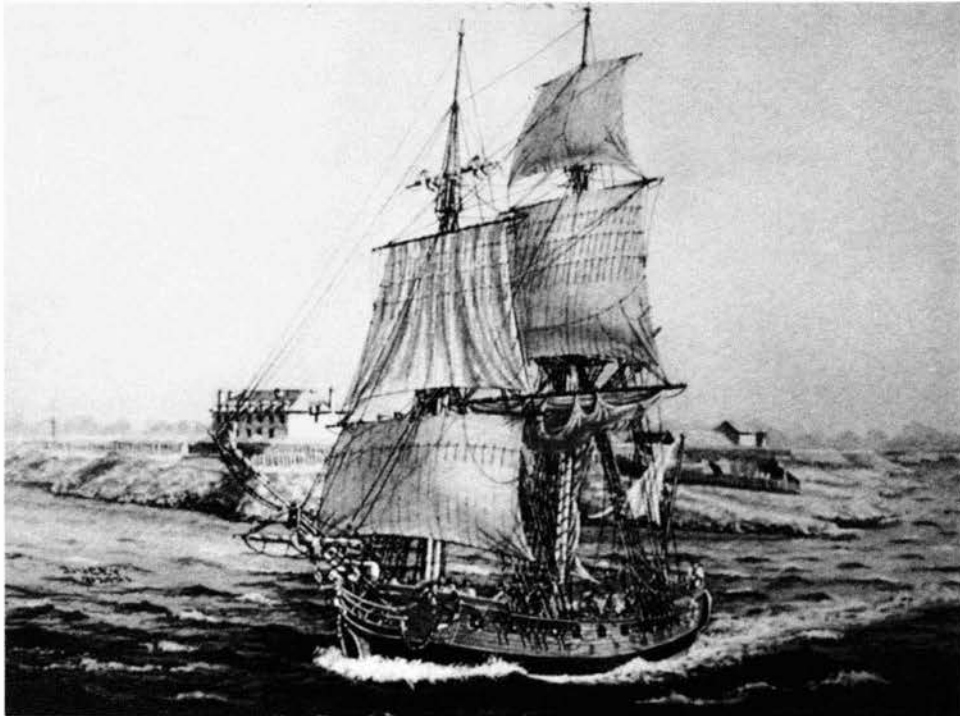


The St. Lawrence County Historical Association

QUARTERLY

Volume XLVI - Number 3 - Summer 2001



The St. Lawrence County Historical Association at the Silas Wright House

The St. Lawrence County Historical Association is a private, not-for-profit, membership organization based at the Silas Wright House in Canton, New York. Founded in 1947, the Association is governed by a constitution, by-laws, and Board of Trustees. The Historical Association's membership meets annually to elect its trustees.

2002 Officers:

President: Carl Stickney, Norwood
Vice-President: Jane Subramanian, Potsdam
Treasurer: Carol Johnson, Canton
Secretary: Susie Wood, Hammond

2002 Staff:

Trent Trulock, *Executive Director*
Sue Longshore, *Collections Manager*
Mary Ellen Jones, *Archives Manager*
Beverly Brownell, *Administrative Assistant*

2002 Trustees:

Chris Angus, Canton
Patricia Carson, Canton
Richard Foster, Rossie
R. Shawn Gray, Massena
E. Jane Layo, Waddington
Stan Maine, Pierrepont
Lowell McAllister, Heuvelton
Todd Moe, Norwood
Cathleen O'Horo, Canton
Susan Omohundro, Hannawa Falls
Tim Strong, Potsdam
J. Rebecca Thompson, Hannawa Falls
Peter Van de Water, Canton

Our Mission

The St. Lawrence County Historical Association is a not-for-profit membership organization and museum which serves as an educational resource for the use and benefit of the citizens of St. Lawrence County and others interested in the County's history and traditions. The Association collects and preserves archival material and artifacts pertinent to the County's history. In cooperation and collaboration with other local organizations, the Association promotes an understanding of and appreciation for the County's rich history through publications, exhibits, and programs. The St. Lawrence County Historical Association operates within museum standards established by the American Association of Museums.

SLCHA Membership

Membership in the St. Lawrence County Historical Association is open to all interested parties. Annual membership dues are: Individual, \$25; Senior/Student, \$20; Family, \$35; Contributor, \$50; Supporter, \$100; Patron, \$250; Businesses, \$50 to \$1,000. Members receive the *SLCHA Quarterly*, the Historical Association's bi-monthly newsletter, and various discounts on publications, programs and events.

St. Lawrence County Historical Association
at the Silas Wright House
3 East Main Street, PO Box 8
Canton, New York 13617
(315) 386-8133
fax (315) 386-8134
e-mail: slcha@northnet.org
www.slcha.org

Published continuously since 1956

The Quarterly is endowed in memory of Albert Priest Newell and Ella Waterman Newell.

Publication of *The Quarterly* is also made possible with public funds from the New York State Council on the Arts, a State agency.



Managing Editor:
Pamela Ouimet

Production Editor:
Susan L. Dresye

Advisory Board:
Chris Angus, Canton
Arthur Johnson, Potsdam
Herb Judd, Canton
Mary Ruth Judd, Canton

Copyright ©2001 by the
St. Lawrence County Historical
Association. All rights reserved.

Except for brief excerpts, no part of this publication may be copied or reproduced without the express written permission of the author and the Historical Association. The St. Lawrence County Historical Association is not responsible for the statements, interpretations, and opinions of contributors to *The SLCHA Quarterly*.

The SLCHA Quarterly is published Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall each year by the St. Lawrence County Historical Association for its members and friends.

Additional copies may be obtained from the St. Lawrence County Historical Association, P.O. Box 8, Canton, NY 13617 at \$4.00 each (\$2.00 for members), plus \$1.00 for postage.

Contributions:

The SLCHA Quarterly welcomes contributions. To submit a manuscript, or for further information, please contact the editor through the St. Lawrence County Historical Association. Please address communications to: Managing Editor, *The SLCHA Quarterly*, P.O. Box 8, Canton, NY 13617.

The St. Lawrence County Historical Association

Quarterly

Volume XLVI - Number - 2001

ISSN: 0558-1931

CONTENTS

- Siege of Fort Levis From Eyewitness Accounts** 2
Researched and Written by David Dickinson
- Memoirs of the Late War in North America
Between France and England** 7
By Capt. Pierre Pouchot
- Siege and Capture of Fort Levis** 17
- Memoirs of a French and Indian War Soldier:
"Jolicoeur" Charles Bonin** 28
Edited by Andrew Gallup
- Letter of Col. Nathan Whiting to His Wife from
Fort La Galette (Fort de la Presentation)** 30
- Siege of Fort Levis: Conclusion** 33
Researched and Written by David Dickinson
- Edith Duffy, Former Edwards Town and Village
Historian** 35
- Edith Duffy Steps Down as Edwards Historian After
Years of Dedicated Service** 36
By LaVerne H. Freeman
- Edith Duffy, Good Friend and Neighbor** 37
By LaVerne H. Freeman

Issue Editor: Pamela Ouimet

Cover Photo: *Commissioned by the Old Fort Niagara Association to celebrate the Fort's 275th anniversary, Robert Ducey's painting portrays the French warship "L'Iroquoise" sailing out of Fort Niagara in the summer of 1759. Built at the Pointe au Baril shipyard and launched in April 1759, "L'Iroquoise" ran aground in the St. Lawrence River shortly before the Siege of Fort Levis. Her guns and crew were removed to help defend Fort Levis while the ship was scuttled off the downstream tip of today's Chimney Island. The vessel was re-floated by the British and sailed a few more years on the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario under a British flag. her sister ship, "L'Outaouaise," was captured by the British on August 17, 1760 in front of Fort de la Presentation.*

(Photo courtesy of the Old Fort Niagara Association)

Siege of Fort Levis from Eyewitness Accounts

Researched and written by David Dickinson

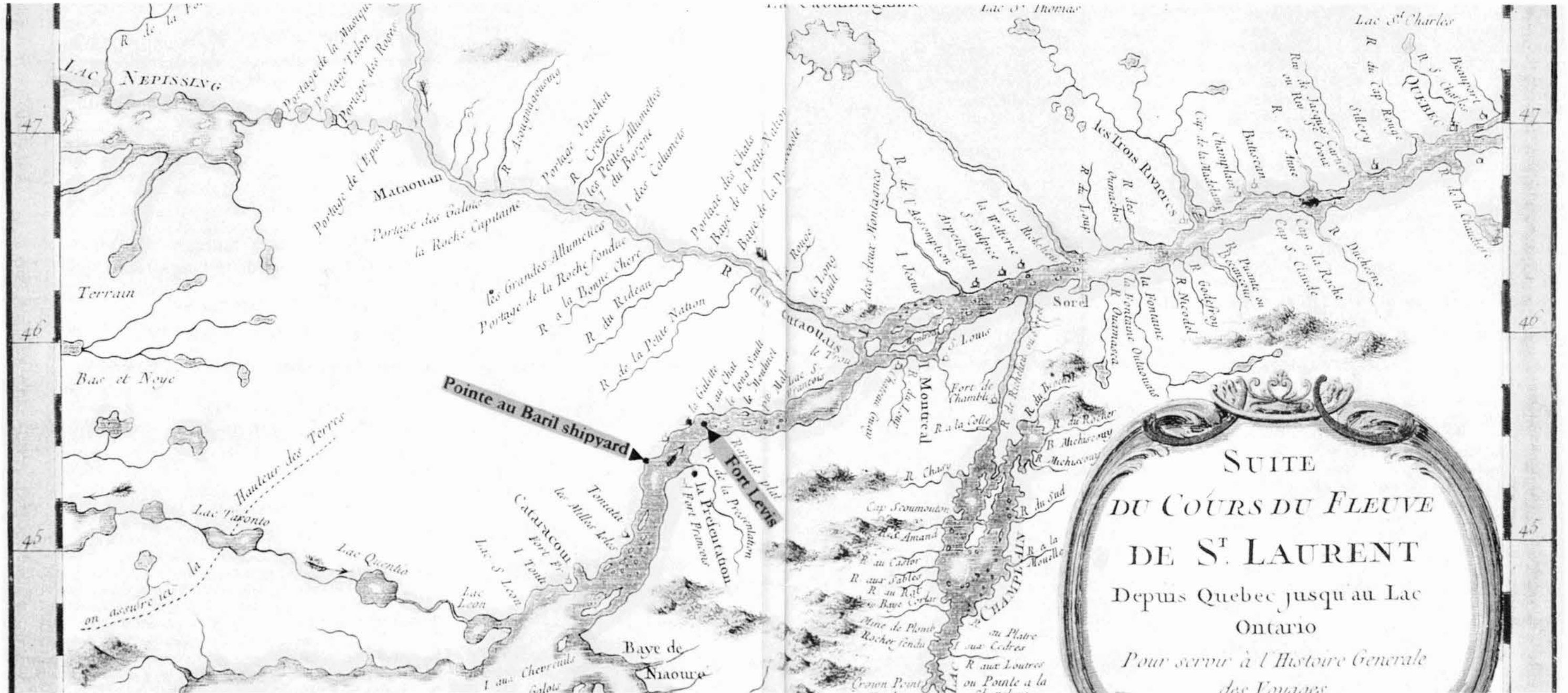
Whitehall Dec. 29th 1758

"...it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do attempt an invasion of Canada by Way of Crown Point or La Galette, or both, according as you shall judge practicable, and proceed, if practicable, and attack Montreal and Quebec..."ⁱ
 (Secretary of State William Pitt to General Jeffrey Amherst)ⁱ

Whitehall 11th Dec 1859

"The King saw, with much concern, that unhappily the execution had not followed the plan which you had so prudently concerted, and the orders you had given, for the taking possession of La Galette, being a post of the utmost consequence, and by which, we should be entire masters of Lake Ontario and his Majesty's subjects on the Mohawk River as effectually freed thereby from all inroads and scalping parties of the Enemy...by the reduction of that important Post..."ⁱⁱ

(Secretary of State William Pitt to General Jeffrey Amherst)ⁱⁱ



Detail of 1757 French map of the upper St. Lawrence River by cartographer Bellin.

(Photo courtesy of David Dickinson)

Crown Point is a familiar location to New Yorkers but many may not recognize the place-name, La Galette. As early as 1673, the original La Galette was a stopping point above the Galop Rapids for French military and trading expeditions bound for the interior of the continent. In the English parlance of 1758, La Galette referred to Abbe Francois Picquet's Fort de la Presentation. As France built other fortifications nearby, La Galette served as a collective name for Fort de la Presentation and its successor, Chimney Island's Fort Levis.

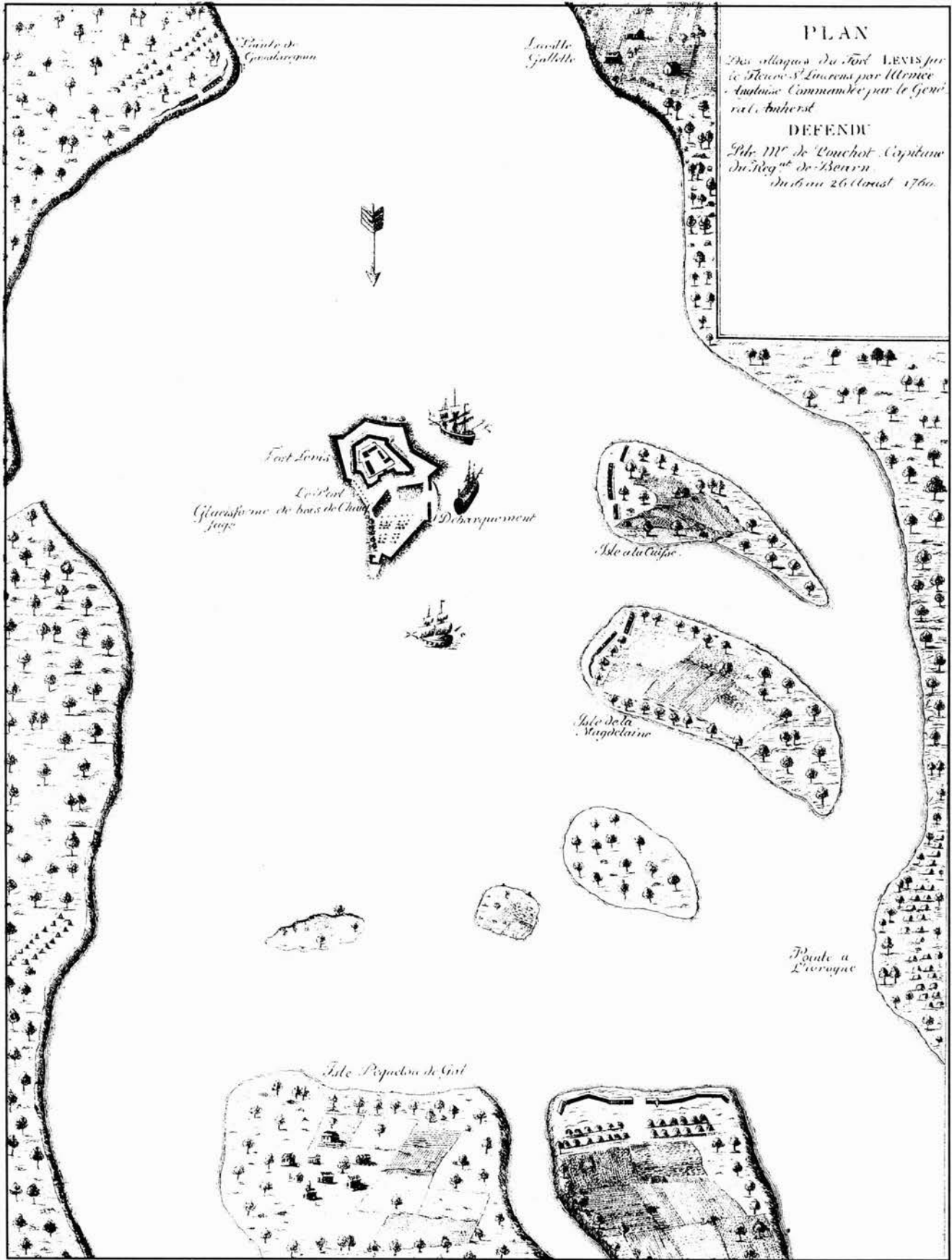
In the middle of the St. Lawrence River, just downstream from the Ogdensburg-Prescott International Bridge, lies Chimney Island, once pear shaped but in the 1950's eviscerated by construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. For a few weeks in the summer of 1760, it was the focal point of an invasion army the likes of which the upper St. Lawrence River had never before seen and will never see again. Over ten thousand British soldiers, among them several regiments of British regulars, four regiments of Connecticut Provincials, two regiments of New York Provincials, one regiment of New Jersey Provincials, the famous 42nd Black Watch Regiment, two companies of Rogers' Rangers, Sir William Johnson and almost 1,000 Iroquois warriors...all marched or rowed along the banks of the St. Lawrence River to take up positions around Chimney Island. Like the caddis flies and white gnats that had preceded them in months before, British redcoats and their allies swarmed over the islands surrounding Little Chimney Island. Little Chimney Island, in 1760, was no innocent, deserted mound of a bird sanctuary on the edge of a sea-going shipping channel. It was *Isle Royale*, the site of His Most Chris-

tian Majesty Louis XV's Fort Levis, commanded by Captain Pierre Pouchot of the Regiment du Bearn. What Britain's King George had asked in late 1758 finally became reality in August, 1760. His invasion army occupied Fort de la Presentation and pushed on to take positions on islands now known as Spencer, Drummond, Prisoner's (Adams) and Galop. Connecticut soldiers and Royal Artillery set up on Chimney Point. Inside the walls of Fort Levis 350 or so soldiers, sailors and militia of New France braced for a massive attack. Their fort at the head of the Galop Rapids stood as the last stronghold for France between Amherst's horde and Montreal, the only North American city remaining in French control. The ensuing battle was to be the last between France and Great Britain for the control of Canada and the North American continent.

Despite its benchmark position on Great Britain's and France's timeline of history in the New World, modern historians largely have neglected the Siege of Fort Levis. Scholars also have failed to measure the significance of the concentration of French military installations on the Upper St. Lawrence River. The stretch of the St. Lawrence River from Maitland, Ontario to the downstream end of Lisbon's Galop Island contains sites of three French fortifications and several Native American villages all dating to the period 1759-1760. The French shipyard of Pointe au Baril, today's Weatherheads Point near Maitland, was opened in late 1758 and completed two vessels in addition to the hull of a third. In April 1759 the shipyard launched the French warships *l'Iroquoise* (Iroquois) and *l'Outaouaise* (Ottawa). The ships immediately were pressed into service to carry Captain Pierre Pouchot and his troops to his new command at Fort Nia-

gara. Both ships would later figure prominently in the Siege of Fort Levis.

Readers will be more acquainted with the history of Fort de la Presentation, located at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River. Founded by Abbe Francois Picquet in 1749, Fort de la Presentation served a unique purpose in New France. It was a fort founded and initially administered by a priest of the Sulpician order. Its utopian purpose was to provide religious instruction to Native Peoples as well as to rescue them from the evil influence of all things British. With special permission of the King of France, Picquet was allowed to locate his mission in territory otherwise forbidden to French settlers. Picquet endeared himself to the governors of New France by, among other things, establishing a much-needed sawmill on the banks of the Oswegatchie River. In order to understand the importance of the sawmill, readers must realize that everything needed in the continent's interior but manufactured in France or in the colony had to be laboriously portaged, dragged, poled or rowed through a series of rapids stretching from Montreal to Galop Island. Fort de la Presentation's position above the last of the St. Lawrence River rapids made it an ideal location for shipbuilding. Once built, vessels had smooth sailing from there to the gates of Niagara and everywhere on Lake Ontario. The stone to build Fort Niagara came from the Kingston, Ontario area, possibly in vessels built at Fort de la Presentation. It is possible that the lumber used to improve Fort Niagara in the mid-1750's came from Fort de la Presentation's sawmill. French warships such as *L'Iroquoise*, when damaged in action on Lake Ontario, retreated to Fort de la Presentation for repairs.



With the surrender of Fort Niagara in 1759, Fort de la Presentation assumed a new but short-lived role, that of guardian of New France's western door. Unfortunately for France, Fort de la Presentation was impossible to defend against cannon, which the British would surely bring. The decision was made to build a new, more defensible fort on a little island further downstream in the St. Lawrence River. That island is today known as Chimney Island. In the summer of 1759 French engineer Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins drew up plans and began construction of Fort Levis. The decision to abandon Fort de la Presentation forced Abbe Picquet to relocate his mission to Galop Island. A new chapel was built there, as were dwellings for the Native Peoples who relocated to Galop Island from their village outside the walls of Fort de la Presentation. Land on Galop Island was cultivated and crops were sown, most notably corn, beans, squash, cabbages, and sunflowers. Livestock included hogs and poultry. Almost immediately French records begin to refer to the island as Picquet's Islandⁱⁱⁱ.

Galop Island was also the site of several major diplomatic conferences. The allegiance of Native Peoples was divided between those who favored France and those who were allied to Great Britain. Wampum belts were sent to Galop Island from Amherst and Sir William Johnson, advising the Oswegatchie Indians to remain neutral or take up arms against France. France's Native allies decided to remain largely neutral. Their decision generated another conference, this one with Captain Pouchot. He derided them fiercely for their forgetfulness of the treatment that they had received at the hands of the British and warned them of the consequences of

France's defeat. In the spring and summer of 1760, all on the St. Lawrence River around Fort Levis and Fort de la Presentation was turmoil in anticipation of a British attack. The expected attack materialized in late August. This issue of the *Quarterly* will give readers an opportunity to read details of the Siege of Fort Levis from the pens of those who participated in it.

Endnotes

ⁱ Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, editor. *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Volume I, page 438.

ⁱⁱ Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, editor. *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Volume II, pp. 216-217.

ⁱⁱⁱ Nathaniel Woodhull. "A Journal Kept by Nathaniel Woodhull". *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America*. Volume V, September, 1861. p. 258.

Memoirs of the Late War in North America Between France and England

by Captain Pierre Pouchot, Regiment du Bearn

Translated by Michael Cardy

Edited and Annotated by Britain Leigh Dunnigan

Published by Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc.

Introduction—Written and researched by David Dickinson

In the years following the end of the French and Indian Wars, known as the Seven Years War outside of the United States, several detailed histories of the war in North America were published in England. The only detailed French language account of the war was assembled from memoirs put to paper by Captain Pierre Pouchot, the French commander of Fort Levis and before that of Fort Niagara. Pouchot began his memoirs in 1768, some eight years after his surrender of Fort Levis and subsequent repatriation to France. One year later, while soldiering in Corsica, Pouchot was killed by partisans. Perhaps because of Pouchot's critique of the French government's administration of Canada, Pouchot's collected writings were not published until 1781 and then in Switzerland rather than France. That the memoirs were published at all may be due to France's renewed interest in Britain's North American troubles and France's involvement in the American Revolution. In 1866, Franklin B. Hough, author of the locally well-known *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York* translated and published 200 copies of Pouchot's *Memoirs...* Such a limited edition, now exceedingly rare, has greatly restricted modern professional and lay historians' access to the wealth of information contained in Pouchot's works. In a tremendous effort of translation by Michael

Cardy, with superb editing and annotation by Britain Leigh Dunnigan, the Old Fort Niagara Association, in 1994, published a new edition of Captain Pierre Pouchot's *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between France and England*. Those pages of Pouchot's memoirs detailing events immediately before and during the Siege of Fort Levis are presented here with the kind permission of the Old Fort Niagara Association. Readers are cautioned that only a small portion of Pouchot's writings pertinent to Fort de la Presentation, Pointe au Baril, Fort Levis, Galop Island and the activities of France on the upper St. Lawrence River had been excerpted herein. Unfortunately, space constraints have dictated that Brian Leigh Dunnigan's excellent annotation in the Old Fort Niagara edition be removed for the sake of brevity. Although currently out of print, a new improved edition of Pouchot's *Memoirs...* will be published by the Old Fort Niagara Association in the near future. It will come as highly recommended reading for all who have an interest in New York State's era of the French and Indian Wars.

Readers should note that, as Captain Pouchot writes, he refers to himself as "we" or "M(onsieur) Pouchot" but never as "I," following writing conventions of his era. In the following selection, taken from pages 294 to 319 of the 1994 Old Fort Niagara Association edition, Pouchot records his memories as if writing from his quarters

inside Fort Levis. This selection of Pouchot's memoirs begins with his entry for July 25, 1760. The preceding weeks and months at Fort Levis witnessed incredible activity as Pouchot sought to strengthen his fortress and to gain intelligence about British invasion preparations at Oswego. Our selection opens with the news that the French warship *L'Iroquoise*, captained by Rene Hippolyte LaForce, has returned, probably to an anchorage at Fort de la Presentation, from a reconnaissance mission of Amherst's army camp at Oswego. (End of introduction.)



Photo courtesy of David Dickinson

Modern re-enactors in light gray coats with royal blue cuffs and facings, realistically portray two grenadiers of France's "Compagnies Franches de la Marine." Soldiers of "La Marine" constituted the largest contingent of Pouchot's armed force within Fort Levis.

*Shipyard at Pointe au Baril (Maitland, Ontario) 1759.
(Artist's rendition by J.C. Lamontagne).*

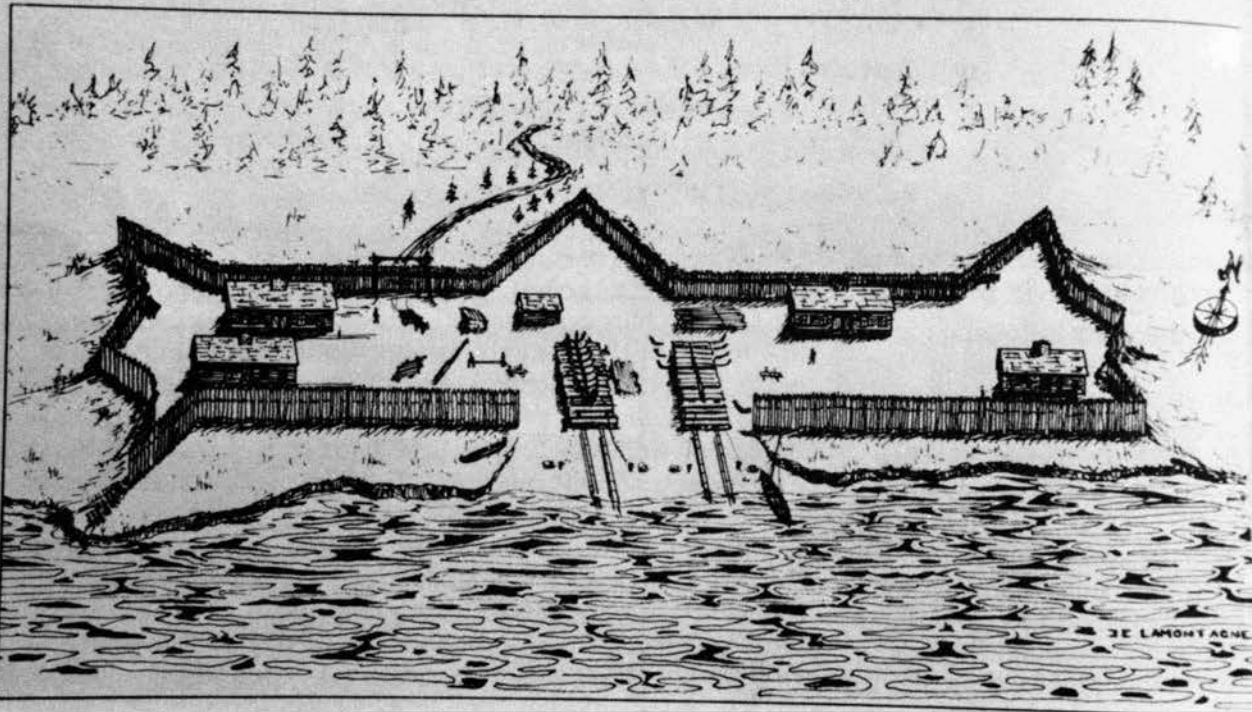


Photo courtesy of Corbin's River Heritage

Artist J.C. Lamontagne's conception of the appearance of the fortified French shipyard Pointe au Baril located approximately 14 miles upstream from Fort Levis near modern day Maitland, Ontario. Construction of Pointe au Baril shipyard commenced in late 1758. The shipyard launched two fully rigged vessels, L'Iroquoise and L'Outaouaise, in April 1759. A third hull was built but never rigged. It was taken to Fort Levis and scuttled along with L'Iroquoise, the latter severely damaged on the eve of the Siege of Fort Levis.

“On the 25th, at ten in the evening, the longboat of LaForce arrived. From the letters it brought, we learned that he had kept watch on the same camps at Oswego & that, on the 22nd, he had encountered at Isle aux Galotsⁱ an English vessel which had been joined by another. Our corvette then gave chase &, after losing sight of them, it had come to anchor at Toniataⁱⁱ.

On the 27th, seventy Indians, women, children & old people, left for Mont-Réal. Fear made them flee. On the 29th, at daybreak, the orator from La Présentation—called the “Chevalier de la Grimace” by the French because he had a very twisted mouth, but a very eloquent speaker for an Indian—Came to tell M. Pouchot that one of the Missisakesⁱⁱⁱ who lived

among them had said that he had seen in the Cataracoui^{iv} area ten bateaux with English troops on board. He had spoken to them.

At 7 in the evening, there arrived eight canoes of Iroquois Indians who out of fear had abandoned their fishing at Toniata. With them was the Missisake who has just been mentioned. He told M. Pouchot that, while fishing four days before in the Bay of Cataracoui, he had seen the two English vessels which were anchored near Petit Cataracoui. It had come into his mind to find out whether what was said was true, namely that the English did no harm to Indians. As a result, he had gone on board the big ship, which had three decks, ten guns on each side, a topmast & grapnels. He esti-

mated that each ship had a crew of 100 men, half seamen and half militiamen. There were many officers. The Missisake added that when he was on the Isle des Cedres^v he had seen ten bateaux laden with troops go by.

On the 30th, some more Indians arrived from Toniata and reported that they had heard the English passing in the night among the Thousand Islands a short distance above the Ance au Corbeau^{vi}.

On August 1st, La Force sent his longboat to inform us that his ship the *Iroquoise* had run aground on a reef in the middle of the river above Pointe au Baril^{vii}. M. Pouchot immediately sent out some bateaux to help refloat it. On the 5th, the ships went and anchored at

La Présentation & LaForce came to the fort. His corvette was taking on 12 inches of water every hour and had 15 feet of the keel holed at the bow. We worked at repairing it as quickly as possible.

One the evening of the 8th, Kouategeté^{viii} arrived from Oswego after a journey of three days. He was accompanied by an Oneida & a Mohawk, representatives of the Five Nations, who had come to urge our Indians to remain neutral. Kouategeté told M. Pouchot that General Amherst had been at Oswego for 15 days, that he had seen him and spoken to him several times. He also said that their army was 10 to 15 thousand men strong and comprised 8 regiments, one of red tunics with blue facings, one red & yellow, one of Scottish, one of red with small black facings, Gage's regiment of light infantry, one blue & red & several wearing un-

dress caps. He had counted 60 cannon. According to his report, four large-caliber guns had remained at the Falls^{ix}, where they were constructing a road to bring them by land. He said that the portaging of the mortars was not finished and that he thought it would take about another ten days before they could march. He added that he had come upon the ships in the river & that they were working at fortifying Oswego.

On the 10th, M. Pouchot went to Isle Picquet^x to attend the council of representatives of the Five Nations. They presented a very fine belt of wampum, a gift from Colonel Johnson^{xi} on which were designed the Englishman, the Five Nations & the three villages of our Iroquois missions, Oswegatchie, the lake^{xii} and St. Louis^{xiii}, with a man & a fine road leading from one to the other, in order to invite our In-

dians to take it, to remain neutral, to allow the white men to fight since they would soon make peace, & to get out of their way or to come there unarmed. They assured our Indians that they would be well received, that Johnson & they had come on ahead of the army to see the white men fight. Johnson, they said, had never invited them to do anything other than watch in 1755, 1758 & 1759, as they could see from the battle involving M. Dieskau^{xiv} and from Niagara where, despite the Five Nations, the French had fought without waiting for good dealings. Another great belt from these nations expressed the same thing & invited them to speak the truth with them, that is to say, to adhere to their viewpoint.

Next came strings of wampum on behalf of General Amherst urging them to pay attention to what the belts said. By them, he prom-

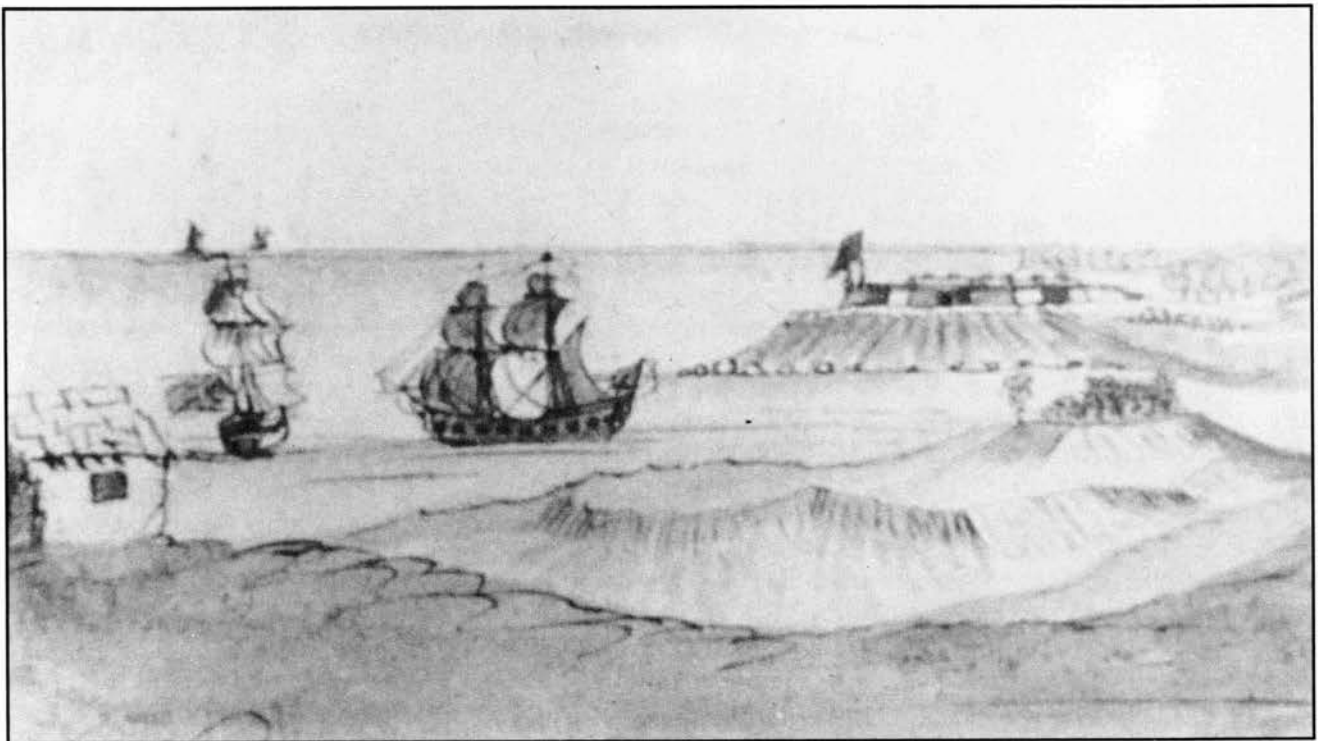


Photo Courtesy of Library of Congress, #LC-USZ62-49010

The two vessels portrayed in this detail of Thomas Davies' painting, "West View of Oswego and Fort Ontario with General Amherst's Camp at Lake Ontario in the Year 1760" are most probably the Mohawk and the Onondaga. Both warships figured prominently in the British attack on Fort Levis. This scene actually took place between June 18 and July 16, 1760, just weeks before Amherst's attack on Fort Levis. Davies was an officer in the British Royal Artillery.

ised that in five or six days he would be at Oswegatchie, that he was going to fight with the French & that only the master of life knew what would happen.

The response of our Indians was to urge the representatives to go to Mont-Réal and reach the end of the road they were following. They said that they themselves no longer had a fire lit since their father and the Iroquois of the Saut^{xv} had agreed that the words coming from the Five Nations would go directly to Mont-Réal without stopping with them.

The representatives, after a good deal of reflection on this replay, which they were not expecting, answered that these words had been given them at Oswego by the Five Nations and that they had only been sent here, without any orders to go on to Mont-Réal. Hence, they intended to return home.

M. Pouchot allowed their council to come to an end and then said to these Indians: "If you had gone to Mont-Réal, I would have nothing to say to you & I would have allowed your father to speak. But since you are going back home, I wish to tell you what is in my heart. I shall not give you any advice and in any case you would not listen to it. As a message from the man whom you have called "the center of good dealings," please assure your brothers, the Iroquois, that they have lost their minds, that with a little brandy, Johnson persuades them to follow him wherever he wishes, without their having any regard for the precipice to which he is leading them. He gets all those warriors who have not consulted their chiefs to join him. You yourselves told me this in 1755. At that time he wanted to go to Mont-Réal to thrash the Frenchmen & give you his trade goods. A handful of

Frenchmen kept him a prisoner in Fort George. In 1758, the same thing happened. You upbraided him because a small band of Frenchmen had chased away the English & you returned home full of shame. Is it not I who showed you at Niagara that you should not let go of your father's hand if you wanted to live in peace on your mats & no longer wanted them to be covered with blood? You listened to me then & you withdrew and allowed us to fight. Did Johnson respect good dealings when your chiefs and those who came from the Belle-Rivière^{xvi} wanted to work at restoring peace to the land? He laughed at you because he was stronger. If the big canoes^{xvii} of your father, the great Onontio^{xviii}, were not in poor condition so that he must find time to construct others, rest assured that his children, the French, would cover the whole of this land like the trees. The Englishman would soon be forced to go and hide in a corner of the country which he stole from the Abenakis^{xix}. The Frenchman had never sought any other course of action than to take pity on his children & to supply their needs. He has not overturned your mats and your fires with armies to go and find the Englishman in his own country, for fear of killing you. You were never willing to prevent the Englishman from passing through your territory. And now you are surrounded by their forts which they requested your permission to build in order to hunt beaver. Where will you now go in order to satisfy your needs? Look at the state of the Abenakis in their own country. They go to the water & into the woods in order to find something to eat & can no longer sow their Indian corn. They are the Englishmen's dogs; they are beaten with sticks and hanged. The same thing will happen to you when the Frenchman leaves you. When you remind the Englishman that he

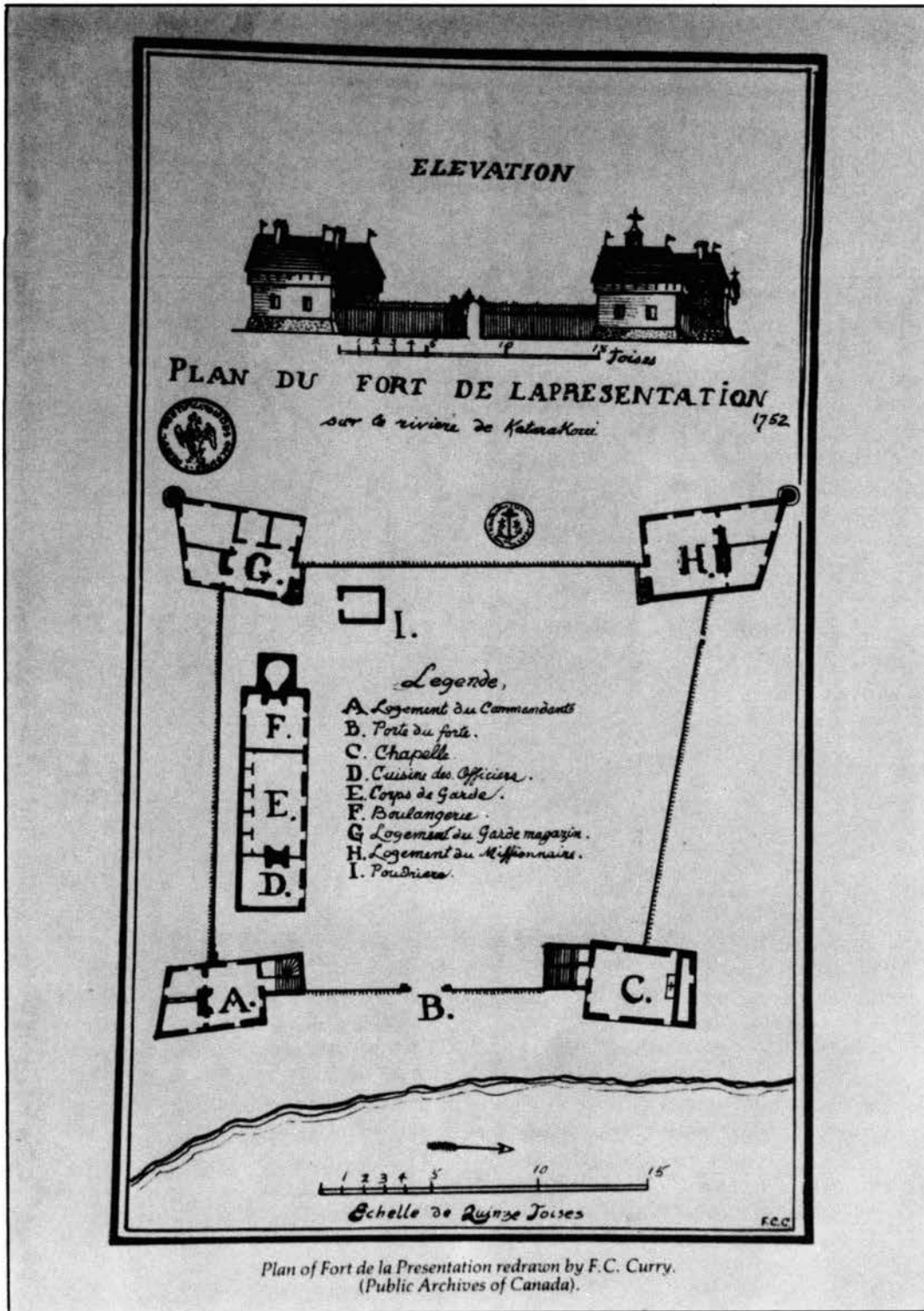
has promised to satisfy your needs, he will laugh at you. But when, instead, you had both the Frenchman & the Englishman as neighbors, they competed with one another to give you things. Wampum belts will be unnecessary to you to recall my opinions when you remember with the old folk the advantage you have lost."

The representatives, although friends of the English, agreed that M. Pouchot was speaking the truth. They apologized because they no longer had the wits of their ancestors. The Indians from Oswegatchie heartily applauded the speech of M. Pouchot, who gave a present to the visitors & dismissed them.

On the 13th, five Indians brought M. Pouchot letters from M. de Vaudreuil^{xx}. He announced that the English vessels were at the confluence of the three rivers^{xxi} at St. Frédéric & that the enemy was preparing to march. They expected Amherst to come from that direction.

By the 15th, the *Iroquoise* was repaired. I must at this point recount an event worth of narration. Seventeen militiamen had deserted some days prior to this, one of whom returned to the Isle aux Cedres, which was his home. His father, whose name was Bray, a fine old man, brought him back to do his duty. He arrived on the 15th and left immediately. Unfortunately, the young man was killed.

On the 16th, at seven in the evening, two Indians who had arrived from a hunting expedition, announced that the English army was camped at Pointe au Bari^{lxxii} & its advanced guard was at La Présentation. It had marched along the shore past the Outaouaise. La Broquerie^{lxxiii} did not write, how-



Plan of Fort de la Presentation redrawn by F.C. Curry.
(Public Archives of Canada).

Fort de la Presentation, located at the juncture of the Oswegatchie River and the St. Lawrence River, located at present day Ogdensburg, NY, is represented in this French engineering drawing dating to 1752. The original was redrawn by F.C. Curry of the Public Archives of Canada to improve clarity. Note the encircled emblems denoting official acceptance of the plans by the French Royal Navy under whose jurisdiction North American colonial forts were placed.

ever, although he fired 3 shots with his guns. M. Pouchot sent two Frenchmen & two Indians to canoe out to the ship to find out what the situation was. The captain sent him a message to say that the advanced guard of the enemy & their Indians had landed in great numbers at La Présentation, that he had them under observation & that the bulk of the army had camped at Pointe au Baril.

On the 17th, at 3 in the morning, M. Pouchot despatched a courier to M. de Vaudreuil to inform him of this event. Around seven o'clock, in very calm weather, General Amherst launched an attack on the Outaouaise with six barges called Carcassieres^{xxiv}, each carrying thirty men & a 12-pounder gun. The ship was located in a position where the currents were not obvious. They surrounded the ship,

which at first made them drop astern on the north shore. But a shore battery forced it to put out into the center again. After a cannonade lasting three hours, the ship was captured. M. Pouchot sent out a detachment of four longboats armed with pierriers^{xxv} under the command of LaForce, the captain of the Iroquoise. But before they could reach the action, the ship had surrendered. M. Pouchot had hoped that the Outaouaise might at least reach the protection of the fort, which it would have done had it been able to position itself ahead of the currents.

On the 18th, the enemy set out from La Présentation in a brisk wind. At the place where the currents began, their entire army struggled in their bateaux for four hours. It was a splendid sight. M. Pouchot at first imagined that they

intended to mount a major attack in order to land on the island. As a result, he had positioned 9 guns to bombard the top of the river & had sited others in the epaulement which could make the balls ricochet eleven times over the water. It is certain that the enemy would have lost many men before effecting a bridgehead had they attempted to do so. They decided to slip along the northern shores with a wide interval between each bateaux in order to avoid the fort's artillery. Their flotilla was led by the *Williamson*^{xxvi}, which they had captured from us, at half a cannon's range as protection.

M. Pouchot could only harass their passage with 4 guns that could get them in their sights. We fired 150 shots at them without, as far as we could see, doing much damage because the brisk wind & the

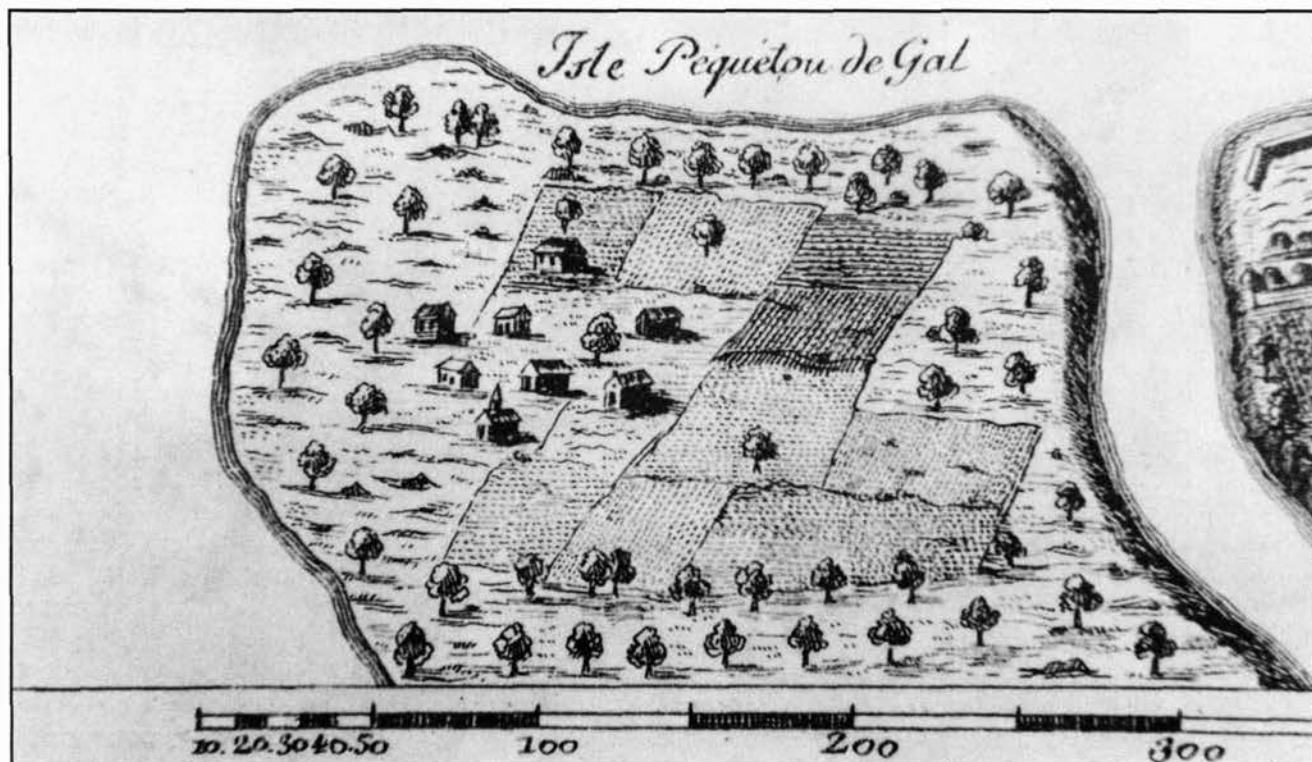


Photo courtesy of David Dickinson

Detail of Plan of attack map portraying the western end of Galop Island. Note a chapel and houses of Abbe Francois Picquet's new mission relocated to Galop Island from Fort de la Presentation. Native warriors allied to Sir William Johnson burned the structures during the Siege of Fort Levis. The island mission previously had been abandoned by the French and their allies. Plan of attack

current made them sail very swiftly past the lines of sight. Since M. Pouchot knew^{xxvii} many of the officers in the English army, several of them wished him good day as they passed by, while others shouted out to him to let them through, as they were his friends. They saw him on the ramparts, but did not stop to greet him properly. The greater part of the army was camped at Pointe à l'Ivrogne^{xxviii}. They also dispersed troops on Isle à la Cuisse^{xxix}, Isle de la Magdelaine^{xxx} & Isle des Galots.

On the 19th, their regiment of artillery left the Vieille Galette^{xxxi} with all the land artillery & sailed past the others to go and camp at Pointe à l'Ivrogne. The ship maintained as heavy a covering fire as possible. We fired very little at the bateaux because we expected little success from that. We concentrated our fire instead on the ship. Of 50 cannon shots that we fired at it, at least 48 crossed the body of the ship, which made them withdraw a little. Its captain, whose name was Smul^{xxxii}, behaved with the utmost gallantry, pacing constantly up and down his deck in his shirt. Many of his crew were put out of action.

The two other ships, one of 22 guns, 8 & 6-pounders, called the *Onondaga*, the other of 18 guns, 6-pounders, called the *Mohawk* arrived in the evening and stationed themselves beside the first one.

On the 20th, there was a great deal of movement in the enemy army. Many bateaux passed to & fro from their encampment to La Présentation. They also set up a camp for two regiments at Chimney Point and the troops began to dig trenches in that sector as well as on the Isle à la Cuisse and the Isle de la Magdelaine. We fired several artillery volleys at them to

harass the men digging. We were forced to economize very much on powder since we only had five thousand-weight when the enemy army arrived.

On the 21st, everything appeared quite calm as the enemy were working hard at mounting their batteries. The ships even withdrew out of cannon range. We fired on the men digging but without much success because they were already under cover & the terrain was higher than that of the island by more than 24 feet.

As of noon, we could already make out embrasures. When evening arrived, their ships undertook a substantial maneuver & we counted up to 36 barges each carrying at least twenty men, who went on board the three ships. We judged from this that the attack would begin the next morning. As a result, we worked at constructing epaulements with timbers, in order to provide cover to those areas that we considered would be exposed to the enemy batteries. All the guns were loaded with ball and grapeshot and every man was ordered to spend the night at his post.

On the 22nd, at five in the morning, the three ships approached to within 200 toises^{xxxiii} of the fort, & covered the entire space at the top of the river between the Isle à la Cuisse & Chimney Point. We judged from this that we were going to be vigorously bombarded by the ships & the shore batteries. Between them, they formed a semicircle around the fort. As a result, M. Pouchot ordered the artillery officer to move the guns of the batteries back so that they were in the cover of the merlons, thus preventing them from being dismounted. He also had the embrasures hidden with the ends of large pieces of wood cut for the purpose. They

could be cleared away by simply pushing them forward.

As soon as the ships were in position, they began a very heavy & sustained fire with 25 guns. Almost at the same time, the enemy opened fire from the Chimney Point battery with two 24-pounder & four 12-pounder guns, from the battery on the Isle à la Cuisse with fourteen 12-pounder & 18-pounder guns, & from a third battery on the Isle à la Magdelaine with two 24-pounder & six 12-pounder guns. At the first volleys, M. Bertrand, the artillery officer, was killed instantaneously by a cannonball which struck him in the back while he was showing M. Pouchot the caliber of the balls.

A quarter of an hour later, they began to fire bombs from the Isle à la Magdelaine, where there were two 12-inch bomb mortars, six royal grenade mortars^{xxxiv} & two howitzers. On the Isle à la Cuisse, there were six royal grenade mortars and at Chimney Point two 12-inch mortars, two royal grenade mortars & two howitzers. Altogether there were 75 guns firing at us.

M. Pouchot received a very bad cut from a piece of wood 10 feet long & 14 inches square which was flung in the air by the explosion of a 12-inch bomb and hit him in the back. The injury did not prevent him from doing his duty.

All these batteries fired with the utmost vigor and without interruption until noon, which sent debris & splinters flying around the fort. Each man remained under cover at his post; only the sentries kept the movements of the enemy under observation. Judging from our silence that we were perhaps in disarray, they brought their ships up to within the distance of a pistol shot of the fort. They were filled

with troops, even the crow's nests, 7 supported by the fire of all the shore batteries.

Fortunately, they could only take up station one after the other around the fort, so that the first ship that arrived had in its sights the gate of the fort, which was also raked by the battery on the Isle de la Magdelaine. M. Pouchot had had it concealed in advance by large pieces of blindages with just an opening at the side to let a man through.

He judged that the enemy's plan was to mount a full-scale assault and indeed 3,000 volunteer grenadiers & light infantry were already on board bateaux stationed behind the point of Isle à la Cuisse. Their mission was to emerge under cover of the fire from the three ships & the shore batteries.

The maneuver of the ships immediately induced M. Pouchot to send out 150 men & 4 officers to deploy along the epaulement. He had each ship bombarded one after the other with five guns, the only ones within reach, using ball & grapeshot. He did not respond to the shore batteries.

Despite the superiority of the enemy fire, with our five guns & musketry we forced the *Williamson* and subsequently the *Mohawk* to run aground half a league from the fort, near the Isles de Galots. One of them was put out of action permanently. The *Onondaga* of 22 guns, which attempted to approach too close to the fort, also ran aground. It was so badly mauled that it struck its colors. There were 350 men on board. The side of the ship facing the fort suffered particularly badly. Its gun decks were touching the water & the gun ports were just one gaping hole. The water, which entered the ship,

made it lean over in the direction of the fort. M. Pouchot ordered the firing to cease in order to save powder. The second captain^{xxxv} & the sailors came to offer surrender. M. Pouchot kept them as hostages as he could not let them enter the fort since they would have been more numerous than the garrison.

In between these actions, the enemy sought to emerge from the point of Isle à la Cuisse and mount an attack. Two guns which were aimed in that direction kept them in check & made them withdraw behind the point. It is safe to say that the state in which they saw their ships removed all their desire to advance. The action lasted from five in the morning until half past seven in the evening without any interruption in firing. We had 40 men killed or wounded. It would be impossible to praise too highly the fortitude shown by officers, colonial troops & militiamen and above all by our artillerymen who were all sailors. Three or four of the latter were priceless because of their skilled & nimble operation of their guns. The enemy, like us, fired ball & grapeshot. M. Pouchot had had some old iron cut up by a blacksmith. We filled caliber bags^{xxxvi} with this and added it to the ball, which had a most destructive effect on the ships subjected to our fire from the top of the ramparts. We filled their decks with holes.

One thing that amused the garrison at such a serious time was that the Indians had climbed up onto the trenches & batteries to view these ships in battle^{xxxvii}. They considered them as their own, because of the names they have been given & because they had an Indian painted on their flags^{xxxviii}. They uttered the most frightful shrieks when they saw the ships so badly mauled. The English had convinced them they

would make us surrender with the ships alone. When the Indians saw them drifting broadside-on before running aground, their shrieks increased in volume & they shouted obscenities at the English. They said: "You did not want to kill our father at Niagara^{xxxix}; see that you capture him now. If you had listened to us, we would not find him here. A handful of Frenchmen are showing you up." However, this action reduced to rubble all the top parts of the parapets of half the fort and blasted away all the fascines or shattered all those facing Isle à la Cuisse & the ones defending the front of the two half bastions.

That night, M. Pouchot endeavored to repair with earth sacks the batters of the bastion facing the islands in order to make them serviceable. This bastion was on the point of collapsing. A man could have climbed up the ramp formed by the earth that had caved in.

The enemy continued their bombardment throughout the night & at intervals fired from their batteries shots loaded with ball and grapeshot in order to inhibit our repair work. We had 2 men killed & a number wounded.

On the 23rd, the enemy continued their bombardment & kept up a vigorous artillery fire all day. That night we suffered a similar bombardment & occasional volleys from their cannon, as we had the night before.

On the 24th, they opened up with another battery to fire on the wooden redoubt at the far end of the island & catch with enfilading fire the retrenchment facing the islands. Their batteries continued to fire as heavily as on the previous days. Fire broke out in the ruins of the storehouse & in the commandant's apartment. Fortu-

nately, we managed to extinguish it without the enemy perceiving the problems we were having. We had fired very little in order to conserve the small quantities of powder & shot that we had left. The enemy batteries put out of action all the cannon of the bastion facing the island. The frames of the parapets were razed to within two feet of the terre-plein, thus leaving the powder magazine, which was only constructed of large wooden beams, extremely exposed.

On the 25th, at daybreak, M. Pouchot opened fire with three guns on the batteries which were causing us the most trouble. These guns were the only ones which remained intact to cover the front under attack and one of them, the most important one, was even missing a third of its barrel, having twice exploded. For a lack of shot of the right caliber, we fired two or three small balls at a time. From the enemy's movements in their trenches, we could see that this manner of firing bothered them a good deal. But, we were simply unable to destroy or even to damage their batteries to any great extent.

Our firing put the English in a bad mood. In the afternoon they redoubled the bombardment from all their batteries & fired red-hot shot, pots à feu & carcasses^{vi}. It was just too much for our wretched fort, which was nothing more than a shambles of lumber & fascines. The red-hot shot set fire to the long fascines of the interior revetment wall of the bastion, right down at the very bottom, where we were able to extinguish it. That made us realize how badly damaged the rampart was. Pots à feu twice more set the debris of the fort ablaze. Once again we managed to put out the fires with water from the shell craters.

This prompted M. Pouchot, with the endorsement of all the officers of the garrison, to write to General Amherst to complain about this manner of making war, which was only used against rebels and not against a brave garrison that did not deserve such treatment. In reply, he sent his aide de camp with a kind of surrender document making us prisoners of war together with a threat that, if we did not accept within half an hour, he would continue as before.

M. Pouchot received the officer & read M. Amherst's message to the officers of the fort and the assembled garrison. The latter urged him very strongly to accept the demands, in view of the impossibility of preventing fire breaking out everywhere & of being able to avoid the flames because of the small extent of the fort & the obstacles created by the debris.

On the front under attack there remained only two serviceable cannon but no ammunition. The exterior batteries of the fort had been destroyed. Since they, as well as the epaulements of the retrenchment, were dominated from the islands, we had no protection from an assault.

On the morning of the 26th, when the enemy had entered the fort, they were extremely surprised to see only a few soldiers scattered among the posts they were handing over & about sixty militiamen with a kerchief on their heads and wearing shirts and their backsides bare in the Canadian style^{vii}. They asked M. Pouchot where his garrison was. He replied that they were looking at all of it. We had more than sixty men killed and wounded. All the officers had been more or less seriously wounded.

The enemy admitted that, in sailing past to set up camp, they lost a carcassiere^{viii} which sank & six of their bateaux were holed, among them that of General Amherst. We had kept a very special watch out for it. The general, in polite terms, reprimanded M. Pouchot for this, and M. Pouchot replied: "Sire, we wanted to render you the honors which are due to you."

On the *Onondaga*, which had run aground, the English had 128 men killed or wounded; on the *Mohawk*, the captain wounded & about fifty men; on the *Williamson*, which they had captured from us, they had lost 54 men & on the various occasions when it had sailed in front of the fort another 100. To this figure should be added the men lost on the batteries & in the trenches, which they never admitted to.

Once the fort had been handed over, several colonels came to take M. Pouchot into the present of General Amherst. They treated him in a very friendly manner. He had seen a number of them at Niagara & in New York^{ix}. They were afraid that their Indians who appeared very threatening & were angry at finding nothing in the fort after it had been pillaged by the soldiers, might seek to do him harm. He thanked them for their solicitude.

When he reached the mainland, many Indians appeared. M. Pouchot went directly up to several chiefs whom he recognized. He said to them: "You have killed your father^x, which is not what brave men do. So much the worse for you." They replied: "Do not be angry, father, you are going to the other side of the great lake^x. We shall get rid of the English." The latter were surprised to see them so calm.

General Amherst had an hour-long conversation alone with M. Pouchot. He endeavored to extract details about what remained to be done in the campaign. It may well be imaged that M. Pouchot did not portray his task as an easy one. He seemed, just like the rest of his army, to dread going down the rapids. From among the Canadians, they took 36 guides for their bateaux. The garrison & its officers were taken by way of Chouegen to New York. M. Belle-Garde, a Sulpician missionary from La Présentation, who had preferred to stay in the fort and look after the wounded, obtained permission to go to Mont-Réal with two or three women. He was an admirable priest because of his enlightened religious zeal, which had brought him to Canada with the sole aim of converting the Indians. The English subsequently returned him to his mission post. The English army stayed nearly 15 days preparing for its onward journey. Despite their guides, however, some of whom may have chosen bad routes, they lost 80 bateaux at Coteau du Lac, together with their carcassieres.

M. Pouchot & all the French officers, together with the French soldiers & those of the colony, as part of the terms of surrender of Mont-Réal, were taken to France, while the Canadians were sent back home. The first of them left New York on January 1st after a very stormy crossing they arrived off Spithead, where they remained for 15 days, and then put into Havre de Grace on 8 March 1761.

ENDNOTES

- ⁱ Galloo Island near Sacketts Harbor
- ⁱⁱ Grenadier Island near Alexandria Bay
- ⁱⁱⁱ Mississaugus Indians
- ^{iv} Kingston, Ontario
- ^v Cedar Island near Kingston
- ^{vi} North Channel between Wallace & Howe

Islands

- ^{vii} French shipyard near Maitland, Ontario
- ^{viii} Chief of Oswegatchie Indians at Fort de la Présentation; renowned warrior
- ^{ix} Oswego River Falls at Fulton, NY
- ^x Galop Island—Town of Lisbon
- ^{xi} Sir William Johnson
- ^{xii} probably Akwesasne
- ^{xiii} probably Kahnawake
- ^{xiv} Battle of Lake George, 8 Sept. 1755
- ^{xv} Literally “Iroquois of the Rapids,” perhaps refers to Iroquois village shown on Mante’s 1772, now Akwesasne
- ^{xvi} Ohio River
- ^{xvii} French warships
- ^{xviii} Honorary name for French governors of New France. In this case, the King of France.
- ^{xix} Acadia, now Nova Scotia
- ^{xx} Governor of New France
- ^{xxi} Probably means Three Rivers, Quebec and Fort St. Frederic, now known as Crown Point, NY. Britain’s 1760 plan of attack on New France was composed of 3 prongs, attacking from Quebec City, up Lake Champlain and down the Richelieu River, and thirdly, down the St. Lawrence River by way of Oswego.
- ^{xxii} Near Maitland, Ontario
- ^{xxiii} Captain of the French warship *l’Outaouaise*
- ^{xxiv} British row-galleys. This action visually preserved in Thomas Davies painting “View of Fort LaGalet.” Davies participated in the attack on the *Outaouaise*.
- ^{xxv} Small cannon
- ^{xxvi} *L’Outaouaise*, now renamed by the British
- ^{xxvii} Pouchot knew several British officers as a result of his capture by British forces at Fort Niagara the preceding summer of 1759.
- ^{xxviii} Tuttle Pt. (Canada) [literally translated “Drunkard’s Point”]
- ^{xxix} Spencer Island (Canada) [literally translated “Chicken Leg Island”]
- ^{xxx} Drummond Island (Canada)
- ^{xxxi} Old Galette. As early as the 1680s, La Galette was a stopping point for French soldiers & traders. Located near the Canadian end of Ogdensburg-Prescott International Bridge.
- ^{xxxii} Although Pouchot identifies the captain of the *Williamson* as Smul, actually the captain was Patrick Sinclair.
- ^{xxxiii} 200 toises=1278.5 feet (toise is roughly

equal to 6.5 linear feet)

^{xxxiv} Royal mortars fired a 5.5” diameter mortar bomb.

^{xxxv} Thomas Thorton. The story of the Onondagas action at Fort Levis reads like a Horatio Hornblower episode. (See Amherst report, following.)

^{xxxvi} probably cloth bags filled with scrap iron

^{xxxvii} i.e., *Mohawk* and *Onondaga*

^{xxxviii} each ship reportedly flew a flag depicting a warrior of the respective Indian nation

^{xxxix} our father = Captain Pouchot, former French commander at Fort Niagara until its surrender to the British in 1759

^{xl} incendiaries designed to start fires inside the largely wooden & earthen fort

^{xli} During summer campaigns, Canadian militia often wore a long shirt and a breechcloth...and little else

^{xlii} row-galley

^{xliii} Pouchot became a prisoner-or-law after his surrender at Fort Niagara and subsequent internment in New York. He was exchanged and returned to Montreal in Pouchot arrived at Fort Levis in

^{xliv} i.e., allowed the French to be defeated

^{xlv} great lake=Atlantic Ocean (i.e., Pouchot will return to France)

Suggested Reading

Pierre Pouchot’s *Memoirs of the Late War Between France and England* translated by Michael Cardy with edits and annotation by Brian Leigh Dunnigan is highly recommended to those with an interest in the history of New France in general and of France’s presence on the Upper St. Lawrence River in particular. Now out of print, a revised edition will be published in the near future by the Old Fort Niagara Association, Youngstown, NY. The Old Fort Niagara Association may be contacted through their website at: www.oldfortniagara.org which also offers a virtual tour of this ancient fortress so closely connected to Captain Pouchot and Fort de la Presentation. The use of excerpts from Pouchot’s “Memoirs...” printed in this issue of the *Quarterly* comes with the kind permission of Brian Leigh Dunnigan and Robert Emerson, Executive Director of the Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc.

The Siege and Capture of Fort Levis

Report of General Jeffrey Amherst to William Pitt from "Fort William Augustus" (Chimney Island, NY)

Introduction—Written and Researched by David Dickinson

Students of New York State's role in the American Revolution perhaps will remember the British campaign of 1777. In a three-pronged attack, General Burgoyne was to move south along the Richelieu River - Lake Champlain - Lake George corridor and down the Hudson River in a drive to capture Albany, the colonial capital of New York. General Howe was to advance up the Hudson River with the same goal. Barry St. Leger, was to travel up the St. Lawrence River, across the eastern end of Lake Ontario and thence down the Mohawk River to attack Albany from a third direction, thereby splitting in two not only New York but also the confederation of colonies. What may not be realized is that this British plan of the Revolution-

ary War was not altogether original. It was merely the reverse of a game plan developed by Britain's General Sir Jeffrey Amherst for subduing the remnants of New France in the campaign year of 1760. British troops at Quebec City were to sail up the St. Lawrence River to join with other British troops advancing north over Lake Champlain and down the Richelieu River. Under the personal direction of British commander-in-chief Jeffrey Amherst, a third army was to drive down the St. Lawrence River from Oswego. The ultimate goal for British forces was the capture of Montreal, the last city of New France under French control.

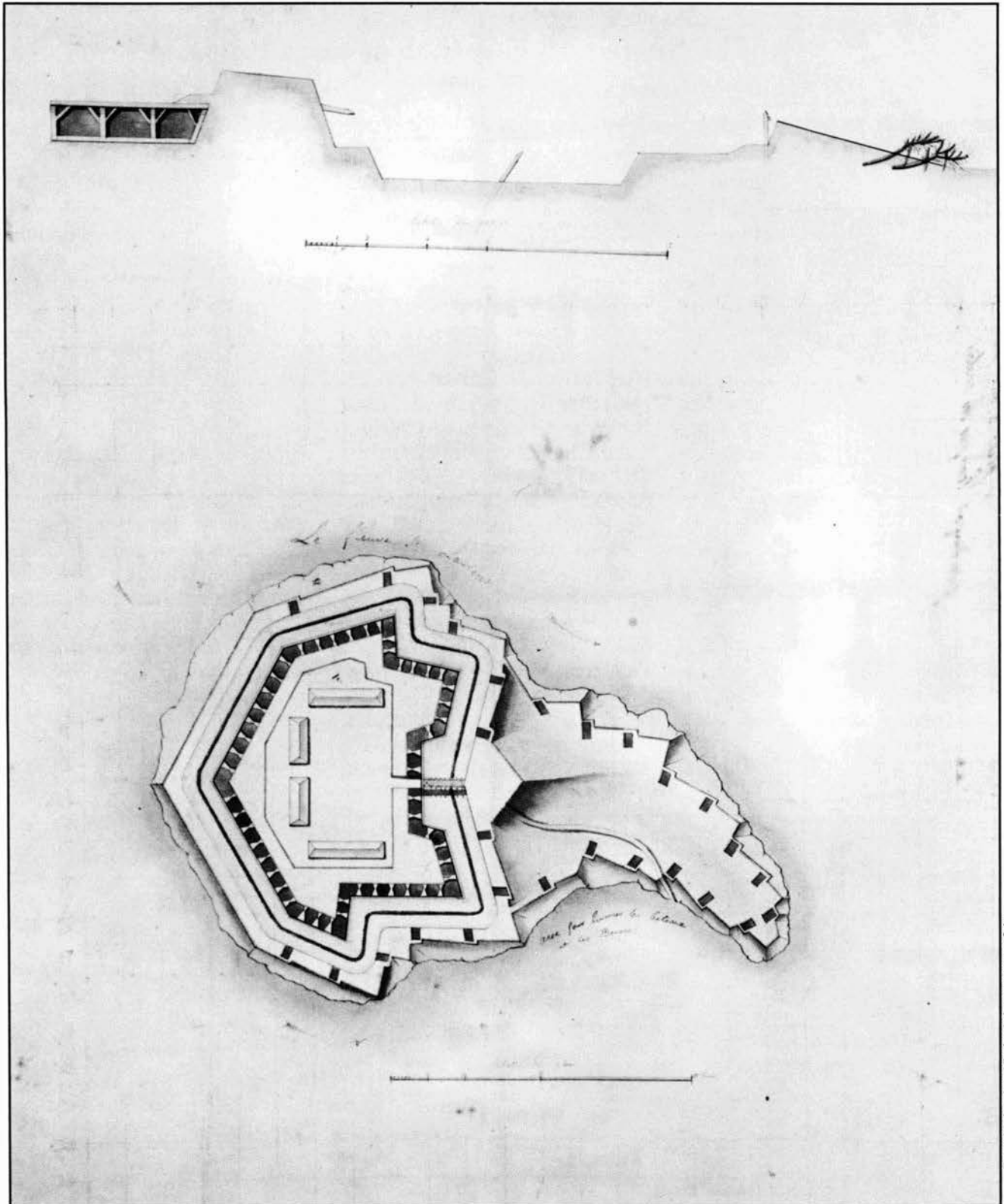
In July and early August, Amherst's army began to assemble at Oswego. British regulars and

This document originally sought to put forth a simple edited and annotated manuscript of Jeffrey Amherst's report to William Pitt the Elder of the capitulation of French Fort Levis. However, the document has been augmented with more and more information about notable participants in the Siege of Fort Levis. Several of the individuals named in Amherst's document went on to some fame during the American Revolution, either as a British or as an American combatant. Other notables have surfaced in Brian Leigh Dunnigan's excellent editing and annotating of Captain Pierre Pouchot's *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between France and England* much used in preparation of this document. (End of introduction.)



Photo courtesy of David Dickinson

A postcard of Chimney Island on the St. Lawrence River dated 1907 shows the island after it received its modern name.



Desandrouin, Jean-Nicolas / photo courtesy of the
National Archives of Canada / C-54039

In 1759, French Royal Engineer Jean-Nicolas Desandrouin prepared this schematic of his plan for the lay-out and construction of Fort Levis. Desandrouin was reassigned before Fort Levis was completed. The task of completing and defending Fort Levis was left to Captain Pierre Pouchot.

Camp at Fort William Augustus, Aug't 26th, 1760 (by) Major General Amherst; R(eceived?) October 6'th by Capt. Prescott. Dupl(icate) rec'd the Day before by Major Barre."

Camp at Fort William Augustus
26th August, 1760

(To) The Right Honorable Mr. Pitt,
Sir,

I shall now give you an account of the progress of His Majesty's Troops under my immediate command since the date of the last letter I did myself the honour to write to you on the 25th of June from Schenectady.

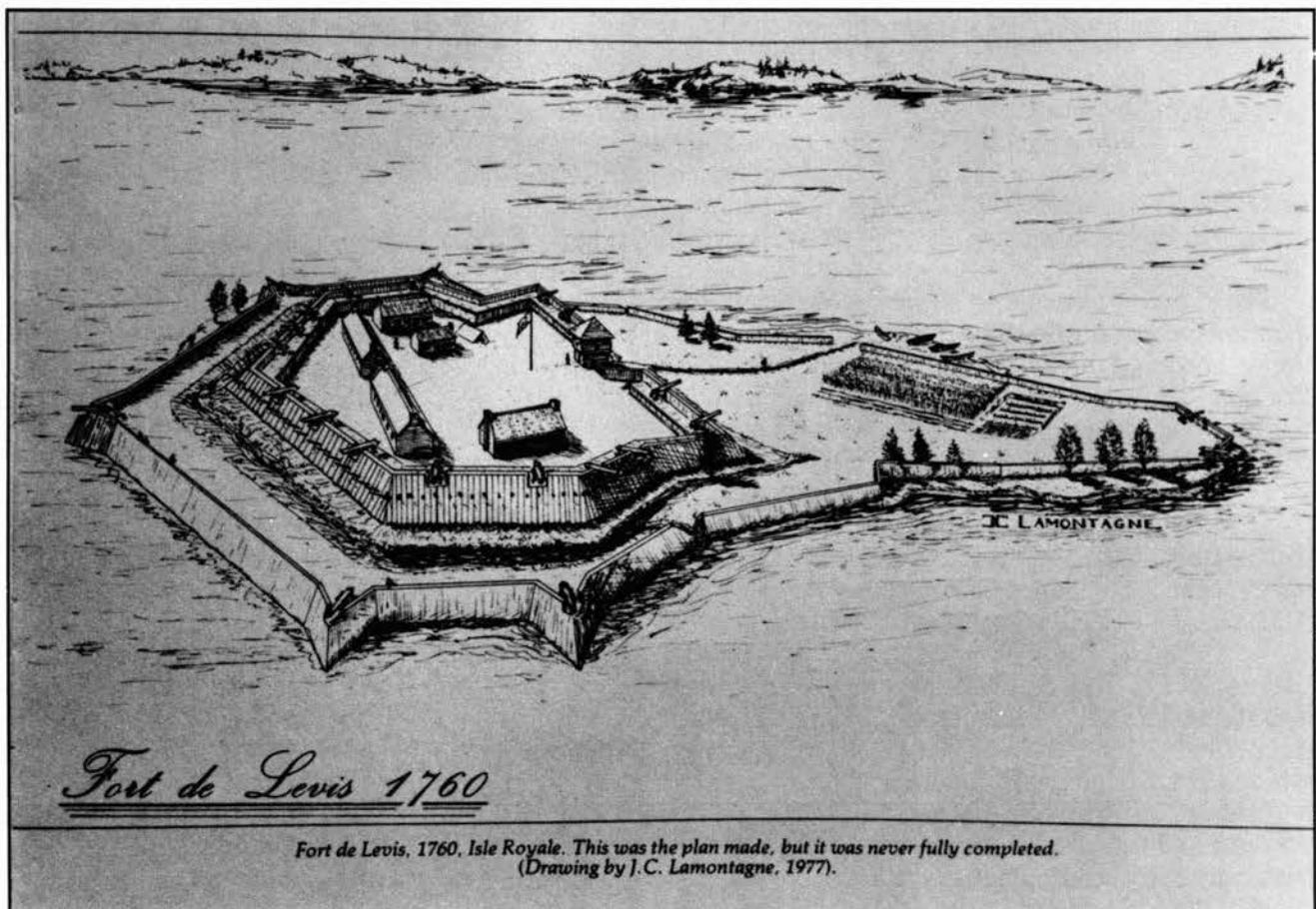
On the 9th of July I arrived at Oswego, and before any of the Regiments which I had sent from Albany could reach it, two French vessels had appeared off of Oswego on the 6th. I dispatched some Bateaus & men to Capt. Loring¹ at Niagara giving him intelligence of the vessels.

On the 12th the French vessels appeared off the harbour and as I expected the two snows² hourly from Niagara, I sent out some bateaus towards that place to induce the enemy vessels to try to intercept them, but they stood towards Cataraqi³.

The 14th in the evening our two vessels appeared. I put every thing on board that could be wanted and

ordered them away to the river St. Laurence in hopes of cutting off the Enemy's vessels from their harbour. Our vessels are the Onondaga and Mohawk, the first carrying four 9 pounders, fourteen 6 pounders and 100 seamen, the other carrying sixteen 6 pounders and 90 seamen. They sailed in quest of the enemy's vessels who appeared off of Oswego again on the 20th and with the precautions I had taken in sending a detachment forward, and giving intelligence to Capt. Loring, I was in hopes he could not have missed them, but they escaped him.

On the 23rd Sir William Johnson arrived with a great part of the Indians, the troops came in daily from Albany.



Artist J.C. Lamontagne's conception of the appearance of Fort Levis on Isle Royale in 1760. In the distance Isle a la Cuisse (modern era Spencer Island) at the left and Isle la Magdelain (modern era Drummond Island) on the right; the sites of British gun batteries during the Siege of Fort Levis.

Photo courtesy of Corbin's River Heritage

On the 25th I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 29th April by Capt. Abercromby⁴ enclosing a copy of the orders relative to Lord George Sackville and in obedience to His Majesty's commands I have given out the said orders to all the Troops in No(rth) America.

On the 31st Abercromby's Regiment with the detachment of Gage's and New Yorkers, which I had sent to Presque Isle, arrived.

The 5th August, I received a letter from Colonel Montgomery with an account of his success in attacking and beating the Cherokee Indians and destroying their Towns, the greatest stroke the Indians have felt.

The 6th in the afternoon Murray's Regiment arrived and the next morning I detached Colonel Haldimand with the Light Infantry of the Army, Grenadiers, and one battalion of Royal Highlanders to take post at the Bottom of the Lake and assist the vessels in finding a passage to La Gallette⁵.

The 8th and 9th Schuyler's Regiment arrived and on the 10th at daybreak, I ordered the whole Army to embark. The preparing (of the) batteaus was not quite completed so that I proceeded with the Regulars and left Br(igadier) General Gage to bring up the Provincials and the Rear. And as the sixth row-galley was not quite finished, I left it behind.

I enclose to you, Sir, the Embarkation return and the number of whaleboats and Batteaus with which I proceeded on the Lake⁶, and although some were lost and staved I had the good fortune to have only one man drowned. The night of the day I set out from Oswego proved to be very bad, that I was lucky in not losing many more batteaus. Br(igadier) General Gage

left Oswego the next morning and joined me the third day.

On the 15th, I passed our two vessels that were got out of the right channel and could not get down, nothing withstanding I had given the best pilots I could procure. The same day I joined Colonel Haldimand's advanced Corps, and had intelligence by an Oswegatchie Indian that one of the Enemy's vessels had run aground⁷ and was so much damaged she could not sail from the Fort and that the other vessel lay off LaGalette. I determined not to wait for our vessels and fixed a howitzer on board one row-galley, the other four having twelve pounders to attack the vessel with.

On the 16th I had made no halt from the time I left Oswego. I thought proper from the report I had received of the situation of the Enemy's ships not to lose a moment but proceed down the River to Swegatchie, and to attack their post at Isle Royale⁸. The advanced guard consisting of the Rangers, Gage's Light Infantry of Regiments, and Grenadiers, with five row-galleys under the command of Colonel Grant. It was very late in the day when I reached the Point de Baril with the advanced Guard and I sent back to Br(igadier) General Gage to land on the north shore in case he could not reach the Point de Baril. Soon after we discovered the French vessel and it was impossible not to push on to try to attack her as it was a calm. She fired her signal guns on seeing the advanced guard. Night came on so fast that it was impractical to attack her and then I ordered the advanced guard to row into the south shore and the Army late at night reached the Point de Baril.

The 17th at daybreak the Enemy vessel made an attempt to sail

up the River. Colonel Williamson attacked her with the five row-galleys. The wind became calm, which favored much. The row-galleys could not do better than they did. They fired one hundred and eighteen rounds. The vessel fired seventy-two, had three men killed, twelve wounded, and then struck (surrendered). A sergeant of Artillery was killed on board one of the row-galleys and a New York Provincial lost his leg. The vessel had ten 12 pounders with four swivels (swivel cannon) and 100 men commanded by Monsieur LaBroquerie. This day I took possession of Swegatchie⁹ and encamped there and sent two Engineers with Parties down the River to view the coasts and situation of the islands near L'Isle Royale.

On the 18th at daybreak, the advanced Guard was ready but the repairs of the row galleys and vessels took up some time. The Engineers did not return until ten o'clock in the morning. It was excessive bad weather but I was determined to seize the first moment to invest the place and as the report of the Engineers made no alteration of the disposition I had made, I pursued it in the following manner. I took with me Gage's Regiment, three row galleys, the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, first Brigade of Regulars, Schuyler's Regiment of Provincials, and the greatest part of the Indians with Sir William Johnson and some light field pieces (cannon), and rowed down by the North Shore passed the Fort and took possession of the Islands and Coast below it while two Companies of Rangers, two row-galleys, the second Brigade of Regulars, Lyman's Regiment of Provincials and the remainder of the Indians under the command of Col. Haldimand were to row down the South Shore to take post opposite to the Fort where they were under

The historic site of Fort Levis, on the Town of Lisbon's Chimney Island, remains unmarked on the U.S. side of the St. Lawrence River. Canadians have, however, marked the site with a large stone monument and bronze tablet. Located on Highway #2 near Johnstown, Ontario, the monument confirms what most Americans do not know--that the last battle between France and Great Britain was fought on and around Chimney Island for control of Canada.

*All photos on this page courtesy of
David Dickinson*



This blue and gold sign points the way to the monument



The Fort Levis monument on HWY #2 near Johnstown, Ontario.



The tablet found on the Fort levis monument.

cover. Three other Provincial Regiments and the heavy artillery remained at Swegatchie. The vessel sailed down the middle of the River between two columns to anchor at random shot from the Fort. This was effected with a smart cannonading from the Fort on the troops rowing along the north shore and against the vessel which sunk one row-galley, killed two men in another row galley. One man had his thigh shot off and seven were wounded. Several boats and oars struck with their shot. At eleven at night the last boat came in and the Place was completely invested. Isle Gallot and L'Abbe Picquet's Island were found abandoned, the Enemy having left them in great hurry as we found the scalps they had taken on the Mohawk River (along) with tools and utensils of various kinds, two swivels, barrels of pitch and a quantity of iron. Our Indians, on finding the scalps, burnt the Chapel and all the houses. In the night I tried to get up the row-galley that was sunk but could not effect it.

On the 19th at daybreak I viewed the Islands with Colonel Williamson and Lt. Col. Eyre¹⁰ and fixed the Batteries, one on each of the two islands nearest the Fort¹¹ and one on a point of land on the south shore¹². Detachments were immediately to open ground. The Fort fired at the vessel which was returned but I directed Lt. Sinclair to whom I had given the command of the vessel to avoid firing rather than keep it up. In the afternoon our two vessels appeared. I sent orders to them to anchor at random shot from the Fort and to avoid firing. At night I got the row-galley up and saved the gun that was wounded but not rendered unserviceable, prepared fascines and everything for carrying on the Siege and ordered the heavy artillery to come down this night from Swegatchie.

20th, I ordered the Provincial Regiments from Swegatchie, leaving one Regiment of the Connecticut Troops posted at that place.

23rd began to fire from all the Batteries. The Enemy drew in their guns and tried to put them under cover. After some firing, I made a disposition for storming the Fort with the Grenadiers of the Army and ordered the vessels to fall down close on the Fort, having put as many marksmen on board each ship as the commanding officers chose to have in order to keep the Enemy from their batteries. The going down of the vessels to the Fort was not effected in the manner I could have wished and I determined not to pursue my plan that day. The Fort fired a great deal of ammunition without much execution¹³ and our batteries by degrees dismounted their guns and made them very shy of standing to their Batteries.

The fire of our batteries continued till yesterday in the afternoon when the Garrison beat a parley and I received a Letter from Monsieur Pouchot, Commandant, a copy of which, Sir, I send you enclosed, and I sent him the terms of Capitulation signed that he might copy it, sign it, and send it back to me, after which Lt. Col. Massey with three companies of Grenadiers took possession of the Fort.

As I imagine, Sir, it may be agreeable to you to know several particulars of our passage on the Lake, the Siege of the Fort, and the apparent situation of this Country, I send Capt. Prescott, one of my Aides de Camp with this, that he may give you clear information of any thing you may choose to know and I enclose to you all papers that I judge may tend to give

you a thorough insight into affairs here.

I send you a list of the Artillery, Stores, etc. that have been taken in the Fort which I intend to have repaired as I think it by much the best Situation I can take for entirely covering the Mohawk River and all that part of His Majesty's Dominions from the Insults or Inroads of the Savages and I beg leave to add my assurances that I shall make the utmost dispatch I can in proceeding down the River St. Laurence and prosecuting the operations of the Campaign according to His Majesty's gracious Intentions.

I am with the utmost Respect, Sir
Your most Humble
and most Obedient Servant
Jeff. Amherst"

Notes

In typing Amherst's report, modern spellings generally were used for the sake of clarity.

1- British Royal Navy Commodore Joshua Loring was placed in charge of Royal Navy operations on Lake Ontario. His duties included supervision of construction of British vessels on those lakes. Loring commanded the British fleet on Lake Ontario. During the Siege of Fort Levis, Loring, as commodore, sailed on the "Onondaga" captained by Thomas Thorton. In heavy firing between the "Onondaga" and Fort Levis, the "Onondaga" took many hits, ran aground, and lowered her flag in surrender. Amherst blamed the ship's misfortune on Loring; Loring blamed it on Thorton. According to the "New York Mercury" newspaper of 29 September, 1760, the "Onondaga" expended 892 rounds of shot from her cannon in her attack on Fort Levis; during which 15 sailors were killed, another 15 mortally wounded. {ed. note: The accounts of the fighting of the "Onondaga" during the Siege of Fort Levis appear worthy of a Hornblower

tale. Aground between Fort Levis and Isle Picquet (Galop Island), out of ammunition, Captain Loring claims that he demands that his men continue to resist. The crew refuses and lowers the ship's colors without permission. They want to send a boat to Fort Levis to ask for terms from the French but Loring threatens to shoot the first sailor who puts hand to oar. The crew persuades Loring to send Thornton to the French if only to stall for time. The French demand that Loring also come ashore to Fort Levis but he refuses. In the meantime, British grenadiers board the "Onondaga" and again raise British colors. The French resume firing during which Loring has the calf of his leg torn away by a French cannonball. All on board the Onondaga go below decks to seek refuge from French fire after a third of the grenadiers are wounded. Finally, in the dark of the night of August 23-24, the "Onondaga" was abandoned by her British defenders.}

2- "Snow" was a sailing vessel equipped with two masts resembling the fore and main masts of a ship with a third smaller mast just to the rear of the main mast.

3- "Cataracqui" is represented on modern maps by the City of Kingston, in the Province of Ontario, Canada. French Fort Frontenac was located at Cataracqui. It was located on the northern shore of Lake Ontario at the beginning point of the St. Lawrence River.

4- Captain James Abercromby was an officer of the 42nd Regiment of Foot and aide-de-camp to General Amherst. Captain Abercromby died in 1775 as a result of wounds suffered while leading British troops at the Battle of Bunker Hill. His infamous uncle, Major General James Abercromby, was derisively called "Mrs. Nabercomby" by American provincials dissatisfied with the older Abercromby's performance in the disastrous British attack on Fort Carillon/Ticonderoga in 1758.

5- "LaGalette." In 1682, France established a camp or stopping point, called LaGalette, on the northern shore

of the St. Lawrence River at the head of the first series of rapids that characterized the river between its beginning and Montreal. The approximate site of LaGalette is near Johnstown, Ontario. A map drawn by or for Fort Levis' commander, Pierre Pouchot, subsequent to the Siege, locates "Laville Galette" (sic) on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River about opposite of modern era Chimney Point. However, Pouchot, in his memoirs, refers to the site as "La Vieille Galette" (Old Galette). The original LaGalette remained in existence as a camp or perhaps a redoubt but was assigned a minor military role. LaGalette was also the site of one of several Native villages associated with the mission-fort la Presentation. British sources contemporary to the Siege of Fort Levis apparently were uncertain of the geography of the region of the St. Lawrence River in which the Siege of Fort Levis took place. British sources use the term "LaGalette" to refer variously to Fort Levis or, more commonly, to Fort de la Presentation. Fort de la Presentation was founded in 1749 on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River, opposite and just upstream from old LaGalette. Fort de la Presentation was determined to be indefensible by the French and was gradually abandoned in the winter of 1759-1760. Its replacement, Fort Levis, was started in 1759 and was under construction even as the British Invasion Army appeared. British officer and artist Thomas Davies, painter of "**A View of Fort LaGale**" (National Gallery of Canada) portrays Fort de la Presentation and the capture of the French vessel Ottawa. The title of his painting perpetuates the misnomer. The historian Thomas Mante, in his book **The History of the late War in North America and the Islands of the West-Indies** (1772), shows a map of the St. Lawrence River which marks the site of Fort LaGale precisely where Fort de la Presentation was located in actuality. The site of Fort de la Presentation, the "LaGalette" to which Amherst seems to refer, is located within the present city limits of the northern New York City of

Ogdensburg. See "Swegatchie" below.

6- "Lake" refers to Lake Ontario.

7- The ship to which Amherst refers is the L'Iroquoise, a French vessel of ten guns that was completed in April, 1759 at the fortified shipyard of Pointe au Baril, represented on modern maps as Weatherheads Point near Maitland, Ontario. After being refloated, the vessel was taken to Fort Levis by the French and scuttled off of the downstream tip of the fortress island. It was later raised by the British and sailed on Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence River until it again ran aground and sank a few years later.

8- "Isle Royale" was the French name applied to the island on which Fort Levis was established. The island was also known by the name "Oraconenton" or "Orakointon" or a variation thereof, in honor of the name given by the La Presentation native matriarchs to General Francois Gaston, Duc de Levis in 1759, a name meaning "suspended (or hanging) sun." On modern maps it is represented as Chimney Island. The island and the remains of its fort were largely destroyed by the New York State Power Authority during construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway-FDR Power Project in the mid 1950s.

9- "Swegatchie," was an Anglo-American rendering of the Native American word Soegatsi for the river that flowed into the St. Lawrence from the south at the point where French Abbe Francois Picquet established Fort de la Presentation in 1749. The mission village adjoining Fort de la Presentation was also known as Soegatsi, with many variant spellings. The name has carried down to the present time in the form of "Oswegatchie." On modern maps the name is still used to denote the river Oswegatchie and is also memorialized in the Township of Oswegatchie.

10- Lt. Col. Eyre, in this reference, is probably Lt. Col. William Eyre, designer of Amherst's Crown Point fortification, commander of Fort Niagara beginning 27 November, 1759 and commander of the 44th Regiment during the siege of Fort Levis.

11- The two islands to which Amherst refers are represented on modern maps as Spencer Island and Drummond Island, both in Canadian waters. They were known by the French as "*Isle la Cuisse*" and "*Isle Magdelaine*" respectively. Amherst's gun emplacements are still visible on the tip of Drummond Island.

12- The point of land to which Amherst refers was known to the French as *Pointe de Ganataragoïn* and is represented on modern maps as Chimney Point on the US shore. There is some indication (Hough, p.35-36) that the site was used in 1673 by the Sieur de la Veltrie to locate a storehouse in support of Count de Frontenac's journey to Lake Ontario. Frontenac's expedition rested there (9-10 July, 1673) before resuming their journey. Some time after the British seizure of Fort Levis, the British government relocated some of the native peoples who were formerly part of the La Presentation Mission to the point of land. As a result, it was called Indian Point for a time. In the early 1800s, at the urging of the citizens of the Town of Lisbon the native peoples at Indian Point were again forced to relocate by American authorities. With this relocation, the Oswegatchies, as they were known, ceased to exist.

13- This comment by General Amherst is interesting when compared to the memoirs of one Charles Bonin, a French soldier present at the surrender of George Washington at Fort Necessity, at Braddock's Defeat...and at Fort Levis when held under siege by General Amherst. Bonin, also known as Bonnefons, was selected by Fort Levis' commander, Pierre Pouchot, to serve him as a secretary. Bonin's record of the Siege of Fort Levis contains a passage that may explain Amherst's comment. "Finally, on the 25th Commander Pouchot, realizing further resistance would be futile, began at daybreak to fire salutes from the cannons as long as the powder lasted, doing this to use up the rest of the war munitions. This astonished the enemy, who had no other thought that it was the birthday of the

King of France, which was actually that day, and the French were really not much concerned if they were thus celebrating. But they were mistaken; for the real purpose was to use up all the ammunition so that the enemy would not profit by it. At 10 o'clock in the morning, the firing ceased and the flag was lowered."(Gallup. p.184-185)

Names mentioned in Amherst's document: (in order of appearance)

Captain Joshua Loring (see note # 1 above)

Sir William Johnson - Famed British Indian agent, officer in command at the capture of Fort Niagara in 1759, and British leader of Native warriors constituting approximately 800 of Amherst's combatants during the Siege of Fort Levis.

Captain James Abercromby - see footnote # 3 above.

Lord George Sackville

Brigadier General Thomas Gage - In charge of the vanguard of General Braddock's forces as they came under attack in the opening stages of Braddock's Defeat, slightly wounded at the British defeat at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in 1758. In 1759 under command of Amherst, Gage returned to Fort Ticonderoga which was successfully taken by British Forces. Gage was sent to Fort Niagara and, after its surrender, ordered by Amherst to attack Fort LaGalette (Fort de la Presentation/ Fort Levis complex). However, Gage disobeyed Amherst's order on the grounds that his force was too weak. Governor of Canada in 1760, in 1762 appointed Commander-in-chief of British forces in North America based in New York City. Governor of Massachusetts in 1774 but removed after word of the Battle of Bunker Hill reached London.

Colonel Montgomery - probably Archibald Montgomery. He assembled a regiment of Scots soldiers which ultimately became the 77th Regiment of Foot (Montgomery's Highlanders). In 1760, Montgomery lead an unsuccessful campaign against the Cherokee Indians in South Carolina.

Murray - probably Colonel James Murray of the 60th Regiment of Foot. Col. Frederic Haldimand - Commanded British forces moving along the south (US) shore of the St. Lawrence River during initial stages of the Siege of Fort Levis. He later became Governor of Canada, responsible for settling United Empire Loyalists on Canadian lands along the upper St. Lawrence River. Also British colonial governor of Florida.

Colonel Peter Schuyler - Commander of New Jersey Provincials. This provincial regiment continued on to Montreal as part of Amherst's invasion force. On September 10, 1760 the regiment was ordered to return to Fort William Augustus (Fort Levis), along with New York troops, to make repairs to the fort. On 18 September, the New Jersey regiment was relieved by the 80th Regiment of Foot and began its journey home via Fort Oswego. Schuyler and his New Jersey regiment reached Albany on 15 November. (Pouchot-398 #1244)

Elements of Rangers - under Ranger Commanders Ogden and Waite (Whyte)

Colonel Grant - probably Lt. Col. James Grant of the 77th Regiment of Foot. Grant served as a British officer during the American Revolution.

Colonel Williamson - probably Colonel George Williamson of the British Royal Artillery. Col. Williamson lead a successful Royal Artillery attack on the French vessel *l'Outaouaise* by arming each of five row-galleys with a single cannon. Williamson's action is portrayed in Davies' painting "A View of Fort LaGalet." Davies commanded one of the row galleys.

After its capture, the French brig *L'Outaouaise* was renamed the *Williamson* in Col. Williamson's honor. The vessel was subsequently crewed by British sailors and used against the French during the Siege of Fort Levis. General Phineas Lyman - Commissioned March, 1760 as Colonel of First Regiment, Connecticut Provincials and Captain of its First Company, from Suffield,

CT. Under Haldimand's command, Lyman's troops occupied the southern (US) shore and Galop Island. Lyman's Connecticut soldiers took many casualties getting through the rapids of the St. Lawrence in their approach to Montreal. On or about September 10th, while at Montreal, Amherst put Lyman in command of all four Connecticut regiments, ordering Lyman & three of the four CT regiments back to Fort Levis (Fort William Augustus) to rebuild the fort. In an October 12, 1760 letter from Lyman to General Amherst, Lyman reported that two barracks at Fort Levis/Fort William Augustus had to be newly constructed and that two casemates and the chimney there had to be pulled down and totally rebuilt. (Clark, p. 52-53) {ed note: this is interesting in light of the future name of the island, ie: "Chimney Island".} Lyman's biographer, Delphina L.H. Clark, reports that one third of all Connecticut troops in this campaign were "lost" and that it was the "sickliest campaign of the war." (Clark, p. 53) One of Connecticut's famous warriors of the French and Indian Wars, Phineas Lyman remained loyal to the Crown contrary to the sympathies of many of his neighbors in Suffield, CT. A speculator in land, Lyman sold his Suffield holdings in late 1773 to relocate in British "West Florida" near the juncture of the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers.

Lt. Col. William Eyre - Designer of Crown Point, British fortification that replaced French Fort St. Frederic and commander at Fort Niagara in 1759.

Patrick Sinclair - A lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Regiment of Foot (Black Watch), was placed in command of the newly captured vessel *Williamson* at the commencement of the Siege of Fort Levis. Fort Levis' French commander, Pierre Pouchot, remarked on Sinclair's bravery in fighting the ship against the French fort. Eventually, a cannonball from Fort Levis cut the *Williamson's* anchor cable. She, like the *Mohawk*, drifted down river out of action. (Pouchot 304, #910 and 308, #922)

Lt. Col. Eyre Massey - Commander of a composite grenadier battalion of 592 officers and grenadiers taken from six separate infantry regiments. During the Siege of Fort Levis, Amherst contemplated a forced landing on Isle Royale's Fort Levis. He ordered that only the officers and sergeants of Massey's force be armed with muskets while the regulars were to attack carrying swords, axes, tomahawks, and scaling ladders. (Pouchot 307, #920). The attack was to be mounted from Isle la Cuisse (Spencer's Island). Several such attempts were made but beaten back by French gunners. Interestingly, a modern era duck hunter reports finding an object identified as a ferrous metal pike head on Spencer's Island quite near the area from which such attacks were launched.

Capt. Robert Prescott - aide de camp to General Jeffrey Amherst and officer in the 15th Regiment of Foot.

Other Anglo-Americans involved in the attack and siege of Fort Levis:

Colonel Nathan Whiting of New Haven, CT...commissioned March, 1760 as Colonel in command of the Second Regiment, Connecticut Provincials. Posted to remain at...and comments on...Fort de la Presentation (Pouchot 289n,#873) where Amherst initially parks his artillery and where Whiting guards French Captain LaBroquerie of the captured French vessel *L'Outaouaise*. (Pouchot 260n, #790

Major Israël Putnam of Pomfret, CT.. commissioned in March, 1760 as Lt.-Colonel (second in command) of the Fourth Regiment and captain of its 2nd Company, Connecticut Provincials. A famous Indian fighter and Revolutionary War hero. Endeared himself to the people of Boston in 1774 when he drove a flock of sheep into the city under blockade by General Gage and his British forces. At the Battle of Bunker Hill the reputed giver of the famous order "Don't shoot until you see the whites of their eyes!" Soldiers commanded by Putnam barely managed to avoid capture by British forces under Sir Wil-

liam Howe as American army escaped from Long Island to Harlem Heights (now mid-town Manhattan) in 1776 during American Revolution. Although much praised for his service in the American Revolution, Putnam's early and most sympathetic biographers credit him with a most improbable action during the Siege of Fort Levis. Rather than crediting the British Royal Artillery in row galleys for the capture of the French vessel *l'Outaouaise*, some Putnam biographers allege that Putnam and a small crew sneaked up in the French ship, disabling her rudder with wedges and thus preventing her from maneuvering to avoid capture.

Eleazor Fitch of Windham, CT...commissioned in March, 1760 as Colonel in command of Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Provincials. He and his regiment posted to Pointe au Ganataragoine (Chimney Point) during the Siege of Fort Levis. (Pouchot 304n, #912)

David Wooster of New Haven, CT...commissioned March, 1760 as Colonel in command of the Third Regiment, Connecticut Provincials. Posted to Point au Ganataragoine (Chimney Point) during the Siege of Fort Levis. (Pouchot 304n, #912) Colonel Bartholomew LeRoux, commander of First Battalion, New York Provincial Regiment & muster master for colonial Dutchess County, New York.

Ogden's Rangers - part of Roger's Rangers. This individual was probably Captain Jonathan Ogden, who with Robert Rogers, made his way back to Old (Fort) Number Four following a raid deep into French territory to attack the Indian village of St. Francis. This action portrayed in the Hollywood production "Northwest Passage."

Capt. Joseph Waite (Whyte's) Rangers - part of Roger's Rangers.

Colonel Isaac Corsa, commander of 2nd Battalion, New York Regiment. Col. Corsa reported to General Amherst that his command had lost 89 men, either "drowned, killed, or died" (Pouchot 399, #1244) during the campaign to invade the upper St. Lawrence River.

Captain Osborn - left at Chimney Island by General Amherst to command captured Fort Levis, newly re-named as British Fort William Augustus.

Lt. David Phipps - British Royal Navy commander of the vessel *Mohawk*. The *Mohawk*, on August 23, 1760, led the line of three British vessels to attack Fort Levis. For some reason, the other two ships were slow to follow and, for a time, the *Mohawk* took the brunt of fire from Fort Levis. A French cannonball stove in one of her planks. Lt. Phipps considered the hit a significant risk to the vessel and ordered her anchor cable cut. The *Mohawk* drifted downriver toward the Galop Islands and out of action. (Pouchot-308, #922).

Lt. John Small - 42nd Regiment of Foot. (Pouchot 304N, # 910) Escorted Fort Levis' French prisoners-of-war to New York City by way of Oswego. Participated in the Revolutionary War as a lieutenant-colonel in command of the Second Battalion, 84th Regiment of Foot. (Royal Highland Emigrants)

Captain Adam Williamson, Royal Artillery

LLt. Pennington

Captain Starkey

Peter Pond (Pouchot 296n, #893) served in Connecticut Light infantry. A portion of Pond's journals, that dealing with his service in the French and Indian War, was published in 1907. The manuscript preserves Pond's interesting mastery of the English language but contains only a brief description of his serve in Amherst's campaign against Fort Levis. Pond's fame came later as a fur trader, explorer and amateur cartographer in Canada's Northwest, resulting in knighthood. He was one of the founders of the Northwest Fur Company and a charter member of the "Beaver Club" founded in Montreal in 1785. In old age, Pond returned to his birthplace, Milford, CT, dying penniless there. His journals were salvaged from the household of Connecticut Governor Charles Hobby Pond in 1868. William Amherst, commander of 80th Regiment of Foot and brother to Jeffrey Amherst. (Pouchot

296n#893)

Thieves: Christian Parkey, sutler, Abraham Willey, and Jacob Miller. (Pouchot 315N, #942)

John Bremner (Pouchot 310, #923 and 312n, #934). This British soldier in the 55th Regiment kept a journal during the Siege of Fort Levis.

Thomas Davies, Lieutenant in British Royal Artillery - famous British artist who recorded British victory over French vessel *Outaouaise* in opening action of the Siege of Fort Levis, an action in which the artist actually participated. (Pouchot 302n,#905). Davies' painting, "A View of Fort LaGalet," mis-identifies Fort de la Presentation as Fort LaGalet but gives a fair representation of this French fort founded in 1749 by Abbe Francois Picquet. William Hervey, British Captain in the 44th Regiment of Foot and a journal-keeper during the Siege of Fort Levis. The son of the Earl of Bristol, his journals were published in 1906 and provide detailed and interesting information about the Siege of Fort Levis. His journals serve as the British equivalent to French commander Pouchot's day-by-day memoirs of the battle. His detail is such that even the passwords-of-the-day are recorded. (See: Journals of Hon. William Hervey, 1755-1814 in bibliography)

Named French combatants involved in the Siege of Fort Levis: (see Pouchot, p. 259 & 260n#791)

Artillery Officer _____
Bertrand (first name unknown) the first casualty of the Siege of Fort Levis. Killed on the battlements of Fort Levis in the opening salvo of British artillery while pointing out locations of British artillery to French Commander Pouchot.

Captain Celoron

Lt. Celoron

Lt. LaBoularderie

Lt. DeBleury

Ensign de Poilly (maybe)

Ensign Hertel de Rouville (maybe)

JCB - "Jolicoeur" Charles Bonin. Served as Pouchot's secretary at Fort

Levis. French soldier and journal keeper; present among French forces as young _____ George

Washington surrendered Fort Necessity as well as at Braddock's Defeat. Captured at Fort Levis and returned to France as a prisoner-of-war. Bonin's service in the French military puts him both at the opening engagements of the French and Indian War as well as its last battle. English language version of his journal published under the title "Memoir of a French and Indian War Soldier" edited by Andrew Gallup.

Militiaman _____ Bray - first name unknown - a young deserter returned to Fort Levis by his father, the latter recorded by Pouchot as a resident of Isle aux Cedres. Militiaman Bray was one of twelve French soldiers killed during the Siege of Fort Levis.

British cannon and their locations during the Siege of Fort Levis

Placement, calibres and #s of each

Pointe de Ganataragoin/ Chimney Point
12 pounders--four
royal mortar (5.5"dia)--one
coehorn mortar--two

Isle de la Magdelaine/Drummond Island
24 pounders-- three
12 pounders--three*
10 inch mortar-- one
8 inch howitzer-- one
coehorn mortar--two

Isle la Cuisse/Spencer Island
24 pounders--three
12 pounders--three*
10 inch mortar-- one
8 inch howitzer--one
coehorn mortar--two

One of the 12 pounders destined either for Isle la Cuisse or Isle de la Magdelaine was left behind at Oswego. Amherst records that another cannon was ordered substituted but no indication was made of its caliber. (Pouchot, p.306, #917)

Bibliography of Sources

Aldrman, Clifford Lindsey. *The Royal Opposition*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1970.

Clark, Delphina L.H. *Phineas Lyman, Connecticut's General*. Springfield, Mass.: Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, 1964.

Everts, L.H. & Co., compiler. *History of St. Lawrence Co., New York, 1749-1878...* Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1878.

Gallup, Andrew, editor. *Memoir of a French and Indian War Soldier - "Jolicoeur" Charles Bonin*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993.

Hervey, Hon William. *Journals of the Honorable William Hervey in North America and Europe from 1755 to 1814*. Bury St. Edmunds, England: Paul and Mathew, 1906.

Hough, Franklin. *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York*. (reprint of 1853 publication). Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1970.

Pouchot, Pierre. *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between England and France*. Trans. by Michael Cardy. Edited/annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan. Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994.

Memoirs of a French and Indian War Soldier: “Jolicoeur” Charles Bonin

Edited by Andrew Gallup

Introduction—Written and Researched by David Dickinson

One is tempted to say that Charles Bonin was a common French soldier. It is true that he was a rank and file French soldier, a cannonier-bombardier (gunner-mortarman) in the land-based artillery of the French Navy. However, Charles Bonin was an unusual French soldier in that he wrote out recollections of his participation in the French and Indian Wars. Of particular interest are Bonin’s accounts of his presence during the Siege of Fort Levis and his subsequent interment as a prisoner-of-war in New York City. Charles Bonin’s works first were published in Canada under the French language title *Voyage au Canada dans le nord de l’Amerique Septentrionale, depuis l’an 1751 a 1761* as edited by Abbe H. R. Casgrain in 1887. The most recent English language edition, edited, copyrighted, and excerpted here with the permission of Andrew Gallup, was published in 1993 by Heritage Books of Bowie, Maryland.

Memoirs

June 6, a detachment of one hundred and fifty men under Captain Pouchotⁱ came to Fort Levis to reinforce its garrison. In this way, the effective force was raised to three hundred and seventy-five men. When this captain arrived, he took command and appointed me his secretary. At once, he put me in charge of the powder magazine. Word came that an English army was to come through the upper

country to join forces with the army at Quebec and the central army. They were to meet at Montreal. Accordingly, we took measures for defense to hinder this junction as much as we could. For this purpose, we had two small sailboats two leagues above Fort Levis at the entrance to Lake Ontario. These two sailboats usually plied between Fort Niagara and the fort of La Galette; but after the capture of these posts they were no longer in use. It was decided to place them as guard ships, so they could warn Fort Levis by three cannon shots as soon as the enemy came in sight.

When on the 16th of August the enemy appeared, the two boats, of course, fired the three cannon shots as signal. But an hour later they were surrounded by several gunboats, which despite their resistance forced the French to strike their flags. The English seized them and compelled the crews to sail up to fire on the fort. This was carried out at once. Fort Levis then returned fire. One of these boats, already badly damaged, ran aground a league farther down. The other boat, which did not retreat, was riddled with bullets and ran aground in front of the fort. The fire from the fort was unceasing upon the boat and upon the enemy army which was filing along the shore to the north, losing not less than three bateaux and several men.

After the entire army had passed, they came to set up batteries on the island nearest the fort. They even attempted a landing on

our island, but without success. They then began a cannonade and bombardment on the 18th, and kept it up without interruption until the 25th. Commander Pouchot, realizing further resistance would be futile, began at daybreak to fire salutes from the cannons as long as the powder lasted, doing this to use up the rest of the war munitions. This astonished the enemy, who had no other thought than that it was the birthday of the king of France, which was actually that day, and the French were really not much concerned if they were thus celebrating. But they were mistaken; for the real purpose was to use up all the ammunition so that the enemy would not profit by it. At ten o’clock in the morning, the firing ceased and the flag was lowered. Then the enemy sent us an officer with a flag of truce. We agreed with him on the terms of capitulation, which were that the garrison would march out next morning with the honors of war, then ground their arms, and be taken prisoners to New York, where they would remain.

At eight o’clock the next morning, we left the fort, as had been agreed the evening before. We were kept under guard for two hours, while they inspected the fort. The enemy with a force of ten thousand men commanded by General Amherstⁱⁱ, was astonished that such a small force held out so long and prevented their attempt to land. The enemy general could not keep from praising the French, with the remark that he was surprised that

more men had not been killed, since he had partially destroyed the fort. Actually, during the siege, we lost only fourteen men; and we had only thirty-five wounded, twelve of whom remained in the fort, unable to march out with us. It is true that we lost sixteen on the two boats which the enemy seized. We had as a result, at the time of the capitulation, only three hundred and thirty-three men, twenty-three of them wounded. The enemy lost fifty-six men.

On the 27th of August, we were embarked in boats, escorted by fifty men. We went to the south of lake Ontario as far as the River de Chouaguin (Oswego River in English), and then followed its course for thirty leagues. This river is full of rapids and falls, one of them about ten foot high. At the end of the river we came to the fort of Onoyotes, later called Oneidas by the English. A league beyond it, we entered the lake of the same name. This lake is seven leagues long, and at its end there is a river whose name I have forgotten, but which has a dam halfway up. Fort Stanwixⁱⁱⁱ is located ten leagues beyond. Next is a meadow where we saw Fort Johnson^{iv}. The Corlac River is six leagues farther, and beyond it is Albany on the Hudson River. There we were put on board some small sailboats which took us to New York, which we reached

on the 20th of September. When I landed, I went to lodge with the others in the house allotted to us. We were free to leave it as we pleased, to walk about the city and its surroundings. The house was situated at the end of the Place d'Armes, and faced the harbor.

This city, rectangular in shape, is in a fine location on the end of Manhattan Island. The island is three leagues long and one league wide. It is bounded on the northwest by the Hudson River, whose mouth is two miles away, and bounded on the east by the long island, called Long Island in English, which is separated from it by only a small sea inlet, half a league long. Long Island is thirty leagues long and four wide. According to the census 1760, New York had twenty-five thousand inhabitants of diverse nationalities and creeds. The beginning of its building was with wooden cabins in 1609. In the following year, the Dutch, who were the first inhabitants, built it under the name New Belgium. In 1614, they gave it the name of New Holland. When the Swedes took this city in 1638, they named it New Sweden. Retaken by the Dutch in 1766, it resumed the name New Holland. When the English seized it in 1664, they renamed it New Jersey, and later New York, which last name it has retained^v.

This city has only one fine street, in the center of which they have market and butcher's stalls. Most of the houses on this street are of brick. This is the street I have called the "grand plaza"^{vi}. On the other streets the houses are of wood.

Notes

ⁱ The same man was commander at Niagara when it was taken on June 26, 1756 (JCB). Actually, he was commander at Niagara when it was taken in July, 1759 (PHC). Pouchot had done an earlier tour (before 1759) at Niagara. He was sent there to improve the fortifications.

ⁱⁱ The same general was at the Siege of Louisbourg with General Wolfe in June, 1758 (JCB)

ⁱⁱⁱ Rome, New York. There may have been a French fort at this site as early as 1689.

^{iv} Home of Sir William Johnson.

^v It is hardly necessary to say that this summary of New York's history is full of errors. Henry Hudson visited the Hudson River in 1609. New Amsterdam, later New York, was founded in 1626 (PHC).

^{vi} Broadway (PHC).

Letter of Col. Nathan Whiting to His Wife From Fort La Gallette (Fort de la Presentation)

Introduction—Written and Researched by David Dickinson

Colonel Nathan Whiting, of New Haven, Connecticut, commanded the Second Regiment of Connecticut Provincial troops in Amherst's army. In 1745 and again in 1757, he joined expeditions at Louisbourg. An active campaigner in the French and Indian Wars and an officer since 1755, Whiting saw action in many of the battles around Lake George and Lake Champlain. Letters to his wife, the former, Molly Saltonstall, carry datelines from Fort Edward, Lake George,

Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and then, in August, 1760, from La Gallette, the British name for Fort de la Presentation. Quite possibly much to his disliking, Whiting was left behind at Fort de la Presentation while the greater part of the army moved down river to take positions surrounding Fort Levis. Nevertheless, his assignment was not unimportant. For a time, Colonel Williamson of His Britannic Majesty's Royal Artillery used Fort de la Presentation as the artillery park for the forty-five or more cannon, howitzers, mortars, gunpow-

der and shot that would be used against Fort Levis. Too, Whiting was placed in charge of guarding Capitaine LaBroquerie and the crew of the captured French warship, *L'Outaouaise*. We are indebted to Colonel Whiting for the letters he wrote to his wife from Fort de la Presentation. Not only do we receive yet a different perspective on the Siege of Fort Levis but also a rare glimpse at the shape and condition of Fort de la Presentation in the summer of 1760. (End of introduction.)



This re-enactment by the Ogden Rangers shows a behind the British lines view around the shores and islands of the St. Lawrence River during the Siege of Fort Levis. The soldiers in the "peaked" hats are British Army grenadiers, while the fighter in the plaid shirt is an Ogden Ranger.

LETTER

Camp at La Gallette Aug 24 1760
My dearest,

The satisfaction I am persuaded it will give you to hear from me in this remote distance adds greatly to the pleasure I take in writing to you. I must omit the tender things my heart is sufficiently full of & confine myself only to the account of our situation, which my friends will all be desirous of knowing as follows. Last Saturday afternoon the advance part of our army came in sight of the enemy's Fort which is on an Island about four miles below this one of their vessels a Brig who was above them fired an alarm. Our army encamped that Night about six miles above here, the Next morning our Row Gallies five in Number, each a twelve pounder in bow, (our vessels were not then come up) attacked the French Brig and soon took her. Then the army came on to this place & encamped that Night; The Enemy have some time deserted this place had taken the Roofs off the Houses but not Entirely destroyed them, & had hurt the Fort but Little though it Never was of much strength being stockaded only, and a blockhouse at each Angle of the square—we found here about eighty of the Sargathe Indians principally women & children their men being gone into the woods as they say to see the Event & be out of the way, to these we granted protection. They are all gone into the woods since to be out of the way also. On Monday the General after reconnoiting of the Fort & the passage of the River marched the main of ye army in their boats and passed the Fort in the day time (whose fire from their Cannon did very Little damage to them) and Invested the Fort on both sides of the River & on an Island below. So that the enemy have no chance succor.

I was left here at first with my

own Wooster's, Fitch's & the New York Regiments Who had the Artillery boats. They have since been drawn of at different times and for different services. I remain here with my Regiment as a cover to the Rear, & thought I should much rather be near the principal Seat of action must content myself, as it seems a Settled point for the Provincials not to share much in the Principal Honor of the Action, their Honor Seems confined to their Alertness & care in promoting & forwarding Such things or matters as the Principal action may depend upon—yesterday morning our batterys first opened, we have three, two on Islands & one on this shore, which is the East or rather South, they fired briskly all Day with Shot & Shells, our vessels also (being three including the one we took) went within Pistol Shot, so that the Monsieurs had warm work yesterday, two of the vessels had their Cables Shot away, & passed by the Fort & are below. The other Struck a rock & there in fair shot; a boat I had down yesterday as their return I imagine they saw a boat go from the Fort to the vessel and return, & immediately after saw two boats go on board her from us but this was seen at a distance & is guess. As I have not heard from below to-day I cant tell her situation. I don't know the exact number of Cannon we have mounted at the three batterys so cant assert them—our Batterys keep firing today but not so briskly as yesterday. The weather is very rainy this day; yesterday was clear; I had a fair view of the Fort and could See the Barrackstore, but could not see what other damage it did the officer I sent down yesterday told me the Grenadiers & Light Infantry and a detachment of others the whole about two thousand were in their boats striped to their shorts Several hours waiting orders to storm. Which they were to do with Sword

& Tomahawk, but tis not done yet. I Imagine the General will attempt it Soon rather than be delayed, the Fort by account of the Prisoners I have here is Strong, though small, & being on an Island is difficult to storm as it must be done in boats; the Garison is about three hundred, commanded by Monsieur Pisheaeueⁱ, who Commanded Niagra Last year & seems now determined to Rectify the error he then made of firing away the Ammunition too fast, but as he cant have relief we might easily have the Fort had we time to loose. I expect to write you more, before this goes, in a Postscript, I hope to give an account of taking the Fort & proceeding to Mount Real which is easily done from here in two Days. The French go with Single boats in one, the water is very rapid. I have here the Prisoners taken in the French Brigⁱⁱ—about eighty in Number, the Cap Monsieur Labroquene I keep at my Table. He seems to be a discreet modest man Should it be his lot to go to New Haven, you will Show him Civility. The enclosed Letter to Cap Le Roche you will give to Mr. Le Mittiere it contains some account of their friends in Canady. I have the happiness to Subscribe myself dearest of women your unalterably Tender and affectionate Husband N Whiting.

P.S. 25th Augt 10 oclock A.M.

Our batterys kept a continual firing of Shells last Night 7 fire Briskly this morning they fire very Little from the Fort, I have accounts that our people in the Snowⁱⁱⁱ on the Rock Struck their Colours without orders from Commodore Loring & that the Master and two men go into the boat contrary to his orders went to the Fort & resigned themselves, there was no boat came on board from the French but the vessels boat went to the Fort. The Snow is fast yet, our people taken

out, but boats ready to put off immediately to prevent the Enemy from burning her. The Commodore Mr. Loring has the calf of the Leg Shot away—

P.S. Augt 25 10 oclock at Night

I have intelligence that about five oclock this afternoon the French hoisted English Colours on their Fort, on which the General Sent in Capt Prescott to see what they wanted. I have heard Nothing more, but as there has been no firing Since I make no doubt the matter is settle I can give no accounts of the Numbers killed or wounded either side Should I heard more particulars before an Express gos in I shall ad then in a Postscript to this. I am as above my years, yours unalterably N Whiting,

P.S. 26th 9 oclock A.M.

Till I have further news from the Fort, I will fill up my paper with other matter—must tell you we found many fields of Indian corn here just fit for eating. The corn

full grown & very Plump, also beans & Squashes in so great plenty that the army I believe for Several Days had a pretty good Supply & have been quite Regaled—I have the pleasure to tell you that my Regiment is very healthy & have wonderfully escaped the Small pock. Several had had it I have lost but two with it & but one with any other disorder that has died with the Regiment. I have only one here with the Small pock & he is recovering tis Eben Hart of Capt Hitchcock's Company there are more of the other Regiments but not a Large Number Mr. Alcock of Col Woosters Company is here with the Small pock and very Likely to Dye I mention him as his friends are at New Haven he may possibly recover but the Doctor tells me tis very precarious.

P.S. 26th August 11 oclock A.M.

Im now to come to the Last act of my Drama which Opens the Whole Scene. Last Nigh Monsieur Pisheau delivered up the Fort un-

der his Command to the British Troops, the Garison being about three hundred are prisoners of War, and are to be immediately sent down to Albany * son on, but a few have been killed of either Side, as I have not the returns I wont pretend to tell the number—I had only one killed, he was in a detachment on board the French Brig that we took, we shall very Soon proceed down the River, & hope this success will prove a happy omen of Still greater & more important Success—a few Days will probably determine the fate of Canady, or the fate, at Least the present fate, of this Army—the blessings of Heaven attend you—Adieu my dearest yours as above.

N. Whiting.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Pouchot

ⁱⁱ refers to *L'Outaouaise*

ⁱⁱⁱ snow – ship, i.e., refers to the *Onondaga*

Both photos here courtesy of Cpt. Jim Winters, Ogden's Rangers re-enactors



This member of the Ogden Rangers poses in full uniform garb during a re-enactment of the Siege of Fort Levis.

(Photo courtesy of Capt. Jim Winters, Ogden's Rangers re-enactors)

Siege of Fort Levis: Conclusion

Researched and written by David Dickinson

Not until the Jay Treaty of 1796 had settled boundary disputes between the United States and Canada did New Yorkers and New Englanders return to the upper St. Lawrence River valley in any number. Upon their return, those settlers who came to the shore of the St. Lawrence River in the Town of Lisbon looked across the water to a small island marked by a protruding stone chimney. The chimney of Fort Levis gave Chimney Island the name it acquired in the early 19th century and has retained to the present day.

The documents presented in this issue of the *Quarterly* far from exhaust the extant eye-witness accounts of the Siege of Fort Levis. Several British officers and colonial soldiers recorded their participation in a military campaign they viewed as a monumental event in their lives. Colonial newspapers covered the campaign with great interest. The fall of Fort Levis and the subsequent surrender of Montreal, after all, marked the end of decades of bitter fighting between France and England for control of eastern North America. Not only do the spoils of war belong to the victor, but also the propensity to boast of victories... and to forget defeats at the hands of a skilled and vastly outnumbered foe. However, the celebrations of a victorious England and her American colonies came to a fractious end. Britain's attempts to rule a former colony of France and to spread the costs of war evenly over those who benefited most from its success soon ran amuck. Growing discord and the resultant outbreak of revolution thrust the victory at Fort Levis into a back closet of Anglo-

American history. Many who fought together for King George at Fort Levis fought against each other at Bunker Hill, on and around Lake Champlain and along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers.

Whitehall, July 17th, 1761

"His Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his Royal Approbation of the Many and Eminent Services of Major General Amherst, to nominate Him to be one of the Knights Companions of the most Honorable Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that He should be invested with the Ensigns of Said Order, which are transmitted to Him by this Opportunity: I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you should perform that Ceremony..."

Secretary of State William Pitt
to Lieutenant-Governor
Cadwallader Colden of New
York Provinceⁱ
New York, Aug. 11th, 1761

"On the 7th instant I received the honour of his majesty's Commission appointing me Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York... In April last the Assembly made provision for raising 1787 men, being two thirds of what they had raised formerly, before the Conquest of Canada. They were fighting, before that time, *pro Aris & focis*. Now they think themselves under no such Necessity to load the Province with so great an Expense, and it was with some difficulty they were induced to comply fully with the King's requisition."

Lieutenant-Governor
Cadwallader Colden of New
York Province to Secretary of
State William Pittⁱⁱ

Endnotes

ⁱ Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, editor. *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Volume II, pp. 451-452.

ⁱⁱ Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, editor. *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Volume II, pp. 460-461.

Bibliography

Amherst, Jeffery. "Letter to Secretary of State William Pitt from Fort William Augustus dated 26 August, 1760". *Correspondence between Commander-in-Chief and Major-General Monckton and Major-General P. Lyman*. Great Britain: Public Records Office, WO 34/43. Dickinson, David L. "The Struggle for Empire". *A Pictorial History of Lisbon, New York*. Lisbon, NY: Liston Bi-Centennial Committee, 2001. pp. 10-18. Gallup, Andrew, editor. *Memoir of a French and Indian War Soldier... "Jolicoeur" Charles Bonin*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993. pp. 183-188. Kimball, Gertrude Selwyn, editor. *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906. Pouchot, Pierre. *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between France and England*. Trans. by Michael Cardy. Edited and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan. Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994. Welles, Lemuel Aiken, editor. "Letters of Colonel Nathan Whiting Written from Camp During the French and Indian War". *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*. VI (1900), pp. 133-150. Woodhull, Nathaniel. "A Journal Kept by Nathaniel Woodhull". *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America*. Volume V, September, 1861. pp. 257-260.

Edith Duffy, Former Edwards Town and Village Historian

Edith C. Duffy, 80, died January 24, 2002 at the Edward John Noble Hospital in Gouverneur.

Mrs. Duffy was the Edwards tax collector and then was an accounting clerk for the St. Lawrence County Department of Social Services for 20 years.

A lifelong resident of Edwards, she was a member of the Historical Society and was town and village historian from 1983 until Dec. 31, 2001. She was also a charter member of the Edwards Fire Department Auxiliary and a member of the library board. She enjoyed genealogy, sewing, knitting, painting and traveling.

Mrs. Duffy was born Sept. 11, 1921 in Edwards, the daughter of William and Mertie Grant Cleland. She attended Edwards schools, received a high school diploma, and attended Watertown School of Commerce.

She married Thomas L. Duffy on Feb. 23, 1942 at her parents' home in Edwards. Mr. Duffy predeceased his wife on Nov. 1, 1997. Mrs. Duffy is survived by a son and daughter-in-law, Michael T. and Celene of Edwards; two daughters, Mrs. David (Judith) Schoolcraft of Syracuse, and Mrs. Martin (Kathleen) Duffy-Reed of Baldwinsville; a brother, William Cleland of Edwards; nine grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

She was predeceased by a son, Patrick, in 1982; a brother, Ives Cleland; and a grandson.



This picture was taken while Edith was on a cruise to Alaska in 1998. She is ready to attend the captain's dinner.



Edith on her 80th birthday on Sept. 11, 2001 while in the E.J. Noble Hospital, Gouverneur. She is with her son, Michael, and his daughter, Celeste. Michael's wife, Celene, took the picture.

Edith Duffy Steps Down as Edwards Historian After years of Dedicated Service

By LaVerne H. Freeman

On January 4, 1983 Edith Cleland Duffy was appointed the third Edwards Town and Village Historian. She accepted the office of Leah Noble, long-time historian until her death in December 1982.

Mrs. Duffy, a lifelong resident of Edwards, and husband Tom, raised two sons and two daughters while participating in community activities. After becoming historian, she continued Miss Noble's efforts to make the history center in the town hall a place where visitors were welcome to browse the materials and artifacts to learn, or recall, Edwards in by-gone days.

Mrs. Duffy believed in the statement, "many hands make light work" and appointed Katheryn Fuller to help her as deputy historian. Then under a work program, she was able to have the excellent help of Lisa Clintsman and Michelle Hale to reorganize the center after the town upgraded the electrical system and had the room freshly painted. She mentioned many times how much she appreciated the services of these ladies. After Mrs. Fuller's resignation, Mrs. Duffy appointed LaVerne H. Freeman as deputy historian.

During her early tenure, Mrs. Duffy was involved with a historical group that wrote their early memories of life in Edwards of yesteryear and interviewed senior citizens to get their stories on audio tapes. Since December 1998 she has also been president of the revitalized historical association and was co-chairman of the successful

Scots Festival held on August 14, 1998.

As historian, she was always willing to open the history center at the convenience of those interested in visiting the center, and to answer phone and written requests for information. If she didn't know the answer herself, she made the effort to call upon other knowledgeable residents to get the requested information.

Mrs. Duffy continued her interest in local history and genealogy until her health prevented her participation. At this time she resigned her position as historian effective December 31, 2001, after 18 years of passing her knowledge of Edwards and its people to others in many parts of the world. Her presence will be missed by all.

Edith Duffy, Good Friend and Neighbor

By LaVerne Freeman,
Town and Village of Edwards Historian

Edith was the only girl in her family with two older brothers, and said she grew up determined to do everything the boys did in spite of them, so she declared herself a “tomboy.” To make sure she did not miss anything her brothers were doing, she and her friends, Marjorie Hansen and Lucille Gore, watched them from a hill or corner whenever possible. They dubbed themselves “Sniff,” “Snoop” and “Peek” the “de-tec-uh-tives.”

It is certainly true that she was the apple of her father’s eye as shown by the story told of the day when she was possibly three- or four-years-old. She bemoaned all morning to her mother that, “Bob has a Kiddie Kar and I don’t have a Kiddie Kar.” Mrs. Cleland related this “sad tale” to her husband when he came in for lunch – and doting Daddy promptly went straight to the store and bought his little girl a Kiddie Kar!

Edith spent all her public school years in the Edwards School system, beginning in the first grade in the school on Main Street, where the Assembly of God church is now. She then went to the “new” brick school when it opened in the fall of 1936 and graduated in June 1939.

All through Edith’s childhood she had a pudgy tummy, but the doctors ignored it until she was a senior in high school. During the early part of the spring semester she had to have an extremely serious operation to remove a large six pound cyst in her abdominal area, necessitating the permanent removal of some of her ribs in order

to extract the cyst. She was in the hospital a number of months and she was one of the first people in the area given the sulfa drug to combat infection.

The high school principal, Harry Brown, consulted with her and her mother to have her be allowed to take her regents and graduate with her class. She was at home by then and a teacher came over from the school to supervise the testing. Edith passed all her exams. When it was time for the class to climb to the school stage, a big, husky classmate carried her to the stage and placed her in her seat. Later in the ceremony this same boy fainted! Edith recalled she looked down at him and remarked, “I think *I* should have carried *you* to the stage!”

Because of her health, Edith could not attend a higher education program after high school, so she had to wait until the following fall when she entered Watertown School of Commerce. She graduated from the business school and used her education throughout her working years.

One of her summer jobs while in school was working in Dr. Adams’ office doing clerical work. His typewriter was not working properly and when Dr. Adams came in one day Edith had it all apart and spread out across the desk. The doctor bent over her, looked at the array of parts, shook his head, shrugged his shoulders, and commented, “Another of those Clelands!” (They were all mechanically inclined.)

Her future husband, Thomas Duffy, also was a student in Edwards School. She and Tom dated in high school and she married her high school sweetheart on February 23, 1942 before he left to serve in the Army Air Corps in Georgia in WWII. After a while, Edith came back to live in her hometown with her mother and brother, Bill. Her first child, Judy, was born in the North Country while her husband was in the service.

After the war, Edith and Tom settled in Edwards where he worked in the mines and she became the tax collector. (She later worked for the County in Canton.) Their family expanded to four children with the addition of Michael, Patrick and Kathleen. The couple lived with their friends and family around them, so they enjoyed a well-rounded family and social life.

Even with all her many activities, Edith felt she must have her pets and was fondly known by her family as “the Cat Woman.” Her final household pets were two large, domestic, short hair cats – an orange tiger named Sunny, and a mostly black, tortoise shell named Sadie. They were the light of her life and she felt they added “life to her house and kept it from being too quiet.” She liked a lot of “life in her house” with family and friends.

THE OLIVER LAW FIRM

Cathleen E. O'Horo
Roger B. Linden
Francis P. Cappello

Michelle H. Ladouceur, Associate

117 Main Street
Canton, NY 13617

Tel.: 315-386-4595 Fax: 315-379-1240

St. Lawrence County Historical Association Hours

SLCHA Office, SLCHA Archives
& Silas Wright House

Open Tuesday - Saturday, Noon - 4:00 p.m.
Friday Noon - 8 p.m.
(and by Appointment)
Admission Fees:

Museum	Free
Archives	Members - Free
	Students - \$2.50
	General Public - \$5.00

Fax: 265-9222



Cell: 322-3520

Toll Free: 1-800-371-9286

Serving the North Country Since 1979

www.walshauction.com

*Reach readers
interested in heritage
& history by placing an
ad here!*

1802 - 2002

***Celebrate
St. Lawrence County's
Bicentennial at the
St. Lawrence County
Historical Association***

1802 - 2002

Return Service Requested
PO Box 8
Canton, NY 13617

**Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
Paid
Permit No. 21
Canton, NY 13617**

Non-Profit Organization

To learn more, visit us at www.NorthCountrySavings.com and click on **Mortgages**

**NO Credit Report Fee
NO Application Fee
NO Attorney Fee
NO Title Insurance Fee
NO Origination Fee
NO "Doc Prep" Fee
NO Mortgage Insurance**



"When you're buying a home, every dollar counts. If you've been searching for a mortgage you can live with, take a closer look at North Country Savings Bank. We'll tell you all about

our No CLOSING COST MORTGAGE and how, with as little as 5% down, you can find yourself in a new home. Drop in to a North Country Savings Bank near you. And take a closer look."

Suzie Ouimet
LOAN ORIGINATOR
ph 315.769.8459

NO CLOSING COST Mortgage

Take a
closer look

Offices in
Ogdensburg • Canton
• Potsdam • Massena

Caroline & Greene, Ogdensburg
ph 315.393.1600
127 Main Street, Canton
ph 315.386.4533
31 Main Street, Potsdam
ph 315.265.2300
22 Phillips Street, Massena
ph 315.769.3566

**NORTH COUNTRY
SAVINGS BANK**

The Home of Home Mortgages



Covered expenses are limited to credit report fee, application fee, flood zone determination fee, recording of deed and mortgage document, mortgage tax, designated bank attorney fee (borrower selected attorney for personal representation not included), abstract update fee (creation of an abstract of title not included), appraisal fee charged at time of application and refunded to borrower at time of closing. Any fees customarily paid by the seller are excluded from coverage under this program (ex: survey). Borrower may be required to reimburse the bank for the above expenses in the event the loan is discharged or paid in full during the first three years of the loan term.