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Surviving the Dark Ages: Vermont Abenakis During the Contact Period

Instead of blindly resisting invasion, Vermont Abenakis sought to preserve their way of life and independence by a variety of strategies.

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The two centuries following European contact constitute the Dark Ages for the Abenaki Indians who were living in the region now known as Vermont. European invaders must have seemed like "barbarian hordes" to seventeenth-century Abenakis, just as Huns and Visigoths did to fifth-century Romans. Cultures that had evolved over countless generations in tune with their world found themselves confronted with alien and aggressive forces that disrupted their universe, devastated their population, deprived them of their lands, and denied them their heritage. In 1600, Vermont Abenakis numbered in the thousands, occupying village sites up and down the Connecticut and Champlain Valley.[1] Long before 1800, the survivors had scattered across the map of northeastern North America. Vermont furnished the seed population for new Abenaki communities like Odanak (St. Francis) in Quebec, but Missisquoi on Lake Champlain was the only substantial community to survive in Vermont. Contact with Europeans was a disaster for Vermont's Abenakis. The Abenakis, however, were more than just victims of tragedy, and there were positive aspects of their experience in this period. Like other Indian peoples across North America, Abenakis suffered trauma as new forces shattered their world, but they also played a part in shaping the new world that developed around them. Abenaki actions affected the history of Vermont and Quebec, and the Abenaki presence gave a special character to the borderland region between New England and Canada.

The Abenakis' location—north of the English colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut and south of the French in Canada—exposed them to multiple invasions from both directions. Few Vermont Abenakis had seen a European in the early seventeenth century. Yet biological, commercial, technological, and spiritual encroachments predated the intrusion of soldiers and settlers, just as far-reaching ecological changes followed in their wake. Instead of blindly resisting invasion, Vermont Abenakis sought to preserve their way of life and independence by a variety of strategies. Armed resistance was certainly prominent among their responses, as the English found to their discomfort, but peaceful accommodation, migration, periodic withdrawal and return, selective adaptation, and low profile coexistence all contributed to their survival. And for Indian people in the wake of European contact, survival on any terms constituted a success story.

When Indian guides paddled the French explorer Samuel de Champlain across the lake that bears his name in 1609, they informed him that the eastern shore and the islands were deserted. Leaving their beautiful cornfields, the Abenakis had pulled back from the waterways in time of war.[2] Champlain was infiltrating a world already in flux, as Indian societies reeled under the impact of war and disease. War, epidemic, and famine had already taken their toll on the native inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley before Champlain arrived, and some of the scattered survivors probably took refuge in Abenaki communities to the south. Eastern Abenakis on the Atlantic coast began trading with Europeans in the sixteenth century, and approximately at the time Champlain headed south on the lake, Henry Hudson pushed upriver through Mahican territory. Such traders filtered European goods and European germs into Indian country.[3]

Early outbreaks of diseases paled before the massive onslaughts of smallpox and other contagions that decimated the New England tribes in 1616-17 and again in 1633-34.[4] Demographers disagree about the extent of the devastation wrought by epidemic and chronic diseases. One estimate places the mortality rate among the Abenakis of Vermont and New Hampshire as high as 98 percent.[5] Even if we adopt a conservative estimate—even if we cut the losses in half—there is no question that the Abenakis living in Vermont by the time English settlers arrived were survivors of a holocaust in which faceless killers cut down their relatives, tore gaping holes in the social fabric, disrupted economic and cultural life, left the non-dead dazed and paralyzed, and perhaps (as in fourteenth-century Europe after the Black Death) drained their confidence in traditional sources of spiritual strength.[6]

While European germs permeated the Abenaki world, European beliefs infiltrated the Abenaki world view. Black-robed Jesuit missionaries car-

ried the Catholic faith to Indian villages in Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. From King Philip's War (1675-76) through the "French and Indian wars" Abenaki refugees sought a haven from war-torn New England in French mission villages along the St. Lawrence River. Sillery, Odanak, and Bécancour emerged as centers of Indian Christianity. The French credited the Abenakis with being the most Christian of all their Indian allies, and Catholicism became an important tie binding the Abenakis to the French. The French had a mission on Lake Champlain by 1682; in 1700 they built the first church in Vermont, overlooking the Missisquoi River. Jesuit influence reached far down the Connecticut Valley, and French maps show there was a mission village among the Cowasucks near Newbury before 1713. By the eighteenth century, Abenakis from Vermont appeared regularly in the baptismal records of Fort St. Frédéric, assumed the names of French saints, attended mass, and wore crucifixes around their necks.[7] Before long, English Puritans were pushing their version of "the one true religion" in Indian villages in the Merrimack Valley, and in 1735 the government of Massachusetts placed a minister at Fort Dummer to cater to the Indians who came down the Connecticut to trade at the post.[8]

Despite the spiritual inroads made by the new religions, and whatever the degree of conversion may have been, Christianity was not a panacea for a crumbling world. Some Abenakis embraced the new religions wholeheartedly, some resisted; others simply added new arrows to their existing spiritual arsenals by incorporating Christian practices into their traditional belief-systems. The Abenaki Catholic church at Odanak is testimony to the syncretism Abenakis practiced.[9]

French traders in the north and English traders at the southern portals of Abenaki country funneled European technology and culture into Abenaki villages in the Champlain and Connecticut Valleys. Traders peddled alcohol. There were drunken Pennacooks around Richard Waldron's trading post soon after he opened it in 1668, and Sokokis on the St. Lawrence had a reputation for drunkenness by 1684. Abenaki chiefs protested against the use of alcohol in trade, and the French governor, the Marquis de Denonville, aptly summed up its effects as "the horror of horrors."[10] Metal tools freed the Abenakis from reliance on lithic technology; manufactured goods brought new ease and comforts, and guns introduced a deadly new factor into warfare, as Champlain demonstrated in his famous encounter with the Iroquois near Crown Point in 1609. Bands who had hunted for subsistence now hunted for furs: furs bought guns and guns bought survival. With Dutch, French, and English merchants peddling guns and metal weapons throughout the northeast, the Abenakis' new world was an increasingly perilous place.[11]

As the demands of the fur trade increased, and their own supplies of beaver diminished, Iroquois war parties fanned out across Abenaki territory, raiding native fur-trading routes and disrupting intertribal relations. They defeated the Mahicans in 1628 after a four-year war, stepped up their raids to the north, and remained a significant if intermittent threat on the western border of Vermont, but for the most part the Abenakis kept their homeland clear of invaders. In the 1640s the Sokokis were allied with the Iroquois and on occasion urged them to war against the Algonquins and Montagnais, but by mid-century they and other Abenakis joined in a French-sponsored but abortive anti-Iroquois coalition. Hostilities intensified a decade later, and in 1663 a major Iroquois offensive caused the Sokokis to abandon their village at Fort Hill overlooking the Connecticut River. They dispersed among neighboring tribes or moved north to French mission villages. They were down but not defeated. They continued to fight the Mohawks, both home and away, sent warriors to accompany French expeditions into the heart of Iroquoia, and earned a healthy respect from their enemies as "des gens intrepides dans le combat."[12]

Growing English power to the south soon replaced the Iroquois threat to the west as the Abenakis' major concern. The Vermont Abenakis, for the most part, did not participate directly in King Philip's War, but the conflict sent shock waves through Abenaki country, displacing populations and initiating hostilities with the English that dominated Abenaki history for almost ninety years. Refugees from defeated southern tribes fled for shelter among northern communities, and Abenakis themselves moved north out of harm's way. Some, like the New Hampshire Pennacook chief Wanalancet and his band, withdrew into the northern reaches of their territory; others made their way to French mission villages on the St. Lawrence. The first Sokokis reached Three Rivers in Quebec in the spring of 1676 after an arduous journey in the dead of winter and in the teeth of famine. Sokokis and other Abenakis migrated to Odanak; still others went to the refugee community at Schaghticoke on the Hudson River; a few even carried on to the midwest and took up residence with the Miamis, Potawatomis, Sauks, and Foxes.[13]

When increasing Anglo-French rivalry for North American and European supremacy exploded in King William's War (1689-97) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), Vermont Abenakis found themselves embroiled in clashes of global importance. They made common cause with the French against their English enemies. Abenaki warriors—sometimes in conjunction with French troops, sometimes acting alone—traveled south along familiar trails to raid English settlements. The Abenakis were independent and willing allies of the French, not subjects of the French

crown, and they fought in their own interests and on their own terms. When the French governor Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, invited the Cowasucks to settle on the St. Lawrence in 1704 they refused: they were not about to abandon their homeland and felt themselves better placed at Cowass, near Newbury, to launch attacks against the English. That very year, however, Caleb Lyman's expedition reached to within a few miles of Cowass, demonstrating that the Abenakis were not invulnerable to English attack.[14]

English expeditions into Abenaki country usually floundered, while Abenakis regularly returned north with scalps and captives. Nevertheless, war took its toll. In 1713, the Abenakis at Odanak sent a letter to the King of France complaining they were "harassés par les guerres continuelles." Cowass seems to have been deserted by 1713; the Pennacooks became hard to trace after that date, and the Pigwackets drifted back and forth between Odanak and their White Mountain homes as the winds of war buffeted northern New England.[15]

From 1723 to 1727, a time of formal peace between French and English, Abenakis from Missisquoi conducted a series of devastating forays against the Massachusetts frontier, under the leadership of Grey Lock, a Woronoco emigrant from Massachusetts. Aptly named "he who puts others off the track," Grey Lock became a magnet for Abenaki resistance in the Champlain Valley, launched raid after raid against the English, and successfully eluded and frequently made fools of his pursuers. Massachusetts built Fort Dummer to stop him but he easily slipped past English forts and scouts, raiding settlements almost at will. Rarely seen and never defeated, Grey Lock both harnessed and personified the spirit of Abenaki resistance and independence that kept English invasion of Vermont in check until the 1760s.[16]

The pattern of effective Abenaki raids and ineffective English responses continued when Anglo-French conflict resumed with King George's War (1744-48). Missisquoi remained a center of Abenaki independence. French officers went there to "sing the war song," and a steady stream of war parties emanated from the village. By the time the war ground to a halt, the Abenakis had virtually cleared Vermont of the English settlements in the Connecticut Valley.[17]

The turn of the decade and the world war usually known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63) brought a shift in Abenaki fortunes, however. Abenaki delegates meeting with Captain Phineas Stevens in Montreal in 1752 and at Fort Number Four (Charlestown, New Hampshire) in 1753 made it clear that they were prepared to defend their homelands against any English trespass, and when Abenaki blood was shed warriors began to arm for war.[18] During the Seven Years' War, Abenakis served with

the French in almost every theater and major engagement, while independent war parties resumed the old pattern of raids down the Connecticut River.[19] But in 1757, the election of William Pitt as prime minister instilled a new drive in the British war effort; within a year the previously ineffective redcoats were winning victories, and General Jeffrey Amherst's Lake Champlain army soon brought the war to the very doors of Missisquoi. The Missisquois pulled back from their village, but oral tradition suggests they suffered a costly attack about the same time that Robert Rogers's force of Rangers, specially trained in Indian warfare, claimed their Pyrrhic victory over the Abenakis at Odanak.[20]

Abenakis were back at Missisquoi before the end of the war, but with the defeat of the French they entered a new phase of far-reaching changes. Prior to 1760, English encroachments on Abenaki land had been hesitant and tentative. Now the dike broke and English colonists flooded north from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, settling new towns in the Connecticut and Champlain valleys, establishing farms on lands the Abenakis had fought to defend, killing game, and destroying forests to such an extent that the British authorities feared for the Royal Navy's supplies of masts.[21]

The British conquerors tried to regulate the advance of the frontier, coordinate relations with the Indian tribes, and establish protections for Indian lands. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 attempted to regulate expansion into Indian lands, and Governor James Murray of Quebec acted in accordance with royal policy in 1765 when he refused to grant veteran officer Moses Hazen lands on the Missisquoi River because they were occupied by Indians.[22] Abenakis agreed to lease lands around Missisquoi to James Robertson that same year, but they did so with specific provisions that certain lands be reserved for their own agricultural use.[23]

But, while they paid lip service to the official policy of respecting Indian lands and rights, Sir William Johnson, Superintendant of the British Indian Department, and his subordinates cared more about having the Abenakis where they could keep an eye on them. Johnson wanted all Abenakis to congregate at Odanak and, following the Council on Isle La Motte in 1766 when Caughnawagas yielded lands they claimed on the east shore of Lake Champlain, the Indian Department ignored the Missisquoi Abenakis as a distinct community, hoping, or erroneously assuming, that they were bound by the decisions of the Seven Nations confederacy in Canada, a league that represented the mission communities along the St. Lawrence River.[24]

Despite Johnson's desires, the Vermont Abenakis remained a mobile and independent people. Some bands lived around Lake Champlain and focused on Missisquoi; others lived a dispersed lifestyle in the vicinity

of Lake Memphremagog, moving freely between Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Quebec, and paying little heed to British concerns or regulations.[25]

When the American Revolution broke out, Abenakis responded with ambivalence. Some served with the Americans, some joined the British; most probably tried to keep out of it. Some Abenakis returned from Odanak to the upper Connecticut, where they served as rangers with Colonel Timothy Bedel, protecting American settlements. Those who remained at Odanak caused the British considerable headaches. The community was divided in its loyalties and inconsistent in its support. British officers stationed at the village struggled in vain to make sense of intratribal politics and to keep a tight rein on the Abenakis.[26]

During the wars between the British and the French, the Abenakis committed themselves wholeheartedly to the French and lost. During the American Revolution, they hesitated, supported the Americans, played both sides of the fence, or tried to remain neutral; and they still lost. At the Peace of Paris in 1783, British negotiators made sweeping concessions to the Americans without reference to the Indians and, in recognizing the 45th parallel as the border between Canada and the United States, ran an artificial boundary through Abenaki social and geographical reality. Some Vermont Abenakis bowed to the new situation and moved to Odanak. Others continued to pass back and forth at will, and many remained where they were. But Americans called all the Abenakis in the area "St. Francis Indians," assuming that they came from the community at St. Francis or Odanak and implying that they rightly belonged north of the border.

In the wake of the Revolution, settlers entered the Champlain Valley in unprecedented numbers. Land speculators like Vermont's Allen brothers gained possession of Abenaki lands, even as Abenakis stood their ground and asserted their rights to the land.[27] By the turn of the century, settlers knew only a few individuals as local Indians kept a low profile in marginal lands on the edges of their ancient homelands. These individuals were celebrated as the "last of their race," in keeping with the sentiments of the time that viewed the disappearance of Indians as a tragic, romantic, but ultimately desirable thing.[28] When Caughnawaga Indians petitioned the Vermont legislature for compensation for lands they claimed to have lost in Vermont, they received short shrift. Apparently the governor and legislature were happy to adopt Ira Allen's interpretation of Indian rights to their lands: if they ever had any, they lost them by siding with the French and then with the British, both of whom went down in defeat.[29]

The Abenakis who remained in Vermont were exiles in their own land. They had not sold off their lands or made any treaties ceding their ter-

ritory. They would have appreciated the sentiments expressed by Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé in the 1870s in describing American efforts to secure his people's homeland:

> If we ever owned the land we own it still, for we never sold it. In the treaty councils the commissioners have claimed that our country had been sold to the Government. Suppose a white man should come to me and say, "Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them." I say to him, "No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them." Then he goes to my neighbor, and says to him: "Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them, but he refuses to sell." My neighbor answers, "Pay me the money, and I will sell you Joseph's horses." The white man returns to me and says, "Joseph, I have bought your horses, and you must let me have them." If we sold our lands to the Government, this is the way they were bought.[30]

From the Abenaki point of view, the Americans who claimed their land had been horse trading with their neighbors.

Devastated by disease, corrupted by alcohol, reduced to dependence on European traders, buffeted by new religions and ideas, Abenakis suffered 150 years of escalating and deadly warfare with other Indians and with English invaders. French allies fell by the wayside, English pretensions ignored Abenaki protections, and land-hungry American speculators and settlers rode roughshod over Abenaki rights. For the Abenakis the history of Vermont was a record of theft and coercion, which the conquerors promptly erased and rewrote to suit themselves and satisfy their posterity. Where, in all this, can we find anything positive?

The answer lies in the other side of Abenaki-European relations and in the fact that there are still Abenakis in Vermont and Quebec. In American history, we tend to see Indian history as a tragic subplot in an otherwise triumphant story of progress and achievement. Indians are enemies in wars, objects of policies, and, of course, the hapless victims of expansion. We rarely consider peaceful interactions or recognize that Indians played an important role in shaping their own history, no matter how powerful and destructive the forces bombarding them. The actions and responses of the Abenakis themselves constitute an important part of Vermont's (and Quebec's) history, tell us much about the human capacity to adapt and survive, and help us to understand why, in 1990, Vermont has an Indian population not quite like any other.

Confronted with overwhelming forces, Abenakis could fight, seek accommodation, or retreat out of danger. Like Indians across North America, the Vermont Abenakis did all these things and more. Warfare dominated Anglo-Abenaki relations for most of a century. Yet between conflicts, there were long periods of peaceful coexistence, during which Abenakis and settlers traded, farmed, and lived in relative harmony as neighbors. Captain Phineas Stevens, who figured so prominently in the

wars of the Connecticut Valley, had been taken captive by the Abenakis in Grey Lock's War; he knew their language, and sympathized with their concerns. Later, Stevens served as commander and trader at Fort Number Four, and Abenakis came there to trade with him right up to the eve of the Seven Years War, and many frontier communities in Vermont saw Abenakis come and go freely. With the French, Abenaki relations were even more amicable—the French requested Abenaki permission before they built sawmills and trading posts on Abenaki land.[31] One could write a selective history of Abenaki- European relations, as one could write a history of Indian-white relations across America, that emphasized peace instead of war, trust instead of treachery, cooperation instead of conflict, harmony instead of hostility, genesis instead of genocide.

Even the act of captive-taking, infamous in the annals of New England history as a fate worse than death, resulted in frequent adoptions and the creation of family ties between white captives and Abenaki relatives. Some captives remained with the Abenakis, adding their blood to the composition of Abenaki communities; others were sold to the French and made new lives for themselves in Canada. Some who returned home, like Phineas Stevens, retained warm relations with their adopted families; others, like New Hampshire's General John Stark and Susanna Johnson of Charlestown, both of whom were captured by the Abenakis, recalled kind treatment at the hands of people they had been led to think of as "savages."[32] If Abenakis fought the English, they also accommodated them in a variety of ways, regarded them as potential Abenakis, and functioned as a conduit from which English captives emerged as citizens of French Canada.

The Abenakis had not read the nineteenth-century wisdom that said Indians must abandon their old ways or die out. The Abenakis who survived in Vermont did so in part by pursuing traditional strategies. Periodic relocation was an integral part of traditional life. In the face of invasion, many Vermont Abenakis pulled up and moved out of danger. No records exist to detail the internal upheavals Abenaki communities experienced as people left familiar scenes, cleared fields, and the bones of their ancestors. Some communities ceased to exist as the inhabitants dispersed and amalgamated with other groups. But others, like Missisquoi, survived, maintained their identity, and provided a haven for refugees. For many years, Missisquoi eluded direct attack, or even detection. But the key to survival for Vermont Abenakis as the European presence steadily increased lay not in the physical village, but rather in the fluid and flexible nature of Abenaki society. Communities that were accustomed to dispersing and reassembling with the seasons responded to new dangers in old ways. From earliest contacts, Abenaki villages broke up into fami-

ly bands in times of crisis and evaporated into the surrounding countryside until the danger passed. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the threat to the Abenaki way of life was here to stay, but the resilient family band—the basic unit of Abenaki life—continued to provide community and protection in the midst of confusion and peril.[33]

War and invasion scattered Vermont Abenakis across northeastern North America. But this diaspora did not destroy the Abenakis. In an age of destruction, new social orders emerged in Vermont and Quebec as communities incorporated refugees. In an age of racial conflict, Abenakis and Europeans mixed, married, and established kinship ties and individual attachments that transcended racial boundaries. And in an age of chaotic and unprecedented change, traditional patterns of life protected Abenakis from annihilation and assimilation. Accustomed to accommodating newcomers, adapting to new pressures, and surviving by dispersing, Abenaki bands continued to accommodate, adapt and survive. Even as their world fell to pieces around them, Abenakis played important roles in the colonial histories of New England and New France. Today, after centuries of European contact, Abenakis still inhabit both Vermont and Canada. The 1980 U.S. Census reported an Indian population of just under one thousand for Vermont, but the U.S. Census has traditionally been low in recording Indian populations and the current Abenaki population is certainly much higher.[34] Abenaki presence and persistence are themes common to the history of Vermont and Canada alike.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, Dean R. Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 33.

[2] H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36), 2: 90-91.

[3] Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1985), 144-48, 173; idem., "Trade and Tribal Warfare on the St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 9 (1962), 240-56; Biggar, ed., *Works of Champlain*, 5: 78; 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: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901), 22: 207, 215; Gordon M. Day, "Abenakis in the Champlain Valley," in Jennie G. Versteeg, ed., *Lake Champlain: Reflections on Our Past* (Burlington: Center for Research on Vermont, 1987), 279; Dean Snow, "Abenaki Fur Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6 (1976), 3-11.

[4] Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), especially essay no. 2; Dean R. Snow and Kim M. Lamphear, "European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics," *Ethnohistory* 35 (Winter 1988), 15-33; Arthur E. and Bruce D. Spiess, "New England Pandemic of 1616-1622: Cause and Archaeological Implication," *Man in the Northeast* 34 (Fall 1987), 71-83; Sherburne F. Cook, "The Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indians," *Human Biology* 45 (1973), 487-89.

[5] Snow, *The Archaeology of New England*, 34.

[6] Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (New York: John Day Company, 1969). For general studies of the effects of disease on Indian populations see, for example, Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), and Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned*.

[7] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* 15 vols, (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887), 9: 441; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* 60: 135-37; Gordon M. Day, *The Identity of the St, Francis Indians* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1981), 22-23; 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, 375-77; National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG1 C11A vol. 9:373; NMC 6359, H3/900/1713; Pierre-Georges Roy, *Hommes et Choses du Fort St. Frédéric* (Montreal: Les Éditions du Dix, 1946) passim.

[8] Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (Towtaid reprint, 1970), 75-76; *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* 4 (1856), 129, 131; 2nd series, 23 (1916), 29.

[9] On the issue of Indian conversions see James Axtell, "Were Indian conversions *bona fide*?" in *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 100-21.

[10] *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* 3 (1832), 212-15; Thwaites, ed. *Jesuit Relations* 60: 239; 62: 39; 63: 71, 111; 67: 39-41; O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* 9: 441; National Archives of Canada, MG1 C11A, vol. 4: 211-13; 11: 318-20.

[11] For the effects of European technology on Indian material culture, see Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change," passim, esp. 360-92.

[12] Bruce G. Trigger, "The Mohawk-Mahican War, 1624-1628: The Establishment of a Pattern," *Canadian Historical Review* 52 (1971), 176-86; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* 27: 79; 28: 275- 79, 285; 36: 75-81, 101-05, 129, 139-43; 37: 77, 259; Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change," 250; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* 13: 355-56; Bacqueville de la Pothérie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4 vols (Paris: Jean-Luc Nion, 1722) 1: 309.

[13] Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* 60: 133, 233; Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, 16-17; Helen H. Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 2, 29, map 6.

[14] National Archives of Canada, MG1 C11A, vol. 21: 14-15, 58; vol. 22: 16; MG3, vol. 2-2: 407-10; *Collections des Manuscripts Contenant Lettres, Mémoires et Autres Documents Relatifs à la Nouvelle France* 4 vols. (Quebec: Imprimerie à coté et cie, 1883-85) 2: 414-16.

[15] Copy of a letter from Father Aubrey in the Musée des Abenakis at Odanak, Quebec; André Sevigny, *Les Abenaquis: Habitat et Migrations* (Montreal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1976), 154-55, 173, 202-03; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* 67: 31-35; National Archives of Canada, MG1 C11A, vol. 35: 62-66.

[16] Colin G. Calloway, "Gray Lock's War," *Vermont History* 55 (Fall 1987), 212-228.

[17] National Archives of Canada, MG1 C11A, vol. 81: 32; MG1 Series B, vol. 81: 223; Memorandum from the King of France, 28 Apr. 1745, ff. 45-46, in *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History* (Woodbury, Conn: Research Publications, 1985), reel 12; Samuel G. Drake, *A Particular History of the Five Years French and Indian War (1744-49)* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970 reprint), passim.

[18] Massachusetts Archives, Boston: Mass. Archives 32: 336-37, 351, 468, 523-36, 547-50; 5: 180, 182-84, 186; 4: 522; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* 10: 252-54.

[19] For example, Edward P. Hamilton, ed., *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville 1756-1760* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 42-44, 136, 198-99, 242, 267; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* 10: 405, 287, 607, 674; *Journal of Montcalm* in H. R. Casgrain, ed., *Collection des Manuscripts du Marechal de Levis*, 12 vols (Montreal-Quebec, 1889-1895) 7: 69, 71, 79-80, 139, 153, 264, 359, 407, 423, 427, 467, 471, 473, 562.

[20] John Moody, "Missisquoi: Abenaki Survival in their Ancient Homeland" (unpublished MS., 1979), 59n.

[21] *Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, 9 vols., in *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 50-56 (1917-23), 67-68 (1934-35), 9: 214-16; Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Historical Documents Publication Board, 1918) 1: 318.

[22] Shortt and Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* 1: 20, 33, 163-68; Leonard Woods Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors 1670-1776* (New York: D. Appleton Century Co., 1935) 2: 467-68, 476-78; Thomas M. Charland, *Histoire des Abenakis d'Odanak, 1675- 1937* (Montreal: Les Éditions du Levrier, 1964), 172.

[23] A typed copy of Robertson's lease is in the Vermont Historical Society, Misc. file #914.

[24] Vermont Historical Society, Misc. file #719; James Sullivan et al., eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 15 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965) 12: 172, 1027; 10: 412-14, 448, 792-94.

[25] Edward Pearson, ed., *Henry Tufts: The Autobiography of a Criminal* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1930), 63-64, 69-72, 78.

[26] On Missisquois serving Americans as well as British, see Clement Gosselin to Ira Allen, 18 Aug. 1786, Vermont State Archives, Stevens Papers, Misc.; on Abenakis serving with Bedel, see "Report of Colonel Bedel," Henry Stevens Papers, Box 90, folder 12, copy in Vermont State Archives, and Vermont

State Archives, Stevens Papers, 3: 75-76, 81-82, 667; and *New Hampshire State Papers*, 8 (1874), 311, 405, 510; 17 (1889), 128-31, 152-53, 218-19, 227-29, 241-42, 311, 316; on the British and Odanak, see Haldimand Papers, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 21777.

[27] Vermont Historical Society, Misc. file #575; Allen Family Papers, University of Vermont, 6-75; Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazeteer* 5 vols. (Burlington, 1868-1891) 4: 972, 994, 998-1000.

[28] For general discussion of these views, see Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1982).

[29] 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); *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont* 8: 312-61.

[30] Quoted in Merrill D. Beal, *"I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (New York: Ballantine, 1971), 36-37.

[31] Sullivan, ed., *Papers of Sir William Johnson* 12: 173; Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File #719; Nathaniel Bouton, ed., *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire* 6: 234.

[32] "A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson," in *Indian Narratives* (Claremont, N.H.: Tracy & Bros., 1854); "Journal of Captain Phineas Stevens' Journey to Canada 1752," 311, 315; Caleb Stark, ed., *Reminiscences of the French and Indian War* (Concord: Luther Roby, 1831), 174.

[33] This and other themes outlined in this paper are discussed at greater length in Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

[34] *1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports: Race of the Population by States*, 1980, table 1.