

UNIVERSITY OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE IN TEXTUAL AND GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION:

THE MI'KMAQ ON LENNOX ISLAND, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND,

AND THE PENOBSCOT ON INDIAN ISLAND, MAINE

by

PATRICK J. AUGUSTINE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS,

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ISLAND STUDIES

CHARLOTTETOWN, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

August 7, 2009

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*Your file* *Votre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-82230-2  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-82230-2

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## **Abstract**

This research examines representations of indigenous identity and islandness rooted in place. The significance of this qualitative study is to enlarge human discourse on the semiotic interpretations of symbols in indigenous island cultures. If geography helps to shape identity, then identity, in turn, helps to shape place. This is a field study of signs and symbols used by the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot to represent their identity. Nissology assists in determining sense of place and in examining constructed textual and graphical representations of islandness. Documented photographs are examined through a bi-focal lens that is socio-cultural and socio-political. Elements of cultural and historical descriptions are identified in street signs, tourism and corporate signs, photographed on or in close proximity, to Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and Indian Island, Maine. Significations of identities are based on these visual images "catalogued, studied, distilled, and sorted into themes" (Harper, 1994). Ethnographic content analysis of the images is used to deconstruct the importance of the elements contained within each photograph. This is followed by image-based analysis of the two data sets and then compared. Findings indicate a complexity of multiple and hybrid identities used in different contexts depending on the interpretant.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Suzanne Thomas, Dr. Udo Krautwurst, Dr. Pauleena MacDougall, Margaret Mizzi, Dr. Godfrey Baldacchino, staff of Robertson Library at the University of Prince Edward Island, Keptin Stephen J. Augustine, my family in Elsipogtog, New Brunswick, Jamie Gallant of the Native Council of Prince Edward Island, and Earl Nowgesic of the First Nations Centre at the National Aboriginal Health Organization for all the support provided, patience, and understanding. I provide additional thanks to Dr. Nebojsa Kujundzic, Dr. Jean Mitchell, Dr. Dawn Marsden, and Professor Tina Fraser for valued advice, insight, and inspiration.

The following knowledge holders have contributed to my cultural understandings:

**Maine**, *Old Town*, Arnie Neptune, John Bear Mitchell; *Pleasant Point*, Kani Malsum, Frederick Moore III; *Mars Hill*, Stephen Clair; **Quebec**, *Listiguj*, Don Caplin; Keptin Gary Metallic; **New Brunswick**, *St. Andrews*, Chief Hugh Akagi; *Tobique*, late Juanita Perley; Dave & Imelda Perley; *Woodstock*, Irvine Polchies; *Red Bank*, George Paul; *Eel Ground*, Albert Ward; *Burnt Church*, Keptin Lloyd Augustine; *Elsipogtog*, late Sam Augustine, Eldon Dedam, Joe John Sanipass, Donna Augustine; **Nova Scotia**, *Indianbrook*, Late Kevin Sack; *Waycobah*, Lawrence Bernard; *Eskasoni*, late Alex Denny, Ernie Knockwood, Mike Doucette; **Alberta**, *Morley*, late Albert Lightning; and, **Massachusetts**, *Cape Cod*, gkisedtanamoogk.

## Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my brother, Joseph Edmond Augustine, who passed on to the Spirit World. He was also known as *Wobe-Kookoogwes-k* (White Owl) and had inspired me since 1993 to re-examine my own identity through my family and cultural histories, stories, ceremonies, song, and dance.

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**“Oh what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive.”**

**Sir Walter Scott (Marmion, 1808)**

*Unlike Mi'kmaq basket weaving, this research study is more similar to weaving a web of description as described by Max Weber. It may appear convoluted at times, however, the web is not to be examined by single strands of silk but to have the reader stand back and allow the web to be engulfed in its entirety.*

## **Chapter 1: Spinning a Web**

### **Outline of Study**

Traditional *L'nu/Alanabe*<sup>1</sup> pedagogy may have been non-linear and not specialized to categories. However, I have organized this study using the template provided by the Master in Island Studies (MAIS) Program. In Chapter One, I provide background information on my interest in this particular study, its purpose and objectives, the research questions, research design, my positionality, the theoretical framework, methodological traditions and perspectives, methods and modes of this inquiry, and the data sources and analysis. In Chapter Two, I advance the historical background including site selection, the historical contexts of the Mi'kmaq of Prince Edward Island and the Penobscot of Maine<sup>2</sup>. Chapter Three, “Negotiating Identity and Place,” examines identity and place through ethno-genesis narratives, folklore, literature, history, and ethnologies that develop or influence Indian identity. Place and displacement are explored by examining the social constructions of creating place from the landscape or geography,

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<sup>1</sup> *L'nu* is Mi'kmaq, and *Alanabe* is Penobscot, meaning “the People.”

<sup>2</sup> See Appendices A – D for maps of Indian Island, New England, Lennox Island, and Prince Edward Island.

and experiencing space. This Chapter also examines what displacement might have meant to the Mi'kmaq<sup>3</sup> and Penobscot. Chapter Four focuses on the encountered textual narratives, the photographic journey on Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and Indian Island, Maine, and describes the analytical and interpretative methods applied in photographic coding<sup>4</sup>. Chapter Five presents conclusions and points to the significance and contributions to the field resulting from my study.

### **Background Information**

I remember my father beginning to tell a story to someone by saying, “*uchkeen kaa jiksutooe*” roughly meaning “my younger brother come on listen to me.” My interest in indigenous identity has been forming over the past several years. I was contracted as a policy analyst for a national aboriginal organization in Canada to review and advise on aboriginal correctional issues. I became fascinated with symbolism inherent in cultural ceremonies. My interest focused on the embedded meanings of symbolism used in material and sacred objects throughout sweat lodges, talking circles, and pipe ceremonies. Many of these meanings were revealed during traditional<sup>5</sup> teachings leading up to, and including, participation in ceremonies. As a ceremonial participant, I gained an understanding of meaning and these visual reminders marked me.

Thereafter, I enrolled as a part-time student in anthropology courses dealing with the environment and culture, as well as the study of semiotics. I became increasingly

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<sup>3</sup> There are different spellings of the words: *Mi'kmaq*, *Penobscot* and *Glooscap*. These terms together with *Indigenous*, *Native*, *Indian*, *First Nations*, and *Aboriginal* are used as they are encountered in the literature. The Mi'kmaq and Penobscot utilize an oral tradition. The language was not written prior to contact with Europeans. Europeans began recording Mi'kmaq and Penobscot accounts, introducing the variations on spelling along with the numerous definitions and terminology used through history. This shows the complexity of the study of social constructions of identity.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix G for a sample of the codebook.

<sup>5</sup> The reader is reminded that “tradition” is alive, continuously changing, not static, and not frozen in time.

involved in alternative therapies dealing with addictions, often referred to as traditional healing, and this heightened my awareness of the importance of personal and cultural histories in the context of healing. I also recognized the importance of self-esteem as a significant factor in the recognition and formation of identity.

Much of my current interest in indigenous identity has originated from various discussions regarding identity and place. Dr. Jean Mitchell encouraged my interest in Mi'kmaq identity, specifically through the incorporation of historical research in my Honours research on Mi'kmaq and gaming, which then set the foundation for my graduate studies. Conversations with Margaret Mizzi, on the significance of the choice of flags flown throughout Prince Edward Island, suggested the existence of multiple identities. Driving through the Atlantic region, I became fascinated by the challenge of anticipating which identity was being portrayed and in what context. During my personal conversations with Tiffany Sark-Carr, on Mi'kmaq and their relationship to the land, I had the opportunity to realize how identity is rooted to place. I sensed that geography influenced oral traditions and Mi'kmaq identity. Indigenous identity appeared to be recursive<sup>6</sup> to geography through the application of ontologies and epistemologies to the land or place. Kluskap shaped the land. These stories of Kluskap also influenced the people. The people applied the stories to the land and when traveling over the land, the stories continued to shape their identity. This function is continually repeated over time.

My interest in visual methods stemmed from a course offered by Dr. Suzanne Thomas, "Island Identity and Sense of Place," which provided me with the opportunity to research Mi'kmaq identity and place. During this course, a photographic collection was

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<sup>6</sup> Indigenous identity has been repeatedly applied to the landscape.

created documenting a series of flags, street signs, tourism and corporate signs, located in First Nation communities (Indian Reserves) in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia.

My initial interests were related to how Mi'kmaq and Penobscot convey their signs of place and how this is rooted in their ethno-genesis narratives or cosmologies, and possibly, demonstrated in their signs. I discovered that oral histories helped to describe the local geography, which in turn shaped identity. This reinforced a close relationship to the land, and was captured through place-names. Utterances by some indigenous people evoked geographical imagery linked to historical tales and lessons that affirm cultural values and traditional morality (Basso, 1988). Some of these toponyms have changed since European contact. The importance of this study is to examine trace elements of indigenous identity and islandness rooted in place. I look for these elements in objects or textual references to history, culture, and shoreline of islands.

### ***Purpose and Objectives***

My research focus is on the significance of representations of place in textual and graphical representations of the Mi'kmaq in Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and the Penobscot in Indian Island, Maine. The study documents indigenous identity and islandness rooted to place through photography. I examine the recursive interactions between identity and place. The following field-study of signs and symbols used by the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot provides representations of their identity. I examine place to determine if there is significance to these representations and examine them for elements of nissology. The lenses I use to examine photographs of flags flown, cultural artwork, tourism signs and logos, religious and spiritual icons, cultural objects, traditional tribal

language, and Holy figures are rooted in anthropology through reviewing ethnographies. Cultural elements and historical descriptions are identified in street signs, tourism and corporate signs, which may be a product of acculturation and hybridization and manifested in these signs. The purpose of this study is to examine these representations of identities.

The binaries of *indigenous place* and *non-indigenous place* are required in order for one to surface; similarly, the *indigenous identity* and *non-indigenous identity* binary must exist in order for one to emerge. (figure 1)

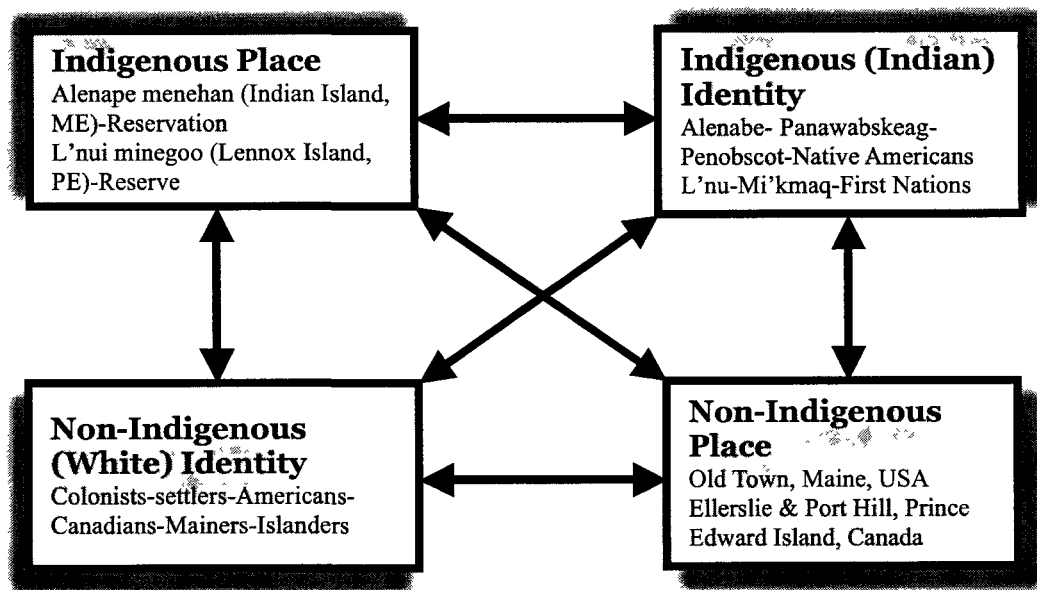


Figure 1 Place and Identity Web

One identity is required to determine what the *other* identity is not. An indigenous place must exist in order for it to determine what a non-indigenous place is, and thus emerges the non-indigenous place and vice-versa. Geography does not cause identity, however, societies construct place from geography. Place has some influence in shaping identity. I

am not inferring that pre-contact Indigenous identities are authentic, as authenticity is relative to the cultures that they represent.

The study explores place as individually and socially constructed, “perceived internally and socially conceived through a union of space and culture” (Thomas & Knowles, 2002, p. 7). The integration of elements of place, social consciousness, and experiential meaning (Thomas & Knowles, 2002) are important in this research to examine indigenous experiences connected to place and the link to cultural histories. The latter elements and their assigned meanings, derived from the oral tradition, could be evoked with the simple utterance of place-names (Basso, 1988). The significance of this qualitative study is to enlarge human discourse on indigenous island cultures.

### ***Research Questions***

After undertaking the coursework for identity and sense of place, I posed the following hypothesis. If geography helps to shape identity, then identity, in turn, assists in shaping place. Stories that are tied to geographical locations help to shape indigenous identity that feeds back into creating a sense of place. Narrowing the study of the relationship between identity and place, I examine the following questions:

*What representations of identity are subject to interpretation in Mi'kmaq and Penobscot signs?* The importance of the sign is rooted, literally, to place. I consider national signs in the forms of flags and symbols; corporate signs of company logos; and religious and spiritual icons, cultural objects, tribal language, and holy figures. I then ask: *Are there island elements of the littoral edge represented in these signs?*

The Mi'kmaq and Penobscot mediate between the body as subject, and the body as object, in relation to space. This is reflected in the retelling of their oral traditions of

Kluskap. They became the subject when living and traveling across the land and they were objectified when stories were retold, thus informing their identity. These are resurrected through “read-backs” of culture through ethnography and folklore, and then reapplied to the land, or through new experiences of place. These stories manifest themselves in new place names or through visual culture. *Has there been a shift from old to new place names?*

Hawaiians utilized cognitive maps that reference physical features of their islands (Ritchie, 1977). Hawaiians, similar to the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq, use these cognitive maps to root their stories to the land. Indigenous Pacific Islanders' cosmologies focus on holistic relationships of the sea, islands, underworld, and the heavens above (Hau'ofa, 1993). Wabanaki people have holistic views of their cosmologies too. Islands, in themselves, may not shape their identity. Similarly, the Penobscot named places according to geography, resource availability, and oral tradition (Dolloff, 2006). Place was also described in the Penobscot language<sup>7</sup> (Prince, 1910; Speck, 1935). The Mi'kmaq linguist, Bernie Francis, indicated a relationship between language and cosmology with the language as verb-oriented (Robinson, 2005). Place is evident as well in the Mi'kmaq language<sup>8</sup> (Deblois & Metallic, 1984; Hewson & Francis, 1990). Contemporary signs are unlike traditional indigenous signs, which are temporary in nature. In both cases, signs serve as a communication device allowing for the viewer to assign meaning to them. They now serve as a modern manifestation of place in society. For example, the Penobscot communicated through signs and signals used on the trail by

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<sup>7</sup> Various spellings are used throughout this study for the Penobscot language as used by the original authors.

<sup>8</sup> Various spellings are used in this study for the Mi'kmaq language as used by the original authors.



placing a “slanting stick” in the ground to give directions to others, “trail blazes” by notching or cutting bark, or pictographs marked on birch bark (Speck, 1998, pp. 79-80).

The importance of identity negotiation is similar to the dyadic interaction of the signifier and the signified, invoked from a sign whether it is textual, through language, or images. My research focuses on: *What sign elements contribute to and reflect a Mi'kmaq or Penobscot identity?* Identity is explored as constructed, self-defined, generated, and negotiated, and this assisted my interpretation of the various representations of the subject. The indigenous identity falls within a colonial and postcolonial framework. My study also considers how some of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot are redefining their identities and what images they portray. For instance, Mi'kmaq and Penobscot nations choose specific flags and symbols to indicate their identity. *Are there cultural, mythological, and historical elements indicated in their design of corporate and tourism signs? Do the symbols reflect acculturation? Do the symbols reflect hybridity? Is acculturation and hybridity reflected in the signs?*

My study also examines elements of the littoral edge real or imagined, embedded in imagery and design of signs. Nissology assists in determining sense of place on islands, constructed representations, and helps to determine if these elements are within signs. *Do the signs remain with, or escape the static element imposed on their identity? Are the symbols within the signs a product of acculturation within colonial or postcolonial frameworks?*

### ***Theoretical Framework***

During my Honours thesis, I realized how my cultural socialization manifests itself in my writing. In the past, I have struggled to blend my indigenous knowledge with

Western academic thought. Within this study, I attempt to incorporate indigenous ways of being - knowing, and doing with Western ones. *Figure 3 Spider web photo by P. Augustine*

methodologies. My conceptual framework is inspired by a braid of sweetgrass, woven from strands of *ways of being - ontologies*, *ways of knowing - epistemologies*, and *ways of doing - methodologies*. (figure 2)

I treat the data that I have collected in my thesis as stories, or *agnutmaqan*.

Similar to the above framework, each blade of sweetgrass represents indigenous or Western knowledge or concepts, and is woven into the thesis in order for me to share it, or *agnutmul*<sup>9</sup>. Stories are used to transfer knowledge intuitively. This is done to

*Figure 2 Sweetgrass photo by P. Augustine.*

accommodate my own cultural learning style. Intuition is the global and overall approach to conceptualize and combine the cognitive with feelings and perceptions (Pai & Alder, 1997). Each story is also represented as a strand of silk in a spider's web. The web represents identity, place, or both. (figure 3)

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<sup>9</sup> This means *to tell a story*.

This qualitative study is informed by the principle of *Netukulimk*, or harvesting



resources with preservation and protection.

My personal understanding of this principle is to harvest only what one will use.

Someone once instructed me to close my eyes and face the sun, then look down into the marsh grass along the river, and the sweetgrass would stand out from the rest of the marsh grass by having a fluorescent green colour to it. I pull out each blade of sweetgrass, which is later cleaned by separating the blades adjoined, dried by the sun. The sweetgrass is held in a separate pile and later used for a smudging or purification ceremony and burnt. None of it is wasted. My undergraduate degree and graduate courses have provided me with the ability to look for blades of sweetgrass, or in the case of this study, for data. Each blade of data, or story, informs this study. The blades are either used for the braid<sup>10</sup>, or burnt in the smudge bowl. Each blade's truth is relative to its storyteller. Although I may not use the blade, it influences my process. I link these notions to the following theories to inform this study.

---

<sup>10</sup> *Elisgnuatq* means to braid. ([www.mikmaqonline.org](http://www.mikmaqonline.org)).

## Identities

Identities are the focus of my research. Themes emerge from examinations of the multifaceted dimensions of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot identities. Identities could be negotiated as discussed by Hall (1997a), Fogelson (1998), Marcus (1991), and Larsen (1983). Hall (1997a) indicated that there is an interaction between representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation in the “circuit of culture” (p. 1). Shared meanings, articulated through language, express our ideas to others in this operational system, or circuit of culture (1997a). The meanings are social constructions using signs and symbols through language. The constructionist approach, as a theory of representation, uses representational systems (such as concepts and signs) to construct meaning (Hall, 1997a). “Identity is always . . . a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the other before it can construct itself” (Hall, 1997b, p. 21). This study examines identity as being constructed by others, or going through the eye of the other, before constructing itself. The personal identity is a mentally (psychologically, spiritually, and emotionally) unified individual (Garrett, 2005). Aboriginal identity is more complex. Aboriginality is a fluid concept and its boundaries are not so clear with predisposing demographic/socio-political factors and fuzziness of group boundaries (Guimond, 2009).

Fogelson (1998) pointed out how identity may be multi-faceted, consisting of an ideal identity that one strives to obtain, a feared identity which one avoids, a real identity which is “an accurate representation of the self,” and a claimed identity subject to confirmation or negotiation (p. 41). Examples provided by the author indicate how some Native Americans see the “full blood” as the ideal, the “wannabe” as the feared, the

“three-eighths blood quantum” as the real, and the “nine-sixteenths blood” as the claimed identity (Fogelson, 1998, p. 41). The ideal and feared identities are explored in this research however real identities are the most elusive. An ideal identity can be easily captured in a business or corporate sign while a feared identity can be better accessed from text.

A modernist approach to identity is a “process of dispersed identity in many different places of differing character that must be grasped”<sup>11</sup> (Marcus, 1991, p. 315). Different people for diverse reasons can produce identity simultaneously in several locations. The formation of multiple identities integrates the state’s drive along with the economy on a person or group’s history configured with differing locales (Marcus, 1991). I believe that identities, in general, are used differently in diverse contexts and places. This is explored further in Chapter Four in conjunction with the data.

Larsen (1983) posited that the elements of Mi’kmaq identity stem from pre-contact culture, language, basketry, legends, game of *waltes*, Indian dancing, the Catholic religion, and the St. Anne celebration (p. 111). I became interested in searching for these elements of identity that Larsen suggests as containing hybridity. The Mi’kmaq migratory lifestyle, subsistence hunting, traditional clothing, aboriginal religion, and facial features no longer provided “indicators of ethnic identity,” nor did living on a reserve and language make one an Indian (Larsen, 1983, p. 61). “You are an Indian if you feel you are, and if other Indians accept you as one” (1983, p. 126). In this research, I have adopted a constructionist approach to identity with a modernist influence.

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<sup>11</sup> My understanding of this process is that I can be identified as a Mi’kmaq on Lennox Island by another Mi’kmaq; a Wabanaki on Indian Island by any of the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, or Mi’kmaq tribes; indigenous on Maui by Native Hawaiians; or as a Canadian in the United States by an American.

Mi'kmaq and Penobscot construct their identities using representational systems (semiotics) to construct meaning of their identities through a continued negotiation, which is relative to place and social context. I examine this construction of identity similar to Hall's description of identity as passing through the eye of the other. In the case of this study, it would be through non-indigenous eyes.

## **Place**

I examine the causal relationship of geography to identity, as well as identity to place. Jones (1959) indicated that place has realized boundaries assigned to it. Boundary concepts have evolved over time in Europe, going from a patchwork of political maps, later followed by natural boundaries, imperial frontiers, contractual boundaries, land acquisitions, geometrical boundaries, and power-political boundaries (Jones, 1959). I found the information on boundedness through history interesting and realized that this concept was transplanted to North America. Jones provided a summary of the evolving European concepts of place. Though it is not comprehensive, it offers a foundation of contrast to indigenous place conceptions.

The littoral edge may manifest itself in the images studied. "On the Northwest Coast, both Natives and traders fashioned geographies of inclusion and exclusion, and their different agendas creaked and groaned as they came into contact" (Clayton, 2000, p. 71). These conceptions of place indicate their evolution over time. I have assigned the littoral edge as the boundary of the island which, in turn, has delineated the scale of my study.

Mi'kmaq and Penobscot have an attachment to nature and place, similar to what Tuan (1976) referred to as *geopiety*. Landscapes are believed by some indigenous people

to generate power, including from buried dead ancestors. Patriotism is rooted into the land and there is a reverence to the earth. “To natives, range is where they walk about or run; estate is where they sit down” (Tuan, 1976, p. 32). For instance, the Cree are passionate about the rivers and the land on which their grandparents have lived and died (Adelson, 2000). I concur with Tuan’s<sup>12</sup> concepts of place and I have included indigenous notions of place to provide a contrast to Western concepts. Tuan and Adelson raise the indigenous reverence for the land, just as the Wabanaki have reverence for their land.

I examine how place is a social construct and as a reproduction and transformation of society over time involves space and nature. I also consider place as a process where society reproduces itself and its cultural forms, forming biographies and transforming nature. Place and society become enmeshed as specific activities relating to time and space combine with power relations (Pred, 1984). I examine these cultural stories to see how they are connected to place in Chapter Three.

According to Casey, geography and philosophy converge as a phenomenological event. Place and self are mediated by *habitus* (Casey, 2001). Geography becomes place through human experience. *Habitus* is the living-lived body, the phenomenon that mediates between the self and place. The body encounters experiences through living and having lived at places. This living-body is distinct from space and the physical body (Schatzki, 2001). It is through the mind as the self that experiences of activities occur at places, through the body being there (Schatzki, 2001). Individual and group experiences flow into the “. . . uniqueness and specificity of place” (Young, 2001). My study treats

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<sup>12</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan is a retired professor of human geography who was born in China. Ancient Chinese patrilineages honoured their ancestors and the land.

space as a phenomenon that is experienced by people, similar to *habitus*. I look at texts and images within signs for elements of Kluskap, which I interpret as experiences of the land. Geography is not encountered once but numerous times, and not individually but with others as well. Power and space are encountered while studying geography in North America, as the British Columbia experience found that space utilized by Indians and Whites has been influenced by territoriality of “colonial and postcolonial forces” (Clayton, 2000, p. 64). These spaces became imaginative commercial spaces by the English fur traders (Clayton, 2000).

My study considers place as an interactive process between people and the environment. “Places and their cultural meanings are generated through one or a combination of three types of people-environment interactions” (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 39). They may be generated through alteration of the physical environment, behaviour associated with place, and place associated with knowledge. Aboriginal people became dependent on place for their self and social identities, involving large territorial areas, lands utilized by the clan, local places, and smaller sub-divided localities (Memmott & Long, 2002). For the Cree, a sense of wellbeing is rooted in the land with its connections to “a rich and complex past” (Adelson, 2000, p. 25). The history of the people and the history of the land are intertwined (Adelson, 2000). The Cree are also related to the Eastern Woodland customs and Algonkian language of the Mi’kmaq and Penobscot (Jenness, 1980). The ongoing transformation of place “inseparable from becoming of place” is the constant interaction of “place-specific biographies formed through social reproduction” and “place-specific social reproduction through the formation of biographies” (Pred, 1984, p. 287). “A place can also be created by the



association of knowledge properties such as concepts, past events, legends, names, ideals, or memories” (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 40). Most indigenous groups believe that their ancestral heroes with supernatural powers formed their lands and waters while Western science explains land formations through “geomorphology” (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 43). I examine this element in the ethno-genesis narratives in Chapter Three.

The separation between land formations, geomorphology and indigenous (Mi’kmaq, Penobscot, and Polynesian) narratives may not be so different. Nunn (2003) indicated that the “fishing-up” of South Pacific islands in stories explains volcanic eruption, which serves to “illuminate details of environmental change” (pp. 357-361). The diffusion of the Maui legends across the South Pacific islands uses language descriptive of volcanic activity forming new islands in the Pacific Ocean. The Mi’kmaq language uses descriptives of land that was either scraped away, or flooded and drained. Indigenous *ways of being* are no less valued than Western epistemologies and this was why I examine ethno-genesis narratives to provide an alternative to Western-based concepts of geomorphology.

### **Sense of Place**

Geographical locations help to shape identity and feeds back into creating a sense of place. Geography, in itself, does not shape identity. However, assigning experiences to geography influences identity and also produces place. Schnell and Mishal (2008) in discussing sense of place, described place as an empowering force that shapes identity through an attachment to place. “Sense of place” is referred to as a place-making process of belonging. It involves place, environment, others, and the individual through the study of landscapes and their meanings and how they connect to people’s daily lives (Post,

2008). Sense of place is a bottom-up view, remaining personal and grounded in experience comparable to place-identity that is a top-down view subject to an imposed and constructed place (Carter, Dyer, & Sharma, 2007). My understanding of that definition is that sense of place is rooted in the people that are closest to the land, compared to place-identity, which comes from a position of power. I have found that indigenous people had developed a sense of place and that settlers constructed and imposed place-identity on their settled areas.

A sense of place also contributes to identity and raises objections of calling island identity as static. Island people, attached to place, are often described as planted or rooted, while foreigners are described as explorers (Jolly, 1999). "Such spatial language often transforms into a temporal language whereby Islanders are portrayed as stuck in times past, confined by the boundaries of tradition while foreigners are constructed as the agent of change and transformation" (1999, p. 419). Jolly (2001) has also written that, "[T]he attachment of people to place, as many have noted, deploys a botanical idiom - people are planted or rooted, as in a taro or yam, and even more forcefully and permanent, a banyan tree" (p. 284). In my opinion, cultures and people do not become static, regardless if they live on islands, on reserves/reservations, or on the mainland.

### **Nissology**

This section considers the study of islands. McCall (1994, 1996) indicated that the nissological perspectives of islands are areas of study to be understood on their own terms, and taken from the characteristics of studying island space. McCall (1994) credited the term to Abraham Andres Moles who coined the science of island space as *nissologie*. Nissology is derived from the Greek root for island, and the study of, or

*nisos + logos*. Island studies, or nissology, is the academic interdisciplinary field that examines nature, dynamics, and island-islander diversities, also in relation to non-islands (Shima, 2007). A study of islands on their own terms reminds continental dwellers that island reality, world-view, and integrity belong to islanders (Tsai & Clark, 2003). This creates the risk of falling into traps and tropes. Islands become the subject of representation, with a desire to define. These descriptions might be deceiving as well. “The temptation to define remains strong; still, it is unwise to categorize islands as if they represent a specific genre, type or trope” (Baldacchino, 2005, p. 247). Studying islands on their own terms, perhaps, is a challenge in itself. From the Mi’kmaq cultural perspective, I do not view islands as a continental dweller but rather islands as inclusive to the traditional Mi’kmaq homeland. In my study, I contradict my own cultural concepts when I essentialize Indian Island and Lennox Island. I have used Western concepts of islands in my study when collecting my data. This is done in order to submit a thesis in the Island Studies program. It also makes the study more manageable rather than documenting signs on all islands within Penobscot and Mi’kmaq traditional territories, as a more global and comprehensive process would require.

### **Island Representations**

I also examine how others represent islands. Bhabha (1999) spoke out against the static “other” stereotypes (p. 370), similar to Jolly (2001) and Steinberg (2005). Through colonial discourse, representation becomes an attempt to fix when constructing the other. It is in this ideological discourse that cultures, histories, and racial differences become fixed, connoting “rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition” (Bhabha, 1999, p. 370). Properties associated with islands, usually

by mainlanders, are seen as “frozen in time, isolated, homogenous and pristine” (Steinberg, 2005, p. 254). Westphalian<sup>13</sup> ideals of defining nations, has created the insular vision of islands, and they became human constructions. With the rise of nation-states, it was easy to transfer these notions of bounded nations to islands. Steinberg (2005) described islandness as a recent construction, both by islanders and mainlanders. The relevance of Bhabha and Steinberg to this study indicates that cultures and islanders should not be stereotyped, nor can indigenous and island cultures be expected to remain static while the rest of the world is allowed to progress. This study does not consider Bhabha’s anti-phenomenological considerations. The construction of island representation is through the eye of mainlanders.

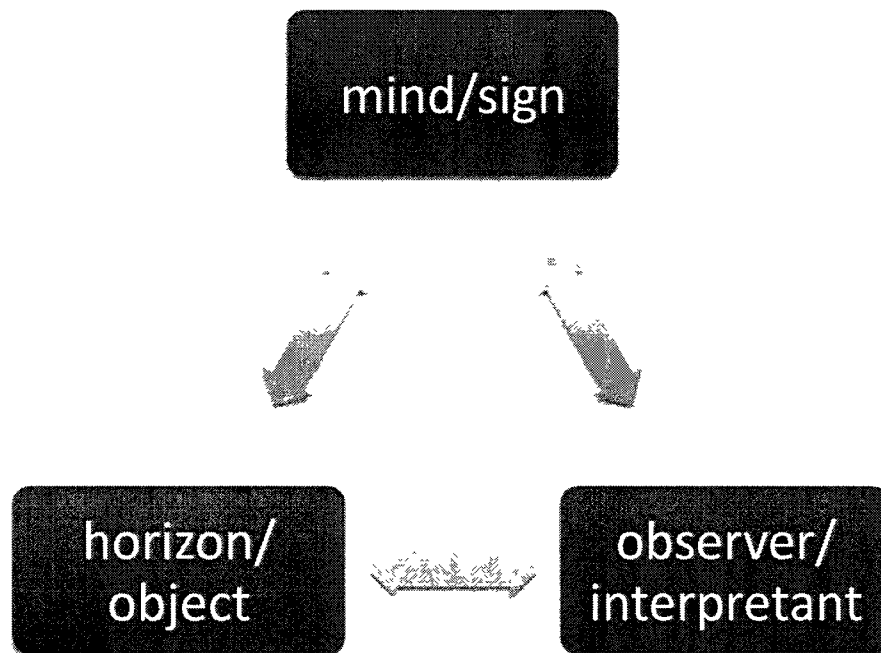
## **Semiotics**

I began examining signs with the dyadic relationship of semiotics, which was later dropped for the triadic relationship. This did not provide adequate basis for interpretation of data. My braid of epistemologies and ontologies does not limit itself to any distinctive Western approaches to signs. Culture does not allow me to focus on the distinctiveness of each braid but rather on the whole. Reading on various approaches to semiotics, allows me to learn about signs, non-linearly. This approach incubates my ideas on semiotics, however, all the blades of semiotics shape my understanding of signs. Semiotics were entailed in the study of signs by Baudrillard (1981) and Berger (1984). In contrast, signs became relations, triadic of the sign, object, and interpretant (Jensen, 1995). This was the approach that I then took by examining the relationships between those who constructed the sign and the images used within the sign. Considering Jensen,

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<sup>13</sup> This is a reference to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which created a new system of nations in Europe.

I speculated on what the intended meaning might have been to the person who interpreted the sign. This is similar to my speculation of how the reader interprets this text when I choose the words and format. As the photographer, I interpret the representation of symbolism involved in each photograph. Elements of the signs documented in photographs, contain cultural material or language which the reader may not understand. Interpretation becomes a cultural awareness exercise. Prendergrast (2000) referred to representation as a triangle based on Barthes' (1985) "Organon of Representation" with subject, mind, and decoupage, or a "cutting out" of meaning. The subject, as either the author or the observer (photographer), looks towards the horizon (object) forming the base of the triangle of which its apex was the mind (sign), or the eye. This forms the triadic nature of interpreting signs and assigning them meanings. (figure 4)



*Figure 4 Triadic Relations*

Meaning is similar to fragments of film; “nothing but projections” possessing a “demonstrative power,” the fragment is to be cut out (Barthes, 1985, p. 90 & 92). “The geometric metaphor evokes a formal rather than a substantial model of representation, directed less to objects than to relations” (Prendergast, 2000, p. 110). Those who create signs are establishing relationships between the sign, object, and interpretant, or the new sign in the mind created by the one who interprets the sign. Barthes (1977) indicated that the image is a re-presentation where the signified implies exhilarated values in that the signifier unpacks, or the underlying image of the signifiers is a chain of signifieds. The photograph is a message without a code; intervention in the photograph is within the field of connotation, ideology is its domain (Barthes, 1977). The signs are representations of meaning in themselves along with the language used in them. Photographing signs adds another level of representation. Interpreting photographs has gone beyond the dyadic semiotic nature of signifier (sign) and signified (object) where the photograph becomes the representation of the object.

Baudrillard asserted that “ideology is the process of reducing and abstracting symbolic materials into form” (1981, pp. 144-145). He contended that “this reductive abstraction is given immediately as value (autonomous), as content (transcendent), and as a representation of consciousness (signified)” (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 145). Signs through their images and what they become are useful in their “exchange value” and “use value” (Baudrillard, 1981). Signs in contemporary culture are manifested in objects such as personal clothing, hairstyle, body language, national flags, symbols and icons, corporate logos and advertising, gender clothing and body structures, religious symbols, objects, language, and holy figures (Berger, 1984). I have searched for these elements within the

signs themselves. Schultz and Lavenda (1990) suggested that these meanings become the determining agents in society. “Social and cultural life are held together by interpenetrating networks of symbols, each of which is a carrier of cultural meaning” (Erickson & Murphy, 2003, p. 136). These symbols are constructed social life and are tools to reproduce the social order (Erickson & Murphy, 2003). The sign is an announcement of something to come and act upon; the symbol leads the conception of their objects and is an instrument of thought (Langer, 2002). I wanted to know if these signs are, in some way, constructing elements of Mi’kmaq and Penobscot societies or identities.

Jensen replaced the duality of the Logos tradition, which includes the signifier (sign) and the signified (object) with a triad. The Logos tradition predates Socrates, in utilizing the word to rationalize and create order. Jensen (1995) described Charles Peirce’s semiotics theoretical aim as philosophical, normative, but observational. The relationships of signs are triadic of the sign, object, and interpretant. It is not a system, but rather a “continuous process of signification that [orients] human cognition and action” (Jensen, 1995, p. 11). This is where I dropped Barthes and Baudrillard, as there was a connection between the sign and its meaning that I assigned to it as the interpretant. Manning and Cullum-Swan (1998) presented a system of relationships, which produces its form, code, and meaning where the sign’s content completes its meaning, requiring context or its interpretant. The connections between clusters of signs produces paradigms; several paradigms form the field, created by discourse; and, the sign’s components manufactured as discourse form the code (Manning & Cullum-Swan, 1998). As I elaborate in the next chapters, I have assigned my own codes to begin an analysis of

the photographed signs. As the photographer, I interpret representations of signs and symbols. I become the eye of the other. As the interpreter, I apply the triad to this study by photographing the object and creating the sign in my mind.

To include methodology in my braid, I had to sort out all the data. I approached semiotics differently from the text and the photographs. A Saussurian-based approach to examining text is utilized as text and is treated as *form* in being the *signifier*, and the *concept* that text represents is the *signified* within language (structure), or a closed system (Chandler, 1994). Text is also found within the street signs, business, and corporate signs. A Peircian-based approach is used for the photographs. The *form* of the sign within the photograph is the *representamen*, the *object* is the *referent*, and the *sense* made by the sign is the *interpretant* (Chandler, 1994). Elements of the sign documented in the photographs, cannot be compared to other signs within a structure that falls outside of the reference of the reader. The signs are without meaning in the absence of interpretation. They are no longer signs. Elements of the sign are lost to meaning. Interpretation becomes a process of determining the meaning of the sign. Chandler (1994) indicated the modes as: the symbol or symbolic where the sign does not resemble the object yet has a learned relationship, icon or iconic with the sign resembling or imitating the object, and the index or indexical with the sign that is not arbitrarily connected to the object. Flags and language fall within the symbolic mode. Portraits, cartoons and metaphors are iconic, and directional signposts, maps, and photographs are indexical.

I find limitations in using solely a Peircian or a Saussurian-based approach in studying symbolism within signs and language within textual signs. Peirce uses a process while Saussure operates within a structure. From an indigenous-approach, the structure *is*



the universe, and language cannot signify those elements of the universe not yet exposed to humans, however, the limits of positivism do not render them any less truthful. A continual process of assigning significations (representations) to elements within the universe occurs within the closed structure of this universe, or Creation.

## Indigenous Worldviews

This study is rooted in a Western-based<sup>14</sup> process of knowledge construction and knowledge transmission within the academic exercise of conducting research. My study is further recorded in the English language where the indigenous thought process and concepts are not accurately captured. I recall a comment I once heard that a person could not be a Mi'kmaw<sup>15</sup> unless they think like one. The Mi'kmaq principle of *non-interference* influences the passive tone of my writing, perhaps, a residual of a collective hunting society to ensure cooperation. Mi'kmaq non-interference is the acceptance and respect of others' beliefs, never imposing your own beliefs on another, and not expressing disappointment of someone in public (Native Council of Nova Scotia, n.d.). My understanding of the task of the storyteller is to present information, allowing the listener to assign values and draw their own conclusions. In contrast to Western knowledge, Indigenous knowledge is intuitively constructed through storytelling and the sharing of personal experiences. For me, knowledge is acquired both academically and intuitively from culture. I have gained much life experience, and have heard, and shared many stories. These two approaches of Western and indigenous knowledge construction are

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<sup>14</sup> Western refers to North American other than indigenous, and also to Western Europe.

<sup>15</sup> *Mi'kmaw* denotes the singular form and *Mi'kmaq* indicates the plural. *Mi'kmaq Language* or *Mi'kmaq Nation* is the incorrect form of usage, however, it is now acceptable in written English.

incorporated into the sweetgrass braid as my theoretical framework explained earlier. This is further complicated with my associative thinking process.

Wabanaki theorists, inclusive of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot ones, are minimal in this study due to the nature of knowledge transferred, which is a different process outside of academia. Oral tradition and traditional knowledge are intuitive in nature, being told through stories, global, and comprehensive. Stories and knowledge are transmitted through wisdom in small groups and largely unrecorded. Penobscot and Mi'kmaq academics appear to be minimal in Western discourses, especially in the subjects of place and identity. Perhaps this is due to the uneasiness encountered with the questioning of authenticity by blending cultural theorists with academics. I believe that traditional knowledge is associative learning and thus uncomfortable to linear thinkers. Some of these cultural theoretical concepts have been captured in the sections pertaining to ethno-genesis narratives and ethnographies. I present also some theoretical concepts from various sources, including Mi'kmaq, Penobscot, and other American Indian authors.

Mi'kmaq education was aimed at survival in a society that was based on sharing and on an economy based on cooperation (Julien, 1997). Marshall (1997) wrote that oral traditions were the governing rules of survival. People had to learn through observation and were required to monitor their own behaviour. All things are believed to have a spirit and rituals are performed to interact with nature. There is an interdependence of all things (Marshall, 1997). People had to live in harmony with the rest of nature and had a close relationship to the land. They were taught to respect and to share. Interdependence is reflected in the language and focuses on cycles and interrelationships of all things

(Battiste, 1997a; 1997b). “They honoured all life, insects, birds, fish, animals and other human beings” (Knockwood, 1997, p. 117).

Through childhood I was taught to respect nature. On Lennox Island, my grandmother reprimanded me for throwing rocks at small birds when I was younger. I perceive the universe through interconnectedness. I examine the interconnections between identity, place, and the phenomenology of both. Martin (1997) poetically described life and the environment as webs by in the following excerpt:

. . . they are dancing your spirit . . . we must not forget  
we are all weavers of the web  
we are much like spiders  
producing and weaving silken threads  
patterns of great beauty in and through the standing ones  
we all belong to our earth mother’s design. (p. 71)

The web provides a sense of interconnectedness and understanding that the earth is alive.

Sylliboy (1997) also described the web of life:

A gossamer web, is life  
when one is alive  
victim from conception  
in our struggles to survive . . .  
the strands hold our tears  
hope will turn them into crystals  
with the passing of the years. (p. 123)

Ssipsis (2007), a Penobscot, wrote about a sense of rootedness: “I am a human being, I come from the humus, the earth” (p. 5). For her, every day is Earth Day. Traditional ways are spiritual ways and ways of the earth. People are to honour the sacredness of Mother Earth with her “heartbeat of creation” (Ssipsis, 2007, p. 40). Ssipsis (2007) wrote that the Penobscot are rooted to place:

Our name is just a symbol  
follow river as a people  
snakelike river ceremony  
from Kathadin’s ironlike steeple. (p. 45)

There is a sense of sacredness in her description of her people and the land. Trees have spirit, and the land is held in “sacredness and trust” (Ssipsis, 2007, p. 51). Others have agreed with her that it is a reflection of other tribal groups’ commonalities. I have been socialized by my culture to respect the sacredness of life, of the individual, of place, and of the individual’s place in the larger scheme.

Deloria (1994) stated that the American Indian tribes cherish their lands and treat it as people. Sacred places are experienced through cultural practices (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). The ceremonial uses of land and places have the highest meaning, and they are not to reveal their sacred places to others (Deloria, 1994). Ceremonies rely on correlations seen in the world, and their creation stories teach relationships to the natural world (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Their beliefs are harmonized with the land, “space generates time, but time has little relationship to space” (Deloria, 1994, p. 71). Land has spiritual energy or an identity, and is a living earth. Ancestors are spiritually alive on the land with continuity over generations, and identity continues with living on the land as

well. The universe is a life system (Deloria, 1994). An indigenous worldview reflects the rights of plants, animals, air and water; the greatest good is for the environment; and, the earth is dynamic and not static. People look at nature and see their relatives. Place represents the dynamic process of people interacting with “other-than-human” people (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001, p. 144). Indigenous scholars have suggested that associative learning and thinking constructs a holistic perspective.

I believe that place is alive. I have experienced place through many cultural ceremonies such as fasting for a vision quest, participating in sweat lodges, and conducting pipe ceremonies. This study is also an exercise in self-reflection of my own identity and my own place in the world. Previous notions of my self-identity became cracked, a fear of the unknown set in, and then new ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies blended with my old ones. This blending is elaborated in Chapter Five.

### **Methodological Traditions and Perspectives**

My research approach is influenced by anthropology. I apply a bifocal lens that is socio-cultural and socio-political. Ethnographic traditions including auto-ethnography and ethno-genesis narratives inform my study (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). These help to construct the lenses used to examine the photographs.

My methodological approach is interpretive in nature as my perspectives examine cultural significance which extract order from chaos (Weber, 2004), and spin a cultural web through “thick descriptions” to explain underlying meaning (Geertz, 2003, pp. 14-15). “Ethnography is thick description,” or “an elaborate venture” describing the “intellectual effort” of performing our own constructions, which is interpretative of

“other people's constructions” (Geertz, 1973, pp. 6-10). I view the photographs in their entirety as ‘chaos’ and treat their elements as cultural descriptions.

It is not so much ethnomethodology, but rather the focus is on the subjective basis of social life and studies its underlying structure (Roger, 1983). Exhaustive causal investigations (studies of cause) of the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq are impossible, where knowledge of causal laws (empirical observations of cause) is a means rather than the end of investigation, and the objective analysis of culture relies on the significance, which we assign them (Weber, 2004). Geertz (2003) suggested that Weber, as a sociologist, is suspended in webs of significance, which he spun, positing those webs as cultures. Similarly, I look at Penobscot and Mi'kmaq cultures, although not in an exhaustive approach. The Spider Woman, as told in the Navajo ethno-genesis, also spins life's web, suggesting the socialization of culture (Eddy, 2001). The thick descriptions are indications of describing culture by ethnographers, subject to stratified meaning (Geertz, 2003). My study examines partial truths through ethnography. Shankman and Scholte have criticized Geertz's thick description. Shankman (1984) saw no future for interpretive theory and thought it focuses on meaning rather than on behaviour. Scholte (1986) viewed it as symbolic anthropology and a sign theory of culture, as well as a theory of representation where actual knowledge is a constitutive process. My study is in line with these concepts of experience in phenomenology and interpretation where the production process remains vague and almost hidden. Geertz (1973) noted that the concept of culture is semiotic. It is through its analysis that the structures for signification are sorted out, sometimes involving meaning of a second or third order of interpretations. Clifford (1986) suggested that truth is constructed where ethnographies

become true fictions, a reality translation of others that is inherently incomplete. These ethnographies must be taken with some scepticism, as these ethnographers' representations are created and the temporary interpretations support their conclusive interpretations, perhaps impregnated with meaning through their interpretation (Crapanzano, 2004). This study is a continuation of interpreting representations. I treat the ethnographies as stories that describe elements of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot cultures, serving as representations in text through a fragmented history. This fragmented history is due to the nature of oral stories remaining elusive to the depository of cultural texts. With these descriptions also serving as a lens, I seek their cultural elements within the signs.

### **Methods and Modes of Inquiry**

I began with document analysis, performing content analysis of public documents and publications to examine trends and patterns relying on sources by Hagar, (1896, 1897, 1900); Hager<sup>16</sup>, (1895); Michelson, (1925); Parsons, (1925, 1926); Prince, (1910); Speck, (1915a, 1915b, 1917, 1935); Wallis, (1922); Wallis & Wallis, (1955) and the ethnographers' perspectives, along with specific articles relating to Mi'kmaq and Penobscot from *Early Canadiana Online*. They become the eye of the other in the construction of identity. This method is explanatory in nature as I seek a preliminary basis for a constructed identity by people other than Mi'kmaq and Penobscot. Cultural descriptions of the land, people, and their creation have been derived from ethnographies, histories, poetry, and literature available on *Early Canadiana Online*. Elements of these descriptions are later sought in the photographic data, which I collected as part of this

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<sup>16</sup> Hagar and Hager is the same individual spelled differently in journals.

research. This covers a period from: the French Occupation in the early 1600s by writers such as Champlain, and the Jesuits to Vetromile; ethnographies such as Silas Rand, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and The Society of Friends of the 1800s; poetry by Joseph Howe and Elizabeth Frame; literature by G. D. Roberts, Grace Rogers, and Marshall Saunders; to a news article in the Canada Temperance Advocate in 1843. The review of this literature also sparked an interest in further library searches, or a snowball effect of associations.

Information obtained through public documents was collected along with several recorded versions of Mi'kmaq ethno-genesis narratives (cosmologies) contributed by Augustine (1996), Sark (1988), and MacArthur (1966). Elements of Mi'kmaq identity are explored in conjunction with Larsen's (1983) descriptions of negotiated identity. This information is charted similar to a method used by Faris (1990) on *The Nightway*, which recorded the historical documentation of a Navajo ceremonial practice. The charts served as a comparative of recorded narrative text (Faris, 1990). These would later form the basis for the signification of Mi'kmaq identity in signs as textual data, narratives, and cultural descriptions of personal clothing, hairstyle, body language, gender clothing, body language, and religious symbolism. A similar approach was utilized for the Penobscot. Information was extracted from journal articles on cultural representations (Gura, 1977), origins (Nicolar, 1979), origin stories (Speck, 1998), and governance and history (Maine Indian Program, 1989). These sources formed the basis for the signification of Penobscot identity in signs as textual data, narratives, and cultural descriptions as well.

This research method was later applied to Maine and Penobscot street and tourism signs, which I documented in digital photographs using image-based research methods and performing ethnographic and content analysis. The photographs were obtained



through my fieldwork. These photos entailed corporate signs of flags, company logos, religious/spirituality symbols, objects, language, and holy figures. These digital images formed a basis for examining Penobscot identities. Other photographs obtained in Maine were from the Aroostook Band of Mi'kmaq in Presque Isle. The significance of elements in the photographic data was subject to my personal interpretations as an indigenous Mi'kmaq person, through the prisms of culture and tourism.

Representation of identity may become signified in flags, street names, corporate signs, body descriptions, language, symbols, and icons. These representations can be sought through image-based research (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998) and supported by visual methods (Wagner, 2006). Although influenced by Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), this study utilizes a reflexive and circular process, an interaction between the investigator, concepts, data collection, and analysis (Altheide, 1987, pp. 67-68). This followed a continual semiotic “process of signification . . . [that] orients human cognition and action” (Jensen, 1995, p. 11). It was difficult to photograph all Mi'kmaq and Penobscot signs in existence and therefore my representation is not totally inclusive of both communities. I used a Peircian-based approach to photograph easily-identifiable sign forms: symbolic (signs, flags), iconic (paintings, statues, Indians), and indexical (street signs, photographs). Documenting conversations, sound, gestures, or odours as signs is not captured by photos and requires different forms of recording involving further time.

### **Data Sources and Analysis**

Data sources were derived from the application of image-based research methods and the documentation of photographs. Silvers (1997) described the photograph as a

bundle of “perceived signs and resonances of affect” with a conjunction of physical presence, “place in memory” and history that we attempt to unpack when viewing it (p.2). Photographs of street signs, tourism and corporate signs, with littoral images found on, or in close proximity, to First Nations (Indian Reserves) in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island, were obtained from a photographic collection I developed for a Master of Arts (Island Studies) course, “Island Identity and Sense of Place.” This study involved a continuation of photography to incorporate photographs taken on Indian Island, Maine. (figure 5)



*Figure 5 Indian Island, Maine, USA*

Images from Lennox Island (figure 6), Prince Edward Island, were compared to those photographed in Scotchfort, Morell, Rocky Point in Prince Edward Island, and with those from Membertou, Eskasoni, and Chapel Island within Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia.



*Figure 6 Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, Canada*

Significations of national and corporate Mi'kmaq identities are based on these visual images. These photographic images were “catalogued, studied, distilled, and sorted into themes” (Harper, 1994, p. 404) which have been derived from my own academic and cultural knowledge. Some of the themes emerging from viewing Mi'kmaq photos in Prince Edward Island, outside of Lennox Island, included: cultural artifacts of arrowheads, baskets; signs with cultural designs, Mi'kmaq language; First Nation flags, cultural and historical references in street signs, and pan-Indian images. The Mi'kmaq photos documented on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia included: First Nations and pan-Indian flags; clothing and textiles with pan-Indian symbols and reference to Mi'kmaq; religious symbols, signs and posters, a cross; cultural artifacts of an Eagle staff, dream catchers; street signs with cultural, historical references and Mi'kmaq language; business and corporate signs with Mi'kmaq symbols and language. Photographs documenting the Penobscot in Old Town, Maine, included street signs indicating the direction of the Indian reservation, reference to Penobscot in general (such as River and County), reference to Island; business signs with reference to Wabanaki with cultural symbols, and specifically

to Maine Indian tribes of Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot. Mi'kmaq photos taken in Northern Maine included: corporate signs with reference to Micmac, pan-Indian symbols, Mi'kmaq language, and a street sign with Micmac. Photographing these signs captures the forms of the symbolic, iconic, and indexical with greater ease, rather than documenting conversations, gestures, sounds, scents, or water flow.

I applied image-based analysis of photographs representing Mi'kmaq and Penobscot signs and symbols and then compared the two data sets. I also conducted ethnographic content analysis of each individual image in order to deconstruct the importance of the elements contained within each. The ethnographic content analysis (Altheide, 1987) that I utilized, involved being reflexive between conceptualizing, trial sampling, photographing, coding, analysis, and interpretation. Although the process was systematic and analytic, it was not an attempt to be rigid. Categories and variables emerged and guided me throughout my study.

Images are subject to the visual literacy of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot cultures. They are understood “at a conscious level” of the “visual language used within a particular culture” (Zimmer & Zimmer, 1978, p. 21). My visual literacy is within the Mi'kmaq culture, and I suspect, this is somewhat similar to the Penobscot. I determine what is culturally relevant within the photographs.

My visual content analysis follows the model suggested by Collier and Collier (1986) by repeatedly examining the photographs both in temporal and spatial order followed by categorization. The photographs were printed, assembled, and viewed as an open comprehensive experience, and I consolidated, arranged, and rearranged the coverage at will (Collier & Collier, 1986). Following a preliminary unstructured viewing

of this inventory, the data was then catalogued under the headings of Lennox Island, Ellerslie, Summerside, Scotchfort, Charlottetown, Rocky Point, Morell (Prince Edward Island), Indian Island, Old Town, Presque Isle (Maine), Chapel Island, Potlotek, Eskasoni, and Membertou (Nova Scotia). Data was listed as a cultural photograph, a sign, a flag, a logo, or a street sign. Descriptions of the content of each photograph were recorded in a journal that served as an index. These were later entered into a codebook, as well as creating a photograph index of each research site in Microsoft Power Point with six photos/overheads printed per page and entered into a binder for viewing. The codebook recorded the photographs' index number, type of visual depiction, gender, gender paraphernalia, nation (Mi'kmaq/Penobscot), role, activities, setting, clothes, type of clothing, language, cultural symbols, generic symbols, religious symbols, spiritual symbols, historical references, and other types of visuals. The coding was influenced by themes of previous photographs obtained in Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, and Maine. Categorized themes included culture, history, and religion. These themes were the most prevalent and obvious to me.

Categorization was further extended through the use of a public-sphere model to assist in the analysis, placing the objects in categories of a cultural public sphere; a social sphere; a political public sphere; or a state sphere (Jensen, 1995). The cultural public sphere is where one finds the objects of art, literature, and music in society. Objects of private economic activity, production, sale of commodities, including labour, are found in the social sphere. Politics and the economy are found in the political public sphere. State agencies, infrastructure, law enforcement, and regulations, are found in the state sphere. This public-sphere model is perceived as the "best framework for a comprehensive

analysis of culture and communication in modern Western societies” (Jensen, 1995, pp. 58-59).

During categorization, special attention included examining the specific cultural form of government, language, religion/spirituality, location, proximity, and history. Various kinds of visual communication included: body language, clothing, objects, structures/buildings, materials, and art (Zimmer & Zimmer, 1978). In Chapter Four, these are used during the discussion of the photographs documented on Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and Indian Island, Maine, and were deemed important in the content analysis of the coded photos.

The photographs in themselves may be meaningless to someone without knowledge of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot cultures. My photographs are representative of others' representations using a Peircian-based approach. Each photograph from Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and Indian Island, Maine, underwent visual and ethnographic content analyses and was coded. I developed an inventory using an “informal sense of formal content analysis” (Chalfen, 1998, p. 228). Since the study is qualitative in nature, it utilizes a less formal content analysis not intended for statistical inferences. My analysis includes a cultural inventory extrapolated from the codebook. The cultural meanings of the photographs are described in length. I accomplished this by laying out the entire collection again, and searched for the significance of the details. This microanalysis approach involved examination of content in each photograph that assisted my understanding of the larger framework. It was not designed to generate statistical analysis, but rather to “define refined insights,” provide details of patterns, and detailed description (Collier & Collier, 1986).

Themes emerging from the Mi'kmaq photographs from Lennox Island are similar to the previous identified themes of culture, history, and religion. The most prevalent symbols are the cultural, historical, and pan-Indian references in street signs; followed by cultural artifacts, First Nation flags, Mi'kmaq language, religious symbols, Mi'kmaq and pan-Indian paintings, monuments, in no particular order of prevalence; and, a Lennox Island map outline. The most prevalent symbols from photos taken on Indian Island are cultural and historical references in street signs and cultural designs; with pan-Indian designs, cultural artifacts, statues, First Nation flags, cultural paintings, monuments, Penobscot language, and religious symbols; again, with no particular order of prevalence.

### ***Researcher Stance and Positioning***

I am a seventh generation descendant of a treaty signatory for the Richibucto tribe of Mi'kmaq in New Brunswick. I was born and grew up off reserve, later moving to the reserve in my childhood. Since approximately nine years, I have lived away from my home community. *Indians*, and *lands reserved for Indians*, fall within federal jurisdiction in Canada, and are regulated through legislation called the *Indian Act*. Registered with the Elsipogtog First Nation (formerly known as the Big Cove Band), I am termed a *status Indian*. Through my participation and performance in cultural ceremonies, some refer to me as a *traditionalist* and others a *neo-traditionalist*. My professional background is in aboriginal economic development, and I was until recently, a consultant in the area of aboriginal governance.

Traveling to Prince Edward Island since the early 1960s to visit my grandmother enabled my involvement in cultural ceremonies both on and off reserve throughout the island. Through my contracts with the Abegweit and Lennox Island First Nations, I



Figure 7 Photo by  
permission of M. Mizzi.

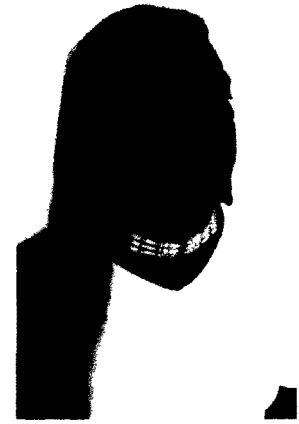


Figure 8 Photo by  
permission of KC Adams.

became familiar with the aboriginal community inclusive of the status and non-status Indian population. I have been involved in a professional capacity in the delivery of cultural awareness workshops, historical summaries, developing policies, facilitating consultations on various issues including governance, and participating on numerous committees.

Seasonal employment in Maine since the mid-1960s, in the blueberry and potato harvests, gave me exposure to the indigenous communities in the region. Through inter-tribal marriage, I have distant relatives among the Passamaquoddy in Maine. I have visited the Penobscot community in Indian Island on several occasions, with my first trip there in the mid-1980s. My research presence in the field was as unobtrusive as possible. Being Mi'kmaq assisted my entry into the specific-sites. Mi'kmaq are generally welcome in any community throughout Mi'kmakik (traditional Mi'kmaq territory). Self-identifying as an *indigenous person* was not difficult due to signifiers of personal clothing and hair, along with the fact that I am an indigenous person. (figures 7 & 8)

However, many Mi'kmaq may be apprehensive to social science researchers, including those who are indigenous. A common perception among indigenous people is



that we have been studied<sup>17</sup> to death. There had been no disclosure of the previous course study except for three instances in Morell, Prince Edward Island, Waycobah, Nova Scotia, and St. Peters Bay, Nova Scotia. In these instances, some Mi'kmaq from the community questioned me about my intent and I responded that the photos were for a graduate study on identity.

In the next chapter, I expand on the study's historical background. It considers the influence of history on the formation of sense of place and negotiation of identity. An Elder once pointed out to me, "How do you know where you are going if you do not know where you have been?"

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<sup>17</sup> A recent reply to the above comment is a story told to me about an Elder who pointed out that perhaps it is time that indigenous people are studied back to life.

**“No man is an island.”**

**John Donne (The Bait, 1624)**

*Islands, by being places and similar to people, are social constructions.  
Theoretical frameworks are our foundations. It is the first silken thread from a  
dropping spider.*

## **Chapter 2: Weaving Identity and Place from the Historical Background**

The following historical material offers representations of the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq by non-indigenous authors, and provides a foundation for negotiation of imagined identities. Rather than weaving identity into history, I weave history into identity. In signs, I look for the continued process of identity renegotiations.

Before I started my journey of researching identity, of visualizing place, or weaving, perhaps reweaving the web of ethnographies, I conducted a literature review of both the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot by examining Wallis and Wallis (1955), Nietfield (1981), Whitehead (1991), Robinson (2005), Currier (1978), Leavitt and Francis (1990), Speck (1998), MacDougall (2004), Berkhofer (1978), and Francis (1992). All these sources may be considered what Hall deems as identity going through the eye of the other. It is the continued negotiation and renegotiation of identity. I began by reviewing the Mi'kmaw timeline (Bernard et al., 2000c). Wallis and Wallis wrote *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* in 1955. Their fieldwork examined how extensive was the loss of Mi'kmaq culture during a thirty-eight year period and identified which cultural

traits remained. Wilson Wallis gathered information from 1911-1912, and later with his wife, Ruth, sought to supplement data with further research in 1950 and 1953. Their research was conducted through field studies recording folktales and through direct questioning resulting in ethnography. This involved listening to Mi'kmaq accounts of culture in: Restigouche, Quebec; Red Bank, Eel Ground, Burnt Church, in New Brunswick; Pictou Landing, Tuft's Cove, Truro, Shubenacadie, Elmsdale, Enfield, New Germany, Bear River, Musquodoboit Harbour, Merigomish, Grand Lake, in Nova Scotia; and, Lennox Island, in Prince Edward Island from 1911-12.

The Wallis's returned to the Atlantic region, to Burnt Church, New Brunswick and Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia in 1950; to Restigouche and Maria, Quebec; Eel River, Burnt Church, Eel Ground, and Big Cove, New Brunswick, in 1953. It appeared that after four hundred years, much of what remained of Mi'kmaq culture was due to their resistance together with the adoption and adaptation of foreign traits. Wallis and Wallis also concluded that Kluska legends were remnants of stories known by older people; the old men were losing their political influence to the younger men elected under the federal Indian Act system; there was an adaptation to the "white world"; and, the myth-making process had elements of history with Mi'kmaq embellishments. Perhaps, this was an indication that younger Mi'kmaq no longer valued cultural knowledge of Elders. The authors also suggested that acculturation with leadership selections were subsequently subsumed by the Indian Act system.

Comments made to students in the early 1900s indicated that the *Jesuit Relations* (1896) contained all the ethnographic accounts that were ever required, and many could not understand the need for a Mi'kmaq study. This ethnography was extensive, covering

tribal life (people, economy, material culture, cosmology, zoology and botany, health, metaphysical, religion, supernatural, socio-political organization, recreation, intertribal relations, kinship, life events, modern culture), along with folktales and traditions (Gluscap, supernatural, mythic, ghosts, luck charms, human-animal stories, history and tradition), and stories told in 1950-53. I actually read this book in high school and was interested in the “supernatural ghost” stories. The stories are so similar to the ones I had heard from my mother and aunt but I believed them to be factual as these supernatural “*ginap*” and “*buoin*” were my family and relatives. Wilson Wallis’s influences by E.B. Taylor, reflect a social anthropology that studied “primitive cultures.” Wallis and Wallis provided an ethnography that suggests that the Mi’kmaq ‘resisted’ assimilating into Canadian society yet it did not address policies resulting in our marginalization to reserves. For Mi’kmaq without access to oral traditions, I can see this ethnography informing them on their culture. Personally, I am aware of some ethnographic content and unaware of others. The continued negotiation of Mi’kmaq identity may incorporate information that Wallis and Wallis recorded. This hybridity of oral and ethnographic traditions risks subjecting identity into the static realm. However, this same hybridity has provided me with a lens when analysing the content of photographs.

As a subsequent text, I examined a doctoral dissertation by Nietfield (1981), *Determinants of Aboriginal Micmac Political Structure*. Her study focused on the environment of the Maritime region exposing a dichotomy between “abundant, nucleated aquatic resources . . . sparse, scattered terrestrial resources . . . and freshwater fish” (Nietfield, 1981, p. 18). She believed there were shifts from summer and winter encampments due to available resources and the political decisions involved shifted as

well, from pre-contact times. Nietfield utilized library research involving archaeological studies, history, ethnographies, environmental data, and compared aquatic resources with terrestrial resources used by the Mi'kmaq in the summer and winter, before and after European contact. This involved the Mi'kmaq in the Maritimes encompassing what she defined as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec. She found that the precontact Mi'kmaq structures were not identical to those found in the 17th century. She concluded that: the Mi'kmaq often encountered resource crises; the chiefs' role was to serve as an "organizational focus of the band"; and, found their social structure was between a "mobile hunting band" and a "sedentary tribe" (1981, pp. 561-572).

The evidence she provided was supportive of her thesis but also made no claim that her study was a comprehensive ethnography. The study included environmental, archaeological, historical, economic, population data, and information on political organization. This political organization eventually evolved into the *Santé Mawiomi wjet Mi'kmaq*, or the Mi'kmaq Grand Council, which some believe was structured by the French. Mi'kmaq are convinced it always existed. A social structural shift between the band and the tribe was due to resource allocations and seasonal availability. Given my Mi'kmaq cultural knowledge of these resources on the land, it was considered only common sense for the Mi'kmaq to move with the seasonal resource availability. The chief's role was valued due to his cultural and resource knowledge. In my opinion a study relying solely on library research is too restrictive. The restrictions are on non-indigenous representations of Mi'kmaq in text. I also find that political structure is important to Mi'kmaq in their identity formation, especially concerning the Grand

Council. My representation of Nietfield's text which relies on various disciplines, treats archaeology, history, and ethnographies, similarly as components of my conceptual braid. More importantly, this provides a historical timeline for my study.

In *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950* Whitehead's (1991) intentions were not to provide a comprehensive survey of Mi'kmaq history but rather bits of insights into Mi'kmaq life, both from their perspective and those who recorded them. Her work was a research collection of scattered documentation including: oral histories, historical documentation, newspapers, census material, autopsy reports, merchants' account books, court cases, journals, letters, and Indian agents' reports. The oral histories were extracted from French and English written records covering the Mi'kmaq of Atlantic Canada. As a source book of readings, she hoped to redress the omissions, biases, and errors of published histories of the Mi'kmaq People who have lived in the region the longest. Her text provided fragments of history recorded chronologically from the fifteenth through to the twentieth century. This book interested me because of the cultural and historical knowledge that Whitehead transmitted intuitively to me by providing the information which I read as stories by both Mi'kmaq and the English. It also covered over four hundred-years of information. I find Whitehead's documented Mi'kmaq oral histories very interesting, yet they remain restricted to the representations of those who documented them, the French and English. The Mi'kmaq perspectives are represented as bold text utilizing Mi'kmaq words that are interspersed among other historical accounts. I also find this interesting because they are perhaps, attempts at portraying them as Mi'kmaq perspectives but remain the author's representations. Rather than weaving Mi'kmaq oral accounts and French/English

historical accounts, they are the weavings, or the associations of the author. Something will always be lost in the recording of oral traditions as they become textual. I resist conforming to her uniform Mi'kmaq spellings because I am portraying the complexity of identity throughout history.

Robinson's (2005) *Ta'n Teli-Ktlamsitasit (Ways of Believing): Mi'kmaq Religion in Eskasoni, Nova Scotia* examined Roman Catholic and Mi'kmaq religious beliefs, the spectrum of their religious and/or spiritual orientations that they use or reject in constructing their personal and social identity, and looked at how religion functions in their daily lives. Her field research involved forty-two open-ended formal interviews, participant observation, informal interviews and discussion with men and women between 40-85 years old, and with children and young adults. Her study population covered about four thousand Mi'kmaq in Eskasoni, Nova Scotia. Among the identities she found were: those that practiced traditionalism, or neo-traditionalism; a distinct form of Mi'kmaq Catholicism; and, those that were both Catholic and traditionalist. This study examined Mi'kmaq ontologies and epistemologies but was limited to religion and spirituality. It did not examine those Mi'kmaq who do not believe in any particular religion or spirituality. She discovered that the Mi'kmaq were continually making choices and taking action based on past and existing constructions and reconstructions of Mi'kmaq religion. Their interpretations of Catholic religion and traditional spiritual orientations were diverse. There were also some indications that identity is fluid. I found this book valuable as the author suggests a hybridity among the Mi'kmaq as being both Catholic and traditionalists. I believe however, that the hybridity of the Mi'kmaq is more complex than Robinson's model. Robinson's sampling of the Eskasoni Mi'kmaq

population is small, slightly over one percent. The small sampling size could not strongly suggest identity constructions. However, it provides me with a lens to examine photographs with considerations of hybridity of religion and traditional cultures.

Concerning the Penobscot, I read a doctoral dissertation entitled *Wabanaki Ethnic-History, Five Centuries of Becoming Indian: An Ethnohistorical Approach to Ethnicity* by Coburn Currier, Jr. (1978). His study focused on isolating cultural symbols that have enabled Penobscot to maintain a separate identity in a legal sense and commonsense world of both White and Indian people in the State of Maine. Three core systems of symbols involved land, law, and the cultural and somatic norm images provide a separate identity over time. Despite the vast cultural change experienced, they still determined themselves distinct. The State of Maine, the Federal Government, and the white citizens also considered the Penobscot as distinct. He utilized an ethnohistoric narrative that studied the symbols of land, legislative action, and somatic and cultural norm images covering the Wabanaki but more specifically the Penobscot of Maine. He found the characteristics used to support the separate identity of the Penobscot through the various changes were: land and natural resources such as energy, space, food; law and legislation, like tariffs, corporate structure, taxes; and, norm images of race, religion, and language, were the ideologies on which retribalization of the Penobscot proceeded. Currier (1978) saw the ethnic history of the Penobscot served as a model for the persistence of the group that sought its identity through time. This ethnohistory focused on the land, laws, and norm images that formed the dichotomy between the identities of whites and the Penobscot in Maine. One identity was required to determine what the other was not. A group must define itself in order to establish who was excluded from that group. Initially



it was difficult to understand how the core symbols of land, legislation, and images formed Penobscot identity over centuries and how the author followed it through time. Currier's arbitrary selection of Penobscot symbols of land, legislation, and cultural images may not be those which the Penobscot would choose for themselves. The Penobscot culture did not evolve in isolation. Therefore, I cannot understand his attempts at isolating cultural symbols. This book assisted me in examining the binaries between indigenous and non-indigenous place and identity. Currier's examination of the Penobscot's separate and distinct identity within Maine helped me to formulate and examine the quadratic relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous identity and place. It also highlights the importance of land.

Leavitt and Francis's *Wapapi Akonutomakonol, the Wampum Records: Wabanaki Traditional Laws* (1990) provided insight into the social and political institutions of the Wabanaki People during the colonial times. It represented a translation of oral narratives obtained by Speck and material from Newell Lyon (Penobscot). Walker discussed wampum used in Wabanaki diplomacy along with Prince's translation of Lewis Mitchell's (Passamaquoddy) Wampum Records. The study covered the Wabanaki (Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Mi'kmaq) of Maine and Atlantic Canada. It found that wampum played an important part in the Wabanaki Confederacy. It provided descriptions of wampum symbolism and a translation of the Wampum Records. The editors assured that the original wording was restored and a new English translation was edited for accuracy. The wampum belts were symbolic of feeding the fire or nourishing the Confederacy (Leavitt & Francis, 1990, p.14). The last participation by the Penobscot occurred when Nick Sockabesin dishonoured the belt in Oldtown (1862). The Mi'kmaq

sent delegates to Kahnawake until 1872. Wampum protocol was used at Governor John Attean and Lieutenant Governor John Neptune's inauguration in Old Town (1816). Every tribe sent their councillors to participate in the confederacy, or the great council meeting. Leavitt and Francis provided some insight to the political interactions between the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot. The authors rely heavily on Speck's recorded accounts of Newell Lion (Lyon) and the Wabanaki Confederacy, perhaps suggesting a connection to the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701. This oral account indicated hostilities between the confederated tribes and the Mohawk. Speck noted that the Confederacy originated around 1676 without consideration to the larger alliances of the Eastern Seaboard in Canada/United States, and the tribes along the Great Lakes apparent in their presence at the Great Peace of Montreal. It appears that the oral Penobscot history may be a regional perspective of a larger event, becoming Speck's representation of history, further incorporated into contemporary understandings of the Confederacy. The text provides cultural governance and ceremonial concepts in the Penobscot language with similarities to the Mi'kmaq language.

Speck's *Penobscot Man* (1998) provided raw data investigating the Penobscot living in northern New England. His fieldwork resulted in an ethnography that studied myth<sup>18</sup>, religious beliefs, shamanism, social organization, and decorative art covering the targeted population of the Penobscot Indians of Maine. He found this to be a cultural picture during a time of the last half of the 19th century where the Penobscot culture retained its independence and most of its traditional cultural characteristics. In conclusion, he indicated that the Indians were finally almost completely submerged

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<sup>18</sup> Myth is the terminology that Speck used.

within the English and European institutions. I found the study quite extensive in covering history, material life, art and design, social life, and social relationships. Similar to Wallis and Wallis, this author suggests acculturation of the Penobscot to the nonindigenous lifestyle. Speck acknowledged the Penobscot as a blending of cultures in the postscript and did not portray them as static. He highlighted an abundance of cultural and historical material with a grasp on the language. This book has provided me with a strong base to examine the language, story of creation, family and place names, history, and symbolism, which assisted me in identifying cultural elements within each photograph.

In MacDougall's (2004) *The Penobscot Dance of Resistance: Tradition in the History of a People*, the author explored how the Penobscot withstood the pressure of assimilation, giving up their unique identity, and melding with the dominant culture. This narrative utilized secondary sources of Penobscot and non-native writings involving ethnographies, histories, along with primary written sources such as anthologies, archives, informal and formal testimonies and interviews. The population studied consisted of the Penobscot of Maine. Her findings suggest identifying cultural revival as a crucial ingredient for their survival. The Penobscot turned to their traditions to find answers when faced with new challenges brought by Europeans, and later, by Americans. Trade and land negotiations were imposed on them, and they were restricted to hunting, fishing, and cultivation. Their social and political identities remained separate from others in Maine and they resisted assimilation and extinction. This was a contradiction to Speck's suggestion of acculturation. It also reinforced the binaries that were raised from reading Currier (1978). This was similar to Whitehead's (1991) intuitive approach where

I read the book as a compilation of stories. The Penobscot maintained their right to govern themselves through treaties while the State of Maine sought to remove their sovereignty. This was not entirely successful since throughout their history the Penobscot resisted; thus, their dance of resistance. The most striking information was the use of place-names, which tied people to the land and to specific places where the language strengthens one's sense of place. This is a strong indication that place names have changed through history. Although MacDougall (2004) cites that the Penobscot's social and political identities remain separate from others in Maine, their construction and renegotiation are not performed in isolation.

With a better understanding of the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq cultures, I then sought to grasp the notion of identity formation, or more particularly, the social construction of Indian. Robert Berkhofer's *The Whiteman's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (1978) examined how the white perception of the Indian developed through history, and how it epitomized the constant recursive influence between the past and present in forming current understanding of the Indian that also changed comprehension of past understandings. This survey of secondary literature examined imagery from history, religion, anthropology, social sciences, literature, art, philosophy, and politics, studying the Indians of the Americas. Berkhofer found that the duality of the good and bad Indian, and that the scientific perspective combined normative and descriptive dimensions into one intellectual construct that served both ideological and scientific purposes. He realized that issues will always be framed in terms of white values, needs, ideologies, and creative uses. Natives would be treated as a problem and reflected as such in policy as long as they were seen as Indian with a need to

be assimilated. In conclusion, he saw the white's Indian imagery continuing as long as the perception of Indian otherness was perpetuated. I think that the social constructions of Indian created stereotypes that served white Americans. Although Berkhofer wrote about American Indians, I understood his focus to be on Indians in the United States. It also served the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot when they absorbed Indian into their identity. Penobscot and Mi'kmaq only recently blended it within their own identities in the twentieth century. This book served my intuitive nature of absorbing knowledge on Indian identity. This knowledge of white-Eurocentric perspectives represented in the texts, was treated as numerous stories in my mind that would inform my opinion on Indian identity. Berkhofer's representations are based on a series of historical representations negotiated throughout multiple disciplines since Columbus coined indigenous people as being *indios*. This text helps to identify Indian elements blended with culture in the photographs. The most prevalent image is the Plains Indian with feather headdress. These images transcend the international border between the United States and Canada such as the RCA TV test pattern.

Francis (1992) examined an imaginary Indian image used in Canada since the middle of the nineteenth century. These images of Native people were manufactured, believed, admired, despised, and taught to their children by white Canadians. In *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Francis (1992) focused on understanding this Indian imagery's origins, its effect on policy, and how it shaped, and continues to shape, the stories Euro-Canadians tell themselves in their own identity formation. In his archival and library research, he examined the images of Native people which white Canadians produced in their paintings, photographs, literature, novels,

poetry, movies, theatre, posters, performers, music, history books, schoolbooks, social clubs, advertising, postcards, government policies, and news media. The study populations included the Indians in Canada. He found that image-makers created the imaginary Indian which was presented as actual representation. The traditional Indian was an image of the past and this image was a hindrance to national development and civilized values. Canadians were uncertain of their history and land occupation so they projected onto Indian characters in movies. Francis (1992) suggested that Canadians lack a historical connection to the land, or a sense of rootedness, which has been manifested in how they portray Indians in film. The celebrity Indians did not challenge society and were more acceptable. Childhood perceptions of Indians were either associated with camping or a historical remnant portrayed as a threat. It is through this appropriation of cultural elements of indigeneity that Canadians' emulations attempted to be rooted to the land, and the assimilation of indigenous people was discredited. In his conclusion, he stated, "... Canadians are conflicted in their attitudes toward Indians. And we will continue to be so long as the Indian remains imaginary" (Francis, 1992, p. 224). I found that Francis's research relied on a vast and multidisciplinary source of Indian images. These representations are very similar to those of Berkhofer. These projections onto the indigenous population, due to Euro-Canadians lack of rootedness to the land, seem to be a weak correlation but a possibility. I have adopted the imaginary Indian into my own identity when discussing it with non-indigenous people and I use terminology which they understand. It requires less effort explaining Indian rather than Mi'kmaq. This is a prime example of identity first going through the eye of non-indigenous people, and

appropriated by indigenous people. In my opinion, it is important that Canadians bridge the “real” and “perceived” in order to have a relationship with Native people.

### ***Site Selection***

The setting of this study was site-specific to Lennox Island, a First Nation pseudo-island<sup>19</sup> located off the main island of Prince Edward Island in Canada, and Indian Island, another pseudo-island located within the Penobscot River off the main island of Old Town in Maine. I refer to them both as pseudo-islands as they are both connected to the mainland with a bridge, thus breaking away from the strict/normative definition of an island. This study is population-specific to the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot, but examines the two groups in order to place the study within a broader context. The Mi'kmaq diaspora reside beyond their traditional homelands in Prince Edward Island and Canada, and the Penobscot are scattered beyond the Indian Island Reservation in Maine and the United States.

Lennox Island is located in the Malpeque Bay, northwest of Summerside (PE), and is named after Charles Lennox, the Duke of Richmond. It consists of 520 hectares or 1328 acres (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, 2003, p. 42). A causeway constructed in 1973 connects Lennox Island to Prince Edward Island. The crescent shaped province has a landmass of 5660 square kilometres or 2184 square miles (Government of Prince Edward Island, n.d.). An S-shaped bridge (12.9 kilometres) connects Borden-Carleton (PE) to Cape Jourimain (NB), completed in 1997 (Haaheim, 2008). During the 1980s, there were about 484 Mi'kmaq living on approximately 4 acres

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<sup>19</sup> The term pseudo-island is a result of a conversation with Dr. Baldacchino in consideration of the European Union's definition of an island to include that it is not attached to the mainland by a rigid structure.

of land per capita (Bartlett, 1986). The 2007 on-reserve population is made up of 380 people with 440 living off reserve, totalling 820 (Indian & Northern Affairs Canada, 2008). Census data for 2006 indicates a median age of 23 years old, and an overcrowding situation occurring on the reserve (Statistics Canada, 2008).

Indian Island is approximately twenty-one kilometres (13 miles) north of Bangor, Maine (expedia.com). The Indian Island Reservation owns: 127 hectares (315 acres); nearly 200 islands in the Penobscot River; more than 22,127 hectares (55,000 acres) of trust land in Penobscot County; and, more than 27,923 hectares (69,000 acres) of fee-simple land. About one-fourth of the tribe's two thousand members live on the reservation (Champlain & Champlain, n.d.). Indian Island is connected to Old Town by a bridge. Census data for the year 2000 indicated a total population of 562 for Indian Island, 477 are American Indian (US Census Bureau, n.d.). Maine, located in the northeastern US, has approximately 8.6 million hectares (33,215 square miles) of land (Government of Maine, n.d.). In contrast to these geographical descriptions, a *basi l'nu*<sup>20</sup> would point to the general direction with their lips.

With the geographical location of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot of this study established, I then examined their historical context established by Western thought as well. My interest in history was to determine if historical elements were manifested within Mi'kmaq and Penobscot signs and identity. Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies of hunting and gathering societies were replaced with the blending of societies being dependent on government remittances along with remnants of cultures.

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<sup>20</sup> *Basi (bussy) l'nu* loosely translates into *strong* or *thick person* (Indian), coming closest to a descriptive of someone with authenticity.



## ***Historical Context***

### **The Mi'kmaq of Prince Edward Island**

Paleo-Indians entered the region between 10,000 - 12,000 years ago, crossing the land bridge between what is called “Northumbria” (Keenlyside, 1982; 1983). This was evidenced in the discovery of artefacts (Keenlyside, 1984; 2006). Caribou moved into the area, followed by hunters. Seasonal migration was in search of fish and game (Augustine, 1999). This was a cyclical activity based on accessing seasonal resources. The Mi'kmaq lived primarily within the Malpeque Bay, and on the mainland in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Amerindian social-economic institutions were not separated (Dickason, 1984). Later trade with Europeans occurred through intermediaries, which cemented intermarriage alliances.

A shift from a subsistence economy to a dependence on trade goods was established with the arrival of the French. A walrus and seal trade existed in Prince Edward Island during the 1500s (Dickason, 1984). The Mi'kmaq formed a specialization and hierarchization within the fur trade following ancient trade routes, and forming unequal trade relationships (Delâge, 1993). A Basque, Enaud, was murdered by his Mohawk brother-in-law, his followers then left New Brunswick for Île Saint Jean (Gesner, 1847). Enaud's trade alliances were with the enemy of the Mi'kmaq forcing his followers to leave. This introduced tropes of the island as prison or the island as paradise. The treaty era with the British began after the expulsion of the Acadians.

Treaties were signed between 1713 - 1763 (Pelliser, 1977). The island was captured from the French around 1745 (Gesner, 1847). The Mi'kmaq were promised continued hunting, fishing, and trade if they kept the peace and respected British law.

These Mi'kmaq-British treaties of peace and friendship did not include a cession of land in the Maritimes. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 after which Britain acquired North American lands from France, declared by King George III, was to set aside lands reserved for Indians to protect their hunting grounds. Although some legal perspectives have determined that the Maritimes are exempt, one common interpretation is that this protection of Indian lands applies to the Maritimes (Issac, 2001).

Prince Edward Island was surveyed and granted to absentee proprietors in England, divided into lots with no land left over for its Aboriginal inhabitants (Gould & Semple, 1980; Dickason, 1992). After the Peace of Paris in 1763, British colonization began. The Mi'kmaq were reduced to destitution by the 1830s. Individual assistance was procured from the legislature through the Indian Commissioner during the 1840s and 1850s. Land was not ceded or purchased, reserves were not established, and the forests and game were fast disappearing (Pelliser, 1977). Lennox Island was granted to a private landowner in 1772, later conveyed to the Indians through a British trust in 1912 (Issac, 2001). The Mi'kmaq continued to live throughout the main island making baskets, axe handles, and oars for sale (Pelliser, 1977). Legislation was enacted to prevent reserve lands from being encroached upon, as they were established for cultivation, and comprised 1663 acres (Bartlett, 1986).

The Mi'kmaq language continued to be spoken by the year 1900 (Pelliser, 1977). Many lived in wood-framed houses with farming and making baskets replacing hunting and trapping. They were deprived of fish and materials obtained from the forests (Loughran, 1983). Most men fought in World War I, and after returning home they received less benefits afforded to non-indigenous veterans (Loughran, 1983). Mi'kmaq

did not receive citizenship until 1956 and the vote in 1960 (Bernard, et al., 2000c). Around 1969, children no longer spoke Mi'kmaq with a perception of no desire to maintain the language. Many were sent to residential school. Some Mi'kmaq no longer identified with their heritage, avoiding contact with other Indians, or with Indian Affairs. Gross (1969) cited a core group dependent on welfare and other services, predicting children would continue in that cycle. Relocating the reserve to a central location to break from its isolation was one suggestion, an alternative was for the construction of a causeway to facilitate socio-economic development (Gross, 1969). The causeway was completed in 1973, which decreased the island's geographical insularity.

### **The Penobscot of Maine**

Paleo-Indians arrived in Maine around 10,000 years ago (Currier, 1978). They began to disappear 500 years later and were replaced<sup>21</sup> with a population increase between 8,500 and 3,500 years ago (Currier, 1978). Previously called the Armouchiquois and Etchemin/Tarratine, they are now known as Abenaki and Maliseet/Passamaquoddy. Samuel Champlain visited the area in 1605. There was indirect trade through the Maritimes. By the 1600s, the French were settling in Maine (Speck, 1998).

During the early 1600s, there was conflict with the Abenaki, followed by disease epidemics, and conflict with the Mohawk. Kirk captured Port Royal, Saint Croix, and Pentagoet in the 1660s (Gesner, 1847). Old Town became the chief Penobscot settlement in 1669 (Speck, 1998). Saint Castine arrived at Panawabskeag (Indian Island) in 1677 and married Chief Madokwando's daughter (Shay, 1998), cementing trade relations. Indian Island was also called "Indian Old Town" (McBride, 1995, p. 5). The English

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<sup>21</sup> I sense that many Penobscot might disagree with that statement, indicating that their connection to the land exists since time immemorial.

raided Pentagoet and surrounding area between 1688-1692, prior to the Peace Treaty being signed at Pemaquid in 1693 (Daugherty, 1983). Chief Madokwando released lands in 1694 to Phipps of Massachusetts (Shay, 1998). A trading post and blockhouse were established at St. George in 1719, followed with many skirmishes. Oldtown was attacked in 1723 and temporarily deserted, followed by peace, treaties, and other wars until the Revolutionary War. "In 1786 the Penobscot ceded to Massachusetts all the lands in the Penobscot Valley . . . reserving for themselves Indian Island and all the islands above it" consisting of 146 islands (Speck, 1998, pp. 14-15). That gave me the impression that the Penobscot lived on a river of islands.

The last land surrendered in 1833 reduced their lands to five thousand acres with the money deposited into a trust controlled by the State of Maine. The Penobscot's access to their land shrank. Interest from the fund paid for some services. Sawmills destroyed the native fisheries with the construction of dams on the river and the Penobscot turned to seasonal employment as loggers or river drivers. They bordered on becoming paupers by 1851 (McBride, 1995, p. 9). This feeds into the social construction of "poor Indians." Some Penobscot became involved in travelling Indian shows, played sports in the late 1800s and early 1900s, or acted in film. They donned the Indian identity for survival. This pan-Indian image was not the traditional Penobscot image. Many Penobscot benefitted from their portrayals of Plains Indians in the media.

A one-lane bridge was built in 1950 from Indian Island to the island of Old Town (MacDougall, 2004), suggesting that their insularity was broken. They received the national vote (1954), state vote (1967), and have a non-voting representative in the state legislature. A land claim was settled in 1980 (MacDougall, 2004).

All of these historical ideas are considered in the next chapter within the negotiation of identity and place. The semiotic Mi'kmaq concepts have been lost with the language. Mi'kmaq children in Lennox Island lost the Mi'kmaq conceptualization of being born from and belonging to the land after losing their language at residential school. The historical context indicated that both the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot were removed from their places, and their historical descriptions by others form the basis of the social constructions of Penobscot Indians and Mi'kmaq Indians. Their history, changing culture, and relationship to the land, shape their identity. What is interesting is the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot historical connection to the land is what Tator (2009) referred to as predominantly "Eurocentrically produced knowledge" and "privileged over all other forms" (p.5). The historical context of both tribes is the continued renegotiation of place.

**“These lovely lamps, these windows of the soul.”**

**Guillaume Du Bartas (Divine Weekes and Workes, Sixth Day)**

*Lamps as eyes we look and see; perceiving into the mirror or the mind, we reflect.*

*A web may not be perceived to a fly's eye, yet, we marvel at its constructional  
brilliance in dawn's dewy light.*

## **Chapter 3: Negotiating Identity and Place**

### ***Ethno-genesis Narratives***

The ethno-genesis<sup>22</sup> narratives form the indigenous *ways of being-ontologies* and the *ways of knowing-epistemologies*. I began this explanatory exercise of reviewing public documents to gain a sense of my own history, which informs identity, and explains place through stories. Stories of creation began its initial blending of ontologies and epistemologies when the first indigenous stories were told to non-indigenous writers. Indigenous writers recording oral tradition are influenced by Eurocentric ontologies and epistemologies, which are further influenced by Judeo-Christian values and principles, indicating other blending occurring. These texts exist within closed systems of language, however, they do not exist in social vacuums. Indigenous ethno-genesis narratives, documented in French and English, are blended further. They convert indigenous thought and concepts from the oral form into another language and form being text.

The story of Mi'kmaq creation was told to me by my eldest brother and recorded in the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (Augustine, 1996). Similarly, Henderson

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<sup>22</sup> Ethno-genesis is the process by which a group understand themselves as distinct from the wider social landscape ([www.absoluteastronomy.com](http://www.absoluteastronomy.com)). This term avoids the older anthropological language of *myth* where alleged stories provide explanations of creation. My preference is to use “creation stories.”

(1997) indicated that the Mi'kmaq understanding of the seven levels of creation are: *Kisúlk*, or the Creator; *Niskam*, the sun; *Sitqamúk*, the earth; *Kluskap*, the first man or first teacher; *Nukumi*, his grandmother; *Netawansum*, his nephew; and *Nikanaptekewisqw*, his mother. *Kluskap* was created from the earth, his grandmother from a rock, his nephew from sea foam on the grass, and his mother from a leaf, fallen from a tree. After each creation of their being, this resulted in giving thanks and honour.

A shared world-view of animals, birds, and plants was created. *Kisúlk* instructed *Kluskap* how to live, who in turn was to teach others. *Nukumi* came into the world with knowledge and wisdom. *Netawansum* had the ability to see a great distance. *Nikanaptekewisqw* could foretell the future, and brought with her love, honour, and respect for all things. She also brought the colours of the world. *Kluskap* journeyed north with his grandmother. Sparks from *putuwassuwaqan*, or the great council fire, would create women and men who would form families. It was from *Kluskap*'s teachings that the first people were taught how to live, how to communicate with other life, how to manage their world in their hunting and fishing, and how to gather medicine. All living beings had a body, or *ktinin*; a soul, or *manitu*; and a guardian spirit, or *wtansaléuimka*. The spirit forces were in all things, the stars, the sun, the moon, and these forces could not be controlled; however, the Mi'kmaq belonged within these forces. Life consisted of *wjijaqami*, the life-soul; *mimajuaqn*, the shadow; and *wsk-tiekmew*, the free soul. The dispersal of the Dawn Peoples spread beyond this Dawn Land, or *Wapnáqkik* (Henderson, 1997). These represented Mi'kmaq social constructions of place and identity.

The narrative also took on alternate routes. There were variations to the story of creation as well. It departs from a long tradition of oral history, beyond the transmission form of storytelling. This is perhaps significant of the narratives moving away from indigenous language and concepts of ontologies and epistemologies, and is dependent on compounded representations. “The Great Spirit who lived in the Happy Hunting Grounds created the universe and all life” (Sark, 1988, p. 6). He created *Glooscap* and then the Micmac people by shooting an arrow in a birch tree. The tree splintered and pieces of bark became men, women, and children with red complexions. *Minegoo*, an enchanting island was created. The Great Spirit placed her in the singing waters, or the Gulf of St. Lawrence. *Glooscap* was instructed to take the island and the sleeping people on his shoulder, along with *Glooscap*’s evil brother, and place them in the water. *Glooscap* allowed the Micmac to become aware of *Minegoo* so they could enjoy it as a Happy Hunting Ground. *Glooscap* taught the Micmac people how to share, how to make medicine, how to hunt, the Youth and Elders must work together, and *Minegoo* must be shared with the animals. *Glooscap* shot an arrow into a birch tree and canoes, wigwams, and snowshoes sprang forth. The loon messenger prophesized the coming of other men from across the water and that they will bring firewater with them. Before *Glooscap* left, he turned his evil brother into stone and asked his dogs to guard him (Sark, 1988). These narratives, mainly by non-indigenous people, were records and interpretations of representations of the Mi’kmaq identity and social constructions of place. Initial blending of ethno-genesis narratives is significant when it no longer incorporates indigenous ontologies and epistemologies.



The Penobscot ethno-genesis narrative was quite similar to the Mi'kmaq. *Klose-kur-beh*, or the man from nothing, was created from the earth. He travelled for many days, and would later learn how to feed and clothe himself. The Great Being instructed *Klose-kur-beh* that living spirits existed in all things. The first teachings were the power of the Great Spirit, they must never leave their land, and to respect their mother. These were sacred teachings. *Nokami*, his grandmother was then created, followed by *Natur-wan-sum*, his nephew; and his mother, *Nee-gar-oose*. After each arrived into the world they feasted first on meat, then fish, followed by nuts. *Klose-kur-beh* began the task of clearing the land of all obstacles. *No-ka-mi* took care of the home and the food. *Natur-wan-sum* hunted. *Nee-gar-oose* became the seed of the world, just as the animals, fowl, and fishes had seed. More men and women followed them, who would build their own homes. *Klose-kur-beh* instructed them that the land in the south belonged to them; the land in the north was his. One day he would leave them and return to the north with his grandmother. *Klose-kur-beh* would teach them how to hunt, how to make clothing and stone tools (Nicolar, 1979). This represents Penobscot social constructions of place and identity.

Speck (1935) and Dolloff (2006) retell *Gluscape's* shaping of the land by killing a cow moose and later chasing after its calf. The dead cow moose formed Mount Kineo. Kettle Mountain, or Little Spencer Mountain, was formed when the calf knocked over *Gluscape's* kettle in its escape. Big Spencer Mountain was formed by his backpack flung to the ground in pursuit of the calf. Killing the calf near Penobscot Bay, *Gluscape* tossed entrails to his dog forming Islesboro. The calf's rump became Cape Rosier. His snowshoes left marks at Dicer Head in Castine (Dolloff, 2006). This also reveals the

Penobscot social construction of place. The social constructions of place occur when creation and other stories outline how the people relate to their world, experiencing life among the story locations, reaffirming their being, knowing, and doing.

### ***Ethno-genesis Narrative Representations and Folklore***

The ethno-genesis narrative takes a slightly different turn according to early writers of “myth<sup>23</sup>” and folklore. Early ethnographers and folklorists assigned their own code to these indigenous ways of knowing and being. The following Euro-American/Canadian authors are treated equally as I am not searching for accuracy or authenticity but rather looking for these representations manifested in signs. *Ktcini'sxam* (Great Spirit) created *Gluskap* from the earth, at Cape North in Cape Breton Island, in Nova Scotia. *Gluskap* was the god of the Micmacs and lived at the Fairy Holes, or *Gluskap's* wigwam (Speck, 1915a). *Kluskap* was not a god to the Mi'kmaq. Those retelling the story perhaps used the language that the ethnographers might have been familiar with. Another version recorded that Christ made the world, the stars, the moon, and the sun. He took the earth and made a man and another man, leaving them on an island (Parsons, 1925). The blending of Catholicism and ethno-genesis narrative was an early indication of hybridity of culture. MacMillan (1928) wrote that *Glooskap* was the Creator travelling in his stone canoe. He arrived to the Children of the Light, those living closest to the sunrise. *Kluskap* was not the creator but rather the first person created who also shaped the geography of the landscape. *Glooskap* was born a twin, his brother, the wolf, was evil. Through stealth, the wolf would kill *Glooskap* with a rush. Discovering the plot on his life, *Glooskap* killed his brother with a fern root. *Glooskap* shrank in size

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<sup>23</sup> Many earlier writers referred to oral histories as *myth*.

the troublesome animals. The loon, Old Tattler, became his messenger; the rabbit, Old Bunny, became man's guide; and the partridge built boats for the men and animals. Old Blob, the whale became *Glooskap's* carrier. *Glooskap* taught his people how to hunt, make huts, and build canoes (MacMillan, 1928). *Glooskap* also taught them how to name the stars, and the land bore witness to his existence (Leland, 1968).

There were other Mi'kmaq variations to this creation story. The Sun, or *Niscaminou*, made the heavens, the earth, the weather, and the Mi'kmaq (Robertson, 2006). This made reference to *Niskam*, or what Mi'kmaq later referred to as God. It came from *Niskamitj*<sup>24</sup> or Grandfather; used to make reference to the Sun. Robertson used *Niscaminou* meaning *Our Grandfather*, or the Sun. Some Mi'kmaq today would disagree that the Sun was the creator with a cultural understanding that the Creator made the Sun. *Kji-kinap*, or the Great Spirit, made *Kluskap* by blowing breath into a stone image of a man and *Kluskap* was called, Liar or the Cunning One (Whitehead, 1988). Whitehead's reference to the Great Spirit as the Great Warrior, was possibly a loose translation or poor choice of wording used for the English to understand. Her reference to Kluskap was that the *Cunning One* would be more accurate as the Mi'kmaq did not refer to him as a *Liar*. *Niskaminou*, Grandfather Sun, created man by moulding him from sand and giving him the breath of life in *Megumagee*, land of the red earth (McBride, 1990). Here McBride made reference to *Mi'kmaki* or *The Land of the Mi'kmaq* which would have had been a term used after contact with Europeans. We did not refer to ourselves as Mi'kmaq prior to contact but made reference to *My Relations* as *Ni'kmaq*.

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<sup>24</sup> This is my own spelling, influenced by the Smith-Francis orthography. This Roman letter writing system was developed in 1974, and was officially adopted by the Mikmaq Nation in 1980 ([www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)).

*Glooscap*, the god-man, warrior and leader, appeared to his people to teach them to hunt and fish, cultivate, cook, and travel by the stars. His home was at Cape Blomindon, Nova Scotia, in the Minas Basin (Spicer, 2006). These narratives by non-indigenous people were ethnographies and folklore interpretations of representations derived, directly or indirectly, from Mi'kmaq identity and place social constructions. They provide an example of the negotiation of place and identity, described by Hall (1997b) as going "through the eye of the other." They are the representations of the ethnographers and folklorists.

My focus here is on the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot who moved away from oral ethno-genesis narratives. These are phenomena experienced on the land and utilized in the construction of identity. These narratives are recorded and become representations of representations undergoing further transformation with each subsequent usage. *Glōskap* had an island boat, which he used, to fish off the coast of the Gaspé. There he met a warship and requested to trade for scissors, thread, clothing, and provisions for his grandmother (Michelson, 1925). Here there was a blending of ethno-genesis narrative with recorded history or a collective memory of European trade. It was an indication of hybrid stories. MacArthur (1988) informed us that the Great Spirit created *Minegoo*, the beautiful bewitching island. *Minegoo* did not mean *beautiful bewitching island*, which was obviously the author's embellishment. The Great Spirit carried the island on his shoulders as he flew over the Gulf of St. Lawrence, placing it into the sea. *Minegoo* was given to the people as their happy hunting ground (MacArthur, 1988). This was another embellishment of the author, as Mi'kmaq did not use the term *happy hunting grounds*. Prince Edward Island was said to be an iceboat, which saved the people, birds, and

animals from a great flood. The old name for the island was *kjiktúlnu*, or our great boat (Whitehead, 1991). This may be a reference to post-glacial geomorphology similar to land formations suggested by Nunn (2003), or shaping of the land after the retreat of the glaciers.

The creation story remained similar for the Penobscot. *Glūs-kābé*, however, created himself from the dirt remaining from Adam's creation. God created the earth and sea (Alger, 1897). This represents another hybrid of ethno-genesis and religion. Rolde (2004) admitted it was unclear whether *Klose-kur-beh* made himself or was created by the Great Spirit. *Gluskabe* was a deceiver/liar, or a man from nothing, as described by the Indians. He had the ability to outwit his enemies through astuteness. As a legendary hero and transformer, explanations of forming the land were attributed to Kluskap's agency. He was credited for transforming the geography into the present shape of the earth for its inhabitants (Speck, 1935). *Koluskap* came from the sky with his twin brother, *Malsom*. He later turned his rock canoe into Newfoundland (Maine Indian Program, 1989). *Gluskabe* was the ideal Penobscot man being a "skilled hunter, clever and tricky, able to outwit others, [and] physically strong" (MacDougall, 2004, p. 37). *Kluskap* was born as most people are. *Malsumsis* was born through his mother's side, killing her (Parkhill, 1997). The negotiation of place and identity continue. Kluskap as the *ideal Penobscot man* was the basis for Penobscot identity although it totally ignored the women's role in society.

There were two family groupings found along the Penobscot River, the water families and the terrestrial families. The origins of the water families come from *Gluskape* killing a monster frog and releasing the water that was dammed up. After a

long drought, the people rushed to drink the water and became fish and marine animals. Their human relatives who escaped the transformation took on the names of these fish and marine animals. They also established their hunting grounds closer to the mouth of the river. Other families took their names from their co-relatives, or *ndo'dem* of land animals. Their hunting districts were further inland. Starting at the river's mouth, the following families resided, along with their animal names: Mitchell (lobster and crab); Mitchell and Denis (bear); Francis (sculpin); Neptune (eel); Glossian (toad); Newell and Nelson (insect); Francis (fisher); Stanislaus (whale); extinct family (beaver); Sockalexis (sturgeon); Polis and Susup (wolf); Orson (frog); Attean (squirrel); extinct family (raccoon); Lewis (wolverine); Coley and Nicola (water nymph); Saul and Nicola (otter); Fransway Penus (wildcat); Newell (hare); Penewit (yellow perch); Swassion and Susup (raven); and Denis (no totem identified). The Bear family was said to be descended from an ancestor held captive by bears, with no origins cited for the Fisher, Wolf, and Beaver families. Otters were said to be of Norridgewock origin, having escaped the massacre by the English. Hares were said to be of Malecite origin, and Wildcats of Abenaki origin (Speck, 1998). Similar to the Mi'kmaq case, these narratives documented by Speck were interpretations of representations derived directly or indirectly from Penobscot social constructions of identity and place. They are rooted in ethno-genesis narratives of the Penobscot themselves, although this is a representation interpreted by Speck.

### ***Literature, History, and Ethnologies***

Further document analysis included the reviewing of the literature on the Penobscot and the Mi'kmaq. The language descriptions of stereotyping indicate interpretations of representations fuelling non-indigenous social constructions of identity

and place. Perhaps, these constructions were utilized to denigrate indigenous people and remove them from their land. One of the earlier descriptions that may apply to these *Wabanaki*, or People of the Dawn, originated from the Norsemen. Travelling from Norway to Greenland and Vinland, the Norsemen described the inhabitants as decrepit, inferior, savage, and dwarfs, referring to them as “skraelings” (Wilson, 1892, p. 64). This was an emergence of the “other” as compared to Europeans. Arrival of other people were foreseen through a vision where a young Micmac woman saw a floating island with tall trees and humans dressed in rabbit skins (Maclean, 1896). This story reappeared in other publications, including by Whitehead (1991). The Souriquois, or Micmac, were good canoe men, once a large and powerful nation (Vetromile, 1866). Micmac in the Gaspé were reported as living only on fishing, subject to poverty, eager to trade for European goods, with shaved heads and sleeping under their canoes (Schoolcraft, 1851). The interpretation of poverty did not take into account that the Mi’kmaq may have been staying in temporary fishing camps. I remember my father overturning a boat on several occasions, propped up with an oar, where the boat served as a temporary shelter. Canoes were recounted as comparable to horses, loaded with family and supplies (Piers, 1896). Marc Lescarbot recorded the Micmac as separate from the Malecite, and to civilize them was through cultivating the land, forcing them to become sedentary (Thwaites, 1896). This seems to be an indication that the potentiality of removal of indigenous people from the land required them to become farmers. The early Micmac men were described as hunters with the women living in camps; later described as “gipsies,” kidnappers of children, attacking emigrants, scalping and torturing (Alexander, 1849, p. 233). The savage Indian image surfaces here.

These descriptions were also carried over into fiction. Charles G. D. Roberts described the Micmac as savage, snatching babies, and fierce with scalping knives (Roberts, 1894, 1900). The Micmac women were described as squaws and the English as palefaces (Roberts, 1896). Some of these Micmac women were depicted as manufacturers of baskets who had also succumbed to alcohol, and were pitied by the townspeople who bought their wares (Saunders, 1896). An Acadian woman was portrayed as a wild beauty owing to her being captured by the Micmac as a young child (Rogers, 1891). After approximately two hundred years of contact, the savage and drunken Indian squaws, as poor and decrepit, are still being reinforced in popular literature.

In verse, Elizabeth Frame (1864) wrote of “horrid whoops and fiendish calls”:

And many scalps, with demon joy,

To Louisburg they bear away,

Then hasten on a new foray.

Seventeen fishing vessels seize,

Drive here their men and bind to trees,

Around them raise the loud pow-wow;

Hate rests on every Micmac brow,

Mambertou gives the fatal nod,

Their life-blood flowed along this sod.

With wailings low my tidal waves,

Sighed like a mourner round their graves. (p. 152)

She described powwow as a torture session and spelled Grand Chief Mambertou as



Mambertou, while demonizing both the Mi'kmaq and the French.

Joseph Howe's (1874) poetry described emigrants clearing the wilderness, as pensioners after the Indian wars remembering that the Micmac were once plentiful:

Though o'er Acadia's hills and plains

The wand'ring Micmac listless strays,

While scarce a single trace remains

of what he was in other days. (p. 89)

The continued "wandering" by the Mi'kmaq over their traditional homeland continued to be a sore point for the English. Unsurprisingly, these attitudes were carried over into the birth of Canada as a nation.

Reverend Silas Rand (1850) took note of the English through Micmac eyes, as people taking possession of their lands, treating them as though without rights, employing them in war, and rewarding them for cruelty. "The whiteman dealt treacherously with the Indian, and he [Mi'kmaq] dealt treacherously with the whiteman" (Rand, 1850, p. 6).

Father Pierre Biard sought to domesticate and civilize the idle and childish Mi'kmaq (Thwaites, 1896). Branded as childish, he was utilized by the federal government to keep "Indians" as wards of the state.

The Penobscot were described similarly to the Micmac, illustrated as rude and savage (The Amaranth, 1842). Initial contact with the Penobscot was at the river's mouth in 1605 when George Weymouth offered brandy but no one would drink. This contradicted the popular depictions of Indians as drunks. He used peas and a "box of trifles to barter" to entice some Indians on board their ship in order to kidnap them (Baker, 1897, p. 11). Etchimis were divided into the smaller tribes of Penobscot, or

Openangos, and Passamaquoddy. The Penobscot were also known as the Oldtown Indians, the Lincoln, the Mattinancook, the Passadumkeag, the Ollemon, and Abnakis (Vetromile, 1866). The complexity of identity was illuminated in these historical records. Multiple identities stemmed from the numerous names used for the Penobscot along with the various spellings. The Jesuit Relations (Thwaites, 1896) also described them as Tarratines. Another variation, the Garratines, were called a once powerful tribe with a handful remaining (Maclean, 1896). In close proximity to Castine, the English built a fort for trade in 1625, falling to the French in 1632 (Thwaites, 1896). The Penobscot waged war on New England in 1688, with St. Castin leading them. The killing was beyond mercy (Weaver, 1900). Saint Castin<sup>25</sup> married into the tribe, and provided gunpowder and shot to the Penobscot, which others called his “Indian harem” (Parkman, 1898, pp. 232 & 354). A poem by Elizabeth Frame (1864), *Dead on Savage Island*, refers to St. Castin:

In days gone by - the days of old,  
 The Lord of Bearne, (a Baron bold,)  
 Lord Castine left the Pyrenees,  
 (Where orange groves perfume the breeze,)  
 For L’Acadie; there wed a maid -  
 A sachem’s heir - the chief was made  
 Of the Abenakis, who, west  
 Of Micmac’s tribe, did warlike rest . . . (p. 148)

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<sup>25</sup> This is a variant spelling referring to the same person.

Conflict in New England realized a “baptism of blood at the hands of the Abenaki converts and was sanctioned and encouraged by their mission priests” (Baker, 1897, p.40). Not only was it the holy war between the French and the English, but it became a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. The English portrayed French priests with contempt similar to that shown to the Mi’kmaq and Penobscot. Savages were beyond reason, seeking vengeance on women and children for treaty violations with the English (Williams, 1841). Immediately after making her assertion, Mrs. Williams<sup>26</sup> (1841) contradicted this with stating that they were not savage and had the ability to read and write French. The Penobscot later became Roman Catholics, remained sedentary for most of the year, and cultivated their lands. To establish an English school for them, an association of benevolent individuals promised their parents farming tools (West, 1827). This literature illustrated how the social construction of savage Indian identity was applied to the Penobscot and sustained through history as well. Removal of people from their land was perhaps considered easier once these people were demonized through the eyes of the other.

### ***Textual Representations***

Charts, somewhat similar to those utilized by Faris (1990) in *The Nightway*, are utilized to provide a comparative examination of recorded narrative texts of Mi’kmaq and Penobscot ethno-genesis narratives<sup>27</sup> (cosmologies), along with ethnographies, histories, poetry, and literature<sup>28</sup>. These assisted me in the identification of associations.

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<sup>26</sup> The record gives no indication of Mrs. Williams’ given name.

<sup>27</sup> See Table 1 in Appendix I.

<sup>28</sup> See Table 2 in Appendix I.

I make reference to two ethno-genesis narratives for the Penobscot and two for the Mi'kmaq. Sark (Mi'kmaq), Henderson (Cherokee), Nicolar (Penobscot) are all aboriginal authors with the exception of Dolloff (possibly of Dutch ancestry) whose source was Francis (Penobscot), are similar with the exception of language use of different names. This suggests a single source, common to the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot. Sark is the only source utilizing expressions such as “happy hunting grounds,” “palefaces,” and “firewater.”

Most folklorists and ethnographers, although relying on aboriginal sources, are presumably non-aboriginal authors. Three of the creation stories are from the Wabanaki inclusive of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot; nine are Mi'kmaq; three are Penobscot; one is Canadian Indian inclusive of the Mi'kmaq; and one of the Maine Indians inclusive of the Penobscot. As Penobscot and Mi'kmaq oral histories do not have a written language, the table shows a variation of spellings for Kluskap/Glooscap. All these variations consist of other's representations of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot ethno-genesis, suggesting that at the time of their recording, there was no single authoritative source. Later versions relied also on secondary sources which were earlier versions. This suggests a decline in the use of ethno-genesis as a social construction of place and identity, resulting in the loss of common elements, and the reliance on Christian explanations.

### ***Webs of Indian Identity***

In this section, I examine the text on social constructions and negotiation of Indian identity with a Saussurian-based approach to semiotics of language, probing the text treated as *form* (being the *signifier*) and the *concept* that text represents (the *signified*). I examine Indigenous, Native, Indian, and Aboriginal identities as explained

by the other. The nuances of identity constructions and negotiations continue to be multifaceted and complex. Identity may be a difficult subject to grasp, especially with the politics attached to it. Bernstein indicated that the definition of *identity politics* refers to a particular group's activism or the "political practice with sociological analyses of the relationship between identity and politics" (2005, p. 48). Neo-Marxists examine the power and oppression aspects but separate culture from the political economy. From a postmodern perspective of power, it becomes a "narrow legal/political activism" that does not address the "cultural sources of oppression" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 57). Social movements require identity for empowerment; identity that helps to organize the movement. Language and images help to explain and construct the movement's beliefs (Bernstein, 2005). I believe that the current Wabanaki imagery is constructing a renegotiated identity.

Social constructions also rely on how their socializations are taught to subsequent generations. Cultural pedagogy is a result of struggles over representation, identifications, and agency where culture is central to the understanding of meaning, identity, and power (Giroux, 2000). "Power" used in text is the *form*, however, it may not be so easily translated as a *concept* from the Penobscot or Mi'kmaq language. Conceptually, the closest translated idea of *power* would be a life force associated with spirit, or agency. Indigenous agency suffers when oral transmission of cultural continuity is lost to textual learning, mostly relying on an imaginary concept.

I found that Indigenous identity has been described as complex, controversial, fragmented, pluri-constructed, multilayered, and non-static. It can be mediated through self-identification, community identification, or external identification. It may reflect the

culture's beliefs, values, and cosmology. It may also be a combination of the self and other's perceptions. There are popular beliefs that Native identity was represented as a stereotype and frozen in time (Weaver, 2001). Alfred (2005) stated that identity is multilayered and it is through living heritage that identities are generated. These multiple identities may be negotiated as an assertion of ethnic identity (Bartels & Bartels, 2005). Identity formation relies on the negotiation or mediation of *concepts* of the individual accessible through their *forms* found externally in the community.

Tripathy (2006) suggested that Native identity is multi-patterned and multi-levelled, represented in stories, dances, visions, and the collective memory wherein *being* and *becoming* are the same thing. These Native identities are constructed, reconstructed, affirmed, and reaffirmed. Constructing and controlling identities involves a discursive process. Negative labels can also disempower a group, and seeking emancipation from imposed names is sought to break away from negative connotations of the "Imaginary Indian" inherent in public policies (Retzlaff, 2005). The term First Nations has replaced Bands as well as being used for personal identities. First Nations may have carried over the negative connotations of perceived policies associated with Indians.

Valaskakis (2000) stated that the Native identity and reality are based on the construction stemming from Indian membership policies and colonial codes, which test the boundaries of self-determination. '*Indian*' and '*Whiteman*' are inventions, cultural fictions suiting someone's purposes with Indians having an identity group where they can claim descent to its original inhabitants, regardless if they are affiliated with an Indian community or not (Price, 1990). This goes back to writings by Thomas Paine and Thomas Hobbes, indicating a contrast between the *Noble Indian* and the *Savage Indian*.

The noble savage appeared in Europe and was soon romanticized or rejected. According to Weatherford (1988), Paine utilized Indians as a model for social organization who said that Europeans were in worse condition while Hobbes described Indian lives as “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (p. 127). The permanence and abundance of *form* in text outlasts the spoken *form* in oral histories, especially if they are minimized in formal educational institutions.

Indian identity is contrasted with others’ identities, either negotiating the individual identity or balancing the racial and tribal identities in a contemporary identity. The Indian Act regulatory regime provides federal recognition in Canada with similar legislation in the United States. The categories of “*status Indians*” and “*non-status Indians*” were created in Canada since 1869. Other dichotomies incorporate racial differences creating White superiority and Native inferiority. Bill C-31 maintained divisions along gender and blood quantum, forcing some to leave the community and become urban Indians. This provided difficulties when reconceptualising identities (Lawrence, 2003). Social constructions of identity rely heavily on the textual *form* with an increased decline of accessible indigenous language and concepts in an urban environment.

Aboriginal identification and self-identification are discursive. This can stem from cultural *creation histories*. An individual, who has the agency or the power to select from a wide variety of available resources to construct their identity, is in sharp contrast with the individual who has no verifiable historical or familial connections. The urban mixed-blood Indian is rendered meaningless by white discourse (Proulx, 2006). Working from a discourse of identity, Jones (1997) viewed identity as a “process in the

construction of ethnicity and the relationship between ethnicity and culture,” which can be developed into a comparative framework (p. 13). Objectivists perceived ethnic groups with distinct boundaries and from an etic perspective compared to subjectivists who see groups as culturally constructed, informed by social interaction and behaviour, and from an emic perspective (Jones, 1997). Groups are self-defining systems. Aboriginal was also seen as a colonial construct eliminating indigenous identities (Alfred, 2005). Alfred (2005) suggested that the social construction of *Aboriginal* is harmful and minimizes the indigenous construction of their identity. *Aboriginal* in textual form, eliminates the distinctiveness of indigenous conceptualized groups. Semantically, as language and text, the dominant *form* takes precedence over the indigenous oral *concept* of their own identity.

The construction of cultural identity involves an ongoing practice of identification. Karlsson (2000) noted that it was strategic for psychic and social survival in a struggle for self-determination. National borders and economies are dissolving and this determined a large part of social life in the global process (Du Gay, 2000). Identity has to be renegotiated to accommodate these new borders. Clifford (2000) indicated that people at the margins are left out of global and national histories. They may also be excluded from the global renegotiation of identities. Mi'kmaq and Penobscot risk exclusion from this global renegotiation of identity when they do not contribute textual form and lose their opportunity of circulating their concepts within the dominant discourse. The paradox of homogenization is that it created difference. “Reconstructed ethnicity” is the production for the White-dominated culture market. A combination of tactics is required of “affirmations and negotiations around separation and interaction” by



the less powerful (Clifford, 2000, p. 106). The Mi'kmaq and Penobscot must be assertive in the constant renegotiation of their cultural identities in the ever-shifting globalization process. Through articulation theory, there is a reduction of indigeneity in First Nations postmodern identity politics where they are being termed as "invented traditions" (Clifford, 2001, p. 472). Indigenous societies have persisted and communities reconfigured themselves (Clifford, 2001). These "indigenous identities must always transcend colonial disruptions" . . . and they must "find ways to represent dispersal and connected populations" (2001, pp. 482-483). Invented traditions are not a new concept as outlined by Hobsbawm and Ranger (2006), indicating that the practice occurred in Scotland, Wales, Britain, India, Africa, and among other places. Invention and reinvention are nothing more than social constructions and renegotiations of identity indicating their dynamic nature of identity formation.

Along with identity being framed as invented traditions, there are also those who have referred to cultural knowledge as being *readbacks*. Hornborg (2002a) highlighted a definition for *readbacks* as a phenomenon that Native informants provided to anthropologists, which they may have had acquired from reading. An individual can choose an identity within the spectrum of Native traditionalism, Catholicism, and pan-Indianism. Outsiders to the community may see this as an inconsistent Mi'kmaq identity with what some view as spontaneous invention of new traditions (Hornborg, 2003). All knowledge, regardless of source, is some type of *readback* to other previous knowledge. Knowledge reads back semantically, through textual and other *forms*.

There is a general tendency to look at the recorded information as *truths* when the historical background is connected to perspectives of identity, regardless of accuracy or

authenticity. The re-negotiation of these *truths* in turn constructs a new foundation of identity and creates a new *truth*, subject to further negotiation.

Similar to Butler's (1998) perspective on gendered identities, the Indian and White identities form a binary<sup>29</sup>. Where the coexistence of the binaries is assumed, repressed, and excluded, they intercede to construct identities stemming from this binary. The gap is breached when people like Charles Leland and Grey Owl wish to assimilate, or risk "going Native," which involves a question of power (Hornborg, 2001). Other gaps can be within a culture. Cultural values and norms are at risk of not being passed on to the textual *form* and the *concepts* risk being lost. This is critical to identity and may result in the loss of language, culture, and identity (Bernard et al., 2000a). Loss of agency can be an assault on the experience of self and identity where some see neo-traditionalism as a beginning to a new life (Hornborg, 2005). Neo-traditionalism, as a *concept*, can take on textual *form*.

The Penobscot perceive themselves as Penobscot first and United States citizens second. These two identities become difficult (Anastas, 1973). This indicates that the Penobscot have more than one identity. In Canada, the politics of assimilation has failed with the one alternative being the politics of difference, which should not override the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship (Harris, 2003). I agree with Harris and suggest that there is the possibility of the Mi'kmaq having their cultural identity along with a Canadian one. I do not know if this was always the case in Canada, or if it was identified. Indigenous people can introduce their *concepts* of identity into global discourse (as *form*) of national identities. Indigenous sovereignty does not have to

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<sup>29</sup> Although gender is a category in the coding of the photographs, this study is not an examination of gender identities.

include secession with some having dual sovereign status such as Norfolk, Cook, Niue, and Tokelau Islands (Fleras & Maaka, 2000). These examples have demonstrated the possibility of nations accepting more than one jurisdictional identity. In any event, the ‘*Indian*’ identity remains enigmatic.

Colonial thought was influenced by the dichotomy of civilization and savagery (Harris, 2003). The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs’ legal definition of *Native American* is “a person who is enrolled or registered member of a tribe or whose blood quantum is one fourth or more genealogically derived from Native American ancestry” (Garrette & Pichette, 2000, pp. 3-4). Can someone be one-half Canadian or one-fourth American? Common usage also included native people such as Indians in the US. There were several levels of acculturation identified for Native Americans, that can be assessed with the Native American Acculturation Scale (Garrette & Pichette, 2000). Both in Canada and the US, indigenous people have faced severe persecution where their cultural traditions were seen as inferior (Wilson, 2004). The American Indian was classed as uncivilized and a warlike savage, falling within the paradigm of the “unadulterated savage state” while perpetuating the stereotypes of being ignorant, lazy, drunken, bloodthirsty, and lawless (Williams, 2005, p. 33). Similar language was used throughout the legal history of the US Courts. The above examples of textual *form* indicate their persistent and dominant use of constructed *concepts* of identity, semantically prevalent throughout North America.

The definition of Indian in Canada, dating back to 1850, relates to any person who was deemed aboriginal by birth or blood, belonged to a particular band or body of Indians, and married an Indian or was adopted by Indians (Indian and Northern Affairs

Canada, n.d.). Statistics Canada (2007) used *Aboriginal identity* in the census. They also utilized categories of *Registered Indian, or status Indian*, those who are registered under the Indian Act, and *Treaty Indians* as those registered under the Indian Act and have signed treaties (Statistics Canada, 2007). Statistics Canada referred to *Member of an Indian Band or First Nation*, with another being of *aboriginal origins*. Nationhood has a double meaning that is both cultural and political (Flanagan, 2000). Historically, there are references to Indians in the Royal Proclamation and the US constitutional articles (Flanagan, 2000). The US Chief Justice John Marshall termed Indians as tribes and referred to them as nations (Flanagan, 2000). Although Indians' Bands are now called First Nations in Canada, Flanagan (2000) did not see them as viable governments, in a nation sense, due to their small size. *Nation* in textual *form* does not translate into a similar indigenous *concept*, perhaps being adopted and adapted in place of Indian.

Barkan (2000) indicated that the category of Indian was invented by whites, set into policy, and eventually reinforced by Native Americans who relied on the pan-Indian movements of the 1960s for continued survival, cutting across tribal borders like Indian religions. One of the images of the Indian was that of a deep connection to the land (Hornborg, 2001). Yet, the Royal Proclamation gave the Crown jurisdiction over the Indians and their land, followed later by the Indian Act, which controlled and regulated their lives and imposed a leadership system over their traditional leadership (Boldt, 1993). One of the outcomes of the Indian Act was its termination of intermarried Native women's rights to live on their reserves (Guelke, 2003). My sister was paid money when she married a non-native as a payment for giving up her Indian status. She regained her

status after 1985 with the introduction of Bill C-31<sup>30</sup>. Her identity is constructed by government through policies and legislation enforcing the textual *form* that constructs the federal *concept*.

In Canada, Indians have special status, entitled to rights, have extensive special claims, and are demanding privileges (Clifton, 1990). “Real Indians,” however, have biological ties; they practice being Indian; have appropriate props<sup>31</sup>, with times and places; have conversational obligations with other Indians; understand that silence is permissible, and the roles of instruction; and, engage in verbal sparring or *razzing* with others during the process of determining *real Indians* (Gee, 1999). Razzing is the *conceptual negotiation* of identity through the rapid exchange of *form* (language). It is the quick exercise of associative learning. Rorty (1991) indicated that the opposite of realism is idealism, or anti-realism. This suggests that the *ideal Indian* is the opposite of the *real Indian*.

At one point, *Micmac Indian* and *Penobscot Indian* were used, and may still be in usage. Gesner (1847) cited French bounties for marriages which produced a mongrel race. Wilson (1988) cited the “Micmac religion [was] seen as an act of defiance” where “they incorporated their own beliefs into Christianity” with “a strong native element,” thus, stiffening their “will to fight assimilation” (p. 200). This suggests a hybrid of culture and religion. According to Hornborg (2002b), Saint Ann is Kluskap’s grandmother. The Mi’kmaq *concept* of Nukumi (Grandmother) shifts into the Christian

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<sup>30</sup> Bill C-31 is a Canadian legislation addressing the discriminatory sections of the Indian Act which deprived Indian women (who married non-Indians) from sections of the Act applying to them and their children.

<sup>31</sup> Similar to the term “theatrical property”, it is better known as a prop, and is an object used in a stage play or similar entertainments to further the action (www.wikipedia.com). The prop authenticates the “Indian.”

*concept* yet remains in the *form* of Saint Ann. It was not such a long leap of faith to Catholicism. The mission to Chapel Island<sup>32</sup> has continued since the 1600s, however, the political functions of the Mi'kmaq Grand Council continued for some time, and then were later diminished. The chief from Prince Edward Island wore traditional clothes<sup>33</sup> to the mission and walked beside the Grand Chief. Indian dancing was forbidden in 1942 and was reintroduced in the 1970s. Pan-Indianism came to Chapel Island around 1962, and neo-traditionalists later participated at the mission though some opposed blending pan-Indianism with Catholicism (Hornborg, 2002b). It appears that there were some concerns of hybridity of Mi'kmaq culture and pan-Indianism although there is no consideration of the previous hybridity of Mi'kmaq culture and religion. Social constructions of Mi'kmaq identity were not a concern when chiefs adopted British military jackets or the ceremonies at Saint Ann mission, however Indian dancing became a concern when it was reintroduced.

The Indians in Prince Edward Island were the most neglected in the region for about one hundred years, and were “placed in the position of surrogate wild animals” (Upton, 1976, p. 42). Complex attitudes toward the Mi'kmaq existed during other missionary work. Reverend Rand's missionary work occurred during the 1800s when the Mi'kmaq of Prince Edward Island were described as being misguided Christians, who formed a part of a dying race, were degraded as useless and filthy, with their nomadic behaviour seen as being uncivilized (Abler, 2006). The Penobscot were historically described as marauders and slaughterers (Anastas, 1973). The Mi'kmaq in

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<sup>32</sup> According to oral translation by my brother: Chapel Island is called *Potloteg*, originating from *Port Toulouse*.

<sup>33</sup> These traditional clothes are a blending of *form*, the adoption of colonial military jackets, beaded and embroidered.

Newfoundland hid their ancestry, shying away from the Indian stereotypes of being lazy, violent, alcoholic, dirty, and thieving with possible jackatars (Jacques à Terre) in their ancestry (Bartels & Bartels, 2005). The roles of Mi'kmaq Elders, parents and youth were disrupted following the after-effects of events such as residential schools, assimilation policies, and religious conversion, all of which weakened the social structure (Bernard et al., 2000a). In *Contested Belonging*, Alf Hornborg was referenced as suggesting that Mi'kmaq elements may not necessarily be traced to their own history but to a hybrid identity that has nothing to do with an authenticity. Importance was given in asserting their collective identity (Karlsson, 2000). The determination of authenticity remains. Euro-Canadian and Euro-American usage of textual forms that construct the concept of Indian identity dominate, while the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot oral concepts are lost to the non-indigenous population.

## ***Place and Displacement***

### **Weaving Place from the Landscape**

The concept of *Terra Nullius* meant uninhabited land and it was imposed on Wabanaki. *Oikumené* was inhabited land, an interdependent relationship between humans and their habitat, *ecumene* (Tissier, 2005). Elders tell us that we do not own the land but rather that the land owns us, suggesting an interdependent relationship. A number of islands are inhabited; some are not. Islands possess a geographic *specificity* that is linked to geographical discontinuity between the sea and the land, and perceived differently; either as a mere geographical object or as a central place of scientific study (Brigand, 2006). Islands are the periphery in a binary with a centre. Although most

people perceive themselves as central, metropolises consider those locations as being on the periphery, thus creating the binary. The centres supply the services and goods to the peripheries that complement the centre, in central place theory (Pumain, 2004). In contrast to central place theory, traditionalists view the self as central followed by concentric circles representing the family, community, region, world, and the rest of the cosmos. What impact do bridges and causeways have on developing a sense of place? We acquire a sense of *non-place* when we become detached from experiencing place and community (Smith, 1992; Thomas & Knowles, 2002). Faster transportation renders space as non-place.

The land and spirituality stimulates identity, agency, and solidarity (Proulx, 2006). Place is a human construct; it always remains and it is experienced. Pred (1984) indicated that “the appropriation and transformation of space and nature” are interwoven with “the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space” (p.279). Elders control the place based on their practical knowledge of the land with specific information to the situation at hand, and based on their ideology or worldview (Pred, 1984). I agree that there is a sense of spirituality that shapes our identity, agency, and pulls people together into a group consciousness. Our Elders socialize us into how we become a part of place. Tripathy (2006) suggested that Native essence<sup>34</sup> is tied into the relationship to the land and nature, with the sense of place being a connection with all life. It fuels the social construction of Indians as being one with the land.

Bryan’s (2000) ontology of property discussed how the English concepts of land stem from Locke’s construction of property, where barren land was perceived as not

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<sup>34</sup> Tripathy, a scholar from India, introduced the term *native essence*.



tamed or productive. This has evolved over time from land rights bundled with consumption, then exchange value, then with morality, to natural right, to contract, and asset value. This clashes with the Aboriginal's highly nuanced perceptions of land, people, resource relationships, forming identity and ontology (Bryan, 2000). I agree with Bryan that Locke's perception of property ownership clashes with indigenous land use and has resulted in conflict since colonial times. The loss of land has restricted the freedom to practice cultural traditions and allowing the body to experience the land (Hornborg, 2005). Harris (2003) pointed out that aggressive colonization exploited the land and through this, dispossession was derived. Exploring new options of land tenure, many Native people could live a comfortable life within their own traditional homelands (Harris, 2003). Harris suggested alternative perspectives of modern land use that I do not agree with. In my opinion Harris is speaking from a position of privilege and does not deviate from the status quo, which will only maintain marginalization of indigenous people from their land.

Why do Canadians not adapt to indigenous land use concepts? "New ways of establishing a sense of place. . ." carry ". . . a deeper sense of self and hope for survival in contemporary society" (Karlsson, 2000, pp. 20-21). Perhaps, the bridges and causeways are a result of what Clifford (2000) has described as global space being created, erasing geographic barriers. "Local elites 'package' their place to attract investment leading to the active production of places with special characteristics" (Clifford, 2000, p. 101). It was not the band or tribal members that attempted to attract tourism or gamblers. There was a resurgence of Hawaiian religion that was rooted in their relationship to the land; yet, there was a commodification of culture occurring (Trask, 1987). Many indigenous

people have capitalized on their own cultures, just as some may have viewed me satisfying my self-interest by obtaining a degree. Creation stories were told at the campfire when Wabanaki bartered their guiding services to White hunters. Indian identity has been adapted and adopted by the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot, such as Jeremiah Lonecloud, Frank "Big Thunder" Loring, and Molly Spotted Elk. Artisans have sold baskets, quill-embroidered birchbark furniture, canoes, and chiefs' clothing to collectors and anthropologists. Services can be bought to walk a trail listening to oral histories, gain the Mi'kmaq experience, view medicinal botanical gardens, view spear points and arrow heads, or watch Indian dancing. It is in the globalization of local places, through commodification, that phenomenological sense of place becomes lost.

Hornborg (2001) indicated that it was during the European naming of places that old names were lost. The relationship to place is regarded as complex both physically and culturally, with place being embedded with a social context and meaning. I too sometimes view reserves as islands insulated from the rest of society depending on the context. Reserves have been described as islands due to similarities of insularity (Hornborg, 2001). The approximately 900 First Nations form a 5000-kilometre archipelago across Canada (Armstrong, 2001). First Nations form an archipelago of non-contiguous fragments of land, yet they cannot prove a system of private property (Flanagan, 2000). Ironically, indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies are not required to prove land ownership. Others do not see these First Nations communities turning into "island states" (Dyck, 1991). Although they were perceived as being similar to islands, they were not afforded the jurisdictional sovereignty of island states. The island references suggest that Indian reserves are insular from the rest of

Canada. The Western ontology of land is the standard of determining land ownership, with any collectivities being discounted.

For Canadians, there are three types of land in Canada: reserves, private or public property, and Crown lands requiring some type of self-government and co-management mixture (Usher, 2003). The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was made to protect Indian lands; however, the Indian Act gives absolute power to the Crown to control everything on the reserve (Cumming & Mickenberg, 1972). I believe this created the indigenous dependency on government as promised during the treaty process. The Indian Act caused two-thirds of Canada's indigenous people to be landless (Lawrence, 2003) while remaining silent on gendered sites (Guelke, 2003). This removed the Mi'kmaq from their traditional territories. Indigenous rights to property were extinguished, as they were dispossessed, disempowered, and marginalized (Fleras & Maaka, 2000). Ripmeester (2003) suggested that reserves may have been sites of creativity and resistance but they were also ruinous for the Native people. In contrast, the reserves also helped to protect the Mi'kmaq language and culture. Peters (2004) indicated that reserves have a strange history that emerged from conflicting perspectives of imperialists, settlers, colonial officials, and from Natives' responses. Focusing on reserves does not address urban Indians who were also dispossessed, making them a highly mobile labour force that always returns home (Peters, 2003). Many of these urban centres remained within their traditional lands. They have become a part of the meta-community flowing between the rural and the urban environments (Podlasly, 2003). This suggested that indigenous people resisted permanent residency with a continued mobility over their traditional homelands.

In traditional times, a place of honour in the Mi'kmaq *wikuom* (the home) was directly across the fire pit, away from the drafts in proximity of the entrance. This is similar to Cree oral tradition, where the back of the dwelling is a place of honour reserved for guests (Adelson, 2000, p.28). Algonkian cultures and languages have similarities. The Mi'kmaq use language to describe space and place.<sup>35</sup> My grandmother called Lennox Island, *l'nui minegoo* meaning "Indian's island." My eldest brother informed me that *minegoo* (also spelled *mênigu*) is rooted in the words, *mensêg* or *mensm*, meaning to "cut out." Kluskap was embedded in local places on Cape Breton Island, through stories (Hornborg, 2002a). All islands are within *Mi'kmaki*. *Mi'kmaki*<sup>36</sup> is inclusive of seven districts that follow hunting rules called *Netukulimk* (Hornborg, 2002b). Although islands are cut-off from the land, they remain inclusive of the homeland. Mi'kmaq have lived throughout Prince Edward Island prior to European contact. Those familiar with the language consider *Mi'kmaq* a non-word while others prefer self-description as *L'nu*, or "the people." The current usage of Mi'kmaq is rooted in the descriptives of family and relatives. These would be *nikmaq* (my relatives), *kikmaq* (your relatives), and *wikma* (our relatives), [all being my own loose translations] (Bernard et al., 2000c).

According to Prince (1910), for the Penobscot, *wig'wōmwok* is the home. The Penobscot also utilize geographical elements in their language to describe place.<sup>37</sup> Pawling (2007) indicated that place-names invoke memories, summon stories, and give indication of cultural activities tied into location, which serve as a physical description.

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<sup>35</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>36</sup> Many Mi'kmaq still consider Mi'kmakik as having seven unceded districts.

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix F.

Mi'kmaq and Penobscot marked their boundaries and trails, while hunting grounds marked by rivers, ridges, and lakes also indicate their boundaries (Bobroff, 2001). The rivers are the natural highways for the Penobscot to gain access to their hunting grounds and fishing sites, with knowledge of specific land features where they practice cultural activities that define the relationship to the land, and made birch-bark maps called *wikhikenel* (Pawling, 2007). Many of the old resource boundaries for the Mi'kmaq fall within the traditional districts. Penobscot hunting districts were distinctive to the animals found around the Penobscot bay, valley, and up to Mount Katahdin, those certain areas where families' names were associated with their totemic animals (Speck, 1917).

### **What (Dis)place Meant<sup>38</sup>**

In the nineteenth century Mi'kmaq were segregated to Lennox Island, beginning the long process of failing to “procure the necessary natural resources necessary for their livelihood . . . being relegated into being sedentary and dependent which resulted in drastic changes in identity” (Augustine & Mizzi, 2006, p. 1). This was a gradual endeavour of segregation from the main island. This begins the trope of islands “used as detention centers, too far away for prisoners to swim to mainland or be rescued . . . . Exile on islands is an alternative for political leaders who want to get rid of their opponents” (Augustine & Mizzi, 2006, p. 2).

Robert Clarke attempted to attract settlers to Prince Edward Island by describing it as a Garden of Eden (Wilson, 1988). The Indians in Prince Edward Island had their freedom restricted by farmers. Lieutenant Governor Fanning received appeals from the

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<sup>38</sup> Playing on words, I also intend this to read as “what displacement?” and “what this place meant.”

Indians for land. They were in destitute condition. The responsibility of Prince Edward Island's Indians was transferred to the federal government in 1873 when the province entered Confederation (Upton, 1979). Dickason (1992) cited Amerindian policy, which was to remove the Mi'kmaq to isolated communities or be assimilated. The land commissioners confirmed the Indian rights to Lennox Island (Upton, 1979). Reid (1995) stated that a need for both the British and the Mi'kmaq for a sense of rootedness and continuity of place, required reconciliation with historical reality as opposed to rejecting it. The British sought to recreate Acadia in an image of Britain, with their sense of identity founded in another space; a colonial identity founded in language and not place which pushed the Mi'kmaq to the peripheries of colonial society (Reid, 1995).

Like these colonial British, the Mi'kmaq believe that we are united through language and culture with a common history, and we entered into treaties with other nations making us a sovereign nation. Although I may not know every Mi'kmaw person in Mi'kmaki, I believe we are held together by our social construction of the Mi'kmaq Nation. This would also apply to the Penobscot. Applying Anderson's (1983) terms, the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot are *imagined communities*, or more precisely imagined political communities (p. 15).

Arsenault's (1942c) archived journals described the Mi'kmaq presence at Malpeque Bay in his personal documents. They moved from Indian River to Curtain Island (1942c, p. 1). However, this would not become their permanent home. "Colonel Robert Stewart . . . ultimately drove them from the island" (Arsenault, 1942c, p. 2). Chief Francis Francis<sup>39</sup> was the first permanent resident on Lennox Island, contrasted to

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<sup>39</sup> Francis is both his given name and surname.

the other “leisure loving Indians” and built a permanent home rather than roaming Prince Edward Island (1942c, p. 3). His son, Peter Francis, established a farm consisting of eighty acres of land. Ironically, Theophilus Stewart, the Indian Agent in 1863, purchased Lennox Island for £400 and 100 guineas from the Aboriginal Protection Society. It was bought from Robert Bruce Stewart, who in turn, bought it from Sir James Montgomery, Baron of Scotland. Alexander Anderson of Bedeque surveyed the Island (1942c). Some of the resources identified on Lennox Island consisted of brick clay, gravel beds, marshes (salt hay), peat, spruce, and birch. The Mi’kmaq gathered “strawberries, raspberries, black and red, blueberries, hackleberries, gooseberries, bush cranberries and chokecherries” (1942c, pp. 5-6). They also participated in the fisheries. The Mi’kmaq were encouraged to refrain from their nomadic habits and to live permanently on the Island. Their first chapel was constructed of logs. Bernard (1985) reiterated Arsenault’s journal accounts in her descriptions of Lennox Island, such as the church construction and its Saint Ann mission, along with the Island’s natural resources of berries and trees. The Mi’kmaq were discouraged from living elsewhere on Prince Edward Island and suffered from poor living conditions.<sup>40</sup> The island as prison trope recurs in the following centralization scheme.

Daniel Hanning proposed a solution to the *Indian Problem* in 1942. “The Indian in order to survive must become a self-supporting, reliable Canadian citizen. He has to rise above the stage of illiteracy and ignorance; to graduate from minorhood and take his place in the world” (Arsenault, 1942a, p. 1). Although there were established reserves at Morell Rear, Scotchfort, and Rocky Point, the land had little value. The supply of

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<sup>40</sup> See Appendix H.

materials [ash trees] to make baskets was decimated. Still nomadic, the Mi'kmaq also relied on the government for assistance. Centralization was continually proposed by the Department of Indian Affairs to centrally locate the Mi'kmaq to Lennox Island. The government would provide materials for baskets and axe making. Mi'kmaq adapted basket making for a farming economy that subsumed their hunting and gathering economy.

The federal government favoured the project after some initial misgivings of carrying it out (Arsenault, 1943). The choice of Lennox Island was due to its island nature of being disconnected from the mainland, thus avoiding the Mi'kmaq from wandering off the Island at will, and to better control them. Their main communications with the rest of Prince Edward Island was the ferry during the summer (Arsenault, 1943). I find this strange, as in the past, all of Mi'kmaki was connected by canoe.

The perceived problem was that Mi'kmaq travelled all over Prince Edward Island, and relied on the government welfare and public charity. Mi'kmaq children were often barred and discouraged from attending most public schools with many of them being sent to Shubenacadie residential school in Nova Scotia. The proposal to the government and its implementation by Arsenault included that: the Mi'kmaq would be located on Lennox Island; basket-making materials supplied to them for handicraft work; and, as trustee of the Lady Wood Estate Fund, he would contribute toward the management and administration of the project. The proposed scheme called for selling off the other reserves at Rocky Point, and Morell, and to allow the Mi'kmaq to take care of themselves. Daniel Hanning [Society of Jesus] perceived the scheme as an ideal model Indian village (Arsenault, 1942b). Others did not see it as an ideal place since it was



abandoned during some months of the year with droves of mosquitoes in the summer, no culture, and living there would require a sense of devotion or service to the Mi'kmaq. Additional lands and resources were appropriated. The Mi'kmaq religious needs were to be addressed with the Lady Wood Estate<sup>41</sup> providing for the costs and salary of a parish priest. A similar centralization policy was designed to cut administration costs in Nova Scotia but failed (Bernard et al., 2000a). Designed to keep Mi'kmaq on Lennox Island, centralization also failed in Prince Edward Island. The Elders would later comment that they saw the community would become a place to gather, as it was before 1972 when the causeway was built (ACOA, 2003, p. 46). Fewer off-reserve Mi'kmaq are returning to the St. Ann mission on Lennox Island. It appears to me that the perceived problem was that the Mi'kmaq were not behaving and conforming to the settlers' culture and values.

Clayton (2000) indicated that during the global trade of the 1700s, the English had a tendency to contrast their civilization with the savage environments of wildness, desolation, and deprivation, by associating themselves with the "picturesque landscapes of England and New England" (p. 91). Documenting English colonialism in Massachusetts relied on stories of Indians and their histories that served to mark the "Americanness" of place by relegating the "Indianess" safely and firmly to the past (O'Brien, 1999, p. 205). The English had their own ideas of displacing the Indians to allow them to use the land more extensively. Wandering Indians had failed to become attached to a particular piece of land to settle upon and own. The concept of land ownership and forming a place in society contradicted Indian ownership derived from subsistence gathering. The English imposed a construction of place upon the Indians,

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<sup>41</sup> Aubin Arsenault administered the Lady Wood estate.

dispossessed them of their property, and defined them as rootless to replace them on their land (O'Brien, 1999). Within the eye of the other was a reflection of their own values, which was injected into their social constructions of Indians, without negotiation.

MacDougall (2004) described the historical displacement of the Penobscot from their interior sites to Indian Island. Estevan Gomez forcefully removed fifty-eight Penobscot from Mount Desert Island in 1525, and George Weymouth at Allen's Island kidnapped five more in 1605. The English from Massachusetts signed land deeds with the Kennebec in 1653, and signed deeds with Chief Madockawando of the Penobscot in 1693 and 1694. Massachusetts colony granted patents by right of conquest in 1762, and forced the Penobscot to quit islands below Old Town but reserved to them all other islands in 1796, and then pressed for the remaining islands in 1818. Some thought the Wabanaki were hardly marginalized with a viable homeland in the interior. Joseph Treat, an early cartographer, bought twelve islands for \$150 in the 1800s (Pawling, 2007). Indian Island became the central village for the Penobscot. Over a hundred years later, informants responded that there was Indian unity before the bridge to Indian Island (Anastas, 1973). The situation of displacement for the Penobscot is quite similar to what happened to the Mi'kmaq.

## ***Analysis***

The ethno-genesis narratives perhaps reflect variations over time, suggesting that creation resulted from a geographical genesis of the *L'nu* (Mi'kmaq) and *Alanabe* (Penobscot), which was somewhat supportive of the "myth"<sup>42</sup> and folklore. Using a Saussurian-based approach to semiotics, *L'nu* and *Alanabe* take on their social forms in

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<sup>42</sup> 'Myth' was the language used by early ethnographers.

their use within the language utilized in creation stories. This further created the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot concepts of humans within their relationship with their environment. These oral narratives are reinforced with experiences at geographical locations constructing placenames (concept and form). The oral stories and placenames reinforce each other with both informing the *concept* of human through the various *forms* of language. This describes the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot ontologies and epistemologies. The Creator is the root of being and knowing in our oral stories. The Sun and Earth we know as our relatives, indicate our place in the universe and sustain our being. Kluskap mediates between L'nu/Alanabe, the Creator, and our environment. His nephew, grandmother, and mother outline our social relationships and obligations. All supplementary stories expand and reinforce these universal relationships, requiring constant renewal and balance.

Christian elements were introduced into later folklore of creation. At the time, the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq told their stories to folklorists and ethnologists after they had experienced several hundred years of contact with Europeans. A hunting and gathering lifestyle was replaced with one of trade and dependence on Euro-American/Canadian goods. Indigenous values and beliefs incorporated Judeo-Christian elements. Language utilizing *Old Bunny*, *Old Tattler*, *Old Blob*, *happy hunting grounds*, and *singing waters*, reflect an intended audience different from the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq. The intended audience was young English children with the textual *forms* accessible to few literate indigenous people at the time. Lacking from the English texts are the indigenous *concepts* which are not incorporated into Euro-American/Canadian epistemologies.

During that period of time, there is no negotiation of identity manifested in the textual *forms*, rather it is more a Western-influenced representation.

Identities can be defined through legislation/policy, self-defined, hybrid (urban Indians), or invented. However, the Indian/White binary, similar to a gendered binary must exist in order for identity to stem from this binary (Butler, 1998). It is unclear whether indigenous people traditionally thought within the constructs of binaries, however, binaries of Indian/White, and male/female are now used. The social constructions of identity occur between the Euro-American/Canadian, Penobscot, and Mi'kmaq ontologies and epistemologies, through accessible textual and language *forms* with the sharing and exchange of *concepts*. Escaping inclusion into the larger identity discourse are the oral language *forms* of the indigenous *concepts* of *L'nu* and *Alanabe* identity. The blending of all Euro-American/Canadian, Penobscot, Mi'kmaq ontologies and epistemologies have deficient areas. Most Euro-Americans/Canadians lack accessibility to the *L'nu* and *Alanabe* language *forms* and identity *concepts*, while the majority of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot would be deficient in Western academic discourse on identity in general.

Pred (1984) described place as a human construct built on experiencing the land, reflecting a phenomenological event. The meta-community flowing between reserve and urban environments (Podlasly, 2003) may stem from the reserve history (Peters, 2004), its ruinous effects (Ripmeester, 2003), and dispossession and marginalization (Fleras & Maaka, 2000). Podlasly, Peters, Ripmeester, and, Fleras and Maaka's *concepts* are accessible through their textual *forms*, and eventually filter into the indigenous ontologies and epistemologies via various medium of print and video. Although the Penobscot and

Mi'kmaq may have their own concepts of being removed from their homelands, they may not materialize in the *forms* of *ruinous*, *dispossession* and *marginalization* yet adopted into current identity discourse. This would be significant, indicating that indigenous ontologies and epistemologies are continually blending and transforming. In some instances, reserves have been compared to islands. In Canada, this archipelago of reserves will not become island states (Dyck, 1991; Flanagan, 2000). Conceptually, the comparison of reserves to islands, perpetuates the concepts of insularity and marginalization. A mixture of self-government and co-management is required (Usher, 2003). Penobscot and Mi'kmaq sense of place remain, perhaps faintly, but may be experiencing resurgence. The trope of island prison surfaces in both the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot histories. Arsenault (n.d.) outlined the centralization and concentration of the Mi'kmaq to Lennox Island, and MacDougall (2004) described the historical displacement of the Penobscot from their traditional interior sites to Indian Island. Mi'kmaq Elders saw Lennox Island as a gathering place, similar to the way it was before the causeway (ACOA, 2003), including a response of Penobscot unity before their bridge (Anastas, 1973). There appears to be a nostalgic sense of community identity prior to their bridging to the main islands. This may be due to the creation of global space (Clifford, 2000), losing the connection to all life (Tripathy, 2006), or space becoming *non-place* (Smith, 1992; Thomas & Knowles, 2002). The phenomenon of travelling, seeing the landscape, telling stories, smelling the encountered odours, listening to the fauna, all within a longer duration of time, are lost to instantaneous global travel.

The next chapter covers textual narratives, which assist in the informal content analysis of the photographs to determine if there are any elements of history and culture

in the construction of identity and place, manifested as signs or symbols. The chapter also discusses the photographic journey, or fieldwork, in the selected indigenous island communities. The photographic coding is highlighted to illustrate how individual content is examined for the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq historical and cultural elements, followed by discussion of the photographs taken in Indian Island and Lennox Island.

**“I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul.”**

**William Ernest Henley (Invictus, 1875)**

*As masters and captains, we gain a sense of agency. We become the spider.*

*As victims, we become the fly.*

## **Chapter 4: Weaving Images from the Photographs**

### ***The Photographic Journey***

According to Google Maps, Indian Island, Maine, consisted of the following street names: Down Street, West Street, Val Ranco Street, Bridge Street, Oak Hill Road, Loop Road, Sandy Beach Road, Bear Ridge Road, Rolling Thunder Drive, Wabanaki Way, Birch Lane, Burnurwurbskek Street, Olamon Lane, Mosquito Lane, Nohkomess Street, River Road, and Sarah’s Spring Drive. I visited Abbé Museum in Bar Harbour, Maine, prior to visiting Indian Island and again later during my thesis writing.

My entry into both island communities is recorded as a phenomenological event, and it is documented as I experienced it. It was an autumn day in 2007, when I drove into Old Town and then onto Indian Island. The purpose was to document signs through photography. Old Town is located on Marsh Island. The day was clear, the leaves were turning colour, and the water was calm. I took several photographs of the Penobscot Indian Reservation sign in Old Town. Driving across the bridge into Indian Island Reservation, I photographed along: Down Street, Bridge Road, River Road, Wabanaki

Way, Lucy Nicola Poolaw cemetery, Rolling Thunder Drive, Wabanaki Way, Burnurwurbskek Street, Bear Ridge Road, Oak Hill Road, Down Street again, Val Ranco Street intersection, back across the bridge into Old Town, toward Orono, Route 2, and returning to Route 95.

Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, consisted of the following street names: Sweetgrass Trail, Pine Ridge Path, Mosquito Path, Sumac Trail, Raven Trail, Indian Feather Path, Eagle Feather Trail, Hawkeye Path, Oapus Trail, Oyster Trail, and Lobster Row. I drove into Lennox Island on two occasions, both occurring during the summer of 2007. I initiated photography outside the locality, off-island, in Ellerslie with directions from a powwow sign and later by street signs providing direction and thereto crossing over the causeway into the reserve was by way of Sweetgrass Trail, and again photos were taken throughout. Initially, one day was spent at the powwow documenting images. I reached the powwow grounds via Sweetgrass Trail, Eagle Feather Trail, and Oapus Trail. A follow-up trip later on included driving down Eagle Feather Trail, Hawkeye Path, back out toward Eagle Feather Trail, down Oyster Trail, toward Eagle Feather Trail, down Oapus to, Eagle Feather Trail, along Sweetgrass Trail, and back across the causeway.

As a child living in Oromocto, New Brunswick, I remember the adventures of travelling to Prince Edward Island to visit my grandmother. Most of my family lived in Big Cove (now called Elsipogtog), which was one hundred miles<sup>43</sup> away on the East coast of New Brunswick. The drive through the Salmon River Road involved about thirty miles of a dusty dirt road, or mud during the Spring Thaw. Driving further to

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<sup>43</sup> This was before the conversion to the metric system.



Prince Edward Island often involved anticipation of waiting (or missing the ferry), and on several occasions sleeping in the car until the first crossing in the morning. Travelling from Borden to Lennox Island also involved driving down some dirt roads at some point in time. My family would wait on Cooper's Lane (past Bideford) until a boat would come across picking us up at the wharf. After landing in Lennox Island, we would walk through the graveyard towards my grandmother's house. I remember once seeing a small metal plaque and was told that my grandfather's name was etched on it. I can never remember the exact location. There were no street signs then. Today, the adventurous experience is lost with the building of the Confederation Bridge and the causeway. The experience of water spray on the face, jumping from the boat to the wharf, is gone. That is a memory I recollect driving into Lennox Island.

The photographic journey briefly describes the fieldwork into both island communities but does not elaborate on the fieldwork in Northern Maine, Prince Edward Island, or Cape Breton Island. Those served as trial runs in data collection and assisted in determining elements sought in signs, and helped in determining the categories in the coding allowing themes to emerge. The initial criteria for determining categories were references to Mi'kmaq history and/or culture. Although photographs were also taken in Prince Edward Island, Northern Maine, and Cape Breton Island, they were never intended as the basis for this study but rather served as supplementary material to provide context. The number of photographs taken in each community was not comparable to Indian Island or Lennox Island, in either content or process. They were not coded, but were generalized contrary to anthropological sense of cultural uniqueness.

Images of Abegweit First Nation made up of the Scotchfort, Rocky Point, and Morell reserves in Prince Edward Island, consisted of eight photographs: three of flags, two of boats, and two of community signs and one street sign. These flags were a combination of Abegweit First Nation, provincial, and federal flags, and another combination consisted of the Mi'kmaq Grand Council, Mohawk Warrior, and a variation of the American Indian flag with a Plains Indian on a horse. There was one reserve sign and a First Nation community sign with icons of a wigwam with a canoe inside it. There was one street sign with reference to Mi'kmaq culture and the boats were with one reference to Abegweit and one to pan-Indianism.

In Presque Isle, Maine, on the Aroostook Band of Micmac properties, eleven photographs were taken: nine of corporate signs, and two of street signs. There were variations to two corporate signs to grasp various details in them, consisting of cultural references. Three were in the Mi'kmaq language, and the two street signs had Micmac in the text. One was iconic that required research to explain its symbolism.

The journey to Chapel Island (Potlotek) in Cape Breton Island imparted eleven photographs as most of them were discarded due to the people in the images. There were no street signs in this community and few corporate signs. Photographs of iconic symbolism were taken at the St. Ann Mission on the actual island across the channel of water from the reserve. There was one photo of the Mi'kmaq flag on the island and an image of it on the reserve. Most signs were in Mi'kmaq language in both locations. Symbolism encountered involved the Mi'kmaq Grand Council, along with various religious symbolisms.

Thirteen usable photographs were taken at the powwow in the Eskasoni First Nation, consisting of mainly seventeen flags. I do not mention them all but there is a vast variety including, nationalities, military, Mi'kmaq, Mohawk, and pan-Indian as well. Out of fourteen photographs taken in Membertou First Nation, four were street signs, three corporate signs, one business sign, one church sign, three religious icons, and one cultural artefact (non-Mi'kmaq). Most reflect the Mi'kmaq culture, and one specific to history, with two street signs in the Mi'kmaq language. Two were stylized contemporary corporate signs designed from a possible ancient pictoglyph. The criteria for determining usability of all photographs were those without facial features determining anyone's identity.

### **Photographic Coding**

My coding of photographs was not conducted for statistical purposes, but rather, to examine detail of individual content<sup>44</sup>. Each was assigned: a Visual Depiction Number; Type of Visual Depiction with categories (i.e. corporate sign, business sign, street sign, flag, etc.); Gender; Gender-related Paraphernalia; Family Role of Person Depicted; Littoral Edge; Flags; Street Signs (language, history, etc.); Spiritual; and Cultural. The assignment of depiction numbers to photos was for cataloguing purposes only. The depiction categories of corporate signs, business signs, street signs, flags, etcetera, was to indicate forms of signs as symbolic, iconic, and indexical modes to assist in the Peircian-based approach to interpretation. A codebook for the content analysis of medical advertisements inspired the categories of gender, gender-related paraphernalia, and family role depicted. Content was also sought in visual depictions of shoreline or an

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix G for Codebook Sample.

island map outline. Flag categories were used because they are a Peircian symbolic mode indicating nationality. Street signs are indexical modes, directional, and are subject to Saussurian-based approach to semiotics using language. The spiritual and cultural categories were used to provide indication of cultural practices. The purpose of the categorical coding was to examine each photograph for nissological, gender, cultural, and historical content. These categories were derived after an initial distillation process, followed by a grouping according to community and indexed in a binder with six (6) photos per index page. The earlier themes of culture, history, and religion were acquired from previous photographs which influenced the coding.

### ***Findings: Lennox Island***

There were approximately sixty-two (62) photos taken in, and in close proximity to, Lennox Island of which forty-three (43) were coded. Photographs containing recognizable facial features were removed from the data. Comparable figures, yet slightly more, were taken in Indian Island containing seventy-nine (79) of which seventy-four (74) were coded. Lennox Island had several themes of symbolism and signs emerging. Flags were mainly found at the powwow and one within the community, consisting of a Mi'kmaq, Canadian, Prince Edward Island, Mohawk Warrior Society, and Vietnam War veteran military flags (figure 9). Using a Peircian-based approach to analyzing signs, flags are symbolic modes of the sign forms. They do not resemble the *object* suggested by the sign *form* (representamen) but are a learned relationship such as national flags (Chandler, 1994). This suggests multiple identities along themes of culture, nation, province, society, and military. As the interpreter, the sense I make of the flag *forms* are the *interpretants*.

The Mi'kmaq flag is also known as the *Santé Mawiómi* (Holy Gathering translation referring to the Grand Council), or the Mi'kmaq Nation flag, with the white symbolizing the purity of Creation, the red cross representing humankind and infinity, the Sun signifying the forces of the day, and the Moon referring to the forces of night (Paul, 2008). It was first flown around 1910. The cross is a religious symbol but it has also been used by the Mi'kmaq to designate district chiefs, or perhaps, Kluskap himself. The star and the moon indicate the connection to their natural environment. It is a hybridity of Christian and Mi'kmaq symbolism, as suggested by Hornborg (2003). Blending of ontologies and epistemologies are apparent in the design and manufacture of this flag. The form of a flag in itself did not exist for the Mi'kmaq, and is indicated in Berger's (1984) contemporary forms of signs. The flag is also a Peircian indexical form not arbitrarily connected to its object (Chandler, 1994). It also suggests a constructed identity (Hall, 1997), an ideal identity (Fogelson, 1998), and a Catholic identity (Larsen, 1983). Symbolism within the Canadian flag signifies the maple leaf which has been used since about 1700 along with the red and white since 1921. These national colours were also the colours of France and England (Canadian Heritage, 2008). The Prince Edward Island flag was modelled after the coat of arms with the armorial bearings granted by King Edward VII in 1905 with the English heraldic lion, a large oak signifying England with three saplings indicating the counties on an island base representing England and the province (Government of Prince Edward Island). This contains strong colonial symbolism of the Great Oak of England dominating the smaller trees of the Prince, Queens, and Kings counties.

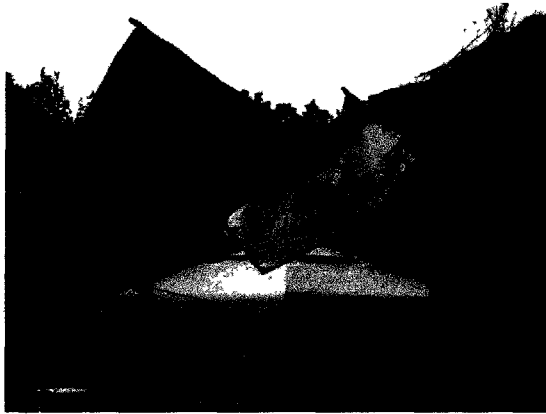


Figure 9 Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island

A Vietnam Veteran flag was mistakenly referred to as the island of Vietnam on the Internet “surrounded by US Military and Special Forces symbols” with the phrase “Our Cause was Just” (Special Forces Gear, 2008). Some Mi’kmaq have fought in Vietnam with the American Army. Flags are flown at powwows as a recent pan-Indian activity and replace the Plains-type of “Indian flag” made of Eagle Feathers attached to a wooden staff with cloth flags now representing modern nations and Indian veterans. Veterans have retained an honoured status of warriors with many First Nations honoured at many powwows throughout North America. Historically, flags (as a symbolic mode of a sign form) were not flown by the Mi’kmaq and were adopted at some point in time.

Most street names used *Path* or *Trail* with all making reference to nature. I revert back to a Saussurian-based approach to street signs as they utilize language (Chandler, 1994). The text of *path* and *trail* are the sign *forms* representing the *concepts* of lesser routes, or a lesser degree from roads or streets. Most of these references were found on Lennox Island and not necessarily found on Prince Edward Island. Indian Feather and Eagle Feather (figure 10) refer to pan-Indianism (Hornborg, 2003) while Oapus and Sweetgrass signified the Mi’kmaq culture, both through oral tradition (Battiste, 1997;

Marshall, 1997). It appears that the nature references are expressions of the Indian identity (Barkan, 2000) and that the Mi'kmaq language is an expression of a Mi'kmaq identity (Battiste, 1997; Larsen, 1983). The negotiation of identity stems from the social construction (Hall, 1997) of Indian (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer, 1978; Francis, 1992), emanating through the eye of the other and blending with a Mi'kmaq identity, which is manifested in a Western *form* of a street sign with place negotiation being signified within the closed system of the English language (Chandler, 1994). This is similar for most of the street signs encountered.



Figure 10 Eagle Feather & Oyster Trails, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island

Oapus is the white-coloured Rabbit of winter that was sometimes used as a trickster character in stories. The rabbit is prevalent in legends recorded by Charles Leland. Sweetgrass is used in basket making, as aromatic brooms in crafts, braided and burnt in smudging ceremonies, and found along the shores of the island. A pseudo-Indian reference is Hawkeye, a character in the *Last of the Mohicans*. Hawkeye mediates between wilderness and civilization in the narrative analysis of binaries. The story also served as a tool for a young country (USA) in search of its identity (Mcintosh-Byrd, 2000) possibly seeking a sense of place and empowerment (Post, 2008). It may be a

weak expression to an Indian identity (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer, 1978; Francis, 1992), perhaps, due to Mi'kmaq stories being forgotten possibly from the loss of language and legends (Larsen, 1983), a geography of exclusion (Clayton, 2000), loss of knowledge associated with place (Memmott & Long, 2002), loss of sense of place (Schell & Mishal, 2008; Post, 2008), and loss of oral traditions (Marshall, 1997). Mosquito is common to both Lennox Island and Indian Island, which may be an indication of living in close proximity to swamp land or lands historically thought of as inferior by white settlers, perhaps indicating Indian reserves/reservations as marginalized (Fleras & Maaka, 2007) lands. Chandler (1994) points out that street signs are the *indexical sign form* (Peircian-based) using a *language form* (Saussurian-based) indicating a blending of ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies.

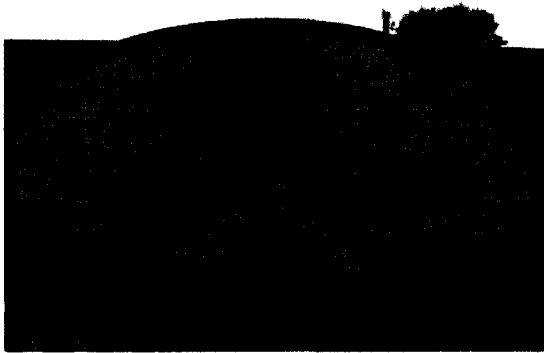
The corporate signs are mainly of the Lennox Island First Nation and its subsidiaries such as the Development Corporation, the Development Centre, the Business Centre near Summerside, and the Aboriginal Ecotourism complex and trail system. (figures 11 & 12) This suggests an imagined commercial space (Clayton, 2000), changing ontologies of property (Bryon, 2000), and commodification of culture (Trask, 1987).





Figure 11 Aboriginal Ecotourism, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island

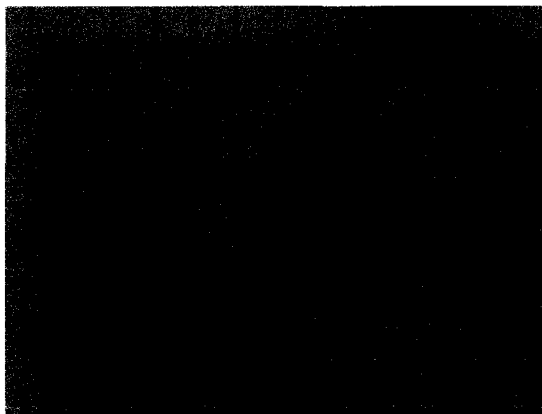
Most of these signs continually use the representation of Lennox Island through its outline from a map, Eagle feathers, double-curve motif found used throughout by Algonquin speaking people (Speck, 1927; Dolloff, 2006); image of the shoreline, skyline with Saint Ann's church steeple, trees, and people in a canoe on the water. Decorative designs were similar among the Wabanaki. The double-curve motif was traditionally used on clothing and personal items, representing plant symbolism (Speck, 1927). Examining the sign through a Peircian-based approach (Chandler, 1994) the transformation of *form* in the double-curve has gone from *clothing* to public *signs*, although the *object* (plant) may be lost. Littoral edges are depicted in the map outline and implied in the shoreline. Pan-Aboriginal symbolism is apparent in the Eagle feather while Christian elements are shown in the faint shadow of the church. A canoe is representative of Mi'kmaq culture, including the importance emphasized by Larsen (1983) and Battiste (1997) of the Mi'kmaq language in Chandler's (1994) textual Saussurian *form*. There are many representations in the sign. It depicted a hybrid of cultural Mi'kmaq and pan-Indian symbolism as suggested by Hornborg (2003) with Guimond's (2009) unclear group boundaries.



*Figure 12 Development Corporation, Summerside, Prince Edward Island*

Utilizing Chandler's (1994) semiotics other signs include a powwow directional (Peircian indexical) sign with an arrowhead, and the Mi'kmaq Star with an image of a turtle (representing Turtle Island or North America) on the Mi'kmaq Family Resource Centre's van logo. The turtle teaches us relationships with the environment from creations stories (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). The star and the turtle, both being Chandler's (1994) Peircian interpretants, represent Hornborg's (2005) neo-traditionalism with a blending of culture and pan-Indianism (Hornborg, 2003).

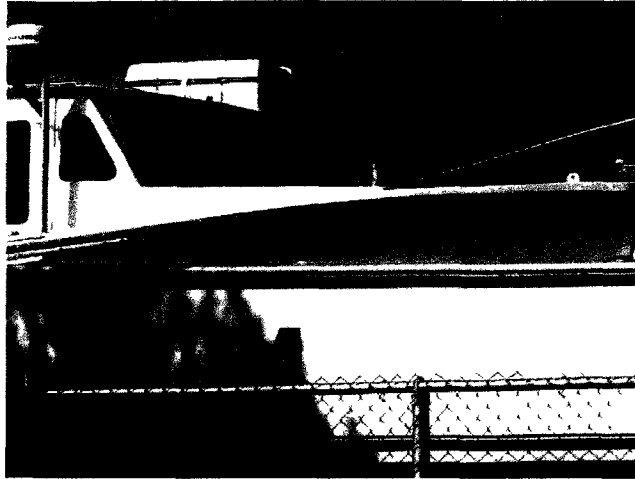
Two business signs reflect the culture through the Mi'kmaq language or the Creation Story. One sign utilized Sark (1988) and MacArthur's (1988) use of Minegoo in



*Figure 13 Micmac Legends, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

textual Saussurian *form* meaning island, and the other depicts Kluskap holding the map outline of Prince Edward Island, similar to the painting by Mi'kmaq artist, the late Michael William Francis. (figure 13) It also has a stylized outline consisting of the double-curve motif. Rather than transmitting stories of Kluskap, they are represented in a Western *form* of a business sign within the context of a capitalist economy. This also suggests an imagined commercial space (Clayton, 2000), with changing ontologies of property (Bryan, 2000), and the commodification of culture (Trask, 1987). Another Mi'kmaq artist, George Paul of Red Bank, New Brunswick, has reinterpreted this painting. A non-native business sign was found at the powwow, possibly a sponsor of the event.

Boats were also photographed and they implied the littoral edge with a focus on the names. *Migjigj* (Saussurian language *form*) located on the reserve had an image of a turtle in between its "Turtle" text, and the other with *Gitpu* found off the reserve, had an image of an eagle in between the "Eagle" text. These boats utilize names in both the Mi'kmaq and English language. (figure 14) The Mi'kmaq language suggests a cultural identity as highlighted by Larsen (1983) and Battiste (1997), and the eagle and turtle (Peircian iconic *forms*) indicate pan-Indian (Hornborg, 2003) representations.



*Figure 14 Migjigj/Turtle, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

Several monuments indicate a cultural and historical presence. A historical plaque referring to Malpeque Bay (*Maqpek*) is trilingual using English, French and the Mi'kmaq languages (Saussurian *form*). It also has the coat of arms (Peircian iconic form) for Canada. This represents a Canadian identity. Another monument signifies an attachment to a spiritual place (Adelson, 2000; Tuan, 1976) and indicates Deloria & Wildcat's (2001) significance of creation of *Epekwitk*/Prince Edward Island with a reference to the Macmillan (1928) and Sark (1988) versions of shooting arrows into trees to create humans (both being Saussurian *concepts*) (figure 15). This suggests a cultural identity derived (blended) from ethno-genesis narrative (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and an ethnographer's representation (Crapanzano, 2004; Geertz, 1973) of this narrative.



Figure 15 *A Spiritual Place, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

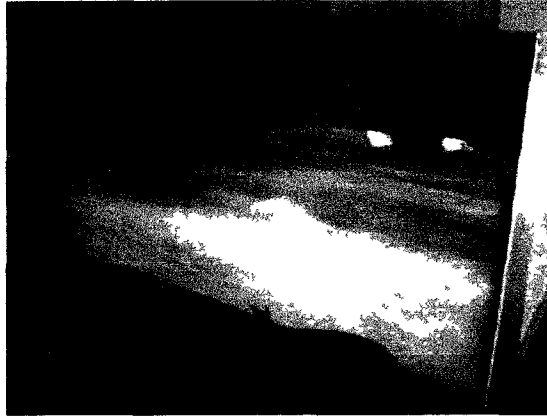
This monument also has Mi'kmaq designs of curved lines and series of triangular figures (Peircian symbolic *forms* representing the *objects* of wigwams) traditionally used in decorating clothing that were incorporated into it representing the cultural identity (Speck, 1927). This is a behavioural shift associated with place (Memmott & Long, 2002) from the use on clothing to monuments. To my knowledge, there is no word in the Mi'kmaq language for monument. It is the current negotiation of signifying place (Bryan, 2000; Clayton, 2000; Clifford, 2000; Trask, 1987). A graveyard monument caught my attention as my grandfather's name was etched into it among others, in absence of individual gravestones. Mi'kmaq people at one time could not afford them. There was also a cenotaph and military cannon (Peircian *symbol* representing the *object* of battle) in remembrance of the community's war veterans representing the historical identity. Cultural objects photographed included paintings, craft items, and various photographs (Peircian indexical *forms*) and Berger's (1984) religious objects. The statue of Saint Ann (Peircian iconic *form*) indicates a hybridity of cultural identity. Hornborg (2002b) has indicated that Kluskap's grandmother (Peircian interpretant) and Jesus'

grandmother have been incorporated into one iconic symbol with no obvious Mi'kmaq symbolism, and subjective to the interpretation of the photographic researcher. (figure 16)



Figure 16 St. Ann, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island

I found a postcard and the actual painting (Peircian indexical *form*) by George Paul in the Ecotourism Complex located near the wharf and church. It is an image of *Kluskap* (Peircian iconic *form*) flying through the air holding *Epekwiik* (Prince Edward Island) in his hands, with the Eagle and Whale following; a variation to the *Minegoo* business sign. (figure 17) This is a strong cultural representation (Peircian interpretant) based on the ethno-genesis narrative (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). It is also possible, the resulting *form* (painting) is the renegotiation of identity stemming from the original ethno-genesis narratives, recorded by ethnographers through their own representations (Hall's (1997) eye of the other), preparing this identity for tourist consumption as global space (Clifford, 2000) and commodification of culture (Trask, 1987).



*Figure 17 Creation of Epikwitk, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

A medicine wheel painted in the four sacred colours (red, white, yellow, and black) forms a stylized turtle image painted on the restaurant ceiling. (figure 18) This is a pan-Indian representation of a Medicine Wheel (Peircian symbolic *form*) and native-associated sacred colours are inherent in the design in the turtle, which is *symbolic* of Turtle Island or North America (Peircian interpretant). The Peircian *forms* (paintings) shape identity in place of traditional stories (Battiste, 1997; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Marshall, 1997).



*Figure 18 Turtle/Medicine Wheel, Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

Also located here were ash baskets with their importance highlighted by Larsen (1983) and Pelliser (1977), a war shield constructed of rawhide painted with a design of

*Mi'kmakik* resembling the Mi'kmaq Star and signifying the Mi'kmaq *Sakamowit aq Sakamo* [Districts and District Chiefs], along with a portrait of myself in pan-Indian powwow regalia. I found a tipi at the powwow and a white cross in the graveyard signifying the religious and cultural aspects of the community. The Peircian symbolic forms are the baskets, shield, and tipi representing the *object* of culture, the Morning Star representing the nation (interpretant), and the cross indicating the *object* of religion.

### ***Findings: Indian Island***

I found similar themes in the symbols and signs on Indian Island. I discovered a Penobscot Nation flag and a US flag (Peircian symbolic forms) with an image of a Plains Indian<sup>45</sup> warrior (Peircian icon form representing the *object* of Barkan (2000), Berkhofer, (1978), and Francis's (1992) imagined Indian) in the community. (figure 19) These are representations of hybridity involving cultural and American identities. The Penobscot flag (Berger's (1984) national symbolism) was fashioned after its Great Seal that has an Indian head image of a Penobscot warrior, some suggesting it is Sockalexis, surrounded by three tombstones forming crosses inscribed with 'Purity,' 'Faith,' and 'Valor' making up the tribal motto. In English, it is referred to as 'Penobscot Nation' and 'Bur-nur-wurn-skek' in Penobscot (Saussurian textual forms). *Burnurwurbskek* is a variant spelling of *Panawahpskek*. A pine forest (Peircian symbolic indicating the *object* of land) was situated behind the warrior. The crosses also symbolize the Holy Trinity, "each cross also carried a year: under 'Purity' was '1605', the year English Captain Weymouth kidnapped five Penobscot and took them to England; under 'Faith' is '1687', the year the first Catholic mission was established on Indian Island; under 'Valor' was '1612', the year of

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<sup>45</sup> The image has similar regalia to the Plains' indigenous cultures.



the war with the Eastern Abenaki” (Martucci, 2000). Other dates appearing were “‘1669’, commemorating the war with the Iroquois, [and] at the bottom is ‘1749’, marking the treaty of peace with Massachusetts” (Martucci, 2000). I interpret the symbols as representations of culture, history, and colonization (Peircian interpretants). The Penobscot culture is represented in the language (Saussurian *form*) and Sockalexis image (Peircian iconic *form*); history represented through the memorable dates; and, colonization represented by adopting the national flag (Peircian symbolic *form*). Historically, the eye of the other records history and thus negotiates the historical influences on Penobscot identity. The other flag was the *American Indian* or *Standing Proud* flag of a Plains Indian wearing several Eagle feathers and holding a sacred pipe (Peircian symbolic *form* representing the *interpretant* of the unity of earth and sky) superimposed over the US flag (Berger’s (1984) national symbolism). It represents a hybrid of Indian (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer 1978) and American identity.

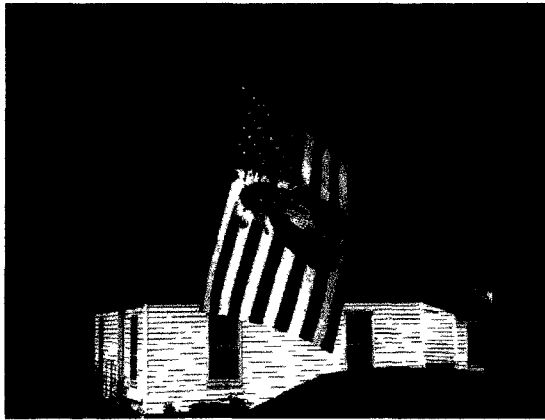


Figure 19 Indian Island, Maine

Without an intimate knowledge of the community, most street names appear as place descriptives with a couple referring to individuals, perhaps from the community. Wabanaki (Sausurrian textual *form*) (figure 20) referred to the *concept* Dawnland People,

in particular the *Panawahpskewiyik* (Penobscot), *Peskotomuhkatiyik* (Passamaquoddy), *Wolastoqiyik* (Maliseet), and Mi'kmaq that form *Waponahkiyik*, or the Wabanaki Confederacy (Henderson, 1997, pp.116-125). This makes reference to both cultural and historical identities. The variant spelling of *Panawahpskek* (Penobscot spelling of place of the white rocks) later became *Penobscot* that has been used to refer to the Saussurian concepts of indigenous People, the river, and the county in the English language.

Olamon was named after another island upriver called *walaman menehan* (red clay island) or Olamon Island, possibly a source for red ochre often used by the Red Paint People of an earlier era, and by the Penobscot (Speck, 1998). *Nohkomess* means grandmother and was possibly referring to the Creation Story where *Nokami* was *Kluskap*'s grandmother (Nicolar, 1979). These were historical and cultural references derived from ethno-genesis narratives (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and oral histories and creation stories (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) manifested in a new Peircian *form* of a street sign.

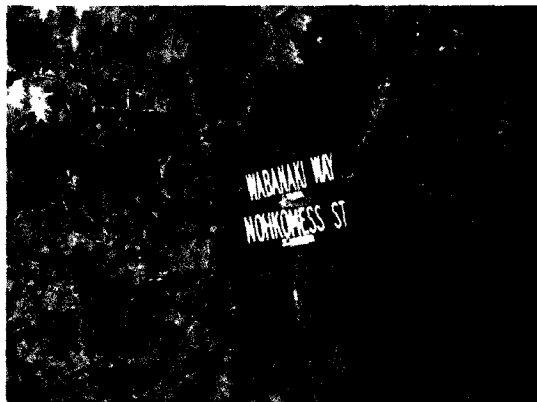


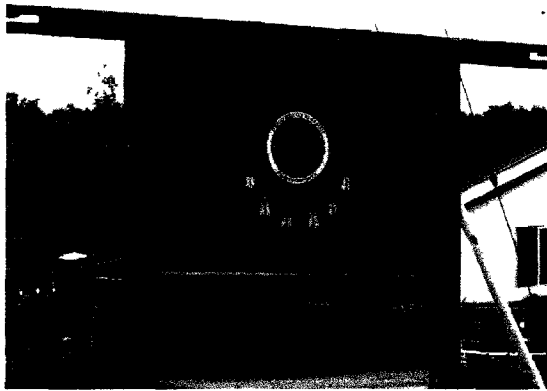
Figure 20 Wabanaki Way & Nohkomess St, Indian Island, Maine

Ranco is a common Penobscot family name, referring to where Valentine Ranco, who passed away in June of 2008, grew up. Val Ranco lived on Orson Island with her

grandparents until she was five; then she moved to Indian Island to go to school (Indian Country Today, 2008). Bear Ridge may be a reference to Speck's (1998) Bear family of Mitchell and Denis. Rolling Thunder may be called after Frank Loring, or Chief Big Thunder, born to a Wampanoag-Portuguese father and Penobscot mother. At an early age, he helped his sisters make baskets, joined P. T. Barnum's circus as a teenager, was a vaudeville star, storyteller, orator, served as Lieutenant Governor for the tribe, and was written about by Harald Prins (Reilly, 2006). Loring's renegotiation of his identity, as suggested by Hall (1997), whetted with the predominant non-indigenous society's appetite for performing Indians, which were invented (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer, 1978). The street name may also indicate Grandfather Thunder in oral tradition and folklore where tobacco offerings are made to ward off harm and "draws the electricity which plays above it [fire] in a beautiful blue circle of flickering flames" (Alger, 1897, pp. 15-18). The "thunderers" were called *bedá gi ak* and "grandfather" was called *mú sumas* (Speck, 1935, pp. 20-21). Bear Ridge and Rolling Thunder were my interpretations of representations based on historical and cultural data derived from literature, written histories, and ethnographers' representations of ethno-genesis narratives. In Mi'kmaq culture, lightning and thunder are spiritual beings. There are also war chiefs who were named *Lightning* and *Thunder* in the conflict with the Mohawk. *Thunder* and *lightning* are prevalent within most indigenous oral histories. This is speculative since I am not familiar with the Saussurian *concepts* that they represent.

Examining the corporate signs, several represent the Penobscot Nation such as the tribal court, police and fire, and public works, all making a cultural reference to the Penobscot with detailed imagery used in the Penobscot flag and Great Seal. There

appears to be no reference to islands other than in the Penobscot Nation Police and Fire sign. In the latter, the Indian head image lies in front of an image of the island, which may also be shoreline, and is subject to interpretation without the intimate history of the design. (figure 21) Dual eagle heads sit atop of the sign for the Police and Fire. Similar to the Lennox Island First Nation corporate signs, these Penobscot Nation signs result from the continual renegotiation of identity stemming from their ethno-genesis narratives (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), recorded by ethnographers in English in textual *form*, and shown now in their sign *form*. The signs become subject to the ethnographer's interpretations (Crapanzano, 2004; Geertz, 1973).



*Figure 21 Penobscot Nation Police/Fire, Indian Island, Maine*

Several other signs are used for various tribal services, such as a health centre, children's centre, human resources building (hidden text by vegetation), and office facility all with cultural references utilizing the double-curve motif and one specifically using fiddleheads. The fiddlehead (Peircian iconic *form*) represents the cultural identity (interpretant) and is further represented in the double-curve motifs (symbolic). A pan-Indian and cultural identity is suggested by using several variations of symbolism of a stretched hide over a hoop. This is my interpretation of the representations as

photographer and researcher. There were no island elements or images found. Some of the business signs use the Penobscot language such as *Kawi* (Saussurian form) meaning porcupine quill (concept), which also have an image of a porcupine (Peircian iconic form). Penobscot Builders use Barkan (2000) and Berkhofer's (1978) perpetuation of an Indian head (Peircian iconic form) with feather, a common theme of pan-Indianism (interpretant). (figure 22)

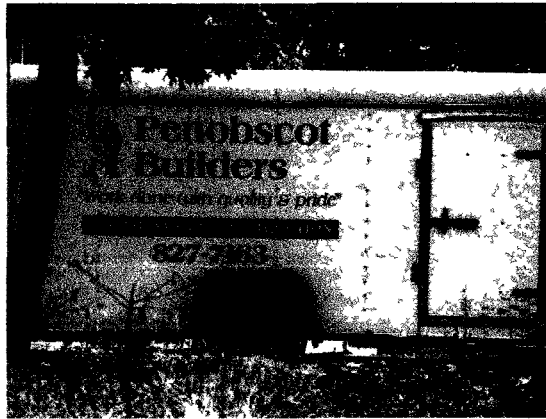
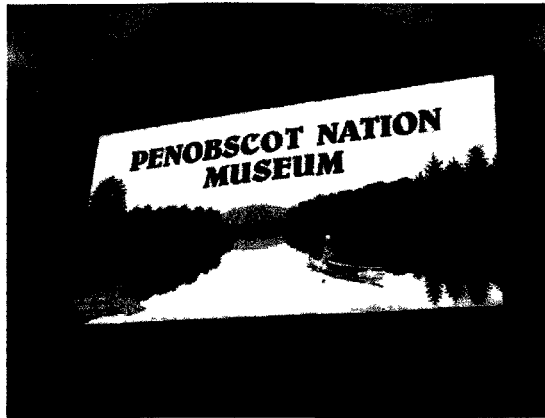


Figure 22 Penobscot Builders, Indian Island, Maine

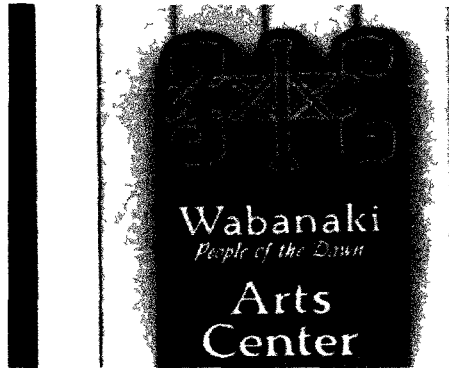
The Bingo Palace incorporated images (Peircian icons) of a stylized curved arrow and curved feather in their sign. These suggest representations of a pan-Indian identity (interpretant). A manor used a possible image of an island along with Woodland Indian beadwork (symbolic) designs referencing the cultural identity (interpretant). An assisted living home had the double curve motif as well. Two museums had cultural references to the Penobscot through a painting (index) of a Penobscot man in birch bark canoe (icons) (figure 23), and another to Princess Watahwasos (icon).



*Figure 23 Penobscot Nation Museum, Indian Island, Maine*

Gray (1938-1939) recorded an interview with Henry Mitchell indicating that Princess Watawasos (variant spelling) was married three times; her first husband died, her second, a doctor, divorced her due to his dislike of her public life, and the third to Bruce Poolaw, an Indian from Oklahoma. It appeared that Watawasos acquired her third husband's Plains Indian identity (iconic for him and symbolic for her). They were both in Hollywood at one time and had their pictures taken with child star, Mickey Rooney (Grady, 1938-1939). Prevalent imagery of the "authentic Indian" was inclusive of the "Plains Headdress" or war bonnet complete with eagle feathers, and the general public expected this portrayal. The Indian, being referred to, is invented (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer, 1978). The public portrayals reinforced the renegotiated identity, as indicated by Hall (1997). Both Mi'kmaq and Penobscot appropriated the "Indian" identity portrayed in showmanship, individuals such as Molly Spotted Elk in dance performances, and Jeremiah Lone Cloud in wild west shows. Signs photographed outside of the community made reference to the Penobscot River, Penobscot County, and Old Town. This reflects the negotiation of place by the other, first through appropriation, and later by assigning the anglicised names to place. At the Maine Basket Makers Alliance, there

were cultural and historical references made to the Wabanaki Confederacy utilizing a basket image. The Wabanaki Arts used a double curve motif in their signage. (figure 24) It symbolizes the confederacy with the four curves representing the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Mi'kmaq nations (Speck, 1927). These are cultural and historical representations.



*Figure 24 Wabanaki Arts Centre, Old Town, Maine*

Several cultural and religious objects (Peircian symbols) were photographed. There are carvings including a wooden cigar Indian, suggesting Barkan (2000) and Berkhofer's (1978) invented Indian with feather headdress, a totem pole with an Indian head and feather, and stylized children's totems in the schoolyard (symbols). A monument (symbol) is dedicated to Joseph Nicolar. (figure 25) This monument contains double-curve motif similar to those found on birch bark etchings. Most are pan-Indian or non-indigenous representations (interpretants).



*Figure 25 In Memory of J. Nicholas, Indian Island, Maine*

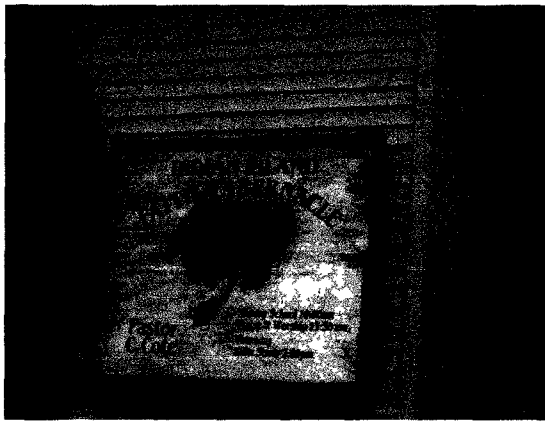
There is a wooden structure in the shape of a tipi, along a chain link fence hung a Navajo-type rug, and on the shoreline of Marsh Island (Old Town side), there was an overturned Old Town Company manufactured canoe (all Peircian symbols). The tipi and rug are pan-Indian representations while the canoe is a cultural and historical representation (interpretants). Saint Mary (icon) is representing their religious Catholic identity (interpretant), as suggested by Berger's (1984) semiotics. (figure 26)



*Figure 26 St. Mary, Indian Island, Maine*



Further down the road is the Indian Island Faith Tabernacle with its sign using a dove holding an Eagle feather (Peircian symbols). (figure 27) This is the only sign that I photographed with a textual (Saussurian form) reference to Indian Island. It suggests a clear hybrid representation of religion and culture (Peircian interpretants). I use hybridity in the context of mixing cultural elements. The mixing of cultures began prior to European contact and continues.



*Figure 27 Dove & Eagle Feather, Indian Island, Maine*

There were several photos of boats without symbolism but had English text (Saussurian form) with Penobscot Nation. (figure 28)



*Figure 28 Penobscot Nation Warden Service, Indian Island, Maine*

### ***Hauling in the Nets of Penobscot and Mi'kmaq Representations***

Ethno-genesis narratives (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), both stemming from indigenous and non-indigenous sources, indicate that *Kluskap/Gluscabé* was created from the earth, and that this first human being was shaped by his environment, islands included. There are variations to these creation stories, such as the introduction of Christian elements. References to *Kluskap/Gluscabé* as being a trickster may be misleading to the non-indigenous and uninformed indigenous readers. It may be an indication of desirable cultural traits of cunning and stealth to outwit the enemy. This is not a reference to a change in story line of myth<sup>46</sup> in the Levi-Strauss sense of understanding myth. The Penobscot and Mi'kmaq have been both portrayed as savages (Alexander, 1849; Baker, 1897; Frame, 1864; Gesner, 1847; Roberts, 1894; The Amaraanth, 1842) and uncivilized in the nineteenth century ethnographies, history, and literature. This may be an important historical element in the social construction of Indian (Barkan, 2000; Berkhofer, 1978) in the White/Indian binary of identities. This is important, indicating the binaries show endurance and persistence and must suit a social function, possibly of displacement (Arsenault 1942b; Bernard et. al, 2000a; MacDougall, 2004; O'Brien, 1999).

The Penobscot and Mi'kmaq flags both have cultural and historical references, although not apparent at first glance, later resulting in the Peircian approach to interpretation. Street names in Lennox Island are more a reference to pan-Indianism than Mi'kmaq culture or history, and those street names in Indian Island are more referential

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<sup>46</sup> Myth is the terminology that Levi-Strauss used.

to Penobscot culture and history, significantly suggesting a loss of cultural identity in Lennox Island due to loss of knowledge associated with place (Memmott & Long, 2001) and remaining in Indian Island. Corporate signs in Indian Island, especially the tribal government's, reflects their history and culture similar to those in Lennox Island. The lone business sign in Lennox Island reflects the Mi'kmaq culture, and is specific to the creation of *Minegoo*. Business signs in Indian Island indicate both a pan-Indian image as well as cultural. Business signs also indicate imagined commercial spaces (Clayton, 2000). Boats have Mi'kmaq names and pan-Indian images in Lennox Island, whereas the same is not present for the tribal boats in Indian Island. Monuments in Lennox Island are both reflective of the Mi'kmaq language and of religion as well. Indian Island monuments are similar in nature. Island imagery is more prevalent in Lennox Island signs than in Indian Island, which only has one. Traditional (Peircian symbolic) *forms* are utilized in new *forms* creating a hybridity of semiotic systems. These new sign forms would suggest the dynamic process of experiencing place (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). These new sign *forms* may be replacing the oral traditional *forms* of constructing identity. The new sign forms may also be an indication of empowering identity through the attachment of place (Schnell & Mishal, 2008) and a new place-making process (Post, 2008).

Findings indicate a complexity of multiple representations of identities used in different contexts depending on the audience (Marcus, 1991; Fogelson, 1998; Guimond, 2009). In both Lennox Island and Indian Island, there tends to be a blurring or blending of identity incorporating the Indian with the tribal or cultural identities into hybrids. The hybrids are a mixing of the non-indigenous social construction of "Indian" with the tribal

and cultural constructions of Mi'kmaq or Penobscot. A pure "Indian," Penobscot, Mi'kmaq, or non-indigenous identity does not exist and is under continual negotiation and renegotiation. Non-natives have referred to both indigenous groups as *Penobscot Indians* and *Micmac Indians* for centuries. A sense of islandness appears to be lacking for Indian Island; yet tribal lands are inclusive of approximately 200 islands signifying a lack of island identity. Those employed in the tribal administration of their natural resources are quite familiar with their islands, according to their online GIS mapping. Perhaps this represents a recent phenomenon, or cultural resurgence, after their land claim settlement and has yet to be picked up by the general tribal membership. This study involves my interpretations (or representations) of other's symbolic-semiotic representations and does not include questionnaires or survey instruments to solicit the local's understandings of the signs. Thus, my interpretations form the basis for my inference that a sense of islandness is lacking. Some of the literature indicated a sense of a *river of islands* with the reservation as the main community. A large diaspora cannot find accommodation on Indian Island. On Lennox Island, there is a nostalgic sense of islandness, yet the language is moving away from using the more traditional form of *Minegoo*, for both *Epekwitk* (Prince Edward Island) and the reserve. Many of the Mi'kmaq live away from their home community. Both islands seem to have a slight commodification of place for either the ecotourism or the bingo.

Revisiting Jensen's public sphere model, it appears that Indian Island's street signs fall within the cultural public sphere, or where one finds the objects of art, literature, and music in society. This, however, leans more towards the historical and tribal culture of the Penobscot. Penobscot signs are mainly in the realm of either the

social sphere as objects of private economic activity, production, sale of commodities, including labour, or the state sphere by being indicators of state (Penobscot Nation) agencies, infrastructure, law enforcement, and agencies dealing with regulations. Their street signs are designed for those interpreters from outside of the community, yet the corporate signs appear to be designed for their own residents' consumption. Indigenous people do not use street signs to indicate place, nor do locals need these street signs to indicate where they are. Using Jensen's political public sphere concept (2005), very few images of a political nature are identified. Similarly, on Lennox Island, their street signs appear to be in the cultural public sphere for similar reasons. A few of the business signs are within the social sphere and the corporate signs are within the state (First Nation) sphere with none in the political public sphere.

There are representations of culture, "mythology"<sup>47</sup>, and history in signs at Indian Island and Lennox Island. Place is defined by experience, and place shaped identity. The Mi'kmaq and Penobscot experienced cultural change since European contact, resulting in a blending of ontologies and epistemologies consequentially changing their traditional (Peircian) *forms* of signs and utilized in new formats. These new symbolic *forms* of old *objects* (reference) result in hybrid identities of mixing Indian with cultural and historical identities. There is an apparent interaction between place and identity when analyzing the content of the photographs and historical text. As the photographer, I gained a sense of belonging to community, identifying with elements (Peircian *objects*) in the signs (forms). There is also interaction, in the form of negotiation, in a triad of variations of place, identity, and interpretations. This represents a relationship between place,

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<sup>47</sup> Some anthropologists avoid the use of "myth" due to the negative connotations implying that "myth" are fables. However, many folklorists utilize the terminology to mean true cultural stories.

indigenous identity, and non-indigenous identity, or a relationship between indigenous place, non-indigenous place, and identity. Perhaps, they are quadratic interactions, in a sense of interaction between the two binaries, rather than triadic as in the semiotics of the *sign*, the *signifier (object)*, and the *signified (interpretations)*. Indigenous identity and place cannot be viewed in isolation from non-Indigenous identity and place, nor can Indigenous and non-Indigenous identity be isolated from Indigenous and non-Indigenous place. All possible combinations must be considered, relevant to future inquiry.

Europeans imposed an *Indian* identity on the indigenous people who adopted the construction to suit their purposes within a wide variety of contexts, such as trade, intermarriage, and other relationships. The European identity must exist in order for the *Indian* identity to be determined. Complications have arisen historically, since prior to European contact there was no such binary. Mi'kmaq and Penobscot have incorporated their identities with the social constructions of *Indian*, creating hybrid identities of *Mi'kmaq Indian*<sup>48</sup> and *Penobscot Indian*.<sup>49</sup> This reflects the continuity of Hall's concepts of negotiation and renegotiation of identities since European contact in the Americas. Europeans became colonists, settlers, and later Canadians, Islanders, Americans, and Mainers. These are occurring as superimposed over each other, i.e. the Penobscot identity exists in the binary with the Maine citizen, while the Penobscot sense of place exists within the binary of the surrounding Maine communities; including, the Mi'kmaq of Lennox Island situation. The Penobscot-Mi'kmaq sense of place coexists with the Maine-Prince Edward Island citizens' sense of place, as neither society/societies exist(s) in isolation. These form the quadratic relationships.

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<sup>48</sup> Indian was replaced with First Nation in Canada.

<sup>49</sup> Indian was replaced with Native American in the United States.

A further interaction of introducing island and mainland binaries does not appear eminent with pseudo-islands. Highways and bridges have altered the landscape as well as altering the experiential affect of the landscape. Bridges and causeways have little impact on mainlanders' constructions of islandness. It reflects the mainlanders' spatial perspective. In a globalized world with obscure lines of the local and the global, littoral edges have become obscure as well (or not experienced). Planes become bridges, automobiles become boats; the Internet becomes the experience. Virtuality of nissological signs becomes the semiotic exercise.

Dispossession and displacement have caused disconnection from place; yet, the signs of Lennox Island and the Penobscot Nation transcend their littoral edge on the Internet. This littoral edge may not be as apparent in the Penobscot sense of place, but it is apparent virtually in their GIS mapping of their islands. However, this is not a study of virtual semiotics. Signs also provide a sense of being static, either historically and culturally as being Mi'kmaq or Penobscot, and as Indian constructs or stereotypes. They too escape their static physical element by becoming virtual, with the paradox of remaining static of being Penobscot, Mi'kmaq, or Indian frozen in a specific time-period relevant to the sign. Signs are an oxymoron by indicating a static identity yet utilizing new (non-static) sign/symbolic forms. The signs do not address gender representations, but have rather been perpetuated with predominately maleness through Kluskap, yet countered with the femaleness of St. Ann or the Virgin Mary. Although Kluskap is directly linked to Aboriginal cultures and indigenous knowledge, early European explorers, historians, and ethnographers were male with a focus on males. I would

suggest that oral histories of the role<sup>50</sup> of Mi'kmaq women in hunting and gathering society have been influenced by these early writers and may have been supplanted with a patriarchal system. I am inferring that Penobscot women<sup>51</sup> had a more influential agricultural role, with men's roles being hunters. The Mi'kmaq did not practice agriculture. Saint Ann and the Virgin Mary are related to the colonization process, yet I am suggesting they were readily acceptable to the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot by transferring Kluskap's Grandmother (Hornborg, 2002b) and Mother to European-looking statues and creating hybrid images and identities with *Nukumi/Nokami* and *Nikanaptekewisqw/ Nee-gar-oose*. The exceptions have been the specific references to Penobscot women. I also infer that the colonizing symbols and religious icons of women such as Saint Ann and the Virgin Mary were transferred from oral tradition during the missionary endeavours of conversion.

In the next chapter, I discuss my own cultural stories, the blending of ontologies and epistemologies, hybridities, how they evolved from binaries, and the significance of my study.

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<sup>50</sup> My mother and aunt, Rita (Simon) Augustine and Dora (Simon) Augustine, often talked about the traditional role of women.

<sup>51</sup> I make the inference based on my traditional understandings of Wabanaki women as told to me by the late Juanita Perley. Traditional women's roles are not sought definitions by men.



**“For want of a nail, the shoe was lost.”**

**Benjamin Franklin (Poor Richard's Almanack)**

*The chapter-heading quotations in this thesis were in the past mistakenly attributed to Shakespeare. Sometimes, we rely on knowledge, which we have falsely attributed and perceived as fact, when we should proceed with caution when perceiving social webs of construction and considering others' perspectives.*

## **Chapter 5: Eltate'get (Weave a Story)**

I am a “6-1”<sup>52</sup> card-carrying Status Indian with a Canadian passport, born in Germany, baptized Catholic, raised on an army base in New Brunswick, presently a traditional Mi'kmaq dancer and a pipe-carrier. My father was stationed in Europe for a couple of years. Remembering a photo in a newspaper clipping where my father gazes at his family in Black Watch tartan, kilt, and sporran, and listed as a “chief,” I now interpret him and the symbolism of the Highland Regiment as an example of hybrid identities tied into the phenomenology of place.

My parents spoke the Mi'kmaq language while I was growing up. My mother read adventure stories from the Reader's Digest in English. Septembers would be spent in Northern Maine picking potatoes, rather than attending primary school. Sundays were usually spent at Church and then later at Sunday school. Summers were spent on the Big

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<sup>52</sup> 6-1 is a Federal Indian registry coding indicating both parents are registered Indians under the Indian Act.

Cove Reserve in New Brunswick, and raking blueberries in Maine. After moving to the reserve, most people spoke to me in English rather than Mi'kmaq.

My Aunt Dora told me stories about shamanism, Mohawk invasions, ghosts, “little people,” and sometimes about “ginap<sup>53</sup>.” I heard that my grandfather was a *ginap*, and in order for my uncles to get that power, they had to spend the night on a haunted island. During the night, the ground would tremble and my uncles would get frightened away. My ancestor, *Alguimou*, was a war chief, *ginap*, and *buoin* (shaman) who changed his shape to attack the Mohawk, and later died of old age, twice. He rose from death, died again, but could not rise again after those frightened of his power tricked him. Mi'kmaq piled rocks on his grave so he could not get out. Approximately fifteen years ago, I heard stories of other relatives who signed treaties, captured ships, and fought battles. Misel Alguimou (Michael Augustine when Anglicized) signed treaties on behalf of the Richibucto Tribe and Sabousalouet signed treaties on behalf of the Miramichi Tribe. Another ancestor called “Tied-up-in knots” travelled from the Miramichi, New Brunswick, to Cape Breton Island to solicit help in fighting the Mohawk in the Gaspé, encountering adventure along the way. My mother heard this story from her father, John Simon, as a young girl. Unsurprisingly, my ontology and epistemology is a blending of Judeo-Christian elements and Mi'kmaq culture. That blending is also found within the religious statues in Lennox Island and Indian Island. My ontology and epistemology are further blended with my academic interests of cultural studies, ethnicity, ethno-history, semiotics, symbolism, representations of aboriginal cultures, colonialism, post-

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<sup>53</sup> A *ginap* is a man with great physical strength and is stronger than a normal man.

colonialism, globalization, hegemony, ritual, phenomenology, hybridization, material culture, and place and identity.

The ethno-genesis narratives encountered in my study suggest that Creation resulted from a geographical genesis of the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot, which is supported by the representations of ethno-genesis narrative recorded by ethnographers and through folklore with Christian elements, which were later introduced. The people being created from the land and experiencing it forms the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot identity. There is another intended audience for ethnography and folklore, which is different from the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq and is geared toward non-indigenous people.

Indians have been depicted as savages and squaws in fiction and poetry, with a common thread of being uncivilized. Indian identity is described as multilayered, complex, controversial, fragmented, and non-static. Indian stereotypes surfaced during the Enlightenment, and continue to be negotiated in North America with representations of identities defined through legislation, and are self-defined, hybrid (urban Indians), or invented with a continued reliance on the Indian/White binary, similar to Butler's (1998) gendered binary. A duality of identities was suggested (Fleras & Maaka, 2000). The Penobscot showman, Frank Loring, shifted quite readily from Penobscot man to vaudeville Indian called *Chief Big Thunder*. This Penobscot Indian is one example of a hybrid identity. Reilly (2006) cited Prins (1998), who explained how Loring resisted assimilating his identity. For instance, I have incorporated Indian into my own identity when utilizing federal services and programs designed for Indians while retaining my "Mi'kmaq-ness". My sister was paid one dollar and thirty-five cents to forfeit her Indian status prior to marrying a non-Indian in 1965. She says she did not know who she was

later, and where Whites saw her as Native, she was trapped between binaries. She regained her status in 1985 and still has the uncashed cheque. This shifting of identities, or donning of a hybrid identity relative to social context, is a survival mechanism.

Place is a human construct based on experiential use of the land (Pred, 1984) and contrasted to English property ownership (Bryan, 2000). There is a difference between how non-indigenous people view land as an object to be owned, and indigenous people's perception of land as something to be experienced. The meta-community of Indians who flow between reserve and urban environments (Podlasly, 2003) stems from the reserve history (Peters, 2004), its ruinous effects on Indians (Ripmeester, 2003), and their dispossession and marginalization (Fleras & Maaka, 2000). This flow to escape the ruinous effects of living on a reserve is culturally bound within the eye of the other. Dispossession and marginalization result from predominant epistemologies and ontologies that bind indigenous people to reserve places. Indigenous ways of knowing and thinking are not valued by American/Canadian societies, requiring a paradigm shift allowing for indigenous identity to flourish within their traditional lands without unfounded fears. The migrational nature continues within their traditional lands, perhaps to escape the ruinous effects cited. The vast archipelago of reserves is not feasible as island states (Dyck, 1991; Flanagan, 2000), and a mixture of self-government and co-management has been suggested (Usher, 2003). The Penobscot and Mi'kmaq sense of place remains, perhaps faintly. Stories related to experiencing the land remain within some families. The trope of island prison has surfaced in the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot histories. Arsenault (n. d. f.) and MacDougall (2004) have outlined the marginalization of the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot to their respective islands. It is the non-indigenous

desire to own land that displaced the Penobscot and the Mi'kmaq to island reservation and reserve respectively. It is through my own personal emancipation that I have freed myself from Indian Act definitions with an understanding that my Mi'kmaq identity exists anywhere in a global context, but more so within Mi'kmaki. The Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot viewed their islands either as a gathering-place, or as a place of unity, before the construction of their respective bridges (ACOA, 2003; Anastas, 1973). The *fading sense of place*<sup>54</sup> may be due to created global space (Clifford, 2000), a lost connection to all life (Tripathy, 2006), that results in experiences of *non-place* (Smith, 1992; Thomas & Knowles, 2002). Spatial considerations shifted geographically and internally to mental space when I stood on the beach in the Netherlands several years ago. I glanced westward over the Atlantic Ocean pondering those indigenous soldiers storming European beaches during the Second World War while I listened to music on headphones. The experience of sound, temperature, surf spray, and the wind did not diminish that particular place in a spatial context with Mi'kmaki. The experience reinforced that sense of Mi'kmaq place. It was the experience of travelling there, or the lack of phenomenologically experiencing place through flight, that reduced all other places as non-place.

The ethno-genesis narratives indicate that the creation of *Kluskap/Gluscabe* is from the earth, and he shaped his environment including islands. Both the Penobscot and the Mi'kmaq were depicted as savage and uncivilized in the nineteenth century ethnographies, history, and literature. This is important in the social construction of

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<sup>54</sup> The "fading sense of place" is an indication that geography is not experienced as much as before when the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot were more familiar, and had more access, to their traditional land (geography).

Indian identities. The construction of Indian by non-indigenous people supports the construction and maintenance of non-indigenous place. Elements of these Indian identities are found in signs for both Indian Island and Lennox Island, as identified in the photographs in the previous chapter.

### ***Significance and Contributions to the Field***

The examination of how the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot textually and graphically represent themselves determines the extent to which place has significance in how I have interpreted those representations. From an ethnographic stance, it is acknowledged that "truth" is relative to the subject, and negotiated identities are "true" to those making the signification relying on the interaction with the intended audience of observer and the resulting drawn "meaning" of the sign. The interpretations and analysis of the signs are triadic rather than dyadic, and semiotic (study of sign processes) rather than semiological (the science that deals with signs). The representations of the photographs are triadic, as I determined the *interpretant* of the *objects* and *symbols* within the signs or photographs. Some literature encountered dealt with signs used by Mi'kmaq and Penobscot (Speck, 1998; Wallis & Wallis, 1955), and while this study is exploratory in nature, it is aimed to expand this area of knowledge.

As a researcher socialized within Mi'kmaq culture and relying on traditional knowledge, my study reveals the uniqueness of islandness in identity negotiation within the broader society, or lack of it. From an indigenous knowledge perspective, islands have been described as being *cut-away* from the mainland. However, they are not considered *cut-off* from them either. The Mi'kmaq are not insular in Lennox Island, nor is Prince Edward Island from the rest of the Atlantic region. Islands became prevalent in

several folklore accounts as representations of ethno-genesis narratives. The Mi'kmaq from Lennox Island used to refer to the journey to the rest of Prince Edward Island as *going across* while the Mi'kmaq in the rest of Prince Edward Island called New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as *across*. Perhaps, *going across* is losing usage in the context of *Minegoo*, which means island. Similarly, the Penobscot's island location within Maine is centrally located within the state and the Penobscot River. Both the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot's isolation and subsequent marginalization are a result of it being imposed upon them.

Utilization of nissological semiotics is a recent phenomenon. In comparison to the Penobscot, the significance of Mi'kmaq identity formation is beneficial within the re-examination of any relationship framework, as highlighted by Larsen (1983), Alfred and Cornthassel (2005), Fleras and Elliot (1992). This is in a broader context of Canada-US, and Prince Edward Island-Maine contexts. Exploratory in nature, my study serves the potential for further studies in Mi'kmaq and Penobscot cultural and nissological images and identity, possibly also in a virtual sense. This study's intent is not to question the Penobscot and Mi'kmaq on their own identity constructions. Alfred and Cornthassel (2005) suggested allowing the maintenance of relationships and interactions of kinship networks (community, clan, family, individual, homeland, plant, and animal) in constituting an authentic indigenous identity (p. 609). Another alternative to relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous would be "constitutional arrangements that accentuate a binational arrangement of autonomous and self-determining political communities, each sovereign yet sharing sovereignty" (Fleras & Maaka, 2000, p. 125). This is a viable option considering both indigenous and non-

indigenous people must coexist in North America and the unique and historical indigenous connection to the land cannot be subsumed under equity and equality rhetoric. The Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot could have a dual citizenship such as the Tokelauans do. A Mi'kmaw could also be an Islander, a Maritimer, and a Canadian, just as a Penobscot could be a Mainer, a New Englander, and an American.

The re-examination of the quadratic interaction between binaries of place and identity, such as the relationships between indigenous place and non-indigenous identity, and between non-indigenous place and indigenous identity is a subject for further investigation. By examining all the potential variables within the previous quadratic diagram (figure 1) of indigenous/non-indigenous identity/place, there are at least twelve combinations of interaction. Indigenous place has yet to be studied in comparison to non-indigenous identity, as well as non-indigenous identity in comparison to indigenous place. The renegotiations of place and identity may allow the escape from their static elements. There is some resistance between Western and Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies, which ultimately impact on social constructions of identity and place. Without this being addressed at all levels of society, indigenous people are at risk of being continually marginalized within their own spatial constructions of home. Ethnicity shifts like a pendulum (Gorham, 1988, p. 49), as the spider dangles from its thread, swinging in the wind. All of these *identities* and *sense of places* superimposed upon one another provide the reader with false notions of binaries if they cannot be perceived in the comprehensive (associative) picture.

Binaries become problematic allowing for the entrenchment and reaffirmation of “otherness.” It becomes problematic for me if I enter into philosophical debates with



myself because a part of me will always lose, and the other part will always win. I can be perceived by indigenous people as “going Native,” or more precisely “going academic” and “crossing over to the dark side” while running down into the urban valley of intellectual thought. My assimilation into academic discourse may be seen by some as being rescued from a deserted island and primitive thought. Like my sister forty-four years ago, I have questioned who I am and have resolved myself as to being a Mi’kmaq scholar with Indian connotations and inclinations, waiting for the postcolonial bus ride to the reserve.

### **Summary**

My research focus is on the significance of representations of place in textual and graphical representations of the Mi’kmaq in Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, and the Penobscot in Indian Island, Maine. The study documents indigenous identity and islandness with roots to place through photography. The following field-study of signs and symbols usage by the Mi’kmaq and the Penobscot provides representations of their identity. I look at place to determine if there is significance to these representations and examine them for elements of nissology. The lenses I use to study photographs of flags, cultural artwork, tourism signs and logos, religious and spiritual icons, cultural objects, traditional tribal language, and Holy figures, have roots in anthropology through reviewing ethnographies. Within this study, I attempt to incorporate indigenous ways of being - knowing, and doing with Western ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies. My conceptual framework is inspired by a braid of sweetgrass, woven from strands of *ways of being - ontologies, ways of knowing - epistemologies, and ways of doing -*

*methodologies*. I treat the data that I collect in my thesis as stories, or *agnutmaqan*.

Similar to the above framework, each blade of sweetgrass represents indigenous or Western knowledge or concepts, and I weave it into the thesis in order for me to share it.

Identities are the focus of my research. Themes emerge from examinations of the multifacet dimensions of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot identities. Identities could be negotiated as discussed by Hall (1997a), Fogelson (1998), Marcus (1991), and Larsen (1983). This study examines identity as constructions by others, or going through the eye of the other, before constructing itself. I examine how place is a social construct and as a reproduction and transformation of society over time involves space and nature. I also consider place as a process where society reproduces itself and its cultural forms, forming biographies and transforming nature. According to Casey (2001), geography and philosophy converge as a phenomenological event. Geography becomes place through human experience. My study treats space as a phenomenon that is subject to experience by people. Geographical locations help to shape identity and feeds back into creating a sense of place. Schnell and Mishal (2008) in discussing sense of place, describe place as an empowering force that shapes identity through an attachment to place. Studying islands on their own terms, perhaps, is a challenge in itself. From the Mi'kmaq cultural perspective, I do not view islands as a continental dweller but rather islands as inclusive to the traditional Mi'kmaq homeland. In my study, I contradict my own cultural concepts when I essentialize Indian Island and Lennox Island.

According to Jensen (1995) signs become relations, triadic of the sign, object, and interpretant. This is the approach that I take by examining the relationships between those who construct the sign and the images within the sign. Considering Jensen, I

speculate on what the intended meaning might be to the person who interpreted the sign. As the photographer, I interpret the representation of symbolism involved in each photograph. The signs are representations of meaning in themselves along with the language use in them. Photographing signs adds another level of representation. Signs in contemporary culture manifest in objects such as personal clothing, hairstyle, body language, national flags, symbols and icons, corporate logos and advertising, gender clothing and body structures, religious symbols, objects, language, and holy figures (Berger, 1984). I search for these elements within the signs themselves. I want to know if these signs are, in some way, constructing elements of Mi'kmaq and Penobscot societies or identities. I approach semiotics differently from the text and the photographs. I use a Saussurian-based approach to examine text and I treat the textual *form* as the *signifier*, and the *concept* the text represents is the *signified* within language (structure), or a closed system (Chandler, 1994). Text is also found within the street signs, business, and corporate signs. I use a Peircian-based approach for the photographs. The *form* of the sign within the photograph is the *representamen*, the *object* is the *referent*, and the *sense* made by the sign is the *interpretant* (Chandler, 1994).

Anthropology influences my research approach. Ethnographic traditions including auto-ethnography and ethno-genesis narratives inform my study (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). These help to construct the lenses I use to examine the photographs. I begin with document analysis, performing content analysis of public documents and publications to examine trends and patterns relying on sources by Hagar, (1896, 1897, 1900); Hager, (1895); Michelson, (1925); Parsons, (1925, 1926); Prince, (1910); Speck, (1915a, 1915b, 1917, 1935); Wallis, (1922); Wallis & Wallis, (1955) with specific articles

relating to Mi'kmaq and Penobscot from *Early Canadiana Online*. They become the eye of the other in the construction of identity. I seek a preliminary basis for identity construction by people other than Mi'kmaq and Penobscot. Cultural descriptions of the land, people, and their creation have been derived from ethnographies, histories, poetry, and literature writers such as Champlain, the Jesuits, Rand, Schoolcraft, Howe, Frame, Roberts, Rogers, and Saunders. Information I collect include several recorded versions of Mi'kmaq ethno-genesis narratives (cosmologies) contributed by Augustine (1996), Sark (1988), and MacArthur (1966). A similar approach is used for the Penobscot. I extract information from journal articles on cultural representations (Gura, 1977), origins (Nicolar, 1979), origin stories (Speck, 1998), and governance and history (Maine Indian Program, 1989). These sources form the basis for the signification of Penobscot identity in signs as textual data, narratives, and cultural descriptions as well. This research method is applied to street and tourism signs, which I document in digital photographs.

The significance of elements in the photographic data is subject to my personal interpretations as an indigenous Mi'kmaq person, through the prisms of culture and tourism. These photographic images are “catalogued, studied, distilled, and sorted into themes” (Harper, 1994, p. 404). I apply image-based analysis of photographs representing Mi'kmaq and Penobscot signs and symbols and then compare the two data sets. I also conduct ethnographic content analysis of each individual image in order to deconstruct the importance of the elements contained within each. My visual content analysis follows the model suggested by Collier and Collier (1986) by repeatedly examining the photographs both in temporal and spatial order followed by categorization. Following a preliminary unstructured viewing of this inventory, the data is then

catalogued. Data is listed as a cultural photograph, a sign, a flag, a logo, or a street sign. Descriptions of the content of each photograph are recorded in a journal that serves as an index. These are later entered into a codebook, as well as creating a photograph index of each research site. The codebook records the photographs' index number, type of visual depiction, gender, gender paraphernalia, nation, role, activities, setting, clothes, type of clothing, language, cultural symbols, generic symbols, religious symbols, spiritual symbols, historical references, and other types of visuals. Categorized themes include culture, history, and religion. Since the study is qualitative in nature, it utilizes a less formal content analysis not intended for statistical inferences. For the Mi'kmaq photographs from Lennox Island, the most prevalent symbols are the cultural, historical, and pan-Indian references in street signs; followed by cultural artifacts, First Nation flags, Mi'kmaq language, religious symbols, Mi'kmaq and pan-Indian paintings, monuments, in no particular order of prevalence; and, a Lennox Island map outline. The most prevalent symbols from photos taken on Indian Island are cultural and historical references in street signs and cultural designs; with pan-Indian designs, cultural artifacts, statues, First Nation flags, cultural paintings, monuments, Penobscot language, and religious symbols; again, with no particular order of prevalence.

Before I started researching identity, I conducted a literature review of both the Mi'kmaq and the Penobscot by examining Wallis and Wallis (1955), Nietfield (1981), Whitehead (1991), Robinson (2005), Currier (1978), Leavitt and Francis (1990), Speck (1998), MacDougall (2004), Berkhofer (1978), and Francis (1992). The Penobscot and Mi'kmaq histories, changing cultures, and relationships to the land, shape their identities. The historical context of both tribes is the continued renegotiation of place. I would

suggest a decline in the use of ethno-genesis as a social construction of place and identity, resulting in the loss of common elements, with an increased reliance on Christian explanations. I believe that the current Wabanaki imagery is constructing a renegotiated identity. Social constructions of identity rely heavily on the textual *form* with an increased decline of accessible indigenous language and concepts in an urban environment. The determination of authenticity remains. Euro-Canadian and Euro-American usage of textual forms that construct the concept of Indian identity dominate, while the Mi'kmaq and Penobscot oral concepts are lost to the non-indigenous population.

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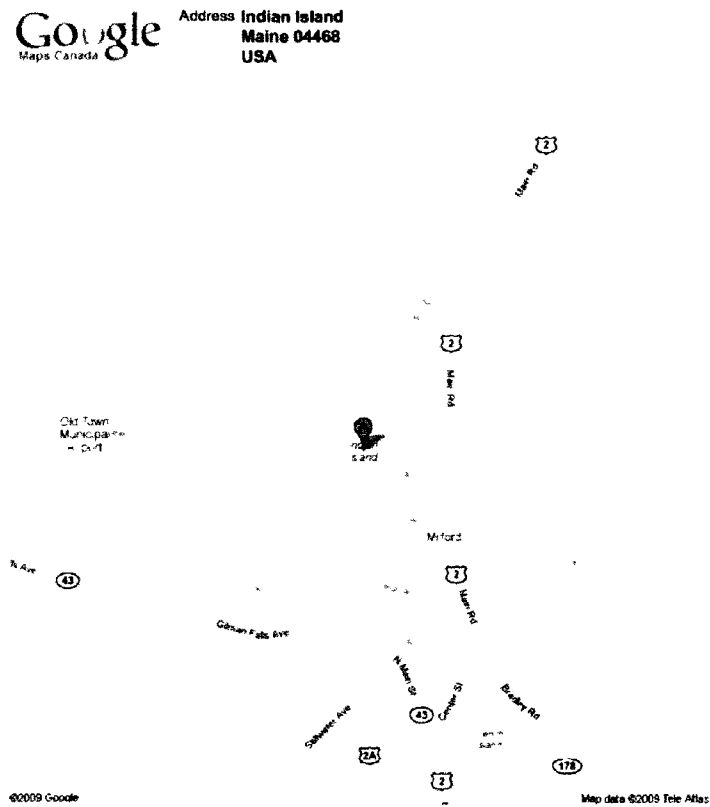
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## Appendix A

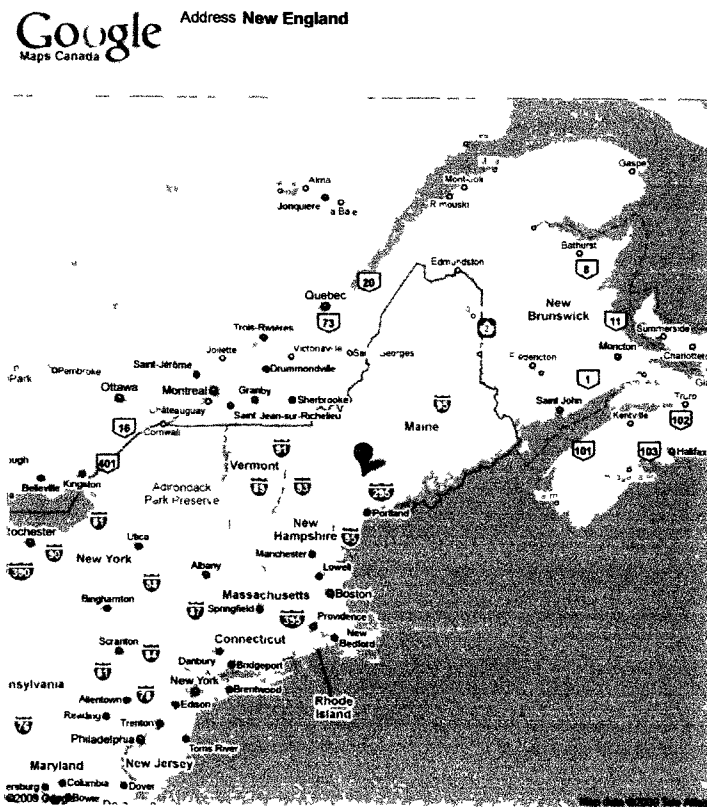
### *Map of Indian Island, Maine*



*Figure 29 Google Map of Indian Island and Old Town, Maine*

## Appendix B

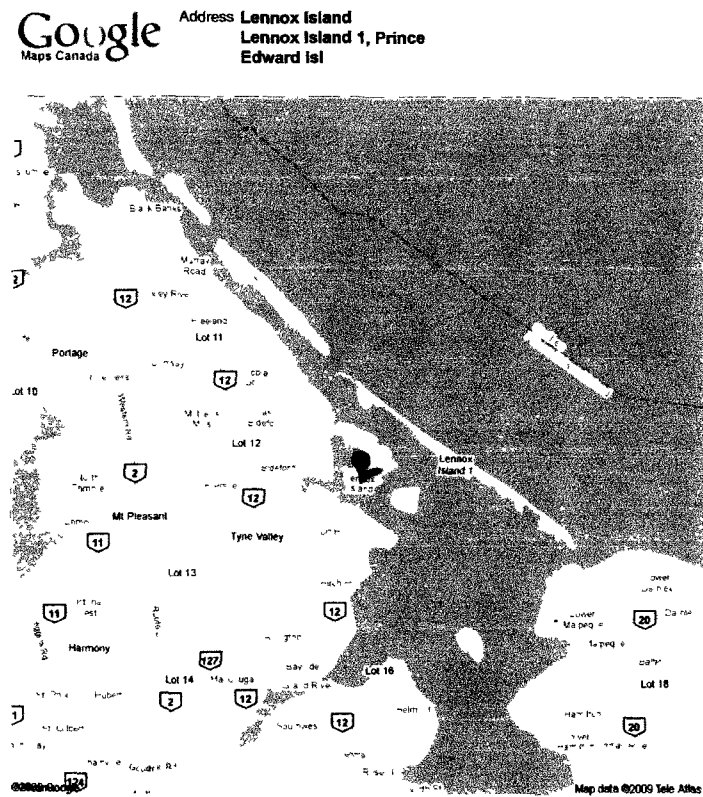
### *Map of New England, United States*



*Figure 30 Map of Maine and New England*

## Appendix C

### *Map of Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*



*Figure 31 Map location of Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island*

## Appendix D

### Map of Prince Edward Island, Canada

Google Address Prince Edward Island  
Maps Canada

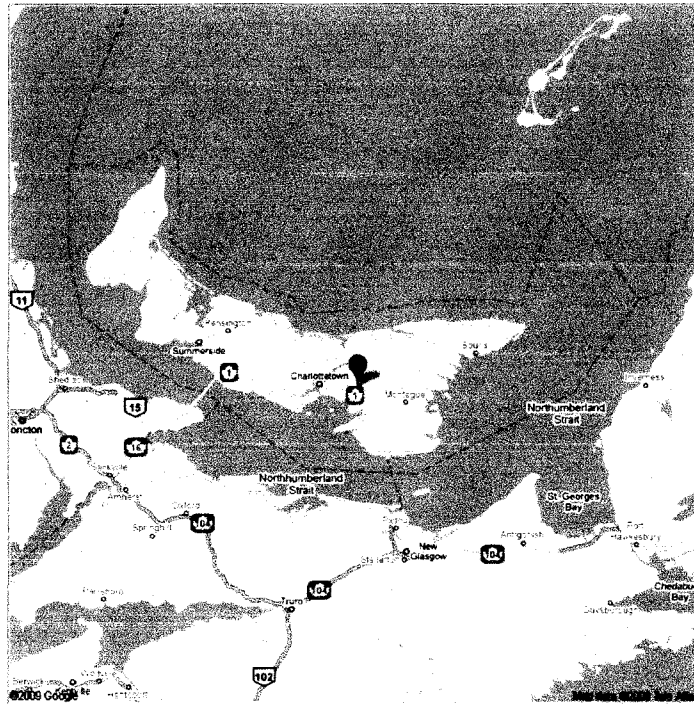


Figure 32 Map of Prince Edward Island

## Appendix E

### ***Mi'kmaq Language Descriptions of Space and Place***

According to Deblois and Metallic (1984) a person's place is called *ntêpun*; the land is called *maġamigew*; the river is *sipu*; and island is *ménigu*. East is *ugjipen*, south is *'gpêtèsn*, west is *'tgesn*, and north is *oġwatn* (Deblois & Metallic, 1984).

Other descriptives of place include: *wala* - here; *wejouw* - near; *knekk* - far; *mala* - there; *amasek* - far; *a'se'k* - on the other side; *asme'k* - on this side; *qame'k* - on the other side; *qasqe'k* - on the shore; *papke'k* - downstream; *pi'taw* - upstream; and, *apaqtuk* - at sea (Nichols & Wolfart, 1990). *Kikchiseboogwek*, referring to the Lennox Channel, means 'the passage closes in shore' (Douglas, 1925, p. 34; Rayburn, 1973, p. 73).

## Appendix F

### ***Penobscot Language Descriptions of Space and Place***

*K'wigi* is where a person lived; *tali* is there; *wa'ka* is far; *nebi* is water; *ebastē'gwu* is across the river; *kwazibémuk* is at the lake; *pontegok* is at the falls; *ugio'sen* is he goes into the woods (Prince, 1910, pp. 190-207). The cardinal points were described as: east - *wedji-sa'ki'*; south - *ni-burá'ki*; west - *gi-ta'duk*; and north - *pabu'nkt* (Speck, 1935).

*Pawanobskek*, referring to the Old Town location (Prince, 1910, p. 201) is an actual location meaning 'place of the white rocks' on *Wasahpskek menehan* (Slippery Ledge Island) or Marsh Island (Dolloff, 2006). *Pawanobske'tegok* refers to the Penobscot River (Prince, 1910) and Indian Island is called *Alenape menehan* meaning 'the People's Island' (Dolloff, 2006), cited by Eckstrom (1941) as a translation of the English name and was always occupied. Marsh Island, in the location of Old Town, was named after John Marsh and was called *Panawambske-menahan* or Penobscot Island by the Indians (Eckstrom, 1941). Orson Island is a variant Penobscot pronunciation of Assah for Jean/John, from *Assah-i-menahan'* with an earlier name of *K'chi-mugwak'-i-menahan'* or Big Bog Island (Eckstrom, 1941). Olamon Island was named *Oulamon-i-suk* or "red paint his place" for the red ochre found there (Eckstrom, 1941, pp. 41-42).

Descriptives of geographical features for shape include: *an* (sphere), *sekat* (flat), *niketaw* (fork), *wad* (concave), *apik* (hollow), and *wak* (bent); direction *asew* (diagonal), *sak* (coming out), *sesk* (steep), *nal* (down stream), *amil* (off from shore), and *ehsenoci* (approaching shore); position *nawa* (middle), *mos* (bottom), *sip* (edge), *asep* (beside), and *nekl* (between); material *am* (gravel), *ki* (dirt or land), *alanesk* (clay), and *mesk* (grassy);

color *wap* (white), *wisaw* (yellow), and *mek* (red); water form *tek* (stream), *akame* (lake), *apek* (body), *icewan* (current), and *ahsen* (small body of water); land form *aten* (mountain), *ahsek* (ledge), *nala* (crevice or channel), and, *nemahki* (marsh); all used to describe the land or water (MacDougall, 2004, p. 39).



## Appendix G

### Codebook Sample

I. Visual Depiction No.			
II. Type of Visual Depiction			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 corporate sign	
		2 business sign	
		3 street sign	
		4 flag	
		5 Mi'kmaq	
		6 Penobscot	
		7 Indian	
		8 Island	
		9 other comments	
III. Gender			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 male	
		2 female	
		3 n/a	
IV. Gender-related Paraphernalia			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 male clothing/item	
		2 female clothing/item	
		3 n/a	
V. Family Role of Person Depicted			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 spouse	
		2 parent	
		3 child	
		4 sibling	
		5 grandparent	
		6 grandchild	
		7 family	
		8 n/a	

VI. Littoral Edge			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 map outline	
		2 shore	
		3 implied	
		4 n/a	
VII. Flags			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 national/federal	
		2 provincial/state	
		3 tribal	
		4 pan-Indian	
		5 other	
VIII. Street Signs			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 English	
		2 French	
		3 Mi'kmaq	
		4 Penobscot	
		5 historical	
		6 cultural	
IX. Spiritual			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 religious	
		2 statue	
		3 monument	
		4 other	
X. Cultural			
	Code	0 cannot determine	
		1 pan-Indian	
		2 Mi'kmaq	
		3 Penobscot	
		4 other comments	

## Appendix H

### *Journals of Justice Aubin Arsenault*

From his notepad in 1939, Arsenault noted many families' poor living conditions.

John Thomas lived in Rocky Point, age 34, with his dependents, John 14, Clara 10, Leonard 7, Alma 4. Their livelihood was through trapping<sup>55</sup> and making baskets<sup>56</sup> and experienced a hard winter with little fur and difficulty in obtaining lumber. There was no ash wood, materials for baskets, found on the reserve, and John Thomas received no relief from the government. John Thomas was my grandmother's brother. This situation was similar for those who lived on reserves other than Lennox Island. It consisted of poor housing, little food, sickly children, living with no furniture or bedding, and no firewood to keep warm in the winter. Peter Paul 21, of Rocky Point, like most, lived in a tarpaper wigwam<sup>57</sup> during the winter and received no government assistance. Daniel Bernard 41, Agnes 14, Moses 12, Albert<sup>58</sup> 10, Alix 8, Nora 4, Theresa 3, Mary 1, also received no government relief, and lived in a shack with sick children and only one bed. John Bernard 32, George<sup>59</sup> 11, Cecile 9, John 7, Richard 1, Olga 3 weeks, received no relief, and lived with his brother Daniel in an overcrowded situation. Michael Thomas 57 of South Port, Sophie 27, Rachael 21, Blanche 19, Anatte 15, Lillian 13, received some government assistance and lived in an unfinished house shell. John D. Scully 25 of

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<sup>55</sup> I remember visiting my Uncle John and he would have skinned hides in his basement where he stretched them to dry. He shipped fox, beaver, muskrat, and wild cats to Montreal.

<sup>56</sup> My grandmother soaked ash splints in her bathtub to make them more pliable. Her living room was her workshop, and the floor was covered with wood shavings.

<sup>57</sup> My father built tarpaper wigwams, or covered with plastic, as temporary camps along the beaches or the rivers in New Brunswick. His mother would reminisce, sitting on the ground, rubbing her bare feet through the grass. She later longed to live that way again, camping along the water, with no one to chase her away from the land.

<sup>58</sup> Albert Bernard often reminds me that he is my father's cousin.

<sup>59</sup> In northern Maine during the annual potato harvest, my family met relatives and friends from Prince Edward Island. My grandmother picked potatoes along with many others including, George Bernard.

Morell received no relief and lived in a bare house shell with no furniture. Joseph Scully 44, Peter 15, Margaret 10, received no government relief. Patrick Scully 32, received no assistance, had no home, and could not find employment. Peter Scully 66, and blind wife 75, received little relief, and lived in a shack with no furniture and only one chair (Arsenault, 1939). These living conditions are in the collective memory of the few surviving Elders, yet the younger generations know little or nothing about them.

## Appendix I

### Tables

**Table 1. Ethno-genesis Narratives and Folklore**

Text	Author	Date	Place	Source	Comments
<b>Ethno-genesis Narratives</b>					
The Life & Traditions of the Red Man	J. Nicolar	1979	Indian Island, Maine	Penobscot	<b>Klose-kur-beh</b> is the man from nothing; <b>Great Spirit</b> instructed all things have living spirits, never to leave the land & respect their mother; Klose-kur-beh taught people to survive
Micmac Legends of Prince Edward Island	J.J. Sark	1988	Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island	Mi'kmaq	<b>Great Spirit</b> lived in Happy Hunting Grounds; created <b>Glooscap</b> & Micmac; shot arrows into birch tree creating people; made Minegoo from clay placed in Singing Waters
The Mi'kmaw Concordat	J. Y. Henderson	1997	Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq	Seven levels of creation including <b>Kluskap</b> ; <b>Creator</b> makes Kluskap from the earth; all living beings have a body, soul, & spirit
Naming Places the Penobscot Way	A. Dolloff	2006	Indian Island, Maine	James Eric Francis Sr., Penobscot	<b>Gluscape</b> shapes the land by killing a cow moose & chasing its calf

Text	Author	Date	Place	Source	Comments
In Indian Tents	A. L. Alger	1897	Maine & Atlantic Provinces	Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet & Mi'kmaq	<b>Glús-kabé</b> created himself from dirt remaining after Adam's creation
Some Micmac Tales from Cape Breton Island	F. G. Speck	1915a	Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq	<b>Great Spirit</b> creates <b>Giuskap</b> in Cape Breton
Micmac Tales	T. Michelson	1925	Atlantic Provinces	Mi'kmaq	<b>Gióskap</b> made island boat off coast of Gaspé; trades with warship
Micmac Notes	E. C. Parsons	1926	Cape Breton, Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq	<b>Christ</b> creates the world, stars, moon, sun, & man
Canadian Wonder Tales	C. Macmillan	1928	Eastern Canada	Canadian Indians	<b>Glooscap's</b> stone canoe became an island; men created from arrows shot into ash trees
Penobscot Tales & Religious Beliefs	F. G. Speck	1935	Maine	Penobscot	<b>Giuskabe</b> created from nothing; transformed geography
The Algonquin Legends of New England	C. G. Leland	1968	New England & Eastern Canada	Mi'kmaq, Maliseet Passamaquoddy, & Penobscot	<b>Glooskap</b> lived with grandmother & young man; lived on an island; family kidnapped from (Saint John)
Glooskap's Children	P. Anastas	1973	Maine	Penobscot	men created from arrows shot into ash trees
Minegoo Was Made in Heaven	F. H. MacArthur	1988	Prince Edward Island	Mi'kmaq	<b>Great Spirit</b> created Minegoo; carried on his shoulders; given to people as happy hunting grounds
Stories from the Six Worlds	R. H. Whitehead	1988	Atlantic Provinces	Mi'kmaq	<b>Great Spirit</b> created <b>Kiuskap</b> blowing

Text	Author	Date	Place	Source	Comments
					breath into stone image of a man
The Wabanakis of Maine & the Maritimes	Maine Indian Program	1989	Maine & Maritime Provinces	Penobscot, Passamaqu oddy, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq, & Abenaki	<b>Koluskap</b> came from the sky with his twin brother, Malsom; turned his stone canoe into Newfoundland
Our Lives in Our Hands	B. McBride	1990	Maine	Mi'kmaq	<b>Grandfather Sun</b> created man from sand in "land of the red earth"
The Old Man Told Us	R. H. Whitehead	1991	Atlantic Provinces	Mi'kmaq	Prince Edward Island was ice boat that saved people, birds, & animals from flood
Weaving Ourselves into the Land	T. Parkhill	1997	Maine & Atlantic Provinces	Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Penobscot & Passamaqu oddy	<b>Kluskap</b> & Malsum born; Malsum born through mother's side killing her; origins @ 1863
Penobscot Man	F. G. Speck	1998	Maine	Penobscot	water families created from <b>Gluskape</b> killing monster frog people rushed to water to drink took on their forms; terrestrial families took names from co-relatives (animals)
The Penobscot Dance of Resistance	P. MacDougall	2004	Maine	Penobscot	<b>Gluskabe</b> is ideal Penobscot man; skilled hunter, clever & tricky, able to outwit others
Unsettled Past, Unsettled Future	N. Rolde	2004	Maine	Maine Indians	unclear whether <b>Klose-kur-beh</b>

Text	Author	Date	Place	Source	Comments
					created himself or was created by <b>Great Spirit</b>
Red Earth	M. Robertson	2006	Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq	<b>Sun</b> creates heavens, earth, weather & Mi'kmaq
Glooscap Legends	S. T. Spicer	2006	Maritime Provinces	Mi'kmaq	<b>Glooscap</b> is god-man; unknown origin; shaped geography in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Maine & Gaspé



**Table 2. Literature, History, and Ethnologies**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Literature, History, and Ethnologies</b>					
A Journal of a Mission to the Indians of British Provinces . . .	J. West	1827	Canada	Penobscot	Penobscot became Roman Catholics, remained stationary for most of year, & cultivated; promised tools to establish English school
The Neutral French . . .	Mrs. Williams	1841	Nova Scotia	Penobscot	savages beyond reason, seeking vengeance on women & children; contradicted this by stating [Penobscot] were not savage with the ability to read & write French
Argimou. A Legend of the Micmac	The Amaranth, D. S. Huyghue	1842	New Brunswick	Mi'kmaq & Penobscot	Penobscot described similarly to Mi'kmaq as rude & savage
L'Acadie or Seven Years Explorations in British America	Sir J. E. Alexander	1849	Eastern Canada	Mi'kmaq	men were hunters, women lived in camps; described as 'gipsies', kidnappers of children, attacking emigrants, scalping & torturing
A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language, & Literature of the Micmac Tribes of Indians . . .	S. T. Rand	1850	Nova Scotia & Prince Edward Island	Mi'kmaq	perceived English through Mi'kmaq eyes, taking possession of their lands, treating them as though without rights
The American Indians . . .	H. R. Schoolcraft	1851	Gaspé	Mi'kmaq	lived only by fishing, subject to poverty, eager to trade, slept under canoes

Text	Author	Date	Place	Reference	Comments
Descriptive Sketches of Nova Scotia . . .	E. Frame	1864	Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq & Abenakis [Penobscot]	poem [Mi'kmaq] scalping & torture; poem [Abenaki] <sup>60</sup> with reference to St. Castin
The Abenakis & Their History . . .	E. Vetromile	1866	Acadia	Mi'kmaq, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy & Abenakis <sup>61</sup>	Mi'kmaq as Souriquois, good canoe men, once large & powerful nation; Penobscot as Etchimis
Poems & Essays	J. Howe	1874	Acadia <sup>62?</sup>	Mi'kmaq	descriptions of emigrants clearing the wilderness after Indian wars with remembrance the Mi'kmaq were once plentiful; wandering Mi'kmaq
Stories of the Land of Evangeline	G. M. Rogers	1891	Acadia	Mi'kmaq	Acadian woman portrayed as wild due to capture by Mi'kmaq
The Lost Atlantis & Other Ethnographic Studies	Sir D. Wilson	1892	New England & Eastern Canada	Wabanaki	People of the Dawn; Norsemen referred to inhabitants as 'skraelings'
The Raid from Beausejour . . .	C. G. D. Roberts	1894	Acadia	Mi'kmaq	described as savage & snatching babies

<sup>60</sup> The author uses Abenaki to depict the Penobscot.

<sup>61</sup> This author makes reference to the Abenaki as well as to the Penobscot.

<sup>62</sup> The author does not make specific reference to Acadia.

Text	Author	Date	Place	Reference	Comments
Canadian Savage Folk: the Native Tribes of Canada	J. Maclean	1896	New England & Eastern Canada	Mi'kmaq & Penobscot?	woman's vision of other people's arrival on floating island with tall trees & humans dressed in rabbit skins; Garrantines <sup>63</sup> [Penobscot?] once powerful tribe with handful remaining
Relics of the Stone Age in Nova Scotia	H. Piers	1896	Nova Scotia	Mi'kmaq	canoes comparable to horses, loaded with family & supplies
Earth's Enigmas a Volume of Stories	C. G. D. Roberts	1896	unknown	Mi'kmaq	women described as 'squaws'; English as 'palefaces'
For the Boy's Sake & Other Stories	M. Saunders	1896	unknown	Mi'kmaq	women depicted as basketmakers who also succumbed to alcohol; pitied by townspeople who bought their wares
The Jesuit Relations . . .	R. G. Thwaites	1896	New France	Mi'kmaq & Penobscot	Lescarbot records that Mi'kmaq need to cultivate & remain sedentary to be civilized; Fr. Biard sought to domesticate & civilize the idle & childish Mi'kmaq; Penobscot described as Tarrantines; English fort built for trade near Castine, Maine, in 1625 fell to French in 1632

<sup>63</sup> A variation of Tarrantine used by others in the period refers also to the Penobscot.

Text	Author	Date	Place	Reference	Comments
True Stories of New England Captives . . .	C. A. Baker	1897	New England & Acadia	Penobscot & Abenaki	Weymouth contacted Penobscot in 1605, offered brandy, nobody would drink; enticed Indians to board ship to kidnap them; conflict in New England seen as holy war by Gov. Villebon, 'baptism of blood', sanctioned by priests
Count Frontenac & New France under Louis XIV	F. Parkman	1898	New France	Penobscot	St. Castin married into tribe providing them with gunpowder & shot; Penobscot also called his 'Indian harem'
By the Marshes of Minas	C. G. D. Roberts	1900	Acadia	Mi'kmaq	described as fierce with scalping knives
A Canadian History for Boys & Girls	E. P. Weaver	1900	New England	Penobscot	Penobscot waged war on New England (1688) led by St. Castin; killed beyond mercy