From the Editors

Arguably the most important year in Hudson Valley history since 1909, we are already in the midst of celebrations surrounding the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial. This issue commemorates the accomplishments and legacies of all three honorees—Henry Hudson, Robert Fulton, and Samuel de Champlain—as well as the lasting contributions of the commission that planned events surrounding the 1909 Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary.

We open with a review of the 1909 festivities and follow with a brief survey of Dutch archival history from the preeminent historian and translator of New Netherland manuscripts. For the complete story on Robert Fulton, readers should reference our Autumn 2007 issue, which contained a lengthy biography of the inventor. Here its author offers a brief summary of Fulton's steamboat voyage and how it revolutionized transportation, in America and around the world. Delving into the Champlain Valley for the first time, we begin at the beginning, with an article tracing the Native American presence there from prehistory to the American Revolution. We return to Hudson with an overview written by William T. Reynolds, the captain of the *Replica Ship The Half Moon*, and an excerpt of Robert Juet's journal of the voyage. Joyce Goodfriend illustrates both the power of the Dutch cultural legacy and the tensions caused by the British control after 1664. Lastly, André Senecal explains Champlain and the circumstances that led to his actions in 1609. We conclude with two more articles exploring the signal contributions Hudson and Champlain made to local and world history.

Our Regional History Forums focus on the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission, which has organized the yearlong celebration, and Walkway Over the Hudson State Park, perhaps the greatest legacy of the 400th celebration. Finally, we close with one author's musings over the lasting mysteries surrounding Hudson's 1609 journey. As commission Chair Tara Sullivan and National Park Service Superintendent Sarah Olson note in their foreword, there are a plethora of once-in-a-lifetime events taking place throughout the state this year. We encourage you to take advantage of them.

Christopher Pryslopski
Reed Sparling

Contributors

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Charles Gehring is the Director of the New Netherland Project in Albany, has spent 30 years translating 17th-century documents to uncover the Dutch origins of New York

Cynthia Owen Philip is an independent historian who has written extensively on the Hudson River Valley. She is the author of *Robert Fulton: A Biography* and the prize winning *Wilderstein and the Suckleys: A Hudson River Legacy.* A wide array of her articles and essays have appeared in national and local magazines. Her illustrated history *Rhinecliff, N.Y., 1686-2007* was published this past spring by Block Dome Press.

Nicholas Westbrook is the Executive Director Emeritus of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. He has also worked as the museum director with the Saratoga County Historical Society, Old Sturbridge Village, and the Minnesota Historical Society. He has contributed articles to *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook*, Frances H. Kennedy, ed.

Captain William T "Chip" Reynolds is director of the New Netherland Museum. He has researched, written and lectured on Henry Hudson and his voyages of exploration from the unique perspective of also being the Captain of the *Replica Ship the Half Moon*, whose mission, in addition to enlightening the public about New York's Dutch history, is to provide educational opportunities for school children and adults aboard the ship.

Joyce D. Goodfriend teaches 17th and 18th century America, American immigration and ethnic groups, and New England in American historical memory at the University of Denver. She is the author of *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* and co-authored *Going Dutch: The Dutch Presence in America 1609-2009*.

Joseph-André Senécal teaches Quebec culture and literature and served as director of University of Vermont's Canadian Studies Program from 1998-2006. He is presently writing *Everyday Life at Point-à-la-Chevelure in New France*, a history of the first European community in the southern Champlain Valley.

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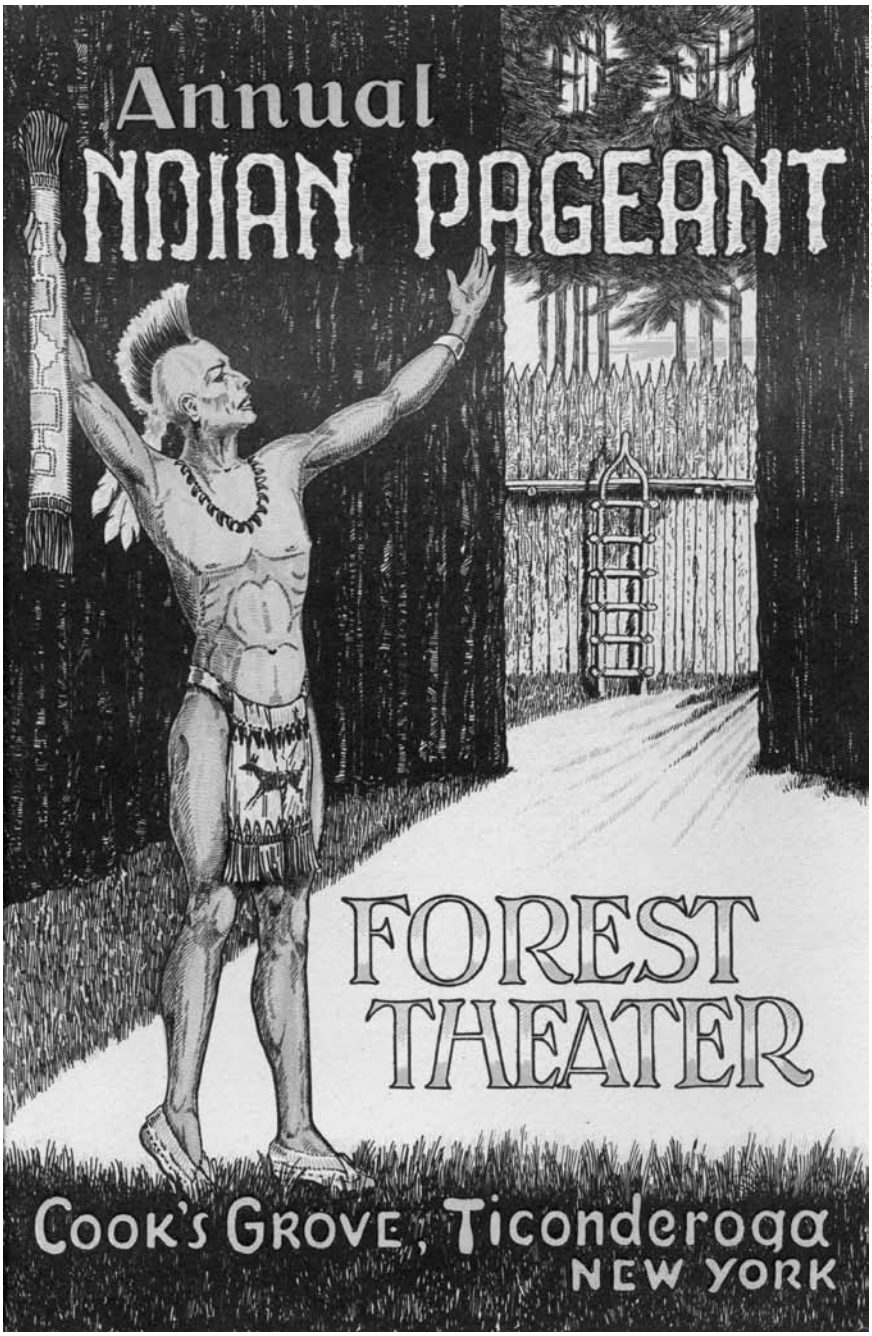
Regional History Forum

Regional Writing

Book Reviews

On the Cover: **Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary Postcard. Courtesy of Hudson River Valley Heritage, HRVH.org, from the collection of Vivian Yess Wadlin**



COLLECTION OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Indian Histories at Ticonderoga[1]

Nicholas Westbrook

For the past 250 years, Fort Ticonderoga (today a National Historic Landmark) has stood on a limestone peninsula 100 feet above Lake Champlain, dominating the strategic portage linking it with Lake George. This is the central portage in a principal natural waterway from the interior of the North American continent through the Appalachian Mountains and into the Atlantic Ocean.

Looking north from their homelands, the Iroquoian Mohawk called this place "Ticonderoga," the junction of two waterways.[2] Looking south, from the eastern shore of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River, the Western Abenaki people called it "tsitôtegwihlá," the place where the waterway forks and continues.[3] Since Jacques Cartier's voyages of discovery in the mid-sixteenth century, the Richelieu-Champlain waterway has been described by Europeans as draining north into the St. Lawrence from the southwest, and forking into two waterways deep at its southern end. That place between the two forking waterways, Ticonderoga, marked for cartographer Gerardus Mercator and his informants as early as 1569 the beginning of the territory of the "Mocosa," the Maquas, or the Mohawk.[4]

A rich archeological record suggests an Indian presence in the area around Ticonderoga for the past 10,000 years. Indian peoples were drawn to this place by the rich food resources in nearby wetlands, the fish migrating every spring up LaChute falls toward Lake George, and by the excellent chert found in the limestone bedrock of the Ticonderoga and Mount Independence (VT) peninsulas.[5] Long-term settlement sites have not yet been identified. Native knowledge indicates that camp sites and flint-working sites were separated to protect the bare feet of children from the sharp flakes that resulted from working flint. Hence we may infer that camp sites in the East Creek basin near the Mount Independence chert deposits and flint-working sites on the Ticonderoga peninsula shoreline (and the absence of camp sites) are linked.[6]

Early Woodland-era ("Meadowood") habitation and burial sites (ca. 1200+ BC) exist on both sides of the Ticonderoga narrows on Lake Champlain, and were the subject of some of the earliest formal archeological investigations in the valley,

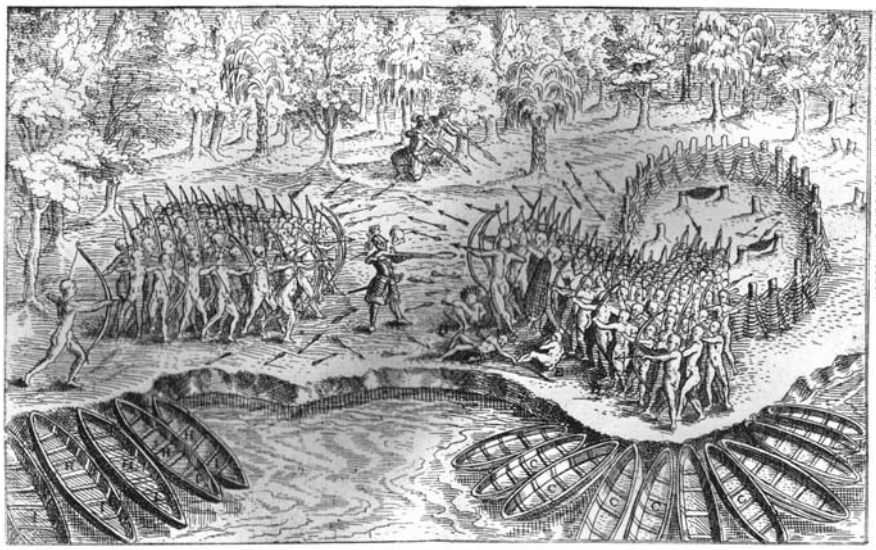
in the 1930s. These sites are distinguished by semi-permanent habitations, the advent of ceramics, and elaborate grave sites.[7] The story of native peoples in the Champlain Valley during the next two millennia (1000 BC-1000 AD) probably has roots in oral history but cannot yet be documented systematically through archeology. Archeologists and anthropologists currently understand that a Point Peninsula culture emerged (ca. 1 AD-1000 AD) in northern New York defined, in part, by the transition from the thrown spear (atlatl) to the bow and arrow.[8] By 1000 AD, that shift, and its additional ramifications, had created a "Laurentian [cultural] tradition" extending in an arc from the St. Lawrence Valley to Long Island.[9]

At the beginning of the last millennium, the general warming called the Medieval Climatic Optimum (900-1350 AD) led to fateful population shifts in the Northeast. People of a proto-Iroquoian culture aggressively followed the general environmental warming (ca. 900-1150 AD) from their homelands in the Susquehanna River basin toward the Mohawk Valley and Lake Champlain basins about 300 miles away. That settlement of those proto-Iroquoian people in the Mohawk Valley is known by archeologists as the Owasco Culture. Arrival of the proto-Iroquoians displaced earlier hunter-gatherers of the Champlain Valley.

Sixteenth-century European geographers and cartographers, beginning with Cartier in 1535, describe the region as unsettled because of decades of warfare.[10] During the most recent four or five centuries, place name and other evidence suggest that Ticonderoga was a contested border ground at the intersection of Mohawk, Abenaki, and Mahican homelands.[11]

During the first decade of the seventeenth century, Samuel de Champlain renewed the series of French explorations begun by Cartier almost seventy years earlier. In 1603, the newly appointed Royal Geographer to Henry IV voyaged up the St. Lawrence to the location of modern Montreal, and gathered sufficient information from his Montagnais informants to write the first detailed description of Ticonderoga, although he had not yet visited the place himself.[12] Six years later, the viability of Champlain's enterprise in New France was being questioned by administrators at home. Champlain opportunistically took advantage of competition between Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples to accompany a large Huron and Montagnais war party on a journey up the lake (which he then named after himself) in order to extend his burgeoning fur trade and to cement alliances with the Algonquians by bringing war to their enemy, the Iroquois.

In late June 1609, Champlain and two French companions embarked in birchbark canoes with sixty Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron warriors. They paddled deeper and deeper toward the land of the "Mocosa" the Mohawks. Late



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Champlain's depiction of the encounter with the Iroquois

on 29 July 1609 they encountered a party of some 200 Iroquois in elm-bark canoes. Both forces agreed to a ritual battle the following day. The Iroquois war party beached their canoes on the Ticonderoga peninsula and built a small temporary palisade for protection (the first recorded fort at Ticonderoga). On 30 July 1609, the war party from the St. Lawrence landed on the Ticonderoga peninsula with their three European companions. Early in the fighting, Champlain fired his arquebus, which he claimed killed two Iroquois "chiefs" and wounded a third. The Mohawks had encountered their first Europeans, and their first firearms. The Iroquois left the battlefield, but Euro-Indian alliances across a region well beyond the Champlain Valley were cemented by the Frenchmen's gunfire for the next 150 years.[13] The age of ritual warfare (largely non-mortal combat) between large Indian forces wearing wooden armor was virtually over.[14]

During the seventeenth century, Ticonderoga increasingly lay at the strategic frontier between expanding French, Dutch, and English efforts to dominate the fur trade and the Indian peoples essential to that trade. As early as 1614, just five years after Champlain's battle with the Mohawks, Captain Adriaen Block recorded French traders engaged in exchange with Mohawks at Ticonderoga.[15] Native people developed a steady but unsanctioned trade along the north-south waterway linking Montreal in French Canada and Orange/Albany on the Hudson River, traversing the central portage at Ticonderoga.[16] By the 1750s, the French garrison at Crown Point enjoyed a wide variety of merchandise, including prohib-

ited items "provided by the savages of New England."[17]

In the early 1640s, three Jesuits were captured by Mohawks while returning with a twelve-canoe Huron party from Sault Ste. Marie to Québec. The Mohawks escorted Father Isaac Jogues and his companions south, past the Ticonderoga peninsula, to their village, Ossernenon (Auriesville). Jogues eventually escaped to France (via Beverwyck/Albany), but soon returned again to New France, where he resumed his mission to the Mohawks after peace was re-established. During his spring 1646 return journey, Jogues was escorted across the Ticonderoga peninsula and over Lake George (which he named Lac St. Sacrement) to Mohawk country, where he left behind a box containing clothes for the winter, gifts, and religious vessels. When Jogues returned to Ossernenon the following autumn, he found the Mohawk village devastated by smallpox, drought, and famine—disasters the Mohawk believed had been unleashed from Jogues' small box left behind six months earlier. Jogues shortly paid the final price for the changes he had wrought in Iroquoia.[18]

Twenty years later, in 1667, another Mohawk party brought three willing Jesuits from Montreal to become missionaries in their homeland in the Mohawk Valley. In passing along the Ticonderoga peninsula, the sauvages halted there to gather "flints which were almost all cut into shape" along the shoreline. One of the Jesuits wrote, "Our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place, to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers-by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones."[19]

At the same time, war parties, traders, and ambassadors of the European powers passed continually over the portage and/or along the peninsula enroute between their bases of power in New France, New England, and New York. They almost always traveled with Indian guides or allies. Twice in 1666, the French attempted devastating raids on the Iroquois: on the first attempt, a European army marching into the wilderness in winter, without Indian assistance; on the second, successful attempt, accompanied by Indian allies, Hurons and Algonquins. On both expeditions, the French force fortified the Ticonderoga peninsula as a forward base camp.[20] During King William's War (1689-1697), Euro-Indian forces surged back and forth past Ticonderoga, refortifying the place. Every contingent included major Indian participation (typically a third to half of the force): Mohawk and Schaghticoke accompanying the English/Dutch raiders, and Algonquin, Huron, Mohawk, and Abenaki allied with the French. For all sides, Ticonderoga was the

rendezvous point or the forward camp in the face of the enemy.[21] During Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and its aftermath, armed forces and peaceful ambassadors repeatedly passed Ticonderoga to achieve victory and to win the return of captives. In 1711, Major John Livingston, representing the New England colonies, returned from New France, having failed to win the redemption of several captives taken in the Deerfield raid (1704). During his return, he encountered several seasonal camps of Abenaki in the Ticonderoga vicinity.[22] During King George's War (1740-1748), French, Canadian, and Native forces had by now penetrated south, beyond St. Frédéric (built in 1731) at Crown Point, beyond Ticonderoga, far enough south to destroy Saratoga and threaten Orange/Albany. At war's end, conditions returned to status quo ante. But the outbreak of an Anglo-Abenaki war in 1750 made the Ticonderoga area a "no man's land" once again.[23] European travelers along the waterway in the early 1750s reported traveling with Indian guides, and repeatedly emphasized encountering burned-out habitations as a result of the recent war. Swedish botanist Per Kalm noted in October 1750 that "Not a human being lives in these waste regions and no Indian villages are found here…. At this time in the autumn, Indians come hither from various localities; even natives who sometimes wage war against one another. They live here for several months by hunting alone…" for deer and then for beaver through the winter and spring months.[24]

The French and Indian War threw Indian alliances with European powers into a new range of challenges. In 1755, both eighteenth-century European superpowers sent enormous regular-army contingents to North America for the first time. Again, native nations negotiated independently to maximize their own diplomatic and economic integrity, while they attempted to negotiate strategic alliances that wavered with the fortunes of war. In this conflict, Indian nations pursued a "parallel war," engaging in alliances when it suited Indian purposes and resisting being drawn into conflict when it did not. The failure of European commanders in the 1750s to understand Indian war methods and goals planted the seeds for the end of an effective native voice in diplomacy at the end of the American Revolution.[25]

In the 1750s, both European powers struggled to project decisive power in the North American wilderness. British colonial officials struggled to fashion a firmer alliance with the Six Nations, depending heavily upon the skills of William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs (April 1755).[26] New France adjusted to the arrival of a new Governor General, Vaudreuil, in late June 1755. New generals from Europe (Dieskau, Montcalm, Loudoun, Abercromby) were given supreme command, but were unfamiliar with "American ways" of war.[27] At the

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Reenactors at Fort Ticonderoga

outset, European commanders rejected insights from the "American way" and attempted unsuccessfully to pursue warfare according to European principles. After an intermediate phase, wherein both sides experimented with the practices of "American war," which they had pursued in three previous wars,[28] the war climaxed in a series of decisive eighteenth-century style sieges and battles. At each step of the new conflict, the Europeans sought to refresh old alliances. The Indian nations struggled to maintain independence.

In 1755, the French pressed southward from their post at St. Frédéric to make a pre-emptive strike at British colonial forces mobilizing on the Hudson River and on "French" land in the Lake George basin. Dieskau's allied army consisted of 760 Caughnawaga Iroquois, Abenakis, Algonquins, Hurons from Lorette, Nipissings, and a small group from the Great Lakes, along with 3,000 French regulars and Canadian militia. In the Battle of Lake George (8 September 1755), they met an Indian and British colonial force commanded by Tiyanoga (old King Hendrick), a Mohawk sachem, and William Johnson, colonel of the Six Nations and superintendent of Indian Affairs. The outcome of the ensuing battle hinged on the unwillingness of Iroquoian people on both sides to fight one another. On the British side, Tiyanoga was killed in the opening ambush; about forty of the 200 Iroquois (Mohawks, Oneida, Onondaga, and Tuscarora) and Mohegans also died. Both European commanders were wounded; Dieskau was captured. The leaderless French forces withdrew to the Ticonderoga peninsula and began constructing there a new fort, Carillon, to protect the southern gateway to New France.[29]

For the next four years, construction of the French fort at Ticonderoga continued. Indians intermittently supported the military efforts of both European powers. Indians and Canadians assisted the French regulars by scouting British strength at the south end of Lake George, raiding deep into British territory, and occasionally helping to meet food requirements by hunting.[30] For example, in the summer of 1756, "the French had 600 Indians at Ticonderoga, and expected 600 more"; by October "the Indians were all gone off, 200 of whom talked of returning to spend the winter at Carillon."[31] Both sides used Indian allies to wage war in the

"American" fashion: relentless small-scale terror on the frontier borders.[32] British scouts, largely comprised of New Englanders and Stockbridge Indian rangers, scouted out the strength of French positions at Ticonderoga. French scouts ranged over at least a fifty-mile radius, "commanded" by veteran French-Canadian officers of la marine, but largely composed of allied Indians. Journals are full of reports of the typically two-week scouting expeditions.[33]

The Indian history of participation in the French and Indian War and in the American Revolution has been well analyzed during the past twenty years. There is no need to recount the details here.[34]

On two occasions, the presence of native allies was conspicuous. In summer 1757, the Marquis de Montcalm mustered at Ticonderoga a force of 1,800 Indians from seventeen nations coming from thirty-nine communities from as far away as the pays d'en haut (the western Great Lakes) to assist his effort to drive the British from this strategic waterway. We believe that this gathering was the largest, most diverse occurring in North America until that time, even larger than the Indians gathered in Montreal for the Great Peace of 1701. Cultural and linguistic gaps in communication later resulted in the so-called "massacre" at Fort William Henry.[35] In 1758, neither the French nor the British were particularly successful in motivating their native allies. William Johnson produced a 400-man force of Mohawk Valley inhabitants "dressed as Indians" when Mohawks long loyal to him and the British cause declined to participate.[36] Nonetheless, Johnson had assembled the largest gathering of "Indians" to fight on the British side during this war.

In 1759, the British again attacked the French Fort Carillon, this time under the command of General Jeffery Amherst. After a three-day siege, the British were successful. British losses were minimal, just ten or twelve, but included Lt. Col. Roger Townshend, serving as Amherst's deputy adjutant general. Townshend was buried in Albany, next to Lord Howe, a casualty of the previous year's campaign. The siege at Ticonderoga is memorialized in the 1761 monument to Townshend erected in Westminster Abbey. The memorial sarcophagus, designed by Robert Adam, is supported by two putative Indian veterans of the Ticonderoga siege.[37] The success of British arms in the siege meant that the French name of the fort was replaced by the Mohawk name for the place, Ticonderoga. But by the end of October 1759, General Amherst had had enough of his Indian allies: "To save unnecessary expenses to the Government & our provisions I got rid of the Indians. Sent them to Albany to return to their own homes, 43 in number & as idle good for nothing crew as ever was."[38]

During the American Revolution, both white sides again engaged native people as allies. There was a recurring struggle on both sides to distinguish

"friendly Indians" from enemy combatants. Both the British and the rebels used Indian allies as scouts, light forces, and even as infantry.[39] In 1777, a large British, German, and Indian force invaded the Champlain Valley from Canada with the expectation of cutting off the rebellious New Englanders. In June, General John Burgoyne issued a proclamation demanding affirmations of loyalty to the crown, and threatening the civilian population that "I have but to give Stretch to the Indian forces under my command—and they amount to Thousands—to overtake the hardened Enemies of Great Britain and America."[40] Two weeks later, Ticonderoga fell, and Burgoyne's army pursued the retreating rebel army.

In 1820, William Ferris Pell acquired the "Garrison Grounds" at Ticonderoga and began the preservation of the fort ruins. In the 1820s and '30s, according to Pell family oral history, Indians continued to make winter camps below the fort near The Pavilion. In late 1908, Stephen H.P. Pell launched the restoration of the fort, and President William Howard Taft spoke in July 1909 in commemoration of the Iroquois' fateful battle with Champlain and his Indian allies. The celebration included a "sham battle" between the natives and Champlain as a "warm-up" for the President's appearance later that afternoon. One of the highlights of the celebration was an extensive "Indian pageant" including 150 natives, based on a "camp" on barges in the lake below the fort. The Indians were recruited from among the Algonquin, Huron and Mohawk communities ("descendants of the original tribes that occupied portions of the Champlain Valley") along the St.

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The 1909 "Indian Pageant" floating island

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Re-enactors at Fort Ticonderoga

Lawrence river. On six barges, "an artificial island has been constructed by covering floating barges with earth and rocks. Trees, bushes and grass will be growing on the island, and stockades, wigwams, tepees and sandy beaches will lend a realistic setting to the pageants." The "island" (or the "Hiawatha barges") measured some 300 feet by fifty feet, and was anchored for several days below the fort.[41] The "island" barges were towed from place to place in the Champlain Valley during the week-long celebration. At Fort Ticonderoga, the "Hiawatha pageants" were presented on 5 to 6 July 1909 at 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. followed by fireworks. On the morning of 6 July, the Indians made a surprise attack on the fort, and captured it from the New York State National Guard, "scattering the spectators right and left and pulled down the flag…with a series of rousing war whoops…. When [the guardsmen] announced themselves in readiness for the joint number on the programme, they received word that they were too late; the battle was over."[42]

The museum founders' interest in Indian history continued strong. In the 1930s, Pell worked closely with local historian Thomas J. Cook to research and launch an annual Indian pageant, "Feast of the Green Corn," which continued until the early 1960s.[43] In the course of that work, Pell and the museum developed a friendship with Ray Tehanetorens Fadden (1910-2008), who went on to establish the Six Nations Indian Museum at Onchiota, New York, in 1954.[44] In the mid-1930s, Pell undertook extensive archeological research in the Ticonderoga vicinity in conjunction with the remarkable collector George Gustav Heye and his Heye

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Working with school groups

Foundation. Heye's collection today is the core of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian.[45] The work sponsored by Pell and Heye led, in turn, to the short-lived creation of the Champlain Valley Archeological Society, which sponsored and published pioneering archeological research on the prehistory of the southern Champlain Valley.[46]

In recent years, the museum has renewed its commitment to interpretation of the Indian role in the fort's history. Since 1990, natives have always played a significant role in the museum's growing re-enactment events. In 1998, the museum hired Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman, a St. Francis Sokoki Abenaki, as a full-time interpreter of Abenaki and Indian history; his work included extensive outreach to area schools. Shortly thereafter, the museum launched a seasonal "Harvest Moon" festival to expand the opportunities for natives to return to this site during the traditional autumn hunting season in order to focus educational attention solely on the Indian experience of this site. In 2004, the museum elected Margaret Bruchac, a distinguished Abenaki educator, a trustee of the museum.

The museum continues to present Indian collections in exhibitions, in daily interpretive activities, and by research appointment. The Indian collections (other than the archeological collections) are thin but significant: Thomas Pell's 1654 treaty with the Siwanoy Mahicans to acquire the land in Westchester County that became Pelham Manor; a 1756 powder horn belonging to Captain Jacob, the Stockbridge Mahican ranger; William Johnson's 1753 commission to treat with

the Six Nations at Onondaga; in addition to artifact and archeological collections amassed during the past century. Among the significant donations during the past half-century are Mohawk artifacts donated in the late 1940s by Ray Fadden and two pictograms interpreting Mohawk history, painted on the museum's walls by Mr. Fadden, ca. 1950.[47]

Endnotes

1. An abbreviated version of this essay appeared first in Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman and Nicholas Westbrook, *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook*, Frances H. Kennedy, ed., New York, Houghton Mifflin, 2008, pp. 56-57.
2. Floyd G. Lounsbury, "Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in Report of the New York-Vermont Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin, Legislative Document No. 9 (1960), pp. 46-53.
3. Gordon M. Day, "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 47 no. 2 (1981), pp. 143-171. Reprinted in *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays in Honor of Gordon M. Day* (ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan), Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998, pp. 229-262. *Ticonderoga* is discussed on pp. 260-261.
4. Stephen P. Dechame, "'History is only a catalogue of the forgotten': Samuel Champlain at Ticonderoga, 1609" (unpublished essay, 2001), pp. 4-14. Abraham Ortelius, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio*, Antwerp, 1592, discussed in Margaret Beck Pritchard and Henry G. Talliaferro, *Degrees of Latitude: Mapping Colonial America*, New York and Williamsburg, Harry N. Abrams and Colonial Williamsburg, 2002, pp. 56-59. The fork in the waterway was first depicted cartographically (without comment) by Pierre Desceliers in 1546, reproduced in Raymonde Italien and Denis Vaugeois, eds., *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 2004, p. 60. See also Stephen B. Sulavik, *Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains*, 1535-1838, Fleischmanns and Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y., Purple Mountain Press and Adirondack Museum, 2005. On the Maquas, see Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America, 1497-1550*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961, pp. 175-176, 209. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1992, p. 1.
5. Documented in the archeological collections of projectile points assembled at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum during the past century by John H. Bailey, Audrey Barber Clark, George Colette, Godfrey J. Olson, Frank P. Schlamp, and Frederick Stevens.
6. Personal communication from Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman, 2000.
7. Godfrey J. Olsen, "Archeology of Ticonderoga," *New York History*, vol. XV no. 4 (1934), pp. 409-411. Stanley Gifford, "A Brief Summary of Three Years Digging on the Orwell Site, Vermont," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VIII no. 1 (January 1948), pp. 25-28. Stephen Loring, "Boundary Maintenance, Mortuary Ceremonialism and Resource Control in the Early Woodland: Three Cemetery Sites in Vermont," *Archeology of Eastern North America*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 93-127. Stirling Martin, "Memoir of a Summer Dig," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 4 (1992), pp. 316-322. Giovanna M. Peebles, "Orwell's East Creek Valley: A Window into Vermont's Early Woodland Past," *Journal of Vermont Archeology*, vol. 5 (2004), pp. 1-22.
8. Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois*, Cambridge, Mass., Blackwell, 1994, pp. 64-65.
9. Snow, *The Iroquois*, pp. 64-65.

10. Jacques Cartier, *Voyages*, H.P. Biggar, ed., Ottawa, Public Archives of Canada, 1924, p. 202. Champlain describes the Champlain Valley as "not inhabited by any Indians, in consequence of their wars…. The [lakeshore was] formerly inhabited, as well as the Iroquois [Richelieu] River by Indians, but abandoned since they have been at war one with the other." Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages* (1613), Champlain Society, Biggar, ed., vol. II, p. 93. Colin G. Calloway suggests that the absence of population have been the result of epidemic disease. Calloway, *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, p. 35.

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47. Treaty between Mahican elders and Thomas Pell, 1654. "William Johnson's 1753 Commission," Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. VI no. 2 (July 1941), pp. 61-63. Chief Jacob's powder horn is in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum collection [FTA #PH4191]. Mr. Fadden's donations of Mohawk artifacts from the St. Regis Reservation in Hogansburg, New York, are summarized in the rosters of collection accessions in several numbers of *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VIII nos. 1-7, (January 1948-1951). Ray Fadden, pictograms, ca. 1950, Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

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