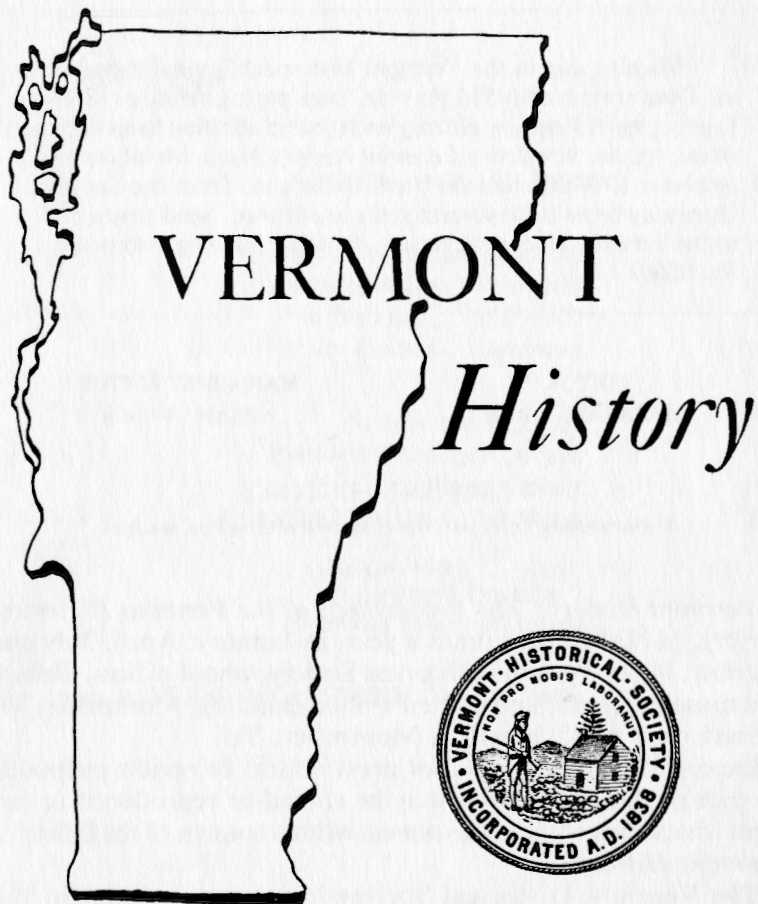
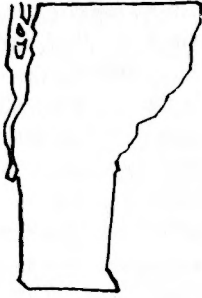


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By the seventeenth century Vermont was part of a Native American world thrown into chaos by devastating new forces. . . . Indian communities by the score disintegrated under the impact of war and disease. But in Vermont many survived in modified form, by adapting traditional patterns of movement.

Green Mountain Diaspora: Indian Population Movements in Vermont, c. 1600-1800

By COLIN G. CALLOWAY

Mobility was integral to Indian life in Vermont long before Europeans arrived. The aboriginal inhabitants of the Green Mountain region regularly shifted location for seasonal, social, and subsistence purposes. However, European invasion unleashed forces that drastically increased Indian movement. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lethal epidemics, escalating intertribal and interracial warfare, competition for European trade goods, and growing pressures upon diminishing resources made migration a necessity for many bands. Indians responded to these new pressures in a variety of ways. Refugees from once autonomous communities dispersed and regrouped in safer locations to create new social orders. Indians from other areas sought asylum in Vermont, while many of the native inhabitants fled to Canada or withdrew to locations in northern Vermont and New Hampshire. Most, however, clung tenaciously to their traditional lands and ways of life in the face of mounting pressures to abandon them. Some simply "went underground" in their ancient homelands; others returned seasonally to occupy lands they had left but not abandoned. This paper presents a broad view of the main currents of this complex population movement in Vermont, emphasizes that Indian peoples did not simply wander but undertook particular movements for specific purposes, and concludes that the enduring Indian presence in Vermont was considerably greater than is generally acknowledged.

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The majority of Vermont's Indian inhabitants were Abenakis. The Sokokis and Cowasucks of the upper and middle Connecticut River, the Missisquoi and others on the edges of Lake Champlain, and the neighboring Pennacooks and Winnepesaukee of the upper Merrimack were all "western Abenaki." Non-Abenaki peoples who traversed Vermont's borders included the Mahican of the Hudson Valley, the Mohawk of New York, members of the so-called "Pocumtuck confederacy" to the south, and Algonquian refugees from interracial conflicts in southern and eastern New England.¹ The fluidity of Indian social organization, factionalism and fragmentation meant that "tribes" were episodic units, and, as will be seen, Indian communities in Vermont, as elsewhere, were frequently intertribal in character.²

Indian villages were primarily extended family groupings whose ties to the land were governed by the rhythm of the seasons. Bands dispersed in times of scarcity and regrouped in times of plenty. Indian mobility represented a sophisticated response to climate, geography, natural resources, and seasonal change, and helped to maintain a fragile symbiosis with the environment. Euro-American colonists, who struggled to master the environment, could perceive no useful purpose behind Indian mobility and refused to recognize that Indians occupied the land in any meaningful sense. By Euro-American standards Vermont appeared to be uninhabited; by Indian standards the land was both inhabited and effectively utilized.³

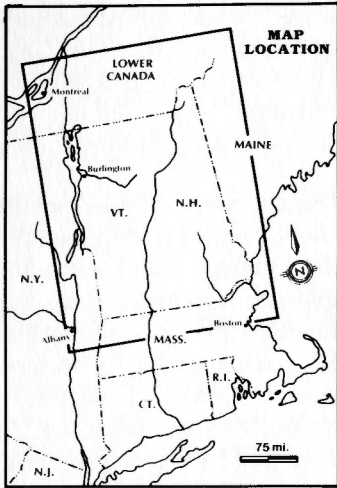
Early European colonists found a network of Indian trails in the region which testified to the range and frequency of travel by the native inhabitants. Well-worn paths connected principal centers of Indian population in northern New England and linked up with other trail networks. Major watercourses—the Connecticut, Merrimack, Hudson, and St. Lawrence Rivers and Lakes Champlain, George, Memphremagog, and Winnepesaukee—facilitated material and cultural exchanges within and far beyond the Green Mountain region.⁴ These same avenues of travel and communication also functioned as channels for the diffusion of killer diseases, arteries for the introduction of alien commerce, and highways for invasion by enemy forces. The arrival of Europeans dislocated traditional patterns of life and movement among Native Americans. Seasonal relocations and periodic visits gave way to pressured migrations and seasonal withdrawals to escape war, famine, and disease.

Documentary evidence about the effects of disease on Vermont is lacking because no Europeans were present to record them. However, well-established routes and patterns of communication ensured that Vermont natives were exposed to lethal epidemics which scythed through Indian populations throughout New England and the northeast in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. Endemic and chronic diseases caused continual attrition of Indian numbers. By the time the English penetrated the Green Mountain region, large Indian settlements were found only at Squakheag, Cowass, and Missisquoi. The colonists settled on lands which had been cleared and utilized by the previous Indian occupants, but the Indians themselves were gone.⁵

Recognition of the impact of biological cataclysm upon Indian populations and corresponding upward revisions of pre-contact population figures have radical implications for the study of Indian history and culture in Vermont. Heavier concentrations of population required far more complex social, economic, and political relationships than have usually been attributed to Indian civilizations.⁶ Population estimates for pre-epidemic New England now suggest numbers in excess of 90,000.⁷ Estimates for the Vermont region are necessarily vague, but "reasonable guesses" for the pre-plague western Abenaki of Vermont and New Hampshire suggest a figure of between 5,000 and 10,000 people.⁸ French records of the mid-seventeenth century refer to the Abenaki-speaking tribes and Sokokis as the "great Nations of New England," and speak of the Abenaki, Sokoki, Mahican, and "numerous other savage nations which are sedentary and have villages of a thousand or two thousand fighting men," indicating communities of at least 5,000 people.⁹ Estimated epidemic mortality rates among these peoples range as high as 98% for the western Abenaki, 95% for the Pocumtuck, and 91% for the Mahican. The neighboring Mohawk escaped relatively lightly, losing between 50 and 70% of their population. The accuracy of such estimates can never be ascertained, but they are consistent with figures from other regions and there is little doubt that Old World pathogens caused massive depopulation in the Green Mountains.¹⁰

While European viruses wrought demographic havoc, European fur traders created further turmoil in Native American societies. European fishermen had traded with eastern Abenakis on the Maine coast throughout the sixteenth century, but only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did traders penetrate the territories of the western Abenaki, advancing along established arteries of Indian commerce. Traders and trading posts leapfrogged up the Merrimack, Connecticut, and Hudson rivers as the English hastened to attract business which they feared would go north to the French. Fort Dummer, erected near Brattleboro in 1724 as a defence against Indian raids, also functioned as a trading post and conducted a flourishing commerce with Indians from upriver.¹¹ Indians incorporated European manufactured goods, metal, and firearms into their technology but, in doing so, lost many of their traditional craft skills and became dependent upon European merchants. The fur trade tied its

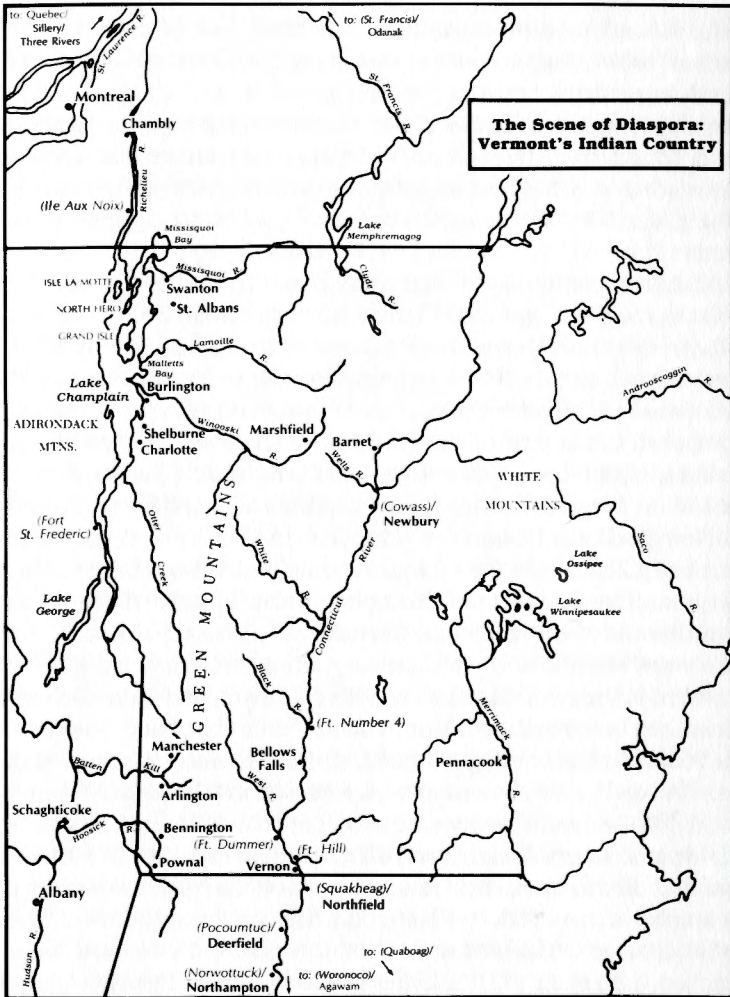


This map shows the regional location of "The Scene of Diaspora" portrayed on the more detailed map on the opposite page. Maps by Northern Cartographic.

Indian customers into the expanding world of western capitalism and threw neighboring tribes into desperate competition. Access to hunting grounds and to European traders became major considerations governing the movement and location of Indian bands, and tribes clashed in escalating conflicts for furs, trade, and survival. The diversion of economic energies from subsistence to commerce added to the disruption of traditional patterns and relationships with the animal world. Deadly intertribal wars prevented recovery of population strengths at a time when the European threat to the Indians' culture was increasing steadily.¹²

The fur trade entered Mahican territory via the Hudson River early in the seventeenth century. According to Dutch records, the Mahican were over 4,000 strong in 1610. The extent of their occupation of Vermont is uncertain. Vermont historian Walter Hill Crockett suggested that they had settlements at Bennington and Pownal, and that they spent their winters in the Hoosick and Housatonic valleys and had campgrounds in the mountain passes near Manchester and Arlington, where the height of land probably constituted the boundary between Mahican and Abenaki peoples. The Mahican range was reputedly restricted by a belief that the mountains harbored potentially evil spirits, but Mahican tradition tells of moose hunting expeditions to the tops of the Green Mountains each spring. Other accounts place Mahicans as far north as Otter Creek and the head of Lake Champlain, and southwestern Vermont certainly seems to have been regarded as Mahican territory at the beginning of historic times.¹³

The Mahican were no strangers to trade and appear to have acted as middlemen in the diffusion of shell beads from the Atlantic coast to the



St. Lawrence Valley, but the European fur trade sent shock waves through their world. When the Dutch built trading posts at Fort Nassau in 1614 and then at Fort Orange (Albany), the Mahicans shifted their villages to take advantage of the new situation. From the river shore opposite Fort Orange, they were able to control trade, levying tribute from Mohawks and other bands who came there to trade. Mohawk resentment of the Mahican monopoly led to open war in 1624. By 1628, the Mahicans were

defeated and many evacuated their territories west of the Hudson. Some perhaps took refuge in communities in the Connecticut Valley, and strong contacts persisted between these communities and villages on the Hudson and Housatonic to the 1660s. Many Mahicans, however, remained in, or returned to, the Hudson Valley, and they established a new village to the north at Schaghticoke, from where they could exploit remote trapping grounds in Vermont and continue a lucrative commerce with the Dutch.¹⁴

Mahicans continued to drift away from the Hudson to more remote areas throughout the 1630s, although they retained three of their five villages near Fort Orange until the end of the century.¹⁵ By 1640, both the Mohawk and the Mahican began to exert pressure upon neighboring groups as their own territories ceased to yield sufficient furs. The Mahican compelled bands east of the Hudson to acknowledge their supremacy, levied tribute from smaller tribes, and sent raiding parties as far afield as western Long Island. From the Mohawk Valley and Finger Lakes region of New York, the Iroquois could strike out in every direction. Their war parties spilled across New England, raiding traffic on the Connecticut River, and traveling up the Champlain Valley to strike the St. Lawrence. Tensions with the Sokokis and Abenakis, as well as the Mahican, escalated into open hostilities by mid-century. Refugees from Iroquois attacks gathered in French settlements at Sillery, Lorette, and Lake Champlain.¹⁶ Hostilities between the Mahican and Mohawk ebbed and flowed through the 1660s, and, according to legend, a Mahican war party was annihilated near Pownal in 1669 at a narrow pass known as "the place of the weeping rocks."¹⁷ Access to the Pynchon trading post at Springfield enabled the Mahican to secure firearms and offer spirited resistance to Mohawk, but war and disease took their toll and by 1700 the Mahican were reported to number a mere 500.¹⁸ Finally, the Mahican moved their council fire to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Mahicans drifted westward. One band reached Indiana in 1721; another group moved to Pennsylvania, where they settled near the Delaware and Munsee Indians with whom they later migrated to the Ohio country.¹⁹ In 1782, Indians from Stockbridge were granted lands in Vermont, several miles east of Montpelier, in recognition of their services during the Revolution. These Indians later sold the lands to Captain Isaac Marsh who founded the town of Marshfield.²⁰

While the Mahican saw their world battered and broken, their neighbors in the Connecticut Valley fared little better. The villages of the Sokoki, Pocumtuck, and others lay between the Mohawk and Mahican to the west and the Narragansett, Niantic, Mohegan, Nipmuck, Pennacook, and Maine Abenaki to the south, east, and north. They served as buffers against Mohawk expansion into New England, but their position became

increasingly perilous as French influence from the north and English pressure from the south added to the cauldron of forces in the Connecticut Valley.

Nineteenth century historians wrongly assumed that the Sokoki lived on the Saco River in Maine, and regarded the southernmost Sokoki band at Squakheag as a separate and isolated group. Gordon Day has since shown that seventeenth century French documents indicate that the Sokoki inhabited the entire upper Connecticut, and Jesuit Father Druillettes spoke of the Connecticut as the "river of the Sokokis."²¹ The name Sokoki derives from the term "Sohkwakhiak," meaning "the people who separated," which has given rise to various interpretations of their origins as a splinter group from some other tribe.²² They occupied the region from Squakheag to the great rapids at Bellows Falls, and had locations at the mouths of the Miller, West, and Ashuelot rivers, while their hunting territory seems to have extended to the headwaters of the Connecticut and even to the country south of the St. Lawrence. They were well placed to participate in the developing fur trade of the Connecticut Valley. Sokokis were reported in the St. Lawrence Valley in the 1660s and they probably obtained manufactured goods from both the French and, via Indian middlemen, the English. Pynchon's traders became well acquainted with the Indians at Agawam, Woronoco, Norwottuck, and Pocumtuck in the 1630s, but had only slight knowledge of the Sokokis farther upriver, who evidently acquired English goods through native trade networks.²³ Sokokis first appear in surviving French records in the early 1640s.²⁴ In 1650-51, however, they emerged as a driving force in a projected alliance of New England tribes under French auspices against the Iroquois. Prior to 1650, Indian communities in the Connecticut Valley paid tribute in wampum to the Mohawk, but the new Sokoki-Abenaki-French alliance challenged Iroquois power and for the next two decades the Indians of the middle and upper Connecticut became embroiled in the struggle between the French and Iroquois for the interior fur trade.²⁵

Radical shifts in the balance of power among competing groups of Indians and Europeans alike took place in the 1660s. The Dutch surrendered to the English in 1664, and the Sokoki at Squakheag and the Pocumtuck farther south declined in power and were forced to abandon their villages as the Iroquois emerged as the dominant native force in the northeast. Warfare and competition for diminishing resources disrupted village life and altered basic subsistence strategies at Squakheag. Sometime in the early 1660s, most of the families congregated into a single village and to protect themselves constructed Fort Hill on a steep promontory overlooking the Connecticut. Mohawk attacks seem to have been responsible for both the occupation of the new fort in September, 1663, and

for its evacuation early in 1664. Sporadic clashes with the Mohawk throughout 1663 culminated in December when a massive war party of Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas invaded the Connecticut Valley and laid siege to Fort Hill. Both sides lost heavily before the Iroquois were repulsed, but, reinforced by Pennacooks, Cowasucks, and other Abenakis, the Sokokis remained at their fort during the winter. By the spring of 1664, however, the Sokokis had abandoned their stronghold and dispersed, leaving their enemies with no idea as to their whereabouts. Some went south and took up residence with the Pocumtucks, only to become refugees again less than a year later. Then, following the murder of a Mohawk ambassador, the Iroquois launched a devastating campaign against the Pocumtuck which destroyed their villages and scattered the survivors. The evacuation of Squakheag and the destruction of Pocumtuck in such a short space of time produced dramatic dislocations in the native populations of the Connecticut Valley as refugees from the abandoned villages fled south to the Norwottuck and Agawam, sought asylum with the Pennacook to the east, or began the long migration northward to Cowass and eventually to new communities in Canada.²⁶

By the end of February, 1665, the Indian communities in the Connecticut Valley beyond the southern border of Vermont were scattered and broken. The Sokokis' military power had already disintegrated before they participated in a disastrous expedition against the Mohawk in 1669, and the once-flourishing communities of Squakheag and Pocumtuck never revived.²⁷ When the first English settlers pushed upriver to Northfield around 1670, they found only a core community of twenty or thirty Indians living there, on both sides of the river. But in what was to become a common pattern among western Abenakis in the aftermath of catastrophe, some Sokokis quietly moved back to their old lands, reset their wigwams, and resumed their lives alongside the newcomers.²⁸

When King Philip's War erupted in 1675, these Indians disappeared as quickly and quietly as they had come, withdrawing before the approaching storm. Many joined the Indian forces and returned with them to Squakheag after the settlers had evacuated the area. Squakheag became a center of Indian operations during the war and attracted Indians from almost the whole of New England.

In the autumn of 1675, a body of "River Indians" was encamped in the pine woods at South Vernon. Following the Puritan army's destruction of their stronghold in December, Narragansetts from Rhode Island arrived at Squakheag to join the gathering forces. According to nineteenth century historian George Sheldon, the Indians also established winter quarters in the valleys of southwestern Vermont near Manchester and Sunderland, where warriors from various tribes congregated in prepara-

tion for the spring offensive. King Philip, or Metacom, spent the winter of 1675 at Schaghticoke, but a surprise attack by the Mohawks scattered the army he had assembled and he fled across the Green Mountains with a few followers, reaching Squakheag late in February, 1676.²⁹ By early spring, almost 3,000 warriors had gathered in the Squakheag region. The assembly of Wampanoags, Pocumtucks, Nonotucks, Agawams, Quaboags, Nashaways, Naticks, Hassanamesetts, and Sokokis, under the leadership of Metacom, Canonchet, and Pessacus, made this the most important Indian gathering in southern Vermont on record, and when captive Mary Rowlandson met Metacom at South Vernon she was awed by the "numerous crew of pagans" that she saw preparing for the final onslaught against the English settlements.³⁰

Metacom moved his headquarters to Mount Wachusett shortly after and at the beginning of May the Indians who had assembled in the Squakheag country dispersed. One group, which probably comprised mainly Sokokis, gathered at the Pasquamscut falls for fishing. They suffered heavy casualties here when Captain William Turner's command from Hadley attacked them in mid-May in a battle that gave the town of Turner's Falls, Massachusetts, its name.³¹

The social fragmentation generated by King Philip's War dwarfed the disruptions caused by the Mohawk campaigns of the previous decade. The defeat and death of Metacom initiated what André Sevigny calls *le grand dérangement abénaquis*, as the English waged a second war on the northern frontier which persisted long after hostilities had ended in the south and kept Indian bands continually on the move.³² The war disrupted the agricultural, trapping, and trading activities of the Abenaki and curtailed the seasonal mobility vital to their effective utilization of resources. Faced with starvation, many fled to Canada where they tried to rebuild their communities around the Jesuit mission villages. Some Abenaki bands withdrew northward as soon as the war broke out, and the first group of Sokokis arrived at Three Rivers in the spring of 1676 after an arduous winter journey during which famine took its toll of their numbers. Other Sokokis moved to the west and, along with many Pocumtucks, took up residence at the village of Schaghticoke on the Hudson.³³ Dislodged from their homelands, other Indians found their way farther afield. A number of Abenakis, Sokokis, and "Loups" accompanied French explorer Sieur de la Salle on his expedition to the Great Lakes region in the early 1680s, and some remained in the midwest, establishing contacts which facilitated the Abenaki acquisition of the calumet ceremony from the Fox in the mid-eighteenth century.³⁴

The war by no means produced a complete exodus, however. Some displaced Sokokis returned to their Squakheag homes, but they were liv-

ing on borrowed time. Land sales to the English and the increasing pressure of settlement reduced the resources available to them, and the outbreak of King William's War in 1689 placed the Squakheag community in the direct path of war parties and expeditions operating on the Connecticut River. By the 1690s, many Sokokis pulled out and resettled in Canada along with other refugees. Others lingered in southern Vermont long after the dispersal of their community, frequenting the Connecticut Valley and maintaining contacts with their relatives who had moved north and gravitated toward Missisquoi and other centers. As Gordon Day has pointed out, the "Zooquaders" and "Zooquagese" Indians mentioned in the histories of Grand Isle, Franklin, and Ferrisburg were Sokokis who either lived in those areas permanently or visited them on a regular basis.³⁵

The Sokokis' eastern neighbors, the Pennacook, suffered similar displacement as a result of King Philip's War, even though they tried to avoid entanglement in that conflict. Their principal communities were at Amoskeag Falls (Manchester) and Pennacook (Concord) in New Hampshire, but the Pennacooks ranged between the Merrimack and Connecticut valleys and may have had settlements as far north as Newbury and Barnet. Their close proximity to the Sokoki, their western Abenaki linguistic affiliation, and frequent interchanges between the bands have caused some writers to confuse the two groups and to attribute Sokoki locations to the Pennacook.³⁶ When the war broke out, Wanalancet led part of his people to more remote places where they would be less vulnerable to attack, and an English expedition that ascended the Merrimack in August, 1675, found no Indians at the village of Pennacook. It is possible that the Pennacooks spent the winter of 1675-76 in Canada and returned to their village the following summer, but they may have gone no farther north than the upper reaches of the Merrimack or Connecticut rivers and regrouped at a seasonal camping ground near Lake Winnepesaukee. The Pennacook remained neutral and Wanalancet himself returned to the Merrimack at the end of the war; but many of Metacom's defeated followers went into hiding in the upper Merrimack valley, and English efforts to hunt down the refugees kept the Indians on the move. In November, 1676, in a pattern to be repeated many times during the next hundred years, an English expedition marched to Ossipee only to find the Indian "fort" there deserted, although it was reported that about 100 Indians had been there a few days before. In 1677, Wanalancet and many of his people resumed their migration northward, probably following the route from the Connecticut River to Lake Memphremagog and then to the St. Francis River.³⁷

The Pennacook refugees came under French influence, but that did not mean that they were tied down in their new locations or that they

had completely abandoned their old haunts. In 1685, Pennacooks who had been living at Chambly returned south to visit relatives who were still living around Pennacook. About the same time, fears of renewed Mohawk raids prompted the Pennacook to harvest their corn and withdraw to safety, probably to Lake Winnepesaukee and Lake Ossipee, and there is evidence to suggest that a group of Pennacooks settled on Lake Champlain by 1687.³⁸ The Pennacook tried to maintain their neutrality again when King William's War broke out and even indicated that they were willing to settle closer to the English as evidence of their pacific disposition.³⁹ By 1700, however, the English were worried that the Pennacooks on Lake Champlain were increasing their connections to the French via "a great Indian trade" with Canada. A tug-of-war developed as the governor of New York and the governor of Canada competed for Pennacook allegiance. The Pennacook, however, rejected a French invitation to take up permanent residence in Canada. Many continued to pass back and forth between New England and New France, and some moved west to Schaghticoke. A map of 1785 indicated that one group at least remained in New England and was living just below Lake Winnepesaukee. The fate of this band is unknown; like many other groups who "went underground" they may have drifted away unnoticed and amalgamated with other communities.⁴⁰

King Philip's War resulted in the creation of a new, multi-tribal community in the upper Hudson Valley, which acted as a magnet for Indians throughout Vermont and northern New England and as a feeder for other Indian villages farther north. In an effort to strengthen his colony and to halt the exodus of Indians to New France at the end of the war, Governor Andros of New York encouraged settlement at Schaghticoke near the mouth of the Hoosick River and offered asylum to any Indians who wished to place themselves under his protection. In the first year, over 200 survivors of tribes scattered during the war took refuge at Schaghticoke and the results encouraged Andros's successors to accelerate recruitment. Located in Mahican territory, the village probably had a Mahican substratum, but a new social order emerged as Sokokis, Pocumtucks, Nonotucks, Agawams, Pennacooks, Narragansetts, Nipmucks, and Wampanoags congregated on the east bank of the Hudson. Tribal identities became confused as the English referred to all Indians at Schaghticoke as "River Indians," although the neighboring Mohawks distinguished between the original Mahican inhabitants and the newcomers.⁴¹

Schaghticoke played a pivotal role in the Anglo-French contest for Indian allegiance which pulled Vermont Indians to the west and north. The French hoped to attract Indians from Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire, and "Loups" and Abenakis already living in Canada tried to con-

vince their relatives at Schaghticoke to move north and join them. The English meanwhile tried to draw more Indians to Schaghticoke, and successive governors of New York asked the Indians living there to encourage their relatives from the north and east to settle on the Hudson. In 1685, 156 men, women, and children under a sachem named Sadochquis returned from Canada to take up residence at Schaghticoke. Schaghticoke Indians repeatedly assured the English of their gratitude and their determination to stay where they were, pointing out that those who left for Canada comprised no more than a handful of malcontents. But growing English pressure, combined with unfair dealings by Albany traders, prompted increasing numbers to leave Schaghticoke. Many drifted north to Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence Valley; some migrated west to Pennsylvania.⁴²

The village of Schaghticoke was located on New York's vulnerable northern frontier, and the outbreak of war between England and France in 1689 threatened to embroil its residents in conflict with their relatives in New France. Defensive considerations and doubts about the Schaghticokes' loyalty prompted the governor of New York to temporarily relocate the village in the 1690s. By 1696, the governor was concerned that the Indians were so scattered along the Hudson River that they were vulnerable to attack.⁴³ It appears also that many of the "River Indians" who lived near Albany were accustomed to return to the Connecticut Valley each year to hunt and these were probably Sokokis. In the winter of 1698-99, another band of Indians left Schaghticoke and went north to "Winooskeek" (the mouth of the Winooski River on Lake Champlain), probably to escape from Albany traders whose debts they could not repay. The Schaghticokes were warned off, however, by some "Boston Indians," probably displaced Pennacooks or Sokokis who lived at Missisquoi or Sand Bar and hunted the territory around the lake. The English feared that the Indians intended to abandon Schaghticoke and establish a settlement at Winooskeek and they offered them inducements and assurances of protection to remain in their Hudson Valley villages.⁴⁴

The English tried to counteract French influence among the tribes, placing a minister at Fort Dummer to instruct the Indians who frequented that post, and sending ministers among the "Eastern Indians." But gradually it became clear that the French were winning the contest for Indian allegiance in northern New England. Schaghticoke contained about 1,000 people in 1702 but, less than twenty years later, only 200 remained. In 1723, troubled by the encroachments of their white neighbors, a number of Indians left Schaghticoke and withdrew toward Canada, possibly stopping off at the growing refugee village at Missisquoi. The French made every effort to attract Indians from Schaghticoke to this village. Another group made the journey in 1744 and an apparently steady exodus con-

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At a meeting of the Com^{rs} of the
Indian affairs in Albany the 17th day
of August 1724

Present
Henry Nicolson
John Cuyler
Peter van Brugh
Erast Brancher
Philip Livingston
John Collins
Erast Wendell
John Wendell
Hendrick van Schaep
David van Dyck

By Com^{rs}

Whereas it is thought very necessary
for the publick Safety and welfare of his Majesty
Subjects that the Indians lately deserted from Schachhook
and plain adjacent to a place on the north end of Ontario
Lake called Missisquack who have of late by the
Insinuation of some bad Indians Living there made
severall assaults on his Majesty's Subjects in England
to induce these Indians to Return to their old habitations
at Schachhook to the end they may become our friends
and be out of the way to be suspected of doing mischief
to our neighbours and threaten our frontiers

It is therefore Resolved that, a ^{some of the Indians to permit} Bill of Warrant
to these deserted Indians to perform this message and
that Johannes Lincobachker be employed to dispatch of
messengers who at their Return shall be ^{for their} trouble

Johannis Cuyler Philip Livingston Erast Wendell
Abraham Cuyler Nicolas Blecker Gerrit Ruseboom
& Robt. Ruseboom were tendered a^d both instructed in
an act of Par^l assembly of the Province of New York
Entituled an act for the better & more Effectual prohibition
the selling Indian goods to the french who severally took
the same

It is also tendered unto John Schaeffer but he
Refusing whereon an Execution was served directed by
Sherrif of the City & County of Albany for carrying the
said act into execution pursuant to the direction
of the said act

Migratory Indians worried both British and French policymakers. In this document commissioners for Indian affairs meeting at Albany in 1724 express their concern over the flight of the Schaghticoke north to Missisquoi. Courtesy of Public Archives of Canada.

tinued until 1754, when the last residents abandoned the village and migrated to the mission at St. Francis. Other members of the Schaghticoke community dispersed into surrounding areas, and Abenakis survived around Lake George throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁵

Schaghticoke was not the only community that functioned as a melting pot for various refugee bands and eventually became a departure point for Indians moving on into Canada or northern Vermont. The Great Oxbow of the Connecticut River near Newbury was a center of Indian habitation, activity, and movement in the eighteenth century. The area was known as Cowass or Coos, from which the inhabitants derived the name Cowasucks or Coosucks, "people of the pine tree place." When the first white captives trudged through the area in the early 1700s, the meadows on both sides of the river were cultivated, and early settlers found visible remnants of a fortified Indian village. Cowass may have been the site of more than one village or the location of a "central headquarters" for various bands throughout the area from Thetford to Barnet. The Cowasuck band itself probably numbered at least 300, a number that fluctuated as groups passed in and out of the vicinity. Cowass was a pivotal region, a half-way point between Canada and the Atlantic coast, and a junction for several Indian trails, and various bands utilized the area for its good fishing and fertile soil.⁴⁶

It is not clear whether the Cowasuck were a distinct tribe or an upriver branch of Sokokis; nor do we know if the village was an ancient community or one created by refugees from villages farther south which had been dispersed by King Philip's War. Cowass was a logical stopping place for Indians migrating up the Connecticut. From there, they could ascend the Wells River and cross the Green Mountains to the Champlain Valley, or continue up the Connecticut and make their way to the St. Francis and St. Lawrence rivers. Mahican refugees may have spent some time at Cowass following their defeat by the Mohawk, but there is no reason to assume that the Cowasuck were displaced Mahicans. Some writers feel that Cowass was a Pennacook village, and Pennacooks certainly passed through the area during King Philip's War. Gordon Day believes that Cowass was occupied at least by 1663, that the community was established before refugees from King Philip's War arrived, and that the Cowasuck were closely related to the Sokoki. Cowass certainly offered a logical destination to Sokokis withdrawing from Squakheag in 1669. But, whatever its original cultural composition, after 1675 Cowass became a refugee village and the nerve center of a region infiltrated by the remnants of various tribes. An area which the English regarded as a "foreboding wilderness" afforded a fruitful haven to transient Indian bands en route to Canada.⁴⁷

The Cowasucks seem to have withdrawn from their village in 1704 and not to have returned for some time. Indians fighting against the English during Queen Anne's War found it difficult to maintain subsistence activities and some tribes appealed to the French for help in staving off hunger. In June, 1704, a delegation of Cowasucks visited Governor Vaudreuil in Quebec, who invited them to move north and settle on the St. Lawrence where they could be better protected from the English. The Indians declined the offer, pointing out that Cowass was in a better position for offensive operations against their enemies.⁴⁸ However, even as the Cowasuck delegates were turning down Vaudreuil's offer, an expedition led by Caleb Lyman was marching north from Northampton against their village. The soldiers had gone "nine Days journey into the Wilderness" when they surprised a small party of Indians about twenty miles south of Cowass and killed eight of them. News of the attack alarmed the community at Cowass and, according to Samuel Penhallow, they "immediately forsook their Fort and Corn at Cowassuck, and never return'd to this Day, that we cou'd hear of, to renew their Settlement in that place." Stephen Williams, who had been captured during the famous raid on Deerfield earlier in the year, saw Indians coming away from Cowass carrying news of Lyman's attack.⁴⁹

The Indians may have fled to Canada, but it is more likely that they simply retreated to the upper reaches of the Connecticut or to less accessible interior locations around Lake Memphremagog. Amidst the lakes and mountains of northern Vermont and New Hampshire, the Indians were able to play "cat and mouse" with the English, quietly slipping away as the enemy approached. A punitive expedition against the Pigwackets of the Maine-New Hampshire border region in February, 1704, had found their "fort" of about 100 wigwams deserted. In 1711, Colonel Walton and two companies of men marched to Lakes Winnepesaukee and Ossipee, well known as favorite Indian resorts for hunting and fishing, but they found only two empty wigwams, "for being so closely pursued from one place to another, they removed to other Nations, leaving only a few Cutthroats behind which kept the Country in a constant Alarm." In the spring of 1712, Captain Thomas Baker led a party of men from Deerfield up the Connecticut River, "Designing for Cowass on purpose to Destroy a family or two of Indians that we heard was there." But either Cowass was still deserted or the Indians slipped away, for Baker's men found no sign of them there, although they did kill nine Indians on the upper Merrimack. French maps of 1713 and 1715 show a village at Cowass, marked with the symbol for a mission and labeled as *Koes, ancien village des loups*, which implies that the village was still empty at that time. However, Gordon Day suspects that Indians reoccupied it as soon as peace was restored

Parolles

des sauvages Abenakis
de Kocsek à Monsieur
le Gouverneur general
Le 13^e Juin 1704.

Reponses

de Monsieur
auxd sauvages
Le 14^e Juin 1704.

Je te salue mon
Pere et tous ceux
qui sont avec toi dans
le village, et ay je
ay vu pas de l'hy
ver cest que j'attends
malade, nous venons
voir tous icy pour
saluer notre Pere,
et pour luy dire
dans ce temps de guerre
que nous voulons
risquer avec luy
et contenir fort
musk la guerre
que nous avons en-
trepris ensemble.

Premier Collier

Je ne viens pas
icy mon Pere pour
te raconter combien
j'ay frappé l'Anglois
tu les deya appris

Je suis rayé de
te voir mon fils
et que tu es arrivé
de guerre en bonne
santé, apres les
risques que tu as
courus, en allant
contre notre ennemy
commun.

Premier Collier

Je n'aurais garde
mon enfant de
manquer de t'en
voyer du secours,
puisque tu m'as

This document records a council held between the Cowasuck Indians and Quebec Governor Vaudreuil in 1704. It is important because it is one of the few documents that refer specifically to the Cowasuck Abenakis. Courtesy of Public Archives of Canada.

at the Treaty of Utrecht, and such filtering back to former habitations would have been consistent with Indian practice in Vermont throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁰

In the summer of 1725, Benjamin Wright's men saw only three Indians during their entire expedition up the river to Cowass, then over the mountains to Missisquoi. Another expedition to the headwaters of the Merrimack in the fall found only signs of wigwams where they supposed the Indians had been six weeks before. Of course, the Indians were in no hurry to show themselves and could usually avoid detection with ease, but it seems that Cowass was still deserted. After Lovewell defeated the Pigwacket Indians that same year, most of that tribe fled to Canada, to the sources of the Connecticut, and over towards Lake Champlain, where some no doubt joined Grey Lock and continued their war against the English. The Cowasucks may have retreated further at the same time, with some withdrawing to Canada and eventually mingling with relatives at St. Francis. By the spring of 1727, however, the Indians from Norridgewock, Androscoggin, and Pigwacket, who fled with their families to Canada during the war, were on their way back to their homes, and expressed concern lest the English fall upon them while they were hunting near the Connecticut and Kennebec rivers.⁵¹

The Indians who remained around Cowass probably retreated during King George's War, but this movement represented strategic withdrawal rather than permanent abandonment of their lands. After the war, the Indians became disturbed by rumors that the English intended to fortify the then vacant Cowass Intervales and in a conference at Montreal in 1752 the Abenaki delegates reasserted their claim to the territory and threatened to go to war if the English occupied it.⁵² Captain Peter Powers led an expedition past Cowass in 1754 without seeing any Indian villages, and Rogers' Rangers saw none on their return from St. Francis five years later, but some Indians did reoccupy the village in 1754.⁵³

According to one tradition, several hundred Indians were living on the upper Androscoggin River in 1755 when they caught smallpox from the French. The survivors left the area and removed to Canada. Another group from the Cowass region withdrew to the Clyde River near East Charleston during the Seven Years' War, remained there while the war lasted, and then moved on to St. Francis. At the same time, however, other Indian families returned from St. Francis and elsewhere to resume residence around Cowass. These families were living in the meadows on the banks of the Connecticut when the first English settlers arrived at Lower Cowass in 1761, and they remained in the vicinity, living quietly for many years after.⁵⁴

Historians have tended to interpret lack of sightings and confusion of movements as indication that the Indians who were displaced in King

Philip's War and subsequent conflicts fled directly to the Jesuit mission villages in New France. André Sevigny, however, maintains that Abenaki exiles who set out for Canada often stopped short when they reached a suitable no-man's-land, namely the remote areas of northern Vermont and New Hampshire. There is considerable evidence to corroborate this view. The country around the headwaters of the Connecticut River, which seemed so inhospitable to the English, offered the Indians an advantageous strategic location within easy access of their French allies. The Androscoggin, Saco, Merrimack, and Connecticut rivers all rise in the White Mountains and they provided the Indians with great mobility, while the Otter, Winooski, and Lamoille rivers connected with the Hudson-Lake Champlain-Richelieu River system. Moreover, the region afforded the Indians a better living than they were to find around mission villages like Sillery. Many Indians who moved north in search of safety found their refuge among the rivers and lakes of northern Vermont and New Hampshire and had little need to go directly to the French mission villages.⁵⁵

According to adventurer Henry Tufts, who spent several years with the Indians, some 700 people in several bands ranged the area between Lakes Memphremagog and Umbagog in the early 1770s.⁵⁶ Those Indians who remained in Vermont during the era of the American Revolution maintained a low profile; others withdrew and sold a large tract of land stretching from northeastern Vermont to Maine in the 1790s. Indians continued a seasonal occupation of their old planting and fishing grounds, and "St. Francis Indians" frequented the shores of Lake Memphremagog. Even after the Indians cleaned out their beaver trapping grounds in Orleans and Essex counties in 1809, they continued to move freely back and forth across the border and to utilize the territory around Lake Memphremagog and the headwaters of the Connecticut. Nevertheless, by mid-century the Indians had virtually disappeared from view in the northern part of the state.⁵⁷

On the western side of Vermont, Missisquoi served as a nerve center for Indian peoples seeking refuge in the northern Champlain Valley in the same way that Cowass functioned in the upper Connecticut Valley. In 1609, explorer Samuel de Champlain heard evidence that the Indian populations on the lake had already suffered dislocation as a result of intertribal wars along the St. Lawrence. Champlain's Indian allies told him that the Richelieu River and the "four beautiful islands" in Lake Champlain had recently been abandoned. The St. Lawrence Iroquois had disappeared some time previously, probably decimated by disease and dispersed by Mohawks, Hurons, or Algonquins; and some refugees may have been absorbed by western Abenaki bands to the south. Marc Lescarbot reported that, not long before 1608, 8,000 Iroquois warriors had ex-

terminated the Algonquins, the people of Hochelaga (Montreal), and others bordering on the St. Lawrence. Clearly, wars and epidemics had devastated the St. Lawrence in the seventy years since Jacques Cartier explored the river in 1535, and it is little wonder that the Lake Champlain islands were uninhabited by 1609. Champlain noted that in time of war the Indians withdrew from the rivers and moved deep into the interior to be safe from surprise, a strategy to which Vermont's Indians adhered for the next two centuries.⁵⁸

Champlain's guides also reported that the country to the east of the lake was a land of beautiful valleys and rich cornfields and that it was inhabited by the Iroquois. The Mohawk referred to Lake Champlain as "the gateway to the country" and there is some evidence of Mohawk occupation of the Vermont shore. The Iroquois may even have held sway over the area during the period ca. 1540-1640 and attempted to extend their power as far east as the Connecticut River. On the other hand, Champlain may have had difficulties with his interpreters. The lake formed a boundary between Iroquois and Abenaki territory, especially after the French penetrated the region and cultivated the friendship of the Abenaki in the seventeenth century. The Abenaki claimed that if the Iroquois ever occupied western Vermont they did so by conquest and had no original rights to the country. Mohawk-Abenaki relations at this time perhaps involved as much cooperation as conflict, with peaceful interchange based on trade, tribute, and kinship ties; but the Iroquois continued to hunt, travel, and raid to the east in the seventeenth century. This gave the Champlain lowland the character of a frontier region and gave rise to traditions of Vermont as a no-man's-land and the scene of bloody conflicts between Iroquois and Abenaki warriors.⁵⁹

By the end of the seventeenth century, imperial rivalry between England and France and interracial war to the south replaced the Iroquois threat as major factors governing the survival, location, and composition of Indian communities on Lake Champlain, and Missisquoi emerged as a focal community in the Indians' struggle for survival. The lower Missisquoi Valley was an advantageous location within reach of Lake Champlain, the St. Lawrence, and Lake Memphremagog, rich in resources, and yet less exposed to attack than were Otter Creek, the Lamoille, and Winooski rivers. Traces of occupation stretching back as far as fifteen miles from the mouth of the river indicate a significant and longstanding Indian presence in the area. Abenakis may have been at Missisquoi as early as 1650, and warriors from the vicinity may have been among the "North Indians" who traveled south to rendezvous with Metacom during King Philip's War. However, the area received its main influx of population as a result of displacements occasioned by that war.

For Mahicans and Schaghticoke, Lake Champlain represented a natural route of retreat. John C. Huden maintained that Mahicans congregated at the mouths of the Winooski River and Otter Creek, and the Winooski Valley seems to have been an area of significant Indian settlement and a favorite resort for hunting and planting. Indians from various Abenaki and Algonquian bands who had been driven west and north by the English began to reach Otter Creek, the Winooski, and Missisquoi Bay by about 1680. French governor Frontenac referred to Sokokis on the shore of Lake Champlain in that year, and Sokokis located at Grand Isle and Missisquoi.⁶⁰

In 1682, the French seem to have established a short-lived mission on the lake, a sure sign of significant Indian presence in the area, but the cultural composition of the Indian settlement or settlements to which the mission catered is unclear.⁶¹ French records describe the Indians as Abenakis and Loups. The "Loups" referred to were probably Sokokis, Pennacooks, and Mahicans since the Baron de Lahontan wrote that, prior to his residence at Chambly in 1685, "Socokis," "Openangos" and "Mahingans" used to visit that place "in shoals" to trade. These people had most likely retreated to Lake Champlain from their homelands on the Connecticut, Merrimack, and Hudson rivers after King Philip's War, but their presence on the lake did not necessarily indicate a one-way stream of refugees seeking permanent asylum and abandoning their lands in the south. By 1685, the Indians who had been trading at Chambly had returned south to escape Iroquois attacks or persecution by French traders and had taken up residence nearer to the English.⁶²

The Abenaki presence around Lake Champlain grew considerably in the eighteenth century and Missisquoi became the major fortified village and nerve center for numerous small satellite communities. Refugees gradually were assimilated into the original band, and writers began to refer to all Champlain Valley Abenakis as members of the Missisquoi "tribe," while many of the "St. Francis Indians" mentioned by historians came from Missisquoi rather than the Canadian village. As early as 1736, a French warrior count included in the total for St. Francis those from Missisquoi as well as "the wanderers."⁶³

Missisquoi first came to English notice as a result of the raiding parties which emanated from that place. In 1723, the English at Albany asked the Iroquois to use their influence to stop the Indians of "Messesseek" from joining the hostile "Eastern Indians." The English had good reason to be concerned, as war parties led by Grey Lock tormented their northern frontiers. Grey Lock was probably a Woronoco from Massachusetts and may have retired first to Schaghticoke before withdrawing to Lake Champlain. He gathered his warriors at Otter Creek but established his headquarters at a palisaded village, which became known as "Grey Lock's

demonstreroit la valeur des
portions de terre sur lesquelles
ces batimens se trouvent, sa
Majeste peut supprimer cet
article, si elle le juge à propos
sauf à s'etablir sur les
circonstances et l'effet que
produiroient les autres dispositions

Mission Le village de Michisicouy a
du village augmente assez considerablement
de Michis depuis l'année dernière, il
en y trouve actuellement un nom-
bre de familles qui composent
environ 60. guerriers tous jeunes
gens; M^r le Mar de Beauharnois
y a envoyé l'été dernier un
officier pour y chanter la
guerre et leur présenter le
collier et la frache qu'ils ont
accepté avec beaucoup de dé-
monstrations de zèle et d'atta-
chement pour les François.
La guerre a été chantée pen-
dant plusieurs jours sans dis-
continuation. Jusques à présent
cette mission n'a pas occasionné
d'autres dépenses extraordinaires
que la construction d'une mis-
sion de piéces sur piéces et
l'achat de quelques meubles
et ustenciles de peu de valeur
pour l'usage du missionnaire

This extract from a French report of 1744 refers to an influx of population at Missisquoi and the subsequent dispatch of French officers to recruit warriors from that village. Courtesy of Public Archives of Canada.

castle," some distance from the main Missisquoi settlement. From there he waged war on the English until 1726, successfully evading pursuit by ineffective punitive expeditions. War parties from Missisquoi regularly turned out during the French and Indian Wars, and Missisquoi became identified by the English as a military objective. Before long the inhabitants had to adopt the strategy of dispersing into safer regions when the enemy threatened, and long before the end of the century the Missisquoi community was transformed into a group of family bands scattered in various "underground" locations.⁶⁴

Ira Allen maintained that the large Indian village on the Missisquoi River became depopulated around 1730 when the inhabitants fled to St. Francis to escape an epidemic. Allen, however, was trying to establish that the Abenakis of Vermont were transients who rightly belonged north of the border, and his statement cannot be accepted at face value. If the Abenakis did evacuate Missisquoi at this time, they were more likely to have pulled back into familiar territory around the lake than to have migrated to St. Francis, which was also hit by disease, and they returned periodically to their old hunting and fishing grounds.⁶⁵

Shortly after the French built Fort St. Frederic in 1731, about forty Abenaki families left St. Francis to take up residence at Missisquoi. A report of 1738 counted "more than 20 Abenaki cabins" at Missisquoi, and others may have been located in secluded spots in the surrounding countryside.⁶⁶ In the 1740s, the French planned to establish a mission for the Indians at Missisquoi and actually built a residence for the missionary. It was hoped that this would attract *loups d'orange*, who were probably Schaghticokes, as well as Abenakis, breaking their ties with the English and enlisting them as allies of New France. The French sought to cultivate the Abenakis' favorable disposition and draft their warriors into service, and French officers were dispatched to Missisquoi, which mustered some sixty warriors in 1744. But during King George's War (1744-48) most of the Indians evacuated the village, some going to the Montreal missions, most retreating to less accessible locations within their homeland. They returned as usual at the end of the war and about twenty families were permanently located at Missisquoi in 1749. It is possible that the "Loups" described by Father Mathevet around 1750 lived at Missisquoi.⁶⁷

The Seven Years' War produced widespread repetition of the withdrawal strategy. The last Indian families retired from Schaghticoke; the Cowasucks retreated deeper into northern Vermont, and many of the Missisquoi moved out. An anonymous French memoir states that the Abenakis from Missisquoi Bay retreated to St. Francis and Becancour at the beginning of the war, with the warriors taking up residence near

Ile aux Noix and carrying out scouting operations for the French army.⁶⁸ But Missisquoi was not completely abandoned. An English map of 1755 showed "Schachtacooks" living at the bottom of Missisquoi Bay, while an English captive who returned from Quebec several years later reported that about twenty Abenaki families lived at the bottom of the bay. A French memoir of 1757 spoke of between 100 and 150 Abenaki warriors at Missisquoi. Small temporary villages were also located at Thompson's Point, Charlotte, Shelburne, South Hero, Sand Bar, the mouth of the Winooski and Mallett's Bay, and the Missisquoi community served as a core village for refugee bands and families throughout the area.⁶⁹

As the English advanced on Lake Champlain in 1759, the Indians pulled back from Missisquoi, but Abenakis from St. Francis returned in the fall and winter after Rogers' Rangers had burned their village. Some of the refugees from St. Francis passed through Missisquoi on their way to the Iroquois mission at Akwesasne or St. Regis, where they stayed until at least 1770. By the end of the Seven Years' War, three major bands of Lake Champlain Abenaki had emerged, forming distinct communities at Missisquoi, St. Francis, and Akwesasne. In addition, an indeterminable number of Abenakis, Sokokis, Pennacooks, "Loups," Schaghticokes, and "St. Francis Indians" lived in small family bands scattered throughout the surrounding areas. The village at Missisquoi served as a focal community for all Indians in the Champlain Valley.⁷⁰

With the removal of the "French menace," English settlers flooded north with the result that "for the next decade or so, returning Indians and advancing English mingled in frontier communities from Lake Champlain to the Upper Androscoggin River." The Abenakis around Missisquoi leased lands to the English at the same time as they expressed misgivings about encroachment upon their territory. At a conference held on Isle La Motte in September, 1766, a delegation from Missisquoi reminded the governor of Quebec that they had inhabited the Missisquoi region since "Time unknown to any of us here," without conceding any of their rights to the country, and they voiced concern that English settlers were claiming their lands, while English traders brought alcohol among them. In July, 1773, the Missisquoi Abenakis sent a deputation to British Indian agent Daniel Claus, complaining of further encroachments on their land. As John Moody observes, such complaints hardly suggest that the Missisquoi had decided to abandon their lands and retreat to Canada, even though a number filtered across the border to join their relatives at St. Francis.⁷¹

The Missisquoi withdrew again when the American Revolution broke out. Most writers have assumed that they moved for good to St. Francis at this time, and some families certainly took up permanent locations in

Canada. Others retreated into the interior and joined the bands around Lake Memphremagog or the headwaters of the Connecticut. But many remained in the immediate vicinity throughout the war. After the Revolution, the Missisquoi Abenakis were effectively deprived of their homeland and the Allens promoted the notion of an Indian menace to settlement in order to secure control of the area themselves. In reality, however, the Abenakis neither relinquished claims to their lands nor completely abandoned the area.⁷² They simply followed the time-honored strategy for survival in times of crisis and withdrew into marginal territories where they could live without attracting undue attention.

Abenaki tradition tells of fifty wigwams and large cornfields at Swanton in 1790, although this late date is suspect. In the following decade many Indians moved north from the area as pressure from white settlement increased. The Bedel deed and other land sales in the late 1790s indicated that many of the bands from northern Vermont and New Hampshire had removed to St. Francis by that time.⁷³ However, the absence of Indians from the records and from sight did not guarantee that the Abenaki had abandoned their Missisquoi homes and moved en masse across the border. John Moody has documented the continuing presence of Abenaki families around St. Albans, the Islands, Swanton, and Highgate, and these people clung tenaciously to their homeland despite severe hardships caused by loss of land and depletion of resources. They had learned from bitter experience that keeping a low profile was the key to survival. From the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, the Missisquoi Abenakis survived by going underground in marginal areas where they lived in small groups on the edges of white settlement and supplemented their disrupted subsistence by peddling baskets, trinkets, and furs. Indians moved freely between Missisquoi, St. Francis, and other communities along the border, and Abenakis from various communities utilized hunting grounds between the St. Francis, Richelieu, and Missisquoi rivers. Some families traveled from Missisquoi to the Champlain Islands and across to the Adirondacks and Akwesasne. Others journeyed east up the Missisquoi River to Lake Memphremagog and then to the headwaters of the Connecticut and the St. Francis River. From there they could proceed to St. Francis or travel down the Androscoggin into western Maine and Penobscot country. White settlers who saw Indian hunters and traders assumed that they were transient visitors from St. Francis, but what they actually saw were merely the tips or "front persons" of a mobile Indian community, a network of family bands that extended across northeastern New York, northern Vermont, northern New Hampshire, western Maine, and the St. Lawrence Valley.⁷⁴

Eventually, most of the Indians who made their way north through

Vermont in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries arrived at the French mission villages in Canada themselves, or developed family ties with those who settled there. Migration to these villages was slow and halting, and residence there was often temporary, but for generations population displacements in New England furnished migrants north of the border. The mission villages served as crucibles in which Abenakis and others built new social orders on the ruins of their old tribal communities.⁷⁵ The Jesuit mission at Sillery, originally established in 1630 as an experimental community of Christianized Indians, failed because of war, disease, alcoholism, lack of funds, and cultural resistance from the Montagnais and Algonquin neophytes, but King Philip's War produced a new influx of Indians, including some Sokokis, and Sillery soon had more inhabitants than it could handle.⁷⁶ The village of St. Francis, at Odanak, Quebec, emerged as a community of immigrants, probably not before 1660. The St. Francis mission was established in 1683 on the Chaudiere River, then moved in 1700 to the banks of the St. Francis River, where a number of Abenakis and Sokokis had already settled. The village has been regarded most commonly as a refuge for Abenakis from Maine, but Gordon Day has shown that Indians from as many as twenty groups found their way to St. Francis and that surviving linguistic and cultural traits indicate a predominance of Sokoki, Pennacook, and Cowasuck influences. St. Francis lay in direct reach of the headwaters of the Connecticut and represented a logical place of retreat for Indians traveling through or residing in the northern part of Vermont. Sokokis appear to have been the first occupants and, by the turn of the century, the St. Francis mission was reported to comprise "abnaquis, loups, and sokokis" to whom two priests ministered. Perhaps the single most important source of migrants to St. Francis was Schaghticoke on the Hudson, itself a community of refugees, although Indians from Missisquoi arrived after the English conquest and most Pennacooks and Cowasucks who had been living in northern New England had moved to St. Francis by 1800. The exiles coalesced into a new community and reassembled the last vestiges of Abenaki political power in the northeast. Collectively, the Indians were generally known as "St. Francis Indians," a name which was testimony to western Abenaki resilience and adaptability but was misleading in its implicit denial of the Vermont heritage of many of the inhabitants.⁷⁷

By the seventeenth century, Vermont was part of a Native American world thrown into chaos by devastating new forces. Time-honored patterns of life were disrupted virtually overnight and Indian communities by the score disintegrated under the impact of war and disease. But in Vermont many survived, in modified form, by adapting traditional patterns of movement. Communities which were accustomed to dispersing

and reassembling in seasons of scarcity and plenty responded to new dangers with similar strategies. Villages broke up into family bands who withdrew from the central community until the threat passed, and, as the threats persisted and intensified, they moved deeper into marginal lands or joined other communities. Vermont also afforded refuge to Indians from other regions, and peoples who had been driven from their homelands to the south and east filtered northward through the Connecticut Valley and Green Mountains. The movement was not a mass exodus; it was a gradual and hesitating withdrawal, with periodic reversals in direction and persistent seasonal visitation of many former habitations. New social orders emerged as the remnants of previously autonomous bands coalesced in new or expanded communities at Schaghticoke, Cowass, Missisquoi, and St. Francis. Peoples who had formerly occupied the richest and most productive lands withdrew to areas which were sometimes unable to support the influx of population.⁷⁸ Dispersed in small groups, the Indians ceased to be visible as "tribes" in the eyes of Euro-Americans. The strategy of survival through anonymity worked too well. Generations of movement, withdrawal, and maintaining a low profile enabled Vermont's Abenakis to survive in calamitous times, but left their twentieth century descendants with considerable problems when they sought to convince a skeptical United States government of their true identity and continued historic presence.

NOTES

¹ My indebtedness to several authorities on the Indians of Vermont and surrounding regions will be apparent in the pages that follow. In the interests of brevity, works which have exerted a substantial influence throughout the research and writing of this article are acknowledged here rather than at every instance, unless a specific citation is deemed necessary. T.J. Brassler, "Mahican," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15: *Northeast* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 198-212; idem., *Riding on the Frontier's Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology, No. 13, 1974); Thomas-M. Charland, *Histoire des Abénakis d'Odanak, 1675-1937* (Montreal: Les Editions du Levrier, 1964); Gordon M. Day, *The Identity of the St. Francis Indians* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology, No. 71, 1981); idem., "The Indian Occupation of Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (July 1965), 365-74; idem., "Western Abenaki," in Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, pp. 148-59; William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants Past and Present* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1981); John Moody, "Missisquoi: Abenaki Survival in their Ancient Homeland," manuscript in possession of the author, Sharon, Vt.; Kenneth M. Morrison, "The People of the Dawn: The Abenaki and their relations with New England and New France, 1600-1727," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, 1975; idem., *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Peter A. Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change: The Indian Trade and Cultural Process in the Middle Connecticut River Valley, 1635-1665," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1979; P. André Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis: Habitat et Migrations (17e et 18e siècles)* (Montreal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1976). The name Pocumtuck has been applied to a band or tribe living at or near Deerfield, and also to a chain of small bands extending from northern Connecticut upriver

to the border of Vermont and New Hampshire. Sherburne F. Cook, *The Indian Population of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 56; George Sheldon, "The Pocumtuck Confederacy," *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, Vol. 2 (1898), 390-408. Peter Thomas points out that the Pocumtuck "confederacy" never actually existed.

² Peter A. Thomas, "Bridging the Cultural Gap: Indian / White Relations," in John W. Ifkovic and Martin Kaufman, eds., *Early Settlement in the Connecticut Valley* (Deerfield, Mass.: Historic Deerfield Inc., 1984), p. 5.

³ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), ch. 3; Dean Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), p. 71; P. A. Thomas, "Contrastive Subsistence Strategies and Land Use as Factors for Understanding Indian-White Relations in New England," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 23 (1976), 9-11; Timothy P. Redfield, *Report on the Claim of the Iroquois Indians upon the State of Vermont, for their "Hunting Ground"* (Montpelier: E.P. Walton, 1854), esp. pp. 14, 25-26, 32; William W. Grout, "Indian History of Northern Vermont," (1870: copy in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago), pp. 21-23.

⁴ Aurelia C. Hucksoll, "Watercourses and Indian Population in the Northeast Kingdom," in George R. Clay, ed., *Primitive Versus Modern: Contrasting Attitudes Toward Environment* (Bennington: Vermont Academy of Arts and Sciences, Occasional Paper No. 2), pp. 5-10; cf. Roland Burrage Dixon, "The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, Vol. 24 (1914), 65-76; John C. Hudson, "Indian Trails Through Vermont, used by Indians and French, 1500?-1760," in *Indian Place Names in Vermont* (Montpelier: privately published, 1957), pp. 31-32; Chester B. Price, "Historic Indian Trails of New Hampshire," *New Hampshire Archaeologist*, Vol. 8 (March 1958), 2-13; J.H. Temple and George Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield . . . with an account of the prior occupation of the territory by the Squahkeags* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1875), p. 50. Historians have traditionally and consistently neglected communication between "non-western" peoples; Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

⁵ For a broader study of the biological and ecological consequences of European invasion, see Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972). Henry F. Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976); idem. *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), esp. essay 2 and pp. 8-10, 15-24; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976), ch. 2; Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England Before the Mayflower* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1980), pp. 186-87; Herbert U. Williams, "The Epidemic of the Indians of New England, 1616-1620, with Remarks on Native American Infections," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, Vol. 20 (1909), 340-49; Billie Hoornbeck, "An Investigation into the Cause or Causes of the epidemic which decimated the Indian population of New England 1616-1619," *New Hampshire Archaeologist*, Vol. 19 (1976-77), 35-46; Sherburne F. Cook, "The Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indians," *Human Biology*, Vol. 45 (1973), 487-93; idem., *Indian Population of New England*, pp. 28, 30-31; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 22-30; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (2 vols., Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), II, pp. 499-501, 588, 603. For reports of disease see: Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791* (73 vols., Cleveland, Ohio: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1896-1901 [hereafter: *Jesuit Relations*]), Vol. 15, p. 237; Vol. 16, pp. 53, 101, 155, 217-19; Vol. 28, pp. 303-05; Vol. 31, pp. 185-87, 207; Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* (Towtaid reprint, 1970), pp. 9-12; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., ed., *The New England Canaan of Thomas Morton* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1967 reprint), pp. 120, 133; J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1910), pp. 39-42, 79-80; William T. Davis, ed., *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation 1606-1646* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), pp. 312-13; James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England"* (2 vols., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966 reprint), I, pp. 11, 114-15, 118-19; Charles Howard McIlwain, ed., *Wraxall's Abridgment of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), p. 187; J. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis Depuis 1605 jusqu'à Nos Jours* (Quebec: "Gazette de Sorel," 1866), pp. 33, 69-70.

⁶ James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7, 1928) was for a long time regarded as the authority on Indian population figures. Studies leading to upward revision in population estimates include: Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography*; idem., *Their Number Become Thinned*; idem., "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 7 (1966), 395-416; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Tip of an Iceberg: Pre-

Columbian Indian Demography and Some Implications for Revisionism," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, Vol. 31 (1974), 123-24; William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), esp. ch. 1; and the works reviewed in Douglas H. Ubelaker, "Prehistoric New World Population Size: Historical Review and Current Appraisal of North American Estimates," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 43 (1977), pp. 661-66, and Russell Thornton, "American Indian Historical Demography: A Review essay with suggestions for Future Research," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 3, No 1 (1979), 69-74.

⁷ Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change," pp. 25-28; Snow, *Archaeology of New England*, pp. 33, 38; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, pp. 42, 89; Russell, *Indian New England*, p. 28; Morrison, *Embattled Northeast*, p. 8; Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, pp. 22-30.

⁸ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, p. 89; Snow, *Archaeology of New England*, p. 34.

⁹ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 37, p. 261; Vol. 46, p. 67. Cf. a French map of 1680 suggests that Indians called *Mahingans ou Socoquis* inhabited the whole of northern New England; Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, 10333, 902 / 1680.

¹⁰ Snow, *Archaeology of New England*, pp. 33-34, 38-39; William A. Starna, "Mohawk Iroquois Populations: A Revision," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 27 (1980), 371-82; Cook, "Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indians," pp. 493-95, 501. The impact of disease in the region was devastating, but the population may not have fallen as low as Dean Snow suggests; surviving Abenakis withdrew to safer locations and gave an exaggerated impression of "emptiness" to European observers.

¹¹ Dean Snow, "Abenaki Fur Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6 (1976), 3-11; Sylvester Judd, "The Fur Trade on the Connecticut River in the Seventeenth Century," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 11 (1857), 217-19; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, p. 99; Peter A. Thomas, "Squahkeag Ethnohistory: A Preliminary Study of Culture Conflict on the Seventeenth Century Frontier," *Man in the Northeast*, Vol. 5 (Spring 1973), pp. 27-36; Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887 [hereafter NYCD]), Vol. 13, p. 35; Vol. 4, p. 365; Mary R. Cabot, ed., *Annals of Brattleboro, 1681-1895* (2 vols. Brattleboro: E.L. Hildreth and Co., 1921-22), Vol. 1, p. 12; Abby Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (5 vols. Burlington: Abby M. Hemenway, 1868-1891 [hereafter VHJ]), Vol. 5, p. 45.

¹² Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change," emphasizes the non-technological aspects of Indian-European trade and points out that Indians in the Connecticut Valley often traded for items of social and political significance. Sherburne F. Cook, "Interracial Warfare and Population Decline among the New England Indians," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 20 (1973), pp. 1-24. Morrison, *Embattled Northeast*, pp. 28, 34, argues that the fur trade did not significantly alter the Indians' relationship to the land, or displace traditional economic resources, and that the European trade may have aggravated intertribal hostilities but it did not replace traditional motives for going to war.

¹³ Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State* (New York: Century History Co., 1921), Vol. 1, p. 40; Alanson Skinner, "Notes on Mahikan Ethnology," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, Vol. 2, p. 102; James Sullivan et al, ed., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (15 vols. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-65), Vol. 8, p. 256; John C. Huden, "Indian Groups in Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (April 1958), pp. 112-15.

¹⁴ Bruce G. Trigger, "The Mohawk-Mahican War, 1624-1628: The Establishment of a Pattern," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 52 (1971), pp. 276-86; idem., *Children of Aataentsic*, Vol. 2, 464; J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1909), pp. 89, 131. Brassier claims that Jameson mistranslated the Dutch records in referring to Mahicans taking refuge in the Connecticut Valley.

¹⁵ NYCD, Vol. 13, p. 185.

¹⁶ NYCD, Vol. 2, p. 157; Vol. 9, p. 194; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, Vol. 2, pp. 609, 634-36, 653, 727, 793, 796. The thesis that economic competition underlay Iroquois warfare in the seventeenth century was first posited by George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940) and gave rise to a long-standing debate. On Mohawk relations with the Pennacocks and other New England tribes, see Gordon M. Day, "The Ouragie War: A Case History in Iroquois-New England Indian Relations," in Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi and Marianne Mithun, eds., *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquois Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), pp. 35-50.

¹⁷ NYCD, Vol. 2, pp. 371-72; Vol. 13, pp. 460, 545; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 47, p. 107; Vol. 49, pp. 139-41; Vol. 51, pp. 83, 197; Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, p. 40; VHJ, Vol. 1, p. 212; Huden, "Indian Place-Names in Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 43 (July 1955), p. 199.

¹⁸ Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), p. 102; NYCD, Vol. 4, p. 337.

¹⁹ Skinner, "Notes on Mahikan Ethnology," p. 91.

²⁰ John C. Huden, "Indians in Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1955) pp. 26-28;

"The Naming of Marshfield, Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1955), pp. 56-57; Chandler Whipple, *The Indian and the White Man in New England* (Stockbridge, Mass.: The Berkshire Traveler Press, 1976), p. 35.; *VHG*, Vol. 4, p. 197.

²¹ Gordon M. Day, "The Identity of the Sokokis," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 12 (1965), pp. 237-49; John Gilmeary Shea, ed., "Journal of an Embassy from Canada to the United Colonies of New England in 1650, by Father Gabriel Druilletes," *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 316, 322; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 24, p. 101; cf. Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, pp. 5, 132-33, says that the Sokokis inhabited southwestern Maine and New Hampshire and argues that Druillette's apparently authoritative statement does not mean that the Sokokis lived on the Connecticut River, only that the river formed their western border and that they often traveled down it to the sea.

²² Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis*, pp. 105-06, suggests that the mother tribe may have been the Pequot or Niantic of Connecticut; Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, p. 41, believed they were refugees from the "Mohican confederation," and George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts . . . with a special study of the Indian Wars in the Connecticut Valley* (2 vols. Deerfield, Mass.: E.A. Hall and Co., 1895-96), Vol. 1, p. 49, reckoned they were a fugitive band of Mahicans who became members of the Pocumtuck "confederacy."

²³ Thomas, "Squahkeag Ethnohistory," pp. 27-29; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 36, pp. 139-41; *NYCD*, Vol. 13, p. 308.

²⁴ John Gilmeary Shea, trans. and ed., *Rev. P. F. X. De Charlevoix, S.J., History and General Description of New France* (6 vols. Chicago: Loyola University Press reprint of 1870 edn.), Vol. 2, pp. 155-56; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 24, pp. 160-61, 183-85; Vol. 25, p. 53; Vol. 27, p. 79; Vol. 28, pp. 169-71, 203-05, 275-79, 285, Vol. 31, pp. 35ff; Vol. 55, pp. 183, 193; Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 246.

²⁵ Shea, ed., "Druillette's Journal," pp. 317-23; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 36, pp. 101-05, 129; Vol. 37, p. 97; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, Vol. 2, p. 792; Day, "The Ouragie War," pp. 39-41.

²⁶ *NYCD*, Vol. 13, pp. 298, 308-09, 355-56, 378, 380-82; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 49, pp. 139-41; Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *The Pynchon Papers*, (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1982), Vol. 1, pp. 45-46; Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, Vol. 1, pp. 68-69; Day, "Ouragie War," pp. 42-43.

²⁷ Temple and Sheldon, *History of the Town of Northfield*, pp. 29-31; Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, pp. 40-42.

²⁸ Thomas, "Squahkeag Ethnohistory," pp. 29-30; Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, pp. 31, 55.

²⁹ Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, pp. 55, 69-70; Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, Vol. 1, pp. 129-30, 138. The Mohawk attack seems to have been instigated by Governor Andros of New York. Jennings, *Invasion of America*, pp. 314-16; "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, by N. S.," in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1913), pp. 87-88, 97.

³⁰ Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, p. 44; Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, pp. 83-87; "Narrative of the Captivity of Mary Rowlandson," in Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars*, pp. 133-34.

³¹ Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966 edn.), pp. 200-04; "A New and Further Narrative," in Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars*, pp. 95-96; Jennings, *Invasion of America*, p. 319.

³² Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis*, pp. 12, 126; Kenneth M. Morrison, "The Bias of Colonial Law: English Paranoia and the Abenaki Arena of King Philip's War, 1675-1678," *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 53 (1980), 363-87.

³³ John C. Huden, "The Problem - Indians and White Men in Vermont - When and Where (1550-?)," *Vermont History*, Vol. 24 (Apr. 1956), p. 116; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 60, p. 233; Day, *The Mobs Loups of Father Mathevet* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology No. 8, 1975), p. 40.

³⁴ Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (New York: New American Library, 1963), pp. 214, 221, 234, 254; La Potherie, "History of the Savage Peoples Who are Allies of New France," in Emma Helen Blair, trans. and ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1911), Vol. 1, pp. 364-66, 372; Jacques Le Seur, "History of the Calumet and of the Dance," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation*, New York, Vol. 12, No. 5 (1952), pp. 1-22.

³⁵ Thomas, "Squahkeag Ethnohistory," pp. 31-35; Day, "Indian Occupation of Vermont," p. 373; *VHG*, Vol. 2, p. 473; Vol. 4, p. 943.

³⁶ Frederic Kidder, "The Abenaki Indians: Their Treaties of 1713 and 1717, and a Vocabulary, with a Historical Introduction," *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. 6 (1859), p. 236; John C. Huden, "The Abenakis, the Iroquoians and Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. 24 (Jan. 1956), p. 22; Snow, *Archaeology of New England*, p. 70; Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period," in Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, p. 169, draws a distinction between the upper Pennacook at Concord who were western Abenaki and the lower Pennacook who were also called Pawtucket, cf. Gookin, *Historical Collections of the New England Indians*, p. 7n. Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, p. 16, identifies the Openangoes as Pennacooks.

³⁷ Samuel Drake, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England from the First Settlement to the Termination of the War with King Philip, in 1677, from the Original Work by the Rev. William Hubbard* (2 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971 reprint), Vol. 1, pp. 49, 96; Vol. 2, pp. 133, 186-88; Huden, "The Problem-Indians and White Men in Vermont," pp. 116-17; idem., "Historical Champlain Maps, Pt. III," *Vermont History*, Vol. 28 (Apr. 1959), pp. 85-86.

³⁸ Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, pp. 23, 29-30; Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, p. 75.

³⁹ Cotton Mather maintained that Pennacooks joined the Indians who attacked Dover that year and that a retaliatory expedition struck their fields and villages near Winnepesaukee; "Decennium Luctuosum by Cotton Mather, 1699," in Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars*, p. 196.

⁴⁰ "Baxter Manuscripts," *Maine Historical Society Collections*, 2nd series, Vol. 10, (1907), 63-65; NYCD, Vol. 4, pp. 662, 684, 996.

⁴¹ Jennings, *Invasion of America*, ch. 18; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 326; NYCD, Vol. 4, pp. 743; 902, 991; Vol. 13, pp. 497, 503; Egbert C. Smyth, "Papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of Fort Dummer, and to a conference with the Scatacook Indians held there," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 6 (1891), pp. 375-76.

⁴² Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records 1666-1723* (Gettysburg: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956), pp. 77-82, 95-96; NYCD, Vol. 4, pp. 596-97, 743-45, 648-52, 902-03, 990-92; Vol. 5, pp. 222-23, 722, 798-99; Vol. 6, p. 909; Vol. 9, p. 66; Gordon Day, "Missisquoi: A New Look at an Old Village," *Man in the Northeast*, Vol. 6 (1973), pp. 52-54.

⁴³ Daniel K. Richter, "Rediscovered Links in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes, 1677-1691," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 92, pt. 1 (1982), pp. 60-63, 85; Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York*, pp. 326-27, 360-61; NYCD, Vol. 4, p. 248.

⁴⁴ Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, pp. 125-26; NYCD, Vol. 4, pp. 575-77; Day points out that John Swanton's statement that Winooskeek was a Mahican village ("Indian Tribes of North America," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 145 [1953], p. 18) is erroneous; Day, "Indian Occupation of Vermont," p. 370.

⁴⁵ "Indian Treaties," *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1856), pp. 129, 131; Baxter Mss., *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 23 (1916), p. 29; Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, p. 7; McIlwain, ed., *Wraxall's Abridgment of the New York Indian Records*, pp. 149, 175; Day, "Missisquoi," p. 54; idem., *Mots Loups of Father Mathevet*, p. 48; Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre, 12 Oct. 1744, Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC], MG1, C11A, Vol. 81: esp. f. 32; Memoire du Roy à Beauharnois et Hocquart, 24 March 1744, PAC, MG1, Series B, Vol. 78-1: esp. ff. 148-49; John Moody, personal correspondence, April 1, 1985. One group of Schaghticoke seem to have joined the Mohawks in 1703, Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 188-90.

⁴⁶ Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, pp. 47-49; Huden, "Indian Groups in Vermont," p. 29; Cook, *Indian Population of New England*, p. 17; Frederic P. Wells, *History of Newbury, Vermont, From the Discovery of the Coos Country to the Present Time* (St. Johnsbury, Vt: The Caledonian Co., 1902), pp. 6-7, 30; Zadock Thompson, *Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1842), pt. 2, p. 205; VHG, Vol. 2, pp. 917-18, 924.

⁴⁷ Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, pp. 49-50; VHG, Vol. 4, p. 944.

⁴⁸ Vaudreuil et Beauharnois au ministre, 15 Nov. 1703, PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 21: ff. 14-15, 58; same to same, 17 Nov. 1704, PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 22: f. 16; "Conseil entre les Sauvages de Roessek et Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, 13 juin 1704," *Collections de Manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et Autres Documents Historiques Relatifs à la Nouvelle-France* (4 Vols. Quebec: Imprimerie à côté et cie, 1883-85) [hereafter CMNF], Vol. 2, pp. 414-16; also in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 37 (1931), 598-60.

⁴⁹ Edward Wheelock, ed., *Penhallow's Indian Wars* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 reprint), pp. 20-23; Samuel Carter, "Route of the French and Indian Army that Sacked Deerfield," *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, Vol. 2 (1880-89), 148.

⁵⁰ "Copy of Major Hilton's Journal," Baxter Mss., *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 9 (1907), pp. 140-42; Wheelock, ed., *Penhallow's Indian Wars*, p. 61; "Captain Thomas Baker's Scout," reprinted in Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, Vol. 1, pp. 379-80; "Carte du Canada avec partie des côtes de la Nouvelle Angleterre et de l'Acadie," PAC, NMC 6359, H3 / 900 / 1713, and NMC 6364, H3 / 900 / 1715; Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, p. 50.

⁵¹ "A true Journal of our March from Nfield to Misixcouk bay under ye Command of Benj. Wright," reprinted in Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, Vol. 1, pp. 444-46; cf. Samuel Willard's march to the headwaters of the Connecticut, Oct. 1725, Baxter Mss., *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 10 (1907), p. 350. Arthur D. Woodrow, ed. and comp., *Metallak: The Last of the Cooshaukes* (Rumford, Me.: Rumford Publishing Co., 1928), p. 16; Baxter Mss., *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 10 (1907), pp. 380, 392-93, 397.

⁵² NYCD, Vol. 10, pp. 252-54.

⁵³ Grant Powers, *Historical Sketches of the Discovery, Settlement, and Progress of Events in the Coos Country and Vicinity* (Haverhill, NH.: J.F.C. Hayes, 1841), pp. 15-32; *NYCD*, Vol. 6, p. 886.

⁵⁴ Woodrow, ed., *Metallak, Last of the Cooshaukes*, pp. 11, 68; cf. Charles M. Starbird, *The Indians of the Androscoggin Valley* (Lewiston Journal Printshop, 1928) for continuing Indian presence in the Androscoggin Valley at this time. Powers, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 37, 179; *VHG*, Vol. 2, p. 924; Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File, #717, p. 5; Thompson, *Natural and Civil History*, pt. 2, p. 205.

⁵⁵ Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis*, pp. 204-05; Edmund Pearson, ed., *Henry Tufts: The Autobiography of a Criminal* (New York: Duffield and Co., 1930), p. 72; *VHG*, Vol. 1, p. 1028; "Memoire Touchant Les Sauvages Abenakis de Sillery," *CMNF*, Vol. 1, pp. 272-73; Vol. 3, pp. 194-95; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 24, p. 101.

⁵⁶ Pearson, ed., *Henry Tufts*, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Day, *Identity of the St. Francis*, p. 59; Pearson, ed., *Henry Tufts*, p. 78; Peter Shea, "A New and Accurate Map of Philip's Grant," *Vermont History*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Winter 1985), 36-42; *VHG*, Vol. 3, p. 313.

⁵⁸ *Vermont History*, Vol. 26 (Oct. 1958), 305n; H.P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, (6 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36), Vol. 2, pp. 90-91; Eric P. Jackson, "Indian Occupation and Use of the Champlain Lowland," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, Vol. 14 (1940), 134; cf. "A Brief Description of Laconia [1658]," *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. 2 (1847), 67; H.P. Biggar, ed., *Marc Lescarbot: The History of New France* (3 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14), Vol. 3, pp. 267-68. See also, Bruce Trigger, "Trade and Tribal Warfare on the St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 9 (1962), 240-56.

⁵⁹ Biggar, ed., *Works of Champlain*, Vol. 2, pp. 91-93; Huden, "Indian Groups in Vermont," said that the Mohawks probably had outposts at Alburg, Swanton, Milton, Colchester, Monkton, Addison, Shoreham, Orwell, and near Brattleboro; D.P. Thompson, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Winooski Valley," in *History of the Town of Montpelier* (Montpelier: E.P. Walton, 1860), pp. 304-05; "Eastern Indians' Letter to the Gouverneur, July 27, 1721," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 8 (1826), 260; "Extract of a letter written to the Court by M. Begor, 21 April 1725," Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File #318, p. 6. The Abenaki stated that the Connecticut River was formerly the boundary which separated Iroquois and Abenaki land, a declaration which seems to contradict their later stance. They may have been referring to the region south of Vermont or acknowledging that Iroquois raiding parties operated as far east as the Connecticut. Gordon Day, "The Eastern Boundary of Iroquoia: Abenaki Evidence," *Man in the Northeast*, No. 1 (1971), 7-8; Jackson, "Indian Occupation and Use of the Champlain Lowland," pp. 21, 128, 115, 155; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 28, p. 279; Shea, ed., *Charlevoix: History of New France*, Vol. 2, p. 246; *VHG*, Vol. 4, pp. 942, 949; Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File, #3.

⁶⁰ Jackson, "Indian Occupation and Use of the Champlain Lowland," pp. 125, 143; Crockett, *Vermont*, Vol. 1, pp. 49-51, 76-77; Huden, "Indian Groups," pp. 113-14; *VHG*, Vol. 2, pp. 473, 1140; Vol. 4, p. 944; "A New and Further Account of the State of New England," in Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars*, pp. 87-88; Day, "Missisquoi," p. 51; Frontenac au Roy, 14 Nov. 1680, Public Archives of Canada, MG1, C11A, Vol. 9: f. 373; also in *NYCD*, Vol. 9, p. 795.

⁶¹ *NYCD*, Vol. 9, p. 194; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 62, p. 160.

⁶² Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *New Voyages to North America by the Baron de Lahontan* (2 vols. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1905), Vol. 1, p. 90. Thwaites identified these three tribes as Sokokis of Maine, Mohegans, and New Brunswick Algonquins or Quoddy Indians, p. 90n. Lahontan probably referred to the 156 "North Indians" who arrived at Schaghticoke that summer and to the group who visited their relatives at Pennacook; Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 77-79, 82; *NYCD*, Vol. 3, p. 482. The Marquis de Denonville maintained that the "Loups" who left Chambly and went to the English did so to escape persecution by French traders to whom they had become indebted for "Teau de vie;" *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec* [hereafter RAPQ] (1939-40), 285.

⁶³ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 34 (1928), 541; cf. *NYCD*, Vol. 9, p. 1052.

⁶⁴ Baxter Manuscripts, *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 10 (1907), pp. 358, 378; Vol. 23 (1916), p. 139; *RAPQ* (1923-24), pp. 278, 287; (1926-27), pp. 280, 403; *NYCD*, Vol. 10, p. 32-34, 405; *CMNF*, Vol. 3, pp. 275, 278.

⁶⁵ Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), p. 18; *VHG*, Vol. 4, pp. 953-54, 959; Guy Omeron Coolidge, "The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, new series, Vol. 6 (1938), p. 237.

⁶⁶ Charland, *Histoire des Abenakis d'Odanak*, ch. 6; see also idem., "Un Village d'Abenakis sur la Riviere Missisquoi," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, Vol. 15 (1961), 319-32 (Grace Huden's translation of the article is in the Vermont Historical Society).

⁶⁷ Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre, 12 Oct. 1744, PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 81: ff. 31-32; Memoire du Roy à Beauharnois et Hocquart, 24 Mar. 1744, PAC, MG1, Series B, Vol. 78-1: esp. ff. 148-49 (also in Vermont Historical Society Misc. File #913, pp. 1-2); Memoire du Roy à Beauharnois, 28 Apr. 1745,

PAC, MG1, Series B, Vol. 81: esp. ff. 229-33; Day, *Mots Loups of Father Mathevet*, pp. 47-48, 63; Hocquart au ministre, 24 8tre 1746, PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 85: esp. f. 391; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 44 (1938), 375-77; Memoire du Roy à Lajonquiere, 30 Apr. 1749, PAC, MG1, Series B, Vol. 89: esp. f. 184.

⁶⁸ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 37 (1931), 412.

⁶⁹ John C. Huden, ed., "An English Captive's Map," *Vermont History*, Vol. 26 (Oct. 1958), 303-05n; *RAPQ* (1923-24), 53.

⁷⁰ Sullivan, ed., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. 7, pp. 110-11; John Moody, unpublished manuscript in progress.

⁷¹ Day, *Identity of the St. Francis*, p. 52; "Lease to James Robertson of Land on Missisquoi Bay, June 1765," reprinted in *VHG*, Vol. 454-55; Vol. 4, p. 962; and Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File #914; Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 4, p. 811. Speech of the Misiskoui Indians to the Governor of Quebec in the North End of Lake Champlain, 8 Sept. 1766, PAC, Reel C11, 888, Vol. 3: ff. 328-30; "Indian Conference, Isle La Motte, Sept. 8-9, 1766," in Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 12, p. 173 (Indians' speech reprinted in *Vermont History*, Vol. 26 (Jan. 1958), 38-39, and a copy in Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File #719); Guy Carleton to Lords of Trade, 18 Oct. 1766, PAC, Reel C11, 888, Vol. 3: esp. ff. 393-94; Claus to Johnson, 3 July 1773, Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 12, p. 1027 (and in mutilated form, Vol. 8, p. 840); Moody, "Missisquoi: Abenaki Survival," p. 14; Day, "Missisquoi," p. 55.

⁷² Moody, "Missisquoi: Abenaki Survival," pp. 17-18, 22-24, 31-32; *VHG*, Vol. 1, p. 454; Vol. 4, pp. 998-1000.

⁷³ Henry L. Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar and Place Names* (Victoriaville: La Voix des Bois Francs, 1932), p. 32; *VHG*, Vol. 4, p. 1001.

⁷⁴ Moody, "Missisquoi," passim; *VHG*, Vol. 2, pp. 279, 371; Vol. 3, p. 315. The notion that individual "good Indians" acted as front persons for their larger communities in contact with white society is John Moody's; personal correspondence, Feb. 21, 1985.

⁷⁵ Morrison, "People of the Dawn," p. 118; idem., *Embattled Northeast*, p. 168.

⁷⁶ James P. Ronda, "The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit Indian Village in New France, 1637-1663," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1979), pp. 1-8; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 28, p. 169; Vol. 60, p. 133; Vol. 62, p. 259; Vol. 63, pp. 69-71.

⁷⁷ Day, *Identity of the St. Francis*, pp. 10, 12, 32, 59, 66, 111; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 65, p. 187; Vol. 67, p. 31; *CMNF*, Vol. 3, p. 23.

⁷⁸ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, pp. 85-90, 101-04; Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned*, pp. 302, 328, 313-25. The strategy adopted by Indians in Vermont was not unique; other Native American groups responded in similar fashion to similar threats and developments; cf. Richard White, "Creating New Homelands: The Beaver Wars and Algonquian Migrations in the Seventeenth Century," paper delivered at the 99th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, Dec. 28, 1984; Frank W. Porter, III, "Strategies for Survival: The Nanticoke Indians in a Hostile World," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 26 (1979), 325-45.