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**FROM THE ST. CROIX TO THE SKUTIK: EXPANDING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF
HISTORY, RESEARCH ENGAGEMENT, AND PLACES**

By

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M.A. University of Maine, 2012

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(in Ecology and Environmental Sciences)

The Graduate School

University of Maine

May 2020

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By Anthony Sutton

Dissertation Advisor: Dr. John Daigle

An Abstract of the Dissertation Presented
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Ecology and Environmental Sciences
May 2020

Situated in Maine rivers, I engage sites of memory present in places related to natural resources and research engagement. To address this, first I articulate an archeological analysis of Colonial American and early Maine history to describe land-based practices that shaped river ecology and interactions with Wabanaki people. This historical tension arises as the success of the timber industry required dams to transport lumber, blocking paths for migrating fish and restricting Wabanaki sustenance practices. Similarly, the process of resource extraction has continued in other forms placing Wabanaki people and First Nations more broadly, as the subjects of research through studying their languages and learning their stories without providing reciprocity to these communities. Next, I build from environmental communication, participatory critical rhetoric, and indigenous methods to describe how researchers can create more ethical pathways for collaborative processes through orienting to history from Wabanaki perspectives and shaping research methods to accommodate the community's vision for progress. I provide examples of what this looks like through a partnership with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department where research goals, methods, and analysis were guided through community

feedback. This ultimately created a process where communities can retain control of their knowledge, which has implications for alleviating historical tensions that have not favored participation or reciprocity with the Wabanaki. I finish with two theoretical chapters that recognize how Wabanaki knowledge has been restricted on the St. Croix. By reintegrating the knowledge of Wabanaki thinkers and fishers back to the river, I draw out how values related to balance guide interactions, such as fishing practices, on the river and how this supports stronger ecological systems and fishing identities for Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki communities. Through this discussion, I extend an idea into a final reflective chapter to understand how key places in Maine support diverse ecologies that organize people, practices, and communities in unique ways.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my friend, partner, and loving spouse, Crystal Sutton. You supported my dream and without you, this would not be possible. Koselomal. To my son Dawson, thank you for all your reminders to smile, laugh, and explore the world.

To the Wabanaki leaders that left their teachings for me, Ssipsis, Tuffy Mitchell, and David Francis. Thank you for sharing your stories so that future generations could learn our values and knowledge of this place. I intend to honor these teachings by supporting Wabanaki visions for the future.

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Additionally, I want to thank each of my committee members and their contributions to my success. First to Dr. McGreavy, my friend, mentor, and colleague who enriched my graduate training through developing my ideas within her courses and creating opportunities for me to explore them. To Dr. Stormer whose comments always push my thinking and writing to higher standards. To Dr. Tu, for making extra time to support my learning within class and as a committee member, your key questions to methods and broader implications to my work. Lastly, Dr. Lindenfeld you inspired the confidence for me to apply and for providing a pathway for my success.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“You meet a lot of people, you know, highly educated. But they don't know the language.”

- Siqonomeq

As I listened to this elder speak, this quote resonated with me in many ways. As a Wabanaki person, I could not help but feel that his statement was directed at me as I approach the highest pinnacles of our education system and yet do not know my own language. It is statements like this that guide my research as this quote continues to acknowledge the need in the community for people to learn the language, especially as our speakers begin to pass away. Additionally, following the needs of a community requires changes in your thinking, social practices, and physical interactions. For instance, we are Passamaquoddy, which is the more English version of Peskotomuhkati (besk-o-do-muh-gati). I provided the phonetics to illustrate my point, as you attempt to read it, you have to reorient to different sounds as the letter “p” sounds like “b” as well as the body has to retrain itself to make new sound combinations. I could not make the language my dissertation, but I did make the effort to learn the language for personal reasons. I also found that learning the language expanded my understanding of places in Maine, such as the area around Stockton Springs is known as Essick. Stockton Springs as a name does not translate into usable knowledge of the place, although westerners have a history of that place. In Passamaquoddy, Essick translates to clam place, reminding people traveling along the waterways where they can find food. Consequently, my dissertation utilizes Passamaquoddy phrases as I return the language back to my identity, as well as in places to expand our understanding of human and ecological connections.

Returning to the first quote by Siqonomeq represents another way I am using the language. The exigence behind this dissertation came from the ongoing efforts by the

Passamaquoddy Environmental Department (PED) to restore fisheries within the St. Croix River and the Passamaquoddy Bay, which in the 1960s was described as being full of herring, alewives, pollock, codfish, haddock, flounder, and salmon. In this dissertation, I use the Passamaquoddy words of these species as pseudonyms for interviewees. Translated, these names become Siqonomeq, Peskotom, Nuhkomeq, Cilonikon, Aneqehs, and Taqanan. To clarify, my intent is not to indigenize their names, but rather my intention is to integrate the language back into the dialogue around fisheries in the Passamaquoddy Bay. Prior to moving on, here is a list of other words I reference in this dissertation.

- K'chi-punamaquot: is near Pembroke, "big frostfish spawning place."
- Skutik: Is the name Passamaquoddy have for the St. Croix River.
- Siqonomeqi-kisuhs: Alewife moon.
- Nolomiw: Upriver.
- Tali-pisewolaniya melopaksikuk: or put them (fish) in the mailboxes.

Many of these phrases have connections to culture and knowledge of specific places in Maine. Such as k'chi-punamaquot, denotes specific locations of winter cod (frostfish) and the timing of their presence (through seasonal spawning). This example becomes representative of the ways of living embodied by the Wabanaki as a relationship to places, particularly along waterways, and the rich cultural knowledge of these locations. As my brother in-law taught me, the Penobscot language similarly has many relationships and knowledge associated with specific locations on the Penobscot river, such as navigational knowledge for those traveling by canoe, letting us know what tributaries to go down and which to avoid. Thus, Wabanaki languages and ways of living also contain knowledge that organizes practices, places, and social rhythms.

This dissertation recognizes that collaborative work with indigenous people also navigates two systems of knowledge: knowledge of first inhabitants and later, Westerners. I use Westerners as people of European descent that became early Americans and citizens of Maine. More specifically, I use this term to denote that Americans or Mainers, have their own orientation to knowledge, values, and what ways of living are desirable, such as logging in early Maine. Western values and ideals also shape structures like research, which position themselves as validating what counts as knowledge or not (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). In addition to research sites, I also see places, like rivers, as articulating the tensions where claims to knowledge are disputed. Consequently, I approach research methods as creating a shared space between participants and myself to empower knowledge and vision for communities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). One way my dissertation creates a shared space is through ethnographic fieldwork, where I can learn how research can serve the needs of a community.

My research uses an ethnographic approach, combining participant observations and interviews to develop resources used throughout this dissertation. I build from critical approaches to ethnographic methods because of their interest in the political, social, and cultural influences that shape human experience (Conquergood, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Madison, 2005). In Maine, I see this transpiring on waterways as Western economic practices have shaped water quality and drastically reduced fish populations, all impacting Wabanaki sustenance patterns. Additionally, my approach to participant observation recognizes how being present in places can reveal tensions in communities that arise from political, social, and cultural influences (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011; McHendry, Middleton, & Endres, 2014, Middleton et al., 2015; Middleton, Senda-Cook, & Endres, 2011). In my dissertation, I focus on building presence through developing relationships by attending community events, meetings, phone calls, and

even emails to learn what topics are of concern or importance for communities. The topic that arose (exigence) for this dissertation centers on the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department's (PED) focus on restoring fisheries on the St. Croix River.

When I heard the PED were doing a project building fish weirs, it immediately grabbed my attention. Like the Passamaquoddy language, I had no preexisting knowledge of the subject so I would need to reorient to the specific knowledge required to engage in this collaboration. Within this work, the PED uses sustenance as a term to describe Wabanaki values in relation to cultural, social, and ecological practices that sustain identity. Rather than discuss how different cultures define this term, I focus on how this term is articulated through practices, whether its conservation related or harvesting fish for consumption, like using a weir. A weir is a form of trap fishing that exists near the shore.

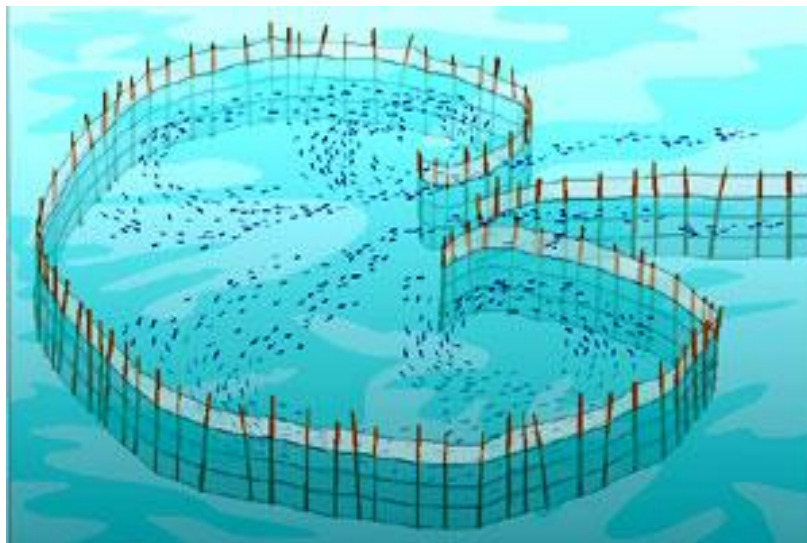


Figure 1: Fish Weir Illustration

Beginning on the right side of the image, that is the wing. The wing extends from the shoreline as a series of wooden posts driven into the ground and woven with brush or nets that functions as a wall. Water can pass through, but fish swim through this structure if done correctly. Since fish

cannot swim to shore, they swim along the wing towards the trap, which is a large circular shape constructed the similar to the wing, with one opening along the wing to allow the fish to travel inside. Like a lobster trap, once they swim inside, they typically do not get back out. To be clear, this dissertation is not about fish weirs, but the practice does come up through fieldwork and engagement, which I wanted to clarify from the outset. The fish weir project served as a small goal in the larger vision of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department.

This vision focuses on restoring fisheries to the St. Croix River watershed, which includes the Passamaquoddy Bay. The idea behind the weir was that they would be able to use this project to gather scientific data about species returning, while using a fishing practice consistent with Passamaquoddy culture. The PED's project to build a weir ultimately did not go forward and out of respect, I will not share those details. Although, a separate family did implement a weir in another location. While the weir project was still ongoing, I listened and learned about the goals and values of the project, like the interaction with Siqonomeq, to understand how my methods as a qualitative researcher could support their vision. This transpired in a series of interviews with Passamaquoddy fishers where research partners defined the goals of the interviews, which centered on learning fisheries knowledge, presence/absence of fish on the St. Croix, and knowledge of weirs. While completing these interviews, it became an honor to listen to the rich stories that these fishers shared with me as they provided detailed accounts of their experience on the St. Croix River and Passamaquoddy Bay. I am reminded of the Penobscot language and how words indicate which tributaries to go down and which to avoid. With the wealth of information flowing through their narratives, I made similar choices of what to talk about and what to avoid in this dissertation.

As a commitment to my community, I remain focused on rivers and fish as it remains consistent with the narrative of their vision with the work on the St. Croix River. The stories shared with me had content that could support many topics such as food security, post-colonialism, or discussions of power. Reading through my chapters, readers can make these connections certainly, but it is not my attention to provide that form of critique. Being a qualitative research, I recognize I am also in the position of representation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Thus, I focus on fish and waterways to be consistent with the community. Specifically, this centers on how practices have shaped waterways over time, impacting the ecology of waterways and the ways of living for some groups and restricting others. Practices around rivers, mainly economics, have not favored Wabanaki ways of living (Bennett, 2017; Pawling, 2016; Schmitt, 2016). While going down this path, one critique that does become clear within this focus is the role of outside institutions with engaging First Nations communities. With that, this shifts the critical attention away from communities and towards my role and responsibility as a researcher representing an outside institution.

Building from a discussion by Penobscot Darren Ranco (2019), he indicated that research processes have long positioned Wabanaki people as the subjects of research, rather than the decision-makers. In this relationship, Wabanaki people are not the holders of knowledge, rather, the subject of Western knowledge production. I see as an example of Latour's (2004) argument about the pursuit of accurate statements has narrowed our view of the world. Within this relationship, Wabanaki knowledge of the world has a difficult time creating space within writing or participatory processes. Thus, I integrate Wabanaki perspectives, values, and knowledge into my dissertation to expand our knowledge of history, relationships, and places in Maine. I

extended this idea into my IRB application as I generated research questions that reflected both my approach to engagement and the research interests of community partners.

- RQ1: What material conditions (human and nonhuman) shape this food system?
- RQ2: How can understanding and experiencing these conditions create resources to be used to support stakeholder-driven projects?
- RQ3: How can research support community efforts to restore connections to food?
- RQ4: What are the needs for information and collaborative capacity that could support the Passamaquoddy?
- RQ5: How is knowledge of fisheries and food embodied and place-based? How do these descriptions change in based on historical trends and to present times?

These research questions are attended to in different ways throughout this dissertation.

Beginning with RQ1, my second chapter completed a historical analysis to understand how Western values and knowledge shape both land-based practices and the ecology of waterways in Maine. This begins to address RQ2 as practices, such as dams, create the conditions that shape waterways today, like blocking fish passage and restricting Wabanaki sustenance. They additionally shape collaboration as the development of waterways has not occurred with Wabanaki participation. As such, chapter three addresses RQ3 by outlining a methodological approach to community engagement and data analysis to support the Passamaquoddy's river restoration efforts. Additionally, I address RQ4 by describing a co-created interview process where stakeholders decided the goals and focus of data analysis so research could ultimately support their restoration efforts, while giving them control over their knowledge. Lastly, I work through RQ5 in chapter four as a theoretical discussion that utilizes the St. Croix River to guide my inquiry to understand experiences, past and present, of fishers within this watershed. Next, I

provide an overview of how each chapter addresses the nuances of these research questions within this dissertation.

The second chapter outlines the material conditions related to food by thinking through values and practices related to land and waterways throughout colonial and early American history. Pawling (2016) describes how Wabanaki maintained a mobile lifestyle, traveling throughout a river system, like the Penobscot, meaning land was unoccupied depending on the time of year. In contrast, early Europeans saw the occupation of land as being defined through permanent structures and a fixed sense of living. These differences of values fueled disputes between groups and, upon the creation of America, also shaped the practices that could exist on the land. Here I begin to focus more on waterways and how regulations were placed to favor economic industries, such as timber, of non-Wabanaki groups. Further, the damming of rivers needed to move logs throughout Maine restricted travel for groups that require movement for sustenance and restricted the movement of fish species in this area. This also is why I focus on ways of living, as Wabanaki, non-Wabanki, and fish are shaped through the values and practices implemented on our waterways. Thus, damming a stream to move logs is creating ways of living for the timber industry, while restricting access to these places for fish and Wabanaki people. This makes rivers a site where western knowledge has restricted other ways of knowing and living, and consequently, extra attention is needed to articulate these other voices and narratives within these places.

In the third chapter, I outline a methods chapter through a concept of presence to develop the collaborative capacity for research to support community-driven projects. As suggested in the quote beginning this introduction, my methods are shaped through listening to community partners. Wabanaki have long had systems of government, even prior to Europeans, which were

described as spending prolonged periods of time listening (Bryant, 2014). Presence attends to this by spending time building relationships and learning about the projects a community is currently engaging upon to advance the visions for their way of living. Conversations about how our young people don't know the language can provide the exigency for research to transpire. From those points of inquiry, I describe how community partners and researchers can work together to co-create a research process to collect and analyze information relevant to communities. I provide experiences working with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department to illustrate how I have utilized presence within my dissertation and what forms of data resulted from this process. In addition to providing communities with outputs more directed towards their visions, these moves also have larger implications for outside institutions engaging with communities. Research processes are described as sites where inequality can exist between individuals and groups (Druschke & McGreavy, 2016; McKerrow, 1989). I observe these forms of inequality as being the basis for how waterways have been shaped in Maine as they have lacked Wabanaki knowledge and participation. Thus, I see presence as understanding how methods of engagement can work against these histories lacking participation, like on our waterways, to create research outputs that amplify community voices and knowledge within collaborative processes. While this chapter focuses on integrating knowledge and perspectives, the next focuses on bringing values into our conversations about rivers.

Chapter four illustrates how historical practices on the St. Croix River extend some systems of knowledge while restricting others. For instance, the mill industry utilized dams on St. Croix to move lumber, which also created barriers that inhibited fish passage (Flagg, 2007; Forkey, 1993). Downstream, the Passamaquoddy are working to increase fish passage (ex: opening dams) to allow alewives to return to the watershed in order to support other ways of

living. As Cilonikon clarifies, “So, yeah, the tribe is trying to bring everything back as much as we can when it comes to sea-run fish (alewives), because of the keystone species connection and how it affects all other life.” In this explanation, ways of living are represented through both communities and wildlife living along the river. This chapter focuses on following alewives swimming down the St. Croix River to describe how their presence (or absence) shapes ways of living along the river. Within this, I integrate Wabanaki and Western thinkers considering the interconnections between human and ecological systems to examine places along the river that provide insight into how practices shift balance to favor one group or another. While my focus largely provides implications of fish for sustenance for Wabanaki, the presence of strong fisheries has potential to transform communities more broadly in Maine. Abundant fisheries not only support the economics of local fishers but become local sources of food and important community connections as people share fish with one another. Thus, the PED’s values of respecting the balance of human and ecological systems through restoring vibrant populations of alewives can expand our understanding of practices within this place, while supporting communities in Maine that get their way of living from fish.

I complete my dissertation with a reflective chapter thinking through my experiences with a concept of Indian Paths. During my dissertation, I had many experiences at different places, such as picking fiddleheads on the Kenduskeag stream to archeological fieldwork in Southern Maine that all contributed to my understanding of the relationships to knowledge and place. Though many of these experiences took place in drastically different environments, I oriented to each place by engaging in a practice relevant to that place. Picking fiddleheads allowed me to learn about knowledge specific to the locations this species grows along rivers. In contrast, walking the mudflats in Southern Maine, I learned what stories the intertidal zone could

teach me about my ancestors in this place. Both have implications for fieldwork with Wabanaki or fisheries more broadly, as they allow researchers to interact with forms of knowledge relevant to specific places. The most notable example for my dissertation resulted from my first interview with a fisher in Downeast Maine who described the relationship between the knowledge of weir fishing and the geography of the coast. While drawing a picture of the coastline, he explained how the geography would produce eddies or circular currents of water where fish school up. Through this illustration, he then explained how a fisher would need to position their weir in relationship to these places if they wanted to be successful. Thus, the cultural knowledge associated with weirs draws from rich individual experiences that recognize the relationship that species have with these unique places along our coastline, creating an assemblage of human-ecological systems.

Prior to transitioning into the next chapter, I also want to clarify some stylistic choices that have influenced the composition of this dissertation. Like the beginning of this section, I began with a quote as a metaphor for my approach to research. Throughout the dissertation, I integrate this same style to guide my thinking. In many cases, I think through Wabanaki thinkers or examples relevant to the section. Latour's (2004) notion of articulation has certainly motivated this as I seek to expand our understanding of ideas and our consideration of what constitutes scholarly knowledge. As I previously explained, Wabanaki knowledge has not been given equal value historically. As such, I integrate Wabanaki thinkers throughout my writing as a way to respond Zoe Todd's (2016) call to bring indigenous thinkers back to the forefront of ecological discussions. I attempted to illustrate this with the example of encouraging readers to interact with Peskotomuhkati, as it requires a similar move to expand our understanding of sounds and meanings of words. I work through other examples of this throughout my dissertation, which

also shapes the style of writing that I engage upon, using personal examples or drawing from those such as David Francis or Ssipsis, as Wabanaki thinkers to add further articulation through each section. This adds richness to my writing through illustrating how Wabanaki knowledge and values becomes articulated through many sources available to us, they just need space to speak so we can listen.

CHAPTER 2

WAYS OF LIVING: VALUES AND PRACTICES SHAPING THE LAND

Before there were “Indians” and settlers in the area that is now known as Maine, there were Skicinuwok. Skicinuwok is the Passamaquoddy word that refers closely to surface dwellers and the English equivalent would be simply, people. In this chapter, I intend to map out the historical interactions of Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki in two time periods, Colonial America and creation of Maine. My analysis draws out how interactions during these time periods shape relationships to the land, resource use, and dynamics between groups of Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki people. Returning to the Skicinuwok, it is important to recognize that this story begins far beyond traditional academic sources as these surface dwellers or people, maintain knowledges, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs connecting their identity as Skicinuwok to the places they reside. Tracing this history, I specifically draw out issues related to competing values, knowledge, and ways of living that developed in the past and continues within current interactions between the State of Maine and the Wabanaki.¹ To understand this, we must start before there were “Indians.”

Precontact:

“We have to do what the land tells us to do.” – David Francis²

Beginning after the ice age, historical accounts describe a wide range and diversity of species from inland to coastal locations. There were moose, elk, caribou, and many other species

¹ The First Nations of Maine are the Aroostook Band of Micmac, Houlton Band of Maliseet, Passamaquoddy Indian Township, Passamaquoddy Sipayik, and Penobscot Nation.

² This quote describes the relationship between Wabanaki people, place, and food (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 63)

living in densely wooded forests, and along the coast other species flourished, such as porpoise, salmon, shellfish, and a range of groundfish like pollock and cod (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). The climate, season, and diverse geography from mountains in the west to rocky coastline to the east, created(s) many unique places these species flourish(ed). Skicinuwok often named these places to describe the location and knowledge of where to find food. K'chi-punahmaquot is near Pembroke, "big frostfish spawning place" and Stockton Springs is Essick or "clam place" (Wickman, 2015). My dissertation focuses on Alewives or fish more broadly along the St. Croix River and connecting to the Passamaquoddy Bay. The geography of this place provides ocean circulation and tides that create excellent habitat for species low on the food chain, like herring, that attract many other species of fish and wildlife to this unique place (Lotze & Milewski, 2004). The abundance and diversity of species like the iconic moose inland to the range of fish and shellfish on the coast makes these places critical for sustenance practices that shape and guide Wabanaki culture over time and today.

In this chapter, I describe food as sustenance to acknowledge the interconnections food has with daily practices, where people lived, the development of culture, and spirituality. The focus on food brings forward many values past and present that allow readers to understand how sustenance organizes people's daily lives in relation to ecological rhythms (Francis & Schaumann, 2016; Kimmerer, 2013). The Passamaquoddy recognize(d) a 13-month calendar that demonstrates that movement and practices change with the seasons and the wildlife available (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). For instance, the presence of snow during wintertime required people to travel by snowshoe and their hunting patterns followed animals, like moose inland or down to the coast where the tides would free the land temporarily from snow to find clams (Wickman, 2015). Each person had a role in the resources and knowledge around these

traditions, which were highly developed and created a common bond to complete tasks (Harper & Ranco, 2009; David & Reid, 1999; Morrison, 1998). All ages were incorporated into processes of cultural traditions, like hunting, even youth can watch their siblings and help with harvesting while elders teach harvesting practices and ceremonies associated with them (Hoover 2013; Whyte, 2013). As such, practicing sustenance by fishing or spiritual practices by gathering sweetgrass, are examples of making culture and identity in the moment as information flows through networks of places, species, and people (Harper & Ranco, 2009; Hoover, 2013). This intimate relationship between culture and sustenance also articulates values that guide interactions with food, ensure that the flow of species and information continues through these networks and waterways.

A prominent value my dissertation articulates is connectivity, demonstrating the interconnections and/or intrarelationships between humans, non-humans, and places. Late Passamaquoddy elder David Francis embodies this definition while describing food as, “We followed nature and the seasons, never taking too much, so more would grow” (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 56). First, “we followed” describes a sense of movement associated with Wabanaki concepts of home. Pawling (2016) discusses the Wabanaki concept of home as being expressed through mobility or movement between places to obtain resources, such as food. Places became central to daily life as family names, such as the Bear Clan, were etched symbols on trees to denote places family units hunted³ (Eckstorm, 1980; Pawling, 2016). Notions of family and social fabric can be articulated through moose hunting. In addition to consuming all parts of the animal, such as hides for clothing, moose meat was/is shared between family groups

³ This does not suggest property rights as Wabanaki saw land as more communal.

to provide a sense of “food security⁴,” articulating the social fabric of sustenance, as well as the networks that connected family groups across places (Wickman, 2015). Through exploring the interconnections between species and people, it shows a sense of balance in relation to resource use, “so more would grow,” as well as a balance in caring for the well-being of families in the greater community. Humans, non-humans, and places become linked in this example through a greater sense of reciprocity existing between groups of people and the places they derive sustenance from.

The Wabanaki relationship to places and sustenance occurred over thousands of years shaping our identity, both past and present, to the land. Land has provided indigenous people with the basis for existence, spirituality, and social interactions. Kaliss (1971) talks about Wabanaki living in an alien world which, “. . . all too often has tried to take from him everything he possesses including that identity” (para. 1). Moving forward in this chapter, I view colonial history and the creation of Maine from the standpoint of groups that have contrasting conceptual and value systems regarding land and resources, as well as the resulting dynamics between groups. As evident in this section, relationships to land and resources existed prior to contact, creating rich and vibrant cultures that considered the longevity of landscapes and species. These cultures and relationships build from social and environmental movement (Bennett, 2017, Pawling, 2016). As Morrison (1998) states, “Seasonal environmental-use patterns of population regroupings and movements undoubtedly set the Wabanaki social rhythm” (p. 219). I observe historical patterns in the subsequent sections as disrupting these social rhythms over time. In

⁴ Western food security is typically from a family perspective, this context denotes more of a communal support.

Colonial America, knowledge over defining land, property, and how people can live on the land created tensions that have impacted the relationships between Wabanaki and Western groups.

Colonial America

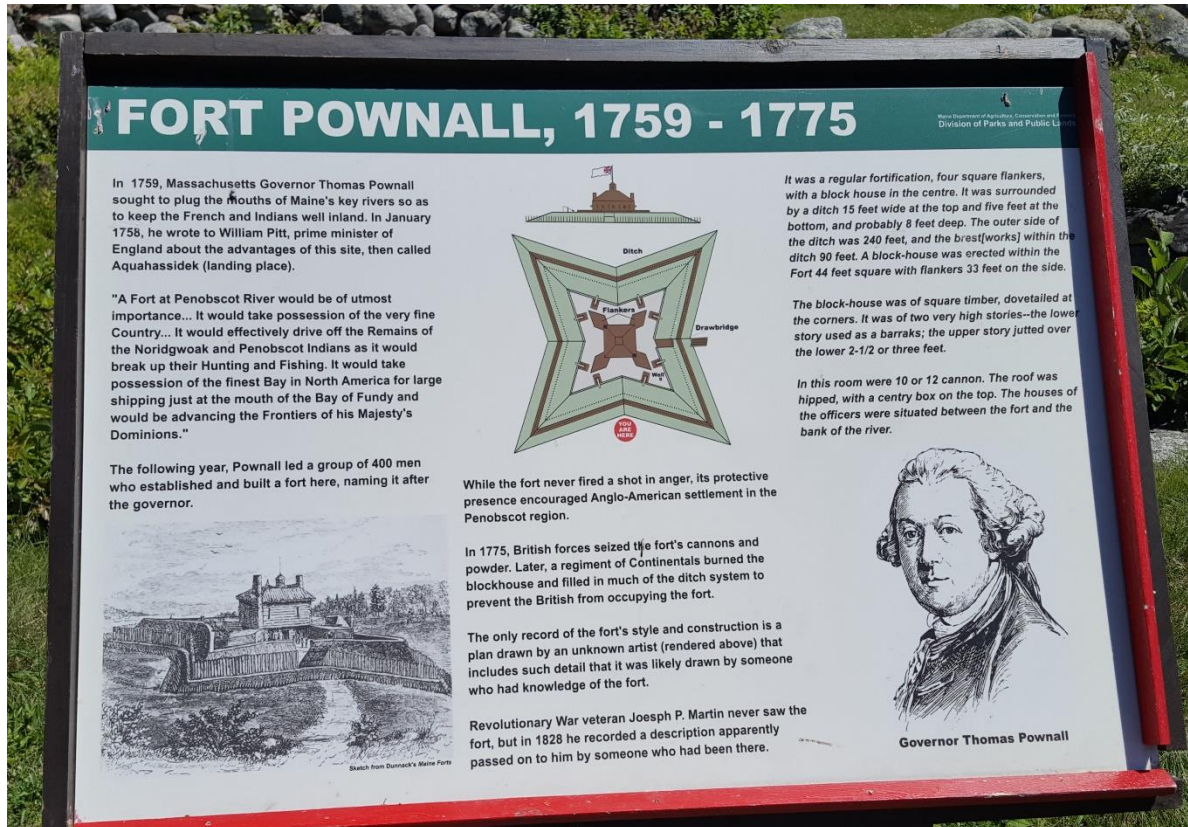


Figure 2: Fort Pownall State Park

I observe Colonial American history as not just a series of events but interactions that occur within key places where knowledge and values are contested between Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki people. At Fort Pownall State Park this narrative is clearly articulated as the fort's presence was intended to displace Wabanaki people through disconnecting them to sustenance and the ways they lived in this area long before European contact. Additionally, a fort at this location would additionally serve the economics of non-Wabanaki people through opening new trade and shipping lanes. The act of defining territory also occurs by disrupting ways of living

(Bryant, 2014). Thus, history that occurred during Colonial America established a way of living based upon Western ideals, which included what forms of knowledge are empowered and which are displaced. The first example of this occurs with early French settlers and how groups were defining land and land ownership.

The French were among the first groups to establish themselves in the area currently known as Maine. The Doctrine of First Discovery (DFD) is a principle provided European colonization of land as it was grounded in Western religious and political ideals, that did not recognize “aboriginal” title or claims to territories they occupied long before Europeans (Prins, 2002). From the European standpoint, this meant the French had “legal” claim to land and resources, which developed the land in ways that demarked their ownership. For instance, Europeans and later settlers, maintained ownership through symbols, such as structures and fences (Bryant, 2014). Additionally, early Europeans valued farming as a lifestyle (MacDougall, 2004). This necessitates acquiring land as ownership to fulfill this way of life and the DFD provided that and encouraged newcomers to articulate their claims to land and the resources by demarking it with structures. As previously stated, Wabanaki people had differing concepts of land ownership (Wabanaki Program, 2002). Pawling (2016) describes Wabanaki concepts of home as being a felt sense created through the seasonal movement between places. This suggests that at certain times of the year, land/places considered home by Wabanaki people would be unoccupied. A Puritan clergyman would speak famously about the, “Principle in Nature” that explains, if one provides a sense of culture or life to vacant (ex: house, farm, livestock, et cetera) then that person shall own that land (Jones, 1630, as cited in Bryant, 2014). These differing views of the land often became sites of dispute when Wabanaki people would return to land to find that it had been occupied by settlers as concepts of ownership differed (Pawling, 2016;

Wabanaki Program, 2002). For this dissertation, this becomes an important point about land and whose values do we allow to articulate the shape of the land? This conversation is connected to and developed further within, resource uses of land and sea.

Abundant resources through Maine and Canada guided where and how people lived, both Wabanaki and settlers, and involved differing economics of land/sea resources. Through the 1500s the French, English, and Dutch set up trading ports along the coast to maximize trade of fish, furs, and lumber (Prins, 2002). Settlers extracting resources for Europe would begin extending these trade networks to Wabanaki. For instance, European need for fur sparked trade between the groups and brought Western goods into Wabanaki communities, creating needs for these goods, such as iron, powder, and shot (Lagerbom, 1991). With superior knowledge of land and game, Wabanaki quickly adapted and excelled at concepts of free trade in the fur market. French traders threatened by this soon consulted the French crown to set up regulations that favored French traders (Prins, 2002). Like land ownership, the economics of land and sea resources also illustrate a sense of an unbalanced relationship with who benefits economically. A similar trend can be observed concerning knowledge of the land and how it becomes mobilized or restricted between indigenous and non-indigenous groups.

Notable before the revolutionary war were the interactions between the Wabanaki, French, and English that illustrate how knowledge and diplomacy were utilized. From 1675 to 1725, the Wabanaki were highly engaged diplomatically as they did not prefer warfare (Baker & Reid, 2004). The Wabanaki sent regular delegates to Boston (Baker & Reid, 2004) and additionally, they had meeting places of their own, such as Kwanoskwamkok (St. Andrews, N.B.) and Arrowsic Island in the Kennebec River (Bennett, 2017; Bryant, 2014). Bryant (2014) characterizes a feature of Wabanaki governance as structured to encourage an intense form of

listening and self-reflection to reach common ground. Negotiations between Wabanaki and Europeans would have mixed results. For the French, they had far fewer settlers than the English and were far more dispersed, given that negotiations over land were much more favorable to Wabanaki ways of living (Baker & Reid, 2004; Prins, 2002). On the other hand, many English settlers did not recognize Wabanaki objectives in negotiations as they were grounded in “...cultural concerns and imperatives” (Baker & Reid, 2004, p. 80). One of the common negotiations was centered on land between Wabanaki, French, and English, which fueled disputes leading up to the Revolutionary War.

One cause of dispute came from interpretations of The Principle of Discovery between the French and English. Claims to territory were met with subjective standards of how groups utilized land. As Bryant (2014) notes that English claimed French territory because they had not developed land to their standard. This conflict would include Wabanaki as they occupied the land the French had laid claim to. With English advancing into this territory, Wabanaki would utilize their knowledge of the land to engage in “guerilla” style attacks (Prins, 2002). Recent scholars have argued that Wabanaki knowledge of the landscape, as well as the capacity to mobilize and move people quickly, provided many advantages over the English (Baker & Reid, 2004; Bennett, 2017; Wickman, 2015). The mobilization of Wabanaki knowledge can be noticed in the Anglo-Wabanaki Wars, the first beginning in 1676-8, where Wabanaki tactics, such as Micmac navigation of the sea, frustrated the English so much that they sought their own indigenous allies (Prins, 2002). Similarly, the 1690s had unusually cold winters, that amplified Wabanaki mobility through snow (via snowshoe) and their capacity to mobilize people across separate hunting territories to push back English attempting to settle further into Wabanaki homeland (Wickman, 2015). Toward the end of the 17th century, the English were pushed as far

back as 70 miles north of Boston, prompting a treaty in 1693 (Baker & Reid, 2004).

Interestingly, despite the English being moved out of the current State of Maine, the treaty on their end was interpreted as Wabanaki submission, setting the tone for the next century disputes that would occur specific to places on waterways.

History would repeat itself beginning in the early 18th century with conflicts occurring around places that attracted both Wabanaki and non-Wabanki groups. Maine's major rivers became these places shared between groups and were central to disputes during this era (Bennett, 2017). Rivers were (are) used by Wabanaki for mobility and sustenance. The Penobscot River allowed travel patterns to the bay for summer sustenance and upstream access to interior hunting grounds during the winter (Eckstorm, 1980; Wickman, 2015). With tensions rising in 1703 with English moving north (Baker & Reid, 2004) increased attention would be given to the mobility and sustenance waterways provided (Bennett, 2017). This attention would materialize in the form of forts, like Fort Pownall at the mouth of the Penobscot (Fort Pownall State Park), which would be in violation of previous treaties. The Treaty of Casco, signed in 1701, stated no new forts would be built and the Massachusetts governor Shute ignored these treaty obligations (Bennett, 2017). The creation of these forts was (are) at locations essential for ways of living for both early Europeans and Wabanaki people, creating dispute in these common places.

Traveling upriver, whether Wabanaki or not, provided access to inland resources and boats would travel upriver until they reached a portage site, like a waterfall. Portage sites, like Pejeptscot Falls in the Androscoggin River, were common places boats needed to leave the river and where abundant fisheries could be found, like Alewives, Salmon, and Sturgeon (Bennett, 2017). The geography of these places and traveling by water, organized people within and around these places for different reasons. Waterways for the English meant mobility inland as

moving waters provided easier transportation than land-based travel (Baker & Reid, 2004; Bennett, 2017). For the Wabanaki movement along waterways was and is essential to locations for sustenance and concepts their concept of homeland, which is why diplomatic negotiations specifically differentiated territory. For instance, “Wabanaki speakers took pains to make clear that they had no objection to English Settlement in their territory, provided that proper diplomatic protocols were observed and provided that settlers did not stray into areas where they were unwelcome” (Baker & Reid, 2004, p. 89). Thus, portage sites along waterways became key places of dispute as Europeans needed access to waterways to pursue resources inland, while Wabanaki needed these places for sustenance, like fish. The violation of treaties to build forts in these places would impact Wabanaki ways of living and continue to fuel tensions between the English in the 18th century.

The building of forts to control the waterways was completed to encourage English settlement and to disrupt Wabanaki mobility. Baker and Reid (2004) discuss differences in ways of living, English people concentrated in towns where Wabanaki had structured groups across a wide area. Furthermore, the English observed this mobility as being key to their defeat in the previous century as Wabanaki could retreat to protected places with abundant food sources (Bennett, 2017). Consequently, the Wabanaki contested the construction of these forts at the Arrowsic conference in 1717 with Massachusetts and again in person at Fort St. George in 1724, stating it was not English land, nor did English have the right to establish these structures (Baker & Reid, 2004; Bennett, 2017). The English were persistent and their success with Fort St. George encouraged a similar strategy into other rivers, such as the Penobscot River with Fort Pownall (Bennett, 2017). Morrison (1998) notes that during this time Passamaquoddy moved out of the Penobscot region and further east (downeast). The strategy of pushing Wabanaki out of

ancestral land using forts would continue building mistrust with the English and forge a relationship with revolutionary forces intending to remove England from North America.

The continued acquisition of Wabanaki land contributed to resentment against the English and Wabanaki people sought new partnerships and new relationships during the Revolutionary War. Land was sold and divided without Wabanaki participation as English perception of *permanent settlements*, or their interpretation of treaties, created tensions with Wabanaki who were charged with trespassing as they returned to seasonal camps on their land (Prins & McBride, 2008). Concurrently, tensions arose between Massachusetts and England, prompting General Washington to seek alliance with Wabanaki on the outset of the Revolutionary War. This represented a new relationship with America as General Washington sent letters to Wabanaki seeking to create a “friendship” or “brotherhood” in which England was the common enemy (Francis & Shaumann, 2016; Prins, 2002; Prins & McBride, 2008). The Penobscot’s articulated their position against the English as “...those that are endeavoring to take yours and our lands and libertys [sic] from us” (Kidder, 1867, as cited in Prins & McBride, 2008, p. 55). This quote first denotes a distinction between Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki land from the perspective of the Penobscot. Additionally, liberties become how they articulated ways of living, which both groups observe English people as restricting freedom on waterways or territories. The recognition of restricting ways of living on rivers became expressed with this new alliance in 1775 as they burned Fort Pownall at the mouth of the Penobscot River (Prins & McBride, 2008). The Wabanaki would continue supporting Washington as the two worked towards the creation of America. With the birth of America, the promises made by Washington created the potential for a new relationship and respect for knowledge, values, and ways of living in this territory.

To summarize, I have resisted the chronological “greatest hits” that results in the culmination of America and instead, brought forward discussions more valuable to this dissertation about different values of knowledge. Related to settling the landscape, different ways of living favored Europeans as Wabanaki concepts of homeland consisted across places and waterways, opposed to permeant settlements with boundaries such the iconic stone walls across New England. Forts, such as Fort Pownall, provide a rich material and symbolic example of the history that has shaped places and relationships. Forts as a material object occupied places of importance, such as portage sites on waterways, and determined what group of people could belong in this place. For instance, Fort George on the Pejepscot Falls would allow colonial settlers to occupy this territory, which is now known as Brunswick, Maine. Similarly, Fort Pownall at the mouth of the Penobscot River, became a State Park, preserving this area and a one-side version of history. This state park becomes symbolic of the histories of this area that favored land acquisition and development of resources to support one vision of living in this territory. Since these forts were built by violating treaties, it contributed to growing mistrust that occurred through the breakdown of diplomatic relationships and continued encroachment by the English. As one Wabanaki delegate articulated, “I have my land that I have not given, and will not be giving, to anyone. I wish always to be the master of it...” (Governor Vaudreuil as cited in Baker & Reid, 2004, p. 89). This quote represents the clear understanding of the continue disregard to Wabanaki knowledge and claims to territory described in this section. Despite having regular Wabanaki delegates, many discussions about their rights occurred without their participation, a theme that links this section to the next.

The American Revolution is often treated as a culmination of historical events and instead, I use it as a transition to extend a conversation about relationships between groups and to

the land. The Wabanaki enter this relationship with expectations “We desire that they may look upon us as their brothers that they will support us in our rights” (Prins, 2002, p. 162). This means keeping the promises Washington made creating alliances, friendships, and brotherhood with the Wabanaki leaders, which is described as a “...friendship now established might continue as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure,” (Baxter as cited in Prins, 2002, p. 157). These quotes and promises, I argue, mark a shift in the history as Wabanaki worked toward relationships with a new group. Yet America would repeat the trends of Britain and France by not including Wabanaki leaders or knowledge of land in the 1783 treaty of Paris, which made the St. Croix River an international border between the United States and Canada. This treaty split Wabanaki territory with an international border (Bryant, 2014; Prins, 2002). Additionally, America would establish paternalistic protections of unceded First Nations land with the Trade and Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, which prohibited acquisition of land without federal intervention or approval (Prins, 2002). These last two points shift the conversation; territory has been defined and now conversations begin occurring around more intense regulation of the practices or ways of living that were/are acceptable within those boundaries, which further shaped landscapes, economies, and cultures.

Establishing Ways of Living in the 1800s

“Just as various pilgrims are drawn to some sacred places, so do all people, in all places, come to know the meanings of at least some places through names, with the stories about them capturing their deeper significance, from the sacred to the mundane. Yet for each such place, it

is possible for its name and stories to vary. Name for places change; stories about them get revised, discarded, or created anew.” – Carbaugh and Rudnick⁵

When I pass by the statue of Paul Bunyan in downtown Bangor, I am reminded of this quote by Carbaugh and Rudnick’s (2006) article arguing how places, stories, and knowledge are contested in North America’s National Parks between First Nations and Western cultures. Paul Bunyan embodies this argument as a Caucasian-male logger representative of the claim to history of this place being rooted in a narrative of logging and waterways along the Penobscot River in Bangor, ME. Yet for Wabanaki, the Penobscot River Basin down to the Penobscot Bay, has provided sustenance and, consequently ways of living for both Penobscot and Passamaquoddy for centuries (Eckstorm 1980; Wickman, 2015). Thus, Paul Bunyan today becomes symbolic of how the narrative of a place becomes “revised, discarded, or created anew” (Carbaugh & Rudnick, 2006, p. 167). In this place, I do not think the narrative of Wabanaki people is absent, it just does not speak as loudly as caricature of Paul Bunyan. In this section, I amplify the narrative of the Wabanaki perspectives of the 1800s to bring forward a time of contestation, where Maine was declaring its own statehood, creating boundaries, and demarking what sociocultural practices would occur within these places. First, I orient my discussion to Maine’s new relationship they started with Wabanaki at this time period.

Maine became a state in 1820 and their relationship with Wabanaki would shape land practices and relationships in ways favorable to the new state. This new relationship has been described as paternalistic, as became evident with the state overseeing Wabanaki monies (Kaliss,

⁵ In, Which place, what story? cultural discourses at the border of the Blackfeet Reservation and Glacier National Park, (2006, p. 167).

1971; Pawling, 2016; Wabanaki Program, 2002). For instance, the profits from harvesting of Wabanaki resources like timber or the selling of land were placed into an account to be distributed to groups, like an allowance, creating a false image of welfare or state assistance (Francis & Schaumann, 2016; MacDougall, 2004; Purinton, 1860; Wabanaki Program, 2002). This is documented within the Indian Agent system during this era. Indian Agents collected monies from territories to be put into a community's fund, and they decided on how to spend it (Pawling, 2016; Purinton, 1860). As one agent referring to using monies for fixing infrastructure stated, "I may safely say that the same amount of money could not be more judiciously expended by me in this department" (Purinton & Nutt, 1861, p. 5). In these examples, this paternalistic view governed the value of land and resources for non-Wabanaki and Wabanaki people. I follow this expression of control as it became present in land practices such as education and ways of living, economics of land resources, and again in defining the use and regulation of waterways.

Educational systems implemented in this time illustrate the value of knowledge and how land practices were shaped and contested. The 1850s saw a strengthened funding from the state for Indian agents to educate and "civilize" Wabanaki youth (MacDougall, 2004). Despite having the training and expertise to teach, Wabanaki were not allowed to educate their own people during this time (Prins, 2002). MacDougall (2004) argues that Wabanaki had interest in education, such as to increase political engagement with Maine and to remove intermediaries, like Indian Agents. The State's educational programs were not set-up to incorporate these interests. However, schools actively avoided Wabanaki languages and interests while focusing on teaching the English language, religion, and European-based agriculture (MacDougall, 2004). This example illustrates the institutionalization Western of ways of living and utilizing the land and emphasized living in a defined area. In contrast, learning Wabanaki ways of living, such as

hunting, guiding, basketmaking, and even logging, was completed in specific places throughout a large territory (MacDougall, 2004; Prins, 2002; Wabanaki Program, 2002). During this era, Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki ways of living were contested and formal structures, like education, were created to favor a Westernized version of living. For instance, farming was taught because non-Wabanaki saw this as an acceptable way of using the land. This same pattern of defining land and practices within a place also occurred on waterways, which provides another site to articulate Western structures that favored non-Wabanaki ways of living.

During the 1800s, history along the Penobscot river can articulate the tensions of this place occurring through who gets to use this waterway and how it can be used. Throughout this era, Mainers had extensive conversations of how Wabanaki people used their own lands, while having little participation from Wabanaki people when their lands and resources were used by Americans (MacDougall, 2004; Wabanaki Program, 2002). This is prevalent in the logging practices on the Penobscot River and that interfered with Wabanaki needs for transportation. The boom⁶ of the logging industry raised several concerns for the Penobscot. For instance, a river full of logs made it difficult to travel by canoe as a bridge to Indian Island did not exist nor was there a way for the Penobscot to collect dues from loggers utilizing islands during work (MacDougall, 2004). This example illustrates a disregard to Wabanaki uses of waterways, which continues as Penobscot attempt to purchase lands to advance their own ways of living. In 1849 Penobscot leaders purchased land at the head of tide (near Veazie) to have access to economic networks and other resources, which was eventually forcefully sold as Brewer residents complained at Wabanaki presence nearby (Pawling, 2016). These examples illustrate how logging practices of

⁶ During this era, there were over 200 mills around the town of Orono alone, with there being only 1 in modern context (MacDougall, 2004).

the Penobscot River support the ways of living for those who identify with Paul Bunyan, the Caucasian-male logger. At the same time, they restrict ways of living for Wabanaki by restricting daily practices like canoe travel and defining where people live. These patterns of behaviors do not occur isolated to the Penobscot River as similar trends are observable closer to the site of this dissertation, the region of the St. Croix River.

In the St. Croix region, economics, use of waterways, and fisheries would also be defined and regulated in favor of non-Wabanaki people. The river was filled with Salmon, Alewives, and Shad that spawned in the lakes adjoining the St. Croix, such as Cheputneticook Lakes (Forkey, 1993; Pawling 2016). Around Calais, an area between the Passamaquoddy Nations, this section of the river provided economic opportunities for lumber, sawmills, shipbuilding, and leather tanning (Forkey, 1993). Continuing its paternalistic relationship with the Wabanaki, the State of Maine managed Wabanaki land in favor of the state's economics. As an example, in an 1836 resolve to sell Passamaquoddy Land in Township, a section of territory would be purchased by the Georgia-Pacific Paper Company near Woodland, ME (Kaliss, 1971). This management of Wabanaki territory to provide economic incentives for industries shifted the ways of living within this area. The timber industry established a series of dams on the St. Croix that effectively blocked fish passage (Flagg, 2007; Forkey, 1993). Similarly, Maine managed Passamaquoddy lands near the coast, such as to favor the timber industry as well. The land near Perry, Maine, where the Passamaquoddy in Sipayik acquired timber for heat and to grow potatoes, was sold to non-Wabanaki people (Mitchell, 1887). Without access to firewood, Passamaquoddy would have to harvest wood illegally for heat and cooking fuel (Pawling, 2016). The use of land and who it favored can be summarized by Louis Mitchell's speech to congress in 1887. Mitchell stated in relation to the growing wealthy people in Washington County, "We ask ourselves how they

make most of their money? Answer is, they make it on lumber or timber once owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians” (Mitchell, 1887, p. 7). With respect to resources and land, these examples illustrate the economic favor of Mainers over the Wabanaki. With increasing wealth, came protections to maintain those economic systems and regulations of industries and resources further articulates the favor of development to early Mainers.

The logging booms on waterways like the St. Croix impacted fisheries, which created a sense of urgency to protect these species. As Forkey (1993) argues, “Nineteenth-century fishery conservation did not benefit all St. Croix River valley citizens” (p. 185). In the 1800s, people described the St. Croix River watershed as highly productive for fish as provided access to many tributaries and lakes with fish only having to navigate one falls at the head of tide (Flagg, 2007). A report by the Atlantic Salmon Commission states that commercial fishing around Calais landed 18,000 salmon annually in the 1820s (Flagg, 2007). The abundance of fish also supported the recreational fishing industry, establishing camps and guide services for out of state visitors (Forkey, 1993). The implementation of dams by the timber industry would block rivers for anadromous fish (Pawling, 2016) and reduced annual salmon catches to 200 (Forkey, 1993). Non-Wabanaki people petitioned for regulations to protect these practices on the rivers through this time (Flagg, 2007). One such regulation would define the methods of fishing by Western standards as hook line and artificial lures while, “Traditional methods of taking fish such as spearing, drift netting, seining, and in most cases, weir fishing, were illegal on the St. Croix” (Forkey, 1993, p. 183). This regulation and others created economic structures that favored non-Wabanaki, including a rail service from Boston to Calais that brought tourists to a series of sport camps in the area of Chiputneticook, St. Andrews, and Calais (Forkey, 1993). Aside from Passamaquoddy who were employed in guide services, these regulations developed rural Maine

in favor of non-Wabanaki people, as evident in the growing fishing industry and efforts to protect recreational fisheries. In contrast, there were no similar regulations to protect Wabanaki sustenance or ways of living.

On the St. Croix River, regulations encouraged and favored Western practices along this waterway. For instance, those who fished by spear⁷ were described as poachers who threatened the resource (Forkey, 1993). Additionally, in 1897 the State of Maine passed a bill creating license requirements for hunting and guiding, which was petitioned by the Penobscot but they were ignored (MacDougall, 2004). Pawling (2016) characterizes these behaviors being common during the 19th century, as Wabanaki who practiced ways of living by moving from place to place were charged with trespassing or other crimes. Thus, many cultural practices in this area, whether hunting or fishing by spear were subject to legal prosecution. This can be seen in *The State of Maine v. Peter Newell* (1892) as the defendant was charged with hunting illegally, this Passamaquoddy member argued his rights to fishing were established during the revolutionary war under Col. Allen, who organized the militia in Machias. This moment becomes an exemplary example of Pawling's (2016) point that Wabanaki people who practiced their ways of living could be punished within the views of Western laws and regulations of the land and resources within that. The State's review of the treaties and letters from Col. Allen concluded that the Passamaquoddy as a governing group no longer existed, voiding their name in previous documents and rights to resources (*Maine v. Newell*, 1892). This case illustrated the mindset, behaviors, and regulatory processes within that century that shaped land practices in favor of Western valued and criminalized Wabanaki ways of living. Louis Mitchell's (1887) speech to the

⁷ The Passamaquoddy are known as the People who Spear Pollock, as the technique was used to catch other species in the St. Croix River as well.

Maine legislature spoke out against the injustices present during this time period. He argued that the government authorized Col. Allen to speak in their absence, as Col. Allen did when he was instructed to ask the Wabanaki for help during the Revolutionary War, where Passamaquoddy responded by providing 600 men to fight for America. He spoke directly to the claims voiding the Passamaquoddy existence by referencing archeological and historical records supporting Passamaquoddy movement east.⁸ Lastly, he specifically addresses the State of Maine did not seek consent or participation from the Passamaquoddy as the State continued to utilize their territory in support of the timber industry. Thus, Mitchell becomes an exemplar for the number of Wabanaki speakers who have eloquently argued against the state's disregard to Wabanaki sovereignty, knowledge, and ways of living.

As I close this section, evidence of this history still stands as an iconic Paul Bunyan in ancestral Wabanaki homeland (Bangor), embodying a sense of early American economics that have been favored over this continent's first inhabitants. The narrative of this statue could not exist without deciding and reinforcing what land practices could exist along waterways in Maine. Focused on the Penobscot, this meant restricting Wabanaki movement, whether it be where they live, find resources, or obtain sustenance through seasonal movements. The countryside of New England, scattered by stone walls erected by farms to denote territory, also lead us to the unarticulated history of how these practices were reinforced structurally. In Maine, it occurred through education's preference for farming, it grew in economic structures that favored non-Wabanaki like using timber from Wabanaki land, blocking fish passage, or defining fishing practices as poaching and detrimental to the resource. Lastly, these practices were enforced

⁸ Passamaquoddy also lived along the Penobscot River Basin but were pushed further east with the English strategy of creating forts in waterways to advance settlement, Maine was confused assuming these were Penobscot moving east.

through a legal system that punished individuals for practicing rights that were guaranteed to them. To summarize, history of colonization of this place as being shaped by values, such as Western preferences to farming and resource development, which were defined and regulated with disregard to participation of Wabanaki perspectives. I close with a discussion of why knowledge of these historical interactions is necessary for collaborative processes. Since history is demarked by a lack of consideration of knowledge and participation, I bring forward research from 20th and 21st century that describes practices that incorporate Wabanaki perspectives, values, and knowledge into productive forms of research.

Discussion

“Nations are distinguished not by what their people consciously will but by their dispositions and inclinations. Their temporal boundaries, extending into the future, are demarked by judgements already made, by directions opened and foreclosed.”⁹

The history presented in this chapter allows us to understand the dynamics that have been created between Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki people. In colonial America this dynamic manifested as a mistrust and in the State of Maine it was established by a paternalistic relationship. The sense of mistrust derives from broken promises from treaties that were misguided and later interpreted on the side of Western development and settlement. This paternalistic relationship guided(s) the State of Maine’s to management of resources, land, monies, and interpretation of hunting and fishing rights. Every century, Wabanaki delegates eloquently argued against governments to respect their rights to land and waterways. In the 18th century, Wabanaki sent regular delegates to Boston spoke to encroaching English settlers (Baker

⁹ See Norton (1993) for reference to narrative of nation building (p. 454).

& Reid, 2004). A hundred years later, Louis Mitchell reiterated similar arguments to the State of Maine about encroaching on land and resources of the Passamaquoddy (State of Maine, 1887). This disregard for Wabanaki rights created tensions between groups as treaty obligations were disregarded by creating and regulating land and waterway practices that reinforced non-Wabanaki visions of natural resources, like timber. Many scholars articulate that repeated practices over time create a sense of memory, which can be experienced in places during present time (Black, 2012; Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011; Norton, 1993). I argue that the dynamics illustrated in this chapter are a cultural memory that informs participatory processes, particularly when people of outside groups enter communities to create forms of engagement. To discuss this, I first establish a notion of cultural memory in relation to the need for nuanced forms of engagement. Second, I outline notable 20th and 21st century research that has been resisting the histories of mistrust and paternalistic dialogues. Lastly, I establish my orientation to the remainder of the dissertation, which embodies how one can attend to history to shape research engagement, dynamics, and outcomes.

I use the term cultural memory in this dissertation to note connections between historical interactions with their present-day influences. I draw from Pezzullo (2003) I understand cultural memory as encompassing, “what happened and continues to happen...” (p. 245). Utilizing the term “culture” denotes these repetitions that create an embodied structure that is felt or recognized either at a point in time or that it changes over time. Norton (1993) describes culture as customs, habits, or social norms, also developed through patterns or practices repeated through history. Memory can denote a sense of knowledge or history related to specific places, like sustenance or cultural practices (Carbaugh & Rudnik, 2011; Pawling, 2016; Tsing, 2015). It can also refer to a national narrative that describes a version of history that has led to group

formation, such as America (Norton, 1993). These examples of memory occur through the repetition of experiences and practices over time. Our histories and the relationships they have created lend themselves to a sense of memory in the present (Davis & Reid, 1999, Norton, 1993). Davis and Reid (1999) describe memory of these histories occurring in daily interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. While Norton (1993) notes memory can both present itself in the content, the stylistic, and/or procedural creation of histories. In Maine, the procedural creation of history lends itself to ignoring the difficulties Wabanaki people face(d), suggesting why I struggled in constructing this chapter as it required critical attention to the voices not attended to in historical material. For instance, Louis Mitchells (1887) speech is an excellent example of the intellect and insight Wabanaki voices bring to history and decision making more broadly. This speech was written in the 19th century when First Nations are described as non-intelligent, yet his speech demonstrates advanced knowledge of argumentation as he organized around the key arguments by the State of Maine. For instance, he mentions the Drummers Treaty of 1727, both language including rights to fish and hunt within the document and the documents exact location within Maine Archives. The example of Mitchell's speech shows not only Wabanaki intellect and capacity to organize within the language of the State but also their continual commitment to participating in processes that historically have not favored them. Like Mitchell's speech and many others, these processes lack meaningful involvement, participation, and capacity to integrate Wabanaki voice. Moving forward, I highlight recent examples that have begun to work against this history by finding spaces for collaboration and integration of voice with Wabanaki people.

Beginning in the late 20th century, voices advocating for land and resource use began to be heard, as the State of Maine worked with the Wabanaki on issues related to ancestral territory.

This culminated in the 1980 Maine Indian Land Claims settlement resulted in 81.5-million-dollar settlement, with a large portion going to purchase land for the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Nations (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). Without getting into details of the settlement, the return of ancestral territory meant fulfilling some of the key arguments observed in the previous centuries, such as Louis Mitchell, who advocated for access to land where values and ways of living can be exercised, such as hunting and fishing. Maria Girouard (2012) despite including Wabanaki people into these processes, Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki perspectives differed greatly on what this document meant for ways of living. Thus, these spaces of collaboration must not be taken for granted and deserve more attention to move towards more just and inclusive processes.

As related to my dissertation, research processes represent one space where groups can think through procedures that integrate First Nations participation and perspectives in generating outcomes. I build from scholars that recognize how incorporating indigenous knowledge and values can potentially create better collaborative structures and outcomes (Davis & Reid 1999, Fisher & Ball, 2003; Reinhardt, 2015; Smith, 1999; Wickman, 2015). For instance, Ester Attean et al. (2013) mobilized Wabanaki from across communities to help alleviate historical trauma and harm stemming from the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978. This created a space for Wabanaki voices to advocate about how the State unjustly took Wabanaki children from their families. Another way indigenous knowledge has brought a greater understanding to the ecology of Maine is within the sciences. The Wabanaki Youth and Science Program (WaYS) seeks to integrate indigenous knowledge into science, with allows Wabanaki youth to understand ecological issues from the standpoint of their community (carr, Kenefic, & Ranco, 2017). The value for creating capacity for integrating voice and perspectives into these processes can be

evident in Acadia National Park. Through collaborations with the University of Maine, landowners, and Acadia, Wabanaki now have access to places within the park to be used for picking sweetgrass, which is used in cultural and spiritual practices (Curtis, 2018). These moves are representative of the impacts Wabanaki involvement has within research processes and this benefit extends to the greater State of Maine as well. River restoration efforts on both the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers have included Wabanaki people as they open dams on the rivers to help return ecological balance to our waterways, through vitalization fish populations like Alewives and Salmon (Schmitt, 2016; Woodard, 2019). What this recent research shows is how Wabanaki perspectives and participation can be implemented to value their perspectives and knowledge within history, science, and collaborations. This has implications for the landscape, as well as the governments with histories of neglecting involvement of First Nations in processes that impact their way of living. I am interested in extending these productive moves by focusing on the space of collaboration, choices researchers make, and the resulting outputs from doing engaged research.

As I end this discussion section, I have brought forward how recent research has shifted to including Wabanaki into research processes and now I consider what my role as a Wabanaki researcher is within this conversation as well. I recognize that history describes a situation where our Wabanaki leaders were not in the position to validate their own knowledge and identity, non-Wabanaki people, like court systems operated this position (Morrison, 1998; Prins & McBride, 2008). Thus, the growing work that integrates First Nations voice into processes like these, is doing more than transforming landscapes in favor of indigenous ways of living. It also transforms the dynamics between groups that are characterized by a history of non-inclusion. Within research, this occurs as we are in the position of generating knowledge and or making

claims to knowledge. Making claims to knowledge becomes a process inherently bound with power and making changes in those structures also includes a sense of power (McGreavy, Silka, & Lindenfeld, 2014). This suggest that when we provide space for indigenous voices within history, science, and collaborative processes, we return the power to these communities to direct their own vision for their land and people. This line of thinking also extends to non-Wabanaki as the focus on this chapter brought forward key places, such as Fort Pownall State Park and Paul Bunyan in Bangor, where the livelihoods of non-Wabanaki was positioned as superior to Wabanaki. Including voices, such as Louis Mitchell, within the narratives of these places becomes one way of rectifying this one-sided version of history as it provides an expanded understanding of these events by including perspectives that were previously excluded. As a Wabanaki researcher, the choices we make as we engage First Nations, become another site to alleviate this tension. For me, it transpires in my ethos of engagement, which privileges the voice and vision of Wabanaki communities at the forefront of my priorities as a researcher as I see this move as transforming human, social, and ecological systems.

CHAPTER 3
PRESENCE: RELATIONSHIPS AS THE FOUNDATION OF
RESEARCH

“Well, I never turn down a chance to speak, money or no money. I asked her about equality and freedom from oppressive tactics and point-blank inquired if the stipend she offered to the Indians was lower than one she offered to the lawyers and missionaries... Sure enough, when she called me back, the other speakers had indeed, been offered the higher stipend and she offered me the same amount. But in addition to me speaking, she wanted the whole dance team, two drums and baskets and jewelry to display” - Ssipsis¹⁰

What comes forward in this story is Ssipsis’s question, her embodied reaction to understanding that her knowledge, though recognized, would not be as highly valued as other members of the panel. This positioning of knowledge is a modern example of the value of indigenous knowledge, perspective, and participation evident since colonization. Other examples include place names (Carbaugh & Rudnik, 2006), such as how the Skutik River being renamed as the St. Croix River in Maine. This same river was later used to create an international border that disregarded Wabanaki participation and presence on both sides of the river (Bryant, 2014). Black (2012) explains how repetitions of these actions across time creates memory that articulates past injustices, as well as suggests ethical pathways forward. Ssipsis’s story embodies this cultural memory by bringing forward levels of compensation based on Western values of education and knowledge. These interactions highlight a sense of discomfort as memory of injustice becomes present in modern intrapersonal dynamics. The question becomes, within research engagement, how can we attend to this memory that is grounded in histories that do not

¹⁰ This quote derives from *Molly Molasses and me* where Ssipsis describes being asked to speak by an academic institution (Ssipsis & Mitchell, 1993, p. 8).

value Wabanaki knowledge? In this chapter, I outline how methods of engagement can value First Nations voice, knowledge, and participation with research and what implications that has for research outcomes. Returning to Ssipsis's story, her knowledge was not viewed as equal to the non-Wabanaki panelist and the discussions within this paper are one way to empower indigenous knowledge to alleviate this form of memory.

As a Passamaquoddy researcher, I recognize how I operate two positions, from the academy and from an indigenous perspective. I recognize that research patterns have not favored First Nations and that changes in our engagement and research methods can produce more equitable outcomes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Grande, 2008; Tuck & Lang, 2018). For one, I have been in positions where my passion and research has been reduced to a checkmark for meeting cultural criteria as my ancestry became more valuable than my research. For fieldwork, the choices we make within research processes become a form of agency, creating impacts for those choices (Barad, 2003). This becomes evident with me being a checkmark, as it impacted the dynamic between me and larger funding organizations. Like Ssipsis's story, research structures have mixed histories with First Nations that have not always valued knowledge, participation, or shared reciprocity with groups of people (Bullard, 1999; Davis & Reid, 1999, Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Smith, 1999). As cultural memory, these structures of injustice can occur in daily interactions, such as Ssipsis's story or my own, that articulate social imbalances being sustained over time. For instance, academic institutions mobilize and distribute resources with certain obligations and interests (McKerrow, 1989). A notable example comes from 19th century researchers who collected the Passamaquoddy language, recorded it, and the data was later forgotten, eventually ending up in a museum only to return to the Passamaquoddy in 2019 (Feinberg & Slomski-Pritz, 2019). These relationships are problematic as these data advance the

interests of the individual but do not reciprocate to the community. Thus, like opening dams on the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers that have restricted fish and cultural practices for the Wabanaki, opening pathways for indigenous knowledge can bring new life to research practices. In research, many have argued that integrating indigenous knowledge improves project outcomes (Davis & Reid, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Schmitt, 2016; carr & Ranco, 2017). This is a powerful move to address the cultural memory of the disregard for indigenous knowledge, moving to honor such knowledge of First Nations potentially creates pathways to healing. Healing can become evident in a human-ecological sense, such as through traditional foodways and even through the processes itself by creating inclusive and respectful forms of participation (Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2003). I attend to these processes through a concept called presence, which acknowledges how researchers participating in local practices can articulate local problems and/or solutions more effectively, while creating positive relationships with communities (Sutton, 2018). I expand my understanding of presence through acknowledging histories that have not favored First Nations participation and then by moving to articulate ways methods of engagement can be modified to honor our research partners more fully.

As defined here, presence is about tending to relationships with yourself, non-humans, and communities while considering how these experiences and interactions can shape our methods of engagement with communities. My previous research recognized the physicality of presence and how engaging in local practices can contribute positively to community projects (Sutton, 2018). Here I expand presence to include how researchers think about and through the doing in fieldwork, such as the feelings of tense relationships in social spaces or the complexities of human-ecological problems on rivers. This requires combining the thinking and doing

together to recognize these interconnected relationships between objects, people, and places (Conquergood, 1991; Edbauer, 2005). Furthermore, this recognizes that proximity to human-ecological problems can create exigency or opportunities for collaborative research (Druskche, 2013). My approach recognizes the body as a place of knowing that can articulate conscious or unconscious knowledge related to cultural and social practices (Shahjahan, 2015). For my work, environmental surroundings related to culture are grounded in discussions of the St. Croix River and fish in this waterway. Together, they provide the exigence for ecological work and potential collaboration. Further, presence also considers unconscious and embodied social practices that can reveal tension manifested within community-engaged research with First Nations. This can transpire as differences toward the value or sacredness of knowledge, by which I mean some information should not be published from a First Nations' perspective (Ranco, 2006). Presence can attend to both ecological and social dimensions of research if one reorients oneself to place by considering history, values, and conceptual orientations from the perspective of a community, Wabanaki in this case. This move recognizes how our choices can become ways to reconfigure processes, like research (Barad, 2003; Fisher & Ball, 2003). When engaging with First Nations, reversing our orientation to history by acknowledging how First Nations have been disregarded within their homeland can help establish research relationships (Cushman & Green, 2013). With that in mind, this chapter articulates specific choices researchers can make to reconfigure research processes and considers the implications for methods of engagement and research outcomes.

My methods of engagement build from critical ethnography and participatory critical rhetoric because of the recognition of how choices in fieldwork matter for communities. Above all, the researcher maintains a commitment to serve as an advocate to creating more livable lives

(Hess, 2011; Middleton, Senda-Cook, & Endres, 2011; Middleton et al., 2015). Within this, a researcher positions themselves within communities to understand the structures relevant to social and or cultural practices (Middleton et al., 2015; Pezzullo 2003). For instance, I learned on the Micmac Farms their importance for food being a community and cultural practice as well as a source of healthy-affordable food (Sutton, 2018). Thus, research and or method takes an iterative approach as it becomes what it needs for a context or community (Conquergood, 1991; Madison, 2005; Middleton et al., 2011). This moves towards research being a relationship of reciprocity where both parties benefit from the outcome (Hess, 2011; Madison, 2005). On the Micmac Farms, I committed time to farming, helping to complete tasks, while coordinating cultural events, while I learned valuable qualitative skills as a master's student. Additionally, this iterative approach becomes an example of how performing in ways favorable to communities can have transformative impacts to the microstructures of power that shape social dynamics (Hess, 2011). These social dynamics result from histories of repeated actions that become present in the embodied interactions of Ssipsis's story and how her knowledge was not as valuable as other participants. In my research, I attend to these histories through considering how I can shape my methods as a researcher to serve a community. As I become present in fieldwork, my inquiry is directed by listening and learning about what a communities' vision is for the future and how I can help support that direction.

I completed ethnographic style fieldwork from 2017 to 2019 with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department (PED) that culminated with qualitative interviews. I implemented a standard qualitative procedure that collected and analyzed data to support the focus of the study (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte, 1999; Madison, 2005). Within an indigenous context, research methods can be adapted in ways that are respectful and

responsive to community input so that research ultimately advances community needs (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Tuck & Lang, 2018). I utilize research to support community needs through co-created research goals for implementing qualitative interviews with Passamaquoddy fishers. The PED's goals centered on learning fisheries knowledge, presence/absence of species, and knowledge about traditional fishing practices, like weirs.¹¹ These three areas then were used to develop an interview protocol that we implemented with Passamaquoddy fishers. The PED provided a volunteer list of individuals interested in supporting fisheries projects. These individuals are Passamaquoddy members from either current or previous families maintaining connection or traditions with fishing. Seven of the fourteen volunteers responded to participate with interviews lasting from 45 minutes to 75 minutes during the summer of 2018. Each interview was transcribed by VerbalINK, which resulted in 176 pages of transcriptions. To support indigenous methodologies, my analysis takes places in two forms that separate outputs by advancing academic research, while keeping fisheries knowledge within the community.

First, for indigenous research methods I advance knowledge in this area by describing what presence means within research engagement and how it can contribute to empowering communities. I outline features of presence in three sections that consider how we *orient* to a context, build *trust over time*, and *shape* processes and outcomes. I recognize history has not typically recognized indigenous values, knowledge, and/or culture and thus, I encourage research engagements to begin by orienting to First Nations experiences at the site of research, whether it be rivers, food, or participatory processes. For instance, orienting work with the Cherokee Nation involved reorienting to historical events from the vantage point of First Nations and participating

¹¹ A weir is a form of trap fishing that occurs in intertidal zones or deep ocean water. Typically, the wing, a series of wooden poles interwoven with nets or brush, extends perpendicular from the shore to a larger circular shape. The wing directs fish into the circular shape where they are kept live.

in cultural practices, like Cherokee language classes (Cushman & Green, 2013). Next, I expand my understanding of the value of being physically present in communities (Sutton, 2018) by illustrating the time commitments it requires to create meaningful relationships as the basis for research. Above all, relationships require a commitment to ethics, which can be expressed through valuing knowledge, advancing community-research needs, and upholding commitments to reciprocity (Hess, 2011; Madison, 2005). Lastly, I describe how research choices can be shifted, such as how community input supported a move from quantitative to qualitative data collection and how this produced richer data, in this case, data that supported fisheries conservation efforts. As I move through each section, I remind readers, these are choices and not to assume an order or protocol as these choices can be continuous, dynamic, and intersecting. This process was integral to developing relationships with the community needed to learn what their vision is and how research can support that direction. Also, in line with indigenous methods, I wanted to create a separate output to respect the knowledge and stories shared with me.

Second, I complete this chapter by describing my process for adapting qualitative research through integrating community feedback into research goals, protocol, and data analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) advocate for articulating the space where collaboration occurs to empower communities within research processes. A notable example becomes the first question of the protocol, “Do you know what our name Passamaquoddy means?” This question produced dialogue and stories relevant to the community’s goals, which became further explored and developed through continuing presence within interviews. Qualitative interviews by design are extracting knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). As such, I engage in reciprocity during interviews through sharing my own stories, which demonstrate my commitment to Wabanaki

food research while creating a shared space where insights can be exchanged. Lastly, I further reciprocate through creating a 12-page report that analyzing all themes relevant to the PED's goals that I returned to the community. This chapter ends by providing a brief version of this report to demonstrate how a qualitative analysis was completed to create a community output. Given the history that Maine has with extracting resources (e.g. timber) from this region, I contend that any analysis that only serves the academy also contributes to these exploitive processes. This chapter attempts to disrupt these processes by creating genuine relationships intended to create outputs that advance a community's vision. To accomplish this, we must first acknowledge indigenous communities' perspective of history within the site of research.

Orienting to the “St. Croix River”

As the beginning of my dissertation illustrated, researchers engaging with presence must first orient themselves and continue this throughout engagement. Orienting for my fieldwork has involved letting my presence being drawn into different forms of knowledge, whether in the human or natural world, to expand my way of knowing about the world. In the social world, we attend to our presence in lived spaces that surround people, their interactions, movements, and how meaning making occurs in those spaces (Ellingson, 2017). In Maine, our rivers represent a shared living space. In the 18th century, colonial forts were organized near rivers to inhibit Wabanaki movement and sustenance patterns and in the next century the legacy would continue as these sites commonly became paper mills (Bennett, 2017). My previous chapter described this history in detail, and I extend the conversation here by using it to orient readers to the site of research: the St. Croix River watershed and its relationship to sustenance patterns for the Wabanaki. The Wabanaki view of sustenance involves thinking about food from a 13-month standpoint. As David Francis describes, “We followed nature's cycle like the birds, and our

moons were our calendar. Many of us still try to, but you have to be careful not to eat anything contaminated by pollution” (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 56). This quote illustrates how sustenance from a Wabanaki perspective organized ways of living that oriented people to specific places based upon the rhythms and cycles of non-human systems. Orienting ourselves to the rhythms and cycles, like rivers and fish, provides insight into how environmental conditions shape human practices within a place (Druschke & Rai, 2018; McGreavy, 2018; Rickert, 2004; 2014). By orienting to rivers and fish, I align my perspective to the values guiding Wabanaki sustenance and learn how this value still reorients people to places based on seasonal rhythms and cycles. In this section, I position the St. Croix River as a site of memory that articulates how historical practices can guide current resource use and the practices around it.

Beginning with land more broadly, movement or mobility becomes one way to view different orientations to food. In this context, Westerners’ view of food in Maine could derive from the Principle of Discovery, which justified their claim to land and perspective to value farming as an honorable life (Bryant, 2014; Prins, 1996). This suggests farming not simply to secure food supply but for sustaining a view of living in the world with a specific understanding of what land can be and which practices bring these values to fruition. These practices become present in more stationary ways of living, such as structures like buildings or fences that symbolize property ownership. In contrast, Wabanaki position themselves more in relationship to the land, as David Francis describes, “We followed nature and the seasons, never taking too much, so more would grow” (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 56). Following the seasons as late elder David Francis describes, shapes where people lived and what practices unique to that place where needed to sustain life and Wabanaki concepts of home. Pawling (2016) describes Wabanaki concepts of homeland as requiring movement oriented to specific places on a river,

like the Penobscot or St. Croix. Comparing Western and Wabanaki ways of living, one insight that I draw out is how movement exist differently. As farmers create their life, movement is constricted to property lines, whereas the Wabanaki create home through movement across land, places, and the sustenance places provide. Movement from the perspective of a waterway, like the St. Croix, reveals more insight into this context. Additionally, the different ways of living also have implications for how movement exists or doesn't within our waterways.

The St. Croix River is one place the practices become visible that constitute ways of living and their interactions with groups of people and places. During the 1800s, key sites on Maine's waterways were becoming developed to support the mill industry (Bennett, 2017). This created a vibrant life for those within the industry and restricted other ways of living for others. As one Passamaquoddy fisher described,

Cilonikon: "Like the St. Croix back in the 1800s, there was no sea-run fish able to go through the main stem of the river. They would die, because of the pollution. They can't—they couldn't handle it, and there was so much sawdust in the estuary that it was creating new islands in the Passamaquoddy estuary, and the Department of Defense in both countries, the Army and I don't know what they call it in Canada, military personnel were called in to dredge out all the sawdust that was so thick, it was unable—the boats were unable to navigate upstream to come to pick up lumber and stuff."

This interviewee provides insight into how mills restrict(ed) movement either through creating changes in the waterway itself or by impacting the mobility of land transportation and movement of fish. By the end of the 19th century, salmon populations were listed as depleted in the region (Flagg, 2007). The capacity for the paper industry to shape waterways and control movement, had(has) direct impact on fish populations and sustenance patterns on the river. For instance,

Schoodic Falls used to be a spring fishing village for the Wabanaki, it is now known as Salmon Falls and site of the Milltown dam (Flagg, 2007). This represents a shift in movement as the need for dams to support the paper industry restricts movement for salmon and this excludes place as a seasonal Wabanaki home. Despite this, the Wabanaki maintain their connections to the health of the watershed and fish, prompting Schoodic Riverkeepers to advocate for the return of fish species to this area.

Wabanaki advocates on rivers and their rights to sustenance predates the creation of America. During colonial times, Wabanaki had sent regular delegates to Boston to advocate for their rights (Prins, 1996), and later with the creation of Maine, delegates would continue arguing for rights guaranteed through treaties (State of Maine, 1887). Louis Mitchell's speech famously argued for the contradictions in colonial histories presented by Western courts and demonstrated support for Passamaquoddy sustenance rights through knowledge of treaties, written correspondence, and oral histories (State of Maine, 1887). These struggles continue and so does the legacy of eloquent Wabanaki people passionately advocating for our rights on waterways continues with the Schoodic River Keepers. This organization documents the Passamaquoddy involvement and collaboration on legislature, state representatives, and governors on actions that impact the river and fish (Passamaquoddy Nations, 2012; 2016). Additionally, they are recognized in collaborative efforts between all three Passamaquoddy nations¹², state, and federal entities to restore sea-run fish (French, 2018). Ed Bassett describes the current dynamic of collaboration on the river as, "refreshing to work with people that want to cooperate with the tribe" (French, 2018). Thus, orienting to histories allows readers to more fully understand the

¹² A third Passamaquoddy Nation is located on the New Brunswick side of the St. Croix River, along Camp Cheputneticook.

multiple impacts of our choices of engagement because in this context Wabanaki perspectives have not always been present. For instance, collaborations as Ed Bassett described as “refreshing” suggests how positive inclusion and participation within this area as being a welcomed change. Furthermore, more inclusive research collaborations can support ecological change in sites like rivers, that have also been characterized through histories favoring the practices of settler economics, rather than the rhythms, cycles, and movement of non-human worlds.

Orienting to these histories and places have demonstrated how they shape interactions of past histories of engagement to present ones. Maine is iconic for coastlines, and New England is also iconic of its farmland, with the most obvious feature being the historic rock walls, assembled over years of tilling up boulders and stacking them up along the boundary of an individual property. Rocks thus become a physical manifestation of this farming legacy that bounds movement to a specific area giving form to a different version of life. By contrast, on the St. Croix the opening of dams and diminishing papermills, has recently allowed a return of movement, both in the flow of water and the presence of species. These historical actions relate to collaborative or research engagement because land and waterways have historically been shaped without participation of Wabanaki. This necessitates ways to rethink or reconfigure our actions, which is why I consider orienting ourselves as an open form of learning required when thinking about our presence in communities. The challenge of presence is to incorporate what is learned through orientation into research, such as by contrasting values of Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki, as I illustrated in this section and again later regarding data collection and analysis. Additionally, our writing and composition can also become sites where we demonstrate a commitment to incorporating Wabanaki knowledge and participation in meaningful ways.

As I write, I am constantly orienting myself to both histories of interactions and to my current partnership with the Passamaquoddy. The Schoodic River Keepers embody resistance to the splitting of Wabanaki land to define Maine and New Brunswick through their continued recognition of the Skutik, the Passamaquoddy name for this waterway. Thus, I align my writing to this value by only referring to the Skutik for the remainder of this chapter and dissertation. As a result, it also engages you, as the reader, into this process as well. Orienting in this way, opens our body to other forms of knowledge and values that can create, “refreshing” relationships in collaborations and our work in the natural world. The University of North Carolina’s (UNC) American Indian Center describes this as a responsibility for engaged research to acknowledge how First Nations exist with unique histories and values. To extend this conversation, I next transition into how prolonged research engagements, in respect to time, can also contribute positively to the dynamics of research engagement. I begin by asking “who’s your mother?”

Time and Trust: Who’s Your Mother?

In fieldwork, I approach time and trust as topics that arise at the intersection of our bodies and our engagement with communities. Building a sense of credibility can derive through embodied approaches to field work, as evident in Ellingson’s (2017) work in hospitals where prolonged engagement creates a relationship with patients. Collaborative work with the Cherokee Nation and a new media department provides another example of creating this relationship, where the instructor oriented to history through individual learning, participating in language classes, and by making themselves present in other ways with the culture and community (Cushman & Green, 2013). In these examples, one had a prolonged engagement with hospitals, while the other had a timeline established through the structure of academic courses, yet both developed a sense of trust. In ethnographic fieldwork, a sense of trust develops through

prolonged engagement and relationship building within an area (Hess, 2011; Madison, 2005). In the context of my fieldwork with Wabanaki, tribal members engage in questions around trust by asking: who is your mother? My response is always, Susie Mitchell, and her mother was Tuffy Mitchell. The answers are usually, “Oh yeah Tuffy, we use to play all the time” or, “Oh little Susie, how is she doing?” These questions situate me in a conversation: is this person Skicin or not? This process inherently creates a certain level of trust, occurring through a brief interaction as this person orients to who I am in relation to this community. In presence, one attunes to this process through recognizing the ways they situate themselves in a community over time. This creates a sense of trust, which becomes the prerequisite to creating collaborative processes. I start this process by simply showing up.

My grandmother was known as a traveler. Molly Molasses was her pseudonym, but she developed her sense of presence by a commitment to showing up over an extended period of time. Within First Nations, reservations systems typically distance people into rural areas (Young, 1990). During my fieldwork with the Aroostook Band of Micmac in 2011, people joked about how far Presque Isle is (compared to the university) and an administrator responded, “Why? We come down here all the time” (Sutton, 2018, p. 337). This became a defining moment because I recognized how my presence by simply showing up to public and or community events can transform people’s relationship from outsider to insider or to a community member. These processes of building trust through engagement are necessary to create opportunities for research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Time requirements to do this can range from short term or long term, but these will impact the role you choose to establish as one may encounter issues of identity and maintaining commitments to research and for the community (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). I ground a discussion about time through my master’s and dissertation not to define research by an

amount of time, but to illustrate how varied amounts of time can contribute to building trust and research together. Additionally, moving from a rigid definition of time to a more open concept of “prolonged engagement” (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 301), demonstrates an adaptive quality needed when considering presence in research. Presence is about creating meaningful relationships, which does not lend itself to a rigid form of criteria defined by one’s methodological orientation. I demonstrate this through my own experiences with fieldwork as each context required different amounts of time and different styles of engagement, both producing the types of interpersonal relationships I value when creating collaborating forms of research.

From my Masters to PhD research, I approached fieldwork with a variable sense of time that resulted in relationships (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Madison, 2005; Sutton, 2018). On the Micmac Farm, my fieldwork occurred over three months, where I lived and worked in the community in order to learn ways research could support the farm (Bayly, 2011; Sutton, 2018). Three months would be short in the world of ethnographies, but what I found more productive in respect to time is the point of emergence or immanence. This term refers to the transformation that takes place when researchers doing prolonged fieldwork begin to understand the worldview of a community (Conquergood, 1991; McHendry et al., 2014). For me, it becomes part of my commitment, that everything I write and do, should be for this audience and to promote the vision or goals they have shared with me. With the Micmac, I found that point to occur around a month, where I became more embedded with day to day operations and with the world around me. I could see how people interacted with the environment and what objects or symbols become significant to them (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Community research needs became clearer as the Micmac highlighted a need for community involvement around the farm, which I accomplished

through coordinating cultural events such as basketmaking to engage both Micmac and non-Micmac communities (Sutton, 2018). This is an example of how participation and gaining acceptance, community members will inform you “where to sit, stand, and move” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 151). I embodied this notion within fieldwork by actively integrating it into research, as with my emergent role on the farm coordinating community events. As I *moved* to the role of coordinating community events, this shift embodied how the community informed and guided my fieldwork in ways that supported their vision for the farm. This relationship required a lot of time and physical presence in the community, whereas my work with the Passamaquoddy approached time and relationships in similar and different ways.

Being of Passamaquoddy descent already constitutes a certain level of presence and immersion, yet being a researcher still navigates time and trust in different ways. My first obstacle was the realization that my life as a new father would not allow prolonged engagement, so I considered how presence could be established in other ways. Within this context, prolonged engagement transpired as monthly meetings (220 miles roundtrip) for conversations over the course of a year, emails, and phone calls. Drawing from critical scholars, the goal is “establishing a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved” (Madison, 2005, p. 110). Interpreting this broadly opens presence and building relationships to communities as potentially transpiring in many forms. Thus, showing up requires a physical presence such as in-person meetings, while considering how that can be extended through being attentive to follow up calls and emails. These actions contribute to a sense of prolonged engagement that is needed to build credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Madison, 2005). Within this space, one can understand how both parties involved can benefit. For instance, meeting with the chief and vice chief, agendas were not submitted by either group so that the dialogue could focus on sharing of

ideas. This is consistent with Wabanaki forms of government that have existed long before European contact, where meetings were characterized by deep listening to develop mutual understanding (Bryant, 2014). This same relationship transpired in my meetings with the Environmental Department as we shared ideas on how research could support the ongoing fisheries work. The sharing of ideas became a common feature that resulted from trust built through prolonged engagement.

Bringing these two examples together, I approached Micmac and Passamaquoddy collaborations with a different sense of time, resulting in different relationships between groups and yet many commonalities. With the Micmac, I became a part of the “crew,” while with the Passamaquoddy, engagement was characterized by our shared mutual interest in history of the Skutik River. For both, I approached research being honest and upfront with research intentions (Madison, 2005). In both contexts, projects were already ongoing so research didn’t initiate anything new; rather, ways were found to collaborate, as the remainder of this chapter illustrates through the ways the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department and I learned together. For instance, we co-created an interview protocol based on the interests of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department. I describe this as thinking and doing, almost combining the two together (Edbauer, 2005; Madison, 2005). Thinking for me is the embodied process of being present and learning ways to engage, which influences how the doing transpires in a context, such as farming or qualitative interviews with fishers. For me, the doing also articulates the ethical commitments of a researcher, which transpires as shaping research processes to meet community needs, as well as dedication to sustained engagement overtime.

Thinking reflectively, I have learned a lot from my grandmother. Even though she is no longer here, her presence is still felt in across Wabanaki communities. Her commitment to

showing up and returning established presence in communities long before I began doing this type of work, which in many ways open doors for me to continue the legacy of my family. Following in my grandmother's footsteps, I similarly consider how my presence (and relationship) is sustained over time or how research processes are reciprocated to help communities. This deserves attention as people having negative experiences with research can impact researchers who come later (Madison, 2005). For my dissertation, I am most self-critical about how my methods embody a sense of ethics that align with the rhythms and values of local projects. For sense making or analyzing data, Lindlof and Taylor (2011) describe a rhythm that researchers follow that keeps the growth of the data under control yet connected to the trajectory of the study (p. 246). This example illustrates the temptation to follow different paths as a researcher. What presence adds to this is to ask: who steers the trajectory? In this section, I demonstrated that the trajectory of research is guided by creating a space for shared ideas to emerge. Once that happens, one must follow it. To summarize, one can attune to this trajectory first through orienting, which includes understanding a Wabanaki perspective of history, as well as current thinkers, values, and knowledge of their orientation to the world. This type of orienting can be extended to consider how a researcher's presence interacts with communities over a period of time, which can create the productive space needed for aligning research and community goals. Next, I provide an example of how knowledge learned through presence is incorporated into research processes.

Shaping Methods

“Camping was an event that Molly Molasses enjoyed, all aspects of it. She enjoyed the long rides, hot and dusty; finding that perfect spot; the simple cooked meals; and the eating on one's

lap, sitting in the darkened tent. She enjoyed all the changes in the air, the day going into night, the long night that hides all sorts of mysterious adventures.” – Ssipsis and Mitchell¹³

This story took me back to all the fieldwork I have been fortunate to complete in this dissertation. I too enjoy all aspects of it, from car rides, boat trips, interviews, conversations, emails, and to every meeting. Camping is a good way to think about presence, methods, and adaptability. The practice of camping (as a method) requires a set of skills that can be applied across a plethora of environments across Maine. This is consistent with indigenous methods that utilize traditional research training (e.g. qualitative interviews) but focus on letting community, values, knowledge, and/or insights guide them (Tuck & Lang, 2018). Like the case of *Molly Molasses and Me*, camping skills are applied to the local environment, such as choosing a location at the coast that has firewood and close access to clams. Furthermore, in this story, the two travel companions take turns doing various tasks and work together in synergistic ways to accomplish a common goal, which reminds me of the dynamic I intend on creating with research partners. At the same time, the process of creating a synergy between two groups does not come without challenges as my first engagement will illustrate.

As researchers, we approach communities with our own sets of methods and biases. In building presence in Sipayik, I quickly returned to the roots of ethnography of my masters and volunteered to help plant a garden that would supply the local food pantry. I literally ended up back in the dirt, engaging in ways most familiar to me. I realized presence is not about fixed methods; I needed to decenter my methods and reattune myself to orient to a new place. Critical field scholars recognize the importance of decentering methods in order to find appropriate

¹³ From the book, *Molly Molasses and me* (1993, p. 23).

methods for a context (Conquergood, 1991; Middleton et al., 2011). To do that, I began meeting monthly with the Environmental Department, as well as following up with phone calls and emails. Having known about recent interest in building a fish weir, conversations around that revealed how research could support the project. In one conversation, interest developed around learning about fisheries knowledge, methods of fishing, and when/why fisheries declined as they relate to the project's goals of studying fish in the Passamaquoddy Bay. Yet, as quickly as I stepped out of my own set of methods and bias, I fell back into them.

What I fell back into was my commitments as a graduate student and the mixed-methods approach outlined by my program of study to produce a quantitative survey within my context of research. This problematized engagement slightly as my methodological training to do mixed-methods research would encourage a methodological process and forms of data not aligned with the vision and goals of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department. Returning to the concept of immanence, this moment is characterized as how emmeshed political and research commitments become (McHendry et al., 2014). My values of a researcher lean heavily on supporting community ideas and projects, while I also maintain commitments as a graduate researcher. Through presence, I recognize these choices not only impact how and what forms of data are produced but the dynamic between communities and researchers as well. Since researchers maintain a position of power, critical scholars recognize moments like these as they can become ways to denounce structures that have not always favored participants (Madison, 2005). For presence, my research I maintain a commitment to supporting a community's vision, while as a graduate student, this also meant pursuing a quantitative survey to collect data within the community. The moment where these two situations became emmeshed transpired when I presented a fully designed quantitative survey for the community.

I aspired to meet my commitments to mixed methods for my graduate training by designing and implementing a survey. I built from similar research involving fisheries and First Nations that were designed to assess local fisheries knowledge, fish and household diets, and social implications of food sharing within communities (Loring, Gerlach, & Harrison, 2013; Lowitt, 2013; McGee et al., 2011). I initiated an inclusive research design by putting the needs for information by community partners at the forefront and created questions to learn about those areas (Davis & Reid, 1999; Salant & Dillman, 1994). To alleviate non-response error, I designed a letter to be sent over the local newsletter and through online platforms, indicating surveys were completed in collaboration with community partners (Salant & Dillman, 1994; Vaske, 2008). I had even consulted printing services to determine budget for surveys and established a timeline for administering them in order to adhere to funding deadlines. As I presented this finished project to community partners the feedback I received did not align with the dynamic of our partnership. One explanation could be the survey and funding for it required strict deadlines, potentially pressuring already busy partners into an uncomfortable direction. Letting this go, I argue, becomes one way to articulate key findings in shifting research dynamics as it embodies and demonstrates a commitment to what a community wants to do and what they do not want to do, which requires a sense of adaptability.

With my work, being adaptable meant letting go of work I created due to it not aligning with community partners, which can lead to a sense of discomfort for researchers. At the same time, maintaining an openness to changing methods allowed the partnership to continue forward by recognizing the discomfort of the survey. If our methods are open, we must attend to unexpected critical insights and the uneasiness their presence brings, as they can lead to richer insight from fieldwork (Ellingson, 2017). With the project's future seeming uncertain, I met with

a committee member who helped explain part of ethical research practices is to listen to critical insight from community partners and find other ways to collaborate or reframe research in ways respectful to local needs and values (B. McGreavy, personal communication, January 15, 2018). In a follow up meeting, I discussed how the project could be redesigned to qualitative interviews to explore the previously identified key areas of fisheries knowledge, methods, presence/absence of fish, and knowledge of weir fishing. The reception of this approach was met with enthusiasm and as a researcher, I felt more attuned to the context. Incorporating these forms of feedback or perspectives to create a common ground became an important part of our collaborative dynamic (Druschke & McGreavy, 2016). The dynamic of integrating feedback would be a key characteristic of co-creating an interview protocol, which shaped the questions I asked and the interviews with participants.

I would describe the interview process as a collaborative effort, characterized by listening on my part and reporting back to community partners with feedback. Lindlof and Taylor (2011) describe the rhythm that researchers follow to keep the growth of the data under control yet which remains connected to the trajectory of the study (p. 246). This materialized in community partners having a lot of agency in shaping and contributing to interview questions, which I have included below. I outlined the first question as it is an example of an important question added by the community.

- Do you know what our name, Passamaquoddy means? Have you ever caught or consumed Pollock? Has anyone in your family ever fished for or told stories about fishing/eating pollock?
- Why do you fish? How did you learn? Would it be different for someone first learning today?

- Have you been involved with any of the current fisheries conservation work?
Such as the Alewives?

This question “Do you know what our name, Passamaquoddy means?” refers to one translation of Passamaquoddy, as the People who Spear Pollock, which is a nod to our identity deriving from sustenance activities around fish. This question structured our conversation around fish and fishing, while remaining open for participants to share their experience (Siedman, 2006). Above all, questions were designed to have participants discuss past and present life experiences to understand the *collective memory* around fisheries in the Passamaquoddy Bay (Pezzullo, 2003; Siedman, 2006). Collective memory in this context became rooted to place, as narratives around fishing often connected to the Skutik River or locations previously known to be abundant in cod, haddock, pollock, salmon, and other fisheries. Reaching this level of theme saturation occurred largely through adapting methods to the context of research.

Returning to Molly Molasses, I used camping as a metaphor for research practices as both require a set of training and skills that are adapted to each location. In terms of qualitative research, my methods did not deviate from standard norms, it was how I applied community feedback and perspective to give research direction (Tuck & Lang, 2018). Having input on the final form of the interview protocol is an example of how we synergistically worked together to advance the research needs of the PED. As previously mentioned, incorporating local perspectives can also support greater research outcomes (Davis & Reid, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Schmitt, 2016; carr & Ranco, 2017). I observe this occurring with that key interview question about our name, Passamaquoddy, and how it contributed to articulating a collective memory of the river. On the Skutik, I see collective memory as another way to describe emergent patterns in data, resulting in data saturation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

With this level of data saturation, I next discuss how these can be organized as a deliverable to support the PED's goals.

Analyzing My Role During Interviews

The third report and its integration into this chapter is an example of how I navigate academic requirements and community needs. Consistent with Ranco (2006) there are many instances where sharing knowledge is not appropriate and researchers can find alternatives for their own outputs, such as examining the perspective of the researcher. For my work, rather than telling my community what their stories mean, I highlight the role of community feedback that contributed to the richness of the narratives for the third report. To do this, I analyze myself within the research process as one output, while still producing fisheries knowledge and stories as a community output. Several scholars have noted the responsibility and importance of creating documents and analysis that contribute or give back to communities (Conquergood, 1985; Senda-Cook, 2016). Within the process of completing the interviews and creating the third report, there were distinct moments that shaped data in particular ways. First, my stories within the interviews provide a sense of presence and credibility as I share my experiences working with the Micmac. Another moment involved how I integrated a key question from a community partner and how important this question was for facilitating the flow of conversation within interviews.

Since I grew up in Oregon away from my ancestral home, many of the interviewees did not know me, so I found myself building presence through stories of my experience. Seidman (2006) talks about reflection after interviews, being intellectual and emotional connections to work or life, whereas I actively did this within interviews. Such as, I commonly referred to my previous work with the Micmac Farms. These stories were not done unethically to guide people,

rather, it became an instance of creating presence and trust through demonstrating my identity and commitment to supporting food sovereignty in Wabanaki communities.

Myself: "Hm. Yeah, I think the, uh, the community weir part, that kind of grabbed my attention as well. One of the – one of the, one of my passions is food and that's why it kind of grew when I was working on the Micmac farms, and the Micmac Farms in Presque Isle started because the, the produce that was, you know, it's expensive and when you go down to the grocery store, you know, it was kind of like the IGA in Eastport, you know it's kind of gonna be hit or miss in terms of quality."

This story builds my presence and credibility in many ways. For one, it demonstrates my commitment from working on the Micmac Farms and now continuing that work in my own community. Two, it demonstrates my knowledge of how food impacts Wabanaki communities similarly through connected these ideas to my experience at the IGA, which is the largest and closest grocery store to Sipayik. These stories largely were unplanned on my part. I see these stories as a form of reciprocity or as knowledge sharing, which created balance between our interviewer and interviewee dynamic. Additionally, my stories also served another function as I utilized them as transitions to return to the interview protocol.

Inserting my experiences into the conversation, we used stories to make meaning together and often our conversations traveled circularly, returning to the interview questions naturally.

Continuing the quote from above:

Myself: "Um, but they started it so that way they could provide food for, um, the community and so that's why I wanted to get involved with this project because I saw it as a, another way that people were doing that. Um, I guess I always start by, you know,

going back our name, the people who spear pollock. Um, have you ever fished or eaten pollock in the past”

The quote represents how I recognized sustenance connections between the Micmac Farms and the Passamaquoddy weir project, prompting a return to the interview question on pollock. This question was developed from a community partner and it relates to the importance of fish has in our community. Geertz (1973) describes ethnography as studying *in* communities, so I see my stories as critical in situating myself *within* the dialogue around sustenance in this community. One way it does this is through creating a conversational dialogue between myself and participants as my story prompted this answer,

Siqonomeq: “Oh yes. I’ve, uh, growing up when my Uncle was a fisherman. He had his own boat. Um, so he was the one who got me exposed to working on a fish weir, uh, building a fish weir, um, scalloping. Um, those types of fishery was stuff that I was, uh, taught growing up. And we would catch, uh, again, mackerels, pollock, um, and in the fish weirs, salmon, um, herring. Uh, so it was – it was big. It was – it was big. And it made a big impression on me growing up.”

This response brought me into the collective memory around fisheries and these moments were critical for asking follow-up questions for clarity, such as the interview protocol’s intent to explore methods of fishing and what seasons various species were present.

Myself: “So with the, uh, like the mackerel and the pollock, what – how were you all catching that versus you said with the weir was. You know, more salmon and herring? Or was it more seasonal?”

Siqonomeq: “It was – it was seasonal. Like they would – we would, uh, season to season fisheries to fisheries. Um, and, um, I do remember when we were scalloping, we would do that in the winter months and that was really, really cold. Um, it was a tough way to make a living. Um, but we – so we done it. Um, and then, um, come late spring we would start repairing, uh, the weir that, uh, took a beating over the winter, um, and then we would, uh – I used to put the nets up and the pound together and we would basically, uh, uh, check larger, you know, the weir itself see if there are enough fish in the weir to actually, um, put them in the pound.”

These responses bring about a sense of immanence or immersion by which I mean the interview temporarily enters this discourse around fishing as a practice, with the interviewee being the expert who guided our conversation. This dialogue we created together brought the conversation into the areas of insight the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department were interested in. Next, I want to highlight how integral their feedback was to developing interview questions that resulted in rich narratives like this.

When creating the interview protocol, I aligned the questions with the goals of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department, who I then provided a copy to obtain their feedback. The one suggestion offered to add the very first question, “Do you know what our name, Passamaquoddy means? Have you ever caught or consumed Pollock? Has anyone in your family ever fished for or told stories about fishing/eating pollock?” Returning to the above passage, Siqonomeq responded by referencing his connections to fishing and the types of species they caught. This question was critical in producing stories relevant to the key areas of the protocol, such as fisheries knowledge. It also was a key example of how integrating First Nations voices into research processes can facilitate the production of knowledge. The way I interacted

with these stories Seidman (2006) describes as reciprocity, noting that giving back to communities can transpire as being a good listener, representing words accurately, and not saying anything you wouldn't say in person. Additionally, within the context of First Nations, knowledge has a sacred element (Ranco, 2006). As such, these stories belong to the community and analysis of them would only distant me from those I want to create meaningful relationships with. As a result, I do not analyze those stories in the space of this chapter.

What I did analyze, however, was the role of the researcher within these processes and how our choices can create or hinder relationships. For participants, explaining my previous work helped orient people to my commitment to sustenance and its importance in Wabanaki communities. Additionally, our shared stories create a shared space for us to communicate knowledge of our experiences related to food. As this chapter focuses on presence, a key notion of my approach that focuses on relationships and central to that is sustaining relationships overtime. To return to Ranco (2006) like him I attend to sustaining relationships by creating separation between community outputs and research outputs. Therefore, I gravitate toward developing presence as a key finding in my dissertation as it is grounded in a reflection on methods and engagement, rather than telling my own community what their stories mean. It also contributes to larger conversations about what methodological choices mean for improving relationships and research outcomes (Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Schmitt, 2016; carr & Ranco, 2017). Although these practices may seem insignificant, concepts of memory explain that practices over time create relationships, whether good or bad. I intend to sustain these practices over time through maintaining relationships that could transform the interactions at the core of the story with Ssipsis and institutions working with Wabanaki.

Creating Community Outputs

As a qualitative researcher doing work in his own community, my goal was to complete interviews that I could turn into a community output. While listening and reading stories, I began to understand them as a grand narrative, as individuals' stories connected in ways that became evidence of theme saturation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). When I organized them, I became inspired by the book of Molly Molasses and Me in that the stories told in that book indirectly speak to connections across experiences. For instance, this book similarly explores the respect Wabanaki give to species, as evident with fishers who describe harvesting with balance. Upon a successful clamming trip, Ssipsis leaves an offering of tobacco to honor the relationship and demonstrate respect between humans and shellfish (Ssipsis & Mitchell, 1993). Experiences like this occur throughout allowing readers to understand Wabanaki values and respect for places. Similarly, in the interviews I realized I was in a grand narrative and began to make connections across speakers. This experience would shape how I coded and analyzed the data that I returned to the community.

My focus on using interview data as a community output largely guided my coding process. Coding refers to using qualitative interviews and the selection of themes or exclusion of others (Madison, 2005; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). The process I used moves beyond grouping thematically similar stories to considering how readership and audience interact with codes (Madison, 2005). Like Molly Molasses and Me, I organized these stories so the grand narrative would speak through these experiences to the reader. As an example, these three quotes speak separately about Alewives but together, they provide readers with a deeper understanding of how practices can shape and or sustain human and ecological rhythms.

Aneqehs: It's just I don't – I don't want to see the human factor. I don't want to see it interfere with the natural rhythms of, like, what should happen.

Pelkaqsit: You know, when you see a nice healthy run, you know, you know there are animals upstream that's gonna rely on that – on that feed stock.

Taqanan: You've got to just take maybe – if you've got 1,000 – take 30 – 30 percent of them and then release the rest, because you've got to have them spawn. You know what I mean.

Taken together, these stories created an output that helps readers understand the community narrative around fishing and their shared experience along the Passamaquoddy Bay. To help organize these stories as an output for the PED, I presented a one-page overview of the general themes across all data to obtain feedback about what areas were of significance to the department's fisheries goals, which focus on connectivity, disruptions of connectivity, and signs of return. Within each theme, I first define what the theme is and then I provide a snapshot of these stories and how they inform discussions within each topic area. Next, I move through all three themes so readers of this dissertation can get a sense of what I created for the PED.

Demonstrating Connectivity: The interviews define connectivity as a value of balance and health related to the relationships and rhythms between humans and the natural world (Kimmerer, 2013). Many Western definitions of land and/or resource through the history of our rivers in Maine may or may not align with this definition. These narratives have been organized to be resources to articulate how this mindset, value, or principle guides resource use and interactions with places with Passamaquoddy fishers, rather by following the interconnections.

Siqonomeq: “And, uh, we would be able to get, you know, dozens of flounder if the conditions were just right. The tide would have to be low. It would have to be overcast or foggy and dead calm, no winds so you could see the bottom of the, um, seabed. And, uh, we used to do that all the time.”

Aneqehs: “It's just I don't – I don't want to see the human factor. I don't want to see it interfere with the natural rhythms of, like, what should happen.”

Pelkaqsit: “You know, when you see a nice healthy run, you know, you know there are animals upstream that's gonna rely on that – on that feed stock.”

Taqanan: “You've got to just take maybe – if you've got 1,000 – take 30 – 30 percent of them and then release the rest, because you've got to have them spawn. You know what I mean.”

Cilonikon: “So, yeah, the tribe is trying to bring everything back as much as we can when it comes to sea-run fish, because of the keystone species connection and how it affects all other life.”

Siqonomeq: “I mean they're even harder than the urchins now. They're harder than seaweed, and they've been harvested out a while. They're harvesting all these different species and I kind of look at seaweed like a forest. You cut the forest down where you're ruining the habitat for the deer.”

These narratives help define and characterize how Passamaquoddy fishers think through connectivity, such as balance in nature, harvesting amounts, and how interactions with ecological systems support the health of others, like the other species that rely on alewives. This parallels David Francis's story that describes the pollock chasing the herring into Sipayik (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). Putting these narratives in conversation with David Francis, take away the

herring, then there will be no Pollock. Additionally, Passamaquoddy fishers use these stories to draw out other analogies, such as healthy forest supports healthy animal populations, as analogous to creating better water quality on the Skutik River can support healthy fish populations. Related to ongoing fisheries revitalization on the Skutik, the next narratives are about historical disruptions that have impacted present-day fisheries.

Disruptions of Connectivity: Interviewees characterize the different sources of environmental degradation on the Skutik River and Passamaquoddy Bay, such as dams, mills, and overfishing. These responses could be used to provide local voice and perspectives on problems that impact water in this area. Interviewees specifically described when they saw species decline and what species are now absent.

Aneqehs: “And of course, you know, we're all the people who spear pollock and we can't even really do that anymore, you know.”

Cilonikon: “You know, cod and haddock and Pollock have been fished out hard by all kinds of different people and from different countries coming to the Georges Bank and offshore—big, giant factory ships collecting as much of that fish as they can and freezing them on board has created a real serious impact.”

Siqonomeq: “Well, just, just from my own experience and without, you know, digging into all the scientific studies and stuff, I would say probably in the late seventies and, uh, eighties on. Be-before they had 200-mile restrictions on – they used to have boats coming – and just clean up.”

Taqanan: “Well, there's no Pollock anymore now. See, everything down here now is – I don't know. We used to catch flounders in here. We used to – we used to live off the

flounders in here. We used to catch flounders that big, but after the GP and that doggone paper mill came down from St. Croix, uh, they just – there's no more flounders.”

Nuhkomea: “Of course, you have to wonder whether or not, you know, all of the things of, you know, development in the industries and stuff on both sides of the river on the St. Croix—you know, everything that dumps into Passamaquoddy Bay.”

Nuhkomea: “I went up there one time and stuff, you know, and it was just—it looked terrible. It was all brown and, you know, it almost looked like dead water...”

Putting these narratives in conversation helps understand Aneqeh’s point as there are multiple reasons why fish like pollock, cod, haddock, and flounder are absent from the Passamaquoddy Bay. These fishers offered multiple reasons for the decline, from dams and mills on the St. Croix that would sustain the presence of fish in this area, or they are being caught offshore before they can get into the bay. Returning to David Francis, pollock chasing herring would swim so close to the shore at nighttime, people could spear them from the shore (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). Because of the impacts noted by these fishers, pollock, flounder, and other species do not frequent the shoreline or broader Passamaquoddy Bay.

Opening Waterways and Signs of Return: Building on connectivity, interviewees discussed what the return of Alewives means for human and natural systems, such as the return of groundfish, healthier food webs, and stronger access to sustenance. These narratives were potential ways to discuss the impact of the current work being done by the Passamaquoddy and also encourage future work in this area.

Cilonikon: “Yeah, everything’s getting better, it seems like, you know? People are becoming more aware of all these connections, the ecosystem. They’re also becoming more aware of keystone species and how important they are. I don’t know, the industry is

not so demanding on the rivers anymore, like they used to be. At one time, there was over 100 mills on the St. Croix, and now there's, what, one? Two? I don't know how many—one, I think. One hydropower.”

Siqonomeq: “So that's, you know, and that wouldn't have happened if they didn't remove those dams (speaking of returning fish on the St. Croix, Grand Falls dam Baileyville).”

Nuhkomea: “And I'm hoping that, with the alewives coming back and stuff, you know, that that's going to bolster this whole operation. You know, maybe we'll bring back enough to where people up and down the Ferry Shore and all the way up to Calais, they'll start dressing the weirs in it.”

Siqonomeq: “So once you get those keystone, keystone species back, the fish that keeps all the alewives, then everything else that's down will come back. We, we messed things up by trying to improve, um, a perfect design which is nature and damming the rivers and poison the rivers and doing all these other things. Uh, we've only, um, hurt things really, not helped them.”

Taqanan: “A lot of herring. They're – they're coming back.”

Peskotom: “So, hey, if they can get the alewives to come back, soon the herrings could come back. The herrings come back, then the cod fish, the pollock, and the haddock, you know?”

Pelkaqsit: “Um, if there was a really healthy fish, um, availability, uh, clean fish, boy, that would be something that would be – that would be spectacular to see.”

As these fishers describe, there are positive changes occurring along the Skutik.

Cilonikon and Siqonomeq refer to the larger social changes occurring with how people think about rivers and the impact it has on ecology. Additionally, the last three fishers all note the

excitement of observing fish returning and what potential that has for revitalizing the once abundant fisheries along the coast of Maine.

Concluding this section, these narratives became an output for the community, rather than traditional narrative analysis within this dissertation. I utilized a range of literature to analyze this data for stakeholders, including narrative analysis, storytelling, environmental communication scholars, to produce a document to be returned to community partners. For one, I understood these fishers' stories and experiences as a group narrative, central to a community, culture, and or place (Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Madison, 2005). As such, each story and experience was ordered to reflect how they inform each other, the subject (fish), and the Skutik, which is prevalent in the last section as the first two illustrate more of social conditions leading to change on the river, whereas the last fishers speak more about their observed ecological impacts of fisheries restoration. When assembling and reading these stories together, it begins to give a sense of that greater conversation that exists within this place. Additionally, with Maine's history of logging, it provides another resource to amplify underrepresented voices on our waterways, particularly the ones that did not benefit from the boom and bust of timber economics. Many environmental communication scholars utilize stories as coded data to expand our understanding of diverse perspectives within a community respect to places (Carbaugh & Rudnick, 2006; Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011; Pezzullo, 2003). Within my data, some of these would be larger narratives, such as discussing a childhood story of catching a salmon in their weir and being able to eat it that night, with the whole experience illustrating the significance of sustenance practices. Others are shorter experiences, such as observing the water "boiling" with the fins of alewives returning to local waterways. Returning these stories to the community is a way for this knowledge to support future writing and outputs relevant to their fisheries work. Since I have

focused on building relationships and creating community outputs within this chapter, I am positioned to continue supporting ongoing fisheries work. This could continue through utilizing this data within this chapter or exploring other efforts at revitalizing sustenance for the Passamaquoddy.

Conclusion: Implications for Presence

Prior to concluding, I want to expand upon the implications for this data being returned to communities. For me, I interpret both ecological implications and social implications as both powerful and transformative outputs. As Ranco (2006) suggests, academic institutions ultimately define what counts as an output, the difficulty being that community outputs can differ from academic ones. The major implication for ecological work is to mobilize this data to continue supporting the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department's work with fishing. As an example, recent conversations at the PED have considered how stories related to salmon could support current funding efforts if these stories were integrated into grant narratives. This the exact position I intend to take as a researcher, one that learns the community's vision for the ecological work they engage in, while finding ways to support that vision. This type of work requires sustained efforts sustained so considering social implications in settings like this are a key insight for communication research. Community engagement and outreach are the cornerstone of the University of Maine's mission and I see maintaining relationships as critical to maintaining that mission. This chapter demonstrates presence as a commitment to building relationships based on integrating local knowledge in research processes, such as deciding on research objectives, how to collect information, and/or how to analyze data. Outreach and engagement cannot be assumed to occur; concepts like presence allow us to think through our choices and the implications they have for shaping social dynamics over time.

I have described practices sustained over time as contributing to memory. Thinking through memory allows one to understand how past practices are present today and also to find opportunities for change (Black, 2012). Memory in Maine can be found within social practices, such as Ssipsis's understanding how her Wabanaki knowledge was not valued equally to the non-Wabanaki women on the panel. In this chapter, I addressed this form of memory through a concept of presence, which I utilize in fieldwork to integrate local knowledge and values into research processes. My definition of presence extends beyond physical presence to ways that researchers can orient themselves to history, to building trust, and to shaping methods in support of community visions. First, orienting brings forward a sense of memory of the river that shapes our engagement with each other. Next, our sense of ethics guides us *into* communities where varying lengths of fieldwork field creates different types of research engagements, outcomes, and relationships. It is the body's physical presence that interacts with places, communities, and key collaborators to learn what community partners find significant and how research and local knowledge can work together. One indicator of presence is when research begins to take form, which transpired as the need for fisheries knowledge and how to obtain it developed from moving to qualitative interviews as I discussed. The integration of local knowledge and feedback is an integral part of data collection and the production of community outputs. In this study, ultimately community outputs took the form of a 12-page report organizing key narratives that support the current fisheries goals of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department. Additionally, giving First Nations greater control in research processes and data collection is consistent with the current directions of the University of Maine. Ranco (2006) describes this as a commitment to projects that support sovereignty. I approach this by treating presence as an output that separates my inquiry from my community. While doing so, I can attend to academic

commitments while also continuing to expand my understanding of processes that support community visions and sovereignty.

CHAPTER 4

PRACTICES ON THE SKUTIK: TRANSFORMING WAYS OF LIVING

The second Sunday of every August, the Passamaquoddy of Maine celebrate their culture over several days. The weekend commences with the arrival of the annual canoe trip. Prior to the weekend's festivities, members of the Passamaquoddy Nation embark on a multiple day canoe journey down the Skutik River. From a Western viewpoint, this event could be perceived as a historical performance, such as the Revolutionary War reenactments in Boston that allow participants to view a scripted-PG version of history. The canoe trip is not a show or a symbolic reenactment of "past traditions" but it's a spiritual trip for participants to embody the knowledge, culture, and ways of life for Wabanaki. In indigenous cultures, places often become spiritual sites where people go to practice their beliefs (Carbaugh & Rudnik, 2011; Colombi, 2012; Watts, 2016). Westerners often have constructed places, such as churches, where the flow of knowledge is directed through religious practices, such as reading versus from sacred texts. In this setting, people are not in canoes but wooden pews or chairs, where a speaker guides the flow of knowledge. In contrast, the currents of the river and ocean working together, guide the flow of Wabanaki people along the Skutik. The river is framed with beautiful Pine trees on all sides, making homes for eagles that frequently bless paddlers on their own journey home.

On Friday August 10th, 2018 500,000 gallons of wastewater discharged into the Skutik River (Trotter, 2018). This is enough to fill a church, making its wooden pews, stained glass, paintings, books of holy scripture, and other symbolic features, making them unusable. This occurred nearly one day after the canoers completed their sacred trip down the very same river. The act of wastewater present in an area so central to another culture, is an example of the values of land and resources being contested in this area. In a way, the uses of rivers, like dams, limit

both the movement of water and knowledge of people who can participate. These limits, whether dams or participatory processes, *converge* ideas or narrow them in an area of inquiry (Latour, 2004). The Skutik is a place to consider Zoe Todd's (2016) call to recognize the role of indigenous thinkers in ecological issues. To do so, I previously completed seven interviews for the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department (PED) regarding their interest in learning fisheries knowledge and stories from tribal fishers. As an example, the PED was interested in when species started to decline on the Skutik. As I listened to participants speak about this, their responses centered around practices on the river. Yet, returning data in the form of a technical report removed this knowledge from its orientation to place. Thus, in this chapter, I embody the move of Zoe Todd by bringing these stories and indigenous thinkers back to the river. By doing so, I address the following question: How does following the flow of Alewives down the Skutik River expand our understanding of rhythms and cycles that connect the health of places, fish, and people? To address this question, I first clarify my choice of focusing on the Passamaquoddy's conservation work with the Alewife.¹⁴

As a scholar, I give specific attention to what objects direct my inquiry, as it is my intent to create alignment with community partners. Working in an indigenous context, my writing maintains a commitment to respecting communities by focusing on what is important to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Listening to the stories told by Passamaquoddy fishers, it was always about fish, so I made my focus on Alewives as well. Druschke and McGreavy (2016) contend that successful communication as starting with, "...recognizing and valuing where audiences are coming from, and then working to incorporate those perspectives" (p. 47). Additionally, focusing on Alewives takes on an ecological perspective, potentially opening new lines of thinking

¹⁴ Alewives are a species of herring; a diadromous fish born in rivers and live in the ocean.

(Druschke & Rai, 2018). I interpret new lines of thinking to both be related to our relationships to these ecological systems as well as the new thinking a researcher needs to do when orienting to a new perspective. Rivers in Maine have a relationship to the timber and mill industries, which have also functioned to restrict Wabanaki knowledge and sustenance, so I also see these places as a site to open knowledge that has been historically restricted. Within these human-ecological problems, indigenous knowledge can be dismissed or disregarded all together (Hoover et al., 2012; Todd, 2014; 2016). Within this chapter, I make conscious effort to reintegrate this knowledge into the discourse around the Skutik, which I have done attending gatherings on the river, participating in sustenance practices, engaging Wabanaki texts, and utilizing stories from Passamaquoddy fishers. In addition, many of these stories talk about industrial practices of the river. To understand these industrial uses of the Skutik, I also learned the basics of media analysis to compile 18 articles from the *Bangor Daily News* focused on one of the remaining paper mills in this region.¹⁵ To organize all these forms of knowledge, I focused on what places articulated these interconnections clearly along the river.

As I listened to the stories shared with me, fishers often situated their knowledge or experiences at specific places on the river. Actions or experiences exist as a co-coordination or collaboration of many elements working together within a site (Druschke & Rai, 2018; Edbauer, 2005; McGreavy, 2018; Rickert 2004; Tsing, 2015). Since Wabanaki knowledge was historically restricted along the river, bringing these forms of knowledge back expands our understanding of human and non-human perspectives in this region. I use three places to explore these forms of

¹⁵ From 18 news articles, I did keyword searches for, “Passamaquoddy” and “fish” to characterize the reporting of spills on the Skutik. Two articles use, “Passamaquoddy” both in reference to being notified about the spill. Seven articles discuss impacts to fish as being through minimal impact to fish or quantifying their mortality. The key idea becoming that if fish aren’t dying, they accumulate enough toxins to continue swimming, this approach may not consider impacts in relation to sustenance.

knowledge and organize this chapter: upriver, the middle, and the Passamaquoddy Bay. These places were chosen due to how fishers, Alewives, and the river interact at these locations. Upriver represents the area that Alewives migrate to and similarly, I share an experience migrating there with my family to a Passamaquoddy event that recognizes the rhythms of sustenance. The middle section is geographically where many of the paper mills were/are located, which becomes referenced in many stories from Passamaquoddy fishers. Lastly, the Passamaquoddy reservation in Sipayik maintains the only coastal access along the Passamaquoddy bay where the presence of fish has direct impact on cultural identities around fishing. I use the plural form as fishing identities extends more broadly to non-Wabanaki in this region. Prior to working through each of these sections, I outline the Wabanaki and Western thinkers that guide my inquiry into understanding the interconnections between human and non-human systems.

Siqonomeqi-kisuhs: Alewife Moon

Siqonomeqi-kisuhs translates as the Alewives moon in the Passamaquoddy calendar, which recognizes the interconnections of seasonal migrations of fish in relation to ways of living. As David Francis explains, the presence of food organized(s) where people lived and the practices required to live in that space, like fishing techniques (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). This paper embodies this same value as I organize myself and orient my inquiry to the river, which creates both limits to my observations and greater richness within those insights. This echoes Latour (2005) who suggests non-traditional boundaries (e.g. rivers) focus our inquiry and open new questions as our “new departure point is forcing us to obey” (p. 13). Thus, the river as a departure point focuses my observations of associations or interconnections of humans, fish, and ecosystems within places on the river as opposed to commercial fishing practices in the Gulf

of Maine. Additionally, our lives experiences (e.g. stories) or lived relationships are mediated through our environment, whether human or natural (Rickert, 2013; Tuck & Lang, 2018; Spinuzzi, 2015). Thus, the river as a boundary limits associations in advance while providing an opportunity to for an in-depth inquiry of places as assemblages of human and non-human interactions. As the river guides my descriptions, I use indigenous thinkers and Western theorists to articulate my focus on the interconnections in these sites.

Thinking through the Passamaquoddy 13-month calendar does not just reveal orientations to places but also articulates the value of sustenance or food in shaping cultural practices and identity. As previously demonstrated, the values practiced on the Skutik have predominately been Westerners, such as supporting paper and logging practices. To embody Zoe Todd's (2016) call, I focus on interconnections as a Wabanaki value that guides practices on the river. As David Francis said,

There used to be so many pollock here that they just threw themselves up on the shore; you didn't even have to spear them. At nighttime, the ocean here was like it was boiling with fish. Pollock would chase the herring, and the whales would come and chase the herring. They'd make a whirlpool, go underneath and just open their mouth and get their fill of herring (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 10).

This quote demonstrates how sustenance recognizes interconnections and this perspective is useful in the context of this paper. David explains how the presence of herring, brings in other fish like pollock, which the Passamaquoddy are the People who Spear Pollock. This connection becomes more obvious using the Passamaquoddy language, as Peskotomuhkati (Passamaquoddy) contains the word Peskotom, or Pollock. This represents the Wabanaki view of sustenance, as the presence of fish connects cultural knowledge and ways of living (e.g. identity).

Sustenance is also not limited to one area, as the 13-month calendar suggests, ways of living would exist across many places depending on the season and availability of food (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). Thus, sustenance and identity for Wabanaki exists in a network of places and knowledge of cultural practices in those places (Harper & Ranco, 2009; Pawling, 2016). The connections across these networks of places allows knowledge (e.g. fishing practices) to flow (Harper & Ranco, 2009). In the context of Skutik, it's the presence of Alewives that allows knowledge to flow and the interconnections, as they function similarly as herring in the ecosystem. The Pollock drive the herring into the Passamaquoddy Bay and the whales follow the herring, establishing a similar sense of sustenance as species organize and reorganize around the rhythms and returns of fish migrations.

Ecological health and the movement, cycles, and rhythms of land and seascapes are integration in the discussion of herring and pollock. Scholars in Maine and elsewhere argue for the importance of ecological health and the connections to the health and well-being of indigenous people (Adamson, 2011, Harper & Ranco, 2009; Hoover et al., 2012). For instance, if herring are not present, then the pollock will not be coming to shore, potentially disconnecting our knowledges and practices of spearing fish in this place. Many practices along the Skutik and other rivers in Maine have not considered the 13-month calendar or Wabanaki relationships to these places. I see this as an example of Latour's (2004) argument that ideas have converged and shortened our capacity to think within a subject. Todd (2016) expands this notion through arguing how conceptualizing human-ecological relationships has difficulty or has excluded indigenous knowledge. This occurs on the Skutik, which can only be resolved through expanding our understanding of voices and users of the river by including Wabanaki knowledge and perspectives. For my work, I draw heavily upon Ssipsis and David Francis, as Wabanaki people

who provide stories and experiences that articulate the interconnections between Wabanaki health and ecological health. Additionally, I do not remove Western perspectives or thinkers, rather, I assemble the two together to see how expanding our understanding of users of this river can contribute to an expanded understanding of human relationships to places.

In addition to indigenous thinkers, I draw on Actor Network-Theory (ANT) to help train my body to articulate associations between human and non-humans that go unrecognized. With ANT, associations denote a point of inquiry that provide insight to an interconnected world (Latour, 2005). For instance, in Maine fishing identities are often described in economic terms but ANT would describe this as an assemblage that constitutes identity through from fishers, boat builders, seafood distributors, restaurants, consumers all interconnected to provide a community's a way of living. These interconnections are traceable in moments of modification (Latour, 2005). A notable example is the tenuous and powerful relation lobster has in Maine, where community's way of living is supported solely on the lobster industry, creating uncertainty about what happens if this species were to decline (Steneck et al., 2011). These moments of uncertainty describe these traceable moments that recognize the interconnections of human and non-humans. Also, more subtle environmental changes, like tides or seasonal changes in rivers, that can articulate the interconnections or co-coordination of actions between human and non-human systems (Drusckhe & Rai, 2018; Todd, 2014). Todd (2014) describes how human-fish relations can help one engage within a context, whether its tracing lines of inquiry or working with a community. Putting ANT in conversation with Todd (2014; 2016) allows my inquiry to understand the reintroduction of Alewives also includes returning Wabanaki thinking and knowledge into the Stutik, both with their engagement in ecological restoration work and sustaining their cultural practices. This is evident with Siqonomeqi-kisuhs, the month of the

lunar calendar that recognizes the time of year where ways of living will reorganize around migrating Alewives. Pawling (2016) describes these as sites of homeland that articulate interactions, practices, and knowledge of place. To understand these places, I also utilize my body within fieldwork to articulate these forms of knowledge.

Training the body is one way to talk about interconnections present within fieldwork. The body “leaves a dynamic trajectory by which we learn to register and become sensitive to what the world is made of” (Latour, 2004, p. 206). Additionally, I approach fieldwork holistically, noting cultural aspects of practices (e.g. food) and the rituals and knowledge that shape experience (Salvador & Clarke, 2011). In that, it is not just my body that is as a vessel for information, but rivers and fish too. This resembles Edbauer’s (2005) rhetorical ecologies, which includes yourself within the co-coordination of all elements in a rhetorical situation. I assemble these vessels to characterize how my body interacts in fieldwork with participants, traveling to the river, and with fish, to articulate the interconnections between all. This is characterized by thinking and doing, almost by combining the two together (Edbauer, 2005). Actor-network theory is described with a sense of slowness that is needed to engage within a complex human-ecological system (Latour, 2005). Similarly, using rivers and fish to guide the discussion of this chapter requires a sense of slowness to remain focused on our line of thinking. A river can have many tributaries that can distract or guide our thoughts towards another direction, which is why we need to define or limit these associations in advance.

Returning to *Siqonomeqi-kisuhs*, this phrase recognizes the flows of movement within a watershed as species respond to warming waters; it recognizes the flows of knowledge that organize people and practices to these same places. *Siqonomeqi-kisuhs* is also a metaphor for my orientation to rivers and Alewives that creates boundaries to my inquiry while maintaining a

fidelity to my community by focusing on what's important to them: ecological health and fish. This boundary also represents the places that mediate our experiences, such as my travels along the river and the stories of Passamaquoddy fishers. In rhetoric, ecological rhetoric is described as an embedded and embodied process with an inherent material quality, which results from the environment (Rickert, 2013). As I move forward in this paper, I explore different places along the Skutik and use Wabanaki and Western thinkers to unpack the associations embedded in those places to understand the significance of our practices on the river and what that means for ways of living. Within the boundaries of the Skutik, I will shed light on past, current, and potential future practices within these places and their potential to transform ecological and social environments. Consistent with the 13-month calendar and thinking of food as movement between places, this chapter follows the movement of the river beginning in nolomiw (upriver), then to a section (middle) just above head of tide, and finally to where the Skutik meets the Passamaquoddy Bay. Each place offers different insights into our interconnections to places as I think through my own experiences and seven interviews of those who have been engaged and situated with the Skutik as fishers. With that, we begin nolomiw at the area the alewives are drawn to.

Nolomiw: Upriver

“We strive to endorse only appropriate technology that will enhance and not damage the natural ecosystems that these and other indigenous fish and wildlife need to survive. We desire to preserve and restore traditional food sources – our physical, cultural, and spiritual sustenance.”
- Schoodic Riverkeepers Vision and Mission Statement.

The Schoodic Riverkeepers is comprised largely of Passamaquoddy members and stewards of the land and sea that assemble their values, experience, and knowledge to restore

balance to the ecosystem in their (our) ancestral homeland. That is also where the story of this section begins, ancestral Passamaquoddy homeland. That place, Camp Cheputneticook, an old hunting lodge, became official land for the Peskotomuhkati¹⁶ in Canada along with the *return* of 2,400 acres of land along the Skutik (“Tribe to acquire land,” 2017). Landscapes are powerful parts of our world that can draw out political tensions (Senda-Cook, 2013). For instance, naming places or claiming land as a state rhetorically opens it up to new possibilities (Stuckey & Murphy, 2001). For the Skutik watershed, this meant *reclaiming* land and similarly, opening new cultural and political possibilities for the Passamaquoddy of New Brunswick. This land acquisition occurs in larger disputes over ancestral territory, such as Indian Point near St. Andrews N.B., one of the oldest archaeological sites in the Maritimes, which is also home of town dumps and sewage lagoons (“Tribe to acquire land,” 2017). Redefining First Nations land to waste sites brings forward tensions between groups, such as the Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute nations resistance to nuclear waste sites on lands secured through treaties (Endres, 2009). For the Peskotomuhkati, the acquisition of territory does not alleviate this tension but reclaiming ancestral territory reopens possibilities for cultural practices and knowledge to shape landscapes politically, socially, and ecologically. At Camp Cheputneticook, both Passamaquoddy and Alewives gather, as they too are finally able to return to ancestral territory.

The celebration at Camp Cheputneticook is significant for the recent return of fish populations and the story of continuous Wabanaki work in fisheries. Shortly after Maine had become a state, Wabanaki had also gathered for the fish: “The whites are destroying the

¹⁶ As indicated in the introduction, Peskotomuhkati is the more indigenized way to identify, which the Schoodic band uses in Canada.

migratory fish before they get up to the Indian fisheries; and they are ruining the hunting...” (Eckstorm, 1945). Nearly 200 years later we would be celebrating the recent return of Alewives and reclaiming Passamaquoddy homeland; both groups gathered in the same place for different reasons but gain a sense of life through it. Alewives spawn in the upper branches of the Skutik river and some are harvested by Passamaquoddy as sustenance. Part of sustenance is balance (Kimmerer, 2013). As one interviewee Taqanan stated, “You've got to just take maybe – if you've got 1,000 – take 30 – 30 percent of them and then release the rest, because you've got to have them spawn.” Whyte (2013) speaks more broadly about indigenous traditions of food practices and the ways that they procure it with respect to environmental health (Kimmerer, 2013; Whyte, 2013). The Nimiipuu have maintained a close connection to Salmon along the Columbia River long before Europeans, recognizing their existence in their homeland depends on maintaining a healthy relationship to this species (Colombi, 2012). Similarly, the Akwesasne, also describe a strong relationship to fish, which they demonstrate through a respect for species due to their connections to cultural practices (Hoover, 2013). In Maine, Wabanaki demonstrate similar values with food practices as they describe a respect to the health of places and species within harvesting resources (Harper & Ranco, 2009). Across all instances, balance becomes an integral feature within food practices as it ensures that both species and people can pursue life within these places.

Being able to harvest wild fish for a cultural event is a rich example of sustenance. As previously described, sustenance constitutes food as interconnected with the health of the body, culture, to spirituality. This guides the Passamaquoddy’s work to advocate for dams to be opened on the river. Speaking of returning Alewives on the Skutik, “Siqonomeq: So that's, you know, and that wouldn't have happened if they didn't remove those dams (Grand Falls dam in

Baileyville).” The dam removal provided unrestricted *movement* for fish up the river to Passamaquoddy territory. At this cultural event, Alewives were smoked, transforming their rich-oily flesh to a dark color as the smells of local hardwood penetrate deeply into the fish. We stand alongside the river, with the rustic log cabin behind us as the only other signs of human interactions. There are only trees, a calm flowing river, animals, and the fish. Elders sing to the rhythmic beats of a hand drum, providing a blessing that encompasses our respect for the species and its connection to our culture. My son, two months old at the time, couldn’t make it through the whole ceremony because for him too, it was time to eat. As such, I gathered food for us all to share consisting of premade sandwiches, veggies that likely came in plastic, and freshly smoked Alewives. The flavor of the fish was as rich as its color, as the omega 3s prevent it from drying out, the taste seems to dance on our palate. To be the People who Spear Pollock, eating fish was a wonderful moment to share and I was eager to bring some for my family.



Figure 3: Smoked Alewife

Unfortunately, my wife could not eat these fish as she was breastfeeding, and the presence of toxins persist in the river, providing a memory of past practices embodied by our fish. Referring to a trip up the Skutik Nuhkomea said “I went up there one time and stuff, you know, and it was just—it looked terrible. It was all brown, you know, it almost looked like dead water...” Despite the pristine natural wilderness between Maine and Canada, toxins are a mundane unarticulated part of this scene as well. Images of brown and dead water bring forward notions of distance and disconnections from place. Europeans were/are so distant from certain productions (e.g. paper or timber) that it impacts their capacity to interact with these places (Tsing, 2015). The moment when my wife could not eat the freshest and most nutritious part of our meal made the presence of toxins and sustenance very real. An analogous situation occurs with the Akwesasne as polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) contamination of fish has slowed fishing practices, which has had consequences for the loss of culture, language, and altered dietary health (Hoover, 2013). With fish returning to the Skutik, their presence gave agency to the practices of procuring, preparing, and ceremonies related to food. Alewives returning to our plates brough new life to our identity and, similarly, Alewives returning to rivers can offer new life to “dead water.”

When sustenance practices maintain balance in harvesting fish, many Alewives go on to spawn in this same area. In reference to dams one respondent replied, “Aneqehs: It's just I don't – I don't want to see the human factor. I don't want to see it interfere with the natural rhythms of, like, what should happen.” Extending these rhythms further, the presence of Alewives and toxins have an interesting association with each other.

Cilonikon: “For example, the alewife floater mussel, which is a freshwater mussel that, basically, it hitches a ride on the alewife fins and the scales. It’s suspended in the water,

and when the alewife comes by, the wildlife connects to the alewife and takes a ride all the way upstream, and then it deposits itself in the upper watershed to create more alewife floater mussels in the lake bottoms. And those mussels are responsible for filtering out billions of gallons of water every day to keep the water clean.”

Thus, when dams are present, they not only contribute toxins to the environment, they also prevent Alewives (and floater mussels) from being able to help support clean waters and clean fish. Tsing (2015) talks about how food has many layers of knowledge. From Camp Cheputneticook fish articulate layers of knowledge that ripple through ecosystems, cleaning water and supporting many other species, including us that day. Bringing our focus to rivers and fish attunes us to these ambient interactions, which shapes places and how people act within them (Druschke & Rai, 2018; Rickert, 2013). Druschke and Rai (2008) discuss how Alewife migration also extend organizing people, practices, and actions around these seasonal movement so fish. Wabanaki sustenance practices extend this idea by illustrating how the health of these migrations relies on the balance and coordination of humans and nonhumans, as Pelkaqsit explains “You know, when you see a nice healthy run (of Alewives), you know there are animals upstream that's gonna rely on that – on that feed stock.” Concluding this section, Alewives returning to this area reconnected habitat and sustenance practices. From the scales that transported the river mussels, to the people who sang/prayed to bless this food, this species reconnects to the rhythms of life and culture in the upper section of the Skutik.

From the health of people, culture, and places, the interconnections of fish and rivers with the world around it demonstrates the ambient forces within this area that I articulate as interconnections or associations. Ambience sees discourse, like a river as interconnected, “And thinking, as the bringing together of different ideas and experiences from different people, places

and times, also conforms to the logic of complexity...” (Rickert, 2004, p. 914). In my writing, the logic of complexity unfolds as we widen our understanding of the world to include fish and rivers, revealing features and intricacies of interconnections *in situ*. Notable examples of interconnections are the timing of rhythms and cycles in nature (Kimmerer, 2013; Druschke & Rai, 2018; McGreavy, 2018). This occurred at Camp Cheputneticook as people gather in response to the rhythms of nature: the waters warm, fish migrate, and people migrate too. This is an example of the Passamaquoddy calendar that Davis Francis described how food organized what people did and the places they oriented themselves to. These interconnections also exist in a three-dimensional plane, like a plate situated on a ball, as we consider balance and tipping points in nature, such as harvesting fish with balance so that all may thrive. The lack of balance on the Skutik River created the exigency to engage the plethora of stakeholders present at the ceremony at Camp Cheputneticook, from the EPA to representatives of all Passamaquoddy Nations, to improve the river and sustenance patterns for those interconnected to it. Rickert (2004) would describe stakeholders, rivers, and fish as different strands woven together in this place as, “all these strands combine and recombine, continuously adapting and re-adapting to each other, moving to points far from equilibrium, perhaps to a tipping point where transformation, and a new (albeit temporal) level of order emerges” (Rickert, 2004, p. 914). Moving further down the river, we can understand how shifting balance or equilibrium can create new ways of defining the river and bring forward other ambient qualities of the water.

The Middle: Shifting Boundaries on the Skutik

“These paper companies, they use harvesters and cut thousands of trees without a human being touching them. This all cuts out work for poor people and is bad for the environment.” – David Francis¹⁷

Moving further downriver towards the area of Baileyville, the banks of the river begin to widen, and the current is swifter than the calm waters of Camp Cheputneticook. The river demonstrating the interconnections with humans and non-humans also has a physical boundary where the water meets the shore. It is not a boundary as in a barrier, although a dam could be; rather it’s a feature under constant state of change. These repetitions and changes bring forward a sense of newness, allowing the interconnections to be more noticeable (Latour, 2005). As the Francis quote illustrates, different groups use resources in this area differently, with different motivations, and this section of the river articulates these competing viewpoints. If we think through a question posed from the previous section “why can’t my wife eat the fish?” the presence of toxins within this boundary enact notions of tipping points. As an example, we live in a world where the presence of toxins by humans is assumed and First Nations must advocate for their remediation for physical and spiritual health (Harper & Ranco, 2009; Hoover 2013). To address this, first I will describe the river, fish, and narratives from Passamaquoddy fishers about what this place communicates regarding the question of toxins. Second, I argued previously that indigenous voices have not been included in places like our rivers, that have favored economic policies that have primarily benefited non-Wabanaki. Consequently, I resist doing the same to

¹⁷ In, Sunrise in Sipayik (Francis & Schaumann, 2016, p. 56-57).

non-Wabanaki as their ways of living matters too, so I will finish the section by addressing economics relationships with groups of people within this river system.

Sawmills processing timber to papermills like the one in Baileyville ME, uses of the river can create opportunities for some and restricting possibilities for others. I began to understand this relationship while completing my dissertation the Woodland Mill discharged 500,000 gallons of wastewater into the Skutik (Trotter, 2018). This event directed my inquiry to the practices of industries along the river, which led me to understand the balance of waterways and species being shaped together, as economic production of paper mills can impact the habitat of many species, like fish. The power of economics more broadly has shaped waterways in favor of industries, which has contaminated waterways and sustenance practices (eating fish) for the Nimiipuu, Akwesasne, and Passamaquoddy (Colombi, 2012; Hoover, 2013, Ranco, O'Neill, Donatuto, & Harper, 2011). I examine this power to shape waterways by completing a brief media analysis from the *Bangor Daily News* to characterize the use of a prominent mill on the Skutik.¹⁸ From the 1990s to present, this mill has changed ownership three times and discharges of toxic wastewater have occurred with every owner. This example illustrates how economic identity tips the balance in favor of this industry. Uses and practices of rivers are examples of how people configure identity in the world (Barad, 2003). River spills are characterized by language describing how no jobs were lost and/or quantifying the amount of fish killed.

Returning to the 2018 incident, I resist the false dichotomy of economic prosperity or environmental health described in local news by assuming it was benign. By doing so, I began to

¹⁸ From 18 news articles, I did keyword searches for, "Passamaquoddy" and "fish" to characterize the reporting of spills on the Skutik. Two articles use, "Passamaquoddy" both in reference to being notified about the spill. Seven articles discuss impacts to fish as being through minimal impact to fish or quantifying their mortality. The key idea becoming that if fish aren't dying, they accumulate enough toxins to continue swimming, this approach may not consider impacts in relation to sustenance.

understand more about how practices over time relate to balance and tipping points. It is not isolated incidents that change the boundaries of the Skutik; it is the repetitions of spills over time that has the power to shape.

If new levels of order emerge in a discourse, then the “boundaries” of our river shift and change based on the actions of those around it and these changes take variable amounts of time to disrupt balance and to shift equilibrium. In 2002, the GP or Domtar mill at the time, discharged 157,000 gallons of black liquor. Black liquor is an industry term to refer to water, sodium hydroxide, wood solids, and wood extracts (Graettinger, 2004). Sodium Hydroxide is listed by the Food and Agriculture Organization to be highly toxic to fish. The incident in question killed an estimated 3,000 fish, salmon specifically. Discussing events like this lends itself to a limited temporal understanding of the impacts of these discharges in rivers, as if they occurred just in that moment. Like Geertz (1973) this fixes our understanding of discourse to a moment of time. This limits our thinking of how this impacts issues such as sustenance, as even if a mill closes, its legacy remains in our waters. Additionally, if this were an isolated incident, this would not be detrimental to the existence of salmon or other species that use this waterway. The Maine Department of Environmental Protections reports that violations of Woodland Pulp LLC in 2004 and 2014 exceeding limits of heavy metal contamination in the Skutik from samples taken those years (“Woodland Pulp LLC,” 2019). Additionally, the document details the regularity of spills either contained in wastewater lagoons, into the ground, or into the river year to year. Thus, the report expands how we think about spills occurring temporally as this practice is being repeated over time, potentially creating tipping points. One tipping point is expressed through fishing practices on the river.

When prompting Passamaquoddy fishers about the reasons of declining fish, one focus came from this section of the river. The first interviewee described the big picture of the uses of the Skutik and what it means more broadly. As Nuhkomea explains “Of course, you have to wonder whether or not all of the things of, you know, development in the industries and stuff on both sides of the river on the St. Croix—you know, everything that dumps into Passamaquoddy Bay.” Cilonikon described the history of the river as demanding “I don't know, the industry is not so demanding on the rivers anymore, like they used to be. At one time, there was over 100 mills on the St. Croix, and now there's, what, one? Two? I don't know how many—one, I think. One hydropower.” That one mill is the one located in Baileyville, previously known as Georgia-Pacific (GP), Domtar, and now Woodland. As Taqanan adds, “We used to catch flounders that big, but after the GP and that doggone paper mill came down from St. Croix – there's no more flounders. Those chemicals, all that coming through the water here from GP mill.” Not referring to any specific spill, this quote speaks more broadly to the history of repeated spills that have powerfully shaped the river and life around it. With Alewives shaping water quality upstream and humans shaping it downstream, toxic spills demonstrate how balance shifts the boundaries of interconnections in places one direction or another. The practices around Baileyville support the economic identity of the mill industry, while impacting sustenance practices as interviewees noted. I see river boundaries as a metaphor for how these contrasting viewpoints are negotiated and communicated.

From my perspective, the viewpoint communicated of the river is critical of paper and timber industries. While presenting this analysis, I have been prompted; but what about *their* economic needs? If we position the mills as a symbolic feature of the river, it can communicate how groups make meaning from this industry. Symbolic transference refers to the meaning

individuals give to a symbol and overshadow other parts of social relations (Whitehead, 1959). In the context of rural communities in Maine, the emotional importance of stable employment via mills can overshadow other values in the watershed, such as river impacts or sustenance practices downstream. This brings us back to, “whose economics?” Since the 1990s, this mill has changed ownership three times, creating rhythms of employment and unemployment. Unlike the seasonal arrival of fish and reorganization of people around it, employment could be argued to be occurring in its own network of rhythms or cycles. Sustaining both cycles, whether healthy populations of fish or employment, becomes essential for securing ways of living. Yet, the balance in economic employment appears to be unstable for the people promised economic certainty as this industry is subject to frequent closures. To address economics I ask, are there other ways to create economic stability on the Skutik?

One thing that Passamaquoddy people and Mainers share is an identity to fishing and thinking through the role of the river and sustenance provides insight into supporting ways of living. This focus could offer a different sense of economic stability or ways of connecting across difference. Jennifer Edbauer (2005) describes rhetorical sites as shifting, changing, and connecting to other structures. This could describe the situation on the Skutik where heavy use by the timber industries shifts, changes, and connects the river to other structures. As species are currently returning, fisheries restoration work is shifting the equilibrium on the Skutik.

Nuhkomea: “And I'm hoping that, with the alewives coming back and stuff, you know, that that's going to bolster this whole operation. You know, maybe we'll bring back enough to where people up and down the Ferry Shore and all the way up to Calais, they'll start dressing the weirs again.”

Driving route 1 from Calais to the Passamaquoddy in Sipayik, the wooden posts from previous weirs remain, both of Passamaquoddy and non-indigenous fishers. They remain “undressed” referring to putting nets or brush onto them as there hasn’t been enough fish in recent years. The presence of fish would not only bring a sense of seasonal economic stability, it would also reconnect other structures like seafood infrastructure. For instance, it wasn’t economically viable to transport clams from this area down south until a local buyer opened the Gulf of Maine Inc. in Pembroke, which has since closed. With Alewives, herring, and other species returning, weirs can be dressed again, trucks will need to pick up fish, and they will need to be processed locally. Or as previously stated, “moving to points far from equilibrium, perhaps to a tipping point where transformation, and a new (albeit temporal) level of order emerges” (Rickert, 2004, p. 914). So, the presence of fish could shift economic boundaries from the mills to fish, creating new networks supported by Maine’s fishing identities and the weirs from Sipayik to Calais.

Returning to David Francis he spoke about the timber industry benefiting some and not others, humans and non-humans, which is evident within the boundaries of the middle section of the Skutik. His perspective allows us to understand that identity or ways of living constructed through economics or through sustenance are not just choices or power imbalances but are part of a worldly reconfiguration (Barad, 2003). The Skutik becomes the site where groups reconfigure identities through their engagement with practices, such as the economics of mills or the impact of toxins on sustenance. Practices over time in this place give a sense of the identity within this boundary. I see this the way that Latour (2004) describes a dynamic trajectory, “by which we learn to register and become sensitive to what the world is made of” (p. 206). With the boundaries of the middle section, these sensitivities come up in both questions of, “whose economics?” And, “why can’t my wife eat the fish?” They are both grounded in an

uncomfortable feeling when you recognize the configuration of the world has, can, or may disconnect from networks of places, knowledge, or resources. For the former question, an example for non-Wabanaki right now is illustrated in the gilded trap of lobsters, where communities' ways of living are supported by a single fishery, posing the uncomfortable question of, what happens without lobster? (Steneck et al., 2011). To address the latter question, my wife can't eat the fish because of the repeated practices on the river that have shaped these species, either by creating an environment they cannot survive in or by having unsafe levels of toxins in the fish for people to eat or women who are breastfeeding. It becomes uncomfortable recognizing these toxins can impact our sustenance as people whose way of living comes from fish. The role of fish for communities like ours (and others as well) becomes more noticeable in the final section of this paper.

Peskotomuhkati naka Peskotom

“Pihce, qihiw Skutik naka Supekuk, nid utenehsis eyik. Yut nit pihce wikits Peskotomuhkat. A long time ago, where the Schoodic river met the ocean, there was a village. The Passamaquoddy had lived there for a long time.” – Passamaquoddy Language Portal.

As we approach the final section of the Skutik, the banks of the river widen further as it reaches the ocean and the sounds of drumbeats return. This time, it is to welcome the return of the canoeist making their journey home where they land at Split Rock in the Passamaquoddy Bay. The canoe journey is a spiritual and cultural event, as there are people who paddle and people who support the paddlers, each occupying different roles and knowledge to demonstrate the connections and strength of the community. Parallels to the canoe journey were seen with food in the first section of the river, where the meal became an assemblage of different practices to produce something that moves food beyond caloric consumption. First Nations more broadly

share this connection to food, cultural traditions, spirituality, and role of the community (Harper & Ranco, 2009; Hoover, 2013; Loring, Gerlach, & Harrison, 2013). In this section, I describe the capacity of fish and the role of transforming community relationships. Situated within a community, becomes a site to understand Ranco's et al. (2011) notion of health as "defined on a community level, consisting of inseparable strands of human health, ecological health, and cultural health woven together, all equally important" (p. 227). For non-Wabanaki community, economics can be an example of an inseparable strand tied to individual health, whereas for Passamaquoddy, fish takes on a different significance. Many of the Passamaquoddy participants didn't speak of accumulating fortunes; rather the significance food has when shared in the community.

Looking out from the elderly building in Sipayik, the windows are only feet from the waves of the Passamaquoddy Bay. In the 1960s and 70s, many participants describe a diversity of fish just a few feet from these very windows.

Cilonikon: "I'm told that, you know, in the past, this place was just full of fish like, pollock, cod, and haddock."

Peskotom: "We'd get those 23 to 26 pound Atlantic salmon, oh my goodness."

Siqonomeq: "We would be able to get, you know, dozens of flounder if the conditions were just right."

These species are pretty much depleted now, as the previous section indicates, from the pressure inland on the river, as well as from commercial fishing offshore. The recent work on Alewives can help us understand the interconnections and rhythms that shape ecosystems and sustenance

for communities because the return of fish is currently restoring these rhythms, cycles, and flows of knowledge.

Alewives maintain an important feature in supporting the interconnections between humans and nonhumans. This species of herring is as a keystone species, feeding groundfish populations like cod, haddock, and pollock. David Francis tells a story of how easily people could spear pollock as these fish came close to the shore, chasing schools of herring: “we would spear pollock after pollock, everyone would” (Francis & Levitt, n.d.). The presence of these groundfish for sustenance is interconnected with the presence of herring.

Taqanan: “A lot of herring. They're – they're coming back.”

Taqanan: “I never seen so many as I see up at Pembroke. They're just boiling with the fins. You can see them fins underwater.”

Peskotom: “So, hey, if they can get the alewives to come back, soon the herrings could come back. The herrings come back, then the cod fish, the pollock, and the haddock, you know?”

The Alewives return was only possible due to repetitive human activities, such as opening fish passage through dams and collaborating with other groups, like the EPA (Harper & Ranco, 2009). Lake (1983) discusses how restoring connections to culture can create a sense of healing. I interpret healing as Ranco’s et al. (2011) notion of health, as ecological and community health. The presence of Alewives makes ripples in the ecosystem as a keystone species that is connected to sustenance practices, which constitute who people are in the world. As balance begins to shift the boundaries in different directions, it means supporting sustenance by life returning places, plates, and communities.

This view of sustenance helps understand the range of material and discursive qualities of food. Sustenance recognizes these connections between environmental and human health. Integrating my presence as a researcher into the conversation, a participant and I shared our experiences struggling with bodyweight and health and how food played a big part in our lives. This prompted a side conversation about health.

Me: “If there was all of a sudden a really strong fisheries resource again? Um, what would that do to diets?” (referring to dietary health)

Pelkaqsit: “Um, if there was a really healthy fish, um, availability, uh, clean fish, boy, that would be spectacular to see.”

In a very rural part of the state, this quote speaks to the value of fish, as well as need for it to be *clean* or free from toxins, for community health. Value in this context extends beyond fishing for economics and emphasizes what the potential return of fish means for transforming physical health in a community when fish again have presence on plates. Additionally, Passamaquoddy fishers also describe the network of relationships of reciprocity or food sharing, which further extend this notion of health.

Within sustenance, reciprocity describes the relationships between people, species, and community health. Within First Nations, reciprocity can take form within collaborative partnerships where all groups benefit from the outcomes. (Davis & Reid, 1999; Ranco, 2006). Additionally, reciprocity also takes form within communities through food sharing, creating social rhythms by supporting each other and reciprocating gifts of food in the future (Kimmerer, 2013; Pawling, 2016; Wickman, 2015). In Sipayik, this occurs when people share fish with elders and community members. As Pelkaqsit stated, “We used to give flounder that we – that

we caught and give them to some of the elders that were so happy that on this day that they got the fresh fish coming out of the Passamaquoddy Bay.” Similarly, David Francis shares a story about a man sharing flounder as he describes the actions in our language, Tali-pisewolaniya melopaksikuk, or put them in the mailboxes (Francis & Levitt, n.d.). Siqonomeq elaborated on this practice in their own experience, “When they'd shut off the weir, they'd go around the reservation and put, uh, you know, fish in everyone's mailbox.” This extends the flows of knowledge and practices about fish as they become present throughout the community. As Peskotom described, “Um, everybody had, uh, flounder hanging in their backyard to dry out so it'd make it easier to skin ‘em.” Following fish through these brief narratives shows the value of fish as a shared resource that shapes community practices and interactions, which demonstrates the broader meaning of health occurring through sustenance. Because of this importance, we can begin to understand the Passamaquoddy’s work to improve fish passage for the Alewife, because the presence of fish in the bay transforms the community by weaving it together in multiple ways.

As I listened and learned from Passamaquoddy fishers, they always spoke of fish and the river because of the importance for connecting our culture and community. We are the Peskotomuhkati (Passamaquoddy) or people who spear pollock. David Francis describes pollock or peskotom as chasing herring at night where people could harvest them from shore (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). Within this relationship, Peskotomuhkati, peskotom, and pelkaqsit each engage in practices to maintain their way of living. Each on their own becomes an example of how practices or choices generally are in a constant state of configuring identity in the world (Barad, 2003). When you bring these together, I now understand the importance of balance in practices with sustenance. It occurs because of how identities are interconnected and configured

together, as our name Peskotomuhkati contains the word peskotom or pollock. Sustenance also becomes present in myself as Passamaquoddy. I grew up away from my culture and these practices allowed me to learn about the role of fishing within my identity. The Passamaquoddy fishers I learned from share this excitement as Alewives return because it means people using weirs again and it means, Tali-pisewolaniya melopaksikuk, or sharing this food among the community as the presence of fish restores ways of living for the Skutik and our homes.

Conclusion: Transformations

The relationship between practices and time with transforming people, places, and species became a key insight drawn through the orientation in this paper. In both parts of the river, the presence of mills or the presence of fish, create a sense of identity for communities through the repetitions of practices sustained over time to support ways of living. This oriented my thinking to rivers and fish, which allowed me to expand my understanding of the Skutik and the interconnections between human and ecological systems. Thinking through transformations becomes a way to link the three places discussed in this chapter by observing how practices around fish simultaneously create or restrict transformative capacities in these areas. As evident in the middle section, Maine's history of logging practices and the need for dams to transport lumber for processing transformed local economies. On the Skutik River, these practices simultaneously disconnected ways of living upstream for the Alewives and contributed to the loss of biodiversity in the Passamaquoddy Bay. One idea for exploring changes is balance and tipping points (Rickert, 2004). On the Skutik, I interpret tipping points as the moment when practices from one way of living, begin to displace another way of living. The persuasion of economic prosperity created many dams and industrial uses on the Skutik, disconnecting migrating fish species, as well as communities downstream, like the Passamaquoddy. Yet, in

modern contexts, mills are closing, and dams are opening. Balance in this context comes with the return of fish and the cycles of their migrations that can articulate the flow of social rhythm for fishing communities like the Passamaquoddy. One way I could explore this idea further would be articulating the embodied sensations that occur through these moments of change, such as cultural practices. Returning to Chiputneticook, the return of fish supports the cultural practices of harvesting fish, smoking fish, and the social aspects of food sharing. The industrial uses of the river have not allowed for these cultural practices associated with our identity. Thus, opening rivers and revitalizing fisheries allows us to engage in practices that articulate who we are in the world, feeding our bodies and spirit. This also opens our conversation to move fisheries beyond economic terms as it drives social, cultural, and community rhythms.

A final insight gained through the orientation in this paper comes through recognizing food beyond an economic capacity. This move supports conversations around expanding our considerations of what constitutes data or knowledge (Conquergood, 1991; McHendry et al., 2014). In terms of resources like fish or timber, often the data or knowledge becomes explained through economic terms, which is why this paper links these three places through ways of living. This opens our thinking in these places to consider economic, ecological, and or cultural health. Within the context of First Nations redeveloping sustenance, like Alewife conservation, moving to ways of living is one way to think through the impacts of in and around the Skutik. If we only quantify conservation in economic terms, it narrows our understanding of the impact that fish can have as economic logic has a hard time articulating the impact for local diets, cultural practices, and food sharing's contribution to the social fabric of a community. Additionally, thinking through ways of living also expands our thinking to encompass ecological health, such as for fish. Considering conservation projects within a watershed through ways of living would

situate these ecological systems differently, potentially as a stakeholder who must think through the ways that our practices constrict or open ways of living for other groups. Lastly, one final way to extend 'ways of living' would be to the impact on the individual, as I found this work transform my own ways of living. While I listen, read, and write about these stories, it awakens this sense of presence within me, encouraging me to cook and consume fish, as after all, I am Peskotomuhkati too. As I situated these stories back into the river, I began to understand the significance of the Skutik and sustenance as it helps me understand who I am in this world.

CHAPTER 5

INDIAN PATHS: BODILY ORIENTATION TO PLACE-BASED KNOWLEDGE

Every time I embark on fieldwork in Maine, I remind myself about how fortunate I am to have the opportunity to be researcher working alongside communities. During my PhD, I commuted to towns in Downeast Maine all the way to Kennebunkport, learning from experts as I interacted with fishers, historians, archeologists, and many others. Now that fieldwork is over, I can reflect as Middleton et al., (2015) do suggest we “examine the relationships between self, other, and place/space” (p. 174). In this chapter, I attend to my relationship to place(s) by considering how my positions or orientations during fieldwork created different experiences and layers of knowledge. Through my fieldwork, I spent considerable time *in situ* or learning the practices and knowledge of a place (Endres et al., 2016; Middleton et al., 2015). Since this is inherently about my body, reflexivity opens a critical perspective for me to examine my own relationship to my engagement within fieldwork (Ellingson, 2017). Additionally, reflexivity allows for one to understand the connections between seemingly distinctive experiences (Carbaugh et al., 2011). I specifically work through my experiences foraging by the Kenduskeag Stream, a trip to a rural fishing community, and my experiences at an archaeological site in Southern Maine. To help draw out the connections between these different experiences, I utilize a concept of Indian Paths.

The book *Molly and Molasses and Me*, is an assemblage of stories by two Wabanaki women traveling Maine and New England. The book is written as a series of stories or adventures, each unrelated from the previous and subsequent, with only the readers’ reflections to create connections between seemingly disconnected experiences. In one chapter, they describe Indian Paths as a metaphor that explains how knowledge is situated with a specific place. This

concept becomes articulated through their evening meals, such as one trip to Mount Desert Island that provided clams and another from Southern New England, that provided mussels (Ssipsis & Mitchell, 1993). This parallels Wabanaki sustenance patterns being tied to developing knowledge sets for acquiring resources within a specific place (Francis & Schaumann, 2016; Wickman, 2015). I use *place* to describe the geographic features of specific locations within Maine, such as tides, warming temperatures, and rock formations, that shape human and ecological interactions at that location (Druschke & Rai, 2018). Thinking through these places as Indian Paths brings forward a reflection of my experiences in places as a coordination of intertwined social, historical, and ecological systems. What drew these two women to these experiences of Maine were their passion for adventure and living with the world. For me, it centers on a passion for work in Wabanaki communities.

My fieldwork developed through a relationship with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department (PED). As a Passamaquoddy researcher working in their own community, my passion centers on creating research that supports a community idea and/or project, which materialized around a small project on fish weirs. Weirs are a form of trap fishing that has existed in Maine prior to European arrival. This practice occurs along the ocean shore as a structure of wooden poles and brush, woven together to create a trap, where fish swim into it and cannot swim out. The PED has been working to help restore fisheries on the Skutik River and Passamaquoddy Bay and the weir was a project that would collect scientific data on what fish were returning, while using a technique aligned with Wabanaki practices. To support this project, community partners were interested in learning what experience and stories Passamaquoddy fishers have building weirs. I do not focus on answering this question here; rather, I bring attention to various fieldwork experiences related to my engagement of people and places central

to the knowledge of weirs. Traveling across Maine, I found myself along Indian Paths, as each trip revealed different insights into the knowledge of this practice and its relationship to place.

You Must First Hear It

One spring, I learned how the world spoke around me as I reoriented my life momentarily to the seasonality of wild food, mainly Brook Trout in this story. As I grew up fishing trout in Oregon with my father, I wanted to continue this tradition by meeting fish in the river as they migrate in the spring waters towards Maine's extensive lake system. In this, I use listening or hearing, to understand what Kimmerer (2013) describes as features of a place communicating as its own form of language. Place is not speaking to me per se, and yet, I engage in dialogue with place that communicates knowledge of the environment. As Casey (1996) suggests, "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it" (p. 18). Perception to me is what I am attending to in these places. To use our senses in the environment potentially engages with the many layers of knowledge of those places (Tsing, 2015). Layers of knowledge are engaged through practices such as fishing or foraging where we enact ways of knowing highly attuned to a place. I became present in these layers of knowledge during a failed fishing trip to catch Brook Trout. As the snow had melted in most places, new energy flowed through our streams and the warmth of that day led me to the Kenduskeag Stream to engage within the knowledge of this place.

Along the Kenduskeag, there are two paths, one that leads down a section of the river defined by open grassy areas, walking paths, and tables for picnics. The other has a single path through undergrowth and shrubs that have grown right up to the edges of the stream; falls create rapids in some places and eddies in others. From a social perspective, one path feels dark and

less welcoming than the other path. Yet the presence of eddies along this path spoke in ways that could lead to sustenance or food, a process my Wabanaki elders have described as, “Indian paths.”

“Everywhere there are Indian paths to be followed. Anywhere, even under the macadam, the concrete, the aqueduct, there are easy trails to find food, water, and shelter. The trails grown deep with the pounding of feet. The spirits guarding, poking fun at you as you exercise your aboriginal right to walk freely upon the earth.” (Ssipsis & Mitchell, 1993, p.46).

Walking along the Kenduskeag, my body attuned itself to the eddies or pools of water along this spring river as they offered the best opportunity to catch a migrating trout. Engaging in this practice requires orienting yourself to what you can see on the river and what you can't see under the surface of the water. I experienced this in the literal sense as my first cast landed directly in the center of the swirling water of the eddy. I began to move my fishing rod in persuasive patterns, making my lure dance to encourage the bite of a trout. My knowledge of this place would soon become apparent as the dance of my lure snagged a sunken log on the bottom of the river. My frustrations grew as I could not see the numerous sunken trees and rocks that soon snagged lure after lure, until I had no more. My ancestors must have been smiling or poking fun of me in my moment of failure, but the pounding of their feet redirected my attention in this place. Field scholars talk about participatory practices in ethnography and finding or feeling the point to where they emerge *into* a community (Conquergood, 1991; McHendry et al., 2014). I felt this moment as I knelt down to collect my belongings, my eyes saw *mahsusiyil*. *Mahsusiyil* are an iconic food known across Maine as fiddleheads, or the sprout of a fern translated.

Adjusting my visual orientation from the water to the riverbank and my body's position, close to

the earth, I felt temporarily immersed into this layer of knowledge along this path by the Kenduskeag.

In that moment, my body had traveled down the Indian Path, accessing the layers of knowledge in this place. As Kimmerer (2013) states, “Listening in wild places, we are audience to conversations in a language not our own” (p. 48). This language began to speak to me after locating that first bright green Ostrich Fern, listening to its whispers, I soon saw dozens of them in all directions. All of these had been present just feet from me as I lost lure after lure, but my body had not attuned to their ambience and to the language of meaning they were about to communicate. Ambient rhetoric calls to attention how our lived relations are situated and connected to a series of complex ecologies about where we live and forces that act upon us (Rickert, 2013). As I unpack this layer of knowledge, the ambience of fiddleheads is represented in the first warm day, budding trees, riverbanks, and the unique soils within the flood plain, all participating in the way this place guided(s) me down this path. Attuning myself to this place also unpacks a sense of my identity as a Passamaquoddy person living in Maine, engaging in a practice that has existed long before Europeans. For Passamaquoddy, sustenance practices like fishing or fiddleheads, orient people to places and the practices needed in that location (Francis & Schaumann, 2016). The practices needed down by the Kenduskeag are present in the knowledge of harvesting fiddleheads, such as the conditions where they grow, the timing of their growth, and even what they look like when dormant, waiting for the warmth of spring to wake them from their winter slumber. After I brought these delicacies home to eat, I sat down and reflected on the significance of this experience and my broader academic interests.

Overtime, the dark path down the Kenduskeag has become a warm and welcoming place for me. When I think about my time down there, I always reflect on that first fishing trip. As a

field scholar, I spend considerable time in communities to build relationships that become the basis for collaborative research projects. In my masters, this transpired as I farmed, engaging in situ with the practice to learn the ways I could support it (Sutton, 2018). My failed fishing trip taught me how in situ practices differ with farming or foraging. I utilized a similar orientation to both, yet my experiences of needing to learn place became much more pronounced while foraging. I also had different moments of immanence, where farming it became more of the social immanence. Whereas with foraging, I began to see the world from a different perspective as I started to unpack layers of knowledge on the path along the Kenduskeag. This becomes reminiscent of Weyekin, a Nimiipuu (Nez Perce) term describing embodied practices that recognizes or articulation to the material and physical attributes of our surroundings that exist beyond our bodily perceptions (Salvador & Clarke, 2011). For my story, I may never fully understand the layers of knowledge by the Kenduskeag, but we can establish a common ground through recognizing our relationship together. As evident with Ssipsis and Molly Molasses harvesting clams or mussels, they leave an offering of tobacco. This offering gives thanks to these species and recognizes our relationship together in this place, depend on each other. For my story, if there were no fish, I would not have ventured down the Kenduskeag that day.

Indian Paths: Weirs and Communities

“Yes, this would be where I would find a few lobsters, crabs, if I set my canoe out and weighed it down with a large rock. I knew they were there. I knew that my fire would be over there in the dry sand, the sea woods would be dry enough to kindle a fire.” - Ssipsis and Mitchell¹⁹

¹⁹ As quoted in, Molly Molasses and Me (1993, p. 42)

Like my discovery of the fiddleheads, these “Indian paths” carry many resources, literally and figuratively, as Ssipsis explains in this quote on a camping trip with Molly Molasses. Making camp, they point out all the resources and their relationship to place and what would give them warmth, full bellies, and full hearts. The book *Molly Molasses and Me*, contains several stories of these camping trips and how each place transforms their experience. These stories are examples of where people and places in the environment are co-present and co-participate together in the moment (Carbaugh, 1999). I see fishing as another example of this, as it is also a practice highly attuned to specific places and over time that transforms place. This relationship becomes evident within rural communities in Maine that have been practicing fishing for generations. As Carbaugh (1999) suggests, “By attending to the role of discursive practices in individual and cultural lives, especially those connecting people to place...” (p. 265). In Maine, fishing is a discursive practice important to our cultural connections to place. Following this idea or “path,” I extend the previous section by showing how our interactions with place over time create deep forms of knowledge that constitute a key role in the identity of rural fishing towns. These towns have a special place in my heart because they have been so genuine and welcoming throughout my travels. I would not have discovered this place had I not been looking for people involved with weirs, as it’s situated miles from a major road along a small peninsula. The location is also metaphorical to the practice of weirs, as weirs exist only in unique locations along waterways and constructing a weir requires a highly advanced skillset attuned to the geography and knowledge of place. For me, if I were to learn about weirs, it would not be from books or google but from those whose hands have made this work a way of life.

From phone calls to the Darling Center and to Gulf of Maine Research Institute, everyone directed me to the Downeast Institute where they happened to know a retired weir fisher. This

fisher, under the pseudonym of Ray, invited me into his home to share the narrative of his life on the coast of Maine and how he made a way of living through weirs. It seems like every rural community has a person like Ray, a welcoming spirit, knowledgeable, and knows ‘how to get things done,’ such as a story of finding their weir full of a fish they couldn’t identify (Pogies²⁰ he explained later). Ray piled these fish into the back of his truck and somehow managed to find a buyer. His story began after World War II (WWII) where he used his GI Bill to have a fishing boat built. When he came back from the war, fishing and these stories of ‘getting things done,’ constituted his identity within the community. As we sat in his kitchen that overlooked the same waters he fished for decades, he became the expert as he shared the intricacies of this practice.

The interview began with the same question I posed to Google, what’s a fish weir, but the answer would be much richer and more interconnected with place. Asking how a weir works, he responded, “Do you have a piece of paper?”

Ray: “If that’s the shore, you would go out. That’s the mouth of it there. The tide would circle the shore and they would hit this wing here. Or if they came up on another tide, it would eddy like, they would go in that way.”

His response became a way to articulate embodied forms of knowledge for a practice dependent upon its relationship to a certain place. He demonstrated his knowledge by describing the position of the weir as co-present in the relationship of eddies and fish. Fish follow and navigate geography like coves, islands, or other underwater landmarks to places that create eddies, such as the ones I was fishing for in attempts to catch brook trout. The success of the weir is dependent

²⁰ Pogies are a species of filter feeders, living in schools that feed larger fish like flounder and tuna.

upon this relationship and knowledge of place. Another example of this arises through the seasonal migration of species and how fishers reorganize to these patterns.

Ray: "In the spring, we would have to work like the devil to build it back up cause we had so much ice, it would wreck it, you know break stakes and things. So we would cut stakes and binders, then put top poles on, put your twine up."

Like my experiences with fiddleheads and trout, the approaching springtime organizes people to places across Maine in different ways. As people return to these places year after year, they become more skilled at a practice and it changes their familiarity with the environment (Rickert, 2004). For me, my time spent picking fiddleheads along the Kenduskeag has shaped parts of my identity and my knowledge of that place. If we extend these practices outwards to a community, the ripples of these impacts can be seen through group identity as well.

As Ray looked through the windows of his waterfront home, he pointed out favorite fishing spots just offshore and how the proximity to fish has supported ways of living for a long time in this area.

Ray: "When I got out of the service, 1946, he (his brother) took me in with him. That's how I got started. I did have a new boat built while I was in the service, when I knew the war, ww2 was going to be over. So I got my father to order me a new boat and they build it right down there" (pointing out the window).

As Ray pointed to the spot on the shore that his boat was built, I realized how these practices extended beyond individual fishers. For Wabanaki and non-Wabanaki people, many communities through Maine are shaped through the presence of fisheries (Steneck et al., 2011; Willis, 2009). This is evident with Ray's boat as did not buy a pre-built boat, his father paid

individuals to build it locally. This illustrates the ripples fisheries has within communities as the presence of fish supports the development of other practices and knowledges within that place. Consequently, if the flow of fisheries becomes disrupted, it also shapes the implementation of these practices and knowledge within this place and throughout the community.

As I conclude this story, I consider the relationship of a community and fish and how they become co-present within this place. I previously described this through examples of weir knowledge of local geography and knowledge of fish migration. Additionally, I see the physical presence of both community and fish as enacting within this relationship, as Ray continued to explain, “The factories were closed down but we kept it up to sell a little bait” to which I clarified, “These were herring factories?” Ray replied, “Yes, we had three in town.” Even in a small community, the presence of fish creates ways of living for fishers (like Ray), boat builders, and processors of fish. All of these practices become sustained through the flow of fisheries and together they articulate how fish constitutes community identity. Where Ray lives, it is all supported by fishing. Visually, this town has all the features of a coastal community from wooden shingled houses iconic of coastal England, the greyish color weathered from the salt, their yards filled with lobster crates, and fishing boats that appear to outnumber the population. The only thing missing is that stereotypical lobster roll, but that’s what makes this place unique and iconic; is that it exists separate from that tourist discourse due to its remote location. In places like this, you need people like Ray that know how to get things done and support one another. As evident when I was lost asking for directions, people welcomed me into their homes, chatted with me for a bit, then provided directions to Ray’s home as Google had led me down a different path. Even as I was metaphorically lost learning about weirs, Ray’s knowledge helped guide me to the Indian Path to understand the layers of knowledge in this place. Following this

path further south, reveals different forms of knowledge that link past and present actions within a place.

Following the Path to Cape Porpoise

Like the fiddleheads, at first it seemed that no weir fishers had existed in Maine, but after talking with Ray I began to find others. Although I will never know weirs as intimately as Ray, I made an effort in fieldwork to participate in building an experimental weir, which helped illuminate a rich history of this practice. Engaging the body's senses by participating in the practice, can illuminate a sense of memory of the history of that place (Tsing, 2015). The perception of this memory is constituted by cultural and social structures (Casey, 1996). In this section, I describe my experience in Cape Porpoise and how engaging with building a weir allowed me to understand histories of weirs, and fishing more broadly, within this place. The tides provide multiple forms of exigencies, or moments to engage with points of inquiry. In other work, flooding became a form of exigency for a community of diverse stakeholders to engage in watershed conservation practices (Druskche, 2013). In this example, landscape change occurring through a natural event had broken down ideological barriers related to conservation work (Druskche, 2013). Similarly, islands around Cape Porpoise have recently experienced the impacts of coastal erosion, which has revealed artifacts such as arrowheads dating back to pre-European contact civilizations. Environmental change within this place created the exigency for people to unpack the layers of knowledge sedimented along the shores of Cape Porpoise. This caught the attention of Maine Game Warden and archeologist, Tim Spahr, whose work began to link the present to the past. When I began to immerse myself into world of weirs, I found myself in contact with Tim, who invited me out to this place to explore Cape Porpoise's story together.

Following the weir discourse, I learned Tim had been working on an archaeological site that suggested the use of weirs prior to European contact. When I spoke to him, he insisted that I had to visit Cape Porpoise to understand the message of this place. Arriving at his home, we shared coffee as we waited for the tides to reveal the location we would travel to for the day. In our conversations, he shared artifacts he had found in the area, which were also a part of the narrative he was about to assemble. Artifacts typically in the intertidal zone²¹ would be worn from waves, but these were new because as sea-level rise has been eroding the islands around Cape Porpoise, bringing new artifacts to the surface. Tim also shared a collection of images that early Europeans had drawn of fish weirs, an “L” shape with the short part of the letter perpendicular to the shore. For Europeans, weirs were a constant feature among drawings of indigenous people, a likeness to fishing boats among our coastal communities today. As our conversation grew rich, soon the timing of the tides necessitated us to reorient our conversation to the intertidal zone, the place Tim wanted me to experience. Upon arriving, Tim quickly outpaced me as my feet, unaccustomed to the mud of the intertidal zone reminded me of Ssipsis describing her granddaughter slipping and falling as she attempted to keep up in the mudflat to harvest clams. As this environment shaped my physical engagement with this place, features of the environment also mediated understanding of this place across time.

When we arrived at the location, Tim directed my gaze to the rocks among our feet, and he began to unpack the layers of knowledge and the story they had to tell. Looking at this rock formation, each stone was about the size of a basketball, at least from surface, creating two lines, one three times longer than the other. As Tim began to organize himself amongst these rocks, he pointed out that straight lines do not exist in the environment, particularly an area with powerful

²¹ An intertidal zone is an area exposed at low tide and covered at high tide.

tides. Additionally, even if they did, they would not also orient themselves into a perpendicular “L” shape, with the smaller line pointed directly at the shore.



Figure 4: Stone formation at Cape Porpoise.²²

My attention was piqued. He looked at me as he held up his index finger, “Watch this.” He began to pace out the long section of the formation using the length of his stride beginning at one rock, “one, two, three... eight, nine, ten” with the tenth ending precisely at the next rock, where he began recounting at one until reaching the follow rock, again at ten. A precise system of measurement was used to place these rocks and oriented them with a specific relationship to the

²² Please see Tim Spahr and the Cape Porpoise Archeological Alliance for more information about his discovery of rock formation. We used buckets to mark each stone for greater visibility.

shoreline. With this demonstration, I soon believed the argument, that an indigenous community existed here prior to European contact, an area that needs to be preserved and protected. The power of the tides was integral to creating this argument because they both revealed(s) artifacts through coastal erosion and dictate when research can occur in this area. Additionally, the power of the ocean to shape our environment is a powerful argument within the rock formation. These stones were precisely positioned within an intertidal zone where they withstood the power of the tides for centuries in order to tell their story today. This experience drew heavily upon objects in the environment to create a resonance within my body as an assemblage of social, historical, cultural, and ecological knowledge. The power of this place drew me back for additional visits during which different messages would be communicated to my body as I replaced my boots with a kayak.

My work with Tim developed into a natural friendship and partnership. He described recognizing the role research has played in collecting indigenous knowledge and clarified his intention to create open processes of mutual gain and collaboration. As such, he invited me to collaborate on an archaeological field school where students would be brought out to this site to test a hypothesis about the use of local materials to build weirs. To focus on mutual gain, I recognize that me learning the process of working in an intertidal zone and the practices around building a weir, had a direct connection to my research. To reciprocate, I framed a narrative around the relationship of Wabanaki sustenance practices and their connections to places, such as weirs. Other lecturers had presented on topics related to their specialty, such as flint knapping and the archaeological processes of working with artifacts. The connections between our work lent itself to a natural cohesion that united our narratives as our conversations flowed naturally from a communication discipline to an archaeological one. As the tides began to slowly retreat,

soon we would reposition ourselves to the intertidal zone, where we would begin to build a weir. Since the tide determines our work schedule, Tim wanted to increase our productivity by bringing supplies out to the Islands before low tide. As he gathered up his supplies, I asked, “how can I help?” The answer would lead me back to the location where I first learned the narrative of Cape Porpoise, but instead of navigating the place on my feet it would be by kayak.

It is obvious the tides control how we navigate this place, whether by boat or by boot but I had not considered how different my experiences would be mediated as this place filled with water and I oriented to it by kayak. My kayak allowed me to understand rhetoric as emplaced, which explains the experience as a co-relationship to place (human and non-human) that is contested, maintained, or changed (Middleton et al., 2015). Thus, by changing my interaction with this place from boot to boat, my participation with this place resulted in a different experience. As this would be my first experience kayaking in the ocean, my mind began creating temporary fictions of different scenarios where I am swept away in the ocean’s current. One false narrative imagined me being overturned in the deepest waters, which encouraged me to leave anything on shore I wanted to keep dry, including my notebook, GoPro camera, and phone. With many of my ethnographic tools on shore, the last one I had left to describe my experiences of the world was my body. As I paddled forward, soon my kayak was unguarded from the natural jetty we docked at, approaching the channel between the mainland and the island we were headed to. My senses became emmeshed with emotions and I disregarded what I had known about this place previously, such as Tim’s description that these islands create a natural protection from the ocean for people traveling by boat. Instead my embodied reaction in this place drew from family experience, as we have lost people to the power of Maine’s ocean, a memory that I suggest extends to fishing communities more broadly as a respect for nature’s power. An ocean is a place

constructed by people (e.g. fishers) through their experiences even when they are not present (Middleton et al., 2015). As I paddled towards open waters, my emotions were drawing upon the experiences of fishers in this place more broadly, reminding me to respect the power of the ocean. Once our boats hit the channel, my kayak did not overturn, it wasn't swept away, in fact, it cut easily through the water. The dark thoughts that clouded my judgement soon cleared while paddling almost effortlessly towards our destination. Having left everything behind that could document these experiences, I refocused myself to my body and the surroundings, leading my gaze to the water around me to capture as many details for my later reflections.

One concept that became apparent as I paddled through the gentle waters in Cape Porpoise became biodiversity and the relationship to history and place. Location certainly matters in my understanding of the history and memory of this place (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011; Middleton et al., 2015). Being in a boat allowed me to orient to the intertidal zone in a way that I have never experienced, allowing insight into the layers of knowledge within this place. As I paddled through the waters, the sunlight illuminated the life around me. On foot, many beaches around Maine are scattered with seaweed of various types, making it a precarious place to walk and in some cases, unpleasant. Yet with the water moving through the area and the light hitting the water just right, the seaweed that lays flat at low-tide comes alive as it creates a temporary forest beneath the water. The gentle current of the water guides their actions as they sway back and forth offering aesthetic pleasure for my trip above the water. Below the water, seaweed is food, shelter, or supports life in ways I cannot comprehend. My reflections allowed me to think through biodiversity in Maine more broadly. In the past, Maine had abundant salmon fisheries and groundfish like cod, haddock, and pollock that existed close to the shore or within our rivers (Francis & Schaumann, 2016; Lotze & Milewski, 2004). These islands serve(d) as important

geographical features that attracted species to this area as non-humans also need shelter from the energies of the Atlantic, such as the softshell clams within the mud. Yet, different features or orientation within this place provide insight into both past and present availability of species and people in this place. The presence of weirs supports this notion as their productivity depends on the presence of fish and being attuned properly in that location to catch said fish. Similarly, the presence of breathing holes of softshell clams attracts fishers of this resource whose perspective can be another way to understand the resource, this place, and change overtime (McGreavy, 2018). Within Cape Porpoise, our body's orientation to this place, whether by boot or by boat, produced different understandings or different narratives through interaction with symbols of the environment and what they communicate through our bodies.

Having a desire to build reciprocity in research relationships led me to additional experiences and insights at Cape Porpoise. For one, I learned how the same place can create different experiences depending on one's physical orientation to place, boots versus boat. With water gone during low tide, we could complete fieldwork and perceive unique features of that place, such as the placement of rocks for the pre-contact weir. With the tides filling the place and navigating it by boat, I experienced different histories related to loss. Every time I venture onto the water, I promise my family to wear a lifejacket, no matter the situation, as it's an unspoken acknowledgment of the loss of life that has occurred on the water and a respect for the ocean's power. Another memory of loss relates to biodiversity. My kayak trip allowed me to reflect on the abundance of species that use to occupy coastal Maine. In terms of fishing identity, many places like Ray's community build their way of life from only one species lobster. The loss of biodiversity in Maine has been understood through fisheries identification with lobster, which current economic revenue creates an exigency regarding increasing biological and economical

diversity (Steneck et al., 2011). Lastly, the loss of indigenous presence and knowledge in this place speaks powerfully to a Passamaquoddy researcher. The knowledge and story of the hands that positioned these stones is absent, but it is not lost as Tim and others work to restore or expand our understanding of knowledge in this place.

Discussion: Landscape Languages and Disorientation

I return to the Kenduskeag every year. Each trip teaches me new aspects of this place as I unpack the layers of knowledge along this path. As my PhD program advanced, I began to consider the Wabanaki languages and their relationship to place as being another way we open up these layers of knowledge. The Kenduskeag comes from the Penobscot language that translates to, where the fish weir occurs. As a point of reference on a map, the river is removed from this knowledge, though when translated it begins to whisper about the sustenance practices that developed along the riverbanks for centuries, involving both fish and fiddleheads. Learning this definition offered another level of immanence in my understanding of this place, as I considered how field scholars can engage into practices to learn the knowledge of place. As an example, finding that first fiddlehead changed my perspective of the world in an instant through participating in a practice dependent on its relationship to place. This of course has its limits but that does not mean we cannot establish a common ground. Returning to the conversation with Ray, weir fishing is a practice I cannot fully engage in due to safety and time constraints, though our conversations together reveal a common language about the understanding of weirs and their orientation to places and species. Besides how weirs become co-present in a location, community identity is supported through the flows of fish and the various practices it supports. Fish supports many ways of living in the community, creating other forms of knowledge and practices, like boat building and fish processing. All of them depend on the cycles of the seasons and the

continued migration of fish. This brings me back to the Kenduskeag and Cape Porpoise as there were vibrant communities in these places too.

Thinking along where the fish weir occurs, having fish and fiddleheads present at the same moment offers sustenance that's potentially easy to acquire and nutrient dense. Of course, the rave in food these days is seasonality but thinking through these places that organize food and people during brief moments of the year has a lot of room for expansion. For this chapter, these places have been key sites of sustenance as they organize many practices around fishing. Additionally, these places have unique geographic and ecological conditions that support a range of practices from fish to fiddleheads, making these locations important for developing ways of living in Maine. For the Wabanaki that organized around places like the Kenduskeag or Cape Porpoise, settling and creation of Maine disconnected people from places that supported ways of living. Pawling (2016) argues how Wabanaki concepts of homeland are woven together through seasonal movement to places along a river, like the Penobscot. The Kenduskeag is a tributary to the Penobscot and when you remove access to a place like that, it disrupts the concept of homeland and Wabanaki identity. This notion of disruption is like Steneck et al. (2016) that describe the tenuous relationship lobster currently has with supporting the identity of Maine communities. In sites that experience disruption, there is room to think about that process of displacement. In my most recent trip to the Kenduskeag, I found the place cleared of all the underlying brush to make room for a future park. When I walked through, I felt disoriented as I had come to navigate the brush with ease. Now that it was cleared, I had no familiar markers to unconsciously navigate to find spring delicacies. Although that year I did harvest some in this location, I realized that soon these riverbanks would be covered with lush grass that would invite a different form of participating in this place, covering up the layers of knowledge I had grown

so close to. With the presence of fiddleheads or not, Molly Molasses provided a link back to my identity to this place.

Molly Molasses is a pseudonym, as she was known by another name, I called her Mimi because she was my grandmother. Reading their stories becomes a way I connect to Wabanaki values and the sense of adventure my grandmother lived by as she is no longer with us. In one story, Ssipsis described arriving home from a trip and how she secured a ride in order to surprise her friend Molly who lived in Bangor. As they neared the destination Ssipsis told the driver, “Molly Molasses lives down there, that little dirt road. This here is her territory, among the giant turtles and fiddleheads at Kenduskeag Stream” (Ssipsis & Mitchell, 1993, p.44). When I read this, my heart sank, knowing how special the Kenduskeag was to me, knowing my grandmother lived along the same riverbanks. When Ssipsis arrived, Molly had left the house unlocked as she was out fishing but later the two friends would catch up and share their stories, laughter, and food together. Considering how I used Indian Paths as a metaphor to guide my thinking, I had not concerned my ancestors in the literal sense. As my grandmother use to catch fish among the turtles and fiddleheads, it must have been her laughter when I lost all my lures and the pounding of her feet that led me to the fiddleheads. I always felt that I missed out on having adventures with Molly Molasses but as it turns out, I have been following her paths around Maine, reading her teachings as they orient me from place to place.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As this conclusion marks the culmination of my experience in graduate school, I take note over the transformations that have occurred. When I did my Master's, I very much separated my writing from my ancestry. Like Ssipsis, I know what it is like to feel your knowledge as being disregarded or not as highly valued as other parts of your identity. For my Master's, I wanted my contributions as a researcher to be recognized for what they said, rather than my ancestry. On one hand, my Master's provided me with a rich experience where I learned about food's relationship to individual and community health. On the other hand, I ignored a key piece of who I am and how that situates within my writing. With my dissertation, I see my work continuing interest with food and health, while also bringing my identity back into my writing, thinking, and interactions with the world.

The question I began my dissertation with built from my Master's, which centered on how does one change their relationship to food? This question develops from the understanding that people have complex and unique relationships to food, whether good or bad. For my Master's, I approached this through recognizing how physically being present at the Micmac Farms, I could learn the ways to help people access and prepare local food (Sutton, 2018). I now recognize this question is grounded in Western values of food, such as stationary living (e.g farming) and metrics that quantify health, like food security. First, I needed to approach this question by expanding my understanding of presence through incorporating local epistemologies to shape how I think and interact with concepts like food. For Wabanaki, we have our own knowledge and science around food because it connects to our ways of living, such as fishing practices, preparing food, sharing it, and how we eat it. Additionally, many sources of food or ways of living are connected to specific places in Maine, which constitute Wabanaki concepts of

homeland (Pawling, 2016). Thus, thinking through a question about how one changes their relationship to food from a Wabanaki perspective also requires one to understand food's relationship to place. Consequently, my expanded notion of presence also articulates how places can inform our actions and relationships within a location. For instance, how practices and interactions within an ecological place can be shaped by timing of tides and or presence of species (Druschke & Rai, 2018; McGreavy, 2018). Additionally, presence also recognizes how interactions between people in places, like rivers, can be layered with histories of injustice as well. For instance, research attending to human-ecological issues can become sites to understand how histories of practices that have lacked participation and or respect of knowledge within research spaces (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Tuck & Yang, 2018). Presence thus is about attending to relationships of practices, people, and places, both historically and in the present. The goal of presence is to engage in methods informed and guided by knowledge and participation to create partnerships to transform the future, both ecologically and socially. This notion of presence has shaped the organization of individual chapters and the focus of my writing as each section draws from and integrates Wabanaki knowledge into how we understand history, research collaborations, and how that can inform our understandings of human-ecological relationships within a place.

As a historical chapter, I made conscious effort to bring out Wabanaki perspectives through key moments in history to ultimately understand how the creation of Maine shaped material conditions of this place. I observe these material conditions as being articulated through values towards land ownership and land-based practices, which shape river systems and how people can practice ways of living. I focus on two large moments of history, the era leading up to the Revolutionary War and the creation of the State of Maine. Westerners and Wabanaki had

(have) different ways of conceptualizing land ownership, which became a premise for dispute. For Wabanaki people, a place like Mt. Desert Island would only be inhabited part of the year. Thus, from a European perspective, anything vacant was considered available for settling. When Wabanaki people returned to their camps, dispute and tensions would occur because of different value orientations to land ownership and ways of living in these places. Since this era largely could be characterized by defining land and territory, I observe the creation of Maine as defining what practices could exist within a territory, which largely focuses on the relationship between rivers, timber, and fish. Salmon Falls on the Skutik River was traditionally a fishing village for Passamaquoddy but the timber industry would establish a dam within this area, transforming the economics for non-Wabanaki communities benefiting from the timber industry, while negatively impacting fisheries migration and fish-based diets within the area. Within both places, the knowledge of Wabanaki people has been disregarded, which has supported non-Wabanaki living, while leaving legacies of dams, contaminated waters, and decimated fisheries. Additionally, these sites of ecological damage have created the exigency for research in modern times, such as this dissertation. Thus, to restore ecological and social balance within the area, research can recognize the history that has shaped these places without Wabanaki participation to be more inclusive of their values and knowledge for river ecology and fisheries more broadly.

In my methods chapter, I outline an approach to research that can be informed through community values and participation while also recognizing why these choices matter. First, I made the choice to analyze data to produce a community output as opposed to advancing a critical analysis in this dissertation. In ethnography, one way researchers use data analysis is to understand how social, cultural, or historical structures articulate power dynamics within a context (Conquergood, 1991; Geertz, 1973, Hess, 2011). Instead of looking for this within the

narratives collected, chapter three turns towards institutions engaging with communities. In Maine, papermills have been articulated throughout this dissertation as reducing water quality and negatively impacting fish survival. Within academia, papermills become a metaphor for the structures that encourage publications and career advancement, which can carry greater weight than community outputs. In both situations, resource extraction is occurring and producing different forms of memory, prevalent in our watersheds or within dynamics between groups. I consider the impact of my methodological chapter on presence extending to conversations around how research can alleviate the impacts resource extraction has had ecologically and socially. One of the ways I do this is through creating community outputs that contribute to creating balance within researcher-community relationships. Rather than argue the merits of academic or community outputs, I work towards creating a space of learning for all parties involved (Hess, 2011). My chapter on presence embodies this move as the analysis and coding that took place became a community output, while the chapter itself embodies methodological aspirations to create meaningful relationships and utilize local voices to drive research processes. While this does not fully address the issue of academic and community outputs, it opens discussion around how a researcher can advance academic commitments separate from community ones. Creating community outputs encourages researchers to engage and think differently, which I explore further in the next chapter as align my focus to the work of the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department, the Skutik.

The field of communication opens many possibilities for creating publications that do not involve analysis or critiques of our community partners, which I explored through my writing in chapter four. As a more theoretical chapter, I synthesized Indigenous and Western thinkers not to validate one or the other but to embody Zoe Todd's (2016) call to bring Indigenous thinkers to

the forefront of how we think about the world. This became an important contribution to my writing as orienting to Wabanaki stories taught me the cultural values related and interconnected to resources and places. I have integrated these values into this chapter to organize my writing and direct my inquiry throughout various sections of the rivers. Like Ssipsis's story about how society values knowledge, academic writing values certain forms of publications and not others; this chapter blurs the lines in an attempt to create equity among voice given the representation of voice about Maine waterways has traditionally marginalized Wabanaki. To create balance in voice, I describe Wabanaki, Westerners, and fish as all engaging in different ways of living. Additionally, by focusing on fish on the Skutik I demonstrate how choices and practices impact other ways of livings for groups in this place. The most notable insight that comes up in this chapter are notions of balance as deriving from Passamaquoddy fishers and their values related to fisheries. Thinking through balance recognizes that the Passamaquoddy and fish both depend on each other for continuing their ways of living, establishing a relationship of respect for maintaining these ecological systems and cycles. Balance as a value for how people engage within natural resources is a notion that can extend beyond the boundaries of this watershed to create broader connections with the insights drawn in this chapter. Sustenance projects within First Nations are going to look different across the diverse ecological and social landscapes of North America. What sustains them, however, are the values that each culture has related to local natural resources. Opening these conversations to values, like balance, I think is a way to approach generalizability within the context of indigenous food systems.

One challenge of my research derives from how highly focused my methods are to a community, raising questions about how these outcomes have larger impacts, such as questions of generalizability. Since the conditions that shaped the ecology of rivers has also disconnected

sustenance for Passamaquoddy, it is our interactions within that place that are providing insight into restoration efforts. To me, the question of generalizability is not, how does Alewife restoration work contribute to food systems work more broadly, it is, what practices and values are restoring ecological health so species and cultures can thrive again? One such practice within this place is how people are embodying or exhibiting balance within their interactions with non-human systems. Focusing on the practices that demonstrate these values offer a lot to questions about broader implications to research as it moves the solution from being a particular subject, like everyone must farm, to what values and practices do we need to sustain human-ecological relationships within this place? For First Nations, solutions will often be different but values guiding our interactions within that place may reveal many commonalities of our relationship to place.

One example that comes to mind are the different relationships to place that occur with corn for Western food systems and with First Nations. For instance, the practice of growing corn has been generalized in the United States to be grown in abundance with similar methods of cultivation across very distinct geographic locations. This approach seeks high productive outputs and, on the downside has difficulties attuning this practice to local environments, resulting in issues environmental issues, such as nutrient depletion in soil. In contrast, Jerry Padilla of United Southern and Eastern Tribes (USET) explained that indigenous people grew corn adapted to the environment of their community. Crops in the Northeast grew shorter and faster to accommodate colder conditions, whereas corn in the southeast adapted to an environment lacking regular rainfall. Corn becomes a metaphor to how I approach broader implications of my research as it becomes highly attuned to solving local problems. This requires research methods that can be adapted to supporting a community's vision, as I previously argued.

It also involved thinking through our values that sustain our practices and relationships within place. This becomes consistent with corn from the indigenous standpoint. Prior to European contact, corn did exist in nearly every location across North America, it just became modified to the environment it grew in and created balance between people and their relationship to place. Therefore, I find methods geared towards considering presence valuable, as they are adaptive to local ecological and social environments. Presence becomes its own form of generalizability because it decenters from the actual project and considers how researchers can help support local solutions to local problems. With this focus on communities, thinking through our value systems becomes another way to approach the generalizability question.

Chapter four is inherently grounded in values around interactions with natural resources. I focused on fish and the river to align with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department, which occurs in three places along the Skutik that reveal different ways people, fish, and places interact. In the upper section at Camp Cheputneticook, the presence of Alewives articulates its role in maintaining ecological and social rhythms, transforming places and plates. This becomes evident with Alewives transporting river mussels that can filter the environment, helping maintain healthy-water quality so species like Alewives and others can thrive. The presence of Alewives also reorients Passamaquoddy members to this area to celebrate their return, connecting cultural practices, such as ceremony through prayer and by smoking fish for sustenance to provide rich-local food to our plates. In the middle section, we see notions of balance between human groups and the river. Passamaquoddy fishers illustrated balance regarding resource use in chapter two as being either rates of harvest or acknowledgment of the role species play in supporting other aspects of the ecosystem. For this section of the river, it becomes evidence with the economic cycles of the timber industry tipping balance into the favor

of those involved within this industry, resulting in dams and other contaminants that restrict the ways of living for fish and subsequently, sustenance patterns that rely on this fish. In the final section, we see the impact of Alewives supporting other ways of living, such as other species of fish and the role for the Passamaquoddy. What this section allows me to understand is that ways of living means many things, such as Alewives support the presence of many other species such as pollock, cod, and haddock. While Passamaquoddy ways of living derive from the presence of these all of these species. Thus, this becomes why the value of balance becomes present within sustenance, as it recognized that ecological and social rhythms become intertwined for Wabanaki people so sustaining one, also sustains the other. Although these insights are very specific to the Skutik, thinking through values of balance in relation to resource use becomes one way to apply this thinking across communities. Like the corn metaphor, the Wabanaki approach to sustenance is unique to an environment but the values driving this work towards creating food sovereignty have many similar roots that can create connections amongst topically different research projects, such as fishing or farming. Rather than the subject, the focus on this chapter brings forward the values sustaining the work, such as the relationship to place and the values that sustain our living within a locality. Articulating these connections across communities that have distinct cultures and environments opens more possibilities to how indigenous people conceptualize and integrate projects related to sustainability and resource use.

Lastly, writing to honor my audience and community the Passamaquoddy in Sipayik, shaped my writing and dissertation in profound ways. It also transformed who I became as a scholar. I am fortunate to be at the University of Maine where transformations in research practices are occurring with how academic institutions interact with Wabanaki communities. I approach such work with a commitment to learning what matters to communities, such as my

individual commitment to learning the language as I stated in the introduction. I may never learn enough to become a linguist but as my brother in-law explained, we learn so that our children can be better off than we were. I grew up away from my culture and away from my language. Doing the work involved with my dissertation allows me to engage in parts of my identity to further understand myself. Additionally, building from my Masters, integrating my identity into my writing expanded forms of knowledge across groups of people, values, and places. Often, may places relevant to sustenance, like our rivers in Maine, have been shaped without the perspectives of Wabanaki. As I researcher, I see myself as uniquely operating in two worlds, becoming an asset to the growing work occurring with the Wabanaki in the state. The key outcome of my dissertation was relationships. This seems insignificant and not a typical of people earning their doctorate, but collaboration and sustainability is built on relationships, whether they are between different groups of people and or/places. For research tied to human and ecological systems, the quality of relationship between people, places, and species can sustain research practices overtime and contribute to healing waterways and our communities. To me, that is the core value of presence, and I intend on fostering these relationships as I continue my work supporting Wabanaki visions for the future.

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APPENDIX A:
INFORMED CONSENT

Project Title: The Passamaquoddy fish weir

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted in collaboration with the Passamaquoddy Environmental Department and by Anthony Sutton, a PhD candidate at the University of Maine. This project is supervised by Anthony Sutton's adviser and faculty sponsor for this project, John Daigle PhD. The purpose of the research is to learn about trends in Passamaquoddy fishing resources and how they can be used to support managing fisheries related projects, like the fish weir. You must be at least 18 years of age to participate.

What Will You Be Asked to Do?

You will be asked to participate in an interview that will ask you about your experiences with fish weirs and/or fishing more broadly. Interviews will be recorded and can last between 30 and 90 minutes depending on the conversations that develop. If you decide to participate, we will ask you questions about your experience related to harvesting fisheries for subsistence and/or for income to support the Passamaquoddy's interest in supporting healthy food systems and employment. Questions include: Have you noticed any changes in the presence of fish species in the area, if so, what changes? Have you been involved with any current fisheries conservation activities with the Passamaquoddy?

Risks

Except for your time and inconvenience, there are no risks to you from participating in this study.

Benefits

Although the project will not benefit you directly, the research expects to help fishermen and managers better address needs, issues, or concerns related to tribal resources.

Confidentiality

If given permission, we will audiotape the interview. If we use any quotations in publications your name will not be connected to those statements.

Care will be taken to protect the confidentiality of the interview. Your name or other identifying information will not be reported in any publications. Interviews will be transcribed by Anthony Sutton and Verbal Ink, a professional transcription service. Your name will be removed from the interview transcript and replaced with a pseudonym if an identifier is needed. There will be no documents connecting your name to the pseudonym. Only Anthony Sutton will have access to the data, which will be stored on a password protected computer. Hardcopies will be stored in a locked office. After the project is completed, the interview transcripts and audio files will be stored indefinitely with Anthony Sutton either on his password protected computers or in his locked office as it will be incorporated into longer-term research program studying Wabanaki sustenance projects.

Voluntary

Your participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any point. For any other reason, you are always free to stop the interview or not answer the question.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Anthony Sutton at Anthony.sutton@maine.edu or Dr. John Daigle at 207-581-2850, 221 Nutting Hall; jdaigle@maine.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Compliance, University of Maine, 207/581-1498 or 207/581-2657 (or e-mail umric@maine.edu).

APPENDIX B:

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project description: After verifying informed consent was given, I am Tony Sutton a PhD candidate at the University of Maine. As an indigenous researcher, I have been interested in supporting the Wabanaki food systems projects. I have been working with Ed Basset of the Environmental Department on developing culturally relevant food sources and resources, such as the with Alewives and Fish Weir specifically. I am not interested in studying individuals or the Passamaquoddy per se, but I am broadly interested in understanding the process where people start recreating their food systems and how I can use research methods to support it. I contacted Ed Bassett about the Fish Weir and we determined that interviews would be a good way to learn more about fisheries in general and to use the data to help shape fishing opportunities for the Passamaquoddy.

1. Do you know what our name, Passamaquoddy means? Have you ever caught or consumed Pollock? Has anyone in your family ever fished for or told stories about fishing/eating pollock?
 - a. If Pollock is a, “Passamaquoddy food” can you name any other foods associated with being Passamaquoddy? What seasons would you harvest these in? Which of these foods do you consume most regularly? Are there any species that you would like to see more of for fishing, subsistence, or both?
2. Are you currently involved in fishing? Why do you fish or what’s your interest in fisheries?
 - a. Fishing: Why do you fish? How did you learn? Would it be different for someone first learning today? Why?
 - i. What other forms of fishing do people do this time of year? Do you fish for other species during different seasons? If so, what seasons? If not, in the past what species have you harvested? Do you think people have been more involved with fisheries now or in the past?
 - b. Non-fisher questions: What’s or interest with fisheries? Why would these be significant for the Passamaquoddy?
 - i. Have you been involved with any of the current fisheries conservation work? Such as the Alewives?
 - ii. Do you have a sense of when these populations declined? Before that they were plentiful? Have any other species experienced a similar trend?
3. (Bring in fish weir questions here). Do you know what season fish weirs would be used? When was the last active weir in this area?
4. How did you learn about the fish weir project? What do you know about it? What about it caught your interest? Two questions to follow up
 - a. What is your current sense/thoughts of the interest of weir fishing for Passamaquoddy? What would make this an appealing job for a tribal member? Where would you advertise it?
 - i. Is there interest in being involved with other fisheries?
 - b. Would you be interested in fish from the project? What kind of fish?
 - i. Do you think people not directly involved would share this interest in fish?
 - ii. How would they obtain it?

5. Do you have any experience with weirs? Could you walk me through the process Did you follow a plan or was it based on experience? Could you tell me about the materials that were required?
 - a. What advice do you have for people building weirs today?
6. Is there anything else you would like to add that we didn't cover?

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Anthony Sutton was born on August 5th, 1986 in Fresno California. Having grown up in Oregon, he graduated from McMinnville High School in 2004 and upon graduation, moved to Monmouth to attend Western Oregon University (WOU). After completing a Bachelor of Arts in History, Sutton moved to Maine to attend graduate school. In Maine, he served two years as an environmental educator at the Maine Department of Environmental Protection prior to attending the University of Maine in 2010. After two years, he graduated with a MA in Communication. After two years away from the university, he was accepted for a doctoral program in 2014 in Ecology and Environmental Sciences.

During his doctoral program, Sutton maintained an active presence in academia while pursuing his passion and calling, food systems work with Wabanaki communities. During this time, Sutton published a chapter within an edited volume titled, *Decolonizing Native American Rhetoric*. Also, while teaching for the Senator George J. Mitchell Center for Sustainability Solutions, Sutton mentored a group of students studying food waste, which culminated in a publication about undergraduate research teams with the *Maine Journal of Conservation and Sustainability*. In his final year, Sutton receive an award from the Mitchell Center for Outstanding Contribution by a Graduate Student to Sustainability Science. He is a candidate for the doctoral degree in Ecology and Environmental Sciences from the University of Maine in May 2020.