

**ADVISOR EDITS – yellow highlights indicate changes made/comments**

Scene ATTACK \_\_\_\_\_ Shared or Non-shared?

Packet Developer: AGB & BM Date: March, 2003

**ILLUSTRATOR SPECS**

**Date of scene:** 5 or 6 am, February 29, 1704; the assault has been going on for one and a half hours.

**Setting of scene:**

See Juliet's draft drawing on-line at:

<http://www.digitalgizmo.com/pvma/1704/prototype/story/attack.html>

This drawing shows the village from a southeastern advantage. The sun is rising behind the viewer.

For specific people and houses to draw, see below:

**People in scene and what they are doing.** [Indicate: N - There is a narrative about this character; R - There is a rollover for this character.]

*Currently 13 people with People Pages (and one house); 4 more people with roll-overs*

*Williams House Grouping:* The Williams family and their slave Frank should be drawn dressed for the march, being led out of their house by their captors. Six-year-old John Williams, their slave, Parthena, and infant Jerusha, should be drawn as corpses outside, around the opposite side of the house than the family group is walking. [The Williams family did not see the corpses.]

N, R: John Williams [40 year-old English minister] – captured by two Abenakis (He and his family were held in his house.)

N, R: Western Abenaki captor of John Williams

N, R: Eunice Williams Sr. [40 year old wife of John] –

N, R: Eunice Williams Jr. [7 year old daughter of John] – captured by a Kanien'kehaka from Kahnawake

N, R: Kanien'kehaka warrior [21 years old] – captor of Eunice Williams Jr.

N, R: Stephen Williams [11 year old son of John] – captured by Wattanummon

N, R: Wattanummon [Abenaki (Pennacook)] - captured Stephen

N, R: Frank [a 42 year-old African slave of John Williams]

N, R: Parthena [a 22 year-old African slave of John Williams]

N, R: Thaovenhosen [22 year-old Wendat] – has just captured a small temporary shelter, and is now moving to fight at the Stebbins House

N, R: Jonathan Hoyt [English 16 year old boy] being led out of his family's small temporary shelter within the stockade by Wendat

N, R: Hertel de Rouville [35 year-old French officer] – shot (but still standing) near the Stebbins house

N, R: Candien with flintlock

N, R: Benoni Stebbins house

***Roll-Over People:***

R: Wendat Chief - mortally wounded while attacking the Stebbins house (but still standing, or in a kneeling position)

R: Hannah Chapin Sheldon and her husband John jumping out the Sheldon house window (see Juliet's prototype sketch)

R: French Soldier (Troupe de la marine)– shooting at the Stebbins House

R: **Kanien'kehaka from Kahnesatake** (attacking Sheldon house, using a **trade axe** to hack a hole in the front door) [**\*\*FRANCIS IS THIS TOOL CORRECT?**] **[re: Kahnesatake, up for discussion see note to MR]**

**Objects in scene.** [Indicate: D - There is an object description about this object; R - There is a rollover for this object.]

R, D: French Bayonet see Memorial Hall's at:

<http://pvma.memorialhall.mass.edu/collection/itempage.jsp?itemid=6067>

R, D: Sheldon House Door see Memorial Hall's at:

<http://pvma.memorialhall.mass.edu/collection/itempage.jsp?itemid=5692>

R, D: Musket (*need to find a period one*)

R, D: Kanien'kehaka war club (one exists at the church in Kahnawake)

*At the Musee de la civilisation in Quebec City, they have a very nice war axe (number 88-3162) that is said to have been collected from Kahnawake. For more informations, you can reach the curator Marie-Paule Robitaille, from MCQ, phone Tel. : 418-643-2158, [mprobitaille@mcq.org](mailto:mprobitaille@mcq.org)*

R: Meeting house – (Make sure this is based on the 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting house – see Woodbridge.)

R: Benoni Stebbins house

R: Williams House

R: Sheldon House

R: Temporary small shelter on north end of stockade (near Sheldon house). [**\*\*Note:** It is believed that there were 10 or 11 of these small, temporary shelters situated within the stockade.

Some may have been dugout shelters with A-frame roofs, others are not. A question has been submitted to Kevin to make this clearer.]

R: Nims house on fire (show corner of house in foreground, right hand corner of screen)

R: Palisade surrounding the town with high drifts of snow

R: Snowshoes on various people, specifically on a Wendat AND? a French soldier, making the point that the French wore Wendat made snowshoes.

### **Ideas:**

Are there any articles of clothing that would have special meaning in a raid like this on either the raiders or the English residents? French may have been wearing capot.

[\*\* Note from Marge: English clothing was, in general, better quality cloth and make than French Canadian clothing, and it was a valuable trade item. It had quality construction and value, linen shirts, wool coats and cloaks that were sturdy and warm, and ornaments, ie: silver buttons, buckles, that could be used as is or melted down and re-formed.]

[Note from Marge: The way I read the record, the allies probably all had snowshoes, but they seem to have outfitted the captives with “Indian shoes” likely meaning winter moccasins (laced up, like wrap boots or shoe-pacs) and NOT with snowshoes, probably to restrain their movements while outfitting their feet for snow.]

### **Roll Over Ideas:**

- Palisade: First part of attack went smoothly: snow drifted up palisade – volunteers easily scaled it and opened the north gate letting the rest in
- Burned homes, killed livestock, and plundered all in effort to make the town’s resettlement untenable
- Some residents are able to hide or run away in the confusion
- **Stebbins and Sheldon houses** built with bricks in walls.
- In September, 1703 the town began work on strengthening the palisade, and encouraged villagers living outside the palisade to build temporary homes within its protective walls
- nervous people built temporary houses inside palisade walls
- Many captured residents are held at the meeting house and at the Sheldon house, the largest house in the village.

## WRITER SPECS

## TABS

## OVERVIEW

### Notes to Writer:

The reader needs to understand that the raid was both expected and a surprise.

### Big Picture/Conceptual Framework of this Scene:

- Deerfield was a fortified village, and much of the fortifications were new. Its location at the edge of English settlements, in contested territory, and the resumption of hostilities between England and France increased its vulnerability. Although the actual assault of February 29 was a surprise, residents and the Mass. Bay government had heard rumors of an impending attack.
- The assault itself did not go exactly as planned. This resulted in more deaths among allies. If it had gone as planned there might have been more English deaths (using Schenectady as a measuring stick).
- Although the snow slowed the force moving south, the iced over waterways actually made it easier for the raiding party to move. (Much of their trip to Deerfield was along rivers.) [Marge notes: snow did NOT actually slow Native folks down when they were used to traveling in it. The ice made rivers easy to walk, and a good snow pack made it easier to drag sleds. The routes they traveled were well-known, and well-traveled, even though often seemed unfamiliar or hard to follow for white folks.]
- [Marge notes: The English, on the other hand, were NOT used to traveling in snow. Remember, the raiders had snowshoes, and sleds, and winter gear, and were fully prepared, healthy and well-nourished when they attacked. It was the journey back dragging captives and wounded that strained personal and group resources, more than the weather.]

### Basic Facts of this Scene:

- Allies traveled over 300 miles from Ft. Chambly near Montreal to Deerfield [Marge notes: Routine traveling, done by Native folks at least several times per year, although it seems arduous to us today.]
- 250 to 300 Abenaki/Pennacook, Kanien'kehaka, Wendat, joined with 48 French soldiers and Canadien militia to attack Deerfield, Massachusetts on February 29, 1704 through the cold and snow
- 41 residents and soldiers were killed in the village (38 residents, 3 soldiers); 9 died in the meadow fight
- 112 captives were carried to Canada
- 11 allies were killed and more than 22 wounded

**Suggested resources to learn more about this scene:**

Williams' Redeemed Captive; Haefeli and Sweeney; Demos, Unredeemed Captive

**TAB CONTENT****Intro Tab****Notes to Writer:**

We need to be really careful about using unbiased language and points in the intro tab. Unbiased means not to call the allied forces “enemies” because that is an English perspective, not a neutral perspective.

**Bulleted Points:**

- 250 to 300 Abenaki, Kanien'kehaka, Wendat, joined with 48 French soldiers to attack Deerfield, Massachusetts on February 29, 1704
- Allies traveled over 300 miles through cold and snow from Ft. Chambly near Montreal to Deerfield. (They had gathered at Chambly to prepare for the assault.)
- Their expertise in living, traveling and working in winter conditions make the expedition possible; the difficulty comes in the large scale nature of this expedition presents additional, logistical challenges.
- By the time the allies left Deerfield: 50 English were killed; 11 allies killed (More allies died on the march north.)
- Though warnings of a pending attack had been circulating since spring 1703, and garrison soldiers arrived days before (Feb 25) the attack (Feb. 29) to defend the village, the actual pre-dawn attack was unexpected.
- Raid came during the international war, War of Spanish Succession, while working in common alliance, each attacking group had particular reasons/goals for raiding the town
- The **LIKELY** Allied Plan: enter village and silently surround each house with a small group of raiders. Once stationed and ready, attack simultaneously to quickly subdue the residents and ensure the maximum number of captives with minimal losses to the attackers.
- Attack did not go as expected – lost element of surprise when a gunshot woke the sleeping town before all the allies had taken their places around the homes.
- Attackers claim captives, and kill anyone who resists or they deem is unable to make the trip to Canada (i.e. nursing infants/toddlers)

**Abenaki Tab****Notes to Writer:**

The composition and nature of the Abenaki group is very difficult to convey concisely without confusing the viewer.

**Bulleted Points:****ACTION POINTS**

- The Abenaki broke into smaller groups mixed with other Natives and French and surrounded and assaulted individual houses
- Abenaki are among a group that subdued and captured the occupants of the Williams house. They captured John Williams, arguably the most valuable prisoner from an economic perspective (he will command a high ransom).
- The Abenaki took a number of their prisoners to the meeting house where they along with other allies guarded them until they were ready to pull out of town. [This is not necessary here, I was just looking for an active thing to say that was still general. If tab is too long, cut this point.]
- Toward the end of the battle the Abenaki joined other raiders destroyed property and killed livestock in an effort to make the resettlement of Deerfield untenable and to demoralize their enemies who were encroaching on their homeland. [could be said at the end]

**REASON POINTS**

- As they approached the village some of the Abenaki allies moved confidently through the terrain that forms part of their homeland; they could see the tail of the beaver (Wequams) to the east of the village.
- After the founding of the town and the removal of its Native inhabitants; a number of the Abenaki individuals continued to frequent Deerfield as traders, visitors and occasional combatants
- The largest group of Abenaki came out of St. Francis which has been a refugee community for many New England Native groups, including the Pocumtuck and Sokokis whose homelands lie in the Deerfield area.
- The allies met a Central Abenaki contingent, the Pennacooks staying with the Cowassuck, (along the Northern Connecticut River) who had been exchanging raids with the English in Maine. This is the contingent who apparently initiated this raid by asking the French and Native allies to join with them to attack New England.
- The struggle in this region with the English intensified 30 years earlier when peoples from all over New England were pushed from their homelands after Metacom's War, and took refuge in communities like Odanak, Pennacook and Schaghticoke.
- Abenaki hope that this attack will keep the English off-balance and will deter them from moving further north into what remains Abenaki country. [it does for a time]

**Eng Tab****Notes to Writer:**

- According to Kevin Sweeney, Deerfield is a village; it is not a military outpost. However, it is a village knowingly in disputed territory. It is garrisoned because they know they are in harm's way, but that is not the same as establishing a military outpost that happens to have some families dwelling there.
- 260-270 DF residents; 50 families

**Bulleted Points:****ACTION POINTS**

- As English homes are surrounded, residents in the northern part of the town are largely surprised and do not resist capture. Those in other parts of the stockade, hearing their neighbor's peril, are more likely to resist capture or try to escape. Still others mount a two-hour, ultimately successful resistance from Benoni Stebbins' house.
- 12 houses inside the palisade, 4 to the north were burned, and one to the south. Barns burnt meant loss of livestock, tools and provisions.

**CONTEXT POINTS – Why Deerfield**

- Conflict between England and France, the two European powers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequently escalated into a series of bloody and often inconclusive wars. These struggles spilled over into North America, where France and England wrestled for control over the loyalties and the souls of its inhabitants as well as its resources. The English especially desired land to support a growing colonial population; the French focused on trade and alliances with Native peoples, and supporting concentrated Native settlements with missionaries.
- Deerfield was New England's most-northwestern settlement. This fact, coupled with its location at the confluence of major waterways like the Connecticut River made the town especially vulnerable to attack from the north by the French and their Native allies.
- Deerfield lay on the edge of the borderland between the two European empires.
- Deerfield was dangerously close to Abenaki-controlled territory where Abenaki groups sought to halt further English expansion into their homeland.

**DEERFIELD'S PREPARATION**

- Warnings about this attack via English and Native informants began to arrive in Deerfield in the spring of 1703.
- Deerfielders took the warnings seriously, but when nothing happened by winter, they were lulled into a sense of relative security, although militia from other towns did arrive in Deerfield a few days before the attack.
- In the fall of 1703 Deerfielders began strengthening the palisade, and villagers from outlying farms began raising temporary shelters or sleeping in homes of their neighbors living within the stockade.
- This was sound strategy in the context of the small-scale conflicts that characterized previous hostilities, but it proved disastrous on February 29.

**French Tab****Notes to Writer:**

- The Abenaki in general remained loyal to the French throughout this period. A few groups that lived in central NE (the Pennacooks) formed friendships or alliances with individual English families or military groups for a time, but largely tried to remain neutral between the colonial empires.

- The French sought to convert Native people to Catholicism to make them culturally more similar to the French, and they encouraged alliances and mutual exchange with Native peoples using trade goods and intermarriage. [Note: Native people could not be forced into converting, they had to choose this. Furthermore, when they did convert, it was done to varying degrees.]
- Recent collapse of the beaver trade in New France caused many Natives to seek trade with the English which the French feared could lead to a military alliance (this fear was unfounded).
- A French goal was to keep New England on the defensive by raiding with their Native allies so the English would not attack New France. They knew they needed their Native allies to keep the populous English colonies from dominating the Northeast.

### **Bulleted Points:**

#### **ACTION POINTS**

- French were only nominally in charge of the expedition; they struggled to keep discipline among fighters from independent nations.
- As a result of this lack of discipline, the element of surprise was lost and the allied forces sustained more casualties. The French sustained especially high casualties.
- French troops intermixed with Native allies to attack particular homes, among some of which they found renegade French fur traders whom they captured

#### **CONTEXT POINTS**

- The governor of New France, Vaudreuil. His superior told him not to pass up any opportunities to attack New England if Native allies wanted to go; when the Pennacooks [Abenaki sub-group] asked the French to raid New England with them in the fall of 1703, the French were more than ready to join them.
- Personal and imperial goals align:
  - Personal goals: increase prestige and gain promotion
  - Imperial goals: secure their alliance with Natives in these times of economic and diplomatic uncertainty; (participating in cooperative raids like this drove a wedge between English people and potential Native allies.)
- French brought together Natives from a number of groups and five different villages out of diplomatic needs, not military necessity; goal: solidify alliances between these groups and the French – was an outgrowth of the Great Peace of 1701 where French successfully made peace among many Native groups [specifically, Iroquois League and Algonquian peoples]
- Imperial and religious conflicts pitted English Protestants against French Catholics in the colonies as well as in Europe. An aspect of French policy was to seek Christian converts among the Indians, thus developing shared cultural practices and strengthening their allegiance to them. This culturally and morally kept them loyal to the French crown. *This was a critical tool.* (note: the Jesuits perhaps tried to exert moral influence, but the French military knew that trade goods and political diplomacy worked far better than religious similarities to secure alliances)
- The alliances were mainly to make sure to build a strong network of trading posts in the Great Lakes area
- Tremendous victory for the French cause: rallied Native support and reinforced alliances, proved they would stand and fight for Native causes; the bloodshed ensured that the



Natives and English would not soon make peace; they destroyed an English town and put whole English colony on the defensive.

- The style of combat in this raid resembled traditional Native American warfare strategies not the battle formations common in Europe.

### **Kanien'kehaka Tab**

#### **Notes to Writer:**

#### **Bulleted Points:**

#### **ACTION POINTS**

- Over twenty KK and Abenakis descended on the Rev. John Williams' home and rounded up his family.
- KK were among those who subdued the largest house in town, the home of Ensign John Sheldon by hacking a hole (with an ax) in the reinforced front door to fire into the house and by going in through the unprotected rear entrance. The house became a holding place for captured residents.

#### **CONTEXT POINTS**

- primarily motivated by mourning wars: wars for the specific purpose of taking captives, a practice that originally only had cultural value. Taking captives in "mourning wars" is a traditional way to console grieving families by replacing deceased family members with adopted captives. Since the contact period, captive assumed an increased financial and political gain.
- Since obtaining captives was a primary motivating force among the Kanien'kehaka, some left the village before the fighting was over with their captives and headed toward the previous night's camp, burning houses north of the palisade along the way.
- Alliance with the other allied forces played a role in their participation, especially the other Native villages in which they were a part of a loose political alliance which would later be known as the Seven Fire Council.
- Native warriors also sought to capture material goods that could be redistributed when they returned to their villages. Many raiders obtained muskets, hatchets and blankets from Deerfield.
- Biggest contingent of fighters came from Kahnawake a Kanien'kehaka village on the northern edge of their homeland (near Montreal) and Sault au Récollet a village 40 km northwest of Kanien'kehaka and other Iroquois.
- Unlike their brethren in the Mohawk River valley to the south, the people of Kahnawake and Kahnésatake had chosen, on occasion, to ally themselves with their French neighbors rather than the English.
- The political, economic and social stake Kanien'kehaka had held in the mid-Connecticut River valley since the 1600s was a further incentive to join the expedition.
- Since allied forces included various independent Native groups, there was competition rather than cohesion among the attackers. Each worked according to their own group's interests and jockeyed for captives and plunder.

- Oral tradition relates that the Kanien'kehaka of Kahnawake hoped to recover their stolen church bell, believed to have been pirated at sea and sold to Deerfield. Such traditions faithfully convey the Kanien'kehaka sense of outrage at the territorial, economic and religious agenda of the English colonists in this period. [AGB: KS says we need to explain territorial – let's wait and see how it is used.]

### **Wendat Tab**

#### **Notes to Writer:**

Because the concept of alliance looms large in the Wendat world view it is very important that the Wendat perspective emphasize this aspect.

#### **Bulleted Points:**

#### **ACTION POINTS**

- A contingent of Wendat along with Abenakis and French engaged the Benoni Stebbins house for over 2 hours where the fiercest fighting took place. Here a great Wendat chief was mortally wounded, one of more than thirty attackers killed or wounded in the assault overall.
- Repeated attempts by the Wendat and others to overrun and burn the Stebbins house failed.

#### **CONTEXT POINTS**

- Of the approximately 250 attackers participating in the raid on Deerfield, Lorette has sent about 20 warriors. (Lorette was the smallest village among the group)
- Trade and alliance are central to Wendat (Huron) relations with other peoples. This survival strategy has generated a series of complex alliances with the French as well as Native groups such as the Abenaki and the Kanien'kehaka.
- Joining the attack on Deerfield presents an opportunity for the Wendat to strengthen already-close ties with these groups, and unlike the other Native groups did not rise out of a particular interest in Deerfield itself. They were in because of their alliance with the Abenaki and Kanien'kehaka.
- While the French considered the Wendat their strongest ally, an appeal from the Abenaki may have caused the Wendat to join the raid. Abenakis went to Kahnawake, central fire of the Native alliance. From there and from the French it came to the Wendat, who were eager to participate in the coming conflict.
- Obtaining captives for adoption or revenge as with the mourning wars was another incentive.
- The Wendat bravely stood along side the French and Abenaki to repel the English pursuers, thus ensuring that the allies and their captors were given a head start over the English. Often, the Loretteons, being few in numbers, served as guide and to cover the back of large groups of Native and French allies.
- Wendat were known for their fine snowshoes, and the French placed a large order prior to the raid on Deerfield.

**CHARACTER NARRATIVES****CHARACTER # 1****John Williams**

See Accompanying Document: CN-John Williams 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #2****Western Abenaki**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Western Abenaki 2-13-03.doc

**\*\*MARGE AND PATRICK**

**CHARACTER #3****Eunice Williams Sr.**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Eunice Williams Sr. 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #4****Eunice Williams Jr.**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Eunice Williams Jr. 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #5****Kanien'kehaka warrior**

**\*\*MICHAEL AND TEAM**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Mohawk captor 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #6****Stephen Williams**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Stephen Williams 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #7****Wattanummon**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Wattanummon 2-13-03.doc

**\*\*MARGE AND PATRICK**

**CHARACTER #8****Frank**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Frank & Parthena 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #9****Parthena**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Frank & Parthena 2-13-03.doc

**CHARACTER #10****Thaovenhosen**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Thaovenhosen 2-13-03.doc

**\*\*STÉPHANE AND LOUIS-KARL**

**CHARACTER #11****Jonathan Hoyt**

**\*\*WORK IN PROGRESS – no document available for review**

**CHARACTER #12****Hertel de Rouville**

See Accompanying Document: CN-Hertel de Rouville 2-13-03.doc

**\*\*LOUISE**

**CHARACTER #13****Canadien**

**\*\*WORK IN PROGRESS – no document available for review**

**OBJECT DESCRIPTIONS****COMMENTS FROM REVIEWERS:****Snow shoes****Notes:****WENDAT:**

Huron snowshoes would be a good thing. See Trigger, Lemoine and other indicated above. We have here in the archives a few collection ok book made for the elementary school and this books had some representation about the snow shoes , Huron Indian shoes, and other clothings, I send to you by email this representation. This books has been made with the colaboration of Denis Delage Historian here at Quebec. In our museum collection we don't have some 17 century artifacts, only 18 e.

The model of huron snow show is made with ash wood and with “babiche” It's the animal skin who's serve for the interior lacing snow shoes. The length and the breadth depending the weight of the person who used the snow shoes. (see the representation that we send to you )

## **LINKS**

### **Glossary Terms:**

- War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War)
- List each of the F&I wars
- Great Peace

### **Maps:**

1. One that shows: Odanak, Pennacook and Schaghticoke
2. Route to Deerfield from Fort Chambly
3. Layout of the town naming houses and gates
4. Use the maps that have been made specifically of the captive trails (VT History map)
5. Map of navigable waterways and Indian trails
- 6.

### **Audio (pronunciation):**

### **Audio (content):**

### **Explanations:**

### **Other Scenes:**

### **Timeline Factoids, Dates:**

- Queen Anne's War (War of Spanish Succession)

### **Bibliography:**

Huron wendat band council, education services, *Techniques et coutumes des hurons-wendat*, 1993, 66p.