

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

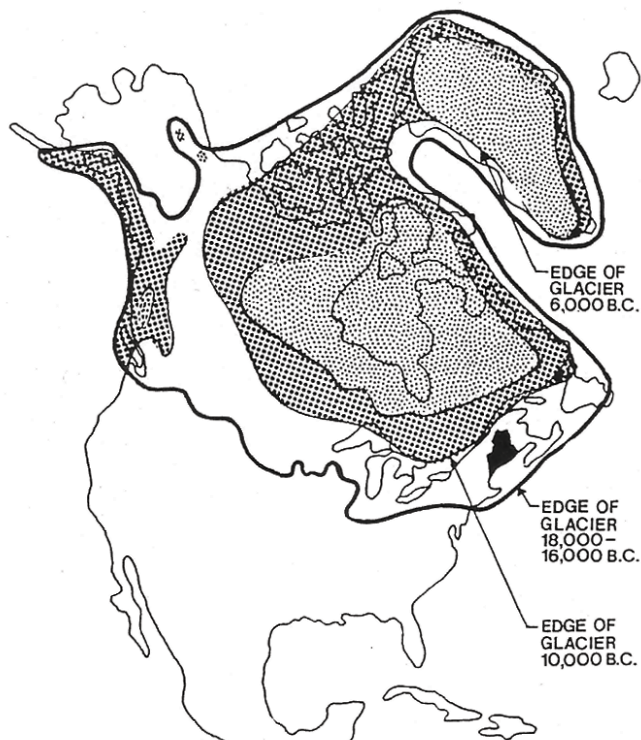
It has been common to think of the Wabanakis in Maine and Maritime Canada as people who lived the same way for thousands of years and who only began to change when Europeans arrived. But the recent work of archaeologists shows clearly that, in the more than eleven thousand years Indians have inhabited Maine and the adjacent regions, there have been enormous changes, and that these changes continued right up to the time when Europeans appeared. It is not true to say that Europeans brought change where there had been none. They brought particular kinds of change that, in many ways, had disastrous consequences for the Wabanakis. But the Wabanakis responded to these changes, as they had to others, with ideas and methods that enabled them to survive.

CHANGES IN CLIMATE AND LIFE

The last glacier to spread over the North American continent was the Wisconsin, which reached its maximum line of advance in the Northeast in the northern part of present-day New Jersey between 18,000 and 16,000 years ago. The Northeast lay under ice that was more than a mile thick. The huge weight of the ice pushed the ground as much as 300 feet below its present-day level. So much ocean water had been trapped in the ice cap that throughout the world sea level dropped 400 feet below what it is now.

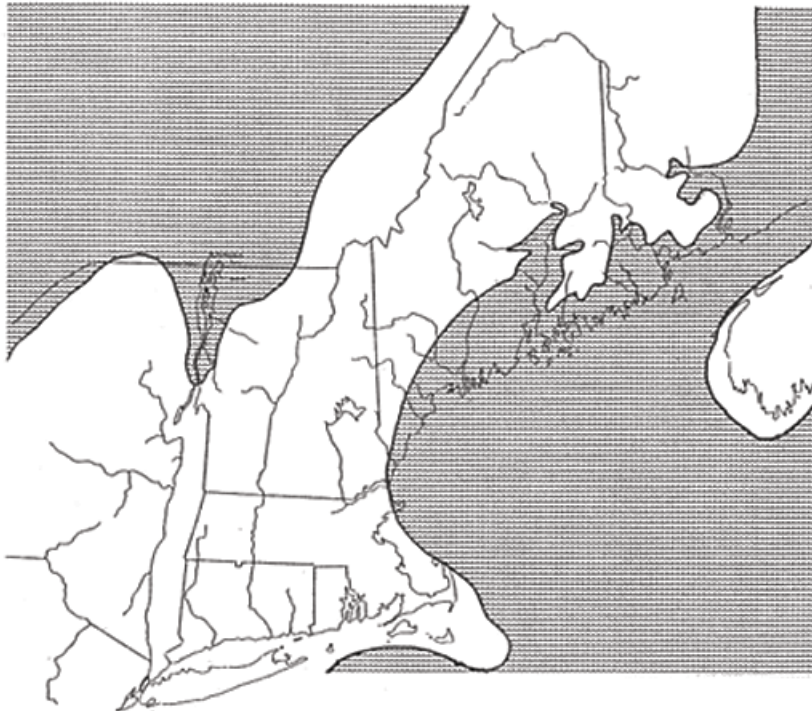
As the glacier retreated northward, the ground began to rebound, and the ocean, swollen with water from the melting ice, began to rise. In Maine and New Brunswick the ground did not bounce back as fast as the ocean rose, and consequently much of the region was flooded by seawater. After more than three thousand years of thaw (about 12,500 years ago), there was salt water in the Penobscot valley as far inland as what is now East Millinocket, and in the Kennebec valley the ocean reached to present-day Bingham. However, the earth's crust continued to bounce back, and the land drained.

As the ice cap shrank, plants that had survived beyond the reach of the ice in the south spread slowly northward behind it. First to arrive were the mosses, lichens, herbs, and shrubs that together



Glaciation. Reprinted, by permission, from Maine Studies Curriculum Project, *Maine Dirigo: "I Lead"*, 1980a.

form tundra. Next came trees. The first people in the area lived in an environment of mixed tundra and trees, but as time went on the tundra was slowly replaced by the new forests. There may have been horses that could be hunted as game, as well as large bears and giant beavers (6.5 feet long), and there were bison, elk, caribou, and muskox. There were probably mammoths or mastodons in this area about 10,000 years ago.



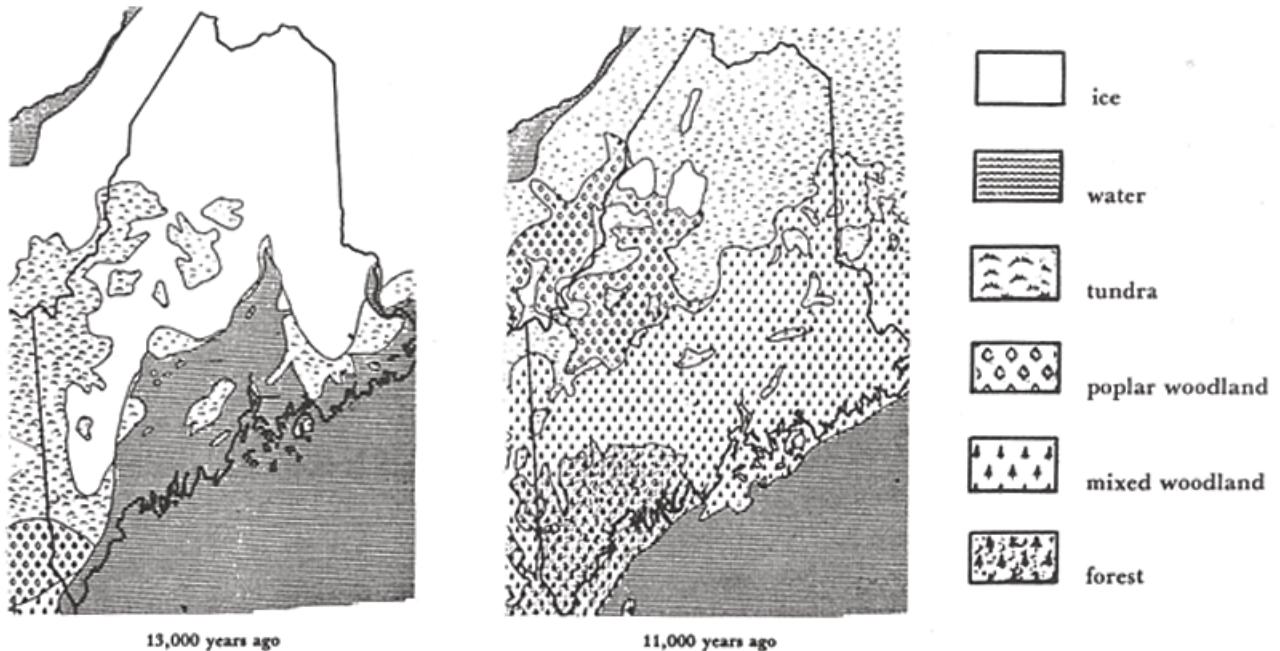
New England at the beginning of the Paleo-Indian period (12,500 B.P.). Vast areas of the continental shelf were still exposed while some northern areas now above sea level were submerged. Reprinted, by permission, from Snow, *The Archaeology of New England*, 1980.

The people were expert hunters and equally expert in the manufacture of their hunting equipment. They manufactured spear points from chert to penetrate deeply into an animal. These points were mounted on the ends of shafts to form lances, for use at close range, and spears, which probably were thrown with spear throwers to gain more velocity, distance, and penetration. (The bow and arrow had not yet been invented.) "The skill and care [the spear points] represent were only rarely equaled in other times and other places in the prehistoric world.... Their high standards are reflected in the large percentage of points that were broken or rejected during manufacture. Fewer than half the points uncovered on the Debert

site [in Nova Scotia, dated 10,500 years ago] were completed and used." (Snow: 1980) They also manufactured knives, perforators, drills, awls, scrapers, and spokeshaves for use in the working of bone, antler, wood, and ivory.

The large bears and beavers, as well as horses and mammoths (if there were any), and a variety of other animals and birds, eventually became extinct. No one knows why. It may have been due to changes in climate and environment or to unknown diseases. The pressure of hunters on the game populations may have been a factor. In any case, people who had hunted these animals had to adapt to their environment in new ways in order to survive.

The trend was toward an increasingly intensive exploitation of more localized resources, particularly along the coast. People harvested shellfish (common clams, mussels, oysters, quahogs) that lay in the tidal flats. They speared seals and walrus and snared shore birds. And it is possible, although we do not know this for certain, that they went to sea in dugout canoes to hunt swordfish, whales, and porpoises. In the spring they caught fish when they swam upriver to spawn. Inland, they hunted caribou, moose, deer, bear, and beaver.



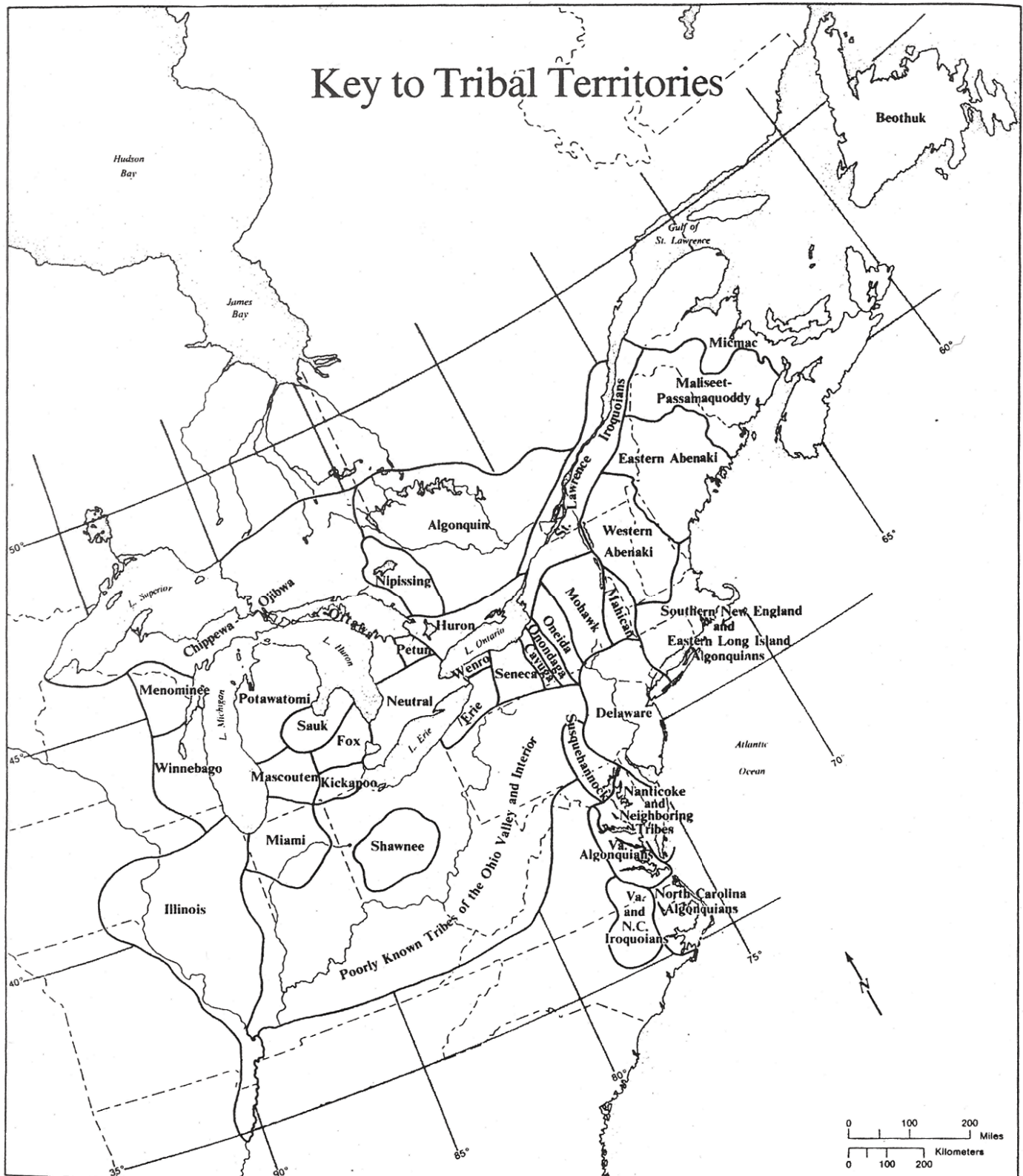
Reprinted, by permission, from Carole J. Bombard, "A Temporal Vegetational Continuum: from Tundra to Forest," in *Explorations*, v. 1(2), April 1985: 18-21.

Ease and rapidity of movement were important, so that through seasonal migration both the coastal and inland environments could be utilized. Movement was enhanced by the development of the birchbark canoe, which was fast, resilient, and light to carry, and the snowshoe, which enabled hunters to move quickly across deep snow in pursuit of large animals such as moose, which floundered in it.

Beginning about twenty-five hundred years ago, pottery was introduced or invented, and it was during this period that sunken houses were built along the coast for virtual year-round residence. One house style was oval, between 10 and 12 feet across, with a floor that was level or sunk into the ground to depths of between 4 and 24 inches. Often floors were covered with fine beach gravel and then with woven boughs. Hearths were placed inside near the entrances. There were benches along the walls. The dwellings were probably sunk into the ground for protection from wind and cold. It is likely that people spent fall, winter, and spring in these houses and that in the summer, while some stayed at the coast, others went inland to take salmon, shad, alewife, and eel on the rivers and streams. It is also possible that during this period there were people in permanent residence in the interior as well as at the coast and that they exchanged tools and food through trade, so that inland and coastal environments could be exploited without seasonal movement from one to the other.

WABANAKI SOCIETY 400 YEARS AGO

Throughout the sixteenth century there were Basque, Breton, Norman, Spanish, Portuguese, and English fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but it was not until the first years of the seventeenth century that Europeans came to live in Wabanaki territory year-round. It is from this



This map is a diagrammatic guide...rather than an authoritative depiction of tribal ranges. Sharp boundaries have been drawn and no territory is unassigned. Tribal units are sometimes arbitrarily defined, subdivisions are not mapped, no joint or disputed occupations are shown, and different kinds of land use are not distinguished. Since the map depicts the situation at the earliest periods for which evidence is available, the ranges mapped for different tribes often refer to quite different periods, and there may have been many intervening movements, extinctions, and changes in range. Boundaries in the western half of the area are especially tentative for these early dates.... Not shown are groups that came into separate political existence later than the map period for their areas. Map and caption reprinted, by permission, from Snow, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 1978a.

time that we find written accounts of what Wabanaki societies were like as the first dramatic changes began to occur in response to the Europeans.

An estimate of Wabanaki population in 1600 A.D. can only be very rough, but the available evidence suggests about 32,000 people in Maine and New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia. Villages ranged in size from a half-dozen houses to over a hundred, and they were built at the coast, along the estuaries of rivers, and near lakes, rivers, and streams. People moved to the coast or inland according to the season and the foods that were available. Waterways were the people's major roads. Parked on the banks of villages, frequently, were dozens of canoes. Houses were wigwams framed with saplings and covered with bark or woven mats.

A French priest, Father Pierre Biard, who lived among the Wabanakis from 1611-1613, described how Micmacs and Maliseets appeared to him and how they got their living.

They have no beards, the men no more than the women.... They have often told me that at first we seemed to them very ugly with hair both upon our mouths and heads; but gradually they have become accustomed to it, and now we are beginning to look less deformed. You could not distinguish the young men from the girls, except in their way of wearing their belts. For the women are girdled both above and below the stomach, and are less nude than the men; also they are usually more ornamented.... Their food is whatever they can get from the chase and from fishing; for they do not till the soil at all.... In the month of February and until the middle of March, is the great hunt for beavers, otters, moose, bears (which are very good), and for the caribou, an animal half ass and half deer. If the weather then is favorable, they live in great abundance, and are as haughty as Princes and Kings; but if it is against them, they are greatly to be pitied, and often die of starvation.... In the middle of March, fish begin to spawn, and to come up from the sea into certain streams, often so abundantly that everything swarms with them.... From the month of May up to the middle of September, they are free from all anxiety about their food; for the cod are upon the coast, and all kinds of fish and shellfish.... In the middle of September [they] withdraw from the sea, beyond the reach of the tide, to the little rivers, where the eels spawn, of which they lay in a supply; they are good and fat. In October and November comes the second hunt for elks [moose] and beavers. (Jesuits: 1959)

The priest neglected to mention the birds (and birds' eggs) that could be taken and eaten, such as Canada geese, loons, ducks, brants, and mourning doves; and the raspberries, strawberries, blueberries, and nuts; and the walrus, seals, whales, and porpoises that could be hunted. There was some agriculture practiced in Maine but nowhere did Wabanakis rely upon it, because the growing season was too short. Where they did practice it, they grew corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco for their pipes.

As the priest observed, the most precarious time of the year was in February and March. By then, food that had been stored in bark-lined cellars might be gone. If deep snow remained on the ground, hunters could track large animals and pursue them on snowshoes, which gave them an advantage, but if there were little snow or none, people might go hungry. They could go for eight or ten days without food and expect to survive, and in fact they survived winter better than the early European colonists, who relied on agriculture and food storage far more than the Wabanakis. So the

six weeks of February and early March might be lean times or might be fat ones, but the rest of the year was certainly a time of plenty.

Given the vast land area they lived in, Wabanaki populations were not large (e.g. roughly 41 persons per 100 square miles in Maine), and therefore the pressure they exerted on the environment through manufacturing tools and getting a living was not great. The rich natural environment remained rich. The Wabanaki people were careful to maintain an ecological balance. Throughout most of the year and often throughout the entire year, there was more than enough.

There was virtually nothing the Wabanakis wanted that they could not have, and have in abundance.¹ This means that, in a very real sense, they were rich. Father Biard said that "Never had Solomon his mansion better regulated and provided with food.... In order to thoroughly enjoy this, their lot, our foresters start off to their different places with as much pleasure as if they were going on a stroll or an excursion...for their days are all nothing but pastime. They are never in a hurry. Quite different from us, who can never do anything without hurry and worry." (Jesuits: 1959) Nothing but pastime -- without doubt an exaggeration, for Indian men and women did work to survive. But the point remains: work did not dominate their lives as it did the lives of the French then, and many of ours now, and yet they had all that they wanted.

Their success was expressed in many ways: in their unhurried pace and leisure time; in the elaborate decorative work they had time to do on clothes and utensils; in the lavishness of their burials; in the exchanges of gifts among leaders; in the emphasis they placed on cooperation and the sharing of possessions; and in the cooperation they experienced between people, animals, and the spirits of animals, such that their abundance endured. Here is a description by Biard, for example, of a Micmac burial.

They swathe the body and tie it up in skins; not length-wise, but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees, as we are in our mother's womb. Afterwards they put it in the grave which has been made very deep, not upon the back or lying down as we do, but sitting.... When the body is placed, as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb.... If it is a man, they place there as a sign and emblem, his bow, arrows, and shield; if a woman, spoons, jewels, ornaments, etc. I have nearly forgotten the most beautiful part of all; it is that they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins, and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten [at the funeral ceremony]. Moreover, the survivors add to these a number of other offerings, as tokens of friendship. (Jesuits: 1959)

Later, after the Wabanakis had begun to trade with Europeans, other observers noted that the grave of a man might contain his gun, powder, shot, his bowl and kettle, his snowshoes, and

¹In addition to that which the local environment provided, Wabanakis were part of a centuries-old trade network. For example, people who had garden vegetables often traded with people farther north who didn't, and items such as arrowheads sometimes came from as far away as Labrador or Ohio.

valuable furs; and that a woman's grave contained her axe, knife, blanket, bead necklaces, the tools she used to decorate clothes, and her needles for the manufacture of birchbark canoes and snowshoes. It was the spirits of these things that went to the other world.

The Wabanakis did not hope that the deceased had left these things to them as part of his or her will, but believed that it was the dead person, in fact, who needed them. These customs show their willingness to share possessions, and that their concern for others extended even to their welfare after they were dead.

There was abundance. There was also movement. There was a limit to what they wanted to possess, not only because they could fairly easily find it and replace it, but also because there was a limit to what they could carry. Wealth, as it is often conceived – the accumulation of things – was to them, or would have been, a positive hindrance. The value of objects, therefore, was measured by very different standards, and real wealth in their terms – that is to say, something that could be usefully accumulated – was not in things but in spiritual wealth, as well as in relationships of trust among people. One could acquire more and more of these relationships, and usefully so; and relationships did not have to be carried from place to place like a weight. They were created and maintained through the routine sharing of food and possessions, through feasts, exchanges of gifts, and through marriages. The larger a person's network of family and friends, the greater number of people that could be counted on to rally around, whether to share food when times were lean, to go to war, to prepare feasts, to lavish presents on allies, or to support decisions.

The Wabanakis' proverbial concern for others, for close families and cooperation in extended families, for sharing and harmony, operated usefully in the real world that was theirs. Europeans noted these things. They marveled sometimes at the Wabanakis' lack of possessiveness, at their willingness to share whatever they had. Father Chrestien Le Clercq wrote down what he saw:

I should consider these Indians incomparably more fortunate than ourselves... for, after all, their lives are not vexed by a thousand annoyances as are ours. They have not among them those situations or offices, whether in the judiciary or in war, which are sought among us with so much ambition. Possessing nothing of their own, they are consequently free from trickery and legal proceedings in connection with inheritances from their relatives. The names of serjeant, or attorney, of clerk, of judge, of president are unknown to them. All their ambition centres in surprising and killing quantities of beavers, moose, seals, and other wild beasts in order to obtain their flesh for food and their skins for clothing. They mutually aid one another in their needs with much charity and without selfseeking. There is a continual joy in their wigwams. The multitude of their children does not embarrass them, for, far from being annoyed by these, they consider themselves just that much the more fortunate and richer as their family is more numerous. (Le Clercq: 1910)

EUROPEAN CONTACT

The way of life that had been developed by the time of European contact began to change in response to the presence of European fishing crews, traders, and settlers. At first it changed slowly through the fur trade.

In Europe and Asia, for part of the sixteenth and all of the seventeenth centuries, there was an insatiable demand for furs for clothing and particularly for beaver pelts to make felt hats; in consequence, beavers in Europe had all but disappeared. Wabanakis wanted the iron and copper wares, iron arrowheads and spearheads, guns, and ammunition that the Europeans could provide. No doubt they had decided in favor of these things for the same reasons that they had earlier developed the birchbark technology -- because they were easy to carry, resilient, and efficient to use. Thus an extensive trade grew up, which made Wabanakis part of an international market system and which put a price on utensils, weapons, and animals where before there had been none.

The rule of abundance no longer applied. This was because the woods in Maine and the Maritimes had become part of the large European market. Once there had been more than enough animals; now there were too few, in the face of that market's demand for more pelts than there were beavers (and other animals). The Wabanakis hunted them more intensively to supply the market. Their attention was drawn away from their subsistence activities to some degree, and they came to rely on Europeans for parts of their diet. In a sense, they had no choice. Europeans also hunted these animals, and the record shows that they did so without regard for conservation or the importance of the animals to Wabanaki livelihood. If Wabanakis had not supplied furs for the trade, Europeans would have pursued them more relentlessly, and more destructively, on their own. Wabanakis sold furs for profit, it is true, but it is also possible they did it for their own protection.

Often, in exchange for furs, the Europeans traded liquor. Before contact with the Europeans there had been no alcohol -- and no alcoholism -- in the Wabanaki communities, but with the advent of the fur trade alcoholism became a problem. When European traders saw the effects alcohol had, some of them curtailed its sale, but others promoted it. Later, some English negotiators were known to try to get Wabanaki delegates drunk before they signed treaties with them. From the earliest years, the trade in liquor resulted in waste and impoverishment as well as disrespect and violence in communities where people normally treated one another with the utmost care. A French priest noted that the traders watered down their brandy but charged the same for it, "and they still make the Indians drunk by these mixed liquors, thus rendering themselves, by this miserable kind of trading, the masters not only of the furs of the Indians, but also of their blankets, guns, axes, kettles, etc., which the traders have sold them at a very dear price.... Injuries, quarrels, homicides, murders, parricides are to this day the sad consequences of the trade in brandy." (Le Clercq: 1910) Over the years the infamous trade in rum, brandy, and other alcoholic beverages slowly ate away at Wabanaki communities.

The second change that occurred was sudden and catastrophic. With the first epidemics, beginning in Nova Scotia in the late 1500s and in Maine in 1616, diseases common in Europe began to sweep through Wabanaki villages. Europeans had observed Wabanakis to be healthy and strong, which they were; but by virtue of their isolation from Europe there had never been opportunities for them to acquire immunities to diseases that had ravaged Europeans in previous centuries. This included measles and chicken pox, which today are usually considered minor because of acquired immunities passed from mother to child. Also present were pneumonia, influenza, typhus, yellow fever, hepatitis, dysentery, plague, and smallpox. Farther south, in Massachusetts, the death rate was as high as 90 and 95 percent. Among Wabanakis, lower population densities and sparser settlement

patterns slowed the rates at which the diseases spread but also lengthened the time during which they were a serious threat. There was a disaster of enormous proportions: between two-thirds and three-quarters of the Wabanakis died. In the space of a few years a population of 20,000 in Maine and western New Brunswick had been reduced to about 5,500. Entire families and villages were destroyed. Alliances that had been laboriously created over the years among leaders and communities were eroded, or disappeared. Wabanaki curers, or shamans, were discredited because their expertise was of little use against the new sicknesses, which claimed them as victims, too. Because the shamans were often leaders in the Wabanaki bands, this meant that as their authority waned the traditional leadership structure was undermined at the same time. Disease influenced politics: it reached into every corner of Indian life.

The Europeans knew no better than the shamans how to combat the diseases, but due to their acquired immunities, they simply outlived them. Wabanakis died in droves, despite their best efforts, while the missionaries and traders among them usually remained untouched. Neither side had available to them a modern theory of medicine that could explain how the diseases spread and why Wabanakis and other Indians were so vulnerable. Yet, of necessity, Wabanakis wondered why. In their view, if a person were sick it meant that he or she had acted carelessly or disrespectfully and had offended another being. The insult had been avenged by intrusion of an angry spirit into the patient's body. A spirit could have done this on its own, or an offended person might have used it for this purpose. In this view, health hinged upon the care with which a person treated others, human and nonhuman. Disease was a kind of punishment for wrong. But how were they at fault? When the epidemics struck, the missionaries tried to provide the answer: Wabanakis were at fault because they did not believe in the Christian god. The missionaries also considered sickness and cure as divinely caused, and in their view they did not die because their Christian god protected them. On the basis of their own ideas of sickness, Indians had to wonder: did the god of the missionaries have more power to make them sick and to protect them than the spirits the shamans knew? Some of them believed so, based on the terrible evidence before their eyes. Some converted to Catholicism; eventually, most of them would. In some Indian communities shamans were replaced by missionaries, who were eager to expand their influence. We have a report of the situation along the Kennebec River in the middle of the seventeenth century, where the epidemics were still rampant, more than thirty years after they had begun.



A priest and a shaman. Reprinted, by permission, from Leavitt, *The Micmacs*, 1985.

It must certainly be [the Indians said] that this God is good and very powerful, since he has taken from this [priest] the fear of the most contagious diseases, and has given him safety against the threats of our shamans and the malice of their charms, at which he mocks. (Jesuits: 1959)

It is true that all the [shamans] now acknowledge their weakness, and the power of Jesus -- some even inviting the Father into their cabins, and treating him with high honor. The most noted and the most feared of their number, named *Aranbinau*, -- who had, in time past, raised his hatchet against the Father to kill him, upon finding him catechizing a nephew of his, -- has shown himself so docile to the Father's words that he now makes profession of having him as an intimate friend. (Jesuits: 1959)

The epidemics had turned a world upside-down. To say that the result was social disorganization does not do justice to the despair and confusion and grief that were experienced.

THE ENVIRONMENT CHANGES

Another major change occurred very gradually over a period of two hundred years, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. As European colonists settled the coast and later moved up the river valleys to harvest timber and to farm, the uses to which the land was put began to change, and consequently the nature of the land, the very composition of the environment, was altered. This occurred first in southern Maine and eventually throughout Maine and the Maritimes. These environmental changes were as dramatic and as far-reaching in their consequences for the Wabanakis as any that had occurred in the previous 12,000 years.

The ancient forest was cut down. In process of formation for 10,000 years, in the space of just two hundred years it was gone. New trees grew up in its place in some areas, but often they were neither the same species nor as extensive, and they did not provide the same habitats for animals as the old forest had done. White pine trees that towered over the forest more than two hundred feet above the ground were taken for ships' masts. Oaks and cedars were used for firewood, houses, and industry. Many timber products were shipped to England for profit. The lumberers cut as if the supply would never run out. In fact, white pine and cedar were not abundant in New England and were soon used up, and it became necessary to go farther and farther north to find them. The first sawmills in Maine were built as early as the 1630s. By 1682 there were twenty-four of them in the region of Portland, Wells, and Kittery, cutting softwoods for the most part since these, unlike the denser hardwoods, could be floated down streams and rivers to the coast.

Often dams were built on streams and rivers to produce the waterpower necessary to run sawmills and gristmills. The dams prevented the great spawning migrations of fish up the rivers. These fish runs were an important source of food for Wabanakis, a source which became ever more important as Wabanaki use of the coast was increasingly blocked by European settlement. Over and over Wabanakis complained about the dams, but to no avail. By the mid-nineteenth century the industry had moved farther north and east in pursuit of the vanishing forest, and at that time along the Penobscot River alone there were some 250 sawmills; similar patterns appeared at the same time in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Yet lumberers cut fewer trees than farmers, who cleared large areas to plant their crops and graze their cattle. Sometimes they left the dead trees to rot. Sometimes the trees were burned and their ashes were used for fertilizer. Trees were cut to build rail fences. Trees were cut to be burned in open fireplaces to heat houses that consumed between thirty and forty cords a year.

Farmers understood that different trees grew in different types of soil. Maple, ash, and beech indicated, for instance, a rich black humus underneath, so they were cut first. While it was true that trees were a product of the soil, what the farmers did not understand was that the soil was also a product of the trees. A forest produces nutrients. It moderates extremes of heat and cold and the effects of wind. It retains snow cover; consequently, frost does not penetrate the ground so deeply, which means that water from snowmelt and rain can be absorbed over longer periods of time. It retains rainwater in its roots and canopy, which reduces erosion and floods and permits streams and ponds to remain at more constant levels throughout the year.

In Maine, and throughout New England and the Maritimes, where the forest was cleared the land became "sunnier, windier, hotter, colder, and drier." (Cronon: 1983) Some streams and ponds dried up for parts of the year. Increased erosion caused others to fill in with sediment as much as five times as rapidly as before, until eventually some of them disappeared. The water table dropped. The soil became drier, poorer. Crops and other vegetation suffered.

On the heels of the vanishing forest came farm animals. Both Wabanakis and Europeans relied heavily on animals, but not on the same ones, and that difference alone was to be of enormous importance.

In the fall and winter Wabanakis depended on moose, bear, caribou, deer, and beaver. These animals were wild, they roamed over large areas, they could not be taken with certainty. When they were taken (in the Wabanaki view) it was because they had offered themselves so that people could live, and this signified that cooperation existed between the hunters and the spirits of the animals. The animals had an independent existence; when they entered into a relationship with the hunters that turned to the advantage of the hunters, it was out of an entirely free choice. The natural world, like the world of Wabanaki families and communities, was based on relationships of trust. One could not, in any sense, own or possess these animals; one could only enter into a relationship with them which, like others of its kind, could be maintained or broken by the ways in which one behaved. Thus there were rules about how these animals could be used, what was to be done with their bones, and so on -- these were ways in which respect was paid.

Hogs and cows, sheep and horses, on the other hand, did not have spirits, they had owners. Even when they grazed together in common herds in open fields or the woods, they belonged to somebody, never to themselves. "The notch in its ear or the brand on its flanks signified to the colonists that no one other than its owner had the right to kill or convey rights to it." (Cronon: 1983) They were herded and slaughtered as it suited the farmers, who depended on them, not just in the fall and winter, but year-round. At first, conflict between English settlers and Wabanakis arose as the cattle trampled unfenced Wabanaki cornfields. The settlers could not control their cattle, and yet would not permit the Wabanakis to shoot them. Eventually, as the English settlements grew, the

English settlers began to exercise more control over their cattle. Thus, fences -- miles and miles of rail and stone fences -- began to divide and bound the land. They were there to keep the animals in and, of course, others out. Fences signified what farmers assumed -- that animals and land inside the fences were their sole and exclusive possession. No one else had a right to use them. This was an assumption Wabanakis had never made, about the animals or the land, when they had freely shared use of them with the first European settlers.

The farm animals themselves became a reason for European expansion. By virtue of their great numbers, they required huge areas for their survival, and in fact they "required more land than all other agricultural activities put together. In a typical town, the land allocated to them was from two to ten times greater than that used for tillage." (Cronon: 1983) Areas that had once supported more Wabanakis than there were now Europeans came to seem too constricted because there were too many animals. More forest had to be cleared. The animals tramped and compacted the soil, and it became less absorbent and less fertile. They ate the sprouts of trees that tried to grow back. There was more erosion. The nutrients in the soil were soon carried off and used up, and farmers had to clear more land in order to get the yields they needed.

As in the case of lumbering, French, English, and later, American expansionism in the procurement of land for agriculture had far less to do with the pressure of numbers of people than with the dynamics created by their methods of subsistence, methods which, while exploiting the environment, significantly altered it. It had appeared at first that the land which supplied Wabanakis with abundance would also permit European settlers to become rich; and some did. But in the process they made the land poorer and, in effect, just by the way they used it they took it away.

WABANAKI GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

An environment that Wabanakis had used for thousands of years was transformed in a short period of time. Their livelihood was taken from them. In the face of such a catastrophe, they created a politics and diplomacy that they used to survive as a separate people with a separate identity. The basis for this achievement already existed in the Wabanaki societies that the Europeans encountered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Wabanaki government then was based on the family. At minimum, a family consisted of mother and father and children. Once a couple had children, the marriage bond was very strong. "It can be said with truth," wrote LeClercq (1910) about the Micmacs, "that the children are then the indissoluble bonds, and the confirmation, of the marriage of their father and mother, who keep faithful company without ever separating, and who live



Double-curve design with political symbolism.
Reprinted, by permission, from Penobscot Man:
The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank
G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

in so great a union with one another, that they seem not to have more than a single heart and a single will. They are very fond of one another, and they agree remarkably well. You never see quarrels, hatred, or reproaches among them." The family might also be joined in its wigwam by grandparents and brothers or sisters of one of the parents, cousins, or others.

Often two brothers or two sisters and their families would share a wigwam or a summer or winter camp. The larger villages, like the camps, were formed on the basis of marriage and extended-family relationships to brothers and sisters, first, second, and third cousins and their families, nephews, nieces, and so on. The size of camps and villages was fluid; they could form into larger units almost as easily as they could separate into smaller ones. They changed from season to season and year to year. The larger communities had a leader, or sakom [ZAH-g'm], who had higher status by virtue of his prowess as a hunter, his expertise as a healer, his age, and the extensive ties he maintained through his extended family. Often such leadership was passed from father to son. It was these sakoms who met and negotiated with the Europeans, and the Europeans found them, not surprisingly, to be competent, prudent, and shrewd.

The sakoms did not so much rule as listen, for politics in the Wabanaki communities was based on a consensus² of adult men and women. Sakoms did not use the means of coercion that Europeans took for granted. There were no prisons, courts, or police, and their soldiers, when skirmishes occurred, were some of the very persons -- others like themselves -- whom they had to persuade. These differences in authority and leadership styles among Wabanakis and Europeans were noticed by both sides and remarked upon very early.

They have reproached me a hundred times because we fear our Captains, while they laugh at and make sport of theirs. All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful in so far as he is eloquent; and even if he kills himself talking and haranguing he will not be obeyed unless he please the [Indians]. (Jesuits: 1959)

The first French settlers at Port Royal in Nova Scotia established an alliance with a Micmac sakom, Membertou, who was described by a French observer.

He has under him a number of families whom he rules, not with so much authority as does our King over his subjects, but with sufficient power to harangue, advise, and lead them to war, to render justice to one who has a grievance, and like matters. He does not impose taxes upon the people, but if there are any profits from the chase he has a share of them, without being obliged to take part in it. (Jesuits: 1959)

If a sakom received more from the chase, perhaps it was because he sometimes had more people to support, for he might be responsible for orphans and widows and various guests.

A sakom's influence was frequently confined to the river drainage system in which he lived. To influence events in adjacent areas it was necessary to form alliances, and for this purpose sakoms

²A process which leads to a decision with which all of the people involved are in agreement.

arranged to meet with each other.

Now in these assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as that their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed someone, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly...they resolve upon peace, truce, war or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs without order and subordination.... (Jesuits: 1959)

This description of the assemblies suggests both the strengths and weaknesses of Wabanaki politics at that time. Clearly, it was sometimes difficult for the sakoms and their supporters to decide upon a united course of action, vis-à-vis the Europeans or each other. The result was sometimes clashes. Between 1607 and 1615, for example, there were disputes between Sacos on the one hand and Micmacs allied with Maliseets and Passamaquoddies on the other, and between Penobscots and Maliseets who were allied with Passamaquoddies. But if a loosely-jointed politics of this kind sometimes produced isolation and weakness, it also functioned to protect the egalitarianism and freedom of choice that Wabanakis cherished. Where the French saw strength and order in their own system of authority, the Wabanakis saw fear and oppression, and they criticized the French for their uncritical submission to it. The challenge that faced Wabanaki leaders over the next 150 years was how to join together in larger and stronger units and, at the same time, to preserve their relationships of equality and freedom. European expansionism required that they do the first; their own values required that they do the second.

They achieved these goals through confederation, the same method later used by the American colonies when they united against the British. The basis of confederation already existed when the threat of European expansion became apparent. There was the precedent of the assemblies and temporary alliances. There was extensive face-to-face association and interdependence through trade: of wampum shells and corn that came north from southern New England, and of furs, copper, and Kineo felsite (chert) that passed southward from Maritime Canada and Maine and of Rama chert that came from Labrador. And there were the similarities that existed in beliefs and politics and their adaptations to sea and forest. As the years wore on, alliances became more widespread and more permanent, as did the perception of common danger. The new conditions extended west to an old enemy, the Iroquois, and in 1700, through the mediation of the French, the Wabanakis in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia and the Five Nations of the Iroquois concluded a treaty.

This agreement established the basis for a second major political achievement in the first half of the 1700s, the formation of a confederacy of Catholic Indians, including Hurons, some of the Algonquian nations, and those Mohawks who were part of the mission community at Caughnawaga, with the Indians in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. By this time the Wabanakis had come to view themselves as a single, organized entity and thus, in addition to sending representatives to the meetings in Caughnawaga, they began to meet among themselves at Indian Island, Maine, and elsewhere, as members of the Wabanaki Confederacy. Abenakis, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Micmacs maintained their separate identities but acted in unison toward common objectives of defense and survival.

They achieved these objectives principally through the use of diplomacy. They discovered early that they could use the conflict between the French and the British and, later, between the British and the Americans to get fair treatment from one side or the other, or both. Until the French army was defeated at Quebec in 1759, the French were their principal political and military allies. The English were interested in the fur trade and did much to promote it, and the Wabanakis traded extensively with them. But they were also eager to get land for agriculture and the lumber industry. By contrast, much of the French presence in Maine and the Maritimes was maintained by missionaries and traders, who required little Wabanaki land for their purposes. Those traders who did have grants for huge tracts of land never really developed them. The French treated Wabanakis more as partners than did the English, and so the association between the Wabanakis and the French was a more intimate one; there was some intermarriage between them, and French priests assumed leadership in some of the Wabanaki communities. The Wabanakis eventually converted to Catholicism.

LAND AND TREATIES

When the first explorers from France and England came to the Americas, their governments assumed that the parts of North America that they claimed became colonies of France and Britain, and that they had sovereignty over the land. This view persisted, for later, when France and England signed treaties dividing up their claims to North America, Wabanaki legal conceptions and political objectives were not heeded. Wabanakis were never asked to agree to these treaties, which were negotiated and signed in Europe. When English and French settlers arrived in North America, many of them, particularly the English settlers, settled land without gaining the permission of Wabanaki people. In a few years the English colonial government in New England made laws requiring individuals acquiring land to do so by deed or purchase; those who did not were violating the law. Although French law never required deeds or treaties for acquisition of land, French settlers who failed to gain Wabanaki permission violated European principles of international law that acknowledged Native land rights, if not their rights of sovereignty.

The major Wabanaki goals throughout the years of conflict with the English were to retain their land and to continue to govern themselves. They acted as most nations would to preserve their boundaries and protect their sovereignty. Treaties were broken or appeared broken, and sometimes this resulted in skirmishes and war. Wars also broke out because the violent conflict in Europe between Britain and France could not be avoided when it spread across the ocean. In the so-called French and Indian War, for example, the Penobscots sought to remain neutral, but the British ignored their stance and forced the war upon them. The dramatic nature of the wars on the New England frontier should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the Wabanakis relied far more on diplomacy and consistently preferred it. They signed numerous treaties with the English representatives in an effort to create clear and separate areas of interest as the basis for peace. This effort largely failed.

It failed because there were misunderstandings on both sides about what the treaties meant. These misunderstandings revolved around differing ideas of property and land. Ideas of what property is change over time and vary among societies throughout the world, and there is a natural tendency for members of a particular society to assume that "property", in their sense, is what property

means for everyone else as well. The Wabanakis and the English were no different in this regard. The English assumed that when Wabanakis gave them rights to land, this meant that they had received sole and exclusive possession of it. In this view, Wabanakis had renounced any claim to occupy or use the land in any way. In the Wabanaki view, by contrast, what the English had received was a right to share use of the land. The English could hunt and fish and farm, but Wabanakis expected to continue to do the same, in the same area. When Wabanakis came back the next year to do these things, the English were outraged. When the English pushed them off the land and deprived them of use of it, the Wabanakis were outraged. The Wabanakis thought they had agreed to share use. The English thought they had received exclusive possession. Each side was convinced that the other had broken the agreement. This basic misunderstanding occurred again and again and was the cause of much trouble.

But there was more to it than that. "Property" or "land" for the Wabanakis had a much larger significance than it did for the English. When Wabanakis conferred on the English a right to share use of land, in their view they had given the English a chance to enter into a particular kind of relationship. Land was that place where animal beings and the spirits of the animals had their separate and independent existences. Trees and stones and rivers could possess personal qualities, and it was possible, therefore, to have a social relationship with them. One could no more own or sell a right to exclusive possession of these beings than one could own or sell one's mother. But a person could enter into a relationship of respect with them. If this were done, through the right kind of behavior, these beings would cooperate so that people could live.

The land, in this view, was not like a sack of flour in an English kitchen or a hog in an English farmyard, whose existence and use depended entirely on the will of the master. The land did not have a human master. It was a sacred, social world; as such, it had a life that one could participate in but not that one could transfer exclusive title to, in exchange for English cloth or English corn. When Wabanakis agreed to share use of land they permitted the English passage into a sacred world; but the English did not realize they had entered it. By their own lights, they had done something else: they had bought a commodity on the market. It is doubtful that the English ever appreciated the sacred significance of the land for the Wabanakis. Instead of responding with gratitude for the importance and value of what had been shared with them, they acted in ways that caused heartbreak and resentment.

Treaties failed to keep the peace because of basic misunderstandings of this kind. They also failed due to insincerity. In the view of the British government the Wabanakis had no legal claim to their land. For the British government, therefore, and for many of the English settlers, the treaties were as much a means to conquest as to peaceful co-existence. They were honored until it was safe to ignore them. British attitude was expressed by Sir William Johnson. He said that the Indians "desire to be considered as allies and Friends and such we may consider them at reasonable expense and thereby occupy our Posts and carry on Trade in safety until in a few years we shall become so formidable throughout the country as to be able to protect ourselves and abate the charge." (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980)

The Wabanakis, by virtue of their own strength and the support implied by their alliance with the French, were able to impede the English inclination to intimidate, but they could not stop it. Some of those in the Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco valleys moved away and joined the Penobscots, or the communities at St. Francis and Bécancour in Quebec, which had been formed by other refugees from New England. Maliseets and Micmacs in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island experienced less pressure from English colonization than Wabanakis in southern Maine, since the majority of settlers tended to spread northward from Boston, and the Maliseets and Micmacs were farther away. But an ominous sign of things to come was visible in Nova Scotia in 1749, when an expedition of 2400 English settlers arrived in the area that is now Halifax. The Micmac response was clear and eloquent. Their sakom wrote to the English:

The place where you are, where you are building dwellings, where you are now building a fort, where you want, as it were, to enthrone yourself, this land of which you wish to make yourself now absolute master, this land belongs to me, I have come from it as certainly as the grass, it is the very place of my birth and of my dwelling, this land belongs to me the Indian, yes I swear, it is God who has given it to me to be my country for ever...show me where I the Indian will lodge? you drive me out; where do you want me to take refuge? you have taken almost all this land in all its extent. Nothing remains to me except Kchibouktouk. You envy me even this morsel... Your residence at Port Royal does not cause me great anger because you see that I have left you there at peace for a long time, but now you force me to speak out by the great theft you have perpetrated against me. (Upton: 1979)

After the French defeat at the Battle of Quebec in 1759, which marked the end of French power in Quebec and the Maritimes, the Wabanakis were without their military ally and, consequently, were in a much weakened position. Representatives of the Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Richibucto Micmacs went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to sign treaties with the British that year, and the rest of the Micmacs concluded similar treaties the following year. The British king promised to respect Wabanaki territory in a Proclamation issued in 1763, but the governors of Massachusetts, Quebec, and Nova Scotia did not recognize the Proclamation as valid in their territories. When the Penobscots complained about English encroachment on their land, they received this response from Massachusetts Governor Bernard at Fort Pownall, in 1763: "The English have conquered this whole country; and the Indians must not prescribe to them what shall be the bounds of their settlements." (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980) As a statement of the facts, this was wrong. The English had not conquered the whole country, and the Wabanakis had not surrendered their claims to be sovereign peoples with rights to determine their own fates. But as a statement of English attitude, Bernard's statement was correct. They wanted the whole country and would dictate terms when they could, not negotiate them.

EFFECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In 1775 a British warship destroyed Fort Pownall, which the Penobscots had used for trade. The Penobscots received a letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in which it was urged that the Penobscots join with the American colonies to defend the liberty of both parties. Joseph Orono urged his fellow Penobscots to side with the Americans. He said:

Their great sagamore [the British king] is coming to bind them in chains, to kill them. We must fight him.... For should he bind them in bonds, next he will treat us as bears. Indians' liberties and lands his proud spirit will tear away from them. Help his ill-treated sons; they will return good for good, and the law of love run through the hearts of their children and ours, when we are dead. (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980)

In 1777 the British occupied the St. John Valley; 500 Maliseets went south to Machias. In the middle of August in that same year the British attacked Machias with four ships and marines and were repulsed by Wabanaki and American volunteers. A number of Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet Micmac, St. Francis Abenaki, and Bécancour soldiers remained in the Machias area throughout the war. These actions helped secure that boundary area for the Americans at the end of the war. Farther to the north and east, Maliseets and Micmacs in British territory were divided about what to do. Some Maliseets remained neutral, others fought with the Americans. Micmacs from Richibucto and the Miramichi gathered together a force of two hundred canoes and attacked British ships and posts along the coast, and some Micmacs joined the Americans in an attack on the British Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia. Other Micmac communities, though sympathetic to the American cause, decided to remain officially neutral.

Despite the help they had given to the Americans during the war, the Wabanakis were back in their old position of weakness as soon as the war was over. The dynamics of the lumber industry and agriculture -- which required more and more land even as they made it poorer -- had not changed, and like the British before them, the Americans found that when they were at peace it was more in their interest to ignore or intimidate the Wabanakis than to behave toward them as partners. The Wabanakis asked formally for fair treatment but got none, and the encroachment on their land continued without their consent. In 1794 the Passamaquoddies signed a treaty with the State of Massachusetts in which they ceded their territory, except for approximately 23,370 acres. The Penobscots, after they had signed treaties in 1796 and 1818 and 1833, retained islands in the Penobscot River above Bangor. (Marsh Island, the present-day site of the town of Orono and the University of Maine, was leased for 99 years, but was not given up in treaties.)³

The American Revolution proved a disaster for the Micmacs. By the end of that war many colonists who had sided with the defeated British left the United States to live in Nova Scotia. Within a single year the non-Native population of what is now Nova Scotia tripled, to forty-two thousand persons. The Micmacs were simply pushed aside. The new settlers wanted the best land along the coast and took it. This was in spite of a treaty signed by the British in 1726, in which they promised not to interfere with the Micmacs in their territories where they hunted and fished and planted. And it was in spite of a similar promise in the British Proclamation of 1763. As the Canadian historian Upton writes, "There were ways of expelling unwanted Indians. In a contest over river frontage, for

³These treaties were never ratified by the U.S. Congress. This was the basis for the Maine Indian Land Claims case. (See Overview A-28 - A-29 and Fact Sheet D-98.)

example, a basic white tactic was to net all the fish at the mouth of the river so that the fishermen upstream got none. The Indian response to these harassments was almost inevitably to move to a less desirable location." The new settlers in Nova Scotia destroyed the game as well. Fires started by the settlers to clear the forest destroyed slow-growing moss and lichens that were the main food of the caribou. And the new settlers hunted moose in gangs for their hides; in 1789 alone, they killed nine thousand of them. Within just a few years, the Micmacs' way of life was stolen, burned, and shot from under them. Never again could they live as they had.

Even more than the Micmacs, the Maliseets in the St. John valley were able to keep comparatively aloof from British settlements. But in the first year after the American Revolution, 11,000 colonists arrived in Fredericton, New Brunswick. They were preceded by a permanent garrison of British soldiers, who moved upriver the next year to clear the way for further settlement. The British did not bother with any legal niceties here. They did not offer to sign any treaties; they simply took what they wanted, which was the best of what there was. Micmacs along the Richibucto and Miramichi Rivers also came under their sway. As with Micmacs in Nova Scotia during this time, if Maliseets wanted to keep any of their land they had to apply for it in a petition to British authorities, since the British assumed that everything belonged to them.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Wabanaki Confederacy was deprived of any diplomatic or military leverage, and seventy years later it came to a quiet end. In Maine, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots hoped to protect some of their land through treaties that gave most of it away, but which legally bound Massachusetts and later the State of Maine to honor the boundaries of land that the Indians retained. Unfortunately, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots lacked the power to enforce the agreement, and the terms of the treaty were violated. Nevertheless, the treaties did provide places where Passamaquoddy and Penobscot communities could survive, so that later they could rise again as strong political entities. The last treaties proved to be, after all, a legacy of Wabanaki diplomacy that had enduring value.

AN INVISIBLE PEOPLE: 1800 - 1950

The Wabanakis had to survive on a much-reduced land base. By the early nineteenth century Penobscots and Passamaquoddies lived on reservation land that they had not been forced to cede in treaties. In Canada, Maliseets and Micmacs applied successfully in a few cases to keep some areas; later, a few other areas were returned to them. The places that Wabanakis were permitted to occupy were usually remote and isolated. There were few jobs nearby; unemployment was high and poverty was the rule. Housing and roads were poor. Access to education and decent food and medical care was difficult. Some stayed on the reservations or (in Canada) reserves, but others left to find better lives for themselves elsewhere.

The Wabanakis never entirely gave up hunting and trapping and fishing, but they could rely on these things less and less. By the end of the nineteenth century caribou were extinct, or nearly so,

The Wabanakis

in Maine, and moose and beaver were rare throughout Maine and Maritime Canada. The Wabanakis



Maliseet lean-to, St. John River, 1905. Reprinted, by permission, from *Our Land: The Maritimes*, edited by G.P. Gould and A.J. Semple, Fredericton, N.B.: Saint Anne's Point Press, 1980. Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick.

turned more and more to crafts to make a living. They manufactured and sold snowshoes, moccasins, birchbark canoes, baskets, quill boxes; they supplied their neighbors with axe handles, barrel hoops, butter tubs, brooms, and wooden buckets. Seal oil, seal skins, and porpoise oil (for use in watches and lighthouses) were in demand in the nineteenth century, and they provided these. They sold fish. They became fishing and hunting guides for Canadians, Americans, and Europeans. Even some of these activities could not be sustained. As the forest continued to be cut, the number of large birch trees was reduced, and eventually no more bark canoes were made. As game animals dwindled in the face of cutting and overhunting by non-Indians, the hides needed for snowshoes and moccasins became scarce. Some tried farming; but the most fertile land had been taken by English and American farmers. Others joined the non-Indian labor force and worked on docks, in shipyards, construction, railroad yards, mills, and the woods. They earned a reputation as good workers. For example, in New Brunswick Wabanaki dock workers were known for their strength and energy, and Wabanaki loggers were everywhere considered among the best and were paid accordingly.

As good as the Wabanakis were at these things, these were not lucrative occupations and they could not prosper on the basis of them. In 1887 Louis Mitchell, Passamaquoddy representative to the Maine Legislature, described in a speech to the Legislature the enormity of what had happened:

Just consider today how many rich men there are in Calais, in St. Stephen, Milltown, Machias, East Machias, Columbia, Cherryfield, and other lumbering towns. We see a good many of them worth thousands and even millions of dollars. We ask ourselves how they make most of their money? Answer is, they make it on lumber or timber once owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians.... How many of their privileges have been broken: how many of their lands have been taken from them by authority of the State.

Between 1821 and 1839 the Maine Legislature authorized the harvesting of timber from Passamaquoddy land in violation of the 1794 treaty. Over the years, also in violation of the treaty, the Legislature authorized sale or lease of various pieces of Passamaquoddy land without compensation and without consent of the Passamaquoddies. Several of the Penobscots' islands were sold without compensation, as well. In addition, in 1833, in violation of its own deed procedure as well as a former treaty, four townships, or 95% of Penobscot land at the time, were transferred to the State of Maine.

In 1833 the Penobscot trust fund was established with the \$50,000 that the State paid for the four townships. In subsequent years monies from the sale of timber, hay, and shore rights also went into this fund. The Passamaquoddy fund was established in 1856 by a deposit of \$22,500 (for a lease of timber, grass, and power rights), the next year \$5,225 was added, and in following years additional proceeds from the timber harvest on Passamaquoddy land were added. Interest on the deposits was supposed to be paid at six percent per annum. For a period of one hundred and ten years, from 1859 for Passamaquoddies (1860 for Penobscots) until 1969, no interest was ever paid, but rather went for the annual use of the Indian agents.

The state's treatment of Indians was paternalistic, and the Legislature assumed the authority to make whatever decisions it thought necessary at any given time. Even the state courts fostered this attitude. In 1842, for instance, the highest court in Maine stated that "...imbecility on their [the Indians'] part, and the dictates of humanity on ours, have necessarily prescribed to them their subjection to our paternal control; in disregard of some, at least, of abstract principles of the rights of man."

People who had once lived in abundance were now impoverished, and wherever they went in the larger society they faced prejudice, discrimination, and injustice. Indians were lazy, it was said. Yet their livelihood had been taken from them. They lived on welfare, it was said. Yet the so-called assistance given to them was in fact income from products taken from their land (hay and timber) or income from the rent or lease of their land. After 1930 the State of Maine arranged that this money be paid to the state; then it was passed on (not all of it, at times) to the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies. Thus, what was income was made to appear as welfare. During the nineteenth century Maliseets and Micmacs, who had always lived on both sides of the United States-Canadian border, lost their hunting territories in Aroostook County when Americans opened this area to settlement.

The Wabanakis

They were not asked permission, they were paid no compensation, and in the end they were left with nothing.

In the face of a tragedy of these proportions, the Wabanakis continued to nourish their sense of themselves as separate, cohesive communities. They invented new ways to do this. Among the Penobscots it became a tradition in the summer for members of the community to canoe upriver after Mass on Sunday to picnic on an island.

Wabanaki communities fielded their own championship baseball teams. During the last week of July each year members of the various Wabanaki groups congregated to celebrate St. Ann's Day⁴ through



The ferry that used to bring passengers from Indian Island across the Penobscot River to Old Town, Maine, and back again. Reprinted, by permission, from Matthew W. Sterling, "America's First Settlers, the Indians," in *National Geographic* v. 72(5), November 1937; 535-96. Photograph by Harrison Howell Walker.



Baseball game between Passamaquoddy and Maliseet teams. Reprinted, by permission, from Matthew W. Sterling, "America's First Settlers, the Indians" in *National Geographic* v. 72(5), November 1937: 535-96. Photograph by Harrison Howell Walker.

socializing and Catholic ritual. It became customary for their funeral wakes to last several days, which provided opportunity for friends and family to come from far away to grieve and to reaffirm ties among the living. And as before, there was the old penchant for moving across the land; the Wabanakis loved to travel. Micmacs migrated to Boston and formed a community of three thousand there, but routinely returned home. Many Penobscots and Passamaquoddies moved away from the reservations and settled throughout Maine. Fewer than half of the Wabanakis in Maine live on the reservations today. Wabanakis frequently crossed state and national

⁴Saint Ann became the patron saint of all Wabanaki communities.

boundaries in search of work -- construction, or picking potatoes and blueberries -- or to visit. Thus they kept alive, in an informal way, the old alliances between groups that had existed for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. In the meantime, they continued their own governments on the reservations (but with a state-imposed system of governors and elected councils).

As the English poet, Hopkins, has said, sometimes the "war within" is of far more importance than the war without, and it was such a war within that impoverished Wabanakis fought to maintain their identities as separate peoples and to survive as viable and cohesive communities. The success of this struggle was the basis for their emergence in the 1960s and 1970s as proud peoples who mounted an effective campaign in U.S. courts and the U.S. Congress and the Maine legislature -- as well as in Canadian courts -- for reparations for the theft and unlawful use of their land. We can get a better idea of how that quiet struggle was carried on if we listen to a Penobscot woman describe her memories.

My mother brought us up in a very, very traditional way -- you were always there to help people, you gave and never thought of what you gave. You did it because you wanted to do it and the need was there. You never, ever spoke or wished anything ill about anybody. Because if you do, it's going to come back on you or somebody you love. Always remember that. Basically, I think of that as being traditional Indian religion. That you have to respect people, things, and everything around you. An Indian is the way you feel inside. What you were taught. And we were taught that regardless of what they were, who they were, if they were older than you, you respected them. Anyone who was older than you was your elder.

My father was a worker. He worked from age twelve to about sixty-five or sixty-eight. He never, ever missed a day, he never got any handouts from anybody, so this is the way we were brought up. My family has influenced me in the way I am. If you want something, you get out and earn it. He was a gifted man and learned the job well, and usually ended up as foreman of the job he took. He always worked close to the area and didn't take a job if it meant being away from the family. Ten children, and we had food on the table, clothes.

For supplementary income, my mother always made baskets. She always would contract with other people to buy, or she'd make them herself and fill orders for a store. There, again, was the sense of community. If she had a big order to fill and was having trouble, all these women would come to the house and help her; she wouldn't pay them anything. They'd finish that order and what you'd do is feed them. Make sure they had a great big meal. Same thing in the wintertime, they all burned wood. Men would come and cut that wood and pile it and the next week do somebody else's wood, so they all had wood for the winter. Those that trapped would save the furs for themselves, but the meat was distributed among anyone in the neighborhood that wanted it and needed it. We never, ever bought anything like that. Same thing with fiddleheads. Everybody seemed to be in the same boat, all equal, no one "under" anybody else.

I never had to raise a hand against my children. I could just convey to them when I was displeased. Even now, I can just look at them, and they know. And this is the way they're bringing up their kids. They don't say too much. And I've always said to them, "Even if I don't like what you're doing, I'll always be here." And it goes back to the traditional Indian values that I have taught to my children, and they are teaching theirs.

Just as had been the case hundreds of years ago, children were not physically punished. People came together to help with each other's work, and they shared food. Both men and women contributed directly to subsistence to support large, close families. Emphasis was placed on respect for others, on harmony. No one was treated as if he or she were under someone else; the egalitarianism the French had observed in the 1600s was still present. There was a daily effort to act in ways that preserved and nurtured those values that made one a Wabanaki. As much as things had changed, these things had not.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE: 1950 - PRESENT DAY

In most Wabanaki communities, the second half of this century has been a time of dramatic changes. The quotations in this section are from one Passamaquoddy man who shares with us some memories and perspectives on events, beginning with what life was like on the Passamaquoddy Reservations in the 1950s:

...the resources the people used to live off by hunting and gathering were next to nothing, so that there was poverty everywhere. You couldn't get jobs anywhere. No one hired Indians except to unload cargo, for example. But there were no permanent jobs that led to anything. You'd go try for a job, but people would say, "We're just not hiring Indians."

There were just all kinds of things that we had to live with on a daily basis. I'm not talking about hidden attitudes, which may be the case now. All the time you'd hear things like, "I don't want you Indian boys hanging around here," or "You Indian boys are all lazy." People in stores followed you around to make sure you didn't steal anything. People around us, although they would take our money, had an attitude that we were something other than like themselves. It was really hard.

Everybody adopted the attitude -- the Church, which was the most powerful political entity on the reservation, the citizens of the county, and most of all the law enforcement agencies. The reservation was fair game. Indians were often sent to prison for small crimes, something we wouldn't consider crimes today. Or if an offense were committed against Indians, there was very little punishment. These are all in the records of the county. Our civil rights were not considered very fully.

The result of all of this, which had been going on for a long time, was a sort of hopeless attitude -- people thinking "that's the way it is." I think if I remember anything significant in the late '50s, early '60s on the reservation, it was that attitude of acceptance of a lot of these things. You could see it in the things people said and the way they acted. They didn't question it. This was probably the worst time because everything was happening at this point. The hopelessness was at its height.

The only bright spot was for people to go into the service. Consequently, everybody volunteered for the service; nobody ever got drafted. Undoubtedly there was patriotism, but I think the reason was more economic than anything.

The other thing that happened was that people moved off the reservation to the Connecticut shipyards or to Massachusetts, where there were a lot of industrial factories that would hire permanent, cheap labor, and people saw a chance to make it. Probably it was happening prior to that, too. World War II certainly had an impact. People my mother and father's age talk about the shipyards. And they did learn a trade

in fact. A lot of people became very good welders -- men and women. But what did they have to come back to? And even more people moved away in the '50s, so at this point an attitude began to develop that the only way to make it was to get out of here.

Many of the people who stayed on the reservation had to depend on assistance from the state.

Sometimes I think that the dependence was systematically created by the state over the years. By the state I mean the Department of Human Services (among others) who were responsible for administering Indian affairs at the time, the executive department, and the legislature. I think they created it because they were afraid of our special status. We never stopped reminding the state of our special relationship with our land. Nobody at the state really knew what it was, but they were scared of it. And they never quite knew what to do. I think creating the dependence was their way to re-absorb us so that we would not be a problem in a few years. The whole attitude was to keep doing these things to eradicate the land base, which they were doing, and to erode away any other kind of thing, such as our cultural identity, so we'd be just like everyone else.

At this time interest from the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot trust funds, plus earnings from such things as timber and hay sales on reservation land, went directly into the state treasury. Then each year the state legislature would vote on how much money to appropriate to the reservations.

The money was all administered through the Indian agent.⁵ And when you were Indian agent, you made some families your favorites. To make someone your favorite you'd give them more than someone else. This was a control mechanism as far as I'm concerned. This is totally alien, you know, to the way tribes operate. This tribe had perfected as well as anybody could a fair distribution of its resources. The welfare system was next to nothing when you weren't one of the favorites. Our family was a family of five, and we were given \$8 a week for groceries. That was it, other than the fish my father could catch out in the bay.

I think any group of people that has been put down at the bottom reach a stage where they just say, "No, I'm not going to do it any more." And there itself is the beginning of the dawn. In the late '50s and '60s, a lot began to happen in these Indian communities which basically, for about 150 years, sat dormant with a sense of hopelessness. There began to emerge a sense of hope that maybe we could make our own decisions.

By then a lot of the community was beginning to have television sets; they were beginning to communicate with the rest of the United States, and they saw a lot of things happening. You saw the economy pick up a little, but you saw where we weren't participating too much in that. By the mid-'60s you'd had the Kennedy assassination, the Johnson war on poverty, and civil rights legislation going on in the South. And you had Martin Luther King -- we were aware of all of it.

The significant thing is that there was some political activity taking place at the grassroots level. People said, "What about our rights? What about that land that was sold?" They started questioning the state about these things, about the trust fund we had, to see if we could borrow or use the money to research the land that we were losing, and we were still losing land at that point. At the time this happened everybody regarded the 1794 treaty as valid.

⁵ All of the Indian agents were non-Indian except two, both of whom were Penobscots at Indian Island, Maine.

The 1794 treaty between the state and the Passamaquoddies had reserved some land for the Passamaquoddies. The largest piece was about 23,000 acres, which eventually became the Indian Township reservation.

There were pieces of land which were what we called "alienated" -- somehow they got into non-Indian hands. It's just that somebody sold them -- it wasn't Indians. And all of a sudden non-Indians started owning these different pockets of land. One of the non-Indians who had a piece of alienated land had hunting and fishing cabins. There was a piece of property between his lot and the plot of an Indian family that was sort of common space where he wanted to expand the cabin complex. He said, "This is my property line," and the Indian family said, "No, it isn't," and that's where the dispute started.

The non-Indian man decided to begin building new cabins anyway. A group of Passamaquoddy women sat in to protest and block construction on the disputed land.

They were arrested and taken to jail. Charges of trespass were ultimately dropped, but the event was successful in calling attention to the more than 6,000 acres of land that had been sold, leased, or given away in violation of the 1794 treaty.

People had been saying no all the time. But this was the first time that they were willing to go with the consequences. It isn't that simple to say no. A lot of things went with it -- automatic arrest, jail, and possibly physical abuse. Those are pretty scary things. Withdrawal of assistance by the Indian agent formerly was always a threat. He would say, "Look, you boys raise too much hell, and there are going to be consequences to pay." And I'm sure he said it to more than just a few people. So these were the kinds of things that saying no brought.

People I think saw that, and everything started zeroing in on the fact that this was our land. We had not yet been given a fair shake in this whole question of land. That was the thing -- I think if the state had said, "Okay, you've got 23,000 acres," and they had enforced that, I think the issue would have died.

We'd already gotten used to the fact that as a people we couldn't roam freely up and down the river. But because of the path the state chose in its relationship to not just the Passamaquoddies, but the Penobscots also, it did more to keep the fire burning. And the state just kept it going by selling our land, leasing our land, by bartering away or legislating away rights which we figured were pretty basic. The right to care for your family was a very reasonable right that we expected. All of these things culminated in, "No, you've taken enough away -- we're going to fight."

The police were always on the side of the non-Indian, we knew that. So, like in the land issue, these ladies protested and guess who was arrested -- the ladies. And if the men came to help, they were, of course, arrested, too. Thank God, some people had some spirit to go beyond this particular intimidation.

There were certain discriminatory acts that were done, and they were common practice. We tend to think that this happened only in places like Mississippi. All that happened in Maine. Maine as a state denied all this, and they still do. For example, I don't know how many people know it, but the Passamaquoddy were the last Native American group, if not the last group in the country, to receive their full franchise to

vote in 1967.⁶ I think that this kind of treatment led to a chain of events, and, of course, the encouragement of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement certainly had a lot to do with giving us a sense of what was going on in other parts of the country.

There was a political desperation from the extreme poverty, although some of that was disappearing a little -- there were some opportunities for employment. Of course, there was a new attitude being created from all those people I mentioned earlier who had left the reservation. They began seeing that they could fit into something, keep a job, earn money, and raise their family. There was a whole new birth taking place.

Then along came the War on Poverty in the Johnson era. There was a CAP (Community Action Program) grant that was given to Washington County. We found out we were somehow eligible. The county didn't really want us to participate. But as we found out more information they could not exclude us. They finally assigned a person to work in our community. It was in this way that the non-Indian resources were helpful, because they gave us information as to what our rights were.

Through our demands we ended up with our own CAP agency, which was really neat for us, but it was not very popular in Washington County. The minute we started doing something for ourselves, the people who had been excluding us became very resentful because we went separately. The contradictions threw us. We thought, "I thought you didn't want us. So we went our own way. Now we're succeeding, what are you hollering about?"

Through the CAP agency the Passamaquoddies were able to acquire grants for sewage and water systems. Until this time people on the reservations got their water from outside faucets. They applied for and received the first in a series of HUD grants to build housing to replace the substandard housing built by the state with money from the Passamaquoddy trust fund. A Passamaquoddy housing board had control over the houses being built and collected payments from the occupants.

There were many other changes, too. Some showed that the relationship with the state was changing. For example, in the mid-'60s a Passamaquoddy education committee was formed to take action because the schools were terribly overcrowded, heating and lighting were poor, and the rain came in through the roof. The committee submitted a referendum for new schools on the two Passamaquoddy reservations, which was passed by the people of Maine. It was also successful in getting the state to accept the reservation schools as part of the state education system. School boards were organized, and the curriculum was revised so it would be more relevant to Passamaquoddy students.

By 1970 the two reservation communities were making many of the decisions that the state had once insisted on making for them. At the same time there were other changes that came about because of continued concern in Passamaquoddy communities over their land.

⁶ Although Passamaquoddies voted in national elections for the first time in 1954, they did not receive full franchise in state elections until 1967.

Over the last 150 years the state had sold, leased for 999 years⁷, or claimed by eminent domain portions of Passamaquoddy and Penobscot land guaranteed by their treaties. In the course of seeking redress for this, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots discovered that the treaties made with them after 1790 had never been approved by Congress and were, therefore, not legal. So they actually had a claim to most of their aboriginal territories.

Because by law citizens of Maine cannot sue the state, Passamaquoddies petitioned the federal government to sue Maine for them. The federal government decided that the claim had merit. It filed the suit against Maine and re-established the relationship between Passamaquoddies and Penobscots and the federal government that had been ignored since the American Revolution.

Such a relationship, or "federal recognition" by the United States, implies responsibilities to Native Americans in exchange for land and ways of life that were given up when treaties were signed. The United States also acknowledges certain rights of self-government that were not given up by Native Americans simply because a "foreign" government, the United States, was established on North American soil.

Federal recognition of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots meant that the reservations fell under federal law and not state law, and that both groups could begin to exercise some of the rights that the State of Maine had never recognized -- for example, the right to have their own court systems. There were other rights, too, such as control and regulation of hunting and fishing on the reservation, jurisdiction over foster care for Passamaquoddy and Penobscot children, and the right to establish air quality standards on the reservations that would be upheld by surrounding towns. It also meant that Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were entitled to health services and other federal programs for Native Americans.

Our dependence on federal programs grew, and the tribe became the biggest employer on the reservation mostly from federal programs, and, you know, those come and go. I don't think this is a good way for any poor community to survive. I think these were good aids for our community because they gave us some people power, gave us some resources to begin developing realistic long-term goals for addressing community problems ourselves.

After lengthy negotiations, the land claims case was settled out of court. Maine had insisted as a prerequisite to a settlement that Passamaquoddies and Penobscots agree to return to state jurisdiction and give up some of the rights that the federal government had recognized. (Whether this was worth the settlement was, and is, the most controversial aspect of the land claims settlement among Passamaquoddy and Penobscot people.)

For giving up their claim to millions of acres of land, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots together received \$54.41 million to buy 300,000 acres of land plus a trust fund of \$27 million from which they could draw interest. Both of these were split equally between Passamaquoddies and

⁷There had been other leases for 99 years.

Penobscots. They also retained federal benefits for Native Americans, such as health care. The Houlton Band of Maliseets, who had never signed treaties giving up their aboriginal territory in Maine, received federal recognition and federal benefits, plus \$900,000 to purchase 5,000 acres of land. (But those Maliseets in Maine who are not a part of the Houlton Band, and also Micmacs, continue not to be recognized by the federal government, and enjoy only an extremely limited recognition by the State of Maine.)⁸

Of the \$13.5 million in the Passamaquoddy trust fund (from the land claims settlement), \$12.5 million is in a general trust fund. We distribute the interest from it to members. It's about \$500 a person a year. People over 60 receive additional payments from a \$1 million trust fund specifically for them. The other balance of that money, \$27.2 million, is for acquisition of land, because part of the settlement is for 150,000 acres per tribe.

What happened in Passamaquoddy was that just after the land claims settlement the interest rates were sky high, the highest in the history of the country. Because we spent so much time making decisions over which land to buy -- and I think that's just something we do traditionally, take time to make decisions -- we made some money without ever thinking we were going to make it. It's that interest on the money that we're using to finance additional acquisitions, not the money itself, because the law states that the \$27.2 million is specifically to purchase land. We also have language in the land claims which gives us certain tax advantages. So, we ended up acquiring certain things, for example, a blueberry farm.

We've acquired a cement company and some subsidiaries, and two radio stations. Pleasant Point has a garage, grocery store, dairy processing, and I guess they're going to go into beef processing to supply meat to the tribe at a fairly reasonable price. The biomass project is almost ready to go now; we hope it will supply energy to both Passamaquoddy reservations. We'll have some extra energy to sell to the electric companies around us. We have an assets corporation that manages those sorts of things, and I think it's the only way. You can't manage that by town meeting. That's just reality. And I think everybody sort of agrees on that, even if reluctantly. We're still careful not to bring polluting industries into the area. One of the real resources we have is some decent, clean land. Those things we can control. There are some things we can't control -- acid rain is a good example. The proposed nuclear waste site and its by-products is another thing at this point. If it's built, we won't be able to control it.

So that's what happened to us, and we continue to acquire more. But in terms of personal wealth, personal income, it is not yet evident. People aren't getting money and salting it away in a bank. That's a false image. I think that in terms of economic power we certainly are wealthier. We don't get ignored any more; we are part of it. And this is something we've worked for.

The way things are done in the state of Maine is that if you have any kind of economic clout, you're part of the "club." And so we're becoming a part of the club. I think that's good because I think that gives us more control of our destiny. We don't always have to react to government programs. There was a time for the last twenty years that we depended solely on the state or federal government, and I don't think that's any way to foster one's goals for self-determination. I am very much aware that if you're not careful you might lose that direction. You'll behave like a corporation in some sense, and those are totally different behaviors from a tribal behavior. It's a real balancing act.

⁸Micmacs recognized by Federal Government in 1991.

All these changes since the '50s affected Passamaquoddy culture, sometimes in ways that had not been anticipated.

Up until the '50s some of the successes that we had which are sometimes overlooked were the language and the passing on of the value system, even up to my generation. Surviving with the spirit that we were somebody -- I think this is the most important success. We carried on in a very lively way all aspects of our culture. There were so many years of political, spiritual, and economic bombardment -- and yet, we survived. It doesn't just happen; I think you survive because the purposes for it are still clear.

We were under pressure to acculturate for a long time. Acculturation has always meant, at least for me, that I give up something -- that it's not a sharing. You hear you should take the best of both worlds. Well, sometimes those things conflict so much that it's not really possible. You have to make a choice to go one way or the other.

When things began to change in the '50s as we sought to control opportunities within the economy, our sense of identity began to be affected. I believe in all of this struggle we associated our strong culture, our language, what we ate, the things we did, all of that with poverty. We didn't realize it until after the decline [in our culture] had started. One of the saddest things is to watch our language die. A lot of the strong traditions melted away in the name of progress. That's a price so steep that it's not worth paying.

It was kept together at the same time by the fact that we had an issue of justice to fight. It sounds almost like a contradiction, but it isn't. We focused in on land and the land claims or going to court and getting back the land -- there were so many things that we began believing. That was the beautiful part.

We see today some good customs dying. It wasn't just a matter of doing a particular activity, it's the reason for doing it and how we did it. I think the community's beginning to talk about this as a basis of concern, which is really good. When I was young, there was no need to talk about it because there was so much there that we didn't even know it was there. Some things we should get a hold of, or we won't have whatever it is that makes us feel special about ourselves. In the school we've tried to put in the language system. We've tried to put in some things where we could start teaching kids early who they are, from a positive sense and not from a cosmetic sense. My generation grew up to be fairly defensive. If it's the only way to survive, I say go for it. But there are much better ways, and I think that's what we're trying to strive for.

The community now is looking at how the Passamaquoddy way of life is going to survive. People are concerned about the language, about how we can continue to work together. I think that awareness will take shape into action. In some ways it already has. It's a turnaround. It's now a hopeful community, as opposed to the hopelessness several years ago.

A lot of people who moved away in the '50s to the cities are coming home to retire, and they're also bringing back a generation of children they have raised in the city. Those kids are very, very proud that they're Passamaquoddy. But they've also known and lived in a lifestyle somewhere else, and that's going to germinate certain values from that kind of living in the next generation. It's real confusing, and I think that one of the things that we have got to do is to try to talk about that and structure our

own curriculum to straighten some of that out. If not, we will give up some additional things regarding our value system or our way of life.

The second half of this is that the public is going to have to be more receptive and open to really listening, to understand real feelings that we have. I'm not talking about any great revelation. I'm talking about taking my feelings seriously, too. They're real. And in order for you to identify with them, why do they have to be exactly like yours? You know, that's the message.

Although the Passamaquoddy person telling the story in the previous pages brings up issues that have been concerns for Wabanaki communities everywhere, the situation was different in each Wabanaki community during this period. Perspectives on what happened vary within each community, too.

The Penobscot Nation's proximity to Old Town and Bangor has meant that there have been more jobs and educational opportunities for Penobscots than Passamaquoddies throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because of a boom in nearby mills, the '40s, '50s, and '60s were a time of relative prosperity for Penobscots.

Particularly after a bridge was built between Old Town and Indian Island in 1950, the reservation was accessible to surrounding non-Indian communities, which had an impact on people on the reservation. For example, Penobscots began to lose their struggle to maintain their language. Today, only a few people speak Penobscot .

Maliseets, Micmacs, and Abenakis live on a total of nearly forty organized (and many unorganized) reserves in Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, and Newfoundland, as well as in many off-reserve locations in Canada and the United States. Each of these reserves and each off-reserve community is unique; some of the reasons are differences in culture, history, resources, leadership, and proximity to or isolation from non-Indian communities. Unlike reservations in Maine, reserves in Canada have related directly to the federal government since Canadian confederation in 1867.

Just as Wabanakis in Canada had joined the Canadian armed services and had left the reserves to work in cities and production centers during World War II, many again left the reserves because of the scarcity of jobs in rural areas in the post-war era. Many enlisted in the service during the Korean War or moved where there were jobs, usually to cities in both Canada and the U.S. Many Micmacs went to Boston. Many Micmacs and Maliseets went to Aroostook County for seasonal work in the potato industry. Some of these people stayed and joined the Micmac and Maliseet people already living there.

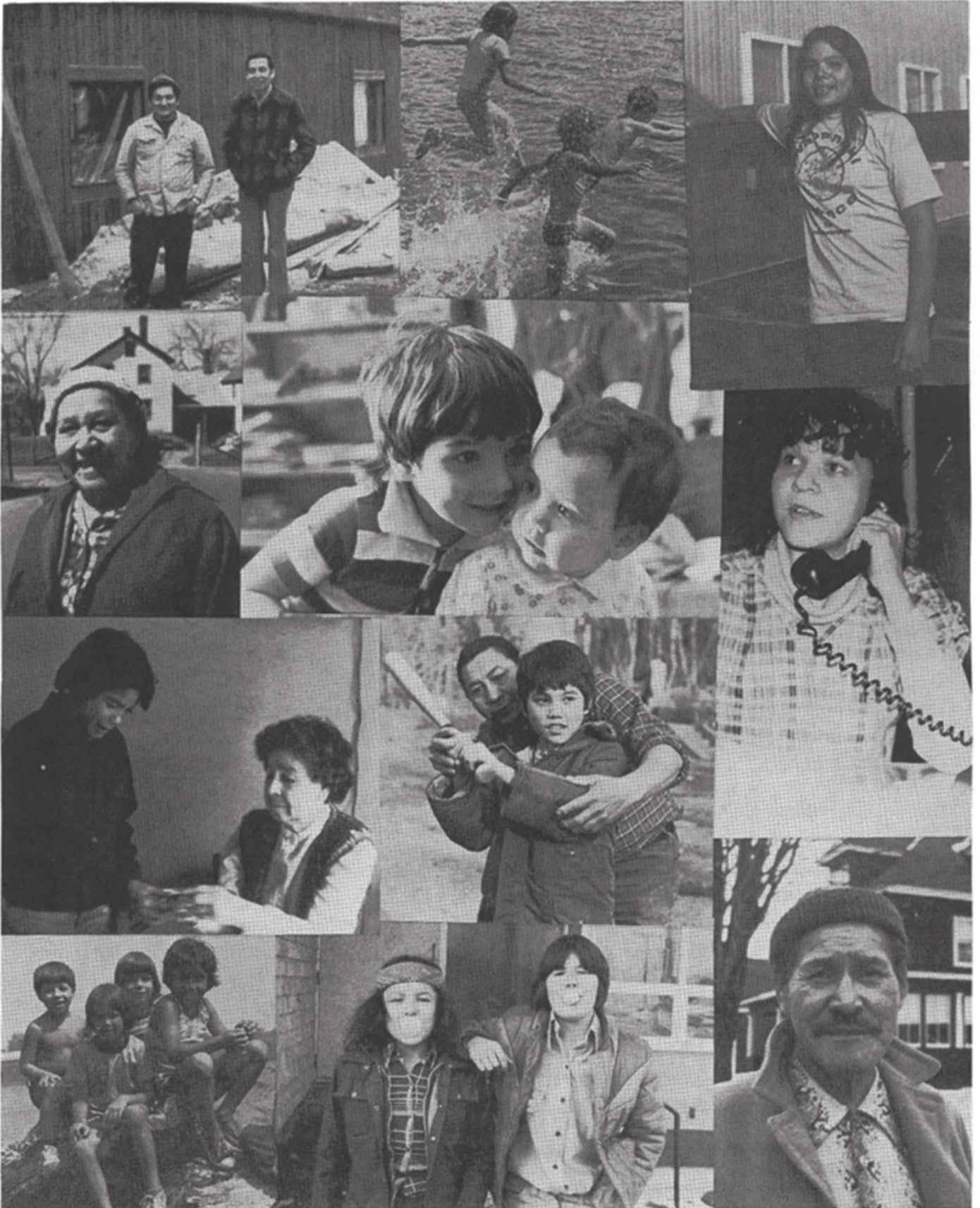
In 1969 the Canadian government proposed ending special status for Native people. The Native outcry was great; several Native organizations were formed to protest and to work toward recognition of Native rights. The government withdrew its proposal and instead, for the first time, began committing a substantial amount of money for programs on the reserves. More and more since then Wabanaki people and organizations are asserting rights, such as the right to determine reserve membership and the right to control programs on the reserves in education and housing. Native groups have begun pursuing claims for return of land taken in violation of law, treaty, or proclamation. Several minor suits have met with success, and others are moving through the court system.

Employment opportunities and schools have improved on the reserves, and many people are moving back. Some of these are women (and their children) who had lost Native status in the eyes of the Canadian government because they had married non-Native or non-status men. Prior to 1985, when the law was changed, they lost Native status permanently, even if they were subsequently widowed or divorced. This marriage law applied only to women.

One thing that all these Wabanaki people do share, whether they live on a reserve, on a reservation, or off-reservation, is the aboriginal rights they inherited because their families were living here before Europeans laid claim to the land. Wabanakis did not lose their rights to the land or to hunt and fish just because European colonists established governments here. Many of the rights that they did not give up in treaties or agreements still exist and are acknowledged, if grudgingly, by the United States and Canada. Some treaties upheld by court decisions affirm rights such as hunting and fishing rights and the right to cross the United States-Canadian border freely. Aboriginal rights are the basis for the special relationships between Wabanaki people and the federal governments of Canada and the United States.

But it is still a struggle, and many issues in Wabanaki communities today involve aboriginal rights, whether they be land claims cases in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, fishing rights controversies in Quebec, Micmacs in Aroostook County seeking status as Native Americans with the United States government, or even Passamaquoddies and Penobscots seeking to block construction of a high-level nuclear waste dump on their newly acquired land.

Opposite page: starting from upper left corner of collage, photographs #1, 4, and 11 from Maine Indians and the Land Claims Case; #2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10 from Wabanaki Alliance; #5 by Marline Sanipass Morey; and #7 by Mary Griffith.



SOURCES

This historical overview is based on the work of many people, but only a few sources will be mentioned. It should be recognized that some of these sources stand on the shoulders of many others too numerous to include here, but which can be found by using the books and articles listed below.

The first section, on the Wabanakis' long and successful adaptation prior to the Europeans, relies on Dean R. Snow's The Archaeology of New England, which covers the entire Northeast. Information gathered by archaeologists has burgeoned in the past twenty years, and Snow's book provides a synthesis. It is detailed, but accessible to the interested reader. However, many scholars disagree with Snow on a number of issues, and we are greatly indebted to reviewers David Sanger, Harald Prins, Ruth Whitehead, Arthur Spiess, and Bruce Bourque for their assistance in editing this section. The first section also relies on articles contained in the Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15, edited by Bruce G. Trigger. These articles are: "Post-Pleistocene Adaptations" by Robert E. Funk; "Regional Cultural Development, 3000 to 300 B.C." by James A. Tuck; and "Late Prehistory of the East Coast" by Dean R. Snow.

The picture of Indian life presented in the second section uses Snow's book for population figures. It relies on the firsthand accounts written by Jesuit priests and contained in The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791, edited by R. G. Thwaites; the firsthand account of Nicholas Denys in The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia); the firsthand account of Father Chrétien LeClerc in New Relation of Gaspésia; the firsthand account of Marc Lescarbot in The History of New France, 3 volumes, edited by W. L. Grant; and others. The firsthand accounts contain obvious biases and language that we now consider unacceptable (and which has been deleted from the quotations used here), but they are colorful and very useful. The argument about abundance and wealth is based on an essay by Marshall Sahlins called "The Original Affluent Society" and can be found in his book, Stone Age Economics. The evidence for that argument comes from numerous early firsthand descriptions of New England and is most forcefully compiled by William Cronon in Changes in the Land.

The best single place to go for a more complete account of the changes that occurred after the Europeans arrived, discussed in the third and fourth sections ("European Contact" and "The Environment Changes"), is the book by Cronon. In fact, Changes in the Land could be used as the basis for an entire course on the early colonial history of New England. It is clearly written and easily accessible to the interested reader. The fourth section, "The Environment Changes," relies almost entirely on Cronon's book. Henry David Thoreau, in The Maine Woods, described the lumber industry along the Penobscot in the 1840s and 1850s.

The sections on Wabanaki politics and diplomacy ("Wabanaki Government and Politics," "Land and Treaties," and "Effects of the American Revolution") rely heavily on secondary works: The Embattled Northeast by Kenneth M. Morrison; "A Chronological Account of the Wabanaki Confederacy" by Willard Walker, Gregory Buesing and Robert Conkling, which can be found in Political Organizations of Native Americans, edited by Ernest L. Shusky; and Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 by L. F. S. Upton. Also used were Dean R. Snow's article, "Late Prehistory of the East Coast," already mentioned; Cronon's Changes in the

Land; an unpublished manuscript by Bunny McBride and Harald Prins, Micmac Genesis, for the Micmac role in the American Revolution; and, for Wabanaki government in the 1600s, the firsthand accounts already mentioned. For their help with these sections we are very grateful to reviewers Kenneth Morrison, Andrea Bear Nicholas, Harald Prins, Ruth Whitehead and Bruce Bourque.

The section entitled "An Invisible People: 1800-1950" draws on interviews with contemporary Wabanakis; the book by Upton; an article by Marie Battiste, "Cultural Transmission and Survival in Contemporary Micmac Society" in The Indian Historian; Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead; "Nica-tow: A Lost Island" by Glenn Starbird in The Wabanaki Alliance, Dec., 1978; "Fraud Found in Sale of Townships" by Glenn Starbird in The Wabanaki Alliance, Oct. 1977; Report on Maine Indians, Prepared at the Request of the Legislative Research Committee, by Ralph Proctor, 1942; and "State Power and the Passamaquoddy Tribe: 'A Gross National Hypocrisy?'" by Francis J. O'Toole and Thomas N. Tureen, Maine Law Review.

The last section, "Contemporary Life: 1950 to Present Day", draws on interviews of Wabanaki people and an unpublished slide show, Maine Indians and the Land Claims Case, by the Maine Indian Program of the American Friends Service Committee. For more information on the issues discussed in this section, readers can turn to Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo, I Lead; the article by O'Toole and Tureen; the Proctor Report; and also Federal and State Services and the Maine Indian, a report prepared by the Maine Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1981; Passamaquoddy Economic Development in Cultural and Historical Perspective, by Susan MacCullough Stevens, 1973; and the report of the Governor's Task Force on Human Rights of December, 1968.