

The cultural extent of the Penobscot Nation's homeland is the watershed of the Penobscot River and, in the cases of easy portages, adjacent watersheds. The area in question today, Moosehead Lake, is to the west of the main branch of the Penobscot River. Moosehead Lake is also to the south of the West Branch of Penobscot River, coming just two miles, at Northeast Carry at the northern terminus of Moosehead Lake.

An important consideration to understanding the cultural extent of the Penobscot Nation's homeland is the cultural practice of seasonal distribution across the land. The simplest model is that Penobscot occupied the islands and coastal area in Penobscot Bay during the summer moons. In these locations, large groups including many families lived off the bounty of the ocean. By contrast, beginning in autumn moons, Penobscot would divide into kinship bands and travel inland. These families would travel up rivers and across portages to hunting territories that had been in their families for generations. This spreading out on the landscape was necessary because the carrying capacity of the land could not support large groups living together. Kinship bands would winter over in these territories after fall moons of hunting and gathering and preserving food for the long winter moons.

Published in Frank G. Speck's *Penobscot Man* is a map showing the distribution of the kinship bands and the extent of Penobscot Territory. The numbers on the map designate the kinship bands. As you can see, the extent of Penobscot Territory extends to Moosehead Lake. His line actually bisects the lake from North to South placing the eastern shore of Moosehead Lake as Penobscot Territory. The number 13 on the map designates the Sockalexis family (Sturgeon family). In *Penobscot Man*, Speck states that the territory is from Ragged Lake west to Moosehead Lake.

In 1853 and 1857 during Henry David Thoreau's visits to the Moosehead Lake region, he hired Penobscot Guides. Joseph Attean and Joe Polis, respectively, were hired for their knowledge of the area. In 1857 while paddling the length of the lake with Joe Polis he wrote,

. . . While we were crossing this bay, where Mount Kineo rose dark before us, within two or three miles, the Indian repeated the tradition respecting this mountain's having anciently been a cow moose,—how a mighty Indian hunter, whose name I forget, succeeded in killing this queen of the moose tribe with great difficulty. . . and, to his eyes, this mountain had still the form of the moose in a reclining posture, its precipitous side presenting the outline of her head (pp. 190).

The Penobscot Tradition that was repeated is "Gluscape and the Moose." In this story, Gluscape teaches Penobscot Hunters to hunt moose. Upon reaching a large lake, they saw a cow moose and her calf emerge to the shore of the lake. Gluscape bent down pick a stone from the ground and then affixed it to a stick, notched this in his bow and killed the queen moose. When the team went to receive the gifts of meat, the team found that she had turned into stone, becoming Mt. Kineo. Now she did not turn into just any stone, she turned into the stone that Gluscape had picked up from the ground and used as an arrowhead. That is the important part; she became a repository of stone perfect for making arrowheads. That is what the story tells us.

The calf seeing this was excited and knocked over a kettle that Gluscape had readied to cook the moose; this became Kettle Mountain (Little Spencer). Gluscape then took off his backpack, which became Big Spencer Mountain and proceeded to chase the moose across the landscape with snowshoes on and his

dog in tow. Gluscape would finally catch up with the calf in Penobscot Bay where his body became identifiable parts of the landscape.

It is important to point out that the place name Kokadjo, means Kettle Mountain Lake in Penobscot, this place name is referring back to the Penobscot Oral tradition Gluscape and the moose.

In 2014, when the Northern Forest Center was planning to recreate Thoreau's 1857 journey with Joe Polis, they reached out to the Penobscot Nation. Chris Sockalexis was chosen to paddle the Moosehead Lake region of the trip as it was his family's traditional territory. . In an anthology written about that trip in May of 2014, edited by John Kucich, it reads:

Christopher is the Penobscot Nation's Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. His training is as an archeologist. The first day of paddling the length of Moosehead Lake brought them just past the precipice known as Mount Kineo, just past the cow moose. While the evening meal was being prepared, Chris removed some stones from his bag and began flint knapping them into arrowheads. The other participants watched as Chris chipped away at stones that he harvested from the belly of the cow moose, from Kineo... The participants watching Chris create an arrowhead became spectators to a tradition that stretches back thousands of years. The fact that it is taking place in a space that generations of Penobscot people had done the same activity connected Chris and the spectators back through time and to his Penobscot ancestors. Each strike of the stones echoed through the fabric of time... What is remarkable is that Christopher was not only connecting with Penobscot ancestors, he was connecting directly with his lineage. It was the Sockalexis family that had their hunting territory in the area of Moosehead Lake.

It is not my contention here to debate if there were any Maliseet people at Moosehead Lake, in the Historic Era there were. Many Wabanaki people migrated from the north, especially after the Miramichi Fire in 1825 looking for work as lumbermen and guides. In later times, many Wabanaki people made their living as guides on Moosehead Lake and surrounding areas. People like Maliseet Henry "Red Eagle" Perley, was one such person. Another showman was Penobscot Roland "Needahbeh" Nelson. Each played the part as the Indian guide and marketed themselves at sportsman's shows and in outdoor magazines.

When the Abbe Museum was creating an exhibit on guiding in Maine in November of 2012, I interviewed a Penobscot Guide named Francis "Kean" Tomer. Kean lived until his death on Moosehead Lake in the town of Rockwood. Kean shared stories of his guiding on Moosehead Lake as well as stories of Peter Tomer, an older Penobscot Guide and mentor.

Kean was a Penobscot, born on Indian Island in 1930, the son of Blun "Francis" Tomer, and his wife Elsie Paul. Kean's paternal grandfather, Francis Xavier Tomer, and Elsie's Sister, Clara Paul both appear in Frank Speck's Penobscot Man as members of the community on Indian Island.

In addition, I have interviewed Kean as part of an oral history project at the Penobscot Nation. He remembered the name of the second to the last ferryman on Indian Island. Most people remembered the last ferryman, he remembered the one before Sylvester Francis. He stated that the ferryman had a special way of paddling the ferry; they called it the Peter Glossian stroke.

My family was very close to this family, and I was asked to live in Kean's sister house, on Indian Island when she had to move into a nursing home. I lived for seven years up to a month ago.

The Penobscot Nation has had occupation in the Moosehead Lake area before it was called Moosehead Lake. Our Oral Traditions link us to that landscape, our place names in our language are imbedded in the landscape, Penobscot families subsisted off the land there before European contact and Penobscot performers and guides also occupied the area when Moosehead Lake was tourist destination during the historic era.. Even today there are Penobscot families that live on the Lake.

The Penobscot presence is so well known in the historic record in that area that the Moosehead Lake historical society reached out to the Penobscot Nation to enter into a Memorandum of Agreement to bring this rich history to the Penobscot citizens.