

Schaghticoke and Points North: Wôbanaki Resistance and Persistence

by Marge Bruchac

Introduction

The popular versions of New England's Native American Indian history often contain a gap in reporting on the Native peoples of the middle Connecticut River Valley after [Metacom's War](#), also known as King Philip's War (1675-1676). Some nineteenth century historians have suggested that the [Agawam](#), [Nonotuck](#), [Pocumtuck](#), [Quaboag](#), [Sokoki](#), and [Woronoco](#) peoples vanished altogether after this tumultuous event. A closer look at the surviving documentary records, however, reveals a far more complex story as Native families chose various paths of resistance and persistence. The Native families that remained in the valley, pursuing traditional lifeways, were poorly documented by European colonists who imagined them to be remnants and wanderers. Some Native individuals assimilated into white communities. Some married or were adopted into neighboring tribes, or traveled west with fur traders. Hundreds of Native families held tight to kinship ties as they relocated to places situated outside the colony of Massachusetts. Some of those relocations were temporary while they and their allies struggled to retake their homelands. Other relocations resulted in the formation of new communities that persist today. [\(1\)](#)

Native Place Names and Refugee Communities After 1676 [\(2\)](#)

The records preserved in Massachusetts, New York, and New France colonial documents, oral traditions, and family names, clearly testify to the presence of Connecticut River Valley Native families at Schaghticoke, Missisquoi, and Odanak during the 1700s and 1800s. [\(3\)](#) These and other Native communities absorbed unknown numbers of wartime refugees, Christian Indians, and inter-tribal allies over the century following Metacom's War. Throughout this period, Native people carried on with the seasonal travels, cultural exchanges,



This illustration shows how many Native people from the middle Connecticut River Valley went northwest to Schaghticoke. [Click here](#) to see the entire map.

and resource-gathering activities that had long sustained them, and coped with terrible disruptions by expanding their diplomatic linkages. The relationships among these peoples and the histories of these places have, however, long been misunderstood due to the many linguistic, cultural, geographical, and historical errors in interpreting regional Native peoples during this crucial time period. [\(4\)](#)

In particular, the place-name "Schaghticoke," from the Algonkian locative word "pishgoch-ti-goch," indicating a site at the confluence of two rivers, has inspired much confusion, since it was used by three different Native communities, in three different English colonies. [\(5\)](#) The [Schaghticoke Tribe](#) in northwest Connecticut emerged when Weantinock, [Pequot](#), Pootatuck, [Tunxis](#) and [Mohican](#) people created a distinct tribal community along the Housatonic River that persists there today. [\(6\)](#) The Massachusetts Schaghticoke was a Mohican community in present-day Sheffield that, by 1734, joined with the mission village at Stockbridge, and eventually relocated to Wisconsin. [\(7\)](#) The New York Schaghticoke village was once an exclusively Mohican site, but after 1676, the Mohican living there were outnumbered by refugees from the Connecticut River Valley. [\(8\)](#)

By 1760, most of New York's Schaghticoke Indians had left the Hudson River to join Wōbanaki communities in northern New England.

Some of the confusion stems from the simple fact that European observers often identified Native people by where they seemed to be living at the time, rather than by their place of origin, and used generic names instead of personal, family, or tribal names that could more accurately identify a Native person. Thus, after 1676, Native people who originally came from Agawam, Nonotuck, Pocumtuck, Quaboag, Sokoki, and Woronoco were identified, in colonial documents, as "North Indians," "River Indians," "Schaghticoke Indians," "St. Francis Indians" etc., depending on wherever they happened to be living at any particular moment in time. These gaps in the record and mistaken identities have encouraged the false impression that the middle Connecticut River Valley Indians and other Wōbanaki peoples disappeared after 1676.

Troubles in the Connecticut River Valley

Traditional [Algonkian](#) lifeways in the middle Connecticut River Valley had long depended upon shifting homesites that made use of multiple resources within Native [homelands](#), so it was no great hardship to move an entire community. [\(9\)](#) This was made easier by the far-reaching inter-tribal trade networks, alliances, and agreements for sharing certain places that had been in place long before Europeans arrived. But the pressures of English colonial expansion and conflict in the late 1600s forced more dramatic, longer-term relocations.

The surviving colonial documents make it clear that Massachusetts colonists took advantage of the inter-tribal conflicts that disrupted Native communities. In 1663, for example, Springfield's fur trader and land broker John Pynchon, attempted to broker peace for the Pocumtuck by directing the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) to attack the Sokoki. [\(10\)](#) After the English took control of New Netherland, a new treaty was negotiated with the Kanienkehaka and Mohican against the Pocumtuck and other Connecticut River tribes. [\(11\)](#) In 1665, the Kanienkehaka attacked the Pocumtuck fort; shortly thereafter John Pynchon began arranging to survey Pocumtuck land and secure deeds to enable the settlement of Deerfield.

Over the next decade, relations among Indians and English in the Connecticut River Valley deteriorated. In 1674, John Pynchon reported that many of the Woronoco and Pojassic Indians had moved to Albany. [\(12\)](#) Pynchon recognized the threat posed by English meddling in Native diplomacy: "I hope the engaging the Maquas not to entertain or favor our enemies Agawam, Nonotuck, Pocumtuck, and Sokoki] may be of good use; truly their rage against us increases greatly." [\(13\)](#) Their rage did, indeed, increase, when King Philip's War broke out.

During the winter of 1675, Metacom brought a large number of [Wampanoag](#), [Narragansett](#), and [Nipmuc](#) people to the [Hoosic](#) River to construct a winter camp, but they were driven out by Kanienkehaka who "marched out very strong...killing divers, and bringing away some prisoners with great Pride and Triumph." [\(14\)](#) Metacom's allies moved to the Connecticut River Valley, but the bloody May 19, 1676 assault on [Peskeompskut](#) forced another relocation. [\(15\)](#) Shortly thereafter, Governor Edmund Andros of New York colony suddenly became more hospitable. He sent a message that "all Indyans, who will come & submitt, shall be received to live under the protection of the Government." In the same month, 500 Sokoki Indians accepted a similar offer to move to New France (Canada). [\(16\)](#)

The English feared these new Native alliances, and were deeply suspicious when Native men moved their families to safe places far from English settlements. In August of 1676, a Native man named Menowniatt reported that the Nonotuck and Pocumtuck "and others are gon to a place about Hudson's River called Paquayag, and were encouraged to come there by a great man of those parts...He was askt where they had ye ammunition to carry on the war; he said the Powquiag Indians bought it of ye Dutch and sold it ym...He sayth ye Indians hid a great many gunns about Pacompuck [Pocumtuck]." [\(17\)](#) The New England Commissioners encouraged Mohawk hostility against the Connecticut Valley Indians while they praised the Mohican for their neutrality in this conflict. [\(18\)](#)

After the war's end, Major Pynchon made several attempts to intercede with the Kanienkehaka to end their attacks on Eastern Indians. During a time when "friendly Indians" were expected to provide a buffer against Indian attacks, Massachusetts colony was particularly concerned about the safety of the Nipmuc [Praying Indians](#) in Natick, near Boston, who were considered to be exemplary Christian Indians. [\(19\)](#) There was, however, no comparable concern about the original Native inhabitants of the Connecticut River Valley.

In 1691, 150 Pocumtuck people left Schaghticoke to return to their original homelands in Deerfield, but English hostility made it difficult for them to stay. [\(20\)](#) When conflicts erupted, English "justice" was harsh.

In one incident, a Native man named Chepasson, a veteran of King Philip's War, was taken prisoner for debt and killed at Deerfield. (21) In another incident, four Native men were arrested and two were hung at Northampton for murder, before the Schaghticoke sachems could deliver the real culprits (22). After these incidents, John Pynchon advised the colonies that all Indians living north of Springfield, Massachusetts should henceforth be treated as hostiles. Pynchon and Samuel Partridge asked the King's agents in London for more military assistance, and cautioned against any attempt to make peace with the Connecticut Valley Indians. They wrote: "sometimes they dwell at Stratburk [Schaghticoke], sometimes at the eastward and make marriages with the Eastern Indians [Eastern Abenaki, Pennacook, Pequawket, etc.], and sometimes at Canada [Saint Francis Abenaki], and live like beasts and birds of prey upon the destruction of others." (23)

The direct connections between the forced displacement of Native peoples by English colonists, the shifty transactions of fur trade debt and deeds, and the subsequent hostilities against English settlements, seem obvious. Since English colonial leaders refused to make any alliances or compromises in the Connecticut River Valley, it should be no wonder the Connecticut River Indians sought allies elsewhere.

Living in Ndakinna

The territory that Wôbanaki peoples knew as "[Ndakinna](#)," meaning, "my homeland," spread across present-day Vermont and New Hampshire, into southern Canada and parts of northern New York. During the late 1600s and early 1700s, this region was inhabited by self-governing Wôbanakiak who had not capitulated to European powers. These groups were being courted by New France, but had, thus far, resisted colonization. They enjoyed free movement and abundant hunting and fishing in what had long been their traditional homelands. The English, who caught glimpses of Ndakinna only as captives being carried through it, or as scouts and warriors during the French and Indian wars, depicted it as "wilderness." To the Wôbanakiak, it was a familiar, long-inhabited territory that supplied all the resources necessary for life. (24)

Several thousand Native people traveled through this region to reach [Odanak](#) or [Saint Francis](#), a Native village with a Catholic mission situated about 200 miles northwest of Deerfield, on the Anusaguticook (Saint Francis River) near the St. Lawrence in [New France](#). Further north on the Saint Lawrence, the village of Wolinak absorbed Wawenock and Androscoggin people and others from eastern and northern New England. Travel to Odanak was at least an 11-day journey from Deerfield, but many equally hospitable Wôbanaki sites were within only a few days walking or canoeing distance of the middle Connecticut River Valley.

The written records and oral traditions reveal that a number of Connecticut River Valley Native families moved to Sokoki territory just north of Massachusetts, or joined with the Winooski people living along the Winooski River, the Missisquoi at Lake Champlain, the Cowass on the upper Connecticut River, the Pennacook in New Hampshire, the Pequawket in western Maine, and other regional bands in northern New England. They planted maize in the river intervalles, cut chestnut trees to cover their wigwams, hunted deer and bear in the Green and White Mountains, harvested a wide variety of flora, fauna, and medicinals, and followed the rivers for easy



Birch trees, one of the abundant resources in Ndakinna, were used for constructing practical, sturdy, lightweight canoes for easy travel on the waterways. Courtesy of Aaron York, Wobanaki Custom Canoe Builder and Researcher of Traditional Birchbark Canoes

travel. Each of these locations had similar characteristics: easy access to waterways and trails, fertile land for planting, good hunting and fishing, and a resident Native community that was willing to take in refugees. (25)

The populations of Native communities in this region shifted over time as refugees came and went. The Missisquoi Valley, close by Lake Champlain, the Saint

Lawrence River, and Lake Memphremagog, became a haven for many Connecticut River families, some of who moved back and forth between Missisquoi and Odanak. Winooski was a popular hunting territory for the Schaghticoke.

The Sokoki seem to have split during this time: some went to Schaghticoke, some to Canada, and some remained in Ndakinna. The Pennacook, who had maintained neutrality during Metacom's War, followed a similar course. The Cowass, living at the oxbow on the Connecticut River near present-day Newbury, Vermont, offered a haven for those traveling north. (26)

The [Peguawket](#) sachem Atecouando tried, unsuccessfully, to make Peguawket a large community by convincing Father Aubery to move the Wôbanakiak then living at Odanak and Wolinak on the Saint Lawrence River, southward. One of the Jesuit missionaries, Father Sebastian Rale, eventually did come to New England, where he founded a Catholic mission for the Kennebec Indians at Norridgewock, led by the sachem Obomsawin, or Bomaseen. (27) The trusting alliance between the French and the Wôbanakiak was a direct threat to the stability of the English colonies. Cotton Mather complained that raiding parties now consisted of "half Indianized French and half Frenchified Indians." (28)

Troubles at Schaghticoke After 1704

In the decades after 1704, while untold numbers of the Connecticut River Valley's Native peoples folded into Wôbanaki communities in the north, at least 2,000 Native people relocated to Schaghticoke. These Connecticut River Valley Indians maintained separate political and tribal identities from the Mohican. The Albany court records reveal that Mohawk and Mohican sachems consistently drew sharp distinctions between themselves and the Schaghticoke Indians, whom they metaphorically referred to as "children" living under their protection. Schaghticoke refugees were also expected to report to Albany and secure passes for safe conduct if they wished to return to Massachusetts, or travel northward for hunting.

Conflicts between the English and the Schaghticoke Indians were sometimes resolved by the Mohican sachems, who were well trusted by the Dutch inhabitants of New York. In one incident involving a "North Indian" who insulted an Englishman, the Schaghticoke sachem Wamsachko apologized profusely, saying, "It was very wrong of the Indian to abuse and scold Philip Schuyler so. They did not know that the Indian had such a bad temper." Wamsachko promised to notify the Mohican and English of any strangers arriving at Schaghticoke in the future. Exchanges of wampum settled the matter, and the Mohican sachem Wattawit thanked the English for dealing calmly with this incident. (29)

By 1704, Schaghticoke had become, not just a place of refuge, but an important center of resistance where displaced Native peoples could find mutual support and build new alliances. The Albany Commissioners made numerous attempts to convince more Wôbanaki people to move to Schaghticoke, in hopes of securing a tighter alliance with the Mohawk and Mohican, and breaking the deepening alliance between Wôbanaki peoples and the French.

When the sachem Sadochques brought a large group of Connecticut River Valley Indians to live at Schaghticoke, he recognized both the fragility and possibilities of the new peace with the Kanienkehaka: "itt is always Said that ye Christians & ye maquase [Mohawk] are in a good union & Covenant chaen be soo Small as your little finger butt very thick & Strong...his honr hath been Pleased to order that Scachkook Shall be the Place of our habitacon for which wee are Verry Thankfull." (30) Albany's Secretary for Indian Affairs, Robert Livingston, invited Sadochques to send for more Wôbanakiak to join them: "...ye govr will take Such care to Secure & Protect you that you may wholly Rely upon itt...[we] therefore desyre you to acquaint the Rest of your nation that are Still at Conida of ye good Entertainment you have here and send them this Belt of wampum as a lettr from ye govr who Promises them all favor and Protection." (31)

Loss of Land at Schaghticoke

Even as they were encouraging more Native refugees to locate there, English colonists were maneuvering to take away Schaghticoke lands. New York Commissioner Robert Livingston maneuvered a purchase of 2,000 acres of Mohican lands that would soon be converted into the 160,000 acre Manor of Livingston to the south. The Hoosic patent to the east was sold to the Van Rensselaer family, and the Kanienkehaka sold the Saratoga patent to the north. More deeds for Schaghticoke land would follow. (32)

During a 1714 conference, the Schaghticoke complained of these losses, saying: "The owners [Mohican] having sold part of the land to the Christians to wit all the land on one side of the Scackhook Creeks and the

Indians were to live and plant on the other side of the creek, but the Christians would now have it on both sides the Creek & Dispossess us of the Lands we formerly Planted." During another meeting on August 31, 1722, the Schaghticoke described one of the specific methods by which the English were duping the Indians out of their land: the English would simply ask for the names of the places where the Indians lived, and then transcribe those names into a deed. (33)

Despite this, New Yorkers kept inviting more Native people to move to Schaghticoke. The Saint Francis Abenaki refused, and took this opportunity to explain their reasons for continually attacking English colonists: "We are so inveterate against those people of N England because they have taken away our Land and kept our People prisoner, but let them restore our Land and releive our People and we will lay down the Hatchett." (34)

At a conference in the 1720s, New York Governor Burnet asked why "your people are so fond of going to Canada?" and reminded the Schaghticoke of the protection they had received under the tree of peace. The Schaghticoke responded, "... its true that a Tree has been planted and we are recommended to live & shelter under the shadow of it but that Tree begins to decay and the leaves to wither, having but a small plot of Land to Plant on." (35) The Schaghticoke were already scouting for other safe places to live, and other strategies to retake their homelands.

Over the decades, the Schaghticoke Indians constantly complained to New York's colonial leaders about their fear of being displaced by English settlers to whom the Mohican and Mohawk were selling land. In one such transaction, Sir William Johnson went to some effort to distinguish the different claims when he wrote "the Mohocks do acknowledge the title of the Scarticook [Schaghticoke] Indians to the east of our bounds, and we the Mohocks and Stockbridge [Mohican] Indians do declare the foregoing bounds to be just and true" (36) Despite these efforts, the land losses continued.

Gray Lock's War

Between 1712-1726, a number Connecticut River Valley Indians living at Schaghticoke became involved in the Anglo-Abenaki conflict known as "Dummer's War" or "Gray Lock's War." Gray Lock was a Woronoco sachem who had fought in Metacom's War and moved with the first refugees to Schaghticoke. Gray Lock was known to the Wôbanakiak as Wawanolewat, meaning "one who fools the others," or "puts someone off the track." By 1712, he had relocated with his family to Missisquoi on the east side of Lake Champlain, in present-day Swanton, Vermont.

Gray Lock's allies included Missisquoi, Saint Francis, Sokoki, Schaghticoke, and Kahnawake Indians who were supplied with guns and ammunition by Canada's Governor Vaudreuil. From there, Wawanolewat led surprise strikes against the English at Northfield, Deerfield, Sunderland, Northampton, and Westfield. Fear of these attacks inspired the construction of the blockhouse at Fort Dummer, now Brattleboro, Vermont. Colonists tried to track Wawanolewat, but they never found Missisquoi, which they called "Gray Lock's Castle." (37)

The differences in colonial diplomacy between the Kahnawake and the Wôbanakiak are interesting. In November of 1723, Colonel Samuel Partridge of Northfield sent a belt of wampum to Kahnawake in hopes of securing an end to Gray Lock's attacks. Two Kahnawake captains, Saguenognas and Cahowasco, explained that "their young people were deluded...Gov. Vaudreuil persuaded them, and gave them powder and shot and ten guns; but they are very sorry and ashamed that they have gone, and say they will never go again." As a peace gesture, they called back 300 Kahnawake warriors. (38) No such entreaties or wampum belts were sent to Missisquoi. Instead, the Massachusetts legislature began making plans for "an expedition to St. Francis...400 able bodied men, English and Indians might be thought sufficient." Smaller expeditions were sent out to destroy small Wôbanaki family groups wherever they could be found, seeking to profit from the scalp bounty paid by the colonies. (39)

Colonial authorities recognized that Gray Lock's War was the direct result of injustice and encroachments by the English, but Massachusetts soldiers nonetheless retaliated by attacking and burning the Wôbanaki community at Norridgewock, killing Father Rale and relatives of Bomaseen. Another English party attacked the Penobscot in eastern Wôbanakia. Missisquoi was never attacked by the English, but an expedition to Saint Francis was still in the works.

After the French Governor Vaudreuil died in 1725, several Wôbanaki leaders sought to end the fighting. The [Penobscot](#) sent messengers to make peace with the colonial leaders at Boston. Wawanolewat was invited, but he sent a wampum belt with a message that his men were as yet undecided. (40)

Deerfield Conference in 1735

English towns in the middle Connecticut River Valley had been hard hit during Queen Anne's War and Gray Lock's War, and Massachusetts was eager to avoid such attacks if hostilities broke out again. Now that John Pynchon and most veterans of Metacom's War were long dead, the way seemed clear for a new era of treaty-making with the region's Native peoples.

In 1727, Massachusetts Governor Dummer met with four nations of the [Eastern Abenaki](#) (Penobscot, Pequawket, Norridgewock, and Wawenock) in Maine, then considered part of Massachusetts colony, to ratify a 1725 Boston peace treaty. In 1732, his successor, Jonathan Belcher, met with the Penobscot, Pequawket, Norridgewock, and Androscoggin, and endeavored to turn them away from both French Catholicism and English rum. [\(41\)](#) With peace on the eastern shores seemingly secured, Belcher turned his sights west.

In 1732, Belcher suggested that Kahnawake people be relocated into Sokoki territory, "between Otter Creek and Fort Dummer," to provide a buffer from Saint Francis attacks. The brief respite of peace between England and France was, Belcher suggested, "a favourable Conjuncture of bringing the Indians on our Borders into our Interest, and nothing will so naturally contribute to it as to let them feel more & more the Sweets of Trading with us." [\(42\)](#) Belcher apparently did not understand that Kahnawake was, at that time, part of the Seven Nations Confederacy along with the Saint Francis, and that any requests to settle by the Connecticut River would not have been made without the consent of their displaced Wôbanaki allies.

The sachems of the Kahnawake, Saint Francis, Schaghticoke, Hudson River Mohican, and Housatonic Mohican communities requested a meeting with Belcher to make their wishes more clear. In August of 1735, more than 140 Native representatives—8 from Kahnawake, 17 Hudson River Mohican, 19 Saint Francis Abenaki, 44 Housatonic Mohican, and 66 Schaghticoke—gathered in Deerfield. A large tent was erected with tables for members of the Governor's Council and the House of Representatives. Numerous spectators attended over the five days of meetings. Belcher opened the gathering with an offering of wampum to symbolically "wipe away all Tears from your eyes...open your Throats that you may speak with freedom...[and] wipe away all Blood." The official interpreter was Captain Joseph Kellogg from Fort Dummer. As a teenager, Kellogg had been captured from Deerfield in 1704 and lived ten years among the Saint Lawrence tribes before returning to New England; as an adult, he was an invaluable interpreter who spoke French, Kanienkehaka, and Wôbanaki languages fluently. [\(43\)](#)

The goals of the conference were straightforward and far-reaching. The Kahnawake called for peace among the French, English and Five Nations Iroquois. The Mohican Captain Konkapot asked that a missionary be appointed to the Housatonic Mohican village, then being rebuilt in the English model at Stockbridge, MA. The Saint Francis Abenaki and Schaghticoke requested more supplies and a missionary for the fort and truck house for fur trading at Fort Dummer, (now Brattleboro) about 20 miles north of Deerfield. [\(44\)](#) It is clear from the proceedings, and subsequent movements, that Wôbanakiak, not Kanienkehaka, people would be the chief beneficiaries of this new truck house.

In February of 1735, Nechehoosqua, Massaquant, and their two children sold Captain Joseph Kellogg 20 miles of lands on either side of Fort Dummer. In August, Penwase, his brother Wallenas, and other relatives of Woolauootaumesqua and Nepuscauteusqua, negotiated the transfer of a large stretch of Sokoki homelands across northern Massachusetts for English settlement. The signers of the deeds identified themselves as "Indians of the Scauhtecook Tribe [who] are the true sole and rightful owners of the Land" since their "ancestors habitations were by or near unto Connecticut River." [\(45\)](#) In these deeds, there is no mention of reserving hunting, fishing, or other indigenous rights; apparently, the lands from present-day Charlemont to Templeton, Massachusetts were intended to be sold outright.

Kellogg hired a number of Native sachems as scouts for Fort Dummer, including Hendrick (Kanienkehaka), Aupaumut (Stockbridge Mohican), and three Schaghticoke: Massequant, Naunautoohoah, and Mascommah, who had signed the 1735 deeds. Together, they hoped to ensure peaceful trade while enforcing the new territorial boundaries. [\(46\)](#)

After this conference, a number of Mohican people moved from the Hudson River to the new mission village of Stockbridge. Around the same time, a number of Native people moved from Schaghticoke to the lands around Fort Dummer. Some joined Pennacook families still living in the Merrimack River Valley, or folded in with the many different bands of Wôbanakiak across northern New England. Others went to Odanak on the Saint

Francis River. The written records of the movements of these people are scarce, since most parts of Wôbanakia were not settled by the English until after the last French and Indian War.

French and Indian Wars

Throughout King George's War (1745-1748) and the French and Indian War (1754-1763), the Wôbanakiak and their allies fought to prevent further English encroachments into their territory. The populations at Schaghticoke and Odanak changed frequently as families arrived and departed at will. Warriors from different Native nations passed through Odanak and Kahnawake, carrying captives who would variously be kept as servants, adopted as kin, sold to the French, or ransomed back to the English.

Massachusetts Governor Belcher made little effort to prevent English colonists from moving into Wôbanaki territory, but he repeatedly asked Wôbanaki sachems to stop Saint Francis attacks. In one letter written in 1740, he reported that the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka "took the hatchet out of the hands of the St. Francis Indians in June last when they intended to make warr with us," and appealed to the Norridgewock and Penobscot for similar assistance. [\(47\)](#)

In July 1752, when pressed to explain the attacks on the Connecticut River Valley, the Pequawket sachem Atecouando (also known as Atiwaneto) stated, "Brothers, we tell you that we seek not war, we ask nothing better than to be quiet, and it depends, brothers, only on you English, to have peace with us." He specifically referred back to the 1735 Sokoki deeds by noting: "We will not cede one single inch of lands we inhabit beyond what has been decided formerly by our fathers...We acknowledge no other boundaries of yours than your settlements whereon you have built." [\(48\)](#) Since the English had no intention of respecting those boundaries, the fighting continued.

By July of 1754, the Schaghticoke settlement was foundering. The sachems explained to the Colonial Congress in Albany, "Your Honor may see that we are but young and unexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead, so that we have nobody to give us any Advice, but we will do as our Fathers have done before us." [\(49\)](#)

On August 28, 1757, in the midst of the French and Indian War, the Schaghticoke Indian settlement in New York was finally abandoned. Governor Delancey complained that a party of marauding Saint Francis Abenaki had "made an incursion into this Province and burnt the houses and Barns full of grain at Hoseck [Hoosic]...[and] they carried off with them the few remaining Indians of Scachtacook, being between fifty and sixty Men, Women and Children." Although New Yorkers assumed them to be prisoners, the Schaghticoke were likely grateful to be rescued from under the thumbs of the English by their allies and kin. [\(50\)](#)

Wôbanaki People After Schaghticoke

After Schaghticoke was abandoned in 1757, its inhabitants did not disappear. A few families joined the Kanienkehaka village at Kahnawake, and oral traditions suggest that some Schaghticoke Indians might have joined the Mohican at Stockbridge or the Nipmuc in central Massachusetts. Local historical and oral traditions note that some of the Schaghticoke Indians stayed in New York, living in the foothills of the Adirondacks, around Lake George, Saratoga Springs, and in the Sacandaga River Valley, where their descendants eventually mixed with rural Kanienkehaka, Mohican, and white communities. [\(51\)](#)

The village of Missisquoi, around present-day St. Albans and Swanton Vermont, on the east side of Lake Champlain, remained one of the central settlements of Wôbanaki people throughout the French and Indian wars and American Revolution, and right up to the present. The land around Missisquoi was never deeded away, but the French were allowed to build there for a time, and a portion of land was leased in 1765 for an English sawmill. [\(52\)](#) Artificial divisions were cut through Ndakinna by the institution of state and international boundaries, abetted by the fiction that Vermont was an uninhabited wilderness. Members of more than a dozen New England tribes moved through Missisquoi, Pennacook, and Odanak during the 1700s and 1800s.

The safety that the Wôbanakiak had long enjoyed among the French in Canada was shattered in October of 1759, when Odanak was attacked by a party of 118 New England men with Rogers' Rangers, following the orders of Sir Jeffrey Amherst. Thirty-two Wôbanakiak were killed, and homes and the church were burned to the ground. Rogers was assisted by 25 Stockbridge Mohican scouts who had abandoned their friendship with the Wôbanakiak to fight for the English. The village was soon rebuilt with the assistance of the French. [\(53\)](#)

At various times before and after this raid, some of the Saint Francis people could be found living among the Kanienkehaka at Akwesasne and Kahnawake, before those communities became more exclusively Mohawk.



This French-style house, inhabited by the Sadoques family, now no longer standing, was one of many Native homes rebuilt after the 1759 raid on Odanak. Private collection.

The village of Odanak moved several times, eventually settling on the north side of the Saint Francis River, south of the Saint Lawrence and just west of Pierreville. Even with all this movement, the population of Odanak averaged only about 300 people at any given point in time, since family bands frequently came and went at will.

Although the Western Wôbanaki communities in northern New England—Missisquoi, Pennacook, Pequawket, Cowass, and others—stopped their campaign of military resistance after the 1760s, these people continued living in their traditional territories, although less visible to colonial settlers. After New France fell into British hands, Wôbanaki people lost their strongest ally, which may explain why some joined the American colonists during the American Revolution. For example, Louis Gill, the grand chief at Odanak in the 1770s, himself the son of former white captives, simultaneously held commissions from King George and George Washington, thus, ironically, protecting the village from being a site of English-American conflict. [\(54\)](#) After the revolution, lands across Vermont, New Hampshire, and parts of upstate New York were

granted to white American war veterans without the consent of the Wôbanakiak who lived there. Some Wôbanaki men fought in the War of 1812 and the American Civil War, in hopes of securing permanent ownership of small plots of land through just such military grants.

This essay touches only briefly on the history of the Connecticut River Valley Indians and other Wôbanaki people in New England after 1800, and space does not permit a full discussion of their descendants today, which is, in itself, a fascinating story. But it should be known that throughout the 1800s and early 1900s, Wôbanaki families in Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, and southern Canada made a living at a variety of occupations. They made and sold ash-splint baskets at resorts like Lake George and Saratoga Springs and the grand hotels in the White Mountains and Green Mountains. They made birchbark canoes, served as guides for sport hunters in the mountains of New England, and worked for the Hudson Bay Company as fur trappers and guides.

Wôbanaki people also worked as Indian Doctors and Doctresses, dispensing herbal medicines to Native and non-Native people alike. In the early 1800s, the Abenaki Indian Doctor Louis Watso was such a regular visitor to Deerfield that the resident white doctor, Stephen West Williams, complained that "I have seen hundreds of my fellow citizens chasing after a part of a tribe of Indians who came here to make us a visit from Canada, for the cure of their diseases." [\(55\)](#)

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was an exodus of some northern Wôbanakiak back to southern New England to find work in the mill towns and factories of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Over the course of the two centuries between 1800 and the present, although Wôbanaki families traveled widely, many stayed close to their original homelands in northern New England.

Surviving Names From the Connecticut River Valley

Although many Native families left their permanent homesites in the Connecticut River Valley behind, they still traveled through, and carried oral traditions, place names, and personal names with them that connect people over time and space. Some of the surviving oral traditions among the Wôbanakiak include stories of mythological characters in deep time who shaped the land. (See Wôbanakiak: Amiskwôlowôkoiak—the People of the Beaver-tail Hill in the Voices & Songs section of this website.) [\(56\)](#) (See also The Geology and Cultural History of the Beaver Hill Story in the Voices & Songs section of this website.)



Elijah Tahamont and Margaret Obomsawin, Abenaki people who lived in Odanak and Lake George, became famous models for the painter Frederick Remington. Their daughter, Beulah Tahamont, moved to Hollywood in the early 1900s to act in the movies, where Indians were expected to wear stereotypical western Plains Indian dress rather than traditional Wôbanaki clothing. Copyright Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA. All Rights Reserved

Other oral traditions record specific historical events, such as Metacom's War and Rogers' Raid with details on the individuals and families involved and their relationships through the generations.

Some of the family names still in use today among the northern Wôbanakiak at Missisquoi and Odanak reveal the strongest evidence of Connecticut River Valley origins. Over time, the descendants of Shattoockquis or Sadochques, originally from Pocumtuck and Quaboag, changed the family name to Mesadoques and Sadoques. The descendants of the Woronoco war chief Gray Lock, or Wawanolewat, now go by the names of Wawanolet and Nolet. The Norridgewock sachem Bomaseen, the English version of Obomsawin (meaning, "far traveler"), has many descendants today, some of whom claim the family hailed from the Connecticut River Valley.

The names Penewanse (from "kepinawos," "the person who takes care of someone") and Wallenas (from "wolhanas," which means "valley person"), came from Sokoki men who were identified as "Schaghticoke Indians" when they signed deeds for Sokoki land, and later as "Abenaki Indians," when they fought during the French and Indian wars. Their descendants throughout Wôbanaki territory today use the names Pinewans, Capinawans, Capino, Wonlinase and/or Wanlinas. Virtually every surname in use among the Wôbanaki people today holds just such a story about where that family came from, who they are related to, and what their ancestors went through to survive.

Thousands of descendants of the Schaghticoke Indians live among the Wôbanakiak today, where they generally self-identify as members of various bands of "Abenaki" people, rather than as "Connecticut River Valley Indians." Some Wôbanaki families still live in Massachusetts; others have traveled across the continent with their relations. The kinship ties and family memories of

Wôbanaki communities across northern New England and southern Canada, in their old homeland of Ndinna, transcend the international and state borders that have artificially divided them.

FOOTNOTES

Footnote # 1

See scene on this web site: "Founding New Communities: Schaghticoke and Odanak."

Footnote # 2

For a more detailed discussion of the movements among these different communities after King Philip's War, see Colin Calloway, "King Philip's War and the Great Dispersals, 1675-1677," in *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800 - War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*. Norman and London : University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

Footnote # 3

Gordon Day's work, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians* (1981), reveals the complexity of the various Native peoples who came to be known collectively as the "Saint Francis Abenaki." Colin Calloway, John Moody, William Haviland, Marjorie Power, and Frederick Wiseman have all written at length about the identity of the

Missisquoi Abenaki. David Stewart Smith is one of the most reliable sources for writing about the Pennacook Abenaki. Although much information has been preserved in the New York colonial documents and court records, there is not, as yet, any comparable source that explores the background of the Native peoples who inhabited Schaghticoke, New York.

Footnote # 4

Historical errors about the origins of Schaghticoke and Odanak abound in secondary sources. The most common mistakes include the following: assuming that the Schaghticoke Indians in New York were all Mohican; confusing the Schaghticoke Indians in New York with the Schaghticoke Tribe in Connecticut; confusing the Pennacook in New Hampshire with the Pequot in Connecticut; confusing the Mohican in New York with the Mohegan in Connecticut; confusing the Cowass in Vermont with the place name Cohoes in New York; mistaking the Saco Indians of Maine for the Sokoki Indians of the Connecticut River Valley; assuming that Odanak was the origin of the Abenaki people of Vermont and New Hampshire; and confusing Eastern Abenaki people in Maine with Western Abenaki people in Vermont. The state borders around Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York, and the international border between the United States and Canada, all of which artificially cut through Western Abenaki territory, add to the confusion.

Footnote # 5

Many historians have been confused by the presence of different Native settlements by the same name during the 1600s. Russell Handsman and Trudie Lamb Richmond have argued that this kind of confusion can be blamed on the stereotypes, discourse of disappearance, and broad generalizations that American writers have long used in writing regional Native histories (see "Confronting Colonialism: The Mahican and Schaghticoke Peoples and Us" Handsman and Richmond 1996). Lazy scholarship is also responsible for the chronic confusion between the Mohican of New York and the Mohegan of Connecticut, who are two politically and historically distinct tribal groups.

Readers should be forewarned that 19th and 20th century historical writers and novelists often mixed fact, fiction, folklore, and oral tradition, making for compelling reading that inspires considerable confusion. For example, James Fenimore Cooper's popular 1830s novel *Last of the Mohicans* used the name of a 17th century Connecticut Mohegan sachem, Uncas, in a fictional 18th century New York Mohican setting. Local historian Grace Greylock Niles, author of *The Hoosac Valley, its Legends and its History* (1912), imagined all of the Native peoples of New England to be members of what she called the "Abenakis Democracy," led by "kings and councilors" who were centered in the Hudson and Housatonic valleys. This theory ignores the clear distinctions among northeastern Native leaders, the delicacies of inter-tribal alliances, the political autonomy of Abenaki and Mohican peoples, and the differences in their histories after European invasion. Many sources on the world wide web today make similar mistakes.

Footnote # 6

In 1637, after the Pequot War, a group of Native refugees settled a new community, called Schaghticoke, in northwestern Connecticut along the Housatonic River. During the 1700s, approximately 600 Native people from Mohican, Oweantinock, Pequot, Pootatuck, and Tunxis communities were permanently settled at Schaghticoke, led by sachem Gideon Mauwee. The Schaghticoke Tribe has long been recognized by the colony of Connecticut as a distinct political group. Today, the tribe is based on a 400 acre reservation of rocky, mountainous land in Kent, Connecticut. See "Schaghticoke Tribal Nation: Tribal History" on-line at: <http://www.schaghticoke.com/index.php?page=history.historical>.

Footnote # 7

Mohican origin stories record that the Mohican people did not originate in New York, but migrated there from the west. The 18th century sachem Hendrick Aupaumet recounted:

Our forefathers asserted, that their ancestors were emigrated from west by north of another country; they passed over the great waters, where this and the other country is nearly connected...that they lived by side of great water or sea, from whence they derive the name of Muhheakunnuck nation...As they were coming from the west, they found many waters, but none of them flowing and ebbing like Muhheakunnuck until they came to Hudson's River; then they said to one another, this is like Muhheakunnuck our nativity.

(From John Heckewelder *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations* (1819), Philadelphia, PA:Arno Press reprint 1971, p. 108.)

Many scholars call these people "Mahican," as an anglicized version of "Muhheakunnuck," but the tribal descendants living in Wisconsin today are officially known as the "Stockbridge Munsee Band of Mohican Indians" (see <http://www.mohican.com/history/oeh.htm>). For a more complete discussion of Mohican history, see Shirley Dunn, *The Mohican World 1680-1750*. Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press 2000.

Footnote # 8

Archaeological finds suggest that the lands around Schaghticoke, New York, were inhabited by Native people for millenia. In 1613, the Dutch explorer Adriaen Block was the first to call the indigenous peoples living along what is now the "Hudson River" "Mahicans." After 1676, Albany court recorders and New York colonial leaders went to great lengths to distinguish between the Mohican, often called "River Indians," who were well-known as the indigenous inhabitants of the Hudson River Valley, and the Schaghticoke, who were the refugee newcomers.

Footnote # 9

The early colonial records are full of references to the speed and ease with which Algonkian peoples relocated entire villages of wigwams. For a fuller explanation of how this movement led to the mistaken impression that these homesites were temporary, see Elizabeth Chilton, "Towns They Have None: Diverse Subsistence and Settlement Strategies in Native New England," pp. 289-300 in J. Hart and C. Reith, eds. *Northeast Subsistence-Settlement Change: A.D. 700 – A.D. 1300*. Albany, NY: New York State Museum Bulletin 2002.

Also see the explanation on this web site: "Native Land Use and Settlements in the Northeastern Woodlands."

Footnote # 10

For a fuller discussion of the conflicts between Mohawk people and Connecticut River Valley Indians, see Gordon M. Day. "The Ouragie War: A Case History in Iroquois-New England Indian Relations," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 1984, pp. 35-50).

For a discussion of the background and details of John Pynchon's negotiations between the Pocumtuck and Mohawk, see Margaret Bruchac and Peter Thomas, "Locating Wissatinnewag: John Pynchon's Influence on Pocumtuck Diplomacy," forthcoming in the *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Westfield, Massachusetts 2006. The clearest example of Pynchon's attempt to broker peace is a letter written July 28, 1663, to the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany), on behalf of the Connecticut River Valley Indians and Mohican people of the Housatonic Valley, with whom Pynchon was engaged in fur trade:

This is written to your Honors at the request of the Indians of Agawam, Pajassuck, Nalwetog [Nonotuck], Pocumtuck, and the Wissatinnewag [Housatonic], to inform their friends, the Dutch, that they are very much put out, because the Sowquackick [Sokoki] Indians had killed and murdered some of the Maquaas [Mohawk]; all the above named Indians request herewith that the Dutch Commissaries [at Fort Orange, now Albany] will believe, that only Sowquackick Indians had been killing the Maquaas. As to the other Indians of the Caneticot [Connecticut] River...they deplore it exceedingly, repudiate the deed, and... are resolved to keep up their intercourse and friendship with the Maquaas as before (NYCD XIII:308-309).

The Mohawk responded to this message by attacking the Sokoki fort at present-day Hinsdale, New Hampshire that fall. By May of 1664, the records of a Dutch Court session at Fort Orange show the eagerness of the Mohawk to seek peace:

Whereas the savages, called Maquaas, have very urgently requested, that we should [endeavor to make peace between that] tribe [the Pocumtuck] and the said Maquaas [and send some] Mahicanders to the Northern savages, called Onconntehocks [Sokokis] , to procure the release of the Maquaas, who have been captured by the said savages, and to assist them in every thing and do what the circumstances shall require to conclude a peace. (NYCD XIII:378)

On May 19, 1664, Jan Dareth and Jacob Lockermans, accompanied by three Mohawk and three Mohican, left Albany for a meeting with the Pocumtuck (NYCD XIII:380-382). During this meeting, held at the Pocumtuck fort, three of John Pynchon's fur traders, David Wilton, Henry Clark and Joseph Parsons, delivered a message that if any further trouble occurred, the colonists would force the Pocumtuck to leave the valley. The Mohawk emissaries left and agreed to return with a gift of wampum. In June of 1664, however, the proposed peace between Mohawk and Pocumtuck fell apart when the Mohawk sachem Saheda and other ambassadors were murdered on their way to the Pocumtuck village.

Footnote # 11

Three months after the murder of the Mohawk sachem Saheda, the new treaty signed by New York on September 24, 1664 promised:

1. That the English do not assist the three Nations of the Ondiakes [Sokoki], Pinnehooks [Pennacook], and Pacamtohookes [Pocumtuck], who murdered one of the Princes of the Maquaas, when he brought ransomes & presents to them upon a treaty of peace.
2. That the English do make peace for the Indian Princes, with the Nations [Mohican, Wappinger, Munsee, etc.] down the [Hudson] River.
3. That they may have free trade, as formerly.
4. That they may be lodged in houses, as formerly.
5. That if they be beaten by the three Nations above menconed, they may receive accomodacon from ye English (NYCD III:67-68)

A Mohawk man named Cajadogo blamed the English for Saheda's death, but the Mohawk attacked the Pocumtuck fort regardless, in February of 1665 (NYCD XIII: 389). It's difficult at this distance to prove English guilt, but it's clear that the English benefitted from the damage, and the death of the Pocumtuck sachem Onapequin. Pynchon was only able to secure deeds to Pocumtuck lands after the Mohawk attack. This series of events, like other conflicts across New England, left lingering resentments that led to the outbreak of King Philip's War.

Footnote # 12

A letter sent from John Pynchon to Massachusetts Governor John Winthrop Jr., April 9, 1674, reads, in part, as follows:

Our Indians at Woronoco and Pojassick are generally all of them removed to Albany; what the matter is they make so universal and general a move I know not. Some few Indians that stay do not like it and wish they have not gone hard with the Mohawks.

(See Carl Bridenbaugh. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 124.)

This move may have been provoked by English settlers from Connecticut who were then forcing their way into Woronoco territory. Regional Native relations were also harmed by the recent prosecution and death of the Nonotuck sachem Chickwalloppe's son for a murder committed by another Native man.

Footnote # 13

In a September 8, 1675 letter to the English authorities at Albany, Pynchon recalled the 1664 peace treaty with the Mohawk against the Pocumtuck when he wrote:

I hope the engaging the Maquas not to entertain or favor our enemies may be of good use; truly their rage against us increases greatly. Since my last the Northampton and Hadley Indians have also shown themselves, and have killed seven of our men and wounded several...And unless the Maquas should manage their old quarrel against them, I doubt whether they may not at last show their rage against yourselves...

(See Carl Bridenbaugh. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 150.)

Footnote # 14

The Kaniienkehaka Mohawk who attacked Metacom's allies were supplied with guns and ammunition by New York Governor Edmund Andros. See "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, by N. S." in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699*, New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons 1913, p. 97.

Footnote # 15

See scene on this web site: "Assault on Peskeompskut."

Footnote # 16

Governor Edmund Andros' report during the New York colony's Council meeting on Indian Affairs for May 29-30, 1676 read, in part, as follows:

Ordered, That all North Indyans [Sokoki], that will come in may be protected & a stop be put to the Maquaes farther prosecuting sd North Indyans...

Also to send word by some good Mahicander Eastward (who is likewise to bee rewarded) that all Indyans, who will come in & submitt, shall be received to live under the protection of the Government and that the Governr will bee there as afore, where any of them may freely come and speake with him and return againe, as they see cause without Molestation.

Memorandm. That the ffrench do receive North Indyans under their protection, and its said, that five hundred of them are already there.

That the Governmt of Connecticut hath likewise made an order, at their late Genrall Court, That any Indyans, that will come in, shall be received, have land assigned them & be protected under their Government (NYCD XIII:497).

Footnote # 17

Like similar sites along the Connecticut River, a region near the Hudson River was also known by the name of Pachog or Paquoag, meaning "flat, cleared ground." A letter sent from John Pynchon to Governor John Leverett, August 26, 1676, reads, in part, as follows:

Some friends of Hadley and Northampton being with me this day, it hath been a metter of consideration whether the calling of all the garrison soldiers out of these towns may not expose them to the rage of the enemy who we certainly understand are gathered together at Paquoag on Hudson River about 200 men and having there their wives and children in a safe and secure place; the men may with freedom and without a clog make inroads upon these towns, doing what they do at a push, and suddenly return again to their headquarters; especially should they understand the soldiers are all drawn off hence, they may be more resolved and desperate, and we know not on what design the Indians are drawn off thither; we have no security that it is to withdraw from further persecution of the war, but rather that it is only to secure themselves, who, being engaged, will design revenge upon us.

(See Bridenbaugh, Carl. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 170.)

In the same month, a Native man named Menownieth reported to the English authorities at Hartford as follows:

He sayeth that the Norwottach [Nonotuck], Springfield Indians, and others are gon to a place about Hudson's River called Paquayag, and were encouraged to come there by a great man of those parts, whoe hath also encouraged them to engage against the English...He was askt where they had ye ammunition to carry on the war; he said the Powquiag Indians bought it of ye Dutch and sold it ym. He was askt how many of the North Indians [Sokoki] went that way. He sayth, "About 90 men of them and Sucquance [Soquans] is wth them, he was very sick and as like to die as live...He sayth ye Indians hid a great many gunns about Pacompuck, ye place he described to Tota.

(Louis H. Everts, ed. *History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts*. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincot & Company 1879, p. 61)

Footnote # 18

Wie are informed yt you these river Indians [Mohican] haue not engaged in ye late unhappy Warr against ye English, but yt you have satt still according to ye Command of ye Honble Governr of New Yorke, &c. And wee being of ye same nation, under ye same Prince, and soe as one With ye sd Governr; Wee doe therefore acknowledge these River Indians or freinds and Neighbours, expecting well from you to carry it towards us as frinds & good neighbours and soe demeaning of your selves. Wie looke yt you should timely discover any attempte of Mischief yt you may heare of agst ye English, and yt you do not henceforward harbor or Entertaine any yt shall remain or enemies...

("Proposicons made to the Mohekandrs and other River Indians by Major John Pynchon and James Richards Genten Commissioners from ye Colonies of Massachusetts & Cannatticut in ye Court house at Albany ye 24th

of April 1677," in Lawrence H. Leder. *The Livingston Indian Records 1666-1723*. Gettysburg, PA, Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956, p. 39.)

Footnote # 19

The colonial leaders in eastern Massachusetts enlisted John Pynchon to deliver a speech to the Mohawks at Albany, on November 9, 1683:

I am sent from the government of Massachusetts to you, the Maquas [Mohawk], including your neighbors; and have undertaken this far journey in a difficult season to visit you and your friends, that there may be a right understanding between us for the continuance of amity and friendliness...for we did expressly conclude with you that you should not molest or injure our friend and neighbor Indians, nor were you to come at the Christian Indians [Nipmuc at Natick] that live near us and in friendship with us.

(See Bridenbaugh, Carl. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 170.)

Footnote # 20

John Pynchon seems to have been caught by surprise by this return of Pocumtuck people carrying passes of safe conduct from the Mayor of Albany. Samuel Partridge reported:

...the Indians that are come down are about 150 of them, men, women, and children, and are settled at Deerfield under the side of the mountain southerly from the town, living in the woods about a mile out of the town, the men plying hunting and leaving their women and children at home. (Partridge, quoted by Pynchon in writing to Massachusetts Governor Simon Bradstreet, December 2, 1691.

John Pynchon was well known to these Indians from his decades of trading furs, serving as a judge, fighting in King Philip's War, and now, reporting to the governors of the New England colonies. Pynchon wrote a set of directions for Partridge to deliver to the Pocumtuck, including the following:

...we shall for the present overlook your seeming intruding upon us, and allow you abiding where you are this winter time, you behaving yourselves peaceably and orderly and carrying it well to all our people...We do particularly caution you to beware of strong drink...We let you know that we are now apprehensive of some approach of the French and Indian enemy and therefore intend to keep out scouts, and to have more strict watch, and shortly to settle some more soldiers at Deerfield, wherefore none of you...are to go or wander from your present stations without orders in writing...

The Pocumtuck, who apparently hoped for a more welcoming response, replied that they:

...intend no ill to the English but to carry it peaceably...They desire their squaws may be safe under protection while they are all hunting.

(See Carl Bridenbaugh. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 236-245.)

Footnote # 21

Chepasson seems to have taunted the English by boasting of his recent participation in Saint Francis Abenaki attacks on Dover, New Hampshire and Schenectady, New York. John Pynchon described this incident in a letter to Robert Treat, written from Springfield on June 19, 1690, transcribed in the *Judd Manuscripts Miscellaneous*, Volume 8:219-224, Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts. For a description of the various events contributing to this incident, see Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield*, p. 29-30.

Footnote # 22

In 1696, a young man named Pemaquansett, who was apparently a relative of the Nonotuck sachem Umpanchela, was out hunting with three other Native men near Kunckwatchu (Mount Toby) when they discovered Richard Church of Hadley, hunting in what they still considered Indian land. Mahqualos and Mahweness were initially reported to have killed and scalped the Englishman; Wenepuck and Pemaquansett fled the scene. All four Native men were arrested, interrogated, and tried in the Northampton Court. After Indians from Hatfield testified, it was agreed that the two older men, Mahqualos and Mahweness, should be put to death for Church's murder. They were executed on October 23, 1696, but in May of 1697, Soquons, the Pocumtuck sachem at the refugee village of Schaghticoke, testified that a different man altogether had confessed to the murder. As a compromise, the Massachusetts General Court released the two younger men,

Wenepuck and Pemaquansett. This event only led to more distrust and hostilities. (See James Spady. "As If In a Great Darkness: Native American Refugees of the Middle Connecticut River Valley in the Aftermath of King Philip's War," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, p. 183-197, Summer 1995.)

Footnote # 23

On July 6, 1698, John Pynchon and Samuel Partridge posted a letter from Northampton to the Earle of Bellomont in London, England, complaining that:

Those Indians have plainly declared themselves to be a body of thieves and murderers. If at any time they have given assistance to us, and been instrumental to destroy our enemies, it had not been out of any principle of friendship or obedience, for at other times they have been ready to assist our adversaries and destroy us. It is indifferent to them to destroy other English, so they run ganie their prey, and satisfy their bloodthirsty spirit. Sometimes they dwell at Stratburk [Schaghticoke], sometimes at the eastward and make marriages with the Eastern Indians [Eastern Abenaki, Pennacook, Pequawket, etc.], and sometimes at Canada [Saint Francis Abenaki], and live like beasts and birds of prey upon the destruction of others.

(See Carl Bridenbaugh. *The Pynchon Papers, Volume I, Letters of John Pynchon, 1654-1700*, Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1982, p. 305-307.)

Footnote # 24

The depiction of northern New England as "wilderness" was a romantic device in writing about unfamiliar territory that did not look like the carefully groomed landscape of Europe. In fact, New England consisted of much land that had been managed by human intervention over long spans of time, including burning of the forest undergrowth to eliminate brush and encourage new browse and berry plants, hunting and fishing in specific areas, and selective harvesting of various medicinal plants. For a fuller discussion of Native use of the natural landscape, see Gordon M. Day, "The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeast Forest," *Ecology* 1954, Vol. 32, p. 329-346.

Footnote # 25

For a detailed discussion of the history of Odanak, see Gordon Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*, Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.

For an overview of regional Abenaki culture, see Gordon M. Day, "Western Abenaki," pp. 148 159 in Bruce G. Trigger, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast. Volume 15*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute 1978.

Footnote # 26

For a more detailed discussion of the movements among these different communities after King Philip's War, see Colin Calloway, "King Philip's War and the Great Dispersals, 1675-1677," in *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800 - War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*. Norman and London : University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

Footnote # 27

On October 15, 1722, Father Sebastian Rale wrote to his nephew of his arrival at Norridgewock:

I am in a district of this vast extent of territory which lies between Acadia and New England. Two other missionaries are, like myself, busy among the Abenaki Indians; but we are far distant from one another...The village in which I dwell is called Nanrantsouak...(Black Robe on the Kennebec, p. 119).

For the history of Norridgewock, see Mary R. Calvert, *Black Robe on the Kennebec*, Monmouth, ME: Monmouth Press 1991.

Footnote # 28

On March 18 [1690] the French with Indians, being half one half the other, half Indianized French and half Frenchified Indians, commanded by Monsieur Artel [Francois Hertel de Rouville] and Hoop-Hood [Hopehood or Wohawa], fell suddenly upon Salmon Falls [New Hampshire], destroying the best part of the town with fire and sword.

(See Cotton Mather, "New Assaults from the Indians," originally published in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London 1701, reprinted in Alden T. Vaughn and Edward W. Clark, eds. *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University 1981, p. 137.)

Footnote # 29

The incident started when a "north Indian" named Naerenachteno, who was apparently drunk at the time, insulted Philip Schuyler. Schuyler's African slave, Jan, jumped the Indian, and an unnamed Native woman was trying to pull him off when a Native man named Aert stabbed Jan. A Mohican sachem witnessed the court proceedings. The full report can be found in the collected *Court Minutes of Fort Orange, Albany, Rennselaerswyck and Schenectady*, edited by Van Laer, 1680-1685, pp. 274-276.

Footnote # 30

Sadochques' speech to New York's colonial leaders was made during a meeting at the Court House in Albany, on July 1, 1685, after Sadochques had been personally invited to relocate from Saint Francis to Schaghticoke. Many beaver skins and much wampum was exchanged during this meeting (*Livingston Papers*, pp. 77-79).

Footnote # 31

Sadochques agreed to carry the New York Government's invitation to other Saint Francis Abenaki. Livingston and the other colonial leaders stated:

Wee are very glad to see you here & that you have so Readily obeyd the governours Commands and therefore in his Behalf wee doe bidd you hertily wellkom to this Place and the govr haveing orderd Scachkook for ye Place of your abode among the Rest of your nation you may freely goe and live there and your Children after you: in Peace and quietnesse and never fear off any Pursuit of ye french for ye govr will take Such care to Secure & Protect you that you may wholly Rely upon itt and Sleep att quiet as your Broyer Sachim wamsachko and his People have hitherto done therefore desyre you to acquaint the Rest of your nation that are Still at Conida of ye good Entertainment you have here and send them this Belt of wampum as a lettr from ye govr who Promises them all favor and Protection and you are to use all means to Perswade them to live at Skachkook for there yr is lan Eneugh and it shall be for you & them and Posterity after you and you need not doubt but a firm and Strong Covenant chain Shall be kept unviolable on our Parts between us and all oyr of your nation that shall come & live under this government (*Livingston Papers*, pp. 77-79).

Footnote # 32

For a full discussion of the sale of Mohican and Schaghticoke lands in the Hudson River valley, see Shirley Dunn, *The Mohicans and Their Land*.

There is some mention of Native history in Schaghticoke in Rita B. Klopott, *The History of the Town of Schaghticoke, New York, 1676-1855*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1981. Most of this work, however, focuses on the English settlement that displaced the Native one.

Footnote # 33

In response to the 1714 complaint, the New York Governor reassured the Schaghticoke that

...they shall have more land than they can manure and that it shall be broke up in the Spring with the Plow (*Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York V:388*).

During a meeting on August 31, 1722, the Schaghticoke described the specific method by which the English were duping the Indians out of their land when writing deeds:

We have no more land the Christians when they buy a small spot of land of us, ask us if we have no more land & when we say yes they enquire the name of the Land & take in a greater Bounds than was intended to be sold them & the Indians not understanding what is writ in the Deed or Bill of Sale sign it and are so deprived of Part of their Lands (*Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York V:663*).

Footnote # 34

"Taking up the hatchet" was an apt metaphor for going to war. This quote can be found in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York V:713*.

Footnote # 35

During a 1724 conference, the New York Governor complained:

I see that you have no command over your people. Its surprising that your people are so fond of going to Canada, what can be the reason here is better Land and hunting for you. There has been a Tree planted by the former Governors for you to shelter under that you might live Plentifully & increase under the shadow of it...

The Schaghticoke sachems responded:

...its true that a Tree has been planted and we are recommended to live & shelter under the shadow of it but that Tree begins to decay and the leaves to wither, having but a small plot of Land to Plant on (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York V:722).

Footnote # 36

The negotiations for the Kayaderossera patent in present-day Saratoga County were settled in 1768 with a payment of \$5,000 to the Mohawk to "relinquish their claims to their old favorite hunting grounds." Title to the land was requested by Robert Livingston Jr. and David Schuyler in 1693, granted in an August 26, 1702 Indian deed, and then disputed by Sampson Shelton Broughton, whose widow took the original Indian deed with her when she returned to England. Thirteen claimants, most of them Dutch, had requested a warrant for the same lands through Viscount Cornbury in 1701, and their patent was secured in 1708. In 1764, the first settlers were driven off by the Mohawks, who pushed Sir William Johnson to appeal the claim on their behalf. The Abenaki protested Johnson's involvement in the matter, but Governor Sir Henry Moore finally settled the claim to title with the lump sum payment to the Mohawk in 1768 for what was actually Mohican land (Sylvester 1878:73-75). The Schaghticoke refugees apparently had a hand in the agreement, since Sir William Johnson went to some effort to distinguish their homelands from both Mohican and Mohawk claims:

...the Mohocks do acknowledge the title of the Scarticook [Schaghticoke] Indians to the east of our bounds, and we the Mohocks and Stockbridge [Mohican] Indians do declare the foregoing bounds to be just and true (Sir William Johnson Papers 12:603-4, cited in Dunn 1994:58-59).

Footnote # 37

Gray Lock was also known as Wawenorrawot, and La Tete Blanche. The name came from a premature white streak in his hair. His brother, Malalamet, remained as a leading sachem at Schaghticoke during Gray Lock's War. See Gordon Day's summary in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume III 1741-1770, pp. 265-267.

Footnote # 38

On November 28, 1723, John Schuyler, writing from Albany, New York, reported to Colonel Samuel Partridge:

The two Indians yt have been with the belt of wampum to Cagnowaga are come back again. They found the Cagnowaga Indians were gone to yr parts: but ye Sachems said they went against their will; their young people were deluded...Three Cagnowga who have been at Northfield arrived here yesterday. Saguenognas and Cahowasco two chief captains, and his brother-in-law. They tell me they had no desire to do any harm: but Gov. Vaudreuil persuaded them, and gave them powder and shot and ten guns; but they are very sorry and ashamed that they have gone, and say they will never go again. All the Indians who have been out, upwards of 300, are come back again, except 5 eastern Indians, who have returned to your frontiers. I hope they may do no harm.

(John Schuyler in Josiah H. Temple, and George Sheldon. *A History of the Town of Northfield, for 150 Years*, with an account of the prior occupation of the territory of the Squakheags. Albany, NY: J. Munsell 1875:198).

Footnote # 39

While Colonel Samuel Partridge was sending wampum belts to the Kahnawake seeking peace in 1723, Captain Benjamin Wright proposed a different solution to end Gray Lock's War, offering to muster a party to attack the Wôbanakiak by way of Otter Creek: "We are desirous we might go upon the wages the Province allows and the encouragement they give to such for scalps." A Massachusetts legislative committee considered the matter, and proposed:

...that an expedition to St. Francis, the headquarters of the Indians, would be of great service, and may if prospered put an end to the present war: 400 able bodied men, English and Indians might be thought sufficient. A smaller party to the heads of the rivers may be of service to destroy some small hunting parties of the enemy.

John Stoddard in Josiah H. Temple, and George Sheldon. *A History of the Town of Northfield, for 150 Years*, with an account of the prior occupation of the territory of the Squakheags. Albany, NY: J. Munsell 1875:199.

Although scalping was practiced by both Native and non-Native people, the bounty paid by Boston authorities became a strong incentive for English colonists to attack the Wôbanakiak. For example, Hannah Dustin, taken captive from Haverill, Massachusetts in 1697, earned 50 pounds for the Abenaki people - one man, two women and six children - she personally scalped.

On June 10, 1756, the price paid for Wôbanaki scalps, and the threat to all Native people living north of Massachusetts, increased dramatically when a new proclamation from the English king was passed by the House of Representatives in Boston as follows:

Whereas the tribe of Penobscot Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious manner acted contrary to their solemn submission unto his Majesty long since made and frequently renewed.

I have therefore, at the desire of the House of Representatives...thought fit to issue this Proclamation and to declare the Penobscot Tribe of Indians to be enemies, rebels and traitors to his Majesty...And I do hereby require his Majesty's subjects of the province [of Massachusetts] to embrace all opportunities of pursuing, capturing, killing and destroying all and every of the assorted Indians.

And whereas the General Court of this Province have voted that bounty... be granted and allowed to be paid out of the Province Treasury...the premiums of bounty following viz.:

For every scalp of a male Indian brought in as evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, forty pounds.

For every scalp of a female Indian or male Indian under the age of twelve years that shall be killed and brought in as evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, twenty pounds...

Also voted, that the same allowance be made to private persons who shall... kill any Indian enemy which is made to soldiers on the frontiers of the province.

(Reprinted in Frank Speck, *Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1940, p. xix-xx.)

Footnote # 40

In 1726, about 40 Penobscots attended a conference to request the removal of English houses recently built at Richmond and St. George, but the English refused. Much to the annoyance of the English, no other tribes had accepted Governor Dummer's invitation to ratify the peace made in Boston in 1725. When the Penobscot suggested that the conference should have been held at Montreal, the governor declared that it was beneath the dignity of the English to meet with Indians on French soil. The conference proceedings were published under the title *The Conference With the Eastern Indians, at the Ratification of the PEACE, held at Falmouth in Casco Bay, in July and August 1726*, Boston: American Antiquarian Society 1726.

Dummer had better success at a 1727 conference with the Penobscot, Pequawket, Norridgewock and Wawenock, held at Falmouth. An earlier treaty, dated Boston, 15th December, 1725, which attempted to settle disputes over land and captives, was read and agreed to by four sachems whose totems were affixed to it. Several Pequawket Indians, including a young girl, Molly Ockett, who would later grow up to become a famous Indian Doctress, were sent to live at Plymouth, Massachusetts, to ensure the peace among these Indians and Massachusetts colony. The conference proceedings were published under the title *The Conference With the Eastern Indians at the further Ratification of the PEACE, Held at Falmouth in Casco-bay, in July 1727*, Boston: American Antiquarian Society 1726.

Footnote # 41

In July of 1732, another conference was held by Dummer's successor, Jonathan Belcher, who met with the sachems Edawakenk and Loron (also called Laurent) of Penobscot, Toxus of Norridgewock, Adiwando (Atecouando) of Pequawket, and Medaganesset of Amerescoggin (Androscoggin) at Falmouth. The Native sachems demanded proper trading posts, security of hunting rights, and an end to English encroachments, but Belcher's chief business seemed to be to lecture the Indians against French religion and rum-drinking. Although peaceful relations were agreed upon, little other business was settled. The conference proceedings were published under the title *Conference Between Governor Belcher and Indians of the Penobscots, Norridgewocks, Pigwackets, and Amerescoggins at Falmouth and Casco Bay, July 1732*, Boston, American Antiquarian Society 1732.

Footnote # 42

This is from an unpublished letter written November 13, 1732 from Massachusetts Governor Jonathan Belcher in Boston to be read before the Governor's Council and the House of Representatives, Belcher correspondence on microfilm p 535-542. The manner in which the English chose to pursue diplomacy reveals a distinct anti-Wôbanaki bias during this time period. In fact, Belcher tried to encourage the Kahnawake to move into Sokoki territory when he wrote:

The Cagnawaga, or those more especially call'd the French Mohawks have lately been to pay a visit to the Government by two of their Chiefs, who we took care to entertain in th most Kind of friendly manner I possibly cou'd, and what they propos'd to me the Secretary will lay before you; They are a very considerable Nation of Indians, and I am of the opinion it will be much for our Interest & Safety to cherish their motion of coming to settle in the Province between Otter Creek & Fort Dummer

Footnote # 43

The conference proceedings were published under the title *Conference at Deerfield, 27th August, 1735, Between Governor Belcher and the Caughnawagas, St. Francis, Housstonnouns, Schaghticokes and Mohegan [Mohican] Tribes*, Boston, American Antiquarian Society 1735.

The conference was originally scheduled to be held in Northampton, but the Wôbanaki requested a change of venue, to Deerfield. The site, later occupied by the David Dickinson house, is on the Main Street, with a clear view between the Pemawatchuwatunck (Pocumtuck Range) and the Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) River.

Footnote # 44

This conference has been poorly understood, in large part due to errors made by Deerfield's town historian, George Sheldon, who published the proceedings in 1906. Sheldon misidentified all of the "Mohican" people at the conference as "Mohawk," and he was apparently unaware of, or unwilling to admit, that the "Schaghticoke" Indians were people who originally came from the Connecticut River Valley.

Footnote # 45

In 1735, Ebenezar Hinsdell, Joseph Kellogg, and others transacted four deeds for Sokoki lands in northern Massachusetts. On February 10, 1735, four Indians - Nechehoosqua, her husband Massequant, and their children Aumesaucoanch and Tecaumis - accepted "One Hundred Pounds in Bills of Credit" for lands lying "upon or by Connecticutt River to the north of Fort Dummer [Brattleboro, Vermont]" extending twenty miles on either side of the river. In correspondence leading up to the Deerfield conference, Governor Bcleher wrote to Kellogg on March 4, 1735:

I take notice you and Mr. Hinsdell have purchased some land near your Fort [Fort Dummer], I hope you have not interfered with the Law of the Province ag[ain]st purchasing of the Indians (Belcher to Kellogg, MHSC March 4, 1735).

In another deed, signed at Deerfield on August 29, 1735, four Schaghticoke Indians signed over a large tract of Wachusett territory in what is now Athol, Barre, Dana, Gardner, Hubbardston, Orange, Petersham, Phillipston, Princeton, Rutland, Templeton and Westminster, MA. The signatories, "Francois Son of Nepuscauteusqua Dec[ease]d, and Ompontinnuwa, Penewanse, Cockiyowah and Wallenas Sons of Woolaootaumesqua de[cease]d Sister to the Said Nepuscauteusqua," testified that they were "true owners of the Same and have in ourselves good right to sell" (Wright 1905:130). At a September confirmation hearing on the deed in Northampton, the signers also noted: "We do further declare to Our certain knowledge that no Indian or Indians of what name or nation Soever has any just right Challenge or interest to or in the abovesaid Tract of Land." (See Wright *Indan Deeds of Hampden County* 1905:120-133).

These transfers of land coincided with the movements of these same families north to Abenaki communities in Vermont and New Hampshire, or further north to the Abenaki mission village on the St. Lawrence, also called Odanak. Gordon Day sums up a portion of these relocations:

By 1724 and perhaps before, some Schaghticokes who had originally come from the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts joined the village of Missisquoi...In 1736 there were said to be 180 warriors (perhaps 900 persons) in Odanak and Missisquoi together...In 1754 the last of the Schaghticoke village, then numbering 50 to 60 in all, moved to Odanak (Day 1981:64).

Footnote # 46

Colonel John Stoddard oversaw the construction of Fort Dummer when it was established during Gray Lock's War. Josph Kellogg was in charge of scouts, and Timothy Dwight was the lieutenant in command. The Kanienkehaka sachem Hendrick served at the fort, as did the Mohican sachem Aupaumut, later joined by Massoquant, Naunautohoah, and Mascommah, Schaghticoke Indians who were present at the 1735 conference and had signed the 1735 deeds. The scouts typically served from spring to early winter, when they would return to their families for the winter hunting. For a discussion of how their activities demonstrated traditional use of the valley, see Lisa Brooks, 2004. *The Common Pot: Indigenous Writing and the Reconstruction of Native Space in the Northeast*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

English soldiers depended on these Indian scouts, but they also admitted that it was difficult to tell friend from foe. When the Schaghticoke Indians came to hunt in the region, they would inform the commanding officers of the towns of the signal that would identify them. One such signal was the wearing of green boughs on their heads, but this was not always reliable, as Colonel Samuel Partridge observed in a July 27, 1724 letter regarding the arrival of some Pequot allies to assist the English:

They must have some signal, which must be known to our people, to prevent any evil that might otherwise happen...I have always directed all parties scouting from our parts of Hampshire Co. to observe your directions: but shall find it impracticable for them to be always safe. They may hide and seek as the Indians do, and your Indians will not always have the green bough upon their heads, sleeping as well as waking; and the sign may be stolen and used by the enemy as a decoy, and thus our men deceived to their hurt (Samuel Partridge in Josiah H. Temple, and George Sheldon. *A History of the Town of Northfield, for 150 Years, with an account of the prior occupation of the territory of the Squakheags.* Albany, NY: J. Munsell 1875:205).

Footnote # 47

Unpublished letter from Massachusetts Governor Jonathan Belcher of Boston written October 20, 1740, to Captain Gyles regarding a recent meeting with Wôbanaki sachems at Norridgewock. On p. 12 of Belcher's copybook on microfilm.

Footnote # 48

In July of 1752, the Abenaki sachem Atiwaneto (also known as Atecouando) sent a strong message to Phineas Stevens, at Fort No. 4, during a council meeting in Montreal:

We hear on all sides that this Governor and the Bostonians say that the Abenakis are bad people. 'Tis in vain that we are taxed with having a bad heart. It is you, brother, that always attack us... Brothers, we tell you that we seek not war, we ask nothing better than to be quiet, and it depends, brothers, only on you English, to have peace with us. We have not yet sold the lands we inhabit, we wish to keep the possession of them... we will not cede one single inch of lands we inhabit beyond what has been decided formerly by our fathers... We acknowledge no other boundaries of yours than your settlements whereon you have built, and we will not, under any pretext whatsoever, that you pass beyond them. The lands we possess have been given to us by the Master of Life. We acknowledge to hold only from him.

(See Colin G. Calloway. *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England.* Hanover and London: University Press of New England 1991, p. 121-122.

Footnote # 49

By July of 1754, the older sachems at Schaghticoke had passed away, and the Schaghticoke explained to the Colonial Congress in Albany

Father: We are glad that the Governor sees his children now before him, we are small in number but next time we hope we shall be more. Your Honor may see that we are but young and unexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead, so that we have nobody to give us any Advice, but we will do as our Fathers have done before us ((Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York VI:880)

Footnote # 50

On the 28th August a Party of French Indians said to be of Bekancourt, a place between Quebec and Montreal, made an incursion into this Province and burnt the houses and Barns full of grain at Hoseck, a place lying about 18 or 20 miles East from that part of Hudson's River, which is 10 miles above Albany, they carried off with them the few remaining Indians of Scachtacook, being between fifty and sixty Men, Women and Children, these had a little before, when I was at Albany, assured me of their fidelity (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York VI:909)

Footnote # 51

Many of the Connecticut River Valley Indians who came to Schaghticoke returned to New England, or relocated to Abenaki and Mohawk communities in northern environs (Calloway 1990, Day 1981), but some moved into rural areas of upstate New York. Nathaniel Sylvester's *History of Saratoga County* (1878) notes:

Long before the northern part of Saratoga County was settled by white men, tradition says a band of Indians, fleeing from the east after King Philip's war, settled at the foot of this [Palmertown] mountain range, in what is now the town of Wilton (Sylvester 1878:13).

Stories about the Native people who lived around the Sacandaga River Valley were preserved in regional oral traditions and family histories that are barely known to public historians. A glimpse into these families can be found in the reminiscences of Don Bowman, *Go Seek the Pow Wow on the Mountain and Other Indian Stories of the Sacandaga Valley*. Vaughn Ward, ed. Greenfield Center, New York: Bowman Books, Greenfield Review Press 1993.

Footnote # 52

For military accounts of Roger's Raid, see Burt Garfield Loescher, *The History of Rogers' Rangers*. Vol. 4. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books 2002.

Footnote # 53

See Colin Calloway, "Odanak: Abenaki Ambiguity in the North," in *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*, London: Cambridge University Press 1995.

Footnote # 54

There are descriptions of the plants Louis Watso used in Stephen W. Williams M.D., *Report on the Indigenous Medical Botany of Massachusetts* American Medical Association Transactions (Philadelphia, PA: American Medical Association 1849). One was the stimulant *Asarum canadense*, commonly called Canadian Snakeroot or Wild Ginger, known to the Abenaki as *skogabedakwa*, "snake head plant." Dr. Williams wrote:

When a company of Indians from Canada were in Deerfield, in the year 1837, I was much affected with palpitation of the heart, and they were much offended with me because I would not take one of their preparations which contained a large proportion of this snakeroot. They use it extensively in many complaints.

The complaint about frequent visits is found in an unpublished page in the Stephen West Williams Papers, Box 15, Folder 1, in collections of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, MA. For a fuller description of the Watso family's visit to Deerfield in 1837, see Margaret Bruchac, "Abenaki Connections to 1704: The Watso and Sadoques Families in Deerfield," in *Captive Histories: Captivity Narratives, French Relations and Native Stories of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, edited by Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, University of Massachusetts Press 2005.

Footnote # 55

For the Abenaki oral traditions of Rogers' Raid, see Gordon M. Day, "Rogers Raid in Indian Tradition," in *Historical New Hampshire*. Vol. XVII June 1962, pp. 3-17.

Footnote # 56

Penewanse and Capino derive from "kepinawos" "the person who takes care of someone," and Wallenas derives from "wolhanas" "valley person" (Day 1981: 78, 98). For a full discussion of the regional origins of Abenaki family names at Odanak, see Gordon M. Day, *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.

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