trades, the late 1980s saw their training pay off as a new phase of economic boom (this time, unrelated to tourism) took place when a new surge of employment and income to the area through the 200 million Euro deal struck in 1987 by the company Fruit of the Loom, which included setting up a factory that employed 3,000 people in Buncrana and other manufacturing properties across the border (Porter, 2009). Many of the people I spoke to including Terry Tedstone and John McCarron made careers out of working at the factory prior to it relocating to Morocco starting in 2004. John noted that many people felt that it was the tightening of regulations in the EU (increasing costs on Fruit of the Loom) that led to this loss of jobs. On the other hand, in the middle of the Fruit of the Loom period, two important shifts happened that also impacted everyday life: the Good Friday Agreement, and the Celtic Tiger economic boom across Ireland, which provided new

economic opportunities for the region.

Dermot Doherty, local business owner and bed manufacturer, remembered the time period as one of expansion. Dermot almost came off as apathetic towards local political struggles, expressing disdain towards the people who get caught up in violence that just ends up hurting the community. For Dermot, life has been busy building and developing his family's business, going from learning how to build mattresses with his grandfather to creating completely new designs that have led to his business being highly successful in both sides of the border. Dermot's life story provided insights into the way the Celtic Tiger era brought new prosperity to the businesses in the bordertowns and the way that the sudden and dramatic economic collapse of 2008 had devastating effects on the local economy.

Like the housing bubble in the United States, the Celtic Tiger period was, as John McCarron noted, a time period that led to people taking out multiple mortgages they ultimately could not afford. One of the recurrent discussions shared by locals about the current era in Buncrana, was that there was a strain on the local economy due to increasing dependency on the welfare system (see for example Jackie Henderson's interview). With the economic downturn and the withdrawal of 3,000 jobs from the local economy on the Republic side, it is unsurprising that many people had to rely on work schemes or seek work elsewhere. Some people like John Deery and John McCarron saw the economic downturn as an opportunity to return to school: John Deery pursued a university degree in business noting the absence of multilingual tour guides in the area and is now working as a tour guide in his own business; John McCarron returned to university to pursue a degree in the arts.

Many of the people I spoke with were engaged in multiple roles as professionals and organizers. Tina Porter, for example, works both as a nurse and as an instructor for the nursing program at the local Letterkenny Institute of Technology (one of four colleges in County Donegal -- there are no universities there). In addition to these roles, Tina is also a full-time parent, a local genealogical researcher, and a key organizer in the West Inishowen History and Heritage Society. Tina described thinking about returning to school to pursue a career related to genealogical research but having to strategize around her other commitments first.

The Politics of Abandonment

By listening to the life stories of the community members I met in the bordertowns, an overarching theme of people sharing sentiments of abandonment began to take shape. Clearly, one of the lasting impacts of British colonialism in the region has been the way the politics of abandonment continue to shape both the way the past and present are perceived in the border towns. For many people the fact that the people of Ulster and Derry/Londonderry had risked their lives to fight for Irish freedom during the War of Independence, only to have the rest of the Republic refuse to do the same to fully decolonize Ireland, felt like the bordertowns had been forced to pay the ransom for the Republic's freedom. The echoes of the devastation wrought by the Irish civil war that still existed in their families, who not only witnessed the abandonment of those hoping to be free from British-rule but saw those who abandoned the North take up arms against them, continue to produce a chilling effect on talks of Irish decolonization. People from Derry like Colum Lynch noted that the feeling of abandonment continued when the Republic did nothing to protect Irish communities from being discriminated upon, imprisoned and killed during the Troubles -- opting to reaffirm the same politics as the pro-treaty forces. For John Bradley, who recalled the Republic's military raiding Donegal Town on behalf of Northern Ireland -- these politics went beyond simply abandoning the North and felt like collusion, calling into question the claims that the Republic has truly become a postcolonial state in the first place.⁶⁵

The sense of abandonment of the bordertowns was reiterated in my interview with Jackie Henderson, who noted that Dublin refuses to properly support County Donegal and Belfast refuses to properly support Derry. Jackie recalled, for example, the lack of proper transit infrastructure connecting Belfast and Derry, and the fact that Derry Airport had to

⁶⁵ As Elam (2019) notes, the term postcolonial is most often used to reference the body of literature in postcolonial studies concerned with examining the way that the impacts/relationships caused by European colonialism have continued to shape political, socioeconomic, and cultural life on this planet (i.e., post representing all that has taken place after colonialism). Much of this field has been informed by authors who have witnessed decolonization struggles around the globe. A secondary use of the term has emerged out of critiques around what "post" should mean (arguing that it seems to imply an era after the end of colonialism to readers who have not studied postcolonial studies). This understanding of the post in postcolonial, which is taken up in this dissertation, is useful in dispelling myths that claim that colonialism is an event that ended in the past and to interrogate the level of substantive independence and success at abolishing colonial social, cultural, and political forms after decolonization struggles around the world.

service three counties while being grossly inadequate in size or services. Jackie also noted that even the windmills in the North, which would seem like an investment in Northern energy infrastructure, are largely being used to support the Southern counties.

In Derry/Londonderry, the post-Good Friday agreement environment has still failed to resolve many of the substantive issues that communities were facing as legacies of partition. With the Northern Irish government not functioning properly at the time of my fieldwork, Marie McLaughlin noted that the rights the civil rights movement fought for were not even being utilized. With the lack of new employment opportunities or expansion in education, Derry/Londonderry, as Jim Doherty noted, has still failed to end the systemic impoverishment of the Catholic communities who bore the brunt of the Troubles. Colum Lynch noted that in Derry/Londonderry, these areas were impacted by an increase in gang activity after the IRA left "no-go" areas unregulated after the Good Friday Agreement and communities became (at least initially) underserved by the police. However, in 2020, Chief Superintendent Emma Bond reported that there were no more no-go areas in Derry/Londonderry, while admitting that the police force is still having issues around building relationships with communities in areas like the Creggan where they most often show up in armoured vehicles and armed with assault rifles.⁶⁶

This type of behaviour is likely part of why Colum's interview expressed skepticism about how reformed the Police Service of Northern Ireland was, with community members claiming that there is still political rather than community police taking place (Hargan, 2020). Nevertheless, after the dissolution of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, concerted efforts to try to recruit more Catholic community members into the police have been made to try to create more representation within the police force (although currently only 31% of officers are Catholic, with the majority still largely Protestant). Most recently, the post-Good Friday Agreement era has been challenged by the actions the UK has taken to Brexit which emphasized the lack of consideration that the United Kingdom continues to give places like Derry/Londonderry in its decision making, which has garnered frustration even from loyalists (Morrison and Lawless, April 8, 2021). Indeed, there is some irony in the reaction that loyalists are having, feeling like they have been partitioned into the EU/out of

⁶⁶ This is opposed to foot and cycling patrols that they do in the rest of the city where the perceived threat is lower.

the United Kingdom by the Irish sea border agreement, but no matter who looks at current British-Irish relations, it is evident that the communities in the North have been treated as an afterthought.

On the Republic side of the border, for a county of its size, Donegal remains largely underserved and underfunded by the Republic. In terms of transportation, the national train infrastructure does not connect with the county, leaving it accessible only by bus or car (unless you use the Northern Irish train system or fly to Derry/Londonderry). Like Derry/Londonderry, in bordertowns like Buncrana, the lack of opportunities for advancement in terms of employment or education has left many people reliant on the welfare system and dealing with mental health crises around poverty (see Collette McDaid's interview for a discussion of this). Finally, numerous community members highlighted the complete lack of support for health services in the county as being a devastating impact of the abandonment of County Donegal from Dublin. Tina Porter, who works as a nurse, noted that the county has very few hospitals, and their lack of facilities created a situation where the community in Buncrana had to raise funds to pay for their own bus service to carry cancer patients from the area all the way to Galway (which is 4 hours away, and ends up requiring many people to stay in the city for multiple days) to get treatment. Others, who have access to the National Health Service have had to rely on seeking treatment in Derry/Londonderry. Tina noted that Dublin continues to restructure its funding to County Donegal and redistribute funding to the urban centres in Ireland with universities (Galway, Cork City, Sligo, Limerick and Dublin itself). Yet even after decades of calls to invest in creating a university in the county, there has been very little progress towards establishing a university town in the county that could serve as a similar urban hub (the closest being Letterkenny with its Institute of Technology). Evidently, this lack of support from the Republic could be a large contributing factor to why the population density in the county is substantially lower than other counties in the South (like County Cork for example) and is less than half of that of the Republic at 32.75/kms² (Central Statistics Office, 2017). For numerous community members I spoke to, it is the reason why most of their families have left the county behind. When speaking to people in County Donegal, I often heard the sentiment that the Republic seems to forget they didn't partition off all of Ulster. Instead, the impacts of living in an area that does not quite feel like the

Republic, and yet is not Northern Ireland seem to be part of using County Donegal as a buffer zone that physically separates the conflicts that take place in the North from the rest of the Republic. Given some of the sentiments I encountered around the Republic benefitting from abandoning all of Ulster, it is no wonder that people are critical of the idea of a beneficial unification of all of Ireland. Marie McLaughlin, echoed this point stating:

"If there was a push tomorrow, there could be a united Ireland... that's if they all voted, the numbers are there now... Ireland today cannot afford it. They can't afford Donegal. Ireland does not look after Donegal, they look after Dublin. We have a big problem here in Ireland. A big problem from what I'm concerned. We have total discrimination against Mayo, Donegal, parts around the border, Connacht, poor areas. They've sorted, depopulated those areas, because they've not put in jobs."

Intergenerational Healing

It is evident that for many of the people I spoke to, their families barely got a chance to heal from one political conflict (The Irish civil war) before having to survive another (the Troubles). In some ways, the peace baby generation is in a position of power in the North, as many of them may be able to lay the foundation for the next generation to not have family members, neighbours, or friends who have fallen victim to violent conflicts over political or religious affiliations. Further, according to some of the people I spoke to, the integration of schools for the youngest of the peace babies in places like Derry/Londonderry has resulted in Protestant and Catholic students joining together in outcry when violence has broken out in the city. We may have entered an era in Irish history where the future may be able to be plotted in a more consensual way than it was when partition took place, ignoring the diversity of views on separating the North from itself.

While many of the youth (at least those who are not joining paramilitary-like gangs) may not be engaging with the same tactics as the previous generations to call for an end to British rule or union with the United Kingdom, there has been a resurgence in activism in Ireland on both sides of the border with the younger generation taking to the streets to confront the legacies of colonial ideologies of racism, sexism, homophobia and xenophobia. There is also a push for the current generation to take up roles in dealing with

the migrant/refugee crisis and many people are organizing to help set up supports and homes for refugees (see Jim Doherty's interview for example) and rebuking racist backlash when it rears its head in the country. The anti-racist movement in Ireland has also been further galvanized by mobilizations of the Black Lives Matter movement in the country - both in solidarity and in direct response to police violence against racialized communities (Gallagher, April 27, 2021; Beresford, June 20, 2021; BBC News NI, June 6, 2020).

In the North, with 2021 marking the centenary of partition, rather than the 100th year anniversary of the state being marked by public displays of fervent nationalism, there is an increasing turn towards secularism (with 20% of people in Northern Ireland claiming no religion), a near equal Catholic and Protestant population and increased support for Sinn Fein in the face of loyalist politicians' handling the past few years leading up to Brexit (Beattie, June 21 2020; McKay, June 30, 2021). Many of the people I spoke with noted that the population was becoming less religious in the North, a result of the truth of harms committed by both churches becoming public. In both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, inquiries into the crimes of church and state through institutions like the Magdalene Laundries have only recently begun broader discussions about the type of healing that is needed for the families of victims.

Looking Forward: Cultural Resurgence

One of the main sources of similarity between my experience with community members in Ireland and my experiences in Mi'kma'ki during my fieldwork was the way that cultural resurgence had taken centre stage as a form of healing, recovery and refusal -- demonstrating the survivance and thriving existence of the cultures which colonialism has sought to destroy.



Figure 12: Mount Errigal in Western Donegal's Gaeltacht

Language revitalization has been one of the main initiatives that the EU has helped fund in terms of cultural resurgence in Ireland. County Donegal is also home to the second largest Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking immersion area) in the country. Located in Western Donegal, the Gweedore Gaeltacht represents 24.5% of the Gaeltacht population in the Republic (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2019). Partly due to the area being geographically separated by large mountain ranges and the North Atlantic Ocean, County Donegal's Gaeltacht is famous for having remained a largely Gaelic speaking area even after the Ulster plantation era. Recent investments from the Republic and the EU have allowed the younger generations in areas like Inishowen to take immersion trips there as part of their schooling. John J. Hegarty described how language revitalization has also been central to his work as an archaeologist, allowing him to draw on local heritage oral histories and Irish place names translating to the battle rocks to determine the location of historical events like the battle between the O'Donnells and the O'Neills. Even though the bordertowns remain primarily English speaking, John McCarron expressed hope about the increase in Irish language use because of the local Irish schools, and others like Collette shared stories of her son becoming passionate about the language and finding work with local Irish language TV stations like TG4, or working as local Irish teachers. Like language revitalization efforts in Mi'kma'ki, engagement with the Irish language has allowed a deeper connection to the world views, history, and culture of the Irish people in ways that English may not allow.

For people familiar with traditional music, it goes without saying that County Donegal has played a crucial role in the resurgence of traditional Irish music and I got the opportunity to visit the pub in the Gaeltacht Gweedore where the world famous musical group Clannad (a traditional Irish group whose members include singer-songwriter Enya) had created many of their highly successful and acclaimed albums. In the bordertowns, trad nights (traditional music nights) continue to be popular with many local pubs having musical gatherings multiple times a week. Alongside the traditional music of the Irish people the North is also famous for attracting all types of Irish musicians who have made what is known as Irish rebel music or ballads with explicitly anti-colonial messages. Terry Tedstone talked about growing up listening to this music with his English father in England and how the music was popular even with British people at the time. While the current era may not be focused on rebel music, the storytelling and history that is contained within traditional Irish music continues to be a source of cultural resurgence. There's also a strong tradition of Irish dance in the border towns and John McCarron described how his family had been involved, including his wife who teaches Irish dance.

John also serves as the cultural officer of the local Gaelic Athletic Association in Buncrana, and noted the way that the Association has continued to put forward a commitment to seek the unification of all of Ireland even after the Good Friday Agreement officially ended the Republic's aspirations to do so outside of a referendum in the North. In many ways the continuous enthusiasm that Ireland shows for its traditional sports like football and hurling has unified all of the counties since before, during, and after the political conflicts of the last century.

One of the most crucial forms of cultural revitalization that has taken place in the bordertowns is the work being done by heritage societies who are sorting through and gathering local stories, oral histories, and working with archives to better understand the regions histories and to fill in gaps in the official histories of both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Unfortunately, heritage societies have very limited funding and often have to work on a project by project basis. At the time of doing my research, I benefited greatly from collaboration with the West Inishowen History and Heritage Society, of which many of my collaborators were members. As part of my oral history research, I got to hear about community members leading genealogical research projects, running walking

tours on land-based histories, hosting centennial celebrations for the Easter rising, sharing new information about the areas' involvement with the establishment of the first Dáil (Government Assembly), and work that was being done at the Tower Museum in Derry/Londonderry cataloguing the Inishowen collection of artifacts that were being stored (not on display). The resurgence in interest in heritage societies in the area demonstrated the way that the community is refusing to accept the historical erasure that many of my collaborators experienced in public education by leading investigations into the regions deep and contemporary past that can help shape a better future for the community.

In Derry/Londonderry, it is unsurprising that many of the people I spoke to are also involved in teaching history after having survived so many pivotal moments in Irish history -- speaking with educators like Jim Doherty and Ann Hagan, the experiences they had in Northern Ireland has led them to be part of many projects including the peace process, university teaching, and running local museums. I also spent time taking walking tours with local survivors and visiting memorials in the Bogside where the history permeates the landscape itself. While John Bradley noted that there have also been setbacks like recent cuts to funding for the Irish language by the Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, the rise of integrated schooling and other projects like those run under the PEACE IV program give reason for hope and honour the friendships that transgressed assumptions about Protestant and Catholic feuds that people like Colum Lynch and Ann Hagan remembered from before the Troubles began. In many ways, Northern Ireland is, through these initiatives, creating space for cultural bridges to emerge in the new generations that might clarify bonds that can lay a deeper foundation than the reasons that the Irish ended up cyclically fighting each other over British rule.



Figure 13: Buncrana Beach
(below viewed from the Lough Swilly Ferry docks)

One part of the culture in the bordertowns between County Donegal and County Derry/Londonderry that might easily be overlooked, and that the current generation is getting to access more, is the relationship with land. If you were to listen to all of the oral histories that I gathered in Ireland, memories of the joy of exploring, swimming, walking,

roaming the landscape in the Republic's side of the border make a central appearance in everyone's lives. For John J. Hegarty, part of this relationship included wandering and foraging traditional foods in the local landscape like plants and seaweed -- something he has invested time in writing about to help pass on the knowledge to future generations.

It is this landscape that children like Colum Lynch would escape to from the Creggan, when his mother would gather children from the neighbourhood in their van to go swimming. Sitting on the edge of the beach with my feet in the North Atlantic, with mountains to my back, and a golden tinge to the sun setting behind a pink sky, I imagine that it is entering into this relationship, the one between locals and their sense of belonging to the land that has fueled their willingness to defend Ireland for hundreds of years. Counterintuitively, while those fighting against Crown forces saw themselves as trying to end the oppression of the people, to liberate the land, it is the end of the Troubles that has allowed Collette McDaid to report that her peace baby children are once again wandering freely without danger of encountering war amidst the starfish, standing stones, and moss. This may be one of the most important and most decolonial parts of cultural resurgence and healing of all -- recentering the intergenerational relationship with land -- and it is an obvious link with what the L'nuk are doing as well.

Towards a Fully Decolonized Ireland?

Like the efforts to colonize Ireland, efforts towards decolonization have been largely incomplete. The ongoing contention around the political and territorial outcomes of this process are just one aspect among numerous legacies of British colonialism that continue to impact the social, cultural, economic, and physical landscape of the bordertowns. While these Irish experiences emerge in a time period when Ireland is no longer a colony, as the next chapter explains, themes raised by community members also link to the lived experiences of people struggling with ongoing colonization in the present in Mi'kma'ki: from transgression of borders, a focus on bread and butter issues, acts of everyday refusal regarding national identity, recovery from intergenerational traumas, and a commitment to cultural resurgence.

It is worth highlighting that the question of how to support Irish decolonization became more complicated the further that I did this research. First, there is a need for the

Republic's citizenry in Ulster to find a path that will allow it to feel like it can believe that the Republic of Ireland is truly independent (whether this is from the Catholic Church or collusion with Northern Ireland/UK). What I did not expect was that these sentiments had echoes in Mi'kma'ki in discussions about the current shape of the Grand Council and Band Governments. Secondly, I am grateful for the fact that so many of the people I spoke to raised frank discussions about colonial dependency (on nationalized healthcare, lower taxes, the welfare state) in Northern Ireland even among those who were firmly in favour of unification because without resolving how Northern Ireland might be supported in unification, it is unlikely that an end to partition could do more good than harm. Third, as I have explored in more detail in the conclusion of this dissertation and in my (2019) article in *Studi Irlandesi*, the question of decolonization necessitates a deeper examination of the way that Irish people understand their role in global colonization – and in many of the discussions I had with community members, it appeared they were uncritical about this key issue. At the center of everyday life was not the question of Irish liberation, then, (and from whom, for whom, in what form) or decolonization as much as it was the desire for a life beyond placing colonialism at the center, where intergenerational traumas, feuds, and debates could take a back seat to connection with land, culture, and community.

Chapter 4

L'NUK ORAL HISTORIES FROM UNAMA'KI: FROM IMPACTS OF COLONIALISM TO MI'KMAQ RESURGENCE

Introduction

Historically, Unama'ki (Cape Breton) has been a crucial gateway to the Eastern seaboard of North America and the site of struggle between competing colonial powers such as England and France. As a district of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy, it also served as the area where L'nus who used Taqamgug (Newfoundland) as a seasonal wildlife/hunting reserve would live, as well as a central location for the Confederacy's culture and governance since time immemorial.

Geographically, Unama'ki is 10,311 kms² and contains a wide variety of landscapes including mountains, forests, valleys, expansive farmlands and rocky coastal areas. In the past century, the island has been a major contributor to the colonial provinces GDP with numerous industries including logging, mining (for coal in Sydney Mines, steel at Muggah Creek and gypsum at various mountains around the island), fishing (for lobster and salmon), and farming (representing a total of 1.98% of Nova Scotia's agriculture industry in Cape Breton County alone) (Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture, 2017). In recent years, many of these extractive industries have ended their activities on the island, leaving fishing, heavy and civil engineering construction, commerce, water transportation, administrative services, hospitals, nursing and residential care facilities, and hospitality services as the main sources of employment for locals (Government of Canada, 2019). With a population of 132,010 in 2016 (14% of the entire population of Nova Scotia), this number has likely also increased due to the large influx of foreign students in recent years to the island because of Cape Breton University's world class business and tourism programs (Connors, January 7, 2019). Canadian settlements are split amongst four administrative counties run by Nova Scotia: Inverness, Victoria, Richmond and Cape Breton County (Statistics Canada, 2021). With status-holding L'nus making up just 4.7% of the inhabitants on the island, Mi'kmaq reserve communities are located in five locations

around the island: Wagmatcook (535 people), We'koqma'q (825 people), Potlotek (505 people), Eskasoni (3,420 people) and Membertou (1,015 people) (Statistics Canada 2016c). Each of the reserves have shared control over the additional area known as Malagawatch (see map below) (CBU, 2020a). As part of the project to rename this area of Mi'kma'ki 'New Scotland', the area is also known for its Scottish settlers including those who live in the area that was settled after the clearing of the highlands in the United Kingdom, with the transplanted name Cape Breton Highlands. While Irish settlers have been a part of Unama'ki's history, as was mentioned in the chronology chapter, the Irish diaspora primarily settled around Halifax, or migrated towards Prince Edward Island and areas in what is now New Brunswick where they could access work in the timber industry (along the St. John river from Miramichi to Grand Falls, and the Atlantic coast as far as Pokemouche) (Evans, 2020). Mannion (2018) notes that during early settlements, there were ongoing ethnic tensions between the Scots in Unama'ki and the Catholic Irish in Halifax, which may have had a role to play in the diaspora not making the island their main settlement. While I had initially planned to collaborate with community members in Membertou and Eskasoni, due to unforeseen circumstances, the oral histories I recorded in Unama'ki were gathered in Eskasoni First Nation (with members from both reserves) while I learned and volunteered at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, a tourism hotspot on the island teaching Mi'kmaq history and culture. It was during this experience of volunteering that I was able to get to know community members and to record interviews in and around the reserve.



Figure 14: Eskasoni
the landscape that inspires its place name

Like many of the other place names in Mi'kma'ki, many sources report the name Eskasoni comes from the geographical phrase we'kwistoqnik (where the fir trees are plentiful) because of the forest that surrounds it as seen in the image above. However, Elder Albert Marshall said that the name is actually derived from words alluding to the conditions which cause the wood in the surrounding forest to not properly dry out (making it harder to use for logging). Established as a reserve in 1834, Eskasoni is now one of the largest reserves in Mi'kma'ki, owing its growth largely to the establishment of centralization in the 1940s. Alongside the other four reserves in Unama'ki, Eskasoni has been at the forefront of the establishment of Mi'kmaq education, language revitalization, ecological work, and cultural resurgence. Beyond simply being an important site of British colonization in North America, Unama'ki (the land of fog) remains a crucial site of L'nuk leadership in education, culture, politics and industry.

Many of the themes which emerged in the oral histories I gathered in Unama'ki have distinct links with what I heard about everyday life in the bordertowns of Ireland, but the context of life for the L'nuk is distinctly different given that there can be no debate about colonial occupation continuing to this day. In many ways, the successful transplantation of colonial strategies from earlier sites of British colonization like Ireland to the regime in Mi'kma'ki (laid out in Chapter 2) evidently relied upon a tightening of

colonial control over Indigenous Peoples via hyper-intensification of misrecognition and dehumanization. What this means in practice is that while the Irish were struggling to gain civil rights for part of their population in the North and fighting each other over the results of their decolonization struggle in the 1900s, the L'nuk were being treated as subhuman by Canada and the international community allowed the colony to force their communities to survive relocations, kidnappings, mass murders in residential schools, criminalization of their language and culture, containment to reserves, and the expropriation of their land and resources for the colonies' benefit.

This chapter highlights the way that everyday experiences of the legacies of the colonial occupation in Mi'kma'ki have shifted since as far back as the 1950s, when the official policy of centralization transformed Eskasoni (where I gathered my interviews). Like my experience in Ireland, the life stories I gathered highlighted various ongoing impacts of colonialism on everyday life, including a discussion of life around and transgressing colonial borders, displacement and emigration, survival of state and church repression and violence, decolonial desire clashing with limitations on sovereignty in governance, experiences with ecocide, and the many tactics that have become central to intergenerational healing within Eskasoni. Like in Ireland, the oral histories demonstrate some of the way that the Mi'kmaq have gone beyond hypothetical discussions to implementing broader strategies for economic betterment, resurgence of Mi'kmaq culture, and investments in the younger generation which might provide pathways beyond colonialism in the long run.

It is worth noting that my research was also enthusiastically supported by the community members I met, not only as an L'nu scholar, but also because of the long history of Celtic and Irish interaction with Unama'ki. Some of the people whose oral histories are attached to this dissertation share stories of how members of the Irish diaspora were their ancestors: Lottie Johnson describing her journey of uncovering some of the story of her Irish maternal grandmother in Prince Edward Island. Audrey Johnson describes how she found out her biological father had been an Irish man in Boston, and how she is still looking to connect with that side of her family. Speaking to Hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine, whose call for research linking the Irish and Mi'kmaq had helped to inspire my research, he noted that one of his grandfathers had been Irish and had been

granted land that he surrendered back to the Mi'kmaq. Beyond biological kinship, Elder Albert Marshall noted that the initial arrival of the peasantry of the Irish diaspora (most of their population in Mi'kma'ki descend from impoverished farmers) had been welcomed by the L'nuk who recognized the type of persecution they were fleeing from the British, the discrimination many of them faced as Catholics, and their extreme need arriving to Mi'kma'ki with nothing more than the clothes on their back.⁶⁷

In my time visiting the Mi'kmaq College at Cape Breton University (Unama'ki College), the ongoing investment that communities had in intercultural exchange around colonialism was emphasized by the school organizing a large conference with invited community members from the Basque region in France. Interestingly, in Unama'ki the Celtic Colours Festival, which celebrates the Celtic (of course in this case, in New Scotland, primarily Scottish) culture on the island, now corresponds with the newly established Mi'kmaq History month -- and I was able to spend the month gathering oral histories during this time. There was an interesting subsection of events taking place which brought the two celebrations into contact with each other. In spite of the ongoing colonization of Mi'kma'ki, everywhere I spent time in Unama'ki there was effort being made by the Confederacy to increase collaborations with non-Indigenous peoples and to reaffirm their longstanding role as a host-nation with a long diplomatic tradition -- which rather than feeling like abandonment of decolonization felt like an affirmation that the community has maintained opportunities for guests to re-enter into accountable relations with the Confederacy. While this chapter highlights the ongoing impacts of British/Canadian colonialism in everyday life for the community members I spoke with, it also highlights the way that the community members have taken up their responsibilities by making transformative contributions not just to the Confederacy but also to all people on Turtle Island. The chapter ends by reiterating a message of hopefulness that was shared with me by Elder Albert Marshall around the spirit of curiosity and a call to return to *netukulimk*⁶⁸ in everyday life.

⁶⁷ Potential investigation of oral histories of Boston as a main site of immigration for both communities from Unama'ki and Donegal became evident during this project.

⁶⁸ *Netukulimk* is a concept that is used to guide sustainable relationships with the environment and all being. It is defined by the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources as the use of the natural bounty provided by the Creator for the self-support and well-being of the individual and the community.

Figure 15: Mi'kmaq Nations and Reserves in Unama'ki

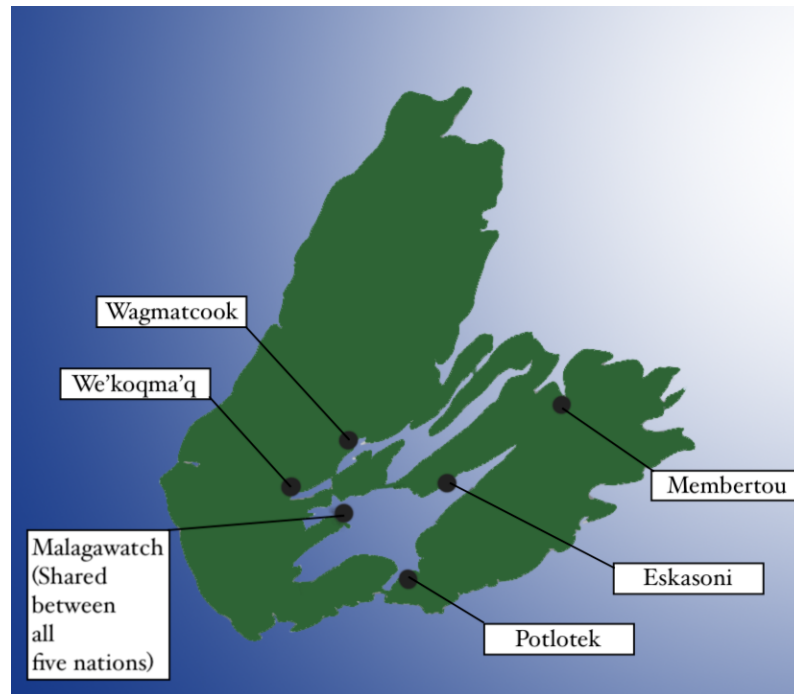


Table 5: Research Contributors in Unama'ki

Charles "Chuck" Francis Jr. (b. 1961) is a material culture educator and artist from Eskasoni Natashia Herney (nee Sylliboy) (b. 1972), is a cultural educator, traditional dancer, and drive instructor from Eskasoni Audrey Anne Johnson (b. 1974) is an artist and educator from Eskasoni Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson (b. 1945 in Portland, Maine) is an educator, traditional healer, and crisis worker from Eskasoni Mary Rose Julian (b. 1942) is a leader of language education, and artist from Eskasoni Elder Albert Marshall (b. 1938) is a tradesman, community leader, educator, and knowledge keeper from Eskasoni	Pipe Carrier Clark Paul (b. 1946) is a tradesman, educator, traditional healer, and crisis worker, from Membertou First Nation, Lindsay Paul (b. 1956) is a historical tour guide, material culture educator, and retired policeman from Eskasoni Vivian Paul (nee Young) (b. 1960) is an homecare worker for seniors from Eskasoni, Robert "Bobby" Stevens (b. 1966) is a cultural educator, groundworker from Eskasoni and guide at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys Glynis Sylliboy (b. 1971) is a cultural educator at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys from Eskasoni
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Netukulimk is achieving adequate standards of community nutrition and economic well-being without jeopardizing the integrity, diversity, or productivity of our environment.

The Impacts of Centralization

Understanding the current impacts of British/Canadian colonialism in Unama'ki and particularly in Eskasoni, would be impossible without a discussion of the containment of Mi'kmaq communities within two central reserves through the process that the Nova Scotian government referred to as "centralization." Around Memorial Day each year, L'nuk communities recognize their role fighting in World War II, when Mi'kmaq warriors from all over Mi'kma'ki took up arms in defense of their treaty partners England and Canada, joining allied forces overseas. What is rarely talked about, however, is the fact that the Nova Scotian government used the lack of warriors in Mi'kma'ki during this time period as an opportunity to forcibly relocate the Mi'kmaq population from their homes. Part of the reasoning behind this "centralization" policy was to decrease the distance Indian agents had to travel between communities in Mi'kma'ki. Communities who were relocated were promised new houses, adequate resources for starting their lives, and support from the Canadian government for their move. Instead, the L'nuk arrived to places like Eskasoni to find that no new homes had been prepared nor were extra resources allocated for them, while settler officials made quick work of destroying the houses and other structures that were left behind to prevent the communities who had been displaced from returning home (Roache, April 27, 2020). With destitute families arriving in either Shubenacadie on the mainland or Eskasoni in Unama'ki, communities found themselves having to work together to try to provide for a large influx of people. Mary Rose Julian recounts how in Eskasoni, the local community responded by engaging in a plunock (communal gathering) where everyone pools resources to build and provide what families need. Nevertheless, for a long time the sudden influx of population to the area resulted in increased poverty in everyday life.

The policy of centralization was also crucial to the establishment of colonial dependency in Eskasoni. Mary Rose Julian noted that prior to the 1950s, Eskasoni had been a relatively small community that was able to live off of traditional relationships with the land (via subsistence) with no need to engage with Canada's welfare state. The immediate needs of communities relocated by centralization created a situation where colonial dependency was deepened through reliance on the local rations run by Indian agents, colonial control over who profited by the sudden and rapid urbanization, and

eventually a shift towards reliance on the welfare system and grocery stores for food. Mary Rose Julian describes how the community resisted to settlers profiting on the establishment of the welfare system in 1953 when the Canadian government attempted to pay settlers 34 cents per hour while paying L'nus 18 cents per hour to build houses in Eskasoni. When the disparity in wages was found out, Mary Rose's father led a large protest in which he was subsequently arrested for cutting the belt in the local logging mill and forced to pay \$200 to stay out of jail (which the community raised). By the early 1960s, Mary Rose's father helped drive the Indian agents out of the community, leading another large protest around the discriminatory distribution of rations in the community. While Mary Rose noted that the protest was successful, this led Canada to establish the first band government to have locals take over the role that Indian agents had been serving in the community, further entrenching the community in colonial governance. Elder Albert Marshall noted that as the welfare system in Eskasoni shifted towards reliance on money in the 1950s and 1960s, the community became further disconnected from the lifestyle that had sustained Eskasoni for so long, as people began to rely on grocery stores for food rather than sustaining their relationships with the land. Furthermore, as Lottie Johnson noted, the Canadian government exploited the new dependencies created by centralization to enforce the removal of children to residential schools (on the threat of those resisting losing access to the rations they needed to feed their families). In spite of these impacts, the oral histories I have gathered demonstrate that the L'nuk turned towards logging, hunting and fishing to continue to sustain their livelihood off of relationships with the land. Lottie Johnson's description of her daily life in the late 1940s and 1950s, for example, demonstrates the way that most of her family's time was taken up by working in the woods, fishing, or gardening recalling her family tending a garden with string beans, tomatoes, squash, cucumbers, lettuce, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, as well as having a barn with 24 chickens and fishing in the stream near her house. Similarly, Lindsay Paul shares how his family continued hunting and trapping after centralization had taken place.

Reframing Life in Reserves/Near Settler Towns as a Bordertown Experience

My motivations for working in the Irish bordertowns, where the lasting impacts of both British colonialism and the Irish struggle for decolonization were evident, was initially in no way linked with trying to draw comparisons to reserves and settler towns as being bordertowns (composed of native populations and settlers living alongside assimilated loyalists). Nevertheless, the more that I listened to the life stories during my time in Mi'kma'ki, and the more that I spent time on reserve, the more that I realized that the experiences I was hearing described resoundingly sounded like border-crossing experiences.

For example, both Lindsay and Vivian Paul described how unusual it was to see settlers on reserve when they were growing up. Lindsay noted that the only time white people were seen on reserve until recent years, was when the Indian agents would show up or someone was trying to sell something to the band council. Vivian also mentioned that since it was considered a crime for L'nus to buy liquor prior to the 1960s, that there were also groups of white people (and white passing people) who would bootleg alcohol into the reserves. Evidently, the racial segregation that was common on the island also led Clark Paul and Robert Stevens to recall having spent part of their lives not realizing that Mi'kma'ki was not primarily inhabited by L'nus when they were growing up.

Reserves like Eskasoni were, until relatively recently, geographically disconnected from the rest of the island and the mainland as well. Clark Paul noted that in the 1950s there were no more than 10 cars on the entire reserve while Mary Rose Julian recalled how people used to walk from Eskasoni to Christmas Island (20 kms) to sell baskets (carrying them on their head) or would use trains (which were carried on boats across the Canso Strait) to travel to the mainland. When L'nus did go to town, the distinct separation of reserve communities and the local towns was also made clear by the experiences community members had amongst predominantly white settlers, who called them racist insults, sometimes threatened violence, and also put L'nus through economic discrimination (both in experiences visiting stores and in attempts to get employment) (see Elder Albert Marshall, Lindsay Paul and Clark Paul's oral histories for more). Crossing an imagined border that separated 'Canada' from where L'nus were contained, these memories demonstrated the hostility L'nus received, being treated like unwelcome foreign

nationals in their own lands. In the open-learning course 'Learning With The Knowledge Keepers' from Unama'ki College, hereditary Chief Ekkien Augustine shared his own memories of having to go into towns on the mainland with his family members and needing to sleep in a jail cell because hotels would not let Mi'kmaq community members pay for lodging during the 1950s (Augustine and Willox, 2016).

The reserve system was, quite clearly, used to contain the local community in Eskasoni. In recent years there has been more discussion of the pass system, which saw colonial authorities requiring Indigenous people to seek written permission to leave their reserves or face criminalization. The oral histories I gathered in Unama'ki gave testimony to the fact that this system was not, as most Canadians believe, restricted to the West, where the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was using it to try to suppress Métis resistance. During my time learning at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, Natasha Herney showed me a photo she had on her phone of one of the passes that was given to her aunt. When I discussed the pass system with Pipe Carrier Clark Paul later on, he remarked:

"Before these cards came out, we'd have a white card with our name and band number for travelling. The Indian agent had to give you permission to go travelling off the reserve for hunting. They'd do up a letter for you to say what you were doing off the reserve, how long you were going to be off the reserve. More or less you were a prisoner."

As if being expected to stay within the colonially imposed border of the reserve was not enough, Clark Paul also noted that in the 1950s Indian agents illegally sold off a large swath of Eskasoni's land (from the gravel pit to the bridge) as well as some of the nearby islands (which are currently being discussed by the band council with the Canadian government).

It is interesting, given the relatively long history of Canada erroneously presenting Unama'ki as being "Cape Breton" or "Canada" in maps and other representations that have been accepted by the international community, that in everyday life the Canadian government itself only recently began to treat reserve lands as if they were not part of separate countries entirely. Clark Paul recalled how the Canadian government had placed a sign at the edge of the Membertou's reserve that said "You are now leaving Canada". According to Clark, the sign was still present until the 1970s. When I heard this during

Clark Paul's interview, I was shocked, as this type of signage was clear evidence that Canada's posturing about the Mi'kmaq being "Canada's Indigenous peoples" was relatively recent in the long history of Mi'kmaq-Canadian relations.

Many community members I spoke with had also experienced border crossing for the purpose of education. Vivian Paul attended East Bay Jr. High (an integrated school where half of the students were settlers) noting that many of the teachers were former Indian agents. Audrey Johnson described how the racism in town continued in these schools, describing experiencing discrimination in Glace Bay and Waterford, as well as attending Riverview in Sydney where she got into fights with people using racial slurs with her in class in the 1980s.

In recent decades, since the advent of processes to allow the Mi'kmaq to gain Canadian citizenship or basic civil rights without enfranchisement (the process of giving up all Indigenous rights and status), there has been a move towards further integration of L'nuk and settler communities on the island -- and as Clark Paul noted, the economic dependency of non-Indigenous people on commercially successful reserves like Membertou First Nation has also played a role in changing the way that the clear separation between reserve and towns is presented publicly. Nevertheless, many of the community members I got to learn with in Eskasoni continue to describe being treated with suspicion when they travel beyond the social border into towns like Sydney to go shopping.

In the current era in Membertou, the edge of the reserve is now marked with a sign that says "Welcoming the world" representing the success Membertou has had as a collaborator and initiator of new roles for the Mi'kmaq as a host nation. In Eskasoni, on the other hand, there is still a firm bylaw in place making it illegal for outsiders to remain on reserve passed a certain time at night. These differing experiences make for a blending of fluid and concrete borders between settler communities and L'nus in Unama'ki.

Beyond reframing reserves/settler towns as bordertowns, oral histories also showed that the Mi'kmaq commonly engage in border-crossing between Canada and the United States, exercising their rights as signatories of the Jay Treaty of 1794, which guarantees freedom of movement to the nations whose lands were at the sites where the borders between both settler colonies were established.

Impacts of Displacement/Emigration

Historically, the Mi'kmaq Confederacy were considered nomadic because of their seasonal habitation in various parts of Mi'kma'ki. While colonists tried to use this as evidence that they had no territorial permanence, in reality most settlers who summer or winter in different areas, own cottages, or travel throughout the year, exhibit a form of lifestyle that would fit a similar description (albeit in a way that is less bound to traditional knowledge and relationships with land). It is no wonder, then, that this trend continues with L'nus making their lives not only across the many districts of Mi'kma'ki but also throughout Turtle Island. After the establishment of the reserve system, the imposition of the Indian Act and other processes which sought to oppress L'nus came into place, however, much of the emigration from places like Unama'ki that took place were a matter of necessity. Audrey Johnson, for example, shares that one of her friends' families had attempted to escape the Indian Residential School system by fleeing to the United States but found the conditions to be very harsh there in terms of economic opportunities.

For many of the people crossing the border into the United States, the reason for emigration was actually quite similar to that of the Irish who came to the colonies (to escape economic discrimination in local towns and to escape poverty, often through farming). Vivian Paul and Elder Albert Marshall noted that many families had to survive by engaging in migrant work as potato or fruit farmers in Maine. Vivian described how this meant that she missed a portion of the school year, every year, as she worked with her family in seasonal work. Lottie Johnson described the way that her family members engaged in traditional seasonal work, creating Mi'kmaq baskets, Christmas wreaths, and other forms of art at Mawio'mis (pow wows) and other events that they would travel long distances to sell -- including all the way to Taqamgug (Newfoundland).

As noted earlier in the chapter, a surprising shared history of emigration emerged around both the Irish and L'nus with moving to and settling in Boston. Mary Rose Julian, Lottie Johnson, Elder Albert Marshall, and to some degree, Clark Paul, all describe the way that the mix of populations made it easy for L'nus to establish their own community and to seek out training and careers that offered better opportunities for advancement than Unama'ki did, while living amidst other racialized people in the city.

Both Mary Rose Julian and Elder Albert Marshall also discussed the way that education became a pull factor for leaving Unama'ki. Mary Rose described how difficult it was to leave to Tkaronto to pursue a degree in counselling, leaving her children behind with her husband and how she returned home using her education to work as a counsellor at the local integrated schools (and eventually building on this education to help lead the push for the establishment of Mi'kmaq led education in Eskasoni). Similarly, Elder Albert Marshall reflected on his experience with his wife, the late Murdena Marshall, pursuing her education at Harvard before returning and becoming one of the leaders in education in all of Unama'ki.

Like many of the research contributors I spoke with in Ireland, the factors that led to emigration were not strong enough to prevent them from wanting to come home again. While the Mi'kmaq diaspora has different histories of how they have been pushed from their lands or compelled to go elsewhere (something my family can certainly relate to), the people I spoke to also shared powerful accounts of how they were drawn home again. Robert Stevens described his experiences travelling to Ontario, getting married to Councillor (and prior Chief) Elizabeth Stevens from Kettle and Stony Point First Nation and learning with other Indigenous communities, but also shared his experience of longing to be home with his kin again, to be around other L'nuwasowin speakers, and how his partner used to report that he would be speaking in Mi'kmaq in his dreams. Elder Albert Marshall recentered the importance of land to L'nus, describing how he realized his children who were growing up in Boston were wanting to really connect with nature, and that this was a sign that they should return to Unama'ki.

Impacts of Ecocide

In the 1970s when Elder Albert Marshall followed his desire to come home to help his children engage in traditional relationships with the land, he ended up face to face with the impacts of colonial ecocide. Albert shared how his son Tommy was always out in the land and had been in the woods when chemicals had been sprayed on the area. Tommy became quite ill and ended up dying of cancer at the age of 14, with Elder Albert being told that the type of cancer he had gotten was common to exposure to Agent Orange. During this time, the Canadian government was commonly using the chemical as a herbicide and insecticide

across the country, and the experience shifted Elder Albert's attention towards the urgent need to advocate and take action for protecting the Earth. Albert told me how he travelled to Europe and to Vietnam to advocate against the use of the chemical, seeing the impact it had wrought around the world, and that this time period had also brought him into contact with former Green Party leader Elizabeth May (who at the time was working as an activist lawyer). Today, Elder Albert Marshall and the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources, where he serves as an Elder in residence, are engaged in numerous projects directly responding to the devastation being created by colonialism in the natural environment. The impacts of ecocide continue to necessitate this work, with damaging pollution caused by salmon farming off of the coast, alarming decreases in local wildlife populations, continued clearcutting of Unama'ki's forests and other extractive projects causing the community of Eskasoni and the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources to respond by calling for a focus on rejecting anthropocentric worldviews and returning to resource use and management guided by the principles of netukulimk. The work that Elders like Albert Marshall have been doing to bring forward traditional ways of recentring balance with the environment has also been a part of addressing the ongoing impacts and legacies of the criminalization of Mi'kmaq language and culture that continued until the 1960s.

Human Rights and Civil Rights Denied

While in Northern Ireland, Catholics were still being denied civil rights like voting based on property ownership and faith, in Canada, the British colony was implementing an intensified version of the sociolegal policies that had been put into place during the De-Gaelicization of Ireland under the Statutes of Kilkenny (see Chapter 2 for comparison with the implementation of colonial policies that grew out of the potlach bans on the Westcoast of what is known to Canadians as British Columbia). After the establishment of potlatch bans on the Westcoast, Indian agents were able to apply similar principles to criminalize community members in Mi'kma'ki who took part in speaking or teaching their Indigenous language, or any form of traditional ceremony -- including dance, music, and spirituality. Like all Indigenous people in Canada, until the 1960s, L'nus were also denied the right to vote in Canadian elections, to pursue post-secondary education and had been banned from pursuing any legal action related to land claims or securing a lawyer to do so in the

colonial court systems. The only option to gain access to basic civil rights or higher education in Canada was to undertake a process called ‘enfranchisement,’ which, unsurprisingly, involved a form of denouncing all rights related to being part of an Indigenous nation and swearing oaths of loyalty to the current British monarch. Upon doing so, L’nus were believed to have extinguished all of their Indigenous rights in perpetuity for themselves and further generations and were considered ‘assimilated’ as new Canadians. Of course, none of the white supremacy that Indigenous people face went away through enfranchising, so for people who could not pass white, this produced a kind of double alienation for L’nu kin, who moved away from reserve but stood out in settler towns (which is echoed in my own family’s histories).

Like the activists in the bordertowns of Ireland, L’nus have not simply accepted this kind of denial of rights, and Unama’ki itself has seen numerous leaders emerge in the Indigenous Civil Rights Movement. To name but a few of the leaders from Eskasoni: The late Elder Murdena Marshall not only refused to stop practicing her culture, continuing the work of her grandfather Grand Chief Gabriel Sylliboy as a leader of traditional knowledge, but also was instrumental in laying the foundations for Mi’kmaq studies in post-secondary education as a professor. Kji-Keptin Alexander Denny’s lifelong work fighting for Mi’kmaq sovereignty found him working with the Grand Council which included bringing forward L’nuk rights to the G7 leaders (CBU, 2007b). Elder Sarah Denny, whose impact is discussed in more detail drawing on Natasha Herney’s interview regarding keeping traditional culture, engaged in everyday acts of refusal to the bans on Mi’kmaq culture. Tuma Young (Vivian Paul’s brother) became the first L’nu speaking lawyer in Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Barristers’ Society, June 19, 2021). Rita Joe (nee Bernard) was a renowned poet and songwriter whose autobiography offers some of the most detailed descriptions available about how life was in Unama’ki in the 1930s-1960s (Joe, 1996). Rita’s famous poem, “I lost my talk” published 11 years after Shubenacadie residential school was closed remains one of the most widely shared and important pieces of poetry ever written about the residential school system. Audrey Johnson recounts how Rita was what she called “a quiet warrior” who transformed colonial gender relations becoming a powerful female leader in the community. Similarly, Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson, a leader of Mi’kmaq rights in her own right, shares what it was like being raised by the late Margaret Johnson (known

as the Doctor Granny for holding a PhD, and being a renowned leader, historian, storyteller, and expert in material culture like basket weaving). As was previously noted, Mary Rose Julian recounted her struggles to establish Mi'kmaq led education at all levels for the community, and also shared stories of her father driving the Indian agents out of the community. Further as we can see by Marie Battiste's work with the United Nations, Bernie Francis' establishment of a Mi'kmaq orthography, and Donald Marshall Jr.'s successful refusal of Canada's denial of treaty rights, all over Unama'ki, the L'nuk survived the attempted extinguishment of their culture and rights and emerged with conviction.

Beyond simply protesting, Pipe Carrier Clark Paul describes the great risks that L'nuk families took to keep the knowledge alive by speaking their language in secret (Charles Francis Jr. also talks about this), and the ways that the L'nuk were able to continue their traditional ceremonies in public by tricking the Indian agents. For example, when new homes were built, the community would do traditional dances on the floor of the new home, but would tell the Indian agents that they were just using their body weight to settle the foundations.

For Clark Paul, the result of the denial of human and civil rights under the colonial regime and the violence that community members endured both in town and in residential schools produced a sense of shame and isolation:

“They were ashamed. Just by being put down by the Church, by the school, and the people in town. The court system. Everybody around us was putting our people down. So after a while they were kind of ashamed of who they were, the only time they felt whole was when they were back in the community. Even Membertou people in town didn't want people in Membertou in town - trying to get a job.”

This kind of shame permeated the struggles community members took on for gender rights (see Audrey Johnson's oral history about being a parent of a Two-Spirit child and how colonial understandings of sex and gender had impacted the community and are only now starting to change), recovery of traditional spirituality (see Clark Paul's oral history), and feelings around embracing Mi'kmaq language (see Natasha Herney's oral history). Of course, all of these struggles are not only inherent to the fight for civil rights that Mi'kmaq communities endured before the 1960s but also the ongoing social and institutional legacies of genocide in the residential school system.

Residential Schools

In Eskasoni, it became evident throughout all of my oral history interviews that most (if not all) community members remain impacted by the Indian residential school system. While not everyone I spoke to had attended the Shubenacadie residential school, which operated from 1930 to 1967, everyone had relatives who did and had experienced the communal (for example intergenerational traumas in everyday relationships) and institutional (for example Indian Day Schools) legacies that the residential school system has left behind.

Recently one of my L'nuk peers referred to residential schools as prisoner of war camps for children. While (unlike in Derry) outright war with British (or Canadian) military was not part of the memories shared in the oral histories I gathered from community members, there were still shared conditions with those survivors from Ireland's urban warzones. For example, hearing Mary Rose Julian's oral history, I couldn't help but think of the way that Colum Lynch's interview in Ireland had also highlighted this sentiment that as a child growing up in the Bogside in Derry, he could be kidnapped and imprisoned by British officials at any point without anyone knowing. State abductions of Indigenous children had become so prevalent in the 1940s that Mary Rose Julian recalled being told to stay away from the roads because white people who drove by would kidnap children, take them to residential schools and parents would often be left unnotified. Mary Rose remembered that there were always parents searching the area desperately for their children who had gone missing.

For children whose parents seemed to consent to them being taken to the schools, many of them did not realize that they were being kidnapped as well. Lottie Johnson noted how long it took for her to stop blaming her mom, realizing that her mom did not really have agency over whether to send her children or not. Lottie noted that the priest from Shubenacadie would come and pick which children to take and tell the agent which ones would come back. Years later, her mother ended up telling her that if she didn't send Lottie, she would have lost her rations (which would have been devastating in a household that supported 17 extended family members). Furthermore, it is obvious given the testimony about state kidnappings to the schools that there was no guarantee that children would not be taken anyway in addition to these acts of retribution from the Indian agents.

Mary Rose Julian's oral history also demonstrated the way that the residential school system coerced families into believing that it presented educational opportunities, based on the Eurocentrism that promoted the schools as being intellectually superior to Mi'kmaq knowledge. Unlike many of her peers, Mary Rose had sought to attend residential school because of this and describes how she had been eager to advance her learning only to arrive to a horrific landscape at Shubenacadie.

During my fieldwork, I heard stories about how children were shamed, beaten, sexually abused, humiliated, forced to do hard labour and even killed at Shubenacadie. However, it is worth reiterating that this research attempted to move away from centering the horrific experiences that L'nuk and Irish survivors of colonialism have had to go through by engaging in broader oral life histories. For anyone hoping to hear more details around the conditions within the schools, I highly suggest that they turn to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (2015) final report, or if you are seeking out accounts from Shubenacadie in particular to read Isabelle Knockwood's (1992) *Out of the Depths* as this dissertation does not afford the space that is needed to do justice to comprehensively exploring the harms that took place there. Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson's oral history re-emphasizes the importance of not asking survivors to retell their stories repeatedly or to retraumatize themselves. Some survivors, she noted, did not even seek to be part of Canada's Indian Residential School Settlement process because sharing and recalling the memories was too harmful for them. Lottie shared her own experience of refusing to retraumatize herself in court during the settlement process when a lawyer who misplaced her testimony attempted to claim that she had not given it prior to the court date (luckily there were multiple witnesses). To make matters worse, in the case of the settlement process in Canada, Lottie and other survivors had the additional trauma of having their abuse graded on a compensation scale while being cross-examined by lawyers representing the Crown who acted as the defense. These experiences can act as major setbacks in the healing process.

In any case, many of the people I spoke to noted that survivors have told their stories and have yet to be really listened to by many Canadians. Even the seeming reckoning that is happening nationwide around the realization that mass graves and unmarked burial grounds exist at all of these institutions in Canada would not be surprising if non-

Indigenous people had read the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (2015) final report (Volume 4 is explicitly on the testimonies related to this topic). Of course, the lack of surprise that some community members have hearing the recent news does not make it any less hard or traumatic.

The oral histories I gathered demonstrated that the lasting effects of experiences in residential schools spread out across generations. Elder Albert Marshall discussed the feeling of complete disconnection from the community returning from Shubenacadie, stating that he felt like he had no family in Eskasoni at that point. Both Lottie Johnson and Clark Paul described how they ended up going from feeling anger and hatred that they internalized in the schools, to becoming crisis workers, educators, and pipe carriers that work with survivors. Clark described how having survivors recognize him from residential school made it a lot easier for them to open up to him about their experiences.

For the children of residential school survivors, life at home was deeply impacted by the residential schools. Audrey Johnson noted the way that the violence from the schools caused her father to be abusive towards his children. Natashia Herney described the way that it also shifted the way adults interacted with children when she was growing up -- with children being told to look down, follow orders, and not ask too many questions from their older relatives (much like the dynamic enforced between residential school workers and children). Glynis Sylliboy described how her father, who was a residential school survivor, was so strict around food that her mother would have to get the children to hide in the woods in order to give them treats or candy.

Of course, one of the largest impacts that has arisen from residential schools is reliance on substances to deal with trauma that survivors have experienced. Audrey Johnson recounted how hard it was growing up with parents who turned to alcohol to self-medicate and expressed concern around the way that people continue to prey on people who misuse substances in the community (through drug dealing). Lindsay Paul, who also grew up around people struggling with substance misuse and recovered from his own struggle with alcohol after the sudden death of his daughter, noted that the current bylaws which are supposed to make Eskasoni a dry community (there is no liquor store on reserve) have had the opposite of the impact that regulated environments like bars have. Audrey Johnson noted that there continues to be a lot of bootlegging in the community. Charles

Francis Jr. described how drinking or doing drugs only provides survivors of trauma temporary relief:

"You might be off for like two years, drinking or getting high or all that stuff. But when you sober up, all that stuff is still there. You gotta cope with it and go on".

For people like Charles, recovery has been a journey that has involved immersing himself in his work reproducing material culture from the Mi'kmaq, teaching oral histories about the Mi'kmaq and running workshops as part of the Eskasoni Cultural Journeys tour. While current struggles with alcoholism and substance abuse were among the largest concerns raised by most of the people I spoke to, it is worth noting that (contrary to stereotypes that all too often portray these issues as inherent to Indigenous people) these discussions were emerging because of the huge investment the community has put into helping people find new ways to deal with trauma through sobriety. Indeed, I met more people who spoke openly about choosing to be sober and supporting people struggling with addictions in Eskasoni, than I have met in any other community that I have visited. As part of this work, many of the people I spoke to had experience working at the crisis centre Eskasoni Mental Health and the Mi'kmaw lodge of the Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Counselling Association.

Even after the residential school system ended, its institutional legacies continued in the form of Indian Day Schools, 11 of which were operating until relatively recently in Unama'ki.⁶⁹ These schools forced students to say oaths to the Queen, stand for the Canadian anthem, pray and punished students if they spoke Mi'kmaq -- continuing much of the same behaviours that had been present at residential schools. Lindsay Paul noted that students were beat in the head with rulers or had their hands beat until they were swollen (echoing Mary Rose Julian's description of life in Shubenacadie), while Robert Stevens noted that (like Colum Lynch in the Christian Brothers school in Derry) he had at one point been locked in a cupboard as a punishment. Lindsay Paul noted that children were not

⁶⁹ While some of the schools closed earlier (like Mala in 1942, King's Road/Membertou in 1964, and Chapel Island in 1965), the Indian Day Schools at Eskasoni (1980), Middle River (1987), and Whycocomagh (1993) were among the last to close in Canada (Gowling WLG, n.d.).

taught the history of Mi'kma'ki but only colonial subjects, and that they were forced to drink powdered milk and eat molasses cookies that were hard as a rock for their food.

For the current generation (with children of the survivors of Indian Day Schools, and grandchildren of the survivors of residential schools), Vivian Paul noted that, like the after-effects of the Troubles, poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and lack of recreational spaces (here she gave the example of bowling alleys -- which Membertou had recently added in their sports complex) have led more youth to be bored and to become involved in gangs and drug dealing. While some people may not see these legacies as ongoing impacts of residential schools, the community has had to work hard to respond to the lack of supports for L'nuk children to try to break the chain of intergenerational trauma.

Impacts of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Gender Violence

The people of Eskasoni are also recovering from another form of genocide spurred on by colonial occupation, that of the loss of family members to the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2 Spirits and Trans Women crisis in Canada. In my conversations with community members, they talked about the realization that there were a lot more people who had been killed or went missing than they had previously thought. Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson detailed her experiences surviving life threatening abuse as an Indigenous woman in Boston at the hands of her husband and being forced to put her children into foster care in order to make them inaccessible to her abuser (after authorities failed to do so). She also recounted how her sister was murdered in 1980 in Island View, and how she had blamed herself for not protecting her. Lottie shared other stories too about missing community members, discussing two couples -- Noel and Judina Marshall and Joseph and Kate Michael, who went missing in the 1930s and her niece Cheryl who was found in Sydney Harbour in 2001. Lottie highlighted the way that gendered violence is also an intergenerational impact of residential schools and colonialism and how her journey had led her to running womens' groups in the community and working with survivors of family violence. Similarly, Natasha Herney highlighted her upbringing as a strong L'nu woman, her survival of abusive relationships and her struggle as a mother. Demonstrating yet another form of violence that L'nuk women face, an anonymous community member (because she is now part of a class action around the incident)

confided that she was unknowingly sterilized during a visit to her doctor and could no longer have children. The impacts of violence against women and girls, as well as missing people was obvious during my fieldwork. In October 2019, a ceremony was held bringing together families of victims to honour their loved ones and to let them know that they were still searching, still hoping that someday they would make it home. For many of these families, there is no end to the impact of the loss of their loved ones and no end to the effort that new generations are putting into trying to find their kin and bring them home.

Mi'kmaq Governance under Colonial Rule

Given the constant duress created by Canada's presumed sovereignty over Mi'kma'ki, options for executing L'nuk sovereignty remain extremely limited and conflictive. For example, in the context of everyday life on reserve, there is no way of avoiding interaction with the Indian Act system of band governance. In places like Eskasoni and Membertou, where the community is so tightly bound by kinship, almost all of the families participate in one way or another in its administration. Speaking with Lindsay Paul who was a band councillor for 22 years, he shared his experiences of how frustrating it was to be limited by the need for approval from the Canadian government for almost all governance decisions when trying to meet the communities' needs. For Lindsay, the local governments' reliance on Canada has left the L'nuk both chronically underfunded and constantly expending its energy negotiating to renew funding agreements or to make new decisions. This sentiment was echoed by Lindsay Paul's discussion of how in Eskasoni, one of the main ways that underfunding has manifested is in the way that band funding has not grown to match the population growth. In addition, Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson highlighted the way that inconsistent and temporary funding for residential school survivors required the community to find new sources of funding for mental health and healing services. While it was evident in some of my discussions that participation in Canadian forms of governance were gravely inadequate in meeting the needs of the Mi'kmaq in the long term, the amount that the local band governments have achieved in the system that was forced onto them is astounding. Beyond this, there is considerable overlap between those involved in supporting traditional governance structures and those involved in Indian Act governance

in Mi'kma'ki, representing a commitment to getting tangible results for the community through a variety of strategies.

The Mi'kmaq Confederacy's sovereignty has, in many ways, been bolstered by the existence of a parallel system of traditional governance that could represent an alternative to the Indian Act band system, which has managed to survive alongside the forced assimilation into the Canadian state. However, numerous people that I spoke to questioned the current traditional governance system's ability to create a strong enough foundation for independent governance outside of the Canadian system. For example, Pipe Carrier Clark Paul stated:

“They are swinging away from their duties. The Grand Council is supposed to be our government. I find they are shifting away and leaning more towards the church then as a government. I’m not the only one who sees it that way. A lot of the people my age that I speak to they see it that way. Even the younger people see that it has changed. Now Norman [Sylliboy] is the Grand Chief and all anybody can say is hopefully he will move away from the church and re-establish the Grand Council as a government rather than a spiritual leader. Hopefully in time it will happen. Until then, I don’t expect to see any changes.”

In his oral history, Clark discussed the way that annual events like the gathering of the Grand Council at Chapel Island has shifted towards being more about worshipping together rather than serving as an opportunity for the District Chiefs to share updates about Mi'kma'ki with all of the different nations in the Confederacy. Clark noted that while it was traditional for the law/treaty keeper (the Pu'tus) to use the gathering to orate current treaties or discuss L'nuk history, wampum and other matters of importance regarding L'nuk law, the most recent gatherings have not had this happen. While the Grand Council Chiefs and their sub-organizations (like the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs) continue to respond to the crises faced by the Mi'kmaq, publicly decrying when Canada refuses to act in line with treaty and organizing active supports for the L'nus, the type of frustration that Elder Albert Marshall expressed points to the fact that there is still a desire in community for a future beyond colonialism in Mi'kma'ki and that the Grand Council could play a crucial role in revitalizing traditional governance systems that could offer an alternative rather than abandoning Mi'kma'ki to Canadian colonial rule. Other traditional forms of governance are also making a resurgence right now across Mi'kma'ki, including

communities working to recover and invest energy into revitalizing the clan mother system (Wapna'kikewi'skwaq - Women of First Light, 2021). In the time I spent with Elder Albert Marshall during my fieldwork, he also discussed the potential for L'nus to turn towards landback initiatives in defense of Mi'kma'ki because the band governments jurisdiction does not extend outside of the reserve while Mi'kmaq sovereignty itself does.

Assimilation Failed

In spite of the forced integration of L'nus into the Indian Act and band government system, it is obvious that the assimilatory project of Canada is a widespread failure. Not only the colony failed to eradicate "the Indian problem" through its attempts to use genocide to erase Mi'kmaq culture, it has also failed to bring L'nus into the fold since the advent of the white paper approach, which sought to extinguish their rights by making them believe they were Canadians. None of the people I spoke to in Mi'kma'ki viewed themselves as Canadians – and although many people noted that L'nus went to war and offered all types of support for Canadians as treaty partners, this didn't change their national identity or the reality that they were L'nus living in Mi'kma'ki. As Robert Stevens explains:

"I always thought about myself as a Mi'kmaq. An L'nu. I just started learning about Canada and Canadians, 15-20 years ago. When I lived in Eskasoni, everything was Mi'kmaq. I thought the whole country was Mi'kmaq. It should have been too... I never thought about Canada. I was a Mi'kmaq, and I always thought about Mi'kmaq, and thought this was Mi'kmaq land and I still believe that. Canada or Kanata, whatever they want to call it, that's fine we can agree to disagree."

For Lottie Johnson, even when she tried to escape her indigeneity, she was always reminded that she was First Nations or Indian, that she was Mi'kmaq, or (now that the community is reclaiming traditional terms) an L'nus. Lottie doesn't remember them ever calling themselves Canadians. When I asked Mary Rose Julian whether or not she thought of herself as Canadian or how the community referred to themselves, she responded:

"No. We know who we are. We are native people. We get the low end of the stick. Y'know you let someone in your yard, they don't have a place to go and you put a tent up for them. Next thing you know they kick you out. That's what kind of deal a lot of natives got. They were very generous but the people they were generous to

were very greedy. So it doesn't work. Still this is happening. Greed is running the people. We are hated because, I don't know why, because we're not greedy."

Lindsay Paul Jr. noted that when he was growing up, Canada was just a word and it was never spoken about at home. When it came to dealing with settlers, he noted that his experiences showed a clear exclusion from being Canadian for L'nus: "That's one thing that I never heard. That I was a Canadian, when I was young. It was always 'you savages' you filthy savages, you Indians. That's all I heard. It sunk into me".

Pipe Carrier Clark Paul echoed what I heard from other Elders during my fieldwork, that he considered himself Mi'kmaq first, and a citizen of the continent transgressing colonial borders:

"I recognize that I belong to Mi'kma'ki not Canada but Mi'kma'ki. Citizenship isn't nothing, today you would say I have dual citizenship. To me I belong to all of North America, not just one country. To us it's all one".

Throughout all of my discussions, it became extremely clear that people did not believe that they were both Canadian and L'nuk, they were L'nuk -- and even when, as Audrey noted, people began to realize that the Indigenous vote on their reserve had the power to elect someone like Jaimie Battiste into the Canadian political system (as an MP), it did not change this fact.

Recovery, Regeneration, and Resurgence

The failure of the genocidal and assimilatory tactics of the colony are not just evidenced by the ways that community members kept Mi'kmaq culture, language, and traditions alive during the residential school era, but also by the way that the community has experienced a resurgence and regeneration of Mi'kmaq ways of life in recent years.

The work that has been done to assert Mi'kmaq sovereignty and to create spaces of Mi'kmaq ways of life in everyday practice have been a part of the broader intergenerational healing that has been taking place in Mi'kma'ki. For example, Clark Paul describes how he returned to Unama'ki in the late 1980s and invested his energy into rebuilding the foundation for traditional spirituality in Membertou and Eskasoni. His oral history shares his journey of renewing the Mi'kmaq tradition of pipe carriers through fasting in the

mountains and how he has taken up his responsibilities as a pipe carrier (through his sobriety, educational work, communications with spirit and the Creator, as well as running ceremonies and sweat lodges). Clark noted that when he first began running sweat lodges, the community who is highly Catholic viewed his work as devil worship and evil. He remembered how being approached by Grand Chief Donald Marshall Sr., who acknowledged what he was doing was right, asked him to slow down his pace but only to cause him to double down on running sweat lodges and ceremonies. Clearly Clark's work paid off because even though he noted that some people still feel tension with traditionalists in the community, the community now has many people engaging with traditional ceremonies and sweat lodges as part of their healing journey.

Natashia Herney teaches about traditional medicine as a cultural educator at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, and is taking up her responsibilities around this knowledge as the granddaughter of Sarah Denny, expert in the use of Mi'kmaq medicines. Natashia highlighted the way that she witnessed her grandmother constantly making traditional medicines for the community and how she learned with her. She also shared a story of how her perception of the validity of traditional medicine shifted during a time when she was badly burnt, and traditional ceremony and medicine was able to prevent her from scarring. While Natashia's oral history offers insights into the way that traditional knowledge has been kept alive, it also offers insights into the way that intergenerational learning continues to take place, with her describing taking her grandson out to harvest and teach about medicines. Alongside the ways that this work has continued contributing to intergenerational healing in spite of the colonial occupation, Natashia also noted that there has been a rise in people trying to steal and commodify Indigenous medicines like chaga mushroom without knowledge of proper harvesting or use protocols and that people should be more cautious and respectful around Mi'kmaq medicines.

Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson offers insights into the way that intergenerational healing has also been taking place in the way the community continues to invest energy into programming for residential school survivors. Lottie herself served as an organizer, witness, and facilitator in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process, taking part in the Return to Spirit events, and also bringing collaborations with other traditional healers on the West coast to Mi'kma'ki. She continues to work with survivors, particularly women,

helping them to unpack their healing journey. Clark Paul shared his story about being recruited to work for Eskasoni Mental Health's Crisis Centre as a cultural worker, and how he has continued to work with survivors across Mi'kma'ki. It is worth noting that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's funding which was used to help run programs for survivors was finite and the people and band council at Eskasoni have found new ways to integrate their supports into their annual funding for health services. Other programs, like the women's tea and talk program that Lottie has helped run has done community-based fundraising to continue using the opportunity to learn together how to make Christmas baskets and wreaths and Easter baskets which they could sell to help pay for programming. Eskasoni Mental Health has also become famous for its crisis hotline, which has acted as an integral lifeline for people experiencing suicidal ideation (both for survivors and the general community) -- in spite of a withdrawal of funding from Health Canada, the toll-free number has continued to be a crucial success providing services not just to the local community but to many community members in mainland Mi'kma'ki (all of Nova Scotia) (CBC News, April 15, 2016).

The intergenerational healing that is taking place also involves the fight to end discrimination against Indigenous children. In part, this can be seen in the struggle for access to health supports for children on reserve under Jordan's Principle. For anyone who may be unfamiliar with the history behind this struggle, the principle is named after Jordan River Anderson, a child who did not receive proper medical care and died during a jurisdictional battle about whether the provincial or federal government was responsible for the cost of his hospital care (Blackstock, 2012). Since the implementation of the principle, children on reserves across Canada still struggle to have their applications under Jordan's Principle approved and child's advocate Cindy Blackstock has had to take the Canadian government to court due to their ongoing attempts to minimize, restrict, and redefine which Indigenous children are worthy of the same services that are available to all Canadian children. Vivian Paul noted that in Eskasoni, for children struggling with disabilities like autism, there has only recently been some progress in terms of Jordan's Principle becoming applied to funding and services for the community.

Community members like Audrey Johnson, Lottie Johnson, and Clark Paul all described how they used their work as educators to help lay the foundation for healing

Indigenous-settler relations by teaching school children about Mi'kmaq culture, history, treaties, and ways of knowing. For Lottie Johnson, treaty education remains a crucial first step towards laying the foundation, not just for healing, but for decolonization.

Furthermore, many of these programs help students to engage with Mi'kmaq concepts that draw on Mi'kmaq language -- helping the new generations in Mi'kma'ki transform their worldviews beyond the anglicized colonial representations of life they are accustomed to.

It goes without saying that given the long history of colonial violence centred on the repression of Mi'kmaq language, that language revitalization has been a key part of the way that community members in Eskasoni have been engaged in recovery from colonial harms (and strengthening their community). Clark Paul shared how this was also true in Membertou, where they had initially tried to help students use English to help students succeed (and had very few Mi'kmaq speakers) only to find that their community really began to thrive when they recentered teaching Mi'kmaq language.

One of the overarching themes that I discussed as part of my oral history interviews in Unama'ki was the way that language remains central to L'nuk ways of knowing. The opportunities that Mi'kmaq language provides in terms of knowledge that is not present in colonial languages have been consistently demonstrated in a wide variety of professional and academic settings by people like Elder Albert Marshall and the late Murdena Marshall, who have helped introduce non-Indigenous people to concepts like Etuaptmuk (Two-Eyed Seeing) or Netulimuk. However, one of the things that most contributors affirmed was that not all terms are readily translatable to the English speaking public -- L'nuk language contains geographical, historical, relational, and cultural knowledge dating back to time immemorial in a format that is not the same as the English language. Natasha Herney described how she began to realize the importance of the language in college stating: "It wasn't until I got to college that I realized that you needed your language. Your whole ideas stemmed from language. Our language is circular". Mi'kmaq is also verb-based rather than noun-based. Clark Paul offers examples about how the language differs when describing actions, how translations often fail, and the wide variation of meaning that can come from similar sounding phrases like *kesalul* (I love you), *kesa'lul* (I hurt you) and *ke'sa'lul* (I throw you in the fire).

Clark Paul also offers crucial insights into the way that Mi'kmaq language with its action-based verbiage has been able to carry knowledge via the oral tradition, recounting a story of listening to his great aunt tell history from hundreds of years ago like she was there: "[She described] our treaty with the Mohawk nation. When she spoke about that and the feast, she even told who served, who cooked, who was there, which visitor got served by who, the songs they sang". As someone who does not know how to speak Mi'kmaq, I made room for my collaborators to talk about when they were translating things into English for me, and nearly all of them discussed how they were thinking in Mi'kmaq as they spoke to me in English. As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, for people like Robert Stevens, having his thoughts, dreams, and mind immersed in Mi'kmaq language served as one of the main motivators for him to return to Eskasoni from Ontario where he did not have many Mi'kmaq speakers to communicate with.

My interviews also highlighted the role that Mi'kmaq language is playing with the younger and older generations now. Mary Rose Julian described her journey around Mi'kmaq education, working to ensure that all levels of schooling had opportunities for engagement with the language (this is discussed in more detail below). While many of the people I spoke to noted that schools operating within the Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey system (also known as Mi'kmaq Education Authority) are creating a new generation of fluent Mi'kmaq speakers, Audrey Johnson noted that the integration of mass media and internet culture in the community has created a new struggle around English being centered in day-to-day life for youth. For Audrey, who is a Mi'kmaq speaker and strong advocate, she has been able to strengthen her children's ability to speak the language by teaching them Mi'kmaq music and speaking Mi'kmaq at home.

Vivian Paul noted that in her work as a caregiver for seniors in the community, much of what she does is help them to communicate in Mi'kmaq:

"Old people in their 80s and 90s... have a hard time telling doctors some stuff. So I kind of tell them what or when they are kind of lost with dementia, they are back to their language they are just speaking Mi'kmaq and won't speak English because their memories. Even sometimes they are dying... they can't tell the doctor what they are feeling. So I'll just tell the doctor what they are saying, or what pain they have, or what pain they are tolerating. Some of them can't say it English. When you're dying, you can't be thinking in English. It's easier to say it in Mi'kmaw."

Vivian noted that this is also one of the reasons she makes sure her grandchildren use Mi'kmaq with her, so that when she is older, they will be able to understand her. Understanding seniors is also very important because of the way language changes over time. Chuck Francis Jr. noted that even though he was considered one of the most fluent people at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, he only understood some of the old Mi'kmaq. Investing energy into the language may be the best bridge for allowing both the new and old Mi'kmaq to continue to share knowledge between generations.

It is well known that the oral tradition has been a central vehicle for knowledge transmission in Mi'kmaq culture. In fact, one of the major accomplishments that has taken place during the post-1960s period in Mi'kma'ki was the Donald Marshall Jr. case serving as one of the landmark cases that allowed oral histories to be considered admissible as evidence in Canadian courts. Beyond this case though, I found interesting that while I was engaging in oral history interviews, I became exposed to a deeper tradition of oratory which involves listening with your heart and not using recordings to remember. For many of the cultural educators within Eskasoni, this type of oral tradition serves as the backbone for what they teach rather than falling back on recordings from the past. Lottie Johnson shared a story about how she used to visit the Crimmels, where Lee Crimmel's mother would teach her history but tell her to leave the pen and paper/recorder at home and instead got Lottie to listen while she did household work. Later, I read Marie Battiste's (2010) chapter on traditional Indigenous education, which confirms that this kind of learning while going through everyday responsibilities is a more effective method than learning within institutions. In any case, I had just come from doing my interview with Elder Albert Marshall, where I had been concerned because he had barely scratched the surface of the histories he had shared with me over many days during my visit. Evidently, it became obvious while listening to Lottie that Elder Albert Marshall had expected me to engage with the same kind of oratory and deeper listening. While I had hoped to have Elder Albert revisit the stories he had told me during our casual conversation, he was eager to discuss new topics and asserted that anything he told me before I should be able to write about to share through my research. Elder Albert noted that the formality of having to include everything within formal interviews and the contractual approaches taken by post-

secondary educations conflict with Mi'kmaq epistemology which views knowledge as alive and to be shared (this is explored in more detail in his interview in relation to Murdena's experiences around authorship and sharing knowledge as a professor). This was a counterintuitive response for me, as someone who was trying to record his thoughts for posterity, not just for this project, but for others, yet I realized afterwards that I had gained a small bit of experience in the kind of oratory that many people described to me as being central to the oral tradition.

Furthermore, as an oral history researcher, I was enthused to be able to spend time volunteering at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, as it was obvious to me that the work of cultural educators there built on the L'nuk oral tradition while allowing the community to run immersive tours that educated and allowed outsiders to get a hands-on experience with traditions from Mi'kmaq history and culture. To this day, the cultural tours represent an excellent vehicle for people to listen directly to community members about centralization, eel fishing, building traditional shelters, hunting, material culture, medicines, singing and dancing, weaving and baking Luskinikn (a type of Mi'kmaq bread made with traditional ration ingredients, similar to bannock).



Figure 16: Lindsay Paul teaching Mi'kmaq Culture at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys

Cultural resurgence continues to be a central part to the refusal of containment, assimilation, and extinguishment that has been led by the colonial government. In the 1980s, Margaret Johnson's grandson George Paul began a movement of revitalizing the use of traditional Mi'kmaq chants alongside new songs which he wrote as part of his engagement with ceremony and traditional culture (Sweet, June 22, 2021). The Honour Song written in the 1980s, was gifted to him in a sweat lodge ceremony and calls on L'nus to be proud of their heritage, to come together, and to do the work their Creator intended, has become one of the main songs to approximate a Mi'kmaq national anthem in Mi'kma'ki. The Gathering Song, which came to George Paul while he was fasting, continues to be used in ceremonies at public events, as it recalls the journey that ancestors would take through Mi'kma'ki, and calls their spirits to be here with the current generation. Currently, George Paul's nephew, Jeff Ward, runs Membertou Heritage Park, where he also uses songs and oral history to teach visitors. Music as a vehicle for Mi'kmaq history and culture wasn't only used by George Paul of course, and other songs like "The History Song" by Grand Chief Jack Wysote have recounted oral histories while also telling the Confederacy's people to reject the shame that colonization has tried to embed in them (Mi'gmawei Mawio'mi Secretariat, 2014). Bernie Francis from Membertou is also widely regarded for his contributions to transmitting knowledge through songs (Mi'kmaq Maliseet Nations News, 2013). In Eskasoni, Mary Rose Julian shares stories about growing up close friends with world famous L'nu fiddler Lee Crimmel's family and going on tour with them. Natashia Herney describes the way that she was taught traditional chants as part of her experience doing Mi'kmaq dance with Sarah Denny, who took her to competitions across the country. Natashia has been able to use her knowledge from those experiences to teach traditional dances at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys. More recently Eskasoni gained international attention for Emma Stevens' recording of Blackbird by the Beatles, translated into Mi'kmaq at Allison Bernard Memorial Highschool (Van Evra, July 7, 2019). On the pow wow trail, The Stoney Bear Singers have become highly renowned for their blend of traditional culture with pow wow singing (and big drum) (Celtic Colours Festival, 2021). While he was too young to contribute an oral history interview for this project, I was able to learn a great deal during my time getting to know Ekkien M. Julian Sr., who is a member of the group working at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys in the off season.

Beyond music and dance, there has also been a resurgence in material culture of the Mi'kmaq. Mary Rose Julian describes her work as an artist and helping people to learn how to make traditional peak caps that were worn by L'nuk women. During my time at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, Matteo Patles mentioned how he had spent time researching how to make traditional regalia and had it custom made in Eskasoni for his work running the tours. Chuck Francis Jr., who is responsible for many of the traditional items on the tour, described in his interview the way that becoming immersed in recreating spears, bows, bowls, and other items for his colleagues to work with, has become a passion in his life. Similarly, Audrey Johnson who helps visitors do traditional weaving (that would normally be used for Mi'kmaq baskets -- which are one of the main trade items that people would sell to outsiders), also describes in her oral history how she took up beading as a way of expressing herself. Beyond simply being a part of cultural resurgence, Mi'kmaq artistry continues to be an important part of how L'nus are able to thrive in the face of insufficient support from the Canadian government and restrictions on their economic activities (e.g., around property rights, and fishing) on reserve. For numerous people, bringing their art to the pow wow trail and taking up traditions like basket weaving, painting, and beading has allowed them to gather resources for important journeys or projects that they have engaged in as Indigenous peoples.

Even the fact that Mawio'mis (pow wows) now are able to take place all across Mi'kma'ki every year marks a transition from the repression of the potlatch ban time period in the colony and serves as an example of proof that the L'nuk are thriving together, travelling from across their territories to share food, ceremony, art, dance, and music.

Reclaiming Control Over Education

Being able to interview one of the leaders of L'nuk education, Mary Rose Julian, offered me insights into the amount of work that has gone into ensuring that Mi'kmaq education has become so readily available for the people of Eskasoni. Mary Rose describes how she helped negotiate an Education Bachelors program at the University of New Brunswick which allowed community members to stay in community for the majority of their degree, and how it helped to transform the number of teachers that were present from reserve (going from 2 to over 200 teachers). Mary Rose also shared how when a junior high school

was established in Eskasoni after the 1980s, she fought for Mi'kmaq classes to be offered, challenging the English/French curriculum. She also played a role in helping to get a high school established in community, noting that many of the students she worked with were exhausted from having to be bussed in and out of town, and that this was creating a low retention/graduation rate for the community. These stories are part of an overall level of achievement that has taken place in the community since the 1980s, which saw Mi'kmaq education starting to proliferate at all levels, including at what was then known as University College of Cape Breton (now Cape Breton University).

The establishment of Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey (or Mi'kmaq Education Authority) in 1997 represented a huge turning point for Mi'kmaq education in Eskasoni (and more broadly Nova Scotia). After the successful fight for the establishment of The Mi'kmaq Education Act (ratified by Canada in 1998), Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey has had self-governance over education in 12 Mi'kmaq reserves, helping to support schools with their efforts to deliver language immersion and other culturally appropriate education to L'nuk students (Simon, 2014). Due to the efforts of people like Mary Rose Julian and her colleagues, now not only has the use of residential schools or Indian Day schools ended, students have the opportunity to attend schools at the elementary, Jr. high, and high school level (on reserve) with curricula rooted in centering the needs of L'nus rather than the colony. The results of the Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey system have been highly successful with high school graduation rates rising from 30% to 90% on reserve in the past 20 years (the highest in all reserves in Canada) (MacDonald, March 14, 2019).⁷⁰

Eskasoni also continues to lead the way in terms of land-based education, which is crucial for intergenerational knowledge in the Confederacy. Each year, a Mi'kmaq summer camp for youth ages 15-18 takes place across all of the reserves in Unama'ki and introduces campers to a variety of land-based learning activities. For example, in 2021 campers traveled across the island learning about community gardening/food security, at

⁷⁰ The Republic of Ireland gaining control of its education has also produced increasing success with nearly half of all adults aged 25-64 having post-secondary certifications making the country the fifth ranked country in educational attainment out of those assessed by the OECD (OECD 2021). Furthermore, records continue to be broken in terms of Gaeilge in public education. For example, the number of children who are now enrolled in primary schools where they are taught in Gaelic Irish rose to 8.4% in 2019 (McCárthaigh, 2019). For those interested in a historical overview of Irish language policies in education see (Ceallaigh and Ní Dhonnabháin, 2015).

risk species protections/bumble bee surveys, oyster harvesting, berry harvesting and ceremony, Mi'kmaq forestry practices, and sustainable fishing techniques (Nikani Awtiken, July 14, 2021). As part of the initiatives meant to engage the younger generation with traditional knowledge, Eskasoni also runs an annual youth moose hunt in the highlands, where youth are taught how to respectfully hunt and harvest the animals, ending with a communal feast and the distribution of the moose meat back to the community (echoing the traditional hunts that took place in the community as coming of age ceremonies in earlier generations) (CBC News, December 27, 2018). Similarly, land-based learning programs are offered around the island through the Mi'kmawey school system, teaching students about traditional trapping and hunting techniques and relationships with the land and water (Grant, November 15, 2015). These types of educational opportunities ensure that the connection to land is kept at the forefront of everyday life in Eskasoni, and for some people this also encourages youth to become the next generation of people running the institutes that help organize these programs, like the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources, which remains a central organization fighting for the sustainable use of natural resources on the island.

Towards a Decolonized Mi'kma'ki?

Communities in Unama'ki continue to create opportunities to exercise their sovereignty, to support their communities and to prevent further damage from colonialism, all the while living under the continued occupation of their lands by the colony. They partly have achieved this by becoming experts at working both inside and outside of the colonial regimes and institutions that are around them. For example, the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources is much lauded for having been able to take a leading role integrating traditional Mi'kmaq responsibilities and teachings into the way that communities are running programs like waste management, at risk species surveillance, regulated harvesting in fishing and hunting, forestry, and ecological research. However, the ability for the Institute to exist also relied upon the economic influence and negotiation of the rising class of Mi'kmaq business and legal experts on the island. In 2001, as part of a negotiation with the multinational corporation Georgia-Pacific who sought to mine gypsum on the island, L'nus were able to establish protection for a large section of the forest at Sugar Camp

Mountain, royalties for local band governments, additional environmental safeguards, first right of refusal to all job contracts related to the project, and dedicated funding for the Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources (Stackhouse, November 6, 2001). In an island where economic discrimination used to largely preclude L'nus from having any say in the way that settler businesses were run, Clark Paul describes how the business savvy of people like Chief Terry Paul have completely transformed the way that locals have to work with community members. For example, the Membertou reserve has gone from being poor to being one of the major employers of all people in the local city (Sydney) and is also one of the largest taxpayers in the county, largely due to its acquisition of off-reserve lands which can be used as collateral in business deals.

In 2020, as I was writing my dissertation, the L'nus of Unama'ki once again demonstrated their capacity to transform the power relations in the region. Since 1999, the treaty rights of Mi'kmaq communities to self-regulate their own moderate livelihood fisheries has been acknowledged by the colonial courts due to the Marshall case. (*R. v. Marshall*, 3 S.C.R. 456 1999). This landmark ruling was the conclusion of a long series of legal battles and involved the supreme court of Canada overturning charges against Donald Marshall Jr. who had been arrested for exercising his treaty right to fish in Mi'kma'ki. However, since 2019 employees of settler fisheries have continued to attack Mi'kmaq community members and their property for exercising their right to fish for a moderate livelihood making national news. The Canadian government for its part has also refused to follow treaty, confiscating traps and property from Mi'kmaq fisheries (Quon, October 12, 2020; Lao, October 19, 2020). Although the conflict came to a head near Sipekne'katik First Nation in 2020, during my fieldwork in 2019, vandals burnt boats belonging to L'nuk community members less than a month after the 20th anniversary of the landmark court victory (CTV Atlantic, October 12, 2019). In the midst of a time period where L'nuk communities and their allies were decrying the colony's inaction to rein in settler violence around fishery conflicts, a coalition of Mi'kmaq nations (Membertou, Miapukek, Sipekne'katik, We'koqma'q, Potlotek, Pictou Landing, and Paqtnkek First Nations) managed to secure 50% control of Clearwater (making them co-owners of one of the largest fishing corporation with a monopoly of off-shore fishery licenses granted by Canada around Mi'kma'ki) (Moore, Jan 26, 2021).

L'nuk participation in Canadian governance also continues to demonstrate the strategies that communities are using to work towards having more agency under colonial rule (see Nadine Bernard and Bryson Syliboy's election campaigns to join the Nova Scotia legislature for one of the most recent examples) (Googoo, July 23, 2021; Googoo, July 17, 2021) and L'nuk politicians continue to openly verbalize their commitment to holding Canada accountable. The question of whether or not these inside positions in business and politics result in substantive support for the Confederacy to end colonization remains unknown, but in the interim, communities are celebrating the way that these moves have been able to transform the power relations which have left their communities under duress in the past.

At the same time as these efforts being made within the colonial system, there continues to be movement by the Confederacy to protect its lands, waters and people outside of the purview of the colony through community organizing. Whether we look at the land defenders who have tried to fight against the sacred Kluscap mountain being mined for granite or water defenders gathering to prevent fracking in the Lake Ainslie area of Cape Breton, L'nus continue to refuse the idea that their sovereignty is restricted to the reserve and take up their responsibility to protect the Earth (CTV Atlantic, November 25, 2017; CBC News, September 13, 2012). Additionally, when community crises hit like when 47-year old Darcy Doyle abducted 14 year-old Molly Martin (of We'koqma'q Mi'kmaq First Nation) from Eskasoni and the colony refused to put out an amber alert, communities from all reserves in Unama'ki gathered together to search for the girl and local band governments fast-tracked their release of a Mi'kmaq-run alert system phone app, which has allowed them to release their own emergency alerts for a variety of situations (Dunphy, 2020). Molly Martin was eventually found safe but the lack of support shown by the government for finding her emphasized the differential treatment given to settlers in Canada. Finally, it is worth noting that Mi'kmaq nations across Mi'kma'ki continue to launch legal challenges to the continued illegal sale of their unceded lands (see for

example, the Mill River case)⁷¹ drawing attention to the refusal of Canada to be held accountable for the continued dispossession and expropriation of Mi'kmaq land.

In terms of L'nuk struggles for decolonization, the unwillingness of the Canadian colony and its citizenry to concede control of Mi'kma'ki back to the Confederacy, has been bolstered by the international communities' willingness to enable this refusal through their interactions with Canada. One only needs to look at the United Nations Convention on Decolonization (1960) to see that the colonial powers at the UN were spared having to let go of any of the unceded territories of Indigenous nations in Turtle Island, as well as most of Oceania (UN General Assembly, December 14, 1960). Under the convention, Indigenous nations in what is known as Canada remain explicitly excluded from the list of non-self-governing territories and the right to decolonization, while the colony continues to claim to "self-govern" land that doesn't belong to it. If the United Nations were serious about committing itself to the rights of Indigenous Peoples, it would have to reckon with the fact that the "blue water thesis" that was used to preclude places like Canada, makes no sense given the context of a settler state founded by England.⁷²

For many of the community members that I got to know during my fieldwork, the logical extension of acknowledging the humanity and sovereignty of the Mi'kmaq is for settlers to join in the work of refusing colonial encroachment over jurisdictions that have never been ceded to Canada and fundamentally to return to treaty. The oral histories I gathered, affirmed again and again, that the current claims that the L'nuk are just a subsection of Canadians do not match the lived experiences of community members who have been treated like foreign nationals by the colony at almost every turn. Unfortunately, until non-Indigenous people are willing to reconcile themselves with the reality that they

⁷¹ The Mill River case and more examples of L'nus being dispossessed from land through sociolegal processes and the land use planning industry are discussed in Colburn and Thomas (2021) in the chapter entitled: An Abdication of Duty: Suppression of Indigenous sovereignty in Canada's "consent-by-default" industry.

⁷² The Blue-Water thesis emerged as an argument that for nations to be considered eligible for the right to decolonization they had to be colonized by a country that was separated by ocean - for settler states like Canada and the United States who have been deemed "independent nations" as members of the United Nations, this thesis has been used to preclude discussion of decolonization for nations within their territories - in the case of Canada, who claims to be a successor state inherited from British and French colonization - the right to nations that have remained unconquered and whose lands remain unceded to decolonization is difficult to dismiss unless you assume a pretence of complete disconnection between Canada and England - which has never taken place (Alderson, 2019). Additionally, other arguments like those claiming that independent member states do not owe decolonization to nations whose population have equal access to participation/rights would still be hard to apply to a Canadian context where discrimination and unequal treatment of occupied nations and their territories has been so central.

are either guests or part of an illegal occupation, Mi'kma'ki remains misrepresented by the much larger settler population.

Although some of the Mi'kmaq nations' names have been replaced by reservation names after being displaced, the inherent right to take part in governing the entire region of mainland and seabound Mi'kma'ki remains intact. Even when examining the potential for Mi'kmaq governance to take the place of Canadian governance, with so many non-Mi'kmaq communities living there, it only takes a cursory level of historical knowledge to know that the Mi'kmaq Confederacy's culture as host nations are the root of the cultural diversity in Mi'kma'ki. What possibilities for a better way of life might arise from the Mi'kmaq Confederacy were in charge of immigration, naturalization, land base, tax base, and other aspects of governance in Mi'kma'ki? What would negotiating a pathway forward that is both decolonized and characteristic of traditional L'nuk cosmopolitanism look like? These remain pertinent questions.

Even without abolishing the colony, Mi'kmaq governance also contains pathways for multi-national post-colonial futurities. The confederacy model, which the L'nuk have used not just with Mi'kmaq nations but as a member of the Wabanaki Confederacy, demonstrates the capacity of Indigenous people to negotiate survival with other nations in ways that can allow for multiple nations to exist in diplomatic harmony. As much of the world, including Europe, moves towards regional federations like the EU, the Mi'kmaq and Wabanaki (in Maine) Confederacy may offer precedent for Canada to exist (even after giving up their false claim to control over a concrete land base) as a nation among nations in Mi'kma'ki. Arguably, the precedent for this was already set during the negotiated terms of the Peace and Friendship treaties (1752, 1760).

Arriving at Elder Albert Marshall's home on October 1, 2018, I wished him a happy treaty day, wondering why he had not joined the other local leaders and Elders who were in Halifax marking the renewal of treaty. In response, Elder Albert Marshall was frank about asking what we had to celebrate when the colony continues to break treaty with the Mi'kmaq every year. In the past in North America, numerous Indigenous nations have used these types of annual renewals of treaty as a way to treat the negotiation of consent between nations as ongoing and to make room for withdrawal from treaty if the terms had been violated. In the present, Canada's government has shown itself to flagrantly violate

oaths, treaties, and even its own court decisions regarding Mi'kma'ki, and most importantly it has shown a violent disregard for the ability of the L'nuk to withdraw consent. The duress and threat of violence that are ever present under the Canadian state have been made obvious over the past two years with the ongoing crisis regarding Canadian officials stealing, destroying, and confiscating Mi'kmaq property from fishers who are being treated like criminals for exercising their (already recognized) treaty rights to a moderate livelihood. Over the past five years, I have frequently encountered a mix of conflictive attitudes from community members around their enthusiasm to collaborate with or become leaders within (as we have seen with Jaimie Battiste) the Canadian colony, alongside grassroots calls for an end to the colonial occupation once and for all. In many ways, these types of approaches can be seen as anti-treaty (or acknowledging that the treaties have been broken and cannot be seen as legitimate) and pro-treaty (or acknowledging that the treaties call upon the Crown to re-enter into a better relationship) sentiments. Rather than attempting to approach a debate around which side is right (or the feasibility of either approach), my research has shown that the resistance and refusal of dehumanization in Eskasoni and the commitment of the L'nuk to take up their responsibilities to their human and non-human kin have already begun to erode the myths, structures, and systems that allowed the colonial occupation to act with impunity in the 1900s. Combined with the continued investment that the L'nuk are putting into working with newcomers and non-Indigenous people on their lands, I believe there is reason to be hopeful that non-Indigenous peoples and the Mi'kmaq can live together outside of continued colonization.

The Spirit of Curiosity and Netukulimk

For years, Elder Albert Marshall (and his late wife Murdena) spent time advocating for the concept of Etuaptnk (Two Eyed Seeing) to call upon people to really look at the world from both their perspective and an Indigenous perspective and, to his frustration, the term became overused in ways that really did not represent the level of commitment necessary to take up this work. After spending a week with Albert during my last trip to Eskasoni, when we sat down for his interview, he was preparing to travel to Ontario to give the same talk that he had written in 1995, because in his view, not enough had changed since he had begun putting forward calls for institutional commitments to co-learning with Indigenous

peoples. For Albert, we are at a crossroads where we can no longer simply share stories and act like Indigenous and non-Indigenous people do not know each other, we have to commit to action to help each other and to come into better balance with the planet.

During my last trip to Unama'ki, I was fortunate to be invited to an Elder's circle in Membertou, as a guest of Elder Albert Marshall's. Elders from both Eskasoni and Membertou had gathered to discuss the planning of a peace park -- a space that would provide students at Cape Breton University a place to gather, reflect, and study outside while connecting with land and symbols of Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous cultures. Given the ongoing struggles for asserting Mi'kmaq sovereignty in Mi'kma'ki, I was surprised to hear one Elder raise concerns about the overuse of the term 'unceded' in discussion of the Confederacy, and how this took away from the fact that he felt like a citizen of all of North America and furthermore of the world. For the Elders in the room, the focus of their discussion was about creating a context where all people could be welcomed to enter into good relationships with the land, each other and the Confederacy -- a goal which goes beyond articulations of struggles over nation-states (which are arguably a colonial construct in and of themselves). At its root, this type of relationality would never be compatible with continued colonization, but rather than solely approaching this from a political perspective, some of the knowledge keepers I met are working to help shift the worldviews of all people in Mi'kma'ki towards being centered on returning to netukulimk.

Netukulimk remains one of the most powerful concepts contributed to non-Indigenous society from the Mi'kmaq language, and it can be defined as follows:

Netukulimk is the use of the natural bounty provided by the Creator for the self-support and well-being of the individual and the community. Netukulimk is achieving adequate standards of community nutrition and economic well-being without jeopardizing the integrity, diversity, or productivity of our environment (Unama'ki Institute of Natural Resources, 2020).

When faced with the duress that capitalism and colonialism produces in all people living in Mi'kma'ki, the prospect of re-entering into accountable relationships with all beings can seem as daunting as the prospect of ending colonial rule once and for all. However, Elder Albert Marshall emphasized that it is precisely these moments when things seem too unrealistic or too hard to achieve, that we must turn to inspiring curiosity in each other:

"We may sometimes believe and think, we are so inadequate because we don't have this, we don't have that. But I believe if we can somehow look beyond that and allow the spirit of curiosity to kind of lead you on. I believe with curiosity, if you allow it to go into overdrive, invokes something in your brain. You don't verbalize it, but you come to some kind of a realization that you can do it. You can do it, and if you do it, help will come along [...] I think this is something that was very much inherent to my way of observing people that have suffered tremendously from oppressions, from denials, and discrimination. That somehow they manage to extract that little extra energy that's within us so that we can become, resilient. Once that energy kicks in, I don't think that anything is impossible. We have somehow managed, the spirit that's in all of us, and that spirit is there to give us, not only the directions, but the energy to undertake anything we put our mind to, and I believe that energy will assist us".

Like the oral histories I gathered in Ireland, the life stories I heard in Unama'ki centered upon the practical actions that people had taken to transform their lives in the face of ongoing impacts of colonialism in everyday life. These actions, even without having ended the colonial occupation of Mi'kma'ki, have nevertheless allowed for a resurgence in L'nuk ways of living that are arguably embodiments of sovereignty and refutations of colonialism. Part of this resurgence is also embodied in the decentering of colonialism as the central theme of discussions of everyday life, a point which is especially clear in Glynis Sylliboy's oral history, which discusses the way her life has been transformed through her positive relationship with her late husband and reconnection to community through cultural teachings. The life stories of L'nuk community members in this project demonstrate that beyond reacting to colonialism, there is a continuity of Mi'kmaq knowledge, culture, and innovation in everyday life in Eskasoni that links the future to time immemorial. It is my hope that the insights provided here around pathways for rebalancing relationships with the natural world, advancing Mi'kmaq ways of knowing and language, and creating spaces for the L'nuk to thrive while healing traumas of colonialism can serve as seeds to spark the spirit of curiosity that Elder Albert Marshall was discussing and help support other nations in embracing worldviews that can serve as a foundation for global decolonization.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Reflections

Staring out at the seemingly endless expanse of the Atlantic Ocean from Dominion Beach in Unama'ki, you wouldn't necessarily know that Bantry Bay, in County Cork, was not much further away than Toronto where I began this study. When put into this perspective, the distance to the edge of Ireland seems far less insurmountable. As I continue to learn about the relationship between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki, I draw hope from the fact that as keepers of the Eastern gateway of the continent, the Mi'kmaq Confederacy has had a relationship with the Irish for far longer than the era that has afforded political recognition to the Irish decolonization struggle. The way that Irish and Mi'kmaq relationships extend deeply into the past pay witness to the transformation that is possible through intergenerational struggles with colonialism and its legacies.

The evidence explored in this dissertation hints at the present already being a time of transformation when it comes to the Irish addressing legacies of colonialism: communities in Ireland continue to work together to heal from the trauma of the secular violence that resurfaced during the Troubles. Official inquiries have taken place in Northern Ireland and the Republic into crimes of church and state (examining the history of institutions like the Magdalene laundries). Grassroots movements have been revitalizing civil rights struggles on both sides of the border as part of challenging cultures of sexism, racism, and heteronormativity which have travelled internationally with colonialism. Heritage societies have taken up the task of addressing historical erasure in public education, and communities in the border towns have taken up fighting back against political abandonment. Extending this momentum to global collaborations with nations who have been impacted by Irish participation in colonization could allow the people of Ireland to examine the impact that their nation has had on the world and to transform it into a force for global decolonization. Beyond centering the Irish impacts on the world, however, the Irish also have the opportunity to learn a great deal from the Indigenous nations like those in the Mi'kmaq Confederacy who remain at the forefront of not only surviving current

formal regimes of colonialism but also the work of advancing knowledge as world leaders of international diplomacy and the protection of land, water, and nonhuman kin for future generations.

As one of many people who have both Irish and Mi'kmaq ancestors, it is my hope that this study helps to lay the groundwork for more accountable and decolonial relationships between Ireland and Mi'kma'ki. My time in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki has shown me that there is a huge potential for co-learning between both cultures, to share experiences and strategies that they are using to heal from intergenerational traumas and break cycles of violence that have been wrought by colonialism. Furthermore, there is already a basis for friendship rooted in the formative role that the L'nuk played in the survival of the Irish diaspora for centuries as they fled the consequences of British colonialism. By exploring historical links and listening to each other, the current generation in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki can work together to call for the international community to move beyond the pattern of illegitimizing independence struggles that the Irish only recently overcame. In doing so, the current generation of the Irish in Ireland and the global Irish diaspora have the potential to heal from the wounds they have inflicted on themselves and others by adopting ideologies of white supremacy, Eurocentrism, and the misguided belief that entrenchment in settler colonialism is their best pathway towards asserting strength as a diasporic community.⁷³

Contributions of this Dissertation

In exploring past and present impacts of colonization in Ireland and Mi'kma'ki while gathering oral life histories from Eskasoni and the bordertowns between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, this dissertation has allowed me to make concrete contributions highlighting links between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq that I believe can inform more accountable and decolonial relationships between community members in both regions.

⁷³ This argument is taken up in more detail in the article, Decolonizing the Irish: The International Resistance and Entrenchment of the Global Irish Diaspora in *Studi Irlandese: Journal of Irish Studies* (2019) special issue on the global Irish diaspora.

First, this dissertation addresses the gap of resources available to community members hoping to understand how Irish and Mi'kmaq struggles with colonialism are linked. Demonstrating that Mi'kma'ki has been shaped by colonial strategies transplanted from Ireland, this dissertation highlights strategies and policies that may also serve as links for future research between the Irish and/or Mi'kmaq and other nations who have endured British colonization (especially for Indigenous nations under the commonwealth regimes). In addition, this dissertation further contributed discussions of several historical processes where the Irish diaspora also became transformed by colonization into colonizers in Mi'kma'ki -- providing details that can help inform future nation-to-nation collaborations that can respond to not only the struggles which are shared between the Irish and the Mi'kmaq but also, legacies of historical harms that impact Mi'kma'ki in the present.

Secondly, this dissertation works to present the comparison of Mi'kma'ki and Ireland in a way that intervenes (and provides resources to continue to do so) on the differential political recognition that has been afforded to Irish and Mi'kmaq struggles for decolonization. As was discussed in Chapter 1, the methods used within this dissertation actively reframes information that is usually used to inform colonial worldviews about Canada and colonial-rule, recasting socio-economic, demographic, treaty and historical information as well as visual representations of Mi'kma'ki into representations of a discrete and sovereign (if occupied) territory. Furthermore, by emphasizing lived experiences through oral history research, this dissertation adds to these methods clarifying insights from communities themselves. Using the same methods with Ireland, this dissertation concretely demonstrates not only the viability of comparison with Indigenous nations and other sites of British colonialism (in spite of the differences that the Irish have been through) but the urgent decolonial potential that methodologies rooted in mutual recognition can have in nation-to-nation relationship building (given the international recognition that is now, but has not always been, afforded to the Irish). In doing so, this dissertation presents an example of the type of methodology that can be used for future projects comparing Ireland (as a previously colonized nation that has been afforded political recognition by the international community) and currently occupied Indigenous territories like Mi'kma'ki (that are currently not afforded political recognition by the international community).

Thirdly, this dissertation moves beyond theoretical discussions by using oral history research to investigate the current tangible links between Irish and Mi'kmaq experiences of everyday life that are related to (and go beyond) experiences of British colonialism. In Chapters 3 and 4, testimonies related to themes of identity, cultural resurgence, intergenerational trauma and healing, and border crossing, demonstrate that in spite of the differing trajectories of Irish history, there are numerous shared experiences within the current generations of Mi'kmaq and Irish communities that can serve as the basis for future collaborations. Further, because this dissertation is the first project that I know of to provide this evidence, this contribution can serve as a resource for community members hoping to bolster their proposals for collaborations with evidence that they can reference for funders.

The discussions raised by community members also provide community-based evidence about the current perception of post-coloniality in Mi'kma'ki (within the Confederacy and Canadian settlements) and Ireland (within the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland). Responding to the post-colonial era question implied in the title of this dissertation, community members highlight a mixed message: that efforts to decolonize have been stunted in both regions, examples of continuities of colonial legacies abound, and independence efforts also have to navigate complicated relationships/collaborations with colonial nations. However, in both regions, everyday acts of life refuse and go beyond the way that colonial legacies structure everyday life for the people of Eskasoni and the people living in the Irish bordertowns between County Donegal and Derry/Londonderry. In this way, while it may be argued that although neither nation has achieved full decolonization (or a true "post-colonial era"), the testimonies I have gathered demonstrate pockets of everyday life that transgress against and highlight the failure of the historic attempts to complete colonization or assimilation in Ireland or Mi'kma'ki. In doing so, examples like interactions with land that are highlighted in this dissertation contribute evidence of substantial links between the ingenuity of refusals of colonialism that continue to proliferate in Mi'kmaq and Irish communities that deserve to be explored in future projects for their decolonial potential.

As was mentioned in the preface of this dissertation, this project does not aim to take up the work of defending the view I encounter most frequently in my work with

Indigenous communities that Canada, in its current form, is actually a British colony disguising itself as a successor state. This type of argument, although urgent, would require an entirely different approach in terms of methods, scope, and research questions. However, this project has contributed evidence in support of a linked argument that I have taken up throughout this dissertation: that Mi'kmaq and Irish experiences of colonialism are best understood as being part of a broader linked history of the legacies of British colonialism. The fact that so many precedents were set in the precolonial interactions of the English, taking root in the plantation period, and influencing the post-integration period in Ireland only demonstrates the need for nations to be weary of the durability of colonial strategies. Furthermore, I believe it is clear based on the histories and community voices presented here that Canada, at the very least, takes up these legacies by imposing itself through colonization onto Mi'kma'ki -- contributing evidence that might be used at another time to address broader questions about Canada presenting itself as a post-colonial successor state.

Finally, this dissertation also uses oral history research to contribute towards the possibility of future generations of Irish and Mi'kmaq communities deepening their understanding of each other through aurality -- that is to say, this project has made one of its explicit goals to contribute oral histories from both Mi'kma'ki and Ireland to archives in both regions, so that people are able to listen to life stories that can inform their future collaborations and, as Elder Albert Marshall described in our interview, spark the spirit of curiosity that has allowed people to thrive in spite of colonial hardships. Part of my investment in doing so, is due to the fact that the written word, though capable of conveying meaning and nuance on a variety of levels, carries a different energy than hearing the voices of people while they discuss their own lives. For those who access the recordings from this project in archives later on, being able to hear our tonality, as I pose questions, and react to statements from my collaborators, will, in some ways, tell listeners more about us than the written descriptions here can convey. In line with the protocols of the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, which I agreed to follow when doing this research within Mi'kma'ki, the inclusion of oral history summaries in the appendices of this project go beyond simply teasing out insights to promote the act of learning from the complete story that was told by each contributor. For those who are interested, this guide offers more

details about what is contained in the digitized oral histories attached to this dissertation at the York University library and will also be included with the oral history files in the collections that communities have approved once the files are submitted (at University College in Dublin, Cape Breton University, Donegal County Archives Service, and community archives in Unama'ki).

Moving Forward Together

Over the past five years, struggles to assert Mi'kmaq sovereignty and to defend it have continuously come to a head in Mi'kma'ki and this is unlikely to end any time soon, considering the way that the current federal and provincial regimes approach colonial governance. Nevertheless, the struggles of the L'nuk have continued to demonstrate what it looks like to take up responsibilities to their lands and waters, their people and their treaty partners. In spite of ongoing impacts of settler violence, government repression, and having to manage life during a global pandemic, the Confederacy has made significant progress around publicly refusing to extinguish its rights over land and water to the colony and exercising self-government (Forester, November 03, 2020; The Canadian Staff Press, February 3, 2021). In Eskasoni in particular, it is noteworthy that some of the issues that were addressed in the oral histories I gathered, like the need to increase recreation spaces for youth, have become the focus of new initiatives (as of July 2021), which are transforming the supports within the community (Reynolds, July 15, 2021). While I have not been back to Mi'kma'ki since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, I remain excited about the prospect of returning to Eskasoni, to continue volunteering and learning with community members (inside and outside of the context of my academic work).

Highlighting the importance of the bordertowns between Donegal and Derry/Londonderry in Ireland, the past months have brought forward new projects, documentaries, and exhibitions highlighting voices from either side of the border and demonstrating how the varied community is unified against the return of a hard border (Mcbridge, July 25, 2021). For my part, I hope to get the community members that I worked with during my doctoral research involved in my next research project (see below). As was mentioned in Chapter 3, life in the bordertowns has become even more complicated because of current and ongoing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic that has

hit the area harder than any other area in both countries. Furthermore, some of the issues presented here are necessarily unresolved -- like that of Brexit given that many loyalists are publicly decrying the imposition of the Irish sea border. As new issues emerge, the necessity of bringing forward a frank discussion about the need to move beyond post/neo/colonial abandonment of the bordertowns by providing the infrastructure needs and other supports from both countries only becomes clearer.

In terms of international Irish-Indigenous collaborations, I am enthused to have been a part of a growing momentum over the past five years, which has seen an increase in events like the Ireland Canada University Foundation's (2021) online gathering, "LandSpeak: A Gathering of Irish and Indigenous Voices."⁷⁴ There have also been solidarity actions, like Ireland sending money to the Choctaw for pandemic relief (to return the kindness shown to the Irish during the famine) (Carrol, May 9, 2020), and co-learning processes like the Irish government's efforts to establish an annual reciprocal exchange between the Mohawk nation of Kahnawá:ke and Ireland (the first exchange involved Mohawk students going to study at the An Cheathrú Rua Gaeltacht in Connemara) (Caollaí, April 12, 2019). Indeed, in a country where discussions of Irish-Mi'kmaq relations have in the past been relatively limited, with the exception of the discussion of hockey,⁷⁵ these initiatives all represent crucial steps towards establishing a deeper relationship between Ireland and Indigenous nations in so-called Canada. Additionally, as I have found during my own research (with my network of community members continuing to grow), these types of projects are also attracting the voices of a large amount of Indigenous community members who have Irish heritage, whose histories with their Irish kin may yet prove to be a transformative resource for deepening our understanding of the impact of the diaspora in North America in unexpected ways.

In the process of thinking through how this (and future) research can support accountable and decolonial relationships between the Irish and Indigenous nations, this dissertation has led to a new and urgent area of inquiry that I hope to address. It bears

⁷⁴ LandSpeak involves a range of Indigenous nations including the Mi'kmaq to come together to discuss links around sports, language, and culture.

⁷⁵ Upon arriving in Dublin for my fieldwork, I was enthused to hear that the taxi-cab driver knew about this part of Irish-Mi'kmaq history. The Mi'kmaq helped Irish settlers develop the game of hockey as a method of adapting hurling so it could be played on ice, and the original hockey sticks were adapted from hurling sticks by L'nuk carpenters.

repeating that most of the oral histories I gathered spoke uncritically about migration to the settler colonies and that my conversations with community members in general demonstrated a lack of awareness of the huge role that the Irish diaspora have played in colonizing Indigenous lands.⁷⁶ Of course, the preliminary research I did for this project indicated a huge gap around these discussions in Irish scholarship, which is why this dissertation makes direct contributions to increase historical and cultural literacy around Irish-Indigenous (and specifically Mi'kmaq) relations. However, I began to realize that new research was needed to assess how the Irish diaspora (and returnees in Ireland) understood their (historic and) current relationships with Indigenous people in order to better understand what new resources need to be created to truly deepen the capacity for the current generation to have historically informed accountable and decolonial relationships with Indigenous communities. Evidently, while oral life histories serve as wonderful scaffolding to highlight how everyday life is linked by colonial impacts in both regions, and secondary literature can help to sketch out key historical events linking the past of nations like the Irish and the Mi'kmaq, a much larger and more specific dataset would be needed for this task.

Applying this area of inquiry to Irish-Indigenous relations in so-called Canada specifically, I was able to work with Dr. Arlene Crampsie to design a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council funded postdoctoral research project that is being hosted at University College Dublin and is set to begin after my defense. Targeting participation from recent Irish immigrants to Canada (those who have arrived within the last 5 years), Irish-Canadians (citizens who identify as Irish while living in Canada), and members of the Irish diaspora who have returned to Ireland (in either the Republic or Northern Ireland) from Canada more than five years ago, participants will have the opportunity to take part in online survey and follow up oral history interviews that will gather the type of large scale data that is needed to assess the kinds of supports that can be created to deepen accountability between the Irish and Indigenous nations. Building the capacity for me to mobilize the knowledge I have gained from my dissertation research, my postdoctoral

⁷⁶ This is not, however, to dismiss the desire that many people expressed to learn more through participating in the project or the general concerns that were expressed around realizing that the Irish diaspora had engaged in racism and colonial violence abroad.

program will help me to better understand the current state of Irish-Indigenous relations in Canada. As the fourth largest ethnic group in Canada, the Irish continue to have the opportunity to play a crucial role in improving relations with Indigenous nations, and I am enthused to be able to continue to work with institutional partners in Ireland like University College Dublin, the Oral History Network of Ireland, and the Ireland Canada University Foundation to ensure that the people of Ireland are taking an active role in shaping this process of assessing the supports that are needed to inform decolonial and accountable relations between Indigenous nations and the Irish diaspora.

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Appendix A

ORAL HISTORY SUMMARIES (ULSTER, IRELAND)

John Bradley (B. 1969) from Donegal Town, Republic of Ireland (41 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 17, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: John is a mechanic and political activist.

Keywords: Donegal Town, Protestant Republicanism, Irish diaspora, Boston, Post-Good Friday

Summary:

John grew up in Donegal Town in a sheep farming family. His father tended to a group of between 500-600 sheep, near the border of Northern Ireland where farmers often had to coordinate helping each other retrieve run away sheep. When John was 9, he was shocked to hear his father was stopped by the British army who was hiding in the grass near the border while tending to his sheep. John remembers the TV being dominated by Irish-British relations, and the hunger strikes deeply impacting the community. He remembers Donegal Town being known as an on-the-run town, and feeling like the Republic was colluding with the British army, because they would have the army search houses for suspects sought by the RUC. In his teens, soldiers stopped John and his family in their tractor to check to see if their potato sacks had armaments. John noted that people seemed to forget that Protestants helped form the Republic Gaelic movement (with people like Wolfe Tone and Douglas Hyde) and that Protestant houses were never searched, because of the belief that Protestants were all loyalists, which allowed a major safe house to be run by Protestant republicans, who were able to help people like Gerry Kelly. In his 20s, John got involved with Sinn Féin, helping canvas in Northern Irish campaigns. He had finished secondary school but couldn't afford to go to university, so when his older brother took over the farm, he worked in factories, before travelling to Boston at age 25. John describes taking part in the world-visa program that had been set up to bring together Protestants and taking part in Irish-American talks and heritage events, as part of the peace process under President Clinton, and this created some lasting friendships between the group. John described how in recent times, the unionists in the North seem to think they gave away too much so they became hardline again taking actions like cutting away funding for Irish language in the north (Arlene Foster), the current political climate caused Sinn Féin to pull out from the assembly and has created Republican splinter groups. Reflecting on the recent murder of Lyra McKee, John said that the split between the new IRA and the old IRA took place when the IRA officially ceased their actions and others believed the only real path to independence was violent resistance but gangsters are using the umbrella of the real IRA to instill fear into their own communities. John said that he felt that nationalists in the North have been alienated from nationalists in the south because the 26 counties have not put their weight behind fighting for unification or supported the North, in the current or civil war era which tore apart families. At the same time, with Brexit on the horizon, and the majority of counties voting against it, the loyalists may finally side with the republic, but disincentives like threats to fight Irish rights to fishing near Scotland are being issued to NI. John shared that lately there is more of a move towards not knowing peoples' politics and living together in Ulster, which helps. Tensions still rise, however, every July in the North when the Orange Order make their marches. John said he felt like Brexit might make unification happen quicker, if it impacts everyday life, but that it shouldn't be rushed so people don't resent it and unionists want it to happen. Much of John's family has had to move to Scotland for work, while he has stayed and found work as a mechanic. John also recounted his experiences trying to bring forward Pro-Palestinian activism in Donegal, holding monthly protests, because he has empathy for what they are experiencing and he believes that issues of apartheid that they are facing links with Irish history. While he did work with a small group of like-minded activists, he expressed the sentiment that most people are concerned with bread and butter issues.

John Deery (b. 1958) from Buncrana, Glasgow, and Derry Ireland (73 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 11, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: John is a tour guide and educator in Buncrana, Donegal.

Keywords: Buncrana, Civil Rights Movement, Derry and the Troubles, Gaelic Resurgence and Recovery

Summary:

John discussed Buncrana's poverty and communal approach to life in the 1960s, noting that most people worked in shirt factories. His father, however, was a lorry driver. Politically, John recalled his father being adept at engaging with people of all political persuasions amicably, as he travelled with him to different areas. The hard border drastically increased waiting times for his family (from minutes to hours) when travelling for work and leisure. John recalled watching the Northern Irish Civil Rights movement emerge out of a sense of global momentum created by social movements like the Black Civil Rights movement and massive strikes in France, and how things changed after the British army came to NI under the pretense of protecting Catholics but quickly ended up fighting them. Discussing Buncrana in the 1970s, John noted that was known as an "on the run towns" where people would flee Northern Ireland. He also recalled how Buncrana took in refugees from Derry to sports halls and gymnasiums as the British army brought in the 22000 troops they used to barricade no-go areas during Operation Motorman. On Saturdays, people from the Republic would go to the Bogside to take part in riots and support the civil rights movement, which was also supported by poor protestants because people without property could not vote. John remembered how being hypervigilant about dangers in your surroundings became the norm for him during this time period while travelling to play sports in both NI and the Southern counties of the Republic. Recalling how the violence sometimes spilled over into Buncrana, he recalled a time when the IRA attempted to storm a GARDA station in Buncrana, only to be met by a riot squad that had been stationed near the border from Dublin. John remembered that the Republic (under Jack Lynch) almost went to war with NI, stationing troops at the border. After moving to Glasgow in 1965, John saw how badly some of the British soldiers had PTSD, when a young man at another table became visibly shaken by his Irish accent at a dinner party. He also worked with people suffering the mental health impacts (such as PTSD and alcoholism) of the Troubles as a nurse in Derry and recalled examples of violent events that shook the community including a mass shooting in a hospital, and the British Army surrounding an IRA gunman in a field near a hospital refusing to let him leave as he slowly bled out. In the 1990s John noted that hope kept increasing with ceasefires and peace efforts. After the Good Friday Agreement (GFA), John has seen a noticeable shift towards a new normalcy of fluid economic relationships between Catholics and Protestants on both sides of the border, travel and commuting. However, John also noted that for Catholic areas, it has also been a time where gangs have filled the void left after informal IRA policing ended. Discussing the Republic's agreement to drop the constitutional demand for unification in favour of a referendum approach after 1998, John stated he doubted unification would ever occur, as even N.I. Catholics would lose economic benefits they depend on from the U.K. Reflecting on Brexit he noted that it runs the risk of giving an excuse for a re-eruption of the violence from dissident groups, and is a dangerous move in a time where European politics are becoming increasingly polarized. . John discussed working in various jobs until the recession around 2008, when he went to school for Business, and examined the untapped potential of polylingual tours in Ireland, and ended up opening his own business. John shared how he now works with heritage societies, the cross-border Peace IV project, and how local communities are coming together to deepen their understanding of Irish history. He ended by discussing the Gaelic Revival (and support from the EU), and his view that opportunities for bettering Irish language education would require a move away from treating English as equal to Gaelic in Ireland.

Dermot Doherty (b. 1972) from Derry, Republic of Ireland (33 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 26, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Dermot runs a mattress and bed making business in Buncrana and Letterkenny.

Keywords: Inishowen and Derry, Irish Entrepreneurism, Integrated Irish economy, 2008 financial crash.

Summary:

Dermot lived in Derry until he was 4 years old, when a bomb blew up outside of his parents' home and the windows shattered overtop of the bed that he was in. His parents then moved to Faun, in the republic. Dermot's mother was a nurse, and his father and grandfather manufactured beds. He recalled how his grandmother was fluent in Gaelic but most people were not. Dermot didn't remember his parents being very political, though he knew it was difficult getting across the border. He recalled how his father and uncle used to smuggle things. Dermot disliked school, and left to work in the family business and began learning bed making at 13. He spent a lot of time playing by the river and the forest. By age 15, Dermot began to work in the factory in Letterkenny, and later as a young adult he designed a new machine to make thicker mattresses. Growing up in the Troubles, Dermot noted that most people focused on taking care of their family rather than talking about unification. He remembered when Eddie Fuller got killed, and another incident when his wife's best friend was held hostage by shooters. Growing up he didn't spend a lot of time in Derry. In town a lot of people said they were on the run, and a lot of people were connected to the IRA, but Dermot felt he had to respect everyone's beliefs, and felt strongly against people fighting each other over land rather than helping each other. He remembered being stopped at the border as a young adult, and the police trying to provoke him but he kept his cool. Dermot noted that his best man was protestant, and serendipitously, his son was born on the day the good Friday agreement was signed. Dermot also described how he got into carting for sport, which was later taken up by his son. The border coming down made things much easier for business, and after Dermot took over the family business, he continued to expand the business until the post 2008 financial crash, when the banks changed his credit limit suddenly without notice. He recalled how the day that his creditors met and made the decision, was the same day that his grandmother, who had helped raise him, passed away. Since then, he noted that a lot of business in the area have gone out of business, and that only older businesses with no rent or mortgages were able to survive. Dermot felt that the way that politicians and the government acts is corrupt, and that they don't take care of people's best interests. Talking about unification, he noted that it would bring another million people that the Republic would need to take care of, and they aren't even helping the existing poor and homeless people. He discussed how Catholics want a united Ireland, but he didn't feel like it would make a difference to his family. Discussing Brexit, he noted that it could have an impact on his business in Northern Ireland but not much in the Republic. Currently, he noted, he felt like one of the big issues facing Buncrana and the surrounding areas was ongoing dependencies on welfare, and alcoholism. Throughout his oral history, Dermot reiterated his sentiment that taking care of family was the main focus of his everyday life.

Jim Doherty (1970s-) from Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (101 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 8, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Jim is a documentary film maker and teacher in Derry, N.I.

Keywords: Post-Good Friday Education, Mixed faith families, border crossing, documentary making, Brexit, Irish experiences in Mi'kma'ki

Summary:

Jim began by sharing memories of pre-troubles Buncrana as a tourism destination and the Scotts fair for two weeks in August, border-crossing into Derry to shop, and common practices of smuggling cheaper goods from N.I. to the Republic. Remembers being a child seeing the Troubles emerge on TV, he recounted it feeling surreal in spite of their closeness to Derry, and the sudden appearance of new checkpoints at age 9. Jim remembered a large influx of migration of people from all over NI to Buncrana during the mid 1970s to escape the troubles. Coming from a mixed-faith family, as a child Jim tried to figure out what the difference between Catholics and protestants. One of his protestant uncles retired from the police force at the start of the Troubles, refusing to go to war with his own people. Jim reflected on how beyond the sectarian elements, people were talking about more than religion. Catholics protesting being treated as second class citizens, but talk about the British only really starting around him when the army came to Derry. Jim reflected on how it became normal hearing bombs go off in the distance, and memories of being in college hiding under tables in Derry as the IRA and British army got into gunfights. Jim noted that he feels like since the Good Friday Agreement travel between Donegal and Derry has become fluid and the differences between the regions seem almost non-existent. Jim pointed out that there are many similarities between Donegal having a lack of infrastructure support from Dublin, and people from Derry feeling starved from Belfast. At the school he teaches in, Catholics and Protestants are being brought together, and the schools take special measures like not allowing GAA uniforms, and vetting project proposals to ensure they reduce the chances of sectarian conflict between students. Jim noted that poverty still plays a major role in politicization of the youth and who ends up involved in violence. He calls the people born after the Good Friday Agreement peace babies, and notes there is a whole generation who has not lived through the Troubles now. On Brexit and the possibility of violence, Jim noted that there is a sentiment that the youth taking up dissident roles are claiming to fight for a united Ireland without actually being invested in it. In his experience, most protestants and nationalists in his life express anti-Brexit views, while some protestants have said Brexit is Britain standing up for themselves. Jim also noted that he has known many protestants who are for a united Ireland, and whose main concern was rejecting Rome rule/conservative Catholicism in the country, and that NI has now become more conservative than the original politics of the Catholic Republic. Reflecting on an earlier documentary he produced in Mi'kma'ki, he recounted exploring how Catholics and Protestant communities had demonstrated the potential for living peacefully on the East coast of Canada, and memories of meeting Indigenous communities being the highlight of his trip. In terms of the Irish diaspora, Jim reflected on encountering a lot of racism being present in communities in North America and being surprised that they were very efficient at acting like colonizers themselves. Discussing current work being done in Donegal, he noted that there is a burgeoning refugee justice movement in the county helping to work towards anti-racism. and refugee justice movement in Donegal. Jim highlighted the continued need for heritage societies in the region, who are having to work to recover histories that are censored or left out in public education.

Ann Hagan (b. 1953) in Derry, Londonderry, Northern Ireland (49 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 20, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Ann is a retired teacher and civil rights activist in Buncrana, Donegal.

Keywords: Derry City/The Creggan pre and post Troubles, the Irish civil rights movement, political abandonment of the bordertowns, impacts of Brexit.

Summary:

Ann describes growing up in the 1950s in the Creggan, and how her father focused on educating the children about everything except for the conflict between the British and the Irish. She describes loving going to school and applying to a Protestant school for nursing, which she got accepted to in 1968. Ann describes how Protestants and Catholics were very mixed and how this changed after the confrontation during the October housing march in Derry. She explains how the community was split through protestant recruitment into the Royal Ulster Constabulary and B specials and escalation by people like Paisley. Ann provides a detailed history of the events leading up to the attack on the bogside in January 1969, including the way that surrounding towns rallied support for the bogside when it was cut off from food and electricity. She describes how her family, after surviving the attack, taught her about the history of the conflict, including the border campaigns, her family's involvement in fighting the British, and how some of them had fled to America. Ann describes how her awareness changed, describing the escalation of violence in her surroundings, and how the British was called in to protect Catholics in Belfast and her father warned her that they would be their enemies within the next two weeks (which subsequently was proven true). Ann remembered feeling empathy for all of the working-class men from London being sent over to Derry and Belfast, but saw firsthand how dangerous they were when they came into Derry. The IRA gunmen were her friends and family, and the bogside became a no-go area, and Ann became more involved in the civil rights movement. At 18, Ann got married, but lived alone because her husband worked in Scotland. Ann recounted how she had been six months pregnant when the Bloody Sunday Massacre took place and how people were excited about the prospect of thousands of people gathering to support votes, education, and housing. Ann met up with the march later in the day, and describes how her hopefulness, turned to terror as she heard gunshots and tried to get home. She discusses how she had to save the lives of two 7 year old boys caught in-between the shooting that day. Ann discusses how the neighbourhood was radicalized by the massacre and how almost everyone joined the IRA, including her husband. She details how the trauma impacted her ability to feel safe outside, and even her baby was born premature. In the years that followed, Ann notes, her home was constantly raided, and she was even arrested without cause and assaulted by the British, who eventually let her go. Ann describes keeping people on the run in her house, helping them get to the Republic, and how her neighbours also helped to hide weapons. Highlighting how strongly she felt against violence, she notes that she was attacked for praying over a dying British soldier who she had taken pity on. Ann describes her work in a woman's center, teaching women how to build computers, and her work supporting peace projects and the inquiry into Bloody Sunday. Describing the lack of support for people who were traumatized during the troubles, she talks about how she moved to Buncrana, where her mother was from. Ann describes how she has to travel to Derry to take her husband to the cancer center, and that this could be really impacted by changes at the border. She expressed her dismay with the way the border towns were caught in the middle of Brexit, and how there wasn't a proper consultation within Northern Ireland. She noted how a lot of the younger generation have jobs and stability and are invested in not having the Troubles emerge again. However, Ann noted, the people in the 1940s and 50s had also thought there would never be troubles again, but the downtrodden had nothing and had to fight back. For Anne, she felt her best way to fight was intellectually, and that's what she did.

John J Hegarty (b. 1949), from Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (73 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 21, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: John is a retired member of the navy and archaeologist

Keywords: Turn of the century Ulster, the expulsion of Catholics from Northern Ireland, church-led education, naval experiences (in British navy and Greek merchant navy, archaeological work in County Donegal, heritage societies

Summary:

John begins by describing how his father's history, as a soldier in the Irish army of the free state, who joined the army at age 14, after his paternal grandfather who was a train driver for the Great Northern Railway, sent him to live with his uncle on a dairy farm after his mother died. John's father met his mother while he was stationed at Fort Dunree. John described how he had been born and initially raised on an isolated sheep farm just north of Buncrana, before moving closer to Fort Dunree with his parents. John described how he hadn't heard about the border or British and Irish relations until he began asking questions after travelling through the border into Derry at age 7. He details the history he was taught about English rule up to the current era, including his clan's involvement with the O'Neills in the 9 years war, and the loss of their lands after the battle of Kinsale. John notes that Fort Dunree, was one of three strategic forts that the British kept after the establishment of the free state, until 1938. He describes how the South seemed to not care about the North, during or after partition. Detailing his experience in church run school, he notes that they did not teach past the 1890s evictions, were afraid of socialism, and badly beat students with hurly sticks. In John's family, he didn't get dinner if he didn't go to church, and he has distanced himself from church as an adult. John described his experiences going to work in England for a year and finding that the English would distance themselves from Irish workers, and his experience of anti-Catholic discrimination in Derry that led him to join the British merchant navy, where he ended up experiencing further discrimination. Reflecting on how deep rooted this behaviour his, he shares a story of his great-uncle who had to flee Belfast after Protestants burnt his shop and killed one of his labourers because he was Catholic in the 1920s. John noted that afterwards, his great-uncle attempted to live in Buncrana and run a mobile shop but had to flee to the North when it went bankrupt (which was illegal at the time) due to the poverty that came after Irish independence and the Anglo-Irish trade war. He described how before he was born, the area was mostly sheep farmers, who had no demand until the second world war and also described the Whisky industry and its roots in the Whisky Republic of the 1830s. John described how he was working in the Greek merchant navy and was headed to Brazil when he heard about the Bloody Sunday Massacre and returned to Derry to find empty streets. He then worked in the Danish navy until landing a position at Malin Head, which allowed him to eventually take leave to study archeology, and to retire and focus on archaeology and local history, founding the West Inishowen Heritage and History Society, and working to address the fact that most history books don't match local knowledge. Providing examples of this, he shares a history about the Bishop McQuade's interference with the establishment of socialism in Ireland; and a more recent example of him using Gaelic place names and his own local knowledge to correct the location of an important battle in Ulster. John also details how trauma has transformed the area, and how people were skeptical that the Good Friday Agreement was real, and subsequently have been united as Europeans under the EU, which is now threatened by Brexit. John noted that the North voted to stay in the EU, and that everyone is hoping the border doesn't come back. When discussing Irish unification, he said that people generally feel it will never happen, because Northern Ireland cost the U.K. around 9 billion dollars per year, and are a kept people. John noted that if unification went through there was a real possibility that Ireland as a whole would have to go back to the poor era that took place after independence.

John "Jackie" Henderson (b. 1952), from Buncrana, Donegal, ROI (42 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 24, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Jackie is a shopkeeper on the main street in Buncrana, Donegal

Keywords: Buncrana post 1950s, local industries, mixed faith communities in the bordertowns, impacts of the Troubles in Buncrana, political abandonment of Donegal and Derry.

Summary:

Jackie describes the 1950s in Buncrana, as having a strong community that supported each other, lots of land which he was able to wander and explore, and a mix of Catholic, previously Presbyterian, and Protestant community members. He notes that Donegal and the Inishowen peninsula, has been historically isolated from the rest of Ireland, and that this was increased when the railway in Derry closed in 1956. His father worked as a labourer, shoveling coal off of boats from Poland. In terms of education, Jackie noted that there was not a lot of funding to go to the Gaeltacht, and most working class families couldn't go. In the local school, Jackie noted that he was taught up to the history of the evictions but not further. Although there were not many loyalists in town when he was growing up, Jackie remembered Protestant community members and the Scottish tourists coming to town every summer in the 1960s and 1970s. He noted that Buncrana had a history of protestant involvement in supporting Irish nationalism, and was involved in the rebellion of 1798, which was started by Presbyterians. He also described the way that Bishop Maginn, who was instrumental in documenting the harsh conditions in Buncrana during the famine, also helped protestants, and helped D'Arcy McGee escape to North America after the failed Young Irelander Rebellion. Jackie witnessed the legacy of Protestants and Catholics coming together continue during the hunger strike, when a local protestant minister took to the streets to protest with the Catholics in 1981. When Jackie became of working age, in the 1960s, the main source of employment in the town was factories, mostly of textiles, but also the flour and oat mills. He briefly attended a vocational school, and then began working in a shirt factory in 1967. Jackie said that growing up in Buncrana, people had unification in the back of their minds, and British-Irish relations had always been an issue, but during the Troubles people generally followed the narrative of whatever political party they supported. He recalled how Dublin, for their part, did not offer support to the nationalist in the 6 counties. Jackie noted that some people got involved in the civil rights movement. After Bloody Sunday, Jackie began campaigning for Sinn Féin. He spent a lot of time in and out of the border, because he had cousins in Derry. Jackie described how he worked in factories until 1982, and saw the decline of the local textile industry due to Ireland joining the EU. After that, he opened his store, which also allows him to display historical photos, which he collects to support local history. After the collapse of the textile industry in Buncrana many people migrated from the town. More recently, most of his six children also left Buncrana for better opportunities. Jackie noted similarities between the lack of support from Dublin for Donegal, and Belfast's lack of support for Derry. He recalled how since the 1970s Belfast has failed to make good on its promise to create a paved road that would connect itself to Derry. Derry's airport is also inadequate as a main hub for three counties. Reflecting on the lack of infrastructure support from Dublin for Donegal: He said the main issue is a lack of healthcare infrastructure. In terms of energy, he noted that windmills have been placed in the North to support the national power scheme instead of local communities. Jackie reiterated the way that joining the EU changed work in the bordertowns, and the increase in commuters. Jackie felt that people show complacency with disinvestment from Dublin, and this may be, in part, due to reliance on the welfare state, although its financial supports are highly restrictive for the majority of working class families. Briefly discussing the Good Friday Agreement, Jackie noted that it left many things unresolved. However, he felt that Brexit wouldn't have a huge impact on Buncrana unless there is a return to the hard border.

Colum Lynch (b. 1963) from Derry City, Londonderry N. Ireland (66 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 20, 2019, Derry City, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Colum is a Museum Guide and Educator in Derry City.

Keywords: Childhood in the Bogside (during the Troubles), the civil rights movement, church-ran schools, border-crossing, gang culture, emigration to Australia, post-Good Friday Derry City.

Summary:

Colum's oral history offers an intimate portrait of life in Derry since the start of the Troubles. Born into a Catholic family, with 8 siblings, Colum grew up in an overcrowded home in the Creggan. Colum's parents ran a republican pirate radio station (Radio Saoirse) out of their home and were very politically active, sharing visions of a united Ireland, getting the British out, getting proper jobs, and improving housing conditions. The troubles transformed things for his family: protestant friends moved to the waterside and no longer talked to them; family members ended up arrested for supporting the I.R.A.; and others hid their mixed-British ancestry to avoid being attacked. Colum noted that during his childhood his community felt abandoned by the Republic and the Catholic Church. Colum describes growing up in the Bogside between the 1960s-80s and the constant presence of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and British soldiers. He recounts being questioned by soldiers, and a constant fear of being lifted by soldiers and imprisoned without provocation. Highlighting tactics like banging on pots to alert each other of Royal Ulster Constabulary or military presence, and opening blinds and turning on all the lights during night-time raids, he described strategies used by his community to survive. He also described how the environment impacted children, noting they were often sent by the IRA to collect shells after shootouts, and how British soldiers tried to bribe them with candy. Riots became so frequent that children would play soldiers and rioters, with "rioters" throwing bricks and rocks at "soldiers" who held makeshift shields. Noting the risks British-collaborators faced, Colum remembered how a girl who took a soldier as a fiancé was feathered and tarred in 1971. Misrepresentation by the media made Colum aware of propaganda, and at a young age he attempted to get involved in the civil rights movement, including the march on the day of the Bloody Sunday Massacre which his parents would not let him attend. Colum served as an altar boy at the funeral. He also witnessed a tank driving down his street during Operation Motorman, and his neighbour was murdered without provocation. In spite of enduring traumatic events, he reiterated finding joy in everyday life and the land, going to the river to fish and climb trees, and taking trips to Buncrana Beach with his mother, where the atmosphere felt completely changed. Colum detailed abusive conditions in the church schools he attended, the Christian Brothers school, and St. Peters, in the Creggan. He also noted that the schools taught English history only, repressing Irish history. At St. Peters, staff did not prevent fights, teachers were beaten up; classes were interrupted by teachers getting arrested; children were forced to play contact sports without protective gear; and there were almost daily riots. At age 15, Colum left school to work in the trades, but had trouble finding any employment except in the Republic. After 4 years, Colum left to Australia to seek employment. Returning to Derry, he has developed a career in the museum industry. Colum described how his job requires him to act impartial, while simultaneously educating others about the harsh realities of local history. Discussing life since the Good Friday Agreement, Colum noted that most people show commitment to preventing violence in spite of a rise in gangs in Catholic areas due to lack of policing, and continued provocations by the Orange Order. Highlighting hope brought by youth and integration of protestants and Catholics, Colum said he hoped Brexit would not erupt into violence. Linking Brexit to the future of Irish unification, Colum noted that it may finally make ending the economic dependency of Northern Ireland on the United Kingdom the most beneficial option.

John McCarron (b. 1966) from Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (45 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 20, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: John is a sculptor and artist who lives in Letterkenny, Donegal. Key Words:

Key Words: Border-crossing during and after the Troubles; Fruit of the loom in Buncrana; impacts of the 1980s hunger strikes; revitalization of Gaelic culture through education; arts, music, and sport; heritage societies.

Summary:

John grew up in Buncrana, as child his father was a stonemason frequently away in Scotland, and his mother was ill with TB. At the time, his uncle was the last native Irish speaker in the area. John remembered spending a lot of time outside, and there being lots of sunshine. He walked 10 miles to school each day, as the family had no car. When his uncle got ill, he had to travel to Letterkenny to get to the hospital. John recounted how his parents never spoke about politics or history, until Bloody Sunday when he was six years old. As the checkpoints became more militarized it became more difficult getting to Derry on the bus, and bomb scares were so frequent that people often didn't take them seriously. John recounted how his mom was once pulled out of a store and brought up the street just before a bomb exploded. In primary school, John had a great teacher from West Donegal who taught them Irish history and became interested in penal laws, peasants, and the history of secret masses at mass rocks in the area. During the hunger strikes, John remembered the community becoming more radicalized. Students at his school did a walk out protest in solidarity, and a man named Michael Jackson who lived in a caravan publicly displayed information that he gathered for a journal of all of the hunger strike events - which was later confiscated by police during a fire. As a young man, John had a close call in Derry after a bomb went off near the bar he was at, and metal came flying across the ground towards him. As an adult, John held many jobs, working at a supermarket, as a painter, a decorator, a stonemason, and a general construction worker. His expertise in art and stone work led him to work in decorative stonework and to become a sculptor. He also worked in London, England for work, and noted that pay was better and they took longer breaks. Back in Buncrana, John also worked at the fruit of the loom factory, which was a major employer in the region prior to moving to Morocco to avoid EU labour regulations. After the Celtic Tiger began to dwindle, many people owned too many properties and couldn't afford their mortgages. Since the post financial crash era made jobs more scarce John went back to school and got a degree in Fine Arts. John said that there is an unspoken Irish aspiration to reunite the counties that was held by everyone around him, but that the media tries to say there isn't because it doesn't serve Dublin. John is the cultural officer for the GAA, and he noted the goal of unification is still reflected in the Gaelic Athletic Associations still having their ideal as a return to a 32 county Ireland. John used to play football in the GAA, but had to shift towards activism and stop playing because of a knee injury. His eldest son has been part of a team that were deemed the Ulster champions in hurling, and his wife is the secretary of the club in Buncrana. John described how his family has been part of the cultural revival in the area, having gotten involved with numerous initiatives including Chairing a local Irish secondary school. John's wife is an Irish dance teacher, and he noted the strong Irish music tradition in the area. His son is an Irish teacher. John describes the increase in Irish language use in the area thanks to the Gaelic school movement and people using Irish for speaking. Since 2014, John has been involved with the West Inishowen Heritage Society, he has volunteered at the Tower Museum in Derry helping to catalogue the Inishowen collection/artifacts, he has worked with Radio Foyle and has contributed to numerous events around local and national history. John noted that he feels the biggest challenge facing Buncrana right now are economic and that this could also be increased due to border tariffs which will greatly impact businesses working across the borders.

Collette McDaid (b. 1976) from Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (69 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 21, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Collette is a server and cook at a cafe in downtown Buncrana, Donegal.

Key Words: Life and community in Buncrana; history education in church ran schools; annual visits to Scotland; moving to the bogside during the later stages of the Troubles; emigration to England as an Irish woman; Gendered experiences in Ireland; lack of infrastructure in Inishowen.

Summary:

Collette's oral history shared her experiences growing up in Buncrana in the late 70s and early 80s. She was one of 6 kids and lived in a three bedroom house. Her dad, Owen McDaid was a famous bus driver, who drove factory workers to and from work, and helped people in town do shopping runs across the border. Her dad knew a lot about Irish history, and has helped people learn heritage in the area, but she did not recall her household being very political. Collette described how the town used to get Spanish students on student exchanges, and Buncrana had visitors from around the world. Every year, her family would go to Scotland once or twice on a surprise trip. Collette remembers her childhood of being mostly spent outside playing, only coming in for meals when she wasn't in school. Derry felt like a different world to Collette, and recalled that people had a different accent on the other side of the border. Collette never felt afraid travelling into the city. She remembered that sometimes when their car was searched her father would assure her everything was fine. At school, in Buncrana, they taught some history, a bit about the potato famine but nothing overly political, and in secondary school she remembered they mostly taught American history with no mention of the Troubles and barely any mention of the plantation. Collette described how at a young age she used to work in her family's chip shop and bakery after school. She also described how things differed between her male siblings and the sisters, stating that boys could do no wrong, Collette's experience of getting pregnant at 17, moving to England with the baby's father, and then returning very pregnant and having to move to Derry described the kind of pressures that were put on her as a woman having a child out of wedlock. She discussed how her mom was really concerned with what people would say in town, and how she was sent to live with her aunt in the Bogside in 1995. She noted that although people were conservative, it was also a dangerous time to have babies out of wedlock, with the Magdalene laundry's still being operational. Collette noted that living in the bogside felt more communal than Buncrana, and described people watching out for each other more, asking if each other needed anything (in one case even bringing her furniture for her new flat). In the bogside people would also talk about politics to Collette but she said she felt like it was like another language to her. When riots were supposed to take place, her dad would often take her back to Buncrana, and she'd come back to see the area covered in debris like burnt tires. Collette described how one year she snuck back to watch from her flat in Derry while someone babysat her son. Collette recalled it feeling more like a festival than a riot to her, and people talking to her, who she didn't know were her friends, with balaclavas on. Eventually Collette moved back to Buncrana because she feared that her son would end up susceptible to joining a gang, like many teens do in the city. Moving back to Buncrana, her son played outside with friends a lot more, and got involved in the GAA. He also became fluent in Irish (speaking) but did not take writing because of dyslexia. Back in Buncrana she was able to find work, having always worked random jobs in Buncrana, and went to the women's center in Derry to upgrade her English, Maths, Psychology, and Business. More recently, Collette has had a daughter, and she said that she notices differences because of gender, with her being more careful about letting her daughter go outside to play than she was with her son. Collette felt skeptical that Brexit would really happen, and when asked about urgent issues in Buncrana, said that people not working is impacting people's mental health negatively in town, and also highlighted the lack of medical infrastructure that has caused the bus to Galway (the cancer bus) to be needed by people to get medical treatment.

Owen McDaid (b. 1945) in Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (21 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 26, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Owen owns a mini-buss business and works as a driver, in Buncrana.

Key Words: Exploring Inishowen pre-troubles; experiences as a member of an IRA family; running local businesses and transportation services; encounters with military checkpoints and communities on both sides of the border.

Summary:

Owen described how life in Buncrana was in the early 1950s, living with his mother and aunt. Recalling how much time he would spend outside, he said that he was taught to swim at an early age, and after that was allowed to go to Frey's Fort and Ned's point to swim. The town was smaller, with only about 3500 people, people were outgoing and life felt simple.

Owen came from a mixed political family, and his parents often talked about unification. His grandfather and his great uncles were part of the old IRA, and one of his great uncles immigrated to America after being put on the wanted/shoot on sight list. Owen recalled hearing how when his grandmother's family found out that she was getting engaged to her grandfather, they tried to take her back to their Presbyterian family on the train. Gathering members of the old IRA, Owen's grandfather stopped the train and asked his grandmother if she wanted to go or stay with him, and she said she wanted to stay with him and they left. Growing up, Owen felt there wasn't much bother about Catholics and protestants but noticed they were standoffish together.

Owen took his first job at a chip shop, and worked there until he was 17. At that point, his sisters told him that they had a job waiting for him in England, but he and his mother decided to open a fish and chips shop themselves, which was highly successful and stayed open late to help serve the people who would go to the dances. In 1970, Owen got married and over the next few years his family grew to 6 children. In 1983, Owen decided to buy a van and turn it into a mini bus and began working as a driver for locals. Owen said he also used to have a taxi and helped people on the run, but for the most part was less involved in the conflict than his sister (who lived in the Creggan in Derry). He described how as a driver he went to every corner of Ireland, and frequently traveled into Northern Ireland during the _Troubles, but most had good experiences. At age 40, he also opened a bakery, which was highly successful. Owen's job let him get to know a lot of police men and military people, and he was on good terms with most of them. Nevertheless he noted that he did see bombs go off during his travels and on rare occasions, like after Motorman, he had been stopped by British foot patrols because they wanted to know if he was a McDaid that was wanted from Derry.

Marie McLaughlin (b. 1952) from Buncrana, Donegal, ROI (118 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 25, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Marie is a community organizer, scholar/historian in Buncrana, Donegal.

Key Words: Ulster; impacts of the war of independence and the Irish civil war; the civil rights movement in 1960s-70s Derry; experiences of Irish identity in England in the 1970s; recovery from a car accident; the Dublin bombing of 1972; civil rights issues in the Republic; the peace process in Northern Ireland; lack of infrastructure in the bordertowns; post-Good Friday politics.

Summary:

Marie's begins by describing how her family has been involved in Irish nationalism for multiple generations, detailing their involvement in the old IRA, the war of Independence, and subsequent trauma during the civil war which caused her father to leave to the Republic. Her father was a cabinet maker for the railway, born in 1899, and her mother was an orphan, whose parents died during the Spanish Flu pandemic, who met him through marriage. Marie's describes how her grandmother ran a safe house which allowed people on the run to rest, change clothes, and escape, even during raids by the Black and Tans. Marie goes on to describe how her father passed away when she was 10 years old, which nearly caused her family to be homeless. She recounts how her father had taught her to see beyond religious conflict and about the protestants who had been involved in pro-nationalist struggles. Marie details the issues around employment (including the fact that women were generally only allocated work in shirt factories), voting, housing, education, and healthcare that were the driving issues in the movement. She describes the overcrowding she had witnessed in the bogside, as well as housing conditions with lack of heating, inside toilets, and seasonal flooding. Marie describes the way Derry was both a shopping city for many, and an industrial labourer area for 1000s of workers, noting the similarities between working class Catholics and Protestants. She offer insights into the ways that the churches attempted to control people through dividing them, and describes how women especially were controlled via Magdalene laundries, contraceptive laws, and the institutionalization of victims of rape, child abuse, and premarital sex. Describing becoming engaged in the civil rights marches as a teenager, she notes that people had gathered for housing justice and ended up getting beaten off the bridge in Derry and witnessed the police battering kids, women, elders, indiscriminately (in 1968), and the media coverage of state violence led to 30,000 people showing up to the next event. Marie discusses how tensions escalated when the orange order was allowed to march but civil rights activists were barred from marching, noting that the government removed all protections from Catholic areas, she goes over some of the events that escalated violence between the B specials, the IRA, and the British army. She describes how the Republic refused to engage the British army, only coming close to intervening after Bloody Sunday. In 1972, Marie had a bad accident that caused her to be sent to a hospital in Dublin, where she stayed until 1977. Marie was nearby when the Dublin bomb of 1972 exploded, and noted there were no charges laid. She notes that Derry was bombed so often that it was seen as urban planning and reconstruction by bomb. Marie recounts how civil rights were lost during this time period in the Republic. Between 1977 and the 1990s, Marie went to England to study, and saw people hide their Irishness to avoid discrimination. Describing the lack of progress made in Northern Ireland after the Good Friday Agreement, Marie discusses the three thousand people who died for votes, only to have the political parties refuse to sit together. She also notes there is still no university in Derry, and no medical school. Reflecting on the issue of unification, Marie speaks about how Ireland cannot afford it even if there is a successful referendum, pointing to the economic crisis that was caused by German unification, and the current economic disinvestment to most counties outside of Dublin. Marie finished her interview by reflecting on her work to bring forward political engagement through local history, and the need for Irish people to learn history to know about themselves, the places they live, and Ireland's relationship with the rest of the world.

Tina Porter (1980s-), from Inch island, Donegal, Republic of Ireland (59 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 8, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Tina is a nurse, genealogist and teacher in Letterkenny, Donegal.

Key Words: Inch island; mixed religion communities; mixed-faith families; normalization of violence during the Troubles; violence on the Republic side of the border; repairing historical erasure through heritage societies; nursing and health industry concerns in County Donegal; Peace babies (children born post-1998) and concerns about the reemergence of violence.

Summary:

Tina grew up in a family that did not discuss politics or history, but they all paid attention to what was happening in the area. As a child on Inch Island she was surrounded by protestant farmers, she was part of one of the only catholic families. There are ulster plantation homes still on the island, and people would change their last names to gain access to protestant plots to farm. Most of her childhood was focused on the land, and her family farm. Her family frequented Derry, and her father was known for smuggling groceries back to the community and how hearing about his interactions with British soldiers were often funny and it almost seemed like a game. Tina discussed feeling shocked when a British soldier pointed a gun at her face as a child at the border during the Troubles. Her family could hear bombs going off in Derry from Inch Island, and would hear about numerous incidents of paramilitary violence crossing over the border, including the UVF murder of Eddie Fullerton in Buncrana, and a man getting dragged from his house and forced to wear a bomb which was detonated at the border by the IRA. People often spent time checking to see if they knew the victims of the bombings. Her friends died in the Omagh bombing. In spite of these memories, Tina recounts how it all began to seem normal, and her teenage years were spent focused on average teen issues with the Troubles in the background. Reflecting on how abnormal it seemed to outsiders, she gave an example of her sister's boyfriend wanting to flee on foot rather than wait stuck in traffic during their first experience of a bomb scare in Derry. Tina and her husband are from different faiths, and she remembered her first time really experiencing the discrimination against Catholics being when she started working as a nurse in Derry and someone asked her "which foot she kicked with" which she refused to answer. As an adult, Tina began to look into genealogy in her family and was shocked to find out that her family was actually a highly political family. Her ancestor in Donegal was a member of the first Dail, and was imprisoned after fighting for Irish rule. Her distant relatives were evicted by Ulster landlords and arrested for resistance in the 1840s. Her work with the heritage society has helped to recover some of the scarce information about evictions and other important historical events in Donegal. She also found out, through her work as a hobby genealogist that she was related to Michael McLaughlin, who travelled to Mi'kma'ki and started a highly successful logging industry in New Brunswick, which then became the basis for an entire town (Grand Falls?). As a nurse she is greatly concerned by Donegal's lack of health care infrastructure and the fact that cancer patients are having to bus all the way to Galway for treatment. She discussed the way that Dublin restructured health services and put in centers of excellence in areas with universities, funneling investment away from Donegal. Discussing the recent violence and talks of crown forces, she felt that most of the people rioting don't even know Ireland's history and aren't focused on how to help, which is just stirring up trouble. Because of Brexit and the recent rioting in Derry, Tina shared that she feels less comfortable travelling to Derry than usual, and she fears of a return to violence and a hard border and how it will impact her children.

Terry Tedstone (b. 1952) from Herefordshire, West Midlands, UK (48 minutes)

Date and location of recording: June 26, 2019, Buncrana, County Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Terry is an artist living in Buncrana, Donegal, Republic of Ireland

Key Words: Experiences of mixed-Irish/English heritage; emigration from England to the bordertowns; tourism in Buncrana in the early 1960s; impacts of the Troubles; experiences as a professional artist; arts culture in Buncrana; Britishness in England vs. Belfast; Brexit.

Summary:

Until age 12, Terry lived in a small town in England. His father was English, and his mother was Irish from Buncrana. He had two siblings, and his older brother lived in Ireland when he was growing up. His father was a soldier, in the first world war, then worked as a police man, before re-joining the military in the 20s. He met Terry's mother while serving in Fort Dunree in the 1920s, and went on to work in Malaya and Malta until 1941 when he was deemed unfit for service by England. When Terry was born, his father had become a postman. Terry said his childhood in England was a pleasant country, but his mother always pining to go back to Ireland and wanting to live by the sea. Terry visited Ireland only once before he was 12, at age 5, and some days he used to wish they'd go back. In school in England, Terry was not taught about Ireland, and he was the only Catholic in his class (his father had converted when he married Terry's mother). Terry learned about Ireland from his parents history books, and became fascinated by ancient Ireland. He recounted how he never experienced discrimination as a Catholic or an Irish person in England. After his father died, his family moved to Buncrana. Even though people told him that he looked like a protestant, and he identified as an English boy, he did not get bullied by anyone in town. Terry described Buncrana in the 1960s as a busy seaside resort town. People often had lodgers, the cinema and dancehall was open almost every night, shops stayed open until 11pm, and Terry found work on the putting greens at the local golf course. Terry easily made friends in Buncrana and Derry, and found people liked a lot of the same (British) bands and sports teams that he had liked in England. He also noted that everyone enjoyed rebel songs prior to the Troubles, and he got into Irish folk music. Schools on the other hand, were much more strict in Buncrana, children were caned and there was not much representation of the arts. Terry attended a technical school studying woodwork and technical drawing, and began working full-time in 1968. On the weekends his friends went to Derry. While some people joined the riots in Derry for fun, he never took part. During the Troubles, Terry used to argue that most people in England were reasonable to his friends, who remained kind to him. He recalled feeling like the British army hadn't really impacted his life outside of slower border crossings. He didn't support the violence in Derry, but knew that Irish people had reasons to be rebelling. In town didn't really support what nationalists were doing in Northern Ireland, but some of his best friends had people on the run in their house. Terry recalled feeling sympathy for the vision of a unified Ireland, but also enjoying being able to live in Buncrana feeling like he could travel to Britain only minutes away. Discussing his experience of being Irish and English, he said he now felt like he could be both. He contrasted his English identity with loyalist Britishness, saying he felt extremely uncomfortable travelling in Belfast, seeing union jacks everywhere, and people proud of the plantations. Terry got married in 1973, and his wife was one of the few young people he had met who had also lived in England. As an adult, Terry excelled in the shirt factories, and pattern making, and lived through the economic boom caused by the Fruit of the Loom factory in Buncrana in the 1980s. After 1979, Terry also began a long career of supporting local community based arts initiatives including the local pantomime. More recently, between 2008-18, Terry got to work at Fort Dunree, designing posters and becoming more involved in history. Describing life after the Good Friday Agreement, Terry felt like people were relieved but that everyday life was pretty much the same. Terry said he hoped Brexit would not bring a hard border, and that jobs were the most pressing issue in the area.

Appendix B

ORAL HISTORY SUMMARIES IN UNAMA'KI, MI'KMA'KI

Charles "Chuck" Francis Jr. (b. 1961) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (32 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 23 and 24, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Charles is a cultural educator and artist from Eskasoni.

Key Words: Recovery from trauma and addiction; Mi'kmaq language; educating the public about Mi'kmaq material culture at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys; early oral histories of Mi'kmaq warfare; controversy over new "nations" claiming Mi'kmaq land; ongoing racism against L'nus; Mi'kmaq cultural views around nature.

Summary:

Charles discusses growing up in Eskasoni, with a father who owned a mill and worked as the band chief. Reflecting on his life, Charles discussed living with trauma and how it was a long journey to move beyond anger, and how after being a machine operator, and having a rough life, he eventually began learning more about himself when he turned 50. Charles discussed how he had a lifelong goal of learning, even though he wasn't formally educated, and how he remained fluent in Mi'kmaq despite being taught to speak English in school.

Charles discusses the survival of Mi'kmaq culture, in spite of wars with the British, Americans, and Abenaki. Describing how he began to teach about Mi'kmaq arts at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, Charles noted that he began working at Goat Island as a labourer fixing roads and helping Lindsay Paul with the material culture/hunting site on the island. Charles talked about how the staff at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys helped him to express himself and saw potential in him to be an educator, allowing him to pursue his passion of creating replicas of traditional tools and art.

Charles shares a story about how the Mi'kmaq outsmarted French and English musketeers through the use of a compound bow that had a longer range than early rifles, and how the Europeans arrived with no women among them and settled with Indigenous women to survive. Charles discusses the controversy over the Eastern Metis and the "Bras D'Or Indian Village" who have very little interaction with the actual Indigenous people in Eskasoni, and his views about being Mi'kmaq first and being precluded from being Canadian when he was younger via racism. Charles notes that the people in Sydney mostly get along with the communities on reserve now, but that L'nus still face discrimination when shopping. Unama'ki, he notes, brought lots of people together to work in the coal mine, including the maritime Black community.

Reflecting on Mi'kmaq culture, Charles discusses how their traditions are based on conservation. He notes that the Mi'kmaq are not just hunters and gatherers but are always thinking of nature, and shares some of the worldview that underpins Mi'kmaq sustainability including learning from nature, following natural law, and a belief in the supernatural/invisible that exists within the world around them.

Natashia Herney (nee Sylliboy) (b. 1972), from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (66 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 19 and 22, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Natashia is a cultural educator and drive instructor living in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Life in Eskasoni post 1970s; dance competitions; traditional healing and medicine; life with Sarah Denny; residential school impacts on the relationship between children and adults; learning Mi'kmaq language; survival of gender violence; impacts of addiction on families; motherhood; teaching about dance, chants, and traditional medicine at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys.

Summary:

Natashia describes living on 74th street in Eskasoni as a child, and how the top of the street had a lot of parties, which eventually led her family to move to a quiet area in Castle Bay. Later her dad built a house on her mother's CP lands, which they moved into when she turned 12. Her father was a carpenter and mason, and her mother was a top salesperson for Avon. Her mother got a B.ED only to find she hated teaching during practicum. Natashia describes how her parents took in her cousins twins, because their mother had addiction issues and how this led to a rift in their relationship and eventual divorce when she was 14. After the divorce, Natashia got away with more as a teenager with her parents. Natashia shares how her relationship with her grandmother Sarah Denny helped to shape both her childhood and teenage years, as a traditional dancer, medicine keeper, and knowledge holder. She describes Sarah Denny's role giving medicines to the entire community, and an instance where she healed Natashia's severe burns using traditional medicine. Sarah Denny had 12 children and worked to take up the maternal role with her grandchildren and great grandchildren. Reflecting on how her paternal grandmother, Natashia notes she stayed at her house once, and spent most of her time having to clean. Her paternal grandmother passed on when she was 14. Natashia describes memories of adults being more very strict with children, and having more traditional gender roles. When Natashia was a teenager, she moved to Sydney and found that the books in Canadian schools were not the same as the ones being used on reserve (had more information) and she wanted to have the opportunity to access those resources. Natashia's teenage and young adult life was also shaped by her journey as a mother, and her relationship with her babies' father. By age 21, Natashia had three children and was attending college. Describing her long relationship with her babies' father, who she met when she was 12, Natashia noted they were friends and then dated years later, eventually having six kids together. However, Natashia had to formally separate with her partner to protect herself from violence from her spouse and his friends. She describes how she survived two attempted murders in the process, and how the police did not take her attack seriously. Natashia went on to later marry another man who was a traditionalist, and he helped her recover her language. Her parents had taught her English, and Natashia did not get to learn her language until attending college, and becoming part of her husband's family that only spoke Mi'kmaq at home. Unfortunately, her relationship with her husband ended after she found out he had been lying about his sobriety, began openly drinking, and ended up hitting her. Natashia survived doing odd jobs to ensure her kids always had what they needed, and was also often busy helping other families. She helped her cousin open the Eskasoni driving school, where she works as a driving instructor and also began working as a cultural interpreter at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys. At Eskasoni Cultural Journeys she helped to teach other staff about medicine and got asked to take over teaching about medicine on the tours (as well as song and dance). Natashia noted that she has taught her grandchildren some of the traditional songs and dances that aren't being taught these days and recently began training her grandson in how to use and harvest medicine. She also expressed concern over the drug crisis on reserve, and shared how it has impacted her family, including her son who became schizophrenic. Describing the struggles of Indigenous people, she also discusses Canadian-Indigenous relations, recalling how the last pandemic body bags were sent to reserves, and how there is a huge impact of the media normalizing and desensitize communities to the violence they are enduring that worries her.

Audrey Anne Johnson (b. 1974) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (121 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 24, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Audrey is an artist and cultural educator in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Intergenerational impacts of residential school, L'nu identity; Irish ancestry in Mi'kmaq communities; traditional foodways; experiences with Indian Day School; prejudice in local towns; youth and Mi'kmaw language; gender relations; beading and weaving; post-secondary education; Eskasoni Cultural Journeys; impacts of addiction and alcoholism on the community.

Summary:

Audrey describes being raised as one of 7 children, by parents who had been abusive while they struggled with alcoholism and their own trauma. Her father was a residential school survivor, and eventually left their family when she was 9. Audrey's extended family was afraid of her father, and wouldn't intervene. Audrey's father worked in many industries including: construction, logging, as a mechanic, and a taxi driver, but her mother stopped working as her alcoholism became worse. Audrey's mother had major trauma from abuse at the hands of Audrey's grandfather who was a residential school survivor and WW2 veteran. Audrey grandfather ended up dying in a confrontation with her uncle who stopped him from abusing her grandmother. Audrey discusses trying to learn more about her biological father, who her mother thought was Irish and had met in Boston before returning to Eskasoni. Audrey notes that her Mi'kmaq family can trace back their ancestry to the first census descriptions of the name Sylliboy, and before then to the last full-blooded L'nu man, who was her great-great-great grandfather over 100 years ago. Audrey describes how the welfare system provided about 10 dollars per person to her family when she was growing up, but her family didn't feel poor because they hunted, fished, grew fresh foods, and baked traditional luskinegan and 4 cents bread. Audrey describes traveling into town when travelling to big harbour Island where her family had a cabin, trapping with her father, and spending time with her traditionalist uncle. Audrey describes her struggles in schools, having an undiagnosed reading disability, and language barriers because of having to learn English as a second language. She describes attending Indian Day School, where they tried to enforce religious and Canadian beliefs, and later experiencing racism and discrimination in mixed population schools in Sydney. She describes the prejudice Mi'kmaq communities face in the towns, and how she has gone on to teach in public schools to fight against discrimination. Audrey describes how she went on to earn a degree in small business at Cape Breton University, and working in a variety of jobs, in the rehab, the band office in Eskasoni, and the fisheries and woman's treatment centre in Waycogamah where she lived for 7 years. Audrey moved back to Eskasoni to be with family for her daughter and to take care of her sister who was struggling with alcoholism. Around 2009, Audrey took up bead working with her sister while her sister worked on sobriety, and they took a class in Membertou. Audrey's work as an artist, led to her working at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys doing beadwork and later basketwork. Audrey does art for pow wows in her off time, as well. Audrey discusses how the Mi'kmaq are recovering the cultural knowledge that families had kept in secret and how the immersion schools are producing a new generation of fluent Mi'kmaw speakers in spite of the challenges posed by the introduction of English media like cable television. She describes how the old Mi'kmaw language is held only by a few elders, and how she has worked with her daughter to make her home an immersive environment for language and the use of language to teach language. Audrey also discusses many other important issues including ongoing impacts of residential school; how some families fled Canada to escape residential schools only to end up extremely poor labourers in Maine; the impact of drugs and alcohol in Eskasoni; the leadership of women like Rita Joe and how gender relations have improved; the increased support for two-spirit people (comparing the experiences of her uncle with those of her daughter); the expansion of Eskasoni; L'nuk identity; being a fair-skinned Indigenous person; treaty-relations between the Mi'kmaw and the British; and Canadian-Mi'kmaq relations.

Pipe Carrier Lottie Johnson (b. 1945 in Portland, Maine) from Eskasoni (137 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 27, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Lottie is a pipe carrier, traditional healer, educator, counsellor for residential school survivors, artist, and community organizer currently residing in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Prince Edward Island in the early 20th century; Irish ancestry in Mi'kmaq communities; Eskasoni after centralization; Boston's L'nuk community in the 1970s-80s; survival of gender violence; the MMIW crisis in Mi'kma'ki; working in the trades; residential school; growing up with Margaret Johnson; seasonal art sales in Mi'kmaq culture; post-TRC healing initiatives; experiences working as a counsellor at NATICA.

Summary:

Lottie describes growing up in Maine and Afton before returning to Chapel Island, and details how her families Irish ancestors met her L'nuk ancestors in PEI before her grandparents moved to Chapel Island before her family was relocated during centralization. Her oral history covers a wide range of details of Eskasoni's history from the 1950s onward, including descriptions of her family travelling to sell baskets and wreaths around Nova Scotia and Newfoundland during the holidays. Throughout the interview Lottie explores what it was like growing up with famed educator, artist, and community leader Margaret Johnson (her mother) and also describes how her relationship had to recover from being strained due to her experiences as a residential school survivor. Lottie notes that when she was 18 she joined the community of L'nus in Boston. Lottie's story of her life in Boston in the 1970s-early 80s covers a wide range of themes including how she survived an abusive relationship with her husband that resulted in her having to put her children in protective custody, how she escaped the relationship as well as how she developed a new career in the trades (computer building) before returning to Eskasoni after her sister was murdered. Lottie's interview goes further into providing some context for the way the MMIW crisis is impacting Eskasoni, describing other kin that were killed and the people who the community are still searching for. Providing an overview of her life since arriving back in Eskasoni, Lottie describes finding a lot more Aqlaseows on reserve and a lot more people relying on welfare after the late 1980s and 90s. Lottie shares how she went back to school, and got remarried (for 11 years) before ending up leaving her husband after he tried to get physically abusive with her. Recalling the way that language, oral tradition and culture teachings are related she recounts the times she would visit Annie Crimmel who would teach her but would tell her to help with housework while listening rather than recording what she was saying. At various points in the interview, Lottie shares insights into how being a residential school survivors impacted her over the course of her life, with some descriptions of her time in the school, as well as an overview of the retraumatization she went through in the settlement process. Lottie also shares insights into a wide variety of careers that she has done over the years including adult care, selling art, helping to organize TRC events and eventually working as a counselor at NATICA. Looking to the present, Lottie's interview describes numerous programs that she currently is involved in as a treaty educator and a main support for residential school survivors as a traditional healer, pipe carrier, and counsellor.

Mary Rose Julian (b. 1942) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (111 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 18, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Mary Rose Julian is an artist, counsellor and teacher living in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Eskasoni during centralization; resistance to colonial dependency and discrimination; the implementation of band governance; residential school; Lee Crimmel; post-secondary experiences in Ontario; experiences working as a counsellor in mixed schools; the establishment of L'nuk education; the NB teaching program; current trajectories of Mi'kmaq governance.

Summary:

Mary Rose describes growing up in Eskasoni during centralization with 11 siblings. Her mother and grandmother were from Membertou and did work for doctors, lawyers, and merchants in Sydney. Her paternal grandmother was a midwife, and her parents met at Chapel Island. Mary Rose provides detailed descriptions of how life was self-sufficient prior to centralization and how things changed during the sudden population growth. She describes the Mi'kmaq tradition of blunock, where the community tried their best to provide for the newcomers, who were destitute and had no homes to return to after the government relocated them and destroyed their houses. At the time Eskasoni was isolated, with no cars, and people would take trains, boats, or walk to sell baskets. Mary Rose talks about how life changed after the welfare system was established in 1953, and how her father drove Indian Agents out of the reserve because they discriminated in employment for development projects and in distribution of rations. This led to the establishment of band managers in 1969 in Eskasoni. Mary Rose recalls her mother warning her not to go near the roads because white men stole children, and how many of the children Indian Agents took to residential schools would disappear with no notification to parents. The community had many parents searching for their children. As a child Mary Rose convinced authorities to let her attend school at age 4, and she was left in the care of church officials who refused to let her take communion (before age 7) and sent her to a school where the only language spoken was French (which she couldn't understand). When Mary Rose went to Indian day school she struggled with English and felt that residential school was her best option because many of her family and friends from Membertou who had attended knew English. Initially, her parents refused, but she convinced an Indian Agent to let her and her brother go to learn English. Mary Rose describes memories of residential school, witnessing violence and trying to stay out of trouble and how she didn't want to go return the second year but had been signed up for two years. A family friend who had experienced discrimination because of being German went with her parents to visit her at the residential school and explained to her parents that they needed to get their kids out because the clergy were racist (and had to explain what that meant to them). After residential school, Mary was known for excelling at English, and she briefly attended a church-run boarding school. As a teen, Mary Rose spent a lot of time focused on dancing and music. She toured with Crimmel Simon, and ran record hops. Later when she married Albert Julian, they moved to Boston, where she worked as a seamstress and he worked as a machinist, eventually becoming a supervisor. When they returned to Eskasoni, her husband became Eskasoni's first band manager. Mary Rose describes her journey as an educator and as a leader in Mi'kmaq resurgence. In the 1970s, she spent 9 months away from her family training to be a counsellor, and was then able to support Indigenous students at a variety of schools in Cape Breton. Mary Rose helped lead initiatives to get a high school in Eskasoni, to change the curriculum so Mi'kmaq is taught in middle and high school, and negotiated the creation of a teacher training partnership between Eskasoni and UNB. Beyond these roles, she helped to pass on knowledge about traditional regalia and peak hats, and has had a career as an artist. Today, she continues to teach at the age of 72, and encourages youth to speak Mi'kmaq. She ended her interview by discussing how the grand council has moved away from focusing on governance and how the band council have taken on the roles that used to be reserved for Indian Agents. Mary Rose stated there is still a lot of cultural knowledge available that hasn't been learned.

Elder Albert Marshall (b. 1938) from Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki (48 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 13, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Elder Albert Marshall is an educator, knowledge keeper, and community leader in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Eskasoni during centralization; Boston in the 1970s; Indigenous trades and entrepreneurship; Mi'kmaq connection to land; Murdena Marshall; co-learning with non-Indigenous people.

Summary:

Elder Albert Marshall, from the Moose Clan, grew up in Eskasoni at the start of centralization, and discusses how the community self-sustained in the 1940s, with farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering. He describes how the large influx of newcomers brought a reliance on grocery stores and that this impacted what it meant to be Mi'kmaw, as the culture was based around self-reliance. After Albert attended residential school, he found that he led a secluded life until he got married in the 1960s. He discusses how the towns refused to hire Indigenous people no matter what their qualifications were, and the only real working opportunity outside of that was migrant/seasonal work, and how ended up deciding that moving to Boston was the best opportunity for him to provide for his wife and children. Albert describes how it was easier to blend in with the diverse cultures in Boston, and how he ended up securing a position at a machine shop, where he was able to stand out for his competence through learning on the job and spending time developing his skills through reading in his off-time. Albert and Murdena had three kids in Boston, and were doing quite well, but eventually they decided that returning to the reserve would benefit their children because it would allow them to be grounded in their own culture, language, and the natural world in a place surrounded by other Mi'kmaq community members and the land. Albert describes how when he arrived back in Eskasoni, there was a lack of employment opportunities, and he decided to get into construction after seeing six L'nus watching non-natives doing construction work in the community. At this point, Albert was already in his 50s, but he didn't think about his age because he was just concerned with being a good father. Albert discusses how the spirit of curiosity can and has led many Mi'kmaw people to find stability in spite of their obstacles, and that this spirit of curiosity also can help give us energy. Albert notes that Indigenous people have not been able to rely on the outside world for employment, and have had to create opportunities for themselves and others. He discusses how dependency on the government is imposed through denying education, which prevents technical training and qualification for more jobs. He shares insights about the collective conscious of the Mi'kmaq, that lets L'nus know, their people, their home, are there no matter what happens externally. Albert describes leaving the construction industry because of the type he needed to stick to his principals when people encouraged shady business deals, and how Murdena (his wife) went back to school. Albert discusses Murdena Marshall's work to integrate Mi'kmaq knowledge into education at all levels, her attending Harvard, and her struggle to get tenureship at Cape Breton University. He describes how she firmly promoted the Mi'kmaq worldview that knowledge is alive physically and spiritually, and comes with responsibilities to share. Murdena had contributed to many projects without requiring credit, which conflicted with tenureship processes, when they claimed she did not have enough publications even though she was overworked in all aspects of her position. Albert describes travelling with Murdena when she gave talks, and how as she grew sicker, she asked if he wanted to speak instead. Albert reflects on how he did not feel qualified, but Murdena encouraged him and said if he spoke from his heart he could not go wrong. Albert ends his interview, describing feeling like we have reached a crossroads in society where the Mi'kmaq have spent enough time letting people know who they are through stories, and how institutions need to focus on moving forward together. Albert mentions that the same work needs to be done, which is why he is giving a talk in 2019 that he wrote in 1995, and that co-learning has transformative potential for us all.

Pipe Carrier Clark Paul (b. 1946) Membertou First Nation, Unama'ki (115 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 28, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Clark Paul is a pipe carrier, traditional healer; educator; and counsellor from Membertou, currently residing in Eskasoni.

Key Words: Membertou and Eskasoni in the 1950s; Mi'kmaq language during the potlatch ban; containment on reserves; oral history traditions in Unama'ki; differences between Mi'kmaq and English languages; residential school survival and healing; migrating while working in the trades; revitalizing traditional culture; L'nuk identity; economic successes; Mi'kmaq governance.

Summary:

Clark begins by describing how he was born in Membertou but was brought to live with his grandparents in Eskasoni at 18 months old, living with them until he was 7. When Clark was a child, people used the train station on the other side of the mountain, or primarily walked or rode horses. The only people with larger trucks used them for pulp. Most of the reserve did not have electricity with the exception of the Mounity station, band office, school, church, and a few houses had electricity. Clark recalled how he grew up eating fresh caught animals, fish and vegetables that they grew themselves. His grandfather was a trapper and a woodworker who cut trees for pulp in the summertime. Clark's grandfather spoke Mi'kmaw to him, even though it was illegal, and he had to get a translator when he spoke to relatives in Membertou because they spoke English. Clark discusses how approaches to the language have changed drastically in his life time, and how Mi'kmaq language differs from English as a verb and adverb and more nuanced language. When he was a child, people did ceremony in secret, integrating it discreetly into other tasks like building a house. Indian Agents used to give people passes or letters granting them permission to leave the reserve as if they were prisoners in their own land, and an Indian Agent even sold a large portion of Eskasoni illegally. He shares how his great aunt told him oral histories speaking in such detail that it was as if she had been there while recalling the feasts and treaty with the Mohawk, pre-contact times and pirates. Clark described going to residential school at age 7, and how he had thought most of the people in the area were L'nus and was shocked to see so many white people. He details some of the conditions that him and other survivors experienced including child labour, abuse, and feeling full of hate and how he has worked with other survivors as a cultural support for residential school survivors. When Clark returned home he went to live with his mother in New York working in the boiler maker trade while living in the Bronx and having his first child at the age of 14. When Clark returned to Eskasoni in 1970-71, he found very little work and left again spending years working around New Orleans, Boston, and New York as a boiler maker, before returning again in the 1980s. Clark described moving back in the 1980s, working as a tradesman for the Canadian coast guard, who were impressed by his previous work boiler making and working on oil rigs. After three years, he became injured and finished his contract and returned to Membertou. Clark was urged to go back to school, so he got a degree in linguistics and history, and ended up living in Eskasoni. Clark describes how he focused on traditional culture, and ended up becoming the only pipe carrier in Membertou, after his fasting ceremony in 1987. Clark describes how people resisted traditionalism when he started doing ceremonies, and how it only made him redouble his efforts. Things have changed for the better, but there is still tension between the Christian tradition and L'nuk traditionalism. Clark discusses his work as a traditional teacher at a youth center, correctional institutions, serving as a crisis worker and working in schools, and how he has continued his role as a pipe carrier even while battling cancer. He discusses how things have transformed since he was a child, when Membertou was treated as being outside of Canada and Indigeneity was treated as something to be ashamed of, to the recent history of Membertou's success in bridging native and non-native peoples through Terry Paul. Clark ends by sharing his belief that he is a citizen of Mi'kma'ki, and perhaps of all North America, and discusses how traditional governance is struggling and the current state of the grand council.

Lindsay Paul (b. 1956) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (50 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 25, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Lindsay Paul is a cultural educator and previous band council, policeman, and tradesworker from Eskasoni.

Key Words: Post-1950s Eskasoni; traditional subsistence; intergenerational impacts of residential school; racial segregation between towns and reserves in the 1960s-70s; Indian Day School; L'nuk identity; experiences in Indigenous policing; grief from losing a child; limitations put on band councils; current needs in Eskasoni; impacts of alcohol prohibition; inadequate resources

Summary:

Lindsay describes life in the 1950s and early 1960s in Eskasoni. As one of 11 children in his family, Lindsay played in the woods, and would go hunting, fishing, help pick crops, or collect firewood for his family. Lindsay's father was from Chapel Island and worked for the government driving a bulldozer and worked as a lumberer and manager of pulp boats. His mother was from Whycagomah and they met in Eskasoni after centralization. Lindsay describes being the child of a residential school survivor and experiencing abuse in his house. His father also had TB and relied on Lindsay and his brothers helping out with work. Lindsay described how his father would pay his friends with alcohol to do work, and how the majority of the community drank when he was growing up. He notes that in spite of the drinking in his home, he never had a lack of food or clothing, and he also spent time trapping and hunting before running away at age 14. Lindsay also describes abuses within the Indian Day School (physical abuse, lack of good food, emotional abuse), as well as having to pledge allegiance to the queen and pray, and how he ended up going to Eastbay for middle school and got into fights with racists and felt disconnected from his culture at school. Lindsay stated that he was not taught about treaties or the true history of Mi'kma'ki in school. Reflecting on the current ways that Canada claims the Mi'kmaq as citizens, Lindsay describes how there was no sense of being included in Canada, or being Canadian when he was growing up and how he was generally referred to by non-natives with slurs. Lindsay notes that the only white person he saw on reserve growing up was a friend of his father who used to come to have parties at his house every once and a while. Otherwise, he didn't see white people on the reserve growing up except for Indian agents and salesmen at the band office. Even as an adult, Lindsay didn't talk to non-natives except in his roles as a cop and band councillor. Lindsay describes working from an early age in the woods, on the pulp boats, in construction and at an oyster farm. Lindsay shares how he ended up being a police man in the community for 6 years, and how hard it was to deal with conflicts with his own people. He shares how he had to leave the force to deal with the trauma of losing his firstborn daughter who passed away suddenly in her sleep at age 8 and how this caused a temporary breakdown in his relationship with his wife. Lindsay describes overcoming alcoholism and suicidal ideation during that time period, and how he still deals with his grief after 27 years of sobriety. Lindsay also shares his experiences working as a band councillor for 22 years, helping to fix people's homes and working in local governance, and how things changed in the community through the 1980s and 1990s. Lindsay describes how the population grew from being a reserve on the main road to including subdivisions and different neighbourhoods and how this led to opposite ends of the reserve having neighbourhood gangs and conflict with each other. In spite of this, he notes that he has been able to go to all of the neighbourhoods without any difficulty because people know him. He discusses how he believes the prohibition of alcohol on the reserve has led to worse addiction issues, and how through his experience as a band councillor he found out how chronically underfunded Eskasoni is, with fund increases that are extremely disproportionate to population growth. He also briefly discusses the type of welfare system available to the Mi'kmaq, providing only \$320 per month to adults.

Vivian Paul (nee Young) (b. 1960) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (49 Minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 25, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Vivian is a homecare worker from Eskasoni

Key Words: Post-centralization Eskasoni; traditional foodways; migrant/seasonal work; mixed-community (settler/L'nu) schools; working with seniors; Mi'kmaq language; experiences with her children; concerns around resources for youth (recreation, opportunities for advancement, Jordan's principle).

Summary:

Vivian's parents were moved to Eskasoni via centralization. Growing up in Eskasoni in the 1960s, Vivian was one of 13 siblings. When Vivian was a child she found people spent more time outside. Vivian's father was a veteran, and owned a mill in Whycogomah. Her family never took welfare and instead did many different types of work to survive including: growing their own food in gardens, making Christmas wreaths, peeling wood for pulp, hunting muskrats, selling fur, blueberry picking, potato picking, and basket weaving. Travelling for seasonal work, Vivian attended school only when they returned to Eskasoni, usually around Thanksgiving. Getting to school was a 5km walk each way at her first school, then in another school where she took a school bus, the roads sometimes got too icy to drive in to pick her up. Eventually Vivian moved to 74 street which was closer to her school. Vivian described how everyone used to drink, and how white people or paler natives would often buy the liquor for the reserve. In some cases, people agreed to give up their status in exchange for support in moving to Boston, others lost their status marrying white people. Vivian remembered how her brother, Tuma Young, who became the first Mi'kmaw lawyer, used to read all of their encyclopedias at an early age, while waiting for a turn to play Pong. She recalled how the older siblings would run a lottery to see what chores they did, and would play a trick on them by pretending to randomly pick the papers that said they got to be the boss every time. Vivian didn't speak English when she went to school and had to rely on her older siblings for help. After moving to 74 street, the older siblings moved away, and her mom and dad would drop off a month's worth of groceries and leave them to fend for themselves when they went to Mala. Vivian remembers going there and ice fishing, trapping, travelling across the ice in a truck to go to the store. In middle school, Vivian attended East Bay Jr. High and the school was divided (half white and half L'nu). Indigenous families paid more tuition than the white families, and retired Indian agents often worked as teachers. Later, Vivian started a family with Lindsay, and they moved into Lindsay's grandmother's where she took over doing the homecare for her. Vivian has been a homecare worker for 40 years since then, and cares for Elders, many of whom rely on Vivian to translate with their doctors because they have lost their ability to speak English when they are in pain or suffering from illnesses like dementia. She also shared how this same thing happens when people drink or when they become upset sometimes, because people think in Mi'kmaw. Vivian only allows Mi'kmaw in her house, to encourage language use by her grandchildren. Three of Vivian and Lindsay's kids are in jail, one for selling drugs in Membertou where he lived, and two for getting into a fight in Whycogamah and being charged with attempted murder (though she notes that these charges don't make sense given the lack of injuries that were found on the guy they fought). Another one of her children is a carpenter and her daughter runs the local pizza shop. For Vivian the biggest issue in Eskasoni was drugs, and she discusses how this is related to prohibition rules, boredom, lack of opportunity/funding, and the desire to escape poverty. Even Jordan's Principle funding hadn't become accessible until 2019 in Eskasoni. She notes that Goat Island also relies on precarious funding, and Sandra's (the manager's) knowledge about how to apply for more. There is a lack of volunteers for things like coaching, and wealthier communities like Membertou often recruit sports players from Eskasoni. Vivian also mentioned that a lot of people believe that getting rid of the anglaises and going back to traditional ways is the answer, but she doesn't believe that will ever happen.

Robert "Bobby" K. Stevens (b. 1966) From Eskasoni, Unama'ki (50 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 28, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Robert is a cultural educator and tour guide from Eskasoni

Key Words: Religion in the late 1960s in Eskasoni; Indian Day School; Mi'kmaq identity; travelling to Ontario (life at Kettle and Stony Point); connection to language and land; returning to Mi'kma'ki; experiences of fatherhood; working at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys; Mi'kmaq cultural knowledge as a resource for survival.

Summary:

Robert described feeling loved and even spoiled by his parents growing up. His father was in the Mi'kmaq Grand Council, and worked in the trades, and his mother was a stay at home mom. Robert described growing up as one of nine siblings in a devoutly Catholic home, and that his parents were close friends with the local fathers (Father Martin and Father Holly). His parents both spoke Mi'kmaq fluently and Robert had no trouble picking up English in school. Robert described them as always sober, and very loving people. Growing up in Eskasoni, Robert didn't have a sense that he was in Canada, or was a Canadian, and describes how he only began learning about Canadians about 20 years ago. He remembers being L'nu, surrounded by his people, on Mi'kmaq land and thinking the entire country was Mi'kma'ki. When it came to voting in Canadian elections, Robert and his siblings would turn to his father for advice. Robert describes some of the abusive conditions he experienced in Indian Day School, including being hit with a belt, and being left in a closet. He also recalls how the towns were known as being racist against natives when he was growing up, but repeatedly emphasizes personal responsibility and the fact that even in cases like abuse at the hands of the church, it was humans who made the mistakes that he hopes will never happen again. Robert's oral history also emphasizes this point through describing how he had to grow after becoming more rude parents as things got worse at school, and getting into more trouble after grade 7, before leaving for Ontario when he was 18.

Reflecting on the lasting impact the 20 years he spent in Ontario had on him, Robert noted that he learned a lot spending time at Kettle and Stony Point First Nation and during his marriage to Chief Elizabeth Stevens. Even though Robert remembers his time with the Chippewas and travelling with his wife as being really positive, he also recalls how he had recurring dreams about being home in Eskasoni, and used to speak Mi'kmaq in his sleep. Robert shared how being surrounded by people who did not speak Mi'kmaq helped to increase his proficiency in English but was hard on him as someone who thinks in Mi'kmaq and who missed speaking his language.

Robert describes the relief he had coming home to Eskasoni, and how things had changed a lot. He describes getting involved with the community through music and sports, and was able to focus on family. Robert's oral history also talks about the ways that sobriety has transformed his life, and how his own focus on self-improvement has led to him being able to focus on working and providing for his partner and his child. Describing how things have changed since he has been back, he describes how differently paced life is in Eskasoni now and the changes he has noticed in terms of the churches being more empty now. Robert also lost four family members in recent years and described how in Mi'kmaq there is no word for goodbye and that he believes that there must be more out there spiritually. As part of the band council works program, Robert became involved at Goat Island doing labour, and eventually people got to know the fact that he knew a lot about hunting, fishing, smudging, and Eskasoni, and he got hired on as a guide. Robert shares how the knowledge that is kept alive in his day to day work has been central to the survival of the Mi'kmaq and how he believes that Mi'kmaq knowledge will continue to be key to the survival of all people in Mi'kma'ki. Finally Robert shared his sentiment that people have to come together to learn from mistakes and about what is best for everyone for the benefit of the future generations.

Glynis Sylliboy (b. 1971) from Eskasoni, Unama'ki (25 minutes)

Date and location of recording: October 23, 2019, Eskasoni First Nation, Unama'ki, Mi'kma'ki.

Accessible at: York University Library, other archives TBA

Biographical information: Glynis is a cultural educator from Eskasoni

Key Words: Intergenerational impacts of residential school; Indian Day School; memories of her best friend and husband; recovering as a widow; educational upgrading; life as a single parent; working at Eskasoni Cultural Journeys.

Summary:

Glynis began by describing growing up in a strict household because of her father being a residential school survivor. Her father was a fisherman, and her mother was an adult care worker, she recalls her childhood and how her family had pigs and chickens.

Glynis discusses her experiences attending Indian day school, and how they enforced strict regulations around prayer, the national anthem, and banning the use of Mi'kmaq language. Describing further discrimination in high school in Sydney, Glynis shares her experiences at Riverview and how she had to deal with teachers, and a vice principal, who caused her to end up switching to another school, Holy Angels.

Glynis' oral history describes how her life has been shaped by the positive impact of the long friendship and love that her and the father of her children had, and how difficult it was to overcome the trauma of his sudden death. Glynis describes how they had been friends for years, before being together for 15 years, and how she was able to depend on him as a stay at home mom. Reflecting on how long it took to reconnect socially with people after he passed, she notes that she closed herself off to others except for her mother, while she mourned and had to go through a steep learning curve in order to take on all the parental roles as a single parent.

Glynis describes how as a single parent, she went back to school, to take upgrading, and also got involved in Mi'kmaq language courses so that she could learn how to better pronounce Mi'kmaq words. She shares how during a skills workshop on resumes that was being led by the manager of Eskasoni Cultural Journeys, she got recruited to apply to work at Goat Island, and how the experience of working there has helped her come out of her own isolation.

Glynis reflects on how life has been changing for her over the past few years at Goat Island stating that she went from having difficulty speaking in small classes to easily teaching up to 50 people at a time about traditional foods and making Luskini'kin, and how her work has allowed her to form new friendships and to be more social.

Exploring how mourning is a lifelong process, Glynis describes how she copes with her grief, and how she attempted to go on a coffee date with someone but it only confirmed that she has no desire to be with anyone else now that her children's father has passed away. Finally, she ends her interview briefly discussing how her daughter is about to embark on a new chapter in her life as she is engaged to be married.