The Lake Between: Kinship and Conflict in the Lake Champlain Valley, Creations - 1775

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For Miranda, for a million reasons

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Bitawbagw & *Kaniatarakwà:ronte*

The Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka men stood with their muscles tensed, poised to fight but hoping their encounter would not lead to violence. According to Abenaki tradition, a group of fishermen had set out from *mazipskoik*, "flint place," a village tucked away on *bitawbagw*'s northeastern shore, and paddled their birch bark canoes south past *nebizonnebiz*, "little medicine water," and *azeskoimenahan*, "muddy island," to the western shore, where *zalônaktegw*, "sumac cone river," entered the lake. Abenaki people prized this bay for the sturgeon teeming in its waters. Enticed by a herd of deer on the western bank, the hunters pulled their canoes quietly ashore, hoping their presence would go undetected as they hunted along the wood's edge. For although their village sat just across the lake, the western shore stood within Kanien'kehá:ka country.[1]

The Kanien'kehá:ka people guarded jealously the hunting territory into which the Abenaki party had trespassed. They called the land around the bay *oskennón:ton*, "deer," honoring the beings which provided them with meat to eat and furs to fashion into clothing, shoes, and blankets. Unfortunately for the Abenaki men, a larger group of Kanien'kehá:ka hunters arrived at the bay shortly after them. They had paddled their own canoes north from their villages on *teionontatátie*, the Mohawk River, up Caroga Creek, over the Great Sacandaga Lake, through *tekiatón:niarike'*, "two points which have come into close proximity to one another," and down the lake to *oskennón:ton*. Each fearing the other's reputation as able warriors, the hunters eyed each other warily.[2]

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[1] Henry Lorne Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammars and Place Names* (Odanak, Quebec: La Voix des Bois-Francs, 1932), 32; "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in Gordon M. Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 116–22; Gordon M. Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series 128 (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994).

[2] Floyd Glenn Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1972), 35–41.

Although neither party had set out on its journey intending to make war, both had reason to mistrust the other. According to Abenaki tradition, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors knew well the paths that Abenaki hunters traveled, and often "lay in wait to kill them." To the men from *mazipskoik*, the Kanien'kehá:ka hunters bore a fearsome resemblance to the warriors from those stories. By standing idle, they risked falling into their trap. On the other hand, the Kanien'kehá:ka party resented the Abenaki hunters' intrusion into their territory. By letting them go unchallenged, the Kanien'kehá:ka hunters invited further encroachment into the hunting grounds that their villages needed for meat and furs.[3]

However, the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki men also knew that waging war imperiled their people. Any death in battle required satisfaction in the form of an enemy captive or scalp. But the scalps and captives needed to make one people whole constituted a loss for the other demanding its own satisfaction. A skirmish on the shores of *oskennón:ton* could spark years of raids and counter-raids embroiling entire villages and their networks of allies and kin. The Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki hunters weighed these considerations while guessing the thoughts of those watching them from across the bay.[4]

Finally, the Abenaki men ended the standoff. Shouting, singing, and performing a war dance, they issued a traditional invitation to fight. Although outnumbered, they probably believed they could intimidate the men across the bay into backing down. Whether afraid or deeming the risks of inaugurating a prolonged war too great, the Kanien'kehá:ka hunters declined the challenge. As the sun faded, they slipped away through the woods. Triumphant, the Abenaki men called after them, *"magoak! magoak!*" which means, "they shit," a term that Abenaki people used to deride others as cowardly. According to tradition, from that day forth, Abenaki people called their Kanien'kehá:ka

[3] Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends*, 32.
[4] Masta, 17–18; Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1983): 528–59.

neighbors *magoak*, "cowards." However, the taunting epithet belied the dread that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors inspired among Abenaki people. Those dwelling at *mazipskoik* bore the ominous nickname *nimmowanizal*, "a little lunch," referring to the Kanien'kehá:ka custom of torturing enemies before absorbing their spiritual power by consuming their bodies. Although the Kanien'kehá:ka party had yielded to the Abenaki war dance at *oskennón:ton*, their rivalry endured. Like most oral traditions maintained by Indigenous peoples, this Abenaki story prizes the event's location above when it took place. The Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka hunters lived at the edges of each other's worlds, which overlapped along the Lake Champlain Valley.[5]

Abenaki people enshrined this boundary in their language, calling the lake *bitawbagw*, "between water." Their territory spanned from the lake's eastern shore to the Kennebec River in Maine, and from the Saint Lawrence River south to northern Massachusetts. The Abenaki comprised several related bands defined by the river valleys in which they lived and hunted, bound together by trade, intermarriage, and military alliances: Missisquois and Cowassuks of the Champlain and Connecticut Valleys, Penacooks of the Merrimack River, Pigwackets of the Saco River, and Androscoggins, Kennebecs, and Penobscots of the rivers which bear their peoples' names. They descended from an Algonquian-speaking people who began inhabiting the northern Champlain Valley more than 11,000 years ago. These ancestral Abenakis developed a culture of seasonal subsistence and migration suited to the short growing season but plentiful game of their new home. During late fall and early winter, mobile family bands hunted moose and deer before assembling with extended kin in villages on the shores of lakes and ponds. There, women gathered the nuts and

[5] Ron Williamson, "'Otinontsiskiaj ondaon' ('The House of Cut-Off Heads'): The History and Archaeology of Northern Algonquian Trophy-Taking" in Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye, eds., *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians* (New York, NY: Springer, 2008), 191–217; Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends*, 32; Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1:326.

berries abounding near their spring and summer villages. They conceived of their collective homeland as *wôbanaki*, the dawnland.[6]

To the south and west of the "lake between" lived their rivals, the Kanien'kehá:ka, or Mohawk. About 2,000 years ago, the Iroquoian-speaking ancestors of the Kanien'kehá:ka migrated north from the Susquehanna River in present-day Pennsylvania to the Mohawk and Hudson River Valleys. Iroquoian women took advantage of the greater number of frost-free days south of Lake Champlain to tend fields of corn, beans, and squash. Although men traveled far from home to hunt during the summer and fall, horticulture supported large permanent villages with complex political organizations. Unlike the 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. By the fifteenth century, the Kanien'kehá:ka homeland represented the "Eastern Door" of the Rotinonhsón:ni Longhouse, the spatial metaphor by which Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Kanien'kehá:ka (and, after 1722, Tuscarora) peoples envisioned their confederacy. With Kanien'kehá:ka settlement concentrated along the Mohawk River, the Eastern Door encompassed upstate New York to Lake Champlain. The Kanien'kehá:ka spoke an Iroquoian language, radically different from Algonquian tongues but linking them linguistically with the other Rotinonhsón:ni.[7]

The Kanien'kehá:ka called Lake Champlain *kaniatarakwà:ronte*, "the bulge in the waterway." It stood in the center of the river system connecting the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in the south to the Richelieu and Saint Lawrence Rivers in the north. From their villages in the Mohawk River Valley, warriors and hunters traveled east to the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers,

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[6] "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 239–41; "The Eastern Boundary of Iroquoia: Abenaki Evidence" in Day, 116–22; William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present* (Hanover, NH: Published for University of Vermont by University Press of New England, 1981), 148–98.

[7] 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.

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. At its northwest extreme, Lake Champlain emptied into the Richelieu River, which flowed north to the Saint Lawrence River Valley, the heart of Canada. As a "bulge in the waterway" and the "lake between" two worlds, Lake Champlain drew into conflict peoples who spoke languages unintelligible to one another, used the land differently, and organized their societies in marked contrast.[8]

Such borders mattered to Native peoples long before Europeans carved up and colonized Indigenous homelands. In his dictionary compiled during the early eighteenth century, the Jesuit missionary Joseph Aubery recorded an Abenaki analog for the French word "frontière [boundary]": "édari metanaskirrañk [*adali matanaskihlôk*]." Translated literally, *adali matanaskihlôk* means, "there where the end finished." Abenaki people understood borders as precise places where their power to use the land stopped. According to their oral traditions, Abenaki people enjoyed the right to hunt along the eastern banks of the Richelieu River and fish the waters of Lake Champlain. However, the lake's western shores and the Richelieu River's islands and western bank belonged to the Kanien'kehá:ka, who considered these places some of their most valuable hunting and fishing territories. When hunters from *mazipskoik* intruded into their hunting grounds, the Kanien'kehá:ka party had good reason to resent the encroachment.[9]

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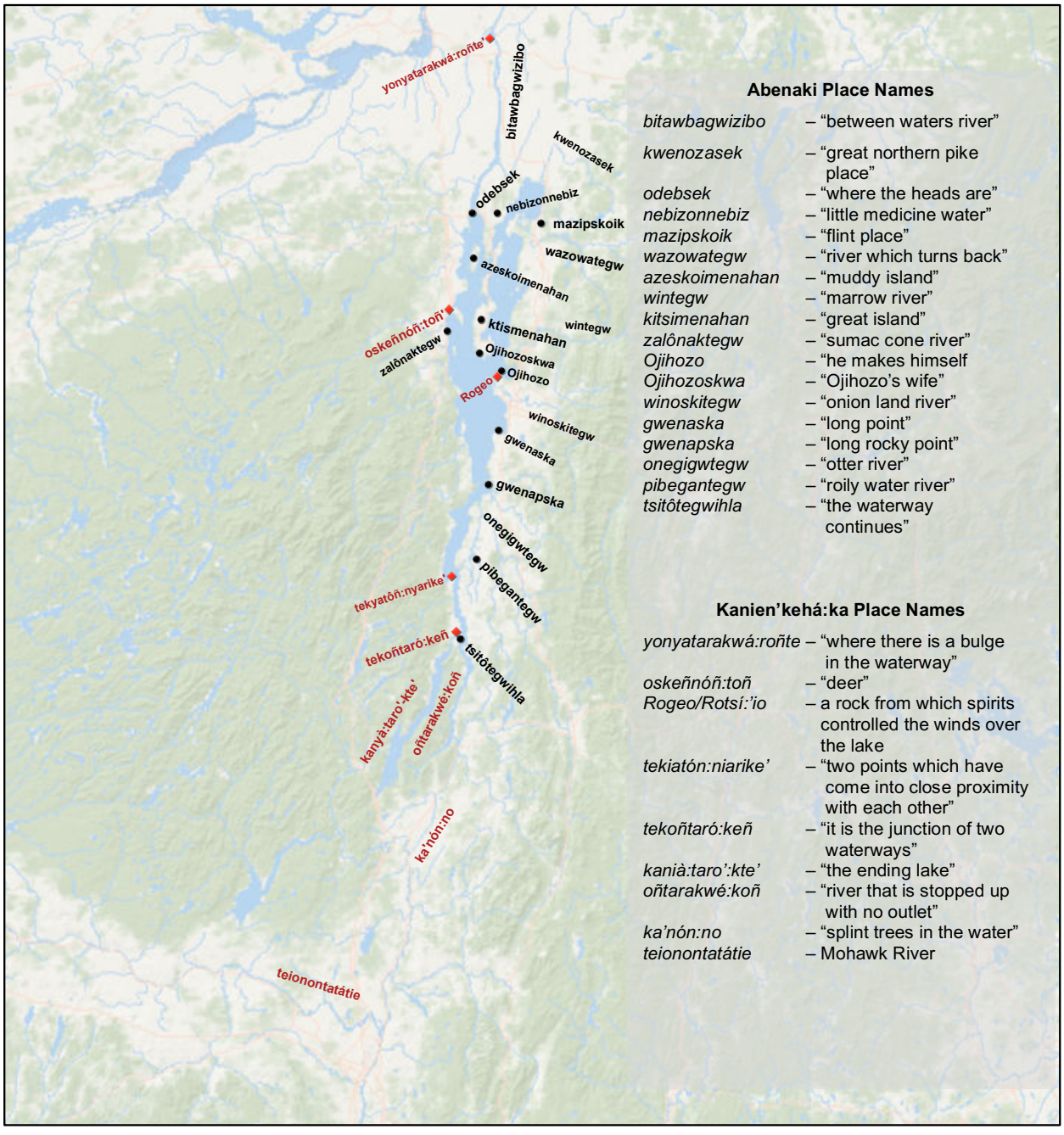
[8] Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 35–41; Gordon Day, "Abenakis in the Lake Champlain Valley," in Jennie G. Versteeg, ed., *Lake Champlain: Reflections in Our Past* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, Center for Research on Vermont, 1987), 277.

[9] Joseph Aubery, *Father Aubery's French Abenaki Dictionary*, ed. Stephen Laurent (Portland, ME: Chisholm Brothers, 1995), 273; Gordon M. Day, "Presentation: 'Lake Champlain: Reflections of Our Past,'" 1987, Box 2, Folder 7, Gordon Day Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

Figure 1 - Map of Lake Champlain Valley Place-Names



Map by Chris Whitehead

Esri, Garmin, GEBCO, NOAA NGDC, and other contributors, Sources: Esri, HERE, Garmin, GEBCO, National Geographic, NOAA, and the GIS User Community

1:2,311,162

0 12.5 25 50 mi

0 20 40 80 km

The border resounded through the place-names Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people assigned to the Champlain Valley. Along the eastern shores of *bitawbagw*, Abenakis knew where to forage for wild onion, hunt for otters, and collect medicine. They also knew which streams roiled and bubbled during the spring snow melts, imperiling canoers who lacked that knowledge. The Kanien'kehá:ka stuck to the western shores, assigning names that would help their own canoers navigate the inlets and coves along *kaniatarakwà:ronte*, the vital waterway connecting the Mohawk and Saint Lawrence Rivers and offering an entrance into the lowlands of the Adirondack Mountains.

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Although Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people 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 Rotinonhsón:ni had defeated the region's other Native peoples and won sovereignty over their lands by right of conquest. Because Britain asserted suzerainty over the Rotinonhsón:ni, the crown claimed whatever territory their 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 the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Rotinonhsón:ni kin over distant Native territories, they erased Abenakis' ownership of their homelands. To facilitate rapid settlement of the Champlain Valley after the Seven Years' War, imperial officials disregarded Abenaki claims to the Champlain Valley. They reimagined their former Native adversaries as rootless wanderers and recent transplants from Maine and Acadia to the imperial borderlands between New York and Canada. Although they shared a border at the

edges of their worlds, Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people have occupied separate historiographies as modern scholars dismantle distinct eighteenth-century myths.[10]

Historians of the Abenaki reiterate that people's historic claims to their northern New England homelands. Gordon M. Day began working with Abenakis during the 1940s, recording place names and oral traditions and reconstructing genealogies. In dozens of articles published over fifty years, Day argues that the Abenaki constitute a distinct Native people who endured in their original homelands. 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 [of Vermont]," proving that the Abenakis' ancestors inhabited the Champlain Valley for over 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 Abenakis used their traditional migration patterns to survive the imperial wars that ravaged New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but never abandoned their homes. Day, Power, Haviland, and Calloway have discredited the pervasive fallacy that northern New England lacked an Indigenous population. This dissertation follows Calloway's advice "to retell the story of northeastern North America in a way that incorporates all the actors in the drama."[11]

This dissertation also adopts the intertribal approach to Iroquoian studies suggested by Daniel Richter and James Merrill at the 1984 conference, "The 'Imperial' Iroquois." Coinciding with the release of Francis Jennings's *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, the conference refuted the

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[10] 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, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 11; Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 185–96.

[11] Michael K. Foster and William Cowan have compiled two dozen of Day's essays in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*; Day's most influential work is his book-length project, Gordon M. Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service 71 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1981); Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*.

conventional wisdom of eighteenth, nineteenth, and early-twentieth century historians that the Rotinonhsón:ni comprised "an empire wielding vast power across the northeast." Instead, scholars concluded that New York politicians and Rotinonhsón:ni diplomats played "dominant but seldom dictatorial roles" in the Covenant Chain, a series of military alliances and trading partnerships linking several Native peoples with Britain's colonial governments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Eager to claim land far beyond Rotinonhsón:ni homelands, British officials regarded as conquered those peoples who allegedly "submitted" to the Rotinonhsón:ni by joining the Covenant Chain. Rotinonhsón:ni leaders encouraged that imperial fiction to extend their influence with the British, thereby preserving their own peoples' homelands and commanding favorable trading terms with merchants. In fact, they understood that the other Native peoples drawn into the Covenant Chain retained their autonomy.[12]

By exploring the Champlain Valley as a borderland uneasily shared by two Indigenous peoples, this dissertation builds upon the emerging scholarship on Native concepts of geography. In particular, it draws inspiration from Julianna Barr's essay, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest." Barr argues that, although historians have recognized the existence of boundaries between Native homelands, they have focused "on exploring the relations that developed along and across borders created by Indian societies and European colonies." She contends that, to understand why European colonizers drew the borders they did, historians must recreate the Native borders they replaced. Barr encourages scholars to illuminate how Native peoples extended power over their territories and marked the limits of that power.[13]

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[12] Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*; Daniel K. Richter, James Hart Merrell, and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 5–8.

[13] Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 5–46.

Recent scholarship suggests that Native peoples exercised power through their networks of kin. In *Webs of Kinship: Family in Northern Cheyenne Nationhood*, Christina Gish Hill argues that Indigenous life depended on their carefully developed webs of kinship. She contends, "establishing, perpetuating, and strengthening networks of personal relationships based on kin was the driving motivation behind not just cultural or social action but political and economic action as well." A people comprised the many bonds between individuals. The durability of those bonds determined that people's political power, military prowess, and economic strength.[14]

While kinship linked people together, it also created boundaries between those who enjoyed and those who lacked those ties. Competing kinship networks stitched together the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki into their own cultural worlds, but both overlapped in the Lake Champlain Valley. For both peoples, kin and land were bound together. Land nourished its inhabitants with food and water, provided the setting for stories which gave people a common identity, held the bones of ancestors, and wove together extended families through interlacing waterways and footpaths. Kin sustained people as well by offering food and shelter to those in need, serving as trading partners, and defending against mutual enemies. Mutually reinforcing, a common culture facilitates kinship connections, and those who interact as kin affirm their identity through shared cultural practices. Culture shapes how people use the land. Kinship determines who gets to use it. In the precolonial northeast, boundaries between kinship systems manifested on the land as borders between places.

In addition to comprising a Native borderland, Lake Champlain stood at the undefined borders of New France and British North America. Rival 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

[14] Christina Gish Hill, *Webs of Kinship: Family in Northern Cheyenne Nationhood* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 9.

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. European officials mapped their rivalry for the Champlain Valley onto competing Native kinship systems in the region, transforming the Lake Champlain Valley from a boundary between Indigenous worlds into a contested imperial borderland.[15]

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Because my dissertation tells the history of both humans and homelands, I have embraced the methodologies of environmental and spatial historians to interpret the land as a primary source. ArcGIS offers powerful tools for visualizing Native worlds, which comprise networks of lakes and ponds, rivers and streams, shorelines and portages; dense forests and open meadows; steep mountains and lush valleys. For Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki peoples, developing a deep, intimate knowledge of their worlds was a matter of life and death. Women learned and passed down from generation to generation where and when to plant. Men knew which waterways to follow into the distant hunting territories where they would find the deer and moose their people needed to survive the winter. Both peoples believed in a Creator who shaped the world for them and provided instructions for living properly in it. The land yielded the bounties and imposed the constraints from which distinct Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki cultures emerged.

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[15] W. J Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500-1783* (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998); W. J Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969); Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Revisiting The Redeemed Captive: New Perspectives on the 1704 Attack on Deerfield," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1995): 3–46; Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

To understand these ways of living on the land, I have followed the guidance offered by contemporary Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka educators that their languages illuminate their cultures. The late Abenaki linguist and elder Joseph Alfred Elie Joubert carried on the work of preserving and teaching the Abenaki language begun by his mother Cecile Wawanolett, a descendent of Pierre Jean Wawanolewad, better known as Grey Lock, a prominent historical figure in this dissertation. In *L8dwaw8gan wji Abaznodakaw8gan* (The Language of Basketmaking), Joubert reflects on the language lessons he taught as a young man: "In sharing the Abenaki language with others, I was quoted as saying, '*Within our language lies the secrets of our culture.*'" Joubert used his lessons to reveal "the true meanings of our words" by studying what linguists call "morphemes," discrete sounds within a word bearing their own meaning. A polysynthetic language, Abenaki uses words to convey ideas which would require entire sentences in English. By examining each word's morphemes, I have tried following Joubert's advice for illuminating the deeper cultural meaning held within each word. [16]

The Kanien'kehá:ka writer and language teacher Brian Maracle has echoed Joubert's approach. In his retelling of the Kanien'kehá:ka creation by their Creator Shonkwaya'tíson, Maracle argues that "when Shonkwaya'tíson gave us our language, He gave us a unique way of looking at the world around us – *His way*." After explaining some of the key features of his people's polysynthetic language, Maracle concludes, "From these few observations about our language, outsiders can gain a few insights into our traditional values and way of thinking – the way our Creator wants us to think." [17]

Non-Native historians of Native peoples have a responsibility to engage with the languages of the peoples whom they study. For both the Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka languages, Europeans

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[16] Jesse Bruchac, Joseph Alfred Elie Joubert, and Jeanne Brink, *L8dwaw8gan Wji Abaznodakaw8gan (The Language of Basketmaking)* (Greenfield Center, NY: Bowman Books, 2010), i; "About the Author" in Joseph Alfred Elie Joubert, *Nitami Podawazwiskweda (The First Council Fire)* (Greenfield Center, NY: Bowman Books, 2011).
[17] Brian Maracle, "The First Words" in *Our Story: Aboriginal Voices on Canada's Past* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2004), 10–11.

have since the seventeenth century compiled dictionaries, lexicons, and word lists containing hundreds if not thousands of words in total. Each of these words is a quotation that came directly from the lips of a Native person. In addition to scouring traditional documentary sources for Native voices translated through layers of interpreters, historians of Native people must develop the skills for gleaning from Indigenous languages the sort of deep cultural meaning promised by Joubert and Maracle. By grappling with Native languages as primary sources, historians have the opportunity to tell stories more meaningful to the peoples they study. In the foreword to his own book, Joubert wrote, "I pray that you will help us ignite the fire that will bring forth the next generation of Abenaki speakers. Please note that I am not addressing just Abenaki people, but all the readers of this publication." I hope this dissertation will serve as one small piece of kindling for the fire Joubert envisioned for his people.[18]

Land and language are bound intimately together. In *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*, Keith Basso argues, "Apache constructions of place reach deeply into other cultural spheres, including conceptions of wisdom, notions of morality, politeness and tact in forms of spoken discourse, and certain ways of imagining and interpreting the Apache tribal past." Drawing inspiration from Basso's work with the Cibecue Apache, this dissertation examines the relationship between Native homelands and the languages that emerged from them. Through place-names, Abenakis enshrined into the land the knowledge that animated their seasonal migrations. For example, the Abenaki knew the Lamoille River as *wintegw*, "marrow river," one of the waterways that the transformer being *Ojihozo* carved for them when their ancestors were first created by *Tabaldak*. Along its banks, Abenakis processed marrow and tallow from the moose they had hunted during the early winter, combined the fats with sticky spruce gum, and sealed up their birch bark canoes. Because *wintegw* thawed before Lake Champlain's thick ice, Abenakis used the

[18] Bruchac, Joubert, and Brink, *L8dwaw8gan Wji Abaznodakaw8gan*, i.

river for early spring fishing and as a conduit to visit and trade with kin who passed the winter in distant villages. When traveling across *bitawbagw*, Abenakis stopped to burn tobacco at *Ojihozo's* resting place, a small rocky island near present-day Burlington. They expressed gratitude for the homeland he shaped which nourished their people.[19]

However, the smoke rising from *Ojihozo* might have come from Kanien'kehá:ka travelers as well. They knew the rock as *Rotsí:'io*, "he is weak; he is a coward," from which an ancestor's spirit controlled the winds blowing over the lake. This name presents a puzzle: who is the coward memorialized by the ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka? Perhaps he was among the *magoak* taunted by the Abenaki after refusing their invitation for war and retreating from *oskennón:ton*. Or perhaps he was a terrified young warrior who pleaded with his kin to turn their canoe around before meeting some dreadful enemy, only to be marooned on a small rocky island near the lake's eastern shore. Whoever he was in life, his spirit was angry and vengeful in death, smashing the canoes of those who refused to honor him. By burning an offering of tobacco at *Rotsí:'io*, Kanien'kehá:ka paddlers ensured safe passage across *kaniatarakwà:ronte*.[20]

Ultimately, this dissertation follows two Native leaders, Grey Lock Wawanolewad, an Abenaki, and Hendrick Tehaianó:ken, a Kanien'kehá:ka chief, as they navigated the imperial and Native contests for the Champlain Valley. Both were products of these overlapping rivalries, and each shaped the other's world. Born to an Abenaki father and Kanien'kehá:ka mother during the late 1680s or early 1690s, Hendrick became an influential war chief for the Kanien'kehá:ka people during the eighteenth century. He died in 1755, fighting with British allies and his Kanien'kehá:ka kin as

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[19] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), xv; "The Western Abenaki Transformer" and "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley" in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*; Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 142; Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends*, 32.

[20] Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 60–62; Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York* (New York, NY: T.H. Morrell, 1866), 24.

they faced off against their mutual enemies, French and Abenaki. Some of the Abenakis who fought Hendrick in his final battle came from Grey Lock's village of *mazipskoik* (more commonly spelled Missisquoi).[21]

Probably born during the 1680s in northern New England, Grey Lock grew up as a refugee and under submission to the English and Kanien'kehá:ka. He sought to build an autonomous Abenaki community at Missisquoi by uniting his displaced kin and forging new connections with their French neighbors. As rival European powers fought to claim Lake Champlain, Grey Lock and Hendrick competed to preserve their people's way of life in the space their ancestors had contested for centuries.[22]

Through digital visualization and analysis tools, I also examine the social worlds that Hendrick and Grey Lock inhabited. In particular, I use the social network analysis program Gephi to visualize and analyze the kinship connections facilitated by baptisms between Natives and Europeans inhabiting key villages and forts in the Lake Champlain Valley. This social network analysis approach has enabled me to reconstruct webs of kinship from baptism records, documents historians have largely overlooked. Generally, historians of Native peoples struggle to find names of individual Native peoples in colonial documents. Baptism records present the opposite problem. They contain hundreds of names, a challenge to analyze systematically without digital tools. By reconstructing the social networks linking peoples in the Champlain Valley and beyond, this project reveals how Natives and Europeans wielded influence in the contested region through the kinship networks they could mobilize for trade, spiritual power, and war.[23]

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[21] Barbara J. Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears: A Mohawk Family History* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1996); Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[22] Gordon M. Day, "GRAY LOCK," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gray_lock_3E.html.
[23] For an overview of Historical Social Network Analysis, see Charles Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis," *International Review of Social History* 43, no. S6 (December 1998): 125–44; for Historical Social Network Analysis applied to studying Native peoples, see Robert Michael Morrissey, "Kaskaskia Social Network: Kinship and Assimilation in the French-Illinois Borderlands, 1695–1735," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2013): 103–46 and; Maeve Kane, "For

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The first chapter, "*Alnôbak* & *Onkwehón:we*: Culture and Warfare in the Northeast, Creations - 1570," explains how Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenakis developed distinct ways of organizing their social worlds and sustaining their people. In small and nomadic family bands known as *gassokamigwezoak*, Abenakis traversed their northern territory seasonally, a strategy that reduced resource depletion and ensured their people's survival through harsh winters. Because their social world comprised dispersed kinship networks, family bands could merge or divide when their crops failed or the hunt eluded them. By cultivating such reciprocal relationships across their cold, vast northern homeland, Abenaki people transcended the ecological limits of any family band's territory.[24]

In contrast, the Kanien'kehá:ka enjoyed a prolonged growing season conducive to cultivating staple crops like corn, beans, and squash, fostering permanent villages and sizable populations. To mitigate potential conflicts in these more densely-populated settlements, the Kanien'kehá:ka devised a clan system, *o'tá:ra*, delineating communal obligations and nurturing a warrior class capable of asserting authority over distant hunting grounds vital for village sustenance. Because their different

Wagrassero's Wife's Son: Colonialism and the Structure of Indigenous Women's Social Connections, 1690–1730," *Journal of Early American History* 7, no. 2 (July 2017): 89–114; for the institution of godparenthood in Europe, see Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo)," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6, no. 4 (1950): 341–68; Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Bernhard Jussen, *Spiritual Kinship as Social Practice: Godparenthood and Adoption in the Early Middle Ages* (Newark, Del.; London; Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press ; Associated University Presses, 2000); Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Guido Alfani, Agnese Vitali, and Vincent Gourdon, "Social Customs and Demographic Change: The Case of Godparenthood in Catholic Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51, no. 3 (2012): 482–504; for the importance of Catholicism in Native communities during the eighteenth century, see Peter D. Macleod, "Catholicism, Alliances, and Amerindian Evangelists During The Seven Years' War," *Historical Studies*, no. 62 (1996): 63–72.

[24] Frank G. Speck and Loren C. Eiseley, "Significance of Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory," *American Anthropologist* 41, no. 2 (1939): 269–80; Dean R. Snow, "Wabanaki 'Family Hunting Territories,'" *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 6 (1968): 1143–51; Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters.*

cultures created competing kinship systems with rivalries over the same resources, Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people fought frequently along the edges of their overlapping worlds.[25]

The second chapter, "Duffel, Firearms, and Contagion: The New Arithmetic of War and Kinship, 1570-1646," examines the escalating violence between the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Abenaki rivals wrought by colonization during the first half of the seventeenth century. During this period, French, Dutch, Swedish, and English colonizers drew Native peoples into a new, capitalist economic system that transformed how they used their homelands. Before colonization, Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people relied on the land to furnish everything they needed for their survival. However, trade goods such as duffel cloth ignited a fierce competition by Native hunters over access to the hunting territories where they could procure beaver pelts. Once essential materials for Indigenous clothing, furs became commodities whose value now hinged on distant European markets. Firearms rendered the intensified conflicts over hunting grounds more deadly than ever before, but the toll of violence paled in comparison to the devastation visited by European diseases, which ravaged kinship networks and decimated villages.[26]

Driven by both new commercial pressures and ancient obligations to kin, the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki became ensnared in escalating cycles of violence. A faction of Abenaki, the Sokwakiiak,

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[25] Richard Michael Gramly, "Deerskins and Hunting Territories: Competition for a Scarce Resource of the Northeastern Woodlands," *American Antiquity* 42, no. 4 (1977): 601–5; Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994); Dean R. Snow, *Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites* (University Park, PA: Matson Museum of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, 1995); Dean R. Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 15, no. 2 (1996): 160–82; Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends*, 32; Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*; Nicholas N. Smith, "The Wabanaki-Mohawk Conflict: A Folkhistory Tradition," *Papers of the Algonquian Conference/Actes Du Congrès Des Algonquinistes* 14 (1983): 49–56.

[26] Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-64* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993); Laura E. Johnson, "'Goods to Clothe Themselves': Native Consumers and Native Images on the Pennsylvania Trading Frontier, 1712–1760," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 1 (2009): 115–40; Karl H. Schlesier, "Epidemics and Indian Middlemen: Rethinking the Wars of the Iroquois, 1609-1653," *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 2 (1976): 129–45, https://doi.org/10.2307/481513; Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations"; José António Brandão, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); José António Brandão and William A. Starna, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern," *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 4 (October 2004): 725–50.

sought territorial dominance over the Champlain Valley's beaver-hunting grounds, although that violated previous agreements with the Kanien'kehá:ka that the lake marked the boundary between their lands. That violation sparked a bitter and deadly conflict.[27]

This war, however, provided the Kanien'kehá:ka an opportunity to replenish their dwindling populations by capturing prisoners, while also asserting control over the Sokwakiiak through a new relationship of "coercive kinship." Clan mothers and war chiefs depended on their Sokwakiiak tributaries to perform the same functions as kin, such as presenting wampum and joining war parties. For this allegiance, Sokwakiiak villages enjoyed the protection of the more powerful Kanien'kehá:ka. Through their relationship of mutual though unequal dependence, Kanien'kehá:ka and Sokwakiiak peoples restored order to their chaotic worlds. The delicate balance proved short-lived, however, as peace strained under resurging diseases and tightening competition over duffel, guns, powder, and lead.[28]

The third chapter, "Divinity and Dispersal: The Contest for Native Souls and Bodies, 1646-1687," traces the impact of the Catholicism introduced to Indigenous people by the French. During the mid-1640s, Abenakis embraced Christianity, perceiving it as a protective force against the diseases and Kanien'kehá:ka raids devastating their villages. Abenakis also welcomed baptism as a ritual that could mend fractured kinship networks and solidify flagging alliances. Abenaki war chiefs forged an especially strong alliance with the neighboring Montagnais and Algonquin peoples settled at Kamiskaouangachit, a Catholic mission along the Saint Lawrence River. Bound by the same faith in the new Christian God and linked together through baptismal sponsorships, they regarded each other as kin.[29]

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[27] Brandão and Starna, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars."
[28] William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 79–96; Brandão and Starna, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars."
[29] Lucien Campeau, "Msakkikkan Ou La Première Mission de Saint-François-de-Sales," in *Les Abénaquis Sur La Chaudière*, by Honorius Provost (dir.) (Quebec: Éditions de la Nouvelle-Beauce, Séminaire de Québec, 1983), 52–71; Jean-Francois

By the early 1650s, the Abenakis envisioned their coalition with Kamiskaouangachit as the foundation of a broad alliance aimed at defeating the Kanien'kehá:ka. They persuaded Sokwakiiak warriors and other Kanien'kehá:ka tributaries to unite against their common adversaries, reversing the system of alliances that had coalesced during the first half of the seventeenth century. As military power tilted in favor of the Abenaki and Sokwakiiak factions by the mid-1650s, the Kanien'kehá:ka retaliated with a series of raids into *wôbanaki* during the 1660s. Although costly for both sides, the Kanien'kehá:ka suffered the most significant defeats in these wars, further eroding their strength.[30]

Ironically, the conflict spurred a faction of Kanien'kehá:ka people to embrace Christianity as their own new source of spiritual power. However, while the new faith unified the Abenaki and their Algonquian-speaking neighbors, it fragmented Kanien'kehá:ka villages. Traditionalists blamed Christian converts for military defeats, a tension exacerbated by the influx of alcohol introduced by unscrupulous Dutch traders at Albany. Liquor proved even more destructive than war, ensnaring the Kanien'kehá:ka in a cycle of addiction, debt, and internal violence which strained ties between clans. During the early 1670s, members of the Christian faction flocked from the Mohawk Valley to the new mission village of Kahnawà:ke, opposite Montreal on the Saint Lawrence River. This exodus further diminished the Kanien'kehá:ka population, compounding the existing crises presented by warfare, disease, and alcohol.[31]

When war broke out between colonists and the Native peoples of southern New England in 1675, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs exploited the chaos to reclaim their people's waning power. They proposed a system of alliances between Native peoples and the English colonial governments, a pact

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Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms: France and the St. Lawrence Mission Villages in War and Peace, 1630-1730" (Ph.D., Canada, University of Toronto (Canada), 2012), http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1503848906/abstract/3B362A0C14914D47PQ/1.

[30] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*; Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations."

[31] Jacques Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language with Their Derivatives* (New York, NY: Cramoisy Press, 1862), 89, 91; Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees and Navajos* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

known as the Covenant Chain, with the Kanien'kehá:ka positioned as pivotal figures. Supported by formidable English allies, the Kanien'kehá:ka sought retribution for past grievances and aimed to acquire new captives from their longstanding adversaries, the Abenaki and Sokwakiiak.[32]

Fleeing the onslaught, some Abenakis and Sokwakiiak submitted as metaphorical "children" in the Covenant Chain, and resettled at a village called Schaghticoke, about ten miles north of the Mohawk River. They agreed to join their Kanien'kehá:ka "fathers" in war parties and help populate their villages during times of war or disease, the traditional functions of war captives. Other Abenakis and Sokwakiiak sought sanctuary at Kamiskaouangachit with the extended kin they had forged through baptism during the 1640s and 1650s. By the mid-1680s, French and English colonial officials had begun competing to settle these Abenaki, Sokwakiiak, Kanien'kehá:ka, and Kahnawa'kehrón:on people on their frontiers, each seeking Native allies to secure their own territorial ambitions.[33]

The fourth chapter, "Subjects or Friends: Imperial Wars in Native Homelands, 1687-1727" examines the transformative period of accelerating warfare between rival empires engaged in two global wars. French and English colonial officials mapped their imperial contests over the precolonial rivalry between the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki, with devastating consequences for the Native peoples whose homelands the Europeans fought to control. The Kanien'kehá:ka population plummeted from approximately 2,000 people during the late 1670s to fewer than 600 by the 1720s, diminishing their asserted supremacy over neighboring Native groups. The weaker they grew, the greater their reliance on the fiction of the Covenant Chain to maintain control over their land, hunting grounds, and trading partnerships. However, without the military strength to back up the power they boasted, the Kanien'kehá:ka risked exposing the chain's fiction and losing their aura of

[32] Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*; Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*.
[33] Richter, "War and Culture"; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*; Richter, Merrell, and Washburn, *Beyond the Covenant Chain*; Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms."

power altogether. Meanwhile, the French valued the Abenakis as strategic allies in wartime, both defensive screens for French settlements and also the rightful owners of northern New England, whose legitimate territorial claims could block English settler expansion into New France.[34]

The chapter follows two Native leaders, Grey Lock, an Abenaki, and Hendrick, of the Kanien'kehá:ka, as they navigated the overlapping imperial and Native rivalries. As Europeans fought to claim the lake between their empires, Grey Lock and Hendrick competed to preserve their people's autonomy and control over their homelands. Hendrick aspired to restore his people's waning power through by affirming their supremacy in Covenant Chain, but faced a formidable rival in Grey Lock, who exploited the escalating imperial rivalry to resist British and Kanien'kehá:ka dominance over Abenaki lands.

The fifth chapter, "The King's Ground: Conquest and Erasure of Native Worlds, 1727-1768" traces the intense competition among the Abenakis, Kahnawa'kehrón:on, Kanien'kehá:ka, French, and British for dominance over the Lake Champlain Valley. Officials in New France sought greater control over the region by constructing Fort Saint-Frédéric at *Pointe á la Chevelure*, strategically positioned on the lake's southwest shore. Protected by the French garrison, Abenaki family bands expanded their hunting territory into the domain of their Kanien'kehá:ka rivals. As part of their traditional seasonal migration, Abenaki families camped at the fort during the winter, where they traded furs and meat with French soldiers for bread, peas, cloth, and powder. Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on parents also brought their children to the fort's priest for baptism, selecting French settlers as godmothers and godfathers. By baptizing their children at Fort Saint-Frédéric rather than their mission villages in the Saint Lawrence Valley, they forged a kinship network that

[34] Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations"; Snow, *Mohawk Valley Archaeology*; Thomas Charland, "Un village d'Abénakis sur la rivière Missisquoi," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 15, no. 3 (1961): 319.

rendered the French their brethren and so transcended the linguistic and cultural boundaries that had pitted their ancestors against each other.[35]

Hendrick resented the threat posed by the Abenaki, Kahnawa'kehrón:on, and French coalition to Kanien'kehá:ka power in the contested region. He seized upon the renewal of hostilities between France and England during the mid-eighteenth century to reassert his people's supremacy around Lake Champlain. He yearned especially to destroy Fort Saint-Frédéric, the key to his rivals' influence in the region. Forging a friendship with the ambitious trader and land speculator William Johnson, Hendrick secured access to guns, powder, lead, and bounties paid for scalps. With these supplies, he recruited his Kanien'kehá:ka kin to join him in a series of raids down the Champlain Valley and against the French garrison. In 1755, Hendrick and his following accompanied Johnson's colonial troops on their expedition against Fort Saint-Frédéric. However, on the southern shore of Lake George, the combined force fell into an ambush laid by French, Abenaki, and Kahnawa'kehrón:on enemies. Thrown from his horse and scalped by an enemy warrior, Hendrick perished in the overlapping Indigenous and imperial contest for the Champlain Valley.[36]

In 1760, Britain's conquest of New France fulfilled the victory Hendrick had pursued to his death five years earlier, yet this triumph bore consequences unanticipated by the Kanien'kehá:ka as well as their Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on rivals. In 1759, General Jeffrey Amherst led 11,000 British soldiers down Lake Champlain to capture Montreal. Before the British forces arrived, French soldiers and families abandoned Fort Saint-Frédéric, burning it to the ground as they fled. In 1763, the Peace of Paris confirmed Canada as a British possession. Safe from French reprisal, New England farmers swarmed into the region, transforming Lake Champlain's fertile shores into farms,

[35] Guy Omeron Coolidge, *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759* (Harrison, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1979).
[36] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*; Dean R. Snow, "Searching for Hendrick: Correction of a Historic Conflation," *New York History* 88, no. 3 (2007): 229–53.

fields, and pastures. The French withdrawal from the Champlain Valley slashed the intercultural kinship network through which the Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on had exercised power in the contested region. Their imperial rival defeated and their Native enemies reeling, British officials could impose whatever borders they wished on the land. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Johnson curtailed sharply Kahnawa'kehrón:on hunting territory and denied altogether the Abenaki had ever belonged to the Lake Champlain Valley. To make room for a proposed English settlement near the ruins of Fort Saint-Frédéric, Johnson convinced the Kanien'kehá:ka to yield most of the territory his old friend Hendrick had died trying to reclaim. The ground belonged to the King, he explained. From an Indigenous boundary, to a contested imperial borderland, by 1768 the "water between" stood firmly within Britain's vast North American empire. But within the empire a revolution brewed from which a new nation would emerge. Under the watchful eyes of *Ojihozo* and *Rotsí:'io*, Lake Champlain would serve as its border.[37]

Neither the Abenaki nor the Kanien'kehá:ka accepted their marginalization from the region they had so long valued. Although the American Revolution drove the Kanien'kehá:ka from their homes in the Mohawk Valley, their kin at Kahnawà:ke and the other Saint Lawrence River mission villages preserved through a treaty with New York their title to cherished hunting territories between Montreal and the Richelieu River. With New Yorkers currently violating the agreement by settling the land, Mohawk leaders have taken state officials to court, demanding their land back. At a November 2023 community meeting, the Akwesasne Chief Ronald LaFrance, Jr. noted "Many of our community members have worked hard over the years to reclaim this land, some of them are no

[37] Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000); Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*; 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*, 2016.

longer with us." These modern warriors are waging in court the same battle their ancestors have fought for centuries.[38]

Abenakis have similarly persisted despite the apparent imperial triumph. During the 1790s, Abenaki families continued their seasonal migrations from Saint François, up the Lake Champlain Valley, and to their homes at Missisquoi, reminding the white settlers that they had never yielded the lands gobbled up by bustling towns and farms. According to one settler, the Abenakis "were a source of disquietude to the inhabitants, as they uniformly claimed the land as theirs and often threatened the newcomers." Periodically, the Natives returned to Missisquoi, where they seized corn and cattle as reparations for the land settlers cleared with abandon. By the 1970s, the shores of Missisquoi Bay hosted Abenaki people holding illicit "fish-ins" and demanding the United States recognize the Natives' existence and enduring right to use their homeland as their ancestors always had. To the east, a new generation of Abenaki leaders has organized, "an intertribal initiative to protect Wabanaki homelands, knowledge, and future generations." They have already reclaimed land along the Kennebec River, and their work has just begun.[39]

[38] "LAND BACK - Akwesasne Mohawk Plaintiffs Convene Land Claim Information Session," Press Release, *Saint Regis Mohawk Tribe*, November 20, 2023, https://www.srmt-nsn.gov/news/2023/land-back-akwesasne-mohawk-plaintiffs-convene-land-claim-information-session.
[39] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 230; "Indians in Vermont Tribe Need No Licenses to Fish, Judge Rules," *The New York Times*, August 15, 1989; "Bomazeen Land Trust," accessed February 22, 2024, https://www.bomazeenlandtrust.org/.

- Chapter 1 -

Alnôbak & *Onkwehón:we*: Cultures and Warfare in the Northeast, Creations-1570

Ancestral Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka peoples developed cultures suited to the abundance and constraints of their homelands' resources. Culture determined how the land was used; kinship identified who had claims to that land and mutual obligations to the people inhabiting it. In small and mobile family bands called *gassokamigwezoak*, Abenaki peoples migrated with the seasons across their northern home. By limiting their population density, they avoided overtaxing the earth's bounty, thereby staving off starvation during the bitter cold and deep snows of winter. Moreover, each person possessed kin in multiple family bands spread across the land. When their crops failed or the hunt eluded them, family bands dispersed and joined other kin. By cultivating such reciprocal relationships across their cold, vast northern homeland, Abenaki people transcended the ecological limits of any family band's territory.

Kanien'kehá:ka country enjoyed a growing season long enough to support the intense cultivation of corn, beans, and squash. Reliable harvests promoted large, dense populations in permanent villages. To avoid the political strife that typically arises with such large and permanent populations, Kanien'kehá:ka people elaborated a clan, or *o'tá:ra*, system designating the obligations that each person owed one another. The clan system socialized and mobilized warriors capable of consolidating authority over the distant hunting territories that Kanien'kehá:ka villages required for meat and hides. Because their different cultures created competing kinship systems with rivalries over the same resources, Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people began intermittent warfare by the mid-sixteenth century, clashing where their worlds converged at Lake Champlain.

***Gassokamigwezoak* ("They are so many ones-in-the-way-of-earth together")**

European settlers applied the ethnonym "Abenaki" to culturally- and linguistically-similar peoples inhabiting *wôbanaki*, "the east" or "dawnland." Comprising a series of overlapping homelands, *wôbanaki* spanned from the eastern shore of *bitawbagw*, the "between water" of Lake Champlain, to *zobagw*, the "salt water" lapping at Maine's central coastline. Abenaki tradition maintains that their precolonial hunting territory extended north to *kitsitegw*, the "great river" now called the Saint Lawrence. *Wôbanaki* also reached south along *gwenitegw*, the "long river" that English colonists misheard as "Connecticut," to the northern border of present-day Massachusetts.[1]

Although the peoples inhabiting this vast region constituted *wôbanakiiak*, "dawnland people," before colonization they probably identified as *alnôbak*. The singular construction of this word, *alnôba*, derives from the roots /*aln-*/, "common, usual, ordinary" and /*nôba*/, which translates narrowly as "male" and more capaciously as "human." Together, the roots describe a "real" or "authentic" human being. *Alnôbak* recognized each other as "real" because they shared a common sense of belonging to the land created for them. According to Abenaki tradition, the powerful transformer-being *Ojihozo* shaped the earth to make it fit for their habitation. *Ojihozo* means "he made himself," for he created his own body from the rocky earth around him. In his massive hands he collected sand to make the mountains. Lacking legs, he stretched out his arms, gripped the mountains, and dragged his body across the land, carving the rivers, streams, and ponds. To make the lakes, he pivoted his body back and forth, grinding down the earth beneath him. In his final act, *Ojihozo* created *bitawbagw*, Lake Champlain, which he deemed his masterpiece for its beautiful shores and cool, deep waters. Wishing to admire *bitawbagw* forever, he sat in the water off the coast of

[1] Gordon M. Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 2 vols., Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series 128 (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994), 1: 505, 117, 527, 230.

present-day Burlington, Vermont and turned himself back into stone. Whenever they traveled along the lake, *alnôbak* burned offerings of tobacco at *Ojihozo* to thank him for shaping their homeland.[2]

Alnôbak believed they constituted the original humans because their ancestors had inhabited this land since its transformation. The living occupied the same place as their ancestors, but existed on a different plane of time. Abenaki people conveyed this idea in their complementary words *babajigwezijik* and *zôkhigwezijik*, which align with the English words "ancestors" and "children." Translated more literally, *babajigwezijik* means, "those very-like-ones who are gone along crawling" and *zôkhigwezijik* conveys, "those who approach crawling." Past generations moved away from the present as future generations edged towards it. Those living were "very like" their predecessors, just as children would replace parents gone crawling along beyond the mortal world. *Alnôbak* comprised this unbroken sequence of people linking past, present, and future generations moving across a common landscape.[3]

They arrived in their homeland about 12,000 years ago, as the last glacial ice sheet receded from *wôbanaki*. Like *Ojihozo*, this glacier dragged itself across the land, scattering boulders, carving lakes and ponds, and draining massive reservoirs to create rivers and streams. The tundra it left behind invited herds of grazing mastodon and giant moose-elk, which hunters followed up the Hudson River into what would become the Champlain Valley. These early ancestors of Abenaki peoples traveled in small groups, probably bands of a few related families, which remained the basic unit of kinship for their Abenaki descendants.[4]

Abenaki people called such family bands *gassokamigwezoak*. In their language, the related word corresponding with "family" is *lakamigwezo*, which comprises the morphemes /*l-*/, "in such a

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[2] "The Western Abenaki Transformer," in Gordon M. Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 183-94.
[3] Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1: 58, 536.
[4] R. Duncan Mathewson III, "Western Abenaki of the Upper Connecticut River Basin: Preliminary Notes on Native American Pre-Contact Culture in Northern New England," *The Journal of Vermont Archaeology* 12 (2011): 6.

way or manner," /*-(a)kamigw*/, "earth, ground, country, specific piece of terrain," and /*-ezo*/, a verb final forming stative verbs for animate subjects which conveys the approximate meaning "the being is." In his 1760 lexicon *Radicum Wābanakkaearum Sylva*, the Abenaki scholar J.B. Nudenas listed the corresponding Latin terms for the root /*-(a)kamigw*/ as "mundus, orb[u]s," meaning "earth," and also "mores," the manners, customs, or social norms shared by a culture. According to Nudenas, Abenaki people and their ancestors understood "land" and "customs" as linguistic equivalents and a singular, indivisible concept. Therefore, the word *lakamigwezo* conveys their conception of a family as a single being living according to the custom or manner of a particular piece of earth. When referring to multiple families, Abenaki peoples append to the word the animate plural suffix /*-(a)k*/, yielding *lakamigwezoak*. Their word for "family band," *gassokamigwezoak*, simply prefixes /*gasso-*/ to the word for "families," thereby indicating "so many animate beings (i.e. a number of families) together." Translated literally, therefore, *gassokamigwezoak* means, "they are so many ones-in-the-way-of-earth together." Like their ancient ancestors, Abenaki peoples believed that the piece of earth they inhabited prescribed a specific way of living. Their culture emerged from their homeland – and their culture shaped that homeland.[5]

When the ancestors moved down the Champlain Valley 12,000 years ago, the land presented more constraints than opportunities. Abenaki ancestors found in *Ojihozo's* creation vast and inhospitable grasslands with only scattered stands of fir, spruce, and birch trees. Although the earth supported their gathering some wild plants and roots, people relied on meat for most of their calories. Small and mobile, *gassokamigwezoak* traveled with the herds they hunted, achieving a population density aligned with the land's carrying capacity of about 10 people per 100 square

[5] J.B. Nudénās, "Radicum Wābanakkaerum Sylva Ex Variis Et Recentiorum Manuscriptis Codicibus," trans. Fannie Eckstorm (Copy made from the rhotostat of the original copy owned by William Brooks Cabot, Brewer, ME, 1934), 30, Fannie Eckstorm Papers, University of Maine Raymond H. Fogler Library Special Collections. The modern pronunciation of *gassokamigwezoak* probably truncated the morpheme */*-- between *gasso*-- and *--(a)kamigw*, which, when restored, adds the meaning, "such a way."

kilometers. A carrying capacity measure how many members of a given species a piece of land can sustain. If they were to exceed this constraint, Abenaki ancestors risked the ecological collapse of their world, which would bring starvation to their families.[6]

Over hundreds of generations, Abenaki ancestors elaborated a kinship network aligned with the environmental limits of their homeland. When young men and women formed new families by having children together, they could decide to travel with either parent's *gassokamigwezoak*, a living arrangement that anthropologists call "ambilocality." Nomadic peoples like these Abenaki ancestors embrace ambilocal cultures in order to avoid overtaxing the limited plant and animal resources within any one band's territory. Furthermore, ambilocality increased the density of kin relations across multiple bands in far-flung territories. As a result, during times of famine, any *gassokamigwezoak* could disband into smaller family units and join relatives in another band, thereby restoring the balance between people and resources. These early Abenaki ancestors lived "in the way of earth" by traveling and maintaining kinship ties across it as *gassokamigwezoak*.[7]

Their descendants adapted this fluid kinship system to a changing landscape. Around 10,000 years ago, the tundra gave way to dense forests as the climate continued warming. Losing vast grasslands to graze upon, mastodon and moose-elk died off. Without the ice-age megafauna to hunt, the Abenaki ancestors began diversifying their hunting and gathering, migrating to take advantage of their homeland's seasonal abundance. As the ice melted from lakes and rivers, they fished for sturgeon, eel, herring, and trout. From late spring through early fall, they enjoyed the bounty of the earth's wild plants, gathering acorns, leaves, roots, berries, seeds, and nuts from the forests. During the fall, they hunted the red fox, martens, wolverines, and lynxes abounding in the woods and the deer and turkey that thrived in the transition zones between forests and fields.

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[6] William Haviland and Marjory Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1981), 31, 35.
[7] Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 39, 41.

However, winter posed a dangerous challenge. Ice locked up the rivers, lakes, and ponds that they fished during spring. Deep snows covered the plants they gathered and upon which game animals subsisted. Although starvation stalked Abenaki ancestors, their kinship system facilitated their survival. Because each band comprised only a few families and bands dispersed across vast distances, they stewarded the population of vital moose in northern hunting territories by avoiding overhunting. If a band struggled in its winter moose hunt, families could continue their ancient practice of breaking off and joining their kin in other bands that had met with greater success in their own territories. As it had during the earliest generations of those inhabiting the landscape, the *gassokamigwezoak* system structured life in the way of the earth by heeding its constraints.[8]

Around 9,000 years ago these Abenaki ancestors adapted a riverine orientation from the nomadic culture of their predecessors. Because thick forests made overland travel more difficult, they began dwelling along the rivers connecting their fishing, gathering, and hunting territories. Initially, dugout canoes ferried families along these integral waterways. By about 2800 BP, Abenaki ancestors had innovated to create lighter and swifter birchbark canoes capable of navigating the smaller tributaries linking the major river valleys of *wôbanaki*. Over hundreds of generations, family bands developed identities inseparable from the river valleys they inhabited. They learned the seasonal rhythms of their homes, returning each year to the best places for gathering wild plants. They also began modifying the land, constructing stone weirs to channel trout and salmon for easier fishing and burning the forest's underbrush to create habitats inviting greater deer populations. As the earth changed, Abenaki ancestors adapted with it, continuing to live according to the customs prescribed by their homelands.[9]

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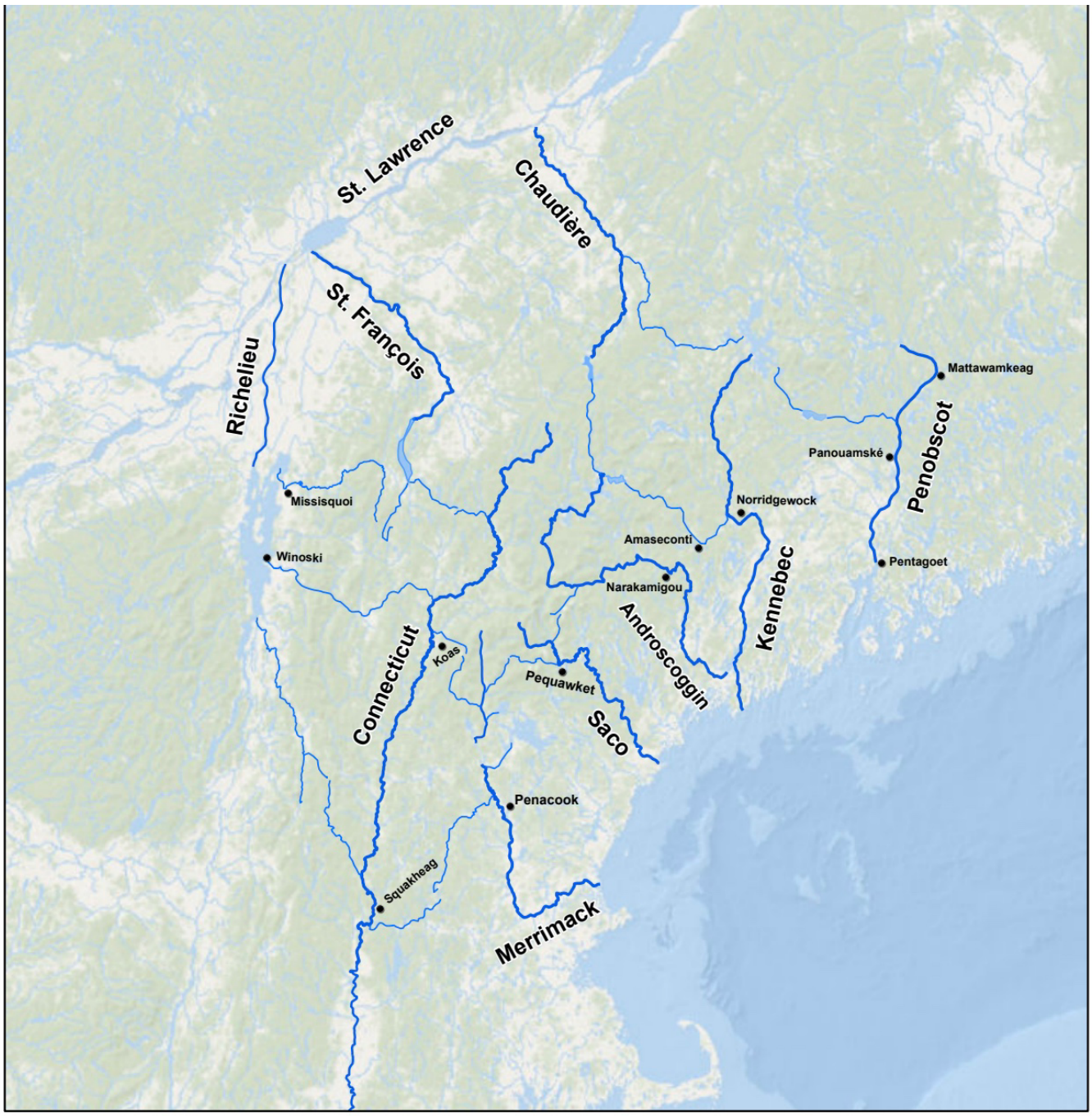
[8] Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 44-45, 76-89, 154-170.
[9] Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 42, 44-45, 89; Mathewson, "Western Abenaki of the Upper Connecticut River Basin," 6.

Figure 2 – Map of Major Abenaki Waterways



The increased resource density of their warmer, forested world promoted a gradual population increase and seasonal aggregations in small summer villages. Around 2,800 years ago, related family bands inhabiting the same river valleys began assembling at resource-rich places along the river banks during summer months. These seasonal villages probably hosted 3 or 4 interconnected *gassokamigwezoak*, about 100 people in total. There, they shared in the seasonal work of catching and drying fish, as well as gathering, preserving, and storing nuts and roots. During the early eighteenth century, the Jesuit missionary Joseph Aubery recorded in his linguistic notes the term, "nek8takkemighinn8ak [*negwedakamigwinnoak*]," an Abenaki word approximating "nation," by which Abenaki people probably meant the assembly of family bands gathered at these summer villages. Like the words *lakamigwezo* for "family" and *gassokamigwezoak* for "family band," *negwedakamigwinnoak* contains the root /*-(a)kamigw*/, the unified concept of "earth" and "social customs." In addition to this familiar morpheme, the word comprises /*negwed-*/, "one;" /*-winno*/, "person;" and /*-(a)k*/, the pluralizing suffix for animate beings. Whereas /*-winnoak*/ conveys plural people, /*negwed-*/ indicates a singular entity. Translated literally, *negwedakamigwinnoak* means "the people who are one-earth," the plural rendered singular by their common adherence to the customs demanded by the land. During hunting seasons, villages disbanded into *gassokamigwezoak*, but each moved across a shared homeland comprising overlapping hunting territories. Such villages composed greater social units enjoying reciprocal rights, owing mutual obligations, and sharing a sense of being a people.[10]

About 1,000 years ago, these peoples incorporated horticulture into their seasonal subsistence pattern. Gradually, women introduced corn, beans, and squashes among the wild plants they gathered during spring and summer. Because of its durability and versatility, Abenaki people

[10] Mathewson III, "Western Abenaki of the Upper Connecticut River Basin": 6; Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 128; Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1: 306, 100, 341-42; Joseph Aubery, *Father Aubery's French Abenaki Dictionary*, ed. Stephen Laurent (Portland, ME: Chisholm Brothers, 1995), 279.

prized corn as their staple crop. They enjoyed it fresh off the cob during the fall harvest time. Women also stored dried corn for later consumption and ground down kernels into a fine meal. By adding bear or moose grease to the meal, women made a hearty stew capable of sustaining their families during the harsh winters. These women probably cultivated twelve-row flint corn, which required about ninety days to mature. On average *wôbanaki* enjoyed enough days between the last spring and the first autumn frosts to support its growth (see Table 1).[11]

Table 1 – Approximate *Wôbanaki* Growing Season Duration[12]

	Average Growing Season (Days)	Growing Season Standard Deviation (Days)	Probability of a Growing Season < 90 days
Western VT	145	24	1%
Southeastern VT	110	22	18%
Southern NH	130	26	7%
Northern NH	112	21	16%
Coastal ME	143	28	3%
Southern Interior ME	125	22	5%

Women faced the challenge of deciding when to sow their fields. For although *wôbanaki's* average growing seasons permitted corn cultivation, women exercised their judgment about when the growing season began. In rendering their decision about when to plant, women bore the responsibility of their people's survival. By sowing too early, they risked a late spring frost killing the seedlings at their roots. Yet if they waited too long to plant, an early fall frost could kill the corn before it fully matured. To avoid ruinous crop failures, women probably allocated a buffer of two or

[11] Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 92, 136, 137; R. Douglas Hurt, *Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 13–15.
[12] Table 1 was adapted from William R Baron and David C Smith, "Growing Season Parameter Reconstructions for New England Using Killing Frost Records, 1697-1947," Maine Agricultural and Forest Experiment Station Bulletin (Orono, ME: Institute for Quaternary Studies, November 1996), 11–12. In 1895, The National Weather Service established climate divisions for each state based on similarities in temperature and precipitation.

three weeks after the average final spring frost date before planting. Although necessary to increase the chance of a successful harvest, these buffer periods reduced the growing season's length, thereby gambling against early autumn killing frosts. Women knew the best time of year to plant by observing the awakening landscape as well as the position of the moon within its annual cycle. They sowed corn during the moons Abenaki people called *kikas*, "field-maker," and *nokkahigas*, "softening-land-worker," when women shored up emerging corn stalks by building mounds of soil around them.

Table 2 – Approximate *Wôbanaki* Growing Season Start- and End-Date Variation[13]

	Average Last Spring Frost	Last Spring Frost Standard Deviation (# of Days)	Last Spring Frost 1 Standard Deviation Late	Average First Fall Frost	First Fall Frost Standard Deviation (# of Days)	First Fall Frost 1 Standard Deviation Early	# of Days Between Late Spring and Early Fall Frosts
Western VT	May 11	16	May 27	Oct 1	13	Sep. 18	**114**
Southeastern VT	May 28	16	June 13	Sep. 15	12	Sep. 3	**82**
Southern NH	May 14	17	May 31	Sep. 21	15	Sep. 6	**98**
Northern NH	May 26	17	June 12	Sep. 15	14	Sep. 1	**81**
Coastal ME	May 11	16	May 27	Sep. 28	19	Sep. 9	**105**
Southern Interior ME	May 16	16	June 1	Sep. 18	14	Sep. 4	**95**

Generations of experience had taught women which phase of *kikas* or *nokkahigas* marked the best time for them to plant, a narrow window which varied across and within the river valleys of *wôbanaki*. The prevalence of corn horticulture in this region attests to the intimate knowledge that women had developed about the particular territory upon which their families resided. They lived

[13] Table 2 was adapted from Baron and Smith, "Growing Season Parameter Reconstructions for New England," 11-12.

according to the custom, manner, or way of the earth: the very concept enshrined in their word for family, *lakamigwezo*. For example, the average last killing frost along the upper Kennebec River occurred on May 16 and the first autumn frost on September 18 (see Table 2). However, over generations, women probably learned that spring frosts occurred as late as the moon corresponding with June 1 about one out of every three years, and as early as the moon of September 4 with the same frequency. By planting during the early June moon, women could expect a growing season of about ninety-five days, long enough for corn to mature before any early fall frosts set in.[14]

Elsewhere, women faced even shorter windows for planting. For example, those inhabiting the upper Connecticut River probably sowed corn during the moon aligned with mid-June, eking out about ninety days before the average first autumn frost around the moon of September 15. However, they knew that killing frosts occurred as early as a half-moon earlier (around September 1) about one out of every three years, which reduced the growing season to eighty-one days. Each spring, when these women planted their fields, they remained uncertain whether they would have a full crop to harvest during the fall. Although women exercised their horticultural expertise to increase the chance of a successful harvest, most of *wôbanaki* stood at the northern extreme of corn's viability. Therefore, *gassokamigwezoak* incorporated horticulture into their existing seasonal migration patterns, augmenting rather than replacing the way of using the earth their ancestors had adapted over millennia into a mobile culture of hunting, fishing, and gathering.[15]

In addition to their seasonal mobility, Abenaki ancestors thrived in their homelands because of the strength of their kinship networks. When a French explorer visited the "Abenaquioits" of the upper Kennebec River during the spring of 1629, he observed the reciprocal rights and obligations that kinship entailed. He reported, "they sow much Indian corn, and from which they harvest a

[14] Joseph Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues, The First Ever Published on the Grammatical System* (Quebec: L. Brousseau, 1884), 18, 19; Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1: 255, 376.
[15] Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 92, 157, 162-63, 198.

sufficient quantity for their own maintenance, and also to enable them to assist their neighbours when there is a scarcity in a year that is poorer than usual." The explorer had visited after a year when the women of the upper Kennebec had timed their planting well and merciful frosts had permitted a bountiful harvest. But just as they offered corn to their kin from *gassokamigwezoak* inhabiting nearby villages, they could expect similar hospitality during times of need.[16]

Besides the native villagers of the Kennebec, the French explorer probably also saw their extended kin from other villages and river valleys dwelling among them. The rights of kinship permitted struggling *gassokamigwezoak* to disband temporarily and join other relatives in their summer villages. When the Jesuit missionary Sébastien Rasles began living with the Kennebec Abenaki during the early 1690s, he recorded in his linguistic notes the phrase, "nekañkéssitsebakamigsibena nég8t8dâinaek [*n'gôgassijebakamigezibena negwedodanak*]," which means, "we are very many separate-earths at one village." If, as Aubery recorded, a single "nation" constituted *negwedakamigwinnoak*, "people who are one-earth," then "separate-earths," comprised several different peoples belonging to their own homelands. The reduplicative morpheme /*gô-*/ prefixed to /*gassi-*/, "many (animate beings)," underscored that "very many" such peoples dwelled among the Kennebec people during Rasles' visit. Each *negwedakamigwinnoak* and its constituent *gassokamigwezoak* drew its primary identity from the land upon which their ancestors had learned to live. Yet bonds of kinship linked extended families from multiple *gassokamigwezoak* across the villages of *wôbanaki*.[17]

By 1605, these overlapping homelands possessed a population of approximately 20,000 people. The Champlain Valley hosted about 4,200 people and the Upper Connecticut River another 3,800 people. An additional 12,000 people lived in present-day Maine: 3,200 along the Penobscot River Valley, 5,300 in the Kennebec River Valley, 2,600 along the Androscoggin River and its

[16] Henry P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (6 vols.; Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36), 5: 41-45.
[17] Sébastien Rasles, *A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America: Published from the Original Manuscript of the Author*, ed. John Pickering (Cambridge, MA: C. Folsom, 1833), 542.

tributaries, and about 800 on the Saco River. During this period, *wôbanaki* supported about 21 people per 100 square kilometers, double the population density as when the first Abenaki ancestors arrived in their homeland more than a ten thousand years before. Each year, thousands of people in related webs of *gassokamigwezoak* animated the landscape through the seasonal migrations that sustained them.[18]

By the early seventeenth century, the peoples inhabiting *wôbanaki* embraced "walking" as the central metaphor for their shared social and political world. In 1605, the English sailor Thomas Weymouth captured a man from the Penobscot River Valley named Assecomoit, carried him back to England, and delivered him to Ferdinando Gorges, the aspiring proprietor of a colony in Maine eager to exploit Indigenous knowledge for his personal enrichment. During his imprisonment in England, Assecomoit described for Gorges his homeland, which Gorges recorded was called "Moasham." The English reporter Samuel Purchase relied similarly on Assecomoit for his own publication, "The description of the Countrey of Mawooshen." These two renderings – "Moasham" and "Mawooshen" – probably left Assecomoit's lips as *mahaosan*, which comprises the following morphemes: /*maha-*/ (or /*maa-/)*, a root which Nudenas translated as "coalition, gathering, assembly" "congregatio" in his manuscript's original Latin); /*-osa/,* a verb final meaning "walk;" and the indefinite subject inflection /*-n*/. Therefore, *mahaosan* conveys "traveling together" – literally, "coalition-walking." According to Assecomoit, the shared world of the coalition-walking extended from the Penobscot River Valley in the east to the upper Saco River in the west. However, he specified that south and west of the Saco along the coast stood the land recorded by Gorges and Purchas respectively as "Apistama" and "Epistoman." The most likely reconstruction of this word is *abicdeman*, "side-severing." By using the terms *mahaosan* and *abicdeman*, Assecomoit probably described social and political configurations rather than list peoples' autonyms. Those who

[18] Dean Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 33.

numbered among the coalition-walking enjoyed the reciprocal rights of kinship, including free movement over the land and access to food during times of need. However, those side-severed from the shared world of the coalition-walking lacked kinship status and the rights associated with it.[19]

Side-severing probably began when an individual neglected the obligations of kinship. Families shared their harvests, meat, and fur with extended families. In a homeland with short growing seasons and harsh winters, such reciprocal generosity was a matter of life and death. But an individual who hoarded resources imperiled the people who relied on all to share. *Alnôbak* elders cautioned children against such selfishness by relating stories of a terrible giant as they huddled around the fire on cold and dark winter nights. They called the giant *giwakwa*, "he roams the forest." Unlike *gassokamigwezoak*, the many who traveled together through the cycle of seasons, and the *mahaosan* who walked metaphorically as a coalition, *giwakwa* wandered alone. A block of ice in *giwakwa's* stomach rendered his hunger insatiable and chilled him to his bones. Desperate, he stalked the woods seeking people to devour, hoping their bodies and spirits would warm and nourish his own. Although children feared an actual cannibal giant with an icy stomach, adults probably understood *giwakwa* as a metaphor for antisocial behavior that prized selfishness over generosity. Such selfishness threw the world out of balance, threatening hunger and death.[20]

The most dangerous violation of kinship protocols occurred when disputes over resources turned deadly. During the summer of 1647, the Jesuit missionary Gabriel Druillettes visited the Abenaki peoples inhabiting the Kennebec River and coast. He observed, "it is incredible how much the Savages of the same region are united together," yet also noted the "jealousies and quarrels which occur among those little nations." By allowing families to cultivate ties with many groups

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[19] "The description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, discovered by the English in the yeere 1602. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. and 9" in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), 1874–76, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A71306.0001.001/1:12..6.1?rgn=div4;view=fulltext.
[20] Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 66-67.

spread across vast distances, the fluidity of the *gassokamigwezoak* kinship system was a source of strength for Abenaki peoples. However, it also fostered competition between young men seeking influence as they jockeyed to lead their own family bands. Men earned prestige by demonstrating their ability as hunters, for Abenaki people believed that hunting prowess reflected the spiritual power required to find, track, and take animal beings. During years with unusually cold or snowy winters, deer and moose populations dipped. Tensions ran high in hunting territories as young men vied for the meat and hides necessary to feed and clothe their families, sometimes erupting into violence.[21]

Violent deaths demanded revenge. During the spring of 1629, Samuel de Champlain observed the cultural imperative of vengeance for peoples like the *alnôbak*. He wrote in his journal, "I have noticed in these nations that, unless you resent offences committed against you, and make clear that you think more of the lives of men than of wealth and trade, they will come and try to cut your throat, if they can manage it, by a sudden surprise, as their custom is." Because power derived from the strength of kinship ties, Abenaki ancestors valued "the lives of men" above all else. By seeking revenge for slain members of their *gassokamigwezoak*, they demonstrated a person's worth and fulfilled the psychic need for the grieving family. They also signaled to kin in other bands that they would refuse to allow offenses committed against them to go unpunished, strengthening the ties between them. Moreover, by demanding satisfaction from their rivals, bands discouraged future violence, for they signaled that it came with a deadly price.[22]

Believing the side-severing people failed to act in-the-way-of-earth, the coalition-walking peoples denied them the status of *alnôbak*. During his 1604 expedition along the coast of present-day Maine, Champlain recorded that the people of *mahaosan* called their southern side-severed neighbors

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[21] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allies Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (hereafter *JRAD*) (73 vols.; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, Co., 1896-1901), 31: 189-91.
[22] *Works of Champlain*, 5: 313-14.

"Almouchiquois." After removing the French suffix "-ois," which Champlain added to denote a nationality (as in "Anglois" or "François"), the word "Almouchiq" remains. Recognizable as *alemosak*, the epithet comprises *alemos*, "dog" and the animate plural suffix /*-ak*/. Therefore, to the coalition-walking, the people inhabiting the country side-severed from their own constituted "dogs." Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Northeast like the coalition-walking deployed "dog" as a term of taunting derision. For example, in 1648 Roger Williams recorded that the Narragansett sagamore Nenekunet advised English settlers to dismiss their Pequot neighbors as "unworthy" of an alliance with them. According to Williams, Nenekunet suggested that "the Pequots be as your little dogs, but not as your confederates." By equating his rivals with dogs, Nenekunet sought to exclude Pequot people from the web of alliances that conferred economic, military, and political power in southern New England during the mid-seventeenth century. The *alnôbak* expressed a similar geopolitical division through their metaphors of the coalition-walking and the side-severed. Whereas the *alnôbak* believed they were real, genuine "people," they deemed inferior the "dogs" outside their kinship network.[23]

By referring to the side-severing people as "dogs," the coalition-walking also marked them as potential slaves. The Jesuit missionaries Sébastien Rasles and Joseph Aubery both recorded that, in addition to *alemos*, the peoples of the coalition-walking used another word when speaking of dogs: *atié* [*adia*]. By the mid twentieth century, Abenaki people noted that *adia* was "obsolescent" – a word passed along through the unbroken chain of speakers, but that had fallen out of common usage. Its full meaning appears by comparing it to cognate words in other Algonquian languages. According to a dictionary compiled by the Jesuit missionary Jacques Gravier during the early 1690s, peoples in the Illinois country possessed a similar word. Gravier recorded, "nitaïa : mon animal domestique, mon

[23] Dean R. Snow, "The Ethnohistoric Baseline of the Eastern Abenaki," *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 3 (1976): 294–95; Edwin Gaustad, ed., *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams: The Letters of Roger Williams*, vol. 6 (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007), 157.

chien, mon chat. *It[em]* mon esclave [my domestic animal, my dog, my cat; also, my slave]." This Illinois word comports with *inday*, "my dog, my horse," from the modern Anishinaabemowin. According to the "Ojibwe People's Dictionary," *inday* is a Dependent Animate Noun, meaning it refers to a being which Anishinaabe people deem animate and which must take a personal possessive pronoun. Therefore, the word can be analyzed as *in-day*, where /*in-*/ is the first-person possessive pronoun meaning "my," and /*-day*/ is a root signifying "dog, horse." The Illinois word *nitaïa* is similarly a Dependent Animate Noun. The Illinois /*ni-*/ aligns with the Anishinaabemowin /*-in*/, first person possessive pronouns. Therefore, the Illinois /*-taïa*/ corresponds with the Anishinaabemowin /*-day*/. The Abenaki *adia* derives from the same root signifying domesticated animals. During the seventeenth century, such animals included captive humans.[24]

Abenaki people regarded *adiak* as personal property. In his Abenaki lexicon, Sébastien Rasles solicited over a dozen examples of how the word "esclave [slave]" figured in their speech. Among them was the term *neda8kañem* [*nd'awakanem*], which Rasles translated, "j'en ai un [I have one]." The term contains *awakan*, which Rasles specified in other entries corresponded to the European concept of both "esclave [slave]" and "captif [captive]." The prefix /*nd'-*/ is the first person possessive pronoun corresponding with the English concept "my," as in "my mother." It signifies a relationship to a subject rather than ownership of it. However, the suffix /*-em*/ indicates what Algonquian linguists classify as "intimate possession." Speakers affixed the morpheme /*-em*/ to beings or things over which they had exclusive control. In a language primer he composed during the nineteenth century, the Abenaki chief and schoolteacher Joseph Laurent conveyed the concept of intimate possession through the example *n'kaozem*, "my cow." Although they recognized cows as

[24] Aubery, *Father Aubery's French Abenaki Dictionary*, 114; Sébastien Rasles, *A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America: Published from the Original Manuscript of the Author*, ed. John Pickering (Cambridge, MA: C. Folsom, 1833), 413; Jacques Gravier et Jacques Largillier (ca. 1690), Dictionnaire illinois-français, MS, Watkinson Library Special Collections, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn, p. 14, quoted in Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France.* (Place of publication not identified: Univ Of North Carolina Pr, 2014), 387.

animate beings endowed with their own life forces, Abenaki people could signify through the suffix /*-em*/ their sole right to use that being during its life. Their ancestors claimed similar exclusive control over their captives.[25]

The coalition-walking peoples relied on their captives' labor to help sustain the *gassokamigwezoak* kinship system. In 1689, thirty or forty warriors attacked the English settlement at Pemaquid, burning the fort and carrying two captive boys, the nine-year-old John Gyles and his brother James, back to their village at the headwaters of the Penobscot River. John lived with his captor's family and extended kin for six years, a period which he documented in his 1736 account, *Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, &c. In the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq.* He devoted most of his memoirs to detailing the physical labor demanded of him. During the growing seasons, Gyles worked among the women in the vast communal corn fields outside the village. He recalled, "There we planted Corn; and after Planting, went a Fishing, and to look for and dig Roots; till the Corn was fit to Weed: and after Weeding took a second Tour on the same Errand, and return'd to Hill our Corn." Gyles found this repeated movement both exhausting and confusing. He was more accustomed to the English practice of "improving" a piece of land held in individual ownership by farming it intensively in perpetuity, or more accurately, until the denuded soil failed to support agriculture any longer. Comparing his chores to this English custom, Gyles bemoaned the pointless "Drudgery" required of his captors' horticulture. However, the women who taught him to plant, till, and hill corn between their foraging trips knew that no movement went to waste. They applied the knowledge passed down by mothers gone crawling along who first supplemented their foraging and

[25] Rasles, *Rasles's Abenaki Dictionary*, 447; Joseph Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues, the First Ever Published on the Grammatical System,* (Quebec: Printed by L. Brousseau, 1884), 123.

gathering with planting. For six years, Gyles walked in their ancient footsteps between the same rivers, forests, and fields, contributing valuable labor for the survival of his captor's village.[26]

Gyles also trudged over waist-deep snowdrifts during the winter moose hunt, supporting his captor's *gassokamigwezoak* as the village dispersed into family hunting territories. Gyles dreaded moose-hunting season even more than he resented planting and foraging during the warmer moons. He wrote, "I was put to great Hardships in carrying Burdens." For his English colonial audience, Gyles explained, "The Indians carry their House and Household Stuff on their Backs in the Winter." Mobility aligned the distribution of the population with the resources the land could provide. Yet it also demanded that each *gassokamigwezoak* coordinate its labor to pack and haul their sleeping mats, blankets, and furs; firearms, ammunition, gunpowder, axes, hatchets, and knives; kettles, chains, and scissors; smoked meat and fish, dried peas and corn; cloth and beads – every possession they needed to survive in their homelands. By shouldering a heavy share of these "Burdens," Gyles lightened the load for the most experienced and skillful hunters, allowing them to range farther and for longer in search of meat to sustain their people through winter's perils. For *alnôbak,* living "in the way of earth" included claiming and exploiting the labor of peoples – or rather the *alemosak*, *adiak*, dogs – outside their network of kin.[27]

Because "dogs" lacked kinship rights and protections, the coalition-walking regarded them as legitimate targets of violence. Young men demonstrated through their successes in war the qualities prized by members of their *gassokamigwezoak*: bravery, cunning, access to spiritual power, and the strength to overpower an enemy. Through these qualities, men signaled that they would protect their people from attack and could secure through force the hunting territories needed for survival. Men

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[26] John Gyles, *Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, &c. in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq. Commander of the Garrison on St. George's River* (Boston, MA: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1736), 8,10, http://archive.org/details/memoirsoddadven01gylegoog.
[27] Gyles, 8.

recruited other warriors and marked the targets of warfare through the Dog Head Feast, a ceremony which John Gyles described in his memoirs. Once a man and his kin determined to make war, they sacrificed several dogs for a feast, butchering all but their heads to make a stew. After dining on the boiled meat, the warrior proposing the expedition cast a dog's head into the fire, extracting it after the fur had burned off, the skin blistered, and the lips puckered back to reveal the dog's imposing canine teeth. Gyles explained, "the Indian who is proposed to be chief in the expedition takes the head into his hand, and sings a warlike song, in which he mentions the town they design to attack, and the principal man in it; threatening that in a few days, he will carry that man's head and scalp in his hand, in the same manner." The feast reminded young warriors that the violence they would soon commit targeted a dog, not someone fully and authentically human like their own kin. By reducing a specific enemy to a dog, a warrior lowered the psychic toll of killing another person through personal, often hand-to-hand fighting. Through this ceremony, warriors rendered personal the metaphor by which their kin distinguished *alnôbak* from *alemosak* and *adiak*.[28]

O'tá:ra **("Clay")**

Just as Abenaki people embraced the autonym *alnôbak*, Kanien'kehá:ka people believed they constituted *onkwehón:we*. *Onkwehón:we* comprises the noun root /*onkweh*/, "human being" and /-*onwe*/, a verb root which conveys, "to be native, original, genuine." During the late nineteenth century, the missionary and linguist J.A. Cuoq recorded that the verb root /-*onwe*/ "renferme l'idée de permanence, de stabilité, de perpétuité, d'immutabilité [contains the idea of permanence, stability, perpetuity, immutability]." By claiming the autonym *onkwehón:we*, Kanien'kehá:ka people and their

[28] Gyles, 8.

ancestors identified as the "original" or "real" people, bound to the land from which they were created and to which they belonged forever.[29]

According to oral traditions recorded during the eighteenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka people emerged from the ground in their homeland. For example, in 1716 a Kanien'kehá:ka man explained to a British traveler near Albany that, long ago, the Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors had existed in animal form and lived underground in the cool darkness. When they made their way to the earth's surface and felt the sun on their backs, they removed the fur from their bodies and took their human form. In 1743 the chief Sganarady told a Dutch settler along the Mohawk River that his ancestors had dwelled deep below the earth, where they survived by eating mice. However, one day a man named Ganawagahha stumbled upon a hole that led above ground, which he followed up into the daylight. According to Sganarady, "in walking about on the earth he found a deer, which he took back with him, and that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, and the favourable description he had given them of the country above and on the earth, their mother concluded it best for them all to come out; accordingly they did so, and immediately set about planting corn." Similar traditions endured in the Mohawk Valley until at least the early nineteenth century. In 1822, Timothy Dwight wrote about the Kanien'kehá:ka that, "when asked concerning their origin, they regularly answer, that they came up out of the ground, in the regions where they now live." Kanien'kehá:ka people recalled that their ancestors had become humans on the land their people had inhabited ever since. Their stories instructed Kanien'kehá:ka people how to live on the earth in the manner of *onkwehón:we*: growing corn, hunting deer, and heeding the counsel of influential women such as Ganawagahha's mother.[30]

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[29] J. A. Cuoq, *Lexique de La Langue Iroquoise Avec Notes et Appendices* (Montréal: J. Chapleau & Fils, 1882), 35.
[30] John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, *History, Manner, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (Philadelphia, PA: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), 251; quotes from Anthony Wayne Wonderley, *At the Font of the Marvelous: Exploring Oral Narrative and Mythic Imagery of the Iroquois and their Neighbors* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 130.

Unbroken chains of mothers linked each generation to those first ancestors who took shape from their homeland's soil, a concept Kanienkehá:ka people express through the word *o'tá:ra.* During the early eighteenth century, the Jesuit priest Joseph-François Lafitau recorded women's crucial role preserving the culture of Kanien'kehá:ka peoples. He observed, "It is they who really maintain the tribe, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of generations and conservation of the families." European observers like Lafitau used the word "families" to refer to the social organizations that anthropologists deem "clans," tight-knit groups of kin descended from the same other-than-human being. Kanien'kehá:ka people called such kinship groups *o'tá:ra.* This word actually possesses dual meanings, for in addition to "clan" Kanien'kehá:ka people used it as their term for "earthen chimney." No linguistic coincidence, both words refer to objects molded from clay. More precisely, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors believed that people took their shape from different clays corresponding with Bear, Wolf, or Turtle, the animal beings from which all real people descended. When the Kanien'kehá:ka man explained in 1716 that his ancestors "became men and women" by shedding their fur upon their emergence from the ground, he probably referred to the origin of the Bear or Wolf clan. The *onkwehón:we* came from the earth, made from its clay in the form of an original ancestor. Children were cast from the same clay and in the same shape as their mother, thereby sharing her ancestral line and inheriting her clan identity.[31]

Through a series of reciprocal rights, obligations, and taboos the *o'tá:ra* system promoted social cohesion and stability among the ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka. Unlike in the *gassokamigwezoak* system that organized life for the ancestors of Abenaki people, the number of clans remained fixed. Young men jostling for power lacked the ability to break away from a family band to form their own. They could still win followers through their renown as a hunter or warrior, but young men

[31] Wonderley, *At the Font of the Marvelous*, 130; Joseph-François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, ed. William N Fenton and Elizabeth Moore (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1974), 1: 69.

earned prestige by contributing to their *o'tá:ra*. While individuals owed their loyalty to their *o'tá:ra,* each clan formed part of a moiety holding reciprocal obligations to the other. One moiety comprised the Turtle and Wolf clans, the other the Bear clan. For instance, when someone died, members of her moiety joined in mourning the loss. Meanwhile, the other moiety bore the responsibility of distributing gifts to the family of the departed, metaphorically wiping away their tears. This protocol encouraged each clan to grieve the death of a fellow *onkwehón:we*, whether or not they were related by blood or clan affiliation. Marriage similarly strengthened ties between clans. An inviolable taboo forbade two members of the same clan from marrying or having children together, ensuring that each union bound together a Turtle and Wolf, Wolf and Bear, or Bear and Turtle. Although a child inherited her mother's *o'tá:ra*, she also claimed kin in her father's clan. Because it wove a dense web of connections among and between clans, the *o'tá:ra* system held life in balance for Kanien'kehá:ka people across successive generations.[32]

While matrilineal kinship organized their social world through the *o'tá:ra* system, matrilocal residence structured village life. In compact villages of a few hundred people, ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka people dwelled in longhouses hosting three to five families related through maternal lineages. According to Lafitau, "marriages are made in such a way that the husband and wife do not leave their family and lodge to set up a family and residence apart. Each one remains at home and the children born of these marriages, since they belong to the women who have engendered them, are counted as being of the wife's lodge and family, not the husband's." Therefore, a longhouse physically manifested the clan-based kinship affiliation that mothers preserved from one generation to the next. Because longhouses so neatly reflected the *o'tá:ra* system, they served as the center of

[32] Daniel Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *The William & Mary Quarterly,* vol. 40, no. 4 (October, 1983): 530-31; José António Brandão, *"Your fyre shall burn no more": Iroquois Policy Toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 26-29.

day-to-day life and decision-making. Particularly wise women like Ganawagahha's mother served as clan mothers, upon whom members of a longhouse relied for political, social, and spiritual counsel.[33]

About 1,300 years ago, clan mothers helped guide their kin north from the Susquehanna River to a new home in the Mohawk Valley. There, they found fertile land and spacious hunting territories to sustain the people of their *o'tá:ra*. They prized especially the river that cut its way through their new homeland. Although European colonizers called it the Mohawk River, Kanien'kehá:ka people knew the river as *teionontatátie'*, "the two mountains go on and on." As the name attests, the river flows between the Adirondack Mountains towering 5,000 feet to the north and the Catskills rising 4,000 feet to the south. The river carved a deep valley between ten and thirty miles wide offering passage between the two imposing ranges. The river begins in the northwest at *teiehonwahkwà:tha'*, "it causes boats to be lifted," a one-mile portage over which Kanien'kehá:ka people carried their boats north to Lake Oneida before paddling down the Oswego River into Lake Ontario. From *teiehonwahkwà:tha'* the river flows southeast 150 miles, emptying into *skahnéhtati*, "beyond the pine," which European settlers called the Hudson River. *Teionontatátie* connected a nearly continuous water route between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, presenting Kanien'kehá:ka people unsurpassed access to trade and distant hunting territories. Furthermore, *teionontatátie* flooded each spring as snows from high mountain passes thawed and drained into the river. These floods carried silt that replenished nutrients in the soil along the banks of *teionontatátie* and its tributaries, which made the Mohawk Valley some of the richest farmland in the Northeast. Ganawagahha's mother was wise to lead the people of her *o'tá:ra* to such a bountiful new land.[34]

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[33] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians*, 69-70; Dean Snow, *Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites* (University Park, PA: Matson Museum of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, 1995), 143-44.

[34] Nelson Greene, ed., *History of the Mohawk Valley: Gateway to the West 1614-1925* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925), 45-82; Placenames from Karonhí:io Delaronde and Jordan Engel, "*Kanonshionni'onwè:ke tsi ionhwéntsare* (Haudenosaunee Country) in *Kanien'kéha* (Mohawk)," The Decolonial Atlas, February 4, 2015. https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/02/04/haudenosaunee-country-in-mohawk-2/. All translations from Kanien'kéha to English by the author.

The ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka people probably absorbed into their villages the native peoples inhabiting the middle Mohawk Valley when they arrived. These peoples spoke an Algonquian language similar to that of the ancestors of Abenaki peoples. They also likely practiced a similar subsistence strategy, migrating in small family bands and gathering in summer villages of about 100 people. However, the ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka transplanted to their new homelands the sedentary culture they had developed along the Susquehanna River. These villages supported a greater population of warriors than did the *gassokamigwezoak* which dispersed across vast distances for most of the year. Although outnumbered at a regional scale, the ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka people overpowered the small and mobile Algonquian-speakers in their immediate vicinity. The ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka incorporated into their longhouses adult warriors taken captive in battle. Men who once regarded each other as strangers or enemies were adopted into the same maternal kinship lines, often dwelling together in one longhouse. Socialized as kin, these warriors earned prestige through warfare sanctioned by clan mothers against enemies outside the village rather than by competing with each other. The *o'tá:ra* system allowed Kanien'kehá:ka people to successfully incorporate outsiders into kinship networks and village life, maintaining social stability while bolstering the people's collective military power.[35]

Permanent and densely populated, these villages endured because ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka women organized the labor of their clans to sow great fields of maize, beans, and squash. Unlike ancestral Abenaki women who gradually introduced these crops among the wild plants they gathered, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors carried refined horticultural practices with them to their new homeland. When they emerged in the Mohawk Valley, women "immediately set about planting corn," as Sganarady attested. Because their homeland enjoyed an average growing season of about

[35] Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 15; William Divale, *Matrilocal Residence in Pre-Literate Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Research Press, 1984), 204-05.

167 days with a standard deviation of 21 days, women sowed corn without fear that frosts would kill the plants before they matured, which took about 90 consecutive frost-free days. The moon Kanien'kehá:ka people called *onerahtókha* "leaves are budding a little," announced spring's arrival. Yet women waited until the following moon, *onerahtohkó:wa*, "leaves are budding a lot" to plant their seeds, confident that the danger of late spring frosts had passed. Reckoned according to the Gregorian Calendar, the average last spring killing frost in the Mohawk Valley occurred on April 27 and the average first fall killing frost occurred on October 11. Spring killing frosts one standard deviation late occurred by May 10 and fall killing frosts one standard deviation early occurred by September 20, which afforded women 133 days for growing. Like other women in the Northeast, the ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka people learned the rhythms of their homeland. Over generations they refined the intimate knowledge of their river valley required to yield from it the plant beings to sustain their people.[36]

Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors passed down their deep knowledge of their homeland's seasonal rhythms through a calendar of feasts, rituals, and ceremonies. For instance, during the latter half of *onerahtohkó:wa* villages honored *ohwéntsa',* "earth." During this joyous festival, the people thanked the earth for yielding its bounties each year. It also marked when women planted corn by returning dried kernels back into the earth that had furnished them the previous summer. During the moon Kanien'kehá:ka people called *seskéha*, "time of freshness," the corn began ripening, which villages celebrated with *okahseró:ta*, the Green Corn festival. By *kenténha*, "time of some poverty in nature," women finished harvesting their crops well ahead of early fall frosts, a time of both joy and relief marked by the Harvest Festival. As the earth grew cold and dark during *tsi iotóha*, "it is difficult," entire villages celebrated the End of Warm Season Feast which announced the approach of long,

[36] Mohawk Valley growing season figures calculated from compiled annual data recorded for the city of Albany from 1874-2018 by the National Weather Service, Albany Office.

snowy nights. Their bodies sculpted from the clay of their homeland, Kanien'kehá:ka people organized their lives around the seasonal rhythm of preparing fields, planting seeds, and harvesting crops from that same earth. Although their clays took different shapes, the entire village united for feasts, ceremonies, and festivals, thereby celebrating a shared collective identity of people using the earth as the original ancestors had taught them.

Table 3 – Kanien'kehá:ka Moons and Ceremonies [37]

Moon	Meaning	Ceremony	Meaning
tsi iotor'kó:wa	"is it very difficult"	óhseron	Midwinter
ennískha	"tardiness"	wáhta'	Maple
ennis'kó:wa	"much tardiness"		
onerahtókha	"leaves are budding a little"	onon'kwashón:'a	Medicine
onerahtohkó:wa	"leaves are budding a lot"	ohwéntsa'	Earth
ohiaríha	"the fruit ripens a little"	iohontésha'	Strawberry
ohiari'kó:wa	"the fruit ripens a lot"	skanekwen'tará:nen'	Raspberry
seskéha	"time of freshness"	okahseró:ta'	Green Corn
seske'kó:wa	"time of much freshness"		
kenténha	"time of some poverty in nature"	kaienthókwen	Harvest
kenten'kó:wa	"time of great poverty in nature"	---	Hunting [38]
tsi iotóha	"it is difficult"	enwatkenhó:ten	End of Warm Season

By living in the manner of Sganarady and other first *onkwehón:we,* ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka people thrived in their homeland, enjoying a population boom that demanded additional land and resources. Having scattered or absorbed the Algonquian-speaking inhabitants of the land, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors transformed their homeland into expansive fields of maize. By the year

[37] Nora Deering and Helga Harries-Delisle, *Mohawk Teaching Grammar (Preliminary Version)*, (Quebec: The Thunderbird Press, 1976), 288.
[38] Unpublished Mohawk MS, cited in Snow, *The Iroquois*, 108.

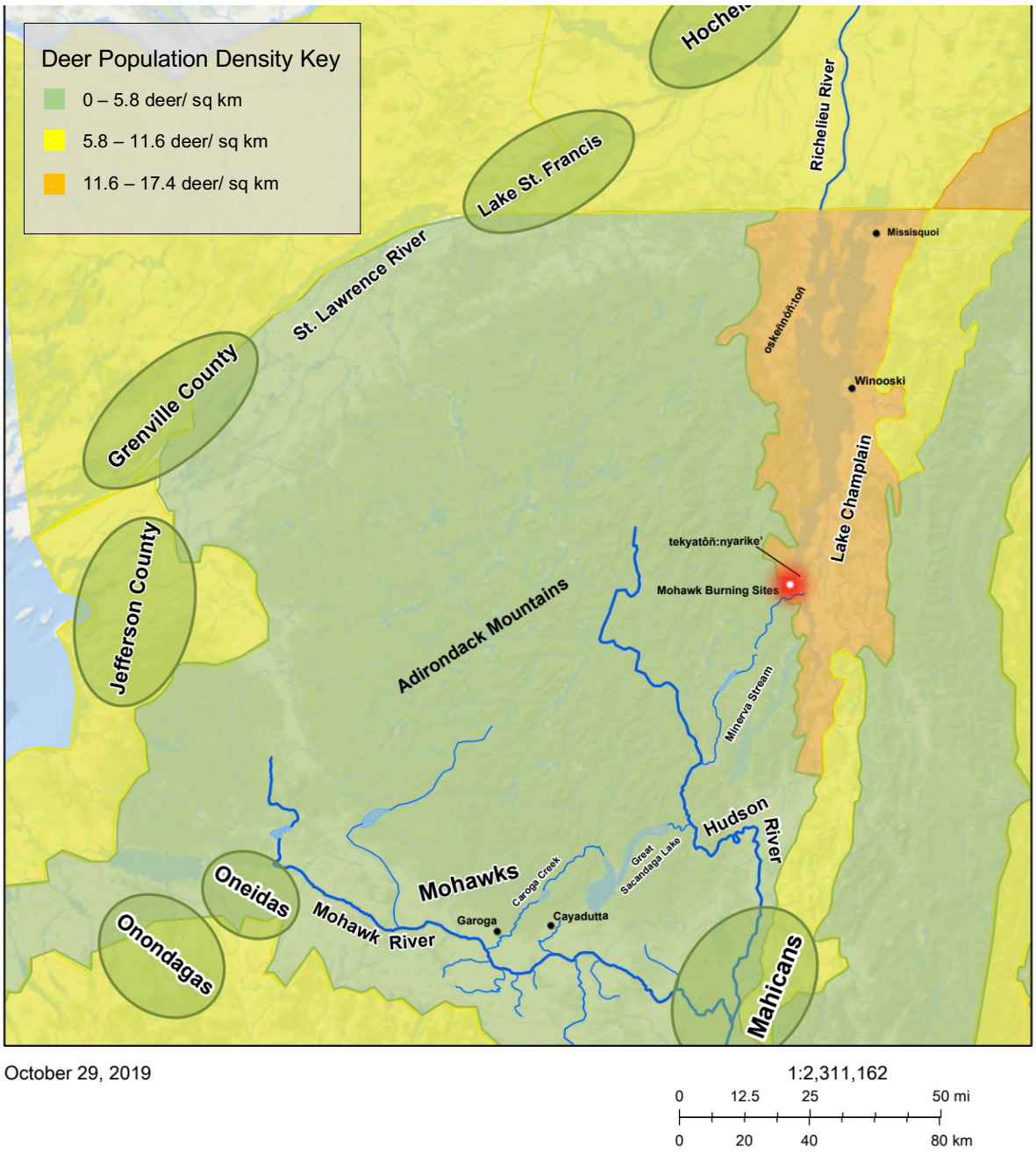
1150, these fields supported villages of about 400 people comprising several longhouses measuring up to 150 feet long. However, by 1350, villages housed a permanent population of about 600 people who lived in longhouses that stretched over 300 feet and hosted between 5 and 8 families of the same *ó'tá:ra*. Although women expanded their fields to grow sufficient crops to feed their kin, villages also required extensive hunting territories. Caches of dried corn prevented the ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka people from starving during the winter, but deer meat yielded vital fat and protein that helped them endure the leanest period of the year. More importantly, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors needed a steady supply of deer hides to fashion into clothing capable of keeping them warm during the frigid and snowy moon of *tsi iotor'kó:wa*, "it is very difficult."[39]

Precolonial Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors probably required similar clothing as Wendat peoples, Iroquoian neighbors living north of Lake Ontario whose garments have been studied in detail. The ancestors of both peoples shared a kindred culture fitted to their similar environments. In both homelands, annual precipitation ranged from 720 to 1,200 mm, and annual minimum winter temperatures from -7 to -2 degrees Celsius. This combination of high precipitation and frigid winter temperatures across the region demanded similar clothing as the inhabitants struggled to keep dry and warm. An adult man required six deer hides per outfit, an adult woman eight hides, an adolescent boy three, and a young girl about four; each person probably replaced their outfit every second year. Furthermore, each man, woman, and child required an additional deer hide in total to fashion the five or six pairs of moccasins they would need annually. Assuming that each family consisted of one adult man, one adult woman, and three children, the average annual demand for deer hides was about 3.5 per person. Because the population of Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors had grown

[39] Snow, *The Iroquois*, 21-29.

to about 1,200 people by the early fifteenth century, villages demanded about 4,200 hides for clothing each year.[40]

Figure 3 – Approximate Deer Population Density in the Iroquoian World, circa 1525



[40] "North American Ecoregions – Level III" Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 201; Richard Michael Gramly, "Deerskins and Hunting Territories: Competition for a Scarce Resource of the Northeastern Woodlands," *American Antiquity*, vol. 42, no. 4 (Oct., 1977): 602-03.

This demand for hides taxed dangerously the deer population of the Mohawk Valley. To maintain a stable long-term population, at least 65 percent of deer in an ecosystem must survive to reproduce each year. Below this threshold, the deer herd will fail to produce enough offspring to replace itself annually, resulting in its eventual population collapse. Therefore, deer populations in the northeastern woodlands support a "cropping rate" – the term that wildlife management experts use to describe the proportion of a deer herd that can be safely hunted without threatening its long-term population stability – of about 35 percent. In ecosystems like those of the ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka where humans have not extirpated wolves, lynx, bobcats, bears and other animals that feed on deer, predators kill annually about 25 percent of the entire deer population, or about 71 percent of the total cropping rate. Therefore, in a region where human hunters competed with other predators, they could hunt at most 29 percent of the deer population's cropping rate, or about 10.2 percent of the total deer population. To harvest sustainably the 4,200 hides that Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors demanded for clothing by the early fifteenth century, hunters required a population of about 41,000 deer.[41]

Figure 3 illustrates the approximate population density of deer in the Mohawk Valley and its surroundings, illuminating the availability of this vital resource to Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors. It derives deer density figures from Brian F. Walters, Christopher W. Woodall, and Matthew B. Russel, "White-tailed deer density estimates across the eastern United States, 2008," a GIS shapefile retrieved from the Data Repository for the University of Minnesota. Walters et al. generated their map using county deer population densities reported by local wildlife agencies, which they color-coded green for areas with fewer than 15 deer per square mile (5.8 deer/km^2), yellow for 15-30 deer per square mile (5.8-11.6 deer/km^2), and orange for 30-45 deer per square mile (11.6-17.4 deer/km^2).

[41] E. Randolph Turner and Robert S. Santley, "Deer Skins and Hunting Territories Reconsidered," *American Antiquity*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Oct., 1979): 810-12.

The map overlays the "White-tailed deer density estimates across the eastern United States, 2008" data over the Level IV Ecoregions maps of New England and New York compiled by the Environmental Protection Agency. The EPA groups Level IV ecoregions according to similarities in climate, vegetation, hydrology, terrain, wildlife, and suitability for land use. With 967 Level IV ecoregions in the United States, the division is the finest-grained analysis of ecological similarity conducted by the EPA. To avoid artificial ecological distinctions created by state and county lines, Figure 3 smooths the county-by-county density data from Walters et al to align with the closest Level IV ecoregion.[42]

The central Mohawk Valley probably supported about 14,500 deer during the precolonial era, too few to clothe the villagers inhabiting it without hunting herds to extinction. Because the color-codings represent population density ranges, this calculation uses the median of each, assuming that green areas possessed 2.9 deer/km^2, yellow areas 8.7 deer/km^2, and orange areas 14.5 deer/km^2. In one exception, the calculation assumes a population density of 2.37 deer/km^2 for the Adirondack mountains, which William Starna and John Relethford calculated using data from the twentieth century. These modern data can only approximate deer populations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before colonization, New York, New England, and Quebec probably possessed fewer deer than they do presently after Euro-Americans exterminated wolves, the natural predators of deer. Moreover, by clearing forests to develop farms and suburban landscapes, settlers have created the sort of transition-zone habitats where deer thrive. Therefore, the population of 14,500 deer calculated using modern figures probably represents a conservative estimate of the population that the central Mohawk Valley supported during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[42] Brian F. Walters, Christopher W. Woodall, Matthew B. Russell, "White-tailed deer density estimates across the eastern United States," 2008. Retrieved from the Data Repository for the University of Minnesota, http://dx.doi.org/10.13020/D6G014; "North American Ecoregions – Level III" Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 2011.

By the early fifteenth century, hunters confronted a deficit of about 26,500 deer below the region's sustainable population level. Each hunting season, its deer population diminished further, edging towards collapse.[43]

With deer herds thinning in the central Mohawk Valley by the mid-fourteenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters ranged into distant hunting territories, bringing them into contact with other peoples who resented such intrusions. The closest potential hunting grounds, the Adirondack Mountains rise sharply north from the Mohawk Valley. Because of their high elevation and proximity to Lake Ontario, the mountains experience heavy snows beginning during the fall and enduring until late spring, covering the berries, leaves, shoots, and grass upon which deer subsist. Therefore, the Adirondacks hosted the lowest density of deer in the region before colonization. Rather than trekking over mountainous terrain seeking sparse deer herds, hunters probably stalked the more densely populated territories of the Mohawk River Valley west of their own villages, toward Lake Ontario. In these distant woods, however, ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka people encountered hunters from early Onondaga and Oneida villages who needed hides to clothe their own peoples. These peoples had experienced their own population growth because of the similar success of the horticultural practices that women carried with them to their homelands near Lake Ontario. Like ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka hunters, men from the early Onondaga and Oneida villages sought out new and productive territories to meet the growing demand for meat and hides. In these distant woods, warriors clashed to claim vital hunting grounds for their own people.[44]

When Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors perished during these skirmishes, they left a tear in the fabric of their *o'tá:ra* that threatened the stability of the entire village if unaddressed. The ancestral

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[43] William A. Starna and John H. Relethford, "Deer Densities and Population Dynamics: A Cautionary Note," *American Antiquity*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Oct., 1985): 828.
[44] Robert D. Kuhn, "Reconstructing Patterns of Interactions and Warfare Between the Mohawk and Northern Iroquoians during the A.D. 1400-1700 Period," in James V. Wright and Jean-Luc Pilon, eds., *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast* (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization Mercury Series, 2004), 146.

Kanien'kehá:ka believed that all death posed a serious danger to their people. When death claimed young men, it diminished the people's military and hunting power, jeopardizing their ability to secure hunting territories, protect longhouses from invaders, and procure enough meat and hides to feed and clothe the village. Death also threatened the balance of power and influence between clans, which endangered the social stability that had promoted peace within villages since the first *onkwehón:we* took their human form.

Furthermore, the loss of any one person brought grief capable of poisoning the minds of those mourning their departed kin. To assuage such grief, members of clans untouched by death performed the role of their moiety demanded by the *o'tá:ra* system, presenting gifts to the families of the dead in a solemn condolence ceremony of ritual gift-giving called *ka'nikonhrakétskwen*. This word translates literally to "it has raised the mind." More than an acknowledgement of the moiety's grief, the condolence ceremony sought to restore the departed's clan spiritually and economically. Gifts of food, beads, and material goods helped replace the labor lost through death. Moreover, these gifts affirmed and demonstrated the obligations owed the grieving when they were otherwise vulnerable to other clans usurping their power and influence within the village. Through the condolence ceremony, Kanienke'há:ka people solidified inter-clan relationships and began the process of lifting the minds of fellow *onkwehón:we*.[45]

To fully raise their minds, however, the family of those killed in territorial rivalries demanded the replacement of their departed kin. During the late nineteenth century, the missionary and linguist J.A. Cuoq recorded in his Kanien'kéha dictionary the word "*tekatiaserens* [*tekatia'seren*]." He explained the term meant "to double a loss of life for the satisfaction of the family deprived, by a murder, of one of its members…that is to say: one puts to death the murderer himself or one of his family."

[45] 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; Gunther Michaelson, *A Thousand Words of Mohawk* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1976), 69.

The word can be analyzed /*te-*/, the pre-pronominal prefix expressing duality; the pronominal prefix /*ka*/, meaning "it;" the reflexive /*-t-*/; the verb root /*-ia'ser-*/ conveying "to stack, to put one thing over the other;" and /*-en*/, a stative aspect suffix indicating that an action has concluded. Translated literally, "*tekatia'seren*" means "it has stacked, or put itself on top of the other." According to Cuoq, a murderer was fated to stack his own dead body over the person he killed, a practice demonstrating "la vendetta des Sauvages" – the vengeance of Kanien'kehá:ka people – necessary for restoring a grieving family. However, earlier attestations of related words suggest another, metaphorical, way to make families whole. During the mid-seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionary Jacques Bruyas who preached among Kanienke'há:ka people recorded in his dictionary the word "*kajaseron.*" He noted that it meant "donner un captif [to give a captive]." Rendered in a modern Kanien'kéha orthography, the word collected by Bruyas was *kaia'seron,* containing the same morpheme, /*-ia'ser-*/ as Cuoq's and conveying a similar meaning: "it has stacked, covered, or put one thing over the other." Rather than seeking the specific murderer to put to death atop their own buried kin, grieving families could accept a captive to cover metaphorically the void left by the departed in his longhouse, *o'tá:ra*, and village.[46]

Once the departed's family received a captive, they could revive the dead and finally assuage their grief. Elsewhere in his dictionary, Bruyas recorded a term which he believed was synonymous with *kaia'seron*: "*kagonhen* [*kakonhen*]," which he noted corresponded with the French phrase "donner des prisonniers [to give prisoners]." In his nineteenth-century dictionary, Cuoq collected several related words built from the same root, /*-konhen-*/. For example, he recorded "*tekekonhens*," which he noted meant "adopter un prisonnier à la place d'un parent tué à la guerre [to adopt a prisoner in

[46] Translated by the author from Cuoq's original French: « doubler une perte de vie pour la satisfaction de la famille, privée par un meurtre, de quelqu'un de ses membres. C'est la vendetta des Sauvages. Si un homme en tue un autre, la famille du mort dira: « ioianere taontiasèren, » il convient que le mort se double, c.-à-d. qu'on mette à mort le meurtrier lui-même ou quelqu'un des siens. », Cuoq, *Lexiqe de la Langue Iroquoise,* 146; Jacques Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language with their Derivatives* (New York: Cramoisy Press, 1862), 58.

the place of a family member killed in war." The root identified by both Bruyas and Cuoq conveys more precisely the idea, "to put a head down." Therefore, *kakonhen* means, "it puts someone's head down" and *tekekonhens* translates, "I put a head down there." In both examples, "heads" constituted a synecdoche for "prisoners" distributed to the family of someone killed in war. Those who accepted such heads put them down on the sleeping mat of their dead kin, thereby assigning a prisoner the same place within a longhouse formerly occupied by the deceased. Because a longhouse was a physical manifestation of an *o'tá:ra*, by inhabiting the dead's space within it, a prisoner also took his place in the clan. Bruyas recorded several terms relating to this process, all of which shared the verb root, /*-onnhe-*/, "to be alive." For example, he noted that the Kanienké:ha word *onnheton*, when affixed with the dualic prefix, expressed the concept,"résusciter quelqu'un [to bring someone back to life]." Together, the dualic prefix /*te-*/ and the distributive suffix /*-ton*/ convey the meaning that something has happened again. When appended to the verb root /*-onnhe-*/, they specify that someone has been brought back "to live again." Clan mothers transformed captive strangers into kin by giving them the name of the son or daughter whom they replaced. Along with the deceased person's name came her obligations to family, longhouse, *o'tá:ra*, and village. Through this cultural practice, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors replenished their population and prevented grief from poisoning the minds of their people.[47]

The demand for captives required Kanienkehá:ka people to distinguish between *onkwehón:we* afforded the protection of kin and those whom warriors could rightfully imprison. Real people spoke the language handed down across generations, claimed membership within an *o'tá:ra* descended from one of the original ancestors, and used the land as they had been taught by women like Ganawagahha's mother. However, like the ancestral Abenaki, the ancestors of Kanien'kehá:ka

[47] 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; Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 32-33; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 13, 50, 120; *JRAD,* 31: 83-85.

people deemed those outside their kinship networks less than human, no different from or better than beasts. Bruyas recorded "*Gannask8a* [*kanaskwa*]" as the Kanien'kéha term corresponding with "esclave [slave]." However, the word's root, /*-naskw-*/, refers not only to slaves, captives, and prisoners, but also to domesticated animals such as dogs and, after their introduction by European colonizers, burden animals like horses, oxen, donkeys, and mules. The ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka believed that such beings could be transformed into kin. Until then, however, they were legitimate targets for enslavement – and violence.[48]

Ancestral Kanienke'há:ka drew power from ritualized violence visited upon *kanaskwokonha*. By around the year 1400, Kanien'kehá:ka ancestors began taking enemy hunters captive and marching them back to their villages to be tortured and executed. They believed these rituals curried favor with the sun and other spirits capable of aiding them in defending the contested hunting grounds into which they ranged as deer populations diminished in the central Mohawk Valley. Ritual forms of torture included dismemberment, laceration, taunting, and, of special significance, burning. In his dictionary, Cuoq recorded the word "*wakenonwarori* [*wakenonhwaró:ri*]," which he glossed, "être fou [to be mad]." Translated literally, however, the word conveys, "my brain was boiled." Cuoq traced the connection between madness and a boiled brain. He wrote, "the prisoner is attached to a post; on his bare and bloody skull boiling water is poured or hot coals are applied; the unfortunate lets out ragged cries, convulses, jolts, and contorts wildly, amid the hilarity of spectators who mock his madness!" Resembling epileptic fits, the wild convulsions of the *kanaskwa* earned mocking derision from ancestral Kanienke'há:ka as they tortured him. After finally executing their prisoner, warriors absorbed his spiritual power by consuming his flesh, prizing especially the heart. These rituals conferred strength to warriors. They also fostered social cohesion in villages during turbulent

[48] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 68.

periods of warfare. By defining outsiders and torturing them in communal rituals, women, children, and men affirmed their shared identity as *onkwehón:we*.[49]

During the fifteenth century, the raids that clan mothers launched for captives to torture or adopt transformed into perennial blood feuds because they invited reprisals from enemies. Descending from the same original culture group from the Susquehanna River as ancestral Kanien'kehá:ka, the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of present-day upstate New York shared the belief that each death demanded replacement. Village clusters raided one another, making their own people whole but creating dangerous voids in their captives' peoples. By the mid-fifteenth century, generations of fighting had knit five village clusters into peoples with distinct identities: Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Kanien'kehá:ka. Although village clusters coalesced into peoples, each people regarded the others as their bitter enemies. Warfare spilled out from far-off hunting grounds to the doorsteps of their longhouses. In the central Mohawk Valley, villagers erected double and triple palisades around their villages, hoping to repel enemy raiders. However, skilled warriors still managed to carry back captives for their own people to adopt or torture, execute, and consume. In an escalating cycle, Kanienkehá:ka clan mothers then called upon warriors to replace departed kin by taking captives for adoption within grieving families. Although young men could refuse the exhortation of a clan mother, they usually welcomed the chance to earn the prestige garnered on warriors who conducted successful raids. By the middle of the fifteenth century, raids and

[49] Thomas S. Abler and Michael H. Logan, "The Florescence and Demise of Iroquoian Cannibalism: Human Sacrifice and Malinowski's Hypothesis," *Man in the Northeast*, vol. 35 (1988): 1-17; J.B. Jamieson, "Trade and Warfare: The Disappearance of the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians," *Man in the Northeast*, vol. 39 (1991): 82; Ron Williamson, "*Otinontsiskiaj ondaon* ('The House of Cut-Off Heads'): The History and Archaeology of Northern Iroquoian Trophy Taking," in Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye, eds., *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians* (New York, NY: Springer, 2007), 215-17; Quotation translated by the author from the original French in Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise,* 135: "le prisonnier est attaché au poteau; sur son crâne dénudé et sanglant on verse de l'eau bouillante ou l'on applique des charbons embrasés ; le malheureux pousse des cris rauques, s'agite convulsivement, fait des soubresauts et des contorsions étranges au milieu de l'hilarité des spectateurs qui se moquent de sa folie!"

counterraids had embroiled the peoples inhabiting present-day upstate New York in chronic warfare.[50]

The Kanien'kehá:ka people had developed a way of life which radiated violence to distant peoples lacking kinship rights. During the sixteenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka captive-taking outpaced village death rates. Such adoptions not only replaced departed members of an *o'tá:ra*, but also conferred to a clan greater power by increasing its numbers. Kanien'kehá:ka villages swelled as distant peoples filtered in. To feed and clothe the growing population, women cultivated greater areas near their villages and men laid claim to distant hunting grounds. Kanien'kehá:ka war parties seized these territories by raiding the peoples inhabiting them. Because young men earned prestige by taking captives, they eagerly joined war parties bound for enemy territories. Successful warriors brought back enemies for adoption, further growing villages and demanding more land for planting and hunting. Kanien'kehá:ka peoples required a formidable warrior population to dissuade reprisals from the peoples they targeted for raids. These warriors also drew strength by consuming the flesh of captive enemies after torturing and executing them in elaborate rituals. This ritual violence helped keep the peace within growing villages. By incorporating male adoptees into war parties, clan mothers eased the strains former captives might have caused by competing for influence. Furthermore, when grieving families decided against adopting a captive, they invited the other women, men, and children of the village to torture and execute them, delineating insiders and outsiders and asserting their people's superiority over *kanaskwokonha*, enemies no better than beasts.

[50] Snow, *The Iroquois*, 49, 52, 54, 60; Abler and Logan, "The Florescence and Demise of Iroquoian Cannibalism," 1-17; Jamieson, "Trade and Warfare," 82; Williamson, "*Otinontsiskiaj ondaon* ('The House of Cut-Off Heads', 215-17.

***Onh8entsiagennon* ("To contend for land")**

After generations of blood feuds, however, the Great Peacemaker and Haiowentha convinced the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca rivals to end their wars. The Great Peacemaker was probably a Kanien'kehá:ka chief during the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, the period of the most intense fighting between his people and their western neighbors. He understood that unrelenting warfare had sapped his people's strength and brought suffering upon the families who lost kin to the cycles of raids and counter-raids. Although he cautioned his village's young men against making war, they refused to follow his advice. Dejected, the Great Peacemaker left his village in the central Mohawk Valley to wander alone in the forests. There, he encountered an Onondaga man named Haiowentha, who had lost his entire family in the wars. In his mourning, Haiowentha had received *kaianeren'kówa*, "The Great Law," a series of wampum belts recording "the rules of life and laws of good government." With these belts, the Great Peacemaker and Haiowentha persuaded the Kanien'kehá:ka, Oneida, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Seneca peoples to embrace each other as *onkwehón:we* rather than fear and kill one another as *kanaskwokonha*. Historians, anthropologists and other scholars have deemed their alliance "The Iroquois League." However, the peoples envisioned their relationship as an extended longhouse where they dwelled together as Rotinonhsón:ni, the people of the longhouse.[51]

Like families dwelling within a physical longhouse, Rotinonhsón:ni peoples understood their responsibilities and mutual obligations. Seneca peoples defended the league's "western door" from enemies while Kanien'kehá:ka warriors kept watch over their "eastern door." Meanwhile, Onondaga people tended the central fire, where chiefs from each people met and held council. The Rotinonhsón:ni had inherited from the Great Peacemaker and Hiawentha the names and

[51] Darren Bonaparte, *Creation & Confederation: The Living History of the Iroquois* (Ahkwesáhsne Mohawk Territory: The Wampum Chronicles), 101-05.

responsibilities of fifty chieftainships distributed across the five peoples. When such a chief passed away, each people joined in mourning his death or distributing gifts to ease the grieving process. Through this condolence ceremony, the Rotinonhsón:ni replicated the same protocols that united clans within a village and helped villages coalesce into peoples. Moreover, clan matrons bore the responsibility of replacing the departed chief, just as they called for warriors to launch raids replenishing their *o'tá:ra*. These influential women observed Rotinonhsón:ni men from childhood, searching for the qualities required of the chieftainships held by their clans. When clan matrons installed a new league chief, they also imparted onto him the name of chief he replaced. Together with their former rivals, Kanien'kehá:ka men and women applied the protocols, ceremonies, and rituals that had stitched together their own people to form a confederacy of peace. By around 1525, the Rotinonhsón:ni peoples had completed the process of confederation, bringing an end to generations of warfare between them.[52]

Yet competition for hunting territories still raged. During the early sixteenth century, about 13,690 people inhabited the region between the Mohawk River, the Saint Lawrence River, and the western Champlain Valley. Each year, these peoples demanded collectively about 47,915 hides, which required a total population of about 472,000 deer for humans to hunt herds sustainably (see Table 4). However, the region probably contained no more than about 400,000 deer. In years with unusually long or snowy winters, the deer population dipped even lower as the animals perished from the intense cold and lack of access to vegetation. Even during the best years, by the early sixteenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka men and their neighbors had probably begun overhunting the deer they needed for clothing and moccasins.

[52] Snow, *The Iroquois*, 60.

Table 4 – Populations and Deer Hide Demand in the Iroquoian World, circa 1525 [53]

People	Population	Annual Deer Hide Demand	Deer Population Required
Kanien'kehá:ka	1,490	5,215	51,379
Oneida	1,350	4,725	46,552
Onondaga	1,350	4,725	46,552
Mahican	2,000	7,000	68,966
Hochelaga	1,500	5,250	51,724
Jefferson County, NY Iroquoians	2,500	8,750	86,207
Grenville County, Ontario Iroquoians	2,500	8,750	86,207
Lake St. Francis Basin, Ontario Iroquoians	1,000	3,500	34,483
TOTAL	**13,690**	**47,915**	**472,069**

Hunters vied for the most productive hunting grounds. Confederation probably inspired Kanien'kehá:ka men to seek territories north in the Champlain Valley, thereby avoiding conflicts with Oneida and Onondaga hunters. The shores of Lake Champlain hosted the densest population of deer in the region, probably about six times that of the neighboring Adirondack Mountains. Deer thrive in mixed environments of interspersed hardwood forests, brush, and grasslands, ecosystems which provide ample grazing and easy visibility of predators. During the mid-eighteenth century, the Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm observed that the Champlain Valley offered an ideal habitat for deer. He recorded, "Generally there were on both sides of this lake great stretches of level lowlands" in addition to "wastes [marshes] and woodlands." Kalm remarked that hunters traveled great distances to pursue game along the shores of Lake Champlain. He wrote, "They live here for several months

[53] For Kanien'kehá:ka population, see Dean Snow, "Mohawk Demography," 165; for Oneida, Hochelaga, Jefferson County Iroquoians, Grenville County Iroquoians, and Lake St. Francis Basin Iroquoians, see Gary Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario," *Journal of World Prehistory*, vol. 14, no. 4 (December 2000): 455-56; for Mahican population, see William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 44; Population estimates for Onondaga villages are unavailable for this period, so I assumed they had at least as many people as did the Oneidas, a conservative estimate considering that Onondaga had twice the Oneida population by 1630, Snow*, The Iroquois*, 110.

by hunting alone, especially for roe deer which are plentiful in this vicinity." Kalm also observed Kanien'kehá:ka hunters burning the forest's undergrowth to create habitats where deer populations thrived. They hunted along the western shore of Lake Champlain at least as far north as the place Kanien'kehá:ka people called *oskennón:ton*, "deer," a claim to the bountiful hunting grounds they exploited.[54]

Hunting excursions along Lake Champlain's western shore brought Kanien'kehá:ka hunters into conflict with men from Hochelaga, a village of Iroquoian-speakers located near present-day Montreal. Like Kanien'kehá:ka people, Hochelagans dwelled in a large, palisaded village and cultivated expansive fields of maize. Their hunting territory probably extended south up the Richelieu River to the northwest shores of Lake Champlain. When Jacques Cartier visited Hochelaga in 1535, he observed fifty lodges, suggesting a population of at least 1,500 people with 375 men of fighting age. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors pressed into Hochelagan hunting grounds in the Champlain Valley to claim territories abounding with deer.[55]

Warriors also raided the village for the captives that clan mothers demanded to restore their *o'tá:ra* and satisfy grieving families. Because they spoke an Iroquoian language related to Kanien'ké:ha, captives from the Saint Lawrence River made ideal replacements for deceased Kanien'kehá:ka people. Furthermore, these peoples dwelled outside the metaphorical longhouse, and therefore lacked the protections guaranteed by The Great Law. By 1525, pottery styles originating in the Saint Lawrence River Valley began appearing in Kanien'kehá:ka villages, suggesting that clans successfully absorbed the female captives who shaped them from the clay of their new, adoptive homeland. While Kanien'kehá:ka families generally adopted women and children, they tended to reserve adult male captives for the torture rituals honoring the sun and other spirits who

[54] Adolph B. Benson, ed. *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America: The English Version of 1770* (2 vols., New York, NY: Wilson-Erickson Inc., 1937), 2: 575, 580, 588.
[55] Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario," 455.

aided their young men in war. This strategy had the double effect of increasing the population of Kanien'kehá:ka villages while bleeding their enemies' fighting strength. During the 1570s, Kanien'kehá:ka villages hosted over 2,000 people, up from fewer than 1,500 people during the 1530s. The population had surged by more than 33 percent in 40 years, growth reflected in the increasing prevalence of ceramic techniques, patterns, and styles formerly found in Hochelega and other villages in the Saint Lawrence Valley. Such pottery suggests that captives from this region accounted for most of the Kanienkehá:ka's sixteenth-century population boom.[56]

Meanwhile, the Iroquoian villages along the Saint Lawrence River disappeared. When Champlain explored the river during his 1603 voyage, the Iroquoian peoples whom Cartier had seen in 1535 and 1541 had abandoned their villages and left their cornfields to revert to meadows and forests. During the summer of 1642, the Jesuit missionary Barthelemy Vimont spoke with two descendants of those who dwelled formerly on the island the French recast as "Montreal." One man reported, "Some went towards the country of the Abnaquiois, others toward the country of the Hiroquois, some to the Hurons [Wendat] themselves, and joined them. And that is how this Island became deserted." Some Saint Lawrence Iroquoian peoples died at the hands of Kanien'kehá:ka raiders; others became adopted captives, bearing new names and owing loyalty to their *o'tá:ra*. However, some Iroquoian peoples from the Saint Lawrence River Valley fled from both those fates by seeking refuge among Wendat neighbors to the west or the Abenaki peoples to the east.[57]

Saint Lawrence Iroquoians and ancestral Abenaki peoples had shared a long history of peaceful relations. Archaeologists have recently discovered at least four Abenaki village sites along

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[56] Robert Kuhn, Robert Funk, and James Pendergast, "The Evidence for a Saint Lawrence Iroquoian Presence on Sixteenth-Century Mohawk Sites," *Man in the Northeast*, vol. 45 (1993): 84; Robert Kuhn, "Reconstructing patterns of interaction and warfare between the Mohawk and Northern Iroquoians during the AD 1400–1700 period" in Wright, J. V., and Pilon, J.L., eds., *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 164 (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), 149; Dean Snow, "Mohawk Demography," 164-65.
[57] *JRAD*, 22: 213-15.

the Kennebec River containing deposits of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics. The earliest deposits date back to around 1450, consisting mostly of clay pottery. Archaeologists have classified these early potsherds as "local deposits," artifacts appearing intermittently in a few isolated locations within the village sites. However, by the mid sixteenth century, deposits had grown more diverse in their contents and diffuse in their distribution. In addition to potsherds from ceramic vessels, archaeologists discovered fragments from pipe bowls and stems characteristic of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian peoples. Because men owned such pipes but women did not, their presence in village sites suggests that adult men dwelled among their Abenaki hosts. Abenaki people generally did not enslave adult men for fear of violent reprisal from the aggrieved captives. Therefore, the male Saint Lawrence Iroquoians probably settled along the Kennebec River at the invitation of Abenaki people. This discovery also casts light on the vessel fragments that had appeared in the same village locations a century earlier. In the case of Kanien'kehá:ka villages, ceramic vessels reflected a growing population of female captives. However, because of the evidence for peaceful relations between Saint Lawrence Iroquoian and Abenaki peoples during the sixteenth century, archaeologists hypothesize that such vessels probably arrived in Abenaki villages starting around 1450 through trade, diplomacy, or intermarriage. These visits and marriages reflect the origins of peace between peoples of the Saint Lawrence and Kennebec River Valleys. Fleeing Kanien'kehá:ka warriors during the mid-sixteenth century, Saint Lawrence Iroquoians turned to old friends.[58]

The refugees also found friends among the Abenaki people who lived along the northern shores of Lake Champlain at the bay called *mazipskoi,* "flint rock." As they had with the people of the Kennebec River, Saint Lawrence Iroquoians probably began visiting, treating, and marrying with the people of *mazipskoi* during the middle of the fifteenth century. These relationships established

[58] James Petersen, John Crock, Ellen Cowie, Richard Boisvert, Joshua Toney, Geoffrey Mandel, "St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Northern New England: Pendergast was 'Right' and More," in *A Passion for Learning: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, 87-123.

the diplomatic and kinship connections that demanded Abenaki people welcome the Saint Lawrence Iroquoian peoples as refugees a century later. Archaeologists estimate that sometime during the period 1500-1620, these Iroquoians established a small village site on *mazipskoi's* western shore, almost directly across the bay at its narrowest point from the Abenaki village. Evidence of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian settlement includes roasting pits, holes dug for the structural poles of at least one longhouse, and remnants of maize. Furthermore, the presence of both ceramic vessels and clay pipes suggests that the site hosted permanent populations of men and women. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Abenaki peoples from Lake Champlain and the Kennebec River had welcomed Iroquoian refugees fleeing the Saint Lawrence Valley ahead of Kanien'kehá:ka raiders. When Sebastien Rasles recorded their phrase for nation, *n'gôgassijebakamigezibena negwedodanak*, descendants of Iroquoian refugees likely figured among the "very many separate-earths at one village."[59]

During the same period, Kanien'kehá:ka war parties targeted the Wendat peoples (also known as Hurons) who had also given quarter to Iroquoian peoples from the Saint Lawrence River. Around 1600, Wendat ceramics suddenly replaced in Kanien'kehá:ka villages the pottery styles inherited from the Saint Lawrence River Valley. Because captive women introduced these ceramics, their abrupt and plentiful appearance in Mohawk Valley village sites reflected the new Kanien'kehá:ka strategy of raiding the Wendat for captives and control over their hunting territories.[60]

In 1643, a Jesuit priest taken captive by Kanien'kehá:ka warriors observed the warfare between them and the Wendat people to their north. He reported to his superior in Quebec, "the design of the Iroquois, as far as I can see, is to take, if they can, all the Hurons [Wendat]; and, having put to death the most considerable ones and a good part of the others, to make of them but one

[59] Peterson et al., "St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Northern New England," 87-123.
[60] Kuhn, "Reconstructing Patterns of Interaction and Warfare," 150-53.

people and only one land." The strategy the priest described comported with *kaianeren'kówa*, The Great Law. One of the wampum belts constituting the Law justified the extirpation of an enemy people who refused to accept the Peace. In such cases, their territory passed to the Rotinonhsón:ni. These new territories yielded valuable hunting grounds where Kanien'kehá:ka warriors could pursue the deer necessary to clothe the growing population of people within their villages.[61]

Kanien'kehá:ka warriors thus fought both to secure captives and consolidate authority over hunting territories, goals which they expressed through dual words about warfare. During the mid-seventeenth century, Jacques Bruyas recorded the term "*non8tag'ete*" which he believed corresponded with French word "la guerre [war]." In a modern orthography, the word is probably *hnontakehte*, which translates literally, "they (two men) carry a boiling kettle." The term evokes an image of two warriors holding opposite sides of a long stick that suspended a steaming cauldron between them. Warriors did not literally carry such a kettle to war. However, they did prepare them before setting out to raid an enemy village. Into these cauldrons young men cast the meat of their slain dogs, which they boiled and then consumed. Similar to Abenaki warriors who prepared for war by roasting a dog's head symbolizing their enemy's, Kanien'kehá:ka men who took up their clan mothers' calls for war feasted on dog meat that represented their rivals' flesh. Warfare brought captives for adoption – and consumption. However, Bruyas also recorded the term aligning with the French concept of territorial conquest: "*onh8entsiagennon*." In Bruyas's construction, the word comprises the morphemes /*-onh8entsi*/, "earth, world, country;" the increment *-a-* used to join noun and verb roots; /*-genn*/, which he believed corresponded with "disputer [to contend for, to dispute, to contest]; and /*-on*/, a stative aspect suffix. Bruyas's verb root /*-genn*/ warrants additional analysis. During the nineteenth century, Cuoq recorded the root as /*-skennh*/, which he noted held the meanings "disputer, contester, s'efforcer de l'emporter, prévaloir, être rival, chercher à supplanter [to contend for, to

[61] *JRAD*, 24: 295.

dispute, to strive to win, to prevail, to rival, to seek to supplant." Both roots are probably variations of /*-hsken'r-*/, which the twentieth-century Iroquoian linguist Gunther Michaelson noted constitutes, "an archaic noun root for weapons." Therefore, *onh8entsiagennon* conveys the Kanien'kehá:ka people's idea of contending for disputed land, generally through force. Such force included seeking to supplant the other peoples who also claimed the land as their own.[62]

Abenaki people had long dwelled along the shores of Lake Champlain and the Saint Lawrence River coveted by Kanien'kehá:ka hunters. They had inhabited the Lake Champlain Valley ever since *Ojihozo* had shaped it for them thousands of years before. Abenaki tradition similarly maintains that their homelands extended along the south bank of the Saint Lawrence, from the Richelieu River in the west to where the Chaudière empties into the Saint Lawrence in the east. These hunting grounds probably hosted the earliest interactions between ancestral Abenaki hunters and the Iroquoian peoples of the Saint Lawrence Valley.

These overlapping hunting territories posed potential danger to both peoples, for young men competing over the same resources could have initiated blood feuds by resorting to violence to secure their claims to the region. However, archaeological evidence indicates that relations remained peaceful. Beginning around 1450, ancestral Abenaki people wove Saint Lawrence Iroquoian people into their *gassokamigwezoak*, inviting them to trade and feast in their villages and seeking spouses for marriages that would further bind them as kin. When ancestral Abenaki people received these Iroquoian peoples as refugees during the mid-seventeenth century, they solidified their right to hunting territories along the Saint Lawrence. Although they had abandoned their villages, these Iroquoian peoples never forfeited their hunting grounds. These territories passed to their new

[62] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 47, 83; Jordan E. Kerber, "Native American Treatment of Dogs in Northeastern North America: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, vol. 25 (1997), 81-95: 90; Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise*, 12.

gassokamigwezoak, who continued living in the manner of the earth by traveling across it with the seasons.[63]

However, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors regarded as intruders anyone who dared encroach into the hunting grounds they had won by defeating the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians. *Kaianeren'kówa*, "The Great Law," had brought peace to their people by prescribing the rules of life, governance, war, and territorial expansion. According to the Law, the Champlain and Saint Lawrence Valleys belonged rightfully to the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Rotinonhsón:ni kin. The Law stipulated that if the ancestral Abenaki and other interlopers refused to yield, they would meet the same fate as the Wendat peoples to the north and west. During the summer of 1622, Champlain observed that the Kanien'kehá:ka had waged war against their rivals in the Champlain and Saint Lawrence Valleys for about fifty years, suggesting warfare had begun during the 1560s or 1570s. Therefore, the war had erupted during the same period when Abenaki peoples inhabiting the Champlain and Kennebec River began integrating Iroquoian refugees into their *gassokamigwezoak*. By acting as "so many ones-in-the-way-of-earth together" in their winter hunting grounds, *gassokamigwezoak* violated *kaianeren'kówa*. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors deemed such violations grounds for violent reprisal.[64]

However, by enforcing through violence the territorial rights granted by *kaianeren'kówa*, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors tore at the fabric of *gassokamigwezoak*. In his journal from the summer of 1622, Champlain explained why Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had failed to subdue these enemies for the past half-century: "Their fathers had never been disposed to enter into a treaty, owing to the desire they had to wreak vengeance for the murder of relatives and friends who had been killed." Each captive taken or killed demanded revenge. As John Gyles's experience would attest later during the seventeenth century, Abenaki people relied on captives to replace the labor of deceased kin. As

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[63] Gordon Day, "The First Vermonters: Abenakis in the Basin," unpublished manuscript in Gordon Day Papers, Box 2, Folder 5, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[64] *Works of Champlain*, 5: 78

planters, foragers, hunters, and porters, these captives contributed to the survival of their captive's *gassokamigwezoak*. Furthermore, to demonstrate the value of these kin, members of their *gassokamigwezoak* invited warriors from related family bands to seek vengeance. These raids affirmed kinship ties among *alnôbak*, but deepened their mutual resentment of Kanien'kehá:ka people.[65]

Competing kinship networks manifested on the earth as contested boundaries. Abenaki people regarded Lake Champlain as *bitawbagw*, "between water," a boundary between two colliding cultures. To the people inhabiting its eastern shores at *mazipskoi*, *bitawbagw* marked the western edge of their world. Beyond it dwelled their Kanien'kehá:ka rivals who deemed the lake *kaniatarakwà:ronte* "the bulge in the waterway." In their view, *kaniatarakwà:ronte* stood in the middle of the long network of rivers and streams linking *teionontatátie'*, "two mountains go on and on," with the Saint Lawrence River. Their worlds overlapped at the between water which stood as a bulge in the waterway. Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki people competed to hunt along its shores, honor the spirits animating it, and paddle its waters north to contested hunting territories along the Saint Lawrence River. By about 1570, these rivalries grew deadly, launching an escalating cycle of warfare, death, rebirth, mourning, love, triumph, and loss. Propelled by their own cultural logics, Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka deemed one other *alemosak* and *kanaskwokonha*: dogs outside each other's kinship networks, yet within overlapping worlds.

[65] *Works of Champlain*, 5: 78

- Chapter 2 -

Duffel, Firearms, and Contagion: The New Arithmetic of War and Kinship, 1570-1646

This chapter traces the relationship between Kanien'kehá:ka people and their Abenaki neighbors during the tumultuous period between 1570 and 1646. During that time, colonizes introduced a new, capitalist economic system that transformed how Native peoples used their homelands. Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people had developed cultures fitted to the ecological opportunities and constraints of those homelands, which furnished for them everything they used in daily life. However, trade goods like duffel sparked competition over the beaver pelts prized by European traders. Commodities in a transatlantic exchange, furs lost their value as resources for Native peoples to fashion into clothing. Instead, Native peoples tethered the value of peltry to prices rippling out from marketplaces in Amsterdam, Paris, and London. By embracing duffel, Native peoples welcomed a new scarcity to their homelands. Meanwhile, firearms rendered more lethal the violence that erupted in hunting grounds as young men fought to secure access to beaver pelts. Deadly as they were, these muskets claimed far fewer lives than the invisible assailants carried by Europeans. Kinship systems strained under the death visited by wave after wave of epidemic diseases. North and east of Lake Champlain, *gassokamigwezoak* shattered and coalesced with startling frequency. South and west of the lake, clan mothers struggled to replenish their *o'tá:ra*, leaving voids in longhouses that surviving kin felt as deep and pervasive grief. Competing over trade goods, decimated by disease, and armed with powerful new weapons, Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki peoples struggled to restore balance to worlds upended by colonization.

Fueled by new commercial demands and old obligations to kin and allies, Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenakis became trapped in an escalating cycle of violence. A faction of Abenaki people called the Sokwakiiak sought exclusive control over the Champlain Valley's beaver-hunting territory,

contrary to a 1624 peace agreement erasing all borders between the lake and the Saint Lawrence River. This breach initiated a new era of warfare. The war offered the Kanien'kehá:ka an opportunity to take captives and prisoners, mitigating the demographic crisis wrought by epidemic diseases. Furthermore, by subordinating the Sokwakiiak instigators of the violence, Kanien'kehá:ka clan mothers and chiefs dictated a new relationship of "coercive kinship." They depended on their Sokwakiiak tributaries to perform the same functions as kin, such as presenting wampum and joining war parties. For this allegiance, Sokwakiiak villages enjoyed the protection of the more powerful Kanien'kehá:ka. Through their relationship of mutual though unequal dependence, Kanien'kehá:ka and Sokwakiiak peoples restored order to their chaotic worlds. This balance proved fleeting, however, swept away by disease and renewed competition over duffel and firearms.

***Sokwakiiak* ("They are broken away earth")**

When French colonizers intruded into the Saint Lawrence Valley at the turn of the seventeenth century, they found colliding Native worlds already gripped in warfare. By around 1570, the conflict had expanded out from along the Mohawk River into hunting territories of the Saint Lawrence and Champlain Valleys. There, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters pursued deer for meat and hides that would feed and clothe their growing population. In these distant hunting territories, they also searched for captives to carry back to their villages for ritual torture and execution or adoption into clans.

Called *o'tá:ra* in kanien'kéha, clans organized the Kanien'kehá:ka people's social worlds, for they assigned each person a series of rights and responsibilities within a robust network of kin. From their clans, Kanien'kehá:ka people drew their strength. During the fifteenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors proved remarkably successful in growing their *o'tá:ra.* The total population of their villages swelled from just over 2,000 people in 1570 to nearly 4,600 by 1600, more than doubling within a

generation. This population boom reflected the success of Mohawk warriors in taking captives from their enemies to the north.[1]

The growth of Kanien'kehá:ka villages obscured the losses inflicted on them by powerful rivals. When the French explorer Samuel de Champlain reached the mouth of the Richelieu River during May of 1603, he observed 1,000 Native warriors feasting to celebrate their recent victory over the Kanien'kehá:ka, who had lost about 100 men in the fight. Kanien'kehá:ka villages collectively hosted between 920 and 1,150 men of fighting age, so a loss of 100 warriors constituted a devastating blow of about 10 percent of their fighting force. They could ill afford more such defeats.[2]

They faced a formidable alliance of peoples united against them. Historians tend to focus on the precolonial enmity between the Kanien'kehá:ka and the Algonquin, Attikamekw, and Montagnais peoples dwelling north of the Saint Lawrence River from the Ottawa River in the west to the Saguenay River in the east. Ancestral Abenaki people also sent war parties against their mutual Kanien'kehá:ka foes. Native peoples still remembered these old ties during the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, in 1653 the Montagnais chief Tekouerimat addressed a delegation of people one French observer identified as "Abnaquiois, or neighbors and friends of the Abnaquiois." Tekouerimat recalled, "Your Fathers formerly contracted an alliance with our Ancestors" and reminded his guests about "the old-time friendship that had once been maintained between them." Born around 1600, Tekouerimat spoke of ancestors who had likely feasted at the 1603 celebration observed by Champlain. At this feast, Champlain also observed warriors whom he called "Etchemins," a cover term he used for peoples inhabiting the Maine coast from the Saint John to

[1] Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," 164–65.
[2] Henry P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 6 vols., The Publications of the Champlain Society (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922); Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," 164–65.

the Saco River, the homeland of the *Mahaosan,* the coalition-walking Abenaki ancestors. Their hunting territories spanned north from the coast up to the southern banks of the Saint Lawrence River. Like the Algonquin, Attikamekw, and Montagnais people, Abenakis resented the intrusions of Kanien'kehá:ka hunting and raiding parties into their territories.[3]

These peoples welcomed into their alliance Champlain and his fellow French explorers as friends who wielded strange, powerful weapons. During the summer 1609, Champlain joined a war party of Algonquins, Montagnais, and Wendat peoples bound for war against the Kanien'kehá:ka, whom they encountered at *tekiatoń:niarike'*, "two points in close proximity which have come together," at the southern shores of *kaniatarakwà:ronte*, the bulge in the waterway. The crack of Champlain's arquebus cut through the din of war. With the echo of gunfire still resounding over the lake, the Kanien'kehá:ka party saw two of their three war chiefs fall dead. Stricken with awe and terror, they fled. Their Native rivals killed fifty of their warriors and took another ten captive, a rout on par with their 1603 defeat. Impressed with Champlain and his frightful weapon, the Native warriors invited him into their alliance. According to Champlain, "we all separated with great protestations of mutual friendship, and they asked me if I would not go to their country, and aid them continually like a brother." Because Champlain had taken their enemies as his own, the peoples of the Native alliance welcomed him as kin, an enduring bond of mutual rights – and obligations. Champlain lived up to these expectations the following summer, when he joined a party of Montagnais and Algonquin warriors who took fifteen Kanien'kehá:ka warriors captive at the mouth of the Richelieu River.[4]

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[3] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (JRAD): Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, Co., 1896), 40: 195-201; J. Monet, "NEGABAMAT, Noël, Tekouerimat," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval: 2003), accessed July 13, 2023, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/negabamat_1E.html.
[4] Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, Appendix D; *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 98–105.

The coalition-walking people afforded Champlain and his French countrymen the rights of kin. During the summer of 1613, English privateers captured the vessel French colonists had moored in the Saint Lawrence River, slaying those who tried to repel the attack. According to the Jesuit priest accompanying the French expedition Pierre Briard, the people whom Champlain called Etchemin were the first to offer aid. He reported, "there were three Captains – Betsabes, Aguigueou and Asticou, each one of whom, for his share, would take ten of our band (since there were thirty of us left), and would take care of us until the following year." Betsabes, Aguigueou, and Asticou treated the French as they would any other struggling *gassokamigwezoak*, inviting them to disband temporarily and join another family band for the winter. Betsabes dwelled at the mouth of the Penobscot River, and enjoyed a hunting territory spanning north to its headwaters. His son Asticou lived just to the east, on the west bank of Quibiquesson, the modern-day Union River. Aguigueou was probably the same chief known to the English as Abermot and Aberemite, chief of the village on the east bank of Quibiquesson. These chief men of *mahaosan* had likely known Champlain since he first witnessed their people at the 1603 feast celebrating their triumph over the Kanien'kehá:ka. With powerful friends integrated into their network of kin, the peoples of the coalition-walking had reason to believe they would soon strike a final blow against their foe.[5]

Disease struck them first. From 1616 to 1619, a smallpox epidemic ravaged the Native peoples inhabiting the Atlantic coastline between Cape Cod and New Brunswick as well as the Saint Lawrence River Valley. Probably breaking out at the French trading post at Tadoussac near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, the disease especially preyed upon Native peoples, whose bodies lacked natural immunity to European pathogens. Although Asticou survived the epidemic, thousands of his fellow *mahaosan* did not. From about 10,000 people in 1615, the population between Asticou's village at Quibiquesson and the Saco River plummeted to under 3,000 by 1618, a

[5] *JRAD*, 3: 71; Snow, "Ethnohistoric Baseline of the Eastern Abenaki," 304.

loss of at least 70 percent. *Gassokamigwezoak* deteriorated, coalescing into new bands of survivors. Similar fates befell their Montagnais, Attikamekw, and Mongtagnais allies, who saw their own populations reduced by around 75 percent during the period. Remarkably, the disease did not reach Kanien'kehá:ka villages, and it probably stopped short of the Abenaki bands inhabiting the Lake Champlain and upper Connecticut River Valleys as well. Yet it sapped the overall strength of the Algonquian alliance. Writing between 1626 and 1633, the English colonist William Wood observed the edge that the epidemic had given the Kanien'kehá:ka. He wrote, "Our *Indians* that live to the North-ward of them be called *Aberginians*, who before the sweeping Plague, were an Inhabitant not fearing, but rather scorning the confrontments of such as now count them but the scumme of the country." Reeling from disease, neither the peoples of the *mahaosan* nor their northern allies had the strength to continue fighting.[6]

Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers seized this opportunity to end the interminable war. Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs grasped that, with their population drastically reduced by the recent epidemic, their Algonquian rivals lacked the strength to overpower them, even with French support. However, clan mothers had probably concluded the wars had grown too deadly, having lost at least 175 young men since 1603. By ending the war, clan mothers would stop the bloodshed, and with it, the grief that threatened their *otá:ra*. Both sides in the war had experienced their first bitter taste of European colonization. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors felt the lethal sting of firearms and steel blades. The Algonquian-alliance had seen entire villages melt away before smallpox and other viral diseases. These crises induced Native peoples to end their wars at long last.[7]

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[6] Snow, "Ethnohistoric Baseline of the Eastern Abenaki," 303–4; *JRAD*, 3: 105; William Wood, *New Englands Prospect: A True, Lively, and Experimentall Description of That Part of America, Commonly Called New England: Discovering the State of the Countrie, Both as It Stands to Our New-Come English Planters; and to the Old Native Inhabitants.* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1634), 63–64, http://archive.org/details/woodsnewengland00woodgoog.
[7] *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 73-74.

They solidified the peace by resolving the dispute over hunting territories that had plunged their worlds into war fifty years before. In June 1622, the Algonquian-speaking alliance reported to Champlain that peace was imminent. He recorded that they had secured "a pledge from their enemies not to injure them, nor to prevent them from hunting anywhere in the country; and promising that they would conduct themselves in like manner towards the Iroquois." With fanfare and celebration, all belligerents agreed to a formal peace during the summer of 1624. Ambassadors believed this agreement would quell the violence that erupted in overlapping or disputed hunting territories. Rather than guessing the intentions of potential rivals, all peoples with a claim to the region could hunt and travel in safety, confident that any others they encountered desired peace.[8]

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With the arrival of European colonizers eager for North American fur, pelts took on new and increased value as commodities in a Transatlantic marketplace. For centuries, hats had constituted a part of everyday dress for European men and women. Although hats changed size and shape with the style of the day, one constant remained: they required wool from furbearing animals. Hatmakers processed animal pelts before compressing them into a solid piece of wool felt, superior to woven materials because it did not tear or unravel and was more resistant to water. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, hatmakers made felt from the fur of rabbits and muskrats. However, when wide-brimmed hats became fashionable in Europe during the mid-sixteenth century, hatmakers relied on beaver felt, which was especially durable and therefore capable of holding the hat's complex shape. European trappers took to nearby rivers and ponds in search of these valuable animals. By the turn of the seventeenth century, overhunting had exhausted European beaver populations. The depletion of Europe's beavers coincided with the colonization of North America, which promised apparently boundless furbearing animals. In quick succession, French,

[8] *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 77.

Dutch, and English settlers established trading operations in New France, New Netherlands, and New England during the 1610s and 1620s. European traders hoped to profit by extracting furs to meet growing demand at home.[9]

European market towns teemed with merchants seeking these furs. For example, each September Amsterdam hosted the *Amsterdammer kerckmisse* or *Groote Jaarmarkt,* an annual fair lasting three weeks. During the 1620s and early 1630s, furs sold at the Amsterdam Fair fetched between 6 and 8 florins, depending on their size and quality, averaging about 7.2 florins per pelt. At similar fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig, traders earned the equivalent of between 4 and 6 Dutch florins, reflecting differences in regional supply and demand. The Dutch West India Company, which held a monopoly in Holland's North American fur trade, marketed its furs at the Amsterdam Fair, where between 1626 and 1632 it sold 63,000 pelts, yielding a total of approximately 454,000 florins, about 65,000 florins per year. During an era when the typical Dutch laborer earned between 200 and 300 florins a year, the fur trade represented a fortune for the merchants. By the early seventeenth century, traders, merchants, and craftspeople wove together a complex marketplace spanning the Atlantic Ocean.[10]

To procure furs for this market, Dutch settlers courted with European goods the Native men and women who hunted furbearing animals and processed their pelts. In 1614, the Dutch West India Company built Fort Nassau, a trading post at the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers. Five years earlier, a party of Native hunters had stopped Henry Hudson and his crew near the same spot, indicating their eagerness to trade with the Europeans. According to the crewmember Robert Juet, "many brought us Bevers skinnes, and Otters skinnes, which wee bought for Beades,

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[9] Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "The Economic History of the Fur Trade: 1670 to 1870," EH.net, accessed July 5, 2023, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economic-history-of-the-fur-trade-1670-to-1870/.
[10] Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed., *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626 In The Henry E. Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1924), 231; Oliver Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 90.

Knives, and Hatchets." Already accustomed to trading with French and English fishing vessels along the Atlantic coast, Native people had begun incorporating these European goods into their daily lives. Sturdier, sharper, and more durable than the stone or copper blades they could produce using materials from their own homelands, Native peoples preferred European alternatives forged from iron. By trading furs from the animals abounding in their homeland, Native people secured these newly vital goods.[11]

During the late 1610s and early 1620s, Native peoples also began demanding European textiles in exchange for their furs. The earliest fabric Native people procured from Dutch traders was duffel, a heavy-weight woolen fabric like a blanket. An English observer named Robert Plot remarked at the popularity of duffel garments among Native peoples of the Northeast. He recorded, "the use they have for them is to apparel themselves with them, their manner being to tear them into Gowns of about two Yards long, thrusting their Arms through two Holes made for that Purpose and so wrapping the rest about them as we our Loosecoats." Such woolens were both lighter and warmer than the furs and skins from which Native peoples in the region had fashioned their clothes. Furthermore, wool remained an insulator when wet, a welcome change for hunters tracking game in the damp and cold of winter.[12]

During the fall of 1626, the Secretary of the Dutch West India Company Isaack de Rasière explained to the Company's directors the challenge of keeping wool cloth stocked at Fort Orange, which replaced Fort Nassau in 1624. He wrote, "I am very much afraid that I shall be short of duffels when the time comes, so that I am again obliged to beg the honorable gentlemen to assist me toward the end of March or the beginning of next April with 200 pieces." The previous spring Dutch traders had exhausted their supply of duffel. Rather than trading their furs for other items like

[11] J. Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 22; Van Laer, trans., *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* 228-231.
[12] Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland*, 227–28.

pots and kettles, Native hunters bearing furs from their winter hunting season withdrew from the fort with their skins, seeking out French or English traders in Québec and coastal Maine. With each "piece" of duffel measuring about 5.25 feet wide by about 60.75 feet long, Rasière hoped that the approximately 64,000 square feet furnished by 200 pieces would satisfy the savvy Native traders.[13]

To further induce Native hunters to trade their furs with Dutch rather than French or English merchants, Rasière suggested outcompeting their rivals on price. In his 1626 letter to the West India Company directors, he argued, "I beg to submit to your Honors whether, if we could overtake French or English sloops here, it would not be well by some means or other to take the trade away from them, either by force or by spoiling their trade by outbidding them with duffels." Dreading the violence of the "force" required to oust French and English traders, Rasière raised the price Fort Orange merchants paid for each pelt, from 2.5 hand-lengths (10 inches) of duffel to 4 hands (16 inches). He reasoned that this 60 percent increase would earn the loyalty of Native hunters in the region.[14]

Driven by this new economic incentive, Native peoples hunted and processed pelts to trade for cloth, rather than to fashion into their own fur and leather clothing, as they had before the arrival of Europeans. At Fort Orange's new going rate, Native hunters could trade 4.5 beaver pelts for the two yards of duffel cloth required for the matchcoat garment described by Plot. In addition to its greater durability and water resistance, the duffel garment also demanded less labor to procure than its fur and leather equivalent. Because beavers live in family dens of about five to twelve beavers, hunters could trap them all at once, rather than stalking each animal individually as they did

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[13] The earliest recorded length of a "piece" of duffel that survives is from a 1645 account from an English merchant, who procured the finished cloth from Leiden: "one pack 12 pcs of Leiden Doffle cont 27 flem[ish] el[l]s a piece." Since 1 Flemish ell corresponded with about 27 inches during the period, each piece of Leiden duffle measured about 729 inches, or 60.75 feet. The width of each piece comes from Robert Plot's 1677 account, in which he specified that they measured "one Yard ¾ broad," or about 5.25 feet. Both quotes from Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870: A Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchant's Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 224.
[14] Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* 224.

with deer. Hunting parties could also convey a den's worth of beavers back to their camp in a single journey. Weighing an average of forty pounds each, three to five beavers accounted for the same mass as a single adult deer. Furthermore, because beaver pelts are only a fraction of the size of deer hides, they demanded less labor from the women who cleaned and processed them. By the mid-1620s, Native peoples in the region of Fort Orange found it preferable to trade pelts for the cloth necessary to keep them warm and dry in their homelands.[15]

To satisfy their demand for duffel, Kanien'kehá:ka people and the Abenakis inhabiting the Upper Connecticut River and Lake Champlain Valley looked to the Adirondack region west of "the lake between." Although the Adirondack highlands hosted a meager deer population, beavers thrived in the region's rivers, lakes, and marshes. They also augmented its landscape to suit their needs, creating ponds by damming smaller creeks and streams with felled trees. In addition to the leaves, inner bark, and twigs of those trees, beavers dined on shrubs, ferns, blackberries, grasses, and aquatic plants abounding in the region's forests and waters. When Champlain first glimpsed the Adirondacks during the early seventeenth century, he estimated they possessed one million beavers. Wildlife biologists have since revised down Champlain's estimate, suggesting the precolonial beaver population of the Adirondack highlands was closer to 100,000. Still a substantial figure, these 100,000 beavers inhabited about 11,000 dens, with 1-2 dens per square mile. By passing the winter hunting season seeking beaver in the Adirondacks, a hunting party could collect hundreds of pelts to sell during the spring, when Fort Orange received fresh supplies from Amsterdam.[16]

Competition over this region threatened the 1624 peace agreement. Ending over fifty years of warfare that began with skirmishes over competing claims to deer-hunting territories, the peace

[15] "Living With Wildlife: American Beaver" (Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, 2022), 1.
[16] "Living With Wildlife: American Beaver," 1; Peter Aagaard, "The Rewilding of New York's North Country: Beavers, Moose, Canines and the Adirondacks" (2008)." (Thesis, Missoula, MT, University of Montana, 2008), 40–42, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/1064.

boasted as its central agreement that all borders would be erased between peoples so they could hunt wherever they wished. However, the peace strained against the realities of a new, exacting commercial arithmetic: the 200 pieces of duffel that Rasière ordered in 1626 spanned a total of about 12,150 feet, or 36,450 hands. At the going price of 4 hands of duffel per beaver, Fort Orange's supply of cloth would fetch about 9,100 pelts for the year. These beavers would yield the duffel required to fashion just over 2,000 coats. With the population of Kanien'kehá:ka villages alone standing above 5,000 people by 1626, Fort Orange's duffel supply fell short of demand in the region. The 1624 peace erased the borders of the most productive beaver-hunting territory at the precise moment when the value of beaver pelts soared but Dutch traders lacked enough duffel to meet demand.[17]

Worse yet, the peoples inhabiting the Mohawk, Lake Champlain, and Saint Lawrence Valleys faced new competition over the scarce cloth from those dwelling to their south. In 1626 Rasière courted forty Susquehannock ambassadors from the Susquehanna River, exchanging with them a fathom of duffel, two hatchets, some beads, and a few other small items for ten beaver pelts. Impressed with these goods, they wished to trade for more the next spring. According to Rasière, "they begged me that when the season approached I would send them a sloop or a small ship, until whose arrival they would keep the peltries, which I promised to do." Dutch traders cared only about a pelt's quality, not its provenance. To them, hides from the Adirondack highlands were no different than hides from the Susquehanna River, or the Saint Lawrence River, or Lake Champlain. Therefore, Native peoples separated by hundreds of miles, who had never stepped foot in each other's hunting territories, began competing for access to the same, fixed supply of Dutch trade goods.[18]

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[17] *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 77; Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* 227-28; for calculations used to derive the total length of duffel, its exchange rate with beavers, and the number of matchcoats the cloth would yield, see Footnote 13; Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," 164–65.

[18] Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland*, 192.

European cloth introduced new incentives and constraints that plunged the 1624 peace into confusion. The Abenaki people dwelling along Lake Champlain resented that Kanien'kehá:ka hunters enjoyed unfettered access to the valley as both a hunting territory and a corridor to the northern Adirondack highlands where beaver abounded. After a mere two years of Kanienke'há:ka hunters paddling up "the bulge in the waterway," conflict broke out anew along its shores. In September 1626 Rasière reported this rupture of the peace to the Dutch West India Company: "I must sometime perforce go up the river to see whether I can get the Minquas to come to an agreement with the French Indians whereby they may obtain forever a free passage through their country." By "Minquas" Rasière meant "Maquas," the term by which Dutch and English colonists referred to Kanien'kehá:ka people. Although Dutch and English officials used "French Indians" as a cover term for Algonquian-speaking peoples living north of New England, Rasière specified that the people dwelling along Lake Champlain bore responsibility for violating the 1624 peace. Contrary to the agreement, they denied Kanien'kehá:ka hunters safe passage along the waterways and portages leading from the Hudson River to Lake Champlain. By blocking their access to the lake, those inhabiting the Champlain Valley reduced competition over the rich hunting territories to its west.[19]

This violation of the 1624 peace probably earned the Mazipskoiak and their kin a new name: Sokwakiiak. The word derives from the verb root /*sokw-*/, signifying "come apart, take apart, break up, detach;" the noun root /*aki*/, meaning "earth, land, ground, soil, world;" the verb final /*-i*/, which forms verbs of being and identity; and the plural suffix /*-ak*/. Therefore, Sokwakiiak conveys, "they are broken away earth." In their language, "earth" often served as a metaphor for the state of relationships between peoples. For example, the eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary Joseph Aubery recorded the words *wlakkamighé* and *8aga8akkamighé* for "peace" and "war." Both words contain the root /*akkamigh-*/, which similar to /*aki*/, means "earth," "world," or "territory." They both also

[19] September 23, 1626, Isaack de Rasieres to Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company.

share the verb final */-é/*, expressing a condition or an action that one does. The words differ only in their initial roots. The root */wl-/* signifies that something or someone is "good," whereas */8aga8-/* connotes "confused," "troubled," or "upset." (Aubery used the symbol "*8"* as shorthand for the French "ou," the equivalent of the English "w.") Therefore, the Sokwakiiak conceived of peace as the condition of "good earth" and war as that of "confused, troubled, or upset earth" – which described the troubled relationships between the peoples inhabiting that land. Viewed through this metaphorical lens, the Sokwakiiak earned their name not by detaching from a people in a literal sense, such as branching off from one village to form another. Rather, the word *Sokwakiiak* implies that those who bore the name broke away in a more figurative sense, likely from a peace agreement designed to make "good earth" between former rivals.[20]

In their own language, Kanien'kehá:ka people assigned a similar name to the Sokwakiiak. The twentieth-century ethnohistorian and linguist Gordon Day recorded "ôtjá gô" as their word for the Sokwakiiak. An Algonquian rather than Iroquoian linguist, Day applied the orthography he had developed for his Abenaki dictionary to the term. Rendered in a more conventional form, the word

[20] Gordon Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 89-97. Around 1617, Fernando Gorges recorded the name *Sockhigones*, whom he said lived to the west of the peoples inhabiting Maine's coasts and lower river valleys. Gorges likely added the English plural *-s* to the name of the people, removing which yields the name *Sockhigone.* Gordon Day noted that the Sockhigones were probably the Sokwakiiak, based on his analysis of the proposed word's meaning. Day believed that Gorge had transcribed the word *sohkwihkôni*, which he then translated, "he is a separated camp (person)." Day believed that, like the term *Sokwakii*, it conveyed an identity based on separation. Rendered in the orthography he later developed for his Abenaki dictionary, Day's proposed word would be *sokwikôni,* analyzable as *sokw-i-kôn-i*. If Day is correct, then the term Sokwakiiak had been in use since 1617 at the latest, before they could have earned the name by breaking from the peace of 1624. However, I believe that Gorges heard the word *zôkhikôn*, analyzable as *zôkh-i-kôn*. First, *zôkhikôn* is phonetically closer to *Sockhigone* than Day's proposed *sokwikôni*. The root, *zôkh-* comports with *sockh-*, with *ô* making a long "a" sound as in "soccer." Day's proposed *sokwi* fails to explain why Gorges did not include the glide "w" in his own transcription. Furthermore, the noun root, *-kôn,* aligns more simply with *-gone*. Whereas Day believed the final *"e"* in *sockhigone* constituted a separate morpheme corresponding with the Abenaki verb final *-i* (pronounced "ee"), I argue Gorges intended the *"e"* as a part of a single morpheme *-gone*, pronounced just like the English word "gone" and phonetically identical to the Abenaki root *-kôn*. In addition to bearing a greater phonetic similarity, *zôkhikôn* makes more sense when analyzed as a word within its cultural context. It comprises the root *zôkh-*, "approaching," and the same noun root identified by Day, *-kôn*. However, whereas Day glossed *-kôn* simply as a "camp" (implying a settlement), in his subsequent research he determined that it more accurately meant a "temporary shelter." Therefore, *zôkhikôn* translates, "an approaching-shelter," probably signifying a temporary camp between upriver hunting territories and the larger, semi-permanent villages located closer to the coast. Abenaki people conceived of travel along waterways in relation to their home village. So a temporary camp where hunters stopped on their journey home would indeed be an "approaching-shelter."

he collected was probably *yontyá:kon*. This word comprises the feminine plural pronominal prefix /*yon-*/; the reflexive /*-t-*/, approximating in this instance the English form "-self;" the verb root /*-ya'k-*/, meaning "to cut something off or from;" and the stative aspect suffix /*-on*/, indicating that a state or action has been concluded. Therefore, *yontyá:kon* translates, "they have cut off themselves," describing a people who have broken away from a relationship with them.[21]

These Sokwakiiak probably comprised related bands of people inhabiting the territory between the Saint Lawrence River, Lake Champlain, and the upper Connecticut River. During the mid-nineteenth century, a Sokwakii man living at the Odanak Abenaki First Nation (also called Saint François after the mission there) named John Watso described his people's former homeland to the Vermont historian Rowland Robinson, who recorded, "If the traditions of the St. Francois Indians are to be relied on, the eastern shore of Lake Champlain was anciently inhabited by the Zoquageers." According to Watso, their name translated, "the people who withdrew from the others" – nearly identical to the meanings conveyed by *sokwakiak* and *yontyá:kon*. Their homeland extended east to the Connecticut River. In 1651 the Jesuit priest Gabriel Druillettes recorded, "Kenetigout est la rivière des Sokokiois [Connecticut is the river of the Sokokiois]," and reported that these people had a village about a two days' journey north of the English settlement at Hartford. By the late sixteenth century, the Champlain Valley hosted a population of about 4,200 people and the upper Connecticut River another 3,800 people. With a probable total population of about 8,000 people during the early seventeenth century, the Sokwakiiak constituted a numerous and powerful force.[22]

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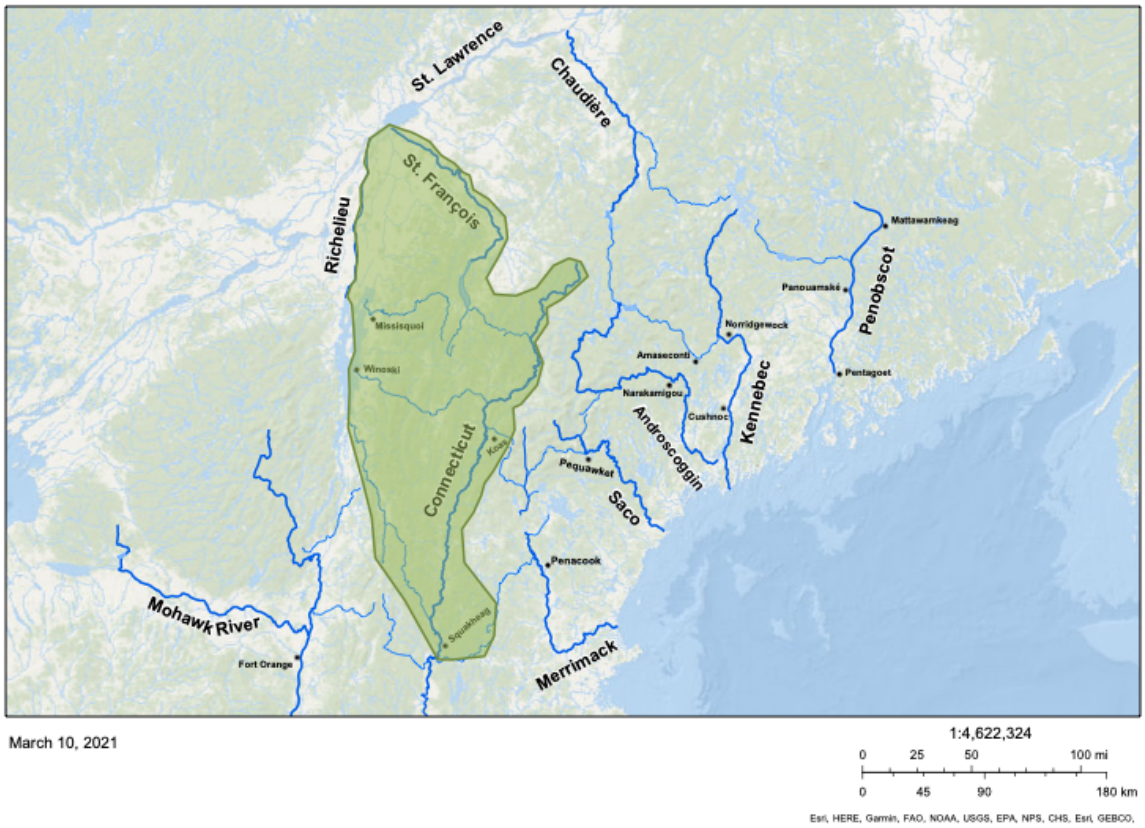
[21] *JRAD*, 28: 275-77; Gordon Day, "The Indians of Northfield Massachusetts" in Gordon Day Papers, Box 2, Folder 1.
[22] Rowland E. Robinson, "A Sketch of the Early History of Ferrisburgh," ed. Abby Maria Hemenway, *Vermont Quarterly Gazeteer* 1, no. 1860 (n.d.): 32–33; Rowland E. Robinson, *Vermont: A Study of Independence* (Boston, MA: The University Press of Cambridge, 1894), 34; "Rapport Du R.P. Druillettes, Envoyé En Députation à La Nouvelle-Angleterre Pour y Conclure Un Traité de Neutralité Entre Les Colonies Anglaises et Françaises," *Le Canada Français*, deuxième série, xx, no. 10 (juin, juillet, août 1933): 941–49; Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 94; Dean R. Snow, *The Archaeology of New England* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1980), 33.

Figure 4 – Map of Approximate Sokwakiiak Homeland



By the summer of 1626, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought to punish these Sokwakiiak people for violating the 1624 peace. Although historians tend to call the ensuing conflict the "Mohawk-Mahican War," the violence began between the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Sokwakiiak rivals. During the winter of 1626-27, Samuel de Champlain wrote, "During the winter some of our savages went to the settlements of the Dutch, and were asked by them and the savages of that region to make war on the Iroquois, who had killed twenty-four of their men and five Dutchmen, for not being willing to allow them free passage to go and make war on a nation called the Wolves, with whom the Iroquois were at enmity." By "our savages," Champlain meant the Algonquin and Montagnais peoples. At the outset of the violence during the summer, Champlain had received news that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had slain five Dutch soldiers and an untold number of "Mahiganathicois." Therefore, the "savages of that region" who had lost twenty-four of their warriors were Mahicans of the upper

Hudson River. Their territory stood between the Kanien'kehá:ka and a people whom Champlain called, in his original French, "les Loups," meaning the Sokwakiiak. According to Champlain, conflict arose from the "enmity" between them and the Kanien'kehá:ka.[23]

Although Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought retribution against the Sokwakiiak in particular, the conflict threatened the Mahican people who lived between them. The Mahican chief Monnemin and other councilors grappled with whether to grant Kanien'kehá:ka warriors "free passage" across their territory to attack the Sokwakiiak. Monnemin and his people dwelled on an island at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, a strategic channel through which any Kanien'kehá:ka war party required permission to pass. In 1637, the Jesuit missionary Paul le Jeune observed this custom among the native peoples of New France, New York, and northern New England. He explained, "This permission to pass on is asked for with presents in hand; if these presents are not accepted by the Chief, not being minded to let them pass, he tells them he has stopped the way, and that they can go no further. At these words they have to turn back, or run the risks of war." During the summer of 1626, Kanien'kehá:ka war chiefs probably appealed to Monnemin with similar offerings of fur, beads, or other trade goods. However, Monnemin and other Mahican councilors rebuffed the gifts, valuing more highly their obligations to the neighboring Sokwakiiak. Irritated by that rebuff, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors attacked the Mahicans, killing Monnemin and two dozen others, thereby drawing them into the war.[24]

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[23] For a traditional view on the "Mohawk-Mahican War," see Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era or European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 55-57 and 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, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 48-50; for important revisions about the "Mohawk-Mahican War," see William A. Starna and Jose Antonio Brandao, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern," *Ethnohistory* (Fall 2004) vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 725-750 and William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 79-96; *Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 208-09, 212-19.

[24] *JRAD*, 12: 189; *Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 212-19; A.F.J van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Renssalaer Bowier Manuscripts, Being the Letters of Killiaen Van Renssalaer, 1630-1643 and other Documents Relating to the Colony of Renssalaerwyck* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1908), 306.

Disorder and confusion spread as allies of the Sokwakiiak and Mahicans weighed the perils of reigniting war with the Kanien'kehá:ka. During the winter of 1626-27, Algonquin and Montagnais ambassadors returned from Fort Orange bearing war belts offered by Mahican and Sokwakiiak chiefs. These belts served as messages by which the chiefs "spoke" to their allies along the Saint Lawrence River. The returning ambassadors explained their meaning to Champlain, who recorded that they implored the recipients "to go and join the Dutch and their savages so as to form a large force and then proceed to lay waste the villages of the Iroquois." The Pocumtuc people on the Connecticut River probably received similar belts. During a 1664 conference with Kanien'kehá:ka councilors, a Pocumtuc speaker reminded them, "We have had no war for 36 years." The speaker's calculation indicates that Pocumtuc warriors had fought alongside Sokwakiiak and Mahican men during their conflict against the Kanien'kehá:ka. Heeding these belts, Algonquin, Montagnais, and Pocumtuc warriors joined the Mahican and Sokwakiiak war party setting out from the ruins of Monnemin's former village. During his 1634-35 expedition from Fort Orange to the Kanien'kehá:ka, the Dutch official Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert observed the destruction: "the Indians pointed to a high hill where their castle had stood nine years ago when they were driven out by the Mahicans." By the early winter of 1626-27, the war had engulfed the region between the upper Hudson and Connecticut Rivers.[25]

During the spring of 1627, factions of Algonquin and Montagnais people contemplated salvaging their own separate peace with the Kanien'kehá:ka. Their council meetings failed to reach a consensus for either waging war or preserving peace. A few weeks later, however, nine or ten young warriors forced their people to join the conflict. When a Kanien'kehá:ka hunting party appeared on Lake Champlain during early June, the warriors captured three of the men. Algonquin and

[25] *Works of Samuel de Champlain* 5: 212-19; *NYCD* 13: 380-82; Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, "A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country (1634-1635)" in Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives about a Native People* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 13.

Montagnais councilors sent back two of the hunters and apologized for the rashness of their young warriors. But Kanien'kehá:ka councilors rebuffed the apology and killed those who delivered it. Enraged, Algonquin and Montagnais warriors tortured their remaining prisoner. Champlain recorded that they "offered him as a present to the other savages so that they might finish putting him to death, and thus be induced to assist them in their war against the Iroquois." Because every death demanded satisfaction from the person who took the life, each warrior joining the execution created conflict between his own people and the Kanien'kehá:ka.[26]

Within Kanien'kehá:ka villages, clan mothers called for an end to the wars so that young men from their longhouses could spend their time hunting rather than fighting. During the war years, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters struggled to harvest the meat and furs necessary for their people. At the outset of the fighting against the Sokwakiiak in 1626, Dutch officials complained about the trickle of furs reaching Fort Orange. By the end of the year, the West India Company had shipped 7,258 beaver pelts back to Amsterdam. During 1629, the company only traded for 5,913 beaver pelts. This decrease in peltry coincided with an increase in the population of Kanien'kehá:ka villages. During the period 1614-1626, the villages hosted about 4,725 people. By around 1630 the total village population had grown to 7,740, bolstered by the successful incorporation of war captives within longhouses and the relocation of at least one Oneida village to Kanien'kehá:ka country. While their village populations swelled by almost 65 percent, the total fur trade at Fort Orange declined by nearly 20 percent, resulting in a dangerous shortfall in the clothing necessary for their people. Even assuming that Kanien'kehá:ka hunters accounted for the entire fur supply shipped by the West India Company in 1629, at four hands of duffel per pelt, their furs would have yielded barely one foot of

[26] *Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 5: 219-232.

cloth per person – not enough to keep villages warm during long, cold winters. Clan mothers reckoned that the war caused more harm than good for their people.[27]

Furthermore, by the spring of 1629 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had achieved decisive victories over their most immediate Mahican rivals. In October 1628, Nicolaes Janszoon van Wassenaer reported, "In the beginning of this year, war broke out between the Maikans near Fort Orange and the Makaues, but these beat and captured the Maikans and drove off the remainder who have settled towards the north by the Fresh River." Although the war had raged since 1626, Wassenaer recorded fresh hostilities between Kanien'kehá:ka and Mahican warriors during the winter or spring of 1628. Dealt a staggering blow in the fighting, some Mahican people abandoned their villages and sought shelter to the north, probably with the Sokwakiiak allies whom they had gone to war to defend in the first place. Wassenaer reported that Mahican people fled towards the headwaters of the Connecticut River (called the "Fresh River" by the Dutch), where Sokwakiiak people dwelled at Koas and Squakheag.[28]

Those who remained in the Mahican villages near Fort Orange faced mounting pressure from Kanien'kehá:ka warriors. According to the patroon of Rensselaerwyck Kiliaen van Rensselaer, in 1629 the Mahicans near Fort Orange suffered a staggering defeat and abandoned what remained of their villages between the fort and the Mohawk River. In May 1629, Champlain recorded that Mahican villagers had capitulated to Kanien'kehá:ka warriors. Learning that Algonquin and Montagnais peoples to the north had begun unwinding their wars against their common enemy, Mahican ambassadors treated for peace as well.[29]

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[27] Joseph W. Moulton, *History of the State of New York, Part II: Novum Belgium* (New York, NY: E.Bliss & E. White, 1826), 424; Snow, "Exogenous Epidemics of American Indian Populations," 165-66;. Snow, Gehring, and Starna, *In Mohawk Country*, 9.
[28] *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, 88-89.
[29] *Van Renssalaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 306; *Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 6: 3-4.

Although Sokwakiiak people refused to capitulate, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors imposed upon them an unwelcome resolution to the war. The seventeenth-century missionary to the Kanien'kehá:ka Jacques Bruyas collected their word describing such a relationship: *Aθahag8egon* [*athahagwegon*], which translates, "the path has been closed off." In 1633 van Rensselaer reported that the Kanien'kehá:ka "will not allow others who are hostile and live farther away and have many furs to pass through their territory." He hinted that these "others" were "the French savages who now trade on the river of Canada [Saint Lawrence River] and who live nearer to us than to them [the French]." The Sokwakiiak fit Rensselaer's description well. From their villages on the upper Connecticut River or eastern shore of Lake Champlain, Sokwakiiak hunters could more easily travel to Fort Orange than to Québec. That is, if Kanien'kehá:ka people had not closed the passage over the waterway between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River that recent victories had brought under their control. Kanien'kehá:ka councilors shut the metaphorical path between peoples, as well. Open paths facilitated the visits required to maintain peace. Once closed, such diplomacy withered. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors imposed on their Sokwakiiak foes an end to the war, but not a peace. With diplomatic ties severed, the hostility reported by van Rennselaer threatened to reignite with the right provocation.[30]

***Sagotinnéon Agotsagannha* ("He conquered her, She speaks a foreign language")**

Even as Kanien'kehá:ka people celebrated their recent triumphs, death stalked them. In 1633, a smallpox epidemic broke out on the lower Saint Lawrence River. During the next year, hunters and traders carried the lethal virus with them up the Saint Lawrence Valley, down the Connecticut River, and up the Mohawk River to the Kanien'kehá:ka. When he traveled west to their

[30] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 23, 51; *Van Renssalaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 248.

country from Fort Orange during the winter of 1634-35, van den Bogaert observed the destruction wrought by the invisible assailant. He passed empty villages, abandoned by Kanien'kehá:ka people escaping the plague. Entering a village during mid-December, Bogaert recorded, "I could see nothing else but graves." From about 7,740 people during the early 1630s, the Kanien'kehá:ka population plummeted to about 2,835 by the end of the decade. The epidemic had claimed nearly 65 percent of the Kanien'kehá:ka people.[31]

Each death required mourning according to proper protocols to assuage the grief of the living. Members of the Turtle and Wolf clans bore the responsibility of mourning the dead from the Bear clan, and vice versa. In his dictionary, Jacques Bruyas recorded several words and phrases that members of one moiety recited during condolence rituals for their counterparts. He observed that, as they draped strings of beads upon a dead body, they said, *"raondigonra roger8at."* The phrase translates, "his-mind it-injures-him." Although mourners adorned the dead with precious beads, the injured minds belonged to their living kin. By recognizing their pain, those bearing the gifts helped alleviate it. According to Bruyas, mourners continued presenting beads to the dead, reciting the word *"gannaktohare,"* meaning, "it-mat-washes." Kanien'kehá:ka people dwelled in longhouses comprising several multi-generational families. Each family had its own fire, surrounded by a mat for every member. Kanien'kehá:ka people regarded a person's "mat" as a metaphor for her place within a family, and thus within a longhouse, *o'tá:ra*, village, and people. By washing the mat with strings of beads, mourners helped grieving kin cleanse it of death. Once cleansed, the mat could host a new embodiment of the deceased, thereby inheriting her kinship rights and obligations. Through rituals

[31] Colin Calloway, *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 36; Snow, Gehring, and Starna, *In Mohawk Country*, 4; Snow, "Exogenous Epidemics of American Indian Populations," 165-66.

of giving and receiving beads, Kanien'kehá:ka people helped make minds right and mend webs of kinship torn by death.[32]

European colonists called these beads "porcelain," "sewant," "peag" and "wampum." The latter two words derive from the Narragansett *wampumpeag,* "white beads," which they fashioned out of the quahog shells abounding along the coast from northern Virginia to southern Maine. These "white beads" actually ranged in color from cream to purple to black. Connoting death, black beads typically composed the sort of war belts that Sokwakiiak and Mahican councilors had disseminated during the summer of 1626. Condolence rituals required white beads, their purity capable of restoring minds and ritually cleansing death from the mats of the departed. Belts crafted for diplomacy often used white and purple beads strung in elaborate patterns. Jacques Bruyas recorded that Kanien'kehá:ka people called such belts *Gaionni*. The word comprises the pronominal prefix /*ga-*/, corresponding with "it;" the noun root /*hi(on)-*/, "river;" and the verb root /*-onni*/, which means "to make." Therefore, the term glosses, "it makes a river." Whereas closed-off paths signified deteriorated relationships between peoples, Kanien'kehá:ka people understood open waterways as the basis for diplomacy. By presenting such *gaionni* in conferences, councilors both forged relationships between peoples and ensured safe passage along the rivers linking them together.[33]

The smallpox epidemic of 1634 led to an unprecedented demand for beads among Kanien'kehá:ka people. Van den Bogaert observed mourners presenting strings of wampum to grieving kin: "Toward evening about 40 fathoms of sewant were distributed among them as testimony of the Indians who had died of smallpox." Later that evening, "another 100 fathoms of sewant were distributed to the chiefs and friends of closest blood." Since the average bead measured

[32] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 45, 67; translations by the author.
[33] James W. Bradley, "Re-visiting Wampum and other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, vol. 39 (2011): 25-51; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language* 63; Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise*, 160-61.

just one quarter of an inch long, those 140 fathoms of wampum comprised about 40,320 beads. During the mid-seventeenth century, one European observer recorded that a native person could fashion about forty-two white beads per day, not including the time it would have taken to source the three shells required to make them. Therefore, the beads observed by van den Bogaert accounted for about 960 days' worth of labor to craft from some 2,880 shells. No mere trinkets, these wampum strings entailed a significant cost in materials and labor.[34]

Because Kanien'kehá:ka people lacked direct access to the coastal waters where quahog abounded, they acquired beads through trade. During the fall of 1626, Isaack de Rasière stocked Fort Orange with one thousand yards of strung wampum (about 144,000 beads), yet still feared his supply would fall short of demand. Van den Bogaert justified these concerns during his 1634-35 journey into Kanien'kehá:ka country. During a council meeting he attended, one councilor complained to him about the scant goods available at Fort Orange. According to van den Bogaert, the man explained, "We have to travel so far with our pelts and when we arrive we often find no cloth, no sewant, no axes, kettles or anything else; and thus we have labored in vain." The councilor also negotiated new terms of trade, requesting four hands of wampum in addition to the four hands of duffel for each beaver pelt. In this time of unprecedented death among the Kanien'kehá:ka, they now demanded the materials necessary to grieve their dead and clothe those who survived. At such a rate, his people would have traded about 630 beaver pelts for the 140 fathoms of wampum they distributed to the kin of those killed by smallpox. In his 1650 *Description of New Netherland*, Adriaen van der Donck observed that each hunter typically brought back forty to eighty beaver pelts from their winter hunt. Therefore, 630 pelts required the total annual hunt of between 8 and 16 men. As

[34] Snow, Gehring, and Starna, *In Mohawk Country*, 12; Bradley, "Re-visiting Wampum and other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games," 21; Lynn Ceci, "The Value of Wampum among the New York Iroquois: A Case Study in Artifact Analysis," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 97-107.

smallpox claimed more and more Kanien'kehá:ka people, fewer hunters bore the growing burden of procuring the wampum required for mourning.[35]

Even as their demand for wampum soared, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters diverted thousands of furs to a powerful new good made available to them by Dutch and English traders: guns. Before 1636, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors possessed few, if any, firearms. In their war against the Sokwakiiak a decade earlier, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had relied on traditional bows and arrows, lances, and war clubs. During his 1634-35 expedition among the Kanien'kehá:ka, van den Bogaert observed no guns, powder, or lead within any of the villages he visited. However, when English traders erected a truck house at Springfield on the Connecticut River in 1636, they offered Native hunters firearms in exchange for their pelts. Dutch traders at Rensselaerwyck began trading firearms shortly thereafter, hoping to capture the profitable market. Each gun fetched about twenty beaver pelts and every pound of powder another two furs. By the early 1640s, Kanien'kehá:ka people had acquired about 400 firearms, suggesting a cost of around 8,000 beavers. Amassing the arsenal required the total annual hunt of 100-200 trappers, about 15-30 percent of all adult Kanien'kehá:ka men. Assuming conservatively that each weapon required a pound of powder each year, hunters incurred the total additional annual expense of about 800 beaver pelts, demanding a year's worth of labor from another 10 or 20 trappers. Between acquiring wampum and weapons, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters were stretched thin during the late 1630s.[36]

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[35] A.F.J. van Laer, ed. and trans., *Documents Relating to New Netherland 1624-1626 in the Henry E. Huntington Library* (San Marino, California: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1924), 227; Adriaen van der Donck, "A Description of the New Nethlands" (Wisconsin Historical Society Digital Library and Archives, 2003), Document No. AJ-096, American Journeys Collection, https://www.americanjourneys.org/AJ_PDF/AJ-096.pdf.

[36] In the November 1626 edition of the *Historish Verhael,* Wassenaer reported that, during a skirmish "a league from the fort they [Mahican warriors and Dutch soldiers] met with the Maquaes who fell so boldly upon them with a discharge of arrows, that they were forced to fly," in *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. For Bogaert's journey, see Snow, Gehring, and Starna, *In Mohawk Country*, 1-13. For the number and price of firearms as well as the price of powder, see *NYCD*, 1: 182. In David Silverman, *Thundersticks: Firearms and the Violent Transformation of Native America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), Silverman estimates that 20 beaver pelts fetched 120 guilders in Holland during the early 1640s, yielding an approximate price of 1 beaver = 6 guilders. Since, according to *NYCD*, 1: 182, a pound of powder cost native traders 12 guilders, I estimate they exchanged 2 beavers per pound of powder. For the adult male Kanien'kehá:ka population, I followed warrior-count multiples established by Sherburne Cook in S.F. Cook, "Interracial

Clan mothers and councilors understood that warriors could use their new weapons to seize wampum for their ceremonies. After the worst of the smallpox plague subsided during 1635, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors struck out on the warpath, following familiar rivers, portages, and paths north to their rivals. These warriors probably first turned their guns against the Abenaki people inhabiting the Kennebec River Valley, the central hub of wampum distribution in northern New England and Canada during the 1630s. In 1628 Plymouth colonists had established a truck house at Cushonoc, near the mouth of the Kennebec River. The following year, they introduced at the outpost a batch of wampum purchased from visiting Dutch officials. According to the governor of Plymouth William Bradford, "it was 2 years before they could pull off this small quantity, till the inland people knew of it; and afterwards they could scarce get enough for them, for many years together." By 1631, wampum from the Cushonoc trading post had reached the distant villages of Algonquian-speaking peoples in northern New England and the Saint Lawrence River Valley. And by 1634, wampum accounted for the majority of the outlays in the Cushonoc fur trade.[37]

That wampum attracted the attention of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, as well. Armed with the firearms they had acquired from the English at Springfield and the Dutch at Rensselaerwyck, they ranged east to the Kennebec River during the late 1630s. Abenaki hunters dreaded the Kanien'kehá:ka warriors who lurked along the river. During the summer of 1641, Abenaki ambassadors described to a Jesuit priest at Trois Rivières the destruction wrought by these warriors. The priest recorded, "two Savages arrived from the country of the Abnaquiois, who told us news that the whole country of the Hiroquois breathed only war; that the English had abandoned the

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Warfare and Population Decline among the New England Indians," *Ethnohistory* 20 (1973): 5-6. Cook concludes that, among Native peoples of southern New England, one warrior existed for every four people. This ratio probably reflects the population dynamic of New York's Iroquoian peoples as well. Applying it to the approximate population of 2,835 people (see, Snow, "Exogenous Epidemics of American Indian Populations," 165-66) yields a total adult male population of about 700 hunters/warriors.

[37] Kenneth P. Minkema, Francis J. Bremer, and Jeremy D. Bangs, eds., *Of Plimoth Plantation, by William Bradford: The 400th Anniversary Edition* (Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts and New England Historical Society, 2020), 328-29.

settlement they had made at Quinibequi." Although the wampum trade at Cushonoc constituted Plymouth's most profitable venture, they deemed the violence it invited too costly. By attempting to consolidate their authority over the Kennebec wampum trade, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors destroyed that trade altogether.[38]

No longer able to raid the Kennebec River Valley for precious beads, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought Abenaki people as captives. During the fall of 1642, a Kanien'kehá:ka war party set out for the Kennebec River. After a six-month expedition, the warriors returned in March 1643 bearing twenty Abenaki captives. The Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues, whom Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had taken captive during August 1642, observed the arrival of the prisoners. In a letter to his Jesuit superiors in Quebec, Jogues noted that Kanien'kehá:ka villagers ritually tortured and executed some of the prisoners, probably the adult men. Clan mothers probably tried distributing the remaining captive women and children among families still reeling from the smallpox epidemic. Jacques Bruyas recorded *"kagonhen"* as the word Kanien'kehá:ka people used for this practice, which he believed corresponded with the French phrase "donner de prisonniers [to give prisoners]." However, translated literally, the term means, "it puts someone's head down." Both literally and metaphorically, the adopted Abenaki women and children put their heads down on the mats left vacant by the dead. They occupied the departed's physical space within a longhouse and inherited their place within the clan's kinship network. Protocol still demanded wampum to wash the mats upon which Abenaki adoptees placed their heads.[39]

Kanien'kehá:ka warriors used their superior firepower to extract from other peoples the labor necessary for procuring wampum. As early as 1641, Dutch officials at Fort Orange observed that, through their firearms, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had gained a decisive military advantage over

[38] *JRAD*, 21: 65-67.
[39] *JRAD,* 31: 83-85; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 50.

neighboring peoples. The officials reported that their guns "caused them also to be respected by the surrounding Indians even as far as the Sea coast, who must generally pay them tribute." French officials recorded that such tribute payments took the form of "porcelain," their term for wampum. Therefore, by the early 1640s tributaries hunted for beaver, traded their pelts for wampum, and presented the precious beads to the Kanien'kehá:ka. Freed from the burden of procuring their own wampum, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters could allocate their pelts to guns, powder, and lead. Meanwhile, each fur that tributaries exchanged for wampum reduced their own ability to acquire firearms. Although they offered beads as tribute, their labor subsidized the very weapons that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors used to subordinate them.[40]

Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs created these relationships by following *kaianeren'kó:wa*, the Great Law which had brought peace among the Rotinonhsón:ni a century before. Comprising a series of wampum belts disseminated by the Peacemaker, the Great Law prescribed the proper way for people to live and act toward each other. Although it prized diplomacy and consensus, the Great Law recognized that war was sometimes an instrument of peace, especially when a rival refused to accept voluntarily *kaianeren'kó:wa*. During these instances, warriors believed that they could rightfully force their enemies to submit to the Great Law through violence. In the Great Law's eighty-third wampum record, the Peacemaker instructed war chiefs to seize from defeated rivals all their weapons, which their warriors would never brandish again unless as part of a Rotinonhsón:ni war party. The eighty-sixth wampum then defined the relationship between the Rotinonhsón:ni and former enemies. It recorded, "the two shall be known as the Conqueror and the Conquered. A symbolic relationship shall be devised and be placed in some symbolic position. The conquered nation shall have no voice in the councils of the League in the body of chiefs."[41]

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[40] *NYCD*, 1: 182; for wampum as tribute, see *JRAD*, 36: 101-05.
[41] "Gayanerekowa: The Great Law of Peace, As Brought to the Confederacy of the Iroquois By Deganawida The Peacemaker," (Kahnawake: Mohawk Nation News, 1993), 72-73.

In the Great Law's original Kanien'kéha, the Conqueror was called "*Sakotisennies*" and the Conquered "*Ronwatihsennion*." Both words derive from the root /-*senni*-/, which Jacques Bruyas defined as both "vaincre quelqu'un [to defeat or conquer someone]" and also "estre vaincu [to be defeated or conquered]." The words convey the respective meanings, "he conquers her" and "she has been conquered by him." Notably, *Sakotisennies* uses the habitual aspect suffix /-*es*/, which indicates that an action takes place habitually or repeatedly, whereas the stative aspect suffix /-*on*/ in *Ronwatihsennion* signifies that an activity has been concluded. After defeating an enemy, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors continued affirming their superiority through repeated words and exactions. By exacting annual wampum offerings from conquered peoples, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors both disarmed their enemies and conquered them anew each year.[42]

For such wampum, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors turned to the neighboring Sokwakiiak, imposing a new "symbolic relationship" on their old enemies. Unlike Iroquoian peoples such as the Wendat whom Kanien'kehá:ka clan mothers prized as captives for adoption, the Sokwakiiak spoke an Algonquian language unintelligible to those who spoke Kanien'kéha. This language barrier reduced the likelihood of clan mothers socializing Sokwakiiak captives within their *otá:ra*. Furthermore, because their homeland was so close to Kanien'kehá:ka country, Sokwakiiak captives and adoptees could escape the villages of the central Mohawk Valley, paddle up *bitawbagw*, and evade their captors in the woods they knew so well. From there, they could launch raids to reclaim their kin or avenge their loss. The best option available to Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs for dealing with the obstinate Sokwakiiak, therefore, was to conquer them. The Great Law stipulated that such conquered peoples could maintain their own internal government. However, the victorious Kanien'kehá:ka must still regard them as *Ronwatihsennion,* the Conquered. Adjacent to the Kanien'kehá:ka homeland but

[42] "Gayanerekowa: The Great Law of Peace," 72-73; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 95.

separated by a cultural chasm, the Sokwakiiak were enemies to subdue and influence rather than adopt and integrate.[43]

Linguistic evidence further suggests that Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs, warriors, and clan mothers regarded the neighboring Sokwakiiak as *Ronwatihsennion* within the symbolic relationship prescribed by the Great Law. When the Dutch Minister Johannes Megapolensis, Jr. arrived at Fort Orange during August 1642, he observed the supremacy of the Kanien'kehá:ka over a people they called "*Agotzagena.*" Megapolensis noted, "These people formerly carried on a great war against each other, but since the Mahakanders [Mahican] were subdued by the Mahakobaas [Kanien'kehá:ka], peace has subsisted between them, and the conquered are obliged to bring a yearly contribution to the others." Megapolensis ascribed the name *Agotzagena* narrowly to the Mahican. However, the label likely extended to Sokwakiiak people as well. In his lexicon from the early 1670s, Jacques Bruyas recorded the word *"agotsagannha"* for "les Loups," which French colonists called Sokwakiiak people during the time of his writing. In his 1882 dictionary, Cuoq recorded the word *"Akotskann,"* which Kanien'kehá:ka people applied to those inhabiting Odanak, an Abenaki village in the Saint Lawrence River Valley. The term had probably followed the ancestors of Sokwakiiak men like John Watso, who had lived among the Abenaki settled there since the late-seventeenth century. Therefore, *Agotzagena* referred to Sokwakiak from at least the 1670s to the 1880s. It probably encompassed Sokwakiiak people when Megapolensis first recorded it in 1642, describing a defeated people conquered by their more powerful Kanien'kehá:ka neighbors.[44]

Kanien'kehá:ka people placed the conquered Sokwakiiak within a gendered symbolic relationship. In his dictionary, Bruyas first identified them within the sentence *"Sagotinnéon agotsagannha,"* corresponding with "il a defait les Loups [he (i.e. the Kanien'kehá:ka) defeated the

[43] "Gayanerekowa: The Great Law of Peace," 73.
[44] Johannes Megapolensis, Jr., "A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians," in Snow, Gehring, and Starna, eds., *In Mohawk Country*, 41; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language, 78*; Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue*, 155.

Loups]." The first word, *sagotinnéon*, conveys a similar meaning as *Sakotisennies,* "The Conqueror" defined by the Great Law. Translated literally, the sentence Bruyas recorded means, "he conquered her, she speaks a foreign language." Although Kanien'kehá:ka people referred to the Sokwakiiak using female pronouns, they assigned the Mahicans male ones. According to Bruyas, they called them *"ratsagannha,"* which translates, "he speaks a foreign language." Unlike the Sokwakiiak, who appeared in Bruyas's dictionary as a conquered people, the Mahicans entered his pages as worthy adversaries. Bruyas identified them in the sentence, *"Onne tontajonserak8e ganniege onsahoñajent ne ratsagannha,"* which he translated, "L'Agnier reprend la hache pour frapper le Mahingan [The Kanien'kehá:ka take up again the hatchet to strike the Mahican]." Because both wielded the power to inflict violence, the Kanien'kehá:ka regarded the Mahicans and their own people as male. Military defeat had rendered Sokwakiiak people female. In assigning them female pronouns, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors mocked their Sokwakiiak counterparts.[45]

Through this taunting epithet, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers also evoked the complementary relationship between men and women within their society. Mutually dependent upon each other, Kanien'kehá:ka men and women occupied separate domains necessary for their people's survival. Women controlled life within longhouses and villages. They planted, tended, and harvested the crops, and preserved the seeds necessary for future sowing. Men ventured from villages to hunt for meat and furs, vital supplements to the food produced by women and necessary commodities in the fur trade. Although influential clan mothers appointed male chiefs, they lacked a voice in councils with the other peoples of the Rotinonhsón:ni, colonial officials, or ambassadors from Native peoples outside the confederacy. Such diplomacy was the domain of men. But men also bore the responsibility of defending their people, preserving and extending their hunting territories,

[45] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language*, 28, 70.

and taking captives through war. Kanien'kehá:ka society endured because of the balanced responsibilities expected of men and women.[46]

Therefore, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors imposed on the conquered Sokwakiiak a symbolic relationship of coercive kinship with rights and obligations dictated by the Kanien'kehá:ka. Like in other kin relationships, this coercive kinship reflected the two peoples' mutual – albeit unequal – dependence. Kanien'kehá:ka families, warriors, clan mothers, chiefs, and councilors relied on Sokwakiiak hunters for the wampum demanded by mourning, forging military alliances, and conducting diplomacy. Lacking sufficient wampum of their own after offering it as tribute, Sokwakiiak people depended on the Kanien'kehá:ka to perform these vital functions for them. The greater the demand for wampum among the Kanien'kehá:ka, the tighter their grip over the conquered Sokwakiiak people. Yielding their black beads as tribute to the Kanien'kehá:ka, Sokwakiiak warriors lacked the materials for the sort of war belts they had disseminated during 1626. Without such belts, they had no way of amassing the war parties that could have delivered them from subordination. Furthermore, surrendering white and purple beads foreclosed the diplomacy that maintained relationships with other peoples. During the fall of 1645, the Jesuit missionary Jerome Lalemant observed the withering of old friendships. He recorded that the Montagnais and Algonquin peoples of the Saint Lawrence Valley "formerly had extensive alliances" with the "Assokwekik." However, "the Annierronnon Iroquois [Kanien'kehá:ka] having subdued them," Sokwakiiak councilors grew estranged from their former allies.[47]

Although this coercive kinship with the Kanien'kehá:ka proved costly to Sokwakiiak people, they enjoyed the protection it afforded them. They too had suffered great losses during the smallpox

[46] For a more detailed discussion of Iroquois gender roles, see Elisabeth Tooker, "Women in Iroquois Society," in Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, eds., *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), 109-123.
[47] *JRAD,* 28: 275-77.

epidemic of 1634. Religious officials in New France estimated that 800 Sokwakiiak people inhabited the upper Connecticut River in October 1663. The population had declined about 80 percent from the 3,800 of 1600. Assuming a similar rate for the Sokwakiiak people of Lake Champlain, their population probably stood around 880 by the early 1660s. Therefore, from about 8,000 people in 1600, the Sokwakiiak population had declined to about 1,600 in 1663. These figures reflect another 30 years of disease, displacement, and warfare after the 1634 epidemic. Even if the Sokwakiiak people had experienced the same death rate in 1634 as the Kanien'kehá:ka (about 65 percent), only about 2,800 of their people would have survived the disease. With their total population between 1,600 and 2,800, Sokwakiiak villages from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain only hosted about 320 to 560 warriors. Compared to the approximately 700 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors remaining after the epidemic, Sokwakiiak warriors were outmatched. With their superior arsenal of firearms, powder, and shot, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors outgunned them as well. By submitting, Sokwakiiak leaders stopped the Kanien'kehá:ka war parties from descending on their villages.[48]

Kanien'kehá:ka warriors compelled Sokwakiiak men to join the war parties against their former allies, the Abenaki. As in other kin relationships, this coercive kinship demanded that Sokwakiiak tributaries regard the Kanien'kehá:ka's enemies as their own. When Kanien'kehá:ka warriors set out against the Abenaki of the Kennebec Valley during the fall of 1642, they probably drafted into their party the Sokwakii chief Messabitout and his followers. In 1643, the Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues described him as "a man of note" among the Sokwakiiak. Massachusetts officials recorded one "Massepetoat" as a sachem along the upper Connecticut River in 1657. Furthermore, land deeds for Northfield, Massachusetts – formerly the village of Squakheag – listed as signatories

[48] Bishop Laval, "Report on the Indian Missions, October 27, 1663," in Mary Celeste Leger, *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine, 1611-1820* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1929), 153-154; population of upper Connecticut River and Lake Champlain Valley from Snow, *The Archaeology of New England*, 33; estimates of warrior-count multiples from David Ghere, "Myths and Methods in Abenaki Demography: Abenaki Population Recovery, 1725-1750," *Ethnohistory* 44 (1997): 516; for Kanien'kehá:ka warrior population see footnote 29; *JRAD,* 28: 275-77.

Matabetwot, Mashepetot, Mashepetott, and Masapetot between January 1672 and May 1686. These various spellings probably refer to the same person, whose name can be reconstructed "Msabitawat." Translated literally, the name means "he who is a great double-speaker," referring to his skill at dissembling. Like the trickster-heroes of his people's culture, Msabitawat had earned a reputation as a cunning and, when necessary, beguiling leader.[49]

Shrewd as he was, Msabitawat could not have foreseen the Montagnais and Algonquin war party lying in wait for Kanien'kehá:ka warriors along the Richelieu River. During late October 1642, they killed two Sokwakiiak men and took Msabitawat prisoner. Assuming that Msabitawat was from the Kanienke'há:ka, they tore flesh from his arms, cut off his fingers, bound his limbs, and pierced his feet with long awls. By the time French officials learned about the prisoner their allies had taken, Msabitawat was on the verge of death. Informed by some more discerning native ally that Msabitawat spoke the language of the Sokwakiiak rather than Kanien'keha, French officials secured his release, dreading a prolonged conflict with the Sokwakiiak as well. After three or four weeks in the French hospital in Quebec, Msabitawat recovered and returned to his people. He remembered the kindness of his French liberators but did not forget the Algonquin and Montagnais people who had tortured him and killed his kin.[50]

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[49] In *JRAD,* 28: 277-79, Jerome Lalemant recorded that the Sokwakiiak men had been "on the borders of the Iroquois," which would imply the Richelieu River, known to the French as the "Rivière des Iroquoises." According to *JRAD,* 23: 277-283, the Sokwakii prisoner reached Sillery on November 9, 1642. He had been a captive for at least 12 days, during which time he was transported from Trois Rivières to Québec. Therefore, Algonquin and Montagnais warriors took him captive sometime during late October 1642. According to Isaac Jogues, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors departed on their expedition against the Kennebec River Abenakis during October 1642, as well (see *JRAD,* 31: 83-85). The coincidence of these events suggests that Msabitawat and his fellow Sokwakiiak warriors had joined the Kanien'kehá:ka war party. Messabitout is identified as the Sokwakii captive in Rapport du R.P. Druillettes, 941-49; his name is spelled "Massepetoat" in Temple and Sheldon, A *History of the Town of Northfield*, 28; "Mashepetot, "Mashepetott," and "Masapetot," appear in Harry Andrew Wright, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County* (Springfield, MA: independently published, 1905), 80, 81, 105. These forms suggest the verb *bitawa*, given by Aubery as "*pitta8é*, double en ses paroles [double in his words]" (Aubery, 201). The prefix *msa/mesa* means "large, great, big," and the suffix *-t* is used to render the verb in its participle form, often used in personal names. Therefore, *Msabitawat* conveys, "he who is a great double-speaker."

[50] *JRAD,* 23: 277-78; 24: 183-85; 28: 277-79;

Sokwakiiak people lacked the influence in political affairs that Kanien'kehá:ka councilors afforded foreign ambassadors. After returning to Squakheag during the early spring of 1643, Msabitawat explained to his kin the kindness shown to him by the French. They agreed that such kindness warranted reciprocation. According to Jerome Lalemant, "Toward the end of April, a Savage Captain from the country of the Sokokiois appeared in the land of the Hiroquois, laden with presents, which he came to offer for the ransom and deliverance of a Frenchman named Ondesson, - thus the Hurons [Wendat] and Hiroquois named Father Jogues." Jogues understood that Msabitawat had arranged the embassy and compiled the gifts, "seeing that the French had saved his life." Although Kanien'kehá:ka councilors accepted the gifts, they balked at freeing any of their French captives. Jogues regarded their decision as a treacherous violation of the diplomatic protocols observed by Native peoples. He believed, as the Sokwakiiak hoped, that by accepting the gifts Kanien'kehá:ka councilors would also observe their intention. Yet the councilors determined that their Sokwakiiak tributaries had no voice in Kanien'kehá:ka affairs. They expected these *Ronwatihsennion* to bend to their will.[51]

By imposing this symbolic relationship of coercive kinship, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers had begun restoring order to a world upended by disease, guns, and other European trade goods. Annual wampum offerings affirmed metaphorically the supremacy of Kanien'kehá:ka *Sakotisennies* over Sokwakiaak *Ronwatihsennion*. These offerings also occupied the labor of Sokwakiiak hunters, limiting their people's participation in the fur trade to procuring wampum for the Conquerors. Clan mothers demanded this wampum to clean the mats in their longhouses which had been bloodied by disease and war. With this crucial need met, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters could trade their own pelts for duffel to clothe their people and firearms to replenish their *otá:ra*. Warriors used their unrivaled firepower to raid distant Wendat villages, seeking captives to put down on the mats

[51] *JRAD*, 25: 53; 31: 85-87.

that Sokwakiaak wampum offerings had wiped clean. Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers faced colonization's challenges by drawing on the same cultural wisdom that had sustained their people for untold generations. By the early 1640s, they had adapted to the new opportunities and constraints of their homeland, as their people had since Ganawagahha's mother first led them there from beneath the earth.

* * *

During the spring of 1645, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters faced stiffer competition than they had grown accustomed to for Fort Orange's duffel, wampum, and firearms. In 1638, Dutch traders under the auspices of the New Sweden Company had erected Fort Christina at the confluence of the Brandywine Creek and Delaware River. Stocked with similar goods as Fort Orange, Fort Christina attracted nearby Lenape and Susquehannock hunters, as well as "Black Minquas," the Erie people who dwelled between Lake Erie and the Alleghany River. After the spring trading season of 1644, however, the New Sweden Company failed to resupply Fort Christina with trade goods. Writing in February 1647, the Governor of New Sweden Johan Printz complained to his associates in Sweden that their fur trade had plummeted since their last shipment in 1644. He wrote, "not only has the Right Honourable Company suffered the great damage of losing 8000 or 9000 beavers, which have passed out of our hands, but also the Hollanders have moved the principal traders (the white and black Minquas) to forsake us." Because he wrote during the winter of 1647, before hunters returned from the field, Printz reported the total furs diverted from Fort Christina to Fort Orange during the 1645 and 1646 hunting seasons. During the early spring of 1645, Susquehannock ("white Minquas") and Erie hunters carried about 4,000-4,500 beaver pelts to Fort Orange. These furs would have fetched about 200-225 firearms or 5,300-6,000 feet of duffel and wampum. Kanien'kehá:ka people

bristled at this new competition over the goods they needed to maintain their military supremacy, clothe their people, and condole grieving kin.[52]

To make matters worse, Erie trading parties from the west arrived at Fort Orange just as beaver populations began diminishing in the Mohawk Valley. The lawyer and land speculator Adriaen van der Donck reported the brisk fur trade conducted at Fort Orange, hoping to entice Dutch merchants to settle on land he had recently purchased nearby. In his *Description of the New Netherlands*, which he began compiling during the mid-1640s, van der Donck sought to assuage any fears that the beaver population would collapse as it had in Europe at the turn of the century. Yet he hinted that beaver populations were already in decline in the Mohawk Valley, reporting that furs were still brought "by the Senecas, by the Maquas, and by the Rondaxes or French Indians," but that they came "particularly by the black Minquas." Governor Printz had judged correctly that Erie hunters would continue trading among the Dutch at Fort Orange, who looked to these distant people for their abundant furs. Even Van der Donck admitted to prospective settlers that "the beavers are mostly taken far inland, there being few of them near the settlements." Like Champlain, van der Donck assumed the beaver population was infinite beyond where Europeans had explored. However, Kanien'kehá:ka hunters understood both the abundance and constraints of the land, grasping what van der Donck had hinted: the beaver population of the Mohawk Valley was in decline.[53]

Confronting both an influx of foreign pelts and a diminishing beaver population in their homeland, Kanienke'há:ka councilors sought access to the Adirondack highlands by stitching anew

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[52]Axel Oxenstjerna, and Gregory B. Keen, trans.,"The Report of Governor Johan Printz, of New Sweden, for 1647, and the Reply of Count Axel Oxenstjerna, Chancellor of Sweden," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7, no. 3 (1883): 274; Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York, N.Y.: Penguin, 2001), 254-55.
[53] Adriaen van der Donck, "A Description of the New Netherlands" (Wisconsin Historical Society Digital Library and Archives, 2003), 209-210, Document No. AJ-096, American Journeys Collection, https://www.americanjourneys.org/AJ_PDF/AJ-096.pdf.

the web of peace spun in 1624. From the summer of 1645 to the fall of 1646, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs negotiated a peace with the Algonquins, Montagnais, and Wendats. Addressing the Algonquin delegation, one Kanien'kehá:ka chief complained about the dwindling beavers in his homeland. But to their north stood the bountiful hunting territory of the Adirondack highlands. The Kanien'kehá:ka speaker reminded the Algonquin delegation, "All the country that lies between us is full of Bears, of Deer, of Elk, of Beaver, and of numerous other animals." If the two peoples could end their perennial warfare, he reasoned, their young men could hunt together as friends. He promised, "we shall roast the animals on the same spit, and we shall eat on one side, and you on the other." Both peoples would prosper by erasing all borders and sharing the Adirondack highlands as hunting territory, the same agreement they had reached when their peoples made peace in 1624.[54]

Just as Kanien'kehá:ka warriors drafted Sokwakiiak into their war parties, clan mothers and chiefs claimed the right to impose peace upon them. Because it suited their people's interest, Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors called upon the *Ronwatihsennion* during the spring and early summer of 1645, instructing them to make peace as well. During the preliminary peace negotiations of July 1645, the Kanien'kehá:ka speaker Kiotsaeton assured the other delegations that the Sokwakiiak and other tributaries would cease their wars against them as well. He explained his people had distributed gifts "to the Tribes who are their allies to arrest their hatchets, and to cause the weapons and paddles to fall from the hands of those who were embarking to go to war." The Sokwakiiak probably numbered among these "allies." As a conquered people bound in a web of coercive kinship, the Sokwakiiak lacked the authority to refuse these instructions.[55]

As they had in 1626, the Sokwakiiak balked at sharing the Lake Champlain Valley as a hunting territory and gateway to the Adirondack highlands. The influx of former enemies in their

[54] *JRAD*: 27, 289-91.
[55] *JRAD*, 28: 285-87, 279; 29: 255-57.

homelands would threaten their own ability to hunt for meat and furs. Unlike in 1626, however, they relied on these furs not only for blankets, but also for the annual offerings that Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and warriors demanded. Furthermore, compelled to fight among the Kanien'kehá:ka, Sokwakiiak warriors had perished in battles against Algonquins, Montagnais, and Wendats. Msabitawat carried deep scars from when his captors tortured him to the brink of death. Sokwakiiak people faced a conundrum: the coercive kinship imposed on them by Kanien'kehá:ka warriors demanded their compliance in making peace, yet their own culture required that Sokwakiiak warriors value their deceased kin by seeking vengeance. Honoring one obligation violated another.[56]

The Sokwakiiak tried reigniting the war so they could seek vengeance against Algonquins while remaining subordinate to the Kanien'kehá:ka. In October of 1645, a Sokwakiiak war party murdered Nipikiwigan, son of the prominent Montagnais chief Nenaskoumat, along with Nipikiwigan's son and nephew, before removing the scalp from his wife and leaving her for dead. The Sokwakiiak warriors targeted this prestigious family hoping their kin would blame the Kanien'kehá:ka and call off the peace negotiations. To further implicate the Kanien'kehá:ka, Sokwakiiak warriors presented them with the Montagnais scalps, declaring, "Behold the heads of some whom we have massacred, and a cord which we present to you for the sake of binding with us as many of them as we possibly can." The cord functioned as a leash to secure captives and slaves taken on raids for adoption or torture. By picking up the gifts laying at their feet, the Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs would also accept their metaphorical meaning: that they regarded Algonquin rivals as *kanaskwokonha*, beasts lacking the rights and privileges of real humans.[57]

Appalled, one chief rebuked this grave breach of protocol expected of *Ronwatihsennion*. Dependents within their relationship of coercive kinship, the Sokwakiiak bore the responsibility of

[56] For a discussion of revenge as a way of demonstrating the value of deceased kin, see chapter 1.
[57] *JRAD* 28: 79-81, 169-73, 277-79, 283-285.

heeding the demands of their Kanien'kehá:ka conquerors, not dictating terms of their own. He concluded by rebuffing the gifts and admonishing, "Begone; hide these heads, take away these bodies; as we have but one heart, we desire but one mind." The councilor reminded them that they must forego their own diplomatic goals in favor of instructions from the Kanien'kehá:ka.[58]

Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors spent the next several months repairing the damage wrought by their Sokwakiiak tributaries. When the final round of peace negotiations resumed at Trois Rivières during early May 1646, the murders constituted the most urgent business. According to a French observer, the Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors reserved their most "considerable person" to apologize for those deaths. He explained, "we were dead, and behold us alive; we were bringing our own heads to be sacrificed to the shades of the Algonquins or of the Montagnais who were massacred last Autumn, - surely anticipating that we should be held guilty of that murder." The speaker thanked the family of those slain for their discernment in judging the Kanien'kehá:ka innocent. Still, he recognized that their loss demanded satisfaction. He presented them with a gift to "cleanse the place, all bloody from a murder committed by treachery." The Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors acted like those visiting clan members van den Bogaert had observed during the winter of 1634-35. They used strings of wampum to cleanse the mat of those killed, a vital obligation of ritual condolence.[59]

Having mended the relationship that Sokwakiiak warriors had tried to rupture, ambassadors completed their negotiations for peace. On May 8, an Algonquian speaker declared "that the chase be everywhere free; that the landmarks and the boundaries of all those great countries be raised; and that each one should find himself everywhere in his own country." For the first time since 1626, the vast territory between the Kanien'kehá:ka people and their former northern rivals would be open to any hunters seeking meat and pelts. To welcome the peace, Algonquins, Kanien'kehá:ka, Wendats,

[58] *JRAD* 28: 285-287.
[59] *JRAD*, 28: 291-303.

and Montagnais feasted together, fulfilling the Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors' promise that they would dine on meat from the same roasting spit. After five days of feasting and dancing, the Governor of New France Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny, who had hosted the peace conference, informed the delegation that he would send two Frenchmen, including the Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues, to accompany them back to their country to deliver news of the peace. The Kanien'kehá:ka party agreed to bring the French diplomats and set out for their homeland, traveling in peace up the Richelieu River and over Lake Champlain, the waterway that had for so many years carried their young men off to war.[60]

That summer, Kanien'kehá:ka canoes plied those same waters, bearing hunters north to the Saint Lawrence Valley and Adirondack highlands. They welcomed the opportunity to expand their hunting territory and thereby reclaim their supremacy in the Fort Orange fur trade. During the summer of 1646, one priest observed, "The Annierronnon Iroquois [Kanien'kehá:ka] have hunted with every liberty on the borders of the Algonquins, and the latter seem to have received them with friendliness." Writing to his Jesuit superiors in France, the priest explained that such an outcome had been unthinkable before the recent peace agreement. He noted, "Those who know the antipathy between these peoples and their frightful proneness to vengeance, regard it as a miracle whenever they see a friendly understanding between an Algonquin and an Iroquois." The 1645 peace comprised a fragile web of new rights and obligations among former enemies.[61]

The peace soured within months. During the late summer of 1646, an epidemic tore through Kanien'kehá:ka villages. Compounding their troubles, a blight or insect infestation caused their corn to decay at the root, leaving fields of brown and withering stocks. Lacking a fall harvest, those who survived the epidemic risked starvation during the cold winter months. Kanien'kehá:ka clan mothers

[60] *JRAD*, 28: 299-303.
[61] *JRAD*, 28: 279.

and chiefs blamed their old rivals for such misfortune, deeming the peace a ruse designed for their extermination. In particular, they held Jogues guilty of sorcery. According to the Jesuit priest Jerome Lalament, "they accused Father Isaac Jogues, on his first journey after the conclusion of peace, of having concealed some spells in a small chest, or little box, that he left with his host as pledge of his return." Kanien'kehá:ka people assumed the box was Jogues's *oiá:ron*. In his 1882 dictionary, Cuoq recorded in his entry for the word, "Today it is only used to designate a favorite object," but noted that "it used to designate an object for enchantments and sorcery." During the mid-seventeenth century, Kanien'kehá:ka people believed that every sorcerer possessed a personal *oiá:ron*, an object to which he felt great attachment and through which he channeled his power for witchcraft. As sickness spread through their longhouses and crops rotted in their fields, Kanien'kehá:ka people concluded that Jogues had left his *oiá:ron* among them to bring about their ruin.[62]

Peace with their enemies might have secured the Kanien'kehá:ka safe access to the hunting grounds needed to find meat and fur, but only through war could they replace the people of their *o'tá:ra* lost to the epidemic. Their population plummeted from around 2,835 people before the epidemic to about 1,760 by the end of 1646. The sickness killed over 1,000 people, nearly 40 percent of their population, which had already been devastated by smallpox 12 years earlier. Reeling from the disease and incensed at the perceived duplicity of the Algonquins, Montagnais, Wendats, and their French allies, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors struck out from their villages with a vengeance.[63]

The dissolution of the 1645 peace revealed that European colonizers had thrown dangerously out of balance the Native worlds into which they intruded. Native peoples still held possession over the homelands they had claimed for generations, but the duffel, firearms, and diseases that radiated from European settlements transformed how Native peoples used their

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[62] *JRAD*, 30: 227-29.
[63] Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," 164–65. *JRAD*, 30: 227-29.

homelands and strained the kinship systems that had evolved on them. Twice in twenty years Native peoples applied traditional cultural practices to forge lasting peace. In 1624 and again in 1645, they forgave grievances and erased borders between hunting territories, hoping to quell the violence that expanded out of them. Both peace agreements crumbled under the pressures of colonization. Enticed by the price that Dutch traders assigned beaver pelts at Fort Orange, the Sokwakiiak faction of Abenaki peoples broke the 1624 peace after a mere two years. The 1645 peace lasted barely five months, for the disease that swept through Kanien'kehá:ka villages created new demand for wampum to wash the mats of the dead and captives to adopt into disintegrating *otá:ra*.

During the generation between the peace agreements of 1624 and 1645, Native peoples drew upon the cultural wisdom that had guided decisions during other turbulent periods in their history. Most significantly, the Great Law inspired a new symbolic relationship of coercive kinship between Kanien'kehá:ka people and their Sokwakiiak neighbors. Still, by the mid-seventeenth century, peace eluded both peoples as they confronted the new incentives, constraints, and devastation wrought by colonization. In the years ahead, Native and colonial worlds would only grow further intertwined, prompting new alliances and adaptations.

- Chapter 3 –

Divinity and Dispersal: The Contest for Native Souls and Bodies, 1646-1687

This chapter traces the fluctuating balance of power between the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenakis from 1646 to 1687. During this period, European colonizers introduced Catholicism to both peoples, creating a new variable in Native worlds already roiled by disease and economic competition. During the mid-1640s, Abenakis began embracing Christianity, eager for the protection of a powerful God who could cure the diseases and defend them against the Kanien'kehá:ka raids ravaging their villages. At the nadir of their political and military power, the Abenakis also welcomed baptism as a ritual that could stitch together kinship networks and alliances frayed by decades of warfare. Enterprising Abenaki war chiefs from the Kennebec River forged an especially strong alliance with the Montagnais and Algonquin peoples who had settled at Kamiskaouangachit, a Catholic mission on the Saint Lawrence River. Bound by the same faith and linked together through baptismal sponsorships, they regarded each other as kin.

During the early 1650s, Abenakis envisioned the Kennebec-Kamiskaouangachit alliance as the foundation of a vast coalition dedicated to defeating the Kanien'kehá:ka. They persuaded Sokwakiiak warriors and other Kanien'kehá:ka tributaries to join them against their conquerors, a reversal of the system of alliances that had coalesced during the first half of the seventeenth century. With the balance of military power swinging in favor of their Abenaki and Sokwakiik rivals by the late 1650s, the Kanien'kehá:ka launched a war of retaliation. Although costly for both sides, the Kanien'kehá:ka suffered stunning defeats during the early 1660s which sapped their fighting strength even further.

Ironically, the warfare inspired some Kanien'kehá:ka people to embrace Christianity as a new source of spiritual power, just as their Abenaki rivals had done during the 1640s. However, while the

new faith united the Abenaki and their Algonquian-speaking neighbors, it divided the Kanien'kehá:ka. Traditionalists blamed their Christian kin for the military defeats that weakened their people. Even peace with the Abenakis and Sokwakiiak brought little solace to the Kanien'kehá:ka. Free to hunt and trade without fear of enemy ambushes, young men were flush with pelts that they traded for alcohol, which proved even more destructive than war, ensnaring them in a cycle of addiction, debt, and violence exacerbating tensions between Christians and traditionalists. During the early 1670s, Christians flocked from the Mohawk Valley to Kahnawà:ke, a new mission village opposite Montreal on the southern banks of the Saint Lawrence River. Swelling the mission's population while draining Kanien'kehá:ka villages, the exodus was a new crisis for a people already diminished by warfare, disease, and alcohol.

When war broke out between colonists and Native peoples in New England in 1675, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs exploited the violence to restore their waning power. They proposed a system of alliances between Native peoples and colonial governments called the Covenant Chain, in which they would be the lynchpin. Supported by their powerful English allies, the Kanien'kehá:ka sought new captives and revenge for old grievances from their Abenaki and Sokwakiiak enemies. Fleeing the onslaught, some of them submitted and resettled at a village called Schaghticoke, about ten miles north of the Mohawk River where their Kanien'kehá:ka superiors could better monitor and influence them. Other Abenakis and Sokwakiiak followed the webs of kinship they had spun during the 1640s and 1650s, seeking shelter at Kamiskaouangachit. By the mid-1680s, French and English colonial officials had begun competing to settle Abenaki, Sokwakiiak, and Kanien'kehá:ka people on their frontiers, each seeking Native allies to further their territorial ambitions.

***Galnakadak* ("The ones who hold in their arms or lap")**

Abenaki people express their vision for the end of the world with the term *matkamigapoda*. The word's first morpheme /*mat-*/ translates simply, "to end, to finish." The last two morphemes hold more complex meanings. The medial /*-(a)kamig(w)-*/ conveys "territory" or "earth," but also "custom" and "mores." It is the root of their word for "family" (*lakamigwezo*), "band" (*gassokamigwezoak*), and "nation" (*ngwedakamigwinnoak*), as well as "peacemaking" (*olakamigenokawôgan*) and "disorder, war" (*wagawakamigawôgan*). The final /*-poda*/ forms verbs in which an action occurs through friction. Therefore, the word *matkamigapoda* conveys an idea approximating to "the world ends grinding, rubbing, or shaking." Interpreted literally, *matkamigapoda* probably recalls an earthquake that rattled lodges and toppled trees. Figuratively, the word describes an outside force pulling down Abenaki people, customs, and homelands. In this figurative sense, the first half of the seventeenth century would have felt to Abenakis like *matkamigapoda*, the end of the world. Diseases ravaged villages whose inhabitants lacked natural immunities to foreign pathogens. Traders coveting furs exacerbated precolonial rivalries over hunting territories as peoples competed for beaver pelts to exchange for European duffel. Kanien'kehá:ka and other Rotinonhsón:ni warriors brandishing deadly firearms ranged into distant river valleys seeking captives, slaves, and scalps.[1]

In such chaos, the head of the Jesuit mission in New France Paul Le Jeune saw an opportunity to claim the souls of Native peoples for Christ. In 1637, Le Jeune oversaw construction of the first mission settlement in the Saint Lawrence River Valley, which he called Sillery after the mission's benefactor, Noel Brûlar de Sillery, a wealthy diplomat and member of the Catholic military order the Knights of Malta. Observing that "fear is the forerunner of faith in these barbarous minds," Le Jeune welcomed to his new mission Algonquin and Montagnais peoples seeking refuge from disease and war during the late 1630s and 1640s. For this protection, he demanded that they

[1] Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1:304.

adopt the Catholic faith and French supervision of their government. He instructed them to vest power in a chiefly elite, embrace a patriarchal family structure, implement French penal codes, and bring their children to Jesuit priests for religious instruction. Most importantly, he insisted that the Algonquins and Montagnais abandon their nomadic way of life and settle permanently as farmers, which Europeans believed was essential to civilization.[2]

Like the Abenaki peoples who dwelled to their south, Algonquin and Montagnais peoples organized their societies flexibly to survive the harsh winters of their homelands in the Saint Lawrence Valley. Family bands dispersed during the winter to hunt and harvest furs. Small and mobile, the migratory groups reduced their risk of starvation by requiring fewer nutrients per acre than was necessary to support the larger, sedentary villages where kin reassembled in warmer months. Generally, a man migrated with his wife's family. Careful not to outstrip the land's carrying capacity, a wife sometimes joined her husband's band if her family had grown too large. Gathered in larger villages during the spring and summer, women collected and stored nuts and berries as men fished, repaired canoes, and crafted new hunting equipment. Montagnais and Algonquins survived by following the footsteps of their ancestors across their broad homelands.[3]

In their private correspondences, Sillery's priests acknowledged that the mission village's location initially reinforced those peoples' seasonal migrations. At the insistence of the Algonquin and Montagnais peoples he courted, Le Jeune constructed the mission at a sandy bay about three miles upstream from Quebec, which they called *kamiskouaouangachit*, "red sand place." They had long prized the bay for its abundant eels, a resource that one priest observed "constitutes a manna exceeding all belief." Algonquins and Montagnais smoked the eels they caught at Kamiskouaouangachit*,* surviving off their protein and fat during cold winter months. According to

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[2] Eleanor Burke Leacock, "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization," in *Myths of Male Dominance* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981), 46–47, 50–52, 56, 58, 59.; quote from Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 30.
[3] Eleanor Leacock, "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program," 48.

one of the mission's priests Jean de Quen, "the design and expectation of this fishing has been the only, or at least the principal reason why these poor Natives have chosen the land at Sillery to establish a residence and accustom themselves to stay there." During the late 1630s, Kamiskouaouangachit remained more of a fishing camp than a mission settlement.[4]

However, the village also attracted a handful of Algonquins and Montagnais seeking new sources of power to combat the sickness and enemy warriors assailing them. They observed that most French colonists remained healthy while diseases decimated Native populations, concluding that priests possessed some knowledge or power that their own shamans lacked. The priests apparently passed along this power, known to the Natives as "medicine," through the ritual of baptism. Officials also distributed to Natives who received baptism gifts such as duffel, French clothing, axes, and kettles. Most importantly, French law only permitted merchants to sell firearms to Christian Natives. Enticed by the new spiritual power and commercial advantages afforded by baptism, some Algonquins and Montagnais embraced Catholicism to confront the upheaval of colonization.[5]

Others resented the Jesuits at Kamiskouaouangachit, fearing they practiced a dark and terrible form of witchcraft. Disease and death seemed to follow the priests wherever they traveled. Moreover, the Jesuits proved especially interested in baptizing children, but many of them perished soon after the ceremony. Baptism directed the spirits of these departed children away from the realm where their ancestors dwelled to a foreign Christian heaven. Amid the disease and warfare that plagued the Saint Lawrence Valley during the 1630s and 1640s, Montagnais and Algonquins scrutinized the new rituals and ceremonies. The baptized and unbaptized developed mutual

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[4] Thwaites, *JRAD*, 40: 215-217. "Mémoire touchant la Pêche de l'Anguille à la Pointe à Puiseaux, près Québec, dressé par les RR. PP Jésuites en faveur des Sauvages chrétiens de Sillery, " Archives de Conseil de la Nation huronne-wendat, cote G-1-91, document 1479, quoted in Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 50–51.

[5] Karen Anderson, *"Chain Her By One Foot": The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 93–94, 202–8.

resentments, each blaming the other for recent bouts of illness and Kanien'kehá:ka raids. Christians beseeched their kin to accept baptism as the only way to survive and reunite in heaven, while those who resisted the sacrament believed it brought only death.[6]

From this tumult, a Montagnais chief named Tekouerimat rose to power through his keen ability to merge his people's traditional cultural practices with the new faith preached at Kamiskouaouangachit. During the winter of 1640-41, a party of Algonquins from the Ottawa River stopped at the village after having little success hunting moose. According to Le Jeune, Tekouerimat and his followers, "seeing that the new guests had nothing for dinner, made a collection among themselves, and furnished as many as twelve hundred smoked eels." Le Jeune interpreted the act as Christian charity. From the Algonquins' perspective, Tekouerimat had adhered to the obligation required of kin to share food and resources, especially during the harsh winter months. Tekouerimat probably intended them as both: his band had exploited the bounty of their village's eel fishery as their ancestors had for generations, collecting and redistributing a portion of their winter food stores as alms for their distant kin.[7]

In addition to sharing their food, the community at Kamiskouaouangachit won followers by sending warriors against the Kanien'kehá:ka. During the summer of 1641, Tekouerimat and his councilors received an invitation from an Algonquin war party assembled at Trois Rivières to come fight their old enemies together. Because the baptized Algonquins and Montagnais could trade their pelts with the French for firearms, powder, and shot, they were invaluable allies against the Kanien'kehá:ka, who had amassed their own arsenal by trading with the Dutch at Fort Orange. Desperate for aid, the Algonquins promised to return to the mission village for religious instruction if they triumphed in battle. Le Jeune recorded the message that the council sent in return: "you say,

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[6] Kenneth M. Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 123–28, 131–45.
[7] *JRAD*, 20: 155.

'Let us go to the war, and then we will be baptized;' reverse your language, and say: 'Let us be baptized, and then let us all go together to the war.'" Tekouerimat grasped that his village's warriors – and the weapons they carried – could help him consolidate authority over the Montagnais and Algonquin bands spread out across the Saint Lawrence Valley, including those who distrusted the Jesuits as sorcerers.[8]

Pleased with the progress at Sillery, New France's secular officials hoped the village would serve as a model for projecting their own authority from the mouth of the Saint Lawrence to the western Great Lakes. In 1645, Kamiskouaouangachit hosted an annual population of about 170 Algonquins and Montagnais people, with additional visitors inhabiting nearby seasonal camps for parts of the year. By comparison, in 1641, only about 240 French colonists inhabited Canada year-round, all of them concentrated in settlements near the trading posts and forts at Tadoussac, Quebec, and Trois Rivières. Within eight years, Sillery had nearly reached the population of French settlers that had been trickling into the colony since Quebec's founding in 1608. By claiming Native souls for God and Native bodies as subjects of their king, officials could construct a vast New France comprising similar sedentary villages. This vision echoed a declaration that Tekouerimat and his followers made in 1638 to Le Jeune, who recorded the chief's promise "that they fully recognized that I was now of their nation, and that they were going to tell everywhere that they were also of ours." At Kamiskouaouangachit, Native leaders and French officials hoped a new world would emerge from the disarray of the old one.[9]

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[8] *JRAD*, 20: 167-69; David J Silverman, *Thundersticks: Firearms and the Violent Transformation of Native America.* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 36.

[9] For New France plans for imperial expansion see Leacock, "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization" and Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot.*; population estimates from Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 56–57. and Statistics Canada, "Estimated Population of Canada, 1605 to Present," accessed July 14, 2023, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/98-187-x/4151287-eng.htm#5.; quote from *JRAD*, 14: 215-17.

Although eager for Native converts, French officials prohibited Abenaki people from visiting the fledgling mission at Kamiskouaouangachit, fearing they would ruin the Quebec fur trade. During the summer of 1637, a party of Abenaki men arrived at the village, to the frustration of the Governor of New France Charles Jacques du Huault de Montmagny. Le Jeune recorded his complaint that the visit "is not for the good of Messieurs the Associates; for those barbarians come to carry off the Beavers of those countries, to take them elsewhere." Because of their village's proximity to the English trading post on the Kennebec River, Abenaki people could hunt beaver along the Saint Lawrence River and trade their furs with the English. Worse yet, the Abenakis could trade for beaver pelts with Algonquin and Montagnais hunters who desired the wampum that English traders stocked abundantly at their post and which French traders lacked. Deprived of these furs, the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, which financed the colony's settlement in exchange for a monopoly on the fur trade, would face ruin and the colony would fail. Montmagny rebuffed the Abenakis and threatened the Montagnais and Algonquins that he would prohibit French traders from disbursing promised goods if they ever sheltered such "peddlers" again.[10]

By barring Abenaki people from Kamiskouaouangachit, Montmagny threatened the ties of friendship between them and the Algonquins and Montagnais, which required regular visits to nurture. Without these visits people might forget their friends, a fate expressed by a word found in the Jesuit priest Joseph Aubery's 1713 lexicon: "apañsidañmérkh8añ [w'bôzidamalkô]." Aubery recorded that the word meant "Il ne pense pas à lui, il l'oublie [he does not think of him, he forgets him]," but it translates literally to "he steps over him, he treads beyond him." Conceiving of their early-seventeenth century alliance as *mahaosan*, "coalition-walking," Abenaki people forgot their friends when they traveled without them or bypassed their villages. After too many seasons walking

[10] *JRAD,* 12: 187.

apart, forgetfulness could turn deadly if young warriors confused friends for adversaries, a mistake more common when enemies lurked during times of war.[11]

In 1641, with Kanien'kehá:ka war parties stalking the Kennebec River down to the coast, Abenaki warriors mistook as one of them a chief from Kamiskouaouangachit named Makheabichtichiou. According to the Jesuit priest Jerome Lalemant, "Makheabichtichiou went away to the country of the Abnaquiois, where he was wretchedly slain this winter; his wives were returned very poor, his eldest son died like a dog." Lalemant did not specify if he had received a report from the returning women that Abenaki people slew Makheabichtichiou's son as they would a dog during a war feast, or if he had included the comparison as his own rhetorical flourish. However, the Abenaki men who killed Makheabichtichiou and his son regarded them as *adiak*: and *alemosak*: less-than-human dogs to enslave, torture, or kill. The warriors denied them the privileges afforded friends and kin, such as free passage over rivers and portages, access to hunting territories, or a mat in a warm lodge on a cold winter night. While Tekouerimat tended his people's relations with visiting Algonquins by sharing their store of dried eels, Abenaki warriors risked provoking war with the village.[12]

Realizing their mistake, Abenaki diplomats scrambled to apologize for the murders before their relationship with the Algonquins and Montagnais of Kamiskouaouangachit collapsed. During the summer of 1641, two Abenaki chiefs led in a canoe by Algonquin guides arrived at the village, bearing gifts for Makheabichtichiou's relatives. They met a cold reception from a contingent of Algonquin villagers, who brandished their guns and knives at the visitors they held responsible for their chief's death. The guides were astonished by these threats and sought to prevent any further violence that might plunge the peoples into war. According to Le Jeune, one of the young

[11] Joseph Aubery, *Father Aubery's French-Abenaki Dictionary, Ed. and Trans. Stephen Laurent (Portland, MA: Chisholm Brothers, 1995)*, ed. Stephen Laurent (Portland, MA: Chisholm Brothers, 1995), 186.
[12] *JRAD*, 20: 207-11.

Algonquin men lamented, "as soon as I had set foot on land I found the country of the Hiroquois." He rebuked his kin for violating their custom to receive diplomats hospitably, likening them instead to their dreaded Kanien'kehá:ka enemies. Chastised, Makheabichtichiou's relatives received the Abenaki visitors and accepted their gifts as consolation for their slain kin. They had avoided war, but the episode revealed that the bonds between the Abenakis and their old Algonquin and Montagnais friends had frayed dangerously.[13]

Tekouerimet seized the opportunity to transform the Abenaki into kin by inviting them to embrace the Christian religion binding together Kamiskouaouangachit. According to Le Jeune, Tekouerimat concluded the peace council by declaring, "If though wishest to bind our two Tribes by a perfect friendship, it is necessary that we should all believe the same. Have thyself baptized, and cause thy people to do likewise, and that bond will be stronger than any gifts." Only through baptism could Abenaki people be reborn as kin and thereby forge a bond which neither people could forget or mistake. One of the diplomats, whom Le Jeune called "the Abnaquiois Captain," promised that he would return the following summer for instruction in the faith. Eager to further consolidate his authority by extending his kinship network into Abenaki country, Tekouerimat watched for canoes from the south as the days grew longer the next year.[14]

True to his word, the Abenaki Captain returned during the summer of 1642, bringing with him eight canoes of people from the Abenaki country. French officials turned away all but three of the Abenakis from the village, just as they had repelled the Abenaki hunting party in 1637. Montmagny feared the Abenaki sought religious instruction as a ruse to ruin the fur trade on behalf of English traders settled on the coast. To prove his loyalty, the Abenaki Captain accompanied Tekouerimat and his allies on a raid against a Kanien'kehá:ka war party recently spotted by scouts

[13] *JRAD*, 21: 65-71; 25: 117.
[14] *JRAD*, 25: 117.

along Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. The warriors from Kamiskouaouangachit triumphed over the enemy war party, which comprised Kanien'kehá:ka warriors and their Sokwakiiak dependents, slaying three and taking captive the war chief Msabitawat. Persuaded of his loyalty, Montmagny allowed the Abenaki Captain to return to the village for religious instruction.[15]

Initially, the Jesuits struggled to explain the salvation that baptism offered. According to the Catechism of the Catholic Church, the sacrament "signifies and actually brings about the birth of water and the Spirit without which no one 'can enter the kingdom of God.'" This was a difficult concept to communicate to people who believed that every being exercised its own spiritual power. By manipulating cosmic forces, plant and animal beings, and ancestral spirits, Abenakis drew life from the earth, healed sick bodies, and triumphed in war. They also lacked a conception of the Christian Heaven or Hell. The nearest Abenaki words for these spiritual realms were *spemkik* and *alômkik*, which translate, "above-land" and "inside-land." But these terms described where a bird flies or a groundhog burrows better than they depicted the eternal resting place of a human soul.[16]

Therefore, the priests likened damnation to the ritual torture inflicted by Rotinonhsón:ni captors. In 1642, a Jesuit priest warned an Algonquin warrior who had escaped from the Kanien'kehá:ka "that the pains which he suffered, and accounted intolerable, were nothing in comparison with the horrible tortures that he would suffer in Hell." After his baptism, the Abenaki Captain likened his own spiritual salvation to deliverance from captivity among the Kanien'kehá:ka, proclaiming to Father de Quen, "I could not be so joyful – even if I had been saved from the hands of the Iroquois." The Jesuits gave him the new name Jean Baptiste, hoping that, like his namesake

[15] *JRAD*, 25: 115-21.
[16] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), 312; Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin*, 73, 115; Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1:35, 458.

who baptized Christ in the River Jordan, he would be "The voice of one crying in the wilderness" preaching salvation through baptism.[17]

Early Christian Abenakis like Jean Baptiste accepted baptism as the defining symbol of Christianity. Aubery recorded that they used the word "pañbattam8añgan [pôbatamwôgan]" to describe the concept of "religion," one their language lacked before colonization. Abenakis borrowed the word's root, /*-batam-*/, from the French "baptême," meaning "baptism." In his 1691 lexicon, the Jesuit priest Sebastien Rasles recorded a similar word derived from the same root: "nepañbatam [n'pôbatami]," which corresponded with "je prie." Therefore, when Abenaki speakers brought the root /*-batam-*/ into their own language, they regarded it as a verb signifying "to pray." To this root, Abenaki speakers affixed /*-wôgan*/, which renders verbs into nouns expressing the idea or essence of an action. Crucially, they also affixed /*pô-*/, an intensifying reduplicative morpheme modifying the root by indicating that the action is repeated, continual, or especially strong. Therefore, *pôbatamwôgan* literally translates, "continual prayer." Each time they prayed, they reenacted their baptism and affirmed their faith in the powerful new God that French priests had brought to their homelands.[18]

Christian Abenakis valued especially that baptism created kinship connections with godparents, whom they called *galnakadak*. The term literally means, "the ones who hold in their arms or lap," probably referring to a godparent's duty of cradling a child during her baptism. Abenaki people also used this term during peace conferences to express their obligations to allies through the imagery it evoked. In 1717, the Abenaki chief Wowurna met with Governor Samuel Shute of Massachusetts Bay to resolve a dispute over English settlements along the Kennebec River. Wowurna acknowledged that his people had invited some colonists to settle there in the past and

[17] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 312; *JRAD*, 24: 217; 25: 121; Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin*, 73, 115.
[18] *Father Aubery's French-Abenaki Dictionary*, 440; Rasles, *Rasles's Abenaki Dictionary*, 486.

reaffirmed the Abenaki's promise to "Imbrace them in our Bosoms." However, he requested that Shute prevent any future settlement in the region, explaining, "We shan't be able to hold them all in our Bosoms, and to take care to shelter them, if it be likely to be bad weather, and Mischief be Threatened." Translated into English by John Gyles, who had learned the Abenaki language as their captive during the 1690s, the phrases align precisely with the verb *galnômek*, "to hold someone in one's arms or lap." Although Wowurna could not literally cradle the English settlers in his bosom the way he would a godchild, he still promised to receive them into his village during times of trouble, the reciprocal obligation Abenakis expected of kin. Therefore, Abenakis reinforced through baptism their bonds with *galnakadak* who held them during the ritual and continued embracing them as kin long after.[19]

By August of 1646, Kennebec Abenakis pleaded for their own baptisms. In June, news reached Kamiskouaouangachit from their villages that "a malady which caused vomiting of blood had destroyed a good part of their nation." This sickness also devastated Kanien'kehá:ka villages later that summer. Convinced that the Jesuit priest Isaack Jogues had unleashed the illness through deadly sorcery, the Kanien'kehá:ka broke their 1645 peace agreement with the Algonquins and Montagnais. One priest warned that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had "spread themselves about in various places, in order to capture, kill, and massacre as many French, Algonquins, and Hurons [Wendat] as they could." Rumors of Kanien'kehá:ka war parties traveled up and down the river valleys that stitched together Abenaki country. Reeling from disease and dreading violence, the Abenakis sought new sources of spiritual power and bonds of kinship that could save their people.[20]

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[19] Day *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 178; Douglas Hay, "WOWURNA," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 27, 2023; Nathaniel Bouton, *Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire* (Manchester, NH: John B Clarke, State Printer, 1869), 3: 693-701.
[20] *JRAD*, 29: 65-71.

In September 1646, French officials dispatched Father Gabriel Druillettes to the Kennebec River with the Abenaki chief Claude Mataoueskarini as his guide, hoping to satisfy their plea while still banning them from Quebec. Before his own baptism, Mataoueskarini held the name "La tête de chien [The Dog Head]," which probably referred to the dog head feast, the Abenaki ceremony for recruiting a war party by killing a dog, roasting its severed head, and passing around the skull to the assembled warriors. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors took him captive during an expedition he led against them sometime during the late 1630s or early in 1640. He apparently escaped and made his way to Trois Rivières, where the fort's governor François de Champflour agreed to protect him from the Kanienke'há:ka's pursuit, instruct him in the Christian faith, and serve as *galnakad* during his baptism. Because Mataoueskarini claimed Champflour as his godfather, Montmagny allowed him to settle at Kamiskouaouangachit, a rare exception to his policy prohibiting Abenakis from the village. Tekouerimat also embraced Mataoueskarini as kin, serving as *galnakad* to his son Michel in 1646. The mission's priests observed that through such relationships, "the Abnaquiois, whom we have between the East and the South, have made an alliance with our Neophytes." A revered war chief bound through baptism to powerful French and Native leaders, Mataoueskarini lent considerable influence to Druillettes.[21]

During the fall and winter of 1646-1647, Druillettes impressed his Abenaki hosts by fulfilling the obligations they expected of kin. He tended the sick by staying up with them at night and fetching cool water to help treat their fevers. Most importantly, his patients drew strength from the food he shared, observing that "if some good morsel were given to him, they were sure that it was

[21] *JRAD*, 24: 181-83; 28: 213-15; 38: 41; 20: 277-79; "Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979," database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G99S-N6HS?cc=1321742&wc=HC81-ZNL : 16 July 2014), Trois-Rivières > Immaculée Conception > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1634-1790 Sépultures 1667-1674 Index, baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1740-1762 Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1749 > image 47 of 2759; Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal; Léo-Paul Hébert, ed., *Le Registre de Sillery (1638-1690)* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2011), 131.

for them." This protocol had helped the Abenakis' ancestors survive thousands of winters in their homeland. Risking starvation by sharing his own food, Druillettes signaled that he valued his patients' lives above his own, the ultimate expression of kinship. When several of his sickest patients recovered in October of 1646, most Abenakis concluded that the Christian God indeed possessed the power that Druillettes and Mataoueskarani had claimed.[22]

Druillettes won over his remaining skeptics when their shamans' prophecies about his demise never came to pass. In January 1647, as *gassokamigwezoak* prepared to depart for their winter hunting territories, one shaman warned "that the Patriarch, - thus they named the Father, - and all those who should keep his path, would be taken by the Hiroquois." Since that fall, Kanien'kehá:ka war parties had stalked the Saint Lawrence River near Kamiskouaouangachit and ranged up the Chaudière River, the same route that Druillettes had taken to the Kennebec. Because each *gassokamigwezoak* possessed only a handful of warriors and their kin had dispersed across their vast homeland, they dreaded encountering an enemy war party with superior numbers. The winter passed without any signs of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors. In fact, the hunt yielded more elk, deer, moose, and beaver than usual, which the Abenakis attributed to Druillettes's spiritual intervention. By the time the *gassokamigwezoak* reassembled in their villages during the spring of 1647, the shamans had lost much of their credibility. Meanwhile, Abenakis believed the Christian God had demonstrated the powers necessary for avoiding *matkamigapoda*, the end of the word: healing the sick, staving off Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, and ensuring a bountiful hunt.[23]

By embracing the Christian God, Abenaki people augmented, rather than replaced, their traditional supernatural beliefs. During the early eighteenth century, Aubery recorded in his lexicon that Abenakis still affixed to words the particle "kada8i," through which "they attach a sort of

[22] *JRAD*, 31: 183-187.
[23] *JRAD*, 31: 187-207.

destiny, and even to what moral good or moral evil that they do." Aubery bristled at this belief, which he deemed a superstitious contradiction of Christian dogma. He also recorded that Abenakis still feared the combusting swamp gases they believed "were the souls of dead persons," as well as *maskég8s8*, a "spirit that creeps in the woods, especially where there are conifers such as hemlock, balsam fir, spruces, etc." They accepted the Christian God as a powerful spirit in a world teeming with them, albeit one who demanded special prayers and observance through rituals like baptism.[24]

Eager to win this Christian God's favor, Abenakis solicited additional spiritual guidance during the late 1640s. French officials continued banning all but a few Abenakis from Kamiskouaouangachit, turning away thirty men, women, and children in 1647 and again in 1649. They still regarded the Abenaki as duplicitous interlopers in the Quebec fur trade. Furthermore, Jesuit authorities refused the Abenakis' invitations to host Druillettes, stymied by a dispute with the Capuchins, another Christian order, about who held authority to establish a mission in coastal Maine. Therefore, the responsibility for preaching to the Abenakis fell to their own baptized kin, most notably Mataoueskarani, who embraced his calling as an evangelist or *wawasikigamowinno*, "very holy teaching person." When Druillettes baptized Mataoueskarani's son on September 29, 1648, the priest recorded that the boy had been born seven months earlier "ad fluviu[m] Kenebeki [on the Kennebec River]." Therefore, by February 1648, Mataoueskarani and his wife Marguerite Outchiriouekoue had returned from Kamiskaouangachit to spend the winter with the Kennebec Abenakis. During the crucial first years after the Abenakis hosted Druillettes, Mataoueskarani and Outchiriouekoue emulated his mission by accompanying kin on their winter hunt and instructing them in the faith. These journeys kept alive the Abenakis' 1641 promise to Tekouerimat that they

[24] *Father Aubery's French-Abenaki Dictionary*, 412, 439.

would bind their people "in perfect friendship," a union which would soon serve as the foundation of a vast alliance envisioned by the Abenakis against the Kanien'kehá:ka.[25]

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In 1650, Kanien'kehá:ka war parties invaded the Kennebec River Valley to seek Abenaki captives to adopt in place of the kin who perished during the 1646 epidemic. During the late 1640s, the Kanien'kehá:ka had joined their Rotinonhsón:ni confederates in devastating attacks against the Wendats, Neutrals, and Eries, Iroquoian-speaking peoples inhabiting the Great Lakes region. The Rotinonhsón:ni deployed collectively nearly 2,000 warriors against these enemies, razing entire villages, setting cornfields ablaze, and marching hundreds of captives back to their own homelands for torture or adoption. In 1650, Dutch officials received intelligence that a band of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had set out east from Fort Orange, probably the same that killed thirty Abenakis on the Kennebec River later that year. The Abenakis feared this invasion was a mere prelude to the kind of devastation the Kanien'kehá:ka and the other Rotinonhsón:ni had wrought in the Great Lakes country. During the fall of 1650 they reported to Druillettes that their enemies meant to "exterminate them," convinced they would launch "a large effort against them and their Quebec allies" during the late winter or early spring.[26]

To confront this threat, Abenaki chiefs asked Druillettes and Tekouerimat to help draw the Sokwakiiak away from the Kanien'kehá:ka and into the Kamiskaouangachit-Kennebec alliance. In November 1650, Tekouerimat and Druillettes joined a conference the Abenakis hosted for a Sokwakii diplomat on the Kennebec River, probably at Norridgewock, their principal village.

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[25] *JRAD*, 31: 205-07; 34: 57; Hébert, *Le Registre de Sillery*, 140–41.
[26] Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, Table D; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 67–69.; "Rapport du R.P. Druillettes, Envoyé en Députation à la Nouvelle-Angleterre pour y Conclure un Traité de Neutralité Entre les Colonies Anglaises et Françaises" reproduced in *Le Canada Français*, deuxième série, vol. xx, no. 10, (juin, juillet, août 1933), 941-49.

According to Druillettes, the Abenaki chiefs "made a present to the Sokouckiois, of fifteen collars, and ten or twelve porcelain bracelets, which might be valued at seven or eight bundles of Beaver skins." They hoped their gifts would flatter the Sokwakiiak, who were more accustomed to delivering tribute to their Kanien'kehá:ka conquerors than receiving their own diplomatic gifts. To further entice the Sokwakiiak, Druillettes promised guns, powder, and shot. As the conference concluded, they warned the Sokwakii diplomat that, if the Kanien'kehá:ka destroyed the Abenakis, they would turn next against his own people: "if they do not prevent their blow, there will be no one left alive."[27]

In April 1651, the Sokwakiiak joined the alliance. Reassembled with Tekouerimat, Druillettes, and the Abenakis at Norridgewock, the Sokwakii delegate explained to Druillettes that his people yearned "to deliver themselves from the annual tribute of porcelain which the Iroquois exact" and for unfettered access to "the beaver hunt about Quebecq, after the destruction of the Iroquois." Sokwakiiak chiefs also hoped to secure their hunting territories, a goal they had held since 1626, when their hunters broke the 1624 peace by blocking Kanien'kehá:ka hunters from the Champlain Valley. The Sokwakiiak had held secret conferences during the winter of 1651 with Pocumtucs, Penacooks, and Mahicans, neighboring peoples on the upper Connecticut, Merrimac, and Hudson Rivers. The Sokwakiiak had persuaded their neighbors to take up arms with the Abenakis, thereby extending the alliance from Kamiskaouangachit east along the Kennebec River to the Maine coast, south down the Connecticut River into Massachusetts, and west to the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, the very doorstep of the Kanien'kehá:ka.[28]

Before the Sokwakiiak could join the alliance, however, they first needed to quell the bloodshed between them and their Algonquin rivals at Kamiskaouangachit. In 1645, Sokwakiaak

[27] *JRAD*, 36: 103, 223-25; "Rapport du R.P. Druillettes," 941-49.
[28] *JRAD*, 36: 101-105.

chiefs had opposed the peace between their Kanien'kehá:ka conquerors and the Algonquins so that they could exact revenge against those who had captured and killed several Sokwakiiak warriors in 1643. The Sokwakiaak had launched their most recent raid against Kamiskaouangachit during the early fall of 1650, taking captive three or four women for their young men to marry. According to Druillettes, when the Sokwakii ambassador met with the Abenakis in April 1651 to confirm the peace, he asked Tekouerimat "to wait until after the death of the Iroquois, in order to give each other the satisfaction which they are accustomed to render mutually in such a case." With this request, the Sokwakiiak kept open the possibility of future violence with the Montagnais and Algonquins after defeating their common enemy. Judging a temporary ally better than a permanent enemy, Tekouerimat accepted the tepid apology and welcomed the Sokwakiiak into the alliance.[29]

Warfare erupted in the Connecticut River Valley when news reached Kanien'kehá:ka villages that the Sokwakiiak had joined the Abenaki's alliance against them. Kanien'kehá:ka people relied on their Sokwakiiak dependents for valuable wampum, which they needed to conduct diplomacy, raise war parties, and assuage the grief of *otá:ra* members whose relatives died from disease or warfare. They concluded that the Sokwakiiak's new alliance repudiated *Kaianeren'kó:wa,* the Great Law which they had accepted as conquered dependents of the Kanien'kehá:ka. According to the eightieth wampum belt of *Kaianeren'kó:wa*, by refusing the peace, enemies "bring a declaration of war upon themselves" until brought back into submission – or destroyed altogether. On March 10, 1652 an Algonquin warrior named Aasate who had escaped from his captivity among the Kanien'kehá:ka arrived at Montreal bearing news that "the Annie'ronnons [Kanien'kehá:ka] and sokoquinois are killing one another." The Kanien'kehá:ka could not allow such insubordination to go unpunished.[30]

[29] *JRAD*, 36: 101-103; 40: 201.
[30] *JRAD*, 37: 97; "Gayanerekowa: The Great Law of Peace, As Brought to the Confederacy of the Iroquois By Deganawida The Peacemaker," (Kahnawake: Mohawk Nation News, 1993), 72-73.

True to their word, warriors from Kamiskaouangachit and the Kennebec River came to their defense. In early April 1652, officials at Fort Orange reported to the Director-General of New Netherland Peter Stuyvesant, "We are quite concerned in regard to the request of the Canada savages, who have become involved into a war with the Maques and resolved to go into the country of the latter." Although officials at Fort Orange denied their petition for shelter at the fort on their way to attack the Kanien'kehá:ka, warriors from the Kennebec River and Kamiskaouangachit lurked along the upper Hudson River, ready to ambush enemy war parties setting out against their Sokwakiiak allies.[31]

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After years of these intermittent attacks, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought to dismantle the alliance by bringing the Great Law to the Abenakis, whom they held responsible for instigating the violence. Reports of skirmishes along the Kennebec River between the Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka reached Kamiskaouangachit by early 1659. Kanien'kehá:ka diplomats explained to Dutch officials that they sought retribution for the warriors slain by the Abenakis, who "at several times had helped the Canide Indianes." By 1660, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers sanctioned a more ambitious expedition against their Abenaki enemies. One Jesuit reported that a party of about 100 warriors had set out that winter for the Kennebec River, "wishing to exact a sort of tribute from those people." By demanding tribute from the Abenaki, Kannienkehá:ka warriors sought to subordinate the Kennebec people as *Ronwatihsennion*, the "Conquered," just as they had the Sokwakiiak twenty years earlier. After subduing the Abenaki, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors could reclaim their authority over the Sokwakiiak and thereby expand their dominion from the Mohawk River to the Atlantic coast.[32]

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[31] John Romeyn Brodhead, Berthold Fernow, and E. B O'Callaghan, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (NYCD)* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1853), 13: 34.
[32] *NYCD*, 13: 225-26; *JRAD*, 47: 141.

Instead of conquering the Abenakis, the Kanien'kehá:ka warriors walked into a massacre on the Kennebec River during the late winter or early spring of 1660. Druillettes reported to the superior of the Jesuit mission in New France Jérôme Lalemant that the Abenakis killed the entire Kanien'kehá:ka war party except for one man, whom they tortured by cutting off his upper lip along with most of his scalp. According to Druillettes, the Abenakis then sent the disfigured man home "to carry the tidings of what had befallen his Compatriots, being ordered to tell his countrymen that like ignominy was in store for them if they undertook a similar act of molestation." Druillettes estimated the Abenakis had killed thirty of their enemies. However, during a conference with Dutch and English officials in 1662, a Kanienke'há:ka chief reported "they had lost near 100 men" in the fight. The Kanien'kehá:ka could muster about 500 warriors during the late 1650s, so the loss of 100 men constituted a startling 20 percent decline of their population of young men. Their deaths left Kanien'kehá:ka villages exposed to enemy attacks and short of hunters to procure enough meat to last the winter. The invasion had backfired horribly, deepening Kanien'kehá:ka resentment toward their Abenaki foes.[33]

Yet, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers demanded revenge for this slaughter. In November 1660, a party of Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs informed officials at Fort Orange that they planned again to attack the Kennebec Abenakis as soon as they could assemble a war party. When officials advised them to make peace with the Kennebec people, the chiefs refused, complaining "that their children cried, because they had not revenged such treachery." The death of 100 of their people left dangerous voids in Kanien'kehá:ka clans and villages. Only through captives and scalps could their surviving families begin relieving their grief. During the winter of 1662, nearly 260 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors set out from their villages to exact vengeance, a party comprising about half of all Kanien'kehá:ka men of fighting age. They arrived during late April at Fort Penobscot, an

[33] *JRAD*, 47: 137-141; *NYCD*, 13: 225-226.

English outpost on a rocky promontory along the Maine coast where Abenakis from the lower Kennebec had sought shelter from the advancing warriors. The Kanien'kehá:ka killed the men who mounted a resistance before taking the rest captive along with the women and children who had not managed to flee upriver during the melee. The triumphant Kanien'kehá:ka warriors returned to their villages during the late spring or early summer with about 100 captives, enough to fill the mats left vacant by the 1660 massacre.[34]

Driven by obligations to avenge their kin, the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenakis became locked in a cycle of escalating violence. When Dutch and English officials tried brokering a peace between them in August 1662, the Kanien'kehá:ka delegates retorted that they would return the Abenaki captives if their enemies delivered up the men whom they had "killed both heartofore & now of late." By making an impossible request, the Kanien'kehá:ka signaled that the Norridgewock massacre could never be forgiven. Besides, the delegates explained, "the Prisoners wear given by them to theyre frinds who formerly had lost theyr frinds by the wars." Already adopted or slated for execution, the captives would never again see their homeland. Enraged by this response and seeking vengeance for their own slain kin, Abenakis and their allies invaded the central Mohawk Valley. In September 1663, the newsletter "De Nieuw Nederlandsche Mercurius" reported rumors that the "Onekonques" had recently passed by Fort Orange after having "already killed many of the Maquas [Kanien'kehá:ka] here." Spelled in Dutch and English sources as "Onekonques," "Onakongue," "Onnogonges," "Unagoungas" and "Onnongangwe," the Kanien'kéha word *ona'kòn:ke*, means "in the east, down towards the sea," and refers to the Abenakis of the Kennebec River. By the summer of 1663, they had brought the war to the Kanien'kehá:ka.[35]

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[34] *NYCD*, 13: 190-191; *JRAD*, 47: 279; "A True Relation of the Maque Coming to Penobscot Fortt, and What Thay Did, by Thomas Gardner Commander, August 5, 1662" published as "Visit of the Mohawks to Fort Penobscot, 1662," *The Magazine of American History*, 1878.

[35] *NYCD*, 13: 224-26; Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed., *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651-1674* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1932), 332.

The war culminated in late 1663, when a Rotinonhsón:ni war party besieged the Sokwakii fort sheltering the Abenaki warriors who had attacked Kanien'kehá:ka villages all summer. In early August, Dutch officials near Fort Orange reported the arrival of an Onondaga and Seneca war party "which was so large that we had to keep watch night and day." By appealing to their Rotinonhsón:ni allies, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers repeated the same strategy the confederacy had used during the late 1640s, when thousands of their warriors destroyed entire Wendat, Neutral, and Erie villages. In a September 26, 1663 conference at Fort Orange, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs explained, "they do not consider themselves at war with the people of Onokonquehada [Kennebec Abenakis] while they have fled to the Onejagese." The "Onejagese" were the *Onenià:ke*, "on the stone," a new name the Kanien'kehá:ka called the Sokwakiiak, who had recently built a fortified village atop a rocky bluff overlooking the Connecticut River to defend against their incursions. In early December, several hundred Rotinonhsón:ni warriors surrounded the fort and bombarded the palisades with firebombs fashioned from bags of gunpowder. The Abenakis and Sokwakiiak extinguished the blaze, allowing their marksmen to kill nearly 200 of their enemies and injure at least 20 others. By contrast, the Rotinonhsón:ni reportedly killed and captured thirty-two Abenakis and Sokwakiiak. Although a costly victory for the Abenaki and Sokwakiiak, the failed invasion was another devastating defeat for the Kanien'kehá:ka.[36]

After England conquered the New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664, the Kanien'kehá:ka met with the English officials at Albany to seek their support in the ongoing war. Represented by the chiefs Ohgehando, Shanarage, and Soachoenighta, they promised to continue trading at Fort Albany (the former Fort Orange) as they had with their old Dutch allies. In return for exclusive access to their furs, the chiefs demanded "That the English do not assist the three Nations of the

[36] *NYCD*, 13: 297-98, 307-08, 355-56; David Wilton to John Winthrop, Jr., December 25, 1663, ms. Reel 7, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; David Wilton to John Winthrop, Jr., December 28, 1663, ms. Reel 7, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Van Laer, *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer*, 326.

Ondiakes [Onenià:ke, i.e. Sokwakiiak], Pinneokkoks, and Pacamtekookes" and "That if they be beaten by the three Nations above menconed, they may receive accommodacon from the English." After suffering their second major defeat against the Abenaki alliance the previous winter, the Kanien'kehá:ka had to prepare for the worst.[37]

Karihwiioston ("It caused the Good Message")

Meanwhile, French officials plotted to hasten the destruction of the Kanien'kehá:ka. Frustrated by the slow population growth of New France under the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, King Louis XIV placed the colony under his royal control in 1663. Along with the Carignan-Salières Regiment, an infantry unit with 1,200 professional soldiers, he dispatched Lieutenant-General Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy with instructions to lead a counterattack against the Kanien'kehá:ka in January 1666. Weakened by their recent defeats against the Abenakis and Sokwakiiak, the Kanien'kehá:ka abandoned their villages ahead of de Tracy's army, which torched longhouses, tore down palisades, and scattered caches of corn. During the spring, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers sued for peace with the Governor of New France Daniel de Rémy de Courcelles, whom they flattered with the title *Onontí:io*, "the good mountain." Onontí:io accepted the Kanien'kehá:ka's overtures on the conditions that they ceased invading New France and hosted Jesuit missionaries in their rebuilt villages. For the first time in twenty years, French settlers along the Saint Lawrence River enjoyed peace. However, war still raged between the Kanien'kehá:ka and the formidable Abenaki, Sokwakiiak, Pocumtuc, Mahican, and Penacook alliance, whose warriors had redoubled their attacks against their chastened enemies.[38]

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[37] *NYCD*, 3: 67-68.
[38] Taylor, *American Colonies*, 365.; Léopold Lamontagne, "PROUVILLE DE TRACY, ALEXANDRE DE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 11, 2023, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/prouville_de_tracy_alexandre_de_1E.html.

Heeding Le Jeune's 1637 adage that "fear is the forerunner of faith," Jesuit missionaries exploited the ongoing war to win followers to their Mohawk Valley mission. During the summer of 1667, François le Mercier arrived at Gandaouagué, the easternmost of the Kanien'kehá:ka's four villages and the one which had seen the greatest destruction from de Tracy's invasion. Le Mercier proclaimed that God had sanctioned such devastation because the Kanien'kehá:ka refused to accept Christianity. He warned that, unless they embraced the French religion, God would destroy them: "Behold the Loups coming on one side, and, on the other, I see Onontio with his army. Your land is going to be devastated, your Fields, your Cabins, your Villages are going to be ruined." By the late 1660s, Le Mercier and other officials used "Loups" as a cover term for the various Algonquian-speaking peoples from Albany on the upper Hudson River, north to Quebec, and east to the coast of Maine. Therefore, the Loups comprised the peoples of the Algonquian alliance the Abenakis had forged in 1651. Like de Tracy's army, le Mercier suggested, they were instruments of God sent to punish unbelievers.[39]

Because their horticultural work outside village palisades exposed them to surprise attacks, Kanien'kehá:ka women were the first to embrace Christianity as new sources of spiritual protection. Le Mercier reported that he performed his first baptism at Gandaouagué on "a poor Iroquois woman, whom the warriors of the loup nation had, a short time before, scalped in plain sight of the Town." He judged correctly that other women would identify with her plight and seek the Christian God's protection by accepting baptism, as Abenaki people had during the winter of 1647. In 1668, a Kanien'kehá:ka woman who had passed two nights hiding in a cornfield from Sokwakiiak warriors pleaded for baptism, reassuring her family that, if warriors found and killed her in the future, she would see them again in Heaven. That summer, women also reported to le Mercier that God had

[39] *JRAD*, 51: 215-17; 52: 123; Gordon Day, "The First Vermonters: Abenakis in the Basin," unpublished manuscript in Gordon Day Papers, Box 2, Folder 5, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

helped them evade "a massacre inflicted by the Loups on a number of Agniez [Kanien'kehá:ka], almost within a hundred paces of the palisade." At least one woman claimed that God had delivered her from certain death at the hands of these "Loups." Before her captor's axe fell, the woman prayed fervently to God, promising to embrace Christianity if he spared her. According to le Mercier, "Scarcely had she finished these words, when she felt a strength diffused through her whole body. She straightway arose, and as she was about to seize the hatchet of her enemy, who was easily able to kill her, he at the same instant fled." The Christian God apparently offered Kanien'kehá:ka women the protection that their warriors could not.[40]

Although Kanien'kehá:ka warriors initially scoffed at the priests, they marveled at the strength that baptism apparently conferred to their prisoners. During the late 1660s, the Kanien'kehá:ka prioritized vengeance against their enemies over replenishing the clans depleted by warfare. Rather than adopting war prisoners from the Algonquian alliance, they tortured the captives before burning them at dawn, an ancient ceremony that had fostered cohesion among and between clans since before their arrival in the Mohawk Valley. By inflicting pain and terror on their enemies, the Kanien'kehá:ka affirmed their status as a powerful people. However, they observed that baptized prisoners accepted their fate with equanimity, even as the flames engulfed their bodies. During the summer of 1669, one of the Jesuit priests among the Kanien'kehá:ka Jean Pierron addressed the puzzled villagers: "you have seen how the Loups, your enemies, had themselves instructed [in the Christian faith], and found, in your country, a happiness which you despise. What! Shall the Iroquois alone be eternally wretched?" The question resonated especially with Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, whose forays against their enemies exposed them to captivity, torture, and death.[41]

[40] *JRAD*, 51: 189-191; 52: 127-131.
[41] *JRAD*, 53: 199-239.

Inspired by these captives, some warriors began seeking baptism for their own protection in the afterlife. Like other Rotinonhsón:ni peoples, the Kanien'kehá:ka believed that dying in battle precluded warriors from joining the villages of the dead. Instead of dwelling with their kin and ancestors in the afterlife, slain warriors would spend an eternity wandering the land alone, seeking vengeance from their enemies. Nor could their bones reside with those of their departed kin, for fear that their angry spirits would disturb the tranquility the dead enjoyed in the afterlife. Baptism offered young men an alternative to this dreaded fate. In 1668, Pierron recorded that a war captain pleaded for baptism "in order to go to Heaven, if it should happen that he were taken in war and were to be burned." As a Christian, his soul would join the growing number of those from his village who had embraced the faith, and his bones could mingle with theirs in the clay from which their people had emerged, now sanctified by a priest and protected by God. Warriors from Gandaouagué followed their captain's example as Abenakis and Sokwakiiak escalated their attacks against them.[42]

In August of 1669, a party of 300 Sokwakiiak, Abenaki, Penacook, Pocumtuc, and Mahican warriors besieged Gandaouagué hoping to destroy the village once and for all. The revered war chief Togouiroui, probably the captain who had beseeched Pierron for religious instruction the year before, organized the village's defense. After the frustrated Algonquian alliance withdrew two nights later, Togouiroui led warriors in pursuit of their enemies, killing a reported fifty during the retreat. However, Pierron noted that "the victory . . . was more glorious than profitable," for nearly forty of their own young men died repelling the invaders.[43]

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[42] Richter, "War and Culture," 534–35; *JRAD*, 52: 127.
[43] *JRAD*, 53: 145, 155; Henri Béchard, "TOGOUIROUI, Joseph, Great Mohawk," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 8, 2023, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/togouiroui_1E.html.

Kanien'kehá:ka clan mothers had determined that the incessant wars against the Abenaki and Sokwakiiak had grown too deadly. In December 1669, Kanien'kehá:ka delegates negotiated a peace with their Algonquian rivals. Although records from the conference do not survive, in January 1670 Governor Francis Lovelace of New York wrote to officials in Albany, "I am glad all ye Indians are so well disposed as to Imploy themselves to ye Beaver hunting." Like the peace agreements of 1626 and 1646, the 1670 peace apparently opened up the Champlain Valley and the Adirondacks as common hunting territories.[44]

* * *

With peace came alcohol, another source of destruction that would plague Kanienke'ká:ka villages. According to Jacques Bruyas, the Jesuit priest stationed among the Kanien'kehá:ka during the early 1670s, "The hatchet of the mahingan would be less redoubtable to them than the liberty of going as often as they pleased to trade for brandy in new holland." Because the peace of 1670 opened Lake Champlain and the Adirondack highlands to Kanien'kehá:ka hunters, they returned to their villages flush with valuable pelts. Without enemies lurking along the road to Fort Albany, they could proceed immediately to the English settlements, where merchants welcomed them with open casks of liquor. Addictive and intoxicating, alcohol created a demand which no amount of furs could satisfy. Instead of the wampum, cloth, kettles, and pots they needed to sustain their *otá:ra*, Kanien'kehá:ka struggling with addiction traded their pelts for brandy. Worse, they bought on credit the equipment they needed for the next hunting season. With each visit to Albany, Kanienke'há:ka people fell further into debt. In a destructive cycle, alcohol offered an escape from the harsh reality of their new world, but also fueled more debt, addiction, and violence. When a mysterious illness

[44] NYCD, 13: 439-440.

causing severe headaches and fevers swept through their villages in 1672, Kanien'kehá:ka people searched for the cause of their recent turmoil.[45]

Traditionalists within Kanien'kehá:ka villages blamed their Christian kin for the calamities weakening their people. Bruyas recorded that the Christians called themselves "Garih8ioston [Karihwiioston]." The term comprises the morphemes, /*ka*-/, "it"; /*-rihw*-/, a capacious noun root encompassing "matter, affair, thing;" the verb root /*-iio*/, "to be good, beautiful, or handsome;" the affix *-st* which indicates causality; and /*-on*/, a stative aspect suffix specifying that an action has occurred in the past. Therefore, Karihwiioston can translate, "it caused the good message," probably referring to the gospels they learned from their priests. But it could also mean, "it caused matters, affairs, or things to be good," suggesting both personal and communal salvation. Additional entries in Bruyas's lexicon reveal that traditionalists rejected each of these interpretations. He recorded "IonXire8aθa n'ong8arih8ioston [ionkhirewatha n'onkwarihwiioston]," which translates, "they cause damage, injury, or harm to us, we who have been caused the good news [i.e. Christians]." In a related entry, Bruyas collected the sentence "Ratre8aθa n'ontredajen [ratrewatha n'aterennayen]," "he blames prayer." To express both ideas, Karihwiioston used the root –*(ka)rewet*- "to damage, injure, hurt," indicating that the traditionalists inflicted on their Christian kin great emotional wounds, and likely physical violence.[46]

In contrast to the Abenakis, who embraced Christianity as a source of unity, the new faith split Kanien'kehá:ka villages into competing factions. According to Bruyas, one woman's baptism "so incensed all her family that, out of spite, they degraded her from her noble rank, in an assembly of the Village notables; and deprived her of the name and title of Oiander." The title which Bruyas recorded has as its root /*-ianer*-/, "to be good, noble." Kanien'kehá:ka people use the same root for

[45] *JRAD*, 57: 81; For an overview on the relationship between alcohol and debt, see White, *The Roots of Dependency*; Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, Table B1.
[46] Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language with Their Derivatives*, 89, 91.

kaianeren'kó:wa, the Great Law, and *roiá:ner*, the fifty chieftainships the Peacemaker established when he brought the Rotinonhsón:ni peoples together under the same metaphorical longhouse. "Oiander" referred to the clan mothers who selected men from their *otá:ra* to serve as Confederate chiefs, a profound responsibility which the women inherited from their own mothers. By stripping this Oiander of her title and installing another in her place, the woman's clan broke the maternal lineage which had endured since the Great Peacemaker first appointed clan mothers, a grave measure rarely taken. According to Bruyas, the woman accepted the affront joyfully, "declaring openly that she held in greater esteem the name and rank of Christian than that of Oiander." Her response suggests that someone could belong to the Karihwiioston or the Rotinonhsón:ni, but not to both.[47]

This division exacerbated fault lines between adopted captives and *onkwehón:w*e, fracturing Kanien'kehá:ka communities even further. In 1667, the Jesuits at Gandaouagué estimated that captives accounted for about two-thirds of the village's population. One priest observed that "the life of a captive is valued no more than that of a dog, and it needs only a slight disobedience on his part to merit a hatchet-stroke." The Kanien'kehá:ka had distinguished between *onkwehón:we*, a real person, and *kanaskwa*, a capacious category including slaves, captives, prisoners, and domesticated animals such as dogs who were legitimate targets for violence. Meanwhile, Christianity offered solace to captives who dreaded the fires which might consume them with the least provocation. To win them over to the faith, Bruyas promised captives, "Jesus nous adopte pour ses parents quand on nous baptisé [Jesus adopts us as family when we are baptized]." Ripped away from their own families and languishing on the margins of Kanien'kehá:ka kinship networks, many captives welcomed this new spiritual family. By transforming captives into Karihwiioston, the community of believers, baptism challenged traditionalists' authority over their villages.[48]

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[47] *JRAD*, 54: 277-283.
[48] *JRAD*, 51: 189; 49: 105; Bruyas, *Radical Words of the Mohawk Language with Their Derivatives*, 81.

Facing growing hostility from traditionalists, Karihwiioston sought refuge at a burgeoning mission village near Montreal called Saint-Francois-Xavier des Prés. During the winter of 1667-68, an Oneida hunting party of about 30 men, women, and children camped on a plain along the Saint Lawrence river that they and their Kanien'kehá:ka kin called *kentake*, "at the meadow," and which the French named La Prairie de la Madeleine. Just across the river from Montreal, the site offered access to French traders as well as close proximity to the productive beaver hunting territories of the Adirondack highlands and Lake Champlain Valley. To persuade the families to settle permanently at the spot, Jesuits hired French laborers to clear land, erect houses, and sow crops. By 1671, the village hosted about 120 year-round residents. One Kanien'kehá:ka woman who contemplated leaving Gandaouagué for Kentake explained, "I fear, remaining here with the people of my Nation, I shall lack sufficient courage to withstand them; and I would be afraid of soon losing here whatever grace I might receive at Baptism." She sought to secure her spiritual salvation by moving away from traditionalists' villages. Priests in the Mohawk Valley also noted that "Many who were not naturalized Iroquois resolved to steal away and come to La Prairie" seeking their own sanctuary.[49]

The Karihwiioston used the Christian ritual of baptism to recreate traditional kinship connections within the community. They regarded godfathers and godmothers as *rohsenná:wi'* and *ronwahsenná:wi'*, kinship terms expressing a transitive relationship between two people or beings. The /*ro-*/ in *rohsenná:wi'* means "he-to-him" and /*ronwa-*/ in *ronwahsenná:wi'* signifies "she-to-him." The noun root /*-hsenn-*/ corresponds with the English word for "name," and the verb root /*-awi-*/ means, "to give." Put together, the term for godmother, *ronwahsenná:wi'*, means, "she-to-him name gives," or more simply, "she gives him a name." The noun root /*-hsenn-*/ is far more capacious than the concept of a "name," however, for it also signifies "reputation" and "fame." A priest observed: "it is the custom in each family to requicken and resuscitate, in some manner, those who, issuing

[49] Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 132–40; *JRAD*, 54: 281-83; 63: 167.

from that family, have made it illustrious. They exalt thus, at the same time, the names of those whom they make live again." Like Kanienke'há:ka traditionalists, Karihwiioston believed that names had the power to revive ancestors. With each baptism, Karihwiioston reinforced old ties and forged new ones in a network of spiritual kinship that made their people "live again" in a new home.[50]

Distraught by the influx of alcohol and the violence it wrought in his village, the revered war chief Togouiroui led forty followers from the Mohawk Valley to Kentake during the summer of 1673. According to one of the mission's priests, with the arrival of the influential chief and his kin, the Kanien'kehá:ka "took the first rank" at the village that had developed around the Oneida hunting camp. In 1675, Kentake's population surpassed 300 people, having grown tenfold since its inception in 1668. The village lacked sufficient fields to feed the bustling community. In 1676, the Jesuits secured new land for the mission further upriver at a place the Karihwiioston called *Kahnawà:ke*. The resettled community drew a new identity from the home they built together: Kahnawa'kehrón:on, "the people of the rapids." By the mid-1670s, these Karihwiioston emerged as a center of Indigenous spiritual, military, and economic power in the Lake Champlain-Saint Lawrence River corridor.[51]

* * *

Meanwhile in New England, devastating warfare broke out between colonists and Native peoples, which contemporary chroniclers called "King Philip's War" after the Wampanoag sachem blamed for the bloodshed. The fighting began during the summer of 1675 after the Pokanoket people of the Wampanoag Confederacy rebuffed invading settlers from the nearby Plymouth Colony. When the English colonists launched a punitive expedition against the Pokanoket later that

[50] Nora Deering and Helga Harries DeLisle, *Mohawk: A Teaching Grammar (Preliminary Version)* (Quebec: Manitou Community College, 1976), 399; Gunther Michelson, *A Thousand Words of Mohawk* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1976), 39, 56; Joseph-François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, ed. William N Fenton, trans. Elizabeth Moore (Toronto: Champlain Society, n.d.), 1: 51, 115.
[51] Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 141–50.

summer, their Wampanoag kin came to their defense. Allies from the Nipmucks and other peoples in central Massachusetts and Connecticut also sent warriors to the fighting. New England officials mobilized colonial militias to lay waste to the Native villages and enslave captives. As colonial militias indiscriminately attacked Native peoples, warriors tried to protect the women, children, and elders. By the summer of 1676, hundreds of lodges and homes lay in ruins and thousands of Native and English people had died.[52]

In this chaos, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs seized the opportunity to restore their diminishing power by forging the Covenant Chain, a system of alliances between Native peoples and colonial governments with the Kanien'kehá:ka at its center. The Governor of New York Edmond Andros eagerly hammered the chain's first link during the winter of 1675-76, when he appealed to Kanien'kehá:ka warriors for help in the war. In 1678 one Kanien'kehá:ka chief who had met with Andros recalled that the governor had "told how his frindes in N. England were Involved in a great warr with Indians and that some of their Enemys were fled to hosack [the Hoosic River], Incourageing us to goe out against them." In return for their military aid, the Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs demanded that all future colonial business with Native peoples take place in Albany, under the supervision of their representatives. When Massachusetts Bay entered the Covenant Chain alliance in 1677, their officials agreed similarly to hold all conferences with Native peoples in Albany instead of the Boston courthouse, their previous venue for Indian diplomacy. Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs deemed the New Yorkers and New Englanders "brethren," for they expected treatment as equals by their English neighbors.[53]

Empowered by their new alliance, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought revenge upon the Sokwakiiak and Abenaki. In late April 1676, Albany officials learned from a Native messenger that

[52] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 76–89.
[53] *NYCD* 13: 493-94, 528-29.

"the mowhawkes [Kanien'kehá:ka] kild eleven Indians of theire: 5 when they were at or neere Fort Albany & Two times since they have been at Squackheeg & killd Three each time." Kanien'kehá:ka warriors continued their eastern raids into the summer of 1678, when Albany officials learned that a large war party had set out to destroy the "Unagoungas," the Kennebec Abenakis. In November of 1680, French officials reported further Kanien'kehá:ka attacks "against the Socoquis, towards Lake Champlain." These attacks came four years after Philip's death and two years after New England officials made peace with the Abenakis. The Kanien'kehá:ka had long since satisfied their pledge to Andros, but continued fighting to demonstrate their might to the people who had dared cross them in the decades before.[54]

With the support of their Covenant Chain brethren in Albany, the Kanien'kehá:ka claimed dominion over the Native peoples to their east. In late May of 1676, Andros proclaimed, "that all Indyans, who will come in & submit, shall be received to live under the protection of the Government." He invited them to resettle permanently in New York at Schaghticoke, an abandoned Mahican village located about twenty miles north of Albany at the confluence of the Hoosic and Hudson Rivers. Those who settled at Schaghticoke understood that, to enjoy Andros's protection, they also had to submit to the Kanien'kehá:ka. As "brethren," New York officials and Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs deemed the Schaghticoke settlers "children" in the Covenant Chain: dependent on their metaphorical "fathers" for protection and obliged to follow them into war or peace. This paternal metaphor recreated the symbolic relationship between the Conqueror and the Conquered prescribed by the Great Law. By the late 1670s, more than 1,000 people had accepted Andros's invitation, submitted to their new "fathers," and settled at Schaghticoke, the Kanien'kehá:ka's largest triumph since their campaigns of the late 1640s.[55]

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[54] *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* (Hartford, CT: The Hartford Printing Co., 1860), 21: 241-42; *NYCD*, 13: 511-12, 519–20; 9: 795.
[55] *NYCD*, 13: 496-97; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 136.

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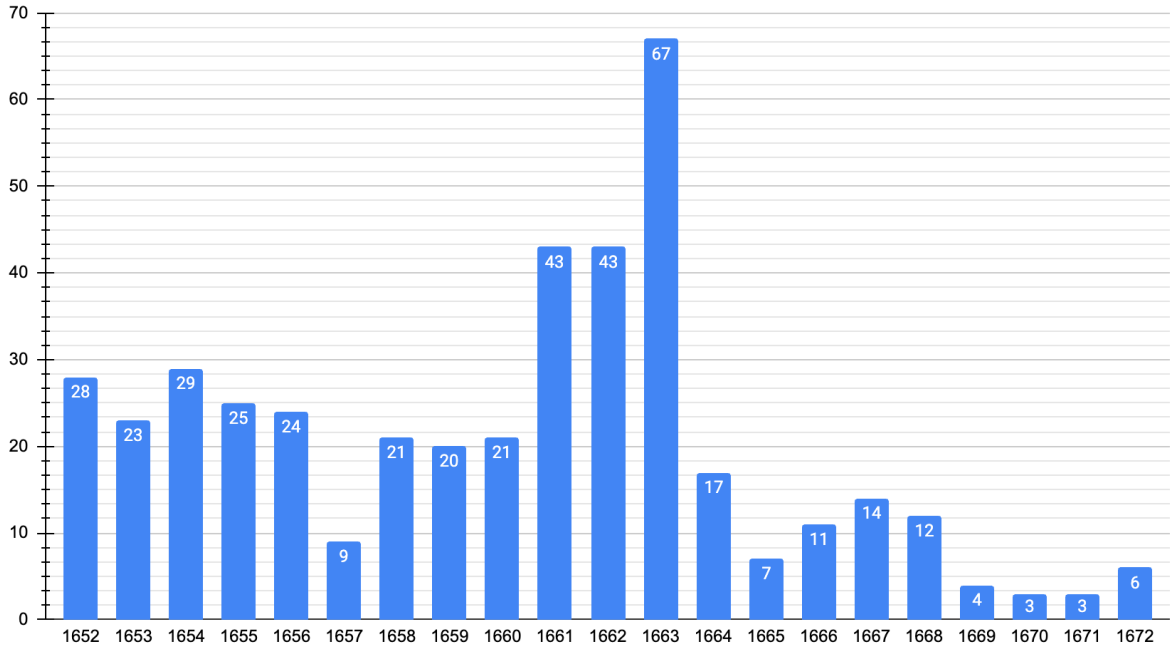
During King Philip's War, Abenakis also fled to Kamiskaouangachit, where they hoped to find old allies ready to hold them in their bosoms. According to the Jesuit priest stationed at the mission, Jacques Vaultier, "They arrived here in the middle of spring in the year 1676, after suffering during the winter from so unusual a famine that many of them died." Ancestral Abenakis had developed their kinship system to avoid such starvation: members of *gassokamigwezoak* possessed kin in other family bands obliged to receive them when crops failed or winter hunting seasons yielded too little meat. However, during King Philip's War colonial militias and Kanien'kehá:ka warriors devastated the Abenakis. With every *gassokamigwezoak* either scattered, fighting, or fleeing, family bands sought shelter at Kamiskaouangachit, following the path that Jean-Baptiste and Claude Mataoueskarini had blazed during the 1640s.[56]

The mission's population had diminished since Tekouerimat's death during the mid-1660s. After the exulted chief died in 1666, his name became a title, which his relatives passed to the war chief Negaskouat through a formal ceremony at Kamiskaouangachit in 1668. The Algonquins and Montagnais people sought to reaffirm the alliance that the first Tekouerimat had struck with them during the late 1640s and early 1650s. His namesake died shortly thereafter from an illness that swept the lower Saint Lawrence Valley during the late 1660s. The title passed to Charles, son of the first Tekouerimat, who removed permanently with most of the village to Tadoussac, another mission near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. Figure 5 illustrates the sharp drop in the number of baptisms that priests performed at Kamiskaouangachit after 1663. That decline in population derived from the impact of diseases and alcohol as well as an exodus by many families seeking better hunting opportunities downriver. Algonquins and Montagnais continued visiting

[56] *JRAD*, 60: 231-43.

Kamiskaouangachit during their seasonal migrations, mostly to fish for the eels teeming in the nearby bay. By the early 1670s, Kamiskaouangachit resembled a seasonal fishing village once again.[57]

Figure 5 – Baptisms at Kamiskaouangachit, 1652-1672

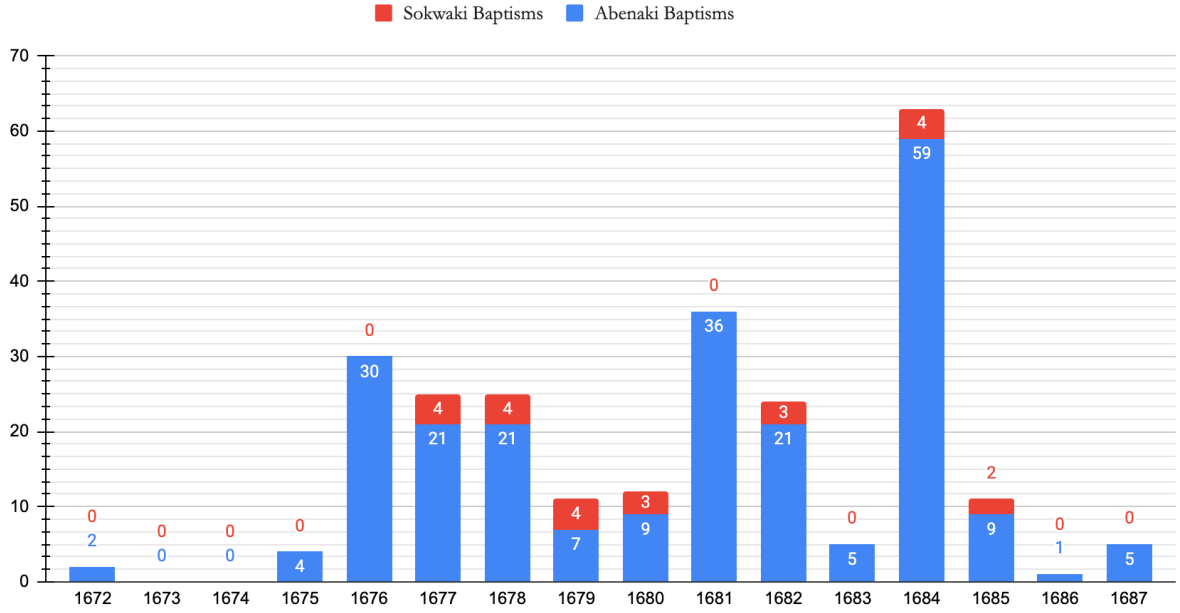


The Algonquins and Montagnais remaining at Kamiskaouangachit welcomed their old Abenaki and Sokwakiiak allies to the village. By October of 1676, nearly 150 Abenakis and about 20 Sokwakiiak had found sanctuary there. According to the priest Thierry Beschefer, they were "received with joy at Sillery, where they were adopted by the Algonquins who were still there in small numbers." Among the people who "adopted" the Abenakis and Sokwakiiak was Marie-Françoise Tekouerimanskoué, the original Tekouerimat's wife, who served as *galnakad* to five Abenaki and Sokwakiiak people after their arrival. Like her husband had with the first Abenaki settlers during the late 1640s, she held them in her arms during their baptisms and as kin ever after. Following her husband's death and the departure of her son Charles Tekouerimat,

[57] For a history of the title "Tekouerimat," see Sylvie Savoie and Jean Tanguay, "Le Nœud de l'ancienne Amitié. La Présence Abénaquise Sur La Rive Nord Du Saint-Laurent Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles," *Recherches Amérindiennes Au Québec* 33, no. 2 (2003): 29–43; Data for "Baptisms at Ka-Miskaouangachit, 1652-1672" from Hébert, *Le Registre de Sillery*.

Tekouerimanskoué was one of the village's most influential elders. She and her kin shared with the Abenakis what food they had, helped them construct cabins, and sowed additional corn, beans, and squash for their women to harvest during the late summer and fall.[58]

Figure 6 – Abenaki and Sokwakiiak Baptisms at Kamiskaouangachit, 1672-1687



The Abenaki population grew quickly at the mission. Figure 6 reveals the sudden influx of Abenaki people at the mission in 1676, when they fled from New England. The baptism figures also illustrate that Abenaki people continued flocking to their kin at Kamiskaouangachit during the late 1670s and early 1680s. In 1683, Abenakis began leaving for a new mission that Jesuits created to replace Kamiskaouangachit, whose fields' depleted soil could not support the growing population. In 1679, the Jesuits had requested funding for the new mission, arguing that "they are great hunters and bring large quantities of pelts to the French" but, as "ancient enemies of the Iroquois," yearned for French protection. During the next four years, Abenakis relocated from Kamiskaouangachit to

[58] *JRAD*, 60: 231-43; Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, *Estat Présent de l'Église et de La Colonie Française Dans La Nouvelle-France*, Reprint (Quebec: J.-B. Rolland et fils, 1856), 68; Hébert, *Le Registre de Sillery*, 248, 255, 259, 275, 286.

Saint Francois de Sales opposite Quebec at the confluence of the Chaudière and Saint Lawrence Rivers. The Abenakis called this new village *msakkikkan*, "great planting," referring to the vast new fields the Jesuits had secured for the mission.[59]

In a stark reversal from their policy since the 1630s, French officials encouraged Abenaki resettlement near Quebec, hoping to replace the allies that they had lost when Charles Tekouerimat withdrew from Kamiskaouangachit. In early 1684, the Governor of New France Joseph-Antoine Lefèbre de La Barre learned that Seneca warriors had attacked a French outpost in the Illinois Country, and he vowed to retaliate by launching a raid of his own. At La Barre's request, the Abenaki's missionary Jacques Bigot dispatched a chief "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 Kamiskaouangachit and Msakkikan with their wives and children. More than one hundred people arrived at Kamiskaouangachit during the spring of 1684, an influx reflected by the sharp increase in the number of baptisms that year.[60]

Ironically, Abenaki warriors bent on vengeance against the Rotinonhsón:ni joined war parties that also included some Kahnawa'kehrón:on who had recently departed from the Mohawk Valley. During the summer of 1683, rumors swirled at Kahnawà:ke that French soldiers planned on attacking the Rotinonhsón:ni. Chiefs from the village reported to La Barre that 150 of their warriors had volunteered to help the French, explaining that, "having but one and the same faith with the French, they wished also to run the same risks together." La Barre welcomed the unexpected allies, having assumed they would refuse any invitations pitting them against their Rotinonhsón:ni kin. But

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[59] *Collection de Manuscrits Contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et Autres Documents Historiques Relatifs à La Nouvelle-France (CMNF)* (Quebec: Imprimerie A. Coté et Cie, 1884), 272–73; de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, *Estat Présent de l'Église et de La Colonie Française Dans La Nouvelle-France*, 68; Campeau, "Msakkikkan Ou La Première Mission de Saint-François-de-Sales."

[60] Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 161; *JRAD*, 47: 137-139, 279; 63: 55-63.

the French component of the expedition bogged down near Oswego, on Lake Ontario's marshy southeastern shore, so La Barre called off the invasion. The debacle cost him his position and boosted the confidence of Rotinonhsón:ni warriors, who had fled before the French infantry during their 1666 invasion of the Mohawk Valley. However, the missionary among the Kahnawa'kehrón:on, Claude Chauchetière, viewed the collaboration of his new converts as a triumph for God and the king. In his journal from 1684, Chauchetière mused exuberantly, "Who would ever have supposed that the faith and religion had so thoroughly united them with the French as to cause them to take arms against the Iroquois and their own nation?"[61]

By the mid-1680s, officials in New France had begun amassing Native allies along the Lake Champlain and Saint Lawrence River Valleys. Shortly after La Barre's replacement Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville arrived in Quebec in 1685, he announced that "Nothing is more important than to induce Indians to live among the French," citing the recent successes of the Abenakis at Kamiskaouangachit and Kahnawa'kehrón:on at Kahnawà:ke. When Denonville took office, Kahnawà:ke hosted about 680 people, as populous as the largest Kanien'kehá:ka village and at least twice the size of their smaller three. Hundreds of Abenakis and Sokwakiiak also resided at Msakikkan, Kamiskaouangachit, and smaller settlements along the Saint Lawrence River. One bishop at Notre Dame de Quebec observed that, by the mid-1680s, "God substituted the Abenakis" in the place of the Algonquins and Montagnais who had formerly inhabited the French missions. Jesuits also pushed south into Sokwakiiak country, establishing a mission at *mazipskoik* (which the French called "Missisquoi") on Lake Champlain's northeast shore. Although Jesuits abandoned the mission after only a few years for lack of funding, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and English officials feared it signaled future French designs to settle the Champlain Valley.[62]

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[61] Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 161; *JRAD*, 63: 241-43.
[62] *NYCD*, 9: 276-77; 13: 496-497; Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 155; de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, *Estat Présent de l'Église et de La Colonie Française Dans La Nouvelle-France*, 68; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 86.

In response, the English Governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, continued Andros's policy of resettling Native allies on that colony's frontier. In July 1685, 150 Abenakis appeared in Albany, where they asked Dongan and his Kanien'kehá:ka brethren for permission to settle at Schaghticoke, pledging "that we should nott be North Indians any longer." During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English officials labeled as "North Indians" all peoples who lived along the upper Connecticut River, Champlain Valley, and Saint Lawrence River missions. The band had likely come from Kamiskaouangachit or Msakkikkan, where they ran afoul of French creditors after losing their pelts to Kanien'kehá:ka raiding parties. For protection against both, the Abenakis vowed to serve as dutiful children in the Covenant Chain and to persuade their kin to abandon New France's missions and join them at Schaghticoke. By relocating Native peoples of Quebec and northern New England to Schaghticoke, English officials and Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs sought to bolster their own frontiers and frustrate French designs for expanding south of the Saint Lawrence River. [63]

By the 1680s, Native worlds had fractured anew. Abenakis and Sokwakiiak were divided between the French mission villages and Schaghticoke, while the Kanien'kehá:ka were split between the Mohawk Valley and Kahnawà:ke. In New France, Abenakis, Sokwakiiak, and Kahnawa'kehrón:on embraced Christianity, a common identity which transcended their previous rivalries. To the south at Schaghticoke, Abenakis and Sokwakiiak clasped the Covenant Chain, a powerful alliance system which subordinated them to Kanien'kehá:ka and English "fathers." When imperial wars began spilling over into North America during the late 1680s, French and English officials intensified their competition for these allies, whom they deemed vital for consolidating control over the contested New York and Quebec borderlands.

[63] Lawrence H Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723* (Gettysburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956), 77–79, 95–96.

- Chapter 4 -

Subjects or Friends: Imperial Wars in Native Homelands, 1687-1727

This chapter traces the transformative years between 1688 and 1727, when the dynastic struggles of competing empires radiated out from European courts and plunged New York, New England, and New France into two global imperial wars. During this violent period, French and English colonial officials mapped their imperial contests over the precolonial rivalry between the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki, with devastating consequences for the Native peoples whose homelands the Europeans fought to control. The Kanien'kehá:ka saw their population plummet from about 2,000 people during the late 1670s to fewer than 600 by the 1720s, a startling decline of about 70 percent that strained their claimed supremacy over the region's Native peoples. The weaker they grew, the greater their reliance on the fiction of the Covenant Chain. Flattering the Kanien'kehá:ka as "brothers" of the English colonial governments and "fathers" of Native peoples spanning from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic coast, the Covenant Chain conferred on them political influence disproportionate to their military strength. Because the English asserted control over the territory their brethren claimed by conquest, colonial officials indulged the advantageous fiction of Kanien'kehá:ka dominance. The Kanien'kehá:ka could maintain control over their land, hunting territories, and trading partnerships by preserving their privileged status in the Covenant Chain. However, lacking sufficient strength to subdue their Native rivals as dutiful "children," the Kanien'kehá:ka risked exposing the chain's fiction, and thereby losing their credibility with both allies and enemies.[1]

The French valued Abenakis as allies in war, defensive screens for French settlements, and also the rightful owners of homelands whose legitimate territorial claims could block English settler

[1] Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations."

expansion into New France. Embracing any one of these roles put the other two in jeopardy. Fighting in the imperial wars diminished the Abenakis' population, thereby jeopardizing their ability to defend their villages and hunting territories. However, by asserting their own sovereignty, the Abenakis invited violent retribution by English officials who coveted their land and Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs who deemed the Abenakis their subordinates.

The chapter follows the intertwined lives of two Native leaders, Grey Lock, an Abenaki or Sokwakii, and Hendrick, of the Kanien'kehá:ka, as they navigated the overlapping imperial and Native rivalries. 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 overlapping homelands they had contested for centuries. Although Hendrick had mixed Algonquian and Iroquoian ancestry, he embraced fully his Kanien'kehá:ka identity and his people's supremacy in the Covenant Chain. Born during the 1680s, he had grown up hearing stories of the Kanien'kehá:ka's triumphs over their Wendat and Algonquin foes, but he came of age when his people's population, military strength, and political influence were in decline.

Hendrick yearned to reclaim their fading power, but faced a formidable rival in Grey Lock of the western Abenakis. He was probably born in New France or western New England during the early 1680s and grew up at Schaghticoke, the village that New York officials reserved for the Algonquian refugees of King Philip's War. During the early eighteenth century, Grey Lock's family band probably relocated to the central Mohawk Valley at the invitation of Hendrick, strengthening the young Kanien'kehá:ka war chief's control over the people he deemed "children" within the Covenant Chain. But Grey Lock exploited the escalating imperial rivalry between the French and English by removing to the ancient Sokwakii village of Missisquoi in 1709. From that northern refuge, he waged a war of resistance against the British officials and Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs who claimed dominion over his people and homelands.

***Agômenoki* ("The land on the other side") & *Skaniatará:ti* ("The other side of the water")**

Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka people conceived of Europe as a distant and vague land. The Jesuit priest living among the Kennebec Abenakis Sebastien Rasles recorded that their word for Europe was "Agañmen8kki [agômenoki]," which conveys "the land on the other side." No Abenaki people had ever set foot in continental Europe, and the last to see England were Assecomoit and his four fellow captives taken by Thomas Weymouth in 1605, all long dead by the late 1680s. For the generations of Abenaki people who lived after them, Europe existed beyond the edge of their world, from which a seemingly endless stream of settlers had come. Kanien'kehá:ka people had a similar name for Europe: *Skaniatará:ti*, "the other side of the water," an unknown land beyond a vast ocean none of their people had ever crossed.[2]

During the 1680s, King Louis XIV of France adopted a policy of aggressive territorial expansion, extending France's eastern frontiers by annexing territories and stationing soldiers along contested borders. Fearful of Louis's unchecked expansion, English, Dutch, and Austrian monarchs formed the League of Augsburg to contest French territorial ambitions. During the fall of 1688 and winter of 1689, members of the League of Augsburg declared war on France, turning Europe into a battlefield. The conflict spread quickly from the place Abenakis and Kanien'kehá:ka called *Agômenoki* and *Skaniatará:ti*, engulfing their own homelands in war as officials in New France, New England, and New York rallied in defense of their king and his North American imperial possessions. Colonial officials expected their Native allies would join the wars by furnishing warriors, raiding enemy supply lines, and guiding troops through the dense forests of their homelands.[3]

Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs believed the war would revive and enhance their privileged position within the Covenant Chain, a status they feared New York officials had forgotten. During a

[2] Rasles, *Rasles's Abenaki Dictionary*, 447; Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 51.
[3] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 92; P. Whitney Lackenbauer et al., *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Government of Canada Publications, Department of National Defense, 2010), 39.

conference with the Rotinonhsón:ni in the fall of 1688, the Governor of New York Thomas Dongan addressed them as his "Children," thereby elevating New York above them in the alliance they had forged together as equals. Chafing at this slight, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs reminded Dongan that the English and Kanien'kehá:ka had always called each other "Brethren" and insisted he continue following the protocol. Instead, Dongan admonished, "Yow take notice of the word Brethren and Children, but leave it to mee: they are both words of relation and friendship, but Children the nearer." Although Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs let the matter rest, they worried that their demotion from "brother" to "child" would weaken their influence over the Native peoples they claimed as children. With only about 270-300 warriors by the late 1680s, the Kanien'kehá:ka wielded power by projecting figmentary strength: English officials courted them because of their fearsome reputation among Native peoples, but Kanien'kehá:ka warriors maintained that reputation by threatening violence they could not exact without English allies or the firearms they provided. Because these fictions were mutually-dependent, the Kanien'kehá:ka were only as strong as their allies and enemies believed them to be.[4]

To remind New York officials of their value as allies, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs flexed their power over their "children" at Schaghticoke. During a July 1689 conference between New York, the Kanien'kehá:ka, and the Schaghticoke people, the Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs confirmed their warriors would take up the axe against the French, a metaphor the Rotinonhsón:ni used to convey their willingness to fight alongside, but not for, their friends and allies. Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs also instructed the Schaghticoke people to cut off any diplomatic relations with their Abenaki kin in the Saint Lawrence Valley or northern New England. Instead, they were to seize and deliver to the Kanien'kehá:ka any "Canada Priest-ridden Indians" that sought haven in their village. However, the

[4] Brodhead, Fernow, and O'Callaghan, *NYCD*, 3: 559-60; for population and warrior estimates, see Table C.4 in Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*.

Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs allowed, "if any of the Praying Indians who are their Tributarys should come that way in order to return to them they may have Liberty." The Kanien'kehá:ka had not claimed the Abenakis as dependent tributaries since 1660. In a move to shore up their reputation among English officials as the dominant Native people in the Northeast, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs reasserted their supremacy over the Kennebec Abenakis.[5]

However, adoptive Abenakis and Sokwakiiak stymied Kanien'kehá:ka attempts to impose their authority over their old Kennebec rivals. In August of 1689, a party of four Kennebec Abenakis visited Schaghticoke surreptitiously, inviting their kin to resettle in Canada or northern New England. When Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs learned that their Schaghticoke children were hosting Abenaki diplomats against their explicit prohibition, a party of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors broke up the council but felt obliged to let the Abenaki diplomats go home without incident. When Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs met with Albany officials a few days later, they explained, "These 4 onagongues would have been delivered up to the English, but were prevented by some of the principal Warriors of the 1 and 2d Castle who were their Relations[,] being the offspring of the Onagongues." These warriors had probably been taken captive by the Kanien'kehá:ka during King Philip's War, adopted into a clan, longhouse, and family, and raised with all the rights afforded kin. Despite their integration into Kanien'kehá:ka society, these young men felt an enduring affinity with the kin that they had been taught to regard as *kanaskwokonha*, dogs.[6]

After the embarrassing incident at Schaghticoke, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs feared widespread disloyalty among their adoptive Abenaki kin. In September of 1689, diplomats from Massachusetts met with Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs in Albany, extending to their warriors a hatchet for an attack against the Abenaki people who, officials feared, could easily raid the English settlements along the coast.

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[5] Daniel K. Richter, ed., *Rediscovered Links in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes, 1677-1691* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1982), 80.
[6] Richter, 81–82.

At the public council, the Kanien'kehá:ka rebuffed the hatchet and announced they would only accept it if the Abenakis struck the first blow. In a private conference that evening with the Massachusetts officials, however, a smaller delegation of Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and warriors disclosed that they had already begun planning a raid against the Abenakis and Penacooks, contrary to their earlier response. The chiefs explained, "Wee were not willing to Speak this Last Proposition in the Eye of all the People for this Reason, lest by some falsehearted Persones our Design should be carried to our Enemies before we have Effected our Bussinesse or Enterprise."

With adoptive Abenakis accounting for some of the most influential warriors in two of their three principal villages, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs and clan mothers would dispatch only young men without Abenaki kinship ties for the expedition. Before the Kanien'kehá:ka mustered these warriors, an Abenaki and French war party captured Fort Pemaquid on the Penobscot River and torched every English village north of Casco Bay, another setback for the Kanien'kehá:ka people hoping to redeem their superior status in the Covenant Chain alliance.[7]

* * *

When officials in New France learned about the declaration of war in Europe, they secured their own settlements by concentrating Abenaki peoples in nearby mission villages. In his 1689 report to King Louis XIV, the Governor of New France Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville observed that the Abenakis "will be very useful to the French Colony, especially if they are prevailed on to come settle at the new mission of Saint François de Sales." Established in 1686 on the Chaudière River, a tributary of the Saint Lawrence River opposite Quebec, Saint François de Sales replaced the Kamiskaouangachit mission. By 1689, the village hosted a permanent population of about 600 people, mostly Abenakis and Sokwakiiak along with the Montagnais and Algonquins who had remained at Kamiskaouangachit instead of removing to Tadoussac with the rest of their people

[7] Leder, *Livingston Indian Records*, 149–50.

during the 1660s and 1670s. Denonville reasoned that the Kanien'kehá:ka and other Rotinonhsón:ni warriors would concentrate their attacks against the Abenaki village, diverting the invaders from Quebec. Denonville also expected that Abenaki warriors would use the village as a staging ground to attack the Kanien'kehá:ka in the Champlain Valley and English colonists on the Atlantic coast.[8]

French officials courted Abenaki allies with gifts, a crucial protocol of Native diplomacy that maintained bonds between friends and kin. Figure 7 lists the presents that French officials disbursed to their Abenaki allies on behalf of King Louis XIV in 1692, 1693, 1694, and 1696, the years for which records survive. In 1692, officials distributed an array of goods that Abenaki people had incorporated into their everyday lives: rice, plums, and flour; knives, fishing line, and kettles; ice-axes and pick-axes used during winter beaver hunts; hats, stockings, duffel blankets, and shirts; French cloth and yarn; tobacco, vermillion, and glass beads used for fashioning wampum belts; guns, shot, and powder. Figured according to 1689 Montreal prices, the powder, guns, and lead alone would have cost Abenaki hunters nearly 1,600 beaver pelts. By reducing the burden on hunters when intercolonial warfare turned hunting grounds into battlefields, French diplomatic gifts kept Abenaki people warm and fed, the obligations expected of kin.[9]

However, King Louis XIV regarded the gifts as payments binding the Abenakis to military service. In 1693, French ministers reported to officials in New France "that it was necessary, when distributing presents to the Indians of Acadia, to agree with them on their enterprises and the time they should them carry out." Louis had grown frustrated by the financial burden of gifts that had delivered few results since the seizure of the New England garrison at Pemaquid during the first months of the war. He expected colonial officials and Abenaki chiefs to set a firm schedule for the year's campaigns against the English and their Native allies. Only after agreeing to those terms

[8] *NYCD*, 9: 438, 440–41.
[9] *NYCD*, 4: 408.

Figure 7 - Gifts Distributed to Abenakis (1692, 1693, 1694, 1696)[10]

	1692[11]	1693[12]			1694[13]			1696[14]		
	Total	*Chiefs*	*Village*	Total	*Chiefs*	*Village*	Total	*Chiefs*	*Village*	Total
Powder (lbs)	**2,200**	*550*	*2,200*	**2,750**	*[550]*	*2,200*	**2,750**	*550*	*2,200*	**2,750**
Shot (lbs)	**1,620**	---	*6,500*	**6,500**	---	*5,400*	**5,400**	---	*6,500*	**6,500**
Guns	**74**	*5*	*30*	**35**	*[5]*	*60*	**65**	*5*	*60*	**65**
Powder Horns	**50**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Bayonets	**24**	*5*	*30*	**35**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Tomahawks	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	*200*	**200**	---	---	**---**
Knives	**288**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Ice Axes	**30**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Pick Axes	**18**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Fishing Lines	**60**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Kettles	**75**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Tobacco (lbs)	**270**	---	*270*	**270**	---	*432*	**432**	---	*216*	**216**
Beads (lbs)	**50**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Vermillion (lbs)	**4**	---	---	**---**	---	*9*	**9**	---	---	**---**
Plums (lbs)	**400**	---	*108*	**108**	---	---	**---**	---	*800*	**800**
Flour (lbs)	**3,840**	---	*2,880*	**2,880**	---	---	**---**	---	*1,440*	**1,440**
Rice (lbs)	**430**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Wine (gal)	**480**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Shirts	**73**	*10*	*60*	**70**	*[10]*	*200*	**210**	*10*	*100*	**110**
Hats	**6**	*10*	---	**10**	*[5]*	---	**5**	*5*	---	**5**
Blankets	**20**	*5*	---	**5**	*[5]*	---	**5**	*5*	---	**5**
Stockings (pair)	**6**	*10*	---	**10**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Cloth (yards)	**200**	---	*66*	**66**	---	---	**---**	---	---	**---**
Yarn (lbs)	**120**	---	*11*	**11**	---	---	**---**	---	*22*	**22**
Thread (lbs)	**---**	---	*32*	**32**	---	---	**---**	---	*50*	**50**
Feathers (tufts)	**---**	---	---	**---**	---	*200*	**200**	---	---	**---**

[10] I have standardized the original units of measure found in the documents by making the following conversions: 1 *livre* = 1.079 lbs; 1 barrel = 1 *quintal* = 100 *livres* = 108 lbs; 1 role (of tobacco) = 250 *livres*; 1 *quart* = .5 *barriques* = 30 US gallons; 1 gallon of flour = 8 lbs; 1 gallon of plums = 6.6 lbs; 1 ell = 1.25 yards.

[11] French officials did not distinguish between gifts for chiefs and the rest of the village until 1693; *CMNF*, 2: 73-74.

[12] *CMNF*, 2: 111.

[13] 1694 records list only gifts disbursed to the village, but do not include the presents delivered to the chiefs. For gifts distributed to chiefs in the same amount in both 1693 and 1696, I assume they also delivered that amount in 1694. *NYCD*, 9: 577.

[14] *CMNF*, 2: 206.

would Abenakis receive their presents, which had begun resembling payments to mercenaries more than gifts upholding the obligations of kin. Louis also ordered officials in New France to allocate the majority of the annual gift budget to munitions. After 1692, the only goods that Abenakis could count on receiving each spring were guns, powder, shot, shirts, tobacco, and flour. However, the quantity of each item fluctuated from one year to the next, their availability dependent on the competing demands of the French Army stationed in Europe and the imperial Navy roving the Atlantic. The annual gifts kept warriors armed but did little to feed or clothe their families.[15]

To encourage the Abenakis to use the king's gifts for fighting France's enemies instead of hunting, French officials set a bounty on Rotinonhsón:ni scalps and prisoners. According to King Louis XIV's 1694 dispatch to the Governor of New France Louis de Buade, comte de Frontenac, Abenaki warriors would receive "ten écus for each Iroquois that is killed and every Squaw [woman] that is taken prisoner" and "20 écus for every male Iroquois prisoner." Military officials valued adult male captives most highly, for they could provide intelligence about English troop movements or Native war parties setting out against Montreal. Also called the "Louis d'Argent," 1 *écu* was worth 3 *livres*, yielding a bounty of 30-60 *livres* per scalp or captive. By comparison, the average laborer in New France earned about 1.33 *livres* per day during the 1690s. Therefore, an enemy scalp bore the value of nearly 23 days of labor and a male captive the equivalent of more than 45 days of labor. Abenaki families could use the money earned from scalp bounties to buy the cloth, food, cooking utensils, and other tools they needed to survive, a macabre variation of the capitalistic system introduced to them during the 1620s. Instead of hunting beavers whose pelts they could exchange for European goods, Abenakis hunted the Rotinonhsón:ni men and women whose scalps the French valued more highly during the war.[16]

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[15] *CMNF*, 2: 123; *NYCD*, 9: 506.
[16] *NYCD*, 9: 590-91; *CMNF*, 2 :73-74; Guy Antonetti, "Du louis à l'assignat" in Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, ed., *D'or et d'argent: La Monnaie En France Du Moyen Age à Nos Jours*, Histoire Économique et

Eager for bounties and revenge against old enemies, Abenaki warriors launched devastating raids against the Kanien'kehá:ka. In February 1693, about eighty Abenaki and Sokwakii warriors joined the French invasion of the Mohawk valley. Spearheaded by 425 French and Canadian troops, the expedition razed three principal villages, Caughnawaga, Canagora, and Tionnontogen. The raiders also destroyed the food caches that Kanien'kehá:ka women had prepared for the winter. The terrified villagers fled before the advancing French and Native war party, scattering as some sought shelter with their Oneida kin and others found refuge among the Kahnawa'kehrón:on. French officials reported killing 20 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors and capturing dozens more men, women, and children. When Kanien'kehá:ka people straggled back to their valley after the 1693 raid, they consolidated the survivors into two so-called "castles," Tiononderoge, about twenty-five miles west of Schenectady on the Mohawk River, and Canajoharie, another twenty-four miles upriver. Abenakis and Sokwakiiak continued harassing the resettled Kanien'kehá:ka, earning more than 6,300 *livres* in bounty payments by the summer of 1695, indicating they had delivered to the French as many as 105 adult captives or 210 scalps. Although Abenakis took captives and scalps from the other Rotinonhsón:ni peoples and likely the English as well, the beleaguered Kanien'kehá:ka bore the brunt of the incursions.[17]

Conversely, Rotinonhsón:ni and English invasions of the Saint Lawrence Valley ended disastrously for the Kanien'kehá:ka. Officials in New York and New England planned an expedition against Montreal to take place during the fall of 1690, inviting their Rotinonhsón:ni allies to join what they promised would be an easy opportunity to raise scalps and take captives. However, New

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Financière - XIXe-XXe (Vincennes, France: Institut de la gestion publique et du développement économique, Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, 2005), 17–33; for information about wages and prices in New France, see Vincent Geloso, "The Seeds of Divergence: The Economy of French North America, 1688 to 1760" (Dissertation, London, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2016), 77, http://www.ssrn.com/abstract=2899723.

[17] Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 48; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 95; *NYCD*, 9: 550, 557. 590-91; Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations"; William M. Beauchamp, "Indian Raids in the Mohawk Valley," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 14 (1915): 198.

England officials sent only a fraction of the militia that they had promised, and a smallpox epidemic in the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida countries kept their warriors at home. To salvage something from the expedition, John Schuyler led a Kanien'kehá:ka and English raid against La Prairie, killing fifty French farmers and slaughtering their livestock. Kanien'kehá:ka warriors also burnt the abandoned cabins of a small Sokwakii village about sixty miles to the north, at the confluence of the Saint François and Saint Lawrence Rivers. Emboldened by these victories, a force of 120 New Yorkers, 80 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, and 66 Schaghticokes launched another attack against La Prairie the next year. They killed about ninety French soldiers but sustained similar casualties during a bloody retreat. In December 1691, when Kanien'kehá:ka warriors sought revenge for their slain kin, they encountered a larger party of Abenakis and Sokwakiiak patrolling Lake Champlain's northern shore. At least fifteen Kanien'kehá:ka warriors died in the battle that followed. As a warning to future intruders, Abenaki warriors displayed their enemies' severed heads (absent their scalps) around the island, which bore thereafter the name *odepsek*, "where their heads are." From about 270-300 warriors in 1689, the Kanien'kehá:ka could only muster about 130 warriors after the fall of 1691, a stunning decline of more than 50 percent.[18]

* * *

When news reached Quebec during the fall of 1697 that the Treaty of Ryswick had ended the war, Governor Frontenac, encouraged the Abenakis to make peace with their Native rivals. In 1700, Frontenac's successor, Louis-Hector, chevalier de Callieres, met with an Abenaki chief named Haouatchouath, who confirmed that, although Onontiio had taken the axe from their hands, "the first who will raise it against you, we will raise it against him." Haouatchouath was probably the same person whose name French observers recorded as "8takamachi8enon [Outakamachiouenon]" in

[18] Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, 1, 25; "Place Names as Ethnohistoric Data" in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*; William J. Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1964), 179; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 166–67, 173.

other documents, a chief who also bore the ceremonial title "Thékouerimat," referring to the departed Montagnais chief of Kamiskaouangachit who had brought the Abenakis into league with the French and united the Kennebecs, Sokwakiiak, Penacooks, Pocumtucs, and Mahicans against the Kanien'kehá:ka during the 1640s and 1650s.[19]

Outakamachiouenon and his people inhabited a new mission village called Saint François, which had replaced Saint François de Sale during the late 1690s. Jesuits established the mission on the site of the old Sokwakii village the Kanien'kehá:ka had burnt during their 1690 invasion, which the former inhabitants called *Alsigôntegw*, "The empty cabin river." By 1700, however, the river of "empty cabins" hosted a bustling village of about 500 people. Around this time, Jesuits also formed another Abenaki mission village called Wôlinak on the Bécancour River, which enters the Saint Lawrence from the south opposite Trois Rivières. Although Sokwakii, Algonquin, Montagnais, Penacook, and other Algonquian-speaking peoples joined their Abenaki kin at these villages, European records refer to all peoples inhabiting Alsigôntegok and Wôlinak as Abenakis thereafter.[20]

However, in October 1700, Kanien'kehá:ka diplomats reported to New York officials that the Abenakis had submitted to them in the Covenant Chain and ceded their homelands to the Rotinonhsón:ni. According to the Kanien'kehá:ka, Abenaki chiefs had proclaimed, "To call you Bretheren is nothing in comparison to Father, therefore wee take you as Fathers & heartily desire in behalf of our Five Castles call'd Ouwerage, Ossaghrage, y Third Castle ye name forgot, Onnagongwe & Unyjaware, that the bounds of ye Five Nations may be reckoned from ye outermost of our said Castles." Figure 8 reconstructs the names of the Abenaki villages as they were known to Kanien'kehá:ka people. During their conference with the Albany officials, the Kanien'kehá:ka diplomats numbered the Abenaki "castles" from the *Owerà:ke*, or Penacook, to a people they called

[19] Claude-Charles Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (Paris, France: Chez Jean-Luc Nion ... et François Didot, 1722), 4: 251-52; Lozier, "In Each Other's Arms," 261.
[20] Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, 1–6.

the *Unyjaware*. Most likely reconstructed as *Onnhia'aweron*, the Kanien'kéha name of the outermost Abenaki village translates, "thick point of land, cape," an apt description of the Penobscot peninsula, where Abenakis from the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers fished, collected eels, and traded with the English at the nearby fort which Kanien'kehá:ka warriors had raided during the spring of 1662. Therefore, the document reveals that the Kanien'kehá:ka diplomats recalled the five Abenaki villages from the west to east, claiming all the people and land between. According to the Kanien'keká:ka messengers, they had finally subordinated the Abenakis, a dream they had held since the 1650s.[21]

Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs sought to project their strength to the English officials who had reprimanded them in August 1700 for failing to quell the outmigration of their people from the Mohawk Valley to Kahnawà:ke during the war. The total population of Kanien'kehá:ka people left in their homeland had diminished from about 1,100 people before the war to approximately 620 afterwards, a nearly 45 percent decline. When English officials assessed the fighting strength of their allies at the end of the war, they counted only 110 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, revealing the loss of another 20 of their young men between 1691 and 1697. Their Schaghticoke children had fared even worse during the war: their population of warriors fell by more than 64 percent, from about 250 young men in 1689 to around 90 by 1697. During a conference with the Kanien'kehá:ka in August of 1700, the Governor of New York Rirchard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, reproached the chiefs, "I have been much surpris'd to hear what artifices the French of Canada have us'd to deceive and seduce you from your obedience to the Great King my master." He then instructed them to do everything within their power to recover their kin who had left the Mohawk Valley for Kahnawà:ke. Unable to persuade their own resettled people to return, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs offered to Bellomont the eastern Abenaki bands as new "children" in the Covenant Chain.[22]

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[21] *NYCD*, 4: 758-59.
[22] Snow, "Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations," 164; *NYCD*, 4: 337, 727–28.

Figure 8 – Identity of the "Five Castles" of the Abenakis (October 7, 1700)

Name Recorded in Document[23]	Corresponding Forms in other Records	Reconstruction[24]	Meaning	Identity
Ouwerage	Ouragies [25] Aurages Owaragees Uragees Aorage	Owerà:ke	At the thundering place	Penacook
Ossaghrage	---	Ohsakarà:ke	At the river's mouth	[Pigwacket] [Narakamigou] [Ameseconti]
ye name forgot **[Kuessowanne]** [26]	--- Kuessowanne	--- Kwisowanen	--- Great ice	[Pigwacket] [Narakamigou] [Ameseconti]
Onnongangwe	Onakongue [27] Onnogonges [28] Unagoungas [29] Owanagonga[30]	Ona'konke	In the east, toward the sea	Kennebec
Unyjaware	Onjanawarea[31]	Onnhia'aweron	Thick point of land, cape	Penobscot

[23] *NYCD*, 4: 758.
[24] All reconstructions by the author.
[25] For the forms "Ouragies," "Aurages," "Owaragees," "Uragees," "Aorage," see Gordon Day, "The Ouragie War: A Case History in Iroquois-New England Indian Relations," Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, eds., *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 50.
[26] In 1723, Hendrick mentioned "three Several [Abenaki] Castles named by ye Mohoggs Owanagonga, Kuessowanne, Onjanawarea." "Owanagonga" comports with "Onnongangwe" from the 1700 document and "Onjanawarea" with "Unyjaware." The placename "Kuessowanne" appears in no other surviving documents, but was apparently an Abenaki village known to the Kanien'kehá:ka during the early eighteenth century, making it the most likely candidate for unidentified village (i.e. "ye name forgot") in the 1700 document, see: Ann H. Hunter, ed., "The Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany in Chronological Order, 1723-1755," 2019, 1: 32, Minutes of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, 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," https://thecommissionersformanagingtheindianaffairsatalbany.files.wordpress.com/2019/05/aic_recordbooks-chronorder1723-1755.pdf.
[27] *NYCD*, 13: 297-98.
[28] *NYCD*, 13: 379-80.
[29] *NYCD*, 13: 519-20.
[30] "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 1: 32.
[31] "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 1: 32.

By acquiescing to these Kanien'kehá:ka pretensions, Abenaki chiefs sought to induce French officials into resuming the gift payments they had ended after the declaration of peace. During the war, King Louis XIV had often complained to his ministers about the expense of these presents, resenting that the Abenakis felt entitled to his generosity. He had suspended the bounties for scalps and prisoners when hostilities began winding down in 1696. After the proclamation of peace the next year, Louis reduced the Abenakis' annual gift fund by nearly 90 percent, from 4,000 to 450 *livres*, and only authorized presents for the principal chiefs of the Penacook, Pigwacket, Narakamigou, Ameseconti, Kennebec, and Penobscot peoples. In 1699, those presents amounted collectively to "twelve hats trimmed with feathers of all colors, twelve lace shirts, and weapons of the best quality." Lacking coercive authority, Abenaki chiefs won followers by redistributing the meat, furs, and material goods they acquired, which demonstrated their power to manipulate the spirits and other-than-human beings Abenakis relied on for their survival. The sudden reduction of gifts diminished a vital source of chiefly authority and threatened the social cohesion of villages as each family and band jostled for access to European goods. In a bid to correct the French officials' lapse of diplomatic protocol, Abenaki chiefs reminded them not to take their friendship for granted. They accepted the Kanienke'há:ka chiefs' overtures and awaited the response of French officials who dreaded losing their closest allies to the English.[32]

Eager to impress King William III and enrich himself, Bellomont took credit for brokering the dubious agreement. On October 7, 1700, the day he received news from the Kanien'kehá:ka delegation to Albany reporting the Abenakis' submission, Bellomont fired off a flurry of letters to the King and his ministers boasting about the accomplishment that had eluded his predecessors since King Philip's War. He proclaimed to the Lords of Trade that the people of New England would never again live in fear of Abenaki warriors raiding their frontier villages. Bellomont noted,

[32] *NYCD*, 9: 590-91, 701; *CMNF*, 2 : 336-37, 316.

"the King (as well as they) has some obligation to my labour and service therein." Writing to the Secretary of State James Vernon, Bellomont sought a financial reward: "this I cannot but think a very valuable service to England; but for ought I see, I must set a value on my services and recompence 'em myselfe, for any care that's taken of me at home."[33]

Despite the repeated entreaties of New York officials and their Kanien'kehá:ka allies, the Abenakis dragged their feet about actually joining their kin at Schaghticoke, a key provision of their submission. In January 1701, Bellomont reported to the Lords of Trade that, if he could resettle the Abenakis at the village, he would secure their allegiance to the English and Rotinonhsón:ni, and thereby "strengthen our Indians and disappoint the French of those Eastern Indians who were as so many swords in their hands against us." After Bellomont's death in March 1701, New York's acting Governor John Nanfan struggled to fulfill his predecessor's policy of Abenaki resettlement. During a July 1701 conference, he instructed the chiefs at Schaghticoke to "prevaile upon your friends the Pennekooks and other Eastern Indians to come and settle among you," promising to embrace them as a generous father. Apart from the regular visits that Abenaki and Schaghticoke people made to each other's villages, few Abenakis accepted Nanfan's invitation to join their kin near Albany.[34]

With rumors of another European war swirling through the colonies during the spring of 1702, English officials resented the Abenakis' intransigence. In 1700, King Charles II of Spain died without an heir, and ceded the throne to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou. Dreading the union of the French and Spanish crowns, England, the Netherlands, and Austria renewed their alliance and declared war on France in May of 1702. During a July 1702 conference with the Rotinonhsón:ni and Schaghticoke peoples, New York's new governor, an exasperated Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, demanded of the Schaghticokes "to know your Strength, ye condition of your settlements both

[33] *NYCD*, 4: 715, 726, 759.
[34] *NYCD*, 4: 834, 903.

above and beneath this Town, and whether you have increased your number at Scachhook as you designed last year; whether you expect any eastern Indians to joyn you, what may be ye motives to Induce them to come, and the reasons of their staying away." Council protocol dictated that speakers pose one question at a time for the other party to consider and address fully. Cornbury's barrage of questions suggest his deep impatience with the Schaghticoke people and their complicity in what appeared more and more with each passing year like an Abenaki ruse. Cornbury surmised correctly the Abenakis had probably never intended to submit to the Covenant Chain alliance or resettle within New York's jurisdiction.[35]

In a final attempt to bring the Abenakis into submission, Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs dispatched a young man named Hendrick to treat with them, hoping his mixed Kanien'kehá:ka and Algonquian ancestry would make him an effective diplomat. Hendrick's father was Wassewaecke, an Algonquian-speaking man known to Albany officials as "de grijskop [the greyhead]" and who sold peltry to the ambitious merchant Evert Wendell during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Wendell listed Wassewaecke's account in a folio labeled "Wilde Maeheeckanders," in which he recorded transactions with Mahicans and the other Algonquian-speaking peoples living in Schaghticoke. According to Wendell's account books, Wassewaecke hosted and served as a guarantor for an Abenaki man named Nannalamit, with whom he travelled to "Annaekoncoo [*ona'konke*, i.e. the Kennebec River]" during the late 1690s. Wassewaecke was likely a Sokwakii or Abenaki who had settled at Schaghticoke after King Philip's War, where he met and married a Kanien'kehá:ka woman, likely the influential Bear clan woman named Canastasi who had repatriated from Kahna'wá:ke during the late 1680s. Therefore, Hendrick had kinship connections stretching from the Mohawk Valley and Schaghticoke, north to Kahna'wá:ke, and east to Abenaki country. He

[35] Lackenbauer et al., *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military*, 43–44; *NYCD*, 4: 984.

spoke both his ancestral languages fluently, making him an ideal candidate for intercultural diplomacy.[36]

Hendrick was probably the same person referred to by historians as "Hendrick Theyanoguin," the Kanien'kehá:ka's most influential chief and Great Britain's staunchest Native ally during the 1740s and 1750s. Before winning such renown, he frequented Albany to trade with Wendell, who recorded transactions with the young man using both his Dutch and Kanien'ké:ha names: "Hendrick de Willt [Hendrick the Indian]" and "Taijenoekee." Figure 9 shows that "Taijenoekee" is probably Wendell's rendering of the word *Tehaianó:ken*, which is also the likeliest reconstruction of "Theyanoguin" and all other recorded forms of Hendrick's Kanien'kéha name. *Tehaianó:ken* comprises the dualic /*te-*/; the subjective third-person pronominal prefix, /*ha-*/; the noun root /*-ian*/, which means "track, path, or footprint;" and the verb root /*-oken*/, conveying both "to be forking" and "to be merging." Therefore, Tehaianó:ken translates ambiguously as either "his path forks" or "his paths merge," an apt name for a young man born of competing Native worlds and entrusted with uniting them.[37]

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[36] *NYCD*, 4: 995; Kees-Jan Waterman, *"To Do Justice to Him & Myself": Evert Wendell's Account Book of the Fur Trade with Indians in Albany, New York, 1695-1726* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 2008), 114–15; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 26–27.

[37] Recent scholarship has identified and addressed the error introduced by nineteenth-century historians that the Kanien'kehá:ka were led by "King Hendrick," a chief ostensibly born around 1660 and whose diplomatic and military leadership spanned from the 1680s until his death on the battlefield in 1755, at the age of about ninety-five. See Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*; Snow, "Searching for Hendrick." They have argued that instead of a single "King Hendrick" with an implausibly long life and career, two Kanien'kehá:ka chiefs named Hendrick gained prominence during the period: "Tejonihokarawa," a sachem from the wolf clan living at Tiononderoge, and "Theyanoguin," a bear clan chief from Canajoharie. According to Dean Snow, "The problem for historians has been that Tejonihokarawa's career faded in the late 1730s, just as Theyanoguin [Tehaianó:ken] was starting to be noticed by British sources," (Snow, 233). However, their corrective introduced a new error by assuming that any mention of Hendrick in colonial documents before 1735 referred to Tejonihokarawa.

New evidence reveals that Tehaianó:ken had risen to prominence as a translator, diplomat, and trader by 1702, about thirty years before other scholars concluded, conflating his life with Tejonihokarawa's. Crucially, scholars have not considered that Tehaianó:ken spoke both Kanien'kéha and Abenaki (or another closely-related Algonquian language), which he learned from his father, an Algonquian-speaking refugee of King Philip's War inhabiting Schaghticoke. Therefore, the "Hendrick" that served as a translator and diplomat to the Abenaki in 1702, 1722, January 1723, May 1723, and 1744 was probably Tehaianó:ken, see: "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 1: 3-4, 30A; Francis G. Walett, ed., *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, 1739-1744* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1962), 197, https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44525090.pdf. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Tejonihokarawa spoke Abenaki or any other Algonquian languages, making him a poor candidate for translator.

Figure 9 - Linguistic Analysis of *Tehaianó:ken*, Reconstructed from Colonial Records

	MORPHEMIC ANALYSIS				Year Recorded	Colonial Source
	te-	ha-	-ian-	-oken		
Taijenoekee[38]	t	ai	jen	oekee	1705	Dutch
Thoyennoga[39]	t	ho	yenn	oga	1744	English
Thoyennogea[40]	t	ho	yenn	ogea	1744	English
Thejanoguen[41]	t	he	jan	oguen	1747	French
Thoianoguen[42]	t	ho	ian	oguen	1747	French
Toyennoguen[43]	t	o	yenn	oguen	1747	French
Theyanoguin[44]	t	he	yan	oguin	1748	French
Tayanoga[45]	t	a	yan	oga	1756	English

Furthermore, Evert Wendell's recently-published account book from his Albany fur trading operation contains key genealogical evidence about Tehaianó:ken's family. On August 4, 1705, Wendell recorded that "Caeinderonkee and Taijenoekee accepted to pay me for their brother half [of his debt,] the half amounts to: 14 martens And a bearskin Which they must pay at the first opportunity for their brother Aeshentheree." Wendell added another entry immediately below recording, "The wife of Aeshentheree[,] the Greyhead's son[,] Debit 4 martens indebted on a stroud blanket" (*Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 161). Therefore, "Caeinderonkee" and "Taijenoekee" were brothers to Aeshentheree, and all were sons of "the Greyhead," a man identified in other entries as "Wassewaecke" (*Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 114-25). "Taijenoekee" is Tehaianó:ken and "Caeinderonkee" is most likely reconstructed "Kaienterón:kwen," which means, "firewood has been removed, stripped." Both names belong to the Bear clan, of which the figure historians call Hendrick "Theyanoguin" was a member. (For information about which clan a name belongs to, see: Charles Cooke, "Iroquois Personal Names, 1900-1951" (typed manuscript, Philadelphia, PA, n.d.), 263, American Philosophical Society Library, https://search.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.497.3.C772-ead.xml.)

The man known as Kaienterón:kwen also bore the nickname Kaienkwirekowa, "great arrow," a moniker which belonged to the Bear clan (Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 154-57). In his account book, Wendell recorded a transaction with "A Mohawk boy He is Caienkeriekoo's brother[,] his name is in Dutch Aberham," (*Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 124). "Caienkeriekoo" is Kaienkwirekowa, and therefore refers to Kaienterón:kwen. Moreover, during the 1740s and 1750s Abraham Canostens was known to English officials as a religious and political leader – and Hendrick's older brother. Therefore, Hendrick Tehaianó:ken, Kaienterón:kwen/Kaienkwirekowa, and Abraham were brothers, sons of an Algonquian-speaking man named Wassewaecke and a Kanien'kehá:ka woman of the Bear clan. Albany officials had traded with these brothers since about 1702 and entrusted Tehaianó:ken and probably Kaienterón:kwen as diplomats and translators to the Abenakis until their deaths during the mid-eighteenth century.

[38] *Evert Wendell Account Book*, 161.
[39] Walett, *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman,* 197.
[40] Walett, 197.
[41] *NYCD*, 10: 82.
[42] *NYCD*, 10: 82.
[43] *NYCD*, 10: 14.
[44] *NYCD*, 10: 159.
[45] William Johnson, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson (PSWJ)*, ed. James Sullivan et al. (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1921), 9: 357.

Despite his Algonquian ancestry, Hendrick embraced fully his Kanien'kehá:ka identity and his people's supremacy in the Covenant Chain. Because they organized their society matrilineally, his Kanien'kehá:ka kin believed that Hendrick was shaped from the same clay as his mother. Unlike his father Wassewaecke, who belonged to no *otá:ra*, Hendrick inherited a place within the Bear clan and therefore claimed kin in each Rotinonhsón:ni people, village, and longhouse. Emboldened by his kinship network and the Kanien'kehá:ka's privileged position within the Covenant Chain alliance, Hendrick maintained that his people represented "the Heads & Superiors of all Ind[ia]n nations." During a July 1702 conference with New York officials, Hendrick informed Cornbury that the Abenakis had tried withdrawing their submission, desiring instead "to be received as Brethren." Hendrick promised to free the Abenakis of such a pretension by reminding them "that they should be received as Children in ye Covenant Chain."[46]

By August of 1702, news had reached Albany that England had declared war on France in May, resuming the imperial conflict that embroiled New France, New England, New York, and Native peoples. Hendrick abandoned his diplomatic mission to the Abenakis after learning that their chiefs had already arrived at Schaghticoke, seeking to draw their kin north to Saint-François or the Kennebec River, where Onontí:io would offer them land and protection. In late August of 1702, Hendrick passed through Albany, where he informed New York officials that his people's new priority was preventing their Schaghticoke "children" from defecting to the Abenaki villages in Acadia or New France. No records from the conference survive, but Hendrick apparently could not recover most of the Kanien'kehá:ka's Schaghticoke children, who instead clung to their Abenaki and French alliance as all braced for another war in their homeland.[47]

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[46] *NYCD* 4, 995.
[47] Leder, *Livingston Indian Records*, 184.

Dreading the renewal of violence in the Champlain Valley, a party of Sokwakiiak left Schaghticoke at Hendrick's invitation to settle among the Kanien'kehá:ka, who promised them greater security. In July 1703, Lord Cornbury met with the chiefs from this party, whom he identified as having removed during King Philip's war "from The Lake Towards Canida and Planted at Schaakook," which suggests the band's ancestors hailed from Missisquoi, the ancient Sokwakii village on Lake Champlain's northeastern shores. Surprised by their sudden departure from Schaghticoke, Cornbury demanded why they had abandoned the village after living there in peace for nearly thirty years. Speaking on behalf of the Sokwakiiak, a Kanien'kehá:ka chief name Awanie relayed their words: "You Remember In ye Late Warr You gave us ye Hatchet In hand to strive for your Countrey And wee were always obedient To all Your advises and Directions Whereby wee are Become a Small Nation the flesh taken from our Bodyes." They feared that the renewed imperial war would strip from them whatever flesh remained on their bones. By delivering seven hands of wampum to Cornbury, Hendrick informed the New York officials that the issue was settled: the Sokwakiiak band would leave with him.[48]

This group probably belonged to the *gassokamigwezoak* led by "Sekatt," a Sokwakii chief who resided in the central Mohawk Valley during the war's early years. The man's name was likely *Zakad*, "he who stands" or, with the reduplicative prefix attested in at least one recording of his name, *Sazakad*, "he who stands repeatedly." Both forms probably referred to his role as a speaker during council meetings, when he would rise to address the others gathered around the fire. On February 20, 1705, Evert Wendell recorded in his account book that he received from "Seeckaet" a "Debit in the Mohawk country On a coarse blanket" which the chief had bought on credit during the fall. Three days later, Wendell added more expenses to Zakad's account: "23 ditto sent with Hendereck the savage 2 bars of lead to him [i.e. Zakad] at 1 marten, 1 lb gunpowder @ 2 martens, 2 ½ lb small

[48] Leder, 188–90.

shot at 2 martens." These two transactions indicate that Zakad lived among the Kanien'kehá:ka at the invitation of Hendrick, who knew the Sokwakii chief well enough to convey his pelts and goods back and forth from Albany. According to Wendell's account book, Zakad dwelled in the same lodge with his wife and son; his wife's mother; an "English savage with red hair" named Peckwank, (also spelled Poquin), a Missisquoi man known to Albany officials during the 1720s as a former inhabitant of Schaghticoke; and Zakad's "wife's brother, Sam or Cattelnalewet." Zakad's *gassokamigwezoak* was apparently a small band linked by marriage to his wife's family.[49]

Zakad's "wife's brother" was probably *Gadonalad*, a Sokwakii war chief renowned by the French and feared by the English from the early 1720s until his death in 1746. Figure 10 illustrates that the most likely reconstruction of the name Wendell recorded as "Cattelnalewet" and "Cattelaewet" is *Gadonalawad*, the ditransitive form of *Gadonalad*. *Gadonalad* comprises /*gadon-*/, a verb root meaning "to die;"/*-a*/, an intransitive verb final; /*-l*/, a verb final which renders the intransitive actions of animate beings transitive (which, in the eastern Abenaki dialect, takes the form /*-r*/); /*-a*/, the theme sign indicating an animate subject's direct action upon an indefinite animate subject; and the participle ending /*-d*/, rendering a verb into a noun and conveying the approximate meaning, "the one who." In the related name *Gadonalawad*, the additional transitive final /*-w*/ and direct theme sign /*-a*/ modify the meaning of *Gadonalad* from "he kills or attacks someone" to "he kills or attacks someone for somebody." Therefore, whether attacking someone for himself or somebody else, Gadonalad and Gadonalawad were probably the same person, related to Zakad through marriage and dwelling among the Kanien'kehá:ka at Hendrick's invitation.[50]

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[49] Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1:515; Zakad was almost certainly the Missisquoi chief named "Sacket" discussed in Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 156; Waterman, *Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 108–9; Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 154.

[50] During the eighteenth century, Abenaki people used transitive and ditransitive forms of their names interchangeably. For example, a member of Gadonalad's gassokamigwezoak named Wawanolewad appeared in records as "Wawanolet," which similarly omits the ditransitive final /-w/ and direct theme sign /-a/. See Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, 99.

Figure 10 – Linguistic Analysis of *Gadonalad*, Reconstructed from Colonial Records

		MORPHEMIC ANALYSIS							Date	Source
		Ditransitive *"he kills someone for somebody"*						Participle Ending		
		Transitive *"he kills someone"*								
		Intransitive *"he is dying"*								
		gadon-	**-a**	**-l-/-r-** [51]	**-a**	**-w-**	**-a**	**-d**		
Cattelnalewet[52]	Sam	catteln	a	l	e	w	e	t	1705	Dutch
Cattelaewet[53]	Sam	catt[on]	e	l	ae	w	e	t	1705	Dutch
Catnaret[54]	---	cat[o]n	a	r	e			t	1709	French
Cattanawlet[55]	---	cattan	aw	l	e			t	1724	English
Cadenarette[56]	Pierre Thomas	caden	a	r	e			tte	1731	French
Cottenarit[57]	Pierre Thomas	cotten	a	r	i			t	1737	French
Cadenait[58]	Pierre Thomas	caden	a	[r]	i			t	1738	French
Caoidolenarit[59]	Pierre Thomas	caoidolen	a	r	i			t	1738	French
Cadenaret[60]	---	caden	a	r	e			t	1746	French

With each season, Gadonalad fell further into debt to English traders, who controlled his access to the powder and lead that he needed for hunting. On January 22, 1706, he brought to Evert Wendell eight deerskins and one wildcat pelt valued at twenty nine guilders, a rare moment of solvency for the Sokwakii hunter. However, the same day, he purchased from Wendell a reed cane,

[51] Easter Abenakis tended to speak an R-Dialect, whereas those living west of the Connecticut River spoke an L-Dialect. See: Pauleena MacDougall, "Dialect Symbols in Aubrey's Dictionary," *Papers on the Penobscot Language* 2 (1986): 297–312.
[52] Waterman, *Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 109.
[53] Waterman, 108.
[54] *NYCD*, 9: 838.
[55] Josiah Howard Temple and George Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts for 150 Years, with an Account of the Prior Occupation of the Territory by the Squakheags* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1875), 206.
[56] Hubert Charbonneau and Jacques Légaré, *Repértoire des actes de baptême mariage sépulture et des recensements du Québec ancien* (Montréal: Departement de démographie, Université de Montréal, 1980), 28: 238.
[57] Marthe Faribault-Beauregard, ed., *La population des forts français d'Amérique, XVIIIe siècle: répertoire des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures célébrés dans les forts et les établissements français en Amérique du Nord* (Montréal: Éditions Bergeron, 1982), 1: 36.
[58] Faribault-Beauregard, 1: 48.
[59] Faribault-Beauregard, 1: 36.
[60] *NYCD*, 10: 34

two bottles of rum, two pairs of stocking, and a knife, which totaled thirty six guilders. The exchanges left him with a debt of seven guilders. That May, Gadonalad bought gunpowder and lead on credit, promising Wendell an additional three martens for the supplies. In October 1706, a new duffel blanket added thirty guilders to his debt, and two bottles of rum incurred an additional six guilders. In January 1707, Gadonalad bought more rum, powder, and lead on credit, without having furnished Wendell any furs since the previous January. Constrained by the colonial militias prowling his traditional hunting territories on Lake Champlain and the upper Connecticut River, Gadonalad struggled under the debts owed to settlers whose monarch fought for permanent control of Abenaki homelands.[61]

When Queen Anne's ministers ordered an invasion of Canada via Lake Champlain during the summer of 1709, British officers summoned the Rotinonhsón:ni and their Schaghticoke children to provide warriors for the assault on Montreal. Hendrick and his brothers probably numbered among the 600 warriors who took up the hatchet on behalf of their English brethren.[62]

Resenting the demands of English officials and seizing the chance to flee his mounting debts, Gadonalad used the impending invasion to win political and military allies in Montreal. As English militiamen and Native warriors mustered at Wood Creek during the summer and fall, the Governor of Montreal Claude de Ramezay and French officer Jacques Testard de Montigny assembled French forces along Lake Champlain's southern shores to mount a counterassault. Gadonalad slipped easily past British lines, bearing intelligence for the French officials. In October 1709, he captured and delivered to Ramezay and Montigny the New York militia officer Barent Staats, who divulged English plans for fortifying Wood Creek as well as information about troop movements and supply lines. After the cancelation of a corresponding naval assault against Quebec,

[61] Waterman, *Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 108–9.
[62] Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, 204–6.

British officials called off the attack on Montreal. By helping French forces prepare for the assault Gadonalad earned the trust of Ramezay and Montigny, vital allies in his bid to resettle his *gassokamigwezoak* at Missisquoi.[63]

A young warrior from his *gassokamigwezoak* named Grey Lock cultivated those relationships with influential French officials during the rest of the war. Grey Lock was likely the son of Zakad and his wife, and had traded with Evert Wendell since at least May 1705, when the young hunter paid two beavers against a debt incurred by his grandmother. Because Gadonalad was the brother of Zakad's wife, he was Grey Lock's maternal uncle, a relationship which Abenaki people distinguished with the kinship term *nesésis*, expressing both "my mother's brother" and "my older brother," and which they valued as an especially tight bond. With his uncle, Grey Lock led several raiding parties against western New England, including a July 1712 assault against Northampton, where Grey Lock and twenty warriors ambushed colonial scouts, killing one soldier and carrying two captives back to Montreal. Montigny probably outfitted these expeditions and commanded a militia detachment south of Montreal, two days' journey from Missisquoi. Grey Lock maintained a close relationship with the officer, for he selected Montigny's son Jean-Baptiste as *galnakad* for his own child during his baptism in 1740. Supported by their allies in Montreal, Grey Lock and Gadonalad secured their *gassokamigwezoak* at Missisquoi, their ancestors' homeland since long before colonization. By abandoning the Mohawk Valley, the family band further weakened the Kanien'kehá:ka's illusory authority in the Covenant Chain and drew the ire of Hendrick, their former host and the most vocal champion of his people's supremacy over the Champlain Valley.[64]

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[63] *NYCD*, 5: 265-67; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 116.

[64] The Massachusetts militia officer John Stoddard recorded that "Cattanawlet's…son is cousin to Grey Lock," James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Portland, ME: Maine Historical Society, 1869), 11: 321-22; *Evert Wendell's Account Book*, 109; Aubery, *Father Aubery's French Abenaki Dictionary*, 21, 381; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 116; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts*, 383–84; Louise Dechêne, "TESTARD DE MONTIGNY, JACQUES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003); Pierre Georges Roy, *Hommes et choses du Fort Saint-Frédéric* (Montréal: Editions des Dix, 1946), 271; Day, "GRAY LOCK."

***Wawanolewad* ("He who puts others off the track") & *Tehaianó:ken* ("His tracks fork")**

Concluding the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht officially stripped Native peoples of their autonomy by subordinating them to Britain or France. During the treaty negotiations, French officials recognized in Article 15 that the Rotinonhsón:ni were "subject to the dominion of Great Britain," and promised not to attack them or Britain's other Native "friends." British officials similarly pledged their colonists would "behave themselves peacefully towards the Americans who are subjects or friends to France." Fearful that the negotiations would stall if the plenipotentiaries clashed over which Native peoples each empire could claim, they agreed that, for the time being, all Native peoples possessed the right to trade wherever they wished, and therefore could travel freely between New York, New France, and New England. However, the treaty stipulated that a later commission would specify "who are, and who ought to be accounted the subjects and friends of Britain or of France," terms whose distinction the treaty never specified but that both subordinated Native peoples to imperial rule: once the commissioners finished their

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Confusion persists about Grey Lock's origins, largely due to the errors J.H. Temple and George Sheldon published in their 1875 tome, *A History of the Town of Northfield*. They identified Grey Lock as a Woronco chief who had dwelled with his people along the Westfield River in western Massachusetts before joining King Philip's war of resistance in 1675 and fleeing to Schaghticoke after the Wampanoag sachem's death in 1676. However, Temple and Sheldon apparently reached that conclusion after misreading their source material, Emerson Davis's *Historical Sketch of Westfield*, published in 1826. Immediately following a section detailing Westfield's role in King Philip's War, Davis compiled a separate section of undated "Indian Miscellany," which included several grizzly stories about Grey Lock's incursions against the town. Temple and Sheldon conflated the two sections, reporting mistakenly that all the "Indian Miscellany" compiled by Davis occurred during King Philip's War.

In crafting his account of Westfield in King Philip's War, Davis drew from the diary of Reverend Edward Taylor, who had served as the town's minister during King Philip's War (published in: Robert C. Winthrop et al., "'Annual Meeting, April, 1880. Diary of Edward Taylor; Letter from Erasmus Rask; Report of the Council; Report of the Treasurer; Report of the Auditing Committee; Memoir of Hon. John G. King; Memoir of Hon. John A. Andrew.,'" *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 18 (1880): 1–64.) Reverend Taylor made no mention of Grey Lock anywhere in his diaries, further confirmation that Davis never meant to place Grey Lock within King Philip's War. Indeed, Davis noted that his "Indian Miscellany" section comprised undated stories recounted to him by townspeople in Westfield that, by the time of his writing in 1826, had become town tradition. His descriptions of Grey Lock's appearances in Westfield comport with documented raids the warrior led against Westfield and other towns in western Massachusetts from 1723-1727.

Citing *A History of the Town of Northfield*, amateur town chroniclers compounded the mistaken conclusion that Grey Lock was a Woronco sachem active during King Philip's War: George Sheldon's subsequent *History of Deerfield* (1895-96), Trumbull and Pomeroy's *History of Northampton, Massachusetts* (1898) and John H. Lockwood's *Westfield and Its Historic Influences* (1922).

The Grey Lock active during the eighteenth century was not a displaced Woronco sachem, but was rather a Sokwakii or Abenaki from the Lake Champlain or Saint Lawrence River Valley born during the 1680s or 1690s.

accounting, Britain and France would enjoy a trading monopoly with both "subjects" and "friends."[65]

Officials in New France and New England also disputed the boundary that the Treaty of Utrecht ostensibly had created between their colonies. According to the treaty, France ceded to Britain "all Nova Scotia or Acadie, with its ancient boundaries." However, the two empires defined this region's boundaries differently. French officials believed Acadia comprised a narrow strip on the Atlantic coast of the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia. They assumed that the vast territory between this peninsula and the English settlements on Maine's southeast coast remained an undefined borderland between their colonies. According to one of the French negotiators, the treaty referred "the details to commissioners who will determine the boundaries," a task they would perform while accounting for each empire's Native friends. Therefore, French officials concluded that as long as they maintained the Abenakis and other Native peoples of the region as their allies, they could claim their homelands under French dominion. However, British officials contended that "Nova Scotia" included the territory from the mouth of the Kennebec River east along the coast and north to the Saint Lawrence Valley. According to their own definition, the Treaty of Utrecht had conveyed to New England all of Abenaki country.[66]

The treaty's ink had barely dried before New Englanders began streaming into the disputed region, coveting Abenaki land to make family farms. From the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713 to the end of the decade, the population of Massachusetts grew by approximately 45 percent, from around 63,000 to about 91,000 people. To accommodate the population growth,

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[65] State Papers Foreign, Treaties, no. 73, National Archives in Davenport, Frances G., ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 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 and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2010): 459–86.

[66] State Papers Foreign, Treaties, no. 73 National Archives in Davenport, Frances G., *European Treaties*, 3:213; Observations sur les articles proposez par les Plenipotentiaires d'angleterre pour l'instrument de paix," Aug. 12, 1712, SP 103, 100: 218, National Archives, quoted in Miquelon, "Ambiguous Concession," 471; Mary Pedley, "Map Wars: The Role of Maps in the Nova Scotia/Acadia Boundary Disputes of 1750," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 96–97.

the colonial government encouraged settlers to push north into Abenaki country by constructing five forts for their protection on the lower Saco and Kennebec Rivers. At first, the Abenakis tolerated these forts, which also functioned as trading posts where hunters could exchange peltry for the clothing, gunpowder, kettles, and alcohol they desired. However, by 1721 about 300 English families comprising approximately 2,200 people had settled around the forts, felling trees, clearing fields, and raising fences around their sprawling farms. Abenakis resented the changes wrought by English farmers, whom the Natives deemed intruders.[67]

French officials stoked the Abenakis' resentment of these settlers, reasoning that by keeping the Natives at odds with the British, King Louis XV could claim them and their homelands under his own dominion. In a 1718 letter to his Jesuit superiors in France, the priest ministering to Abenakis at Saint-François, Joseph Aubery, warned that, if the French abandoned their Abenaki allies, "New France will be bounded on the South by the River St Lawrence; it will be necessary to abandon all our posts and settlements on that side, and nothing will prevent the English and the Iroquois making irruptions into the very heart of the Colony." To avoid such a calamity, Louis authorized an annual fund of 2,000 *livres* for Abenaki gifts, which he ordered colonial officials to distribute at Norridgewock, thereby keeping Abenaki warriors in their village and checking further advance northward by English settlers. Whereas in 1697 his predecessor had dismissed such presents during times of peace as a needless expense, Louis concluded in 1716 that the Abenakis alone stood between New France and the expansionist English colonies. Abenaki warriors used the French firearms, powder, and lead to attack British settlers who strayed outside the Maine forts and trading posts. During the summer of 1722, the Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire

[67] Census Series Z 1-19, Estimated Population of the Americas, 1610 to 1780 in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 756; *NYCD*, 9: 903-06; for assumptions about the size of English households during the eighteenth century, see Robert V. Wells, "Household Size and Composition in the British Colonies in America, 1675-1775," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 4 (1974): 543–70.

Samuel Shute retaliated by declaring war against the Abenakis living between the Saco and Penobscot Rivers.[68]

Massachusetts officials enlisted Hendrick and his older brother Abraham to treat with the Abenakis during the fall of 1722. In their preliminary meeting with the Massachusetts officials, the brothers confirmed that the Abenakis had submitted to the Rotinonhsón:ni twenty years earlier, recasting Hendrick's thwarted negotiations during the summer of 1702 as a total victory for the Kanien'kehá:ka and their confederates. Hendrick promised the officials that he would express his disappointment that his Abenaki "sons" had violated the Covenant Chain by seeking to wriggle free their arms, which the Kanien'kehá:ka and English clasped in unity and peace. When Abraham and Hendrick arrived at Norridgewock, however, they found the village abandoned. Tacked to the village church, a note penned by their priest, Sebastien Rasle, explained that the Abenakis would continue their war until the English settlers north of the Saco River tore down their forts and left.[69]

Hendrick returned with his brother to Boston, fuming and eager for vengeance. He vowed that the Kanien'kehá:ka would put the Abenakis back in their rightful place as their subordinates: "if they p[er]sist in y.t Resolution which they have Declared in their paper that was afix'd on their Church to continue y.e War So long as the Sun and Moon Endures, if so, the five Nations have Determined to Chastise their Children, in making War upon them till they be utterly destroyed." Hendrick's warning invoked *kaianeren'kó:wa*, the Great Peace, which stipulated in its eightieth wampum belt that any people who refused the Great Peace invited a declaration of war. Hendrick regarded the Covenant Chain as an instrument for spreading the Great Peace. By breaking the chain, the Abenakis violated *kaianeren'kó:wa*. This affront threatened the double conceit upon which Kanien'kehá:ka power rested: without dutiful children, they offered little use for British officials.

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[68] Thwaites, *JRAD*, 9: 878-79; *CMNF*, 3: 22, 40, 42; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 114.
[69] *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 23: 119-20.

Without the favor of and presents from British officials, the Kanien'kehá:ka would struggle to preserve their position in the borderland. Worse, by failing to uphold the Great Law, the Kanien'kehá:ka risked losing their influence within the confederacy of Rotinonhsón:ni peoples, who flattered the keepers of the eastern door with disproportionate diplomatic authority relative to their diminished population. Hendrick and Abraham hastened home to rouse Kanien'kehá:ka warriors and smite the Abenakis back into submission.[70]

The Governor of New France Philippe de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, welcomed the war as an opportunity to drive British settlers out of disputed territories. The Treaty of Utrecht bound France and Britain to remain neutral in conflicts between colonial governments and Native peoples, preventing him from sending New France's militia to fight with the Abenakis. Instead, he encouraged Abenaki warriors from Saint-François, Wôlinak, and Missisquoi to assist their eastern kin by attacking British settlements and scouts in the Connecticut River Valley. Vaudreuil stoked their smoldering animosity toward the New Englanders by spreading word that the British planned to expel the French from the continent. Then, Vaudreuil warned, the British "would give no more powder, nor ball, nor guns to those whose destruction they would desire." Without access to these munitions, Native people would slowly starve, unable to hunt for meat to eat or hides to trade.[71]

By 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. In 1723, King Louis XV appropriated an additional 2,000 *livres* for Abenaki gifts. His ministers disbursed the annual funds through Jesuits, "in order to conceal from the English the source whence they derived this aid." If British diplomats accused their French counterparts of violating the Treaty of Utrecht by arming Native warriors, Louis's ministers could counter that their benevolent king desired only to

[70] Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 3–4; *Gayanerekowa: The Great Law of Peace, As Brought to the Confederacy of the Iroquois By Deganawida The Peacemaker* (Kahnawà:ke: Mohawk Nation News, 1993), 72–73.
[71] *NYCD*, 9: 935.

spread the Christian faith. In 1725, Louis doubled the covert funds for Abenaki gifts, funneling 4,000 *livres* to the Jesuits in the Saint François and Wôlinak mission villages.[72]

With these gifts, French officials enabled Abenakis in the Saint Lawrence and Champlain Valleys to challenge the recent British encroachments in their own hunting territories. The Abenakis and Sokwakiiak resented especially the recent resettlement of Northfield, the northernmost English town on the Connecticut River built atop the ruins of Squakheag. After the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, colonists led by the ambitious traders Joseph Parsons and John Lyman petitioned the Massachusetts General Court to issue a new deed for Northfield, which it granted during the winter of 1714. In the decade that followed, families returned to transform Squakheag back into Northfield. The Sokwakiiak inhabitants feared the New Englanders would continue pushing north up the Connecticut River and deep into the hunting territories that had sustained *gassokamigwezoak* for centuries. Armed with the gifts arranged surreptitiously by Governor Vaudreuil, the western Abenaki bands began raiding the Connecticut River towns in early 1723.[73]

Dreading violence on their colony's northwest frontier, Massachusetts officials threatened the swift reprisal of their Kanien'kehá:ka allies against any western Abenaki bands at war with New England. In February 1723, the Acting Governor of Massachusetts William Dummer deployed Kanien'kehá:ka ambassadors to Saint François, where they delivered a wampum belt to the Abenakis demanding that their warriors put down the hatchet. Because the Massachusetts officials valued Hendrick as a bilingual diplomat capable of holding secret councils with the Abenakis, they likely deputed him to deliver a secret message to the chiefs: "those who would unite with the Abenakis of Naurantsouak would not be safe either in their village or on the road, and that the Iroquois declare themselves equally against them." Hendrick threatened that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors would revive

[72] *NYCD*, 9: 994
[73] Temple and Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts*, 132–40.

the expeditions against the Saint Lawrence River Valley that had devastated the region's Native peoples during the preceding century. However, Hendrick offered the Abenakis a peaceful alternative, demanding that "those who would be inclined to make peace with the English should retire with their families to the Iroquois." Hendrick relished the chance to resettle entire villages as children within the Covenant Chain, as his ancestors had when they invited Algonquian refugees to Schaghticoke during the 1670s and 1680s. On behalf of the Kanien'kehá:ka and British brethren, Hendrick offered the Abenakis a simple choice: submit or die.[74]

Grey Lock rejected the ultimatum from Hendrick. Although Vaudreuil feared that the New Englanders' wampum belt "had seriously intimidated the Abenakis," Abenaki leaders preferred to fight. Led by Grey Lock, they recruited warriors at Kahnawà:ke to augment their own fighting strength. In August 1723, Grey Lock led a war party from Missisquoi against Rutland, a settlement on Massachusetts's northern frontier, where he took two young captives, Phineas and Isaac Stevens. Grey Lock delivered Phineas to Saint François, where an Abenaki family adopted him, and presented Isaac as a gift to the Kahnawa'kehrón:on. By the early eighteenth century, Native peoples in the Northeast valued European captives above all other gifts, for they could adopt them in place of departed kin or collect from colonial governments valuable ransom payments for their return. By accepting the captive Stevens brothers, Saint François Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on united with Grey Lock in his war.[75]

Eager to enhance his own prestige by taking captives and collecting scalps, the Kahnawa'kehrón:on war chief Skonando joined Grey Lock's raids into the Connecticut River Valley during the late spring and summer of 1724. On June 19, the militia captain Ebeneezer Pomeroy warned the commander of New England's western defenses that he had received intelligence

[74] *NYCD*, 9: 932.
[75] *NYCD*, 9: 932; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts*, 195.

Skonando had departed from Missisquoi with six other Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors about fifteen days before. Later that month, Grey Lock set out against New England with eleven Abenaki warriors, and another Abenaki war chief, probably his uncle Gadonalad, followed shortly after with an additional thirty warriors. During the summer, the Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Abenaki raiders devastated Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northampton on the Connecticut River, and Westfield, near the Massachusetts-New York border.[76]

The New Englanders' 1723 wampum belt had backfired: galvanized by the threat of a Kanien'kehá:ka invasion, Grey Lock forged an alliance between the western Abenaki bands and Kahnawa'kehrón:on. This intercultural coalition rejected Kanien'kehá:ka and British claims over their homelands, and projected its own military power from Missisquoi into the Upper Connecticut and Champlain Valleys.

After two years of devastating raids against New England, Grey Lock's fame spread from Missisquoi to the eastern Abenaki villages. The Kennebec and Penobscot flattered him with a new name, which John Gyles recorded as "Wawenorrawot." The name is most likely reconstructed *Wawanolawad*, which comprises the following morphemes: the intensifying reduplicative /*wa-*/ which indicates that an action is continual or repeated; the verb root /*wan-*/, meaning "to lose;" the verb final /*-o*/, used when an animate being performs an intransitive action; the transitive verb final /*l-*/, rendering an action transitive; the theme marker /*-a*/, indicating that the subject acts directly upon an indefinite object; the transitive final /*-w*/, rendering the verb ditransitive; the theme sign /*-a*/, indicating that the subject acts directly upon an indefinite object; and the participle ending /*-d*/. *Wawanolewad* translates literally as "the one who loses someone for somebody." It conveys "throwing someone off the track" through great cunning and skill. He likely earned the name by creating a

[76] "Massachusetts State Archives Collection, Colonial Period, 1622-1788" (Manuscript/Manuscript on Film, Boston, MA, n.d.), 51: 449; 52: 5, Massachusetts State Archives; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts*, 203.

diversion when a colonial militia closed in on one of his fellow warriors, drawing them off the trail so his friend could escape. His success at evading New England's forces inspired celebration among the Abenakis – and dread among colonists who had intruded into their territory.[77]

To defend their villages on the Connecticut River from Grey Lock's raids, Massachusetts officials constructed Fort Dummer about fifteen miles north of Northfield at the confluence of the Connecticut and West Rivers. The fort stood along the primary invasion route that Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors followed from Missisquoi to Massachusetts. The leaders of that colony envisioned the fort as a launching point for scouting parties bound for Otter Creek and Lake Champlain. The colony's legislature also reserved funds for buying surrounding land "to be broke up or plowed for the present use of the western Indians (in case any of them shall think fit to bring their families thither)." During this period, Massachusetts officials referred to the Kanien'kehá:ka and their children at Schaghticoke collectively as "western Indians," for their villages stood to the west of Massachusetts. The New Englanders hoped that, by peeling Native people away from around Albany and resettling them at Fort Dummer, they would build a stronghold for their own frontier to counter Missisquoi.[78]

Upon the completion of Fort Dummer during the spring of 1724, the Massachusetts General Court appointed Hendrick as a commissioned officer of the fort, where he would receive two schillings per day for the duration of his service to the province. Hendrick arrived there on April 21, 1724, leading two other warriors from Canajoharie and accompanied by the Mahican sachem Umpaumet with eight warriors from the middle Hudson River Valley. Hendrick promised Massachusetts officials he would recruit more young men from his village to scout down Lake

[77] *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 23: 385-86; Day, *Western Abenaki Dictionary*, 1:LXVI, 482.
[78] "March Meeting, 1891. Samuel Crocker Cobb; Fort Dummer; Conference with the Scatacooks; Letter of Columbus; The Constitution of Athens; Memorandum of Judge Sewall," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, 6 (1890): 361.

Champlain and root out Grey Lock from his village. Before setting out for the Mohawk Valley in August, Hendrick first secured the guarantee of the Massachusetts General Court that the province would treat the Kanien'kehá:ka warriors with respect as the dominant Native power in the region. The Court acquiesced, stipulating that "none of ye Indians be stinted as to allowance of provisions; that all have the use of their arms gratis, and their guns mended at free cost; that a supply of knives, pipes, tobacco, lead, shot, & flints be sent to the commanding officer at the fort, to be given out to them." With his warriors well-fed and well-armed, Hendrick was confident he could bring the rebellious Abenaki "children" back under submission.[79]

By the fall of 1724, however, English officials wondered if Hendrick would better serve the colonies as a dead martyr than as a living warrior. Despite the Massachusetts Court's largess, Hendrick roused only three additional warriors, bringing his party to a total of six men. On October 24, 1724, John Schuyler reported to the New England militia commander John Stoddard that he had outfitted Hendrick's war party for their first expedition to Missisquoi. Frustrated after another summer of devastating Abenaki raids in the Connecticut River Valley, Stoddard had authorized the New York official to distribute such gifts on his behalf to Kanien'kehá:ka and Schaghticoke warriors bound north from Albany on scouting missions. Anticipating Stoddard's disappointment at Hendrick's meager war party, Schuyler offered a grim hope: "if one or more of them should happen to be killed in the Service, I believe it would animate others to revenge the loss." Schuyler and Stoddard sought to exploit the Kanien'kehá:ka's kinship system, in which clan mothers demanded the replacement of every departed member of their *o'tá:ra*. As far as New York and Massachusetts officials were concerned, the more dead Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, the better.[80]

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[79]"Mass Archives, Colonial Period," 91: 109-110; *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 23: 185; George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts: The Times When and the People by Whom It Was Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Greenfield, MA: Press of E. A. Hall & Co., 1895), 423.
[80] "Mass Archives, Colonial Period," 52:71.

Fearing such a destructive cycle of death and revenge, Kanien'kehá:ka and other Rotinonhsón:ni chiefs discouraged their young men from joining Hendrick's war party. During a conference with Massachusetts officials in September 1724, a Kanien'kehá:ka chief explained, "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, Native peoples struggled to end them. After suffering great losses in the preceding imperial wars, the Kanien'kehá:ka dreaded a new conflict that "would Set all The World on Fire." Bowing to pressure from the other chiefs, Hendrick withdrew from the war following his uneventful October scout. After the fall of 1724, New England confronted the Abenakis without assistance from the Kanien'kehá:ka.[81]

Grey Lock exploited the Kanien'kehá:ka's neutrality to draw their Schaghticoke "children" away to Missisquoi, where they would further strengthen his growing band's military power. During the spring of 1724, a committee of militia captains in the Connecticut River Valley warned Dummer, "Grey Lock hath enticed away several of the Scatacooks, which are so well acquainted with the circumstances of our fields, that they are able to take the greatest advantage against us." Outside the safety of palisaded villages and dispersed across fields, settlers were especially vulnerable to attack during the sowing and harvest seasons. In October 1724, Stoddard wrote to Dummer and his council recommending they "send two Indians with a belt of wampum to Grey Locks place to invite the Scatakooks to return home, and to the St. Francis to let them know we delight not in blood, but are willing to hearken to any reasonable terms of peace." No records survive about whether Massachusetts officials sent the belts, but if they did, it failed to quell the outmigration from Schaghticoke, which probably hosted fewer than 400 people in 1724. By contrast, in 1724 Vaudreuil

[81] *NYCD*, 5: 725; "Mass Archives, Colonial Period," 29: 181.

boasted that 1,100 Abenakis lived in the Saint Lawrence Valley. During the early 1720s, about 60 warriors inhabited Missisquoi, indicating a total population there of about 300 people.[82]

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's attacks, the eastern bands felt exhausted after five years of destructive fighting. The Missisquoi warriors understood that, without allies to the east preoccupying the New Englanders, Massachusetts could concentrate its militias along the Connecticut River and in the Champlain Valley.

Fearful that the Missisquoi and Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors might renew their raids, however, New England officials resolved in March 1727 that "Grey Lock should be made a friend and Come Into the Treaty of Peace." They sent him gifts and a belt of wampum promising that, if he signed the treaty and submitted, the province would forgive the blood he and his war parties had spilled and welcome Missisquoi hunters in the Connecticut River Valley. But Grey Lock refused to acknowledge Massachusetts's authority over the northern Connecticut Valley and Lake Champlain watershed. 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, therefore threatening to renew his war whenever New Englanders encroached further into his people's homeland.[83]

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[82]Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield*, 409, 433; Temple and Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts*, 201–3, 206; *NYCD*, 5: 721-23, 798–800, 868–70; 6: 909; *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 10: 358; Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 291A-292; David L. Ghere, "Myths and Methods in Abenaki Demography: Abenaki Population Recovery, 1725-1750," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 3 (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," see *NYCD*, 5: 655. The Kanien'kehá:ka 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 is a conservative estimate of their population by the 1720s, as some departed during Queen Anne's War and a steady outmigration continued thereafter (see: Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, 33–36.).

[83] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 113–31; *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 10: 364, 371–73, 385–86, 393–96.

With Grey Lock's war in the Champlain Valley suspended, colonial officials in New France and New York reasserted their own king's right to the contested region. The New Yorkers believed that the boundary between their colony and New France stood north of Lake Champlain, somewhere between Fort Saint Jean on the Richelieu River and the Prairie de la Madeleine, opposite Montreal on the Saint Lawrence River. However, the French maintained that New France stretched to the southernmost shores of Lake Saint Sacrament, present-day Lake George. This disputed territory spanned 150 miles and encompassed the entire Champlain Valley, a vital corridor for trading with Native peoples and the principal invasion route between Albany and Montreal. By the early 1730s, French and British officials accepted that the commission promised by Article 15 of the Treaty Utrecht would never convene, let alone fix a precise border between the two empires or determine which Native peoples each could count as "friends" or "subjects." To consolidate authority over the strategic waterway and the Native peoples who claimed it within their homelands, colonial officials would have to take matters into their own hands.[84]

By fighting to preserve their peoples' autonomy, Hendrick and Grey Lock had become embroiled in the imperial contest for their overlapping homelands. Although Grey Lock had emerged as the fiercest defender of his people's homeland in the Lake Champlain watershed, his eastern kin regarded him as "half french" because of his close relationships with colonial officials like Ramezay and Montigny. Similarly, of all their Native allies, British officials counted Hendrick as the most "strenuously in our Interest" after his eagerness to fight on their behalf against Grey Lock. Officials in France and England had courted Native allies by furnishing weapons, food, textiles, and shelter during the wars that raged between the Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka during the seventeenth

[84] Peter Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, ed. Adolph B. Benson, The English Version of 1770 (New York, NY: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1937), 548.

century. But by the 1720s, both peoples lacked the strength to stand alone against their colonial or Native enemies. Their own survival required advancing the territorial ambitions of imperial allies.[85]

[85] *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, 10: 385-86; "Mass Archives, Colonial Period," 52: 5.

- Chapter 5 -

The King's Ground: Conquest and Erasure of Native Worlds, 1727-1768

This chapter traces the turbulent period between 1727 and 1768, when Abenakis, Kahnawa'kehrón:on, Kanien'kehá:ka, French, and British competed for supremacy over the Lake Champlain Valley. In 1731 officials in New France sought to control the contested region by erecting Fort Saint-Frédéric at *Pointe á la Chevelure,* a strategic point on the lake's southwest shore. The fort blocked British encroachment into Abenaki country, intruded into Kanien'kehá:ka hunting territory, and protected French settlement at the foot of the lake. Hendrick resented that Albany officials undercut his authority in the region by tolerating the intrusion and trading with his Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on rivals. When Hendrick and his British allies protested the incursion, French officials insisted that their empire owned the Champlain Valley. The Abenaki and other Native allies of the French enjoyed Fort Saint-Frédéric as a commercial and spiritual center from which an intercultural web of kinship radiated. To preserve the Covenant Chain's illusory power over these peoples, Hendrick demanded that his British allies drive the French out of their new fort.

Tekiatonhnia'rí:kon ("Two points which have come into close proximity to the other")

With peace restored in the Lake Champlain Valley after Grey Lock suspended his war in 1727, French officials feared losing their influence over Abenaki allies to shrewd Albany traders. The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht had bound officials in New France, New England, and New York to respect the Abenakis' right to move and trade freely between British and French colonies. The Governor of New France Charles de Boische, marquis de Beauharnois, balked at this pledge after French scouts discovered during the fall of 1730 that some Albany merchants had begun surreptitiously trading with Abenakis along the southwestern shore of Lake Champlain. In a February 1731 letter to the

King, Beauharnois warned about the danger these traders posed to New France: "Though profound peace exist, we must be on our guard against them; they take advantage of this season to seize on the country and gain over the Indians by supplying them with goods at a bargain."[1]

In fact, compared to their Albany rivals, Montreal merchants enjoyed a slight price advantage for most trade goods during the early 1730s. According to price records from 1735, French guns, flint, lead, gunpowder, stockings, and linen were on average 35 percent cheaper than English equivalents. Yet the Albany merchants won over Native clients by offering rum and brandy at a 60 percent discount compared to Montreal prices. Although Abenakis valued textiles and hunting supplies, they had grown addicted to the alcohol introduced by Europeans during the previous century. This addiction created a nearly infinite demand for the intoxicating liquor, which British traders eagerly exploited. During the late 1720s and early 1730s, Abenaki canoes glided south over Lake Champlain brimming with peltry and returned north loaded with casks of rum.[2]

In 1731, officials in New France exerted their own control over the Champlain Valley by fortifying the point on its southwest shore where Albany merchants and Abenaki hunters met to trade. Kanien'kehá:ka people called this place *tekiatonhnia'rí:kon*, "two points which have come into close proximity to the other," after the cape protruding sharply into the lake, separated from the eastern shore by only 400 yards. French settlers named the promontory *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 Kanien'kehá:ka prisoner. The English knew the promontory as Crown Point, probably borrowing from the earlier Dutch translation of *Pointe à la Chevelure* to *Crun Punt*. In a 1731 letter to the King, Governor Beauharnois argued that a fort at *Pointe*

[1] Brodhead, Fernow, and O'Callaghan, *NYCD*, 9: 1022-23.
[2] For 1735 price comparisons between Montreal and Albany, see Matthew Laird, "The Price Of Empire: Anglo-French Rivalry For The Great Lakes Fur Trades, 1700-1760" (Dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1995), 174, http://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd/1539623876.

à la Chevelure would defend New France against British incursions, serve as a staging ground for French soldiers and Native allies to raid the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers, and promote French settlement on Lake Champlain. Most importantly, the fort would frustrate British efforts to win over the Abenakis by furnishing them with alcohol.[3]

The Kanien'kehá:ka had claimed *tekiatonhnia'rí:kon* within their hunting territory since before colonization. Probably beginning around the time the Kanien'kehá:ka confederated with their Iroquoian neighbors during the sixteenth century, their young men had hunted at least sixty miles north of *tekiatonhnia'rí:kon,* along a bay they called *oskennón:ton',* "Deer," on Lake Champlain's northwest shore. During the mid-eighteenth century, the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm observed that the forests around *Pointe à la Chevelure* still teemed with roe deer, which Natives hunted each fall for meat and fur. Recognizing the vulnerability of these hunting grounds to French colonial expansion, a Kanien'kehá:ka chief named Sindachsegie had advised their English allies in 1688 to "build a fort att the end of Corlaer's Lake, att a place called Onjadarakte, and put great gunns in the same." The word that English observers recorded as "Onjadarakte" was probably *onyà:taro'kte'*, "the waterway came to the end," which referred to the southern shore of Lake Sacrament, where a portage path linked the Champlain waterway to the Hudson River. Sindachsegie argued in vain to penny-pinching English officials that such a fortification would secure his people's hunting territory and serve as a defensive screen for Albany and Schenectady.[4]

Intruding on territory long claimed by the Kanien'kehá:ka, Fort Saint-Frédéric sprawled across *Pointe à la Chevelure*, dominating the southern entrance to Lake Champlain. During the summer of 1736, French masons completed the considerably larger and stronger Fort Saint-

[3] Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 35–41; Versteeg, *Lake Champlain: Reflections in Our Past*, 277; *NYCD*, 9: 1022-23.
[4] Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, 588; *NYCD*, 3: 561-62; Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 41–46.

Frédéric, which boasted stone walls twelve feet tall and thick and bristling with forty cannon. Inside, a four-story, bombproof tower housed the commandant and a peacetime garrison of about forty soldiers. During times of war, the barracks accommodated several hundred soldiers, and the surrounding plain could supply a camp for additional troops in wartime. The fort employed a priest, surgeon, interpreter fluent in Abenaki and Kanien'kéha, baker, blacksmith, and laundress. By constructing Fort Saint-Frédéric at the strategic promontory of *tekiatonhnia'rí:kon*, the French consolidated their control over the contested Champlain Valley.[5]

British imperial officials protested Fort Saint-Frédéric as a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht. In April 1732, the Lords of Trade reported to King George II, "this Fort is erected in the Country of Iroquois, commonly called by the name of the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, who have had a very ancient dependance on the province of New York, and who by the 15th Art[icle]: of the Treaty of Utrecht are acknowledged without any reserve to be subjects to the dominion of great Brittain." They reasoned that the Treaty of Utrecht established the British Crown's suzerainty over their Kanien'kehá:ka allies: although King George II granted them autonomy over their own internal affairs, he claimed them and their land under his sovereign control. Therefore, the fort stood within both Kanien'kehá:ka hunting territory and also the province of New York. The Lords of Trade proposed that George II's minister at the French Court demand Fort Saint-Frédéric's immediate and complete demolition. But nothing came of that proposal.[6]

Hendrick chided New York officials for tolerating the French encroachment. In a 1737 conference with Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke, the Kanien'kehá:ka chief concluded a lengthy speech by affirming "our Promisses there shall not one French Man setle on our Land." Walking from the central council fire back to his mat, Hendrick stopped abruptly, as if a new thought had

[5] *NYCD*, 9: 1021-23; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 117; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 134.
[6] *NYCD*, 5: 933.

leaped to mind. "How Comes it that the French have setled so near in the neighborhood even at the Crown Point[?] have they Wone it by the sword[?]" he asked with feigned earnestness, aware that neither the French nor their Native allies could claim the site by virtue of conquest. Through his sarcasm, Hendrick offered Clarke a stern warning: in return for their continued loyalty to the British, the Kanien'kehá:ka expected their help in defending their homeland.[7]

During the summer of 1738, Governor Beauharnois dispatched Médard-Gabriel Vallet de Chevigny to prepare *Pointe à la Chevelure* for more intensive colonial settlement. By the following summer, under Chevigny's supervision the soldiers garrisoned at the fort had cleared about 200 acres of nearby forested land, transforming about 40 acres into fields of wheat and the rest into fenced pastures for 50 cattle and 100 sheep. After surveying the expanding settlement at *tekiatonhnia'rí:kon*, Hendrick protested to Albany officials that the French had "Encroached already far Enough on their Lands & that if y.y Encroached further all their deer Hunting would be destroyed by Such Settlements & their Nation brought to poverty for Want of Meat & Leather." Although integrated into a global capitalistic market for over a century, the Kanien'kehá:ka still relied on the food and hides furnished by their ancient hunting ground. To appease the anxious chief, Albany officials outfitted a delegation of four Kanien'kehá:ka diplomats who would demand the French arrest any further incursions south of Crown Point.[8]

During the summer of 1739, the commandant at Fort Saint-Frédéric revealed to the Kanien'kehá:ka delegation that New France planned further territorial expansion in the Champlain Valley. Assembled with a party of Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on, he presented the ambassadors 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 even to the Carrying

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[7] *NYCD*, 6: 101.
[8] Coolidge, *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759*, 133–35; Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 169-71.

Place & Lake of St. Sacrament." The French would not suffer English settlement on these lands, warned the commandant. But he promised that King Louis XV would reserve the territory between Crown Point and the Hudson River as a protected hunting ground for the Kanien'kehá:ka and "his own Indians." This "Gift" left to the Kanien'kehá:ka a fraction of the land that they had claimed for centuries. Worse, it demanded that they share that land with New Frances' Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on allies.[9]

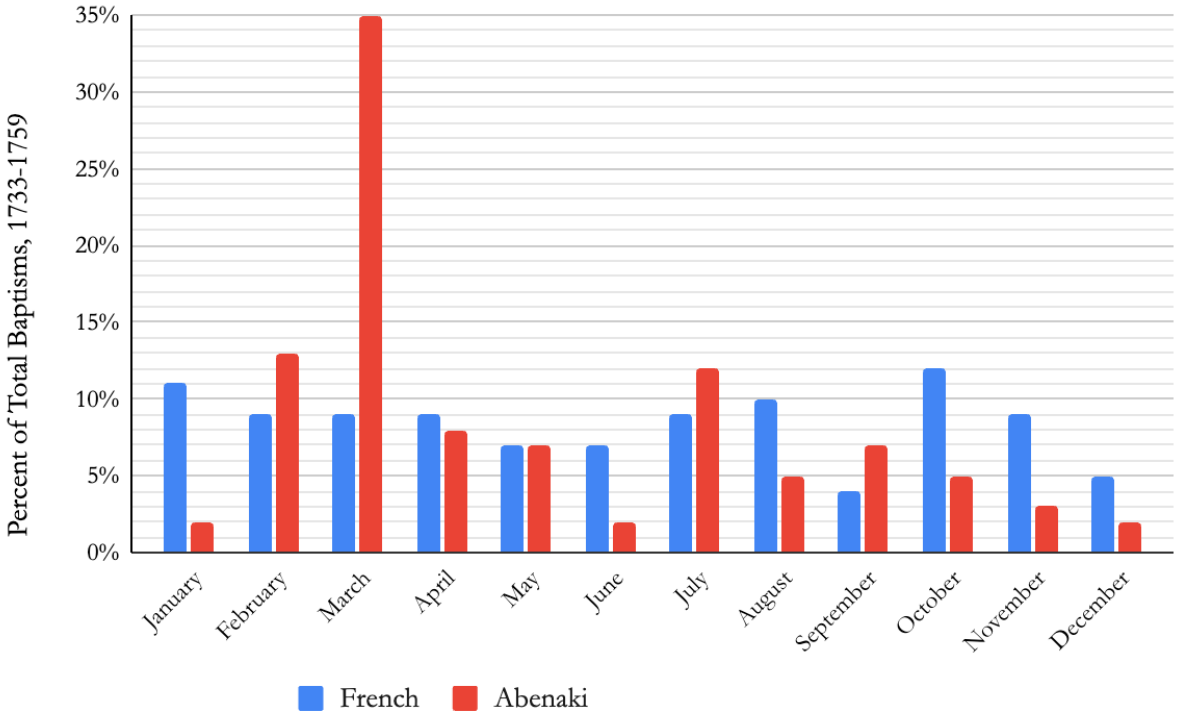
* * *

Abenakis benefited from Fort Saint-Frédéric, which they integrated into their seasonal migrations. According to the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm, who in 1749 visited the Northeast seeking hardy new crops capable of withstanding Scandinavia's long, cold winters, Abenaki families began appearing in late October near the fort, where they "staged their hunt for roe deer in the large neighborhood wastes and woodlands, whence they very frequently came to the fortress with fresh meat to be exchanged for gunpowder, bullets, shot, bread and anything else they needed." They also appeared as families or *gassokamigwezoak* several times a year to seek spiritual resources from the priest installed there. Between 1733 and 1759, Abenakis from Saint-François, Bécancour, and Missisquoi baptized sixty children at the fort. According to Figure 11, nearly 50 percent of these baptisms occurred during February and March. This seasonal pattern comports with the timing of the 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, 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. As they had

[9] *NYCD*, 6: 152.

for millennia, Abenakis lived in the way of the earth by traveling with the seasons across their homeland. But now they could do so with greater impunity from attack by their Native rivals.[10]

Figure 11 - Monthly Baptisms at Fort Saint-Frédéric, 1733-1759



The fort's cemetery also offered Abenaki families sacred ground in which to bury the children who died during winter hunting seasons. On April 27, 1733, a one-year old boy from Saint-François named Pierre Jean was buried, the first Abenaki at the fort's cemetery. His name suggests that Grey Lock was his *galnakad*, as that chief also bore the baptismal name Pierre Jean. On February 23, 1738, Grey Lock's uncle Gadonalad arrived at Fort Saint-Frédéric bearing the body of his five-year old daughter Madeleine Monique, who had died a few days before. The grieving family probably took solace in returning their departed daughter to the place where she had received her

[10] Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, 580; Roy, *Hommes et choses du Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 268–315; "Missisquoi: A New Look at an Old Village," in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 144.

baptism shortly after her birth. The blessings offered by the fort's priest ensured that Madeleine Monique's spirit would arrive safely in heaven, where she would await her kin in the eternal afterlife that Abenakis expected as devout Catholics.[11]

The bones of young Kahnawa'kehrón:on mingled in the fort's cemetery with those of Pierre Jean, Madeleine Monique, and other departed Abenaki children. On May 21, 1741, Pierre Orite and his wife Catherine buried the body of their stillborn baby. The distraught parents likely selected the cemetery at *Pointe à la Chevelure* as their child's final resting place to avoid the taboos and restrictions such a burial would have faced at Kahnawà:ke. Tradition taught Kahnawa'kehrón:on that children were stillborn if the fetus felt unloved or had been a subject of parental strife and so abandoned its unfinished body. The Great Law offered guidance for grieving the deaths of children who died within three days after a live birth, but said nothing about miscarriages or stillbirths, reflecting the stigma that haunted grieving parents long after their child's burial. Nor could Catherine and Pierre find much solace from their village's Catholic priest. Because stillborn babies died before receiving the baptismal sacrament, Catholic doctrine prohibited their bodies from burial in consecrated earth. Fort Saint-Frédéric offered the most inviting ground for the stillborn baby of Catherine and Pierre. Afraid of isolating key allies, the fort's commandant condoned such burials in the cemetery reserved for Natives. The blessed bones of Abenaki children hallowed the earth at *Pointe à la Chevelure*, offering a resting place for young Kahnawa'kehrón:on like the infant of Catherine and Pierre.[12]

Despite their differences, some Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on socialized at Fort Saint-Frédéric. During his sojourn at the fort in October 1749, Kalm observed, "It is singular that an Abenaquis and Iroquois rarely take lodgings together, yet now and then they intermarry." For

[11] Roy, *Hommes et choses du Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 268–315.
[12] Roy, 268–315; Sakokwenonkwas, "Pregnancies and Mohawk Tradition," *Canadien Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de La Femme* 10, no. 2 & 3 (1990): 115–16; KVE Cootes et al., "Blood Is Thicker than Baptismal Water: A Late Medieval Perinatal Burial in a Small Household Chest," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 31, no. 3 (2021): 358–65.

centuries, territorial rivalries and wars of retribution had pitted their ancestors against each other as bitter enemies. Although these memories lingered among both peoples, those who shared the Catholic faith had by the mid-eighteenth century begun eroding inherited animosities.[13]

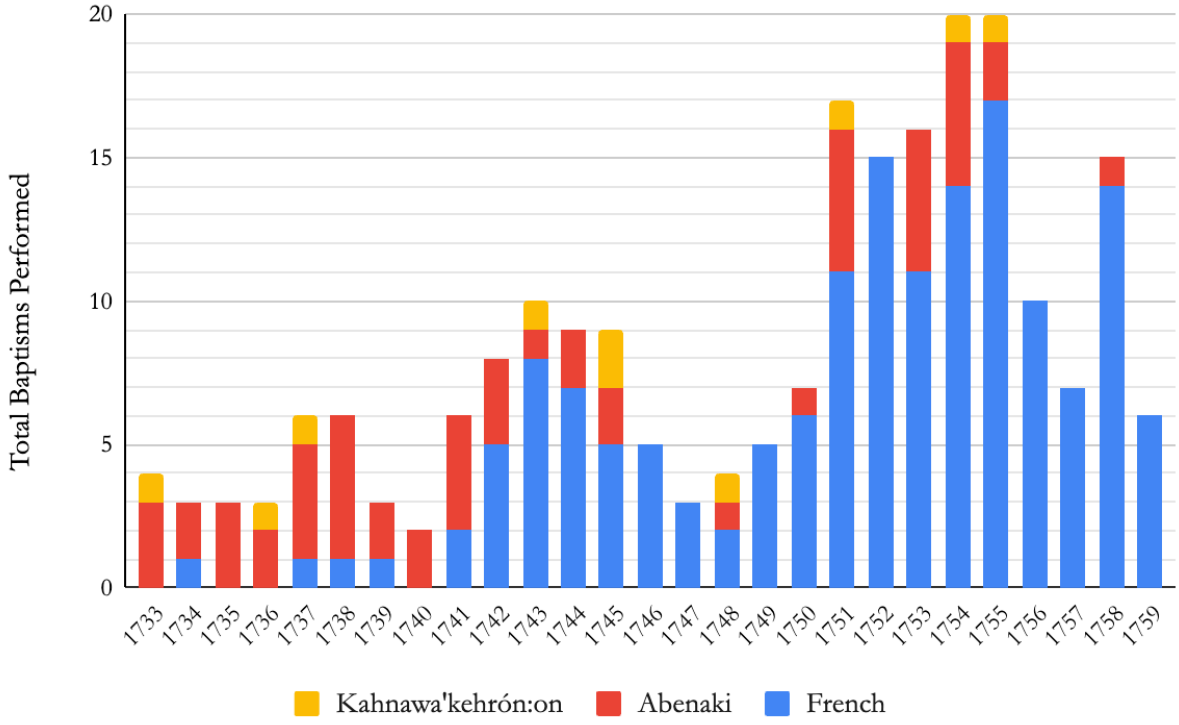
The baptismal register at Fort Saint-Frédéric contains glimpses of intermarriage between Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on by the 1730s, most notably the young couple Joseph Michel and Marie Charlotte. An Abenaki man from Missisquoi, Joseph Michel probably belonged to Grey Lock's band. By the mid-1730s, he had married the Kahnawa'kehrón:on woman Kaiená:hon, known at Fort Saint-Frédéric by her baptismal name Marie Charlotte. The daughter of Kahnawà:ke's principal chief, Martin Sagonnakouaten, and the influential Bear clan woman Marie Tehonnataouenron, Marie Charlotte had likely risen to a Bear clan matron by the 1730s. On October 1, 1739, Joseph Michel and Marie Charlotte baptized their daughter Marie Marguerite Joseph at Fort Saint-Frédéric. The young girl bore the names of both godparents: Marguerite Ursule Vallet de Chevigny, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Médard Gabriel Vallet de Chevigny, the King's storekeeper at the fort entrusted by Beauharnois to grow the colony's settlement at *Pointe à la Chevelure*; and Joseph Alphonse Duplessis Faber, the seventeen-year-old son of sieur François Lefebvre Duplessis Faber, the fort's commandant. With an Abenaki father, a Kahnawa'kehrón:on mother, and two French godparents, Marie Marguerite Joseph reflected the cultural convergence made possible by Fort Saint-Frédéric.[14]

Each baptism grew the intercultural web of kinship radiating from Fort Saint-Frédéric. Figure 12 demonstrates that, for the first decade the fort stood guard of Lake Champlain's southern shores, the majority of baptisms its priests performed comprised Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on infants. Figure 13 reconstructs the social networks of Fort Saint-Frédéric's French inhabitants and

[13] Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, 561.
[14] Roy, *Hommes et choses du Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 268–315; Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, 561; Cooke, "Iroquois Personal Names," 410; Coolidge, *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759*, 191, 217.

their Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on neighbors. In the network below, familial kinship links comprise the following: spouse, unmarried people who had a child together, father, mother; adoptive parent, and sibling. The network also links people according to the following baptismal relationships: godparent-to-godchild and godparent-to-parent. By mapping these baptismal and familial relationships together, the network provides a window into the web of kinship binding together the French, Abenaki, and Kahnawa'kehrón:on around Fort Saint-Frédéric.[15]

Figure 12 - Annual Baptisms at Fort Saint-Frédéric, 1733-1759



Representing the people within the social network, the nodes vary in size according to the person's "betweenness centrality," a proxy for his or her social influence within the community

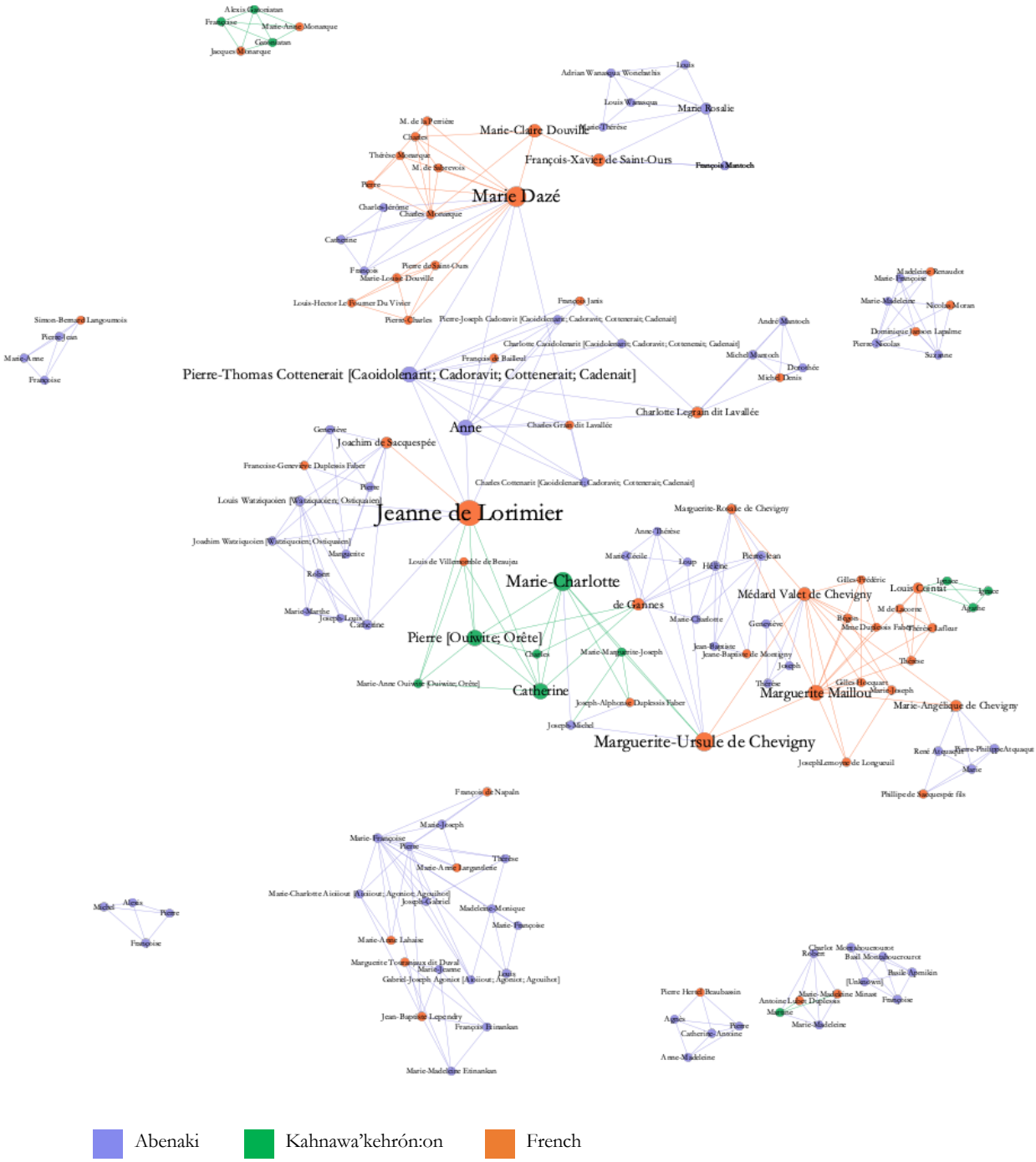
[15] Mintz and Wolf, "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood ("; Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*; Alfani and Gourdon, *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900*; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Macleod, "Catholicism, Alliances, and Amerindian Evangelists."

measuring how often a person lies on the shortest path between two other people. This metric helps identify those who serve as bridges in a network. Those with high betweenness centrality scores probably influenced how information flowed across a network or exerted authority on disparate clusters within a network. Native people derived their identities in relation to other people, keenly aware of where they stood within their network of kin and the economic, political, and social rights and obligations expected of them.[16]

For Abenakis, each link in the social network signified old bonds or new relationships forged with French *galnakadak*. For example, in April 1740, Grey Lock and his wife Hélène baptized their son Jean-Baptiste at the fort. For their son's godfather they selected Jean-Baptiste de Montigny, an officer of the Marine stationed at Fort Saint-Frédéric and the son of Jacques Testard de Montigny. Grey Lock had known and fought beside that older officer after removing from Schaghticoke to Missisquoi in 1709. By serving as godfather to the young Abenaki, Jean-Baptiste de Montigny affirmed that his family would continue holding Grey Lock's as kin. Grey Lock and Hélène chose as godmother Marguerite Ursule Vallet de Chevigny, who had also given her name to the daughter of Grey Lock's *gassokamigwezoak* member Joseph Michel and his wife, Marie Charlotte Kaiená:hon. As the fort's garde-magasin, Marguerite Ursule's father Médard Gabriel held 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 he could engage in commerce with Native peoples. By selecting Marguerite Ursule as Jean Baptiste's *galnakad*, Grey Lock welcomed another powerful ally into his network of kin.[17]

[16] For Historical Social Network Analysis applied to studying Native peoples, see Morrissey, "Kaskaskia Social Network" and; Kane, "For Wagrassero's Wife's Son."
[17] Roy, *Hommes et Choses de Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 271; Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG8-A6, 14: 321-325.

Figure 13 - Fort Saint-Frédéric Social Networks, 1733-1741



Hendrick's Wars

While the Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on created new bonds of kinship with their French neighbors at *Pointe à la Chevelure*, Hendrick complained to Albany officials that they had neglected the Kanien'kehá:ka, thereby making "a breach in the Covenant" that their ancestors had forged together. The colonial officials had failed to act in 1739, for example, when New York farmers "beat almost to death" an Oneida sachem for picking some of their corn during his journey down the Mohawk River to attend a council meeting at Albany. Because New York officials had invited the Rotinonhsón:ni leaders to the meeting, Hendrick expected the colony to pay the trip's expenses. He also wanted local farmers to share their food with their Native allies. The Albany officials insulted the Rotinonhsón:ni further by refusing to punish his abuser. Worst of all, Hendrick charged, Albany merchants grew rich trading with the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on that they had asked him to fight during the 1720s.[18]

Meanwhile, his own people languished for lack of presents and attention from the Albany Indian Commissioners, the board of merchants and political leaders entrusted by the governor to conduct diplomacy with Native peoples. As a result of these offenses, the Kanien'kehá:ka castles had "scattered," and "a great Number" had departed the Mohawk Valley for Kahnawà:ke, whose population grew to about 1,200 people by 1740. Hendrick became increasingly frustrated by the removal of his people north, which reduced his village's population to about 250 people by the 1730s and weakened his own influence in the region. He had been a willing ally to the British, but they had failed to meet their reciprocal obligations to the Kanien'kehá:ka.[19]

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[18] Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 216A.
[19] 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, ed., *Conrad Weiser, 1690-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1996), 226; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 155, 170.

During the late 1720s and early 1730s, new British economic policies reduced the Kanien'kehá:ka to marginal actors in the Albany beaver fur trade. Previously, the "upper castle" of Canajoharie had served as the key intermediary between Native peoples of the Great Lakes region, who supplied furs, and the merchants at Albany, who purchased them. In 1727, British officials erected a trading post at Oswego on Lake Ontario, where merchants could trade directly with Natives from the Great Lakes, bypassing the Mohawk River. To make matters worse, Kahnawa'kehrón:on connected merchants in Montreal and Albany, carrying south the furs that Canadian traders had purchased from Native peoples of the Great Lakes, and delivering British goods back north. 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 procure alcohol more cheaply and in greater quantity in Albany than in Montreal. Yet French officials remained confident in their influence over the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on, for the Natives relied on the French garrison to protect their monopoly over the Lake Champlain trade corridor. The Kanien'kehá:ka seethed at being bypassed to the west and the north in a trade that no longer much benefited them.[20]

During the early 1730s, the Kanien'kehá:ka of Canajoharie also confronted European settler encroachment on their land. Their decision to remain neutral in New England's war with the Abenakis during the 1720s preserved the peace that they had enjoyed since the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713. British farmers also prospered under this stability and coveted the Mohawk Valley as a source of fertile land. By 1749, about 4,500 colonists had settled along the Mohawk River, outnumbering the Natives by a factor of 10. In a series of fraudulent deals, colonial land speculators transferred thousands of acres of Kanien'kehá:ka country to settlers who cleared

[20] Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 269; Jean Lunn, "The Illegal Fur Trade out of New France, 1713-60," *Report of the Annual Meeting* 18, no. 1 (1939): 61; "Missisquoi" in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 144; Charland, "Un village d'Abénakis sur la rivière Missisquoi," 326–27.

forests, raised fences, and chased away the deer and other game that would otherwise nibble on the wheat that flourished in the river valley's rich soil.[21]

A firm believer in the Kanien'kehá:ka's supremacy over Native rivals imagined by the Covenant Chain, Hendrick denounced these encroachments as betrayals. During a 1745 conference, he reminded colonial officials that, a generation earlier, the Kanien'kehá:ka had claimed as far east as the Westfield River in Massachusetts. Motioning to John Stoddard, the Massachusetts militia commander who had outfitted his war parties in 1724, Hendrick complained, "You have got our land and driven us away from Westfield where my father lived formerly." In another conference in 1754, Hendrick reminded officials of his ancestors' glory: "Brethren. I will just tell you what a people we were formerly; if any of our Enemies rose against us, we had no occasion to lift up our whole hand against them, for our little finger was sufficient." His people's land, livelihoods, and reputation threatened, Hendrick feared the Kanine'kehá:ka's dominion over the Northeast had diminished.[22]

He blamed Albany officials for this decline, asserting that they sought his people's subordination and marginalization from their fur trade. Hendrick framed his accusations against the Albany Indian Commissioners as grave violations of kinship protocol. He complained the board members "treat us as slaves" and that the Kanien'kehá:ka "were become the property of the Albany people, they were their dogs." The words that English translators recorded in the Albany Indian Commissioners' meeting minutes – "slaves," "property," and "dogs" – all likely left Hendrick's lips as "*kanaskwokonha*." The word's root, *-naskw-*, refers not only to slaves, captives, and prisoners, but also to domesticated animals such as dogs and, after their introduction by European colonizers, burden animals like horses, oxen, and mules. Kanien'kehá:ka conceived of this class of subordinate beings as the inverse of *onkwehón:we*, the "original" or "real" people who lived according to the

[21] Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 152; David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 97, 100–109.
[22] *NYCD*, 6: 289-305, 883-84.

instructions of their Creator and therefore enjoyed the rights afforded kin. During a January 1746 meeting with the Albany Indian Commissioners, an exasperated Hendrick addressed the council: "We have one Request to ask of the Commissioners, that we may go hand in hand as in former Times, not that the white People look on themselves as entirely our Masters and despise Us." By the 1740s, relations between the Kanien'kehá:ka and their Albany neighbors had frayed dangerously.[23]

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In 1744, the outbreak of a new conflict between the French and British, the War of Austrian Succession, afforded Hendrick a chance to reassert Kanien'kehá:ka influence in the northeast. North American colonies learned about this declaration of war during the spring of 1744, setting off a flurry of diplomatic councils in Albany and Montreal as British and French officials shored up rival Native alliances in the global imperial war. Hendrick seized the opportunity to demonstrate his people's value as military allies and political power brokers. In July, he traveled to Maine where he reminded Abenaki chiefs that their ancestors had submitted to the Kanien'kehá:ka in 1700, so Hendrick demanded that they behave as loyal "children" and forsake the French in the war. "If you are dutifull and obedient," he 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."[24]

Despite Hendrick's grave warning, Abenaki warriors were eager to exact revenge against British enemies who had encroached into their homelands. During the fall of 1744, two canoes of Abenaki warriors paddled south from Saint-François over Lake Champlain, bound for a raiding mission along the Connecticut River. The war party stopped to rest and resupply at Fort Saint-

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[23] Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1690-1760*, 226; *NYCD*, 6: 294; "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 327.

[24] Lackenbauer et al., *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military*, 48; Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948), 112–13; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 163–66.

Frédéric, where a delegation of Kahnawa'kehrón:on chiefs intercepted them. Dreading a prolonged and bloody imperial conflict, the chiefs urged the Abenaki warriors to turn back or risk plunging into war all Native peoples inhabiting the Champlain and Saint Lawrence Valleys. When these pleas failed to arrest the Abenaki war party, the Kahnawa'kehrón:on threatened to sink their canoes if they proceeded past *Pointe à la Chevelure*. The annoyed Abenakis tarried for another few days at the fort under the watchful eyes of the Kahnawa'kehrón:on chiefs before returning home. Unwilling to isolate their more numerous allies from Kahnawà:ke, French officers encouraged the Abenakis to turn back. Native peoples kept the peace through 1744, but it was the Kahnawa'kehrón:on, not Hendrick, who stayed the Abenaki warriors bent on war against New England.[25]

By the following summer, however, these Kahnawa'kehrón:on chiefs clamored for war after learning the English had captured Fort Louisbourg on Cape Breton, a strategic outpost controlling access to the Saint Lawrence River. During an August conference with New France's Native allies, Governor Beauharnois apologized for failing to furnish them with any gifts, explaining that British warships had blockaded the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, preventing the delivery of the king's usual presents. Chiefs from Kahnawà:ke shuddered at the news, for without new guns and a fresh supply of powder and lead, they would have no venison to eat or pelts to trade for the textiles, hatchets, kettles, knives or other goods they needed to survive. After returning to Kahnawà:ke, the chiefs mustered war parties comprising over 100 warriors, some bound north to reinforce Québec, others south to Fort Saint-Frédéric and the frontiers of New England and New York.[26]

To defend against raids from the Champlain Valley, Hendrick guided British scouting missions during the summer of 1745. Following familiar paths from tracking Grey Lock twenty years earlier, Hendrick led the scout along the creeks and portages to Lake Saint Sacrament, Otter

[25] "Mass Archives, Colonial Period," 31: 520.
[26] "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 3: 83.

Creek, and the doorstep of Fort Saint-Frédéric. After two months in the field, the three other Native warriors in the scout returned home to their villages. Their withdrawal left Hendrick alone with a party of Albany militiamen who lacked the training and discipline to counter the Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Abenaki warriors who pursued. Hendrick's outfit was a mockery of the force he promised to unleash upon Abenaki "children" the previous summer.[27]

Hendrick resented Albany officials' unwillingness to support a largescale invasion of the Champlain Valley. In November 1745, New York Governor George Clinton sought their backing in a plan to capture Fort Saint-Frédéric by mobilizing militias and Rotinonhsón:ni warriors. The British would oust their French rivals from the strategic post guarding Lake Champlain's southern entrance. From there, they could invade Montreal and Quebec. In turn, the Kanien'kehá:ka would reclaim their hunting territory along Lake Champlain's western shores and reassert their authority over the region's Native peoples, especially their old kin at Kahnawà:ke, whose influence over the neighboring Abenakis had overshadowed the Kanien'kehá:ka's'. The Albany Indian Commissioners balked at the plan, however, concerned that it would upset their profitable trade with Montreal. Hendrick complained that, while he risked his own life guiding New York's scouting party, the Commissioners grew rich selling munitions to the enemy: "They have sold many Barrells of Gunpowder, last Fall to the French, fetched by Some of the Praying Indians gone up the Mohawks River & a great deal by Surractoga, which enabled the French fight against the English." In late November 1745, that gunpowder returned to New York's frontier in the powder horns of French soldiers, Canadian militiamen, and Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors. The invaders burnt twenty houses at Saratoga and killed thirty people before returning to Montreal with sixty English prisoners.[28]

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[27] "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 3: 99.
[28] *NYCD*, 6: 305-07; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1690-1760*, 226; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 176–77; Hunter, "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 363-64A.

With New York's frontier defenseless after the attack, Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Abenaki war canoes streamed down the Champlain Valley uncontested as soon as the ice had melted during the spring of 1746. On April 20, four parties comprising sixty-four warriors departed Kahnawà:ke for Fort Saint-Frédéric, where they filtered east to New England's frontier settlements and south to the Hudson River. The next week, another forty Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors set out seeking scalps and prisoners, followed by twenty Abenakis from Missisquoi. Between April 20 and June 21, French officials observed the departure of twenty-three such war parties, averaging one party every two or three days for over two months, at least fourteen of which returned to Montreal with enemy scalps, prisoners, or both. In sum, about 275 Kahnawa'kehrón:on and 75 Abenaki warriors joined these parties, far surpassing New York's meager expeditions the summer before.

Frustrated by the incursions into New York's frontiers, Governor Clinton commissioned William Johnson as a Colonel of the Six Nations with instructions to rally the Rotinonhsón:ni for war against New France. During the late 1730s, Johnson had emigrated from Ireland to the Mohawk Valley, where he established a trading post frequented by frustrated Kanien'kehá:ka who believed the Oswego and Albany merchants had neglected them. Ambitious and charming, Johnson flattered his Native neighbors with gifts, offered them access to trade goods at bargain rates, and mastered their diplomatic customs. He quickly won friends like Brant Kanagaradunkwa, an influential Turtle clan chief. During the early 1740s, Johnson fathered two children with Brant's niece Elizabeth, both of whom the chief adopted and raised with his wife Christina. United by trade and bound through kinship, the Kanien'kehá:ka adopted Johnson, honoring him in 1742 with the name *Warí'ia'ge*, "he has cut off the affair," which referred to his reputation as a shrewd counselor whose advice chiefs sought as a final word in colonial affairs.[29]

[29] Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York, NY: Vintage, 2007), 3–4; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 127, 131–33; Cooke, "Iroquois Personal Names," 662.

Figure 14 - Spring 1746 Expeditions Against New York and New England[30]

Departure Date	Party	Destination	Outcome
April 20	14 Kahnawa'kehrón:on, led by Ontassago	Fort St. Frederic	"made several scouts to Sarasteau"
April 20	20 Kahnawa'kehrón:on, led by Theganacoeiessin	Connecticut River	"returned with 2 prisoners and some scalps"
April 20	22 Kahnawa'kehrón:on, led by Thesaotin	Connecticut River	"returned with some scalps;" 1 Kahnawa'kehrón:on killed, 2 wounded
April 20	8 Kahnawa'kehrón:on, led by Ganiengoton	Connecticut River	"returned with 2 scalps"
April 26	35 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	"made some prisoners, took some scalps"
April 26	20 Abenakis of Missisquoi	Connecticut River	"brought in some prisoners and scalps"
April 27	6 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	"struck a blow"
May 12	6 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Connecticut River	"returned with some scalps"
May 15	10 Kahnawa'kehrón:on & Abenakis	Connecticut River	"brought away some scalps"
May 18	8 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Connecticut River	None recorded
May 22	19 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	None recorded
May 24	8 Abenakis of Missisquoi	Hudson River	"returned with some prisoners and scalps"
May 27	8 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	"brought back 6 scalps"
May 28	Abenakis of Missisquoi	Hudson River	"brought in some prisoners and scalps"
May 28	10 Kahnawa'kehrón:on & Abenakis	Connecticut River	"returned with some prisoners and scalps"
June 2	25 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	"returned with some scalps"
June 4	16 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	None recorded
June 12	10 Abenakis	Connecticut River	"struck a blow"
June 13	6 Abenakis	Connecticut River	"made an attack"
June 17	10 Abenakis, led by Gadonalad	Connecticut River	"returned with some scalps;" Gadonalad was killed
June 19	25 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	"brought away some scalps"
June 20	19 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	None recorded
June 21	27 Kahnawa'kehrón:on	Hudson River	None recorded

[30] *NYCD*, 10: 32-35.

Hendrick welcomed Johnson as an ally who could circumvent the obstructionist Albany Indian Commissioners in outfitting the Rotinonhsón:ni for war. The proud chief recognized that Johnson shared his interest in maintaining the Covenant Chain's conceit that the Kanien'kehá:ka reigned supreme over dependent Native peoples from the Atlantic coast to the Great Lakes. Johnson derived his own power among the British from the status he enjoyed with influential Kanien'kehá:ka men and women. Native leaders cherished *Warí'ia'ge* for the access he offered to British goods and political leaders. Like his friend Hendrick, Johnson's authority required projecting the power that Native people and British officials imagined he possessed. War offered him a chance to affirm his reputation among both constituencies. During the summer of 1746, Johnson extended the hatchet to Hendrick, proposing a British and Rotinonhsón:ni invasion of Canada. For the invasion to succeed, the British would need to reduce Fort Saint-Frédéric, the scourge of Kanien'kehá:ka hunters and traders since the early 1730s. Seeing an opportunity to bolster his own authority, Hendrick eagerly accepted that invitation.[31]

During the fall of 1746, Hendrick and Johnson hatched a plan to manufacture a crisis that would compel reluctant Rotinonhsón:ni warriors to join the war. In November, Hendrick attended a conference in Montreal hosted by Governor Beauharnois, where he blustered that Kanien'kehá:ka warriors and British soldiers would soon capture Fort Saint-Frédéric and drive the French from the continent. Beauharnois scoffed that the New Yorkers had deceived Hendrick, for "the English were great Boasters, but acted little." To distinguish his own magnanimity from British officials' empty talk, Beauharnois loaded Hendrick's canoe with a hat, lace shirts, an officer's coat, casks of powder and shot, and a gleaming new flintlock, gifts he assumed were cold consolation for the chief's wounded ego.[32]

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[31] *NYCD*, 6: 305-07; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1690-1760*, 226; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 176–77.
[32] "Records of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 402-405.

However, Hendrick's attendance at the conference was merely a ruse to earn safe passage past Fort Saint-Frédéric and down Lake Champlain. On his way home, Hendrick and his entourage of warriors ambushed a crew of carpenters on Isle La Motte at the northern mouth of the lake. The Kanien'kehá:ka party paddled home with a prisoner and a scalp, proof of Hendrick's grave violation of diplomatic protocol and an offense which demanded revenge. Hendrick and Johnson had calculated that, if the French and their Native allies retaliated against the Kanien'kehá:ka, Rotinonhsón:ni warriors would have no choice but to rally in retribution.[33]

Hendrick's attack convinced French officials that a larger assault against Fort Saint-Frédéric was imminent, and Governor Beauharnois called on New France's Native allies to defend it. In January 1747, as the ice that would bear the invasion force over Lake Champlain thickened, Beauharnois convened a conference with hundreds of Native allies drawn from dozens of villages stretching from the Atlantic coast west to the Great Lakes and Illinois countries: Neppisings, Algonquins, Poutouatamis, Ottowas, Puans, Sacs, Illinois, Wyandots, as well as Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Abenakis from Saint-François, Bécancour, Missisquoi, and the Kennebec River. Through a series of council meetings that lasted through the winter, Beauharnois extended to each delegation the symbolic hatchet. On March 7, 1747 the last of the Native ambassadors accepted it, clinching the council's declaration of war against the Kanien'kehá:ka. Hendrick gambled that he and Johnson would prevail before their more numerous enemies could "Set all the World on Fire." He relied on his British allies to keep their promise and reduce Fort Saint-Frédéric, whose keep now hosted hundreds of Native warriors eager for war against the haughty Kanien'kehá:ka.[34]

By July 1747, Hendrick feared the British would break that promise. His colonial allies pushed for an invasion, but the imperial government led by Henry Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, had

[33] Records of Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany," 2: 402-405.
[34] 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 du Fort Saint-Frédéric*, 73–74.

yet to dispatch British Regulars or furnish any supplies for such a campaign. Lacking both, William Johnson used his own funds to outfit small Kanien'kehá:ka raiding parties bound for Fort Saint-Frédéric. In April, one such party killed five French militiamen outside the fort's gates, the deadliest assault the Kanien'kehá:ka had managed since the war began three years before. More often, however, Rotinonhsón:ni warriors perished on these dangerous expeditions. In a letter to Governor Clinton dated July 17, 1747, Johnson reported that four Seneca chiefs had died during a disastrous raid led by Hendrick that winter. While Johnson celebrated that the debacle demanded revenge, and thereby brought "all the Senecas heartily to our interest," he warned Clinton that Hendrick and other Rotinonhsón:ni chiefs had grown discouraged by Britain's inaction. In a flurry of letters the following week, Massachusetts Governor William Shirley joined Clinton in warning Newcastle, "there is the utmost danger of the total defection of all the Six Nations from us to the French interest, unless we do speedily and vigorously join with them in prosecuting an Expedition against the French for dislodging them from Crown point."[35]

Preoccupied by consolidating British gains in Nova Scotia, Newcastle refused the governors' request for aid, encouraging them instead to raise the necessary troops and money within the colonies. Throughout the summer, Johnson furnished supplies and scalp bounties for Native warriors while Shirley and Clinton beseeched the governors of Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia to dispatch their militias to the Champlain Valley. Their own frontiers safe from the Native warriors departing from Fort Saint-Frédéric, they refused the requests of their northern neighbors.[36]

As the leaves began turning and his gifts dwindled, Johnson clung to the promise he had made Hendrick the previous summer, assuring his friend that the British were plotting a winter

[35] *NYCD*, 6: 358, 360-362, 382, 386-387.
[36] *NYCD*, 6: 384-85.

assault against Crown Point and asking him to rally as many warriors as he could for the invasion. Johnson, Shirley, and Clinton hoped that, with Rotinonhsón:ni warriors mobilized and expecting the expedition, intransigent governors risked Newcastle's rebuke by failing to support it. The gambit failed after negotiations between colonial officials devolved into bitter squabbles over troop quotas. During the early spring of 1748, Johnson apologized to Hendrick that Lake Champlain's ice had grown too thin to bear the cannons and soldiers that capturing Fort Saint-Frédéric would require. When the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the war that April, the French still occupied the imposing fort. Beauharnois's 1746 warning for Hendrick had proven correct: for all their boasting, the British had accomplished nothing.[37]

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Hendrick felt betrayed by his British allies. Had British officials kept their promise and destroyed Fort Saint-Frédéric, Hendrick asserted, Kanien'kehá:ka warriors "would have torn the Frenchmens Hearts out." Instead, imperial officials had ended their war against France before the Kanien'kehá:ka could reconquer their hunting territories and bring their Abenaki rivals to submit. Hendrick complained that New France's Native allies "now dayly stand with a knife over our heads to destroy us and we are forced to be upon our guard because nothing is as yet settled between us." Rotinonhsón:ni chiefs had rebuffed colonial officials' invitation to war during the 1720s to avoid blood feuds which, once started, were difficult to end. To make matters worse, in 1751 Johnson resigned as Colonel of the Six Nations, frustrated at the New York Assembly's refusal to reimburse the debts that he had incurred on the colony's behalf during the war. Unable to appropriate funds from the Assembly to reimburse Johnson, Governor Clinton reinstated the Albany Indian Commissioners to treat with the Rotinonhsón:ni. Hendrick still despised the Commissioners for

[37] *NYCD*, 6: 402, 419-20, 422, 440.

their past neglect of the Kanien'kehá:ka and assumed they would do little to aid his village in their preference to continue trading with the French allies for valuable pelts brought to Albany.[38]

A series of fraudulent land transactions near Canajoharie compounded Hendrick's frustration with the British. With peace restored between New France and New York in 1748, British settlers pushed westward up the Mohawk River. In 1753, Hendrick traveled from Canajoharie and down the Hudson River to New York City, where he demanded an audience with Governor Clinton. The exasperated chief presented him with a list of six deeds the Kanien'kehá:ka had deemed fraudulent, mostly involving land surrounding Canajoharie. Begging ignorance of the specific cases Hendrick protested, Clinton referred the matter to the Albany Indian Commissioners, whom he reminded Hendrick was the proper authority for these sorts of grievances. Appalled, Hendrick replied, "brother you tell us that we shall be redressed at Albany, but we know them so well, we will not trust to them, for they are no people but Devils, so we rather desire that you'd say, Nothing shall be done for us." Hendrick explained that by refusing to intervene in the land disputes, Clinton ignored the Covenant Chain which had bound the Kanien'kehá:ka and English since the seventeenth century. Gravely disappointed by Clinton's acquiescence to the Albany Indian Commissioners, Hendrick reported that he considered the Covenant Chain broken.[39]

When he broke the Covenant Chain, Hendrick bet that the growing crisis in the Ohio country gave him leverage over the British, who would need Rotinonhsón:ni warriors for support. By the spring of 1753, news had reached Canajoharie that thousands of French troops and Native warriors had descended the Ohio River to repel the Virginian settlers who had begun intruding in the river valley. That summer, Hendrick began laying the groundwork for reconciliation with the British, confident that his friend William Johnson would be reinstated as Colonel and the Indian

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[38] *NYCD*, 6: 781-88; Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 20087), 122–24; Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 216–21.
[39] *NYCD*, 6: 782-88.

Commissioners stripped of their authority for good. At an assembly of Rotinonhsón:ni chiefs at Onondaga, he rebuked his western kin for allowing the French and Natives to pass through their homelands unchallenged, demanding, "is it with your consent or leave that they proceed in this extraordinary manner, endeavouring by force of arms to dispossess your own native allies as well as your bretheren the English, and establishing themselves?" Hendrick anticipated that it was only a matter of time before the British sought to make amends with their most indispensable Native friend, and he wanted to have his own alliances with the Rotinonhsón:ni shored up when the moment arrived.[40]

The call came during the summer of 1754, when officials from New York, New England, Maryland, and Pennsylvania invited Hendrick to Albany to repair the Covenant Chain. During the spring, fighting had broken out between the rival empires along the Ohio River, and the French and British colonies had begun mobilizing for war. Anticipating that French soldiers and their Native allies would use Lake Champlain to attack their frontiers, the northern colonies convened the Albany conference to mend relations with Hendrick and rally Kanien'kehá:ka warriors to their defense.

In his speech to the Albany delegates, Hendrick blamed the British officials for emboldening the French to seize control of the Ohio River. The aging chief argued that the French would not have advanced to the west if the British kept their promise and captured Fort Saint-Frédéric. By appearing impotent, British imperial officials had allowed their enemies to persist and grow bolder. Meanwhile, the Indian Commissioners continued profiting through their illicit trade with the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on. Addressing the New York officials, Hendrick implored, "Look about you and see all these houses full of Beaver, and the money is all gone to Canada, likewise powder, lead and guns, which the French now make use of at Ohio." That Albany trade with the

[40] *NYCD*, 6: 810-12.

Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on imperiled Hendrick's people, for the Kanien'kehá:ka had not yet confirmed a peace with their Native rivals.[41]

Hendrick knew that his own authority derived from the Covenant Chain's perceived power over other Native peoples. He accepted the gifts offered by the Albany delegates along with their apologies for past failings. They promised to brighten and hold fast the chain binding the colonies and the Rotinonhsón:ni. Hendrick took credit for mending the chain, boasting to the other chiefs assembled, "We the united Nations shall rejoyce in the increase of our strength, so that all other Nations may stand in awe of us," and promising that the restored alliance would allow them to "retrieve the Ancient glory of the Five Nations."[42]

The Kanien'kehá:ka's' remaining Schaghticoke "children" watched at the council as Hendrick reasserted his people's supremacy at Albany in 1754. But this would be the last council meeting the Schaghticokes attended before abandoning New York's frontier for French protection at Missisquoi. On July 8, their chief took the floor at the convention, offered New York's Lieutenant Governor James DeLancey a paltry bundle of skins, and apologized that his people could not offer a better gift. 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 Abenakis. On August 28, 1754, DeLancey reported to the Board of Trade that a party of 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 in a vessel furnished by the commandant at Fort Saint-Frédéric. Albany had lost its defensive screen against New France's Native allies, which included the 60 or 70 warriors at

[41] *NYCD*, 6: 869-71.
[42] *NYCD*, 6: 883-84.

Missisquoi and 200 living at Saint-François and Bécancour. The Schaghticokes' defection confirmed Hendrick's fear that the British failure to capture Crown Point had discredited his people's supremacy in the Northeast.[43]

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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 Abenakis and another 600 Native warriors, mostly Kahnawa'kehrón:on, they joined 800 French soldiers and militiamen mustering at Fort Saint-Frédéric, where Major General Jean Erdman, Baron Dieskau, assembled New France's forces to repel an expected invasion. As one prong of Britain's four-front invasion of Canada, William Johnson had organized an expedition against the fort. By late August of 1755, his force of about 1,500 militiamen and 200 Kanien'kehá:ka warriors advanced from the Mohawk Valley toward Crown Point. Strengthened by the recent addition of ten to fifteen Schaghticoke warriors, the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on rallied to defend the fort which had served as a vital commercial and spiritual center for more than twenty years.[44]

Hendrick seized this second chance to reclaim Crown Point for the Kanien'kehá:ka. At sixty-five, he was far older than most of the warriors who accepted the war hatchet that Johnson had extended that summer. On the morning of September 8, 1755 Johnson learned that French forces and their Native allies had marched South from Fort Saint-Frédéric to Lake Saint-Sacrament, 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 the lake, Hendrick's warriors stumbled into an ambush. Mounted and dressed in the red coat of a British military officer, he presented a clear target to Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on

[43] *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.
[44] Charland, "Un Village d'Abénakis sur la Rivière Missisquoi," 331; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 114-123;

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 Kanien'kehá:ka lines.[45]

After a fighting retreat to Johnson's camp on Lake Saint-Sacrament, the British and Kanien'kehá:ka narrowly defeated an assault by their French and Native adversaries. During the ambush, they had killed the commander of the Canadian militia and its allied Native forces, Jacques Le Gardeur, sieur de Saint-Pierre. That loss demoralized the Kahnawa'kehrón:on and 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 Saint-Sacrament. 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, Johnson called off the invasion of Crown Point. Instead, he claimed possession of Lake Saint-Sacrament, renaming it Lake George in honor of King George II. Constructing Fort William Henry on its southern shore, Johnson posted a garrison of 500 colonials.[46]

Although British imperial officials touted the battle as a great victory, it had accomplished little after inflicting heavy casualties on New England's colonial forces and Kanien'kehá:ka warriors. Johnson's aid-de-camp reported that 120 colonials had died in the day of fighting, another 80 had been wounded, and 62 remained missing. Of the 200 Rotinonhsón:ni 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 British defeats in the Ohio Valley earlier that summer, imperial officials hailed Johnson as a hero. King George II made Johnson a baronet, Parliament awarded him 5,000 pounds as a reward

[45] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 116-123.
[46] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 116-123.

for his service, and Newcastle appointed him to the new post of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies.[47]

After the Battle of Lake George, the Kanien'kehá:ka relied increasingly on their influential friend Sir William Johnson for supplies and help defending their village against Native raiders. In February 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 defense during the ongoing war against the French and their Native allies. As they had at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, the people of Canajoharie stood with a knife above their heads as Native rivals sought retribution for kin who died at the hands of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors. Kanien'kehá:ka 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 Rotinonhsón:ni custom. During the winter of 1756, Johnson presented Abraham with six French prisoners to cover the graves of Kanien'kehá:ka warriors, including Hendrick's. 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.[48]

Encouraged by the scalps and prisoners taken at Lake George, Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on continued fighting beside their French allies. In 1757, they composed about a third of the 1,800 Native warriors who joined the French assault against Fort William Henry, emerging from that bloody battle with over 200 captives and at least as many scalps. After the British surrendered the fort, Abenaki warriors attacked New England's forts along the Connecticut

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[47] *NYCD*, 6: 1006-07; 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.
[48] *NYCD*, 7: 52-55; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 175-77.

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 New York colonials stationed at Wood Creek on edge, slipping past British lines and carrying several scalps taken outside Albany back north to Canada. Abenaki warriors enjoyed free passage through the Champlain Valley. They enhanced their prestige at home by collecting French scalp bounties and English ransom payments, or by adopting captives to replace departed kin.[49]

Conquests

In 1758 British imperial officials committed unprecedented manpower and resources to the North American theater of the global Seven Years' War. During previous imperial wars, British officials had relied on colonial governors to wage offensive operations financed by colonial taxes and mounted by provincial troops. Colonial assemblies, however, balked at the expense of such expeditions, and governors often refused to deploy their provincial troops to assist other colonies. Even when New York and New England officials united to invade Canada in 1689, 1690, 1709, 1711 and 1755, they depended on Native warriors to guide and supplement the colonial forces. Francis Nicholson's 1709 expedition of about 1,500 New York and New England colonials and 500 Rotinonhsón:ni warriors constituted the largest invasion force Britain assembled in the Champlain Valley before the Seven Years' War. In 1758, however, the new prime minister, William Pitt, hired German mercenaries to fight in the war's European theater, freeing up British soldiers to serve in North America, where they were assigned to oust the French from Canada once and for all.[50]

During the summer of 1759, Lord Jeffrey Amherst led 11,000 well-trained and highly-disciplined British Regulars down the Champlain Valley, the sort of force Hendrick had expected

[49] Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 185-201; Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 171-73.
[50] Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 215-218; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse,* 226; Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 173.

since 1746. With only 3,000 French troops to defend Crown Point, François-Charles de Bourlamaque torched Saint-Frédéric and retreated eighty miles north to Ile-aux-Noix on the Richelieu River. Amherst captured the fort that Hendrick and dozens of his fellow Kanien'kehá:ka had died trying to conquer.[51]

To punish the 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 Saint-François to the ground. Setting out in September with 200 colonial rangers, Rotinonhsón:ni warriors, and Native 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 Saint-François 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.[52]

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

[51] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 342-43.
[52] Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, 43; "Oral Tradition as Complement," in Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past*, 127–35; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 175–77.

8, Governor Vaudreuil and Lord Amherst signed the Articles of Capitulation of Montreal before raising Britain's flag above the city.[53]

Although the Governor of New France Pierre de Rigaud de Cavagnal, marquis de 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 Saint-François secure, Abenakis returned to the village beginning in 1760 and rebuilt their homes and chapel. Although they had sown 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 ancient Abenaki village.[54]

To consolidate British control over the corridor between Montreal and Albany, Amherst built new British forts at the foot 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 Louisburg at the mouth of the Saint 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 Aix-la-Chapelle. Amherst resolved that, if the French regained Canada, the British would greet them from a powerful military complex on Lake Champlain. From August 1759

[53] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 373, 388.
[54] "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.

through August 1762, he employed an engineer and crew of nearly 400 masons, carpenters, and laborers to build His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point beside the burnt 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.[55]

By ordering the construction of His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point, Amherst invited the transformation of Lake Champlain's thickly-forested southwest shores into English farms and pastures. After seizing Fort Saint-Frédéric, 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. Rather than rely on Abenakis trading meat for munitions, soldiers raised their own livestock on the new pastures that sprawled out from His Majesty's Fort. Nor did the Rotinonhsón:ni benefit from the increased British presence. While Hendrick had believed that conquering Crown Point would secure forever his people's hunting territory in the Champlain Valley, the more expansive British fort further threatened that Kanien'kehá:ka claim.[56]

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, the commander-in-chief of British forces in North America General Thomas Gage declined to interfere with that encroachment. He instructed the commander at Crown Point to "give no Hindrance or Molestation to any Persons whatever who chuse to Settle there." If Native landholders protested these colonial encroachments, Gage recommended vaguely that the commander "let the Law Settle them," aware that the courts were unlikely to intervene. 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, the squatters

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[55] 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* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 1–2.
[56] Peter Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels In North America*, 588; Gunthier "Crumbling to Dust," 6.

declared that "possession is Eleven points in the Law." According to another British observer, by the mid-1760s, "Between Connecticut river and Lake Champlain upon Otter Creek, and all along Lake Sacrament and the rivers that fall into it, and the whole length of Wood Creek are numerous settlements made since the peace." 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 Kanien'kehá:ka allies and Abenaki foes.[57]

* * *

In October 1763, King George III issued a Royal Proclamation prohibiting settlement west of the Appalachian watershed, which included Lake Champlain and all of Abenaki country east to the Green Mountains. The Proclamation also banned private land transactions between individual Native proprietors and settlers, requiring instead that imperial representatives of the King acquire land from proper Native authorities in open council. However, in a January 1764 dispatch to General Gage, Johnson brushed aside the Proclamation's prohibitions: "the Caghnawagas Abenaquis & ca were only invited to Canada to serve I apprehend as a Barrier to the French Settlements, and a Nursery of Warriors for distressing our Frontiers, & consequently had no claim in that Country." By recasting the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on as newcomers to the region, Johnson asserted that the Proclamation's territorial prohibitions did not apply to the northern colonies. Furthermore, Johnson empowered imperial officials to extend land grants to settlers and speculators without first purchasing that land from Native owners, a process officials called "extinguishing Native title." According to Johnson, because neither the Abenakis nor

[57] 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 the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881* (1882), 367, quoted in Gunthier, "Crumbling to Dust," 20; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont,* 185, 193.

Kahnawa'kehrón:on held original title to the land they inhabited, settlers could take ownership with "no necessity for an Indian Deed to the Subject."[58]

Missisquoi Abenakis defended 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 Saint Jean on the Richelieu River whom they knew and trusted. By leasing to Robertson, 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. Although Sir William Johnson maintained that new land grants did not require extinguishing the Native title, he was loathe to challenge titleholders who purchased land from Abenakis, Schaghticokes, or other Natives whom Johnson believed held no claim to the land.[59]

Securing their claim to Missisquoi through an English intermediary, Abenakis remained in their homes as English settlers transformed the land around them. The Abenakis 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, which the lease called the "lands belonging to old Whitehead." In his last years, Grey Lock maintained autonomous control over the land he envisioned as center of Abenaki life independent of Kanien'kehá:ka or British "fathers." However,

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[58] Johnson, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson (PSWJ)*, 4: 307-308; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 193; for more about "extinguishing" Native title, see: Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2007).

[59] Colin G Calloway, ed., *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991), 206–7.

by the mid-1760s, the fearsome place New Englanders had once called "Grey Lock's Castle" was surrounded by English farms.[60]

Their land threatened by colonial encroachment, Abenakis could no longer risk making the seasonal migrations that had sustained their ancestors for thousands of years. Settlers seized upon Abenaki villages left unpopulated during the fall and winter hunting seasons. In appeals to British authorities, the intruders claimed that the Natives had abandoned the land. In fact, returning *gassokamigwezoak* demanded the squatters vacate the villages. Favoring the intruders, Johnson instructed the Abenakis to "collect your people together in one Village, apply yourselves to your hunting, planting and Trade, and leave off Rambling about through the Country." Such a consolidation made them easier to monitor and opened up more territory for British settlers. Johnson specified that if the Abenakis observed his command, they "may in that case depend upon his Britannick Majestys fatherly protection, and the friendship of his Subjects the English." After 1763, intrusive settlers and imperial officials, rather than the land itself, prescribed how Abenakis ought to live.[61]

In September 1766, Kahnawa'kehrón:on chiefs ceded Lake Champlain to the British Crown in a bid to secure their own influence in the increasingly crowded region. When Johnson met with the Kahnawa'kehrón:on in 1765, he instructed them to limit their hunting to the territory north and west of Crown Point, assuring them the boundary "will be land enough for your purposes" and reminding them that "you never had more." Confronting settler encroachment in the hunting grounds that they shared with the Kanien'kehá:ka west of the lake, Kahnawa'kehrón:on exploited British officials' desire to nullify the Abenakis' remaining 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

[60] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 192–94; Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters*, 206–7.
[61] Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 195-203; *PSWJ*, 10: 411.

James Murray of Quebec and Abenakis from Missisquoi, leaders from Kahnawà:ke 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 Kahnawà:ke chiefs' dubious claim as an expedient way to consolidate New York's control over the region.[62]

During the 1768 negotiations at Fort Stanwix to fix the boundaries of Native peoples in the northern colonies, the Kanien'kehá:ka adopted Lake Champlain's western shore as their northeastern border. They yielded all the territory that they had claimed through the Covenant Chain east of the Hudson River. In return, British officials recognized the Kanien'kehá:ka's claim to the western shore of Lake Champlain north to Split Rock, in present-day Essex, New York. Although the boundary extended Kanien'kehá:ka country about fifteen miles north of Crown Point, it failed to restore the full hunting territory that had spanned to the 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 what lands the Kanien'kehá:ka still possessed.[63]

Conquest transformed Lake Champlain from a lake between two Native worlds into a resource for settler exploitation within the British empire. In July 1773, a delegation of Abenakis from Missisquoi complained to the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Daniel Claus that colonists had encroached into their village, clearing, settling, and farming land that belonged to them. Claus informed the Abenakis that they held no claim to the lands around Lake Champlain: "all

[62] *PSWJ*, 12: 172-74; 1026-27.
[63] *PSWJ*, 12: 538, 603.

I could tell them now was that the Governors of New York and Canada had settled it with the Caghnawa's when in Lake Champlain in 1766 about settling the 45 Degree [boundary between New York and Quebec] that the Indians should have free hunting & fishing in Lake Champlain but that the Ground belonged to the King and his Subjects." Paddling north from Albany to Missisquoi, the Abenaki party would have stopped and offered tobacco to *Odzihozo*, the great transformer being who had carved the rivers, mountains, lakes, and valleys of their homeland. They likely would have also seen Kanien'kehá:ka or Kahnawa'kehrón:on fishing canoes tucked into the lake's shady coves, where sturgeon teemed during the long twilight of summer nights. Their ancestors had fished those same waters ever since Ganawagahha's mother led her kin from a subterranean world into their new homeland. The Abenaki and Kanien'kehá:ka had belonged to this land for thousands of years. Now, the land belonged to the King.[64]

[64] *PSWJ*, 12: 1026-27.

- Epilogue -

The Indians' Old Worlds

On August 31, 1775, the Kanien'kehá:ka chief Little Abraham passed strings of wampum across the Albany council fire to commissioners sent by the Continental Congress, reciting with each a part of the troubling story the Patriots had told the Rotinonhsón:ni the evening before. Through the first string, Abraham affirmed the commissioners' belief that an ancient covenant with the King of England guaranteed colonists the same privileges as their countrymen in Britain. The second string recorded the commissioners' assertion that "evil counsellors" had broken the covenant by saddling colonists with punitive taxes and curbing their liberty, both actions constituting "heavier packs" than they could bear. A third string testified to the colonists' appeals to King George III for redress. The final string noted that, finding no help from their sovereign, the colonists "had thrown off [their] packs" and taken up arms against the soldiers sent to reimpose imperial authority. This drastic measure had erupted into violence outside Boston in April and raged ever since.[1]

The Patriot commissioners had traveled to Albany during the summer of 1775 seeking the Rotinonhsón:ni's neutrality in the unfolding bloodshed. With barely enough supplies to keep their own forces fed, clothed, and armed, the fledgling Continental Congress could not afford the diplomatic gifts their Native neighbors would expect as allies. Yet the Patriots dreaded an alliance between British redcoats and Rotinonhsón:ni warriors, which would overwhelm their own untrained and undisciplined soldiers. After nearly a century of devastating losses in the imperial wars between France and England, the Rotinonhsón:ni saw little advantage in picking sides in a fight they believed had caused "a black cloud to arise from beyond the great water." Concluding his address, Abraham

[1] Raymond J. DeMallie and Vine Deloria, eds., *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979*, vol. 1 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 39–40.

delivered the outcome that the commissioners had hoped to hear: The Rotinonhsón:ni had resolved "Not to take any part, but, as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out; we beg you will receive this as infallible, it being our full resolution; for we bear as much affection for the King of England' s subjects, upon the other side of the water, as we do for you, born upon this island."[2]

Meanwhile, in Montreal, British officials sought help from the Kahnawa'kehrón:on against the Patriot rebels. Daniel Claus, who had been the Indian agent in the Province of Quebec since Britain vanquished the French in 1760, explained that the recent violence in Boston was only the latest in a series of offences committed against the king by rowdy colonists who proclaimed a love of liberty while stealing Native land. Claus implored the Kahnawa'kehrón:on to "consider their Danger of loosing their Lands and hunting Grounds" if the rebels prevailed. Gathered with the Natives in a council meeting a few days later, Quebec's Governor Guy Carleton undercut Claus's castigation of the Patriots by insisting on their support and threatening to restrict their hunting territories if they refused. Unsure who represented the greater threat, the Kahnawa'kehrón:on promised to defend Carleton "to the utmost of their Power, should he be besieged in Montreal by the provincial Troops," but ignored the governors' request to dispatch their warriors to the frontier.[3]

For nearly a century, rival council fires had burned in these two cities at opposite ends of the Lake Champlain Valley, but never before to solicit Native support in an imperial civil war. During the spring and summer of 1775, reports of this unprecedented violence spread along the river valleys stitching together *Wôbanaki*, plunging the Abenakis into confusion. According to the elder women of a *gassokamigwezoak* that had learned the news while fishing on the lower Androscoggin River, "their men could not hunt, eat, nor sleep; keep calling together every night; courting, courting, courting, courting, every night, all night. O, straing *Englishmen* kill one another. I think the world is

[2] Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 87–88; DeMallie and Deloria, *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy*, 1:40.
[3] Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 60, 67.

coming to an end." Britain's triumph during the Seven Years' war had cost the Abenakis dearly in lives and land. They now confronted a choice between supporting the imperial government of their conquerors or the colonial neighbors against whom they had fought during the last war. Like the Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Kanien'kehá:ka, Abenakis pursued a policy of neutrality, fearful that backing the losing side would invite more death and dispossession.[4]

Despite the Natives' desire to stay out of the fighting, the American Revolution brought a new war to an old battleground, for the Patriots and British both regarded controlling Lake Champlain as a vital military objective. Led by Ethan Allen, a radical Patriot militia called the Green Mountain Boys had in May 1775 seized Ticonderoga, a British fort on Lake Champlain's western shore about fifteen miles south of Crown Point. The fort took its name from the Kanien'ké:ha word for its site, *tekaniataró:ken*, "the junction of two waterways," which referred to the nearby river linking Lakes Champlain and George. Standing at the convergence of these two lakes, Fort Ticonderoga delivered to the Patriots control over the strategic waterway between Albany and Montreal, the dreaded invasion route that had carried French soldiers and Native warriors to Britain's imperial frontiers during their wars against France. In June, Congress authorized an invasion of Canada, which was to proceed from Ticonderoga, down Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River to Montreal, and onto the fortified city of Quebec. By driving British soldiers out of Canada, Congress hoped to secure their northern frontiers, which would otherwise remain vulnerable to Native raids outfitted with British guns, powder, and shot.[5]

With Rotinonhsón:ni neutrality secured in August, Patriot invaders proceeded down Lake Champlain without fear of Native warriors attacking their rear. In September, General Richard Montgomery led a force of 2,000 colonials from Ticonderoga to Fort Saint Johns, a British outpost

[4] Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters*, 172.
[5] Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016), 140–41, 151; Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*, 46–54.

guarding the Richelieu River. Upholding their promise to Governor Carleton, 120 warriors from Kahnawà:ke along with their Abenaki allies from Saint François and Missisquoi rushed to defend the British forces. Native marksmen delayed Montgomery's invasion for two weeks, keeping Patriots bogged down in mosquito-ridden marshes until British officers gave orders to abandon the fort on November 2. British regulars and their Native allies retreated to Quebec, leaving Montreal to fall to Montgomery ten days later. Having gained control over Lake Champlain and the upper Saint Lawrence River, the Patriot army advanced on Quebec, the region's last British stronghold.[6]

A second Patriot army staggered toward Quebec through the Maine wilderness. Led by Benedict Arnold, the force of 1,100 men had followed the ancient waterway linking the Kennebec River with the Chaudière River, which flows into the Saint Lawrence River a few miles south of Quebec. New Englanders had long known about the series of rivers, streams, ponds, lakes, and portages that Abenaki families traveled to hunt, trade, and visit kin across their homeland. But few non-Native people had ever attempted the route. Arnold calculated the waterway stretched 180 miles and would take 20 days to paddle, a dangerous underestimation of the punishing 340-mile route. Weakened by hunger, disease, and a mass desertion, Arnold's remaining 600 men finally reached Quebec in early November, 45 days after setting out from Maine. Safe behind the city's sturdy walls, Governor Carleton refused Arnold's demands to surrender the city, confident that his well-fed regulars would outlast the half-starved rebels as winter set in.[7]

Spring offered little relief to the invaders. In May, a British warship carrying food, supplies, and reinforcements docked at Quebec, breaking the paltry siege the Patriots had managed and inducing them to retreat back up Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga. To stymie the pursuing British

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[6] Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 74; Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 151–52; Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 208.

[7] Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 151–53; Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 74; Rowland L. Young, "The Assault on Quebec," *American Bar Association Journal* 61, no. 11 (November 1975): 1360–61.

army, fleeing Patriots felled trees to clog up the waterways leading to their own stronghold. In October, the British finally reached Lake Champlain and constructed a fleet of ships to convey troops to Ticonderoga, too late in the season for a campaign to dislodge the colonists. The provincial army had escaped annihilation, but Congress abandoned its hope of extending the rebellion to Canada.[8]

With their northern flank exposed to British troops and Native warriors, Patriot officials rushed to the Mohawk River to affirm the Rotinonhsón:ni's neutrality. During the summer of 1776, General Philip Schuyler dispatched Colonel Elias Dayton with a regiment of New Jersey militia to meet with Little Abraham, the Kanien'kehá:ka's most influential proponent of neutrality in the widening civil war. Unlike the commissioners whom Abraham had received the previous fall, Dayton had little regard for the Natives' diplomatic protocol. Without wampum or other gifts, he warned the Kanien'kehá:ka chief not to interfere in the Patriot's campaign against the British in the Lake Champlain Valley. If their warriors took up the hatchet against the colonists, Dayton promised, "He would burn their upper & lower Castles on the Mohawk River, would burn all their houses, destroy their Towns & Cast the Mohawks with their Wives & Children off of the face of the Earth." Abraham reaffirmed that he regarded the war as a family dispute and promised not to intervene.[9]

As Lake Champlain thawed during the spring of 1777, British officials launched a counterattack to cut off New England and New York from the other colonies. Conceived by General John Burgoyne, the plan called for the precise movement of three armies converging on Albany. From the south, New York Governor George Clinton lead a force of Loyalist militias up the Hudson River from New York City. From the west, Brigadier General Barry St. Leger pushed over the Great Oneida Carry and besieged Fort Stanwix, the Patriot stronghold on the Mohawk

[8] Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 151–53.
[9] Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds., *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives about a Native People* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 208.

River. From the north, Burgoyne advanced up Lake Champlain to oust the colonists from Ticonderoga and consolidate control over the invasion route between Montreal and Albany. Burgoyne's plan sought to cleave off the rebellious colonies along the same border that had separated the Kanien'kehá:ka and Abenaki worlds since before colonization.[10]

With both British and Patriot armies moving across their homelands during the summer of 1777, Native peoples found neutrality untenable. The American invasion of Canada had convinced the Kahnawa'kehrón:on and Abenakis that Patriot forces sought to dispossess them of their lands, as Claus had warned. In June, about 500 warriors from Saint François, Kahnawà:ke, and the other Saint Lawrence River mission villages joined Burgoyne's army of 7,000 British regulars as it advanced up the Richelieu and Lake Champlain. Proceeding on to Fort Ticonderoga, the Abenaki and Kahnawa'kehrón:on warriors passed the crumbling ruins of Crown Point, the site of Fort Saint-Frédéric where their parents had formerly traded, camped, and received religious services. Several of the Abenakis had likely been baptized within the fort, held by a French *galnakad* as a priest performed the sacrament. Now grown men, the Abenakis and Kahnawa'kehrón:on fought alongside their British conquerors in an imperial civil war that threatened to consume their remaining lands.[11]

To the south of Lake Champlain, the colonial rebellion ignited a bitter civil war among the Rotinonhsón:ni. Fractured by their competing allegiances to the British and Patriots, the chiefs gathered at Onondaga during the winter of 1776-77 ritually extinguished the council fire that had burned at the center of the metaphorical Rotinonhsón:ni longhouse since their confederation during the fifteenth century. Sharing a religious affinity with the Patriots, sixty Oneida warriors flocked to reinforce Fort Stanwix ahead of St. Leger's invading army during the summer of 1777. Ambushed by Kanien'kehá:ka and Seneca warriors, at least half the Oneida warriors perished in a bloody

[10] Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian World of George Washington: The First President, The First Americans, And The Birth Of The Nation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 242–43.
[11] Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 150.

firefight at Oriskany, about ten miles east of Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River. The Senecas and Kanien'kehá:ka suffered similar casualties in a battle that unraveled the Great Law revealed to the Peacemaker centuries before.[12]

With help from Oneida warriors, American forces defeated Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in October 1777. Although British warships controlled Lake Champlain, Patriot militias and Native warriors destroyed Burgoyne's supply lines at the Battles of Hubbardton and Bennington during the summer. By the time his remaining 6,000 soldiers reached Saratoga, they lacked sufficient food and forage to overcome colonial forces led by General Horatio Gates. On October 17, Burgoyne surrendered his army, ending the war's major engagements in the Lake Champlain Valley. In this northern theater, the British and Patriots had reached a stalemate: the British could not secure the supply lines needed to sustain an invasion away from their naval support on Lake Champlain, while the Patriots lacked the heavy artillery required to capture Quebec.[13]

Violence proliferated in these borderlands. Seeking vengeance for the deaths they inflicted on each other at Oriskany, Kanien'kehá:ka and Oneida warriors destroyed each other's villages. Refugees fled the Mohawk Valley to avoid the bloodshed, leaving their cornfields and hunting territories vulnerable to encroachment from land-hungry New Yorkers. From behind British lines in Canada, the Kanien'kehá:ka chief Joseph Brant mustered displaced warriors, urging the young men "to defend their Lands & Liberty against the Rebels, who in a great measure begin this Rebellion to be sole Masters of this Continent." In 1778, Brant led a series of raids against settlers who exploited the Rotinonhsón:ni civil war to expand into the depopulated Kanien'kehá:ka villages, prompting the Continental Army's violent reprisal. George Washington deputed Major General John Sullivan and Brigadier General James Clinton to "extirpate" the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Kanien'kehá:ka

[12] Calloway, *The Indian World of George Washington*, 242–43.
[13] Calloway, 242–43.

peoples who fought alongside the British. During the summer and fall of 1779, Sullivan and Clinton lead their armies into the Rotinonhsón:ni homelands, looting and torching homes and churches, razing longhouses, burning crops, and scattering food caches. During the winter of 1779-1780, more than 5,000 Rotinonhsón:ni people abandoned their homes for Canada, including the approximately 500 Kanien'kehá:ka who had returned to the Mohawk Valley after the Oneida raids of 1777.[14]

When the Peace of Paris officially ended the Revolution in 1783, the border between the newly independent United States and Britain's Province of Quebec reflected the military impasse reached in 1777. The international boundary ran along the forty-fifth parallel, from the upper Saint Lawrence River, through Missisquoi Bay on Lake Champlain, to the headwaters of the Connecticut River. American and British plenipotentiaries preserved the northern border between New York, New England, and Quebec that British officials had imposed after the 1763 Peace of Paris. As an international border, Lake Champlain resembled *kaniatarakwà:ronte,* a "bulge in the waterway" which had for centuries conveyed Kanien'kehá:ka canoes to their cherished hunting grounds along the lake's northwestern shores.[15]

South of the international boundary, the eastern shore of Lake Champlain stood within territory contested by New York and the upstart Vermont Republic, which had declared its own independence following the violence wrought by Burgoyne's 1777 invasion over the lake. New York and Vermont officials maintained their conflicting claims to the fertile valley until 1791, when the New Yorkers relinquished their disputed title in a cash settlement of 30,000 dollars. With clear ownership over the land established and a boundary drawn down the middle of Lake Champlain,

[14] Calloway, 242–43; Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 151–56.
[15] "Definitive Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, 3 September 1783," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed February 20, 2024, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-40-02-0356.

Vermont joined the United States as the fourteenth state. Marking the border between Vermont and New York, Lake Champlain once again constituted *bitawbagw*, "the between water."[16]

Although Americans laid claim to Native homelands cleared of Native peoples, they maintained the boundaries delineated by ancestral Abenakis and Kanien'kehá:ka long before colonization. Historian Neal Salisbury argues that "certain patterns and processes originating before the beginnings of contact continued to shape the continent's history thereafter," suggesting that scholars must examine "The Indians' Old World" to explain North America's colonial history. We must also identify the borders between the Indians' old *worlds*, those fault lines across which peoples spoke languages unintelligible to one another, used the land differently, and organized their societies according to distinct kinship systems. In the Lake Champlain Valley, competing European colonizers exploited these cultural differences seeking Native allies in their own contest for the region. However, for centuries, they succeeded only in transforming Indigenous boundaries into imperial borderlands. Through overwhelming force, Britain managed to consolidate control over Lake Champlain, integrating the valley into a vast North America empire that soon fractured from within. When a new nation emerged from the violent revolution, it adopted boundaries drawn by the first peoples to gaze across Lake Champlain to the watery edges of the world.[17]

[16] "New Frontier: The Republic of Vermont," Vermont Historical Society, 2021, https://vermonthistory.org/freedom-unity-republic-vermont.
[17] Neal Salisbury, "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1996): 435–36.

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