

Landless Souls Are Still Living: The Kwupahag and Muanbissek

by

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Abstract

Currently, of Abenaki groups of Indigenous peoples, only the Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot have successfully been organized as federally recognized tribes in the United States, but historically, there have been at least a dozen Abenaki tribal groups residing in what is now New England and New Brunswick. Most of them intermingled with one another during the past colonial period. Historical accounts and manuscripts often use various Abenaki nomenclatures created linguistically by outsiders. Abenaki tribal identity can be retraced through these records by comparing place names, demography, lifestyles, as well as the geographic areas inhabited and trading relations affirmed during conferences between colonial authorities and Abenaki chiefs in 1713, 1717, 1721, and 1727. However, outsiders' observations and attempts at naming these groups confused and misled the recognition of the identities and correct names of the Abenaki groups. Accordingly, this thesis focuses on elucidating the political and geographical context for the Kwupahag of the Eastern Abenakis along the St. John River in New Brunswick and the Muanbissek of the Western Abenakis along the Merrimack River in New Hampshire. Using a digital humanities approach to examine the correlations among these Abenaki groups, I analyzed a series of graphs created with Gephi, the open software that can map a kind of network to specify the characteristic relationships between each of Abenaki groups and settlers to a researcher by querying the graphs. The graphs produced can support efforts to maintain and recover Indigenous rights, memory, cultures, identity, and sovereignty, by visually representing historical relationships between Abenaki peoples.

Keywords: Indigenous anthropology, Abenaki peoples, Kwupahag, Muanbissek, Gephi, digital database

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Introduction

Abenaki and Pennacook Peoples

Of the vast amount of North American tribes, this thesis focuses on the presently unaccounted for tribes of Abenaki people that were recorded until the 18th century. The name of the Abenaki people properly is used as “Wabanaki”, symbolically meaning in the Algonquian language (Huden, 1962, p. 278):

“The people of dawn land”

This idiom means:

“The first to see the sun rise at the start of each new day and among the first to see Europeans at the dawning of new area” (Calloway, 1991, p. 3)

For this thesis, Abenaki is used in Angelized terms as a generality, whereas the French term is represented as Abénaquis, and the Abenaki term is represented as Wabanaki (Havard, 1992, p. 278). The Abenaki are a large geographic and linguistic group who has political organization, specific cultural traditions and legends, and there was no “ride into the sunset” even though their land was dispossessed, and they became scattered in splendid isolation (“Abenaki History”, 1997, para. 19). Historically, the tribes ranged in location from what is now Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, to eastern Ontario, and southeastern Quebec (para. 4). The 18th century tribes of the Abenaki group (spelling variants and synonyms in parenthesis) include the following: Accominta (Agamenticus), Amaseconti (Amasacontee), Arosaguntacook (Androscoggin, Arossagunticook, Amariscoggin, Ameriscoggin, Anasaguniticook, Asschincantecook), Cowasuck (Cahass, Cohassiac, Coos, Coosuc, Koes), Etchimin (Etchemin), Kwupahag (Kwapahag), Maliseet (Malecite), Medoctec (Meductic), Missiquoi (Mazipskoik, Misiskuoï, Missiassik, Missique, Missisco), Muanbissek, Norridgewock (Kennebec, Caniba, Sagadahoc, Kanibesinnoak), Ossipee,

Passamaquoddy (Machias Tribe, Opanango, Quoddy, Scotuks, Scootuck, St. Croix Indians, Unchechaug, Unquechaug), Pequawket (Pigwacket), Penobscot (Panaomeska), Rocameca (Narakamigou), Sokoki (Saco River, Assokwekik, Ondeake, Onejagese, Sakukia, Sokokiois, Sokoquios, Sokoquis, Sokokquis, Sokoni, Sokwaki, Soquachjck, Zooquagese), and Wewenoc (Wawinak, Wawenoc, Sheepscot) (para. 11). Currently, the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Maliseet have been recognized as independent nations with many enrolled tribal members by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States (“How Do I Trace Indian Ancestry?,” n.d., p. 1). Only the Maliseet have official First Nations status in Canada (GenealogyFirst.ca, 2010, para. 6). Also, the Missisquoi finally succeeded in winning state recognition in Vermont in 2012 after many decades (Abenaki Nation of Missisquoi, 2018, para. 1), but their federal tribal status is still being rejected by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (para. 16). However, the descendants of the Cowasuck (COWASS North America, Incorporated, 2020, para. 1) and Sokoki (Abenaki, 1997, para. 64), two Abenaki groups, are still struggling to have the federal government approve them as a federally recognized tribe.

This research also includes the Pennacook people originally living within the same geographical distribution, especially on Merrimack River, New Hampshire and southern Maine where Abenaki were also identically distributed. Historically, the Pennacook people were a large, influential, independent, and powerful tribal force and saw the Abenaki peoples as their enemies (“Abenaki Tribe”, 2014, para. 7) but then moved to Abenaki territories in Maine due to European pressure. Although the Pennacook spoke Algonquian languages like the Abenaki and were sometimes classified as the southernmost group of the Abenaki, the Pennacook continued to maintain political distinction from the Abenaki peoples because they already had a large and independent confederacy and saw the Abenaki as enemies, despite having a similar language and

lifestyle as the Abenaki before European contact (“Pennacook History”, n.d., para. 6) and an exogamous system to sometimes marry Abenaki women (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 24).

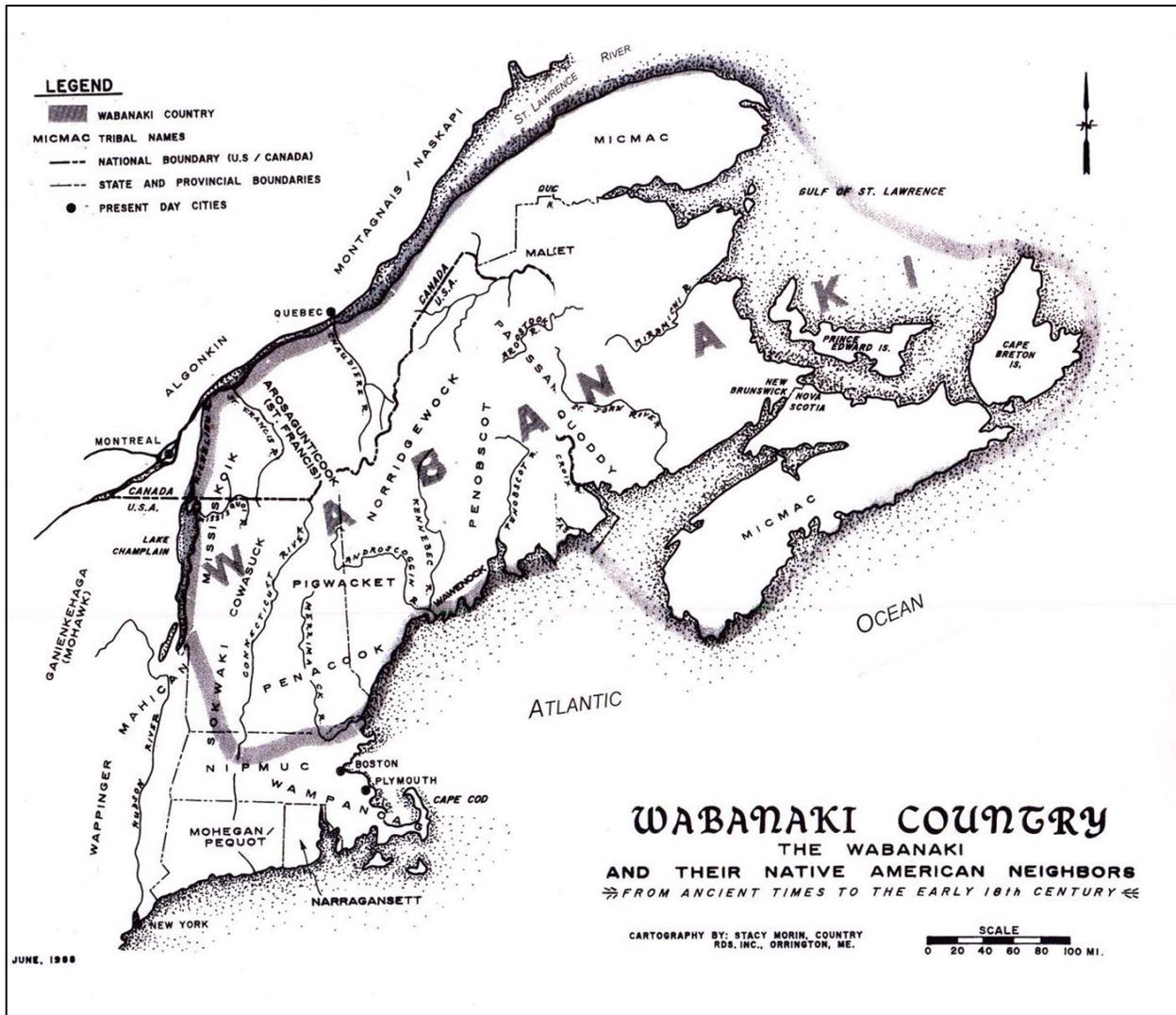


Figure 1. Wabanaki Country the Wabanaki and Their Native American Neighbors from Ancient Times to the Early 18th Century, by Cartography Stacy Miller Morin. Taken from: *Dawnland encounters: Indians and Europeans in northern New England*. by Calloway, C. G. (1991).

The Pennacook sub-tribes are as follows, with their variants in parenthesis: Accominta, Agawam, Morattigan (Monchiggan), Nashua (Nashaway), Natticook, Naumkeag (Amoskeag, Naimkeak, Namaoskeag, Namaske), Newichawawock (Newichawanoc), Pennacook proper (Merrimac), Pentucket, Piscataqua (Pascataway, Pinataqua, Piscataway), Souhegan (Souheyan, Nacook, Natacook, Natticook), Squamscot (Squam, Squamsauke, Wonnesquam), Wachusett,

Wamesit (Pawtucket), Weshacum, Winnecowet, and Winnipisauke (Winnipisauki, Wioninebesek, Maunbisek, Muanbissek) (“Pennacook History”, n.d., para. 5). However, in spite of their political distinction, the Pennacook were eventually absorbed into the Abenaki in the early 18th century because of widely prevalent disease and occasional warfare (para. 3), but their descendants were likely to have lived in St. Francois and Becancour in southeastern Quebec (Ghere, 1993, p. 194), refuting the myth of “disappearance” although New Englanders had declared them extinct in the past (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 294). This resistance implies that the Pennacook want to reassert their tribal existence themselves as being collectively independent from the Abenaki that are recognized as extant.

Some tribal groups of Abenaki and Pennacook peoples have been researched by several scholars. For example, Gordon M. Day’s (1998), *In Search of New England’s Native Past: Selected Essays*, includes Day’s research on the Abenaki peoples residing in Odanak, who were distributed between Montreal and Quebec City. Day’s research describes Abenaki history, grouping, distribution, and identities in detail, in order to identify ethnic groups of residents who were exiled from their original lands in Maine and New Hampshire because of European settlement (p. 263). Day greatly contributed to the identification of groups such as the Arosaguntacook (p. 263) and Sokoki (p. 89). Emerson W. Baker’s (2004) article, *Finding the Almouchiquois: Native American Families, Territories, and Land Sales in Southern Maine*, analyzed the Almouchiquois, who either belonged to a distinct tribe or to an extensive tribal group of Abenaki or Pennacook peoples. Andrea J. Bear’s PhD dissertation (1966), *Concept of Unity among Indian tribes of Maine, New Hampshire and New Brunswick*, clarified the differences among the tribal groups in Maine and New Hampshire. Bear concluded that the cultural unity of the Abenakis resulted from the northern woodland environment which brought many benefits to them, such as hunting, fishing,

and agriculture, cultivated throughout various regions over many years by comprising social organizations, such as family bands, because the tribes' cultural frameworks were based on the fluctuations in environmental causes (p. 47).

The Abenaki moved to seacoasts and rivers in the spring and summer for planting and fishing, moving farther inland and dividing into smaller groups during the winter (“Abenaki History”, 1997, para. 18). The Abenaki villages were usually located on the rich and fertile soil of land that fostered agriculture very well, and were further supplied by hunting, fishing, and collecting wild food (para. 17). Initial contact between the Abenaki and Europeans occurred in 1564 at the St. Croix River, Maine (para. 21). After that time, the Abenaki were persistently in conflict. The Wabanaki Confederacy was established after 1670 because of the wandering wars with the Iroquois and English settlers. In fact, there is no specific record of when the Wabanaki Confederacy was founded, but they were believed to first appear on the remaining records from the early 1680s when the Abenaki people were frustrated by European settlements, diseases, and the increase in tribal conflicts (Prins, 2010, para. 3), the enforcement of the 1713 treaty began acknowledging the notion of Indigenous rights after the long-term Euro-Wabanaki disputes over peace and friendship (para. 3). The 1727 treaty was a milestone in Anglo-Wabanaki political relations (para. 64). The 1717 and 1721 conferences were important transit points which paid more attention to idea of the rights and the enhancement of Anglo-Wabanaki relations. The Wabanaki Confederacy existed until at least the mid-19th century. If from the 1721 letter written in French, the Kwupahag were the Maliseet and the Muanbissek were the Winnepesaukee, the Maliseet and the Winnepesaukee must have joined the confederacy for the 1713, 1717, and 1727 conferences. A more detailed analysis of the past treaties entailing these two peoples will be provided in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Consequently, the Abenaki abandoned their traditional community-based villages and divided into small bands which regrouped at a distant refuge where they fought to overcome the Iroquois and English colonists, while the Pennacook suffered attacks by the Mohawk, who had already been in alliance with the English to deal with the New England Indigenous people. The Pennacook also made an alliance with the English colonists with no protection in order to disturb the Abenaki and to avoid the Mohawk (“Abenaki History”, 1997, para. 25). Over time, the Abenaki people continued to endure countless difficulties, such as warfare and disease (para. 19). Because of European settlement and the Mohawks’ attacks, the surviving groups left their original lands and merged into the existent Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and other Abenaki groups (Bear, 1966, p. 134).

Since the origins of the term Kwupahag and term Muanbissek might be derived from place names given by outside settlers, it is useful to compare Bear’s analysis of the term Almouchiquois and term Etchemin, with regard to the same New England geographic region, linguistic systems, engagement with European colonies, and cultural starting and ending periods. Bear described the Almouchiquois as possibly a conglomeration of the different groups of Abenaki people in the French version, and the Almouchiquois were distributed throughout land found in southern coastal Maine to New Hampshire during the 17th century (p. 23). Their distribution probably reached to Massachusetts. The term Armouchiquois was probably French for a conglomeration of various Western Abenaki grouping living along the coast from southern Maine to New Hampshire. The term Etchemin has proved to be a synonym for the existent Maliseet and Passamaquoddy tribes, since they were named by the French explorers who first identified them in the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy territories in eastern Maine and New Brunswick (p. 36). The general name of Etchemin appeared first in 1603 and disappeared once the name Maliseet showed up in use at the

end of the 17th century (p. 31). The name Maliseet appeared on the 17th-century historical maps instead of the term the Etchemin, whereas the name Abenaki had been used instead of the term Armouchiquois (p. 23), indicating that the Maliseet from Maine and New Brunswick and the Abenaki from New Hampshire and Maine were respectively different from the Etchemin and Armouchiquois (p. 40) according to their unique characteristics, with the Etchemin as hunting and nomadic groups, while the Armouchiquois had acquired agricultural knowledge (p. 23). Hence, these French designations made for historical, geographical, and communal confusion.

Day, Baker, and Bear's analysis of Abenaki and Pennacook histories help to reveal the origins of the numerous historical names for each group. The identities of the terms Almouchiquois and Etchimin have been rediscovered by filtering their nomenclatures (Baker, 2004, p. 79), but research on other groups, such as the Kwupahag and Muanbissek, has not occurred, so further identification of those groups still remains necessary. Given the complex histories of encounters, traditions of group identity for both Indigenous practices and what settler colonialists expected 'group' to mean, this thesis develops a method based on the formal mapping of systems of relationships to begin untangling these two perspectives. It will focus on the identification of the Kwupahag and Muanbissek, the most unidentified or least studied groups of the Abenaki as a case study.

The status of these groups remains confused due to complicated and unstable designations derived from assumptions made by unrelated outsiders in the context of the treaty signatories and the 18th century settlers' colonial names. Specific analysis may give broad hints that can identify these mysterious groups as being directly or similarly involved with the principle adjacent Indigenous groups: the Abenaki and the Pennacook. The stakes for this research indicate how to accurately determine the indigenous groups' statuses from the historical, political, geographic, and

linguistic contexts of limited and indistinct resources stated by non-Indigenous historians and ethnographers. Determining the presence of these past groups can draw attention to the significance of these groups' relationships to modern Abenaki sovereignty, traditions, and values, as well as the disadvantages, such as the loss of Abenaki political organizations and meaningless tribal designations, found in settler colonialism. In fact, the Abenaki and Pennacook peoples themselves did not care about what tribe individuals belonged to, as they felt that they were really members of a larger Abenaki group (Ghere, 1993, p. 194). In spite of clearly their own political organizations, the English colonists and early historians forced them to be further categorized into tribes (p. 194).

This thesis examines the identities, names, and original territories of the Kwupahag and Muanbissek within the complicated and unclear context of historical and linguistic data created by not only Abenaki people, but also by English and French colonists and other Indigenous people. Exploring this data systematized as a network may indicate how existent Abenaki and Pennacook peoples can culturally and ethnically understand their connection to the Kwupahag and Muanbissek. Equally, a discussion and analysis of this information will clarify these groups' connection to their valuable land. I collected data about the Kwupahag and Muanbissek in terms of synonyms, variants, dialectal languages, and locations. These tables of relationships are visualized and analyzed via the open-source network visualization program 'Gephi' (Robinson, 2019, para. 27) which enables me to represent the differential patterns of Abenaki occurrences in history that will be dissected in this thesis. 'Modularity,' the measurement of strengthening similar connectivity of internodes within networks (para. 47), helps to situate the interrelationships between each node, such as group names or territory names, and edges that represent relationships such as: 'known_as' or 'is claiming.' More detailed information will be discussed in Chapter 4

from the different nomenclatures, so hidden interrelationships regarding the Kwupahag and Muanbissek may be revealed.

The Kwupahag and Muanbissek

The authors of the *Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico (Volume 1)*, one of the most comprehensive scholarly books on Native Americans, describe the Muanbissek as an unidentified group (Hodge, 1975a, p. 954). Both the Kwupahag (p. 746) and Muanbissek were only mentioned in a letter sent by the Wabanaki Confederacy to the governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1721, as one of the divisions of the confederacy (p. 954). Aside from that mention, both traditional territories still remain unknown. It is likely that the term Kwupahag was one of the indefinite divisional names or synonyms representing a Maliseet place-name, which would account for the fact that the term Kwupahag was used only in the letter. For instance, in Reid's (2004) book, *The "Conquest" of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions*, a detailed description of the letter was provided, and the position of the signatures mentioned the Kwupahag and Muanbissek as part of the eleven communities, and not as a separate ethnic group or a tribe. Reid describes the word Kwupahag as an "Aukpaque" term portraying "St. John River, near Fredericton", and Muanbissek is used to describe being from "along the Merrimac River" (p. 97). The *Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico (Volume 2)* states that Okpaak was one of the Maliseet villages on St. John River (Hodge, 1975b, p. 117), and the Abbe Museum (2012) describes them as "Ceux de Kupahag, Ekpahak or Savage Island near Fredrickton" (para. 18). This group was most likely from Fredericton, New Brunswick where the Maliseet people still currently reside. Since there is no information that the Maliseet have any subtribes or subdivisions, it seems likely that the Kwupahag were not a distinct group or subgroup of the Maliseet, but just

a Maliseet place name. These early historians' accounts often mentioned the prevalent terms Aukpaque, Okpaak, and Ekpahak, but Nicholas (2015) pointed out that the terms are written inaccurately and Ekwpahak is correct and in use today within Maliseet communities (p. 27).

The Muanbissek are the most unidentifiable group of the Abenaki. The website "Pennacook History" (n.d.) surmises that Muanbissek may be an endonym or synonym for the Winnepesaukee, one of the Pennacook subgroups (para. 6). Masta (1932) described Winnepesaukee as "Wiwnibes aki" meaning that "lake between and around land or islands." The prefix Wiwni- is defined as around, the radical "nbes" as lake, and the suffix "aki" as land or island (p. 101). Day (1981) also tried to analyze and identify the handwritten Muanbissek, and suggested that the prefix "Muan-" may have been understood as "Wion-" in the Abenaki language, with the full name being Wioninebesek, a variant for the Winnepesaukee who resided around Lake Winnepesaukee where the Merrimack River flows to its the end in New Hampshire (p. 35). It seems that the Muanbissek were living around Lake Winnepesaukee or along the Merrimack River, but the Abbe Museum (2012) indicates that they may be "Ceux de Muanbissek, Missiquoi Bay near Santon, Vermont" (para. 18). Their territory is still not clear.

If the terms Kwupahag and Muanbissek can respectively be considered as tribal endonyms for the Maliseet and Winnepesaukee on the basis of my inferences, since there is no information about the Kwupahag and Muanbissek other than in the letter issued in 1721, why was it the Muanbissek on the behalf of Pennacook who had joined the Wabanaki Confederacy in the 17th century ("Pennacook History," n.d., para. 10) signed the letter sent by the Abenaki Nation to the governor of New England in 1721, even though the Winnepesaukee, one of the Pennacook subgroups, were hostile to the Abenaki and independent from the Abenaki? Sachems, who were paramount chiefs of the Algonquian speakers (Merriam-Webster, n.d., para. 1) traditionally

chosen by hereditary authority, managed justice, welcomed guests, arranged rituals, used diplomacy, and allotted land (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 75). Apparently, when conferences were held prior to 1721, sachems representing the Maliseet and Winnipiesaukee and had been sent to sign those treaties at conferences in order to correspond with the governors of New England (p. 233, P. 238 & P. 251). Still, the letter was not written using the terms Maliseet and Winnipiesaukee, so why were the terms Kwupahag and Muanbissek used for signatures in only that letter? Were they just one of the divisions that determined uniform family bands as a community or a whole village of Maliseet and Pennacook?

Abenaki Signatures in the Letter Sent by the Abenaki Confederacy to Governor Samuel Shute of Massachusetts in 1721

Bear's, Day's, Ghere's, and Stewart-Smith's articles are exemplarily supportive of the proper development for research about unexplored peoples. Multiple sources, including Bear's article and Reid's book, have referred to the Massachusetts Historical Society as having a stored copy of the signed letter issued in 1721 in French for Governor Shute transcribed by the Jesuit missionary Pierre de La Chasse (Wicken, 2004, p. 97); unfortunately however, an email in response to my query arrived on March 3, 2020 from the Massachusetts Historical Society which mentioned that they may have removed this document from their collection or that they had never collected it. In addition, this document might have been on loan from private owners. Likewise, an English translation was published by the Maine Historical Society in Volume 13, Issue 3 of *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, and the Massachusetts Historical Society has thought that most of the citations more likely refer to the published version of the letter than to the original

manuscript written in French (Elder, personal communication, March 3, 2020), and I analyzed only the published version of the letter in both English and French.

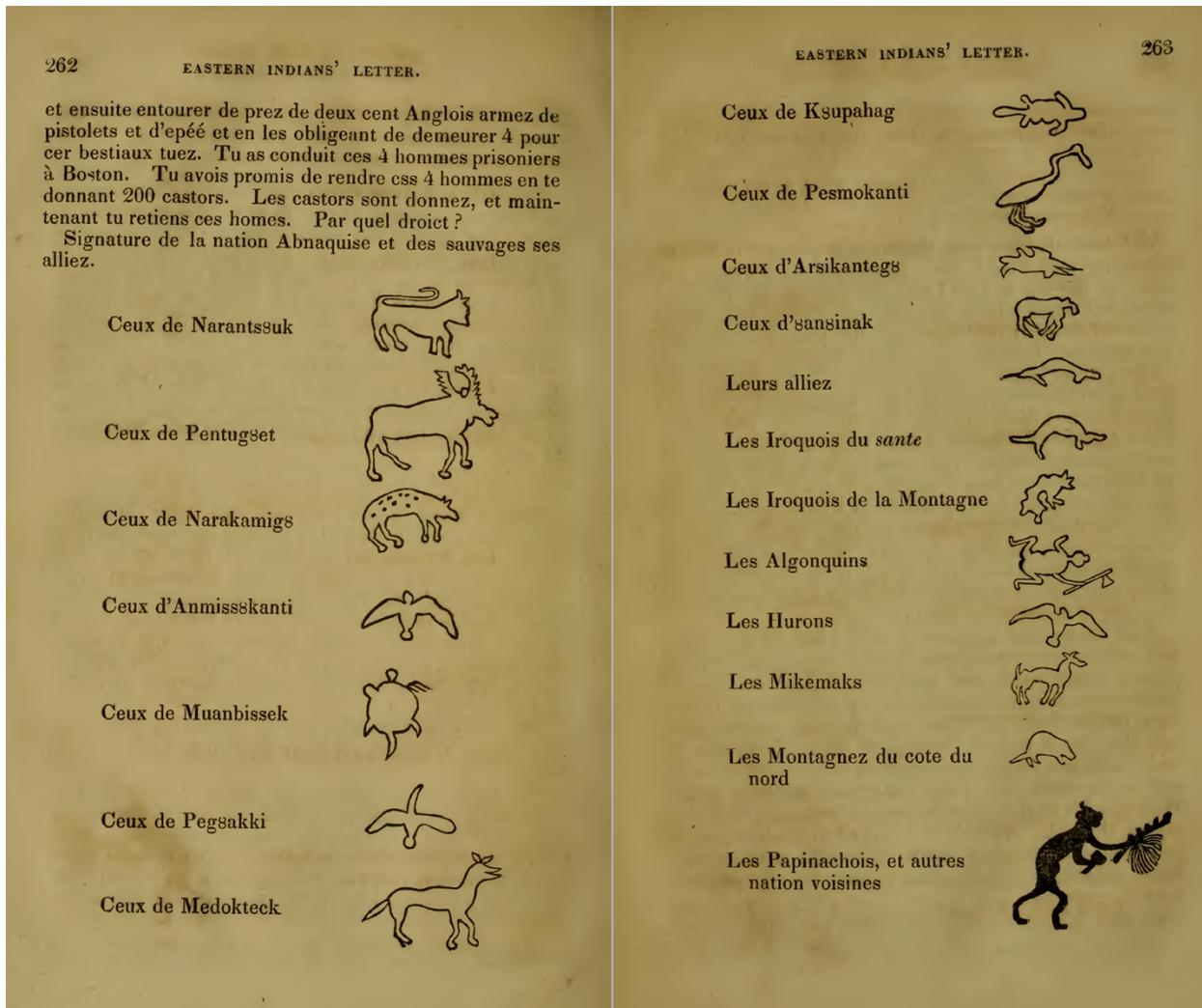


Figure 2. Signatures of the Abenaki groups in a letter to Governor Shute on July 27, 1721. Taken from: *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Vol. 8)*, by Massachusetts Historical Society (1792).

This section discusses the letter sent in late July, 1721 to Governor Samuel Shute of Massachusetts with the signatures of eleven Abenaki communities included as follows, with the major terms in parenthesis: the Narantsouak (Norridgewock), Pentugouet (Penobscot), Naurakamig (Rocameca), Anmesokkanti (Amaseconti), Muanbissek, Pegouaki (Pequawket), Medoktek (Medoctec), Kwupahag (Ekwpahak), Pesmonkanti (Passamaquoddy), Arsikanteg (Arosaguntacook), and 8an8inak (Wewenoc) (Wicken, 2004, p. 97). Why were the minor terms

used as signatures instead of the common terms listed in parenthesis? The signatures have been identified as being linked to individual villages and tribes because of their collective names and their individually affixed animal totems. Examining the affixed animal totems from Figure 2 below, I can make the assumption that the signatures describe drawn figures, such as a moose, leopard, eagle, tortoise, dog, beaver, and heron, since there is no specific source available that clarifies these kinds of animal totem marks or signs (Kidder, 1859, p. 35). The totem marks were probably the emblems that they owned as manual signs, not their personal emblems (p. 35), but Calloway (personal communication, August 25, 2020) and Hall (personal communication, August 25, 2020) who are expert in the Abenaki history solely assume the identification of the drawings. The animal drawing of the Muanbissek symbol looks like a turtle, and that of Kwupahag looks like a beaver.

The signatories' villages ranged along the major river systems from the Merrimac River in New Hampshire to the St John River in central New Brunswick (Wicken, 2004, p. 97), and all were associated with the Wabanaki Confederacy composed of following nations: The Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq, and Abenaki (Wiseman, 1998, p. 79). The Mi'kmaq are linguistically distinct from the Abenaki groups but joined Abenaki allies because the French continuously traded with the Abenaki and Mi'kmaq in Acadia, which the French controlled ("Abenaki History," 1997, para. 8). The Jesuit missionary Pierre de La Chasse wrote the letter to state that the Wabanaki disagreed with the expansion of New England by Europeans' settling of the Wabanaki lands (Wicken, 2004, p. 97). New Englanders had settled the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine, violently abusing past treaties signed by different governors of Massachusetts and the Wabanaki Confederacy before and after 1721. In the 1713, 1717, and 1727 treaties, individual chiefs of the confederacy, on behalf of their communities, were represented as signing those treaties (p. 97).

As for the historical context for the reason that the 1721 letter was written, in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht ended Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), but negotiations between the English and the Abenakis caused disagreements because the English needed imperial control over the French commercial trade and did not follow the Abenaki's demands to shun the fight against the French and to maintain peace and friendship. The treaty enforced the transference of Abenaki land to European hands without consulting the Abenaki. In order to protect their own sovereignty and ownership, the Abenaki protested the legality of the Treaty of Utrecht that guaranteed both English and French claims of sovereignty (p. 167). Otherwise, the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1713 embraced tribal peace and remanded them the subordinate status as English subjects, but the treaty was violated by New Englanders' settlements invading Abenaki lands on Maine's coasts and rivers (p. 166).

Samuel Shute had become a governor of Massachusetts in 1717 because of his adept skills of negotiating directly with the Wabanaki Confederacy (Morrison, 1984, p. 174). At a conference in Arrowsic, Maine in 1717, Shute intervened with the individual chiefs of the Wabanaki in attempting to enter into an agreement regarding colonial invasion of Wabanaki lands and the establishment of trading posts. However, the Kennebec sachem disagreed with colonial settlements, fort construction, and claims for sovereign control. Unfortunately, Shute insulted the sachem, rejected the negotiation, and supported English claims for the maintenance of the territory (p. 181). Shute responded, "the Abenaki could trade only if they would accept Massachusetts' forts", and the Wabanaki were outraged at this (p. 174). In 1720, the Wabanaki reached an agreement to pay 400 fur pelts in return for property damage in Maine to return the Wabanaki hostages held by the English. In July 1721, the Wabanakis paid half of the furs and claimed the return of their hostages, but Massachusetts did not respond, so the Wabanaki conducted raids at Norridgewock. Below is

the former part of the full letter in English, translation from the original French transcription written by Pierre de La Chasse, a Jesuit missionary.

“Great Chief of the English:

You see by the peace treaty, of which I send you a copy, that you must live peaceably with me. Is it to live in peace with me to take my land against my wishes? My land that I have received from God alone, my land of which no king nor any foreign power could or can dispose of in spite of me, that which you have nevertheless done for several years, in establishing and fortifying yourself therein against my will, as you have done in my river of Anmirkangan, of Kenibekki, in that of Matsih8an8wassis, and elsewhere, and most recently in my river of Anm8kangan, where I have been surprised to see a fort which they tell me is built by your orders.

Consider, great Chief, that I have often told you to retire from my land, and I repeat it to you now for the last time. My land is not yours, neither by right of conquest, nor by gift, nor by purchase ...

I await then your reply within three Sundays; if within this time you do not write me that you are retiring from my land, I shall not tell you again to withdraw, and I shall believe that you wish to make yourself master of it in spite of me. As for the rest, this here is not the word of four or five Indians whom by your presents, your lies and your tricks you can easily make fall in with your sentiments; this is the word of all the Abenaki nation spread over this continent and in Canada, and of all the other Christian Indians their allies, who ... all together summon you to retire from off the land of the Abenakis that you wish to usurp unjustly ...

If some particular Indians, addicted to strong drink, tell you to settle where you settled at other times, know that all the nation disavows this permission, and that I shall come burn these houses after pillaging them. ...

... last winter ... you made [six Indian representatives] enter a house and then surrounded it with nearly 200 Englishmen armed with pistols and swords, and compelled four of them to remain for the cattle that had been killed. You have conducted these four men as prisoners to Boston. You had promised to return these four men upon receiving 200 beavers. The beavers have been given, and now you are retaining these men. By what right?” (Calvert, 1991, p. 180).

Due to the outbreak of raids at Norridgewock, Shute officially announced war against the Wabanakis as well as against “rebels, traitors, and enemies” and sent in the Massachusetts forces on July 25, 1722 (Morrison, 1984, p. 185). The war, called Dummer’s War, lasted until 1727 and set off a dramatic change in Abenaki history. The war clearly shows that the Wabanaki

Confederacy could not defeat Massachusetts forces without the support of the French military, so the Massachusetts forces destroyed the Kennebec village in Maine in August 1724, so the confederacy needed French aid to protect the Kennebec village (p. 185). During Dummer's War, the experiences of the Western and Eastern Abenakis were quite different. The Western Abenaki repeatedly committed successful raids and interrupted multiple English attempts to oppose them. Their major villages, St. Francis, Becancour, and Missiquoi, were too far away from English settlements so that the villages of the exiled groups were relatively secure from English encroachment. On the other hand, the Eastern Abenaki were weaker regarding English encroachment and raged against them because French assistance was restricted. Their two main villages, Penawabskik (Penobscot) and Norridgewock (Kennebec), were often damaged and destroyed, with the Pigwacket and Kennebec becoming very frustrated with the lack of French support, causing many Eastern Abenakis, including the Pigwacket and Kennebec, to suffer severe retaliation and take refuge in Canada (Ghere, 1994, p. 88). These tragic events caused most Abenaki tribes to be dispossessed and to remain unrecognized even today.

These descriptions add to the debate regarding how those historic changes influenced the Kwupahag and Muanbissek communities before and after the 1721 meeting. Traces of two related communal actions will be further analyzed in the flow of their historical and political transformation in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Dissecting the signatures on the 1721 letter written in French can help to determine the historical importance of the terms Kwupahag and Muanbissek. Comparing these signatures with other signatures signed on three treaties which occurred in 1713, 1717, and 1727 can indicate the various terms of Abenaki nomenclatures. The slight differences in the signatures may clarify the history behind the signing of the treaties stemming from political factors, such as territorial and trading conflicts between Indigenous people and French-British

settlers. These treaties of spotlighting the notion of Indigenous rights may also depict the history of the gradual change in Abenaki terminology. The slight differences in the Abenaki terms may connect with the identities of unexplored groups who also have several variants, endonyms, and exonyms. Detailed analysis and comparison will be explained in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Digital Humanities Approach

There is a colossal amount of available online information about the Abenaki, such as digitized anthropological accounts, digitized books, and digitized archives of early anthropology books, as well as from webpages. Christen (2018) says that typical models of digital creation can be categorized within three frameworks: getting/finding, arranging, and sharing content (p. 405). Many digital humanities projects are geared towards collections that have already been professionally archived and that will be entirely available for the public (Senier, 2014, p. 401). However, since the colonial archives were about colonial knowledge (Anderson, 2005, 88), the archives can also potentially destroy references to Indigenous knowledge, cultural practices, languages, and lifestyles in the context of political displacement by non-Indigenous collectors who have colluded in land dispossession and historical erasure by restricting access to cultural, historical, or political context (Christen, 2018, p. 406). Appropriate digital archives should be designed to recover lost histories, reconnect members with family members, and to find evidence for their legal claims to land and resources (p. 403) in the context of colonial collection practices, current political situations, and a biased classification system (p. 408). Since the documents, manuscripts, maps, and photos stored in modern archives can record past colonial events in a biased manner of neo-colonialism, historical erasure and territorial dispossession can make

changes and fix them in Indigenous history, memory, identity, and sovereignty, so work is required to approach arranged digital archives in a new non-colonial way (p. 403).

While, currently, digital forms of data are more prevalent than print forms, the digital research method is similar to conventional print research, as Christen has pointed out when describing typical models of digital creation. For example, Gordon Day's (1981) book, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, created a clear conventional print database, like print-based inventories, books, or fieldnotes about the composition of the Saint Francis Indians that comprised family-based groupings, where their family names were supposed to identify the provenience of the families, further identifying their ethnical groups (p. 66). Day's database was supported by remaining linguistic data, genealogies, and censuses. Day thoroughly searched printed manuscripts held by the Archives of the Canadian Museum of History (p. vi). The historical and linguistic data were derived from the French who dominated the northern New England peoples and the English who dominated the southern New England peoples, in terms of generating good trading customers and religious converts (p. 66). Understanding how to select and collect information is crucial to produce a final product that will be practically and theoretically consistent with the non-colonial idea of recovering disappeared Abenaki histories.

For each entry regarding the Kwupahag and Muanbissek, I examined a variety of information found in anthropological and historical tribal inventories such as online articles, webpages, early and modern books, and collected archived manuscripts. Selections and collection of data must involve Indigenous cultural values and ethical concerns (Christen, 2018, p. 406). For instance, I have digitally collected the data from various entries related to different Abenaki groups through many reliable sources, such as Day's and Kidder's books, Ghere's and Stewart-Smith's articles, and from websites describing the details of the Abenakis and Pennacooks, and I have

selected some of the entries that fit the historical conditions of their nomenclatures, particular treaties, and territories in northern New England in the early 18th century for this thesis in order to embody a series of parallel relationships between the colonists and Abenaki groups. Thus, Indigenous work on choice, preservation, curation, and memory-making from past records can embrace the importance of modern Abenaki sovereignty, traditions, modernity, and communities and to uncover the drawbacks of the settler-colonialism (Senier, 2014, p. 400).

My examination of the entries of the Kwupahag and Muanbissek will spotlight attention on these groups in terms of their histories, territories, languages and variants. Many endonyms and exonyms for Abenaki groups exist. There are also many synonyms and variants. How can the correct names for these groups be found from incoherent nomenclatures randomly used by settler-colonizers and the continuous observations of visitors, such as historians and Jesuits? How can the complicated linkages among different groups be clearly displayed in digital data? When the groups signed the historical treaties, why did they have slightly different names for their signatures? Can the data visually depict the complex connections between particular names of each groups and the historical treaties of 1713, 1717, and 1727 and the 1721 letter? To answer these questions, I created network visualizations from the entries for each Abenaki group in Gephi, a network analysis and visualization software frequently used in digital humanities.

It is possible that this data may not bring the right answers regarding specific connections among Abenaki peoples but instead has justified rationalizing these answers by experimentally finding actual trends and continuing to shape outcomes (Lincoln, 2015, para. 8). If the consequent graphic databases are too complicated to visually understand the networked relationships, further research will be needed to make the networked relationships clear, such as discovering which groups had their original territories from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Brunswick, and

Quebec. Four historical documents respectively describe the Abenaki groups who signed the four treaties, so the created data may be able to narrate the different networks among the historical documents, Abenaki groups, and the treaties. Those issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, and the subsequent discovery of digital data will be explored to generate a useful graphic visualization, since network analysis of data is practicable from the simple observation of basic network statistics, which are measurements of the overall ‘shape’ of a pattern of relationships, or positionality within those relationships (Lincoln, 2015, para. 9).

Theory and Methods

Place Names

My research focuses on the Kwupahag, and Muanbissek, and its purpose is to analyze the linguistic and ethnographic data obtained about the groups as recorded until the 18th century, during early European colonization, warfare, and missions in order to clarify the indefinite synonyms and variants or misnomers of tribal nomenclatures for the two groups. Some tribal names were wrongly identified. The tribes' original names were likely incorrect for several reasons, from misidentification of names for the same groups of people, from the names of bands or families belonging to the same groups, names which were mistaken for the names of abandoned or stolen villages, or by tribes which were wrongly named by settlers. Hence, their determination to designate Abenaki groups as tribes should be seen as serious errors regarding place names because of settlers' ideological notions. Early anthropologists and historians who researched the geographic location of those groups could have recorded information that may have been more efficacious for them than for Abenakis, so those records are still arguable. If the confused synonyms are unraveled, the place names of the two groups would be clarified by tracing their origins in written records and genealogies.

Gordon Day greatly contributed to the development of place-name analysis. Day (1998) attests that the well-examined and reconstructed meanings of place names can provide important clues about earlier locations and events leading to salient conclusions of ethnohistory (p. 195).

Day (1977) also points out that creating reliable ethnohistoric data from place names requires examining multiple angles. First, a researcher must find the specific place for which the name was generated, the time period when it was used, the language from which it originated, and then determine the meaning. However, for some analyses, the place, the time, and the language are

sometimes groundlessly assumed to be the only determinant for the meaning of a name, although place-name analysis may result in more misunderstanding or confusing consequences. Second, in order to uncover the meaning of a place name, an understanding of the real Indigenous version of the term is needed, including what the Indigenous people used originally, and not a term or variant confused by Europeans who stumbingly pronounced the Indigenous name and were not interested in pronouncing it exactly. When there are native speakers of a certain language who still call the place the same name, the correct version of the term can usually be gleaned directly from informants (p. 27). When informants are insufficient, analysis must be supported by a linguist who is familiar with the lexicon and grammar of the language, and with the phonetics of the Indigenous language well enough to decide independently from native speakers (p. 27). Place names are not timeless evidence of territorial histories. Place names can be determined with reference to when they were created and recorded during a specific historical period but are unable to be applied when used for a much earlier date than when their emergence date was recorded (p. 29). Also, some place names are related to the mythology of a people. There are many names in the Northeast that were generated from a physiographic feature which was created by a cultural hero who emerged from the world at the earliest period of the group's history (p. 39).

Day (1998) asserts that tribal boundaries are not necessarily sharp, so researchers need to focus on the hub of the place, and not on its margins. Boundaries between tribes involved boundary zones rather than specific borderlines which created the double naming of distinctions within this zone, where each tribe possibly made a claim and took advantage of the land as far as they could. The double naming of locations along a borderline can show the characteristics of each tribe on both sides in order to determine landmarks (p. 199). It is easier to use place-name analysis for linguistic groups speaking different languages, such as establishing a boundary line between

Abenaki and non-Abenaki, than between political groups speaking the same language, such as establishing a borderline between the Abenaki and the Pennacook (p. 199). William Cronon (1983) describes how Indigenous place names could also refer to ownership or possession.

“...a variety of sites refer to ‘the boundary or ending place’ which divided the territories of two boundary or ending place” which divided the territories of two different Indian villages or groups. One of the more graphic of these Chabanakongkomuk, Worcester, Massachusetts, a ‘boundary fishing place’ whose name could be rendered, ‘you fish on your side, I fish on my side, nobody fish on the middle – no trouble.’ Such regions between two territories were often sites of trade: thus, Angualiscook mean the ‘place of barter.’ Most importantly, they were eventually places marking a boundary with the truly different people from across the sea. The Awanna path in Middlesex Country, Connecticut, carried the very suggestive label ‘who are you?’ as a reference to ‘Englishmen’ or “strangers”” (Cronon, 1983, p. 66).

For place-name analysis in different languages, many tribal names may include spelling mistakes, wrong names identified by historians, settlers, or other tribes, or are representative of other various synonyms. Those variants need to be compared and tallied and the improper spellings and misnomers matched with their common names, dialect languages, and locations using several sources, such as genealogic, linguistic and ethnographic data. Day explains that there are several ways that an English-speaker might have approached recording an Indigenous place name:

“(1) Assuming that the name as spelled on a modern map and pronounced by the analyst himself is just what the Indian said;
(2) segmenting this name in any way which seemed most convenient;
(3) assigning a meaning to the segments so obtained by appropriating words or even arbitrary parts of words from dictionaries of an Indian language in the same region, assuming that it is the same as the language of the place-name;
(4) having ignored the Indian grammar altogether, rearranging the bits of English meaning into a grammatical phrase.” (p. 195)

Day (1998) used seventeenth-century English and French documents to identify Sokoki people residing in the Saco River region in southern coastal Maine. The English and French referred to the people with multiple variants of the names, such as Saco Indians, Sokokiois, Suckquakege, and Squakey, which existed in print during the 17th century (p. 89). The English and

French assigned different meanings to Abenaki subgroups. For example, the English thought that separate tribes who respectively resided in a river valley were headquartered at their individual villages, while the French perceived these same people as one large linguistic group with subgroups identified by missions who served their religious needs (Ghere, 1997, p. 514). It was believed that the native name called these people “Sokwaki,” but the French, who knew the tribal name from an English version, tentatively adjusted the name to “Sokoki.” The name of “Sokoki” was similar to the Saco on the same territory and became fixed; the superficial resemblance in the two terms caused the people to become named arbitrarily due to the alliterative association between the tribe and their territory (Day, 1998, p. 97). The English referred to the group on the Saco River as “Saco Indians,” and they were still called “the Saco Tribe” in the 1726 census. In addition, the very similar name was found as Squakheag, a village and a tribe along the middle Connecticut River in Northfield, Massachusetts. Place-name analysis uncovered two places in Massachusetts and Maine that were reported from the earliest ethnohistorical documents until 1669 that were sometimes misunderstood and confounded. The local Indigenous people were called “Sokwaki” or “Sohkwahki”, not Sokoki, by English colonizers, in spite of the strikingly audible differences between Squakheag and Sokwaki. English historians wrote various forms of “Suckquakege” and “Soquogkeekem” while calling the Indigenous people “Squakeys” coming from the English plural of “Sohkwahki” with the addition of the English plural “-s” (p. 94). Even more, this group was expelled to Canada, so the Sokoki from the Saco River were confused with the Squakheag from the middle Connecticut River, so much so that the Sokoki in Saint Francis were not identifiable for the earliest settlers (p. 97). As time progressed to the 18th century, the Sokoki were only four surviving men who had moved to the Quebec area, and who had lost their traditional land (p. 91).

Another good example of place-name analysis to depict tribal distinctions can be seen in the 1726 census which showed the "Ammoscoggon" with the other Maine tribes while the "Arresaguntacooks of St. Francois" were comprised of new tribes in Canada (Wendall, 1866, p. 9). Anon (n.d.) jumped to the conclusion that Arosaguntacook was wrongly identified as Amarascoggin simply because the old name for Androscoggin Indians on Saint Francis River was Arsikontegok meaning "empty cave river," meaning that the village was named for its first or most important group of residents (p. 540). In 1832, William D. Williamson (1832) made a statement in the history of Maine that the Anasagunticook were distributed along the Androscoggin River and had first moved to Saint Francis (p. 466). In 1859, Frederic Kidder (1859) named the Androscoggin Indians as the Assagunticook who had abandoned Maine in 1750 but denied the fact that they were the first settlers of Saint Francis. Given these misunderstood contradictions in the historical record, Day worked devotedly to identify Arosagunticook in the following ways:

“(1) the Androscoggin River Indians were the Amarascoggins, not the Arosaguntacooks, that (2) Arsikontegok was the name of the Saint Francis River and village, derived from its characteristics, not from the founding tribe, and probably given by the Eastern Abenakis from the Chaudiere in 1700, and that (3) the Arosaguntacooks who appear in the Maine treaties were merely delegations from Saint Francis, whose ethnic composition at that time was probably predominantly Western Abenaki” (Day, 1979, p. 14).

In addition, regarding the village where the exiled Sokoki and Arosagunticook were living, Day (1998) conducted research on the previously separate tribal identities of the village residents that had been unknown until the 20th century. In fact, of the names for the allied tribal communities who signed Dummer’s Treaty in 1727, as a newly composed village created by Abenaki people exiled to the Quebec area named St. Francis or Odanak, a noticeable fact about the village was its mixed origins, although they developed with one language and culture. This newly composed village had just one language and culture, which presumably results from either an original uniformity of language and culture among the mixed group or from the evolution of a new culture

forged from different tribal characteristics (p. 272). Examining the cultural substance of such a mixed community may uncover traces of tribal relationships previously generated from the Odanak. Although the culture of the Eastern Abenaki has been well recorded and analyzed through research, further examination can help to discover whether the original groups which formed the village were culturally distinguishable by finding any routes from their origins. Re-examining records and well-developed research on the village may allow us to know the inhabitants' distinct names or the names of their villages and whether they shared the same culture, helping researchers to develop solutions to the groups' affiliations by finding or collecting more evidence (p. 272).

The St. Francis Indians are a French exonym for Odanak who were located next to the Saint-Francois River in Quebec. Odanak means "in the village" in Abenaki (Musée des Abénakis, 2020a, para. 1). The village name of St. Francis shifted to Odanak in the beginning of the 20th century (para. 1). With much effort Day (1981) analyzed their identities. Most of the Odanak ancestors were a conglomeration of the Cowsuck, Missisquoi, Pennacook, and Sokoki belonging to Western Abenaki groups, the Arosaguntacook and Norridgewock of the Eastern Abenaki groups, and the Schaghticoke from the border between Connecticut and New York (p. 115). They became refugees that moved to that location in the early 1700s as a result of the influence of colonial political, epidemic, and religious pressures (Kelly, 1999, para. 6). The term Arresaguntacook was a variant of Arosaguntacook (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 147), and Wewenock was a variant of Wewenoc (p.937). These group names were listed when Dummer's Treaty resulted from the long-term diplomatic argument between the English and Abenaki over unsolved political conflicts and consequences related to their Abenaki rights and titles (para. 65). The effect of Dummer's Treaty remained valid throughout further conferences until the American Revolutionary War occurred in the late 18th century (para. 66).

In a similar manner to the background of the Odanak, Hodge's (1975a) *Volume 1* mentions that Becancour was a village on St. Lawrence River near Trois-Rivières in Quebec, founded by Abenaki groups who escaped from Maine in 1713 when their territories were transferred to the English under the treaty of Utrecht (p. 139). The group was called Wôlinak, meaning "at the bay" in Abenaki (Musée des Abénakis, 2020b, para. 1). The village name of Becancour changed to Wôlinak after the French colonists gave the Abenaki the land in the 1750s (para. 2). The ancestors of this group are still unclear, but some sources briefly display their identities. Calloway (1994) is also a well-known researcher who specializes in Abenaki history and simply mentions that they are mainly comprised of the Wawenoc and Eastern Abenaki groups (p. 301), and Day (1998) addresses the information that one of the descendants of the Becancour families spoke in a native language called Wawenoc (p. 105), whereas the other dialects used by the group might be from the Androscoggin River (p. 202). The Penobscot might also have lived there (p. 216), and the Norridgewock took refuge at Becancour (p. 266). *The Canadian Encyclopedia* briefly addresses the notion that the surviving Western Abenaki, Sokoki or Pennacook, and many Eastern Abenaki people whose groups included the Pequawket, and the Arosaguntacook, were originally dwelling along the Androscoggin River, and the Kennebec as the Norridgewock division, moved to Quebec, including the Becancour villages (p. 2). Hence, the identities of the Wôlinak are at least considered to be the Wawenoc, Penobscot, Arosaguntacook, and Norridgewock.

Day (1977) concludes that Indigenous place names are potentially important to tell us historical incidents about the past environment, or for the significant purpose about the places that Indigenous people used in the past. However, the place names are not enough to give testimony to historical events or place characteristics, so a researcher must take every step and study before a name can be elucidated (p. 30). An understanding of Indigenous languages is essential so that

researchers can respectfully handle the sources of the name along with other historical data to collaborate with the recorder (Day, 1998, p. 196). By learning and applying his tips for place-name analysis, I suggest the Kwupahag and Muanbissek could be the names of one community or division within a larger tribe. Utilizing Day's methods for place naming will support this thesis' examination of obfuscated names for the Kwupahag and Muanbissek from historical missions and treaties, manuscripts - including historical census or letters - physiographic features from traditional Indigenous legends and mythology, and place names originating in the English, French, and Algonquian languages, including dialects.

Differing Notions between the Indigenous and Non-Indigenous regarding Disappearance

This section explains the differences between colonial and Indigenous notions regarding land, property and traded items. In the early 17th century, the total number of Indigenous people in New England declined steeply, from more than seventy thousand to fewer than twelve thousand (Cronon, 1983, p. 89). 80 percent of Indigenous people in New England were lost (Huden, 1962, p. x). This decline became extreme in some geographical regions, where the total number of the western Abenaki in New Hampshire and Vermont fell from approximately ten thousand to fewer than five hundred (Cronon, 1983, p. 89). Disease almost entirely decimated the connections of kinship and authority that the western Abenaki had organized. Early accounts described the terrible phenomenon where the chief sachem and almost all of his friends and kindred had died in numerous Indigenous villages and communities. As villages lost their sachems, and their populations decreased until villages could no longer feasibly recover, surviving Indigenous people were forced to move to new villages and establish new political systems. Population decline and becoming allies with Western colonists caused Indigenous individuals to lose their tribal

leadership positions (p. 89). Population decline caused by epidemics encouraged Western colonizers to justify themselves in utilizing Indigenous lands (p. 90). On the other hand, the total number of new immigrants to northern New England dramatically increased by sixty thousand to one hundred fifty thousand. The settler population kept growing, and the population of Maine leapt from fifty-six thousand in the late 18th century to approximately three hundred thousand by 1820 (Calloway, 1991, p. 10).

Given these grim facts, some non-Indigenous people might be surprised to learn of the existence of Indigenous reservations in New England today. According to the online American Community Survey in 2018, there were approximately 43000 Indigenous people in all of New England, who were mostly mixed bloods (para. 1). New Englanders could forget that Indigenous people still live in New England. But the supposed “disappearance” of Indigenous people may actually mean a change in their appearance (Bear, 1966, p. i). To study Indigenous people in New England during the earliest European contacts, it can be extremely difficult to determine if tribes should be seen as “extinct” tribes because of the inaccuracy and scarcity of historical records (p. viii). Anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians who specialize in the geographic location of these lost groups cannot always determine whether or not some records are really valid, so those records are still in dispute (Ghere, 1993, p. 194).

There are striking differences between dominant and Indigenous views of these issues: Members of Indigenous groups have focused their attention on land-based notions as opposed to the importance of being “full-blood” members of the group, a perspective informed by a Western sensibility. Wolfe (2006) emphasized the Indigenous notion of “land is life,” against the Western invasion (p. 387). Lawrence (2014) presents the argument that “the differences between tribally based so-called full-bloods and mixed-bloods are not as cut-and-dried, and the distinctions

between them have been created quite arbitrarily by government regulation of Native identity” (p. 86). It is almost impossible to avoid the deep conflicts between the Indigenous groups and the settlers’ government because Indigenous peoples continue to struggle with colonial legislation to get access to their land rights (p. 101). My research depends on Indigenous tribal beliefs, customs, identities, histories, and ethics for legitimization, since the Abenaki people have consistently resisted Western beliefs about vanishing Indigenous people in New England and settlements resulting from Westerners frequently invading Abenaki land. In order for the Abenaki to retain their identities, they resisted the settler-colonialism that had destroyed Abenaki political sovereignty and military service (Cronon, 1983, p. viii).

Miller (2010) points out that enculturation of social minorities can result in a new ideological type of culture, ideas, capital, and people in a given territorial society and nation-state, where the original residents are no longer visible. Those victimized communities are depicted as “detrribalized”, a term which marks the progress of their cultural and physical extinction (p. 6). But according to Mitchell (2016), generally, the idea of ‘going extinct’ is not equivalent to disappearing; it involves a range of processes that produce, transform and deform a diverse group of subjects (p. 24). This phenomenon can also be applied to current extinction theory as well, explaining how dominant European settlement can become the intended result of European-centered and desirable human activity, within structures driven by colonization, extra-activism, and other violent logics (Mitchell 2018:1). This “extinction discourse”, when rooted in a European sense, believes that Indigeneity could not coexist with modernity, therefore leading to global extinction. However, in Indigenous focused theories, “extinction” is defined as an expression of the breaking of laws and treaties between particular peoples and the land (p. 1).

Moreover, Smith (2012) states that the “scientific” views of social Darwinism have theorized that the evolution of a species in the natural world was conceptually designed for the “survival of the fittest”, so that theory was applied to the human world and became a powerful belief that Indigenous peoples were weak and were therefore vanishing (p. 65). Being a “real” Indigenous person means the existence of a “real” Indigenous leader or sachem that represents “real cultural values” in a political context. This concept of authenticity and purity can be referred to as essentialism when used for the Indigenous world and is formed by an ideological and racist agenda (p. 76). The concept was created by dehumanization in the colonized world and reproduced as “national consciousness” during the struggles for decolonization (p. 77).

Furthermore, Wilson (2008) discusses the strikingly different paradigms between dominant Western views and indigeneity. The dominant paradigms are composed of the fundamental belief that acknowledges persons as individual entities, whereas Indigenous paradigms are composed of the Indigenous belief that relationally acknowledges interpersonal relationships with all of creation, such as the cosmos, animals, and plants (p. 56). The Western notion of empirical evidence is deemed to be more important than cultural knowledge in terms of the idea that written texts take priority over oral tradition, while Indigenous scholars value both empirical knowledge and cultural knowledge (p. 58). Since the cultures and language of Indigenous peoples embody one approach to this process, Indigenous scholarship can build up connections with their ancestors and communities through inherited Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies (p. 60).

According to Ghere’s (1993) article: “*The Disappearance*” of the *Abenaki in Western Maine*,” the “disappearance” of Abenaki groups from history has been affected by the misunderstandings of early historians, rather than from an absence of Abenaki peoples (p. 194). Historians’ one-sidedly continued use of tribal designations from Western sources, which focused

on the identification of one Abenaki group as a tribe and ignored a large amount of evidence that the Abenaki political organizations had already been comprised. Instead, the historians focused on the exact locations of Abenaki groups in Maine and Canada rather than on the substance of Abenaki political organizations (p. 194). Also, most modern scholars have continued to accept the riverine tribal model as meaning that each group geographically dwelled in areas near rivers. Their inferences imply that a tribe called the Kwupahag was living along the St. John River and another tribe called the Muanbissek was living along the Merrimack River. However, Harold Prins and Bruce Bourque disputed the riverine tribe model in the late 1980s and discovered a new model that can present clearer information about Abenaki tribal groupings through political organization, migration patterns, and customs of intermarrying and intermixing among the Abenaki kinship groups (p. 194). For example, Ghere pointed out that

“The scattered Abenaki family bands in western Maine had various kinsmen at Saint Francis or Becancour and individuals or family bands frequently journeyed to the mission villages for a variety of social and cultural functions, to trade, or simply to visit relatives” (p. 195).

At first, early historians were confused by the Abenaki political organization because they wrongly identified many groups as tribes. They ignored the existent system of Abenaki political organization and relied on English sources for the accurate locations of the various Abenaki groups, as well as some information about migrations to or from Quebec. In addition, the French government did not record any indication of original villages or inhabited places of Abenaki migrants from northern New England after 1730. The French government recorded only the general term Abenaki associated with the villages of Norridgewock, Penawabskik, and Missiquoi (p. 194). Permanent tribal emigration resulted from the confusion of tribal organizations and tribal names, the absence of spokesmen for some groups at major conferences, the estimation of decreasing population, and the limitation of English knowledge for tribal geography. Yet, some

Abenaki were reported to still be inhabiting Western Maine seven decades after Dummer's War, as described in official historical documents (p. 196). Cronon (1983) also addresses the concern that different forms of evidence regarding the dynamic change in the Abenaki lifestyle which depends on nature in colonized New England require more meticulous handling. Travelers' accounts and colonial writings are likely to be subjective and frequently generalized, so colonial nomenclatures would most likely be considerably inaccurate (p. 8).

For example, during a conference in 1738, the Androscoggin were identified as a separate tribe named Penobscot. The distinction between the two tribes is in opposition to all other evidence made by the English focused on distant trading sites. Many Abenaki groups often affirmed that they were all one people. Analyzing tribal organization was confounded because the unification of two groups were not mentioned as much in historical documents (Ghere, 1993, p. 198) until the Abenaki peoples who joined the conference in August 1742 were listed as "Penobscott, Norridgewock, Pigwacket or Amiscogging or Saco, St. Johns, Bescommonconty or Amcrescogging, and St Francis is Tribes" (Shirley, 1742 p. 1). Historians assumed that the Abenakis in northern New England migrated to Canada either for safety or went on missions during warfare. This assumption resulted from many references found in the exchange of letters between settlers or army commanders and the Abenaki who had migrated to Canada. The writers assumed that Abenaki people were only war parties from Canada (Ghere, 1993, p. 198). Thus, the frequency of wrong assumptions of colonial officials and early historians resulted in the "disappearance" of the Pigwacket and Androscoggin Indians (p. 204). Yet, a few Abenakis were still surviving after the deaths of many Abenaki residents were reported as late as 1809 in Fryeburg and 1840 in Bethel, Maine through town historical records (p. 202).

In light of these profound analyses, ‘blood’ is not crucial to Abenaki people. Their status and rights are essentially tied to ecological wisdom and land cultivated by their ancestries over many years, so there is no idea of any degree of blood membership. The position of becoming a formally recognized tribe, such as the Passamaquoddy, Penobscott, and Maliseet, seems to be useful to the Abenaki people since they can maintain land inherited from their ancestors. However, Hansen states that “the greatest tragedy for the tribe is the wasted energy to prove we exist to the government” (Miller 2010, p. 91). Since that position had been manipulated by the dominant governments to promote Western economy through treaty negotiations, leaders of Indigenous groups must fight for their land rights and interests to win or maintain recognition. The self-identity of Indigenous people has been based on land and ecology, while the purity of the blood of Indigenous members is not essential to them. Indeed, some Indigenous people believe that being mixed-blooded is a strength, and not a weakness (Lawrence, 2014, p.188).

This disappearance phenomenon can be applied to treaty establishment and place name theories as well. Dominant European settlements produced the intended result of European-centered sustained human activity, such as the colonial management of naming Abenaki groups by colonization, extra-activism, and other violent logics (Mitchell, 2018, p. 1). In order to solve the struggle for recognition, I believe that adequate digital archives, preservation, and the use of software such as Gephi are useful to maintain these references and to provide the access necessary to restore lost Indigenous histories, bonds with family members, and legal claims to land and resources (Christen, 2018, p. 406). Meaningful viewpoints derived from digitized data accessed through preserved archives can provide digital instruction that is vital for quantitative approaches to historical questions to help researchers to acquire new understanding about Indigenous

knowledge and to contribute to Indigenous recognition and the significance of Indigenous self-identity.

Digital Methodology

As the previous paragraph affirmed, I need to keep meticulously selecting sources, such as books and online documentation, which are best able to describe and illustrate Abenaki beliefs, customs, and identities from the authors' anthropological and ethnographic viewpoints in order to develop respectful relationships between the Abenaki peoples and me, and to correct my biased perspectives and ignorance. These sources have helped me to more fully comprehend the Abenaki people's lifestyles and cultural concepts. As a result, my approach has included descriptions of the methods of place-name analysis and the concept of "disappearance" from an Abenaki point of view by analyzing Abenaki histories, traditions, multiple nomenclatures, locations, and evidences, and outside settlers' accounts of Abenaki people. A network analysis will lead to the hub of my thesis in order to expand the strikingly contrasting thoughts between non-Indigenous colonizers and local Indigenous inhabitants. Based on the two notions, the purpose and meaning of establishing digital archives, information management, and graph databases that are built on the foundation of network analyses, become apparent in order to elevate Indigenous knowledge and rights from fixed Western perspectives.

I try to compare conventional databases and graph databases and describe what happens when we represent systems of relationships for this research. Regarding conventional databases, Day (1998) addresses the gist of traditional archival methods from an anthropological point of view. In the case of study of English-Indigenous contacts as well as ethnohistory in New England, problems usually arise. Archives can retain information such as diaries and journals,

correspondence, legal records, photograph, sound and video recordings, and maps. Anthropological records can be comprised of as complete as possible fieldnotes, which become out of date (p. 71). The discovery of essential traditional data in manuscript collections can be exciting, but because of the colossal amount of relevant manuscripts, the next generation might have to rework these resources in order to find good estimates and conclusions (p.71). Conventional databases can let users envision historical relationships between settlers and Indigenous people by reading diaries, journals, manuscripts, or inventories. On the other hand, graph databases are used to produce bar charts from archived information or records (Robinson, 2019, para. 9), but Robinson addresses the idea that graph databases are just a data visualization tool to create a network analysis and suggests that users set tables, rows, columns, and foreign keys in order to make relationships in relation to the ‘source’ and ‘target’ (para. 11). In other words, a graph database is defined as a database of connections as well as the outset of forming a network visualization, and its technology uses nodes to indicate relationships, as well as edges, labels, and properties.

My research rather focuses on modern archival methods using graph databases to query the relationships between colonists and the Abenaki people. There are primary differences between modern archives and contemporary databases. While modern archives focus on historical records that exist in either analogue or digital form, a digital database focuses on access rather than historical recording, but the borderline between the two is still vague (“Archives,” n.d. para. 20). The internal connectivity of the different terms can be used interchangeably in relation to digital archives, data-archives, or digital repositories. A database is frequently managed by a database management system (DBMS), which is a computer system which generally saves a systematic collection of information that is organized for easy access, controlled and renewed (Oracle, 2019,

para. 1). Digital data is electronically operated by a database that is modeled in rows and columns in a series of tables to process information and queries effectively. The data is easy to access, search, control, delete, fix, update, and organize. Most databases are designed for the usage of structured query language (SQL) for writing and querying data (para. 2). There are major differences between databases and spreadsheets with respect to data storage and management, the access availability of a particular users, and the amount of the storage capability (para. 5). Spreadsheets reflect the views of a particular user and depend on his/her usage skills since the spreadsheets are designed for easy handling of data. On the other hand, databases play a major role in storing a colossal amount of structured information that has been organized, and several users can promptly make access to and query the data by using very complicated logic and language (para. 5).

Unlike SQL, graph databases focus on a certain logic in spite of their own query language (Robinson, 2019, para. 25). For relationships within Gephi, nodes are the raw data for visualizations, and edges show the relationships between the nodes that require data argument. ‘Source’ means that ties initially directed from a node act as a starting point, whereas ‘target’ means that the ties will eventually direct to the node as an end point (para. 41), and the relationships will be bridged well. A graph data model provides beneficial and supportive controls over data structures, and for storing, querying, and manipulating Gephi visualizations (Angles, 2012, p. 1). The evaluation of these visualizations may serve our theoretical interest more than a more practical development (p. 1). Thus, graph databases can conceptually simplify a graph data model to make some query capabilities more powerful than in a convoluted SQL database (Robinson, 2019, para. 17). When visualizations are produced, a graph database can be an ideal solution to provide users with a way to arrange data using its particular computational ability to assist the learner in

understanding the input and output from the graph databases (para. 31), so my database will be imported into Gephi to produce interesting visualizations of what I have done in this thesis.

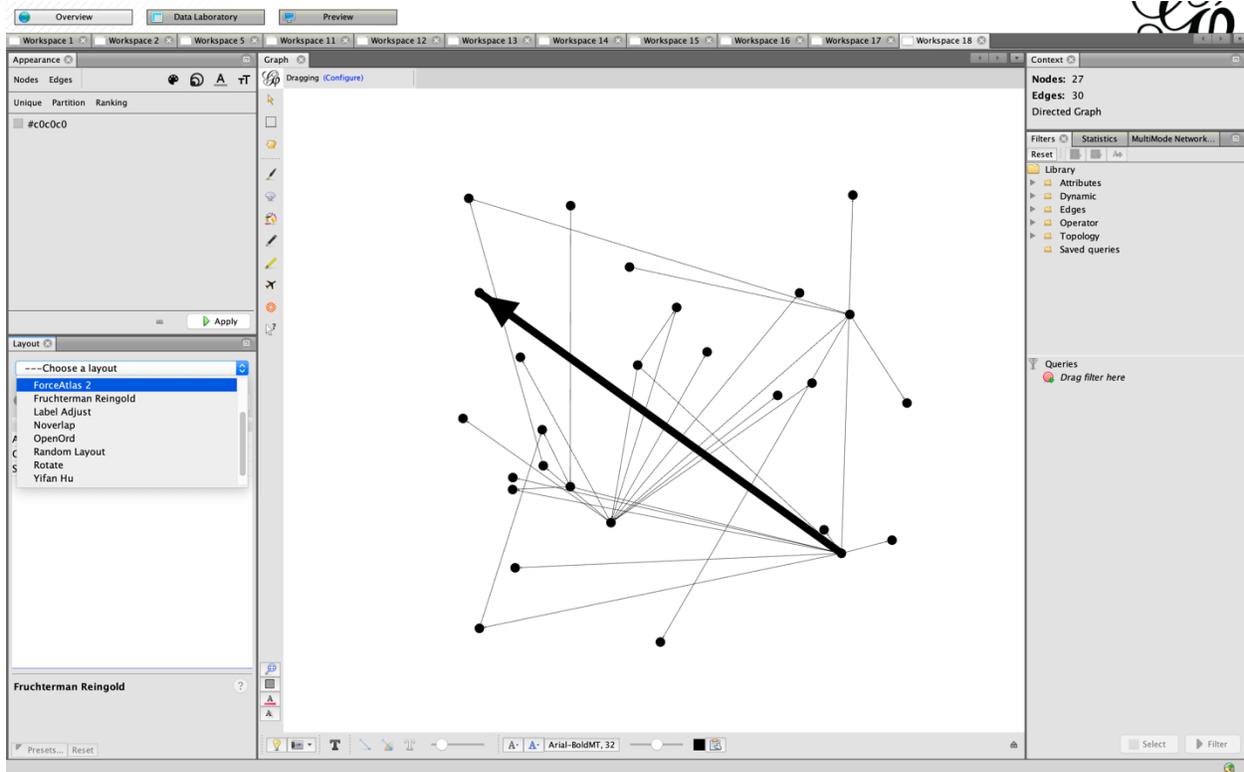


Figure 3. The 'Overview' window of the unprocessed network in Gephi

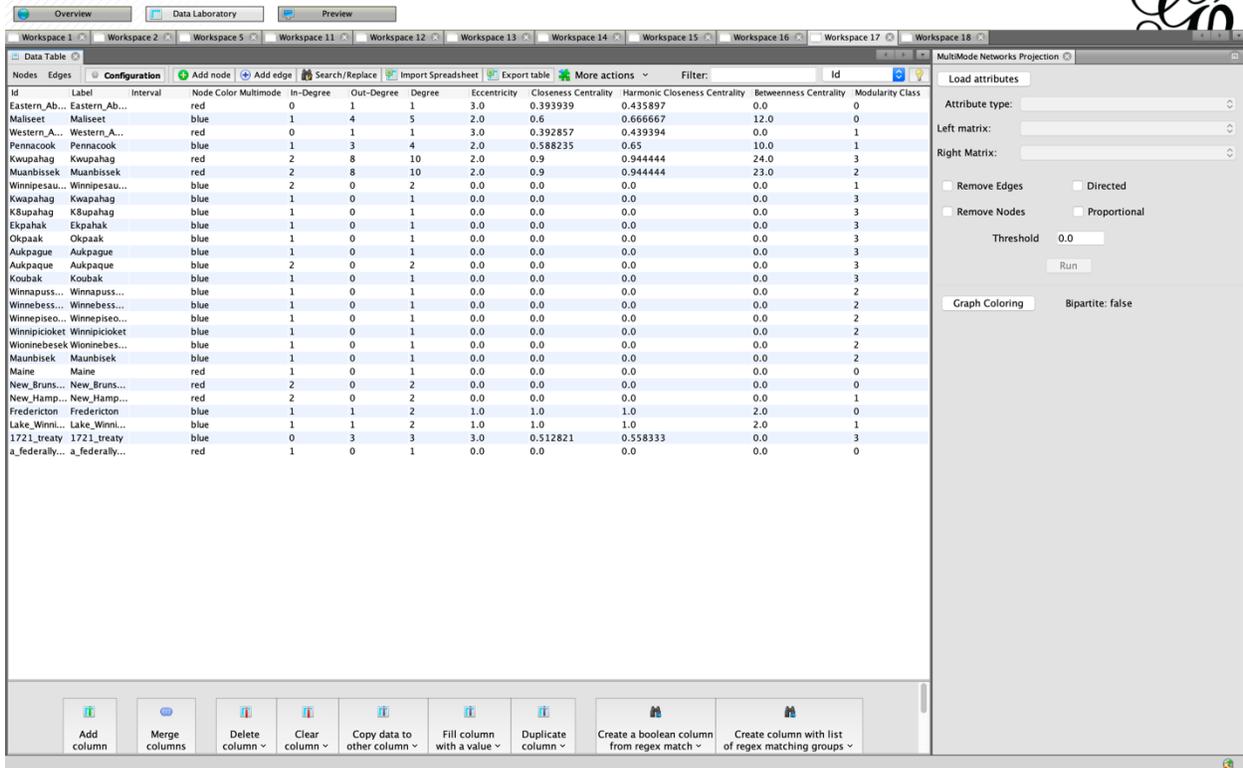


Figure 4. The 'Data Laboratory' window of the data table in Gephi

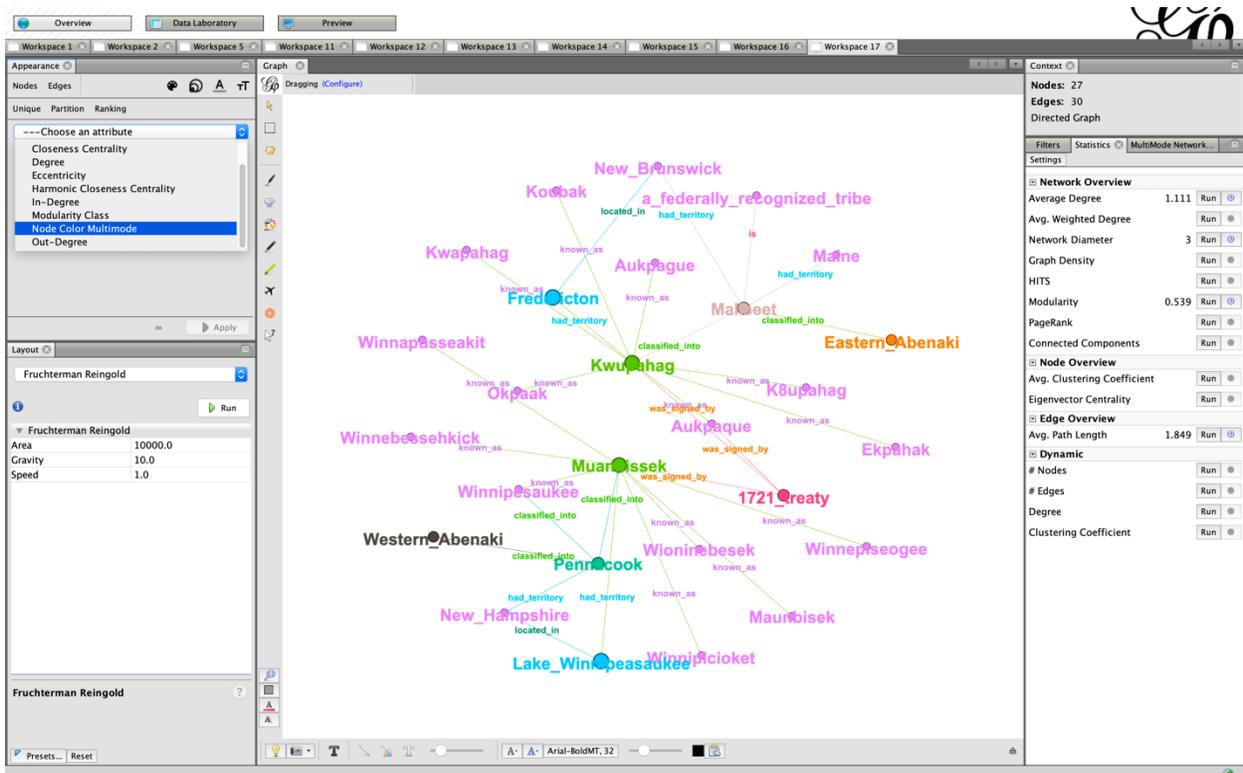


Figure 5. The 'Overview' window of the finished network visualization with colorful nodes and labels in Gephi

Digital infrastructures such as Gephi can play a role in promoting respectful information preservation and organization along with promoting a sharing processes for information collected by Indigenous communities (Cooper, et al., 2019, p. 20). Despite the methodological gaps in the traditional and digital ways of collecting information, the Excel spreadsheets of my place-name analysis for the unaccounted Abenaki groups can be added to or changed, and can practically be used with Gephi to show a unified approach to the Abenaki peoples by producing a feasible graph database for network analysis, observing and examining the multiple patterns of network metrics, nodes, and sizing icons. A graph database can be created to improve access for users who observe and explore different patterns of nodes, edges, and icons with interconnected relationships found in the data, so it can design a variety of network analysis visualizations through the dataset which enhances their aesthetics and creation. For this thesis, I believe that different patterns of network metrics will be produced to query and find some interesting revelations regarding the Abenaki people, even though this data may not produce all the answers. Nevertheless, in this instance for example, using Gephi for the network analysis of Abenaki exonyms and endonyms will help me to understand the relationships between various Abenaki terms as I map out and analyze the complicated interrelationships. When the two nodes convergently correlate with each other, I feel that Gephi will disclose the hidden importance of the named properties and value pairs that are related to the nodes and edges in order to give me hints to improve the work of Indigenous scholarship. These methodological plans are important as the goal of my future research is to create a digital database that will contribute information to scholars who specialize in several specific fields concerning non-recognized Indigenous peoples and the legal processes that redefine Indigenous peoples, as well as for Indigenous rights and cultural studies.

The Kwupahag and the Muanbissek

This chapter will discuss why the Kwupahag and Muanbissek were historically shown only as signatories to the 1721 letter, and why the leaders of the main groups were appointed to go to Arrowsic, Maine from their head divisions, through an examination of the complicated political contexts of the relationships between Indigenous peoples and rivaling English and French colonists in New England. The chapter will discuss the political occurrences in advance and afterward of the 1721 conference to show how the past political backgrounds of these groups made the two names of Kwupahag and Muanbissek necessary as signatures on the letter.

The tribal composition of the Wabanaki Confederacy changed frequently, according to time and circumstances. Participation in the confederacy and treaty signatures depended on close cultural relationships within the different Abenaki tribal communities, extending to the allies of the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Mi'kmaq (Prins, 2010, para. 4). For instance, the Mi'kmaq had already joined the confederacy along with the Maliseet since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 when the British encroached the eastern coast of Nova Scotia (Wicken, 2004, p. 86), but the 1727 treaty was the first that the Mi'kmaq ratified because they had not yet built a formal relationship with the British for peace and friendship (p. 100). By then, some tribal communities within the Confederacy had already been damaged, exiled to Canada, and joined Canadian groups such as the Wôlinak and St. Francois Indians, who subsequently signed the 1727 treaty.

Tribal Variant Comparison of Three Treaties: 1713, 1717, & 1727

The Treaty of Portsmouth was held in Portsmouth, New Hampshire on July 11, 12, 13 and 14, 1713 in order to intervene in the establishment of peace and the development of fair commercial and military uses after Queen Anne's War between the Wabanaki-French raids and the English

(Doleac, 2010, para. 2). However, frankly, the English did not obey the conditions of the treaty and violently continued constructing trading posts on Abenaki lands where Abenaki people were forced to exchange furs with English traders (Doleac, 2010, para. 5). Thus, the Abenaki people claimed that further conferences were necessary to reach the compromise treaty of 1717 and the compromise letter of 1721. During the war, the French had persuaded the Abenaki people to join the French alliance as the French fought against the New Englanders in order to control Acadia. The Abenaki people met the French demand and attacked and destroyed English settlements on the coastline of Maine and New Hampshire, reaching Massachusetts (para. 2). When the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ended the war and recovered peace between France and England, Acadia became a British colony. The Abenaki people could no longer rely on the French for protection, so the Abenaki sachems needed retrocession for their ancient land as a compromise to the restrictions of English trading post expansion and suggested a peace diplomacy meeting (para. 6).

Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, agreed with their proposal and met with different delegates from the Abenaki groups of: Norrigawake, Narrakamegoek, Amascontoog, Pigwocket, Penecook, and other Abenaki peoples dwelling by the St. Johns, Penobscot, Kenybeck, Amascogon, Saco, and Merimack rivers (Kidder, 1859, p. 22). The 1713 letter was written and signed by the interpreter John Gyles on the behalf of the delegates (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 144). The compounded nomenclatures can attempt to be sorted for the eight Abenaki delegate groups that signed the 1713 treaty agreement and aligned with their specific totemic drawings, which they manufactured: Common terms mentioned are shown in parenthesis, such as Amascontoog or Amascogon (Amaseconti), St. Johns (Maliseet), Norrigawake or Kenybeck (Norridgewock), Pigwocket (Pequawket), Penobscot, Narrakamegoek (Rocameca), Saco (Sokoki), and Penecook or Merimack (Pennacook) (Kidder, 1859, p. 22). Their signatures

were not the personal emblems of their chiefs but used to distinguish the individuality of every clan (p. 35). Penecook is a variant of Pennacook, and Merimack means “a sturgeon” or “the place of strong current” in Abenaki (Merrimack Historical Society, 2016, para. 1) and is simply presented as the name for the Pennacook living around the Merrimack River which the Pennacook had named. St. Johns is an exonym for the Maliseet who were inhabiting the country along the St. John River, and Amascontog and Amascogon are relative variants of Amaseconti. *The Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico (Volume 1)* mentioned that the Amaseconti became allies with other Abenakis to fight the English and signed the treaty in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (Hodge, 1975a, p. 48). The Amaseconti were living along the Sandy River in western Maine, so their division name was maintained until 1809 when the last family was exiled to Canada and was absorbed into the St. Francis Indians (p. 48).

Narrakamegoek is a variant of the term Narakamigou that is repeatedly listed as a variant of the constraint endonym of the major term Rocameca, related to the old Abenaki term, Nārākāimiguk, meaning “the land upstream,” mentioned in Hodge’s (1975b) *Volume 2* (p 393). Also, the handbook states that the group remained confused with the Arosaguntacook because both territories were superimposed along the Arosaguntacook River in western Maine. The Rocameca was from the upper Arosaguntacook River in northwestern Maine, whereas the Arosaguntacook was from the same riverine system in southern Maine. These group identities were misunderstood, just as in the example of the identity of the Sokoki described in Chapter 2. Pigwocket is a variant of the term Pequawket, and Saco is an English exonym for the French term Sokoki since they were dwelling along the Saco River (Day, 1998, p. 97).

Next, the 1717 treaty, known as the Arrowsic Treaty, was established in Georgetown on Arrowsic Island, Maine, and was signed on August 12, 1717. The Wabanaki Confederacy made a

claim for hunting and fishing control as a part of the capacity of their own land in order to retain their sovereignty (Maine Memory Network, n.d. para. 6), so the Wabanaki delegates met with Governor Shute of Massachusetts and pointed out that the English trade issues had encroached Abenaki land for settlements and trading posts. They also pointed out that English claims to the availability of land for occupancy on Abenaki ancestral land was unreasonable. Although Governor Shute did not pay attention to the Wabanaki claims, the Wabanaki willingly accepted the terms of the treaty when the borderlines of English settlements were set up properly (para. 6). The delegates who participated and signed the treaty with their totemic drawings are as follows: Ammarascoggin (Arosaguntacook), Kennebeck (Norridgewock), Pegwacket (Pequawket), Penobscot (Penobscot), and Saco (Sokoki) (p. 32). The Maliseet and Pennacook did not take part in the conference since the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were busy disputing the French rather than the English over their relations in terms of trading and geographically strategic issues at that time (Wicken, 2004, p. 96). The Pigwacket, whom the Pennacook had been assimilated into, signed the treaty on the behalf of the Pennacook who had become weak and unstable (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 310). Kennebeck is a variant of Kennebec that means “at the long water” in Abenaki, and possibly indicates a former village or the Norridgewock division on the Kennebec River in Maine (Hodge, 1975a, p. 673) and was usually called Norridgewock until the 18th century (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 146). Hodge's (1975b) *Volume 2* explains that the Norridgewock had the closest relationships with the Penobscot, Arosaguntacook, and Wewenoc, and their surviving families left for Canada during the mid-18th century because of occasional conflicts with European colonizers (p. 83). Due to the complexity of tribal, colonial, and historical contexts, the Norridgewock have many distinguishable variants, just as the cases of variants in the terms for the Sokoki and

Arosaguntacook. Pegwackit and Ammarascoggin are respectively variants of the terms Pequawket and Arosaguntacook.

The 1721 meeting took place in the same place, Arrowsic, in order to pursue the more persuasible consequences of Wabanaki claims on the protection of their own land against the persistent encroachment of English settlers and traders. These issues continued till the outset of Dummer's War in 1722. A letter transcribed in 1721 by the French missionary Pierre de La Chasse who attended the conference to meet with English officials intended to ask if the English could free the Wabanaki hostages and leave the new English settlements (Boruque, 2004, p. 185), Anmissoukanti (Amaseconti), Arsikantegou or Arsikanteg (Arosaguntacook), Medoktek (Medoctec), Kwupahag (Ekwpahak), Narantsouuk or Narantsouak (Norridgewock), Pesmokanti (Passamaquoddy), Pegouakki or Pegouaki (Pequawket), Pentugouet (Penobscot), Narakamigou or Naurakamig (Rocameca), Ouanwinak or 8an8inak (Wewenoc) joined to sign the letter (Wicken, 2004, p. 97).

For the 1727 Dummer's Treaty, during Dummer's War, the Penobscot appointed their orator as well as a diplomat, Loron, to go to Governor William Dummer of Massachusetts in December 1724 for the peace negotiation, which was based in Norridgewock territory in Maine. The Penobscot disagreed with the French authorities who encouraged the Penobscot to instigate war, and Governor Dummer agreed with the Penobscot's peace proposal on July 31, 1725 (Prins, 2010, para. 48). However, the French and English parties disagreed with the Penobscot claim of Wabanaki sovereignty (para. 56). The Penobscot ambassador sent them wampum belts, as well as to other chiefs of allied tribal communities such as St. Francis Indians and Norridgewock for the purpose of obtaining peace (para. 50). Prins reported that the specific names for the 1727 treaty were: Arresaguntacook (Arosaguntacook), Becancour (Wôlinak), Maliseet, Norridgewock,

Penobscot, St. Francis (Odanak), and Wawenock (Wewenoc) (para. 59). Many representatives of their communities approved the peace treaties on December 15, 1725, while Mi'kmaq leaders in Nova Scotia subsequently approved the treaties on June 15, 1726, and these large tribal delegations from the various Abenaki villages attended a conference to reconfirm the treaties in Falmouth, southwestern Maine on July 25, 1727 (para. 59) in order to affirm peace and friendship with the English (para. 63). According to Wicken's and Reid's report (1996), *An overview of the eighteen century treaties signed between the Mi'kmaq and Wuastukwiuk peoples and the English Crown, 1693-1928*, when the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq sachems signed a part of the 1727 treaty with their affixed totemic drawings, the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq signatures were written by an English official, not the sachems, but it is not sure that each of totemic pictographs were written by each sachem of the Abenaki groups or only by one sachem (p. 163).

The allied tribal communities did not appoint a single permanent head or chief of the Wabanaki Confederacy (Prins, 2010, para. 19). Instead each of the individual chiefs played an important role in determining the locations for their next confederacy meetings in order to share essential information, concerns, and resolutions on war, truce, and peace with one another for protection and support. For example, the Wabanaki Confederacy had already decided on Casco, in western Maine, for the 1713 treaty, but Governor Dudley changed the location and settled on Portsmouth to protect the English fort and settlements (Doleac, 2010, para. 7). Generally, each of chiefs and ambassadors expressed themselves as being brothers to show that the allied tribal communities had become related (Prins, 2010, para. 20). For example, during a certain conference, to keep strengthening each of allied tribal communities, they could exchange their sons and daughters (para. 18). When the Maliseet had great trouble with the destructive loss of tribal members, the Mi'kmaq provided them with Mi'kmaq young women to retain the Maliseet population in the

community. At the same time as each of the tribal communities became involved with foreign affairs, they were also involved with internal affairs and played a role in selecting the chief of each of the tribal communities (para. 18).

When a Wabanaki village was selected for the next confederacy meeting in advance, the chiefs or ambassadors of each allied tribal community gained opportunities to debate any issues with population maintenance for independence within each of their own communities. Thus, some terms for these divisions were used on a treaty record (para. 19). However, since success in Native diplomatic protocol was required to make each tribal division survive collectively by the representative's ability to stylize orators' linguistic abilities, emphasize meaningful gestures, and present ritual objects, their gatherings were commemorated when it was necessary to make an important decision such as announcing peace or war. For instance, during peace negotiations with foreign diplomats, the Wabanaki chiefs and ambassadors prepared by bringing orators and wampum belts to symbolically express important messages on behalf of the chiefs and ambassadors (para. 20). Historically, the gatherings were held in Wabanaki head villages in New England, such as the Panawamskek as a Penobscot village in Oldtown, Maine, Odanak as an Abenaki village in Odanak, Quebec, and Meductic and Aukpaque as Maliseet villages along St. John River in New Brunswick (para. 19). Since those terms are quite various due to derivations from outsiders who did not know Abenaki language, and since delegates from different Abenaki communities did not have a writing system (Native Languages of the Americas website, n.d., para. 1) and only briefly learned from their communal alphabetic letters taught by European authorities who did not care about the exact spelling of a certain Abenaki division, it may be that these groups were made to sign those historical treaties to benefit the European colonists rather than Wabanaki sovereignty (Daugherty, 1983, p. 70).



Figure 6. Aerial view of the Saint John River City of Fredericton. Take from: "Saint John River Fredericton, New Brunswick," by Parks Canada. (n.d.), <https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/image-image.aspx?id=18451#i1>. Copyright 2020 by Parks Canada.

Terminology and Evidence – the Kwupahag and Maliseet

Eastern Abenakis – the Maliseet

There are approximately four reserves where about 1000 Indigenous people rooted in the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet tradition are living along the St. John River in New Brunswick (Bear, 1966, p. 1).

Before analyzing the identity of the Kwupahag as a Maliseet village or division, the historic background of the Maliseet, one of the Eastern Abenaki groups, needs to be clarified since the Maliseet political organization consisted of several head villages where Maliseet leaders were living and had dominated in the past.

The Maliseet people call themselves *Wulastuk-wiuk* or *Wolastoqiyik*, which means “dwellers on the beautiful river” (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 135). Today, Maliseet communities use the actual Indigenous term *Wolastoqey* to honor the Maliseet people, but for this thesis, the term Maliseet is used as a generality. According to Maliseet history, the term “Malecites” (Maliseet) first appeared and was recorded on Gorges’ 1650 map (Baxter & Georges, 1890, p. 184) even though the map’s authenticity is unsure (Bear, 1966, p. 22). The etymology of the term “Maliseet” is from the Mi'kmaq word “ma-li-si'-tchik,” meaning “lazy speaker” (Chamberlain, 1898, p. 27). Furthermore, the English used English place-names to identify Indigenous people because they did not know or understand the Indigenous peoples’ own names. Accordingly, there was no term Maliseet that showed up in any English documents, and even John Gyles, an 18th century soldier,

who conducted research on the identity of the Maliseet at the earliest stage, named the group only with the term St. John's Indians, to denote that they lived along the St. John River. As a political strategy, the English used geographic areas to identify local Indigenous peoples and made the English terms for Indigenous peoples to become commonplace during the American Revolution beginning in the late 18th century (Bear, 1966, p. 35). While the English had already usurped the Indigenous peoples' own territories, the Indigenous people had recognized the term Maliseet even though the term had apparently derogatory origins.

According to the legends describing the composition of the Maliseet people, their composition was rooted in the different members of other tribes, who were involved with the events of joining another tribe's territory, and they had asked for unity or brotherhood, or had found some things in common with or similar to the different local tribes (Bear, 1966, p. 11). For instance, Maliseet legend presents that the Passamaquoddy tribe was originally made up of the marriage of a Maliseet man and a Penobscot woman (Chamberlain, 1899, p. 44), while the Penobscot story describes that the Passamaquoddy origins occurred only within the cultural and linguistic Maliseet-Passamaquoddy connection, and not with any connection to the Penobscot. The narrative explains that once the Maliseet endured a break-up at the Maliseet village called Ekwpahak, they settled into dwelling places in the Passamaquoddy area (Bear, 1966, p. 11). This break-up happened when the Maliseet chiefs left for the Passamaquoddy area because an English lease of Maliseet land was valid for almost one hundred years. The lease benefited the English settlers although the Maliseet believed that the lease would be valid for only ten years during English colonization (p. 16).

Around the environs of present-day Fredericton (Figure 6), the St. John River overflowed and was inundated with the tidal effects of flooding a lot during the spring, and there are many bog

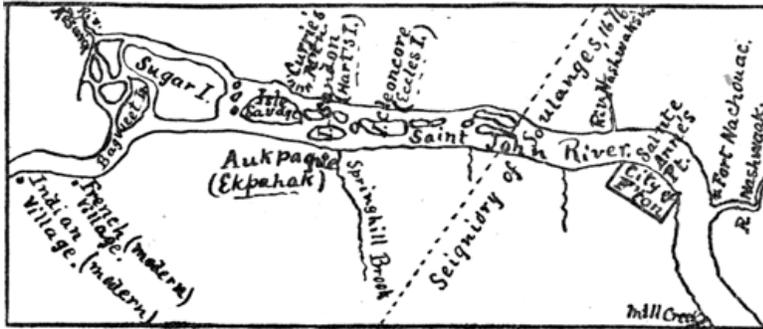


Figure 7. Plan of Aukpaque and its surroundings in 1761, by Surveyor General, Charles Morris. Take from: *Glimpses of the past history of the river St. John, A.D. 1604-1784.* by Raymond. W. O. (1905).

lakes surrounded by old-growth forests (Zelazny, 2007, p. 312). Historically, many Maliseet encampments were laid along the Saint John River. The French were the first colonizers settling along the lower St. John River during the early 17th century. The French colonization concerned Catholic Indian Missions and the missionaries erected chapters in Pentagoet (Penobscot) and Panaouke (Penobscot) at the Penobscot in Maine, the Medoctoc and Aukpaque (Kwupahag) on the St. John River in New Brunswick, and the Pesminquady (Passamaquoddy) on the St. Croix River between Maine and New Brunswick. The missionaries evangelized the local Indigenous people at every location (Leger, 1974, p. 2). Since the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were more nomadic than other Wabanaki Confederacy groups, they may have encamped at seasonal sites on the St. John River before the French missionaries came and established the mission at Medoctoc (p. 105). The Maliseet people moved from an older village called Meductic downriver to encamp in the Ekwpahak (Zelazny, 2007, p. 318) and located six miles upriver above St. Anne, the site of present-day Fredericton along the St. John River (Leger, 1974, p. 159).

Pere Jean-Pierre Danielou, a Jesuit Priest, established his headquarters at Ekwpahak in 1730. Ekwpahak means “the village at the head of the tide” or “the end of the tide” in Maliseet, and the French Jesuits and the converted Maliseet devoted themselves to St. Anne (p. 107). In 1749, it was recorded that around 20 settlers’ families were living there (p. 107). The Hon. Charles Morris, a surveyor general of Nova Scotia wrote that the Indians from Quebec had destroyed all the buildings, including the chapel, in the 1760s. Because the Lords of Trade prohibited the French

religious guides from being engaged in missionary work, the Indians resisted the Lords of Trade's command and followed an order from the priests who were held up in Quebec (Raymond, 1905, p. 147). John Allan, a Canadian colonel, and his party reported that they had encountered a remnant of only 40 or 50 Indigenous people at the same village on June 5, 1777 (p. 273). However, on August 21, 1780, a conference was held with visiting delegates, including 300 warriors and 600 women and children at the village (p. 295). At that time, the village dwellers were a mixture of Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, and Caribou Inuit (p. 256). The villagers sold the entirety of the village to Judge Isaac Allen, a member of the New Brunswick Council in 1794 and moved to Tobique in New Brunswick (Nicholas, 2013, para. 4). This was the last record of indigenous population at the village that I have confirmed. By the mid-19th century, since the St. John River provided fertile lands, warm climate, and natural resources, many European settlers from France, Britain, and Ireland also heavily settled in the area for agricultural, quarrying, and logging industries. Thus, when the Indigenous people from Ekwpahak pledged allegiance to the Loyalist settlers after American Revolution War in 1794, they moved their location upriver back to the Meductic or its outskirts and later Tobique (Zelazny, 2007, p. 318). Thus, Ekwpahak became a Maliseet alternation or variant of Kwupahag, the Maliseet village or community where chiefs had important gatherings for claiming land and property. The presence of tribal people, including chiefs from Kwupahag, can be said to have disappeared from their original land near Fredericton by the late 18th century, and their descendants were possibly living in Quebec or somewhere else along the St. John River, and the need for the Ekwpahak division ended.

By the 1700s, the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet peoples inhabiting the Passamaquoddy Bay and the St. John River valley were identified by both English and French officials as Abenaki peoples and were contained in Abenaki warrior estimates. However, it is unsure which specific

Abenaki groups were included in or excluded from the estimates, so it becomes difficult to provide a full perspective on early Abenaki demography (Ghere, 1997, p. 514). In the late 1720s, Massachusetts authorities enforced a comprehensive diplomatic policy designed to avoid French influence from developing any association with the Eastern Abenakis, sustaining their future loyalty to the English. The policy attempted to make funded trade goods a way to entice the Abenaki fur trade away from the French and to make Abenaki rely economically on English trade goods. The French sought to disrupt these political efforts and to use religious activity in order to maintain their influence with Eastern Abenakis. The French wanted large numbers of Eastern Abenakis positioned on the Maine frontier to counter English land claims, to thwart the expansion of English colonization, and to stop Kennebec settlements on Quebec (Ghere, 1994, p. 90).

Due to the established diplomatic policy, the relations between the English and the Eastern Abenaki became worse in the mid-1730s from arguments regarding land and fishing rights (Ghere, 1994, p. 93). Additionally, during 1743, because of multiple requests from both French and English officials regarding Eastern Abenaki in the colonial war between the English and French, the diplomatic situation between the two-countries worsened in Europe. France decided to fight against England in March 1744 and Mi'kmaq and Maliseet raids resumed on English settlements in Nova Scotia by early May 1744 (p. 95). Massachusetts ordered that the Eastern Abenaki join English allies to fight against the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet raids and sought to retain peace with tribes in Maine through continued trade during threats of retaliation. The English identified larger Abenaki groups, including the Androscoggins, Kennebecs, and Penobscots, from the riverine areas where they lived and the Pemaquids, Pigwackets, Sacos, and Sheepscots, from their villages or camps. Both English and French officials included Abenaki peoples at Machias, Meductic, and Passamaquoddy who were intermingled with the relocated Abenaki and original Maliseet dwellers

in the Abenaki population estimate (Ghere, 1997, p. 511). The estimates depict the composition of the Eastern Abenaki as follows:

“Wendall’s estimates of 25 Kennebecs, 90 Penobscots, 5 Machias, 30 Passamaquoddies, and 80 Maliseet warriors, totaling 230, correspond closely to Vaudreuil’s estimate of 220 Abenakis in the area served by the mission villages of Norridgewock, Penawabskik, and Meductic. This substantial decrease from Shute’s prewar numbers confirms the Eastern Abenaki migrations to the Canadian missions recorded in other documentary evidence. Gyle’s estimates of 40 Kennebecs, 130 Penobscots, 10 Machias, 30 Passamaquoddies, and 100 Maliseets, totaling 310, indicate the return of about 80 Abenaki warriors from Canada in the five months in 1732 and 120 warriors in 1742 seem to indicate that Gyles’s figure of 130 is too high, but a number of Kennebecs resided with the Penobscots during the war and returned home after Gyles made his estimate” (p.520).

English and French colonial officials sought to make a war alliance with the Eastern Abenaki to win against hostilities. The French Governor attempted to protect and supply the Eastern Abenaki who migrated to Quebec, and formally promised to offer support to the Western Abenaki (Ghere, 1994, p. 96). In September 1745 when the outbreak of war occurred, 300 to 400 Penobscot persons and 60 to 80 Maliseet warriors moved to Quebec, where three refugee villages provided living places for 900, including about 180 warriors and Medoctet and Pannaouamske peoples by the fall of 1747, while the French planned to offer supplies to other Abenakis and Maliseets along the St. John river. Two years later, these Abenakis stayed in Quebec and took part in raids on the Maine frontier because the French plan was ineffective (p. 97). French documents show that the remaining Penobscot and Maliseet peoples migrated to Quebec between 1747 and 1748 (Ghere, 1997, p. 523). There is no other fixed estimate for any other Abenaki villages at that time, but a French record exists that describes how 80 St. Francis warriors were involved with an Iroquois raiding party, while half of the warriors stayed to protect the village (p. 522). Thus, records created by the English and French indicate the possibility that by the mid-18th century, the remnants of the Kwupahag may have moved to the Quebec area and became assimilated into the St. Francis Indians.

The sources mentioned in the sections above include several variants of the term Kwupahag: Ekwpahak, Auckpack, Aukpaque, Ekpahaugh, and Okpaak. How can these variants alliteratively or articulately connect with Kwupahag in terms of the linguistic system? However, since all the variants except for Kwupahag begin with vowels as the first letter of the word, why does only Kwupahag begin with the consonant “K”? I received an email from Jason Hall (personal communication, August 24, 2020), an ethnohistorian whose research is based on the Wolastoqey communities in New Brunswick. Hall explained that the Maliseet language was oral and had no standardized spelling system in the 18th century. Today, Maliseet communities use more than one spelling system to write the language. Historical accounts recorded in 17th and 18th centuries were created by outsiders who did not know the Maliseet language and just used a phonetic application of the alphabet so place names like “Opak” do not resemble the real Indigenous names.

I have tried to divide these variants into parts, like prefix and suffix. The term means of “the end of tide.” According to Francis’ and Leavitt’s *Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary* (2008), the term can be parsed well in terms of grammatical compositions and meaning. The prefix “Ek-” (p.122) of Ekwpahak relatively resembles “K-” (p. 145) of Kwupahag or “Ok-” of Okpaak (p. 362), but “Kw-” does not resemble “K-” in terms of meaning, and “Ek-” looks a personal prefix, depending on sounds, and is unlikely to be linked to “tide” (p. 230). Hall (personal communication, August 24, 2020) described that there were differences in the writing systems of different European colonizers. The French was likely to write Eqpahaq in records, instead of Ekwpahak because they were inclined to use “Q” to express the “KW” sound. Also, the 1721 letter in French (Figure 2) shows the term “K8upahag” which used an “8” instead of “w” because the use of the character “8” stemmed from the French use of “huit” meaning “8” in French. Hence, the “8” is a phonetic symbol, which the French tried to use as a close approximation of the Abenaki consonant “w” for writing

Indigenous names (Havard, 1992, p. 215). The suffix “-pahkak” of Ekwpahak means “behind” or “back” (Francis & Leavitt, 2008, p. 392), so its suffix can be applied to the “-pahag” meaning of Kwupahag and the “-paque” of Aukpaque. “Tide” in Maliseet cannot be found to be connected with any parts of the words. However, “at head of tide on river” in Maliseet is simply “eqpahak” as in the full word (p. 129 & p.1141), but the word does not connect to the meaning “back” or “head,” so I think that the term Kwupahag is just a blending of the prefix “K”, the suffix “-pahkak,” and “Eqpahak,” and it is a kind of metaphor or part of Maliseet grammatical rules, since “eqpahak” can relatively match the linguistic composition of Ekwpahak, Kwupahag, and Aukpaque with respect to meaning and pronounciational spellings as Hall described the French as not understanding the Maliseet language, which resulted in recording more spelling variants because the Maliseet did not have their own writing systems. Unfortunately, though I have tried to find first person linguistic resources, such as Raymond’s accounts, and read several books on Maliseet language and vocabulary, such as Francis’ and Leavitt’s *Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary*, but Hall helped to clarify the origin of the term Kwupahag, although I could not find one specific source with a pronunciation link for the term. In spite of these unclear linguistic or pronounciational connections, a historical gathering of the Maliseet was factually held at Kwupahag, and the representatives from Kwupahag must have been able to sign the treaty there since they had the power to negotiate with the English. The gathering was held not only for the incoming treaty, but also for the break-up of marriage with Passamaquoddy woman. The village did not persist, and in the late 18th century, the village members had moved to the Passamaquoddy area or Canada (Hamilton & Spray, 1977, p. 8)

Terminology and Evidence – the Muanbissek and Winnipesauki

Western Abenakis – the Winnipesauki

The Pennacook had already signed several treaties before the 18th century. The Muanbissek signed the 1721 letter on behalf of the Pennacook group to whom the Muanbissek possibly belonged or was related to the same geographic distribution. In order to analyze the Muanbissek in the historical, political, ethnological, geographical, and linguistic contexts of tribal customs and diplomacy, the historical background of the Western Abenaki should be discussed during the 17th and 18th centuries. David Stewart-Smith's (1999) dissertation, *The Pennacook Indians and the New England Frontier, circa 1604~1733*, greatly contributes to the details of the first discovery of the Pennacook in 1604 to 1733 which marked the cultural end of the Pennacook from a European point of view, in terms of their traditional lifestyles, political systems, treaties, and tribal composition (p. iii).

In history, the Pennacook were one of the most powerful tribes in central New England. Even though Day thought that the Pennacook were one of the Abenaki groups since their dialect was Western Abenaki (p. 11), the Pennacook remained a distinct group with a unique history and culture and were politically independent from the Abenaki, seeing the Abenaki as hostile ('Pennacook History', n.d., para. 9). Their allied members were distributed in the center of the Merrimack River, ranging from the Connecticut River to the Androscoggin River, so the tribe's distribution reached almost the whole of New England (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 15). Of the more than one hundred fifty thousand Indigenous people in New England, the Pennacook included twelve thousand members representing sixteen percent of all the population throughout New England. Pennacook men numbered three thousand before diseases spread, but afterward their numbers steeply declined to less than two hundred fifty men (Gookin, 1970, p. 12).



Figure 8. Lakeside view of Lake Winnepesaukee. Take from: "New Hampshire Lake Winnepesaukee" by Visit The USA. (2000), <https://www.visittheusa.com/destination/lake-winnepesaukee>. Copyright 2020 by Visit The USA.

Stewart-Smith (1999)

describes two factors to consider in tying tribal communities to particular places: One is the designation of a specific community that was a central location for one tribal group; another is the representation of amalgamated communities composed of other

multiple Indigenous groups and locations (p. 2). The tribal structure probably consisted of a heterogeneous confederacy (p. 24), and villages inhabited by several families were considered to belong to a group or 'band' (p. 20) which had no ethnic boundaries between tribes (p. 28). Many families living along the Merrimack River retained contacts with families of other groups when they held festival events based on seasonal fishing, and these events would be associated with sports, gaming, and marriage (p. 21). These festivals were essential to the political development in the 15th and 16th centuries (p. 22). However, since outsiders' settlement and warfare caused original Abenaki communities to become displaced, several Abenaki communities became so integrated that there was no way of distinguishing them from original Abenaki cultures (p. 2). Day (1978) also pointed out that even the geographic borderline between the Western and Eastern Abenaki in terms of language is unclear. The Eastern Abenaki are recorded as far west as the Kennebec River, whereas the Western Abenaki language might have been spoken around the upper Merrimack River (p. 148).

I think that the term Winnepesaukee may be an endonym or a colonial alternation of the Muanbissek with respect to tribal composition, linguistic system, and geographic location. The



Figure 9. Winipifsioke Pond in the 1785 map by Cartography John Norman and John Coles. Take from: *An accurate map of the four New England states.* by The Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library (1785).

Winnepiseogee, an Indigenous endonym and a variant of the major term Winnepesaukee, was a lacustrine group and inhabited Lake Winnepesaukee. In 1652, John Sherman, a Massachusetts sergeant, and Johnathan Ince, a Harvard College student, named the people “Winnapusseakit” for the lake after their survey (p. 34).

Here is a historical testimony about the extent and name of the Merrimack River:

“I, Richard Waldern, being called by the Generali Court to give evidence of what I know about the name of Merremack River, testify & say that about thirty years since, having some comerce of trade with the Indians at Pascalaqua, and many other both of Paucatuck & Winnipicioket, did inquire what they called the river at Pennicooke. They said it is Merremake & inquiring why there were other names upon that river, the answer was, such names referred to the places of land where Indians live upon the river, not the river itself; but the river beareth the name of Merremack, not only in that branch which runneth from Winnipicioket, but the other branch which runneth more westerly; also likewise about six years since, being sent for by Passaconoway & several other sagamores, where there was a great many Indians at Pennecock, & being then at the fort which was by the rivers side, & enquiring concerning the name of the river, received the like answer as is above expressed. 17, 3 m., 1665.” (NH State Legislature, 1867, p. 289-290)

Winnipicioket is a variant of the term Winnepesaukee. The Mohawk continually encroached on and destroyed territories of any Abenaki people, including the Pennacook, and with colonial encouragement in the 17th century, the Mohawk engaged in a fight against the Pennacook and other neutral Indigenous groups (p. 203). As a result of the Mohawk attack, most other Indigenous people in New England took refuge in the innermost areas of their own territories, including in Amerascoggin territories, and in the fortified communities at Ossipee and Winnepesaukee (p. 212). Thus, the Winnepesaukee, Ossipee, and Amerascoggin became a refuge

for intermingled Indigenous groups because these places were farther away from the English in 1689 (p. 227) and allowed the Winnepesaukee, Ossipee, and Amerascoggin to defend themselves from the Mohawk (p.213).

The delegates of the Pennacook, Amerascoggin, Kennebec (Norridgewock), Winnepesaukee, Ossipee, and Pigwacket, signed a treaty at Sagadahoc, Maine on November 29, 1690 (Church, 1867, p. 64). Sagadahoc was farther away from the English settlement and territories of other Indigenous groups, and the delegates were afraid of hostile groups ambushing them on their way to Sagadahoc (Church, 1829, p. 201). One more treaty was signed by the leaders of the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, Saco, and Merrimack Rivers at Pemaquid, Maine on August 11, 1693 (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 239). The English treaty was to seek the control over these Abenaki groups' deeds, whereas the French criticized the treaty because the English were attempting to make an alliance with the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq. The Maliseet and Mi'kmaq had already been in alliance with the French and had opposed the English. The French escalated tensions between Western Abenaki groups and their Maliseet and Mi'kmaq allies, and they sought to pacify the tensions of the tribes who were closer to the English (Morrison, 1984, p. 238). The Indigenous people from the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers were able to carry on French trade, but the French restricted supplies to them, while the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were able to obtain more supplies (p. 139). As a result of the French diplomatic negotiation, the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, Saco, and Merrimack would not become involved with the French. This diplomacy might have caused tribal kin or bands to merge into divisions that would be able to be recognized as Eastern Abenaki groups, such as the Kennebec and Penobscot, or the Central Abenaki groups, such as the Saco, Amerascoggin, Pequawket, and Pennacook. Most squabbles on the boundary between New Hampshire and Maine were generated by the Central Abenaki forces to reinforce

Kennebec groups who tended to support the Central Abenaki (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 239). They exchanged captives and regrouped tribal factions. Some of the signatories of the 1693 treaty of Pemaquid became victims of these occasional wars, and subsequently could not meet to witness the next treaty called the Casco Treaty. The Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco signed the Casco Treaty in January 7, 1698 as a review of the treaty of Pemaquid (p. 247).

Here is a testimony of the gathering at Pennacook held on March 27, 1700.

“We asked him if he knew any reason why so many Indians came from so many parts to Winnebesshekick [Winnipесаukee] and there about, and he owned that there was many Indians there but what their design was he knew not. Two days after he came again. . . he did say that last Summer there was a great plot among the Indians at Pennycook and Winnebesshekick and other Indians to make war with the English ...but there was now many Indians at the forementioned places and some of them came from Canada. . .”
(Baxter, 1907, p. 44)

In the war chief gathering at Winnipесаukee, a Pennacook war chief proposed an alliance with the Eastern Abenaki and that the Mohawk would ally themselves with Central Abenaki to carry out raids throughout New England. However, the Pennacook allies were so weak and at the point of vanishing that the Kennebec rejected the Pennacook suggestion, since the aid of the Schaghticoke and Mohawk would be needed (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 251). The chiefs of the Penobscot, Norridgewock, Pigwacket, and Pennacook attended the conference in Casco that would later be established as Indigenous headquarters that might centralize Pigwacket, Pennacook, or Winnipесаuке (p. 260). The Massachusetts Governor signed the conference treaty in June 1703 to exclude French trade exchange with the Abenaki people (p. 257). By the end of the 17th century, while small factions of the major groups, the Nipmuc, Pocumtuck, Massachuset, Narragansett, and Wampanoag were forming themselves into a larger group at Pennacook, and the Pennacook were removed from their homeland, and moved westward to Schaghticoke, northward to the Abenaki, and mostly eastward to the Saco and Androscoggin Rivers to become the Eastern Abenaki or the

Amerascoggin (p. 310). The newly composed Amerascoggin receded northward to join with the Ossipee, Pigwacket, and Winnepesaukee groups. These groups became identified as the Pigwacket as a factually amalgamated group of the Pennacook, Amerascoggin, Saco, Accominta and the lacustrine groups (p. 310).

As in the historical context of past treaties, the 1713 Treaty of Portsmouth was written to make an Indigenous alliance with the French and was designed to avoid the English who had forced the assimilation of the Eastern Abenaki into other groups in New England (p. 271). At that time, English expeditions visited the homelands of the Pennacook, Winnepesaukee, Ossipee, and Pigwacket, but these Indigenous groups had already left. There are not sufficient records of the reasons why these Indigenous groups left their homelands during the colonial period. Morrison (1984) mentions that the Abenaki groups returned from Canada from 1709 to the 1713 in the treaty (p. 161), so it indicates that they had removed themselves to Canada from their homeland to avoid further diplomatic interaction, or they were forced to leave due to the diplomatic consequences of the past treaties between the English and the Eastern Abenaki. However, some Indigenous groups were going to, and returning from, Canada repeatedly, as well as moving back to their homelands (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. 271). The Pigwacket and Androscoggin (Amerascoggin) moved permanently to Canada where they became assimilated into the Saint Francis and Becancour groups (Ghere, 1993, p. 193).

During the conference for the 1717 treaty, the Kennebeck, Penobscut, Pigwacket, Saco, Androscoggin, and Norridgewock attended as representatives. The treaty was based on the Norridgewock negotiating with the English regarding Norridgewock territories. Lastly, most of the Pennacook had moved east to the Saco and Androscoggin rivers, merged into other groups, and became identified as the Pigwacket (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p. ii). Dummer's War likely

increased Abenaki migration from Western Maine, although some of their descendants are still living in the area today (Ghere, 1993, p. 194). Some Pigwacket and Androscoggin peoples returned to their original lands and joined the conferences held in 1714 and 1717, but the report implied that they had once again migrated to Canada during Dummer's War (p.195). After Dummer's War, the Pigwacket and Androscoggin were recorded as living in family band camps and small villages without coming together into tribal villages. The Pigwacket who returned to their homeland also became distinctly divided into inhabiting small villages or family band camps (p. 197).

For the demography of the Muanbissek, the Pennacook were highly engaged in early Anglo-Indian wars during the 17th century. With more than 50 years spent entailing warfare, disease, and English colonization, the needs of most Pennacook families resulted in moving to other Abenaki villages, so that only a very few Pennacook survivors remained along the Merrimack River by 1725. In 1743, the surviving groups were recorded as intermingled with the colonists dwelling in the area around Lake Winnepesaukee. Their leader, Coaus, reported to New Hampshire officials that 15 warriors would attend an upcoming conference at Concord (Ghere, 1997, p. 525). Some of them were exiled to Canada, even though they had their own land that provided prolific hunting sources (Kidder, 1859, p. 8). In 1750, William Douglass, who surveyed the warrior estimates of different Abenaki groups in northern New England, announced that the Pennacook had lately become extinct entirely. Although there is no record of the return of the Pennacook migrants, local legends indicated that some Pennacook families were still inhabiting the colonized areas (Ghere, 1997, p. 525).

Therefore, by the mid-18th century, historical accounts categorized a dozen of amalgamated families or bands as tribal names and recognized the composition of the Pigwacket as an aggregate group that was comprised of multiple Pennacook and Abenaki groups (Stewart-Smith, 1999, p.

310). Stewart-Smith points out that even though there are a dozen Pennacook subgroups or subdivisions as well as family groups that make up the Pennacook Confederacy, the idea of a confederacy was not widely used because the multiple surviving family groups were likely to have no intention of regrouping (p. 309). The Pennacook, including the Winnepesaukee, were ready to leave their homeland for Canada in the early 18th century when other Abenaki groups took refuge at Lake Winnepesaukee, so different groups were intermingling at that time. The Winnepesaukee signed a few treaties on behalf of Pennacook because the representative sagamores were brought from a gathering at Winnepesaukee where several Indigenous groups had joined each other because the Pennacook had various subgroups or subdivisions which had unshaken loyalty to the heads of the Pennacook. The Pennacook were vanishing, being assimilated into the Pigwacket, and moving to other places, and their culture ended in the 18th century along with the Winnepesaukee subgroup or subdivision. The research indicates that there has been no record of the Muanbissek after the 19th century, so they must have disappeared once Pennacook culture ended.

Winnipifsiooke Pond -1739
Winipisseokket Pond -1755
Winnipifsiooke Pond -1761
Winipifsioket Pond -1766
Winnipiseiokee Lake -1784
Winnipiseoke Lake -1794
Winnipissiokee Lake -1795
Winipiseogee See -1796
Lake Winepeseogee -1796
Winnipisiokee Lake -1799
Winnipissiokee Lake -1804
Winnipiseogee Lake -1816
Winnipiscogee Lake -1832
Winnipissiokee Lake -1845
Winnepeogee Lake -1856
Winnepiseogee Lake -1860
Lake Winnipiseogee -1878
Winnepesaukee Lake -1887
Winnipiseogee Lake -1889
Lake Winnepesaukee -1898
Lake Winnepesaukee -1898

Figure 10. A spelling list of Winnepesaukee created by Warren D. Huse. Take from: *Our yesterdays*. by the Laconia Citizen newspaper (2008).

The website Weirs Beach shows that Huse’s editorial article (2008) from The Laconia Citizen newspaper mentions various spellings of Winnepesaukee.

“Spelling of the name of New Hampshire’s largest body of water had been settled at last. Under suspension of the rules, the House of Representatives ‘to facilitate national publicity,’ passed a bill to legalize the spelling of the name Winnepesaukee. The legislature has ruled that the letter between the ‘n’ and the ‘p’ is an ‘i’ despite the fact that for many years federal authorities have been printing the name of the lake ‘Winnepesaukee.’ The Spelling of the name has been a matter of controversy for many years... In referring to the action taken by the House the Boston Post said: ‘After 200 years, it is settled at last.’ Solons were informed that since the Lake’s discovery it has been spelled 138 different ways. And it doesn’t mean ‘smile of the great spirit.’ It means ‘big water in a high place.’” (para. 1).

Huse lists many different spellings of Winnepesaukee (Figure 10). Despite the many inconsistent and confusing spellings, such as Winnapusseakit, Winnebesshkick, Winnepiseogee, Winnepesauke, Winnepesaukee, and Winnipicioket mentioned in the previous sections, how to linguistically connect the variants with the term Muanbissek is still not clear even though research on the Abenaki linguistical system has been developed. There is still a question as to why the term Muanbissek might be a variant of Winnepesaukee. The term Winnepesaukee has been selected as the official spelling by the State of New Hampshire, but it is still unknown which is the most correct spelling of the 138 spellings in the Pennacook term (Huden, 1962, p. 7).

Day has surmised that the one way that the term Muanbissek could be connected is its potential to be closely related to the term Winnepesaukee according to its similar geographical distribution, and it may be a combination of the terms Merrimack and Winnepesauke. Potter (1856) described Merrimack meaning “the place of strong current” because the prefix “Merruh” is defined as strong and suffix “Auke” as a place. Also, Potter described “m” being added as a remark to a conversion for the sake of sound (p. 7). I tried to parse Muanbissek into its component parts. The prefix “Merruh” may relatively resemble “Muan-” because “m” are thrown in to benefit the sound of the word, “nbis” recognizably resembles the radical “nbes” as lake, and “ek” resembles the suffix “aki” or “auke” as land or place since Winnepesauke means “where there is water all around” (Day, 1981, p. 101), and the meaning of Merrimack is also related to water (Potter, 1856, p. 414) and is very similar to that of Winnepesauke. This result is only my assumption and I can understand why Day’s place-name analysis would be limited, and why it may be the reason why I cannot find some linguistic connections, such as prefix, suffix, and alliterative array from Abenaki dictionaries.

For the 1721 letter, it is still unclear why a representative delegate of the Maliseet signed “Kwupahag,” not Auckpack, Aukpaque, Ekpahaugh, or Okpaak; moreover, why the

Winnepesauke signed “Muanbissek” in a hand which does not quite resemble spellings of Winnepesauke, such as Winnapusseakit, Winnebesshekkick, and Winnepiseogee in spite of tribal endonyms. Since Abenaki do not have a written language (Native Languages of the Americas website, n.d., para. 1), for the target letter, it might be likely that they misunderstood or did not know the Latin alphabetic letters very well since the signatures on the letter were written in the Latin alphabet and also affixed with animal totems, but there is no historical evidence to support that claim. I think that French authorities and colonizers did not know the Maliseet language very well and might have helped the delegate from the Ekwpahak community who was also not familiar with the alphabet to sign “kwupahag” by tracing the Latin letters which the French wrote. Also, the term Muanbissek may be a blending of the terms Merrimack and Winnepesauke because their origins are along the river and lake. Unlike the case of the Kwupahag signature, there was no evidence that a delegate from Winnepesauke community who did not know English alphabetic letters well wrote Muanbissek, which English authorities or settlers might misunderstand or confused for the term Winnepesauke, or did not know Abenaki language and wrongly wrote Muanbissek, not Winnepesauke. According to Wiciken’s and Reid’s report (1996), *An overview of the eighteen century treaties signed between the Mi'kmaq and Wuastukwiuk peoples and the English Crown, 1693-1928*, it seems that an English official wrote the signatures for each Abenaki group on the 1727 treaty (p. 163), so he probably also wrote the signatures on the behalf of representative delegates of each Abenaki group, and then each delegate signed their own totemic emblems affixed beside the signatures or the individual delegate had signed all the totemic emblems. Thus, English officials were not mindful of or misunderstood the exact spellings for each Abenaki division. For the letter issued as the French transcription of the 1721 letter, the Jesuit missionary Pierre de La Chasse might have written their signatures (Wicken, 2004, p. 97) as he

did not care about or misunderstood the correct spellings of the terms Winnepesaukee and Ekwpahak. Actually, for the 1713 letter issued for the Treaty of Portsmouth, the interpreter John Gyles wrote and signed the assigned sachems' communal names (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 144), so he also might have misunderstood or not known their exact names.

Discussion of this history reveals several conflicts between outsiders and the local Abenaki people in terms of differing political and cultural perspectives. Outside settlers confused Abenaki historicity. Early historians and settlers randomly named different variants of specific Abenaki groups by using geographic areas to identify the local Abenaki peoples during the different periods. Like the emergence of the countless names, the composition of the Abenaki world creates scientific and anthropological conceptions and reformations of indigeneity that are then transformed into “civilization,” “repatriation,” and “re-naturalization” to completely fit Western world (Garrett, 2012, p. 222), but the memory and soul of the Abenaki remain alive.

Digital Humanities

What I have learned from the previous chapters can be applicable to a variety of nomenclatures involving ongoing conflicts with my approach, research practices and interest in the identification of the two groups. Historically, the colonial approach had been a largely objectionable events of disturbingly long-standing oppression against forms of Abenaki life in their own environment, withstanding the colossal harsh pressures of outsiders' colonization that cut off any paths for maintaining their culture and rights. Moreover, a sense of survival wants to maintain the existence of inherent collectives and to have non-Indigenous people recognize and ethically consider the future of useful practices to prevent the destruction of the Abenaki culture. I have an idea that the historical events can be represented by a series of relationships between settler and Indigenous groups, and these relationships can be mapped as a kind of network or graph layout. Querying the graph for parallel relationships or positionality in relation to the various nodes in the network can help to disentangle the complicated misrepresentations or misunderstandings of Indigenous culture confused by settler officials.

For this new chapter, the data that I am interested in is fundamentally about relationships and their representation, and a graph or network is used as a computational tool that predicates relationships and their representation. A network visualization and analysis approach are appropriate for this research because the content and the analytic method correspond. Graph databases would be an appropriate technology, built on network visualization and analysis, and from a practical perspective are too difficult to work with at present. Therefore, I used the open source software Gephi, which graphically represents relationships and analyzes patterns of relationships and positioning within networks but does not require a high degree of coding ability or familiarity with the custom query languages of graph databases. Further, because we sometimes

do not know if two entities are actually the same thing, patterns of similar positioning in the overall network might help us to determine whether or not they are likely to be similar. In fact, non-Indigenous digital humanities entirely affected by the dominant political spectrums of neo-colonialism can be analyzed by Gephi to provide access to Indigenous cultural practices, languages, and lifestyles. Through the use of stored documents, manuscripts, maps, and photos depicting past colonial events held in modern archives, these digital infrastructures can help to maintain Indigenous history, memory, identity, and sovereignty by resolving historical erasure and territorial dispossession (Christen, 2018, p. 406). The collection of selected data may enhance an understanding of Indigenous cultural values and ethical concerns but may not provide answers since publicly issued books and articles may have rationalized the information. I will explain the significance of postcolonial digital humanities as a way to offer a technical method of seeking relationships between settlers and Indigenous people.

Postcolonial Digital Humanities – Preservation and Representation

Owens (2018) dissects the definition of digital preservation, arguing the digital world is untidy, so that scholars' and practitioners' efforts are required to gather, preserve, and offer access to the digital world (p. 55). Digital preservation is composed of a basic knowledge of digital information and digital media and is usually involved with archives, libraries, museums, and other cultural heritage institutions to enact actual cultural memory from illusions (p. 7). Owens wants readers to become professional digital preservation practitioners to craftily deal with software such as Gephi. Owens' conceptual frameworks can serve scholars' and practitioners' digital preservation work since they can critically think about digital objects, reflexively approach any issues with digital preservation, and sophisticatedly judge and examine digital content, materials,

and resources in order to find how they fit, to resolve issues, and minimize any risk of loss (p. 72).

Owens explained the nub of digital preservation thusly:

“First, all digital information is material. Second, the database is an essential media form for understanding the logic of digital information systems. Third, digital information is best understood as existing in and through a nested set of platforms.” (p. 36)

I believe that digital preservation is a model structured by the knowledge of digital information and digital media located in archives, libraries, museums, and other cultural heritage institutions that is used to solve issues by collecting and preserving cultural records, files, and collections and by offering access to an ever-changing digital world. Digital preservation can help to sort real cultural memories from colonial illusions (p. 7). Graph databases are also informed by postcolonial digital humanities. My use of Gephi is a methodologically appropriate method to examine digital preservation that can be associated with digital humanities because the narratives resemble databases on historical information and can be transferred to network analysis to emerge as unique information oriented toward digital preservation.

Indigenous knowledge, including Indigenous cultural objects and literature, has been digitized by museums, libraries, and archives communities for the research purpose of digital humanities (Guiliano & Heitman, 2017, p. 1). Information management and preservation techniques considerably leverage the capability of archiving and collecting this information as well as Indigenous rights to information sovereignty to support Indigenous people and communities (Cooper et al., 2019, p. 19). In order to further widen the availability of Indigenous knowledge, upcoming and upgraded digital formats can reflect Indigenous methods of acquiring Indigenous knowledge. However, the available data may make it quite difficult to adjust to Eurocentric libraries and bookstores while scholars strive to glean necessary information published by Indigenous people and communities (p. 19). This Indigenous knowledge has not been unified

because traditional scholarly products are only institutionally used for funding Indigenous studies research (Guiliano & Heitman, 2017, p. 1). Institutional funding is so inadequate and insufficient that hiring employees, such as faculty and tribal members, who could not effectively teach and conduct research about Indigenous studies, is mostly impossible. In addition, access to analog materials that depict Indigenous lifestyle preservation are used for cultural heritage funding from libraries, museums, and tribal archives (p. 1). Furthermore, there are various broad areas, such as research, methods, and pedagogy, in Indigenous studies, but relevant scholars and community members have missed opportunities for sharing information about digital projects and tools. Those who do participate in the project can become only active users during the development of the academic discipline (p.1).

Risam (2019) substantially theoretically and analytically explained the meaning of postcolonial digital humanities, focusing on broadly approachable practices in combination with digital cultural records, digital technologies, and humanistic inquiry. The practices are designed to constitute new archives, databases, tools, mapping, and other digital materials in order to avoid the influence of colonial violence, such as globalization and colonial and neocolonial ideologies of power (p. 6). In fact, colonialism has impacted the digital cultural record, leading to a shift in political identity by means of further reproduction and political propaganda that may be then publicly spread online (p. 7). Scholars need to examine and recognize different dimensions of Indigenous knowledge production, language, power, and representation in the linguistic context of Indigenous cultural identity (p. 68).

Digital humanities practices concerned with big data, digital humanities centers, and large datasets are unable to complete projects that are too large to be transferred to a model of digital knowledge production without steady access to data, sufficient funding, and labor (p. 118). These

practices should be inherent to digital humanities research, and local characteristics need to be in place to resist more globalized methods. The effort to decolonize digital media and computation in terms of frameworks affected by race, colonialism, and neocolonialism should uphold the digital cultural record (p. 13). When digital cultural heritage can be produced to ensure cultural survival, digital knowledge production can pay more attention to Indigenous cultural power and human rights claims rejected by a long history of outside dominant cultures (p. 40).

Digital humanities is a unique collaboration of efforts which can epistemologically and institutionally exchange digital knowledge production with libraries, museums, and cultural heritage organizations, and which also leverages technological praxis to literally narrate the digital world and to become politically involved with the digital cultural record. Owen's (2018) depiction of the use of digital preservation can be observed in the use of Gephi regarding the requirements for digital preservation to manage cultural records, files, and collections in the digital world from an Indigenous perspective. Gephi can provide satisfactory network visualizations by creating graph databases of cultural records, files, and collections in order to revive real cultural memory from non-Indigenous preservations and information management (p. 7).

The aim of postcolonial digital humanities is to negotiate with colonialism and neocolonialism about the importance of digital knowledge production in order to allow Indigenous communities to have cultural heritage in the digital cultural record (Risam, 2019, p. 10). Postcolonial digital humanities also seeks out the practices necessary for innovation in the conventional worlds that have already been designed from a Western point of view in terms of digital humanities scholarship and the cultural record, to become more responsible for the reproduction of frameworks for typical Indigenous knowledge and humanistic inquiry. Postcolonial digital humanities still strives to approach a dominant world that, although it entirely

controls digital materials, is still in its infancy, with the hope that renovated world of integration and inclusion of Indigenous materials will materialize soon (p. 40). One effective method is online public access to digital archives collections that can then be more easily spread over the world than conventional methods of using libraries and institutional repositories (p. 53). Thus, a global digital humanities approach becomes a rite of passage through which postcolonial digital humanities must pass. Global digital humanities is an ideal model that embraces those who produce digital humanities scholarship and encourages working together with scholars all over the world to heighten the power of knowledge production (p. 57). Additionally, digital humanities queries regarding the formation of the human would be given permission to use digital technologies to help to determine what the position of humanity would emerge as in digital humanities scholarship. For this research, Gephi is a software method suitable for postcolonial humanities that produces graph database and network analysis to strategically display network analysis visualizations that could strengthen Indigenous rights. That is why an examination of Risam's postcolonial digital humanities needs Gephi because using digital humanities methods can cover the colonial and noncolonial gaps of digital knowledge production (p. 46).

Graphs – Network Analysis

As a researcher, I created a graph data model, first by sketching out all the possible relationships in my data, then formalizing these in Gephi to display the complicated and different linkages among Abenaki peoples who have been arbitrarily classified by European colonizers. The resulting digitally classified diagrams reflect the meaningful articulation of digital humanities with Indigenous studies. Digital humanities researchers who engage Indigenous studies may find some cultural obstacles which discourage the use of certain approaches, digital tools, and resources, in

deferment to different kinds of digital materials which allow for gaining access and analysis. For this research, network analysis has been performed from the dataset and parameters through Gephi which has been imported from arranged spreadsheets, which contain a large amount of collected information in csv files focusing on 'id', 'source,' 'target,' and 'relationship_type' in spreadsheets that are respectively labelled for each of the columns (Graham, 2020, para. 6).

A diagram (See Appendix A) was designed and drawn using an app from <https://app.diagrams.net/> to clarify the various different relationships discussed in this thesis among the Abenaki groups, including all of their synonyms and variants, information from four historical treaties, locations in the U.S. states and Canadian provinces where their territories were historically occupied, and information about a few groups who have won or who are still claiming federal recognition. In the case of this Gephi analysis, the nodes and their labels are sized larger proportional to node values, and the significance of the properties in the nodes and labels are more prominent, implying the complexness of the terms to each other, in spite of the silence of real answers and results.

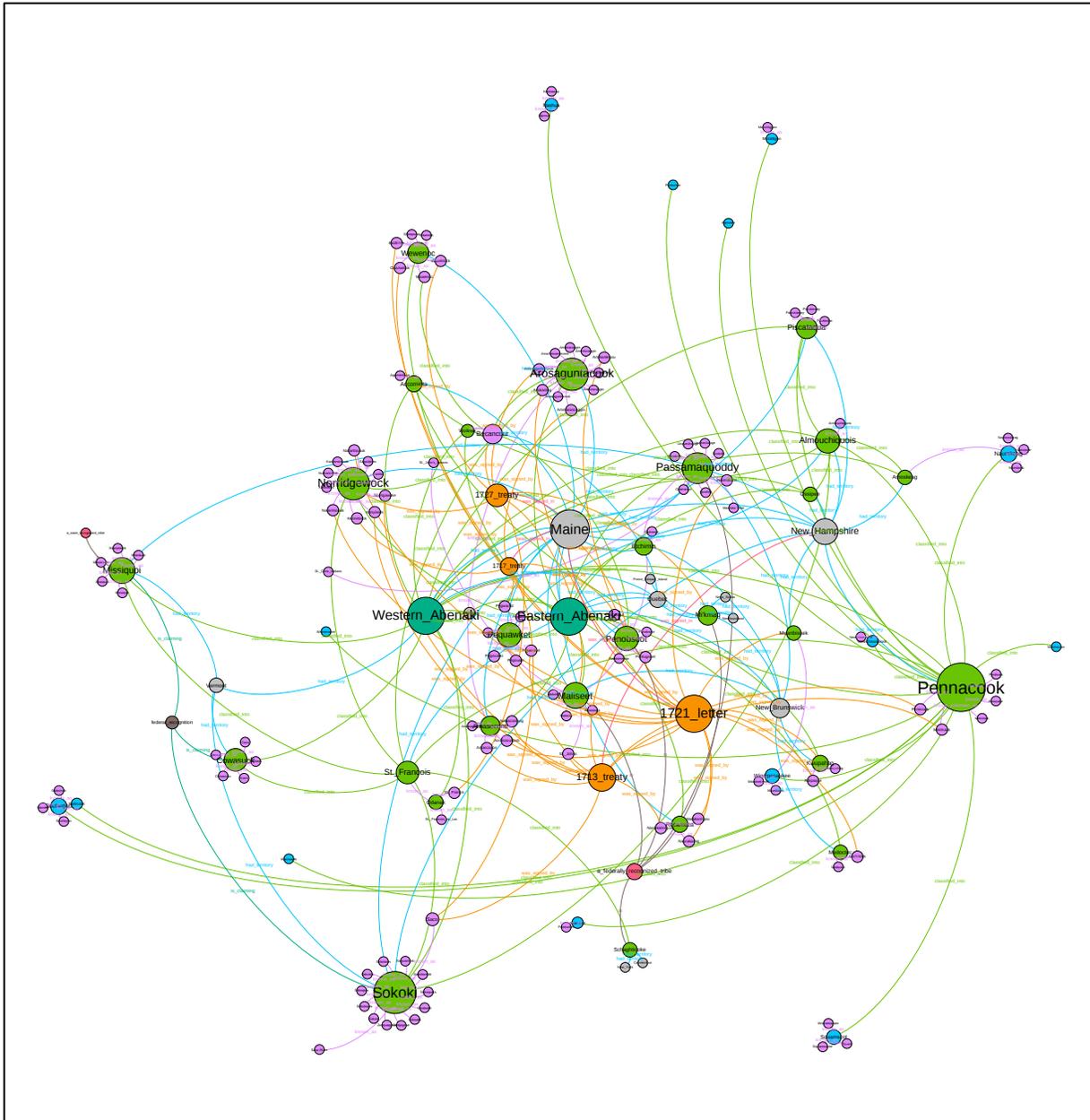


Figure 11. A composite network of all the relationships among Abenaki groups discussed in this thesis: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2' under 'layout' to make a good balance of spatialization between the quality of the final graph and the speed of computation while the graph is rendering (Khokhar, 2015, p. 70). By using 'Node Color Multimode' under 'Appearance,' which can set and apply different values to color nodes and edges depending on how many nodes and edges connect to each other, the sepia node represents the centrality of the Abenaki people, the emerald nodes represent the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the green nodes represent the representative Abenaki groups, and the purple nodes represent the groups' variants or synonyms. The light blue nodes represent the Pennacook subgroups, the orange nodes represent the historical treaties and letter, the grey nodes represent the modern U.S. states or Canadian provinces that are the location of original indigenous territories, the dark pink nodes represent the present tribal status, and dark brown node represent a claim for federal recognition. In order to clearly distinguish the similarity of every group in this way, 'Degree' is used to define the number of links connected to a node, and when the network ties directly to or from a node, there are two separate measures to further explore the connections (Sharma & Surolia, 2013, para. 1), and the nodes are sized to depict that a certain Abenaki group has many more exonyms than other Abenaki groups. The green edges represent 'classified_info,' the light blue edges represent 'had_territory,' the orange edges represent 'was_signed_by,' and the dark pink edges represent 'was_signed_in,' the purple edges represent 'known_as,' brown edges represent 'is,' and emerald edges are 'is_claiming.'

A modelled graph (Figure 11) was created by Gephi as a completed diagram from the Abenaki data. The node for the Abenaki group has many nodes directed to other nodes of exonyms. The emerald nodes indicate the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the orange nodes indicate historical treaties, the green nodes indicate the representative Abenaki groups, the purple nodes indicate the groups' variants or synonyms, and the light blue nodes indicate the Pennacook subgroups, the grey nodes are the modern U.S. states or Canadian provinces that are the location of their original territories, the dark pink nodes are the present tribal status, the dark brown nodes are a claim for federal recognition, and the sepia node indicates the centrality of Abenaki people.

This large network connects all different properties that strongly correlated with one another. The size of each node is directly proportional to the number of correlated properties. These nodes and edges are colored to distinguish the subjects important for each property and labelled, with the size of the labels proportionately bigger or smaller depending on the importance of the properties. In this case, the large size of the green nodes means that the groups have more than 10 names, and the purple nodes indicate nomenclatures, including Indigenous terms and misnomers used by outsiders. The groups were also labeled with the popular references mentioned among outsiders and noted by the scholars who researched them. However, the Pennacook node originally had more than 10 subgroups, so the green node cannot distinguish the differences between subgroups and variants or synonyms. Initially, coloring nodes and edges by different attributions was not effective in distinguishing groups as labels. Coloring edges may imply some meanings to find accuracy, but from a research point of view, this technique may not allow sufficiently enough definition from the colored edges, since the network is large and complicated and refers to the confusing relationship between the Pennacook subgroups and the Abenaki nomenclatures. I will discuss the analysis of the different maps designed by some of the layout algorithms and

centralities in the various contexts of individually mixing up and confusing all of their synonyms and variants, information from the three historical treaties and the letter, a few eastern U.S. states and Canadian provinces where their territories were historically occupied, specific documents describing the treaties, and a handful of groups who have won, or who are still claiming, federal recognition as follows, and maybe interesting patterns and probability will be found in graph layouts.

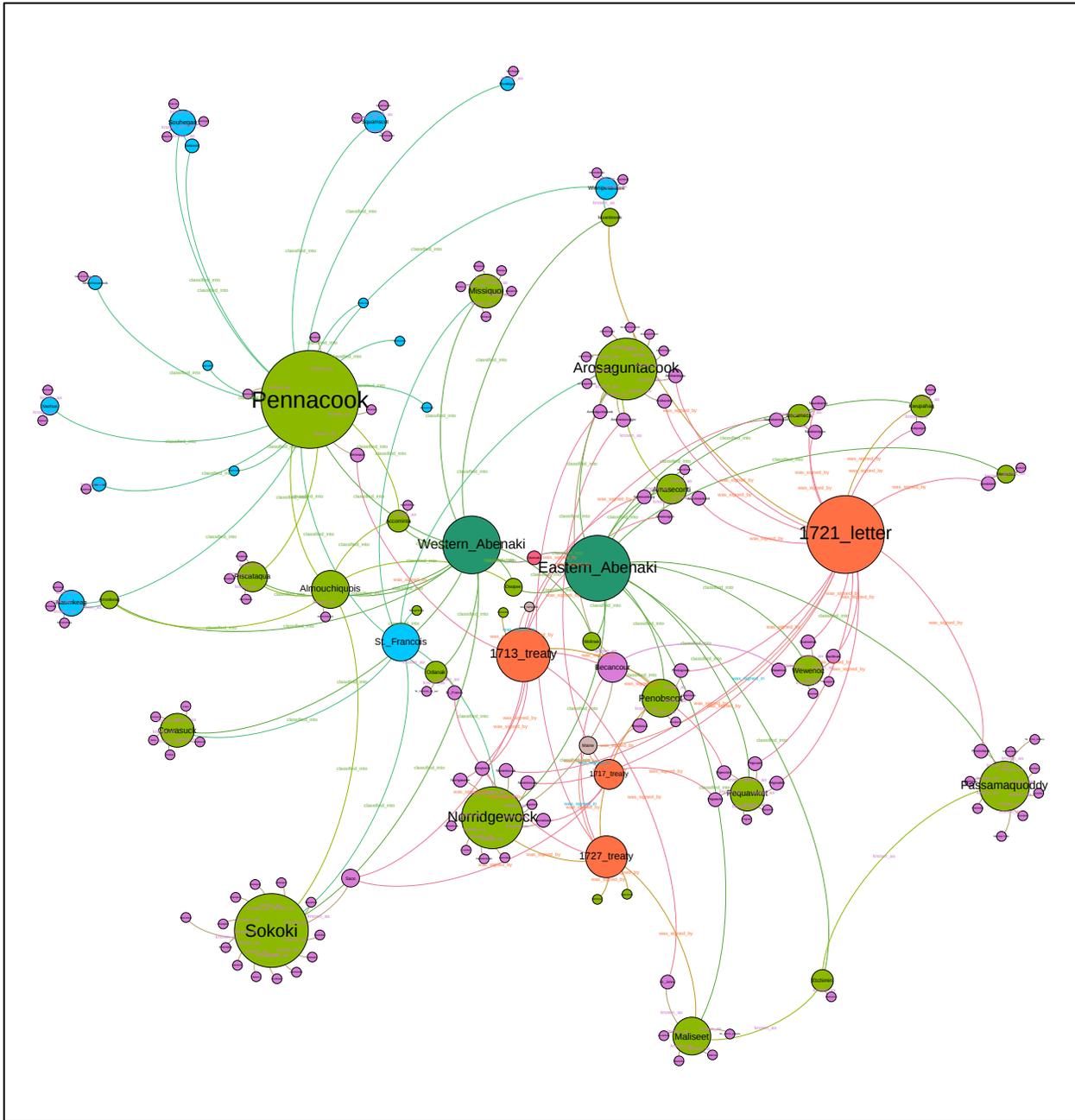


Figure 12. A composite network of Abenaki groups with various nomenclatures signed on the historical treaties and letters: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2.' By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the dark pink node represents the central Abenaki, the dark green nodes represent the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the green nodes represent the representative Abenaki groups, the purple nodes represent their variants, and the orange nodes represent the historical treaties and letters, while the sepia nodes represent the modern U.S. states or Canadian provinces that are the location of their original territories. By using 'Degree,' the nodes are sized. The green edges represent 'classified_info,' the orange edges represent 'was_signed_by,' the light blue edges represent 'was_signed_in,' and the purple edges represent 'known_as.'

After removing labels concerning present-day tribal statuses, Figure 12 displays the representative Abenaki groups with their exonyms, endonyms, variants, and synonyms for the groups who signed treaties in particular places. The color of the historical treaties is orange, and

the color of the central Abenaki is dark pink. The two nodes for the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups were manually colored in dark green and their size scaled to classify the Abenaki groups into two groups, with the green nodes showing the representative Abenaki groups, and the purple nodes meaning their variants. The Pennacook node uses light blue nodes to mean their subgroups. The node for the 1721 letter is larger than those of any other treaty because there are more signatories with more various endonyms and exonyms, but the information derived from the larger node cannot attest that that larger numbers of interrelations are most important, and solely depends on the number of internode connections.

Originally, the spreadsheets had 'relationship_type' on the top column to create edges. Due to the structure of the network metrics which measure the average degrees in the graph layout or measure how many edges in the graph can be linked to its numbers of nodes, edge direction is still quite complicated and relatively random, but may seem to contribute to the network analysis in the context of measuring a degree without generating an answer. This level of scrutiny may still not be reasonable for network analysis because it does not lead to a result or answer that is without potential bias of assumedly real answers. Even though the network complexity can indicate the variety of the Abenaki groups from different backgrounds, geographic territories, and political negotiations, the correlations of each node may need to become simpler, and the relationship of the two properties can be shown clearly.

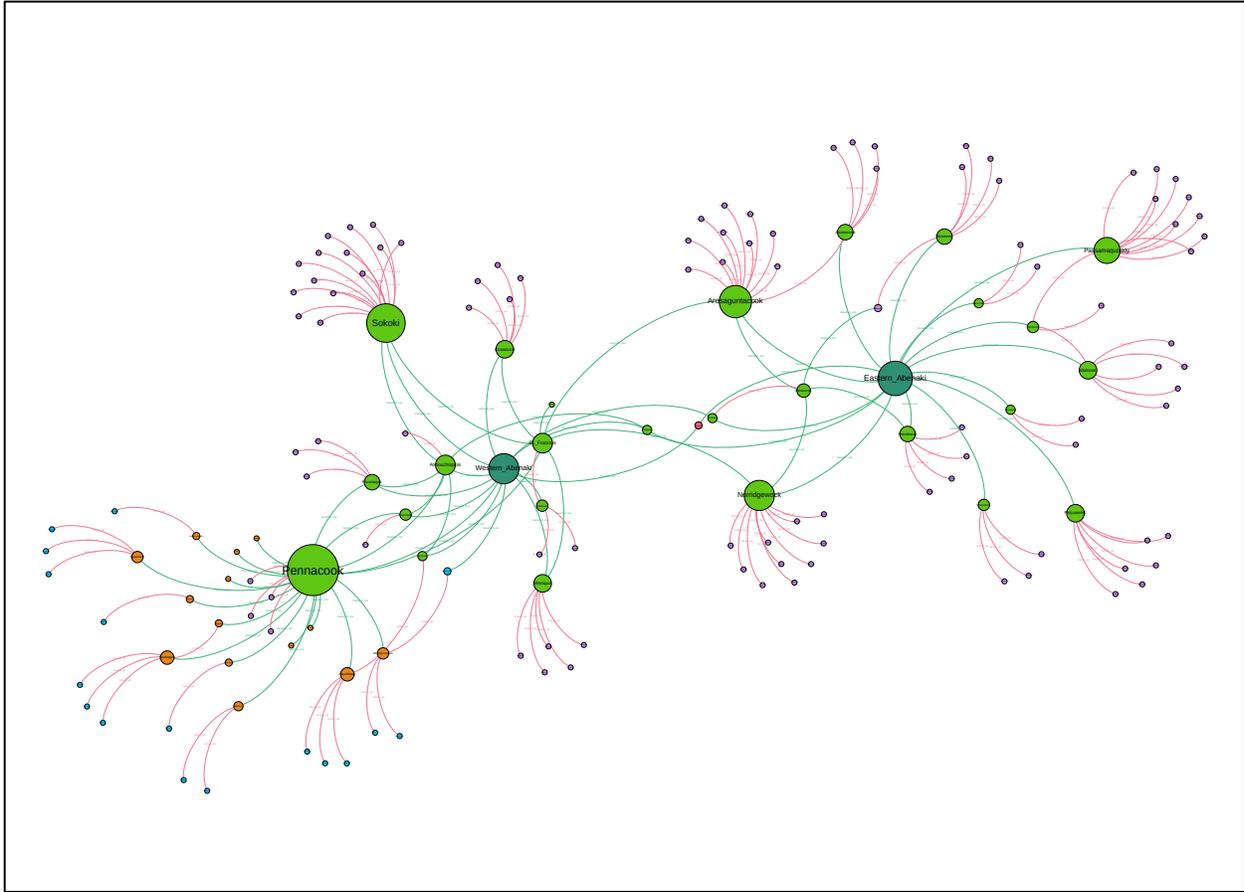


Figure 13. A composite network of all the Abenaki groups with nomenclatures: The dimension was set to ‘Yifan Hu Proportional,’ which plays a role in the force-directed algorithms by smoothly readjusting step lengths to small values of node placement in a graph layout, but the convergence of this layout algorithm is faster and less complicated than a ForceAtlas algorithm because of the optimization of the full proportional distance between nodes in the network (Khokhar, 2015, p. 81). By using ‘Node Color Multimode,’ the dark pink node represents the central Abenaki, the dark green nodes represent the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the green nodes represent the Abenaki groups, the purple nodes represent their variants, the orange nodes represent the Pennacook subgroups, and light blue nodes represent the variants of the Pennacook subgroups. The emerald edges represent ‘classified_info’ and the red edges represent ‘known_as.’

Figure 13 represents only the exonyms, endonyms, synonyms, and variants of each Abenaki group. This graph is simpler than Figures 11 and 12 because the information corresponding to the historical treaties and territories are removed, and the aesthetic dimension of this representation is sophisticated in the graph. The two nodes for the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups were also manually colored dark green to further classify the Abenaki groups into two additional groups, with a one-mode representation of the Abenaki groups connected to their variants by virtue of belonging to the same Western and Eastern Abenaki groups. However, the nodes are unable to be automatically colored due to the extreme complexity, and it is still difficult

to visually categorize either variant of the Abenaki or Pennacook subgroups because the green nodes confuse the differences. Therefore, the orange nodes represent the Pennacook subgroups, and the light blue nodes represent the variants of the Pennacook subgroups to further distinguish the larger groups. Edge colors are not applicable for this graph because the model is complicated and more attention to those nodes needs to be paid. In general, the large nodes mean that particular Abenaki groups are interrelated and have many nomenclatures, while the small nodes may stand for just one entity for these nomenclatures. Using the mapping of the Abenaki nomenclatures in Figures 11, 12, and 13, I can form a judgement about the data trends leading to virtual answers because of the complexity and large quantity of historical nomenclatures.

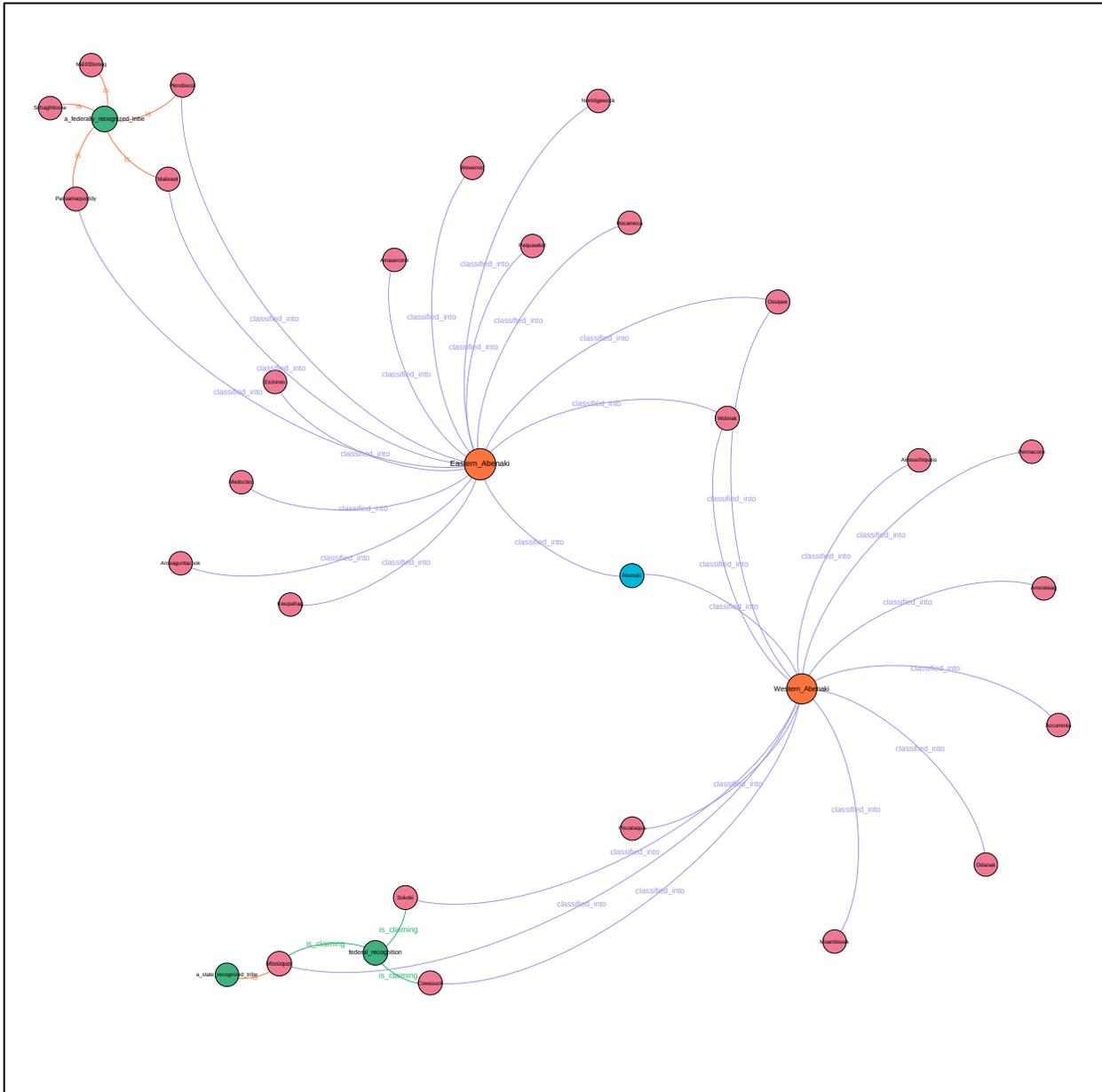


Figure 14. A composite network of all the Abenaki groups who either have or do not have recognition: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2.' By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the blue node represents the centrality of the Abenaki, the orange nodes represent Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the pink represents the Abenaki groups, and the green nodes show the status of federal recognition. 'Eccentricity', defined as the measure of the maximum graph distance between the node and any other node ("Eccentricity and Closeness – Netzwerkerin," 2010, para. 2), was used to size the nodes in order to measure relative distances if the eccentricity is high, such as when the principle Abenaki centrality node is a starting point, and the tribal state nodes are farther away. The blue edges represent 'classified_info,' the orange edges represent 'is,' and the green edges represents 'is_claiming.'

Figure 14 is much simpler than the former graphs since a lot of the nomenclatures have been entirely removed. This graph focuses on only whether or not historical Abenaki groups have

won federal recognition. Properties are linked to only two subjects related to the Abenaki groups: currently federally or state recognized tribal groups, and current claims for federal recognition.

The blue node indicates the centrality of the Abenaki, and its size and the label's font size become the largest. The orange nodes are representative of the Western and Eastern Abenakis, and the pink nodes are representative of the Abenaki groups, and finally, the green nodes show the status of federal recognition. The blue Abenaki node is central to Abenaki groups and other Abenaki group nodes are in proximity to this group, while tribal states are farther away from the Abenaki node, this distance looks like tribal states which are not meaningful in opposition to the Abenaki centrality, according to their maximal distances. This visualization appears better since graph database results from performing network analysis and establishing parameters. However, most graph layouts are merely meant to lay things out probabilistically just for legibility, and do not convey semantic information, and it is not meant to understand anything from a node position at the top of a graph or the bottom or left or right. Interpreting edge color may allow the user to be able to perform a network analysis visualization due to the restricted numbers of edge colors. Green edges shared between Eastern and Western Abenakis can emphasize the importance of the centrality of the Abenakis, while orange edges can emphasize the relationship of Abenaki groups generated from Eastern or Western Abenakis, and the grey edges show the relationship between the groups and federal recognition. These correlations below the graph database can indicate the meaningful relations between Abenaki groups and their status of federation recognition.

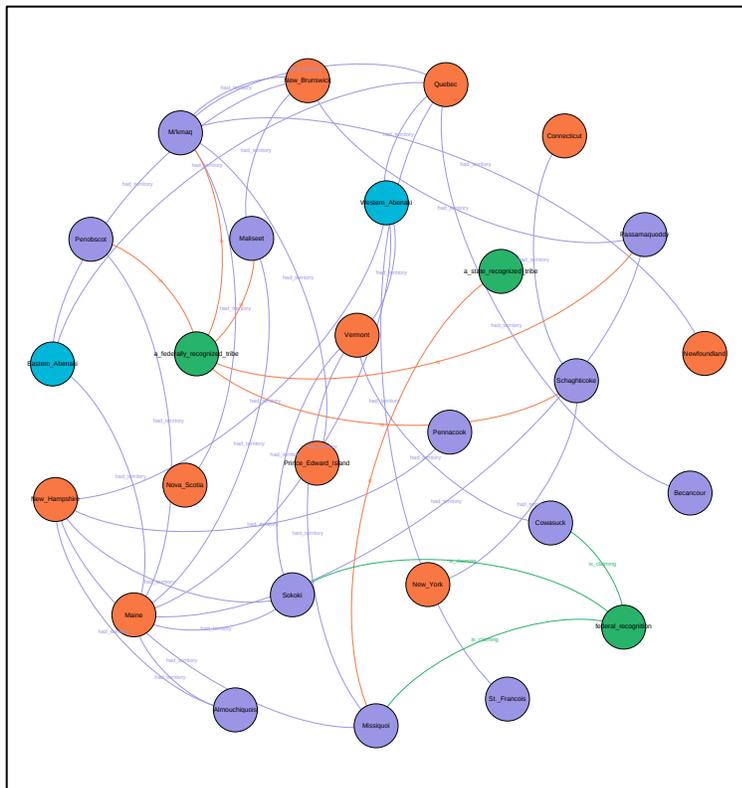


Figure 15. A composite network of New England Indigenous groups associated with the location of their own territories and their tribal statuses: In order to embody the shape of a unique circle to strengthen the emphasis through its visualization, the dimension was set to 'Fruchterman Reingold,' a force-directed algorithm which puts an emphasis on a force between any two nodes and is designed to retain an equilibrium state by minimizing the energy of the node displacement system, changing the force between the internodes and optimizing the graph's layout (Khokhar, 2015, p. 74). By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the purple nodes are historically representative of the Abenaki groups, the orange nodes represent their individual territories in relation to the present-day U.S. states and Canadian provinces, and the green nodes are their currently recognized tribal statuses. The purple edges represent 'had_territory,' the orange nodes represent 'is,' and the green nodes represent 'is_claiming.'

Figure 15 also provides a good sample of top modelling facilitated by its visual output. The subjects included as labels are only categorized in three genres: Historical Abenaki groups, their individual territories in the U.S. states and Canadian provinces, and their modern federal or state tribal statuses. The purple nodes are historically representative of Abenaki groups, the orange nodes represent their individual territories in relation to present-day U.S. states and Canadian provinces, and the green nodes are their currently recognized tribal statuses. The graph

is a good example of analyzing data for trends to emphasize the various correlations of their properties. Node size proportion is disregarded as being unimportant. For the edge color for relationship types, 'is' is shown in striking orange, indicating the six groups have successfully received federal or state recognition, 'is_claiming' is shown in striking green indicating that the three groups are seeking federal recognition, and 'had_territory' is shown in purple indicating that the other groups do not have any recognition. Although there is no meaningful relationship

between the groups' historical territories and current federal or state recognition, the rough view of the graph shows that the Abenaki people were ethnographically a nomadic tribe which historically moved back and forth among several different places in New England. Surviving groups who have their own land still have opportunities to win or claim federal recognition.

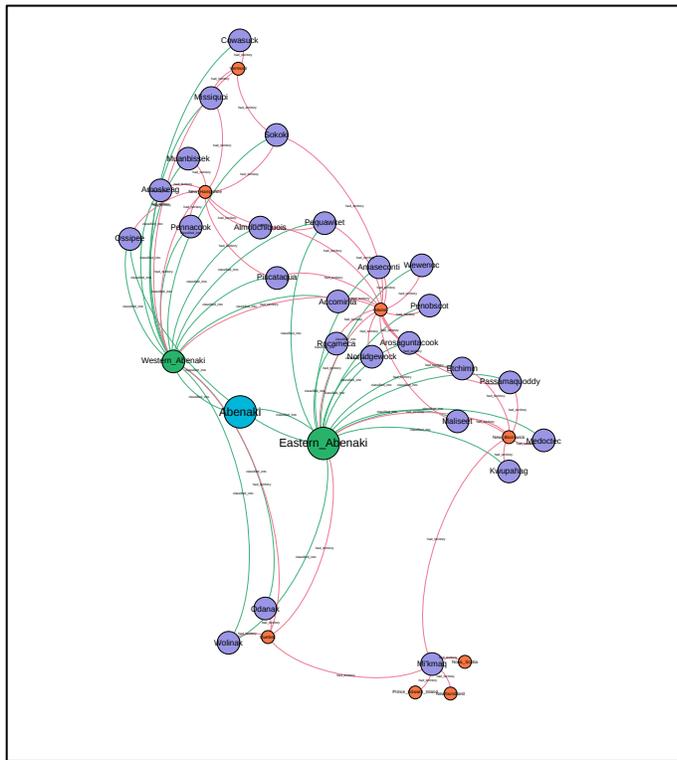


Figure 16. A composite network of New England Indigenous groups and the location of their own territories: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2.' By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the blue node represents the Abenaki centrality, the green nodes represent the Western and Eastern Abenaki groups, the light purple nodes represent the historical groups, and the orange nodes represent the U.S. states or Canadian provinces. By using 'Eccentricity,' the nodes are sized to depict the maximal significant distance ("Eccentricity and Closeness – Netzwerkerin," 2010, para. 2). The green edges represent 'classified_info,' and the red edges represent 'had_territory.'

Figure 16 focuses on the linkages with the past Abenaki groups who had individual locations in present-day U.S. states and Canadian provinces. The graph is simple because there are only two subjects: groups and territories. The simple linkages can promote a network analysis visualization. The large blue node is meaningful as the hub of Abenakis since the eccentricity of the node is high and is the shortest path. The light purple nodes represent the historical groups that connect with the green edge designations that represent the categories of the relationships among the Western or

Eastern Abenaki groups so the eccentricity of the nodes is in the proximity, while the red edges show the relationships between the U.S. states or Canadian provinces where the Abenaki had occupied individual territories in the past. The eccentricity of the U.S. state or Canadian providence nodes is low and is the farthest path. Visualized on the graph, the intertribal relationships are

complicated due to the strict categorization as either Eastern Abenakis or Western Abenakis. This categorization made it hard for the groups to be classified into individual Abenaki groups, since from a non-Eurocentric point of view, the Abenakis were believed just one Abenaki-centric group. Also, the small orange nodes indicate their own territories, but even though they cherished their land, the Abenaki groups were traditionally composed of variety of kinship relationships rather than by geographical determination.

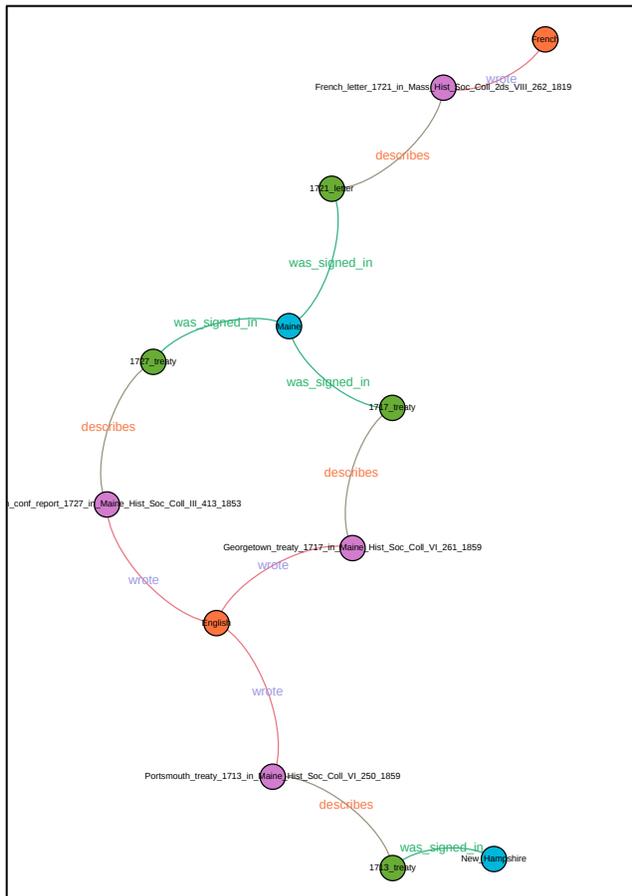


Figure 17. A composite network of the historical documents in English or French associated with the treaties and conference locations: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2.' By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the purple nodes represent the documents, the green nodes represent the historical treaties and letter, the blue nodes represent the locations in Maine and New Hampshire, and the orange nodes represent the English and French transcriptions. The emerald edges represent 'was_signed_in,' the orange edges represent 'describes,' and the light purple edges represent 'wrote.'

Figure 17 is the simplest graph is designed to show the relationships among the historical documents of 1713, 1717, 1721, and 1727, describing the treaties and letter from their original English or French transcriptions and their issued locations in Maine and New Hampshire. The purple nodes are documents, the green nodes are historical treaties, the blue nodes are the locations of Maine and New Hampshire, and the orange nodes are the English and French transcriptions. In addition, the colors of edge labels are used for 'describes' in orange, 'wrote' in light purple, and 'was_signed_in' in emerald green. By roughly viewing and analyzing the network, these nodes are not sized because they need to focus on their interrelationship with each

other, and the labels of 'English' and 'Maine' are more legible historically on the basis of the presence of Abenaki people and English colonization. English and French settlers were highly competitive in settling Maine, which was quite beneficial to them in terms of geographic strategies and trading spots. Located between Massachusetts, where the English authorities dominated, and Acadia where the French authorities dominated, the ample region provided geographic access that was easier for the settlers to use than relying on the Indigenous residents to enforce the treaties. The documents were written in relationship to the Abenaki people and English colonists based in Maine.

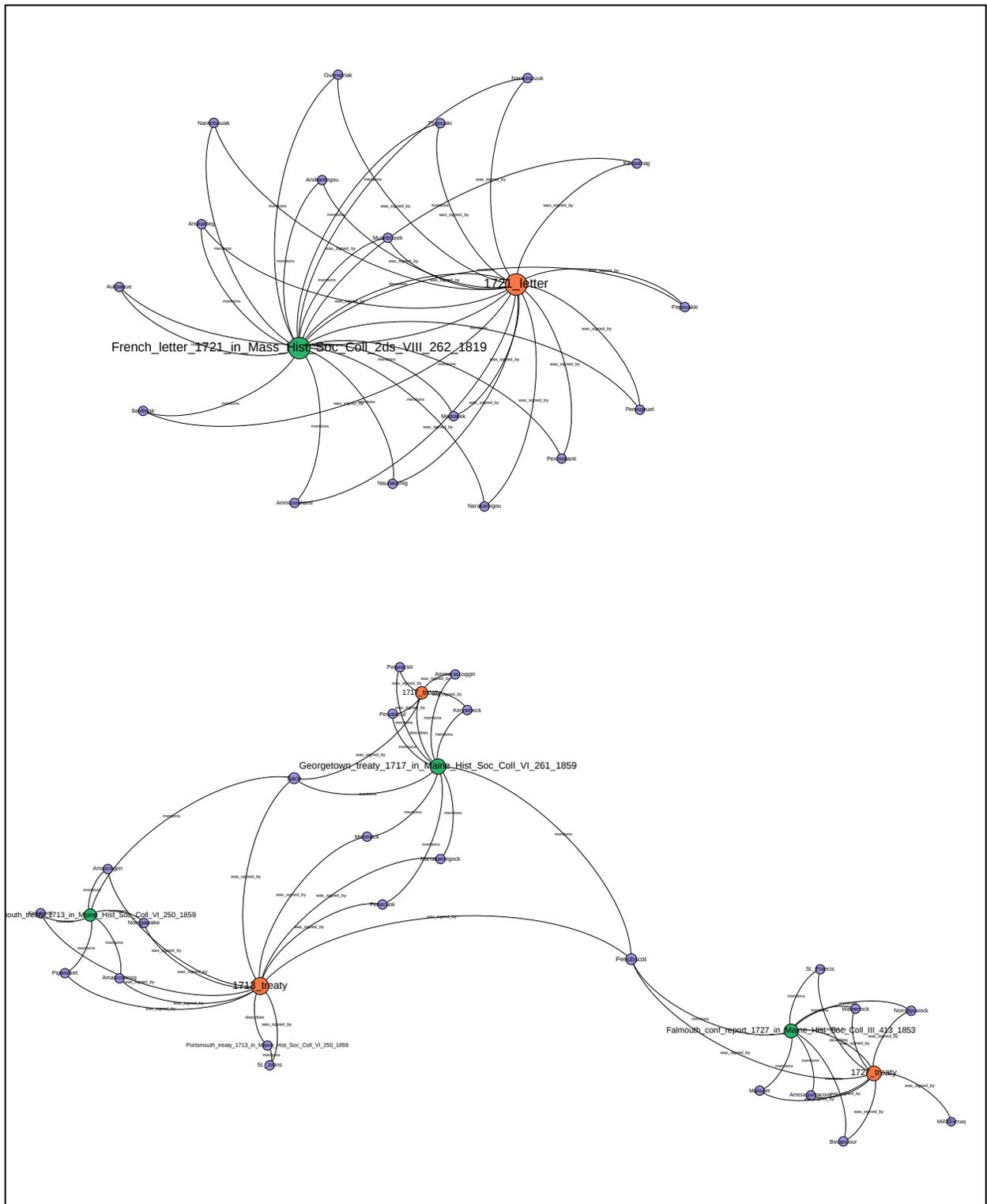


Figure 18. A composite network of the historical documents associated with the Abenaki groups signing the treaties and letters: The dimension was set to 'ForceAtlas 2.' By using 'Node Color Multimode,' the orange nodes represent the historical treaties and letter, the green nodes represent the historical documents, and the purple nodes are the Abenaki signatories. The black edges represent 'was_signed_by,' 'describes,' and 'mentions.'

Figure 18 shows the various relationships that tie different actors together with the important documents, treaties, and letters. The orange nodes are the historical treaties and letters; the green nodes are documents describing the treaties and letters. The Abenaki signatories who were involved with the treaties and are mentioned in the documents are represented by the purple nodes. The different relationships connecting these aspects are labeled on the edges in a neutral color that does not need to be distinguished from the other edges because of their unimportance to the other properties of the documents, treaties, and letters. The fact that the two clusters that emerge are not otherwise connected is of note because this absence might be read in two different ways. One, as a simple absence of evidence. Or two, a revelation of a different complex of relationships, signalling the basis of the signatories' names.

One model correlates with the 1721 letter and documents, and the other model correlates the three treaties and documents from 1713, 1717, and 1727. This indicates that the Abenaki signatures were entirely different from the 1721 letter to the 1713, 1717, and 1727 treaties. Even though these signatures are from Abenaki members, the leaders who came from each Abenaki village in the different areas around 1721 were less involved with the leaders assigned during 1713, 1717, and 1727. However, some sachems of the same Abenaki groups who signed the letter also signed the other treaties with different names: the Amaseconti, Arosaguntacook, Norridgewock, Pequawket, Penobscot, Rocameca, and Wewenoc. Around the 1720s, before Dummer's War started in 1722, the Abenaki people were entirely in tribulation which made them move back and forth between their original lands, and Canada and France, disputing their relationship regarding issues with trade and geographic disposition. Thus, the political and kinship relationships of the Abenaki people fluctuated greatly.

Figure 19 demonstrates the relationship with two groups: the Kwupahag and Muanbissek, which this research primarily dissected and explored in terms of the Eastern and Western Abenaki groups, the Maliseet and Pennacook, and their historical territories and variants. As represented by the modelled graphs which have been presented and discussed in the former sections, simple graphs are consequentially more visible to easily perform network analysis. Hence, the larger the sizes of the nodes and their labels, the more prominent the significance of the properties, indicating the interrelatedness of terms despite the silence of the real answers and results. My layout decision depended on the visual design of what network is ideal for network analysis.

Clearly, the green nodes for the Kwupahag and Muanbissek are the most prominent in the graph since there are a lot of correlations between them. Next, Kwupahag's Fredericton and Muanbissek's Lake Winnepesaukee remain prominent places since their territories are essential to them. Kwupahag and Muanbissek were community-based, where their main groups, the Maliseet and Pennacook, dominated. The node color for the Maliseet is muted lavender and that of the Pennacook is emerald green. The Maliseet are one of Eastern Abenaki groups and the Pennacook tentatively represent the Western Abenaki groups because it is still arguable whether the Pennacook belong to the Western Abenakis or are independent from the Abenaki, and the node color for the Eastern Abenaki is orange while that of the Western Abenaki is dark gray. In addition, the 1721 letter is dark pink. Each area has unique colors because their relationships show connections and are individually involved with each other to find their identities as unique groups in the complex contexts of their histories, influence on outsiders' engagement, and geographic issues.

The Maliseet and Pennacook settled in the areas respectively called Fredericton and Lake Winnepesaukee because the presence of outsiders pushed them from everywhere else, and so their representative delegates joined the conference to sign the 1721 letter in Maine. When I examined the representation of the relationships in the graph database, certain groups seem to enjoy similar patterns of relationships; one such pattern of relationship that emerged seemed to be a lack of important geographical connections for the Maliseet and Pennacook who had several villages called by many different nomenclatures that are mostly misnomers created by European or other Indigenous colonizers. Also, Maine, New Hampshire, and New Brunswick do not appear to be important to the Kwupahag and Muanbissek since these names were determined by Britain and France. One node of ‘a_federally_recognized_tribe’ indicates that the Maliseet won federal recognition, but Kwupahag is a former village of the Maliseet, so the relationship exists correlationally between a community and a principle group.

To sum up, from Owen’s and Risam’s points of view, the need for the digital humanities approach can be institutionally generated from the tension found between humans and computation, and the software can facilitate methodological learning, so that digital humanities projects can help a researcher resist the reproduction of colonial violence (Risam, 2019, p. 45). A strategic means of using digital humanities in encouraging postcolonial humanities is to manage the gathering of digitally collected information and recordings from institutions, such as museums and libraries, in order to ideologically promote Indigenous rights. I agree that Owen’s digital preservation can be applied to Gephi’s digital capability to set datasets for network analysis of narrating graphs, not for bringing the right answer. Graph databases are computations, are not often used by physical institutions to store collected information, and do not always offer specific answers and results. Separate nodes sometimes need to rely on a relationship with other nodes since nodes and edges

with similar properties may be unable to be exactly interpreted from their perimeters. Notwithstanding their range from simplicity to intricateness, the visual output generated from Gephi graph databases can potentially be used to interpret which properties can be correlated to provide a broad hint for further research through envisioning abstract information and preserving postcolonial digital archives in this way to enhance a deeper understanding and connection between Indigenous knowledge and rights and the priceless awareness of Indigenous community relationships in scholarly fields.

Therefore, using graph database and network analysis I explored different aspects of Abenaki history as shown in Figures 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. When the graphs become larger, many of the nodes, edges, labels, and icons naturally become more complicated. Each of the properties can become more common and similar to one another by means of setting ‘Closeness Centrality,’ ‘Degree’ centrality, ‘Eccentricity,’ or ‘Node Color Multimode.’ The related nodes are also sized larger, proportionally to their values of node placement in the graphical space by means of setting different layout algorithms, such as ‘ForceAtlas 2,’ ‘Fruchterman Reingold,’ or ‘Yifan Hu Proportional.’ Also, complicated and larger network visualizations show a marked tendency toward specific results when the modelled graphs are ontologically accurate and well-defined. For example, Figures 11, 12, and 13 include many Abenaki nomenclatures during the past colonization, so the data graphs are larger and more complex. Historically, their territories were frequented by outside settlers’, visitors’ and scholars’ references and research, so there are more various nomenclatures for particular Abenaki groups. Figure 11 shows data that is concomitant to historical treaties, territories, and surviving groups’ current tribal statues. Figure 12 is concomitant to those treaties, and Figure 13 solely focuses on Abenaki nomenclatures. I can establish coloring and proportionally sized nodes which can help to distinguish the various subjects

of each property. However, reading edge colors makes it relatively difficult to characterize or distinguish the subjects because of their intricateness, and it may be better to discard this function for this application. I have learned that the structure of the separate nodes is dependent on their relationship with the other nodes because the grouping of nodes and edges with similar properties may be unable to be accurately interpreted from the dataset. When the structure of the separate nodes is accurate, based on a concrete relationship with every other node, drawing a potential conclusion may imply the results of some complicated events of Abenaki history in relationship to the settlers.

Figures 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, are simpler than Figures 11, 12, and 13, as all the historical Abenaki nomenclatures have been removed from the latter figures. Including nomenclatures makes the graphs appear heavy and complicated and seem to lead illusorily to a real answer through the trends observed from the large amount of data from a colonial and neocolonial perspective. Figures 14 and 15 are related to recognized tribal statues, even though there is no relationship between historical Abenaki groups and present-day Abenaki groups who have or are claiming federal recognition, as mentioned in this thesis surviving Abenaki groups, such as Maliseet, have won federal recognition. Likewise, most of the historical Abenaki groups did not have land to be able to win or claim federal recognition. The simplicity of the data here can cover up the different situations between past and current Abenaki groups. Figures 15 and 16 are concerned with territories belonging to specific indigenous groups that have been replaced by modern U.S. States and Canadian provinces. These network visualizations roughly indicate that most of original Abenaki groups lived in Maine, New Hampshire, and New Brunswick. The categorization into Western or Eastern Abenakis is not geographically important for the Abenaki-centric group. Figures 17 and 18 are associated with the historical documents that reported the four

treaties. Figure 17 is the simplest network visualization, and its edges can be read easily to find their connectedness and relationships with each of the documents, treaties, signed places, and official languages used. Figure 18 relates to Abenaki signatures and the treaties. Hence, this figure can indicate how the documents can determine the Abenaki signatures depending on their political background. The figure indicates that the 1721 signatures are not at all related to the signatures for the other three treaties, but that some groups did in fact sign other treaties with different names. Figure 19 embodies the relationships between the Kwupahag and Muanbiseek mentioned in this thesis, and consequently, ‘Closeness Centrality’ is important to show how close the two groups are from all other nodes. The network visualization signifies the relationship with large nodes below each of the labels of their original territories, principle groups, and the 1721 signatories.

By virtue of several choice options for creative, design, and aesthetic kinds of centralities and layouts, most graphs place emphases on characterizations of the Abenaki peoples to distinguish specific differences through the differential patterns of their signatories, territories, treaties, and historical accounts from a mainstream perspective, but these characteristic differences are not geographically and linguistically crucial to an Abenaki-centric group from an Abenaki point of view. The simplicity of these network visualizations can imagine Abenaki history, but I can attest through my research, that network visualizations can be deceptive due to the very limited information brought from the datasets and may insufficiently rationalize the development of the Gephi graph networks. For example, whether or not a narrative account is provided, the more correlated the nodes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are, the more they have been involved with each other. However, the engagement cannot be interpreted well if someone is not familiar with the connections between the historical and political relationships found between the non-Indigenous and Indigenous perspectives. Someone may wrongly assume that the stronger the

internodes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are, the more friendly their relationships were toward one another, unlike the fact that their relationships had been annihilated since the earliest contact. Thus, someone cannot simply use software such as Gephi to emphasize the relationality from an Indigenous world view, no matter whether they are Indigenous people or not.

Conclusion

History and Culture

The early historical accounts show that the Kwupahag and Muanbissek are definitely tribes of the Wabanaki Confederacy, but through meticulous research, I believe that they are actually place names of the Abenaki group. Traditionally, Abenaki villages were structured by extended family masses of sparse nomadic bands. The Abenaki were an ethnographically unicentric group without any ethnic borders between tribes. The group was originally organized by kinship and authority structures, but these structures were eventually lost because of disease and colonial conflicts as well as by making alliances with European colonists during European colonization. The Abenaki were forced to move to new places and establish new and unique political and kinship structures with other Indigenous groups. The Wabanaki confederacy gatherings held in head villages were weighty and had meaningful purposes, such as decisions about declaring war or peace and arranging intertribal marriages (Prins, 2010, para. 20). Representative chiefs from each allied community, who were skilled at oral and gestural rhetoric and who brought ritual objects, came to a particular location to discuss retaining the independence, land, and property of each community. When their independent population was able to sustain these decisions, gatherings from particular divisions did not need to last longer. However, in order to survive in problematic colonial contexts, these communities also had to be assigned to attend conferences held in particular locations appointed by the English authorities because those places were convenient and safe for the English settlements (Bear, 1996, p. 39). From 1693 to 1761, warfare between France and British continued to dominate North America, and the treaties seemed to be designed as “Treaties of Peace and Friendship”. Unfortunately, that description was just a cliché and apparently manipulated and facilitated the power of the two colonial nations for further benefit, such as

geographical occupancy and fur trade, and to force Indigenous people to be subject to them (Daugherty, 1983, p. 70).

For my place-name analysis, I assumed the spellings of particular names on a present map and their pronunciation derived from the local Abenaki people. I attempted to divide the names into different parts to find a convenient way to analyze the meaning of the segments which were then articulated as words found in dictionaries of Abenaki languages (Day, 1998, p. 195). Factually, place names are not timeless proof of Abenaki histories and appeared only during a specific historical period (Day, 1977, p. 29). The English, French, and other Indigenous people also produced countless terminologies to name Abenaki groups; however, many of these terminologies were wrong, and either mistaken or misunderstood to create the extremely distorted forms that have mostly survived today (Huden, 1962, vii). Furthermore, travelers' accounts and colonial writings were often so subjective and generalized that they were unlikely to be accurate enough to be produced in historical accounts that could be matched against place names (Cronon, 1983, p. 7). These processes describe the technical phonemicization of place names for the Abenaki terms (Havard, 1992, p. 278). They randomly categorized Abenaki people into geographical subgroups even though there was a kind of Abenaki communities based on family political organizations that were not labelled as subgroup states. Therefore, I needed to compare and match these variants against random spellings and misnomers to determine their common names and locations through comparisons with ethnographic and demographic data.

Thus, the signatures of the Kwupahag and Muanbissek were left behind in history because the representative delegates from their divisions attended temporary gatherings that were held for the 1721 meeting. The differences between the names of the Kwupahag and Maliseet and the differences between the Muanbissek and Pennacook have been explained in the preceding chapters

with respect to leaders from their head divisions for signing treaties, linguistic systems, and geographic areas. The Kwupahag and Muanbissek must have had enough power to sign the 1721 letter because the delegates of the Kwupahag and Muanbissek controlled by their principle groups were assigned to sign.

Historical conferences set by the English officials were essential to the establishment of several treaties and the issuance in the 1721 letter in the context of the Abenaki people's demands to implement the effects of their own protection, the Abenaki have asserted that English ideas compromised the profitability of the treaty. The Treaty of the Portsmouth was enforced in 1713 to begin recognizing the notion of Indigenous rights. Dummer's Treaty was an important landmark for Anglo-Wabanaki political relations. The 1717 and 1721 conferences in Arrowsic formed an additional treaty and letter. The series of crucial conferences indicates that the need for survival caused the Abenaki groups to engage in the struggle to try to attain a solution to these problems within the context of long-standing treaties and designations produced by the English and French, while striving to reopen traditional paths even after the Wabanaki Confederacy which operated until the mid-18th century. The letter should be important evidence which informs us of the historical incidents and the presence of countless names in the Wabanaki Confederacy.

I believe that the digital humanities approach can help articulate Abenaki traditions and support revitalization based on the specific diversity and ancestry of their groups moving forward from ancient times. My research helps to represent the future generations of all those who confirm that not only Abenaki cultural heritage and land has survived, but also for the successive generations of landless Abenaki souls all over the world.

Postcolonial Digital Humanities

The handling of digital materials for postcolonial digital humanities requires digital production knowledge to promote Indigenous communities by containing cultural heritage in digital cultural records to thwart the influence of colonialism and neocolonialism that define colonial violence as the political propaganda and neocolonial ideologies of power. Also, the practice of postcolonial digital humanities innovates the conventional digital world that dominates digital materials. To avoid abandoning Indigenous historical backgrounds, the originality of digitization and curation can become confused with the dominant notions of open public access, no matter what Indigenous cultural, social, and historical situations occur (Christian, 2018, p. 407). Before curating and sharing digitally, Indigenous-owned materials destined for a searchable database should be thoughtfully put under close scrutiny. How can postcolonial digital humanities influence Indigenous peoples to include their records in a database? The emphasis on Indigenous materials included in a database widens the idea of digital curation that can be transferred from the past to the present providing historical, social, and political contexts of Indigenous peoples (p. 407). I have learned that this question of relationships with Indigenous people and colonizers can be examined through processes such as Owens' digital preservation and Risam's postcolonial digital humanities to support the question of how to decipher the question of disappearance through the enhancement of the Indigenous presence through a maze full of non-Indigenous archived preservation and information management. I think that Gephi can produce useful network visualizations to zoom in on Indigenous rights.

For instance, different samples of data graphs were produced from Gephi graph databases, such as Figures 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, performed by network analyses and resulting from querying relationships in network visualizations. The larger the data graphs are, the more

complicated they become with various patterns of many nodes, edges, icons, and labels. The more commonality or similarity that each property represents in the larger correlations, the greater the nodes for each property are proportionally. A complete network visualization is likely to draw a potential conclusion if there is concrete definition or accuracy of the modelled graphs. In this research, Figures 11, 12, and 13 contains the modelled mappings of many of the Abenaki endonyms, exonyms, synonyms, and variants generated from past colonial periods, so the data graphs are larger and more complicated. However, some large interrelated nodes may be confused because the Pennacook subgroups and Abenaki nomenclatures sometimes look the same since the database is so complex that the original spreadsheets are needed to more easily handle the large amount of information involving complicated relationship types. In fact, these areas were more frequently referenced by outsiders, or were researched by scholars more than other Abenaki groups whose nodes are smaller. Even if these large and complicated graphs are well done without the confusion of the database and display the factual intricateness of the historical background, Underwood (2012) has warned that such a large model may be tricky and may not be a real network (para. 7).

Figures 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are much simpler than Figures 11, 12, and 13 since they remove all the Abenaki nomenclatures. The simplicity of these network visualizations can narrate the divisions of Abenaki history, but sometimes network visualization is deceptive due to a lack of information and may not be sufficient to rationalize the connections found in the data. Using data graphs such as those generated by Gephi can help to graphically re-enact the situations that occurred in the past through complete graph database and network analysis. However, the results of those graphs can sometimes be complex and tricky to rationalize sufficiently. For instance, Figure 18 shows the two-mode networks. However, this does not mean that the signatories for the

1721 letter were not related to other signatories for the three treaties at all. In fact, some of the signatories for the letter signed the treaties with different names for the groups. When the data and relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous match, if someone who does not know or understand the long-term relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives views graph layouts, that person might automatically assume that their perspectives are more in tune with each other.

When the original databases contain definite information, no matter whether they are simple or complex, strong factual grounding is necessary to find answers derived from complete network visualizations. But will complete network visualizations be enough to lead to the correct answers? Graphed data samples produced by Gephi give researchers a way to visualize abstract information and substantiates the enhancement of digital archives and digital preservation. The methodological ideas of data graphing trace the abstract premise of drawing close attention to scholarly fields, including law and cultural studies related to Indigenous rights and sovereignty, by realizing digital database samples of network visualizations. I can agree that skillfully collecting and managing information in databases can become part of collective efforts towards acknowledging Indigenous rights and sovereignty in support of Indigenous people and communities.

Remaining Questions

There are some unsolved issues in my research. Day (1981) failed in his attempt to fully elucidate the mysterious term Muanbissek, since there are at least one hundred thirty-eight discordant spellings of Winnepesaukee. There is no way to linguistically trace the various spellings of Winnepesaukee in terms of their alliterative array, prefix, suffix, and affix that would make a

connection with the term Muanbissek. However, Day believed that the term Muanbissek was solely one of the variants of the term Winnipisaukee (p. 35). In fact, outsiders described the term using random variants of the term Winnipisaukee. Like them, I also encountered difficulties in discovering pronounciational lineages between the terms Winnipisaukee and Muanbissek, such as determining why the prefix of Winni- seems to be linguistically and aurally linked to that of Muan-.

Since the pre-18th century, the Winnipisaukee had attended the colonizers' meetings to sign several treaties on the behalf of the Pennacook. For the 1721 meeting, the name of the Indigenous sachem from Lake Winnipisaukee or along the Merrimac River was signed on the letter, so it is apparent that the term Muanbissek is an Abenaki term. However, why did he sign "Muanbissek" which is quite different from the spelling of the Indigenous term "Winnipisaukee"? The Abbe Museum (2012) shows that this group may have been "Ceux de Muanbissek, Missiquoi Bay near Santon, Vermont" (para. 18). Most sources represent their territory as adjoining Lake Winnipisaukee, but the Abbe museum indicates that their territory is near Swanton, Vermont. The research assumes that the Muanbissek was one of the Pennacook relations, and some individuals still remained there while others moved to other places, including Swanton, by the late 1720s. During this period, an ambiguous boundary for their definite territories may have existed because other Indigenous groups took refuge there and intermingled with the Pennacook. Since Pennacook descendants who are called the "Vermont Abenaki" are known to be living in Swanton, Vermont ("Pennacook History," n.d., para. 5) after a surveyor ideologically declared them as extinct in 1750 (Ghere, 1997, p. 525), signing the 1721 letter was the last chance for the Pennacook. However, there is no source supporting this information. Unfortunately, there has been little opportunity to contact curators, scholars, and Indigenous members from museums and Indigenous reservations

to support these claims during this research period because of the unexpected restrictions of COVID 19.

Likewise, I encountered a similar experience in conducting research on the linguistic systems related to the term Muanbissek, as related to the term Kwupahag, and this relationship remains unclear as well. I did discover some variants of the term Kwupahag through research in historical books from libraries. Their residence locations entirely corresponded to the environs of Fredericton, New Brunswick, so those terms Auckpack, Ekpahaugh, and Okpaak linguistically and aurally transferred to the term Kwupahag because French records used many spellings of the original Maliseet term since the Maliseet language did not have their own standardized writing system in the 18th century (Hall, personal communication, August 24, 2020). The term means “the end of tide,” and eqpahak is tide in Maliseet (Francis & Leavitt, 2008, p. 129 & p.1141). I collected some dictionaries and historical books on Maliseet vocabulary from libraries, but there is no hint that those variants are linguistically connected with the term Kwupahag, so Hall’s (personal communication, August 24, 2020) emails are considerably helpful. The term Kwupahag is obviously not similar to the term Ekwpahak, which is a correct Maliseet term (Nicholas, 2015, P. 27). Why was the document signed “Kwupahag” instead of “Ekwpahak”? The original letter in French (Figure 2) mentions “K8upahag” instead of “w” because the French favorably used the character of “8” since “huit” is defined as “8” in French (Havard, 1992, p. 215). In the 1721 letter, Pierre de La Chasse might write the term “K8upahag” based on Western linguistic and pronunciation systems since they did not understand Maliseet language, and it seems that in order to sign the letter, or the Maliseet delegate who did not know how to confirm their signature followed the Latin alphabetic letters created by the French authorities who did not use the exact spelling of the Maliseet division.

On the other hand, since Abenaki does not have a written language, it might be likely that two sachems had just learned how to sign their own communal names in Latin alphabetic letters and were not otherwise familiar with the English language. If they signed, they would use unique spellings that were quite different from the names created by the English and French peoples. In this case, all our efforts at disambiguation are moot. But, since it is recorded that sagamores from the Winnepesaukee had attended conferences for a handful of past treaties prior to the 18th century, it is still questionable why they used the term Muanbissek, and not the similar spellings of the Winnepesaukee term. The question of the term's linguistic connections continues to remain mysterious. I contacted a museum and some linguists regarding these questions, but unfortunately, they have not made a response or do not know the answers themselves. Like the case of Kwupahag, the assigned leader who wanted to retain their group's own rights for hunting and land might follow the wrong alteration of the Winnepesaukee term as taught by the French authorities who were confused about the correct Abenaki term or who might not have known the Winnepesaukee term as written in Latin alphabetic letters when the 1721 conference was held. I contacted Calloway about the linkage between Winnepesaukee and Muanbissek, but Calloway is also still seeking the answer to that question (Calloway, personal communication, August 25, 2020). In fact, for the 1713 and 1727 treaties, it seems that the English signed their names on behalf of the sachems, so I can assume how well they knew or cared about the spelling of their names (Sturtevant, 1978, p. 144 & Wicken and Reid, 1996, p. 163). Uncovering the reasons for the occurrences of the unclear and erroneous interpretations of linguistic and pronunciation structures for the terms Muanbissek and Kwupahag represents a further step for this research, and would be expected to move forward at a PhD level to provide innovative findings for these remaining questions.

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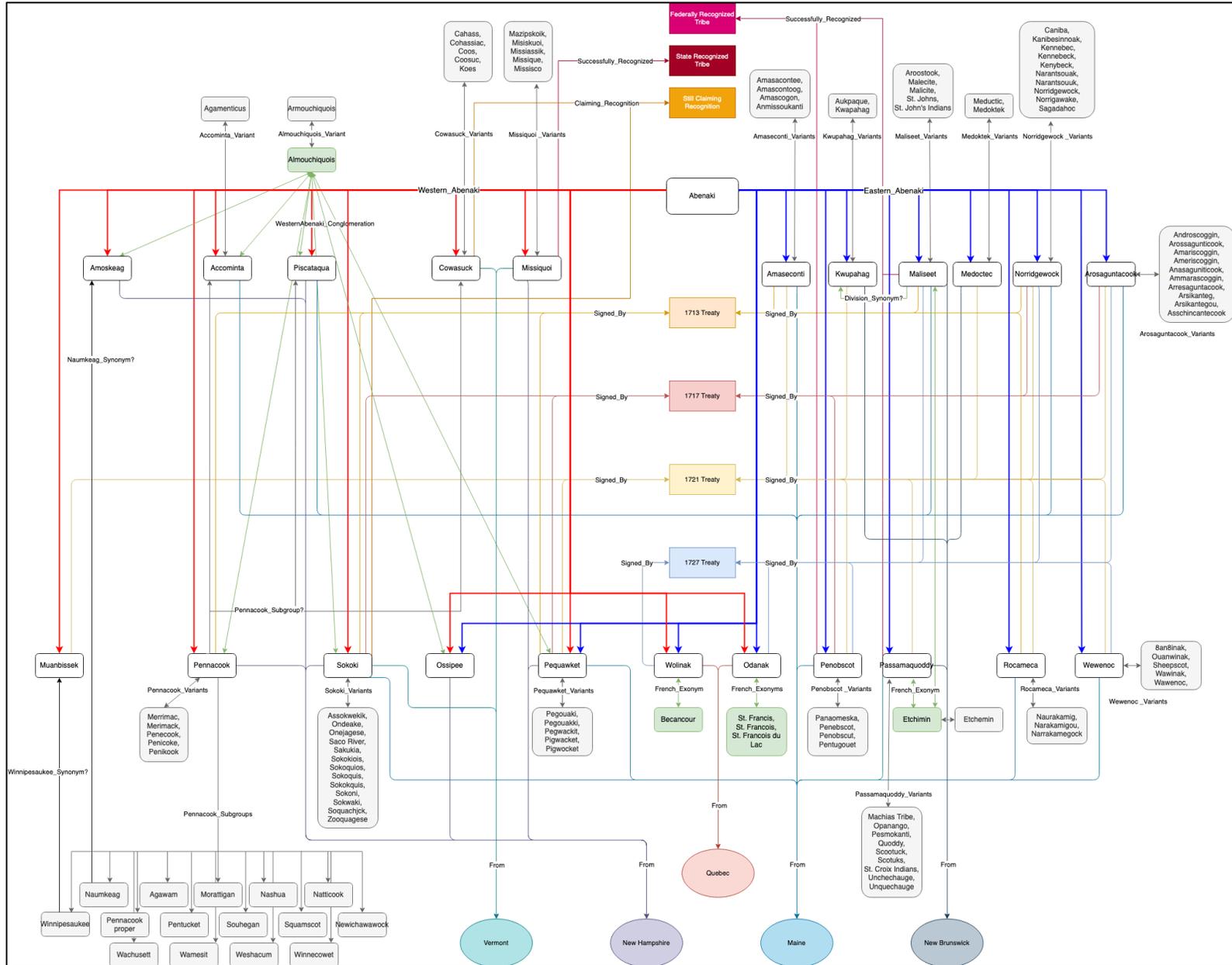
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Appendix A



A diagram of all the relationships with Abenaki groups discussed in this thesis