

**Constitution of the People**  
**Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People**  
**Greater Abenaki Nation of the Wabanaki Confederation of N'dakinna**

**Preamble**

We, the Aln8bak - the Abenaki, the indigenous and aboriginal First Nations People of N'dakinna, of the united Pennacook and Abenaki People of the greater Abenaki Nation of the Wabanaki Confederation, do proclaim and establish this Constitution for the government of the greater Abenaki Nation for the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People. We do this in order to preserve our historic form of government and enrich our culture, our Aln8bad8wa language, N'dakinna - our homeland, and to achieve and maintain a desirable measure of prosperity and the blessings of freedom. This is done, acknowledging, with humility and gratitude, the goodness of Kchi N'waskwa the Creator and Great Mystery of all the unknown and boundless universe in permitting us to do so, and asking for aid and guidance in this endeavor.

**Article I. Abenaki National Sovereignty - Our Language, Our People, Our Homeland**

- Section 1. The Aln8bak People have existed from prehistoric times to the present. Our homeland or N'dakinna of the greater Abenaki Nation of the Pennacook and Abenaki People is located in the land area now known as the United States and Canada. N'dakinna is an inseparable part of the lands, waters, airs, and natural resources which are now illegally occupied and used by the local, county, state, provincial, and federal governments of the United States and Canada.
- Section 2. The greater Abenaki Nation and this Band have existed before the time of the creation and the declaration of sovereignty for the United States and Canada. The Constitutions of the Pastonki (United States) and Kanada (Canada) are now being imposed on our People in our occupied homeland.
- Section 3. The governing bodies of the greater Abenaki Nation are responsible for ensuing the maintenance of international, national, state, provincial, county, and local government to government relationships and preserving the sovereignty of the greater Abenaki Nation and this Band as defined in this Constitution on the behalf of the People of the greater Abenaki Nation.
- Section 4. The Abenaki Nation and this Band did not and do not now waive any sovereign rights to these more recently formed and constituted occupying governments.
- Section 5. Abenaki individuals may have entered into agreements of peace, warfare, or trade with individuals or representatives of Iglism8nki (England - British Empire), Plachm8nki (France), or Bastonki (the colonial Commonwealth of Massachusetts) in the historical times before the creation of the United States and Canada. However, the greater Abenaki Nation and People never surrendered, relinquished, or abandoned our sovereign rights or homeland as a result of any of these agreements.
- Section 6. The Abenaki Nation and People will never agree to any claims that our

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sovereign rights and the occupancy of our homeland have been extinguished by the weight and time of history or the occupation by other governments.

- Section 7. The greater Abenaki Nation includes all indigenous or aboriginal Aln8bak, Abenaki, and Pennacook Bands and groups that lived and continue to live in N'dakinna since the time of creation.
- Section 8. Our People spoke the Aln8bad8wa language, also known as the western or central Abenaki-Pennacook dialects of the Algonquin (Algic) language.
- Section 9. N'dakinna, our homeland, includes all lands, all waters, the air, and natural resources that our ancestors lived, fished, hunted, trapped, planted, farmed, and harvested from Mother Earth's natural bounty. N'dakinna includes the land area occupied as colonial New France, the New England colonial settlements, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Our occupied land area is now known as the province of Quebec in Canada, and the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts in the United States.
- Section 10. Furthermore, the greater Abenaki Nation did not relinquish any portion of our homeland as a result of any land lease, deed, grant, taking, treaty, or other agreement executed by any individuals or families, and does not recognize any agreements that have been used to occupy our homeland.
- Section 11. The following describes the boundaries of N'dakinna by way of the rivers, lakes, landmarks, and the meeting points with the other First Nations People that border N'dakinna. The primary description and bounds of N'dakinna are identified in the Aln8bad8wa (Abenaki) language.

Starting at a northwest location where - the Chateauguay River and the St. Lawrence River meet near Montreal (Quebec, Canada), is the point where the lands of the Abenaki (N'dakinna), Algonkin, and Mohawk nations (Magwak) meet. Going easterly along the St. Lawrence River, past the Richelieu River, the Yamaska River, Sorel, Nicolet, the Nicolet River, Three Rivers, the St. Francis River, the Becancour River, the Chaudiere River, the Etchemin River, Quebec city, to the Isle de Orleans at the point that the Abenaki and the land of the Hurons meet near Lorette and beyond up to the village of Yamachiche. Going inland to the Big Black River to the point that it joins the St. John River at the Notre Dame Mountains the point where the Abenaki meet the Malecite - Maliseet. Across the St. John River and along the lands of the Malecite - Maliseet.

Going southward back (into Maine, United States) through the watersheds of the Allagash River, the Musquacook Lakes, the Chemquasabamticook Lake, the Churchhill Lake, the Chamberlain Lakes, the Caucomgomoc Lake, the Baker River, the Baker Lake, the Seboomook Lake, the Chesuncook Lake, the Moosehead Lake, and to the Kennebec River and through Kennebago

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Lake. The Kenebec River being the boundary where the Abenaki meet the land of the Penobscot. Going down stream on the Kenebec River, past the ancient Abenaki village Norridgewock and continuing to the Atlantic Ocean.

Going southerly along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, past the Androsooggin River, past the Presumpscot River, past the Saco River, past the Moose River, past the Piscataqua River, to the outlet of the Merrimack River at the Atlantic Ocean. Westward along the Merrimack River past the village of Wamesit to the Concord River, a one day's walk from the eastern shores of the Merrimack River and Concord River to the lands of the Massachuset Nation to the headwaters of the Concord, Sudbury, Assabet, and Nashua Rivers to the area known as the Narragansett corridor along the Blackstone River and lands of the Nipmuc (Nipmuck) People.

Westward to Mt. Wachuset at the Warre River, the meeting place of the Nipmuc and Abenaki. Westward to Millers River, west to the Pocumtuck River and the Connecticut River. Continuing, westward crossing the Connecticut River to the Deerfield River and the lands of the Mahican Nation. Continuing, northward to the Otter River - Otter Creek and the lands beyond Lake George up to the west of Lake Champlain to the Adirondack lands and mountains between the N'dakinna (Abenaki) and Magwak (Mohawk) nations. Continuing, northward through Lake Champlain and all of its shores going north and west (into Quebec, Canada) through the water sheds of the Chateauguay and Richelieu Rivers back to the St. Lawrence River and the starting point of this description.

This describes the Abenaki homeland, N'dakinna bordered by the Magwak (Mohawk) to the west, the Ksitegwiak (the land of the Hurons) and Osoganeke (Algonquin Place) to the north, the Moskwas (Malecite-Maliseet), Mikm8z (Micmac), (Passaamakwadi) Passamaquoddy, and Pan8bskaik (Penobscot) to the east, the Massacuset and Nipmuc to the south, and the Mahiganeke (Mahican) to the west.

This describes N'dakinna that the Abenaki Nation and People declare to be our sovereign homeland.

**Article II. Decision Making**

Section 1. All acts of the Abenaki Citizens and related family Members shall be conducted and decisions made through traditional "Longhouse" consensus decision making. The following "Three Truths" must be met for a consensus: Peace - Does it preserve the peace that is already established; Righteousness - Is it morally correct; and, Power - Does it preserve the present and future integrity of the group for the Present - What does it do for the present generation, and; Future - How does it affect the future seven generations from now? The decisions made today must benefit all the people from the present to the seven generations into the future and beyond.

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**Article III. Bill of Rights**

Section 1. The judicial process of the greater Abenaki Nation shall be open to every Citizen and related family Member of the Abenaki People. Speedy and certain remedy shall be afforded under the terms of this Constitution for every wrong and injury to person or property, as long as the remedy does not conflict with the laws of humanity or the natural world. The Grand Council of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People shall prescribe the procedures, ordinances, regulations, and pertinent laws as required to maintain order and the government of the Band.

**Article IV. Citizenship - Bodazew8gan (General Council)**

Section 1. All People of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People of the greater Abenaki Nation must be Citizens or "blood relations" as proven by family historical evidence. All Citizens (blood relations), as a collective body, shall be called the Bodazew8gan or General Council of the Band. Spouses of Citizens with Native American Indian blood, from another Native American Indian aboriginal group, and the Children from a Citizen are given Citizen status. Non-blood Spouses and adopted children of Citizens are limited to Member status. All Non-blood Members and adopted child Members shall not be included in any General Council. Adult adoptions are not authorized or recognized for Citizen or Member status.

Section 2. A Citizen and Member Band Register of records shall be established and kept by the Grand Council, for the inclusion of any person for Citizenship or Membership purposes in the Band, who presents the necessary evidence of eligibility for registration.

Section 3. The Register records shall contain information for every individual to include: their full name, their date of birth, their genealogical family information, and their full address. There shall be a number assigned to every name which is approved and entered into the Band Register records. This number shall be preceded by a letter or other notation to signify "blood" Citizens, "non-blood" Member relations or adopted Child Members.

Section 4. All Register records shall be continually reviewed and renewed as required to maintain accurate records for every individual. To this purpose, the greater Abenaki Nation or Band may elect to issue a method of individual identification, such as a pass-port or identification card, that will be renewed as required to maintain record accuracy but no less frequently than within a five year time period from the date of issue.

Section 5. It shall be the responsibility of the individual Citizens and related Members to maintain the accuracy of their information in the Register on a yearly basis using any appropriate method of communication of the time. If the individual fails to maintain their Register information and the greater Abenaki Nation or Band cannot determine or confirm their continued existence and/or location

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of residence, on an annual basis, that individual will be noted as “inactive” and will be removed from the Register after a time period of one year.

- Section 6. This action is considered an administrative matter and as such, no Citizen shall be denied their “blood status” but will no longer be considered an active Citizen of the Band of record. Inactive individuals may reinstate their Citizen and Member status through a written appeal to the Council of Elders and subsequent approval by the Grand Council.
- Section 7. Leadership and representation within the General Council shall be provided by the Clan Elders which must be “blood” Citizens of the individual Band Clan family groups.
- Section 8. All Citizens and Members shall recognize this Constitution as their governing document of authority and that as Citizens and Members, they are responsible for supporting and defending this Constitution, the greater Abenaki Nation, and this Band.

**Article V. Distribution of Powers**

- Section 1. The powers of the government of the Band shall be divided into three separate governing bodies: Grand Council - Kchi Bodazew8gan, Speakers - Sagem8w8gan, and Council of Elders - Noji Dagwagwtigajik; and except as provided in this Constitution, these bodies shall be separate and distinct and neither shall exercise the powers properly belonging to either of the others.

**Article VI. Kchi Bodazew8gan (Grand Council)**

- Section 1. The governing body of the Band is called the Kchi Bodazew8gan (Grand Council) of the People.
- Section 2. The Grand Council shall consist of between five to thirteen members, who are Citizens by blood of the Band, and shall be approved at large by the Council of Elders as chosen by the Clan Elders.

Grand Council members shall hold office for life; or until disabled, or unable to fulfill the duties of the Grand Council, or removed by Council of Elders action and a successor is approved. A Grand Council member shall be chosen by the Council of Elders based on the individual’s ability and knowledge of the Aln8bad8wa language, the Aln8bak culture, traditions, and ceremonies necessary to fulfill the duties of the Grand Council.

- Section 3. There shall be at least one regularly scheduled session of the Grand Council held with the General Council each year which shall convene during the Spring or Summer or at another date as the Grand Council shall determine. No business shall be conducted unless a majority of the Grand Council members are in attendance.

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- Section 4. There shall be at least four regularly scheduled sessions of the Grand Council during the calendar year at such dates as the Grand Council shall determine. No business shall be conducted unless a majority of the Grand Council members are in attendance.
- Section 5. Special meetings of the Grand Council may be called by: the Kchi Sag8mo; or the Sagmis when that individual has the full powers of the Kchi Sag8mo; or upon a request of the majority of the members of the Grand Council.
- Section 6. All meetings of the Grand Council and of its committees shall be open to the Citizens at the discretion of the Grand Council.
- Section 7. The Grand Council of the Band shall have the power to establish rules, ordinances, regulations, and laws which it shall deem necessary and proper for the good of the People, which shall not be contrary to the provisions of this Constitution.
- Section 8. The Grand Council shall have the power of removal and this removal must be conducted in accordance with this Constitution.
- Section 9. Every enactment which has been approved by a majority of the members in attendance at the Grand Council shall, before it becomes effective, shall be presented to the Kchi Sag8mo. The Kchi Sag8mo shall approve it; if not, return it with objections to the Grand Council, which shall proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, a majority of the entire Grand Council agrees to pass the enactment, it shall be approved regardless of the objections of the Kchi Sag8mo.

**Article VII. Leaders and Speakers - Sagem8w8gan**

- Section 1. The leadership powers of the Band shall be given to a Kchi Sag8mo or principal chief and speaker for the Grand Council, who shall be called the "Kchi Sag8mo of the Band." The Kchi Sag8mo shall hold office for life; unless disabled, unable to fulfill the duties of Sag8mo, or is removed by the actions of the combined Grand Council and Council of Elders. A Kchi Sag8mo shall be chosen by the Grand Council based on the individual's ability and knowledge of the Aln8bad8wa language, the Aln8bak culture, traditions, and ceremonies necessary to fulfill the duties of the Kchi Sag8mo.
- The selection shall be preformed by the consensus of the full membership of the combined Grand Council and Council of Elders. The time period to install a new Kchi Sag8mo shall be within the time of one moon cycle from the date on which the previous Kchi Sag8mo was no longer in this position or unable to fulfill the duties of this position.
- Section 2. The Kchi Sag8mo shall be a blood Citizen of the Band. The Kchi Sag8mo must be an adult of appropriate age and must have knowledge and experience to provide the leadership necessary to fulfill the duties of the

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position. The individual must have a comprehensive and working knowledge of the Aln8bad8wa language, Abenaki ceremonies, prayers, history, and traditions to fulfill the duties of the position.

- Section 3. There shall also be two Sag8mis(s) or secondary speakers or sub-chiefs of the Grand Council. One will hold the position title of Nokidah8zid or Peace Maker and the other Gaptin or Protector - War Chief.
- Section 4. All requirements for the selection and approval for the Sag8mis(s) of the Grand Council shall be the same as those for the Kchi Sag8mo.
- Section 5. In case of the absence of the Kchi Sag8mo from office due to death, resignation, removal, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall pass jointly and equally to the Sag8mis(s), that preside on the Grand Council. In case of disability, such powers shall continue during the term of such disability.
- Section 6. Vacancies in the office of the Sag8mis(s) shall be filled in the same manner as the Kchi Sag8mo, by the consensus of the full membership of the combined Grand Council and Council of Elders within the time period of one moon cycle of time.
- Section 7. The Grand Council may, in the case of removal, death, resignation or disability of both the Kchi Sag8mo and the Sag8mis(s), chose an Elder from the Council of Elders that shall act as Kchi Sag8mo until the disability is resolved or a successor is chosen within the time period of one moon cycle of time.
- Section 8. The Kchi Sag8mo may on extraordinary occasions convene the Grand Council. The purpose of said meetings must be stated and the Grand Council may consider only such matters as are specified in the call of the extraordinary meetings and a majority of the Grand Council must be present.
- Section 9. At every session of the Grand Council, the Kchi Sag8mo shall make a report about the condition of the Band; and shall recommend such matters to the Grand Council as shall be judged expedient.
- Section 10. The Kchi Sag8mo shall cause the laws of the Band to be faithfully executed, and will conduct in person and in such a manner as by law, all communications, and business of the Band and greater Abenaki Nation.
- Section 11. The Sag8mis(s) of the Grand Council, by virtue of the office, aid, and advise the Kchi Sag8mo in the administration of the government and shall be the secondary Speakers of the Grand Council and shall act for the purpose of bringing about a consensus as required.

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**Article VII. Council of Elders - Noji Dagwagwtigajik (Those Who Settles Things)**

- Section 1. There shall be a Council of Elders of the Band, which shall perform the duties necessary for hearing and settling disputes and other judicial matters. The Council of Elders shall be composed of at least three Elders of the appropriate age and all of who shall be blood Citizens of the Band, chosen by the Clan Elders, appointed by the Kchi Sag8mo, and approved by the Grand Council.
- Section 2. Council of Elders members shall hold office for life; unless disabled, unable to fulfill the duties of the Council of Elders, or are removed by the combined actions of Grand Council and Kchi Sag8mo and a successor is chosen. Council of Elders members shall be chosen by the Grand Council based on the individual's ability and knowledge of the Aln8bad8wa language, the Aln8bak culture, traditions, and ceremonies necessary to fulfill the duties of the Council of Elders.
- Section 3. The purpose of this Council of Elders shall be to hear and resolve any disagreements arising under any provisions of this Constitution or any enactment of the Grand Council. The Grand Council shall provide for a procedure which shall insure that any complaint receives due process together with prompt and speedy relief. The decision of the Council of Elders shall be final in so far as the judicial process of the greater Band and Abenaki Nation is concerned.

**Article VIII. Government Positions**

- Section 1. The Grand Council, on recommendation of the Kchi Sag8mo, may create additional governmental positions, offices, agencies, departments, and incorporations. The Kchi Sag8mo shall prescribe the organizational structure, duties, and responsibilities of government positions and incorporations. Each government position and incorporation shall be authorized to choose such boards of directors, officers, administrative staff, and other assistants, as deemed necessary. The Grand Council may, with the recommendation of the Kchi Sag8mo, abolish any established government position or function or revise the title or responsibilities of any previous office, department, agency, or function.
- Section 2. All positions, offices, agencies, departments, and incorporations shall be composed of persons who shall be blood Citizens of the Band. Any adult, of the appropriate age, Citizen by blood of the Band may be a candidate for an office or position within the Band. However, no person who has been convicted of or has pled guilty to a major crime or offense against the greater Abenaki Nation or People, shall be eligible to hold any office or appointment of honor, profit, or trust within the greater Abenaki Nation unless such person has received a pardon from the Council of Elders.
- Section 3. All government positions, offices, agencies, departments, and incorporations



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shall be determined by consensus. Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed as preventing the appointment of such administrative positions or offices as are considered proper.

**Article IX. Fiscal - Treasury**

- Section 1. The Grand Council shall provide by their action for the annual expenditure of funds, and the source from which funds are to be derived to defray the estimated expenses of the Band for each year. All decisions for the approval of money expenditures by and on behalf of the Band shall specify the purpose for which the money is to be used, and the money so designated shall be used for no other purpose. The year shall commence on the first day of January - Alamikos in each year, unless otherwise provided by other action.
- Section 2. The Grand Council shall choose a Treasurer to assure that the records be maintained of all funds, monies, accounts, expenses, and indebtedness and all other accounts bearing upon the fiscal interests of the Band.
- Section 3. The Treasurer shall be authorized to accept all grants, donations of money, interest of funds of the Band, and all other sources of monies available to the Band, for uses and purposes and upon the conditions and limitations for which the same are granted or donated; and the faith of the Band is hereby pledged to preserve such grants and donations as a sacred trust, and to keep the same for the use and purposes for which they were granted or donated.
- Section 4. The Treasurer shall have the authority, upon the approval of the Grand Council, to invest funds or money of the Band, provided that the Treasurer shall do all things necessary for the safety of the funds and permanence of the investments.
- Section 5. The credit of the Band shall not be given, pledged, or lent to anyone without the approval of the Grand Council. The Band shall not make any donations by gift, or otherwise, anyone without the approval of the Grand Council.
- Section 6. General laws shall be enacted by the Grand Council providing for the deposit of funds of the Band, and the depository thereof, and such funds shall be under the control of the Treasurer, under such terms and conditions as shall be designated by the Grand Council and under such laws which shall provide for the protection of said funds.

**Article X. Removal From Office**

- Section 1. All positions and offices shall be subject to removal from office for willful neglect of duty, corruption in office, or act of incompetency committed while in office. The Grand Council and Council of Elders shall be responsible for the provisions of this Article, insuring that proper process is afforded the

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accused.

**Article XI. Initiative, Referendum, and Amendment**

- Section 1. Notwithstanding the provisions of this Constitution, the People of the greater Abenaki Nation reserve to themselves, through their Band, the power to propose amendments to this Constitution and to enact or reject the same at General Council meetings specifically called for this purpose, independent of the Grand Council, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject any act of the Grand Council.
- Section 2. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by a majority of the Grand Council, such proposed amendment or amendments shall, with the consensus thereon, be entered into the Grand Council journal or other records for their approval or rejection, at the next regularly scheduled General Council meeting, except when the Grand Council, by consensus, shall order a special General Council meeting for that purpose. If a majority of all the registered Citizens shall have a consensus in favor of any amendment considered, it shall thereby become a part of this Constitution.
- Section 3. The first power reserved by the People of the Band is the right to propose any legislative measures by petition by registered adult Citizens of the appropriate age. This right to propose amendments to the Constitution by petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety), either by petition signed by a majority of the registered adult Citizens or by the Grand Council as other enactments are made.
- Section 4. Referendum petitions shall be filed and addressed to the Grand Council. All such matters referred to the People of the Band shall be heard at the next regularly scheduled General Council meeting except when the Grand Council or the Kchi Sag8mo shall order a special meeting for the express purpose of making such reference. Any measure referred to the People by the initiative shall take effect and be in force when it is approved by consensus by the General Council and Grand Council.
- Section 5. Petitions and orders for the Initiative and for the Referendum shall be filed and addressed to the Kchi Sag8mo, who shall submit them to the People. The Grand Council shall make suitable provisions for carrying into effect the provisions of this Article.
- Section 6. If two or more amendments or petitions are proposed they shall be submitted in such a manner that the General Council may agree or disagree for them separately.

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Section 7. Any amendments, alterations, revisions or new Constitution, proposed by such council, shall be submitted to the Grand Council at a general or special meeting and be approved by a majority of the Grand Council making a decision thereon before the same shall become effective. The question of such proposed council shall be submitted to the Citizens of the Band at least once in every ten years.

Section 8. No amendment or new Constitution shall become effective without the approval of the Grand Council.

**Article XII. Supersedes Previous Constitutions**

Section 1. The provisions of this Constitution overrule and supersede the provisions of any previous Constitution of the Band within the greater Abenaki Nation that may be in existence.

**Article XIII. Seat of Government**

Section 1. The Seat of Government of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People of the greater Abenaki Nation and Grand Council shall be as determined by the Grand Council.

**Article XIV. Adoption**

Section 1. This Constitution shall become effective when approved by the Grand Council when ratified by the qualified General Council of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People. It shall be signed by the Kchi Sag8mo, the Sag8mis(s), and the members of the Grand Council of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook -Abenaki People. It shall be filed in the office of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People and sacredly preserved as fundamental law of the People of the greater Abenaki Nation of the Wabanaki Confederation of N'dakinna.

APPROVED BY THE GRAND COUNCIL of the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People of the greater Abenaki Nation of the Wabanaki Confederation of N'dakinna on this 20<sup>th</sup> day of May 2006 SIGNED BY:

Sag8mo - Sag8mis

Paul W. Pouliot, Sag8mo  
Rene G. Blanchette, Sag8mis

Elders

David Reese  
James LaFountain  
Arlene Andresen  
Lynn Menard-Mathieson

Gail Demeres, Clerk  
Denise Mehigan, Treasurer

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**APPENDIX - Historical and Supplemental Information**

**Aln8bak (Our People) -**

The greater Abenaki Nation includes all Abenaki and Pennacook Bands and groups, including but not limited to the following Aln8bak groups now known or previously known as:

Abenaki (Abnaki, Abenaqui, "eastern" Abenaki, "central" Abenaki, "western" Abenaki),  
Aberginians,  
Accominta (shore line),  
Adirondack (Wawobadenik - white mountains),  
Agawam (fish curing place),  
Almouchiquios,  
Amaseconti (Amesokanti, Anmissoukanti - abundance of small fish),  
Amoskeag (one takes small fish),  
Ammatoscoggin,  
Androscoggin (Amariscoggin, Amerascoggin, Ameriscoggin - rock shelter place),  
Anasagunticook,  
Arosaguntacook (Arosaguntacook, Arrosaguntacook),  
Aucocisco,  
Bashaba,  
Canibas,  
Cohecco,  
Cowasuck (Cahass, Cohassiac, Coos, Coosuc, Koes, Eastern Woodland People, Northeastern Woodland People - at the white pines),  
Etchemin,  
Green Mountain Band,  
Kennebec (Caniba, Sagadahoc, Kanibesinnoak, Nurhantsuak, Kinibeki),  
Kik8ntegok (river of fields - Chaudiere River),  
Loup (Wolves),  
Massapuag,  
Merrimac, (Merrimacks - at the bottom of the "sand" hill),  
Missisquoi (Mezipskwik Missiassik, Missisiak, Mazipskoik, Misiskuoi, Missiassik, Missique,  
Missisco - place of flint),  
Morattigan (Monchiggan),  
Musketaquid,  
Nashoba, (Nashua, Nashaway - the land between),  
Natacook (Naticook),  
Naumkeag (Naumkeg, Naimkeak, Naamkeek, Namaoskeag, Namaske),  
Nechegansett,  
Norridgewock (Newichawawock, Newichawannock, Newichawanoc, Norridgewock, Naridgewalk, Neridgewok, Noronjawoke - people of the still water between rapids),  
Odanak (our village - St. Francis Jesuit mission),  
Ondiakes (Ondiakee),  
Onegigwizibok (otter river - Otter Creek),  
Ouarastegouiak,  
Oppenangoes,

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Ossippe (Ossippee - lake made by river widening),  
Otonic, Ouragie,  
Owaragees,  
Patsuiket,  
Pawtucket,  
Pequawket (Pigwacket, Pegouakki, Peguaki, Pequawket - at the hole in the ground),  
Pemigewasset,  
Rocameca (on the land upstream),  
Pejypscot,  
Pechiepsacut,  
Pemigewasset,  
Pennacook (Penakuk, Panukkog, Peenecooks, Penagooge, Penakook, Penecooke,  
Penicoock, Penicook, Penikook, Pennacokes, Pennacooke, Pennagog, Pennecooke,  
Pennekokes, Pennekook, Pennokook, Penny Cook, Penny-Cooke, Pennykoke,  
Pinnekooks, Pnoacocks, Ponacoks, Sagadahoc), Saco (south place),  
Soheg,  
Sokoki (Assokwekik, Ondeake, Onaiake, Onejagese, Ossipee, Sakukia, Sokokiois,  
Sokoquios, Sokoquis, Sokokquis, Sokoni, Sokwaki, Soquachjck, Zooquagese - people at  
the outlet / people who separated),  
Spirit Bear Band,  
St. Francis (St. Francis du Lac),  
St. Joesph de Colraine,  
Souhegan (Souheyan, Nacook, Natacook, Natticook),  
Squamscot (Squam, Squamsauke, Wonnesquam),  
Sunapee,  
Suncook (Senikok - at the rocks),  
Wachusset (at the small / middle sized mountain),  
Wamesit (fishing place),  
Washucke,  
Wataunick,  
Wawenock, (Wawenoc, Wewenoc, Ouanwiak, Sheepscot, Wawenock, Wawnock) (people  
of the bay country),  
Weshacum,  
Winnecowet,  
Winnicunnet,  
Winnipisauki (Winnepiscogee, Winnipesaukee, Winnepiseogee, Maunbisek, Muanbissek -  
the land around lake),  
Winnisemet,  
Winoski (Winoskik - onion place people),  
Wioninebesek, and,  
Wolinak (village at the bay - two villages - Becancour, Quebec and coastal Maine).

The above list is a historical representation of the known western or central Abenaki and Pennacook groups, it does not exclude or include any group or groups that may be historically mis-identified or now identified with another "Eastern Abenaki" group. The greater Abenaki Nation includes all Aln8bak, Abenaki, and Pennacook Bands and groups that spoke the Aln8bad8wa - the Abenaki or Pennacook dialects of the Algonquin language and are not specifically aligned at this time with those groups now identified as

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“Eastern Abenaki” of the Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, or Penobscot (Pana8bskaiiak) Nations.

**N'dakinna (Our Homeland) -**

The following is a detailed description of N'dakinna, our homeland. It includes all lands, waters, the air, and other natural resources that our ancestors of the above named groups lived, fished, hunted, trapped, planted, farmed, and harvested from Mother Earth's natural bounty. In colonial times N'dakinna covered all of New France and the colonial Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This area is now known as the province of Quebec in Canada, and the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts in the United States.

It should be noted that the greater Abenaki Nation did not relinquish any portion of our homeland as a result of any land lease, deed, grant, taking, treaty, or agreement executed by any Abenaki individuals or families, and does not recognize any agreements that have been used to occupy our homeland. There are no known legitimate or lawful agreements that were executed by or “on-the-behalf-of” the greater Abenaki Nation, Abenaki Bands, Abenaki families, or Abenaki People from the time of creation to present day. Any land related agreements that were executed in Canada or the United States, after their national sovereign status was declared, were done so without the full authority or recognition of the greater Abenaki Nation and Abenaki People that were resident on both sides of the Canadian-United States political border. At the time that any such lease, deed, grant, taking, or agreement may have been created, they were done so in violation of existing laws and regulations of authority and the representative parties were not authorized to enter into such agreements on the behalf of the greater Abenaki Nation, Abenaki Bands, Abenaki families, Abenaki People, or the occupying governments of the time.

The following describes the boundaries of N'dakinna by way of the rivers, lakes, landmarks, and the meeting points with the other First Nations People that border N'dakinna. The primary descriptions and bounds of N'dakinna are identified in the Aln8bad8wa (Abenaki) language.

Starting at a northwest location - Nsawiwi pebonkik ta ali-nkihl8t (northwest from) where the Chateauguay River and the Ktsitegok (great river) - Moliante gw (St. Lawrence River) meet near Molian (Montreal). The Os8ganek (Algonquin place) is the point where the lands of the Abenaki (N'dakinna), Algonkin, and Mohawk nations (Magwak) meet.

Waji nahil8t (going easterly) along the Ktsie gwok (great river) Moliante gw (St. Lawrence River), past the Bitawbagwizibok (Richelieu River), past the Wigw8madenik (Yamaska River) and the village of both the Abenaki and Mohawk lived, past Masessolina (Sorel), past Pithiiganek (Nicolet) and the Pithiganite gw (Nicolet River), past Mad8balodnik and the village of Mad8balodniak (Three Rivers).

Continuing, Ali-nkihl8t (easterly) past the Alsog8ntegok (St. Francis River) and Welinakte gw or W8linakte gw (the river which has long turns - which causes delay by its windings) (Becancour River) upon which Abenaki villages of Odanak and W8linack (Wolinak) are still occupied by the Abenaki People.

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Continuing, Ali-nkihlot (easterly) along the Ktsiegok (great river) Molianteqw (great river) (St. Lawrence River) to the Kik8ntegok (river of fields) (Chaudiere River) upon which the Abenaki villages of St. Joseph de Collraine and Kwanah8moik (long point in the river bend) (Durham) and other Abenaki villages along the Koatteqw or Koattegw (pine river) (Coaticook River), Namaskonkik (fish field) (Megantic Lake) were settled.

Continuing, Ali-nkihlot (easterly) beyond the Etchemin River (sand berries) and up to Kebek (Quebec) and the Isle de Orleans at the point that the Abenaki and Ksitegwiiak (the land of the Hurons) meet near the village of Pamadenainak (Lorette), up to the village of O'bamasisek (Yamachiche).

Going inland to the Big Black River to the point that it joins the St. John River at the Notre Dame Mountains the point where the Abenaki meet the Moskwas (muskrat - Malecite - Maliseet - broken talker). Across the St. John River and along the the lands of the Malecite (Maliseet, Wulastegniak, Aroostook, St. John's - good river people) and further east to the land of the Passamaquody (Machias, Opanango, Pesmokant, Quoddy, Scotucks, Unchechauge, Unquechauge, St. Croix - plenty of pollock / pollock spearing place).

Sowanakik, (going southward) through the watersheds of the Allagash River, the Musquacook Lakes, the Chemquasabamticook Lake, the Churchhill Lake, the Chamberlain Lakes, the Caucomgomoc Lake, the Baker River, the Baker Lake, the Seboomook Lake, the Chesuncook Lake, the Moz8debinebesek (Moosehead Lake), and to the Kenebec (Kennebec River) and through Kwen8bagok (long lake - Kennebago Lake).

The Kenebec (deep river - Kennebec River) being the boundary where the Abenaki meet the Pan8bskaik (land of the Penobscot) Pana8bskaiiak (Penobscot Pentagoet, Panaomeska - plenty stones / rocky place / ledge place).

Going down stream the Kenebec (Kennebec River), past the ancient Abenaki village of Mol8joak (deep flow river) (Norridgewock) and continuing to the Sobagwa (great ocean - Atlantic Ocean).

The Abenaki villages on the Laesikantgw (rock shelter river - Androscoggin River) are the villages of Amescana and Narakamik.

Sowanakik (going southerly) along the coast of the Sobagwa (Atlantic Ocean), past W8linak (village on the bay - village of Wwenock), past Kaska, past Pejepskw (bad rock - Pejepskot), past the Laesikantegw (Androsooggin River), past the Presumpscot River, past Sokwakik (Saco) and the Zawakwteqw (Saco River), past Kinib8ka (rough ground) (Kennebunk), past the M'mosem (my moose river - Mousam River), past Ogwa8mkwik (at the accumulated sand - Ogunquit), past the village of Piscataqua on (great deer river) Peggataqua (dark river - Piscataqua River), to the outlet of the Mol8demak (deep river - Merrimack River) at the Sobagwa (Atlantic Ocean).

The Mol8demak leads to the Pemijewasek (Pemigewasset River) and to the lake of Wiwinebesaki (land around the lake - Lake Winnepisaukee), the Abenaki villages of this area are Wiwinebesakik land around the lake place - Winnepisaukee Village), Akwadocta, Asepihtegw (river alongside - Ossipee), and Apikwehkik). The Abenaki villages on the

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Mol8demak are the villages of (Wamesit (fishing place), Nanaskik (place of fish - Manchester), Penokok (down hill - Concord), and Senikok (at the rocks - Suncook), Wiwinijoanek (water flows around it - Dover).

The other area lakes and waters are: Massabeskik (large lake - Massabesick Pond), N8wijoanek (long rapids - Salmon Fall River), Seninebik (rocky lake - Lake Sunapee), and W8bagok (clear lake - Lake Umbagog).

Ali-ali-nkihl8t (westward) along the Mol8demak (Merrimack River) past the village of Wamesit to the Pagontegok (Concord River), a one day's walk from the eastern shores of the Mol8demak (Merrimack) and Concord Rivers lands of the Pawtucket (Agawam, Naumkeag, Saugus, Winnisinet) to the lands of the Msajosek (the great hill) (Massachusetts Nation), Neponsit (Massachusetts) and Shawmut (Massachusetts), to the headwaters of the Concord, Sudbury, Assabet, and Nashua Rivers lands of the Nsawiwi (between the rivers) (Nashua) (Nashaway, Washoc, and Nashoba) to the area known as the Narragansett corridor along the Blackstone River and lands of the Nipmuc (Nipmuck) People.

Ali-ali-nkihl8t (westward) to Wachuset (mountain of small / middle height - Mt. Wachuset) at the Warre River the meeting place of the Nipmuc and Abenaki.

Ali-ali-nkihl8t (westward) to Millers River, west to the Pokw8mtegorok (very narrow river) (Pocumtuck River) and the land of the Pocumtuc.

Ali-nkihl8t (westward) crossing the Kwintegok (long river - Connecticut River). The Abenaki villages along the Kwintegok are the villages of Sokwakik (southern place - Squakeag), Ktispontegorok (great falls - Bellows Falls, Vermont), Goasek (place of pines - Newbury and Wells River, Vermont and Woodsville and Haverhill, New Hampshire).

The rivers that feed the Kwintegok are the 8manosek (fishing place - Ammonoosuc River), the Pasomkasik - Pemijoaswek (swift current - Pemigewasset River), and the Goategok (pine river - Coaticook River) (upper Connecticut valley).

The other lakes, rivers, and waters of N'dakinna are the Menahanbagok, (island pond - Island Lake), Mamhiawbagok (wide water - Lake Mephramagog), Wasabastegok, Sobagwa (ocean - Sebago Lake), Nebiz8nnibizik (little medicine water - Alburg Springs), Mikazawitegorok (black river - Black River), Bonsawinno (fire keeper - Lake Bomoseen), Pibesgantegok (roily river - Dead Creek), Nebiz8nnibik (medicine water - Highgate Springs), Massawippi (clear water - Holland Pond), Kwenosakek (pike place - mouth of Lamoille River), Kwenaskategok (long point river - La Platte River), Tamakwa (beaver - Maquam Bay), Masipskiwibi (flint water - Missisquoi Bay), Klahigantegok (wooden trap river - Nulhegan River), Pas8mkasik (clear sandy river - Passumpsic River), Kwenozasek (at the pike place - Pike River), and Wasabastegok (clear stream - White River).

Continuing, Ali-nkihl8t (westward) crossing the Kwintegok to the Deerfield River and the lands of the Mahiganek (at the Mahigans) Mahican Nation.

Continuing, Pebonkik (northward) to Onegigwizibok (Otter River - Otter Creek). The lands of the Green Mountains and Onegigwizibok (Otter Creek) and the lands beyond Lake



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George to the western lands (Wawobzdenik, Senapskaizibok, and the lands of Ganienkeh) to the west of Bitawbagok (lake between - Lake Champlain) are the Wawobadenik (white mountains - Adirondack lands and mountains) between the N'dakinna (Abenaki) and Magwak (Mohawk) nations.

The Abenaki villages on Bitawbagok are the villages of Winoskik (onion place - Winooski), Mskitegwa (quiet water - Milton, Vermont), and Mazipskaik (flint place - Swanton, Vermont), and on the river Onegigwizibok is the village of Natami pontegok (first falls - Vergennes, Vermont).

The rivers that feed the Bitawbagok are the Wazowategok (crooked river - Missisquoi River), the Wintegok (marrow river - Lamoille River), the Winoskitegok (onion river - Winooski River), the Seniganitegok (stone works river - Lewis Creek), and the Onegigwizibok (Otter River - Otter Creek).

Continuing, Pebonkik (northward) up through the Bitawbagok (Lake Champlain) and all of its shores going north and west through the water sheds of the Chateauguay and Bitawbagwizibok (Richelieu) Rivers back to the Ksitegwiiak (St. Lawrence River).

The major mountains of N'dakinna are: Gawasiwajo (windfall mountain - Mt. Kearsage), G8dagwjo (hidden mountain - Mt. Washington), Menonadenak (stands alone mountain - Mt. Monadnock), Wawobadenik (White Mountains or Adirondack Mountains), Pemapskadena (rocky mountain - Mt. Ascutney), Mozeodebe wadso (moose head mountain - Mt. Mansfield), Mateguasaden (rabbit mountain - Mt. Philo), Pisgag (dark - Mt. Pisga) and Wachuset (mountain of small / middle height - Mt. Wachuset), Dowabodiwadjo (saddle mountain - Camel's Hump), Mozal8mo (calls like a moose - Mt. Moosalamoo), and Mozalhlakik (cow moose land - Mt. Mooselauke).

This describes the Abenaki homeland, N'dakinna bordered by the Magwak (Mohawk) to the west, the Ksitegwiiak (the land of the Hurons) and Osoganeke (Algonquin Place) to the north, the Moskwas (Malecite-Maliseet), Mikm8z (Micmac), (Passaamakwadi) Passamaquoddy, and Pan8bskaik (Penobscot) to the east, the Massacuset and Nipmuc to the south, and the Mahiganek (Mahican) to the west. This describes the N'dakinna that the Abenaki People declare to be our sovereign homeland.