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## THE WHITE CHIEF OF THE ST. FRANCIS ABNAKIS—SOME ASPECTS OF BORDER WARFARE, 1690-1790: PART II

(Continued from July 1956)

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*This study is the fifth in a series by Dr. Huden, beginning with the January, 1955, quarterly. The general theme has to do with the neglected Indian phase of Vermont history and indirectly with the early relationships between Canada and Vermont. The studies should be, at this point, regarded as exploratory in character. The generous co-operation of Canadian scholars and officials has made these studies possible. Acknowledgements in full appear in the author's notes.*

JOSEPH-LOUIS was by no means the only St. Francis tribesman who made trips to the Upper Connecticut or to Lake Champlain; Indians, French-Canadians and deserters from both sides were going and coming almost at will. To check this, in the autumn of 1777 Captain Hertel de Rouville was sent with his British Company to occupy St. Francis. De Rouville was ordered to give most careful attention to travel up and down the St. Francis River, which has one of its sources in Lake Memphremagog and had for ages been a main Indian trail to the Upper Connecticut. This route was well known and often used by Stockbridges, Mohicans, Pennacooks and Coösucks, as well as by white veterans of Amherst's campaigns. But in spite of de Rouville's clamp-down, Indians and whites went hither and yon practically unmolested. About the only advantage (?) de Rouville gained was "better" information about the movements of the rebels in Vermont.<sup>34</sup> The Green Mountain Boys apparently gained, too; they had their own "eyes and ears" (Taplin, Johnson et al) in Canada, and Joseph-Louis probably was one of their messengers as the forthcoming excerpt from Father Charland's works<sup>35</sup> will reveal. Freely translated, we read:

"One evening in February, 1778 François Annance, a brother-in-

law of Joseph-Louis, arrived in the Abnaki village of Odanak. He was to all intents and appearances alone, but the next day it was discovered that a rebel whom Annance had been guiding was hidden in a cabin about three miles from the village." The rebel claimed that he was just looking for a chance to buy provisions, and that he had no letters on his person. Nevertheless, Annance's house was searched, and four letters were discovered; two for Joseph-Louis, one for the wife of the self-exiled partisan, Joseph Traversey, and one for a man named Languedoc-Yamachiche. Captain de Rouville sent the rebel and Annance to Montreal in charge of Interpreter Belisle and an Indian guide. General Carleton listened to their stories, and set them both free after they informed him that three rebel armies were about to invade Canada from Vermont by way of the Richelieu, Yamaska and St. Francis rivers. Carleton hastily dispatched patrols to those regions, but nothing was discovered. This was but one example of a long series of false alarms and double-talk involving Joseph-Louis and (we suspect) the infant "Continental Intelligence" system.

In the summer of 1778 a more experienced officer, Lieutenant Wills Crofts, replaced Captain de Rouville as Commandant of Indian affairs at St. Francis. He was given special orders to organize the Odanak Abnakis themselves into scouting parties, and in this he seemed to be somewhat more successful than de Rouville, for on August 1, 1778, his Indians brought in five Yankee prisoners, namely John Goodrich, James Towle, Jotham Harris, Jacob Allen and Elisha Brown. [*Who can identify these men?*] On them were found several letters and a map of the St. Francis valley with trails plainly marked. This map was the work of Joseph-Louis Gill, *Magwa widom barwit*.<sup>86</sup>

Apparently these five rebels had escaped from a jail in Quebec City, and had taken refuge in a barn near Odanak. The owner of the barn was none other than Rebel Partisan Joseph Despins, who had persuaded Joseph-Louis that the escapees should be allowed to proceed. Despins gave the men provisions, while Joseph-Louis provided them with a map; but Crofts' Indians recaptured them some thirty miles along the trail toward Lake Memphremagog.<sup>87</sup>

Upon hearing this bad news Despins fled to the islands in Lake St. Pierre where he had several hideouts; but Joseph-Louis lost no time in getting out of Canada. He hastened down the St. Francis in a canoe, thence overland to the Yamaska river, from which he made his way (via Lake Memphremagog) to the Upper Connecticut Valley. In a few weeks he got a letter through to his wife at Odanak, telling her that rebel scouts had made him a prisoner and had forced him to

go with them to their headquarters [probably Newbury.] He was not seen in St. Francis again for the space of two years.

[It is my belief that the letter Joseph-Louis sent to his wife Suzanne was a "plant." In 1772 five of Joseph-Louis' sons had entered Eleazer Wheelock's school at Hanover, New Hampshire. Apparently, three of the boys returned to Odanak in 1777, possibly because of the War; but one boy "The Great Francis" remained in Hanover all through the Revolution, and another son "The Lesser Francis" (also called Laverne?) apparently went to Boston to work or to study. (See Eric P. Kelley's account of the Gill boys in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, for December 1929, page 123.) For these and other reasons I prefer to believe that Joseph-Louis was not under arrest; that he was hobnobbing with Continental officers in Newbury, Vermont; Hanover, New Hampshire; Boston, Massachusetts, and probably Albany, New York. He certainly was not confined. Further research is needed to piece out Indian Joe's—pardon, the White Chief's—exciting career. J.C.H.]

We have seen that Lieutenant Crofts had succeeded somewhat better than de Rouville in regulating traffic along St. Francis trails. But like de Rouville's cordon, Crofts' network was not Indian-proof, nor French-Canadian proof. Joseph Traversey (the "Rebel Partisan" who had fled to the Colonies when the going got really tough in 1776-1777) left Albany, New York, on August 9, 1778, acting as a guide for Colonel Moses Hazen and four Indians who were going to lay out the north end of the Bayley-Hazen Road. Traversey left the Hazen party [at Peacham?], went on foot and by canoe to Lake Memphremagog, thence by canoe to the St. Francis-Nicolet portage [see map] and over to Nicolet-Pays-Brule to visit his nephew. He even sneaked into St. Francis and visited his family. At Odanak, Traversey left word with Continental sympathizers that a French admiral had arrived in New England and that a Rebel army would soon invade Canada by way of the St. Francis. Apparently Traversey also made arrangements to provide the Continentals with several hundred bushels of wheat.

Captain Luc Schmid, commander of the British forces at Yamaska, wrote to General Haldimand's headquarters at Quebec City on November 30, 1778, that the Indian Tok-sus had told him "Joseph-Louis had escaped [from Newbury] and gone to Boston to look for his son;" that "Alexis and other Indians who had gone to live with the New Englanders [who had "flocked in" to Peacham and Newbury?] knew a road had begun to connect Vermont with the Yamaska

river, and that an invasion by that route might occur at the latest in March 1779."<sup>39</sup> They also gave confidential information on Joseph-Louis' niece and her husband, who were frequent "visitors" in the Upper Connecticut.

In January, 1779, some Indians coming in "from New York Colony" to Odanak said that 66,000 rebels commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette were massing at Albany to invade Canada. Haldimand did not believe it.<sup>39</sup> The St. Francis Indians were not to be trusted; they were divided into two rival groups, one which favored Joseph-Louis, the other favoring the Crown. In an attempt to win over Joseph-Louis' faction, Colonel Campbell of the Department of Indian Affairs visited Odanak. Before he left, Campbell was persuaded that only Joseph-Louis *in person* could put things in order; he sent this opinion to General Haldimand, who replied that he "deemed it dangerous to have Joseph-Louis return" but was willing to consent to such an arrangement on condition that Joseph-Louis' supporters make themselves responsible for his conduct in the future.<sup>40</sup>

Accordingly Colonel Campbell selected Antoine Gill (Joseph-Louis' half-breed son, whose Abnaki mother died during the Rangers' 1759 retreat) and Gamelin, Joseph-Louis' brother-in-law, to go to Newbury to look for the White Chief. Who was to be their guide? Tok-sus! But Tok-sus did not want to go. Perhaps it was because the partisan Despains had spent the evening before the scheduled departure at Gamelin's house, and had given Gamelin some documents. Perhaps Tok-sus had been given orders by Joseph-Louis to stay at Odanak so as to obtain official news to pass along to General Jacob Bayley. At any rate, Antoine Gill and Gamelin left during the night of February 23, 1779.<sup>41</sup>

About two weeks before this, two Indians (one named Jacques) had arrived at Odanak, saying they needed provisions. They had heard that Joseph-Louis and Traversey were both at Number Four (Charlestown, N. H.) "in the vicinity of Cohos" and that the rebels were planning to invade Canada by Spring. In reality they had come to deliver letters; Jacques, his tongue loosened by *iskoda-aubin* (fire-water) declared that he had brought three messages from General Jacob Bayley, the American Commander at Coös, one from Joseph-Louis, and one from Traversey . . . all for the missionary, Father Germain! The good priest protested his innocence; it was thought that the letters must have been for Antoine Gill, who had not yet left for Newbury. At the suggestion of Haldimand, Crofts interviewed the

two Indians and several relatives of Joseph-Louis; but he might as well have saved his breath.

[On his return to Odanak Joseph-Louis is said to have rewarded the Indian who *did not talk* with ten dollars.<sup>42</sup> Jacques, who blabbed, got nothing.]

On May 21, 1779, two American spies dressed as Indians hid in Despins' mill near St. Francis. Shortly after that, a squaw reported that she had seen two Americans, two Frenchmen and three Indians (one a brother of Tok-sus) as she was returning from the Upper Connecticut Valley. Crofts sent a patrol after them, but the trail was too cold. Mortified, the Indians wanted to set out at once for Cohos and attack Bayley's fortifications, but interpreter Belisle persuaded them not to go as they had neither orders nor permission for such a venture. The squaw's husband in his turn returned from the Connecticut, and reported that the hated Major Benjamin Whitcomb<sup>43</sup> had left with 600 men to invade Quebec via Missisquoi Bay. [Whitcomb had a price on his head; the British had made a standing offer of a generous reward for his capture or arrest. Despised alike by the rebels he commanded and the Crown troops he fought, Whitcomb had killed the aged English General Gordon from ambush, then (allegedly) robbed the corpse. Apparently an efficient frontier fighter, Whitcomb was entrusted with several important commands during the Revolution.] Haldimand promptly ordered a detachment to the Upper Connecticut to take prisoners and gather information about rebel troop movements; the commander (Lt. Crofts) was told that if he should come upon Joseph-Louis or Traversey, either or both, amnesty should be offered, but if this promise of pardon were accepted, they should be brought to St. Francis under close guard. In spite of a rumor of three or four thousand men gathered at Newbury, Haldimand's scouts set out for Coös on the tenth of June; the same courier who had brought the rumor carried news also that<sup>44</sup> Joseph-Louis and his son "Laverne" [We are not sure which son this was] were at Newbury, too.

When the scouting-party arrived at the falls (near Drummondville, Quebec—*see map*), they met Antoine Gill and Gamelin (who had left Odanak on the night of February 23) returning from Coös with yet another son of Joseph-Louis [who had been living for several years with a New England merchant, possibly a relative, a descendant of Great-Grandfather Samuel Gill; or possibly the merchant was one of the Mohawk Valley, New York, Vander Heydens. Possibly, too, this boy had been at Harvard College.] Antoine and Gamelin told

Crofts that when they had arrived in Newbury, they had been sent at once to Boston for questioning by a Committee from Congress. Detained at the Hub for all of six weeks, they apparently had been released only out of consideration for Joseph-Louis, who had gone to Boston with them. [Was Joseph-Louis a secret agent for the Congress? Oh, where are the records?] Gamelin and Antoine reported further that Joseph-Louis was very grateful for the offer of a pardon but could not accept *just then*. He would try to escape at the first opportunity [after he had discussed matters with General Bayley?]. Gamelin added that there were only about 400 men at Newbury and that as late as May 25th Major Whitcomb had still been there.

These interviews concluded, Lieutenant Crofts sent Gamelin and the two Gills to Colonel Campbell in Montreal; the patrol then continued on its way to Upper Coös where two men were captured; returning, the detachment reached St. Francis on June 30, 1799. The "older prisoner" said that the rebels had given up the idea of invading Canada that summer, and that Major Whitcomb had spent the better part of the spring "exploring" around Lake Champlain. (Apparently the British still wanted to see Whitcomb, but not for social reasons.)

Haldimand ordered that "small rebel detachments scouting between St. John and Nicolet be intercepted," probably in order to get recent military information from Colonials. Haldimand also desired that Colonel Hazen be harassed; reports had trickled in that Hazen was working on the "west end of a road between Newbury and Missisquoi Bay." These British expeditions had no success. The winter of 1779-1780 closed in with little activity on either side of the 45th parallel.<sup>45</sup>

But the spring of 1780 found scouting and counter-espionage intensified. Again and again the names of Joseph-Louis, Tok-sus, Traversey and Despains came to view in official reports. Late in June Captain Luc Schmid went out from St. Francis with fifteen Canadians and Abnakis, but after two weeks of vain search for Continental activity he started back. As he neared Yamaska mountain, Schmid met Tok-sus who with three other Indians was going "to search for the west part of the Hazen Road." At the end of June Tok-sus returned without having found the military highway; to all appearances (said Schmid) Tok-sus had not *wanted* to find it.<sup>46</sup> [It would seem, though, that the west part of the road had not been begun—except on paper, for the benefit (?) of General Haldimand.]

Schmid himself then went out in search of the Bayley-Hazen project, going southward along the Yamaska. When he arrived at

"Blockhaus St. Hyacinthe," he was astonished to find Joseph-Louis there, ready and willing to give himself up! Schmid changed his plan at once, and took Joseph-Louis to Colonel Barry St. Leger at Sorel. But St. Leger, apparently under orders, sent the White Chief on to Quebec incommunicado.<sup>47</sup>

Joseph-Louis professed repentance and promised to mend his ways. On October 9, 1780, he took an oath of allegiance to the King,<sup>48</sup> after which he was allowed to go home to Odanak. Toward the end of October he guided Colonel Carleton's scouting party into northeastern Vermont; needless to say, they found the eastern part of the Hazen Road. Possibly, too, they captured John Gibson and Abner Barlow in Upper Coös, but that is not established. Somebody—some "Indians"—took these men while they were hunting "Beavor" above Peacham, and carried them to Montreal.<sup>49</sup>

On orders from Haldimand, Captain Fraser of the Indian Affairs Department visited Odanak on February 5, 1781. In general, "politics" and plotting against the Crown were worse there than in any other Indian village in Canada (not excepting the Mohawks' Cagnawagha!) even though the British had been just as generous to the Abnakis as to any other band. Knowing how cunning and influential Joseph-Louis was, Fraser consulted him about possible causes—and remedies—for the trouble. Fraser stated that Haldimand would see that Joseph-Louis would be made Grand Chief, if he would undertake to unite the tribe; but after some discussion Joseph-Louis stated that his half-breed son, grandson of a grand chief, would be more acceptable to all concerned. (This was of course Antoine, whose mother perished in Rogers' retreat in 1759.) As Joseph-Louis practically insisted on this, Fraser assured him that Antoine would be nominated as soon as the Gill family had given adequate proof of unswerving loyalty to the Crown. The White Chief replied that he was ready at any time to strike at the Rebels, but instead of Joseph-Louis the candidate Antoine was sent along with the next scouting party. This group of ten Indians and several Canadians went "down below Lake Mon fo mom o bog" (Memphremagog), but as they discovered they had been seen by strong Rebel patrols "along a well maintained road," they reversed their trail, and arrived back in Odanak on February twenty-fourth.

In the meantime, several events put the finger of suspicion once more on Joseph-Louis. On February 13 an Indian had arrived from the "Kennibec river country" and stayed at the home of Joseph-Louis. When taken to Captain Schmid, the Indian refused to speak; on the

night of March sixth he disappeared. The Gill family went out after him, and succeeded in bringing him back to Odanak. An English officer came to take the Indian into "protective custody," but the Gills protested that they could handle such affairs, and had promised so to do.

About the same time a Mons. St. Pierre, a well-known rebel sympathizer (and brother-in-law of another openly partisan Canadian, Mons. du Calvet) came to visit St. Francis, and paid Joseph-Louis a social call. "On all these counts" writes Father Charland, "Joseph-Louis was suspect; it was then he decided to give positive proof of his loyalty to the British crown."<sup>60</sup> If his plan (as revealed to Luc Schmid) had succeeded, it would have been a master-stroke indeed—but. . . .

On May 15th Joseph-Louis Left with ten "good Indians" (confirmed Royalists, loyal to George the Third) on a secret mission to the Upper Connecticut.<sup>51</sup> Luc Schmid wrote to Haldimand "If this man does as well as I believe he will, your Excellency can count on the St. Francis Indians, whatever happens."

Just what *did* happen may never be known, but this much has been established: Joseph-Louis and his ten "good Indians" captured the long-wanted Major Whitcomb and a man named Abel Larned in Upper Cohos just as Luc Schmid thought they would; "he would bring back two prisoners" (from Upper Cohos, *see map*, W<sub>1</sub>) "and nothing unsure about that" . . . .

On the return trip from Vermont (Peacham or Danville?) they were not more than twenty-four miles from Odanak (*see map*, W<sub>2</sub>) when they stopped to spend the night at an island in the St. Francis River. After supper they bedded down, both Joseph-Louis and Major Whitcomb were pillowed on the same small sack of flour. When the rest were asleep, Whitcomb grabbed the sack of flour, ran out to the hauling-place, jumped into a canoe which conveniently contained both a paddle and a gun, and fled into the night.<sup>52</sup> The Indians wanted to pursue the hated Major, but Joseph-Louis stopped them, saying that God had willed that the Major should have life, so they must let him go. Possibly Joseph-Louis was acting in his capacity as chef-de-prière in this situation, but naturally the "good Indians" put the worst light on it. On their return they told Captain Luc Schmid that Joseph-Louis had deliberately allowed, if not arranged, the escape. The Indians said that Joseph-Louis had made a deal; that should the Americans win and take over Canada, Odanak would not be razed as it had been back in 1759, an event which Joseph-Louis could never

forget. [Ironically enough, in 1782 it was learned that Whitcomb was planning an expedition against Odanak for the express purpose of burning Joseph-Louis' home!]

Was Joseph-Louis a double-dealer, or did he dread reprisal by Whitcomb and Whitcomb's military associates, many of whom were acquainted with Rogers' raid? Whatever the truth may be, there are very few notices regarding Joseph-Louis after the incident of Whitcomb's escape. On August 17, 1781, Luc Schmid wrote to General Haldimand<sup>58</sup> giving the names of Indians then at Cohos: Joseph-Alexis; Joseph-Jochanan; (all Indian Joes!); Vincent of Lorette; [possibly Schmid meant Captain John Vincent of Cagnawagha?]. Schmid stated that Tok-sus wanted to go to Newbury, and that three chiefs had died there "last winter"; Schmid also asked if he should pay Indians for scalps; "they are asking for their pay but I am not sure of proper procedure." But the most significant line in Schmid's report was the bald statement "As regards Joseph-Louis, I don't trust him."

[In April, 1784, a Father Rouband (who had preached to the Indians at Odanak around 1760) wrote from London to a cadet at St. Francis: "I am informed that Joseph-Louis is still alive; he can help Father de Montigny with my poor Abnakis, I am sure."<sup>54</sup> And help the Chef-de-prière did give until his death at age seventy-eight and a half, in May of 1798. He was buried in his beloved Odanak church. This is, to date, the last item concerning Joseph-Louis.]

On September 22, 1781, five Indians returned to St. Francis with two prisoners [Nahum Powers and John Martin?] from Upper Cohos. On October 7, six Indians left for Newbury, promising to bring back General Jacob Bayley within twenty days. On October 25 they returned without General Bayley, but with a prisoner they took a few miles from his headquarters.<sup>55</sup>

By 1782 General Riedesel (of the Crown forces) had perfected a plan calling for a ring of blockhouses and outposts in Lower Canada, "a veritable cordon of surveillance" to prevent the Continentals from invading Quebec province. Small parties patrolled the Richelieu-Yamaska-St. Francis valleys, while larger detachments made periodic sweeps into Vermont, almost unopposed. On March 11, 1782, ten Canadians commanded by Vassal de Monviel (and guided by Joseph-Louis' brother-in-law Gamelin)<sup>56</sup> left St. Francis to go to the Hazen Road via the Yamaska valley. In spite of the "clear directions" given by Schmid, they did not find the road. [Probably Schmid's "clear directions" were based on mis-information fed to Schmid by Green Mountain Boys' spies.] General Riedesel considered this "failure"

unpardonable; but anybody who has read de Monviel's journal of this foray can well understand its lack of success.

In May, 1782, some St. Francis Indians wanted to make still another raid into Vermont. Haldimand consented, but told them to *observe* only; "he had good reasons for abstaining from hostile acts." So a Canadian-Indian party was sent to the Hazen Road with strict orders not to approach any houses, to harm no settlers. They found "the outer blockhouse" reduced to ashes, and the second one, five miles farther along (Danville? Peacham?) had been abandoned; so they burned it. They returned with one prisoner, Abel Davis from Hillsborough (Danville, Vermont) who reported that Major Benjamin Whitcomb was preparing a raid on Odanak for the purpose of capturing Joseph-Louis and burning the Gill house; if possible, possibly also to burn the whole village. The Yankee Davis "also offered to go capture Whitcomb," but his captors refused the proposal. Haldimand ordered that Davis be conducted to Lake Memphremagog where he was given his liberty and returned home.

The policy of Haldimand toward Vermont appeared to be aimed at preventing a second invasion of Canada by "Congress troops," together with harassing the northern border so as to weaken the Continentals farther south. Haldimand was kindly, anxious, and elderly; he was "always polite and obliging but always watchful." Though Haldimand had power of life or death over his charges, including the Indians, he had no one executed for treason; in this he was more merciful than Congress, more merciful than General Washington. He was alert, stern and stiff with the military, but with his Indians he was kind, patient and forbearing—even as General Jacob Bayley was in Vermont. "Haldimand's conduct was motivated by the desire not to offend the people of Vermont,"<sup>67</sup> and we can say practically the same about his actions concerning Joseph-Louis and other would-be rebels, Abnaki and otherwise, at St. Francis.

In 1783 interpreter Belisle (who had often figured in Canadian-Indian forays into Vermont) was replaced by a Lieutenant d'Estimauville who seemed (said Luc Schmid) always "to favor those Odanak Indians who sided with the Rebels."

On September 7, 1783, Schmid sent to Colonel McBean in Sorel eight Germans whom the Indians had captured in the woods near St. Francis, where they were groping for the trail which led to Vermont. Five of these were Brunswickers whose enlistments had expired; they were released. [A sketchy investigation shows that they may have settled in Grand Isle or Franklin counties.] The other three were

Hessian deserters; so they were imprisoned. That, says Father Charland<sup>68</sup> was the last Revolutionary episode which was *directly* connected with the St. Francis Abnakis.

Was Joseph-Louis Gill an undercover agent for General Jacob Bayley?

Was "Indian Joe" a myth, a cover-up-figment for the White Chief whose sons attended Eleazer Wheelock's school at Hanover? If so, who was "Indian Molly?"

My own theory is that Joseph-Louis actually steered several, perhaps dozens of "Indian Joes," in their efforts to aid the Green Mountain Boys or whatever name we wish to apply to Vermont troops, soldiers of General Jacob Bayley's Northern Department.

And what about the Royalton Raid? Again the tantalizing name of Whitcomb bobs up; it is said that the Royalton raiders really started for Newbury to capture the hated Major. Through language-analysis Chief Stephen Laurent has shown that some of the Royalton raiders were Mohawks, Iroquois;<sup>69</sup> but that is another story. Perhaps, when we have perused the Sherwood papers, we will have more information.

Speed the day!

#### PREFACE TO NOTES

Most of the books and manuscripts quoted in this work are in French. Wherever necessary, we have obtained permission to use these references. We are particularly indebted to the Rev. Thomas-Marie Charland, O. P., who has very kindly given the Vermont Historical Society permission to translate at length from his book, *L'Histoire de St. François-du-Luc*. (See note 1-b.)

Our procedure was as follows: J. C. H. would go through documents and spot possible leads to activities in Vermont or affecting Vermont, 1755-1785. Mrs. Huden would then take over; she knows French very well. If she struck hard going, we would bring the tough passages to Dr. Malcolm Daggert, Chairman of Romance Languages at the University of Vermont.

J. C. H. would then compile research reports for the inspection of Dr. Arthur W. Peach. In many cases we had to refer questions on various Indian dialects to Chief Stephen Laurent at Intervale, New Hampshire, and to other Abnaki experts at Odanak—(Pierreville) P. Q.

(French) Que voulez-vous encore?  
(What more do you want?)

(Abnaki) K' wizaka?  
(What's your hurry?)

(Abnaki) N'namit on ana awikhigan.  
(Let s look at these writings.)

NOTES

- 1 (a) Gill, Judge Charles: *Notes historiques sur l'origine de la Famille Gill*, etc.; Montreal, 1887, 1889, 1892. Pp. 20-28 and passim.
- (b) Gill's work is quoted on pages 103-105 of Charland, Thos.-Marie, O.P.: *Histoire de St. François du Lac*, Collège Dominicain, Ottawa, 1942. Pp. 103-105 and passim. (Hereafter called Charland, op. cit.)
- 2 Johnson, Mrs. Suzanne Willard: *A Narrative of Mrs. Johnson's Captivity Among the French and Indians*. Boston, 1798. Printed also on pages 122-181 of *Indian Narratives*. Claremont, N. H. (Hereafter Johnson, op. cit.) 1854.
- 3 Maurault, L'Abbe J. A.: *Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours*, p. 348. Sorel, 1866. (Hereafter called Maurault, op. cit.)
- 4 Charland, op. cit., p. 139 and passim. See also Haldimand references, below.
- 5 Johnson, op. cit., p. 123.
- 6 Lowie, R. H.: *Primitive Society*. (Liveright, 1947), pp. 158, 160, 211. (Chief Stephen Laurent states that "understandings" of family hunting rights persisted until late in the nineteenth century. These rights descended from father to son; possibly some of them were in the Upper Connecticut and Champlain valleys.)
- 7 (a) Charland, op. cit., p. 139.
- (b) *Le registre de la Baie*, 2 Nov. 1763.
- (c) *Le registre de St. François*, 20 Mai 1754.
- 8 (a) Gill, op. cit. (note 1)
- (b) Charland, op. cit. (note 1)
- 9 Charland, op. cit., pp. 139-140.
- 10 (a) Maurault, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
- (b) Charland, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
- (c) Wrong, Geo. M. (see note 30.)
- 11 Maurault, op. cit., pp. 499-501.
- 12 Johnson, op. cit.  
Quoted also in Charland, op. cit., p. 141.
- 13 (a) *Journal of Major Robert Rogers*, London, 1765.
- (b) *Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, Champlain Society, pp. 167-169.
- (c) *Northwest Passage*, Part I, by Kenneth Roberts.
- (d) Theophile Panadis to Stephen Laurent.
- (e) Elie Robert Obumsawin to John C. Huden.
- (f) Elie Robert Obumsawin, Louis Hannis and Lazal Panadis, Abnakis, to John C. Huden.
- (g) What became of the Silver Virgin and other treasures stolen from the Odanak church by Rogers' Rangers in 1759? The late Archie Stone of Island Pond pursued this problem for years; it is said that he and the late Mary Greene Nye had about all the information (of any value) relating to the booty. Here and there we have heard rumors of money, or church ornaments, or saints' statues having been found in southern Quebec, or northeastern Vermont—but they have turned out to be just rumors, or materials *not* traceable to Odanak. Here is what Father Charland says, in effect, (free translation by Grace B. Huden):

The Historian Francis Parkman made a concerted attempt to trace the Silver Virgin and other booty taken from the Odanak church but with little success. His investigations showed that probably much of "the American treasure" had been jettisoned by the Rangers, who were hotly pursued by Abnakis and Canadians.

In 1827 a censer (incense-burner) was found on an island in the Waropeka

river, where it joins the St. Francis near Windsor Mills, Quebec. (Apparently this relic was lost; nobody at Windsor Mills, it would seem, knows about it now.)

Sometime before 1838 a large gilded copper or bronze statue of a Saint was found near the mouth of Magog river. A certain "Robert Orne of Vermont" in some way obtained possession of this statue and gave it to a priest then stationed at Sherbrooke, P. Q. Many believed that the censer and the statue were part of the Odanak mission's regalia.

If time permits, VHS will have a researcher review the evidence, including the Vassall papers at Seminaire Nicolet, at Nicolet, P. Q.

- 14 Colonel Guy Johnson to Lord George Germain; in *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan. Vol. VIII, page 668.  
This O'Callaghan work will be referred to hereafter as DCHNY, VIII.
- 15 Maurault, op. cit., p. 492 (f).  
16 Charland, op. cit., pp. 117-118.  
17 Gill, op. cit., note 1.  
Quoted also in Charland, op. cit., p. 117.
- 18 (a) Charland, op. cit., pp. 114-115.  
(See translation by Grace B. Huden at end of these notes.)  
(b) Archie Stone in Sept.-Oct. 1939, *Vermont School Journal*.
- 19 (a) Maurault, op. cit., pp. 349-377.  
(b) Charland, op. cit., p. 140 (f).  
(c) Gill, op. cit., passim.
- 20 DCHNY op. cit. (note 14 above) Vol. VIII, pp. 227-238.
- 21 (a) DCHNY VIII, p. 244.  
(b) *Colonial Office Records* (Ottawa Archives) Q-3, 1766, pp. 328-330.
- 22 Maurault, op. cit., p. 216, p. 348.
- 23 Robinson, Rowland: *Sam Lovel's Boy, Sam Lovel's Camp*, passim.
- 24 (a) Vaudreuil to M. de Levis, *Collection des Manuscrits du M. de Levis*, VIII, p. 184.  
(b) Rogers Rangers probably did not kill as many Abnaki warriors in 1759 as he claimed. Perhaps a majority of the tribesmen were out hunting. (Lazal Panadis to John C. Huden, 1955.)  
(c) Charland, op. cit., p. 118.
- 25 Charland, op. cit., p. 123.
- 26 (a) Charland, op. cit., p. 123.  
(b) *Archevêche de Québec*, D. Trois-Rivieres, (passim), 1773-1779.
- 27 DCHNY VIII, p. 476.  
28 DCHNY VIII, p. 451.
- 29 Love, Wm. de Loss: *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*. Boston, 1899, pages 79 and 160.
- 30 Wrong, Geo. M.: *Canada and the American Revolution*. Macmillan, 1935, page 298 and passim.  
31 DCHNY VIII, p. 664.
- 32 Charland, op. cit., p. 142, p. 139, p. 117.
- 33 Elkins, Jonathan: *Reminiscences in the Upper Connecticut*, Vol. I, VHS 1943, p. 268; pp. 266-269. See also page 22 of this work for reference to Jacob Bayley's treaty of friendship with the Indians. (Does a copy of this treaty exist?)
- 34 (a) *Haldimand Papers*, Ottawa. B. Series.  
(b) Charland, op. cit., p. 142.

- 35 (a) Charland, op. cit., p. 143.  
 (b) Haldimand, op. cit., B-184-1, pp. 37-39.
- 36 (a) Haldimand B-117, pp. 26-27, 44-49.  
 (b) Haldimand B-184, pp. 37-48.  
 (c) Charland, op. cit., p. 144.
- 37 (a) Haldimand B-184-1, pp. 48-49.  
 (b) Charland, op. cit., 143-146.
- 38 Haldimand B-117, pp. 36-38.
- 39 Haldimand B-117, pp. 41-44, 54, 57.
- 40 (a) Haldimand B-113, p. 6.  
 (b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 156-60.
- 41 (a) Haldimand B-117, p. 45.  
 (b) Haldimand B-117, p. 58, 62.
- 42 (a) Haldimand B-117, p. 63, 65, 77.  
 (b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 96-103.  
 (c) Haldimand B-117, p. 255.
- 43 (a) General Gates, letter to Congress, April 6, 1779. In Sparks collection.  
 (b) General Washington to Congress, April 14, 1779.  
 (c) Re Whitcomb: *Upper Conn. Valley*, Vol. II, p. 42. (from Col. Frye Bailey's *Reminiscences*.)  
 "Licut. Benja. Whitcomb . . . had killed (the British) General Gordon shot him from ambush, 'twas a savage-like murder. Gordon was upwards of 70 yrs. of age. . . ."  
 (d) (Whitcomb was accused of stealing a watch from General Gordon's corpse. Sir Guy Carleton wanted the Americans to surrender Whitcomb so that W. would be tried for murder. As late as Sept. 1782 General Riedesel wrote to General Haldimand: "(We requested) information the moment Whitcomb leaves Cohos, the route he takes. . . . I have concerted measures for punishing Mr. Whitcomb should he approach too near our parts or intrude too far on our frontiers . . . etc."  
 --Haldimand B-137, pp. 292-293.
- 44 Haldimand B-117, pp. 101-103; 125-127
- 45 (a) Haldimand B-117, pp. 120-124.  
 (b) Charland, op. cit., p. 156.  
 (c) Upper Connecticut, op. cit., passim.
- 46 (a) Charland, op. cit., p. 158.  
 (b) Haldimand B-117, p. 188.
- 47 Haldimand B-117, pp. 108, 208.
- 48 Haldimand B-117, p. 224.

(Oath of Allegiance of Joseph Louis Gill)

Oct. 9, 1780

I Joseph Louis Gill promise sincerely and affirm by oath that I will be faithful, and that I will bear true loyalty and fidelity to his majesty King George (III), that I will defend him with all my power and in everything that depends on me against all perfidious conspiracies and all outrages whatever which may be undertaken against his person, his crown and his dignity; and that I shall do all in my power to discover and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treachery, perfidious conspiracies and all outrages, that I (discover to be plotted) against him or any of them; and I take my oath about all these things without any evasion, mental

subterfuge and secret restrictions; renouncing all indulgences and exemptions of former powers and persons whatsoever.

So help me God!

Joseph Louis Gill

Luc Schmid, witness

Sworn before me at Quebec this 9th day of October 1780.

D. S.

Oath of Allegiance of Joseph Louis Gill of St. Francis 9th  
Oct. 1780

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[Trans. by Grace B. Huden]

- 40 (a) Upper Conn. Valley, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 273.  
(b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 245-246.
- 50 (a) Charland, op. cit., p. 162.  
(b) Haldimand B-117, p. 205.
- 51 (a) Haldimand B-117, pp. 255-267.  
(b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 273-274.
- 52 (a) Haldimand B-117, pp. 316-317.  
(b) Charland, op. cit., p. 162.
- 53 (a) For further information on Captain John Vincent see Governor and Council: Vol. V, p. 25.  
(b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 304-305.
- 54 (a) Haldimand B-64, p. 327.  
(b) *Les Jésuites et La Nouvelle-France*, au 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Vol. II, pp. 265-267.  
(c) Charland, op. cit., p. 200.
- 55 (a) *Upper Connecticut*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 284.  
(b) Haldimand B-117, pp. 316-320.
- 56 (a) *Archives of Seminaire Nicolet*, Monviel papers. (copy appended.) VHS has a photostatic copy in French, and an English translation by Grace B. Huden. Haldimand Papers, Series B-137, pages 41-46.

Vassal de Monviel's *Journal*

Journal of the scouting trip I made on the Yamaska River

March 11, 1782

Left St. Francis Mar. 11, 1782

*Monday*—I left with Mr. Gamelin and 10 Canadians on a scouting trip on the Yamaska River. I went up the river about 2:30 and I was obliged to camp, although very early, to await my men who had not yet arrived.

*Tuesday, the 12th.* We left, and I had to bespeak some carts to transport their baggage as far as the last house, the roads being damaged by a light snowfall during the night, and by the great abundance of water which overflowed them. We arrived at the last house at 2 p. m., where we left the carts and took our sledges (?) which we dragged as far as the Chiboite River where we camped.

*Wednesday the 13th.* We left and arrived at the (plate) rapids at 11 o'clock, after having eaten, I took some carts to take my men's baggage to the lower blockhouse, where we remained to sleep.

*Thursday the 14th.* Captain Fraser had me bespeak a cart to take the baggage as far as the upper blockhouse where I remained to await your orders.

*Friday the 15th.* I received your letter and I (suddenly) had the necessary provisions for the voyage given to my men. Captain Fraser not having a guide expert enough to take me through the forest I was obliged to take one who took us by the same route as the last scouting party. We left at noon from the upper blockhouse and on account of the poor roads we were able to go only 3 and a half leagues from there.

*Saturday, the 16th.* I began to place the marks that you will find included on my map: then we left and marched about three quarters of a league where we found the portage which crosses (to) the river Brocket. After having marched half a league on this route I was obliged by the bad road to have my men leave their sledges and cache two days' provisions, and take 10 days food on their shoulders, we went south the whole day (?) and on account of the bad snow and the heavy packs that they were obliged to carry we could make only five leagues and camped at 5 o'clock. While my men pitched the camp, I with Mr. Gamelin and the sergeant went scouting about a mile ahead and returned (in darkness?) but saw no trace of enemies.

*Sunday, the 17th.* We left and marched as far as the River Brocket where I was obliged to camp in a camp which I found all made, although it was then only 11 o'clock. The snow to-day was so bad that many of my men broke their snow shoes: that is why I gave them the rest of this day to repair them. We were no sooner established in our camp than the rain fell all the rest of the day and even a great part of the night.

*Monday, the 18th.* We left at a very convenient time and we found the roads impracticable; all the ditches overflowed and meanwhile I wished to be able to                    the bad weather during the whole day when my guide wore out one of his snowshoes. The rain began to fall in good earnest but that did not prevent our marching the whole morning. going south to be able to get to the river au Roche which we found about noon but it was impossible for us to cross it on account of the bad ice. The rain at the time was falling very hard, and that was what decided me to camp on the bank of this little river, with the decision to see what progress the water made during the night. I found the next morning that they had not risen much in proportion to the great amount of rain that had fallen in the night. I would have started for the Missisquoi River, but during the whole day there fell a melting snow which did not allow me to leave camp.

*Tuesday, the 19th.* I had a tree cut down so as to be able to cross this small river on the bank of which we were camped.

*Wednesday, the 20th.* On the advice of Mr. Gamelin and of the guide I had that it would be impossible to cross the Missisquoi River. I had 6 men stay in camp, two who were sick and four others of the less vigorous; I took their snowshoes to replace those that were broken. I left to go see in exactly what state the river was; the snow which had fallen during the night had covered the road and I would have been unable to find it if I had not had Mr. Gamelin, who without having been in the region, by the knowledge he had of the forest, led us there without the aid of the road. So we marched about four leagues and a half and went south the whole time. At the end of this march, we found a little river that we would have been unable to cross if we had not found a tree long enough to make a crossing. When we were on the other side we continued our route under the same                    and

marched about 2 and a half leagues, then we arrived at the river below a rapids, in which there was a little island and two . . . I sent four of my men to make camp on the same road by which we had come and I went half a league lower than this rapids to see if it would be possible to cross it. I found the ice very bad. I would not say however that it is impossible to cross, but the risks that one would have to run in getting across would not have been approved of at all: besides this, the thaws threaten us all the Spring and the season especially on these rivers making the ice change from day to day. I thought it would not be prudent to get too much involved. I decided then to return and join my 6 men and I put on the bank of the river as asked my usual sign. I had come here to see if I could find any traces of the last scouting party but I did not discover on this road any trace of friend or enemy. (I slept deeply half a league from this river.)

*Thursday, the 21st.* I left my sign and went to join my 6 men at the River au Roche.

*Friday, the 22nd.* We were obliged, however, by bad weather to leave there and go sleep at the Brocket River where we had left some provisions.

*Saturday, the 23d.* We left and went to camp at our cache which might be about half a league from the Yamaska River.

*Sunday, the 24th.* I arrived at the upper blockhouse and will remain there until I receive your orders.

From the upper blockhouse of Yamaska

Mar. 24, 1782

Vassal de Monviel.

Translated from the French by Grace B. Huden.

(b) Haldimand B-137, pp. 41-47, 50-53.

57 (a) Wrong, *op. cit.* (note 30, above) *passim*.

(b) Charland, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

(c) Haldimand B-138, pp. 203-207.

58 (a) Charland, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

(b) Haldimand B-117, p. 163.

59 *Vermont History*, Vol. XXIII, Number 4, October 1955, p. 288. [Abnakis probably would have said Loj-jon! (L'argent, silver). The Mohawks said "Winasteron."]

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#### NOTES ON MAP ACCOMPANYING JOSEPH-LOUIS' STORY

I The main sources of this special VHS illustration are the Haldimand papers, and William Hall's *Map of a Part of the Province of Quebec, etc.* dated 1791. (Negative No. 1179, courtesy of Canadian Archives at Ottawa.)

Apparently Hall's map was compiled from fragmentary, often erroneous notes collected by British authorities in the 1770's and 1780's. Some of the errors have been emphasized in this work, so as to show why Haldimand, Riedesel, Crofts, Schmid and other British officials were so often disappointed in their search for Hazen's Road, etc.

II Whoever compiled William Hall's map (mentioned in I) certainly did not know where General Jacob Bayley's Newbury headquarters were located. It was *Newbury* (Coös or Lower Coös, Lower Cohass, etc.), *not* Waterford or Gilman or Guildhall which marked the southern terminus of the Hazen Road. (Chemin Hazen, Bayley-Hazen, etc.) The name of Newbury did not appear on Hall's map, although Dartmouth College further south was correctly identified. VHS has inserted the name of Newbury for convenience.

III The northern end of the Bayley-Hazen Road was correctly indicated in mountains west and south of Lake Memphremagog (which, by the way, was spelled *Mem sa ha be geck!*), but Hazen's Notch was not named. The British mis-conception of Hazen's Road is shown by a string of small squares. Note that Riedesel at one time believed the road to extend west as far as Missisquoi Bay, the vicinity of present-day Swanton, Vt.

VHS had indicated the approximate actual course of Hazen's Road, from Newbury to Hazen's Notch, by means of a broad diagonal made up of horizontal lines.

IV The faulty information fed to Haldimand's officers by the Vermont troops [and Joseph-Louis?] is further demonstrated by the other "roads" shown on the William Hall map. Of course, parts of these roads did exist, but they were not the finished military routes Hall portrayed. VHS has indicated two such highways by means of chains of small triangles. One follows Indian trails from the confluence of the Wells, Connecticut, and Amonoosuc Rivers in Eastern Vermont to the mouth of the Winooski just north of Burlington; another was supposed to have gone from "Cohass" to the mouth of the Missisquoi River.

(Another main highway partly finished, but not directly connected with this article went west of the 73d meridian from Manchester northward through Wells, Poultney, and Castleton to Missisquoi Bay.)

## V Legend

W-1 The approximate location (Peacham?) of the hunting-grounds where Joseph-Louis and "the good Indians" captured Major Whitcomb.

W-2 Here Major Whitcomb escaped.

3. Present-day Swanton; western end of supposed west stretch of Bayley-Hazen Road. (Abnaki village here until 1783?)

4. Mouth of Winooski River, northwest tip of Burlington city limits. (Mohican village here until 1650?)

5. Where British supposed General Bayley had his headquarters. (Probably a Penacock village here until 1760?)

6. Here is where Joseph-Louis surrendered to Schmid.

7. The Falls.