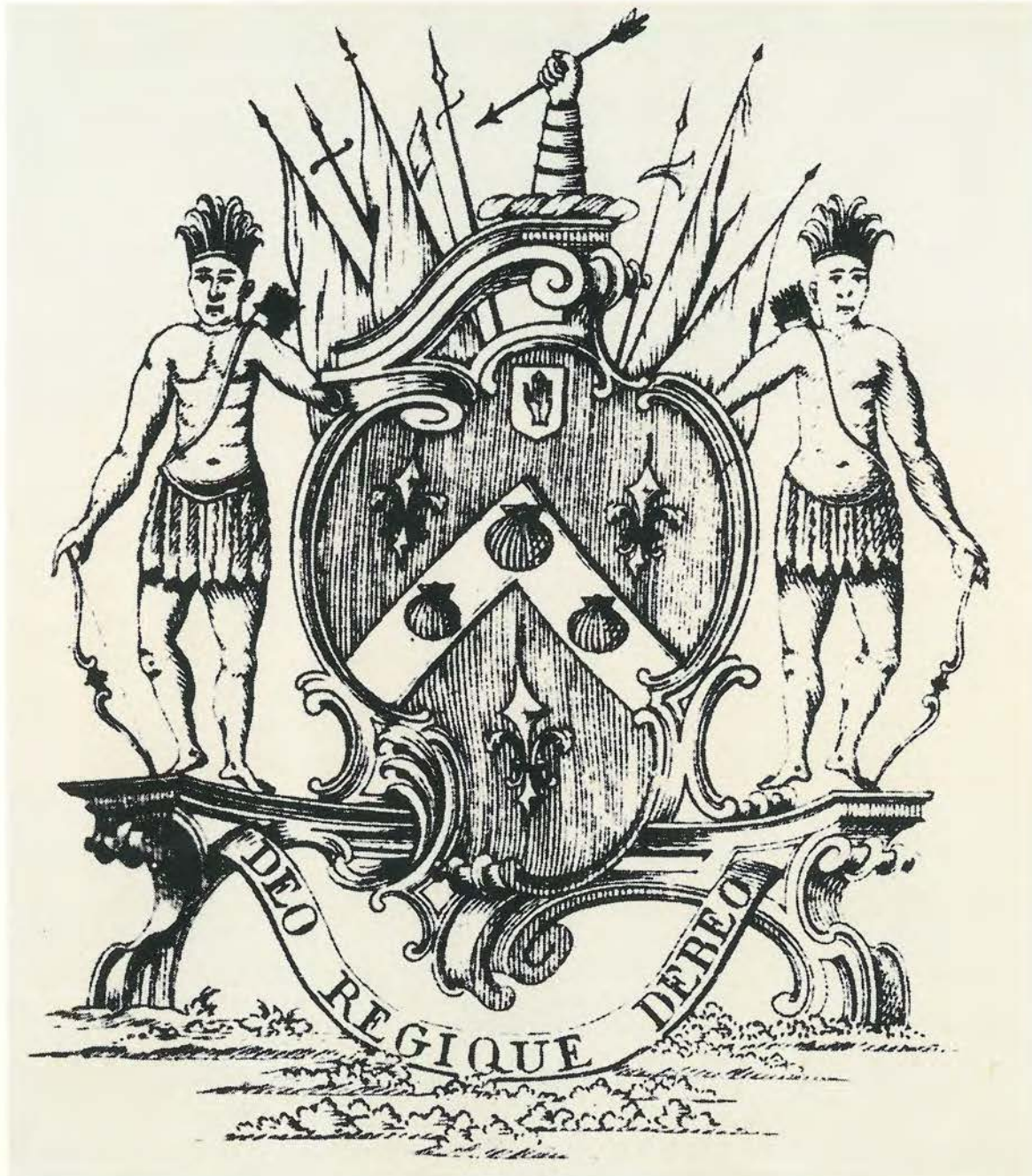


The St. Lawrence County Historical Association

QUARTERLY



Winter 1993

The St. Lawrence County Historical Association
QUARTERLY

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*Cover: Sir William Johnson's Coat of Arms (After J. Sullivan, ed.,
The Papers of Sir William Johnson, Vol. III)*

*The Winter and Spring, 1993, issues
of The Quarterly are devoted to Native
American history in St. Lawrence County.*

Editors' Note

by *Cornel Reinhart and Mark R. Petersen*

Like the history which it documents, *The Quarterly* is a monument to tradition. This issue marks the beginning of a new period of editorship for *The Quarterly*. However, we intend to continue the tradition of capable and dedicated editorial work that has distinguished the journal for 37 years. In particular, we hope that we can maintain the superb standard established between 1989-92 by our immediate predecessors, Marvin L. Edwards and George F. McFarland. Fortunately, Marvin and George have furnished us with a solid base on which to build, and we wish to thank them warmly for their considerable and valuable efforts.

At the same time, we envision that, like the history which it records, *The Quarterly* can be a testament to tradition modified by positive change. Readers will notice immediately the "new" cover design that we have inaugurated with this issue. In fact, although it boasts a more durable glossy finish, it represents a slightly revised version of a cover design that graced a single earlier issue of *The Quarterly* (see Stu Wilson's essay, "A Brief History of *The Quarterly* Covers," in this issue). We hope that it continues to be graceful—and appropriate. More subtle changes are evident on the interior of this issue, and they have been introduced with the intention of imparting to *The Quarterly* an even more polished and professional look than it has previously possessed. Starting with this issue, we have also begun to introduce periodic excerpts from such volumes as Hough's *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York* (1853), and Everts's *History of St. Lawrence County* (1878). This feature should prove to be attractive to those readers who wish to become familiar with, but do not have access to, these indispensable sources of information on St. Lawrence County's history.

That history is, of course, the heritage of everyone who lives in St. Lawrence County, and *The Quarterly* has illuminated it for almost 40 years. The changes that we have made, and the traditions that we have attempted to perpetuate, in this issue collectively express our conviction that *The Quarterly* will continue to fulfill this role, as it always has, with respect for its own past and a capacity for evolving fruitfully in format and content.

Previous Editors of *The Quarterly*

Compiled by Stu Wilson

Bette Mayhew and Nina Smithers: January, 1956

Bette Mayhew: April and July, 1956

Atwood Manley: October, 1956 through October, 1960

Mason Rossiter Smith: January, 1961 through July, 1966

Mary H. Biondi (Smallman): October, 1966 through July, 1975

Kelsie B. Harder: October, 1975

Elsie H. Tyler: January, 1976 through Winter, 1977

Varick A. Chittenden: April, 1977 through January, 1984, and October, 1989 (Guest Editor)

Richard L. Rummel: April, 1984 (Guest Editor)

Judith B. Ranlett: October, 1984 through October, 1987

Nadine N. Jennings: January through October, 1988

Garrett Cook: January, 1990 (Guest Editor)

Mark R. Petersen: Fall, 1992 (Guest Editor)

Marvin L. Edwards and George F. McFarland: January, 1989 through Fall, 1992

*NOTE - The above list is simply of the *Quarterly* editors. Many other individuals, including a number of Assistant Editors, have contributed greatly to *The Quarterly* through the years.

A Brief History of *The Quarterly* Covers

by Stu Wilson

In its 37 year history, the St. Lawrence Historical Association's *Quarterly*, has undergone a series of changes and alterations in its graphic appearance, cover design, and overall presentation. Collected here are some of the most significant changes in the cover design of the *Quarterly*, and a brief summary of those changes. During the first few years, *The Quarterly* was typed and was presented in a newsletter format. The first cover (January, 1956) simply consisted of a typed page with a typed masthead. The cover of the next issue, April, 1956, saw the first major improvement in ap-

pearance with the use of photographs. A photo of the ruins of the ton furnace at Rossie graced the cover of that second issue. The July, 1957, issue saw the next significant change, with the whole cover being filled with photographs and short captions, without any text appearing.

With the January, 1961, issue *The Quarterly* entered a new era with its covers. That issue had a brand new look, including typesetting, a new masthead, and a full photographic display on the cover. Although this was a big change, *The Quarterly* cover underwent another face lift only two issues later (October, 1961). The mast-

head was changed again, and the cover photo or graphic had more white space left surrounding it. This gave *The Quarterly* covers a somewhat more open quality, and the publication took on the appearance more of a journal or magazine than of a newsletter.

The *Quarterly* did not change again for a number of years. However, one unusual cover did appear with the July, 1969 issue. The cover, showing an engraving from Harper's Bazaar, featured a lady in a canoe on the St. Lawrence river. The cover was unusual in that it filled the whole page,

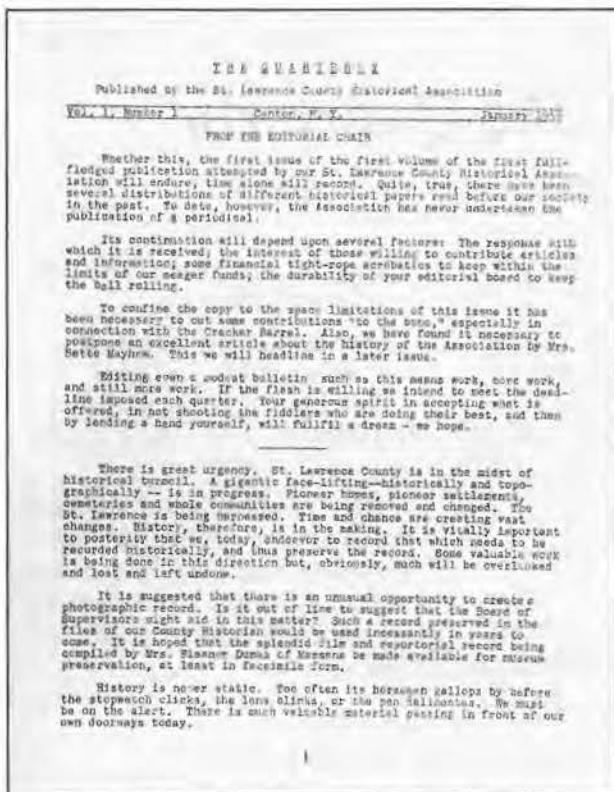


Fig. 1. The First Cover of *The Quarterly*: Vol. 1, Number 1 (January, 1956). (Photo Courtesy of the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)



Fig. 2. The *Quarterly* Cover: Vol. 1, Number 2 (April, 1956). (Photo Courtesy of the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)

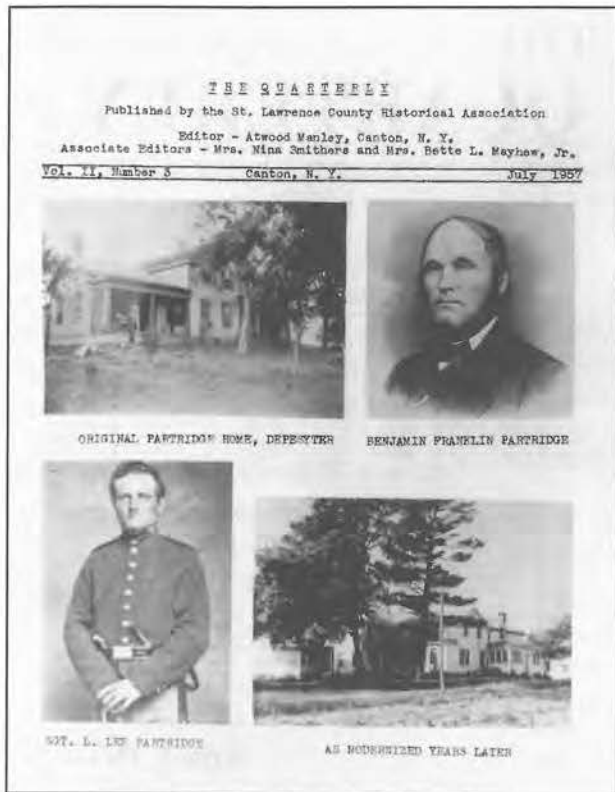


Fig. 3. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. II, Number 3 (July, 1957). (Photo Courtesy of the
St. Lawrence County Historical Association)



Fig. 4. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. VI, Number 1 (January, 1961). (Photo Courtesy of
the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)



Fig. 5. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. VI, Number 4 (October, 1961). (Photo Courtesy of
the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)

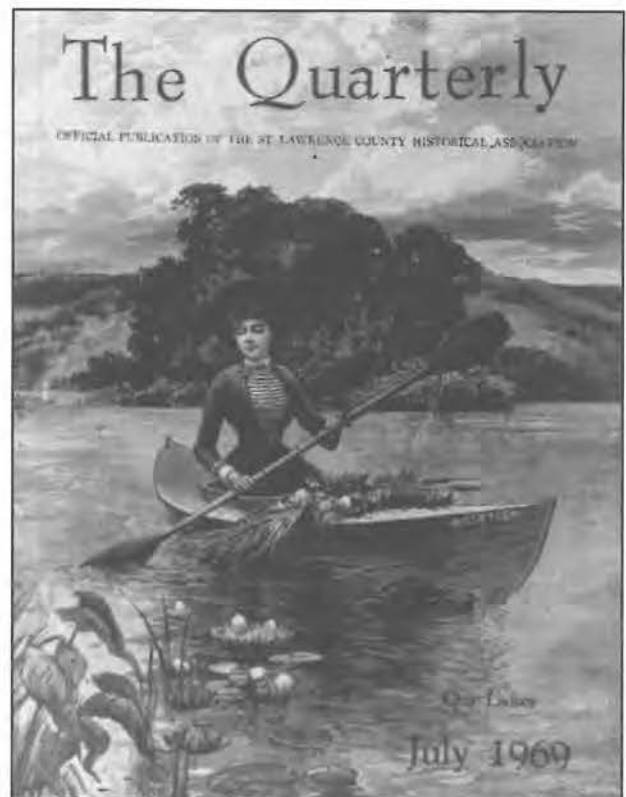


Fig. 6. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. XIV, Number 3 (July, 1969). (Photo Courtesy of the
St. Lawrence County Historical Association)

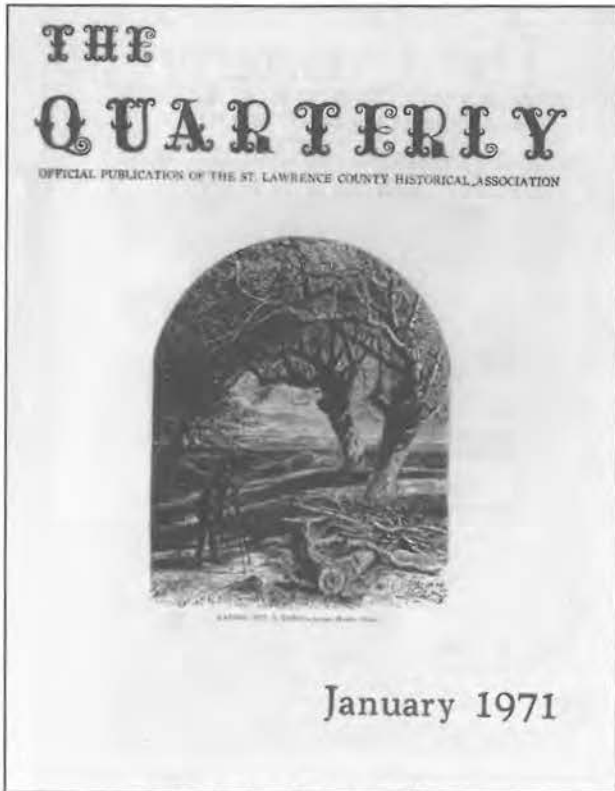


Fig. 7. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. XVI, Number 1 (January, 1971). (Photo Courtesy of
the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)

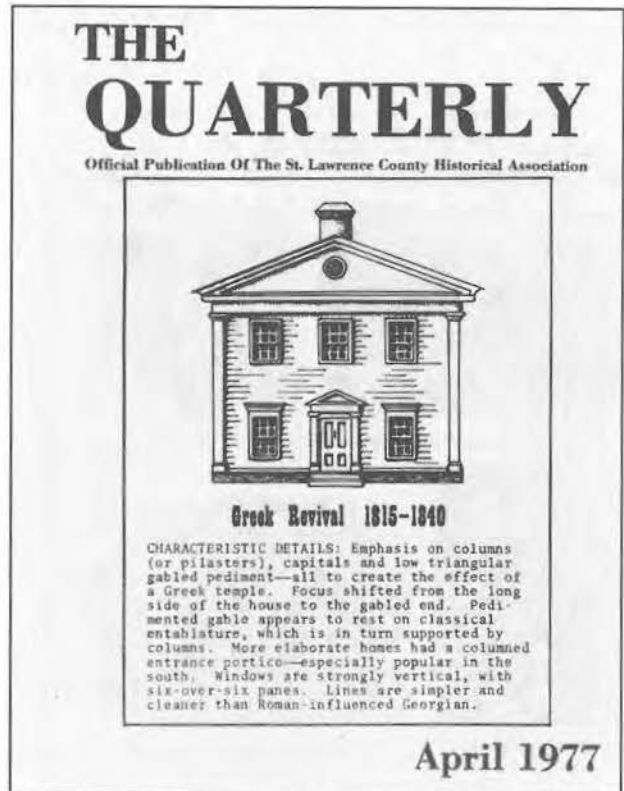


Fig. 8. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. XXII, Number 2 (April, 1977). (Photo Courtesy of
the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)



Fig. 9. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. XXII, Number 4 (October, 1977). (Photo Courtesy
of the St. Lawrence County Historical Association)

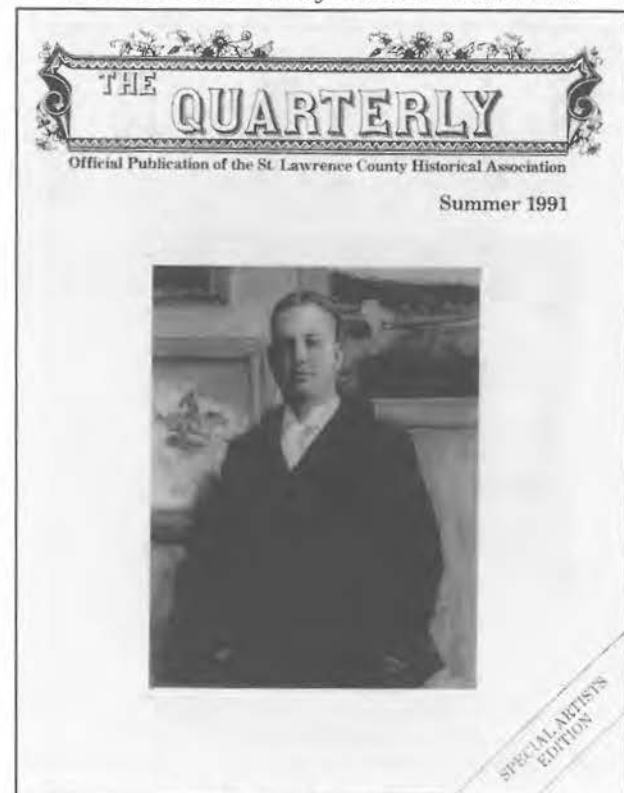


Fig. 10. The Quarterly Cover:
Vol. XXXVI, Number 3 (Summer, 1991). (Photo
Courtesy of the St. Lawrence County Historical
Association)

with the masthead being placed on top of the illustration.

In January, 1971, the cover changed a little bit with a more nostalgic looking typeface used for the masthead, but the overall appearance remained quite similar. The next change occurred with the April, 1977 issue. Like the previous change, this one simply involved a new typeface for the masthead, without altering the overall layout of the cover.

A few issues later, in the October, 1977, issue, *The Quarterly* saw another quite significant change. Not only did the masthead receive a significant overhaul, but this was also the first issue to use heavier weight paper for the cover. The paper was also tan in color, rather than white, and the cover

was done using blue, rather than black ink. This issue of *The Quarterly*, which featured Tyler coverlets, set the standard format for the cover until today. The cover paper stock has gotten somewhat lighter in the past few years, and the ink colors have varied from issue to issue, and have included not only blue and black, but brown, red, green, and even purple. The only other major innovation in the cover since 1977 was the Summer, 1991 issue which featured the first (and to date, the only) full-color cover. This special "Artists Edition" of *The Quarterly* had a reproduction of a painting of Frederic Remington by Charles S. Chapman on the cover, and also contained four full-color interior pages.

Although *The Quarterly* covers have not changed dramatically in over a decade, *The Quarterly*, throughout its long history, has undergone numerous face lifts and graphic modifications. As with any publication, its appearance has tried to keep pace with the changing times and membership, as well as the needs and goals of the Historical Association. The current round of changes is simply the latest in the continuing efforts to improve the look and content of the Association's publications.

Stu Wilson is the Publicity Coordinator for the St. Lawrence County Historical Association.

The St. Lawrence River And the American Revolution

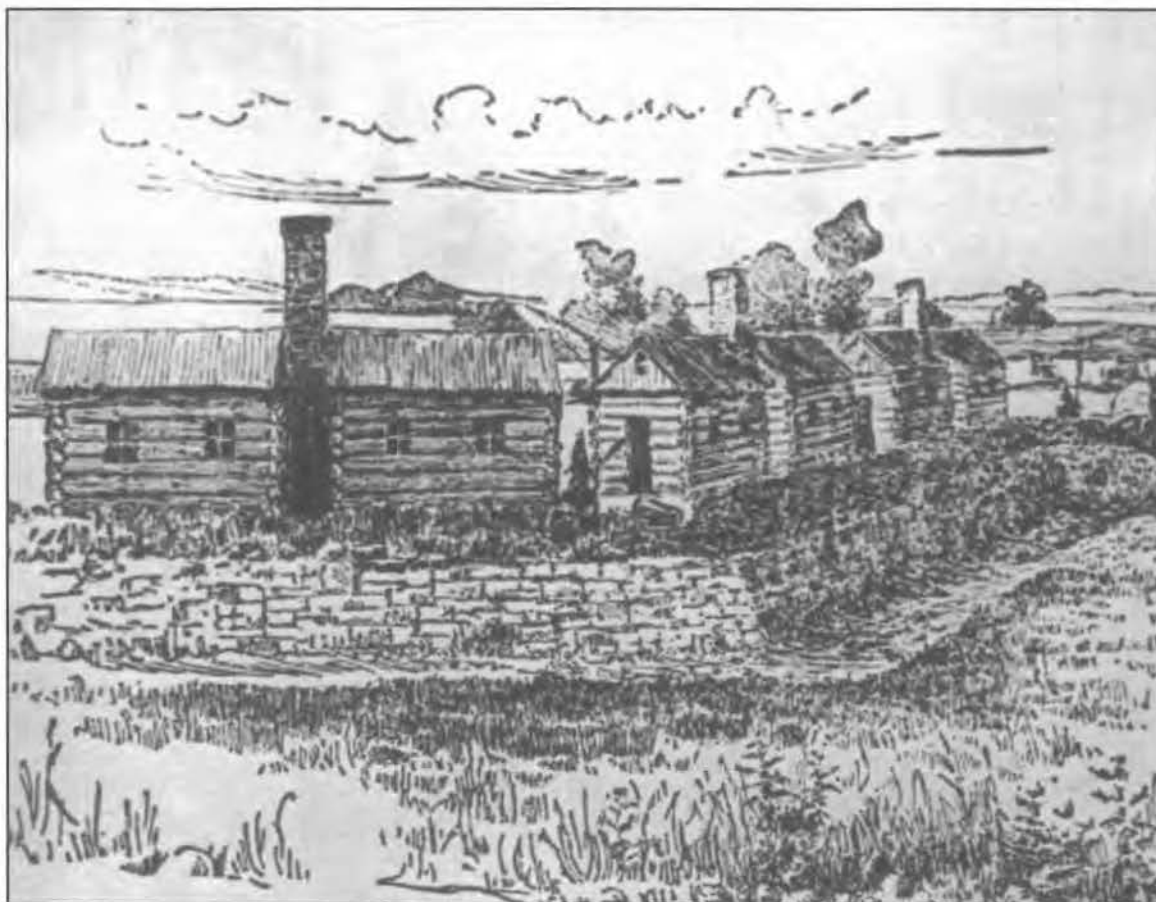
by Jonathan G. Rossie

The St. Lawrence River above Montreal was not the scene of major military operations during the American War for Independence. It was, however, of considerable strategic importance since it was the principle line of supply to British interior forts and garrisons in the Great Lakes basin, including those at Niagara, Detroit, and Vincennes. Consequently, following the unsuccessful American campaign to seize

Canada in 1775-1776, the British command took steps to assure its security.

The stretch of the river from Montreal to Cataragui (present-day Kingston), was deemed particularly vulnerable to attack by American raiding parties intent upon disrupting the flow of military supplies to the upper posts. Accordingly, garrisons at Fort Oswegatchie (formerly, La Presentation) and the new British base on Carleton Island were strengthened. The governor-general of

Canada, Guy Carleton, and his successor, Frederick Haldimand, assumed that British regulars and Loyalist units stationed at these posts would not only protect the St. Lawrence supply line, but would also, with assistance from Indian allies, carry-out raids against Rebel strongholds and settlements along New York's western and northern frontier. By the spring of 1779 certain developments forced a reevaluation of the



*Fig. 1: Fort Haldimand, Carleton Island, as It Appeared During the Revolution
(Photo after H. L. Landon, The North Country, Vol. I)*

adequacy of this defensive arrangement.

The complete failure of the Burgoyne-St. Leger campaign of 1777 not only frustrated British efforts to secure control of the province of New York, it also produced a division within the Iroquois Confederacy which significantly weakened the British defensive position in northern New York. At the outset of the rebellion in 1775, the Confederacy adopted a neutral position - a position which disappointed the British but was viewed by the Continental Congress as the best it could hope for in light of the influence among the Iroquois of the Loyalist dominated Northern Indian Department. Although technically still neutral, by 1778 the Confederacy was seriously divided with warriors from its component nations joining either the Americans or the British. In general, the Oneida and Tuscorora sided with the Americans, while the Mohawk, Seneca, and Cayuga threw their support to the British. Only the Onondaga, Keepers of the Council Fire, clung to neutrality. To some degree, however, this alignment is misleading. Kinship and tradition still bound the Iroquois together more strongly than either the Americans or the British authorities realized. Consequently, the so-called "rebel" Iroquois avoided when possible hostile action against the pro-British kin and vice versa. This ambivalence posed a special threat to the St. Lawrence supply route and the two posts at Oswegatche and Carleton Island from which it was guarded.

At the end of 1778, the post at Carleton Island was garrisoned by a detachment from the British 8th Regiment and a company of Butler's Rangers, a Loyalist corps raised by Col. John Butler, and recruited principally from the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. Oswegatchie, a much smaller post, was held by a twenty man detachment drawn from the 31st Regiment and commanded by Ensign James Davis.



Fig. 2: *Phyllis Bomberry. Iroquois Clan Animals and Tree of Peace*
(Photo Courtesy of the Akwesasne Museum)

Since both garrisons were relatively small, they depended upon predominantly Iroquois scouting parties to warn of and help repel any enemy attack. Any sense of security this arrangement provided was dispelled on the evening of April 25, 1779.

Years of uneventful, boring garrison duty had led to lax security and discipline at Fort Oswegatchie. Towards evening of April 25th there were several small work parties outside the fort when, without warning, they were attacked by a party of thirty-five Oneida and Tuscorora warriors and a detachment of American rangers. In the brief fire-fight which ensued, two British soldiers were killed and four captured before the remainder escaped inside the fort's walls. After exchanging shots with the fort's defenders, the Rebel force withdrew in the direction of Carleton

Island where they alarmed the garrison there before returning unscathed to Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) at the head of the Mohawk Valley.

In the overall context of the war this attack might seem a minor affair, but it seriously alarmed General Haldimand, the British commander in Canada. Not only would the laxity of the garrison's young commander, Ensign Davis, have to be dealt with, but the more important question of how the post had been surprised would have to be answered. Why had there been no warning or response from Britain's presumed Indian allies at Oswegatchie and nearby St. Regis?

The Indians at Oswegatchie were mostly Onondaga and Cayuga, converted to Catholicism by French missionaries and settled at what was in the 1740's Fort La Presentation. Similarly, the St. Regis settlement consisted mostly of Mohawk converts

called Oughquissasines, or, as they are known today, the Akwesasne. Since the influence of French priests among them was still strong, and France had just allied itself with the United States, the British understandably had some doubts concerning their continued allegiance. Thus, in the aftermath of the raid on Oswegatchie, Haldimand and the two principal Indian Superintendants, Daniel Claus of the Six Nations Department and John Campbell of the Canadian Department, concluded that there were grounds for suspecting collusion between the supposedly pro-British Iroquois and those Iroquois in the attacking party. Ensign Davis was relieved of his command and the detachment of the 31st was replaced by a full company of the 84th Regiment (Royal Highland Immigrants) commanded by Captain Daniel Robertson. Haldimand also sent the senior deputy of the Canadian Indian Department, Captain Alexander Fraser, to ascertain the loyalty of the St. Regis and Oswegatchie Indians and determine if they could be relied upon to detect and repulse any future raids against the river posts.

Arriving at St. Regis on May 5, Fraser immediately called a formal conference at which he warned that the Indians must support the King's cause, since an American victory would lead to the loss of all Indian lands to speculators and settlers. Why then, he asked, had a delegation from St. Regis travelled to the Oneida villages last November? Had they promised to support the Americans? Was that why they had failed to report the approach of the raiding party in April?

Teherese, chief sacham of St. Regis, responded that it was true he had recently returned from the Oneida Castle, and, further, that he brought with him a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette calling upon all Canadian Indians to return to their former allegiance to the King of France and, since France was now allied with the United States, they should lend their support to the

Americans. Teherese admitted that he may have acted unwisely, and promised Fraser that he would henceforth support his true friends, the British. As a token of faith, he detailed twenty warriors to accompany Fraser as scouts to detect and future raiding parties.

If Captain Fraser thought he had won the full support of the St. Regis and Oswegatchie Iroquois, he was quickly disillusioned. On June 9th, a large raiding party of more than sixty Oneida, Tusorora, and American rangers made its way to Oswegatchie undetected, killed two members of the garrison and carried off another as prisoner. Two days later, the same party crossed over to Carleton Island and seized two more prisoners from the garrison there. To make matters worse, Fraser was given information that one of the sachems at Oswegatchie, angered at some slight he had suffered from a British officer, had actually sent a request for the attack to the Oneida nation. In return, he had received a certificate of friendship and protection from the American Congress. Fraser was now convinced that, despite their protestations of loyalty, at least some of the Iroquois at St. Regis, Oswegatchie, and Carleton Island were actively cooperating with their rebel brethren.

Fraser was not alone in his disillusionment concerning the loyalty of the local Iroquois. Col. Daniel Claus of the Six Nations Department reported in July that belts and messages from French and American officials were passing openly among all the Canadian tribes, and there was every reason to fear that the French Canadian population was aiding in the spread of disaffection. Indeed, by the end of July Franco/American agitation reached the Caughnawaga Mohawk village on the very doorstep of British headquarters in Montreal. It appears that six elders of the village returned from a secret mission to the Oneida Castle and brought with them official Oneida emissaries to speak in support of the American cause. Col. Campbell immediately sent a

detachment of twenty British regulars to seize the emissaries. The result was a skirmish in which one Oneida was killed while the remainder made good their escape. Several soldiers were seriously wounded, and the Mohawks were thoroughly enraged by this gross violation of the rules of protection and hospitality that traditionally protected emissaries.

In the wake of the incident at Caughnawaga, it appeared that the British were on the verge of losing the support of their Iroquois allies, but news arriving from the south of an American invasion of the Iroquois heartland put an end to that threat. In retaliation for raids against the New York and Pennsylvania frontier, an army led by Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton laid waste to the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca villages during the summer and early fall of 1779. The Clinton-Sullivan campaign destroyed whatever illusions the Iroquois might have entertained concerning their fate in the event of an American victory. Now more fully committed to the British than ever before, the Iroquois waged furious war on the Americans, making 1780 and 1781 the bloodiest and most destructive years of the war for the New York frontier.

The American destruction of Iroquoia also made life much easier for Capt. Fraser and others charged with the responsibility of protecting the St. Lawrence posts. Warriors from Oswegatchie, St. Regis now patrolled the approaches to the river in earnest, precluding any repetition of the raids of 1779. The vital St. Lawrence supply line was secure for the remainder of the war. So unquestioned was British/Iroquois control of both shores of the river, American claim to the south bank from St. Regis up-river would not be acceded to until more than a decade after the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783.

Jonathan G. Rossie is Vilas Professor of History at St. Lawrence University and the author of Politics of Command.

Fort La Presentation: The Abenaki

by Nicholas N. Smith

This paper resulted from a study of the Fort La Presentation Church Records. Fort La Presentation was founded in 1749 in northern New York (Ogdensburg), the last mission established under the French regime. It is an example of the importance of church records to the ethnohistorian. As it was a mission-fort for Iroquois, it has not been considered of significant interest to Algonquinists. I was surprised to find a number of Abenaki entries in the church records. Information included in the Abenaki entries was inconsistent and varied. It might be limited to "baptized two Abenaki boys," or include the name of the baptized, the parents and godparents, and the home affiliation of each. The completeness of the entry was probably dependent on the linguistic ability of the officiating missionary with the Abenaki language. The Abenaki entries led me to believe that Fort La Presentation would be of significant interest to Algonquinists.

Fort La Presentation

In 1747 leaders in New France decided that a fort should be established near Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Ont. (Gosselin 1894: 3). The military objective was to draw the central New York Iroquois to the French side creating a garrison of Indian warriors that could aid in the defence of Fort Frontenac, control the Upper St. Lawrence waterway, and regulate trade on the River (Blau et al 1978: 494).

In 1748 Roland-Michel Barrin de La Galissonniere, Commander General of New France gave the assignment to establish the fort to the Abbe Francois Picquet, Director of the Indian Missions at Lake of Two Mountains where he had gained valuable experience with several Indian

tribes, had become acquainted with much of the country while accompanying his Indian warriors on raids such as the 1745 attack on Saratoga with 229 Indians, and had become an able speaker of Mohawk. The notebook he carried with him containing important prayers, order of service, and hymns for daily use in Mohawk is perhaps the earliest example of Mohawk transcribed in the Roman alphabet (Anon. 1991). The Apostle to the Mohawk eagerly consented to found the desired mission-fort.

In 1655 Father Claude Dablon established a Catholic Onondaga mis-

sion. The Treaty of Utrecht forbade French missionaries to enter Iroquois country putting an end to this missionary venture. Picquet conceived the idea of establishing a mission at a convenient spot outside Iroquois territory to which central New York Iroquois could migrate (O'Callahan and Fernow 1853(I): 428-29). An economic objective was to capture the Oswego beaver trade.

In the spring Picquet set off on his assignment with 25 Frenchmen and 4 Indians. Since most accounts do not give a tribal affiliation for the Indians accompanying Picquet, the reader is usually left to assume that it was



Fig. 1: Portrait of Sir William Johnson. 1756.
(Photo after J. Sullivan, ed., *The Papers of William Johnson*, Vol. II)

Mohawk who accompanied him to found an Iroquois village. There is good reason to believe, however, that the Indians who accompanied Picquet were Abenaki and not Mohawk. The Mohawk did not share the Abbe's enthusiasm for ascending the St. Lawrence rapids in the spring:

I will not speak of the bad arguments that the Indian messengers of Lachine had made to the Five Nation Iroquois, who were at the Lake, and who prevented them from going upriver with me, nor the fears that the French and the Indians wanted to cast into my heart in order to make me go shore. Mr. de la Maraniere will have already sufficiently informed you about it. (Gosselin 1895: 11)

In 1682 La Galette was established as a post about 200 kilometers from Montreal, above the rapids, where supplies were transferred to larger

vessels and forwarded to western destinations. Some Abenaki filled the need for skilled canoe and bateau men. Mohawk were established at Caughnawaga in 1684; Lake Champlain was their waterway. Although accounts usually give the impression that the purpose of the expedition was to search for the proper site, no other possible sites are mentioned. Picquet and his Indians proceeded to a predetermined destination. The site was on a river on the south side of the St. Lawrence within sight of La Galette, on land claimed by New York. Galissonniere was surprised by the location and needed to be convinced of its strategic military importance (Picquet to la Galissonniere, 4 Aug. 1749, quoted in Gosselin 1895: 10). Picquet arrived on May 30th and named the site La Presentation in honor of the day. The

Indians who accompanied him called it in their language soegatsi (Picquet to la Galissonniere, 4 Aug. 1749, quoted in Gosselin (1885: 12). The place is now called Oswegatchie. As it has been assumed that it had been Mohawk who had accompanied Picquet, native speakers of Mohawk have been consulted for a definition of the term. Beauchamp (1907), Huden (1957), and others have attempted to find an Iroquois translation. Contemporary speakers of Mohawk agree that soegatsi is not a Mohawk word. Johnson referred to "Swegatchie" as a "French settlement where Onondaga and Oneida of late years have debauched and gone to live" (Johnson 1921(9): 516) and some Six Nations Indians meeting with some "Swegachie Indians" at La Presentation said to them, ". . . you left your native country to come to this . . ." (Johnson 1921(9): 668). Before Fort La Presentation was built there were no settlements on Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River in New York north of Oswego. Johnson did not have a reliable map of the area until Onondaga Chief Red Head, who lived at La Presentation for several years returned and drew a map of the area for him (Einhorn 1974: 494-495). There is much evidence indicating that La Presentation was an unfamiliar place to the Onondaga.

The late Malecite Dr. Peter Paul, having never seen the site, gave the following Malecite translation: oswea 'not straight', and gotchee 'goes out of sight, disappears', or 'goes out of sight around a sharp curve'. The Oswegatchie does curve near its mouth going out of sight from the St. Lawrence. Those who were employed on the Montreal-La Galette supply route would have had an opportunity to become well acquainted with the area.

Work on the mission progressed well; Picquet returned to Montreal. On Sept. 26, 1749, during the Abbe's absence, central New York Mohawk attacked and destroyed all but his house. The loss "would have been greater were it not for four Abenakis . . ." (O'Callahan and Fer-



Fig. 2: Rev. Father Picquet, Founder of La Presentation
(Photo after Rt. Rev. P. S. Garand, *The History of the City of Ogdensburg*)

now 1853(10): 279). The attack by Mohawk on an Onondaga village has not been a concern to those interested in this event as it was not unusual for mission Indians to fight with the non-mission Indians of their own tribe. Fort La Presentation was very similar to Vermont's Fort Frederic, a mission-fort-trading post for the Missisquoi Abenaki controlling the Lake Champlain waterway also south of the recognized Canadian border. Both controlled important water routes, housed a complement of 55 men but could absorb several thousand troops when men were being sent to various fronts. They were also trading posts vying for the English trade. In both places the mission records have provided important insight into the life of the forts.

It took time for Picquet to accomplish his objectives. In 1749 six heads of families had come to the fort; in 1750 87 had come. In 1751 the families increased to 356 with an estimate of more than 1500 individuals when Ononwaro, a 37-year-old Onondaga chief, perhaps better known as Red Head, led a large group of his people to La Presentation (Einhorn 1974: 495). Picquet was considered so successful with his mission that on May 26th, 1752, Bishop Pontbriand came to baptize, confirm, and marry the Iroquois converts. It was also noteworthy because it was the first time a Roman Catholic bishop celebrated sacraments in New York. By 1755 Picquet claimed that 500 Onondaga families had moved to his mission settling on 3 nearby islands as well as around the Fort.

Onondaga converts received more than religion. "Probably the most skilled of all priests who doled out presents and sermons was Abbe Picquet . . ." (Jacobs 1966: 33). On September 11, 1750, Pennsylvania Indian Agent Weiser, visited Onondaga and was told that Picquet had:

clothed them all [Oswegatchie converts] in very fine Cloathes laced with Silver and Gold and took them down, and presented them to the Governor at Montreal, who had received them very kindly, and

made them large Presents . . . (Wallace 1945: 311)

Pennsylvania leaders became aware of the new French fort almost as soon as it was built. They watched the French action involving their border Indians closely and took steps to encourage the Onondaga to retain their neutrality. In 1750 the Onondaga were invited to an Indian Council, Indian Agent Weiser was sent to the Central New York Indian villages to assure their alligence to Pennsylvania, and the establishment of additional trading posts was offered to them (Wallace 1945: 304).

The Church Register: Abenakis

In 1753 Picquet visited France, taking three Onondaga leaders with him, where they were to be further impressed by French might and grandeur. Father Deparet, a linguist of repute who had written sermons and a dictionary in Mohawk and a grammar, catechism, canticles, and instruction in Algonquian, was assigned to La Presentation, arriving the end of September of 1753. There must have been good reason to select someone with ability in both Mohawk and Algonquin. About two weeks after his arrival the first Abenaki entry appears in the La Presentation Church Register. On October 13th, the baptism of twin unnamed boys was entered followed by the baptism of a young unnamed Abenaki girl on the 14th. They may have been of the same family following a custom of the first baptisms at the mission when the males were baptized one day, the females the following day. However, this custom was not practiced in 1758 when the Abenakis Joseph Thomas and Marie Elizabeth were baptized. From 1753-1759 19 Abenaki baptisms and 9 burials were recorded in the Church Register. Some 59 individuals representing at least 29 Abenaki families appear in 21 entries. In 1759 a slave "adopted by an Abenaki or Loup who had been living in the vicinity for six or seven years" (La Presentation Register: 119) came to be baptized. This is earlier than Day (1981: 47), Frisch (1971: 27-30), or

Calloway (1990: 189) credit the Abenaki as living in the area. The occupation of only one of the Abenaki was given, a bateau man from La Galette whose home was St. Francis. The godfather was a French warehouseman from La Galette which leads one to conjecture that this Abenaki was employed on the supply run from Montreal to La Presentation. Seven were further identified as from the vicinity, five were from St. Francis, six were Loup, and five were from St. Francois Regis; six unnamed Abenaki were baptized or buried. Most of those baptized were young children. Burials included a six-year-old, three 20-year-old males, possibly warriors, and one 30-year-old male; the ages for two were not given. About 29 Abenaki families took advantage of the mission for baptisms or funerals. Most of the Abenaki entries appear in the months from January to May. None appear for the months of July, August, or December. Most of the nine funerals were in 1758. Three of those were in April, the worst month for Abenaki funerals with a total of five. Two of the Abenaki who were buried at La Presentation in 1758 may have died as results of wounds suffered when Fort Frontenac fell. Four of the 14 baptisms took place in April and another four in October. Three were on Feb. 26, 1758, the day after an Abenaki boy from the vicinity was buried, evidence that several Abenaki families were in the area at that time. The estimated Indian population in the vicinity of La Presentation had dropped to 300 in 1758 (O'Callahan and Fernow 1853(16): 953). Those mentioned in the Church Registry represented a small percentage of the Indians in the area; it is impossible to estimate how many Abenaki were in the environs. The vital statistics of the La Presentation Church Records indicate that the Abenaki in the area enjoyed reasonably good health and had a sufficient food supply. The youngest child buried was a six-year-old. Most of those baptized were infants or young children. None succumbed to the smallpox epidemic of November and December 1756 that



Fig. 3: *The Hangar (Store House), Small House (Later, the Bastion to the Fort), Stone Redoubt, Barn, and Oven Built by Father Picquet in 1749 (Photo after Rt. Rev. P. S. Garand, The History of the City of Ogdensburg)*

killed more than 25 Iroquois, Missis-sauga, or Nipissings. There were no Abenaki entries between November 16, 1756, and April 26, 1757. The indelible memory of the devastating Sil-lery epidemic of 1687 that took 130 Abenaki may have influenced the Abenaki to avoid the Fort until they were assured that good health had returned to the area. They were back in 1758 with a high of eight entries. There is no evidence that the Abenaki who came to the Mission for their religious needs took part in Picquet's Indian raids. Most of the Abenaki entries occur when Picquet was not at the Fort, suggesting that they may not have come when Picquet could have influenced them to participate in raiding parties. Missisquoi Abenaki who joined Picquet's army in 1756 had no special need for the Mission priests.

The War: 1755-1760

The year 1755 was a bad year for Picquet. Red Head returned to his central New York home renewing his loyalty to Johnson. On October 14, 1755, the first victim of a smallpox epidemic was buried at the Fort.

In 1756 the French planned an attack on Fort Bull. Picquet brought together a force of Indians that included only 33 Indians from La Presentation. Another 33 were from Lake of Two Mountains, 18 from Sault St. Louis, three from St. Regis, 3 Missisquoi Abenaki, two Algonquian, and eleven Nipissing (O'Callahan and Fernow 1849 (1): 513). De Lery, the French commander, found the La Presentation Onondaga difficult and untrue as La Galissonniere had

warned (O'Callahan and Fernow 1853 (10): 277). Eleven deserted in the first four days of the march to Oswego. De Lery had his Abenaki watch the others and report to him daily as to their loyalty. He held a special meeting with the La Presentation Onondaga giving them additional presents hoping to retain their loyalty. Two days after the group started for Oswego two Onondaga women from La Presentation appeared in the camp telling their group that the La Presentation Onondaga village was burning. They wanted the men to return. De Lery let them go, and much to his surprise, they returned (Hagerly 1971: 34-42). La Presentation Onondaga participation in the French campaigns became more disappointing with only three recruits accompanying Picquet on one occasion

(Steele 1990: 83). After 1756 many Onondaga returned to Central New York and Abenaki entries appear again in the La Presentation Church records.

By 1757 Red Head's men were providing regular intelligence reports from Presentation to Sir William Johnson, who was planning to attack the French fort. Red Head drew a map of the Fort La Presentation area for Sir William Johnson, the original of which is in the British Museum.

Each year Picquet led large bands of Indians to battles: in 1757 against Fort William Henry, in 1758 against Ticonderoga, in 1759 against Oswego, and in 1760 in defence of Quebec City. He had little success with La Presentation Indians, but others were glad to follow him. In the attack on Fort William Henry his group even included 56 Malecite from New Brunswick's St. John's River.

To add to the confusion at Fort La Presentation Picquet felt that he was a superior military man in addition to being a missionary and fur trader. He frequently disagreed with the fort commanders, which led to their being replaced. In 1758 Lorimer showed his authority over Picquet by having him transferred back to Lake of Two Mountains. Lorimer lacked charisma with the Indians and after several months was replaced by Benoist. Picquet returned to La Presentation and lead Indians in the defence of Quebec in 1760.

Trading Post

In 1750 the French attempted to gain the English beaver trade by establishing trading posts at Niagara and Toronto (Norton 1975: 194). Picquet noted that silver bracelets sold to Indians at Oswego for two beaver skins were heavier than those sold by the French for 10 beaver skins and recommended that the French copy the English.

Pennsylvania felt its trade with the Onondaga was threatened and took steps to guarantee their trade relationship. On July 12, 1750, Conrad Weiser asked the Onondaga for permission to

open a trading post on the Ohio or on Lake Erie (Wallace 1945: 304). The La Presentation trade waned. In 1757 only 30 packets of fur were collected at La Presentation (Fortier 1980: 29), about the same number of packets as Abenaki families recorded in the Church Register. By 1759 the La Presentation Onondaga were trading at Oswego again, but La Presentation was an unsuccessful trading venture.

St. Regis

The last Abenaki entry appeared on Dec. 11, 1759. It was the burial of Francois Regis, son of Thomas and Marie Elizabeth, Loup of the vicinity. This is the only family that can be identified as having two entries in the Register. This leads one to believe that they were settled in the area. On Feb. 26, 1758, Joseph Thomas and Marie Elizabeth were baptized (La Presentation Church Register: 98).

St. Regis was established after two boys by the name of Tarbell were taken by Indians from a farm in Groton, Massachusetts. The boys were taken to Caughnawaga where they were adopted and elected to remain. As they grew up, there was discord between them and their peers. Advised to go to another place to live, they settled at St. Regis, date unknown (Hough 1853: 111-113), probably already a small Abenaki community.

"The village [St. Regis] was established about 1755 . . . and it became the seat of the Jesuit mission of Saint Francis Regis" (Mooney 1910: 412-413). The earliest reference to St. Regis Indians seems to be 1756 when three St. Regis Indians accompanied De Lery (O'Callahan and Fernow 1853(1): 513) and a "small party of St. Regis Indians appeared from the woods [at La Presentation] with nine prisoners" (Hagerty 1971: 34). The La Presentation Church Registry identifies an Abenaki-Loup community at St. Regis area as early as 1752 and in 1758 identifies Joseph Thomas and Marie Elizabeth as "deux Abenakis domiciled mission de St. Francois regis" (La Presentation Register: 98). It supports the tradition that the last

of the Schaghticokes (Loup) went to St. Regis in 1754 (Fitch 1870: 389-388). The years 1758-1759 were the high years for Abenaki entries in the La Presentation Church Register. After the 1759 Roger's raid on St. Francis some Abenaki moved to Oswegatchie, increasing the Abenaki presence at St. Regis (Day 1981: 47). A group of St. Francis Abenaki and Schaghticokes moved to the Presentation mission in 1760 (Calloway 1990: 189). However, there are no Abenaki entries in the Church Register for 1760. English power was so apparent that "even the loyal mission Indians of La Presentation lost heart" (Moogk 1975: 536). Delagard officially closed the Register on July 23, 1760, when he was captured by Amherst. The new group must have gone where other Abenaki were settled. Later that year Father Anthony Gordon officially established St. Regis, bringing Sault St. Louis Mohawk with him (Hough 1853: 113). The Mohawk's quick reaction to the erection of Picquet's Fort is an example of how well the Indians knew what was happening in remote frontier areas. The Abenaki would have been just as aware of the massive Onondaga migration back to central New York leaving excellent Indian lands open. Such a group, who were searching for a new homeland, would not hesitate to replace them quickly. Did the Iroquois request the missionary and Mohawk settlers because the Abenaki outnumbered them at St. Regis? The first record in the St. Regis Church Register was not until Feb. 2, 1762, the baptism of Margarita Theretia, an Abenaki woman (Hough 1853: 113-115). Although the Abenaki settled on the Canadian north shore of the St. Lawrence and the Iroquois on the U.S. south shore, there was friction between the two groups (Johnson Papers 1921(7): 110-111) from the beginning. By 1769 the problem was so bad that Iroquois wanted the Abenaki removed from St. Regis. Gov. Guy Carleton told Daniel Claus:

. . . the Iroquois of Aughquisasne must drop those Notions of ap-

propriating any Lands or Spots of Ground in Canada as they never had any in the french time, that the Abinaquis had as good a Right to be at Aughquiasne as they having been as it were but a day or two before them. (Johnson Papers 1921(7): 127)

The division remains; descendants of the La Presentation Abenaki still reside on the Canadian side (Frisch 1971: 28). Bishop Donald E. Pelotte, an Abenaki would like to have ministered to his people. However, he was not permitted to be assigned to St. Regis because of the conflict between those of Abenaki descent and the Mohawk. It is assumed that all are Mohawk at St. Regis, but there is still a clash between the Mohawk and Abenaki traditions.

The Missionaries

Picquet, Besson, and Gwen, the first three missionaries assigned to La Presentation had mastered the Mohawk language. Deparet, Magon, and Mathevet, those who followed knew Algonquian languages, while Delagarde knew Mohawk and St. Francis Abenaki. Both Magon and Mathevet wrote Loup dictionaries. Two Mathevet notebooks that would possibly provide valuable information on Abenaki events at La Presentation were lost in the Oka Mission fire of 1877 (Day 1975: 21). Beginning in 1754 missionaries were selected for La Presentation who had a knowledge of Algonquian languages, indicating a need for persons capable of communicating in those languages. Register entries then indicate that Algonquin, Ottawa, Nipissing, Mississauga, Montagnais, Abenaki, and Loup were frequent visitors to the Fort.

Conclusion

Although the entries in the Church Register represent only a small percentage of those who were in the area,

a study of the La Presentation Church Records shows that St. Francis Indians were in the vicinity of the Fort by the early 1750s, and established a 1750s community at St. Regis. It adds credence to the tradition that Schaghticoke Loup came to the area in 1754. Church records can be very valuable primary sources for ethnohistory studies.

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