The Lake Between: Native and Imperial Contests for the Champlain Valley, 1675-1768

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On September 8, 1755, Hendrick Theyanoguin brought his party of 200 fellow Haudenosaunee warriors to a halt south of Lake George in the Champlain Valley. Along with British colonial troops, they had marched about four miles that morning in pursuit of a joint French and Native force. When they reached a portage road leading to the lake, a "French Indian" called out to them from behind the brush, demanding that they identify themselves. "We are the six confederate Ind[ia]n Nations [Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Tuscarora, Oneida, Mohawk]," Hendrick answered, come "to assist [our] Breth[re]n the English ag[ain]st the French." The "French Indian" replied for the 700 Natives assembled with him, who included 100 Western Abenakis from the villages of St. Francis, Bécancour, and Missisquoi. He proclaimed, "We come in conjunction with our Father the King of France's Troops to fight his Enemies the English." After a tense moment, one of Hendrick's fellow Mohawks broke the silence. He aimed and fired his musket at the brush obscuring the speaker. One observer described, "a hot running fight then began." For British and French officials, the Battle of Lake George represented a contest between empires. Why, however, had 900 Haudenosaunee and Western Abenaki warriors joined the fight? They had their own contest over the borderland along Lakes George and Champlain.[1]

The Western Abenaki knew Lake Champlain as *bitawbágw*, the "lake between." Since time immemorial its eastern shore served as the western border of their homeland, its western shore the eastern boundary of Mohawk country (see Figure 1). By at least the late sixteenth century, Mohawks and Western Abenakis fought along the edges of their worlds for supremacy. Usually the aggressors, Mohawk war parties ranged east into Abenaki country and demanded that

[1] Daniel Claus, *Daniel Claus' Narrative* (New York: Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, 1904), 13-14; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the British Empire in North America, 1754-1766* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000), 114-123.

Western Abenakis yield their hunting territories and contribute warriors to Mohawk expeditions against the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the St. Lawrence Valley.[2]

The Mohawk called Lake Champlain *kanyatatakwá:roñte*, "the bulge in the waterway." It stood in the center of the Richelieu River system connecting the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in the south to the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers in the north (see Figure 2). From their villages in the Mohawk River Valley, warriors and hunters traveled east to the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, about ten miles above Albany. After following the Hudson north about forty miles, they arrived at the Great Carrying Place, an eleven-mile portage which linked the river with Wood Creek, and from there, Lake Champlain. To enter that lake, they had to pass through *tekyatôn:nyarike'*, "two points which have come into close proximity to each other." There, a promontory on the southwestern shore protruded sharply into the lake, separated from the eastern shore by only 400 yards. The French called this place *Pointe à la Chevelure*, "Scalp Point," likely commemorating the site where, on July 29, 1609, Samuel de Champlain observed his Algonquian allies ritually torture and execute a Mohawk prisoner. The English knew the promontory as Crown Point, probably borrowing from the earlier Dutch translation of *Pointe à la Chevelure* to *Crun Punt*. Moving north over the lake, travelers reached the Western Abenaki village of Missisquoi, inhabited by their ancestors for over 11,000 years. At its northwest extreme, Lake Champlain emptied into the Richelieu River, which flowed north to the St.

[2] Gordon Day, "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays by Gordon M. Day*, ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 239-241; Frederick Matthew Wiseman, *The Voice of the Dawn* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 59-60; Gordon Day, "The Eastern Boundary of Iroquoia: Abenaki Evidence," in *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 116-122; William Haviland and Marjory Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1981), 177.

Lawrence River Valley, the heart of Canada and home to the Western Abenaki mission villages of Bécancour and St. Francis.[3]

In addition to comprising a native borderland, Lake Champlain stood at the undefined borders of New France and British North America. For as long as they shared the continent, imperial officials failed to demarcate where one empire ended and the other began. Officials in Albany and Montreal competed to project power over the lake that separated them. During times of war, Lake Champlain offered the only invasion route between Quebec and New York, for armies could not haul their heavy cannon through the thickly-forested Adirondack mountains. Instead, commanders ferried men and supplies down the lake during warm months or marched them over its sturdy ice for winter campaigns. To win safe passage and deny their enemy access to the strategic waterway, colonial officials courted Native allies to serve as guides, gather intelligence, and raid supply lines and outlying settlements. Officials in Albany and Montreal carefully maintained their relationships with neighboring Mohawks and Abenakis. For they feared that Native allies might defect to their imperial rival, delivering control over the invasion route.

Although Western Abenakis and Mohawks have long shared a history of uneasy contact, during the eighteenth century, British officials invented different pasts for each people to exert imperial authority over their overlapping lands. To justify British expansion west to the Great Lakes during the 1720s, colonial officials argued that the Haudenosaunee had defeated the region's other Native peoples and won sovereignty over their lands by right of conquest. Because Britain asserted suzerainty over the Haudenosaunee, the crown claimed whatever territory their

[3] Floyd G. Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place Names in the Champlain Valley* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1972), 35-41; Gordon Day, "Abenakis in the Lake Champlain Valley," in *Lake Champlain: Reflections in Our Past*, ed. Jennie G. Versteeg (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, Center for Research on Vermont, 1987), 277.

Native subjects had conquered. Historian Francis Jennings concludes that "the British donated an empire to the Iroquois in order to claim it for themselves." While British officials recognized the supremacy of Mohawks and their Haudenosaunee kin over distant Native territories, they erased Western Abenakis' ownership of their homelands. During the 1760s, British farmers pushed north into Vermont, safe from French reprisal following their defeat in the Seven Years' War. To facilitate rapid settlement, imperial officials simply disregarded Abenaki claims to the Champlain Valley. They reimagined their former Native adversaries as rootless wanderers and recent transplants to the borderlands between New York and Canada. [4]

Historians of the Western Abenaki reiterate that people's historic claim to Vermont and continued presence in the state. Gordon M. Day began working with St. Francis Abenakis during the 1940s, recording place names and oral traditions, and reconstructing genealogies. Through the dozens of articles published over his fifty-year career, Day argues that the Western Abenaki constitute a distinct Native people who endured in their original homeland. During the 1970s, archaeologists Marjory Power and William Haviland examined pre-colonial Western Abenaki settlements to dispute "the old myth that Indians never lived in the state," proving that the Abenakis' ancestors inhabited the Champlain Valley for 11,000 years. In 1990, Colin Calloway published the most extensive document-based monograph to date, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*. Calloway asserts that Western Abenakis used their traditional migration patterns to survive the imperial wars that ravaged New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but never abandoned permanently their Vermont homes. Although Day, Power, Haviland, and Calloway have discredited the pervasive fallacy that Vermont lacked an indigenous population, Calloway

[4] 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: Norton & Company, 1984), 11.

encourages scholars to add new pieces to the "puzzle" of Abenaki history "to retell the story of northeastern North America in a way that incorporates all the actors in the drama." [5]

This essay restores Mohawks and Abenakis to the same dynamic world by examining their rivalry over the Champlain Valley. It argues that the imperial contest to claim Lake Champlain exacerbated their traditional, precolonial competition over the region, creating a violent corridor between Albany and Montreal that both empires struggled to control. This place of imperial ambiguity allowed Western Abenaki and Mohawk peoples to maintain their autonomy and assert their own influence in the borderland. British and French officials relied on Native allies to defend colonial settlements against invading enemies and to provide warriors for offensive expeditions. In return, Mohawks and Abenakis enjoyed generous diplomatic gifts and reaped the bounties posted by colonial governments for enemy scalps and prisoners. Most important, Natives exploited the escalating imperial rivalry to preserve their own claim to the contested waterway, for officials in Albany and Montreal could not risk offending their allies by letting enemy encroachments go uncontested. When Britain conquered Canada through overwhelming military force in 1760, however, British officials consolidated control over the lands along the lake by transforming its dense forests into farms and pastures. To justify their settlement, officials denied the Abenakis' claim to their homeland, and restricted the boundary of Mohawk country a hundred miles south of their precolonial border. With the imperial rivalry extinguished, Mohawks and Abenakis struggled to preserve Lake Champlain as a Native world.

[5] Michael K. Foster and William Cowan have compiled two dozen of Day's essays in *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays by Gordon M. Day*, ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Day's most influential work is his book-length project, *The Identity of the St. Francis Indians* (Ottawa, Canada: Publications in Ethnology, National Museums of Canada, 1975); William Haviland and Marjory Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1981), xv; Colin Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

To structure my narrative, I follow two Native leaders, Grey Lock, a Western Abenaki, and Hendrick, a Mohawk, as they navigate the imperial and Native contests for the Champlain Valley. Both were products of these overlapping rivalries, and each shaped the other's world. As Europeans fought to claim the lake between their empires, Grey Lock and Hendrick competed to preserve their people's autonomy and influence in the space that Natives had contested for centuries.[6]

"Come join those whom we have Here"

Long before European colonists competed for control over Lake Champlain, it stood at the contested edges of two Native worlds. As a "bulge in the waterway" and the "lake between" two homelands, Lake Champlain drew into conflict peoples who spoke languages unintelligible to one another, practiced different subsistence patterns, and organized their societies in marked contrast.

To the east lived the *Alnôbak*, the Western Abenaki. Their territory spanned from Lake Champlain to the Merrimack River, and from the St. Lawrence River south to central Massachusetts. The Western Abenaki comprised several related bands defined by the river valleys in which they lived and hunted. They migrated seasonally, dispersing to family-controlled hunting territories in the winter and reassembling as a village for the spring and summer. Families tended towards a patrilineal structure, though took up residence with the maternal or paternal family depending on resource availability. They spoke an Algonquian

[6] This essay has benefitted from two recent works on Hendrick: Barbara Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears: A Mohawk Family History* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1996) and Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). Sivertsen discovered that historians had conflated two Mohawk sachems, both named Hendrick, into a single figure. Hinderaker offers the definitive dual biography of the two Hendricks. My thinking has been shaped by his thoughtful analysis of the second Hendrick's fraught relationship with the Albany Indian Commissioners and his close partnership with William Johnson.

language, and could communicate easily with other Natives of that linguistic family living across New England, Acadia, and Nova Scotia.[7]

To the south and west lived their rivals, the *Kanien'kehà:ka*, the Mohawk. Their country represented the "Eastern Door" of the Haudenosaunee Longhouse, the spatial metaphor by which Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk (and, after 1722, Tuscarora) peoples envisioned their confederacy. With Mohawk settlement concentrated along the Mohawk River, the Eastern Door encompassed upstate New York to Lake Champlain. Mohawks spoke an Iroquoian language, radically different from Algonquian speakers but linking them linguistically with the other Haudenosaunee peoples. Unlike the Western Abenaki, they practiced matrilineal descent. A husband married into his wife's family, and any children born from that marriage inherited their mother's clan identity. Mohawks lived in large, fortified villages, which the English called "castles." Women controlled life in these villages, including agricultural production and processing furs. Men traveled far from home to hunt, trade, and take captives to replace departed kin through "mourning war."[8]

Linguistic evidence and oral traditions illuminate pre-colonial competition between Mohawks and Western Abenakis over Lake Champlain. Western Abenaki tradition tells of *Odzihozo*, "he makes himself from something," who reshaped the earth so that the *Alnôbak* could inhabit it. In his final act, *Odzihozo* created Lake Champlain, his masterpiece at the edge of the Western Abenaki world. He so admired the lake that he climbed upon a rock off its eastern shore, turning himself to stone so that he could sit there forever. According to the anthropologist Gordon Day, Western Abenakis regarded the rock as "the most significant feature of the lake." But Mohawks claimed the rock as well. Cadwallader Colden recorded their belief that "an old

[7] Day, "Abenakis in the Lake Champlain Valley," 277-288; Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 148-198.
[8] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992): 8-29.

Indian" lived under it, and from there controlled the winds that blew across the lake. When Mohawks paddled past the rock, they offered "a Pipe, or some other small Present…and pray[ed] for a favourable wind." They called this rock *Rogeo*, a name that holds no meaning in the Mohawk language. Day postulates, however, that *Rogeo* constitutes "a borrowing" from the Western Abenaki *Odzihozo.* In any case, *Odzihozo* and *Rogeo* demonstrate that Western Abenakis and Mohawks contested the ownership and spiritual meaning of territory at the edges of their worlds.[9]

Through their oral traditions, the Western Abenaki recall that this competition over Lake Champlain sometimes led to armed conflict with their Mohawk neighbors. In 1932, former head chief of the St. Francis Abenakis Henry Lorne Masta recorded an ancient confrontation between Missisquoi Abenaki and Mohawk warriors at *Sôn-Halônek*, where the Saranac River enters Lake Champlain at present-day Plattsburg, New York. One afternoon, a Mohawk war party encountered a few Abenakis hunting and fishing along the shore. Each fearing the other's reputation as able warriors, the Mohawks and Abenakis "remained on their guard, even as two wild cats do when about to fight." Finally, the Abenakis ended the standoff. Shouting, singing, and performing a war dance, they issued a traditional invitation to fight. The Mohawk warriors declined the challenge and slipped silently away. Triumphant, the Abenakis called after them, "*Maguak! Maguak!*" "Cowards! Cowards!" And from that day forth, concluded Chief Masta, the Western Abenaki knew their Mohawk neighbors as *Maguak*. The Western Abenaki recall proudly the day when they staved off a more numerous enemy along their contested border.[10]

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[9] Day, "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," 253-254; Day, "The Western Abenaki Transformer" in *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 183-194; Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America* (New York: William Bradford, 1727), 23-24, Digitized by John Carter Brown Library.

[10] Henry Lorne Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar and Place Names* (Odanak: La Voix des Bois-Francs, 1932), 32; Masta locates the confrontation at Lake Saranac in the Adirondack Mountains of Upstate New York. As the Head Chief of the St. Francis Abenaki Joseph Laurent recorded in his 1884 *New Familiar Abenakis and English*

When colonists intruded into western New England during the seventeenth century, they entered a world shaped by such Native warfare. Before the European invasion began, Mohawk warriors had pushed east from their country to raid Cowassucks on the upper Connecticut River, Sokwakis at Northfield, Pocumtucks at Deerfield, Norwottucks at Hadley and Northampton, Agawams at Springfield, and Woroncos along the Westfield River. Mohawks asserted their dominance in the region by exacting tribute from peoples they subdued through war. Warriors commanded prestige among their own people by capturing enemy women and children for adoption and men for ritual torture and execution. By demarcating others as legitimate targets of violence, Mohawk communities affirmed their shared identity as a powerful people.[11]

After European colonization, new variables of economic competition intensified existing rivalries between the Mohawk and Western Abenakis. In search of valuable furs to sell to Dutch and French traders, Mohawks fought throughout the seventeenth century to displace Western Abenakis from their hunting territories north of Lake Champlain. In 1651, the Jesuit missionary Gabriel Druillettes encountered a band of Sokwaki Abenakis along the St. Lawrence River who agreed to join a French alliance against the Haudenosaunee. He recorded their desire, "to revenge themselves for the deaths of many of their fellow-countrymen" and to control "the beaver hunt about Quebec, after the destruction of the Iroquois." As Mohawks continued their raids into the 1670s and 1680s, however, some groups of Western Abenakis removed temporarily from their territory north of Lake Champlain. The French military officer and explorer Baron de Lahontan observed their declining populations along the Richelieu River during the early 1680s. While

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Dialogues, however, Saranac derives from the Abenaki word *Sôn-Halônek*, which means "entrance to a river into a lake," and which the Abenaki applied specifically to present-day Plattsburg, New York.

[11] Gordon Day, "The Ouragie War: A Case History in Iroquois-New England Indian Relations" in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, eds. Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), 35-50 *"Otinontsiskiaj ondaon"* ("The House of Cut-Off Heads"): The History and Archaeology of Northern Algonquian Trophy Taking, Ron Williamson, 190-217.

Western Abenaki bands had traded formerly at Chambly "in shoals," by 1685, they had "retir'd to the English Colonies to avoid the pursuit of the Iroquese." In particular, they had "retir'd" to Schaghticoke, a sprawling Native village of Algonquian-speaking peoples at the confluence of the Hudson and Hoosic Rivers on New York's northern frontier.[12]

Governor Edmond Andros of New York established Schaghticoke in 1676 as a refuge for New England Natives displaced by King Philip's War (1675-1676) and the Mohawk's expansion north and east into Massachusetts. In May of that year, Andros dispatched messengers to the Western Abenaki of the Champlain and St. Lawrence River valleys and east to the Abenaki bands of the Saco, Kennebec, and Penobscot Rivers, inviting them to settle at Schaghticoke. He promised that "a stop [would] be put to the Maques [Mohawks] further prosecuting" all those who abandoned their villages and removed to New York's frontier. But peace had a price, for they had to "come in & submitt" to the colonial government in return for its protection.[13]

By relocating the Native peoples of Canada, northern New England, and Acadia to the Champlain Valley, Andros tried to consolidate control over the New York and Quebec borderlands. Indians at Schaghticoke would supply furs and warriors for the English and frustrate French designs to extend their colony beyond the St. Lawrence River. For the next twenty-five years, Andros's successors pursued his original vision. In their conferences with the Haudenosaunee and Schaghticoke peoples, colonial governors implored resettled Abenakis to "use all means to Perswade" their kin to "come in & submitt." By the late 1670s, more than

[12] Day, *The Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, 13-22; *NYCD*, 13: 496-497; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (JR) (73 vols.; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, Co., 1896-1901),* 1:90; 36: 101-105.
[13] Edmund B. O' Callaghan, ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York (NYCD)* (15 vols.; Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887), 13: 496-497

1,000 Algonquian-speaking people accepted the invitation. Andros had exploited the intensifying Mohawk-Abenaki violence to redraw the map of the Native northeast. [14]

Those who settled at Schaghticoke understood that to enjoy English "protection," they had to submit to the Mohawks as well. In July of 1685, for example, the Abenaki sachem Sadochquis led 150 people from Canada to Albany, knowing that "the Christians and Maquase [Mohawks] are in a good union." He asked for permission to settle his band at Schaghticoke and pledged "that we should nott be North Indians any longer." During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English officials lacked a detailed knowledge of Abenaki settlements, labelling as "North Indians" all peoples who lived along the upper Connecticut River, Champlain Valley, and St. Lawrence River. Sadochquis and his band came from the St. Lawrence Valley, where they ran afoul of French fur traders. He made peace with the Mohawks, whose warriors raided Abenaki hunting parties for their pelts. And he welcomed New York's protection against French creditors. But first, his band agreed to assimilate into the Schaghticoke community. Men might go off to hunt, but they would not "depart" with their families to upland winter camps. And they recognized the Mohawks and English as their fathers in the metaphorical Covenant Chain, a series of alliances linking together New York, New England, the Haudenosaunee, and other Native peoples. [15]

Through such language of fictive kinship, English officials and Haudenosaunee speakers defined and reinforced the subordinate status of displaced Western Abenaki as "children" at Schaghticoke. Historian Daniel Richter notes that Schaghticoke comprised the "equivalent of a mourning war triumph" for Mohawks. From at least the mid-1680s through 1703, they adopted Indians from Schaghticoke to replace kin killed by disease and war. In 1687, for example,

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[14] Lawrence H. Leder, ed. *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723* (Gettysburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956), 77-79, 82, 95-96, 148-150; *NYCD* 3:482; 4: 38-47, 248, 715, 743-744, 834, 902-904, 990-992.
[15] *NYCD*, 13: 496-497; *Livingston Indian Records*, 77-79, 95-96.

Governor Dongan approved a Mohawk leader's request to resettle Indians from Schaghticoke among them "to help them make up [their] castle." By settling at Schaghticoke as Mohawk dependents, Western Abenaki groups ensured the physical survival of their own people. However, they surrendered their autonomy and risked losing their homelands permanently to their English and Mohawk fathers.[16]

Fearful of the growing English and Mohawk power on the upper Hudson River, French officials courted Abenaki bands to resettle and form a defensive screen near Quebec City. In a 1690 letter to Minister Colbert, Governor Denonville argued that the Abenaki, "will be very useful to the French Colony, especially if they are prevailed on to come settle at the new mission of St. Francois de Sales" on the Chaudière River, a tributary of the St. Lawrence opposite the capital city. "Doubtless, the English will be able to send some Iroquois to attack it," conceded Denonville. Armed with French munitions and safe behind a sturdy fort, however, Abenaki warriors would defend their mission and repel invading Mohawks from Quebec. Like their adversaries in New York, French officials secured their own colonial settlements by concentrating Abenaki peoples strategically in nearby villages .[17]

Jesuit missionaries drew Abenakis to Quebec by stoking the longstanding enmity between them and the Haudenosaunee. During the mid-seventeenth century, a Mohawk war party ranged east to the Kennebec River, demanding tribute from the Abenaki inhabitants. The affronted Abenakis killed all but one of the invaders. After cutting off his lips and most of his scalp, the Abenakis sent him home to Mohawk country as a warning against future intrusion.

[16] Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 136; For examples of Schaghticoke Indians resettling in Mohawk country see *Livingston Indian Records*, 104-105 (1686), 130 (1687), Day, *Identity* 24-25 (1689), *Livingston Indian Records*, 189 (1703).
[17] NYCD, IX: 438, 440-441.

During the late winter of 1662, however, 200 Mohawk warriors returned to the Kennebec River, seeking revenge. Led by their sagamores Nekoutneant, Quessememeck, and Obias, the Kennebec Abenakis repelled the invaders. After more English farmers pushed into coastal Maine following King Philip's War in 1676, however, Nekoutneant migrated to Canada, where he took refuge at St. Francois de Sales opposite Quebec at the confluence of the Chaudiére and St. Lawrence Rivers. Nekoutneant impressed the mission's Jesuit priest, Jacques Bigot, with his devoutness. Bigot valued his experience against the Mohawks as well as his embrace of Christianity. In 1683, Bigot dispatched him back east, "to Invite all the abnaquis who remain in Acadia to come Join those whom we have Here, and to march to war with the french against the Iroquois." Enticed by generous gifts and moved by a "furious passion for falling upon the Iroquois," Abenaki warriors streamed into St. Francois de Sales with their wives and children. More than one hundred people arrived in a single month during the spring of 1684. By the beginning of the next decade, the mission's population had grown to 600. The French had assembled their defensive screen by promising Abenakis a chance to take the offensive against their Haudenosaunee adversary.[18]

Although Abenakis such as Nekoutneant worshipped devoutly, Bigot struggled to communicate to neophytes the nuances of Christian doctrines. Their own worldview taught Abenaki peoples that spirits animated the landscape around them, and that each person had the potential to manipulate these supernatural powers. The Creator expected the living to keep their world in balance through ceremony and careful stewardship of their homeland or else suffer hunger, disease, or prolonged war with their Native adversaries. Bigot exploited the Abenakis' earthly fear of Haudenosaunee raids to convey the eternal misery of damnation. In a 1682 letter to his Jesuit superiors in France, Bigot explained, "The most Natural picture I place before their eyes, to make them fear the flames of hell, is that representing a fire in which their enemy, the

[18] JR, 47: 137-139, 279; 63: 55-63; York Deeds, 2: 8,188; 9: 188; NYCD, 9: 438.

Iroquois, is burning them." He had commissioned a series of such pictures, which he distributed to the mission's newcomers. Some had escaped from captivity in Mohawk country. The others had heard about instances of ritual torture. To induce Abenakis to save their souls through conversion, Bigot promised that the Mohawks' "torments are nothing in comparison with those of hell." Abenaki warriors had fought Mohawks long before European colonization, but French missionaries recast them as the Abenakis' personal and eternal demons.[19]

Western Abenakis and their eastern kin forged a common identity through their similar histories of resisting Mohawk domination. In the fall of 1700, Bigot relocated the St. Francois de Sales mission to the river *Arsigôntekw*, the home of Sokwaki Western Abenakis. Bigot integrated his Eastern Abenaki converts into the Western Abenaki village, which he renamed after St. Francis. The two Abenaki groups spoke related languages, shared common worldviews, and linked kinship networks through marriage. They also enjoyed recounting victories over their mutual Mohawk enemy. According to oral tradition, Abenaki hunters from St. Francis encountered a Mohawk war party near Trois-Rivières who had come "to exterminate them." Although outnumbered, the Abenaki defeated the intruders, killing all but one. The victorious Abenakis cut off the survivor's ears, provided him with supplies, and sent him home as a warning. This St. Francis tradition shares key themes with the account of the Mohawk's seventeenth-century invasion of Acadia. In both stories, Mohawk warriors intruded into Abenaki country bent on domination, and Abenaki warriors crushed the invaders before sending home a single disfigured survivor. It is possible that Mohawks mounted two similar expeditions. It is also possible that, over generations of retelling it, Abenakis fitted the Acadian narrative to the St.

[19] Haviland and Powell, *The Original Vermonters,* 187-193; JR, 62: 133-135.

Lawrence Valley. In either case, the story endured because of its cultural significance, affirming the St. Francis Abenakis' identity as a resilient people in a contested Native world.[20]

When King William's War embroiled North America's colonies during the late 1680s and 1690s, European officials drew Mohawks and Abenakis into the imperial contest by exacerbating their traditional rivalry. In 1688, a Schaghticoke Indian named Magsigpen reported to Albany officials that Governor Denonville of Quebec encouraged Abenaki raids through bounty payments. "The Maquaes [Mohawks] have done great mischeife in Canada," said Denonville, "therefore go revenge the same…kill all what you cann, bring noe prisoners but their scalps, and I'le give you ten beavers for every one of them." During the early 1690s, French officials expanded the policy, offering 60 livres for every Mohawk scalp or female prisoner and 120 livres for every male captive. By comparison, the Crown allotted 6,326 livres annually for all other missionary expenses in the St. Lawrence Valley. Each new Mohawk scalp or captive constituted 1 to 2 percent of the colony's entire budget. Their hunting disrupted by the war, Abenakis relied on bounty payments as an alternative source of income. European officials had transformed Lake Champlain from a place of periodic conflict into a war path.[21]

Western Abenakis memorialized this violent period in the landscape, assigning place-names to significant sites of victory and defeat. In 1690, Mohawk warriors destroyed the Sokwaki settlement along the St. Francis River, which the Abenaki called thereafter *Arsigôntekw*, "The Empty Cabin River." By 1700, however, the river of "Empty Cabins" hosted the new St. Francis mission, which became the Western Abenakis' most populous village. But the native place-name remained, commemorating the Mohawk raid that had challenged the Abenaki's

[20] Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, 31-33; Masta, *Abenaki Legends*, 17-18.
[21] NYCD, 3: 561-62; 9: 590-91.

claim to their land. During the mid-1690s, Abenakis named an island in the Richelieu River *Odépsék*, "Where the Heads Are," after they had ambushed and destroyed a Mohawk war party camped on its shores. As a warning to future intruders, Abenaki warriors displayed the Mohawks' severed heads around the island. Western Abenaki country hosted increasing violence during the 1680s and 1690s, but their place-names testified to the Abenaki's endurance.[22]

Abenaki counter-raids similarly imperiled Mohawk country during this period. In September 1688, the Mohawk speaker Sindachsegie complained to Governor Dongan of New York about the growing violence on his people's northern border. He explained that New France's Native allies "did soe penn us up this past winter, that wee could not hunt, neither upon lake nor creeke." Traditionally, Mohawks hunted as far north as *Oskeñnóñ:toñ',* "Deer," at present-day Cumberland Bay on Lake Champlain's northwest shore. But during the late 1680s and 1690s, Abenaki warriors rebuffed Mohawk hunters. To reassert control over the contested borderland, Sindachsegie requested that the English, "build a fort att the end of Corlaer's Lake [Lake Champlain], at a place called *Onjadarakte* [probably *Kanyà:taro'-kte,* "The Ending Lake," the Mohawk name for Lake George]*,* and put great gunns in the same." New York officials balked at the expense of such a fort, however, preferring to invade Canada to enjoy the spoils of conquest. Fearing that persistent Abenaki raiding would keep them "confined to a narrow circle," Mohawk warriors joined the 1690 and 1691 expeditions sent to capture Montreal. [23]

Both invasions failed, inflicting heavy casualties on Mohawk warriors. New England officials had sent only a fraction of the promised militia in 1690, and a smallpox epidemic throughout Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida country had sapped the Haudenosaunee's strength earlier that year. To salvage something from the 1690 expedition, John Schuyler led a

[22] Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians,* 1, 25; Day, "Place Names as Ethnohistoric Data" in *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 199.
[23] NYCD, 3: 561-62; Lounsbury, 65; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*.

Mohawk and English raid against La Prairie, a village opposite Montreal on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River, killing fifty French farmers and slaughtering their livestock. The following September, Peter Schuyler commanded a force of 120 New Yorkers, 80 Mohawks, and 66 Mahicans and Schaghticokes in another attack against La Prairie. They killed about ninety French soldiers, but sustained similar casualties during a bloody retreat. To defend against future invasions up the Champlain Valley, French commanders deployed Abenaki warriors to the lake. In December 1691, a Mohawk and Oneida hunting party encountered a larger group of Abenakis and other "North Indians" patrolling Lake Champlain's southern shore. At least fifteen Haudenosaunee warriors died in the battle that followed. In total they had lost eighty-nine killed since 1689, losses they could ill afford. Boasting 300 feared warriors during the late 1670s, Mohawks could only muster about 130 after the fall of 1691. The contest for the Champlain Valley had exacted a heavy toll on the Mohawk's fighting strength in an increasingly violent world.[24]

The failed invasions provoked a new cycle of raids that reshaped the Mohawk's homeland. In February 1693, Western Abenakis joined the French invasion into Mohawk country, razing their three principal villages, Caughnawaga, Canagora, and Tionnontogen, destroying the food caches that Mohawk women had prepared for the winter, and scattering the population. French officials reported killing 20 Mohawk warriors, and capturing 340 men, women, and children. Although they probably exaggerated these figures, warfare, disease, and outmigration to the St. Lawrence mission village of Kahnawake had reduced the number of valley Mohawks significantly during the 1680s and 1690s. From 1679 to 1693, their population declined from 2,000 to 1,100 people, and dropped to about 620 after the invasion. Hundreds of Mohawks had taken refuge among their kin at Kahnawake and the other League nations, never to

[24] William Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701*, 179; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 166-167, 173.

return. When some of the Mohawks rebuilt in their valley after the 1693 raid, they consolidated survivors into two castles, Tiononderoge, about twenty-five miles west of Schenectady on the Mohawk River, and Canajoharie, another twenty-four miles upriver. Seeking easier access to Protestant missionaries during turbulent times, Christian Mohawks gravitated to Tiononderoge. Mohawk traditionalists preferred the more distant Canajoharie castle, where they kept English settlers at arm's length. Inflamed by the imperial contest for Lake Champlain, Abenakis and Mohawks had remade each other's worlds by the turn of the eighteenth century.[25]

French and English officials had mapped their imperial rivalry over the precolonial Abenaki-Mohawk contest for Lake Champlain. Western Abenakis and Mohawks had long competed to hunt along its shores and assign significance to its sacred places. During the late seventeenth century, officials in Albany and Montreal vied for supremacy over the Champlain Valley. To control the invasion route and defend their colonial settlements against enemy attack, each recruited support in the Native villages along the waterway by exploiting the indigenous rivalry. The English promised to protect Western Abenakis and other displaced peoples from Mohawk incursions. French officials offered Abenakis a chance to exact revenge against their Haudenosaunee foes. Ironically, in their bids to consolidate control over the Champlain Valley, French and English officials exacerbated the violence along the waterway. During the eighteenth century, Mohawk and Western Abenaki leaders adapted to these imperial contests to reassert their peoples' autonomy.

Born in 1690, Hendrick Theyanoguin was a product of the Mohawk's seventeenth-century eastward expansion, and he spent his life fighting to preserve his people's reputation as

[25] Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 48; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 95; NYCD, 9: 550; Dean R. Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 15, no. 160-182 (1996): 5-6.

the dominant Native force in the Northeast. His father was probably Mahican, an Algonquian-speaking people from the Hudson River defeated by the Mohawks during the seventeenth century. His mother, however, was Mohawk. Because Haudenosaunee peoples practiced matrilineal descent, Hendrick inherited his mother's Mohawk identity and membership within the Bear Clan. By 1735, he had risen to Bear Clan sachem at Canajoharie, the traditionalist "Upper Castle" on the Mohawk River. Hendrick's Mohawk name, Theyanoguin, suggested the difficult task he faced in revitalizing his people after their population's steady decline. From *Tehaynó:keñ*, it translated ambiguously to "his tracks merge," or "his tracks fork." Hendrick would have to create the context necessary to give his name meaning as a leader who either united or bifurcated his people. He asserted Mohawk supremacy over Lake Champlain's commercial thoroughfare and hunting territory, as well as dominion over the peoples who dwelled in the contested valley.[26]

He faced a formidable rival in Grey Lock of the Western Abenaki. Born during the Algonquian diaspora wrought by Mohawk militancy and English encroachment, Grey Lock fought to create an independent center of Western Abenaki power at Missisquoi. Evidence suggests he was born in Canada or western New England during the early 1680s and spent his early life at Schaghticoke. Like Hendrick's father, Grey Lock came from a displaced people. Unlike Hendrick, however, he grew up in submission to the English and Mohawks. After removing to Missisquoi around 1709, Grey Lock defended his home by exploiting the escalating imperial rivalry over the Champlain Valley. During the mid-1720s, Grey Lock earned a new name, Wawánolewát, "he who fools others or puts someone off the track," for his skill at eluding New England militias in the forests of Massachusetts and Vermont. But the name described just

[26] Barbara Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears: A Mohawk Family History* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1996), 144-145; *NYCD*, 6:294; Lounsbury, "Iroquois Place-Names of the Champlain Valley," 53.

as well his maneuvering against Mohawk and English "fathers" and Jesuit missionaries who claimed authority over resettled Abenakis at Schaghticoke and St. Francis. He lured warriors from Schaghticoke to Missisquoi, which drew them out of the Mohawk and English orbit and closer to the French. And after the French erected Fort Saint Frédéric at Crown Point in 1731, he brokered commercial relationships and military alliances that extended his people's influence over the lake.[27]

"Grey Lock Should be made a friend"

During Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), Grey Lock's cousin, Cadenaret, sought to escape submission to the Mohawks and English by forging alliances with officials in New France. In 1709, British officers planned an invasion down the Champlain Valley to conquer Montreal, calling upon the Haudenosaunee and their "children" at Schaghticoke to provide warriors. As colonial militiamen and Native warriors mustered at Wood Creek that fall, the Governor of Montreal, Claude de Ramezay, and French officer Jacques Testard de Montigny assembled Canadian forces at Crown Point to mount a counterassault. Some Abenaki leaders such as the

[27] Gordon M. Day, "GRAY LOCK," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed December 20, 2017, http://www.biography.ca/en/bio/gray_lock_3E.html.

Confusion persists about Grey Lock's exact origins. I believe *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts* (1875) by J.H. Temple and George Sheldon is the source. On page 194, Grey Lock appears as a sachem of the Woronco people, who had lived in present-day Westfield, MA until King Philip's War. Grey Lock had fought in King Philip's War, Temple and Sheldon reported, and sought refuge at Schaghticoke after Philip's death. However, they seem to have reached that conclusion after misreading their source material, Emerson Davis's *Historical Sketch of Westfield* (1826). Immediately following his section detailing Westfield's role in King Philip's War, Davis includes a section of "Indian Miscellany" noting Grey Lock's various appearances in town. Temple and Sheldon conflated the "Indian Miscellany" and "King Philip's War" sections. A closer look at Davis's sources reveals the mistake. In crafting his account of Westfield in King Philip's War, Davis drew from Reverend Edward Taylor's personal notebooks (*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* XVIII (1880), 5-18). Taylor had served as the town's minister during the war, but his notebooks make no mention of Grey Lock. Davis noted that his "Indian Miscellany" section recounted stories that, by the time of his writing in 1826, had become town tradition. His descriptions of Grey Lock's undated appearances in Westfield comport with documented raids that Grey Lock led against Westfield and other towns in western Massachusetts from 1723-1727. Scholars working in the decades after Temple and Sheldon, citing A *History of the Town of Northfield*, compounded the original mistake: George Sheldon's subsequent *History of Deerfield* (1895), Trumbull and Pomeroy's *History of Northampton, Massachusetts* (1898) and John H. Lockwood's *Westfield and Its Historic Influences* (1922).

Pennacook sachem Wattanummon abandoned Schaghticoke to avoid the borderland violence, seeking refuge in the dense forests of northern New England. But Cadenaret used the impending invasion to win political and military allies in Montreal. Familiar with the waterway, he slipped easily between French and British lines bearing intelligence for Canadian officials. In October 1709, Cadenaret captured and delivered to Ramezay and Montigny the New York militia officer Barent Staats, who divulged New York's plan to fortify Wood Creek as well as information about troop movements and supply lines. The failure of a corresponding naval assault against Quebec forced British officials to call off the invasion before advancing on Crown Point. By helping French forces prepare for the attack, however, Cadenaret earned the trust of Ramezay and Montigny. [28]

Grey Lock cultivated those relationships throughout the rest of the war, securing him access to munitions and supplies as he removed from Schaghticoke to Missisquoi in 1709. He led several raiding parties against western New England, including a 1712 assault against Northampton. That July, Grey Lock and twenty warriors ambushed colonial scouts outside the village, killing one soldier before carrying two captives back to Montreal. The Massachusetts General Assembly sent commissioners to redeem the prisoners later that summer. Such ransoms comprised an important source of income for Abenakis unable to hunt or trade during the war. Montigny probably outfitted the expedition. Through the end of the war, he commanded a detachment of Canadian militia south of Montreal, two days' journey from Grey Lock's home. And Grey Lock maintained a close relationship with the officer, for he selected Montigny's son, Jean-Baptiste, as godfather for his own child in 1740. Supported by their allies in Montreal, Grey Lock and Cadenaret settled with their families at Missisquoi, a Western Abenaki village at Lake

[28] Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 204-206; *NYCD,* 5: 265-267; 9: 838; Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 116.

Champlain's northeast shore. Although Missisquoi Abenakis often visited their kin in Canadian mission villages and at Schaghticoke, they remained independent from Jesuit authority and British and Mohawk "fathers." [29]

Formally concluding Queen Anne's War in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht made Native "friends" like Grey Lock more valuable than ever to imperial officials competing over the Champlain Valley. Britain and France had fought, in part, to establish a boundary between New France and British North America. However, in lieu of demarcating that border, British and French plenipotentiaries simply agreed to quell the violence in the borderlands between Montreal and Albany. French officials recognized Britain's suzerainty over the Haudenosaunee peoples and promised that Canadians would "give no hindrance or molestation" to British colonists or their Native "friends." British officials similarly pledged that their colonists "shall behave themselves peacefully towards the Americans who are subjects or friends to France." In practice, however, colonial officials clashed over which Native peoples each empire could claim as "friends." Therefore, the plenipotentiaries delayed rendering a decision, agreeing instead that a new group of commissioners would determine "who are, and who ought to be accounted" subjects of Great Britain or France. These new commissioners never met, but during the 1720s and 1730s, colonial officials vied to secure allies and trading partners and thereby weaken their imperial enemies.[30]

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[29] Colin Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 116; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of Northfield*, 383-84; Louise Dechêne, "TESTARD DE MONTIGNY, JACQUES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/testard_de_montigny_jacques_2E.html; Pierre-Georges Roy, *Hommes et Choses de Fort Saint-Frédéric* (Montreal: Editions des Dix, 1946), 271.

[30] State Papers Foreign, Treaties, no. 73, National Archives, published in Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917-1937), 3: 213. Dale Miquelon, "Ambiguous Concession: What Diplomatic Archives Reveal about Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht and France's North American Policy," *The William & Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (July 2010): 459-486.

During the decade following Queen Anne's War, New England's expanding population threatened Abenaki homelands. Between 1710 and 1720, the population of Massachusetts grew by more than 45 percent, from 62,390 to about 91,000. During this same period, New Hampshire's population swelled from about 5,680 to 9,375 people, a 65 percent increase. Colonists coveted Indian land to transform into family farms, pushing north up the Connecticut River Valley, west into the Berkshires, and east along the coast. In 1721, Governor Vaudreuil warned the king that 300 English families had settled in Maine since the 1713 peace agreement, protected by the five new fortified trading posts, which the colonists had erected on the Saco and Kennebec Rivers. While the Abenakis enjoyed access to British traders, they resented the more permanent and widespread changes effected by farmers, for the natives asserted that the land belonged to them. [31]

French officials supported the Abenaki resistance to British encroachments on their homeland. In his 1721 report to the king, Governor Vaudreuil protested that Britain's new settlements violated the Treaty of Utrecht. "The English would be justified in supporting the Iroquois were they molested by the French," Vaudreuil reasoned, so "the same rule ought to apply to the Abenquies…in order to maintain them in possession of their lands." While the king's ministers contested the British encroachments diplomatically, Vaudreuil provided the Abenakis "provisions, and munitions of war." During the late 1710s and early 1720s, Eastern Abenakis had attacked British colonists who strayed outside the new Maine forts and trading posts. In 1722, Massachusetts declared war against the Abenakis. Vaudreuil reported to his king that Abenaki leaders demanded "that the French unite with them, as they have united with the

[31] Census Series Z 1-19, Estimated Population of the Americas, 1610 to 1780; Colin Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 113-131; NYCD, 9: 903-906.

French in all their past wars." The governor consented, for he understood that preserving the Abenakis as allies required New France's support against British intruders.[32]

Vaudreuil promoted a pan-Abenaki war against New England. The Treaty of Utrecht bound France and Britain to remain neutral in conflicts between empires and Indians, preventing him from furnishing Canadian troops. Instead, he encouraged Western Abenaki warriors to assist their eastern kin by attacking British settlements and scouting parties in the Connecticut River Valley. Vaudreuil instructed Jesuit priests in the mission villages to "make known the idea" that the English fought to control the continent. Once victorious, they would withhold all powder and shot from the Abenakis to "make slaves" of them. In contrast, Vaudreuil supplied warriors with guns and ammunition and supported their wives and children when the men left their villages to attack the New Englanders. Disturbed by recent British encroachments in their own hunting territory along the Connecticut River, Western Abenakis joined the French-assisted alliance designed to resist the British settler expansion into northern New England.[33]

Dreading violence on their colony's northwest frontier, Massachusetts officials threatened Western Abenakis with Mohawk reprisal. In February 1723, New England officials sent a wampum belt to the Abenakis of the Champlain Valley and St. Lawrence River, encouraging their warriors to put down the hatchet. Vaudreuil reported to the king the New Englanders' demand that Abenakis "inclined to make peace with the English should retire with their families to the Iroquois." However, those who continued fighting with their eastern kin against New England, "would not be safe either in their village or on the road," for "the Iroquois declare[d] themselves equally against them." As they had during the late seventeenth century,

[32] Census Series Z 1-19, Estimated Population of the Americas, 1610 to 1780; NYCD, 9: 903-906.
[33] *CMNF*, 4:101.

British officials promised Western Abenakis a refuge from Haudenosaunee assaults only if they abandoned their villages and submitted to the Mohawks.[34]

Grey Lock defied the Mohawks' authority over his band at Missisquoi, and forged a coalition of Native warriors to preserve his people's autonomy. Vaudreuil observed that the New England commissioners' belt "had seriously intimidated the Abenakis," for they feared Mohawk attacks against their villages. But rather than abandoning their homes, Abenaki leaders courted warriors at Kahnawake, a mission village for Catholic Mohawks south of Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. Western Abenakis sought to augment their warrior count and dissuade valley Mohawks from entering a war against their kin. While Vaudreuil took credit in his reports to Paris for encouraging the alliance, Grey Lock brokered it. In August 1723, he led a war party from Missisquoi against Rutland, Massachusetts, where he took two young captives, Phineas and Isaac Stevens. Grey Lock delivered Phineas to St. Francis, where an Abenaki family adopted him, and presented Isaac as a gift to the Kahnwakes. In Mohawk and Abenaki diplomacy, gifts maintained relationships by establishing mutual obligations between peoples. During the eighteenth century, Natives valued captives above all other gifts, for they could adopt them in place of departed kin or collect valuable ransom payments for their return. By accepting the captive Stevens brothers, St. Francis Abenakis and Kahnawake Mohawks united with Grey Lock in his war.[35]

Eager to enhance his own prestige by taking captives and collecting scalps, the Kahnawake war chief Skonando joined Grey Lock's raids into the Connecticut River Valley during the summer of 1724. On June 19, the militia captain Ebeneezer Pomeroy warned the commander of New England's western defenses, Samuel Partridge, "to be very watchful and

[34] NYCD, 9: 932.
[35] NYCD, 9: 932; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of Northfield*, 195.

careful," for "fifteen days ago Skonando was at Masixquack [Missisquoi]" with six Kahnawake warriors. Later that month, Grey Lock set out against New England with eleven Missisquoi warriors, and another Abenaki war chief, probably his cousin Cadenaret, followed with an additional thirty. During the summer, the Kahnawake and Western Abenaki raiders devastated Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northampton on the Connecticut River, and Westfield, near the Massachusetts-New York boundary. The New Englanders' 1723 wampum belt had backfired. Inspired by the threat of a Mohawk invasion, Grey Lock forged an alliance between the Western Abenaki and Kahnawake Mohawks, thereby projecting power from Missisquoi into the Connecticut River and Champlain Valleys.[36]

Hendrick Theyanoguin seethed at the Western Abenaki's challenge to Mohawk supremacy in the region. Throughout his life, Hendrick asserted that his people represented "the Heads & Superiors of all Ind[ia]n nations," a convenient fiction promoted by Mohawk leaders and British officials. Although fewer than 600 people during the 1720s, Mohawks enjoyed a reputation as feared warriors, which they used to claim dominion over Native peoples in New England, Canada, and Acadia. British officials supported the Mohawk pretension because it served their empire's territorial ambitions. Since the Treaty of Utrecht recognized the Haudenosaunee peoples as British subjects, the Crown asserted sovereignty over whatever lands they claimed by conquest. By projecting military strength over their Indian neighbors, the Mohawks demonstrated their value as allies to the British and maintained their dominance over the Northeast. In June 1724, Hendrick informed John Schuyler that, "upon hearing the News from Canada" about the alliance between Kahnawake and Missisquoi, "their young men grow

[36] Mass Archives, 51: 449; 52: 5; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of Northfield*, 203.

angry." They feared the new power in the Champlain Valley threatened their own influence over the region.[37]

To preserve his people's authority in the borderlands between New England and Canada, Hendrick offered his assistance in Massachusetts's war against Grey Lock. On October 24, 1724, John Schuyler reported to the New England militia commander John Stoddard that he had outfitted Hendrick and a party of six other Mohawk warriors to scout down the Champlain Valley. Schuyler furnished "4 guns, 6 shirts, 20 lbs lead, 3 lbs powder, 4 hatchets & 4 cutlasses, 6 knives, some flints, pipes, tobacco, paint, and one blanket." Frustrated by the summer's raids and hopeful that Mohawk warriors would defeat Grey Lock where New England's militias had failed, Stoddard had authorized Schuyler to distribute gifts to Mohawk warriors on his behalf. Hendrick recruited fellow Mohawks by offering them a chance to earn gifts, take captives, and raise scalps. However, Schuyler reminded Stoddard eagerly that "if one or more of them should happen to be killed in the Service, believe it would animate the others to revenge the loss." By committing to New England's struggle against Grey Lock, Hendrick and his fellow warriors embarked on another war with the Western Abenaki and their Native allies.[38]

Fearing such a war, however, most Mohawk leaders rebuffed New Englanders' request that they take up the hatchet against the Western Abenakis. During a conference with Massachusetts commissioners in September 1724, these Mohawks explained that "if we should make war, it would not end in a few days as yours doth, but it must last till one nation or the other is destroyed as it has been heretofore with us." As Schuyler had reminded Stoddard, the kin of slain warriors demanded captives or scalps to assuage their grief. Once they initiated these cycles of retribution, they struggled to end them. After the violence of King William's War

[37] Claus, *Narrative*, 13; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire,* 10-14; Dean R. Snow, "Mohawk Demography," 5-6; Mass Archives, 52:5.
[38] Mass Archives, 52: 71.

(1689-1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), the Mohawks enjoyed the rare peace in their valley, and dreaded a new conflict that "would Set all The World on Fire." Mohawk sachems lacked the coercive authority to forbid warriors such as Hendrick from assisting New England, but the speakers reflected the desire of most Mohawks to remain neutral and thereby avoid a further decline in their numbers. Bowing to pressure from the chiefs and failing to recruit additional warriors, Hendrick withdrew from the war following his October scout with a mere six supporters. After the fall of 1724, New England confronted the Abenakis alone.[39]

Grey Lock exploited the Mohawks' neutrality to draw their Schaghticoke "children" away to Missisquoi, where they would further strengthen his hand. In September 1724, Governor Burnet of New York demanded why "so many of their Nation have deserted their habitations & are gone to Canada." An unnamed Schaghticoke speaker explained that the peace between their peoples "ha[d] begun to wither" because of encroachments by British settlers on land reserved for Natives at Schaghticoke. The speaker said that his people remembered the "ancient Covenant" that Governor Andros had made with their ancestors, but complained that British officials had violated it. Grey Lock enticed disaffected peoples from Schaghticoke by offering them a new home safely removed from domination by British and Mohawk "fathers."[40]

By resettling Schaghticoke Indians at Missisquoi, Grey Lock extended the influence of his band over the Champlain Valley. In 1722, Schaghticoke hosted about 400 people. By 1754, the next time a British observer recorded the village's population, fewer than sixty people remained. Grey Lock's War accelerated the outmigration, frustrating New York officials who feared for their own security as they lost influence over the Native peoples on their frontier. Between 1724 and 1726, one of Schaghticoke's sachems, Wallighluawit, removed with his band

[39] NYCD, 5: 725; Massachusetts State Archives, 29: 181, quoted in Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 245
[40] NYCD, 5: 721-23; Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, 203.

to "Canada," probably to Grey Lock's village on Lake Champlain. In 1726, an Indian named Poquin explained to the Albany Indian Commissioners that his people, "used to have a great tree at Scachtekoke where they could shadow themselves under," but had "taken their refuge in a place called Mesixque [Missisquoi] in the lake where they formerly lived." In 1728, an annoyed Governor John Montgomerie demanded that the remaining Schaghticokes persuade their kin to return to that village in New York. By contrast, in 1724 Vaudreuil boasted that 1,100 Western Abenakis lived in the St. Lawrence and Champlain Valleys. During the 1720s, Grey Lock probably had 40 to 60 warriors at Missisquoi, indicating a total population of 200 to 300 people.[41]

Grey Lock prosecuted his war until the spring of 1727, when the Eastern Abenaki bands made peace with Massachusetts. Having borne the brunt of New England attacks, the eastern bands felt exhausted after five years of destructive fighting. The Missisquoi warriors understood that, without allies to the east to preoccupy the New Englanders, the latter could concentrate their forces along the Connecticut River and Champlain Valley. Fearing that Grey Lock might renew his raids, however, New England officials agreed in March 1727 that he "should be made a friend and Come Into the Treaty of Peace." They sent him gifts and a belt of wampum requesting his friendship, and promised that his people "should at all times be welcome to hunt on our frontiers" if he signed the agreement. But Grey Lock refused to acknowledge Massachusetts's

[41] Temple and Sheldon, A *History of the Town of Northfield*, 201-202, 203, 206; *NYCD*, 5:721-723, 798-800, 868-870; 6:909; James Phinney Baxter, ed. *Baxter Manuscripts: Documentary History of the State of Maine* (24 vols., Portland, ME: Maine Historical Society, 1869-1916), 10: 358; *Minutes of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs (MCIA),* R.G. 10, vol. 1819, microfilm reel C-1220, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa digitized by Cornell University Library, "The Records of the Albany Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1678-1755: An Integrated Digital Database," II291A-II292); David L. Ghere, "Myths and Method in Abenaki Demography: Abenaki Population Recovery, 1725-1750," *Ethnohistory* 44 no. 3 (Summer, 1997): 524, 527. The population estimate for Schaghticoke is approximate, and is based on Governor Burnet's 1722 report to the Board of Trade that the Schaghticokes "are not so numerous or warlike as the five nations" (*NYCD*, 5: 655). The Mohawks had a population of about 580 by this point, so we can assume Schaghticoke hosted fewer people than that. The last census English officials took of Schaghticokes was in 1697, when they had an estimated population of 450 people (*NYCD,* 4: 337), so an estimate of 400 seems safe, as some departed during Queen Anne's War.

authority over northern New England. He led what Massachusetts officials called the "Malcontent Party" that "kept the hatchet still well up." Grey Lock did not use the hatchet after the spring of 1727, but he had not buried it as had the other Abenaki bands.[42]

After the Eastern Abenakis made peace with the British in 1727, French officials concentrated native settlement in the mission villages of the Saint Lawrence Valley as a defensive screen for Quebec. Since the mid-seventeenth century, Eastern Abenaki bands had used the Kennebec River to travel between and the St. Lawrence Valley and their villages on Maine's coast. Vaudreuil feared that, safely settled along the strategic waterway after their 1727 victory, British troops could reach Quebec "within three days in times of war." Although he underestimated the long time and enormous difficulties of navigating that route, he sought to block a potential invasion. As they had during the 1680s and 1690s, French officials resettled Abenakis to bolster Quebec's defenses. They extended indefinitely the annual 4,000 livre fund supporting Abenaki families appropriated during the Anglo-Abenaki War, but specified in 1728 that Abenakis must settle at the St. Francis or Bécancour missions to receive aid. When some Abenakis tried to return to Maine, officials refused to support them. For example, during the spring of 1730, French officials denied the Norridgewock band's request for assistance rebuilding their village in Maine's Kennebec Valley and settling a priest among them, demanding instead that the refugees remain at St. Francis. In 1722, the French had assisted eagerly the Eastern Abenakis in their war against British encroachers. By 1727, however, they valued their Native allies primarily as a defense for their own towns against British settler expansion.[43]

[42] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont,* 113-131; *Baxter Manuscripts*, 10: 364, 371-73, 385-86, 393-96.
[43] *CMNF*, 3: 140, 152.

In 1731, French officials sought similarly to exert control over the Champlain Valley by fortifying Crown Point. The previous fall, French scouts discovered that some Albany merchants had begun surreptitiously to trade with Abenakis camped at Crown Point. Governor Beauharnois and Intendant Hocquart feared they would lose their influence over Western Abenakis to British traders able to "supply them with goods at a bargain." In a 1731 letter to the King, they argued that a fort at Crown Point would "close on the English the road to the French settlements," enable French soldiers and Native allies to "fall on" the British during times of war, and promote French settlement on Lake Champlain. Most importantly, the fort would frustrate British efforts "to gain over the Indians." French carpenters erected a wooden church and a few barracks during the winter of 1731. By early 1737, French masons completed the considerably larger and stronger Fort Saint-Frédéric, which boasted stone walls twelve feet tall and thick and bristled with forty cannon. Inside, a four-story, bombproof tower housed the commandant and a peacetime garrison of sixty men. During times of war, the parade accommodated several hundred soldiers, and the surrounding plain supported an additional several thousand men. The fort employed a priest, surgeon, interpreter fluent in Western Abenaki and Mohawk, baker, blacksmith, and laundress. By constructing Fort Saint-Frédéric at the strategic promontory of Crown Point, the French asserted their authority over the waterway. [44]

While Fort Saint-Frédéric represented an extension of French policy designed to root Native "friends" in Canada, Grey Lock and other Western Abenakis used the settlement to consolidate their own influence southward over the Champlain Valley. The fort slowed British encroachment into Western Abenaki country, intruded into Mohawk hunting territory, and drew French settlement to the shores of Lake Champlain. Crown Point served as a buffer against

[44] *NYCD*, 9:1021-1023; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 117; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 134.

Mohawk and British settlements, insulating Grey Lock's home on the northern shores of the lake from sudden attacks.

Western Abenakis integrated Fort Saint-Frédéric into their seasonal migration pattern. They appeared at the fort several times a year seeking spiritual resources from the priest installed there. From 1732 to 1759, Western Abenakis from St. Francis, Bécancour, and Missisquoi baptized sixty children at the fort. Priests recorded the dates of fifty-four of those baptisms, revealing that exactly one half occurred during winter. This seasonal pattern comports with the timing of Western Abenaki's traditional migration. They hunted in the late fall and winter, and reassembled at their village in the spring and summer. Protected by the garrison at Fort Saint-Frédéric, Western Abenakis could hunt safely from the head of the Connecticut River to the lands newly-opened at Crown Point. On their return, they stopped at the French fort to rest, resupply, and baptize their children.[45]

Fort Saint-Frédéric also opened the path for Western Abenakis to maintain links with Native kin at Schaghticoke and forge new relationships with French allies. For example, in mid-February 1740, Grey Lock met with Schaghticoke Indians at the Great Carrying Place near Wood Creek. As one observer recorded, they affirmed that in "Case of a Rupture between France & England," neither people would attack the other. In mid-April, Grey Lock appeared at Fort Saint-Frédéric with his wife, Hélène, to baptize their son, Jean-Baptiste. Apparently Grey Lock's family accompanied his party to New York, and stopped by Crown Point on their return. By baptizing Jean-Baptiste at Fort Saint-Frédéric, Grey Lock also strengthened his relationships with the French officials whom he had known since removing to Missisquoi in 1709. For his son's godfather he selected Jean-Baptiste de Montigny, son of Jacques Testard de Montigny and

[45] Pierre-Georges Roy, *Hommes et Choses de Fort Saint-Frédéric* (Montreal: Editions des Dix, 1946), 268-315; Day, "Missisquoi: A New Look at an Old Village," in *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 144.

an officer of the Marine stationed at Crown Point. He chose as godmother Marguerite Ursule de Chevigny, a daughter of the fort's garde-magasin (storekeeper). Intendant Hocquart had appointed Chevigny garde-magasin two years earlier, conveying upon him the most privileged position at the fort. He controlled the supplies sent to Fort Saint-Frédéric from the King's storekeeper in Montreal. And by law, only the garde-magasin could engage in commerce with Native peoples. In his journey that winter, Grey Lock had affirmed peace with kin at Schaghticoke and forged ties of fictive kinship linking him to military and commercial leaders at Fort Saint-Frédéric.[46]

By settling at Crown Point, the French frustrated British plans to colonize the Champlain Valley. In 1730, Fort Dummer in the Connecticut River Valley (and in present-day Brattleboro, Vermont) represented the northwestern limit of British settlement in the Northeast. Massachusetts officials had erected the fort in 1723 as a defense against Grey Lock's raids. However, the British Crown claimed, but could not control, another 150 miles of territory to the north. As the Albany Indian Commissioners confirmed to the governor in February 1732, the Mohawks had conveyed to the Crown land "as farr as Rogieo a Rock in Corlaers Lake," off the shore of present-day Burlington, Vermont. The point contested by Mohawks and Western Abenakis for centuries served by the 1730s as Britain's claim to the Champlain Valley.[47]

While Fort Saint-Frédéric blocked British expansion, it also intruded into Mohawk country. In 1737, Mohawk leaders protested the encroachment to allies and enemies alike. "How Comes it that the French have settled so near in the neighborhood, even at Crown Point [?]" asked an unnamed Mohawk speaker. While the speaker addressed Lieutenant-Governor Clarke

[46] John Henry Lydius to Lt Governor Spencer Phips, February 5, 1740; Pierre-Georges Roy, Massachusetts State Archives 29:361 (accessed online); Roy, *Hommes et Choses de Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 271; Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG8-A6, 14: 321-325 (accessed online).
[47] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 119-120; *MCIA*, 353A.

of New York, his audience included a delegation of "Indians that belong to the French." He had invited them to listen to his speech, and encouraged them to report what they heard to the Governor of Canada. "Have they won it by the sword[?]" he asked, aware that neither the French nor their Indian allies could claim the site by virtue of conquest. By garrisoning Crown Point, the French restricted Mohawk mobility along the Richelieu-Champlain corridor, but safeguarded the passage of the Mohawk's Native enemies through the waterway. Fort Saint-Frédéric also brought French soldiers and settlers into the Mohawk's hunting grounds. [48]

During the summer of 1739, the commandant at Fort Saint-Frédéric revealed to a delegation of Mohawks the extent of the fort's threat to their territory. Assembled with a party of Western Abenakis and Kahnawake Mohawks, he presented the valley Mohawks a belt of wampum to mark his words. "The King of France claims all the land South, North, and East lying on all the Rivers & Creeks that empty themselves toward Canada," he said, "even to the [Great] carrying place." The French would not suffer English settlement on these lands, warned the commandant. But he promised that the king reserved the territory between Crown Point and the Great Carrying Place as a protected hunting ground for the Mohawks and "his own Indians." This "Gift" left to the Mohawks a fraction of the land that they had claimed for centuries. Worse, it demanded that they share that land with New Frances' Western Abenaki allies. [49]

"Tis your fault, Brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest"

In October 1741, Hendrick Theyanoguin informed the Albany Indian Commissioners that his people "are in great fear." Hendrick complained that the officials had neglected the valley Mohawks, thereby making "a breach in the Covenant" that their ancestors had forged together.

[48] *NYCD*, 6: 98.
[49] *NYCD*, 6: 152.

The colonial officials had failed to act in 1739, for example, when New York farmers "beat almost to death" an Oneida sachem for picking corn during his journey down the Mohawk River to attend a council meeting at Albany. Because New York officials had invited Haudenosaunee leaders to the meeting, Hendrick expected the colony would pay the trip's expenses and that local farmers would share their food. British settlers thus violated diplomatic protocol by harming the Oneida traveler. The Albany Indian Commissioners insulted the Haudenosaunee further by refusing to punish his abuser. Worst of all, Hendrick charged, Albany merchants grew rich trading with the Western Abenakis and Kahnawake Mohawks that they had asked him to fight during the 1720s. Meanwhile, his own people languished for lack of presents and attention from the Albany commissioners. As a result of these offenses, the Mohawk castles had "scattered," and "a great Number" had departed the Mohawk Valley for the French mission village of Kahnawake. Hendrick grew increasingly frustrated by the removal of his people north, which weakened his own clout. He had proven himself a willing ally to the British during Grey Lock's War, but they had failed to meet their reciprocal obligations to the Mohawks.[50]

During the late 1720s and early 1730s, new British economic policies reduced Canajoharie Mohawks to marginal actors in the fur trade. Previously, the Mohawks had served as the key intermediaries between Native peoples of the Great Lakes region, who supplied furs, and the merchants at Albany, who purchased them. In 1727, however, British officials erected a trading post at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. Thereafter, merchants could trade directly with Natives from the Great Lakes, bypassing the Mohawk River. According to historian Daniel Richter, rival merchants at Albany turned to Montreal for their "principal business." Although French law

[50] *MCIA,* II216A; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse,* 120; For an example of Hendrick's hostility towards the Albany Indian Commissioners, see Conrad Weiser's Journal entry from July 24, 1745, reproduced in Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1690-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1996), 226 and Eric Hinderaker's analysis in Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 155, 170.

prohibited commerce with Albany, the Treaty of Utrecht allowed Native peoples to trade freely with the British and French. Kahnawake Mohawks connected merchants in Montreal and Albany, carrying south the contraband furs that Canadian traders had purchased from Native peoples of the Great Lakes, and delivering British goods back north. Western Abenakis also traded at Albany, though generally as small-scale independent trappers rather than as brokers for Montreal merchants. Officials at Fort Saint-Frédéric understood that their Native allies preferred English to French cloth, and that they could acquire guns, powder, lead, kettles, and other goods at better rates in Albany than in Montreal. But officials remained confident in their influence over the Western Abenakis and Kahnwakes, for the Natives relied on the French garrison to protect their monopoly over the Lake Champlain trade corridor. The valley Mohawks seethed at being bypassed both to the west and the north in a trade that had formerly benefited them.[51]

During the early 1730s, Canajoharie Mohawks also confronted European settler encroachment on their land. The Mohawk decision to remain neutral in New England's war with the Abenakis preserved the peace that they had enjoyed since the end of Queen Anne's War. But British farmers prospered under this stability, and looked to the Mohawk Valley as a source of fertile land. A series of fraudulent deals transferred thousands of acres of Mohawk country to settlers. By the time Hendrick rose to sachem of Canajoharie in 1735, fields of colonial wheat closed in around his village. A generation earlier, he reminded commissioners from Albany and New England in 1745, Mohawks had claimed as far east as the Westfield River in Massachusetts. Motioning to John Stoddard, the Massachusetts militia commander who had outfitted his war party in 1724, Hendrick complained, "You have got our land and driven us away from Westfield

[51] Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse,* 269; for a full discussion of the fur trade between Montreal and Albany, see Jean Lunn, "The Illegal Fur Trade out of New France, 1713 – 1760," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 18, no. 1 (1939): 61-76; Day, "Missisquoi," 144; Thomas Charland, "Un Village d'Abénakis sur la Rivière Missisquoi," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, 15, no. 3 (1961): 326-327.

where my father lived formerly," territory Mohawks had won from their Algonquian-speaking rivals during the early seventeenth century. His people's lands and livelihoods threatened, Hendrick feared the Mohawk's supremacy over the Northeast had diminished.[52]

The outbreak of King George's War afforded Hendrick a chance to reassert Mohawk influence. During the summer of 1744, he set about affirming Mohawk authority over eastern Native peoples. That July he traveled to Boston and then north to Maine to demand the loyalty of their Eastern Abenaki "children" in the unfolding war. "If you are dutifull and obedient," Hendrick promised the Abenakis, "we will defend and protect you; but otherwise, if you are disobedient and rebell, you shall dye, every man, woman, and child of you, and that by our hands." Hendrick's conduct toward the Eastern Abenakis marked a departure from the Mohawks' policy during the 1720s, when sachems navigated their people away from a war with other Natives. Hendrick seemed ready, instead, to precipitate one.[53]

The opportunity developed in 1746, when Governor Clinton of New York commissioned William Johnson Colonel of the Six Nations Iroquois and instructed him to rally the Haudenosaunee to join the British in their war against the French. Johnson had emigrated from Ireland to the Mohawk Valley during the late 1730s, where he established a trading post servicing frustrated Mohawks who believed the Oswego and Albany merchants had neglected them. Ambitious and charming, Johnson presented his Mohawk neighbors with gifts, provided them access to English trade goods at bargain rates, and mastered the Mohawks' diplomatic customs. He won quickly influential friends such as the Turtle Clan sachem at Tiononderoge,

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[52] Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 152; *NYCD*, 6: 289-305.

[53] Carl Bridenbaugh, ed. *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948), 112-113. Hamilton did not accompany Hendrick on his trip to Maine. He encountered Hendrick and his party upon their return to Boston. No transcriptions of the meetings exist to confirm whether Hamilton captured accurately Hendrick's words. Even if he represented Hendrick's position correctly, we can conclude that the 1744 meeting marks a significant departure from that of Mohawk leaders during the Abenaki wars of the 1720s. See also Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks,* 163-166.

Brant Kanagaradunkwa. During the early 1740s, Johnson fathered two children with Brant's niece Elizabeth, whom the sachem then adopted and raised with his wife, Christina. United by trade and bound through kinship, the valley Mohawks adopted William Johnson, honoring him in 1742 with the name *Warraghiyagey*, "He who undertakes great things," in recognition of the partnerships he had forged with them. As Colonel of the Six Nations, Johnson courted his Mohawk friends to draw their Haudenosaunee kin into the imperial war as British allies. [54]

Hendrick welcomed Johnson as an ally who could circumvent the obstructionist Albany Indian Commissioners in outfitting the Mohawks for war. Since November 1745, Clinton had "been endeavoring to set on foot a scheme…for the reduction of [the] Fort at Crown Point" by mobilizing colonial militias and Mohawk warriors. The British would oust their French rivals from the strategic post. From there, they could invade Montreal and Quebec. In turn, Mohawks would reclaim their hunting territory along Lake Champlain's northwest shores, and could bring Native peoples into submission to bolster their declining population. Officials in Albany balked at the plan, however, concerned that it would upset their profitable if illicit trade with Montreal. Hendrick resented the Albany Indian Commissioners' unwillingness to support the invasion. He complained in 1745 that, while the Mohawks "are…inclined [to] the *English* interest…Albany People are not." They continued selling "*many Barrells of Gunpowder*" to Montreal merchants, which French soldiers and their Native allies used in their raids against New York's northern frontier. Johnson pushed for war, however, for his imperial connections beyond New York to London relied on his ability to marshal Haudenosaunee allies. During the summer of 1746, Johnson extended the hatchet to Hendrick, proposing a joint Anglo-Mohawk invasion of Canada. For the invasion to succeed, the British would have to reduce the French fort that Mohawks had

[54] Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 3-4; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 127, 131-33, 166-67.

complained about since 1737. Seeing an opportunity to bolster his own authority, Hendrick eagerly accepted that invitation.[55]

In November 1746, Hendrick traveled north to Canada to prepare for the invasion. Meeting with Governor Beauharnois and a party of Kahnawake Mohawks at Montreal, he warned his kin to abandon Crown Point. "In a short time," he said, valley Mohawks and their British allies would take the French fort. If the Kahnawakes did not leave now, "they would all be killed." Beauharnois dismissed Hendrick's warning, reminding him the French had "long heard" that the British planned to attack Crown Point, but had seen "nothing yet." The New Yorkers had deceived Hendrick, Beauharnois scoffed, for "the English were great Boasters, but acted little." The Kahnawake sachems believed Hendrick's threats, however, and privately assured him that they would call their warriors back from Crown Point. [56]

After securing the neutrality of his Mohawk kin, Hendrick struck the first blow in the invasion which he and William Johnson had planned that summer. Before setting out to Montreal, Hendrick had promised Johnson that he would take at least one prisoner on his return trip. The captive would replace Hendrick's nephew, who had left Canajoharie to live in Massachusetts. But Johnson and Hendrick also agreed that if Hendrick's party "gott more Prisoners, [the Mohawks] might do with the rest what [they] pleased." Johnson had endorsed Hendrick's turning a diplomatic errand into a raiding mission. Returning south from Montreal over Lake Champlain, Hendrick delivered on his promise. He spotted a crew of French carpenters on Isle La Motte, at the northern mouth of the lake. Early the next morning, Hendrick and eight fellow warriors

[55] *NYCD*, 6: 305-307; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 226; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 176-177.
[56] *MCIA*, II402-II405.

ambushed the carpenters, bringing a "Prisoner and Scalp" back with them to the Mohawk Valley.[57]

Hendrick's attack convinced Beauharnois and Hocquart that the British would assault Fort Saint-Frédéric, and the French rallied their Native allies to defend it. That January, as the ice that would bear the British invasion force over Lake Champlain thickened, Beauharnois called upon France's Native friends: Catholic Mohawks from Kahnawake and the Lake of the Two Mountains, Neppisings, Algonquins, Poutouatamis, Ottowas, Puans, Sacs, Illinois, Wyandots, and Western Abenakis from St. Francis, Bécancour, and Missisquoi. He extended to them the symbolic hatchet, and on March 7, 1747 they accepted it, declaring war against the Mohawks. Hendrick gambled that Mohawks would prevail before their more numerous enemies could "Set all the World on Fire." He relied now on his British allies to keep their promise to reduce Fort Saint-Frédéric.[58]

By July 1747, however, Hendrick and other Mohawk warriors feared that the British would break that promise. Throughout the spring and early summer, William Johnson had outfitted warriors to raid up the Champlain Valley "by their own approbation." In April, a Mohawk party killed five French militiamen near the gates of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Johnson paid the Mohawks sixty pounds for the scalps on their return. While Mohawks enjoyed Johnson's scalp bounties, they expected more: for the British to mount a major expedition to drive the French from Crown Point. In a letter to Governor Clinton dated July 17, 1747, Johnson sympathized with the mounting frustration expressed by his Mohawk allies. Earlier that month he met with Hendrick and others from the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee. They had grown

[57] *MCIA*, II402-II405.
[58] *MCIA*, II402-II405; Charland, "Un Village d'Abénakis sur la Rivière Missisquoi," 330; Beauharnois and Hocquart to the Ministre, November 13, 1746, quoted in Roy, *Hommes et Choses de Fort Saint-Frédéric,* 73-74.

discouraged "ab[ou]t our not destroying Crown Point, thereby to open a passage for them to Canada," he reported.[59]

Officials in New York and New England scrambled to appease their Mohawk allies. Governor Clinton relayed Johnson's news to the Duke of Newcastle on July 23, warning that "unless some enterprize be undertaken…we may again loose them." The next day, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts wrote to Clinton in alarm. To avoid "the total defection of all the Six Nations," New York and New England ought "join with them in…dislodging [the French] from Crown Point." Hendrick had convinced Johnson, Clinton, and Shirley that Mohawk loyalty depended upon their ability to deliver Crown Point. They wanted the British imperial government, led by Newcastle, to concentrate its forces in the Champlain Valley. Instead, imperial officials prioritized consolidating British gains in Acadia after Massachusetts colonials captured Fortress Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence in 1745. When King George's War ended in 1748, the French still occupied Crown Point. Their Native allies enjoyed it as a barrier against the Mohawks and a secure departure point to raid southward into their country.[60]

Hendrick and Johnson grew increasingly bitter at this betrayal by his British superiors. In 1751, William Johnson resigned his office as Colonel of the Six Nations, frustrated at the New York Assembly's refusal to reimburse the debts he had incurred on the colony's behalf during the war. He had outfitted Mohawk warriors and supplied them with gifts from his trading post, and paid scalp bounties using his own money. Unable to appropriate funds from the Assembly to reimburse Johnson, Governor Clinton reinstated the Albany Indian Commissioners to treat with the Haudenosaunee. Hendrick still despised the Commissioners for their neglect of the valley

[59] *NYCD*, 6: 358, 360-362, 386-387.
[60] *NYCD*, 6: 358, 382, 389; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 189-190; For an example of continued Native warfare after King George's War concluded, see Adolph B. Benson, ed. *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America: The English Version of 1770* (2 vols., New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc., 1937), 1: 368-369, 377-378.

Mohawks during the 1730s and early 1740s. In a June 1753 conference, Hendrick declared that the Covenant Chain had fractured. Other historians conclude that he sought leverage by demanding William Johnson's reinstatement as the colonial agent for the Mohawks and redress for decades of fraudulent land transactions. Hendrick also cited the British failure to capture Crown Point. Had British officials kept their promise, Hendrick asserted, Mohawk warriors "would have torn the Frenchmen's Hearts out." Instead, his people "dayly [stood] with a knife over [their] heads" as France's Native allies raided the Mohawk Valley.[61]

Hendrick criticized the Albany Indian Commissioners for their continued trade with the Mohawk's Native enemies that facilitated these attacks. During the summer of 1754, British officials convened at Albany with the Haudenosaunee and other Native peoples to repair the Covenant Chain. Addressing the New York officials, Hendrick complained that the "Indians of Canada" still came frequently to trade at Albany. With the French garrisoned at Crown Point, Western Abenakis and Kahnwakes preserved their monopoly over the Champlain Valley fur trade. Merchants at Albany filled their storehouses with beaver as the Mohawks' enemies returned to Canada bearing "powder, lead and guns." Hendrick reminded the convention that "we hate them (meaning the French Indians) [and] we have not as yet confirmed the peace with them." British officials had ended their war against France before the Mohawks could avenge their losses, and France's Indian allies sought retribution for their own slain warriors. Hendrick argued that every commercial transaction with the Western Abenakis and Kahnwakes betrayed his people.

In his 1754 speech at Albany, Hendrick reiterated his deep frustration at the British failure to capture Fort Saint-Frédéric. Motioning to the New York officials, he charged, "*Tis*

[61] *NYCD*, 6: 781-788; See, for example, Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008); 122-124; Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks,* 216-221.

your fault Brethren that we are not strengthened by conquest for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us; we had concluded to go and take it, but were told it was too late." By jointly seizing Crown Point, Hendrick had tried to reconcile Mohawk and British interests. He hoped to reclaim his people's traditional hunting territory, break the Kahnawake and Western Abenaki dominion over the Lake Champlain trade corridor, and halt outmigration northward. In a gamble, Hendrick had drawn the Mohawks into the imperial contest for the Champlain Valley. Now he feared that the continuing Native war would bring about the destruction of his people.[62]

"The greatest loss"

The Mohawks' remaining Schaghticoke "children" watched from the audience as Hendrick reprimanded the British officials convened at Albany in 1754, the last council meeting the Schaghticokes attended before abandoning New York's frontier to join their kin at St. Francis and Missisquoi. On July 8, an unnamed Schaghticoke speaker took the floor at the convention, offered New York's Lieutenant Governor DeLancey a paltry bundle of skins, and apologized that "We are but small in number." According to DeLancey's estimate, only fifty or sixty people remained in the village. Frustrated by continued settler encroachment on their land and the Albany Indian Commissioners' refusal to ban merchants from selling them liquor, the Schaghticokes bolted northward to join the Western Abenaki. On August 28, 1754, DeLancey reported to the Board of Trade that a party of Western Abenakis, probably from Missisquoi, "carried off with them the few remaining Indians of Schaghticoke." They had enjoyed a final round of diplomatic gifts from the Albany conference before setting sail for Missisquoi on Lake Champlain in a vessel furnished by the commandant at Fort Saint-Frédéric. Albany had lost its

[62] *NYCD*, 6: 386-87, 870 (emphasis in the original).

defensive screen against New France's Native allies, including the 60 or 70 warriors at Missisquoi and 200 living at the St. Francis and Bécancour mission villages. The Schaghticokes' departure confirmed Hendrick's fear that the British failure to capture Crown Point threatened Mohawk supremacy over the Northeast. [63]

Just over a year later, in September 1755, warriors formerly of Schaghticoke travelled south down the lake to confront their former Mohawk and English "fathers" in battle. Along with about 100 Western Abenakis from Missisquoi, St. Francis, and Bécancour and another 600 Native warriors, they joined Baron Dieskau and 800 French soldiers at Crown Point. As one prong of General Edward Braddock's four-front invasion of Canada, William Johnson had organized an Anglo-Haudenosaunee expedition against Fort Saint-Frédéric. By late August of 1755, his forces advanced from the Mohawk Valley toward Crown Point. Strengthened by the recent addition of ten to fifteen Schaghticoke warriors, the Western Abenaki rallied to defend the fort that enhanced their influence over the lake between them and their Mohawk rivals. [64]

Supported by 1,000 New England colonials and 200 fellow Haudenosaunee warriors, Hendrick seized his second chance to reclaim Crown Point for the Mohawks. At sixty-five, Hendrick was far older than most of the warriors who accepted the war hatchet William Johnson had extended that summer. On the morning of September 8, 1755 Johnson learned that Dieskau and his Native allies had marched South from Crown Point to Lake George, where Johnson had established a fortified camp. Hendrick borrowed one of Johnson's horses and led his young warriors to block the French advance. After traveling four miles along the paths through the forests south of Lake George, Hendrick's men stumbled into an ambush. Mounted and dressed in the red coat of a British military officer, he presented a clear target to Abenaki and Kahnawake

[63] *NYCD*, 6: 880, 909; David L. Ghere, "Myths and Method in Abenaki Demography: Abenaki Population Recovery, 1725-1750," *Ethnohistory* 44 no. 3 (Summer, 1997): 524, 527.
[64] Charland, "Un Village d'Abénakis sur la Rivière Missisquoi," 331; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 114-123;

Mohawk warriors hidden behind rocks and brush in the dense woods. Shot from his horse during the confused battle, Hendrick died fighting his way back to the British and Mohawk lines. [65]

After a fighting retreat to Johnson's camp on Lake George, the British and Mohawks narrowly defeated their French and Native adversaries. During the ambush, they killed the commander of the Canadian militia and its allied Native forces, Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, demoralizing the Kahnwakes and Western Abenakis. Frustrated by their refusal to pursue the retreating enemy, Dieskau led his Regular soldiers in an assault on the makeshift fortifications which Johnson had erected on the shore of Lake George. Dieskau's Regulars retreated after he received a musket shot to his bladder and another twenty soldiers perished in the firefight. Nursing a musket shot of his own and alarmed by the loss of his ally Hendrick, however, Johnson called off the invasion of Crown Point. Instead, he secured Britain's possession of Lake George by constructing Fort William Henry and stationing 500 colonials in the garrison. [66]

Although British imperial officials touted the battle as a great victory, it had inflicted heavy casualties on New England's colonial forces and Mohawk warriors. When Johnson's aid-de-camp filed the "Return of Killed, Wounded and Missing in the Battle of Lake George," he reported that 120 colonials had died in the day of fighting, another 80 had been wounded, and 62 remained missing. Of the 200 Haudenosaunee warriors who joined the fight, 32 were killed or missing and another 12 wounded. Canajoharie sustained "the greatest loss," counting among their dead Hendrick, the Turtle clan sachem William Tarraghioris, and another ten principal men of the village. Desperate for a victory to counteract sagging public enthusiasm for the war after Braddock's rout earlier that summer, however, imperial officials hailed Johnson as a hero. King George II made Johnson a baronet, Parliament awarded him £5,000 as a reward for his service,

[65] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 116-123.
[66] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 116-123.

and Newcastle appointed him to the new post of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies. [67]

After the Battle of Lake George, Canajoharie Mohawks relied increasingly on their influential friend Sir William Johnson for supplies and help defending their village against Native raiders. On February 18, 1756, Hendrick's brother Abraham visited Johnson at his fortified home in the Mohawk Valley, and reported that the people of Canajoharie looked upon British support "as necessary now as ever." He requested that Johnson post an officer and British colonials at the village for its "defence" during the ongoing war against the French and their Native allies. As they had at the end of King George's War, Canajoharie Mohawks stood with a knife above their heads. But now Mohawk leaders feared they lacked the numbers to defend their people. The kin of warriors killed at Lake George also demanded scalps and prisoners to "replace" their losses according to Haudenosaunee custom. During the winter of 1756, Johnson presented Abraham with six French prisoners to cover the graves of Mohawk warriors. In 1756 and 1757, Johnson outfitted his old friend Brant Kanagaradunkwa as well as Hendrick's son, Paulus Peters Saghsanowano, to lead small war parties north into Canada in search of captives. Hendrick had tried, once again, to strengthen his people by conquering Fort Saint-Frédéric. Instead, Canajoharie lost important leaders and warriors, and stood exposed to enemy reprisal. [68]

Encouraged by the scalps and prisoners which they took at Lake George, Western Abenakis continued fighting beside their French allies. In 1757, 245 Abenakis joined the 1,800 Natives representing 33 peoples in the French assault against Fort William Henry. The Native coalition took over 200 captives, which they ransomed for an average of 130 *livres* each. After

[67] *NYCD*, 6: 1006-1007; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 175-77; Julian Gwyn, "JOHNSON, Sir WILLIAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/johnson_william_4E.html.
[68] *NYCD*, 7: 52-55; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 175-77.

the British abandoned the fort, Western Abenaki warriors remained with General Montcalm's army at their camp on Lake George. From there, they attacked British forts along the Connecticut River during the summer and fall of 1757. In March 1758, Missisquoi warriors ranged into central Massachusetts, killing three men before taking three captives. Later that spring and summer, they kept British colonials stationed at Wood Creek on edge, slipping past Fort Edward's garrison and carrying several scalps taken outside Albany back north to Canada. Western Abenaki warriors enjoyed free passage through the Champlain Valley, and enhanced their prestige at home by collecting French scalp bounties and English ransom payments, or by delivering captives to replace departed kin.[69]

Frustrated by three years of defeats, British imperial officials committed in 1758 unprecedented manpower and resources to the North American theater of the global Seven Years' War. During the wars of King William, Queen Anne, and King George, imperial officials relied on royal governors to wage offensive operations financed by colonial taxes and mounted by local militias. Colonial assemblies balked at the expense of such expeditions, and governors often refused to deploy their militias in the service of other colonies. Even when New York and New England officials united to invade Canada in 1689, 1690, 1709, 1711, 1747-48, and 1755, they still depended heavily on Native warriors to guide and supplement the militia forces. Francis Nicholson's 1709 expedition of about 1,500 New York and New England colonials and 500 Haudenosaunee warriors constituted the largest invasion force Britain assembled in the Champlain Valley before the Seven Years' War. In 1758, however, the new prime minister,

[69] Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 185-201; Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 171-73.

William Pitt, hired German mercenaries to fight in the war's European theater, freeing up British soldiers to serve in North America.[70]

During the summer of 1759, Lord Jeffrey Amherst led 11,000 of these well-trained and highly-disciplined British Regulars down the Champlain Valley. Fearing that Amherst's army would overwhelm the 3,000 French men garrisoned at Crown Point, François-Charles de Bourlamaque torched Saint-Frédéric and retreated eighty miles north to Ile-aux-Noix on the Richelieu River. Without firing a shot, Amherst captured the fort that Hendrick and dozens of his fellow Mohawks had died trying to conquer. [71]

To punish the Western Abenakis who had used Fort Saint-Frédéric as a launching point for their devastating raids into New York and New England, Amherst ordered Robert Rogers to burn St. Francis to the ground. Setting out in September with 200 colonial rangers, Haudenosaunee warriors, and Indian scouts from the Stockbridge reservation in Massachusetts, Rogers reached the mission on October 5. Before Rogers attacked the village the next morning, one of the Stockbridge Indians had warned the Abenakis about the attack. Under cover of darkness, they fled St. Francis and took refuge with their kin at Missisquoi. At dawn on October 6, *Arsigôntekw* was once again a river of empty cabins. By seven o'clock in the morning, flames engulfed the village's church and forty homes. Although Rogers bypassed Missisquoi on his return from Canada, the village stood exposed to the powerful British forces assembled at Crown Point. [72]

In September 1760, Amherst completed Britain's conquest of New France. General James Wolfe had captured Quebec the previous September, leaving Montreal as the sole

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[70] Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 215-218; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse,* 226; Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 173.
[71] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 342-43.
[72] Day, *Identity of the St. Francis Indians*, 43; Day, "Oral Tradition as Complement," in *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 127-135; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 175-77.

remaining Canadian stronghold. During the summer of 1760, Amherst launched a three-front invasion of the city. He led 12,000 Regulars, provincials, and Native warriors from Albany to Oswego, and advanced from there down the St. Lawrence River. Meanwhile, Brigadier General William Haviland destroyed the French fortifications at Ile-aux-Noix and descended the Richelieu River with 3,5000 colonials and Regular soldiers. Brigadier General John Murray advanced westward from the garrison at Quebec. In August 1760, the three British forces converged on Montreal. On September 8, Governor Vaudreuil and Lord Amherst signed the Articles of Capitulation of Montreal before raising Britain's flag above the city. [73]

Although Vaudreuil surrendered Canada, he protected the lands of New France's Native allies from British conquest. Article XL of the Montreal capitulation agreement guaranteed that the "Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty [the King of France] shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they chuse to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty." Their legal claim to St. Francis secure, Abenakis returned to the village beginning in 1760 and rebuilt their homes and chapel. Although they had sewn destruction throughout the Connecticut and Champlain Valleys earlier in the war, the Missisquoi Abenakis maintained ownership of their territory on Lake Champlain's northeast shores. Despite losing their commercial partners and military allies at Fort Saint-Frédéric and Montreal, an aging Grey Lock and his family remained in the village that Abenakis had claimed since time out of memory.[74]

[73] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 373, 388.
[74] "Articles of Capitulation, Montreal, September 8, 1760, English Translation" in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* (Ottawa, Historical Documents Publication Board, 1918), 33.

To consolidate British control over the corridor between Montreal and Albany, however, Amherst encouraged the rapid settlement of Lake Champlain. Although he had conquered Canada by September 1760, France and Britain remained officially at war until their plenipotentiaries negotiated the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Amherst feared that British negotiators might return New France in exchange for more valuable territory in the Caribbean. After all, before he seized Fort Saint-Frédéric, Amherst had recaptured Fortress Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, which Massachusetts colonials had taken in 1745 only for their empire to yield it back to France in 1748 through the Treaty of Ryswick. Amherst resolved that, if the French regained Canada, the British would greet them from a powerful military complex on Lake Champlain. From August 1759 through August 1762, he employed an engineer and his crew of 365 workers to build His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point beside the ruins of Fort Saint-Frédéric. The British fort dwarfed its French predecessor, covering six square acres, boasting barracks capable of housing 4,000 soldiers behind 27-foot-tall stone and earthen walls, and mounting 105 cannon.[75]

The construction of His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point transformed the thick forests of Lake Champlain's southwest shores into English farms and pastures. Visiting Fort Saint-Frédéric during the fall of 1749, the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm described the territory between the French fort and the English garrison at the Great Carrying place as "a land still left to wild animals." He observed that Western Abenakis "live here for several months by hunting alone, especially for the roe deer which are plentiful in this vicinity." They traded their game to French

[75] Michael G. Gunthier, "'Crumbling to Dust': British Military Engineering Efforts in the Hudson-Champlain Corridor in the Seven Years' War, and its Aftermath," in Pedro Luengo-Gutiérrez and Gene A. Smith, *From Colonies to Countries in the North Caribbean: Military Engineers in the Development of Cities and Territories* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 1-2; Gregory Furness and Timothy Titus*, Master Plan for Crown Point State Historic Site*, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Bureau of Historic Sites, Peebles Island, Waterford, 1985.

allies stationed at the fort for "gunpowder, bullets, shot, bread, and anything else they needed." After seizing Fort Saint-Frédéric, however, Amherst set his men to work cutting trees, clearing fields, and planting crops to support the 1,000 men posted at Crown Point after the surrender of Montreal. To curb the Abenakis' access to munitions through trading meat, soldiers raised their own livestock on the new pastures that radiated out from His Majesty's Fort. By 1762, the British settlement sprawled over 3.5 square miles along Lake Champlain's western shore. While Hendrick had believed that conquering Crown Point would restore his people's hunting territory in the Champlain Valley, the more expansive British fort further threatened that Mohawk claim.[76]

Once the Treaty of Paris confirmed in 1763 that Britain would retain Canada, British settlers streamed into the Champlain Valley. In a January 1764 dispatch, General Gage prescribed a policy of nonintervention against such encroachment. He instructed the commander at Crown Point to "give no Hindrance or Molestation to any Persons whatever who chuse to Settle there." Moreover, if disputes arose over conflicting land claims, Gage recommended vaguely that the commander "let the Law Settle them." One Champlain Valley patent holder observed in 1766 that "scores of Familes" exploited Gage's lax policy. Although they lacked legal title to the land, these squatters declared that "possession is Eleven points in the Law." These settlers cleared lands for their farms, fished in Champlain's waters, and hunted deer in the forests along its shores. Protected by a lenient legal system and a powerful fort at Crown Point, New Englanders occupied the homelands contested for centuries by their Mohawk allies and Abenaki foes. [77]

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[76] Peter Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels In North America*, 588; Gunthier "Crumbling to Dust," 6; Furness and Titus, *Master Plan for Crown Point State Historic Site*.

[77] Gage to Beckwith, January 31, 1764, Volume 13, Thomas Gage Papers, Clements Library, quoted in Gunthier "Crumbling to Dust," 18 and Journals of Captain John Montresor, 1766, "The Montresor Journals," *Collections of*

Missisquoi Abenakis tried to defend their legal claim to Lake Champlain's northeast shores by leasing a tract of timberland before encroaching New Englanders could settle it permanently. In 1765, leaders from Missisquoi signed a ninety-nine-year lease conveying a 4.5-mile long and 1.5-mile wide plot of land along the Missisquoi River to James Robertson, a trader from Fort St. Jean on the Richelieu River. After the fall of Montreal and the destruction of Fort Saint-Frédéric, Missisquois gravitated to Fort St. Jean as their primary commercial center. By 1766, they identified as the "St. John's Tribe" in conferences with British officials. By leasing their land to an Englishman they presumably knew and trusted, Missisquoi Abenakis gained an advocate with legal standing in British courts, for his own access to prime land along Missisquoi Bay depended on the Abenaki's sovereign claim to the territory.[78]

Securing their claim to Missisquoi through an English intermediary, Abenakis remained in their homeland. They retained a dozen farms, including one belonging to Grey Lock's son, "Jean Baptiste the Whitehead." Robertson agreed to "plow and plant" for his Native landlords each summer and fall, and to pay an annual rent of "fourteen Spanish dollars, two bushels of Indian corn, and one gallon of rum" to them. With their territory along Missisquoi Bay protected by the Robertson lease, Missisquois concentrated their settlement about five miles east up the Missisquoi River, at the place New Englanders had called "Grey Lock's Castle" during the 1720s. The lease specified that Robertson's rights ended at the "lands belonging to old Whitehead." As he had during the 1720s, Grey Lock maintained autonomous control over the land he envisioned as an independent center of Western Abenaki life.[79]

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the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881 (1882), 367, quoted in Gunthier, "Crumbling to Dust," 20; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont,* 193.

[78] Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 194; "James Robertson's Lease, 1765" reproduced in Colin Calloway, ed., *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991), 206-07.

[79] "James Robertson's Lease, 1765" reproduced in Colin Calloway, ed., *Dawnland Encounters*, 206-07.

In September 1766, however, Kahnawake Mohawks ceded Lake Champlain to the British Crown to secure their own influence in the increasingly crowded region. When Sir William Johnson met with the Kahnwakes in 1765, he instructed them to limit their hunting to the territory north and west of Crown Point. Johnson assured the Kahnawakes that the boundary "will be land enough for your purposes" and reminded them that "you never had more [land]." Confronting settler encroachment in the hunting grounds they shared with the valley Mohawks west of the lake, Kahnwakes exploited British officials' desire to nullify Abenaki claims on the eastern shore to secure their own access to it. In a conference with Governor Henry Moore of New York in 1766, Governor James Murray of Quebec and Abenakis from Missisquoi, Kahnawake leaders claimed that, before European colonization, Lake Champlain had "been the undisputed Right of the 6 Nations & their allies & was chiefly occupied in the hunting Seasons by the Antient Mohawks whose Descendants we are." Moore welcomed the Kahnawakes' dubious claim as an expedient way to consolidate New York's control over the lake. He and the Kahnawakes agreed that they "should have free hunting & fishing in Lake Champlain but that the ground belonged to the King and his subjects." British officials accepted a history of the Champlain Valley that denied the Abenakis' 11,000-year occupancy of the region. [80]

During the 1768 negotiations at Fort Stanwix to fix the boundaries of Native peoples in the northern colonies, valley Mohawks adopted Lake Champlain's western shore as their northeastern border. They yielded all their territory east of the Hudson River. In return, British officials recognized the Mohawks' claim to the western shore of Lake Champlain north to Split Rock, in present-day Essex, New York. The new boundary rolled back the Mohawks' seventeenth-century eastern expansion. And, while it extended Mohawk country about fifteen miles north of Crown Point, it failed to restore the full hunting territory that had spanned to the

[80] *PSWJ*, 12: 172-74; 1026-27.

lake's northern shores during the 1670s. Worse, settlers had transformed great swaths of this territory into farmland. Squatters flocked to Crown Point unimpeded by military officials. British veterans cut trees and cleared fields on land that Amherst had granted them near Wood Creek and Lake George during the early 1760s and that officials considered "fairly disposed of" by 1768. Without New France and its Native allies to push back against British expansion, settlers threatened to overwhelm what lands the Mohawks still possessed. British victory had come at a high price for their Mohawk allies.[81]

In 1939, the New York State Education Department erected an iron plaque at Split Rock, memorializing the former boundary of Mohawk country, but obscuring the history of its demarcation. The sign reads: "Split Rock: Called Roche Regio by Indians. Boundary between Mohawks and Algonquins. By Treaty of Utrecht conceded as limits of English Dominions." In its three lines, the marker makes three mistakes. The Treaty of Utrecht failed to establish the border between New France and British North America, and imperial officials contested that boundary until they conquered New France in the Seven Years' War. During the fifty years between the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the Treaty of Paris (1763), British officials asserted their right to land as far north as *Rogio*, which their Mohawk subjects had claimed since time out of memory. But Split Rock is not *Rogio*, which sits another fifteen miles north, off the eastern shore adjacent to present-day Burlington, Vermont. Furthermore, the Mohawks had not contested *Rogio* with the Algonquins, but with the Western Abenaki, who knew it as *Odzihozo*. Like British officials during the late eighteenth century, the sign erases the Abenakis from their homeland entirely. The neat border it delineates belies centuries of conflict that transformed

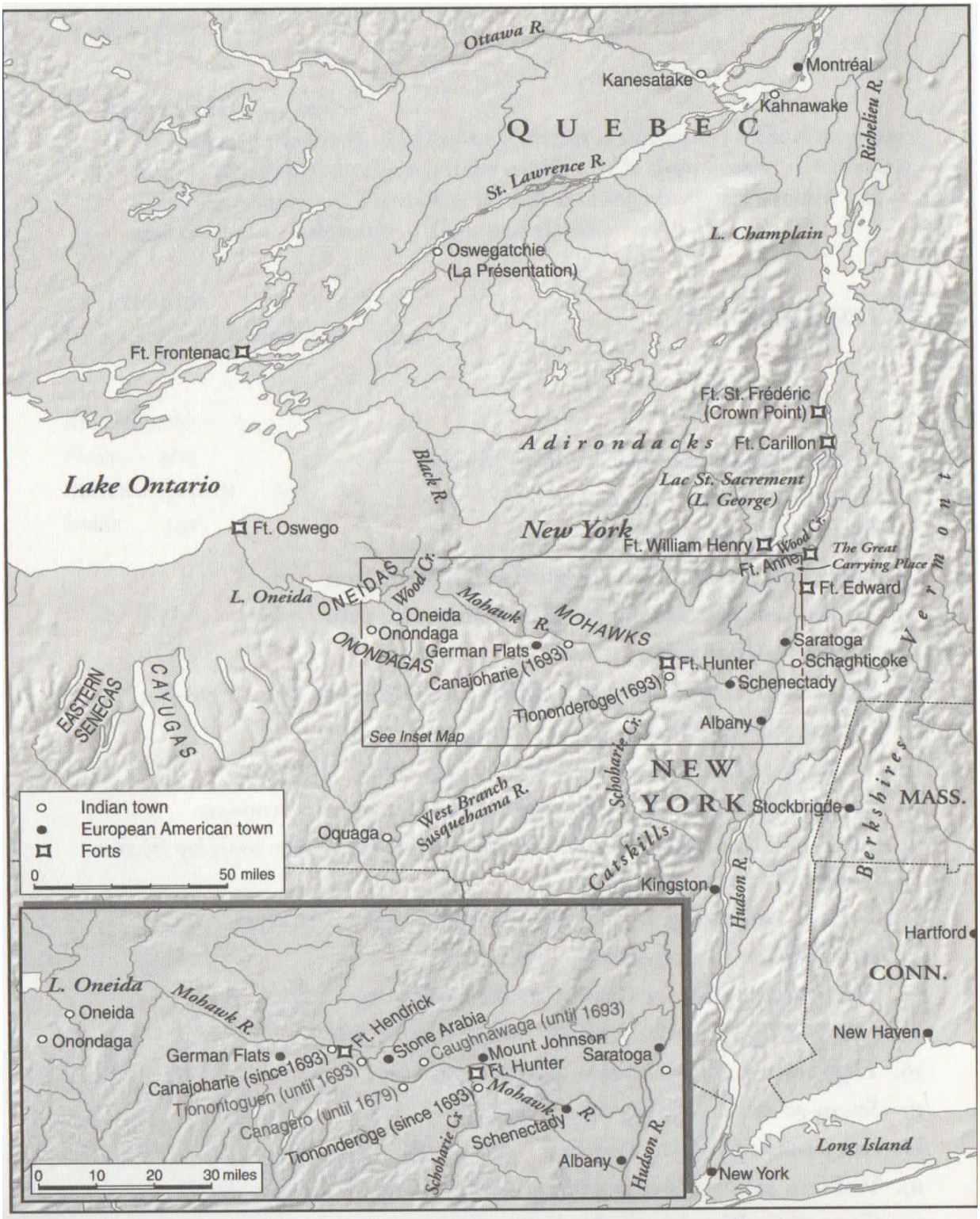
[81] *PSWJ*, 12: 603.

Champlain from the lake between the Mohawk and Western Abenaki into a contested imperial borderland and then a colonial settlement within the British Empire.

Figure 1: Northeast North America, Circa 1660-1725

Adapted from Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), accessed November 6, 2016, http://1704.deerfield.history.museum/home.do

Figure 2: The Mohawk Valley, 1670-1755



Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), x.