

Ekinámuksikw Aq Kelutmalsewuksikw

ALEX DENNY, Kjíkeptin

Míkmaq people have always drawn their knowledge from many sources: direct experience, intuition, oral testimony and spiritual connections. That knowledge has been allowed to flourish with the retention of our Míkmaq language and the daily dialogues surrounding our place in time. Our elders and grandfathers and grandmothers have shared earnestly these memories in many different forms and situations, woven stories that connect us to ancient times, people and events. It nourished our times together, during the long winters or the warm summer nights, while enriching our experiences, knowledge, skills, imagination and intuitions. Some of the stories change over time, so when we were told how things were, and retold in many different versions, we may have lost some of the dates, the places, the people present, but like our hieroglyphic and wampum literacy, we held to the essence of what was important to know. Those important ideas and values became braided into our knowing and into our living.

This was an important base from which to grow into in the '70s when our future seemed so uncertain with the course that Indian Affairs had carved out for us and we sought a path of restoration and decolonization. We had endured decades of their influence on our lives, lives that were disrupted by intrusive policies of the Canadian government, like their boarding schools, their Indian agents, their economic whims and their centralization policy that would uproot our people from their ancient hunting homelands and away from their traditional lifestyles to faulty hopes and structures. We were not without our ancient forces, but we were struggling to maintain and resume our lives with what our grandfathers and grandmothers had left to us as their legacy. It was in our gut—this intuition—that we not only needed and wanted to find our own way, but it was also with the knowledge that there had been agreements and promises made with our ancestors that ensured our survival as a nation and as a people. It was in our memory, albeit shaded by time such that we may have forgotten the exact dates and some details of the events, but we had the gist of it. However, in the white man's world, our knowledge and our stories were not valued by the courts or the government and, despite all our efforts to convince them of what we knew, we did not have the powerful white man's paper that would prove or clarify our position, nor the power discourse that could affect our positions.

So it was that we came to know we needed help from learned people and, in particular, from our own people. The Union of Nova Scotia Indians and the



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Eskasoni Band Council brought Marie Battiste, a Míkmaq educator from Chapel Island, daughter of John and Annie Battiste, back home from Stanford University to work in the school in Eskasoni. Her husband Sákéj Henderson, a Chickasaw from Oklahoma, a graduate of Harvard Law School, came with her and was to change the direction of Míkmaq politics for the next twenty years in his work as Research Director of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians and later as advisor to the Santé Mawio'mi. His influence continues to reverberate long after he headed west.

Being a learned scholar and an avid reader were only some of his gifts, for he is also a keen and sympathetic listener and a visionary person who saw no barriers, only challenges. When he heard the many layers of stories connected to our legacy and listened to the elders share their dreams and visions of the nation, he searched meticulously for every shred of historical documentation to support and corroborate the stories he had heard. And he found them, in the vast writings of the Jesuit and missionary era, in the writings of philosophers and those connected with the kings and queens of Europe and in reports, legal historical writings, etc. He found the dates, the times and the details of the stories he had heard. He searched through the hieroglyphics, the Mi'kmaq prayer books, the writings and the wealth of thought that united the ancient Míkmaq teachings and intuitions, and then pulled them together in compelling English. Many others had read these same writings but could not piece together their meaning because they did not know how the story or the history unfolded.

Sákéj's unravelling of this masterfully documented story was first demonstrated in the *Secular Ulnapskuk*, in which he pieced together every historical document that would serve not only this generation of Míkmaq people but those of the next generations as well. He demonstrated his immense historical knowledge and was able to put that to use as we took on the Government of Canada, the province of Nova Scotia, and their judicial, educational and welfare systems.

Now we Míkmaq have yet another important document: this book, which continues to fill the gap between the legacy of our elders' knowledge and that of our youth who follow in the learned footsteps of their ancestors. This book offers a new perspective—one that many non-Míkmaq will find difficult to imagine, particularly if they have an education that has bought into the “savage” image. While it describes a Míkmaq nation that was then as wholly real as it is today, it also reveals a time of knowing that connects the ancient traditions of the Holy Roman Empire to Míkmaq life.

A once unknown personage who was quietly returning with his wife to create a new environment for his children, Sákéj is legendary among Míkmaq for his many pursuits and battles for human dignity with Canadian governments and the United Nations, and for applying his knowledge to secure our rights, which, many had thought were lost to colonization. Sákéj's work helps our people to continue telling the story as they heard it and to pursue the right to



Nikanikinútasik

determine ourselves, our present and our future. Our own knowledge base, threatened by English-based colonial schooling, is still intact and as useful to us as it was to our ancestors. Our knowledge and experiences are integral to revitalizing and fully restoring our people as we develop our own post-colonial consciousness and institutions. As Kjíkeptin of Míkmaq Grand Council, I consider myself lucky to have had an opportunity to know him and, on behalf of the Míkmaq of the five eastern provinces I want to thank him for his tremendous efforts.

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NIKANIKINÚTMAQŃ¹

MARIE BATTISTE

2! From the beginning of knowing, the Aboriginal people² of Atlantic Canada, the Míkmaq,³ have existed as a distinct people, allied with yet separate from those who lived around us. Out of the sounds of the life-forces in the ecology, for example, the structure of Algonquian languages⁴ are centered on the process of being, or on the verbs rather than nouns.⁵ A cognitive recognition and acceptance of the interrelations of the shared space inform these languages, and thus creates a shared worldview, a cognitive solidarity and a tradition of responsible action.⁶ Knowledge of our past and present existence is enfolded in our oral traditions.

Kisúkwl

Let me begin the story where Míkmaq begin. On the other side of the Path of the Spirits, in ancient times, *Kisúkwl*, the Life Giver, originated the firstborn, *Niskam* (the Sun), who was brought across *sk-íékmujuawti* (the spirit path or Milky Way) to light the earth. *Kisúkwl* also sent across the sky a bolt of lightning that created *wsitqamúk* (the dry earth) and united the life-forces out of *wsitqamúk* to form the keeper of life known to the Míkmaq as *Kluskap*. Legends recount that this guardian spirit lay naked on *wsitqamúk*, his limbs pointing in the four directions. In time, *Kluskap* became a *kinap* and a *npuoin*, a powerful teacher whose gifts and allies were great.

In another bolt of lightning came the light of fire, and with fire came the animals, birds and plants. The other life-forms gradually gave *Kluskap* a human form. *Kluskap* rose from the earth and gave thanks to *Kisúkwl* by honouring the six directions: up (the sun), down (the earth), and east, south, west and north. *Kluskap* then honoured a seventh direction: inward, signifying the abilities that lie within the human form.

Kisúkwl told *Kluskap* how he should live. *Kisúkwl* sent *Nukumi*, *Kluskap*'s grandmother, to guide *Kluskap* in life. Empowered by *Niskam*, *Nukumi* had come forth from a stone as an elder whose knowledge and wisdom was enfolded in the Míkmaq language. *Nukumi* taught *Kluskap* to call upon *apistanéwj*, the marten, to speak to the guardian spirits for permission to consume other life-forms to nourish human existence. *Apistanéwj* returned to *Kluskap* with the spirits' permission and with songs and rituals for *Kluskap* to perform. *Kluskap* and his grandmother gave thanks to *Kisúkwl*, *Niskam*, *wsitqamúk* and the four directions, and then feasted.

As he made his way towards understanding how people should live, *Kluskap* met *Netawansum*, his nephew, whom *Kisúkwl* had made into human



form from the rolling foam of the ocean that swept upon the shores and clung to the sweet grass. Netawansum had the understanding of the life and strength of the underwater realms. He brought to Kluskap gifts from this realm and the ability to see for great distances. Kluskap and Nukumi again gave thanks and feasted on nuts from the trees.

Finally they met Kluskap's mother, *Nikanakanimqúsiwsq*,⁷ whose power lay in her ability to explain the cycles of life and foretell the future. She was born from a leaf on a tree, descended from the power and strength of Niskam, and made into human form by Kisúkwl to bring love and colour to the world. As part of the earth, she brought the strength and wisdom of the earth and knowledge of how to maintain harmony with the forces of nature.

Nukumi told Kluskap to honour and respect Nukumi's wisdom, the spiritual power of Netawansum and the strength and cycles of the earth revealed to them by *Nikanakanimqúsiwsq*. Honour and respect for all these things would provide a way to knowledge and spirituality and, in this way, the people would flourish.

KEKNÚTMUKSUTI⁸

Kluskap, Nukumi, Netawansum and *Nikanakanimqúsiwsq* lived together for a long time, but one day Kluskap told his mother and nephew that he and his grandmother were leaving them to go north. Leaving instructions with his mother, Kluskap told of the Great Council Fire (*Putuwasuwaqan*), that would send out seven sparks, each of which would land on the ground as a man. Another seven sparks would fly out in another direction, and out of these seven sparks would arise seven women. Together these men and women would form seven families. These seven families would disperse in seven directions and then divide again into seven different groups.⁹

The sparks from the fire created seven men and seven women as Kluskap had said. Like the lightning bolts that created earth and Kluskap, the life-giving sparks from the Great Council Fire contained many gifts, including the gift of procreation so that people could populate the earth. Like Kluskap, these first people awoke naked and lost. When Kluskap returned from his travels, they turned to him and asked him how they should live. As it was Kluskap who taught them their first lessons, he is often called the "one who is speaking to you" or the "teacher-creator." When Kluskap had to be away, *Nikanakanimqúsiwsq* or Netawansum taught the people in his place.

These lessons pointed succeeding generations of Míkmaq towards the path of knowledge. They learned how to live and communicate with other life-forms, how to manage their world, how to hunt and fish and respect what they caught, and how to take medicines from the earth. The constellations and the stars and the Milky Way gave light and direction in the darkest of nights. Prayers, sleep and dreams offered replenishment for the body and soul, and through dreams and visions the people found lessons and guidance. All that was wise and good



was theirs, together with a language to share their knowledge and thoughts with others so that they, too, might survive and flourish.

Finally, each new generation was made aware of the two worlds, which were separated by a cloudlike substance that would open and fall at intervals. When this happened, the strong and all believers would pass through to the other side unscathed, but the weak and unbelievers would be crushed.

Kjijaqamijinaq¹⁰

The Míkmaq are taught that the original sparks of life from the Great Council Fire gave all living things three parts: *ktinin* or body, a form that decays and disappears after death; *manitu*, the life-force or soul that travels after death to the lands of the souls; and *wtansaléuimka*, guardian spirits who aid living things on their earth walk. While the forms of people, animals and plants are all different, all *manitu* and guardian spirits are similar in kind but diverse in the nature of the forces they represent. No single human can possess all the forces within him- or herself, nor can people control the forces of other living beings or of the stars, sun, moon, wind, water and rocks. Yet, the Míkmaq belong to these forces; they are in awe of them and ask them for assistance.

Since all things have a common origin in the sparks of life, every life-form and every object has to be respected. Just as a person has a life-force, so does a plant, rock or animal. Therefore, the Míkmaq are taught that everything one sees, touches or is aware of must be given respect. This respect requires people to develop a special consciousness that discourages careless treatment of things. Thus, a person gathering roots, leaves or bark for medicinal purposes pleases the life-force of each plant by placing a small offering of tobacco at its base, believing that without the cooperation of the *manitu* the mere form of the plant cannot work its cures.

The Míkmaq are taught that the life-form decays but life-forces continue. Just as autumn turns into winter, which then transforms into spring, what was dead returns to life. The tree does not die; it grows up again where it falls. When a plant or animal is killed, its life-force goes into the ground with its blood. Later it comes back and is reincarnated from the ground. The spark awaits renewal and its life-force never dies.

Just as there are three parts to the spark of life—form, life-forces and guardian spirits—so are the Míkmaq aware of three parts of their life. These three parts are described as separate but interrelated concepts. The Míkmaq identify them as *wjijaqami*,¹¹ the life soul or seat of life; *mimajuaqn*, the shadow or external soul; and *wsk-tekmeu*, the free-soul or shadow of life.¹²

Each life-form begins with a potential for being, and the life soul is transformed at birth into an interdependent essence encoded in the form. As it develops, the life soul finds allies in the other forces and *manitu* around it. After the form dies, the life soul continues once again as a potential for being. The Míkmaq believe all people must be balanced: strong and weak, happy and angry,



physical and spiritual. Balanced consciousness creates the best possible human beings. It is through the alliances forged by the life soul that such balance is achieved.

ANKITÉKĪS¹³

At the beginning of the cycle of *Jenu* (the Ice Age) during a great famine, *Nákúset*, the spirit of the sun, came to an elder in a dream. The elder was approached by a young man carrying three crosses. He offered the old man the crosses, telling him that each cross had a role to play in the survival of the people and, if used properly, the people would benefit by them. One of the crosses would serve the people in times of conflict with nature and with others. Another would grant them safety on their long voyages and in new experiences. The last would serve them in the deliberations of councils and aid them in making decisions for future generations. When the elder awoke, he called the village council. The three crosses and their meaning were explained, and he drew the symbols of the vision. This knowledge was widely shared with other families and, as the instructions were followed, the famine lifted.

Under the vision of the three crosses, the people allied into a nation of cross-bearers and adjusted to the hardships of the cold *Jenu*. They survived the enormous environmental changes by traveling to the south and west of their territory. As they traveled to Central America, they were enriched in their knowledge, language and culture by their travels and their meeting with other peoples.

When the *Jenu* retreated, the cross-bearers returned to Atlantic Canada and New England by canoe, following the caribou herds as they moved north. They watched the earth, rivers and oceans respond to the force of melting water. They revitalized the tundra with the seeds they brought back with them and saw the barren land transform itself into forest. Harvesters of the land and sea, they became expert manufacturers of lances, spears, bows and arrows, birchbark canoes and fishing stations. Within their verb-based language and their language of symbols they enshrined this knowledge for their people.

Responding to the earth's cycle and adapting to their travels in seven directions, the people slowly grew into the seven groups, or families, of the Nation of Cross-bearers, and were identified by the wooden crosses on their canoes and wigwams, crosses of wampum on their breasts and clothes, and crosses on the wombs of their pregnant women. Led by *Kaqtukwaq* (many thunder) and his grandson *Kaqtukwow* (single thunder) they helped create a great Algonquian Confederacy, agreeing on shared hunting grounds and national territories from the Atlantic coast to the Great Lakes and on to the Rocky Mountains. Thus the seven families were dispersed in seven directions to become the People of the Dawn, the keepers of the eastern door or *Wapnáqkik*.¹⁴ The People of the Dawn then divided again into seven different groups, forming the fourteen Aboriginal nations of the Great Convention Council (Leavitt and



Francis 1990).

The Great Convention Council was the result of transnational treaties and *Inapskúk* (wampum laws) between the *Nikmanaq*¹⁵ and neighbouring Aboriginal people.¹⁶ Wampum belts represented the terms of peace with the Iroquois Confederacy, the Wabanaki Confederacy and the Anishinabe Confederacy of the Great Lakes, and were presented to men who had killed their first moose to instruct them in their duties and obligations as Míkmaq and to the Great Convention Council. All spaces within Mík máki have ancient names in the Míkmaq language that bear witness to their continuous use. Every part of this territory was sacred to the allied people. Every tree, every shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing was holy in their memory and experience, recalling not only their lives but also the lives of their ancestors. Wherever the Míkmaq language was spoken was *ws-íqamúk*. To maintain peace among the allied people within their national boundaries, the Holy Gathering of Míkmaq (*Santé Mawiómi wjit Míkmaq*) was organized. The people in this gathering became known as the allied people (*Míkmaq*) who lived in the land of friendships (*Mík máki*).

Within Mík máki, internal peace was maintained by dividing the national territory into seven *sakamowit* (hunting districts), each with a *sakamow* or “chief,” and by acknowledging family rights to certain hunting grounds and fishing waters. The size of these divisions depended on the size of the families and on the abundance of game and fish. The Míkmaq were neither settled nor migratory. The environment of their birth has always been best suited to seasonal use, so that, compatible with the rhythm of the earth, a family was responsible for a hunting ground, a fishing river or waters and a planting home, and traveled to other resources through the year. These families formed several small gatherings or councils that came together in the form of the Mawiómi. The Mawiómi recognized one or more leaders (*alsusultitkík*) to show the people the good path, to help them with gifts of knowledge and goods and to sit with the whole Mawiómi as the government of all the Míkmaq. These leaders were called the holy people (*aniapsultitkík*). These, in turn, recognized a *kjisaqamaw* (great chief) to speak for them, and spiritual leaders to guide them. From others of good spirit the holy people chose *putús* (treaty advisers, speakers and story keepers) and the leader of the *smáknis* (warriors).

From time immemorial, the Mawiómi have assembled each midsummer at *Potlótek*—the place the missionaries called Holy Family Island and the English now call Chapel Island—on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia. According to tradition, at every meeting the *alsusultitkík* and Mawiómi ensured that each family had sufficient planting grounds for summer, fishing stations for spring and autumn and hunting range for winter. Once assigned and managed for seven generations, these properties were inviolable. Any disputes were arbitrated by the keptin individually or in council. At the present-day meeting the *mawiómi* reunite the people, ratify births and deaths and share in prayer and thanksgiving.



At this time, the mawiómi also meet to consider laws and policy, to address the people and to remember the wampum laws or symbolic records of their alliances and treaties.

Both the Great Convention Council and the mawiómi continue to maintain peace and continuity by sharing the history and experiences of the kinship confederacy, *akutijik*.¹⁷ The past was shared through the ceremonies and stories of ancient times, *átuwaqn*, and through the wampum laws, *wapapi tplutaquanl*. Today the Míkmaq continue to honour and receive strength from the seven directions and the seven entities in their gatherings at the Great Council Fire, Putuwasuwaqan, a representation of the original fire of Life Giver or Creator. The fire symbolizes the power of the sun, the earth and the lightning that hit the earth and caused the creation of Kluskap. In honour of Nukumi's arrival, the rocks from which she came are heated and water is poured over them in the sweat lodge. In this ceremony, the Míkmaq give thanks for her arrival and for the rebirth of all nations. The burning of sweet grass honours Netawansum's arrival, and the people give thanks to the four directions, and above them, and on the ground, and in their hearts and souls. In honour of Nikanakanimqúsíwsq's arrival, tree bark, leaves and stems are placed in the carved stones of Nukumi, and the Míkmaq smoke the *tamaqn* or "pipe." In these ceremonies and rituals lie the path to knowledge and the wisdom of the spirits of the ancestors.

Each person, whether male or female, elder or youth, has a unique gift or spark and a place in Míkmaq society. Each person has a complementary role and function that enables the allied families to flourish in solidarity. In every generation, each person must find his or her gifts, and each person also needs the cumulative knowledge and wisdom of the community to survive successfully in a changing environment.

KisikinÁMASIEWEY¹⁸

The lessons given by Kisúkwl are passed to each succeeding generation through the gift of the Míkmaq language and its symbols. Among every generation, a few are granted the gift of big hearts and are instructed in how to follow the good road. Their special gift permits them to communicate with the shadow souls of the forest, the streams, the meadows and the oceans. Their special responsibility is to provide for the community by hunting, fishing or teaching others. Traditionally, these few typically became the leaders (alsusultikíkw) of families and clans. Other gifts to the people included the ability to manipulate the world for good and bad, to envision the future, to heal the sick and to bring laughter to others. These gifts guarded the values of the people in a changing world.

Not all was known, however, about the deeper meanings of the prophecy of the crosses. Events across the Great Sea were to bring new understandings of the old man's vision. A Míkmaq woman dreamed of a small island floating toward the land of ws-íqamúk. At first glance, the island appeared to be inhabited by people or animals wearing white rabbit skins; then it became an



island of bare trees with black bears on its branches. The woman told her dream to the elders and vision people of the village, but the strange features of the dream could not be understood.¹⁹ The dreamer and the dream had startling roles to play in the future—roles indiscernible at the time. As events unfolded, the meaning of these prophecies were understood.

NOTES

1. Translated as “used to teach first.”
2. Originally they were called *I'núk*. See Schmidt and Marshall (1995:75), *Míkmaq Hieroglyphic Prayers: Reading in North America's First Indigenous Script*.
3. There are many different spellings for Míkmaq. This book uses the Doug Smith-Bernie Francis system, which is the official phonemic orthography of the Santé Mawiómi (Grand Council) of the Míkmaq. It is different from the English orthography, as it is comprised of a, á, e, é, i, í, -i j, k, l, m, n, o, ó, p, q, s, t, u, ú, w, y. See Battiste 1983:162. Míkmaq is plural and Míkmaq̃ is singular. Its derivation is uncertain; it meant either “our kin,” “allied people” or “people of the red earth,” depending on how it was pronounced. Some of the other spelling variations are Micmacs, Mickmakis, Migemaq, Mic Mac, Mikmakiques, Migmagi, Micque Macque. In colonial literature they were also labeled as Abenakis, Eastern Indians, Tarrantines, Acadians, Gaspesians, Toudamand, Cape Sable Indians and Souriquois. The hieroglyphic script also uses *I'nui* for Míkmaq (Schmidt and Marshall 1995:62).
4. The Algonquian language family is spoken along the Atlantic coast and across North America to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and from Labrador south to North Carolina and Tennessee. This group of more than fifty Aboriginal nations, which completely surround the linguistic islands of the Iroquoian and Lakota confederacies in North America, speak this language. The word “Algonquian” is said to be derived from the French understanding of the sounds that referred to the distinct rock formation around the Great Lakes where the ancient ideographic script or rock drawing (petroglyphs) were carved. The Champlain explorers mistook the sound for the name of the First Nations of the place—Algonnequins. See Biggar 1922–36(1):105ff. It is often spelled Algonkin or Algonkian. Later anthropologists used the word for the common language group. Some assert that the word is derived from the Míkmaq term *alkumi*, meaning “people who stand in the canoe and spear fish in the water,” or from related words, *állegonkin* (the dancers) or *el legom'kwín* (friends, allies). See Hessel 1987:11–14. This linguistic problem is a typical chicken and egg dilemma. In addition to the Míkmaq language, there are the languages of the Wabanaki (Abenaki), Maliseet, Montagnais-Innu, Naskapi, Odawa, Algonkians, Ojibwa, Saulteaux, Cree, Blackfoot, Blood and Peigan, to mention a few. See Dickason 1992:63–67.
5. This is a distinct process from the noun-object orientation of English. Many noun-ideas in English are expressed in Míkmaq as verbs. English nouns can be created from Míkmaq verbs. See Battiste 1983; Fidelholtz 1973:2595A; Henderson 1995a.
6. See Henderson 1996:1–31.
7. Translated as “first cave dwelling female.”
8. Translated as “learnings.”



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9. This story is taken from ancient teachings of our elders. Special thanks to Keptin Stephen Augustine, Big Cove, N.B., for compiling the ancient story in his *Introductory Guide to MicMac Words and Phrases* (1991) and his many conversations on this topic.
10. Translated as “our souls.”
11. *Wji* represents personal, *jaqa* represents reflected or mirror image, and *mi* represents alive, animate force.
12. Through the concept of *kjijaqamijinaq*, Catholic priests united these three parts of the aboriginal version of the Míkmaq soul in the hieroglyphic prayers concept. They also transformed *mntu* into *manitu*, the symbol for the devil.
13. Translated as “unfolding visions.”
14. Wabanaki (*waponahkik*) refers to the Algonquin sound describing “the space of the dawn,” “land of dawn” or “the east.” The Wabanaki Confederacy is addressed as *Waponahkiyik*; Penobscot are *Panwapskewiyik*; Passamaquoddy are *Peskotomuhkatiyik*; Malecites are *Wolastoqiyik*; and Míkmaq were *Mihkomak*. Wabanaki was only one of many great confederacies of America.
15. “*Ricamanen*” was used by the missionary Biard (1856–96:91). It is a misunderstanding. Father Massé corrected the word to “*Nicmanen*” (Nietfeld 1981:468, fn. 17). *Nikmanen* is one person, the proper word is *Nikmanaq*, which means “the extended allied people” or, as used by modern Míkmaq, “a reunion of friends and relatives” (Campeau 1967 (1):489, fn. 7). It is represented in the Míkmaq hieroglyphic prayers as *nikmaq* or “my friends” (Schmidt and Marshall 1995:42) and *nikmaninaq* or “our friends” (Schmidt and Marshall 1995:105).
16. In the *Wapapi Akonutomukonol* (Leavitt and Francis 1990), *uhkomiks* is their name for “a related group,” *kehsuhkomiksit* means “many related groups or tribes.” *Sakamo* means “a chief,” *sakamoak i* means “chiefs,” and *kcisakomak* means “great chiefs.” *Skicinu* means “the Indians”; *skicin* means “an Indian.”
17. The Wabanaki concept for joining one another in a confederacy is *tolakutiniya* (literally, “they be related by kinship ‘one other they were’”). The Passamaquoddy, Malecite and Míkmaq called it the *Putusosuwakon* or the Convention Council or *kcimawe putuwosuwakon*, that is “a great joint council meeting” (*kjilatlutwagn* in Míkmaq). To meet in council is *Putuwosin*; when everybody meets in council it is *Putuwosiniya*, and the councilors were addressed as *putuwosuwinum*. In a council meeting, the alliance was addressed as *kcilakutuwakon* or “great kinship or confederacy.” However, the Penobscot as speakers for the Wabanakis often used the terms *Peskuwok* (those united into one) or *Kisakutuwok* (they are completely united or already related). The confederacy laws were called *tpaskuwakonol* or “standards.” All these laws had to be made in wampum; they would be read annually or whenever asked what had happened on that occasion (*Msiw yuhtol tpaskuwakonol cuwi lihtasuwol wapapik wecihc kisokitasik tan tehpu eli kinuwi tpiyak*). See Leavitt and Francis 1990:51–61. Among the Míkmaq, this concept was *wipskwaqanl* meaning those hosting the meeting are the holders of the processes and standards.
18. Translated as “able to teach themselves.”
19. Many versions of this story have been printed. See Rand 1894:225; Ray 1996:38.

