“At Home in the Adirondacks: A Regional History of Indigenous and Euroamerican Interactions, 1776 – 1920”

by

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Abstract

This dissertation is a social history of Algonquian and Iroquoian people in the Adirondacks of New York State, a rural, borderlands region that shares geography and history with parts of Canada. My study is a microhistory that brings a local history into a larger national dialogue and debates about Indigenous people in colonial and nineteenth-century North American history. It argues the Adirondacks have always been an indigenous homeland to Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples and that they contributed to the fabric of its culture there. It also examines and complicates the history of landscapes known as hunting territories or, as I have also called them, locations of exchange, defined as “a purposeful and occupied place where reciprocal acts occur, creating opportunities for entangled exchanges between people and the land.” These themes run throughout the thesis.
My dissertation briefly investigates the pre-colonial relationship between Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking people with this place and then focuses on the entangled relationships that formed post-contact, over time, between Indigenous people and Euroamerican Adirondackers, as well as visiting urban sportsmen and tourists. My work examines nineteenth century relationships in the Northeast between men and women in both social and economic endeavours; it is also a history about labour, including performance. In addition to ethnicity, gender, and class, this study examines the nature of rural society in this time and place, to further complicate our understanding of Indigenous histories. I suggest that class relations and rural society are important lenses to view contact history during the nineteenth century and later, especially in the East where contact was longer and the trope of the “vanishing Indian” was privileged. Moreover, my dissertation demonstrates the ability and need to extend Native peoples’ history past the contact period in any historical narrative about place or culture in North America.
Acknowledgments

A project that on paper took nearly six years to complete has many people to acknowledge and thank. In reality, this undertaking encompassed a life-time and it helped me to find my way home. Thus, first I must thank my parents for having the good sense of raising me in the Adirondacks, a beautiful haven to grow up in. I only wish they were still here to read the completed effort; I know they would be proud. In addition, I must thank the work itself for reuniting me with family and friends still living in the Adirondacks as I began my research in late 2008; they were always in my heart but we had not been physically connected for many years. I also need to acknowledge the influence of Ray Tehanetorens Fadden, whose Six Nations Indian Museum in Onchiota, NY and his life as an educator sparked a life-long desire in me to learn about the history of the Indigenous people of New York State and elsewhere. Mr. Fadden inspired me to appreciate the varied and rich culture and history of the Iroquoian, Algonquian, and other Indigenous people of North America. Visiting the museum as a young Girl Scout taught me to look beyond the stereotypes and this lesson remained with me all of my life.

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Introduction:
“Our Collection on Native Americans is Limited”

“On leaving Saratoga one enters at once, if he travels north, a country where every rock, tree and hill has an aboriginal history…” ¹ (1899)

“There are scarcely any records of the Indian ownership of this vast region and few traces of its occupation”. ² (1909)

“The consensus of authoritative opinion seems to be that the Indians never made any part of what is now the Adirondack Park their permanent home”. ³ (1921)

These quotes from local histories appear contradictory but they are typical of the thinking about the history of Indigenous people in the Adirondacks, a mountainous area in northeastern New York State. While nineteenth-century observers were perhaps more sensitive to the Aboriginal presence in the Adirondacks, by the twentieth century this view was becoming increasingly rare, to the point that even recent scholarship suggests a lack of history beyond its use as a lightly used hunting territory prior to Europeans, and later Euroamericans’ settlement here.⁴ Not only is this lack of an Aboriginal presence apparent in the scholarship about the region, but it is often the prevailing perspective of those who live there. I grew up in the eastern part of Adirondacks; I can vouch for the belief in a lack of history about Native people occupying and using this space beyond an intangible hunting territory. As the title of this introduction suggests, local archivists and people I discussed my research with do not believe there is much documentation available to demonstrate an Aboriginal history in this place. My research began as a means of questioning the validity of the assumptions about the lack of a history of Indian people in the Adirondacks. The results uncovered a story waiting to be told. This dissertation is a story about making visible the history of Algonquian- and Iroquoian- speaking peoples who called this region their homeland over the centuries. It also challenges our notion of home and directly contradicts the third quote of the opening of this introduction by Adirondack historian Alfred Donaldson, who claimed “that the Indians never made any part of what is now the Adirondack Park their permanent home”. The evidence shows that the Adirondacks have been an indigenous homeland for millennia and that Native people were visible

¹ Martin V. B. Ives, _Through the Adirondacks in eighteen days_ (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1899), 8. Intended to be a legislative report; the size of it became prohibitive so the committee provided the state legislator with a synopsis and the full accounting was published under this title.
² Henry W. Raymond, _The Story of Saranac_ (New York: The Grafton Press, 1909), 20-21. Raymond was a summer resident of Saranac Lake and part of the motivation for writing the book was the lack of information about Indian occupation in the region.
to the Europeans and Euroamericans who came to the region as early as the seventeenth century and well into the nineteenth; it was late nineteenth and twentieth century historians who made them invisible. It is also a study of how Indigenous culture continued and changed under settler colonialism within this geographic space which was not much suited to commercial farming. As a result, other occupations emerged into which Native people could fit and may have helped lay the groundwork for wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks.

To understand this affiliation, one has to expand the geographic reach to include parts of today’s upstate New York, New England, and southern Québec and Ontario as these regions affected who, when, why, and how Iroquoian and Algonquian people came here. In countless ways this is a story about labour as it shifted over time to accommodate changing economic needs; it is also much more. As imperial borders in North America were modified and solidified into national borders by the nineteenth century, interactions between these Native people and the settlers and tourists who came to the region created complex and changing notions of identity. Despite their rustic setting, the Adirondacks were (and still are) a complex place for anyone trying to make a living and raise a family there; its story does not easily fit into neat categories.

This thesis focuses especially on the history of the Mohawk with ties to Akwesasne (St. Regis) and the ‘western’ Abenaki with ties to Odanak (St. Francis) during the long nineteenth century, an era which encompasses the period after the American Revolution and up to World War I because these are the people who most often called this region home. In particular, it explores the “St. Regis” and “St. Francis” people as they were often called during this period, as they were involved in the wilderness tourism era of the Adirondacks. This era began on a small scale at the end of the 1830s and ended as the automobile entered the region around 1920. The heyday of wilderness tourism in the area ran from 1840s-1910.5 Chapters One and Two examine pre- and early contact periods and influences; it is in these two chapters I demonstrate the need to go beyond a stereotypical understanding of hunting territory and instead, see this space as a zone of interaction and an indigenous homeland for the Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples who lived in this area. The Adirondacks were part of the fabric of these peoples’ lives as a geographic space of resources and labour, a space that was very familiar to them. At times the region acted as a “zone of refuge” from violence and settler colonialism elsewhere for neighbouring, often Algonquian-speaking people from southern New England. Following the American Revolution, a shift occurred in terms of how Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples began to occupy the Adirondacks; some created a space for themselves in this familiar place and began to live there year-round. In order to ensure

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their economic survival, Mohawk and Abenaki peoples began to take on aspects of rural White society. However, most maintained their identity as Native people and contact with their communities in Canada and in northern New York at Akwesasne. Chapters Three, Four, and Five focus on the nineteenth century, a time when Aboriginal peoples, as Donaldson thought, were imagined as disappeared. Instead, my research has found their enduring presence, as they created new occupational roles including guides, entrepreneurs, artists, and performers. The reality of settler colonialism forced Algonquian and Iroquoian people in the Northeast into new occupations that expected them to fit into specific niches such as these. However, these roles also allowed the Mohawk and Abenaki peoples in the Adirondacks to use their traditional skills to earn a living and adapt to a modernizing world, thereby allowing them to continue to use their own knowledge. These adoptions to rural Euroamerican ways while preserving and protecting traditions were often a double-edged sword that Iroquoian and Algonquian people had to wield in order to survive the period. The conclusion briefly brings this history up-to-date. By providing a study over such a long period, it is my plan to demonstrate both “change and continuity as an interconnected whole.” I hope this narrative is only a beginning and that complementary studies will follow.

This written account is important for local reasons, but it is also more broadly relevant. For instance, this work examines and complicates the history of landscapes known as hunting territories and forces us to reconceptualise home. Given the diversity of use and occupation by Mohawk, Oneida, Mahican, and Abenaki nations and bands in both pre- and early contact periods, it is difficult to truly call the Adirondacks a wilderness within modern definitions of the term. It is also a history of labour and a history of Indigenous people in contact with settler occupation.

The Adirondacks are also a forgotten region of the eastern frontier story. Currently, frontiers are considered to be contested spaces where peoples interact with varying responses and results; by the early nineteenth century, the northeastern frontier was thought to be long settled and nonexistent. Similar to the discussions of the Old Northwest in Richard White’s seminal The Middle Ground, the Adirondacks saw competition between Iroquoian and Abenaki and Euroamerican trappers that resulted in violence and cautious cooperation following the American Revolution, a period that has not been explored by scholars. Although the region was physically a part of New York, the state did not get directly involved

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in these conflicts. Eventually these Native and non-Native people had to work out their differences on their own terms. Chapter Two contemplates this period and explores its relationship to the start of exchanges between Natives and Newcomers as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth.

This work provides a history of Iroquoian and Algonquian people as a minority population in a rural environment, including their interactions and relationships with local Whites during the long nineteenth century. It is difficult to know the exact numbers of the full-time Euroamerican population of the Adirondacks in the nineteenth and twentieth century; trying to determine the Indigenous population is impossible. For one, the boundary lines of New York State’s Adirondack Park changed periodically, thus making it difficult to get a comparable measure for the region over time. In addition, some towns are within and outside of the park. As well, I - and other regional scholars - include several border town communities such as Saratoga Springs because they were part of the history but technically outside the park's 'blue line'. Numerous people were part-time inhabitants either as seasonal residents or resource-industry workers that may, or may not, have been counted. Finally, the census figures for Native people are inaccurate at best; they were often misidentified as “White” or “Colored” and sometimes they were not counted at all. Further, as the first chapter describes, a handful of Native communities existed in the Adirondacks into the mid-nineteenth century; however, who they were and how many lived there were never identified. Additionally, many came seasonally to work in resource and tourism occupations; whether some were counted depended on what month the census was taken. Historian Karl Jacoby’s best estimate for the population of the Adirondacks in 1880 is between 16,000-30,000 people, depending on whether one includes border towns. Jacoby did not note what time of year his figures were taken, but we do know that parts of the 1880 Hamilton County census were done in June. The best I can conclude is

9 Jacoby, Crimes Against Nature, 210, f. 18 states “Accurate population figures for the Adirondacks are surprisingly hard to come by”. Jerry Jenkins with Andy Keal, The Adirondack Atlas: A Geographic Portrait of the Adirondack Park (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press: Adirondack Museum, 2004), 113 provides a population estimate of the region for the year 2000 based on the United States Federal Census; they too claim it is impossible to really know the region’s population for some of the reasons I’ve listed above. Jenkins and Keal figured that in 2000 the population of the 92 towns in and outside the blue line was 235,885 of which 111,047 lived in the 61 towns completely within the park. The remaining 124,838 lived in border towns partly in and out of the blue line. Year-round population figures are disputed. In 2000 the Native American population of New York State was 0.4% of the population and Jenkins estimates 0.3% of the Adirondack population. The 2010 United States Federal Census allowed people to choose more than one ethnicity; as a result, the Native American population for the state of New York rose to 1% of the state’s population. Accessed 16 October, 2012. http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/36000.html accessed 18 July 2012. Given the Native American population for the state and the Adirondack region were similar in 2000 the best guess I can make is that they currently make up about 1% of the population in the Adirondacks. It is likely their population was a larger percentage during in the nineteenth century, at least during the tourist season, but there is not enough information to confirm this conclusion.

10 Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 25 indicates n 1892 the region was 3.1 million acres, in 1931 it was expanded to 5.6 million, in 1956 a small part of Clinton County was added to increase its size to 5.7 million and most recently in 1972 Valcour Island and parts of Lake Champlain were added growing the park to its present-day 5.9 million acres.

11 Ibid, 1. A blue line was used on the 1892 map to outline the park; the Adirondack Park’s boundaries have been called this since.

12 Census Records, Hamilton County, NY – Morehouseville, accessed 12 January 2013, http://www.hamilton.nygenweb.net/census/1880more1.html. None of the other townships were listed, but one can logically
that the Indigenous population living in the region during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was small and it fluctuated. Nevertheless, based on their contribution to the region’s history and given the area’s sparse population in general, the Indigenous population could not be insignificant.

The overarching argument of this dissertation is that the relationship between Algonquian and Iroquoian people and the Adirondacks was one of continuity, homeland, and how they negotiated this space. Such continuity is made visible when we understand the history of Indigenous land use practices in their own terms. The area acts as a location of exchange\textsuperscript{13} for Indigenous people who came to the region, often for economic purposes, but also for more complex and cultural ones that changed over time. As Canadian historian John Lutz explains, “The idea that exchange involved transformation would have been familiar to … Indigenous people”.\textsuperscript{14} I have defined location of exchange as “a purposeful and occupied place where reciprocal acts occur, creating opportunities for entangled exchanges between people and the land”. This place was, or became, familiar to the people as they performed new work and considered the location a homeland and occupied it in a variety of ways. In addition to experiencing the Adirondacks as a place of resources and labour, Algonquian-speaking people in particular migrated into this landscape as a place of refuge during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eventually they began to work and sometimes intermarry with incoming Euroamerican settlers, creating intimate exchanges that helped to negotiate a shared history.\textsuperscript{15} They shared not only relationships but Mohawk and Abenaki peoples especially became part of the fabric of a distinct Adirondack cultural identity.

While heeding historian James Axtell’s caution that scholars not over-emphasize Native people’s influence in shaping an American identity from English colonists, I propose that historians can suggest that European colonists and early American settlers did more than borrow technology from Indigenous people to adapt to their environment.\textsuperscript{16} Examining a regional history such as the Adirondacks brings out the “intercultural alliances” between Natives and Newcomers. Such alliances have been described by Cynthia VanZandt, who argues that experimentations with accommodation were significant and helped assume the other townships in the county were done at a similar time of year. It took months to complete the census for the entirety of the region.

\textsuperscript{13} See Chapter One for a discussion of this term.
\textsuperscript{14} John Sutton Lutz, Ma\textsuperscript{a}k: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations, (Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 11.
construct the settler experience. My work demonstrates these influences went past the initial settlement period, after which Native people often seem to disappear once the Euroamerican population became dominant. As we grow to understand Indigenous culture better and consider it beside the history of rural people, we begin to see that threads of cultural practices were being negotiated and woven between Natives and Newcomers. Unless Native people truly were removed from a space at a certain time, thus cutting off their participation in that locale’s past, their presence and contributions belong next to the dominant culture’s history; just as the history of women, African Americans and Canadians, immigrants, workers, are recognized as having an imprint on North American societies. While Aboriginal people’s influence grows and wanes over time, I agree with Philip Deloria and Neal Salisbury’s argument that one cannot tell the history of North America without including the people who were and still are indigenous to this place. Their history deserves to be included and continued over time.

TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Naming is a complicated issue in the writing of the history of North America. For example, Indigenous people often called each other by uncomplimentary names that often stuck, indeed the name “Adirondack” is thought to be an Iroquoian word meaning “bark eater” and used to denigrate Algonquian-speaking people for using bark in the winter to survive. Naming is also considered to be a colonial practice used by settler societies to take over a space. My choice is to use the name of the individual nation(s) when it is appropriate but even here it is problematic. Do I use the name the dominant culture has come to know the Indigenous nation as or the name they call themselves? I considered and even wanted to do the latter; however I have found other books that use this practice confusing to the reader if they are not familiar with the nations’ original names. Therefore, I use both names the first time but, reluctantly, I decided to use the former throughout so this history is easily understood by all people. One exception is “Haudenosaunee” which has become better known and used today alongside Iroquois. “Haudenosaunee specifically refers to the Iroquois Confederacy, a political and philosophical union.” I extend my apologies to the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk), Onyotaa:ka (Oneida), Wobanakiak (western Abenaki), and the Muhheakunnuk (Mahican) for privileging the dominant culture yet again.

19 See Chapter One for more on this name and other meanings.
21 Alice Nash, personal communication dated 6 June 2013.
Unfortunately, it is often the non-Native population who needs the most educating about our shared history; I do not want to create barriers for anyone to learn about it.

The use of the name Mahican for the Algonquian-speaking people of the Hudson River whose territory extended to the southern shores of Lake Champlain and east of Lake George also has its complexities. The nation’s name for themselves while in New York was Muhhekanneuk; it is probably the Dutch who gave us Mahican. Now situated in the state of Wisconsin, the nation chose to adopt the name Mohican although they often refer to themselves there as Wampana’kiak or “Easterners” to reflect where they came from. Since the name Mohican did not come into use until after they left New York State, I chose to employ Mahican. Also, the use of Western or western Abenaki has multifaceted issues; they have been known by many names including band names, such as Penacook, Cowasuck, and Missisquoi.

According to anthropologist Christopher Roy,

> “Western Abenaki” is a term developed a few decades ago by linguists to juxtapose two different varieties of Abenaki language recorded in the 20th century. It was only extended as an ethnonym in the late 70s with the publication of the Smithsonian Handbook. ([Colin] Calloway uses a variation on the term a bit more cautiously – “western Abenaki” referring to the western part of Abenaki country rather than some sort of ethnological model.) It really doesn’t make much sense beyond its role as synchronic glottonym and obscures much more than it clarifies.

Even the term “Abenaki” is problematic and is “a twenty-first century convenience to use the term broadly.” In addition, Odanak was inhabited by ‘eastern’ Abenaki and other Algonquian- and Francophone-speakers over time. Because the people with connections to Odanak have complicated interrelationships and identities, and they are so important to the Native history of the Adirondacks (especially after the American Revolution) from here forward, I refer to them as “Abenaki” to reduce verbiage, to illustrate their complex ethnicity, and because there is no other accurate name available.

Sometimes I resort to a version of “Algonquian and Iroquoian people” or “Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people” because I often refer to these two nationalities together or because of a lack of clarity in the records about which nation was involved, especially in the pre-contact and early contact period. In addition, I occasionally use “St. Regis” and “St. Francis” when it makes sense as that was often how they were identified by nineteenth century Euroamericans. These terms also reflect the cosmopolitan

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25 Christopher Roy, e-mail correspondence to author, 1 October 2012.

26 Alice Nash, personal communication, 6 June 2013.
nature of both of these mission villages-turned-reserves, which are culturally Mohawk and Abenaki but are also home to people of other Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking nations. As the following chapters describe, Algonquian-speaking people from New England and southeastern New York needed places of refuge due to violence and settlement practices by European settlers and many fled to Odanak. Even Iroquoian peoples left their home villages in central and western New York to move to mission communities along the St. Lawrence River. Originally established at Sault-Saint Louis in 1667 by a handful of Oneida, the Jesuit mission village of Kahnawake attracted Mohawk converts by 1673. Later, the mission villages of St. Regis and La Présentation were established nearby in the 1740s; the latter, established for Onondaga and Cayuga converts, folded into Akwesasne just before the War of 1812.27 The Iroquois moved to these and other places for religious, economic, political, and social reasons, even though their homelands were intact until 1783. This does not mean they did not travel back to central New York. The records indicate residents of the mission villages and their kin in the Mohawk Valley and elsewhere stayed in contact with each other; the former sometimes even returned to Iroquoia.28 The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were difficult and complicated times; people found “home” to be located in many and diverse places.

Another concern is the use of the names “Algonquin” and “Algonquian”. Algonquin identifies the Indigenous nations associated with the Ottawa Valley and north of the St. Lawrence River. Many of the Indigenous people of eastern Canada, southeastern New York, and all of northern and southern New England were Algonquian-speakers. A number of the people who came to the Adirondacks prior to the nineteenth century were from New England; with a few exceptions (Abenaki or Mahican most notably) we do not know what specific nation they were from. Always referring to them as Algonquian-speakers is cumbersome; moreover, over time not everyone continued to speak the language. As a result, I often use the term “Algonquian” to refer to unknown groups of traditionally Algonquian-speaking people.

I also struggled with how to use, or not use, broader terms such as Aboriginal, Indigenous, Indian, Native American, American Indian (when referring to Indigenous people from the United States only), and First Nations (when referring to Canadian Indigenous people only). The last two names did not lend themselves often to this work; the Adirondacks truly are a borderlands region. I decided to use the four other terms interchangeably when making broad references, particularly in arguments that apply across

27 Robert J. Surtees, “The Iroquois in Canada,” in The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League, ed. Francis Jennings et al. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 67-83, 70. Mostly a mixture of Onondaga, Cayuga and Oneida, the people of La Présentation (later called Fort Oswegatchie by the English or sometimes Fort La Galette in Canada) became known as the Oswegatchie Indians; while many moved to Akwesasne (St. Regis), some returned to the remains of their homelands in New York.

28 Ibid, 72; James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 62, 65, 133; Jon Parmenter’s The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534 – 1701 (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2010), xxxiv-xxv, 153-55. Parmenter argues the Iroquois often moved to these villages to engage settler societies economically, socially, and for political purposes and that religious effort were more of a response to, versus a reason for, the Iroquois moving there.
Indian nations and also for variety for the reader’s benefit. As Trent University’s Indigenous Studies Ph.D. program website states; “The terms “Aboriginal”, “Indigenous”, “Native” and “Indian” will be used interchangeably on this website, reflecting the complexities surrounding appropriate terminology and the diverse contexts in which [these] terms are applied”. Bowing to their wisdom, I chose to proceed with these multiple names without defining them. I have capitalized all of these identifiers as I do to broad references to other nations of people such as European, Canadian, and American.

Even naming people of European heritage is difficult. Generally I refer to colonial people as European(s); after the American Revolution I use Euroamerican, Eurocanadian, or Euro-North American. Occasionally, I use the term settler society to remind the reader that colonialism is a process and still a very present condition in countries like the United States and Canada; it continues to be an especially heightened experience for Native people. I also use the word “White” to replace these designations solely for variety. While I hesitate to use a colour to designate a people, “White” is recognized as another way to refer to people of European ancestry in North America. As we know, “race” is a social construct that has been used to categorize people based on our outward appearances but has no genetic basis; even using appearance as a means of identification is faulty, given that people may blend with their neighbours. This project does look at ethnicity, which I have defined as “a people who voluntarily or involuntarily identify with, or are identified with, a social group with “common national or cultural traditions””. I have capitalized the identifier White as I do the names Native and Aboriginal out of respect for all the people whose history I narrate.

Euroamerican Adirondackers have been, and mostly still are, rural people both geographically and culturally. However, they have never fit the typical stereotype-type of rural ‘farmer’. While the Adirondacks are larger than the six smallest states in the U.S., very little of the region’s soil is useful for commercial farming. By the 1840s, the region’s population, especially around Lake Champlain, were

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32 Ann Morning, “Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective: A Cross-National Survey of the 2000 Census Round,” Population Research and Policy Review 27:2 (April 2008): 239-72, 241-42. Morning describes scholars suggesting race is involuntary while ethnicity is voluntary; given my agreement with scholars such as Silverman that race is as culturally manifested as ethnicity is, I prefer to use the term ethnicity which encompasses more than outward appearance. I disagree that ethnicity is only voluntary. Part of this definition borrows from The New Oxford American Dictionary (Elizabeth J. Jewell and Frank R. Abate, editors, 2001) as cited by Morning; the exact wording is quoted.
33 Ruth W. Sandwell, personal communications with author; see discussion later in this Introduction about the complexity of defining rural populations with mixed economies. Also see Jacoby, Crimes Against Nature especially Chapter Three entitled “Working-Class Wilderness,” 48-78.
34 Terrie’s Contested Terrain, xvii claims the following states are smaller: Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 17 indicates the largest area of good farmland is in the east around the
employed in a number of resource-driven industries such as mining, lumbering, and tanning. The labour done by Adirondackers to survive there during the long nineteenth century was a mixture of farming (mostly subsistence), wage work, and sustainable hunting, fishing, and gathering including maple tree sap for syrup production. As these chapters show, much of the work performed by and the lifestyle of White Adirondackers were very similar to the Indigenous people. They were hard-working people surviving in a difficult terrain; though this history is not focused on them, they play an integral part and also deserve respect. Finally, the term “Native” became an issue in the writing of Chapter Three. The research demonstrates that both Aboriginal and Euroamerican Adirondackers became known as “Native,” especially “Native guides,” by outsiders. As a result I avoid the term “Native” in Chapter Three to identify Indigenous people to reduce confusion.

In addition to naming people, referring to place became tricky. First, as mentioned earlier in the discussion about population, the boundaries of the Adirondacks have changed over time, especially in terms of the park’s borders. Despite being the largest park in the continental U.S., there are a few communities outside of this socially constructed boundary that are, or have been associated with the area over time and for various reasons exist just outside the line. Places such as Saratoga Springs, Balston Spa, Glens Falls, and Queensbury are featured in Adirondack literature and regional museums, as are ‘jumping off’ communities such as Plattsburgh, Canton, Watertown, Booneville, and Utica. Indeed, the first chapter of Frank Graham’s political history of the Adirondacks begins with Saratoga Springs and its influence on the development of the Adirondacks. As a result, these cities are included as part of this history; the first three are more integral than the last five.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This dissertation contributes to multiple fields of history but there are several that are central. First, it contributes to the field of Natives and Newcomers contact and colonial history in the Northeast during the long nineteenth century, especially to the history of those Mohawk with connections to Akwesasne and Abenaki with connections to Odanak. It also contributes to the history of North American travel, especially “wilderness” tourism. Finally, this study contributes to Adirondack history, a sparsely

Champlain, Ausable, Saranac, and Hudson Valleys and some commercial farming did and still does occur there but it is dwindling. A few patches here and there around rivers and the periphery of the region have also been farmed commercially. Jenkins does not provide a percentage of land used for farming, maps demonstrate no more, and likely less, than 10%. Jenkins, *The Adirondack Atlas*, 86. Graham, Jr., *The Adirondack Park*, 3 starts “In 1837 the village of Saratoga Springs was becoming one of the most sophisticated resorts in America”. 
populated borderlands region of New York State just south of the provinces of Ontario and Québec in Canada.

Methodologically, this work is a social history that employs an ethnohistorical research framework to capture the history of (not-so-) ordinary people through a creative review of what constitutes the records and thus evidence. This study acknowledges that during the late eighteenth century the Adirondacks became, and still are, the colonized space of an Iroquoian homeland. With the exception of Chapter One, this dissertation is a history about the contact between the colonized and colonizer; one that explores their relationships over time through work and family entanglements. It uses as an analytical framework the notion that colonialism was, and still is, a context instead of a defining event and is continuing.\(^{37}\) As Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm argue, a history about contact that purports to reflect the nuances of Native agency must also acknowledge the colonial forces that confronted them.\(^{38}\) This does not mean that White settlers who moved into a region initiated or deliberately enacted colonizing processes. Larger political and monied forces had usually commenced and achieved this end already through various methods that forced Indian people off their homelands and then opened these involuntarily surrendered places up for settlement, often at a profit. This work acknowledges that settlers often unintentionally assisted in the process of colonialism by moving onto these grudgingly ceded lands and bringing with them their familiar practices; these practices frequently functioned to further alienate Indigenous people from their homeland and eventually pushed them into marginal spaces. It is important to recognize this process occurred and continues when one tells the history of any place in North America and the Adirondacks are no different. As Adele Perry argues:

> Settler colonialism works to obscure and render seemingly natural and seamless the work that it does, which is to reorganize Indigenous space as settler space. It can be hard to track, especially for settlers, and there is nothing accidental about this. Colonialism has never functioned in even or uncomplicated ways and different groups of non-Indigenous people and Indigenous people have had very different experiences of it. There are no villains or heroes here, and no real gains to be had in framing these discussions in terms of good or bad intentions. To discuss colonialism is to discuss a global structure within which people’s lives have played out, which has befitted some groups and damaged others....\(^{39}\)

Historical archaeologist Stephen W. Silliman explains “Colonialism, as an analytical framework, ushers in a consideration of social agents - indigene, colonist - negotiating new, shared social terrain forged in


sustained contact”. Another way of viewing this type of analysis is historian Jon Parmenter’s analytical framework for his *The Edge of the Woods*, one “of cross-cultural entanglement” which “facilitates an appreciation of history-as-lived for all parties in contact situations and illuminates how these contacts occurred in a context of incomplete colonisation”. In addition, I have lightly borrowed from other historical subdisciplines: environmental history in Chapter One, labour history in Chapter Four, and performance studies for Chapter Five.

**Historiography of Natives and Newcomers in the Northeast**

Originally a narrative of contact, conquest, and expansion, the North American historiography of Natives and Newcomers has become more nuanced over time and has incorporated other disciplines. Over the past thirty five years, the myth that Europeans settled on ‘virgin lands’ has been replaced by a narrative of invasion and displacement. For example, the construct of the frontier being settled by gritty European and later Euroamerican settlers has been replaced by the fact that Native people living in these spaces often taught settlers the skills they needed to survive there. The Canadian narrative has also changed; archaeologist and ethnohistorian Bruce Trigger debunks the myth that Native societies were fixed while European societies were progressive. He questions the marginalization of the role of First Nations in Canadian history and argues for one that demonstrates their significance in shaping it.

**Contact History in the Northeast**

The history of the Indigenous people of the northeastern U.S. and southeastern Canada have been well-studied in some respects; less so in others. For the purposes of this historiography the boundaries of the “Northeast” will focus on the Eastern Algonquian- and northern Iroquoian-speaking peoples with ties to the western St. Lawrence, Mohawk, and Hudson Rivers, as well as Lake Champlain and parts of southern and western New England.

Compilation histories of contact in the Northeast do exist and include Volume 15 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* and *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Northeast*. The former provides nation-by-nation historical, anthropological, and

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42 Frances Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976). Jennings focuses on the Pequot Wars (1630s) and King Philip’s War (1670s) which he refers to as the first and second Puritan conquest. Also see Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers*, 4-12.
43 Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, xi-xii.
44 See Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Handbook of the North American Indians: Northeast* Volume 15 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 70, 336. Northeastern-most regions such as Maine, New Hampshire, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have less to do with this dissertation and thus their historiography is not as well placed as southern New England, Vermont, New York, and southern Québec and southeastern Ontario.
archaeological accounts, while the latter is more regional and thematic. In addition to Trigger’s *Natives and Newcomers*, contact histories about First Nations include the seminal *The Fur Trade in Canada*, which incorporates eastern encounters in this economic history of Canada. In addition, specific histories about Aboriginal people from before contact to the end of the twentieth century in Canada, as well as eastern provincial histories of First Nations, add to the literature. There is quite a bit of history about Natives and Newcomers initial contact in New England, although most of the contact histories end before the nineteenth century. In New York State, a large body of scholarship features the Iroquois, a


smattering of work looks at Algonquian-speaking nations. As Daniel K. Richter’s *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* claims, the Iroquois have been among the most studied groups of Indigenous people in North America. Mahican or Mohican history has been less studied. Shirley W. Dunn has written or co-authored several books on their history, especially about their contact with the Dutch, along with James Oberly and David L. Silverman’s recently published works. Alan Taylor’s work incorporates Iroquoian...
and Algonquian-speaking peoples in his histories of New York State. Similar to New England histories, the time period for most New York State contact histories often pre-date the nineteenth century.

**Relevant Contact History Themes**

In addition to these broad approaches to studying contact history, more nuanced themes and arguments have emerged since Jennings penned his *Invasion of America*. Several of these are important to the study of Indigenous people in the Adirondacks. First, Richard White’s 1991 concept of the “middle ground” broke ground as he described a not-so-peaceful *pays d’en haut* north and south of the Great Lakes. White defined a middle ground as one where an uneasy peace existed because no one group was able to get the upper hand. They had to learn to live together by creating a complex “network of economic, political, cultural, and social ties to meet the demands of a particular historical situation”.

Historians and other scholars have been referring to this concept ever since; sometimes correctly, other times not. In 2006, *The William & Mary Quarterly* invited White to clarify his concept and other historians to comment on it. White’s article indicates his book was about a specific place and time that could be replicated but only under specific circumstances. Responses praised the sophistication of White’s concept as a process and an analytical tool, one where we see the broad theme of new cultural production by virtue of encounters, but, they also noted the concept’s weaknesses. The debate around application and interpretation will likely continue, but the influence of *The Middle Ground* in contact history provides an established framework to examine cultural entanglements in the early stages of contact.

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53 White, *The Middle Ground*, 33. This population was made up of a mixture of a number of Indian bands dominated by Algonquian speakers, French, British, and later Americans from the period of 1604 to 1812.

54 For example, Thomas Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749 – 1826* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Hallock uses the term often, but not in a way that reflects the power dynamic should be equal enough that one group cannot force their wishes on the other. A few have even borrowed from the term “middle ground” to create new concepts of place. For example, Kathleen DuVal uses the term the “native ground” to explain the complex area of the Arkansas River Valley during the colonial period in her *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 4.

55 Richard White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” *The William & Mary Quarterly*, 63:1 (2006), 9-14. White indicated that these circumstances included “a rough balance of power, mutual need or a desire for what the other possesses, and an inability by either side to commandeer enough force to compel the other to change. Force and violence are hardly foreign to the process of creating and maintaining a middle ground, but the critical element is mediation”.

56 For example, Philip J. Deloria’s “What is the Middle Ground, Anyway?” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63:1 (2006), 15-22 while praising the concept also voiced his concern the middle ground was an echo of frontier theory. Also see Heidi Bohaker, “Nindoodemag: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600 – 1701,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63:1 (2006): 23-52 pointed out that *The Middle Ground* failed to understand cultural patterns and kinship networks when White declared the Algonquian people there were refugees; Bohaker demonstrated the Anishnaabeg used their network and societal norms to create communities there.
Current contact history themes emphasize the intricacies of Native and Newcomer encounters, especially around themes of identity and authenticity. Some scholars have explained how Indigenous people came to be stereotyped. Others have emphasized early contact experiences and the need to get away from studying frontiers as sites of linear progress and destruction. They suggest we think of frontiers as multiple, often contested zones of interaction between diverse people that provided room to masquerade, manoeuvre, and take on new and mistaken identities. Lakota historian Philip Deloria developed this theme further by placing northern plains people within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modernity. He argues these interactions “suggest a secret history of the unexpected, of the complex lineaments of personal and cultural identity that can never be captured by dichotomies built around crude notions of difference and assimilation, white and Indian, primitive and advanced”. Canadian historian Paige Raibmon argues that authenticity is more than purity or timeless tradition; it is “a powerful and shifting set of ideas that worked in a variety of ways towards a variety of ends”. She warns that “authenticity has become one of the most powerful rhetorical devices in Aboriginal communities today” and suggests we use history to create awareness “of assumptions that structure our everyday lives and [be] mindful of their implications” especially as a category of analysis. In contrast, Mohawk scholar Taiaiaka Alfred argues that defining identity is another form of colonialism, especially those labels that define who has status and who does not, or who is indigenous and who is not. These themes of complex interactions, identity, and authenticity present themselves in the Adirondacks, including issues of mixed race, a theme which appears in the second chapter and continues into the fourth where the matter is discussed. Despite my misgivings as a non-Native person about addressing these issues, the sources spoke too loudly for me to ignore them.

57 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man’s Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 28 argues that since Columbus, Europeans and Euro-North Americans categorized Indian people as a homogenous group for the purpose of describing and analyzing them which downplayed Native diversity and created stereotypes. This classification resulted in the competing concepts of the noble savage (friendly and helpful) and the ignoble savage (war-like and vain) as well as the belief that the only authentic Indians were those before or just after contact. S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, CO and Oxford: Westview Press, Inc., 1996), 4, addressed the stereo-typing of Native people through popular culture. Bird suggests that once Indigenous people ceased to be a threat and were anticipated to disappear, popular culture froze them in time.

58 Cayton and Teute, *Contact Points*, v, 14-16. They described frontiers as zones of cultural interactions”. Also see Lightfoot and Martinez, “Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective”.


62 Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 108-09. Alfred suggests that neither blood quantum, nor self identification alone can resolve questions of indigenous identity; the breakdown of Indigenous communities has created questions about belonging.
A theme that is especially significant to Native history in the Northeast is the trope of the “vanishing Indian”; there are a number of reasons that explain this myth’s occurrence. Scholars have argued this concept was used to deny Indians a future in North America, help Euroamericans’ separate themselves from their British identity, and address issues of contested territory. Using the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, who often paired Native and non-Native characters, literary critic Thomas Hallock concludes that “any … lasting signs of being in between cultures get sanitized with the clear division between enemies or by a condescending sympathy for a vanishing race. Distancing a culture from its shared past, this explanation of ecological and social change mostly indulges Euroamerican guilt.” Other scholarship has argued that Native peoples’ adaptions to modern society were used to marginalize them from the records. “In the end, the migratory pattern and complexities of intermarriage left the impression that the native population was simply and inevitably melting away.” Lutz coins the phrase *enframement* which he describes as a process whereby indigenous people enter into a foreign cultural framework (i.e. capitalism) and over time their adjustment affects their original framework. Despite Euroamerican efforts to see the Native people in the East as vanishing, many Indigenous communities developed there, in and outside of reserve settings, and continue to exist in the present. As Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks concludes, “[b]eneath the illusion of disappearance lay the morbid truth of displacement. Dispossession is not destiny but rather a disjuncture.” In a similar manner, the history of Algonquian and Iroquoian people who worked and lived in the Adirondacks was seen as being that of a vanishing people. It was thought about in romantic terms and because of their efforts to adapt, their authenticity was questioned. Fortunately, photographs, material culture, artefacts, and travel literature have helped re-establish their history in the region.

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65 Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree*, 213.

66 O’Brien, “Divorced from the Land”, 329. O’Brien notes that strategies of adaption caused New England Algonquian men to take on dangerous and far away work, resulting in Algonquian women intermarrying with African Americans or, less often, Euroamericans. This practice made it difficult to track them and created the illusion Algonquian people in New England were vanishing.


68 Porter, ed., *Strategies for Survival*, xvi. Also see Margaret M. Bruchac, “Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery: Indigenous People In the Connecticut River Valley,” [PhD Diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2007] which is a case study focusing on an Abenaki family’s experience of historical erasure in New England. The family’s name changed and had various spellings including Shattoockquis, Sadochques, Msadoques, and Sadoques; this family also has ties to the Adirondacks.

The historiography of Natives and Newcomers in the Northeast influences this work by providing clues to identify which Indigenous nations called the Adirondacks their homeland and how they occupied this landscape. In addition, the contact history themes have provided a framework to approach the evidence as issues of contact, colonialism, frontier violence, and entanglements became apparent and more complex over time. As issues of identity and authenticity arose in the Northeast during the nineteenth century, I was able to juxtapose those issues with the theme of the ‘vanishing Indian’. This historiography helps explain the contradictions and complexity of the documentation, in all its nuanced forms, and why the history of Native people is so hidden in this place.

This dissertation thus fills a hole in a largely ignored space, that of Natives and Newcomers in the Northeast in general and more specifically the Adirondacks; both were a place that was occupied and used in a variety of ways by Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people. The only scholarly work that comes close is a recent dissertation by anthropologist Christopher A. Roy. Looking at Abenaki territory as a whole, Roy incorporates the Adirondacks into his study. Roy’s work has been incorporated into relevant arguments throughout this dissertation. My thesis also adds to our understanding of the histories of Akwesasne and Odanak, as the Adirondacks became an important economic region to these communities over time. Further, this study fills in gaps about Native people who lived and worked in the Northeast during the nineteenth century. Finally, it is a history about Indigenous and Euro-North American interactions during the long nineteenth century in the Northeast during a period when most such interactions had moved west. This history examines shared cultural habits during this period and identifies where some practices did, or may have, originated and became entangled. It also demonstrates the critical position of the tropes of vanishing and authenticity that were so prevalent in the Northeast; yet the telling of this history contradicts the accuracy of this rhetoric.

**Historiography of North American Wilderness Tourism**

**Study of Travel and Tourism**

The study of travel and tourism is relatively new to the historical field; anthropologists and sociologists have examined these areas for a longer period. As a result, theories generated by the latter disciplines have become important to this historiography. Probably the two most influential concepts for the field and this work are Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of “contact zones” and sociologist John Urry’s “tourist gaze”. Pratt defines contact zones as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and

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70 Christopher A. Roy, “Abenaki Sociality and the Work of Family History” [PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2012]. Marge Bruchac’s 2007 dissertation “Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery” also mentions the Adirondacks in her introduction because she grew up south of the area. However the focus of her thesis is on the paradigm of the “Vanishing Indian” in the Connecticut River Valley of southern New England.

grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination". Pratt complements the contact zone with other notions. The “Anti-conquest” or the “seeing-man” was a strategic attempt on the part of the European bourgeoisie to distance themselves from the overt violence of conquest, yet their claims to innocence were marred by their actions of possession and assertion of European domination. As these men explored inland, they conducted surveillance of people and landscape and described resources. Examining natural history texts between the period of 1750-1800, Pratt argues their writings allowed male European hegemony to expand globally in anti-conquest style. Pratt suggests the period from 1800 to 1850 was an era of reinventing colonial spaces and seeing them as opportunities for expansion. Pratt calls these travellers the “capitalist vanguard” as their writings reflected conquest and achievement, contained “the language of the civilizing mission,” and imagined the spaces as unoccupied and unclaimed. Pratt calls the perspective from which these texts were written as that of “Monarch-of-all-I-Survey,” a stance which was gendered male. These ‘discoveries’ became ‘real’ only after the European traveler had written about them.

The history of the Adirondacks suggests that Pratt’s arguments are applicable, even if the place is different and the date later. Many of the early writings about the Adirondacks reflect Pratt’s arguments. In 1749, Scandinavian natural historian Pehr or Peter Kalm traveled with guides and wrote about the plants, landscape, and people along Lake Champlain. Sixty-six years later, French naturalist, Jacques Gerard Milbert collected botanical specimens in New York State, including the Adirondacks; he illustrated and wrote about them in his *Itineraire Pittoresque du Fleuve Hudson et des Parties Laterales*. New York State conducted its first survey of the Adirondacks between 1836-1840; it was both a geological survey to assess resources and a scientific fact-finding mission. Employing at least one Indian and other non-Indigenous Adirondackers as guides to conduct this survey, its leader Ebenezer Emmons described and named many of the mountains and other landscape features. Kalm, Milbert, Emmons, and other local surveyors reflect the stance of the anti-conquest. Having read Emmons’ survey, urban tourists and the

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73 Ibid, 149. MOAIS writings consisted of descriptions from heights of ‘discoveries’ based on knowledge co-opted from the Indigenous people who endured hardships so the European traveler could experience their passive ‘seeing’.

74 Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America containing its Natural History, and a circumstantial account of its plantations and agriculture in general, with the civil, ecclesiastical and commercial state of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and several curious and important remarks on various subjects*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (London: The editor, 1770 - 71) 3 volumes, V II: 271-317 and V III: 1-40. Most of the Europeans living around Lake Champlain at the time were military personnel.


77 Ibid, 188, also see Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 13-14. See section on “Wilderness Tourism in the Adirondacks (c. 1839-1920)” in Chapter Three for tourist writing examples.
“capitalist vanguard” arrived to explore the area; they too wrote about their experiences using the perspective of the “Monarch-of-all-I-Survey”. Similar to the earlier explorers and writers, the capitalist vanguard sought out local people to guide them through the area. While wandering in and wondering at the region’s wildness and beauty, they also saw their efforts as a way to tame it, thereby creating a male-dominated and Euroamerican view of expansion there.\(^{78}\)

A final, useful concept Pratt provides to this dissertation is “transculturation,” which describes how indigenous people absorbed and used imperialists’ tools and concepts (for example writing) as phenomena of the contact zone. Pratt explains that Indigenous people often incorporated these colonizing tools and concepts through “autoethnography” or “autoethnographic” expression to engage with the colonizers to represent themselves.\(^{79}\) As further chapters reveal, Algonquian and Iroquoian people absorbed and used the tools and concepts of the dominant culture to represent themselves, sometimes in very creative ways.

Discussing more current travel and tourism experiences, Urry explains that tourists use their gaze to interpret or organize what they are seeing; while they use all five senses, sight is privileged. He argues there is no one, single tourist gaze; the gazes are contextualized by social and historical periods and “are constructed through difference”. Urry suggests that a search for authenticity is not a key feature of tourism, although it can be a component.\(^{80}\) He provides two complementary concepts that are useful for this study: the “romantic gaze” which emphasizes undisturbed natural beauty and the “collective gaze” which requires a number of people to provide atmosphere (such as Mardi Gras). The more the former proselytizes about the value of their type of gaze, the more they undermine it.\(^{81}\) Wilderness tourism in general and the Adirondacks in particular demonstrate many of Urry’s gazes. Typically urban tourists gazed at Native and Euroamerican Adirondackers in a rural, wildlands setting that was very different from their urban home and workplace. They made judgements that implied the latter lived in a more authentic - albeit simple and less progressive - way. For wilderness tourists, authenticity was an important component as they attempted to use their experiences to cure the frailties their modern life and work were creating. The sport tourists romanticized about the wildness as resorts were built around sites such as Saratoga Springs and Lake George; these became entertainment venues that attracted large numbers of


\(^{80}\) John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd Edition (1990; London: Sage Publications, 2002), 1, 12, Urry argues that the objective of the tourist gaze is to create a change from the everyday, including going to unusual places that separate one from home and work.

\(^{81}\) *Ibid*, 12, 149-51.
people. Ultimately though, those seeking the wilderness experience became disappointed as these sites became commercialized, a process to which they had contributed.

**North American Tourism**

North America did not have the infrastructure to accommodate domestic touring until after 1820, when better transportation helped to make travel easier, faster, and more comfortable. Improved transportation systems stimulated travel and commercial development, which helped the middle class grow and prosper and created potential tourists. Domestic travel in North America began with the “fashionable tour”; the canal and river boat rides became as much a part of the experience as the destinations themselves. Initially Americans felt their domestic tourist sites were inadequate when compared to the ruins of Europe, which were places that gave them a familiar sense of time. Eventually, the North American landscape replaced European ruins and cathedrals to compensate for Euro-North Americans’ short time on the continent. Soon such scenery became attractions; for example, Niagara Falls became North America’s quintessential icon of sublime landscape. As John Sears argues, tourist attractions “stand apart from ordinary reality because they significantly replicated the function of sacred space in archaic societies”. Sears suggests that American tourism helped to create an American cultural identity. He explains that as the cost of travel decreased and the metropolitan population increased, urban professionals such as bureaucrats, ministers, and teachers started traveling. By 1885, touring had become more commercial; it replaced the original romantic and religious motivations for travel that existed during

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85 Mulvey, Anglo-American Landscapes, 59, 195. Early Euroamericans did not believe they possessed ruins since they did not recognize Native American ones as legitimate.
86 Sears, Sacred Places, 13, Sears studied American tourist attractions from 1825 to 1885; also see Mulvey, Anglo-American Landscapes, 195; Patricia Jasen, Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790 - 1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 4. Early travelers expected the falls to provide them “with an intense emotional and religious experience”. Sears, Sacred Places, 6.
the first part of the century. This commercialization was assisted by travelers who kept diaries and wrote letters about their experiences which, in turn, many published.

Being a tourist in the nineteenth century meant “being in a state of mind in which the imagination plays a key role”; it also included a “‘romantic sensibility’ to the culture, economics, and politics of the tourist industry”. Sometimes this effort involved manipulation on the part of institutions and governments to meet tourist’s expectations, often unbeknownst to the visitor. At sites in Great Britain, such as Shakespeare’s Stratford-Upon-Avon, the original invention or manipulation of places and people were nostalgic in nature and this practice carried over into North America. Dona Brown describes nostalgic touring during the period of 1870-1900 in New England as being motivated by “a mixed bag of unexamined impulses and emotions”. She suggests that communities lose control at least temporarily when they hold themselves out to be a tourist destination. In nostalgic touring, history and culture became tied to the region’s industry and local people often became part of the experience. These acts of manipulation continued into the twentieth century and likely will into the twenty-first in both the U.S. and Canada. For example, the landscape and people were manipulated for the benefit of tourism in the building of the Blue Ridge Mountain Parkway from the 1930s as a New Deal project to the 1980s. Through case studies, Anne Mitchell Whisnant demonstrates how the National Park Service changed the landscape around the highway and its history, as well as who benefited from the route the highway took. Similarly in Canada, Nova Scotia’s rural population was manipulated in order to construct the region as Scottish and bucolic to provide “therapeutic space” for anti-modernists, turning local people into the “simple folk” as part of the tourist attraction. A number of American and Canadian scholars have written about the manipulation of parks as nationalistic space. As Grace Elizabeth Hale argues, “Parks

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87 Ibid, 10.
89 Mulvey, Anglo-American Landscape, 75.
92 Ibid, 134. Also see Karen Dubinsky, The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999), 61 about the Tuscarora selling handiwork becoming part of the attraction.
literally marked the ground as important, as the move to towns and cities detached many from the land as both a site of work and a more localized identity".  

Native people also played a significant role in the manoeuvrings of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries tourist industry. Indeed, their participation in tourism during this period was subjected to special scrutiny. During the late nineteenth century, Aboriginal people were deluged by Euro-North Americans intent on settling their territories, as well as by tourists and anthropologists, a process that was marked by notions of a vanishing people and the desire to find authentic Indians. Such efforts on the part of Europeans were documented in many forms. Raibmon uses the examples of a late nineteenth century dance performance at the Chicago World’s Fair by the Kwakwā̕k̓a̱wakw and the ways in which hop field labourers became tourist attractions to demonstrate the shifting nature of authenticity. Art historian Ruth B. Philips saw this trend in her study of souvenir art. She argues Native North American art wares became a popular collectible for Victorians because they saw collecting as a way to memorialize what they thought was a vanishing culture. Michelle Hamilton makes a similar conclusion about Aboriginal artefacts and their collectors, as does Canadian historian Carol Williams about nineteenth century northwest Pacific coast photography. Ironically, these photographs, collectibles, and artefacts help to challenge Indigenous peoples’ absence in textual sources. Using pre-and post-1920 post cards of Native Americans from the Great Lakes, Patricia Albers and William James point to changes in the images of Native peoples as the Plains Indians became the stereotypes for urban Americans and Europeans. Indigenous people from Minnesota and Wisconsin used these images for economic purpose; they borrowed symbolic objects from the Plains people and blended them into their own material culture to make a living. This blending demonstrated that tourism created certain images, but it did not control them. As Deloria states “When inclusion met antimodern primitivism, putting on a headdress created a little bit of room to manoeuvre. … Attuned to the ethos of tricksters, Indian people shapeshifted from suits to headaddresses to buckskins and back as suited their needs”. A long standing cultural practice,

97 A few examples in the East include Anne Whisnant, *Supersonic Motorway,* 10 which discusses the manipulation of the Cherokee and ‘back-woods’ folk in the building of the parkway; Jasen, *Wild Things,* 61, 70 for discussion about the Mohawk at Akwesasne; and Dubinsky’s  *Second Greatest Disappointment,* 61 discusses the Tuscarora around Niagara Falls.
98 Raibmon, *Authentic Indians,* 15-73, and 74-134.
101 Patricia C. Albers, and William R. James, “Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 123-48, 123, 143-44. Albers and James argue that the relationship between tourism, photography, and images of Native people was a complex and inconsistent mixture of fantasy and fetish, which hides the real lives of Native people and exchanges them for a relic to attract tourists.
shape shifting was used by Native people during the nineteenth century as a strategy to deal with the new economic roles available to them instead of assimilating. As Chapter Four details, when Pete St. Francis became a chef, he did not become any less St. Regis Mohawk; he was both. All of these phenomena existed in the Adirondacks. Its landscape was considered an attraction that spoke to romantic imagery of the day. The region, often ignored by the state, was manipulated locally to encourage tourism (and other industries) that included Native and non-Native local people in their imagined everyday lives as well as performers. When necessary, Algonquian and Iroquoian people shape-shifted their identity to make a living and to lead peaceful lives.

**Historiography of the Adirondacks**

**Local Histories**

Many of the primary resources I used for this dissertation included local histories. Jean M. O’Brien’s *Firsting and Lasting* examines local histories to understand how New Englanders determined that Algonquian people whose territory they were living on were gone. O’Brien argues that these local texts took up the “larger national narrative of the “vanishing Indian” as a generalized trope” and by doing so their collective stories reinforced and even manifested the myth.103 The writers were typically middle-class men who participated in the historical society movement and shared their work with each other.104 These local history writers reinforced Euroamerican modernity while keeping Indian people in the past; they also served to divest Algonquian nations from their land. “Romanticized constructions of generalized Indians doomed to disappear were one thing; it was quite another thing to contemplate the “extinction” of Indian peoples who might instead have been your very neighbors.”105 O’Brien uses the terms *Firsting*, *Replacing*, *Lasting*, and *Resisting* to explore the ways in which local chronicles erased the history of Algonquian people in New England. She suggests that these local accounts used stories of “first” White American experiences to put the Algonquian people in a position “prefatory” to Euroamerican history. New Englanders then placed monuments, collected relics, and performed local and national ceremonies to “replace” Algonquian peoples from the landscape. White New Englanders than documented what O’Brien calls “the “last of the [blank] syndrome” to write Algonquian people out of the community and history. Despite this, these local narratives recorded Algonquian “resistance” to this process.106 However, overall, references to Native people helped to create a New England that asserted its unique Americanness

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104 Ibid, xxvii.
106 Ibid, xxiii-xxiv, xxiv.
by including Indians and their colonial experience as “the “glorious triumph” of colonialism [one that] was the central narrative in nineteenth-century New England”. 107

The local histories of the Adirondacks follow this same format and process. Yet, as O’Brien mentions, historians today can find useful information in these texts because they had to include the Indians in the beginning to demonstrate the community had broken from its Indigenous past. 108 Similarly, the Adirondack local histories of counties and some towns often provided a first chapter about the early Aboriginal inhabitants. Many never mentioned Native people again, while others did, often depicting them as an anomaly. Hamilton County’s history is an exception, perhaps because their earliest settler was Algonquian, Sabaël Benedict and members of his family remained in the area. 109 It was also published in 1965, later than most local histories; according to O’Brien, most of the New England texts were written between 1820-1880. 110 Probably due to the much later settlement of the region, most local Adirondack histories were written around 1850-1880. Despite their following a pre-existing and formulaic colonizing narrative, the local histories provided me with some of my first clues. For that I am grateful to these writers.

The first regional history appears to have been Historical Sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness written by Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester as early as 1877. Historical Sketches begins with a chapter about the landscape; the second chapter describes his understanding of the “Ho-de-no-sau-nee-ga” as the former territory owners and, in particular, the Mohawk and the Oneida. He claims the Oneida’s territorial boundary ran from Waddington on the St. Lawrence River to Utica on the Mohawk. 111 Sylvester’s book also has short chapters on topics that range from geology to early European exploration, and important people and places. He includes a chapter on a Mohawk legend about a large outcrop called Diamond Rock after the quartz crystals in it. While outside the Adirondack region, the legend of “Mo-ne-ta’s tears” was told to him and his travel party during the summer of 1858 by a Mohawk who lived in a wigwam on Raquette Lake; unfortunately, Sylvester never names the man and referred to him as “an old Indian”. 112 Sylvester also devotes a chapter on the murder of St. Regis Mohawk, Peter “Drid” Waters near Old Forge. In addition, he refers to the Indian “summer village” at

108 Ibid.
110 O’Brien, Firsting and Lasting, xv
112 Ibid, 206-20. The outcrop is located just north of Lansingburgh north of Troy. In a footnote, Sylvester names everyone in his party but the Mohawk man, including his party’s guides and those famous individuals who were staying at the philosopher’s camp on the Saranac in August of 1858. It was the “Old Indian” who told Sylvester he was Mohawk and referred to the Mohawk Valley instead of St. Regis (Akwesasne) which was more typical in the nineteenth century.
North Elba and the village at the Indian Carry.\textsuperscript{113} Sylvester rarely cited his sources and he was not always precise; however, he occasionally referred to maps, travel writings, diaries, and court documents.

The first formal history of the Adirondacks, \textit{A History of the Adirondacks}, was compiled by Alfred A. Donaldson (1866-1923) and published in 1921. According to the biographical sketch written by Saranac Lake Village historian, John J. Duquette, Donaldson was a New York City musician- turned-banker who contracted tuberculosis; he traveled to Saranac Lake to seek a cure with Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau. Donaldson stayed in the region after his recovery; however, a relapse provided him with the opportunity to start his history which he obtained through text, correspondence, and interviews over a ten year period.\textsuperscript{114} While inaccuracies exist, Donaldson sometimes made attempts to double check his information. The two volumes contain short chapters about places, well-known people including locals and visitors, occupations, relevant legislation, and transportation. He addresses Indian occupation in Chapter VI; Champlain’s “discovery” comes second after a general explanatory introduction.\textsuperscript{115} Donaldson also includes a chapter on the Abenaki guide, Mitchel Sabattis, who is a central figure in this study, and occasionally refers to other Native individuals who are usually identified as ‘an Indian’, or as a member of the St. Regis or St. Francis tribe. He also recounts a few stories, such as the use of an Indian guide to find the iron mine at Tahawus.\textsuperscript{116}

Donaldson’s work was also preceded by many local histories of counties and towns. These sources were of great interest to this work as they often provided the only information about early Native settlements (usually, and perhaps all, seasonal), artefacts, and occasionally individuals and families. One of the earliest of these was a text by Alfred Street (1811-1881) who wrote several books about his travels through the Adirondacks, including his 1869 \textit{The Indian Pass}. The book is a combination of travel narrative and natural history of Essex County, as Street toured the area describing the landscape in both sublime and picturesque terms. He refers to Native people from time to time, including a legend about the pass, the Indian settlement at North Elba, and Mitchel Sabattis. He concludes, as do most of the local histories, that the nearby Indigenous people never lived permanently in the Adirondacks and only used the

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid}, 177-82, 135-36. The murder will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Sylvester identifies the North Elba village as an “Adirondack” (Algonquian ?) village; however, it is usually identified as Iroquoian. He does not identify the inhabitants of the village at the Indian Carry, only that evidence of them remained. He alludes to a British map identifying the villages but offers no cite; I could not locate such a map. In addition, it appears he (and others after him) transfer the tale of Rogers’ Raid on Odanak for the demise of the North Elba village.

\textsuperscript{114} John J. Duquette, Introduction in \textit{A History of the Adirondacks}, vii-xi. With help from his father, Donaldson opened the Adirondack National Bank and later a savings and loan. He died two years after his history’s publication.

\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Ibid}, V, 1, 21-28. The following chapter is entitled “Indian Legends” (29-33). Chapters 3, 4, and 5 address the nearly two hundred year period of no European penetration, Tryon and Charlotte Counties, and William Gilliland, an early pioneer to today’s Essex and Clinton Counties.

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Ibid}, V II, 81-87 for chapter on Sabattis, VI, 138 for “The Indian, a brave of the St. Francis tribe” was probably Louis Elijah Benedict who will be introduced in Chapter Two along with this event. Tahawus has also been called Adirondac and McIntyre.
region sporadically for hunting and fishing. Other works that are more typical are the direct histories of counties and towns. They are important primary documents in this dissertation; they will be cited throughout and are listed in the bibliography and thus are not discussed here.

Local and regional histories were, and still are, told in other forms such as in gazetteers, newspaper articles and series, as well as popular histories. For example the Gazetteer of the State of New York published in 1836 provided a colonial history of St. Lawrence County. Newspapers often ran columns about local history; The Saratogan ran a column entitled “Chronicles of Saratoga Springs” which eventually became a book. Sometimes just an article sufficed; an 1890 New York Times article entitled “The North Woods of Old” provided a description of the Adirondacks from pre-glacial, glacial, and pre-contact times. It addressed Aboriginal presence similar to the way it did the beaver and moose—all were allegedly gone from the Adirondack landscape by the time the article was written. An especially useful modern-day text is The Adirondack Atlas published by Jerry Jenkins with Andy Keal. While the atlas emphasizes the natural history of the region it also provides historical commentary including a few pages about Native people. Sometimes histories were more specialized and focused on specific topics. Jeptha R. Simms’ Trappers of New York (1850) was meant to memorialize what it was like to be a hunter and trapper in the Adirondacks at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Many popular histories have been written about the Adirondacks and include regional industries such as lumbering and tanning, biographies of interesting local people, and transportation.

117 Alfred B. Street, The Indian Pass (New York: Kurd and Houghton, Publishers, 1869) accessed 4 May 2012 http://archive.org/stream/indianpass00strerich#page/n5/mode/2up. Street studied law but was a published poet, author of a number of books, and New York State librarian. Sabattis will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.
118 Thomas Francis Gordon, Gazetteer of the State of New York, Comprehending its Colonial History (Philadelphia: printed for the author, 1836) 813 pages mentions Native people knowing where lead mines were.
119 Evelyn Barrett Britten, Chronicles of Saratoga Springs (Saratoga Springs, NY: published privately by Evelyn Barrett Britten, 1959). The column was originally published by the same author under the name Jean McGregor in the 1930s and 1940s. When she married she changed her name.
Recent Scholarship on the Adirondacks

Recent historical scholarship about the Adirondacks revolves around the region being an unusual public- and private-propertied New York State park. Themes such as wilderness, conservation, and preservation, along with the conflicts they created, fill the literature. In 1978, Frank Graham, Jr. published his perspective of a political and social history of the Adirondack Park. He examines the many factors that led to the creation of the park including fires, floods, industrialists, and tourists. Published in 1985, American Studies scholar Philip Terrie’s first of two books about the Adirondacks explores “how people have responded to the idea of wilderness in the Adirondacks”. In the spirit of a microhistory, Terrie argues the region was representative of the nation’s attitude about wilderness. Terrie followed up seven years later with his Contested Terrain which uses social, cultural, economic, and environmental themes to explain why the history and land have been debated and disputed. He incorporates the voices of the local people living and working there alongside the environmentalists and outside visitors to weave a complicated narrative about place. Paul Schneider’s The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness also looks at the theme of wilderness and Adirondack history from contact through 1997. Schneider suggests that the park – despite its flaws – could be a useful model “for the sustainable development of the world” where both people and nature can co-exist. Jeffrey Horrell viewed environmental issues here through the lens of photographer Seneca Ray Stoddard (1843-1917). Horrell examines how Stoddard’s text and images (both sketches and especially photography) influenced and “reflected the changing perceptions of wilderness in the Adirondacks of the nineteenth century”. While Horrell could have contemplated Stoddard’s role a bit more critically, he does demonstrate the importance of Stoddard in wilderness tourism and conservation lawmaking during this period. Karl Jacoby’s chapters about the Adirondacks explore how conservation laws of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries redefined legal use of the land and affected the lives of rural people; he also includes their resistance to the legislation. Among other things, Jacoby argues that conservationists need to understand that their often distant and urban lawmaking and its application seriously affect rural people trying to survive in harsh but environmentally sensitive areas.

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124 Graham, Jr., The Adirondack Park: A Political History. He also discusses nineteenth century ideas about environment and some climate issues.
126 Ibid, 4, 7-9.
128 Schneider, The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness, 8. The book is both chronologically and thematically divided, focusing on specific themes and juxtaposing them with modern-day equivalents.
129 Jeffrey L. Horrell, Seneca Ray Stoddard: Transforming the Adirondack Wilderness in Text and Image (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), xi.
130 Ibid, 141-42.
131 Jacoby, Crimes Against Nature, 1. Jacoby also explored the parks at Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon.
132 Ibid, 5-6.
So far as the creation of the Adirondack Park and this work are concerned, neither the park nor the legislation around it had any more adverse effect on Iroquoian and Algonquian people than it did on the local, rural population. Unlike other examples of conservation and park creation in both the U.S. and Canada, Native people were not run off or limited in their ability to hunt and fish there any more than their Euroamerican neighbours.  

Whether legal or not, much of the land in the Adirondacks was sold prior to the American Revolution in several transactions, transfer of the rest were negotiated by New York State and various representatives of the Six and the Seven Nations. Probably the first sale, and one that the Mohawk contested, was the Kayaderosseras Patent (1703-1708) which included Saratoga and some of the southeastern portion of the Adirondacks. The Mohawk understood the request for land to be enough for a few farms. When they discovered it was allegedly for 700,000 acres they complained to Sir William Johnson who assisted them in reducing the land grant to 23,000 acres in the 1760s for $5,000.  

Before the Seven Years War, French investors attempted to create seigneuries along Lake Champlain and Lac du Saint Sacrement (now Lake George); however, no genuine attempts to settle these seigneuries were made. These lands were ceded to the English after the Seven Years War. Shortly before the American Revolution Irish immigrant William Gilliland attempted to create a baronial manor with tenants out of the old Roberts seigneury within Essex County; he purchased his tract in 1764 from at least two individuals who already held title to the land through Royal patents. By this period the Crown had determined all land sales from Native people had to go through the King. It is unknown if the Crown paid the Mohawk for this land.  

Better known and more enduring in Adirondack history is the Totten and Crossfield Purchase.  

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135 Winslow C. Watson, *Pioneer history of the Champlain Valley: being an account of the settlement of the town of Willsborough by William Gilliland, together with his journal and other papers: and a memoir, and historical and illustrative notes* (J. Munsell, 1863), 23-85. The seigneuries of Sieur Robert in 1737 covered today’s towns of Willsboro and Essex, Sieur Pearn encompassed
Fronted by New York City shipwrights Joseph Totten and Stephen Crossfield, this purchase was the scheme of up to thirty investors. These speculators petitioned for a land grant of an estimated 800,000 acres by way of an application dated 10 April, 1771; in reality the land grant was 1,150,00 acres. The deal was brokered by Sir William Johnson; four Mohawk men agreed to sell the land and claimed they were doing so in the name of the Mohawk nation. The agreement acknowledged the Mohawk were the land’s “proprietors”. The “Indian Grant to Totten and Crossfield” dated 15 July 1772 was ceremoniously transacted at Johnson Hall; the document lists the Mohawk representatives as “Hendrick alias Tayahansara, Lourance alias Agguragies, Hans alias Canadajaure, and Hans Krine alias Onagoodhoge, Native Indians of the Mohock Castle…. The property as described in the land grant was sold for $6,000 to the Mohawk and over $40,000 was paid to the Crown for land they did not own. As well, the King did not issue the Letters of Patent for this purchase.

The rest of the lands in the Adirondacks were ceded after the American Revolution; the region was under the control of the new United States, particularly the state of New York, by the turn of the nineteenth century. The 1783 Treaty of Paris between the Americans and the English ending the Revolutionary War established a border that gave sovereignty of all lands to the north of the negotiated boundary to Great Britain and lands in the south to the Americans. England had betrayed their Iroquois (and other Native) allies during these negotiations by omitting them; the Americans refused to consider them. New York considered the Mohawk’s territory along the Mohawk River abandoned; the state
considered the lands of Iroquoia and those Iroquois remaining within their homeland to now be within the boundaries of New York State. The new U.S. federal government met with representatives of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, (present-day Rome) where they treated the Haudenosaunee as conquered people. American representatives took six Iroquois chiefs hostage purportedly to ensure the return of captives and runaway slaves and they demanded land cessions. Negotiating from a position of weakness and divided, the Iroquois negotiators dealt with issues from the War that were codified under the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Grand Council of sachems who had the real authority to decide land issues subsequently rejected the treaty but the damage was done.

Separate from the federal government discussions, the state of New York settled land issues with the Mohawk through a series of continuing negotiations with war or Pine Tree Chiefs, Joseph Brant and John Deseronto. Brant did most of the negotiating for the Mohawk; he failed to consider their hunting territory when he settled the matter, a failure he later came to regret. This territory would have included the Adirondacks. These negotiations ended 29 March 1797 at Albany with the signing of the “Treaty with the Mohawk, 1797”. Complicating these negotiations were declarations by the Caughnawaga, or Kahnawake (the latter will be used from this point unless Caughnawaga is used in a direct quote), and other members of the Seven Nations of Canada, who were also making claims on parts of the Adirondacks. The Kahnawake and the state of New York, which denied the Kahnawake claim, met several times and settled the matter on 31 May 1796 for a lump payment and an annuity. The Oneida
sold the rest of their land in the Adirondacks under the Treaty of Fort Schuyler in 1788; the treaty allowed them to continue to fish and hunt in their old territory.\textsuperscript{144} I did not find any records to indicate there was ever an issue about this section of the treaty; it was the continued efforts by the state to whittle the Oneida’s remaining territory that forced many to leave the area. Encroachment by Euroamerican and immigrant settlers was the reason Iroquoian and Algonquian people lost their ability to work in and occupy the Adirondacks long before conservation laws surfaced.\textsuperscript{145} Neal Ferris has dubbed this experience as “‘creeping colonialisms’”.\textsuperscript{146} Kevin Bruyneel describes this practice as “the imposition of … spatial and temporal boundaries,” one where settler societies began to control the space and work towards enforcing their socio-economic-and political colonial rules, thereby erasing the history of Indigenous people on the landscape.\textsuperscript{147} Since Jacoby’s \textit{ Crimes Against Nature} thoroughly researched the topic of rural peoples in conflict with conservation movements’ research which includes the Adirondacks, and my research found nothing more to add to Jacoby’s definitive work on this topic, the creation of the Adirondack Park and the conservation laws that affected the region are considered outside the scope of this dissertation and are not examined.

The borderlands nature of the Adirondacks is demonstrated by Steven B. Sulavik’s exploration of the name “Adirondack,” both the Indian people who were called that and how the region came to be known by this name. Examining colonial texts and numerous maps Sulavik created “a unique Adirondack carto-bibliography”.\textsuperscript{148} Sulavik argues that the Algonquin nation of the lower Ottawa Valley, known as the Ouescharini (alternatively Weskarini) or the Petite Nation as the French had called them, were the original Adirondack nation. The name was later applied to all of the Algonquin nations around the Ottawa as interpreter. The Seven Nations claimed their territory went as far south as “a creek or run of water between Fort Edward and George, which empties into South Bay, and from thence extending on a direct line to a large meadow or swamp where the Canada Creek, which empties into the Mohawk opposite Fort Endrick, the Black and Oswegatchee Rivers have their sources,” (147). The Kanhawake eventually blamed Brant who took offense at the implications he and his fellow delegates had fraudulently given away the Seven Nations territory and claimed he had met with them before their agreement was made.\textsuperscript{144} William M. Beauchamp Papers, Box 27, Coll. #SC 17369, folder 3 “Stockbridge Indians.” (New York State Library – Manuscripts & Special Collections, Albany, NY). reviewed 11 August, 2009. Vine Deloria, Jr. and Raymond J. DeMaille, \textit{ Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979} (Legal History of North America) 2 volume set (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1999), 97-100. Also see Campisi and Hauptman, eds., \textit{The Oneida Indian Experience}, 51-54 which describes how the state of New York used coercion and trickery to obtain Oneida land that the Oneida thought they were leasing to the state. Interestingly the state used a lease they declared illegal between the Oneida and speculators of a company called the New York Genesee Company to deny the Kanhawake their claim to some of the same territory.\textsuperscript{145} See Chapters One and Two for a detailed discussion of the ramifications of settlement.

\textsuperscript{146}\textit{ Ferris, The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism}, 170-71.


Valley and to the French and their allies.\textsuperscript{149} Sulavik clearly demonstrates that the Adirondacks were, and still are, a borderland and later a bordered land region.\textsuperscript{150} In 1999 Jeremy Adleman and Stephen Aron’s “Borderlands to Borders” sought to disentangle the spaces known as borderlands and frontiers. They defined the term \textit{frontier} and \textit{borderlands} as:

\begin{quote}
a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined. Consistent with recent studies of frontiers as \textit{borderless} lands, we stress how intercultural relations produced mixing and accommodation as opposed to unambiguous triumph. … Accordingly, we reserve the designation of borderlands for the contested boundaries between colonial domains.\textsuperscript{151}
\end{quote}

Adelman and Aron use these terms and conditions to study Indigenous peoples’ reactions to contact: their ability to exploit the different European powers to resist submission and “to negotiate intercultural relations on terms more to their liking”.\textsuperscript{152} They argue that “the conflicts over borderlands shaped the peculiar and contingent character of frontier relations” and that once borders were established by treaty they reduced peoples’ political independence.\textsuperscript{153} Once the framework of imperial competition gave way to

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Ibid}, 51. Western Abenaki Storyteller Joseph Bruchac III has offered another argument based on a legend by Henry Lorne Masta in his \textit{Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar and Place Names}, (Victoriaville, PQ.: LaVoix des Bois, 1932 – reprinted Toronto: Global Language Press, 2008), 41 whereby the Abenaki were the peoples called Adirondack by the Mohawk in a skirmish around the narrow point of Middle Saranac near Saranac Lake, NY, see page 42 for this reference.


\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Ibid}, 816.

\textsuperscript{153} \textit{Ibid}. 

respect for bordered territories, the emphasis shifted to economic competition. “This shift from inter-imperial struggle to international coexistence turned borderlands into bordered lands”. 154

Similar to the idea of the middle ground, the concepts of frontier and borderlands have gone through scrutiny. As Juliana Barr cautions in her “Geographies of Power” we need to remember these frameworks often focus on the nation state(s) and forget, or at least gloss over, that these territories were Indian peoples’ homelands.155 However, they are still important and solid tenets when studying the history of Native people in spaces that cross borders and levels of control. Further, the term “borderlands” has become more flexible. Studying the U.S.-Canadian border, the essays in Lines Drawn Upon the Water, a study of the Great Lakes area, demonstrate that the border has divided communities and families both geographically and culturally with perceived differences.156 The volume warns historians to consider boundaries both physical and metaphorical when writing Indigenous peoples’ history, to study border regions less as a barrier and instead look at them as a “crucible where conflicting currents of identity, history, and culture shape local and national communities”.157

Physically the Adirondacks manifest Adelman’s and Aron’s arguments, yet the region is also difficult to categorize after the Revolutionary War. Before contact they were a frontier as Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples used, fought for, and negotiated their use. Once contact was made with Europeans, the area became a borderlands, as imperial powers fought over boundaries and Native peoples played these powers off one another for their own benefit. But between the American Revolution and 1815 the region was no longer a borderlands, yet it did not really fit the definition of bordered lands until the 1830s. Perhaps this period of limbo in the Adirondacks can best be described as frontier bordered lands as the space awaited New York State to enforce its sovereignty there.

Metaphysically the region, similar to others, is problematic and conflicted. Karen Flynn argues in Moving Beyond Borders that historical actors develop complicated, multiple, and layered identities, especially those who face limited opportunities at home based on ethnicity, class, and gender and who therefore choose to migrate for economic purposes.158 The Aboriginal historical actors in the Adirondacks, especially those that crossed the border between the U.S. and Canada for economic reasons, were no different. Their identities included: Algonquian-speaking, Iroquoian-speaking, female, male,

154 Ibid.
157 Ibid, xxiii
Francophone, Anglophone, Catholic, Protestant, traditional, hunters, basketmakers, bead workers, guides, farmers, performers, entrepreneurs, wage earners, American, Canadian, attached to reserve communities, not attached to reserve communities, mixed ethnicity, full ethnicity, blended families, full-time residents, part-time residents, and visitors. No two families had the same experience because of this layering of identities but they shared a home, no matter how long, in the Adirondacks. A home that remained a place where older patterns of seasonal use continued.

METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, this work employed Ethnohistory as its foundation: it is a social history that focuses on Native people in the Adirondacks. Ethnohistorical research is interdisciplinary and employs a range of sources to locate people who are often overlooked in most historical texts. John R. Wunder argues that it is essential to employ an interdisciplinary, ethnohistorical approach to properly study contact history. Ethnohistory attempts to tell the story of people who left little or no written records. Starting out as a mix of anthropology, ethnography, and history, ethnohistorical methodology has expanded to include other disciplines, most notably archaeology, linguistics, geography, and literary criticism. My interdisciplinary approach included the traditional three and borrows a little from archaeology and geography. Deloria suggests there are four, often overlapping “periodizations” to describe North American Indigenous peoples’ history and that ethnohistory, with its interdisciplinary nature, was a natural result of the third periodization of Modernist History. While discussing the dichotomy of Native American historians relying on oral history and traditional Euro-North American historians relying on documents, Deloria argues for a “self-conscious collision, the politics and epistemology of purity and difference clashing with the politics and epistemology of ambiguity and fluidity”. Canadian historian Keith Thor Carlson points out that while ethnohistory explores Native peoples’ history within the stories of Newcomers, we also need to consider “the saga of newcomers in multiple Aboriginal histories”. He goes on to explain that this effort “requires the construction of new chronologies and interpretive frameworks that go beyond the story of Aboriginal people in … history; stories that are sensitive to, but not necessarily centred upon, the role and place of colonialism within Aboriginal history”.

Considering this advice and that of others, I traveled to nearly two dozen local and state archives to examine multiple text records and other types of sources. I reviewed early local histories and maps, had conversations with experts on Iroquoian and Abenaki history, and examined and documented artefacts and material culture located at museums and a number of local collections to find clues so this dissertation could explore Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples’ relationship to the Adirondacks. I have tried to imagine the relationship over time. It starts with pre- and very early contact, the latter included because it offered some of the earliest textual information that provides clues to the pre-colonial era. The relationship then moves into the colonial era and post-American Revolutionary War contact between Natives and Newcomers as they struggled with each other in a landscape still largely unsettled by Euroamericans. As this thesis turned to focus on wilderness tourism, it layered travel narratives, advertisements, pamphlets, souvenirs, and photographs into the sources. The ample Camp family records located at the Indian Lake Museum were a gold mine of information that stretched across the wilderness tourism chapters. Discussions with local historians, amateur historians, and several family members of Native Adirondackers teased out this history. This is not a narrative about colonization as an event, although it is present as context. Instead, this is a history that looks at the reasons why Algonquian and Iroquoian people came and sometimes stayed in the region; it examines their relationship with the land and later their rural, Euroamerican neighbours, as well as affluent tourists.

As the records began to reveal their story it became apparent that this work was a microhistory; one that uses the local to help us understand larger themes. Rural historian Ruth Sandwell argues it is in the day-to-day practices “that people make “innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules” “… Sandwell continues that “[i]t is only at the level of microhistorical research that these practices, and the strategies they contain, become visible.” As Sigurdur Magnusson concludes, when the microhistorian reduces their “scale of observation … they are more likely to reveal the complicated function of individual relationships within each and every social setting and [thus] … stressed its difference from larger norms”. Lutz describes a microhistory as one that “locates (often unique) local circumstances in

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relation to more general historical questions, and it is this focus on the interaction between local and
regional, national, and global levels of action that distinguishes microhistory from local history”.167

Environmental history practices were also considered during the research and writing of this
dissertation; Chapter One especially benefited from this perspective. The general intention of
environmental history is to examine the interplay between the environment and people and how they have
affected each other within social systems, politically, and culturally.168 As Arctic historian Lyle Dick
notes, “ecosystems have established limits on natural resource use, with far-reaching effects on
population levels, social organization, and distribution of all peoples occupying the region”.169 Similarly,
the Adirondack environment is a key secondary player in this dissertation. Its landscape established limits
and provided opportunities that guided the region’s development and population, or more accurately, a
lack of them. As a whole, this dissertation is a social history about a people in a particular place.
Accordingly, this work lightly probes environmental history as a methodology; it falls under the
discipline’s claims to be an umbrella field of history.170 As Alan Taylor suggests, social historians are
preoccupied with “reconstructing the multiple divisions and complex interrelationships within human
populations” and as a result they “treat the natural context as a given, as a constant, as an assumed but
unexplored backdrop” while environmental historians are so focused on the environment that they “often
are tempted to depict societies and cultures as homogenous wholes”.171 I have tried not to treat the
Adirondack environment as a given or a constant; however, ultimately it is a history of the people here
who are my focus. As sociologist John Law suggests, the study of social sciences today is a “creative
mess” and attempts to constrain “a world which is fluid, complex and messy” with “research methods
which aim to simplify and clarify that world” will simply make the mess more complicated.172 I suggest
the same can be said for the study of contact history.

167 Lutz, Makú, 12-13, 13. Lutz employs a telescopic approach to his history of Aboriginal people in British Columbia from
contact to the present. He uses both macrohistorical (answers ‘what’) and microhistorical (answers ‘why’) methods to unravel
events.
168 Alan Taylor, “Unnatural Inequalities: Social and Environmental Histories,” Environmental History 1:4 (October 1996), 6-19,
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169 Lyle Dick, Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001), 31. Also see
theory of le longue durée borrows from geography to uncover the more obscure history of France by describing how the physical
features of the landscape helped to define French history.
David Freeland Duke (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2006), 2 used the term “tent”.
171 Ibid, 7.
A BRIEF EUROCENTRIC HISTORY OF THE ADIRONDACKS TO 1920

To set the context for what is to follow, it is important to have a sense of what the typical history of the Adirondacks entails. I have chosen to place this Eurocentric history in the Introduction in order not to detract from the history of Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples who are the focus of this thesis.

The first European accounts of the Adirondacks were recorded by the French; Jacques Cartier sighted them on 3 October 1535 atop Mount Royal in present-day Montréal. Nearly 75 years later, Samuel de Champlain traveled with Algonquian and Huron (Ochateguins) peoples down ‘The Lake Between’ which he named Lake Champlain. He was told by his Huron and Algonquian-speaking allies that the Adirondacks were inhabited by their enemies the Iroquois. He and his party went ashore around Ticonderoga or Crown Point and did battle with the Haudenosaunee 29 July 1609. This is the first written account of a European physically entering the region. The Dutch were not far behind Champlain; they arrived in Albany around 19 September of that same year. Henry Hudson sent a small boat with his mate and four men to explore the Hudson River’s northern regions in search of a route to China. They quickly discovered that “this “River of the Mountains”” was no such passage and returned to the Half Moon anchored near Hudson City (today’s Jersey City). The Dutch built forts or trading posts near today’s Albany, which was on the territory of the Mahican. The town that grew around Fort Orange was named Beverwyck or “Dorpe Beverswyck” (Beaver District Village), directly alluding to the reason the Dutch were there. The Mahican garnered the position of ‘middleman’ in the early Dutch fur trade. The Mohawk successfully fought them for this position and drove the Mahican south and east of the Hudson River by 1628.

During the colonial period, the Adirondack Mountains were a natural barrier between European powers. The French were positioned along the St. Lawrence River to the north, the English in the east, the Dutch in the west, and the French in the north. The English were the first to make serious efforts to harness the Adirondacks for resource extraction and settlement. The English protected the area against French incursions and were able to establish a foothold in the region. The French, on the other hand, were more interested in trade and exploration and were not as interested in settling the region.

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173 Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain: 1604-1610 (The Prince Society, 1878), 202-03, 210-222. Chapter IX describes Champlain’s voyage into Lake Champlain (also referred to as the Lake of the Iroquois, footnote 343 on p. 216 and Caniaderiguarunte, “the lake that is the gate of the country” in footnote 348, p. 223) and the battle. Champlain’s commentary indicates settlements on islands and the coast had dispersed due to warring between the Mohawk and the Algonquin and Huron nations. The reference to the Adirondacks states “I saw on the south, other mountains, no less high than the first, but without snow. The Savages told me that these mountains were thickly settled, and that it was there where we were to find their enemies....” (footnote 346, p. 218 identifies these mountains as part of the high peaks region of the Adirondacks as seen from the northern part of Lake Champlain). The few scholars to consider this passage have assumed the Algonquin and Huron were lying to Champlain about the region being “thickly settled.” For example, Gordon M. Day, “The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest,” in In Search of New England’s Native Past: Selected Essays by Gordon M. Day, ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 27-48, 33.

174 George Rogers Howell and Jonathan Tenney, Bi-centennial history of Albany: History of the County of Albany, N.Y., from 1609 to 1886 (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1886). According to this history, the name of the Hudson River was Cohatatetea (Iroquois) and Mahaganeghtuc or Shatemuc (Mohegans). Also see Warwick Stevens Carpenter, The Summer Paradise in History: A Compilation of Fact and Tradition Covering Lake George, Lake Champlain, the Adirondack Mountains, and Other Sections Reached by the Rail and Steamer Lines of The Delaware And Hudson Company (Albany, NY: General Passenger Department, Delaware and Hudson Co., 1914), 18, 22, 50 which indicates the Iroquois had acquainted Dutch explorers and trappers with this territory and the English place name of “Dutchman’s Point” on North Hero Island in Lake Champlain suggests Dutch trappers went further north than Albany.

and, initially, the Dutch to the south until 1664 (and briefly 1773-74) when the English took over. The French eventually extended their reach into the Adirondacks along the shore of Lake Champlain but were challenged by the English in eighteenth century wars. The region was officially Mohawk, Oneida and Mahican hunting territory at the time of contact, although Abenaki and other Algonquian-speaking peoples (and possibly the Huron) were known to use the territory, either in cooperation with the Mohawk and Oneida or at their peril. Situated between European imperial powers, the Adirondacks became a military route and sometimes a battle ground around the perimeter during the colonial wars of the eighteenth century. Both the French and the English built forts in the region and two of them even changed hands. Eighteenth century battles between Europeans and later between the English and their colonists were fought in the area, especially along Lake Champlain and Lake George. Southern, western, and northern parts of the Adirondacks also saw their share of intrigue and battles based on their proximity to the Mohawk River Valley, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. This military activity and the region’s geography and climate helped to keep the Adirondacks from any degree of exploration and settlement by European explorers and colonists.

With the exception of a few hearty individuals, many of whom were trappers, Euroamericans were hesitant to settle in the region until after the War of 1812. A few brought their families. Part of the reason for this hesitation was the continued reputation of the Mohawk located just to the north. White Americans were afraid to settle in the area until the Kanienkehaha were no longer a threat. However, the other reason for slow settlement was that the Adirondacks were mostly unsuitable for farming and many who came to the area early left. As previously mentioned, New York State commissioned a geological survey in the late 1830s; at this point the survey leader Ebenezer Emmons named the ‘High Peaks’ region “the Adirondacks” (1838), purportedly after a tribe of Indians who had lived there. Once industries such as lumbering, mining, and especially tanning entered the area, people were able to earn a wage, which increased the ability of families to survive in the Adirondacks year-round. Almost simultaneously, the first tourists entered the region; they were usually well-to-do men, there to admire the sublime landscape or perhaps to treat their tuberculosis. On their heels, anglers and hunters arrived and

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176 See Chapters One and Two for a discussion about this topic.
177 These two fortifications were located on Lake Champlain at Crown Point (French Fort St. Frédéric and later as English Fort Crown Point) and Ticonderoga (French Fort Carillon and later the British Fort Ticonderoga) both located in Essex County. Other Adirondack fortresses included the British Fort William Henry located in the present-day village of Lake George (Warren County), as well as an English stockade at Fort Edward in Washington County.
179 Terrie, Contested Terrain, 11-12. Also see Graham, Jr., The Adirondack Park, 3 who indicates the area was called “the Great Northern Wilderness” until Emmons named it in 1838; residents living in the St. Lawrence River Valley area of New York State often refer to the area as “the South Woods”.
180 Harris, Adirondack, Lumber Capital of the World, 16, 36, 49-50, 89 - 90.
spent weeks there away from the city. Both types of tourists needed the aid of local guides to traverse the region. The railroad further opened the area and created additional opportunities to visit and settle. In 1869, Boston minister William Henry Harrison “Adirondack Murray” Murray published his *Adventures in the Wilderness* which brought tourists to the area en masse.\(^{181}\)

Industrial exploitation and mass tourism created a tension that initiated the call to save the region from these dueling pressures. Samuel H. Hammond’s *Wild Northern Scenes* (1857) wished for a 100 mile in diameter circle to surround the area to preserve its forests. Thoreau’s 1864 *The Maine Woods*, called for the preservation of wilderness in every state and used the Adirondacks as an example.\(^{182}\) Verplank Colvin championed the preservation of the area as early as 1868 while on a land patent assignment to Lake Pleasant. In 1872, during a speech to the Albany Institute, Colvin outlined the damage created by lumbering he had seen while climbing Mt. Seward two years earlier. This speech before an influential group became a report which eventually secured Colvin the appointment of New York State Superintendent of the Adirondack Survey; he held the position until 1900.\(^{183}\) On the heels of the 1883 legislation that created the Niagara Reservation, “thus setting a precedent for “buying scenery’”, New York ‘down-staters’ argued for preservation of the Adirondacks to protect the water supply for the Erie Canal and the Hudson River. Adding credence to their argument was a drought in 1883 which affected the Hudson, Mohawk, and Black Rivers and threats of fire, often created by sparks from trains. On the other hand, there was also a concern about spring flooding carrying debris and earth into New York Harbour by way of the Hudson River; this flooding caused the harbour to silt. As a result, powerful New York City and other industrialists began a campaign to protect this and other New York State rivers with their headwaters in the Adirondacks. A powerful constituency of conservationists, sports enthusiasts, manufacturers, and naturalists crusaded for the preservation of the Adirondacks, a campaign which culminated in the New York Forest Preserve in 1885. It became the state legislated Adirondack Park in 1892. The Park’s legacy was written into the 1894 New York State Constitution originally under Article 7, Section 7 as a “forever wild” space that can only be undone by a vote from the people of the state of New York.\(^{184}\)

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\(^{183}\) Nina H. Webb, *Footsteps Through the Adirondacks: The Verplanck Colvin Story* (Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1996), 33-35. He continued his campaign until the park was created in 1892.

\(^{184}\) Graham, Jr., *The Adirondack Park*, 73, 86 and chapters IX – XI. Schneider, *The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness*. See Chapter Two for additional details about early surveys in the area. Article 7 of the 1894 NYS Constitution (now article XIV) states in part: “The lands of the state, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed.” New York State Department of Environmental Conservation website, Accessed 18 November 2010, [http://www.dec.ny.gov/lands/55849.html](http://www.dec.ny.gov/lands/55849.html).
CONCLUSION

What follows is the story of the relationship between Aboriginal people and the Adirondacks, including rural, White Adirondackers and urban tourists usually from the Northeast. Chapter One examines what it might have been like prior to European and later Euroamerican settlement in the region. It considers why Algonquian and Iroquoian-speaking people came here, how they ‘occupied’ the space, how Europeans and later Euro-North Americans viewed the space, and why today we need to reconsider the complexities of these types of landscapes. It introduces the concept of location of exchange which permeates this dissertation. Chapter Two studies early relationships and exchanges between Iroquoian and Algonquian people and the Newcomers, especially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries leading up to the wilderness tourism era. It was a violent period that required Native people to borrow from traditional leadership strategies in order to live with incoming Whites and reinvent ways to live there. It introduces the family of Abenaki Sabael Benedict as he negotiated this era.

The last three chapters explore the nineteenth century, a crucial period when Indian peoples supposedly were disappearing, and their relationship between Mohawk and, increasingly, Abenaki people in the commonly named wilderness tourism industry of the Adirondacks. The third chapter explores Indigenous people’s work as guides in the Adirondacks, work which culminated in their guiding for tourists, at times literally alongside Euroamerican Adirondackers. Exchanges become more peaceful but also more complicated, as the case of the family of Abenaki Mitchel Sabattis demonstrates. It also examines the more intimate entanglements between Native and non-Native Adirondackers in both work and family contexts, as well as their dealings with urban sportsmen who hired them as guides. The resulting portrait creates a complex understanding of the term “Native,” as these outsiders combined the two peoples in order to explain their wilderness vacation. It also suggests that historians who study the history of Indigenous people during the nineteenth century and later, especially in the eastern part of North America, need to consider the categories of class and rural as much as they do ethnicity and gender as they are all important categories of analysis to understand and untangle these histories.

Turning next to entrepreneurial efforts by Iroquoian and Algonquian Adirondackers, Chapter Four demonstrates that roles for Aboriginal people in the tourism industry were not limited to Euro-North American stereotypes of their culture. There is little research on this topic and this type of work should be considered alongside the more widely studied scholarship that focuses on tourism as a phenomenon that created or imposed stereotypes. Chapter Four introduces us to the Oneida and Abenaki family of Emma Camp Mead whose entrepreneurial skills continued a long history of entrepreneurship among North American Indigenous people. The complexity of Aboriginal peoples’ exchanges in the tourism industry and with capitalism is described here through the examples of this and other families.

When stereotypes were employed by the Native artists and performers who either lived in or had connections to the Adirondacks, the records reveal they often performed them for complicated reasons.
Introducing the Abenaki families of Ann Paul Denis Fuller and Margaret Camp Tahamont (Emma Camp Mead’s cousin), this chapter examines the tropes of the ‘Vanishing Indian’ and the practice of ‘Playing Indian,’ as well as efforts by Native people to teach Euroamericans through historical performance. Chapter Five also looks at the issues surrounding mixed-heritage: Aboriginal peoples’ history of intermarriage with Europeans and later Euro-North Americans contributed to notions of their lack of authenticity and caused local or visiting Euroamericans in the region to “play Indian” because they believed the ‘real’ Indians had left the area. The fifth chapter reminds us of the value and pitfalls of performance as Abenaki and Mohawk peoples made and sold goods to and performed for non-Native audiences. It also points out the gendered ways in which Native and non-Native people connected; non-Native men connected through their Native guides while non-Native women connected through Native women and their handiwork. This chapter underscores the great need to extend Native peoples’ history past the contact period in any North American historical narrative about place or American culture.

The conclusion brings the history of Indigenous people with ties to the Adirondacks briefly, although only partially, up-to-date through the experiences of the Joseph family (Abenaki) from the late nineteenth and into the early twenty-first century. This family demonstrates the continuity and adaptability of Native people in this place. They also demonstrate that the Adirondacks are still an indigenous space and that Native peoples belong in, and more importantly, throughout, the history of its culture and as a distinct place in North America. More broadly, this conclusion confirms that the history of Aboriginal people in North America is still relevant, unfolding, and needs to be remembered in the continuing saga of the continent. Using the Adirondacks as an example, I argue that for too long historical texts about North America have contributed to the trope of the ‘vanishing Indian’ and offer their readers only a shallow version of the continent’s complex histories.

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185 See my argument in Chapter Five.
186 For example, Francis G. Couvares, et. al. eds, Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives, Volume Two, Since Reconstruction, 8th Edition (Boston and New York: Bedford / St. Martin’s, 2009) does not have one chapter about Native Americans. According to the index, there are eleven pages that refer to them out of 408 pages of relevant text. This book has been used as a standard U.S. undergraduate survey course text.
Chapter 1:
“Just a Hunting Territory?”: The Adirondacks as Indigenous Homeland

The Adirondacks are a separate part of the Canadian Shield shaped by a bedrock dome and glacial movement. The region contains some of the oldest and youngest rocks exposed on earth; the mountains continue to rise approximately 2-3 millimetres a year or nearly one foot per century. The present day Adirondack Park is a state park over 2.4 million hectares (or nearly 6 million acres) of public and private land; it is nearly 1/3 of the territory of the state of New York.\(^1\) The park is a bit less than half the size of the province of Nova Scotia or equivalent to the states of Vermont or New Hampshire. It is so large that Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, Glacier, Yosemite, and the Great Smokies National Parks could all fit within the boundaries of today’s Adirondack Park.\(^2\) The Adirondack Park is the largest in the continental United States and is “a 9,000 square-mile oval of highlands, located between Lake Champlain and the Black River Valley”.\(^3\) At the time of European contact, the area was covered by a dense forest of

\(^3\) Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 3
conifer and deciduous trees. The terrain is varied depending on location, going from swampy and bog-like ground, especially in the northwestern part of the area, to the forty-seven “High Peaks” which are located in the northeastern portion of the region; all but four are over 4,000 feet or 1,219 meters. The tallest mountain in the state, Mount Marcy, is located here and is 5,344 feet or 1,629 meters. In addition, the landscape contains over thirty thousand miles of waterways which include 3,000 lakes and ponds of various sizes, many of them man-made. There are approximately two thousand summits that qualify as mountains that have been described as “compressed and confused.” The area’s climate is considered harsh, especially in the winter when the snow fall is heavy. This geography and climate explains why Europeans avoided this place and perhaps why they, and Euroamericans, assumed Native people did, as well.

Colonial maps were some of the first records to recognize the area as Iroquois hunting territory. As early as 1612, Champlain noted “Yroquois” near both Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain. Lewis Evans’ 1755 map provided only a few known landmarks, mostly around Lake Champlain, and labelled the region “Couch [text] sarchrage”. The ‘text’ in between the reference states “This country by reason of mountains and swamps and drowned lands is impassable and uninhabited”. In 1757, the Richard Seal Map labels the area “Antient Country of the Iroquois” and notes in text “Parts but little known”. Guy Johnson’s 1771 map of Iroquois territory only showed the southern part of the Adirondacks. He placed the map’s compass there along with the following text: “The Boundary of New York not being Closed this part of the Country still belongs to the Mohocks”. Thomas Pownall’s 1776 map labels the area “Coux [text] axrâge”; this text was a table of contents for peripheral landmarks. Pownall’s map was part of a book, which described the region as a hunting ground; Pownall stated that the Indigenous people called the region “Couxsachrâgé which signifies the Dismal Wilderness or Habitation of Winter”. Pownall could not find any information about the region; he suggested the Indians either did not know much about it or were wisely keeping the knowledge to themselves. As Thomas Hallock argues, text on

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4 Ibid, 9-12, 35.
5 Ibid, 20-21, most are located in Essex County.
7 Sulavik, Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains, 122-23 with copy of Samuel de Champlain’s Carte Geographique De La Nouvell Franse (1612) located at the National Library and Archives of Canada, NMC 6327.
8 Ibid, 42, 158-59 with copy of Lewis Evans and T. Pownall, A Map of the Middle British Colonies in North America (1755).
9 Ibid, 160-61 with copy of Richard William Seal’s A New and Accurate Map of the present War in North America” located at the Adirondack Museum in Blue Mountain Lake, NY.
a map is indicative of Europeans seeing the land as ‘terra incognita’, reflecting how empire was being imagined and invented across a space. So, for more than two hundred years, the Adirondacks were not a place where Europeans really went or used; indeed, they could not even imagine how they could use this landscape.

More recent publications have continued the trend of suggesting the Adirondacks were an uninhabited space. The preface of *The Adirondack Atlas* claims the region was so inhospitable it was avoided by Native Americans and Europeans. Jacoby’s chapters about the region mostly ignore the precolonial era; he suggests that until the nineteenth century, the Adirondacks were “a lightly inhabited border zone.” Jacoby explains the area had too short a growing season, was only lightly hunted, and was frequently fought over by Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking nations thus keeping it from being inhabited. As a result, with a few exceptions, such as Jesuit Isaac Jogues’ account of being brought there in the seventeenth century and some sporadic military activity during the seventeenth and eighteenth century around the perimeter of the region, much of the area’s pre-mid-nineteenth century history has been overlooked.

However, my research reveals a more complex history of Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples in the Adirondacks during the precolonial era and thereafter. It demonstrates this space was much more than ‘just a hunting territory,’ a phrase that allowed, and in some instances still allows, Euro-North Americans to see this landscape, and others similar to it, as empty and free to exploit and appropriate. Anthropologist Neal Ferris argues that the term territory is “vague and caught up with notions of ownership, sovereignty and conflicting European and Native values, all of which varied through time”. He goes on to explain that those landscapes known as hunting territories were often communal and were marked by “a sense of “shared” or “contested” space”. Environmental historian Louis Warren argues “[t]he inadequacy of modern terms for describing Indian landscapes and regimes of collecting, gathering, and cultivating makes it all the more essential to find ways of describing environmental relations from Indian perspectives”.

This chapter explores the precolonial era history of the Indigenous people who considered the Adirondacks part of their homeland. It uses archaeological findings (many amateur), some scant oral

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12 Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree*, 41.
15 French explorer Samuel de Champlain was the first European to set foot in the area in 1609, several of Hudson’s men may have sailed into the southeastern part of the region by way of the Hudson River that same year; see Introduction for these details and further in this chapter. Jogues was brought to and named Lac du Saint Sacrement (Lake George) and was also brought into the interior of the Adirondacks on a hunting trip. See further in this chapter for reference to the hunting trip.
history, and material culture to tease out this history. It also looks to the records about the earliest contacts between Algonquian and Iroquoian people and Europeans and Euroamericans; these early documents shed light on the history of the pre-European contact relationship that Native people had with this place. Even so, we need to keep in mind European colonizers usually gazed at this place from a distance or merely passed around it. As a result, the historical scholarship about the region prior to the late-eighteenth century reflects this avoidance. Despite the lack of direct contact with and lack of records about the Adirondacks during this period, Western histories about the region at this time emphasize there was no permanent occupation by Native people. These histories imply the area lacked a human presence prior to European contact and even then occupation by both allegedly occurred only around the edges of the region. However, these European documents and early Euroamerican settlement histories also provide the occasional clue to contradict these general findings and help to demonstrate the Adirondacks were part of annual, seasonal rounds and home to Algonquian and Iroquoian people. In addition, Iroquoian oral history and some early writings pertaining to New France that include the area indicate the Adirondacks were shared by Native people from time to time through formal, political agreements and it was protected. Altogether, these histories, together with other sources including artefacts, demonstrate that precolonial Iroquoian and Algonquian labour in the region was extensive, varied, and required a profound knowledge about the area that sporadic trips could not support. Pieced together, these sources show that the Adirondacks were an Indigenous homeland and have been for centuries.

The notion of ‘home’ is conflicted and contradictory; scholars struggle with the concept to this day. J. Edward Chamberlain suggests that “there is no idea quite as bewildering as the idea of home, nor one that causes as many conflicts”. He suggest home is a place of contradiction; a place where we come together to agree “about what it is to believe”. The conception of home for Indigenous people, especially for those who conducted seasonal rounds, is even more complicated. Anthropologist Christopher Roy argues for an expanded appreciation of the meaning of “home” to people. Citing fellow-anthropologist Laura Hammond, they both advocate a need to decentre the concept of what and where home is, especially as we contemplate the idea of home for people who seasonally moved about for resources and labour. Roy concludes that home “must be made meaningful by human activity”. William Haviland and Marjorie Power argue that Native people who lived by conducting seasonal rounds identified home with a region and not a specific place. Where they lived shifted in order to eat, but home

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18 Donaldson, History of the Adirondacks, 1, 21. Donaldson quoted Tuscarora historian David Cusick (c. 1780-c.1831) who claimed the Adirondacks were not inhabited by anyone during the winter. Also see Graham, Jr., The Adirondack Park: A Political History, 6; Schneider, The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness, 15-16; Terrie, Contested Terrain, 3.
19 J. Edward Chamberlin, If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories?: Finding Common Ground (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2003), 3, 240 (emphasis added).
21 Ibid, 254
held the remains of their ancestors and ceremonial material. The Iroquois were similarly attached to places of occupancy and ancestral graves. Anthropologist Andrew Gray suggests a “polythetic” consideration of four views with regards to Indigenous peoples’ relationship to their environment, they include: political control, use of the land for resources, a spiritual relationship, and a “historical and semantic relationship” with the territory. Cultural and linguistic anthropologist Keith Basso’s work on the concept of a “sense of place” argues that “place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing history… [and it] is also a form of cultural activity”. He adds that place-making represents the accrued experiences a people have there; experiences that are informed by their ideas of place. The crucial question for Basso is not about where or how a place was formed; instead he asks what is it made with, what are its qualities, and how has it been constructed. Such characteristics say a lot about its tone, substance, and force. Basso suggests, “[G]eographical landscapes are never culturally vacant. The … challenge is to fathom what it is that a particular landscape, filled to brimming with past and present significance, can be called upon to “say,” and what, through the saying, it can be called upon to “do”. As Basso and these other anthropologists imply, ‘home’ is more than how the space is used; there is an emotional tie to it because there is cultural significance there.

I argue the Adirondacks have long been home to Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking peoples and that the region was part of their social culture. As this chapter will demonstrate, the records reflect at least seasonal precolonial and early contact settlements and that women also came into the region. Iroquoian men may have spent as much, if not more, time here, or in other hunting territories, than they did in their home villages. Perhaps some Algonquian-speaking families stayed in the Adirondacks for as long as anywhere as part of their seasonal rounds. In addition, legends and sacred spaces existed in and about this place. People were born, died, and buried there. We may never know the complete precolonial history

23 Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxxviii
26 Ibid, 144-45.
29 Glenn, *Three Towns*, 114 describes the naming of “Mother’s Rock” near Split Rock in Whallons Bay, Essex, NY was based on an Indian woman giving birth there “as she traveled the trail along the shore”. In addition grave sites have been located in a number of locations. For example in Essex County at Port Henry [Dr. C.B. Warner, C. Eleanor Hall, *History of Port Henry New York* (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Co., 1931), 29] and Ticonderoga [Hill, *Lake Champlain, 10. Also see John H. Bailey, “A Rock Shelter at Ft. Ticonderoga,” Bulletin of Champlain Valley Archaeological Society 1.1 (December 1937), 4-16]. Saratoga sites were documented in Dr. Leo F. Lynch, “Indian Villages,” *unp publication*, Column, “Turning Back the Pages – Story Emanating from the Writer’s Project Which, Under Direction of Lester Herzog, State WPA Administrator, is Compiling the American Guide,” SSCH VF – “Ethnic Heritage: American Indians / Native Americans, “Newspaper Clippings” which declares there were four burial grounds: south bank of the Sacandaga in West Day, near Edinburgh; pottery found in a grave near Saratoga Lake, and near Schuyler ville.
of the Adirondacks or how Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people regarded this place. However, we do have clues about why they came and that they, at least seasonally, called this place home.

Following Basso’s reasoning, this chapter provides examples of how the region’s geographical spaces were constructed over time, especially in terms of labour practices and lived experiences known, or possible, prior to colonialism. My study uncovers ample support for a variety of labour and precocolonial seasonal occupancy in the Adirondacks, year-round. Native people were very active in the region engaging in the principal business of their lives and they used and guarded the area as an important resource and as part of their sovereign territory. By examining how Algonquian and Iroquoian people used and related to the land, we can tease out a more fully articulated account of their presence here. This chapter suggests there was a rich history of interchanges and habitation (the latter will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two) that is hidden by Eurocentric and androcentric concepts of wilderness, property, and labour. I argue we need to broaden and complicate our understanding of these spaces and forms of occupation in order to understand the varied exchanges that occurred there. A complimentary descriptor that I have chosen to use is location of exchange. Merriam-Webster defines ‘location’ as “a position or site occupied or available for occupancy or marked by some distinguishing feature” and “a tract of land designated for a purpose”. ‘Exchange’ is defined as “the act of giving or taking one thing in return for another” and “reciprocal giving and receiving”. A term such as ‘location of exchange’ implies a venue of both activity and residency encompassing a myriad of functions, year round, and at different sites throughout the region. As mentioned in the introduction, I have defined ‘location of exchange’ as “a purposeful and occupied place where reciprocal acts occur, creating opportunities for entangled exchanges between people and the land”. I am not suggesting we replace the name “hunting territory” as an identifier of these spaces; it is a well-established and recognized name for these territories. However, I am proposing we complicate these spaces for the benefit of most North Americans; a corresponding term might assist in this endeavour.

By no means does this chapter attempt to be a comprehensive precocolonial history of the area. Indeed, the telling of this history may not currently be possible due, especially, to the lack of archaeological work here - historians have not been the only discipline to ignore the region during this period. Archaeology has generally overlooked the Adirondacks for a variety of reasons. including the belief that it was uninhabited, soil that is too acidic and destroys artefacts, and easier choices for

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fieldwork that existed elsewhere. In addition, the damming of rivers has created lakes and changed the water levels and environment to make searches more complicated. Further, in other places precolonial archaeological evidence is typically found by farmers and road construction unearthing them by accident; both farms and roads are scarce in much of the Adirondacks.

Despite this, evidence of Indigenous occupation has been discovered. For example, an 1890 *New York Times* article described a clearing of approximately a square mile at Number Four or “Fenton’s” in Lewis County in the western part of the Adirondacks. Farmers had ploughed up bones and hatchets in a field near Beaver Lake. “A curious trench is also pointed out on the shore of the lake as having been excavated by the Indians. It has been used as a “wolf pit,” and is still so called.” During the summer of 1987 Mohawk educator and storyteller Kay Ionataie:was Olan compiled a list of private and public collections of Native artefacts along both shores of Lake Champlain; these artefacts included those found in farmers’ fields. Road construction in the region has also turned up artefacts, although they are rarely reported. Gregory P. Otis, a former Project Engineer for the State of New York in both Essex and Warren Counties, told me that job sites often unearthed American Indian artefacts; however the items mostly found their way into the crews’ pockets. He recalled that a corn grinding stone was found on a job-site in Keene, New York (c. 1970) which was given to the state archive.

Compounding these challenges are the plethora of amateur and scavenger diggings that have destroyed the best known locations. Jess Corey (c.1819-1896), proprietor of the Rustic Lodge built in 1850 over a pre-existing, probably Algonquian-speaking village owned a collection allegedly in the thousands from his property on the Indian Carry at Coreys in Franklin County. If someone admired a piece it was reported that he gave it to them. James M. Wardner (c. 1859 – 1902), the proprietor of the Rainbow Inn built in 1862 on Rainbow Lake, Franklin County, also built on the site of an Indian village; his large collection included two intact pots. Wardner purportedly allowed two guests from Albany to take the collection to show at a fair for the benefit of recent Civil War veterans. He did not get the relics back; when he traveled to Albany to find them, he discovered the pair had sold his collection piecemeal at the end of the event. In addition, Adirondack guides often told stories of Native peoples’ settlements

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32 Lynn Woods, “A History in Fragments: Following the forgotten trail of Native Adirondack cultures,” *Adirondack Life* XXV:7 (November / December 1994), 30-37,61, 68-72,78-79; references to why archaeologists do not work in the Adirondacks see pages 31-32
35 Kay Olan, “Survey sponsored by the Clinton County Museum in Plattsburgh” (July and August 1987, funded by the New York State Council on the Arts), copy reviewed is located at SNM-O, I reviewed and copied all pages pertaining to New York State August 2009 with permission.
36 Gregory P. Otis, personal conversation Spring 2009; he worked for the state from the 1960’s to the 1980’s. The job-site was the construction of a bridge on the Hulls Falls Road.
37 Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, 1, 22. See next chapter for information on the “Saranac Indians” whose villages were the alleged sites where Corey and Wardner built their tourist lodges.
being unearthed by accident and that “it is highly probable that many of the “clearings” which the paleface now inhabits were first made by the redskin or, perhaps, by a race antedating him”.

This era was outside the scope of my project; however when I began my research, I did not know how much information was available. As a result, I asked and looked for everything an archive had about Native people within their local history collection. Many of the nearly two dozen archives I visited, including the Adirondack Museum and the New York State Museum and Archive included some regional information and / or artefacts that covered this period; most of the artefacts were in storage hidden from public view. Combined, these documents and material culture have much to say; they need to be introduced for consideration. As a result, another purpose of this chapter and study is to chronicle the information I found in local archives and record them in one place. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates that the precolonial history of the Adirondacks is one waiting to be fully developed. This history will, by necessity, be interdisciplinary and will need a variety of experts to pool their talents to tell it properly.

Map 1.2: Documented artefacts, locations approximate

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EARLY HISTORY OF ALGONQUIAN AND IROQUOIAN PEOPLE IN THE ADIRONDACKS

The Adirondacks have been known to, and named by, Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples for centuries. Paleo-Indian sites have been located along “the shores of the waning Champlain Sea” as early as 9,000 B.C. and thus demonstrates occupation here since at least this period. It is believed these ancestors followed big game in and out of the region. Paleo-Indians is a term used by archaeologists to describe the ancestors of Native Americans during a specific period (15,000 – 7,000 B.C); it is thought this is the time period when Homo sapiens first colonized the Western hemisphere. The Champlain Sea covered an area over 20,000 square miles and included the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the Ottawa River Valley, and present-day Lake Champlain; it completely covered the Adirondacks and other parts of New York and New England. This sea has been described as “an inland arm of the Atlantic Ocean that inundated the St. Lawrence Lowland following retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet”. A mixture of sea and glacial water, this sea receded to our present-day understanding of the landscape after the land was released from the weight of the glaciers and rebounded. During at least some of the following archaic period (c. 7500 BC- 0 AD), the Adirondacks acted as a frontier-like space separating Algonquian-speaking peoples with linguistic ties to the Maritimes and those of the Great Lakes according to Haviland and Powers; evidence of both have been found in the region. The mountains performed a similar function upon the arrival of Iroquoian-speaking peoples (and later Europeans). The Abenaki called the Adirondacks Wawobadenik prior to the arrival of the Iroquois; they may have considered at least the northeastern region around Lake Champlain part of their territory. Iroquoian-speaking people

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39 Clinton County Historical Museum, *The Original People: Native Americans In The Champlain Valley*, 5. Thirty-two page brochure accompanying an exhibit from 10 June – 29 November 1988. Kay Olan’s survey was conducted for this exhibit. Dr. Peter Thomas was the Archaeological Consultant.


45 Wiseman, *The Voice of the Dawn*, 13, 17, 32 & 59. Wiseman suggests Iroquoian-speaking people arrived 4,000 years ago. Gordon Day did not believe the Adirondacks were part of the Abenaki’s traditional territory; he believed the Abenaki moved there after the American Revolution because good hunting was available. Gordon Day, “Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley,” in *In Search of New England’s Native Past: Selected Essays by Gordon M. Day* edited by Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 229-62, 230; however, Abenaki, Maurice Dennis claims they started hunting in the Adirondacks around 1600 (see Chapter Three). Jenkins, *The Adirondack Atlas*, 69 contains a
are believed to have arrived, either literally or figuratively through ethnogenesis somewhere between 1,200-4,000 years ago; the Oneida and, in particular, the Mohawk considered the Adirondacks part of their sovereign territory. As a result, the Abenaki were cut off from trading partners and mining resources such as flint. The Abenaki and Iroquois fought over the territory and “bitawbíkw ‘the lake between’” to the Abenaki or Caniaderiguarunte, “the lake that is the gate of the country” to the Iroquois (Lake Champlain) became their de facto border.

To the Kanienkehaka, or Mohawk, the area was called Tsonon-tes-ko-wa, which simply means, "the mountains" or Tsiiononteskowa, meaning 'big mountains'. Randy Cornelius, Oneida Language Archivist with the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin told me the Onyotaa:ka called the Adirondack region “lati:tu: taks” which means “They're eating the trees” and is a reference to beaver. The Oneida territory in the Adirondacks went from present-day Utica on the Mohawk River to the St. Lawrence River in a pie-shape form; their territory included present-day Stillwater Reservoir north and west to Harrisville and then north to Black Lake and up into the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence River. Another Algonquian-speaking nation that considered the Adirondacks as part of their country were the Mahican, whose territory comprised at least the east side of present-day Lake George and probably the southern part of Lake Champlain. The Mohegan people of southern New England also claim to have lived in the area along the shores of Lake Champlain before migrating to the map called “THE IROquoIS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS, 1600” which includes the eastern-most part of the Adirondacks within the territory of the “Western Abenaki” and Mahican.


John Kahionhes Fadden, e-mail message to author, 23 April, 2010 as told to him by his wife Eva Fadden and her sister Marita Thompson both of whom are Mohawk speakers; Ms. Thompson teaches the Mohawk language at an Akwesasne school. Nicolas A. Reynolds, Historical Researcher at the Cultural Heritage Department, Oneida Nation of Wisconsin e-mail message to author, 28 April, 2010.

Loretta Metoxen, Oneida Historian, Oneida, Wisconsin, personal conversation with author, 18 August, 2010.

Brasser, “Mahican,” 198. Also see Brooks, The Common Pot, 243 which claims the Mahican identified their New York State territory extending from Manhattan to Lake Champlain. See Carroll Vincent Lonergan, Ticonderoga: Historic Portage (Ticonderoga, NY: Fort Mount Hope Society Press, 1959), 9-13 which indicates Lake George was called Andiatarocte (“where the lake closes”).
The Adirondacks were part of territorial agreements between Iroquoian, Algonquian, and early European officials. Tuscarora scholar, writer, and Six Nations historian Rick Hill believes the Adirondacks were part of the Iroquoian territorial concept of the “Dish with One Spoon”. A number of these territories, or ‘dishes’ accrued over time and space as Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples came in contact with one another. During peaceful times these territories were neutral places and open to all allies to use so long as permission was requested by allies and granted by the Iroquois. Approximately 1000 years ago, this territorial sharing was codified in the ‘Dish with One Spoon wampum belt’ between the Iroquois and all the nations they knew. Other nations were added over time, including Europeans. The concept probably began with the formation of the League of Five Nations; this conclusion is based on accepted Iroquoian history and supported by their oral history which describes the parties’ need to use a beaver tail in a common bowl, since knives could be used as weapons. This treaty, documented by the belt, tried to limit warfare by allowing all participants to practice subsistence hunting and resource gathering within the Dish’s territory. According to Hill, this early agreement was betrayed because of the fur trade which resulted in the war between the Mohawk and the Indigenous peoples known as the

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52 Melissa Jayne Fawcett, Mohegan Tribal Historian, The Lasting of the Mohegans, Part I (Ledyard, CT: Pequot Printing, 1995), 8-10. This booklet includes the legend “The Tale of Chahnameed” which takes place in their “New York Mohegan Homeland” along Lake Champlain.

53 Jacoby, Crimes against Nature, 20, 25 citing Bruce G. Trigger’s The Children of Aateaentsic: a History of the Huron People to 1660 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976), 345, 488, 618; page 345 deals with the peace of 1624 between the Mohawk and the Montagnais (Innu) thus opening the Adirondacks for hunting. The other two pages deal with the Mohawk and Oneida’s desire for peace so they could hunt in the region without fear. Jacoby suggests that the amount of warfare between the groups acted as “a sort of crude conservation policy, limiting the ability of native peoples to exploit the region’s resources for any extended period of time”.

54 Parmenter, The Edge of the Woods, 5 shows their territory on a map by Nij T. Anantsuksomsri entitled “The Iroquois World, 1534-1634”.

55 Rick Hill, series of e-mail messages to author between 3 January 2011 – 14 January 2011. In addition to historian, Rick is the Development Officer of the Indigenous Knowledge Centre (IKC), writer, professor at McMaster University, and teacher at the Six Nations Polytechnic. Rick goes on to state that “We think of all of nature as a Great Dish With One Spoon, a reference to sharing from that dish equally,” 13 January 2011 e-mail.


57 Rick Hill, personal conversation with the author, 1 March, 2011 at Indigenous Knowledge Centre (IKC), Six Nations Polytechnic, Six Nations Territory, Ohsweken, ON. The IKC is a partnership between Six Nations and McMaster’s University.
Adirondacks. However, the concept and the belt continued to be utilized. Mohawk elder Tom Sakokwenionkwas Porter describes a treaty and wampum belt between the Iroquois and the Ojibwa in 1763. This may be the same belt Mississauga Missionary, Peter Khukewaquonaby Jones mentioned when he referred to a council meeting in 1840 between his people and the Iroquois. Jones described the same belt design and added it was the first treaty between the Ojibwa and the Haudenosaunee “many years ago, when the great council was held at the east end of Lake Ontario” which is just west of the Adirondacks.

The French adopted the concept of the Dish with One Spoon in their negotiations with the Haudenosaunee; at least two of their late seventeenth century treaties incorporating the idea are intriguing with regard to the Adirondacks. According to Parmenter, Iroquois territory included some or all of the Adirondacks since 1620. The peace treaty at Three Rivers, brokered by Samuel de Champlain starting in 1622 and formally agreed to in 1624, culminated in the Mohawk, “the French Indians,” and the Mahican promising to allow each other to hunt in their declared territories. Of special interest to the French-allied Indians was the ability to trade with the Dutch for wampum which the French did not have. At that time, the Adirondacks were part of the Mohawk’s and the Mahican’s hunting territories; Anthropologist Bruce Trigger includes the area in his account of these negotiations. He describes the Adirondacks as being rich with game because the conflict between the Iroquois and the Algonquin nations had depressed hunting there. The peace was unofficially broken in July of 1626 and formally in 1627 when the Mahican attempted to gain more control. A later Three Rivers Treaty Council occurred in 1645 when the French and their allied tribes were invited by the Haudenosaunee, through diplomat Kiotseaeton, to “link arms” and create a treaty alliance. As part of their commitment, the Iroquois offered to open their hunting territory so everyone could share out of a common bowl. Kiotseaeton described their hunting territory as well stocked with game and fish and that there was no reason to fear going there as they had established

58 Rick Hill, e-mail message to author 13 January 2011 and 24 January 2011. Sulavik, Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains, 38 argues that the Adirondack Indians were the Ouescharini (or Weskarini or Petite Nation) who were, and are, part of the Algonquin Nations in the Ottawa River area. Eventually, all Algonquin-speaking people and other nations allied with the French were referred to by this name so it is still unknown who this war was with exactly.
59 Tom Sakokwenionkwas Porter, And Grandma Said…: Iroquois Teachings as passed down through the oral tradition, transcribed and edited by Lesley Forrester (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corp. self-publishing, 2008), 314. Also see Alan Corbiere’s “Gidonaaganinaa ‘Our Dish’ – An inter-tribal treaty encoded in wampum,” (c. 2008) accessed 17 May 2011 http://www.nugget.ca/ArticleDisplay.aspx?e=810355&archive=true. Corbiere is a historian with the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation in M’Chigeeng First Nation on Manitoulin Island.
60 Peter Khukewaquonaby Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians: with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity; with a brief memoir of the writer (London: A.W. Bennett, 1861), 114, 119. The Adirondacks are just east of Lake Ontario thus suggesting that the Anishnaabeg were also aware of the region.
61 Parmenter, The Edge of the Woods, 29, map entitled “Iroquoia, ca. 1620”; it is the first of a number of maps by Nij T. Anantsukomrsi showing at least the western and central part of the Adirondacks as Iroquois territory. By 1687 all of the Adirondacks are considered part of Iroquoia (see map page 187 entitled “Iroquoia, ca. 1687”).
62 William A. Starna and José António Brandão, “From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern,” Ethnohistory 51:4 (Fall 2004), 725-50, 733-39. Champlain brokered the effort but was not present when it was formally agreed to; he was angry when it fell apart. Trigger, The Children of Aateaentsic, 345.
trust with each other.\textsuperscript{63} It is likely the Three Rivers Treaty Council of 1645 included the Adirondacks as part of the hunting territory the Iroquois were willing to share.

Algonquian-speaking peoples had a similar concept to the Iroquoian Dish with One Spoon that the Adirondacks reflected. The concept of the “Common Pot” used by Algonquian-speaking people of today’s New England and southeastern New York, allowed for the sharing of resources and the land so everyone could live peacefully and within a relational network.\textsuperscript{64} Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks argues that these Algonquian and Iroquoian concepts were “competing visions … rooted in distinctive cultural traditions. Algonquians conceptualized Native space as a network of villages connected by rivers and relations. … Haudenosaunee construction of space was more complicated and less fluid”.\textsuperscript{65} Whether a flexible Common Pot, or diplomatically negotiated Dish with One Spoon, the Adirondacks were made use of by both peoples. Perhaps one could say the region was a space where the Algonquian pot could be set up alongside the Iroquoian dish during peaceful times.

PLACE OF RESOURCES AND LABOUR

During the precolonial era, Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples journeyed to the Adirondack for extended periods for a number of resource and labour-related purposes; in exchange they left evidence of their time there. For example, while often using the lakes and rivers for transportation, Native people also left a system of foot trails in the region that today are state and local roadways. For instance, there was a north-south Indian trail that went from Saratoga to Canada; it includes New York State Routes 9, 9N and parts of Route 22. New York Route 22 is New York’s longest north-south highway connecting New York City to the Canadian border. Parts of the east-west directed New York State Route 8 involves the “Piseco Indian Trail,” which today connects Morehouseville, Piseco, Oxbow, and Fish Mountain to Wells in Hamilton County. Another central and western region Indian trail that

\textsuperscript{64} Brooks, \textit{The Common Pot}, 5.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 138. Based on the Iroquois living in villages with complex socio-political systems.
became a highway was the old Albany Trail. It is likely both water and land trails were used as part of a system to travel to and from favourite hunting and fishing encampments, as well as for military, diplomatic, and trade purposes. Indeed, the Iroquois secured control of the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain-Lake George-Hudson River corridor to Albany and the Mohawk River for such purposes. In addition, the archaeological evidence indicate the use of interior water systems. As Louis Warren suggests, collectively Native Americans created many markers upon the North American landscape; nature and humans influenced each other and altered patterns of use and distribution. The Adirondacks were no different: they were used for seasonal purposes that stretched across the year as Native people came to fish in the spring, hunt a variety of game and fowl in the spring, summer, and fall, and trap and hunt in the winter. Animals hunted in the Adirondacks during this time included moose, deer, bears, panthers, lynx, and wolves, while beaver, otter, muskrat, pine marten, and wolverines were trapped.

Successful hunters were admired in Iroquoian communities. As William Fenton states; “Going into the forest meant risking one’s life and perhaps having a supernatural encounter.” The Iroquois hunted deer year-round. One of their practices was to set fire to grasses in the spring to attract deer and other game; it also helped quicken the growth of these grasses as the fire heated the still cold soil without damaging the roots. Fire was known to be used around the fringes of the Adirondacks to create meadows to attract game. As a rule, fire was too dangerous in the interior due to the types of trees and the large amount of debris on the ground; both made it easier for fires to burn out of control. In addition, the Iroquois practiced subsistence wildlife management strategies; they used their gardens to attract animals

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67 Parmenter, The Edge of the Woods, xlviii and 79 with map by Nij T. Anantsuksomr entitled “Iroquois Military Campaigns, 1650-1689” shows a route through the Adirondacks for the period of 1650-1658 for a campaign against the Wendat.


69 Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 42-49. Also see Jeptha R. Simms, Trappers of New York, 272-80 final chapter on animals trapped and hunted.

70 Fenton, “Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns,” 298.

71 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 10 citing Dean Snow’s Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites (Albany, NY: The Institute for Archaeological Studies, University of Albany Press, 1995), 167-68. Also see Fenton, “Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns,” 298 which indicates each of the Five Nations consumed 2,000 deer/year.


73 William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 50 describes the danger of fire in northern forest areas. Schneider, The Adirondacks, 17 citing Dutch lawyer and New Netherland landowner, Adriaen Van der Donck’s 1655 A Description of New Netherlands recording that the Indians burned “the woods, plains, and meadows in the fall of the year”. He also cites Philip Terrie’s Wildlife and Wilderness: A History of Adirondack Mammals (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1993) who suggests “the grasslands along both the Moose and the Oswegatchie Rivers may originally have been created as hunting grounds by this method”. Fred Tracy Stiles, From Then Till Now: History and Tales of the Adirondack Foothills (Hudson Falls, NY: Washington County Historical Society, 1978), 147 mentions the Indians burning land in Washington County around the mountains to provide food for the deer and berries for themselves. Kalm’s Travels into North America, 3:4-5 describes how forests had been set on fire by Native people around Crown Point and as a result had decreased the number of fir trees in the area.
including small game such as squirrel, rabbit, and quail. Often hunters traveled a great distance and set up camps. Most Iroquoian women remained in the village while the men and boys traveled. However, some women accompanied the hunters and there is at least one record of this occurring in the Adirondacks during the autumn. The women’s principal role on the hunt was to process the meat and hides; since children learned from and by imitating the adults, girls must have learned this skill from their mothers and aunts. Typically, boys were taught tracking skills by the men on the hunt. Before their first kill, boys had to prove their skill with hunting technologies such as bow and arrow, knives, spears, and clubs. Both sexes carried meat back to the village “in pack baskets with the aid of a burden strap passed over the forehead”. The strap served both a utilitarian and spiritual purpose, as it was decorated to appease the game in the hopes of preventing them from retaliating. The remaining hunters returned to their communities for the Midwinter ceremony held in late January or early February; after the ceremonies they re-outfitted for deep snow hunting and trapping.

The Algonquian-speaking Abenaki families also celebrated a mid-winter festival around February when they were living together in a seasonal village. At other times, bands moved seasonally throughout a family’s territory. Abenaki women performed the same work as those Iroquoian women who travelled with hunters; however, the vast majority of Abenaki women traveled with their male counterparts and complemented the work being performed by the men. Abenaki male hunters were depended on by their community to provide meat for the family, protein which was combined with women’s agricultural and gathering duties. Family units made seasonal rounds for hunting, fishing, trapping, and other enterprises such as some mining and gathering of berries for dyes and plants for food and medicine. They practiced some agriculture, but unlike their southern New England Algonquian relatives and Iroquoian neighbours they did not settle in year-round villages near their fields. Instead, they either left a few people at or came

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74 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 29.
75 Sulavik, Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains, 85 citing Father Jogue’s biographer, Father Francis Xavier Talbot and Father Jerome Lalemant (Jesuit Relations 1647) describes Father Jogue accompanying his Mohawk captors into the Adirondacks in October for hunting purposes. He left in December carrying a pack of smoked meat along with the women and older men while the younger men remained. It is believed he may have been brought to the Saranac Lake area.
76 Ibid. As historian Jon Parmenter cautions in The Edge of the Woods, xxxix we should not be overly depend on Iroquoian symbolic gender understandings; their day-to-day practices reveal a less severe division
77 George-Kanentiio, Iroquois Culture and Commentary, 61.
78 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 10. Also see Parmenter, The Edge of the Woods, xi for description of clan-affiliated hunting by both males and females in the fall.
79 Snow, The Iroquois, 6, 39, 69 which describes Iroquois men hunting in fall and winter and waiting for the arrival of the Pleiades to arrive and position itself overhead to signal their return home to celebrate the Midwinter Ceremony which marked the New Year. The ceremony lasted about a week. Rick Hill states that the hunters would have to leave two weeks before the Pleiades were overhead because their position overhead was the sign for the festival to begin. Doug George-Kanentiio’s “Mohawk ceremonial cycle” in Bruce Elliott Johansen and Barbara Alice Mann, eds., Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy) (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 203 confirms hunters had to leave prior to the Pleiades being overhead.
80 Haviland and Powers, The Original Vermonters, 159.
back to their seasonal village to tend their crops. Abenaki communities were based on a gendered division of labour: men warred, hunted, made houses, canoes and tools for hunting and military purposes, while women gathered food and medicines, took care of crops except tobacco, cared for children, prepared food, skins, and clothing. Their society was patrilineal, with one to several families living together in one bark house. If circumstances warranted, a son-in-law might move in with his wife’s family, at least for awhile. “The formal unit was a patrilineal totemic descent group regarded as the descendants of a remote male ancestor, not of the totemic animal, together with their wives and children”. All the households together made up the tribe. Winter hunting groups were temporary and made up of selected individuals and families. Hunting territories were based around families and rights to hunt in these territories were extended by the male head of the family, although after the American Revolution, leases and deeds for agricultural lands were signed by both men and women. Leadership was based on need and consensus; usually men filled leadership positions, but sometimes women took on those roles, often at the family level.

The Iroquois and the Abenaki had similar work and domestic duties but they used the resources and land in somewhat different ways. The Iroquois placed more emphasis on agriculture than the Abenaki and probably had a larger population. Gary Warrick argues that a horticultural economy increased Iroquoian population; they chose agriculture because it reduced or eliminated the need for hunters to go out during the dangerous winter months, allowed for nutrition beyond breast milk for infants, and thus increased the population. For example, the Mohawk population before contact was 8,100-11,000; however, after contact it was reduced to between 2,000-4,500 through epidemics. Like other peoples who relied on seasonal rounds, the Abenaki purposefully kept their population below what the land could support. They often only hunted in 75% of their territory as a conservation practice. While the Abenaki did practice horticulture, they did not depend on it like their Iroquoian neighbours. Because they did not live in them year round, the Abenaki did not have to move their more permanent seasonal villages as often as Iroquoian villages were moved.

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85 Ibid, 179.
88 Haviland and Powers, The Original Vermonters, 162.
Besides hunting and trapping, good fishing opportunities attracted Native people to the region. As the evidence of numerous camps throughout the region demonstrate, in the spring Iroquoian men and some women, as well as Algonquian-speaking families, journeyed to recently thawed rivers and lakes in the Adirondacks to catch fish. The Granville section of Washington County contained an Abenaki encampment where they were known to fish, hunt, and gather slate for hatchets and arrowheads. In addition, Putnam might have been the location of an old Mahican or Mohawk community. Piseco Lake in Hamilton County was a well-known fishing spot and is believed to be an Aboriginal word meaning “Fish Lake”. The fishing weir in Fish Creek, which connects Saratoga Lake with the Hudson River, was believed to have been built by the Mahican and later used by the Mohawk. Another technique used by Native fishermen was to fish at night with a torch to lure fish to the surface; the artefact found at the bottom of Loon Lake, New York demonstrates this practice (fig. 1.2).

Iroquoian and Algonquian people also mined in the Adirondacks, both for their own use and for trade. Native people exploited raw materials in the area such as quartz crystals for tools, weapons, and decoration; flint and chert fall under this categorization. Washington County historian Fred Tracy Stiles describes the “Podunk” Indians going to Fort Ann, in Washington County to get flint for arrows, spears...
points, knives and the heads for tomahawks. In addition, Iroquoian and Algonquian people mined quartz crystals such as Herkimer Diamonds in the Adirondacks; these crystals had specific spiritual properties, as healers and shamans included them in their medicine bundles. Indeed, some scholars have argued that the Mohawk’s name for themselves (Kanyenkehaka) as ‘the people of the flint’ and their valley (Kanyenka) as ‘the place of the flint’ specifically refers to Herkimer diamonds instead of the flint used for arrows. In addition, Native people mined for iron ore and lead at least after contact. Pottery shards “found near the banks of the river [Boquet] below Fox Knoll” around Willsboro contained the mineral Wollastonite which was used to reinforce their pottery. Jesuit accounts describe the Iroquois leaving tobacco offerings to a race of invisible men who lived at the bottom of Lake Champlain near Ticonderoga. The offering was meant to appease the beings who prepared the flint. Copper beads and implements have been found in the Adirondacks; amateur archaeologists David Kellogg and G.H. Perkins suggest copper was brought to the region from elsewhere. Jenkin’s The Adirondack Atlas does not list copper deposits in his discussion of metals and minerals in the region and perhaps confirms Kellogg and Perkins’ conclusion. Archaeologist Mary Ann Levine has determined copper was available and mined by Native people throughout the East; however, New York State is under-represented in these studies and

93 Stiles, From Then Till Now, 147.
97 Glenn, The Story of Three Towns, 306. The Wollastonite mine, now known as NYCO, used to be called the Willsboro or Fox Knoll mine. The mineral is commercially mined today for use in the manufacture of ceramic tiles, among other purposes. It would be interesting to discover if Iroquoian or Algonquian pottery elsewhere contained this mineral as Willsboro and nearby Lewis, both in Essex County, NY are two of the few places in North America this mineral is mined. For use of see “Wollastonite Statistics and Information,” USGS Minerals Information: Wollastonite, accessed 1 October 2012, http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/commodity/wollastonite/ and “Wollastonite, A Versatile Industrial Mineral”, pubs.usgs.gov/fs/fs- Industrial Minerals of the United States, accessed 1 October 2012, http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/fs-0002-01/fs-0002-01textonly.pdf. Wollastonite is also found in southern Ontario, but these Essex County sites would be the closest for the Mohawk, Oneida, Abenaki, Mahican and Southern New England Algonquian who would have been the most likely people to have made and left pots in the region.
98 Hill, Lake Champlain, 11. Jesuit accounts stated the Iroquois would “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 passerby, provided the latter pay their respects by giving them tobacco”.
99 Dr. [avid] S. Kellogg, “Aboriginal Dwelling Sites in the Champlain Valley,” Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 308-10, 308, VF = Archaeology, AM-BML, G. H. Perkins, “Archaeological Researches in the Champlain Valley,” The International Congress of Anthropology (1894) 84-91, 85. AM-BML, VF – “Archaeology.” Perkins notes that “Most of the types of stone implements found in the United States are more or less completely represented in the Champlain Valley” demonstrating extensive trading through the area. Also see Hill Lake Champlain, 10 which describes forty-five graves at the Ticonderoga flint site containing copper beads.
needs more research.\textsuperscript{101} If copper was not available locally, these finds may demonstrate trade occurred in the region or at least that precolonial trade-goods were brought here.

Map 1.3: Documented mine sites, locations approximate

Horticulture was practiced in the region by at least the early contact era. We know that the Iroquois were practicing a maize agriculture “during the millennium prior to European contact”.\textsuperscript{102} According to Parmenter, as early as the 1670s, Iroquoian women at Kentaké (or Sault Saint Louis, the community established prior to Kahnawake south of Montréal) began to plant seeds between sheets of birch bark to create seedlings in order to deal with the shorter growing season of the St. Lawrence River Valley.\textsuperscript{103} While the vast majority of crops for Mohawk and Oneida families were cultivated in the Mohawk Valley by women, children, and older individuals, the number of early pioneer records describing Indian corn fields in the Adirondacks cannot be ignored. Warrick indicates that Northern Flint or \textit{Zea mays indurata} -type maize was grown in New York by C.E. 640, Québec by C.E. 1150 and south-

\textsuperscript{101} Mary Ann Levine, “Determining the Provenance of Native Copper Artifacts from Northeastern North America: Evidence from Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis,” \textit{Journal of Archaeological Science} 34:4 (2007), 572-87, 576-82, 585. To determine where the copper came from, the pieces would have to be tested.

\textsuperscript{102} Parmenter, \textit{The Edge of the Woods}, xxxvii-xxxviii. Parmenter explains that the Iroquois moved more often than we realize prior to contact; they chose settlement locations with enough rainfall, frost-free days, soil with lime, and often near good fishing.

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Ibid}, 145.
central Ontario C.E. 700-900. Gordon Day claims the growing of crops was practiced widely across the Northeast including “along the Ottawa River and around Lake Nipissing,” both of which are north of the Adirondacks. In 1724 the Jesuit priest, Joseph François Lafitau recorded that the Mohawk grew only summer crops and that their corn could be planted and harvested within three months, usually from late April or May to August, in the Mohawk Valley. These observations tell us corn could be grown in upstate New York at that time by the Iroquois in as little as three months under good conditions. The Abenaki in northern New England and southern Québec also grew corn but less intensively than their Iroquoian neighbours. While the Adirondacks have a notoriously short growing season, they also have microclimates that extend the season along lakes, river systems, and at least on one uplifted plateau which also enjoys a longer growing season.

The records indicate corn and other crops were planted along the lake valleys such as those of Lakes George, Champlain, and Saratoga and even in the centre of the region near Piseco Lake, Indian Lake, and the Indian Carry at Coreys.

Furthermore, a group of hunters, often accompanied by women, might plant a crop of corn if they were going to be in the area for more than a few months. The Abenaki and Iroquois often returned to the same seasonal encampments for their work; they apparently lived there long enough at times to plant, and if fortunate, harvest corn for their extended use. As mentioned earlier, gardens were also used to lure game. Further, dried corn stalks were used for fishing line floats, the husk for lighting fires, and the leaves

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106 Joseph François Lafitau, Moeurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps, 4 vols. (Paris: Chez Saugrain l’aîné et al., 1724), V. 2, 75-76. According to William Englebrecht’s Iroquoia, 23 the cultivation of maize, beans, squash, sunflowers and tobacco were prevalent in Iroquoia by 1300 AD; while important, horticulture never replaced collecting wild food.
107 Janet Loughrey, Gardens Adirondack Style (Camden, ME: Downeast Publishing, 2005), 13; Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 31 refers to the Iroquois planting on elevations for a phenomena called the ‘thermal blots’ which lengths frost-free days. The “Indian Council Grounds” in North Elba was a summer grounds located in the High Peaks region just outside Lake Placid; it was thought to be Iroquois. This spot is an uplifted plateau surrounded by the highest mountains in the region and may explain why corn grew in this place although Loughrey notes that the proximity of the village of Lake Placid to Mirror Lake moderated its growing season however only a mile or two away the temperatures may have a 10 degrees Fahrenheit difference. However, this location’s unique form may have compensated for this difference. Indeed, this space, locally known as “the Plains of Abraham” is currently and has been occupied as an agricultural space since the first decades of the nineteenth century. See Lee Manchester’s “More from the Plains of Abraham” Document Transcript, Accessed 16 June 2012 http://www.slideshare.net/LeeManchester/more-from-the-plains-of-abraham, 19. For a description of the Plains as an uplifted plateau see Lee Manchester, ed., The Plains of Abraham: A History of North Elba and Lake Placid, Collected Writings of Mary MacKenzie (Utica, NY: Nicholas K. Burns Publishing, 2007), 11, 15.
108 Robert Venables, retired Cornell Historian, letter to John Fadden and his wife Eva dated 5 October 2009 suggests the possibility of corn being grown on the New York State side of Lake Champlain and around Lake George and south of there based on Samuel de Champlain’s accounting in his Voyages (1609). Also see Lester St. John Thomas assisted by Evelyn Cirino Donohue and Anita Beaudette Ranado, Timber, Tannery and Tourists, (Lake Luzerne, NY: Published by the Committee on Publication of Local History, Lake Luzerne, NY, 1979), 21 describes the growing of corn and then drying and pounding it around Lake Luzerne; the early pioneers called their effort “Indian meal”. Christopher Angus, The Extraordinary Adirondack Journey of Clarence Petty: Wilderness Guide, Pilot, and Conservationist (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 3-4, 22-23 and Maitland DeSormo, Summers on the Saranac (Saranac Lake, NY: Adirondack Yesteryears; 1980), 100 both refer to corn being grown in Franklin County; Knox, “Piseco Lake”; and Todd, Long Lake, 28 refer to corn in Hamilton County; Evelyn Barrett Britten, “Traces of Indian Life Remain in Area” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY), Column: Chronicles of Saratoga (September 1962).
as a make-shift steamer, all of which were useful for seasonal occupation. In a discussion of how Piseco Lake got its name, John Knox states:

The Indians made Piseco a regular camping ground during their travels in this section of the Adirondacks. … Some of the lands adjacent to the lake were cleared by them and the squaws were able to grow corn and other vegetables while the men were out fishing and hunting for the winter’s supply.

In addition, the Abenaki were known to use the Indian Lake region as a summer camp. They cleared the land for gardens by burning a small area around the base of trees. The burning eventually killed the tree which was collected for firewood. They used the ash from the burning and fish they caught to fertilize their beans, corn, and squash. Since these are the same crops as the Iroquoian ‘three sisters’ it would not be unreasonable to suggest Iroquoian-speaking people also grew these crops there as they also fished and hunted in the region. They also similarly cleared fields and used the ash and fish for fertilizer. A meadow called “Indian Joe Field” near Saratoga was known to have been “cleared and cultivated by the Indians” and it was thought that some of the herbs growing in it were planted by them.

Another horticultural activity included the tapping of maple trees. In addition, the Iroquois were known to cultivate and sometimes plant nut and fruit producing trees. For example, Newcomers commented on apple orchards around Saratoga which may have had some spiritual significance. The orchard was described as follows:

Thirteen apple trees are planted on a circular ridge, elevated about a foot above the surface, having a diameter of 24 feet. Immediately inside the ridge is a depression having a breadth some six or eight feet, inside if which … is a mound about two feet higher than the place occupied by the trees. On the outside is another depression 10 feet wide. Directly at the north edge of the whole are two old and one young tree with sufficient space between the old trees for an Indian lodge, for which it was undoubtedly designed.

109 Arthur C. Parker, “Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants,” Education Department Bulletin of the New York State Museum, Museum Bulletin Number 144 (1 November 1910), 80, 88, accessed 29 July 2012, http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/title/26294#page/126/mode/2up. In addition, and among other things, the stalks could be made into a lotion to use for medicine for cuts and bruises and the leaves as an improvised bandage.
110 John Knox, “Piseco Lake,” 106. Copy of article located at the AM-BML, VF – “Piseco”.
112 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 27, 30.
113 Stone, Reminiscences of Saratoga and Ballston, 59. This field was noted by pioneering settler, Gideon Putnam who arrived around 1789.
114 Stiles, From Then Till Now, 147-48 describes Native people showing the first pioneers to Washington County how to make maple syrup. See Chapter Two for two stories about how maple syrup was discovered.
115 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 28.
116 Jean McGregor a/k/a Evelyn Barrett, “Little Remains of Old Indian Trail, Orchard” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY) column “Chronicles of Saratoga (Fri., 27 May, 1949) CSSH citing an unnamed article by E.C. Latimer in the 1859 Saratoga Daily Forum and another article entitled “Indian Orchard,” Saratoga Daily Forum (12 July, 1853) for the description. The articles noted that the orchard was still occupied by Indians in 1853 and was near Mount McGregor which was home to the Palmertown Indians who will be discussed in Chapter Two. Stone, Reminiscences of Saratoga and Ballston, 59 claims the orchard was planted by the Mohawk around 1776.
Native people regularly managed nut and fruit trees in the eastern part of the U.S. before European contact. According to Marc Abrams and Gregory Nowacki, Native peoples in the East used a wide-range of nuts and fruits for food sources and actively cultivated them through land clearing, importing plants from other locations, and planting. Abrams and Nowacki note that the planting and management of apple orchards was probably an after-contact practice.117 This orchard in Saratoga demonstrates the adaptability of the Mohawk (or maybe the Mahican) people here and their occupation of this place. It and other horticultural activity and mining further destabilizes assumptions of terms such as hunting territories as not representing real proprietorship over the land.

Map 1.4: Documented corn fields, locations approximate

It is possible Algonquian and Iroquoian-speaking people gathered local plants while they were working in the region, although it is difficult to say this with certainty or to know which plants were collected other than one used as a dye. Scandinavian scientist Pehr Kalm chronicled French botanical studies of local plants gathered for food and medicine, studies based on information provided by their Indigenous allies. While at Fort Saint-Frédéric at Crown Point in 1749, Kalm commented on the use of

117 Marc D. Abrams and Gregory J. Nowacki, “Native Americans as active and passive promoters of mast and fruit trees in the eastern USA,” *The Holocene* 18:7 (2008), 1123-37, 1128-29, 1132. Abrams and Nowacki do refer to a sweet crabapple tree (*Pyrus coronaria*) that was native to the eastern part of North America; however most orchard apple trees (along with pear and peach) came from Europe. Since we do not know what kind of apples this orchard contained, it would be too difficult to claim they were native to the region and / or planted prior to contact.
the gallium tinctorium or tisauojaune rouge plant that grew in abundance around the fort; the plant was used by the Native people as a dye for porcupine quills. The quills were used to decorate and the dye rarely faded; French women adopted the use of the plant to colour their cloth. In addition to the previously mentioned microclimates, the region contains unusual habitats that have been home to rare plants. Some unusual landscapes there include bogs, limey outcrops, and arctic and alpine-like environments in the High Peaks. In the mid-nineteenth century, travel and natural history writer Alfred Street described some unusual plants in Essex County.

On the summits of the highest mountains are many rare plants, some of them only found elsewhere in extreme northern latitudes. The Arenaria groenlandica (Greenland sandroot), and Potentilla tridentata (white cinquefoil), are only found on the loftiest peaks of these mountains, or of the White Mountains, New Hampshire, while the golden rod of Whiteface and Mount Marcy are found on no other mountains in the State. There are two beautiful specimens of kamaia or laurel found in the marshes.

Today, some of the rare plants growing in these environments include sedges (grass with seeds) and uncommon mosses and liverworts. It is known that the latter have been used for medicinal purposes; however, we cannot be sure whether the rare types growing there now existed in the past and if they were medically useful. Without more complex research involving ethnobotanists and other scientific experts, we can only speculate. Nevertheless, as Kalm’s writings indicate, Native people were aware of and used plants from the region. It seems doubtful that the Iroquois seasonally working in the region ignored useful plants, particularly if they could not get them in their home villages in the Mohawk Valley and if the Adirondacks were the closest place to obtain them. For the Abenaki or other Algonquian-speaking people “home” was a relative term. We know they moved seasonally within a specified territory to hunt, trap, fish, and gather plants, nuts, and fruits. Here too it is unlikely that those Algonquian who worked in the Adirondacks during their seasonal rounds ignored useful plants in the area.

The Adirondacks also were a spiritual place for the Mohawk. According to Peter Bauer, an environmentalist and local historian, young men paddled elm bark canoes up the northern reaches of the

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118 Kalm, Travels into North America, V. III: 6, 14.
119 Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 60-61. To obtain some of the plants that grow in the High Peaks region one would have to go to Labrador, Greenland, and even farther away places. Also see Philip G. Terrie, Forever Wild, 5 which lists some other unusual plants such as “Lapland rosebay, diapensia, mountain sandwort.”
120 Street, The Indian Pass, xxv-xxvi.
121 John W. Thieret, “Bryophytes as Economic Plants,” Economic Botany 10:1 (January-March 1956), 75-91, 77-80 claims liverwort had been used to treat pulmonary tuberculosis (a disease many went to the Adirondacks for a possible cure) and liver issues; mosses had multiple uses.
122 Haviland and Power, The Original Vermonters, 123-26. There are ethnobotanical sources of Iroquoian and Abenaki plants including medicinal uses, for example Michel Durand Nolett et André Gill, Plantes du Soleil Levant Waban Aki: Recettes Ancestrales de Plantes Médicinales (Oadanak, PQ: Published by the author, available at the Odanak Museum, 2008) or Jacques Rousseau and Robert Paquette “Ethnobotanique abenaquise,” Archives de Folklore 2 (1947), 145-82. However, more study needs to be done to determine if the plants are or were located in the Adirondacks. My thanks to Christopher Parson with assistance and permission from John Moody for these and other titles.
Hudson River and into the High Peaks for vision quests. Similarly, the Oneida held an ice cave along the Oswagatchie River as sacred; this river served as a boundary line between them and the Mohawk in the western part of the Adirondacks. The Abenakis’ spiritual centre was the eastern side of Lake Champlain and thus there are no known Abenaki spiritual places located in the Adirondacks. However, the ‘western’ Abenaki transformer Odzihozo turned himself into a rock in today’s Burlington Bay, a site that has spiritual meaning and is just across the lake from Indian Bay in Willsboro.

Despite the dearth of professional archaeological work, artefacts have been found throughout the region in hunting and fishing camps as well as in rock shelters. They demonstrate that the region was not an empty landscape and that Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking peoples lived in the area at least seasonally over extended periods. Archaeologists have not systematically studied hunting camps as it is easier to study villages. Further, while archaeologists acknowledge the great value of studying rock shelters because they were a base of operation and thus provide and protect artefacts, their study has “not been well integrated into … archaeological understanding of [precolonial] human settlement regimes”. As a result, historians covering this period have to rely on nonprofessional records. Far outnumbering the handful of professional archaeology efforts in the Adirondacks are the numerous amateur finds. Literally thousands of pottery shards, tools, pipes, and other evidence are in the possession of dozens of local private collectors and archives. Pottery artefacts in the Adirondacks are especially important (see figure 1.3). As Ferris notes, material culture such as pots are more than illustrative, they are “the recovered medium through which a range of social actions are negotiated and played out, representing all the social dimensions touched upon when harvesting clay, manufacturing and designing, and purchasing or trading, as well as in terms of function, domestic use, cuisine, and trash disposal”. Warrick suggests that pottery styles and decoration as signs of identity and in foreign places signalled

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123 Peter Bauer, “Watersheds: Twenty decisive moments that made us what we are,” Adirondack Life, XX:3 ((May/June 1989), 88-103, 89.
124 Metoxen, personal conversation 18 August, 2010. According to Ms. Metoxen the cave’s original importance has been lost. There are several known ice caves in and around the area she describes including one with a mountain, stream and valley named after it. It is also possible the cave was flooded when the Stillwater Reservoir was created and is now gone.
125 Day, see Introduction, “The Eastern Boundary of Iroquoia” and “Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley” in In Search of New England’s Native Past, 14-15 and 116-22, 229-62. This site is also called Rock Dunder by Europeans and Euroamericans. The Abenaki with ties to more eastern parts of northern New England have a different cultural hero called Gluskap; these different cultural heroes and language differences are some of the reasons Day separated these Algonquian-speaking peoples into Eastern and Western Abenaki. Also see Alice Nash, “Théophile Panadis (1889-1966): un guide abénaquis,” Recherches amérindiennes au Québec trans. Claude Gélinas 33:2 (2003), 14. English translation provided by author. Panadis referred to Ojihozo and his wife, Ojihoskwa and that the Abenaki used to leave tobacco or a pipe offering to the couple when they crossed (presumably Lake Champlain which suggests they did this before crossing the lake to go to the Adirondacks).
126 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 11.
128 Ibid, 259.
peaceful dealings. According to Iroquoian archaeologist Dean Snow, pipes, tools, and points were made by men and were meant to travel. Pottery vessels were made by women and they were considered too heavy to transport, so they were usually manufactured and discarded nearby. In addition to shards, intact pots have been found in rock shelters and near lakes as documented by the vessel in illustration 1.3. Other examples include those of amateur archaeologist Peter Schuyler Miller (1912-1974) who wrote about the discovery of unbroken pots in the Adirondacks. He describes their being “tucked away in a rock shelter – the Indian equivalent of hanging up a coffee-pot beside the lean-to for the boys who will use it next week”. He also described how one intact pot found in a shelter on the Cedar River was broken by “playful lumber jacks”. Englebrecht describes Iroquoian cooking pots as “symbols of family and hospitality”. Rick Hill points out that Iroquoian people left pottery jars to inform others that area was part of their territory. In this case, they probably left pots at the system of hunting and fishing camps that were part of a supply chain the hunters used to send meat and hides back to their villages in the Mohawk Valley.

1.3: Iroquoian Vessel found in Rock Shelter near Silver Lake Mountain, Photographed by Melissa Otis. Courtesy of and located at Six Nations Indian Museum, Onchiota, NY.

131 Snow, The Iroquois, 37. Also see Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 82.
132 P. Schuyler Miller, “people looking down,” Cloud Splitter newsletter published by the Adirondack Mountain Club (February 1942), 2-3, 3. Miller was better known as a science fiction writer who had grown up in the Mohawk Valley. He had a passion for Iroquois culture and pursued it as an amateur archaeologist; he was even a member of New York State Archaeological Association according to the back cover of his book The Titan as noted at http://www.amazon.com/Titan-Peter-Schuyler-Miller/dp/B0007DW9TU, accessed 18 April 2012. Another intact Iroquoian vessel found near Lake Pleasant in Speculator, NY is on display at the Walter Elwood Museum at the Guy Park Manor, Amsterdam, NY and photographed in Snow, The Iroquois, 56.
133 Englebrecht, Iroquoia, 87.
134 Rick Hill, Personal conversation with author, 1 March 2011 at IKC.
EUROCENTRIC AND ANDROCENTRIC INFLUENCES ON PRECOLONIAL HISTORY

Given the abundant amount of evidence of activity and occupancy in various forms, why does the myth of an empty space with no precolonial history persist in the Adirondacks? Part of the answer may be based on the very regional location of the information. As far as I know, there are no works that suggest this breadth of coverage and no one has gone to each of these archives and pulled the information together. However, I believe it goes deeper than that. I argue that Western notions of wilderness and property combined with what constitutes bona fide work are to blame for this myth here and probably in most places labelled as “hunting territories”. As scholars have pointed out, the perception of colonial North America as empty space was influenced by John Locke's concepts of *terra nullius* which allowed colonists to see these lands as “pure nature” empty and void of ownership.135 This concept, combined with other aspects of colonization such as the doctrine of discovery, grants by the Crown, and land taken as the spoils of war allowed European colonists who came to North America (and elsewhere) to occupy what was to them a wilderness that appeared common and free for the taking and to declare it their private property.136 Adam Smith’s 1776 *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origins of the Wealth of Nations* argued that an individual’s right to private property was a common good and a condition for exchange; private property became a basis of limited government and a source of wealth. “Property evolved into the realm of personal independence, largely beyond the … reach of government”.137 As a result, the desire for private property became the American dream. Capitalists changed the notion of land as “‘an agent of production in creating a use-value, a material product’” to land as a commodity.138 David Silverman argues that Europeans and later Euro-North Americans believed it was God’s will that hunter-gatherers who left the landscape alone were to make way for more civilized agriculturalists who could improve the land.139 Eventually the landscapes early colonialists did not want became isolated pockets that were often passed over by homesteaders in their quest for new private property, especially for land they could farm.140 As anthropologist Hugh Brody argues, “Farmers and herders have always looked for the most

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fertile and abundant environments…. So the world’s hunter-gatherers have been pushed from these places, driven to live in areas that are not of such interest to invading newcomers”. ¹⁴¹ These islands of poor farmland in North America were often hunting territories. They were imagined as empty landscapes void of people and culture and this belief served as the foundation for the erasure of the history of Aboriginal people that worked and sometimes lived there. To early homesteaders, places resembling the Adirondacks were as Locke described them: “pure nature,” empty and void of humanity.

For Indigenous people, dissimilar landscapes served different purposes. Parmenter explains that for the Iroquois the forests and village symbolically represented different things; the forest was “the space of warfare, hunting, spirits, and danger” while the village was “the space of residence, agriculture, security, and peace councils”.¹⁴² Both Iroquoian and Western Abenaki creation stories reflect a co-creation link with nature and a need to honour it in its various forms.¹⁴³ The unknown was questioned and answers were sought in order to make sense of it. As Chamberlin claims, “Every story brings the imagination and reality together in moments of what we might as well call faith.”¹⁴⁴ Ghost stories and enigmatic locations explained some of the mysteries of spaces such as the forest: the Adirondacks have their share of both. For example, the southwestern portion of the Great Sacandaga Reservoir in the southern Adirondacks used to be a marsh called the Vly, probably so named by the Dutch. The Mohawk say that a star fell into the wetland there and created “a “Great Sky Hole” of mystical power” that formed giant fish and ate creatures that came to drink.¹⁴⁵

In addition, the Iroquoian legend about the creation of the “Flying Head” was set in the region. The Flying Head was created after a group of young warriors anxious to leave the Adirondacks killed their chiefs who wanted to stay. In order to justify their actions, the warriors beheaded all the corpses and burned the bodies of their chiefs. The heads were ceremoniously placed in individual canoes and rowed out onto Sacandaga Lake by the young men; they then handed each head to their leader who tied them by their scalp-locks in a chain, weighted them down by a rock, and threw them into the lake. As the leader threw the chain of heads overboard he was caught in the throw and was drowned himself. His followers rowed ashore and waited. Each day, some part of a large head emerged, starting as nothing more than a stain but by the seventh day a large head with huge eyes, no body, and wings and talons appeared which

¹⁴⁴ Chamberlin, *If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories?*, 3.
allowed the head to fly (see figure 1.4). According to St. Regis Mohawk hunter and guide Captain Gill who was telling the story, the Flying Head protected the Adirondacks from settlement. 146

Stories concretely demonstrate that a place is part of a people’s homeland. Basso argues that “places served humankind as durable symbols of distant events and as indispensable aids for remembering and imagining them”. 147 Native people tell stories about place to provide symbolic importance to geographical forms and establish a relationship between the people and that landscape. These stories may also serve to remind the people about events or social offenses that occurred there, along with possible corrective responses. 148 We see this happening in the tales situated in Adirondacks. The story of the Vly told people it was a good place to fish, but they also had to be careful. The Flying Head may have been the result of a tornado going through the region.149 Another tale about wounded warriors left to die and turning into the Stone Giants around Piseco Lake is a cautionary tale about mistaken identity, a lapse in judgment, and revenge. It also represents the terrain of the Adirondacks – rocks have been used to represent that area by Iroquoian people. 150

Not only do stories show a place is part of a homeland, but they also “give meaning and value to the places we call home … they bring us close to the world we live in by taking us into a world of words” that hold us together and also keep us apart. 151 As Brian Thom argues:

‘First Ancestors’ and other powerful beings are inscribed in the landscape through legends. ... Relations with these ancestral figures require reciprocity, sharing and respect for other persons, both human and non-human, who are associated with place. They create and reinforce kin-based property relations, where the land at once belongs to the ancestors who dwell there, and to those living today who encounter the ancestors. … Ancestors may be associated with lands in numerous

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146 Charles Fenno Hoffman, “KO-REA-RAN-NEH-NEH, OR THE FLYING HEAD. [A Legend of Sacondaga Lake]” in Wild Scenes of the Forest and Prairie, in two volumes (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 2: 39-49. It is possible the setting occurs elsewhere, too. According to Mohawk Storyteller, artist, and proprietor of the Six Nations Indian Museum at Onchiota, John Kahionhes Fadden, Mohawk legends used the adjacent landscape for their settings. Since the Adirondacks are located just north of the Mohawk Valley and just south of the St. Lawrence Valley it is likely the area figured into other Mohawk and Oneida stories when they referred to mountains and forests and possibly the Onondaga who accessed them easily through the eastern shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. Similarly, the Western Abenaki were just across Lake Champlain which, while 110 miles long, is only 12 miles wide; it can easily be navigated and viewed from the opposite shore. Both Abenaki and Mohawk peoples share a legend of a haunted cabin located in the Adirondacks.

147 Basso, Wisdom Sits in Places, 7.

148 Ibid, 48-49, 55. While Basso’s study is about the Western Apache, he argues these conclusions can be more broadly situated.

149 There have been several large tornadoes or ‘blows’ documented in the Adirondacks including the best known “Great Adirondack Tornado” of 1845, which was a series of tornadoes probably originating in Canada and continuing as a water spout across Lake Ontario. The tornado(s) churned across the Adirondacks for 100 miles to Lake Champlain and damaged thousands of acres of forests. See Thomas P. Grazulis, The Tornado: Nature’s Ultimate Windstorm (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 221.

150 Hoffmann, Wild Scenes of the Forest and Prairie V 2 (1839), 178-90 for the story; Rick Hill, personal conversation with author, 1 March, 2011 and Seneca artist, Ernie Smith’s map of Iroquoian places in New York State, located at the Rochester Museum & Science Center (c. 1930s – Mr. Smith created the map for a display for a World’s Fair, perhaps the New York World’s Fair in 1939). Over the area of the Adirondacks is a drawing of a Stone Giant with “Ken-Non-Squah or Souah” written underneath it. The area is also labelled as Mohawk or Ga-Ne-A-Ga-O-No-Ga territory.

151 Chamberlin, If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories?, 1.
locations and individuals associating with these ancestors may enjoy property rights in a number of places.\textsuperscript{152}

Clearly, Iroquoian people had stories about the Adirondacks that represented home. European explorers and early colonists, on the other hand, relied on second-hand information; they could not even rely on their imagination to understand this place and thus they had no stories about it. As Chamberlin suggests, it was the Europeans, and later their descendants, who were the wanderers; the Indigenous people were the settlers,\textsuperscript{153} and, I add, proprietors of the region. These narratives demonstrate further that the Adirondacks were an Indigenous homeland.

![“Flying Head” drawing](image)

\textsuperscript{1.4} “Flying Head” drawing

Courtesy of and drawing by John Kahionhes Fadden

Furthermore, different conceptions of legitimate work helped to shape the myth of the Adirondacks as a hunting territory without people. We understand that early North American and European cultures assigned labour according to concepts of gender relations and roles. However, the functions men and women performed differed dramatically between Natives and Newcomers. Prior to European influences, Iroquoian women’s work occurred mainly in and around the village and the men often laboured in groups outside of the community. That does not mean men did not work in the village; they were responsible for clearing new fields and building and moving communities as the need arose. But Iroquoian women did the bulk of the everyday work there; they were in charge of and even controlled the ownership of their homes and gardens through their matrilineal and matrilocal social practices.\textsuperscript{154} Clan

\textsuperscript{152} Brian Thom, “The Paradox of Boundaries in Coast Salish Territories,” \textit{Cultural Geographies} 16:2 (April 2009), 179-205, 185-86.

\textsuperscript{153} Chamberlin, \textit{If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories?}, 31.

\textsuperscript{154} Snow, \textit{The Iroquois}, 67-70. Snow notes that men did plant tobacco by spreading the seeds in the spring and drying the leaves in the fall. Also see George – Kanentiio, \textit{Iroquois Culture & Commentary}, 51-52 and Benn, \textit{Mohawks on the Nile}, especially chapter 4, “Mohawks as Workers” pp 92-111.
mothers also participated in government. Similarly, Iroquoian women sometimes worked outside the village. Some traveled with men at times for trade, went into the forest to process game, or accompanied military expeditions to care for supplies. Iroquoian women even traveled by themselves or in groups and participated in diplomatic missions that occurred abroad. As mentioned, the Abenaki were similar, as nearly everyone traveled in family bands seasonally for their work. In European and later Euro-North American colonial homesteads men did the farming; they typically employed draft animals to plough fields. They or sometimes their wives tended livestock for their main source of protein; hunting, trapping, and fishing supplemented their agricultural and herding pursuits. Both Native and White women performed much of the same domestic labour as they cared for their families. However, married colonial women rarely owned the property their home was located on, nor were they directly involved in the governance of their community. These complimentary roles “kept gender relations in rough balance” and helped Native people survive and adapt in their territory. However Europeans ignored their efforts and, compared to their own homelands, saw instead a failure “to tame the wilderness” which they used as justification to conquer North America. Colonists and early American settlers ignored the trails, changes to the land, artefacts, material culture, and evidence of the ancestors in places like the Adirondacks so they could eventually claim it as their own private property, even if the landscape was not ideal.

CONCLUSION

Contradictory beliefs about nature, property, and labour helped to create the myth that the Adirondacks were ‘just a hunting territory’ void of culture and people. Combined with the piecemeal and clandestine nature of the records, these perceptions have allowed the erasure of the precolonial history of Algonquian and Iroquoian men and women in this location. Westerners need to expand their concept of work and occupancy in hunting territories equivalent to this region. I have suggested that we need a complimentary term to help many North Americans move away from their concept of these spaces as having a limited use, or, more troubling, as a landscape for sport. Today, hunting and fishing are typically recreational activities, often performed in these places under the auspices of tourism; these practices are restricted by the state to a specific number of weeks and to the kind and number of animals which can be taken. This modern view of hunting and fishing as sport, and not as subsistence, colours the majority of North Americans’ perceptions of these terrains. Hunting territories were not just the local grocery store with a long commute. To put it in today’s language, these spaces were Wall or Bay Street with economic

155 Snow, The Iroquois, 62; George, Iroquois Culture & Commentary, 55-56.
156 Benn, Mohawks on the Nile, 98.
157 Parmenter, The Edge of the Woods, xi.
158 Haviland and Power, The Original Vermonters, 38.
and financial purposes; Main Street with economic, social, and spiritual uses; and they also were a familiar and consistent, albeit metaphorical, extended-stay hotel, which, as the next chapter discloses, eventually became year-round homes for some.

As demonstrated in this chapter, more than hunting occurred in the Adirondacks. The variety of labour and the regularity of seasonal rounds into the region combined with political and cultural connections clearly show the Adirondacks were an Indigenous homeland. In exchange for the lands’ resources, Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people offered their energy and spiritual expressions often through their labour; they also left evidence of their culture and themselves in a reciprocal exchange with the land. Robbie Ethridge argues humans leave an imprint on their world that is culturally consequential. As Parmenter reminds us, the landscape and the people who experience it over time work “dialectically to construct and reproduce each other”. The Adirondacks, as an example of a location of exchange, should give most North Americans pause to reconsider the complexity of spaces known as hunting territories; such consideration should include the fact that the space’s occupancy was varied and adapted over time by the Indigenous people who considered the area their homeland.

As the next chapter examines, this landscape continued to be occupied in a variety of ways. Chapter Two describes how Iroquoian and Algonquian people who had been occupying the region adapted their use of this space over time as contact occurred. In addition, it looks at some of their neighbours who came to the region seeking a place of refuge to escape the violence that colonial contact had created in their own homelands during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At this time the Adirondacks ceased to be a totally seasonally occupied space, as some chose to occupy portions of the region year-round or nearly so as part of their survival strategy. The Adirondacks too saw its share of violence, especially in the post-Revolutionary War period to the early nineteenth century as Native and non-Native trappers competed with one another. This situation required Algonquian and Iroquoian people to rely on their traditional diplomatic skills and at the same time adapt to new forms of nineteenth century labour and occupancy, while maintaining their tenure in the Adirondacks.

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Map 1.5: The Adirondacks as *Location of Exchange*

Red: artefacts

Green: reported corn fields

Yellow: reported mining sites
Chapter 2:
"Couxachschrâgé"1

A Brief History of Iroquoian and Algonquian People in the Adirondacks from Contact to the Pre-Wilderness Tourism Era (c. 1609-1840).

Indian Lake received its name from an old Indian who came to it many years ago, bringing an only son, and who have lived there in their rude wigwam up to the present time. The old man's name is Sabael; born on the Penobscot, more than a century ago, and afterwards joining the Canada Abenaquis Indians. When, in our last war with Great Britain, the Abenaquis were induced to fight against the United States, he, being a Penobscot, left his tribe, and relinquished the yearly stipend which the Canada Indians receive from the British government, and came off through the wilderness, and settled on this lonely lake. At that time the country was wellstocked with moose, beaver, otters, and deer. The two former are mostly gone, while the deer, the otter, and the bear, remain in abundance. This old Indian was in the battle at Quebec, when Wolfe fell and the city was taken. His father was a kind of chief or brave, and he was his father's cook. He knows that he was then twelve years old. The battle took place in 1759, consequently he must now be a hundred and one years old.

Reverend John Todd, 1850 2

Reverend John Todd’s introduction of Sabael Benedict alludes to the complicated relationship between Native people and the borderlands regions of the Northeast before the era of wilderness tourism. This chapter focuses on the relationship between Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples and the Adirondacks after contact with Europeans and later Euro-North Americans; its emphasis is the era after the American Revolution to the early 1840s. As Chapter One argues, the Adirondacks were an Indigenous homeland within a complicated region often referred to as a hunting territory. The pre-contact seasonal work and occupation by Native people in this homeland continued during this chapter’s time period; however, association with European officials, merchants, settlers, and military officers during the colonial period created other situations, such as work in the commercial fur trade and participation in military campaigns. As the historiography of this era demonstrates, Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking nations of the Northeast chose European allies as part of a strategy for economic and political power and later survival.3 These interactions created or exacerbated violent encounters between European soldiers and settlers, Iroquois, and Algonquian people in and around the region. Because European settlers avoided the Adirondacks, the region also became a place of refuge during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for

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1 Lewis Evans, “A General Map of the British Middle Colonies in America” (1755) used the word “Couch Sachraga” over a mostly empty region today known as the Adirondacks. Sulavik, Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains, 159, the map is located in the Sterling Memorial Library – map collection, Yale University. The word has also been spelled Coughsachragna. For example see Sylvester, Historical sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness, 39 interpreted as “dismal wilderness”. John Fadden, e-mail message to author, 23 April 2010 and 29 April 2010, the word is probably Mohawk, Koh-ah-sa-tsa-ra-ka meaning “winter” according to his wife and Mohawk speaker Eva Fadden or “during winter”. The word is pronounced “Koh se ra ke”.

2 Reverend John Todd, Summer Gleanings: Or Sketches And Incidents of a Pastor’s Vacation Collected and arranged by his daughter. (Northampton: Hopkins, Bridgman, & Co. 1852), 262.

3 For example, see Axtell, The Invasion Within, 3 or J. R. Miller, “Military Allies Through a Century of Warfare,” In Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, 72-100.
those Native people who already occupied this place, along with others, especially southern New England Algonquian people fleeing from the violence brought on by colonization. The region continued its role as a place of refuge during the nineteenth century as pressures on the land and economy around reserve communities occurred over time.

This chapter explores several themes. First, it continues and expands the argument from Chapter One that the region was an Indigenous homeland with occupation occurring in the area both before and after contact; this occupation took several forms and it often overlapped. During this period, pre-contact seasonal hunting and fishing encampments continued to be used throughout the region. However, violence in the Northeast and elsewhere wrought enormous changes that affected this area. Colonial violence forced neighbouring Aboriginal people into these seasonally occupied places. As part of a survival strategy, some chose to stay year-round as the Adirondacks became a haven from colonial warfare, particularly for Algonquian-speaking people from New England as early as the late seventeenth century (Palmertown) until after the American Revolution. Furthermore, as part of the repercussions of colonial warfare and in particular the American Revolution, many Iroquoian and a number of Algonquian people moved to, or were forced onto reserves or reservations. Of particular interest to the history of the Adirondacks were the former Catholic mission villages of St. Regis (Akwesasne) and St. Francis (Odanak), mostly located in Canada. As this chapter will describe, these reserves came under both internal and external pressure. As more Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people came to live in these reserve communities, and with the arrival of Loyalists and European immigrants who settled nearby, some residents of Akwesasne and Odanak were forced to go elsewhere for hunting and subsistence. A few who chose to work in northern New York found it a good place to settle more permanently. Eventually, non-Native homesteaders moved near these Algonquian and Iroquoian individuals and families. Later in the nineteenth century Abenaki families settled - sometimes in their own small neighbourhoods - around established tourist towns. These are all examples of Iroquoian and Algonquian occupation in the Adirondacks.

This chapter also explores the lives of Algonquian and Iroquoian people who moved to the Adirondacks during and just after the American Revolution on a more permanent basis. It demonstrates that Indian people who moved to this place maintained many traditional practices while adapting to European and later Euroamerican society in North America. This chapter also demonstrates the amount of mobility they experienced and examines the borderlands nature of the region during the nineteenth century. The family of Sabael Benedict, also known as Xavier Panadis, provides a clear example of this lifestyle during their late eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation in the area.4 This does not

4 Personal conversation with Christopher Roy, dated 7 May 2009 and 1 October 2012. Records vary over the nationality of Sabael Benedict and less is known about his wife. It is thought he was either Penobscot or Abenaki but we do not know for sure.
mean the family did not return to Odanak; they did so, in all likelihood on a frequent basis. They also traveled to Akwesasne at least once to have their twin daughters baptized. However, northern New York became home for this Abenaki family and others similar to them. Sabael Benedict claimed and treated the Adirondack interior as his family’s hunting territory in ways that were similar to conventional Abenaki practices, ones which included the use of Abenaki leadership skills to negotiate with trappers and White settlers. This space allowed him and other Native settlers to maintain greater continuity in their lives for a longer time and to avoid living in state-sponsored reserve communities. Benedict, and other Abenaki and Mohawk people working and living in the region, developed and maintained a strategy of cooperation with incoming Euroamerican homesteaders and industrialists. This allowed them and their extended family the opportunity to remain living in a relatively physically safe environment while they continued to acclimate and adapt to changes brought by the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and nineteenth century modernisation. However, as the chapter explores further, this strategy had its limitations.

After the American Revolution, the Adirondacks were at times a place of violent encounters, especially between Mohawk and Euroamerican hunters; these encounters provide evidence which disputes claims that the Adirondacks did not experience a violent history or forced removal. Yet despite the violence, acts of friendship and cooperation also occurred. This era is an important one in the region’s history and reflects the depth of change between Natives and non-Natives that occurred within a relatively short period. These contradictory encounters were the beginnings of complex relationships that had begun between Indigenous people and the rural Euro americans described in the introduction of this thesis. In a short period of time they learned to live together in this thinly populated area with minimal state interference.

Although sparse, White settlement and resource industries expanded into most of the Adirondacks by the 1830s. The lumber industry began on a small scale around 1803 and rivers were declared public highways in 1806 to accommodate this industry; lumbering was well underway by 1820. The large pines around the perimeter of the area were exhausted by 1830 so lumbermen switched to spruce. In order to get at older pine and spruce in the interior lumbering interests began to dam rivers and lakes to send logs down the rivers to mills such as those at Glens Falls on the Hudson River. In addition, the Champlain Canal connecting Lake Champlain with the Hudson River was opened 10 September 1823; the Erie Canal, just south of the Adirondacks, was finished two years later. Mining began at the turn of the nineteenth century with small forges and mills; this industry also began in earnest by the

As noted later in the chapter, Sabael and his children used Odanak (and Akwesasne at least once) for important family milestones like baptisms, marriages, and burials.

1820s. These resource extraction business efforts gradually effected the ability of Algonquian and Iroquoian people to occupy the region. The Iroquoian and Algonquian people who chose to stay continued their strategy of cooperation and adapted their style of work to accommodate this Euroamerican expansion. While continuing to hunt, fish, and trap these Native settlers also began guiding homesteaders, industrialists, surveyors, scholars, and eventually sports hunters who made use of their knowledge of the landscape. As this chapter argues, they became “safe” Indians for eastern Euroamericans to meet and hire and together with local non-Native Adirondackers, some of whom learned their woodcraft from Mohawk and Abenaki neighbours, they helped set the stage for wilderness tourism in the area. The chapter concludes by exploring ways in which Iroquoian and Algonquian people worked and lived in this part of New York and the ways in which they continually reinvented their relationship with the region. The conclusion argues for a continued notion of the Adirondacks as an Indigenous homeland and a location of exchange, as relationships between Native and non-Native people became more intimate and complex.

**EVIDENCE OF CONTINUED AND ADAPTING OCCUPATION**

As contact between Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples and Europeans in the Northeast became more common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Adirondacks continued to be occupied and used as a place of resources and labour for these Aboriginal people. For example, the “Indian Council” ground in North Elba near Lake Placid was locally understood to be a summer residence for the Iroquois; they continued to use it during the colonial period. In the town of Essex, local historians believe that post holes and relics discovered there were from a long established meeting house of an unknown Indian nation around Split Rock located in present-day Whallons Bay. The area was well known to the Mohawk who brought captives there during colonial wars; they also mined lead around

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7 Mary MacKenzie, The Plains of Abraham: A History of North Elba & Lake Placid, The Collected Historical Writings of Mary MacKenzie Lee Manchester, ed. (Utica, NY: Nicholas K. Burn Publishing, 2007), 4, 24. George Levi Brown, Pleasant Valley: A History of Elizabethtown, Essex County, New York (probably Elizabethtown, NY: Post and Gazette print, 1905), 1. Street, The Indian Pass, xii-xiii mentions the Plains of Abraham Indian settlement was well-known. Sylvester, Historical Sketches of Northern New York, 135-36 suggests the grounds belonged to the Adirondack Indians and that they were used before and during the colonial period. He claims there is at least one old map with the village identified; however, he does not cite the map nor have I been able to locate one. Adirondack lore has Rogers’ Rangers attacking the village; the legend sounds very similar to the raid on Odanak itself and it is likely the attack has been transposed onto the North Elba location to explain its abandonment. Donaldson’s A History of the Adirondacks, I, 27 refers to Caleb Stark’s Memoir and official correspondence of Gen. John Stark with notices of several other officers of the Revolution. Also, a biography of Capt. Phinehas Stevens and of Col. Robert Rogers, with an account of his services in America during the “Seven Years’ War” (Concord: G Parker Lyons, 1860), 448-55 which provides correspondence by Rogers and Jeffrey Amherst about the Odanak expedition; Rogers returned from Odanak by way of New England and was not near North Elba or Elizabethtown.
Split Rock Mountain. A fishing encampment and settlement with an apple orchard also existed when settlers arrived at Saratoga in the mid- to late-eighteenth century.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century records from settlers arriving at Lake George described several seasonal Native encampments there. These camps were used during the winter for trapping and the summer and fall for fishing and hunting. H.P. Smith’s history of the region indicates both people lived there peacefully for a number of years. Early settlers arriving at present-day Horicon around 1810 found Native people, believed to be Iroquoian, who lived there seasonally. “Old residents have said that there was once an Indian village at Waters Swamp. A ceremonial fireplace was unearthed near the Schroon River by Godfrey Olson and Milo King of Fort Ticonderoga”.

Contact with European settlers, merchants, and military officers increased the amount and type of labour performed by Iroquoian and Algonquian people in the Adirondacks to include commercial trapping and military service. Little has been written about the fur trade in the area despite the region being recognized by Europeans and Algonquian peoples as Five Nations Iroquois land generally and, more specifically, Mohawk and Oneida hunting territory. In addition, as previously mentioned, the southeastern part of the region was Mahican country. Oneida, Mohawk, Abenaki, Mahican, and other Algonquian and Iroquoian people worked in the Adirondacks for commercial trappers during the colonial era, either in cooperation or by competing with each other. The trapping and hunting of other small and large animals in the region continued to be sufficiently profitable during and after this period to lure Native and non-Native trappers into the region. The commercial fur trade that the region supported

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8 Glenn, The Story of Three Towns, 79, 113, 306. Glenn also mentions a meeting place on Couhey Hill, but these could be the same reference. Pottery shards in the vicinity also demonstrated Aboriginal people knew the value of and used a local mineral called Wollastonite to reinforce their pottery. See Chapter One for discussion about.

9 Stone Reminiscences of Saratoga and Ballston, 77-78 describes early settlers to Saratoga mentioning an Indian settlement nearby. John Chester Booth, Booth’s History of Saratoga County, N.Y 1858, ed. Violet B. Dunn, Saratoga County Historian and Beatrice Sweeney, City Historian of Saratoga Springs (1858; Saratoga Springs, NY: Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission, 1977), 33 refers a settlement near the Mourningkill River. Henry McGuier & F. B. Graham, “Indian Orchard,” Saratoga Daily Forum, (Tue. 12 July, 1858) describes a ring of apple trees on North Broadway, Saratoga Springs purportedly planted to place an Indian lodge between them. Also see MacGregor, “Little Remains of Old Indian Trail, Orchard,” which describes the orchard as having 13 apple trees in the 1850s. (See Chapter One for discussion). Britten, “Traces of Indian Life Remain in Area” discusses an encampment at the head of Balston Lake.

10 H.P. Smith, ed., History of Warren County with illustrations and Biographical Sketches of some of its Prominent – Men and Pioneers (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1885), 348. These settlements were at “Harrisena, Dunham's Bay (at the southern extremity of Lake George), at the outlet of the Long Pond, at the Big Bend (the sweeping curve of the Hudson about three miles above Glens Falls), and at the foot of the Palmerton Mountain on the south side of the river”. The last group were probably the Palmettians who will be discussed shortly.

11 William H. Brown, ed., History of Warren County New York (Published by the Board of Supervisors of Warren County: printed by the printing dept of the Glens Falls Post Company, 1963), 189. It is believed that Brant Lake, the centrepiece of Horicon Township, is named after an Indian family by the name of Brant who lived there. Brown describes how the townspeople at first thought the lake was named for Joseph Brant, but a Glens Falls resident (unnamed) told him his “Indian grandmother” was a Brant and that their family had lived near the lake and that is how it came to be named.

12 See Introduction and Chapter One.

13 See Chapter One.

14 Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 42-49; Also see Simms, Trappers of New York, 272-80. Game included bears, panthers, lynx, wolves, otter, muskrat, pine marten, and wolverines.
during the colonial era brought about conflict and, it is likely, environmental and economic consequences.\(^{15}\)

There is ample evidence in early local records that attest to Iroquoian and Algonquian people continuing to hunt, trap, and seasonally occupy the Adirondacks after the American Revolution. For example, in 1802, Mrs. Arabella Anderson arrived in Bolton with her father Daniel Nims. She described the area as being covered by “trackless forests. Indians roam about the vicinity in considerable numbers. There were only four or five framed houses in town.”\(^{16}\) An address by Charles E. Snyder entitled “John Brown’s Tract, Herkimer” described the tract in the 1830s as still being a popular hunting territory for Native people.

Canadian Indians from the north would gradually work their way through the forest, hunting and trapping as they went, taking their furs to the Albany market; and it was not an unfrequent [sic] sight for the early settlers at No. 4, to see at times Indians proudly walking through the forest past the settlement, guns in hand ready for an emergency, while on behind trudged the patient squaws, drawing rude sleds made of birch saplings loaded with furs and camp outfit.\(^ {17}\)

James DeKay’s Zoology of New York reported “St. Regis Indians” trapping 300 beaver in 1815; they were noted on the Oswegatchie River in St. Lawrence County.\(^ {18}\) Even as late as 1835, Raquette Lake was described as virgin territory by the brothers John and Will Constable who also indicated “Indians were still frequenters of the lakes and surrounding wilderness”.\(^ {19}\)

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15 The beaver population in the area was purported to be nearly wiped out by 1690 according to Jenkins, The Adirondack Atlas, 44, 71. According to Jenkins, we do not know how many beaver were taken from the region. In 1624, there were 7,200 beaver pelts shipped from Albany, some of them from the Adirondacks. By the 1680s approximately 80,000 pelts were exported through Albany. The area continued to be trapped by Native Americans and later Euroamericans keeping the beaver population low per Jenkins. However, this belief has been called into question by William Starna and Jose Antonio Brandão in their article “From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars,” 730, 740. Starna and Brandão disagree that the beavers were played out in Iroquoia or that more northern furs were superior. The beaver were, and still are, largely responsible for creating the wetlands in the Adirondacks; decimating the beaver population there changes the landscape. Eighteenth century maps described the region as swampy and containing “drowned lands” which might support the case that beavers were still present enough in the area to continue to influence its landscape. Recall, eighteenth century map-makers had not ventured into the area, they obtained their information from Native people. It is possible there were still a number of beaver in the region or that Native people were not totally truthful when describing it, perhaps to protect it from competition and settlement. Once Euroamericans settled the region and began to dam rivers, extract resources, and drain wetlands the landscape changed much quicker and more obviously.

16 Smith, History of Warren County, 529-30.


18 James E. DeKay, Zoology of New York; or, The New York Fauna; comprising detailed descriptions of all the animals hitherto observed within the state of New York, with brief notices of those occasionally found near its borders, and accompanied by appropriate illustrations, 2 vols. (Albany, NY: Carroll and Cook, 1842), I, 73, accessed 14 September 2012, http://archive.org/stream/zooloofnewyork01deka#page/72/mode/2up. DeKay attributed the large take due to the War of 1812 reducing hunting in the area and allowing the beaver to come back in the region.

19 Edith Pilcher, The Constables: First Family of the Adirondacks (Utica, NY: North Country Books, Inc., 1992), 35. The Constable family came from Ireland and Dr. John Constable was a contemporary of Sir William Johnson. It is said that after the
Military service-type labour in the region increased with contact. European military records indicate the region saw at least one important seventeenth century battle as Samuel de Champlain and his allies fought the Iroquois around Crown Point or Ticonderoga in 1609. In addition, the water route between Lake Champlain and the Mohawk River was used at least twice in the mid-to-late 1600s by the French in campaigns against the Iroquois. By 1700, the French were using canoes on Lake Champlain to stop pelts from going to Albany. The region occasionally served as a military route and skirmishes occurred in and around the region.

Some Mohawk and Abenaki associated with the Adirondacks were known for their military service. For example, Sabael Benedict was reportedly twelve years of age at the Battle of Québec (1759) and acted as a cook for his father’s band of warriors. Other examples include fellow Abenaki Captain Peter Sabattis, who was a veteran of the War of 1812 and continued to live in the Adirondacks afterwards as did Louis Watso (c. 1778-1885), also known as Louis Degonzague and Watso Otondosonne. Benoni Paul (probably Wampanoag and Mohegan) died serving in the War of 1812; his grandfather Moses, together with his brothers John and Samson Paul, scouted the

Mohawk brought Johnson to Saratoga to bathe in the springs to heal a persistent war wound, it was Dr. Constable who first analyzed the springs’ properties and helped launch the city as a spa.

Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain: 1604-1610*, 202-03, 210-223. Chapter IX describes Champlain’s voyage into Lake Champlain and the battle. Champlain’s commentary indicates settlements on islands and the coast had dispersed due to warring between the Mohawk and the Algonquin and Huron nations begun around 1570 (215). The reference to the Adirondacks states “I saw on the south, other mountains, no less high than the first, but without snow. The Savages told me that these mountains were thickly settled, and that it was there we were to find their enemies…” (p. 218; footnote 346 identifies these mountains as part of the high peaks region of the Adirondacks as seen from the northern part of Lake Champlain). At least one scholar has assumed the Algonquin and Huron were lying to Champlain about the region being “thickly settled…” For example see Day, “The Eastern Boundary of Iroquoia, 116-122, 119.


Seven Years or French and Indian War (1754-1763) examples include the Battle of Carillon or Ticonderoga (1758) and The Battle of Lake George (8 September 1755). During the American Revolution (1775-1783) fighting occurred up and down Lake Champlain, including some of the first American Naval battles such as the Battle of Valcour Island (1776) and the Battle of Saratoga (1777) which is considered to be a turning point in the war. Besides the eastern part of the Adirondacks, the other regions saw their share of intrigue and battles based on their proximity to the Mohawk River, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. Berleth, *Bloody Mohawk*, 185 claims the interior of the Adirondacks “virtually belonged to the loyalists” who used it as a route to escape to Canada.


Further information about Peter Sabattis and his military experience is outlined in Chapter Three; he was also the father or perhaps grandfather of guide Mitchel Sabattis who will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. For references to Louis Watso see, *Watso family file* – ILM (also spelled “Watsow, Watzou, Watsaw”) and column “Labor and Market” *Lake George Mirror* [Lake George, NY], 22 April, 1880 which reported Louis Watso had just received a pension from Canada for his service to Great Britain during the War of 1812 and that he was over 100 years of age at the time. A subsequent article in the same paper under the column of “Local News, etc” indicated he received the pension from the Province of Québec and that he had turned 104 years old the previous 10 March, *Lake George Mirror* [Lake George, NY] 6 May, 1880.
area of Lake George for Major Israel Putnam’s Company during the Seven Years War. Many of the descendants of these and other Native families also fought in the American Civil War and subsequent conflicts. Mahican, Abenaki, Mohawk, and Oneida men also acted as guides, scouts, and as point or advance guards in military operations. They fought in battles and bargained with European officers over the use of their territory as throughways and escorted emissaries and wagons on military roads. In addition, they captured enemies, sometimes negotiated their release, and returned those captives. Furthermore they spied, acted as informants for explorers and cartographers, and patrolled the forests around forts.

As previously mentioned, the region itself served as a buffer between imperial powers with the French in the north, the Dutch to the south in the seventeenth century (1609-1664, 1673-1674), and the English in the east (who later replaced the Dutch). Colonial powers tried to lure Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples to settle around the Adirondacks to create additional safeguards against their European rivals. Mahican and New England Algonquian were invited to settle at Schaghticoke southeast of the Adirondacks by the English colonial Governor of New York, Sir Edmund Andros in the 1670s. Future New York Governor Thomas Dongan attempted to lure “French Indians” from Kahnawake back to Saratoga in 1687 for this purpose. Two French mission communities along the St. Lawrence River just north of the Adirondacks served the same function for the French in Canada. The mission called La Présentation was founded in 1748 and was located near present-day Ogdensburg, New York. La Présentation was mostly made up of Catholic Onondaga and Cayuga and it was hoped they would guard Fort Frontenac and the upper St. Lawrence River. The other was Akwesasne (St. Regis),

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26 For information on Benoni Paul and his family see “Indian Biographies From Lake George.” Post Star (Glens Falls, NY), 14 December, 1963, 13-14. Moses’ brothers settled around Silver Bay in Lake George; however, Moses returned to Connecticut. Moses killed a man named Moses Cook in Bethnay, CT in 1771 and was hung; Rev. Samson Occum delivered his pre-execution sermon. See Chapter Three for discussion about this family. Also see “handwritten note,” VF – Indians - SSHM which states “Capt. Yoke and Abram Conkspot were Indians who fought on the American side. One drew a pension and lived in Wisconsin later”. This might indicate that individual was either Mahican or Oneida.

27 M. Bruchac, “Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery,” xii, footnote 17 notes her grandfather Louis or Lewis Bowman, Thomas Kesiah, and Abram Burlett (probably not Native, he married Mary Louise Joseph, Abenaki) served in the Civil War.


31 Sylvester, Historical sketches of Northern New York, 283-84.

32 Sylvester, Historical sketches of Northern New York, 283-84.
which was established about 1750 by disaffected members of Kahnawake.\footnote{Johansen and Mann, eds., \textit{Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee}, 12-13 indicates Akwesasne was first settled in 1750 and became a permanent settlement around 1755 but had been a long-held fishing and hunting area.} In addition, at least one temporary Native community sprang up near Fort Saint Frédéric at Crown Point in the 1730s and possibly others did so around other forts in the region.\footnote{Calloway, \textit{The Western Abenakis of Vermont}, 1600-1800, 134-35. A Priest was established at the fort and the Abenaki traveled there for marriages, baptisms, and funerals. English captives were often brought there. The fort also contained a fur trading post the French jealously guarded. Godfrey J. Olsen, “Archeology of Ticonderoga,” \textit{Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association} XXXII (Published by the New York State Historical Association, 1934): 407-11 indicates there were Iroquoian and Algonquian artifacts around Fort Ticonderoga and that the fort was also a trading post under the French as Fort Carillon.}

The records are mostly silent about Native women’s roles in military service in the Adirondacks; however, there is one interesting exception. During the Battle of Lake George in 1755, Theyanoguin (King Hendrick) was killed while trying to escape “by a party of bayonet-wielding Kahnawake women guarding their warrior’s supplies” there.\footnote{Jon Parmenter, “After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676–1760,” \textit{The William & Mary Quarterly}, 3d Series, LXIV:1 (January 2007): 39-82, 66. Berleth, \textit{Bloody Mohawk}, 47, 49 also mentions women and boys accompanying warriors.} However, in other contexts it is clear that Indian women of the northeastern region participated in warfare. Barbara Graymont describes the military roles of Iroquois women as being quite powerful and versatile; they ranged from Molly Brant’s diplomacy and intelligence gathering to women’s withdrawal of their services when they did not support a war party. In general, they supported military efforts by making and mending shoes and clothing, planting crops, and providing shelter and provisions for passing warriors. Some women also accompanied the men on campaigns and performed the necessary work of camp chores. In at least one instance the wife of an injured Oneida warrior fought alongside her husband in the Battle of Oriskany which occurred just south of the region in the Mohawk Valley.\footnote{Barbara Garymont, “The Six Nations Indians in the Revolutionary War,” in \textit{Race and Gender in the Northern Colonies}, ed. Jan Noel, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, Inc., 2000), 185-87. The Oneida warrior was Thawengarakwen (Honery Doxtater).}

\textbf{Place of Refuge before the American Revolution}

During this period, then, Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples’ worlds became more violent because of pressure on their territories from European settlement, competition in the fur trade, epidemics, and wars. Warfare and colonisation played a significant role in creating the need for spaces of refuge throughout the colonies of North America. Still avoided by European settlers, the Adirondacks also became a haven for a number of Algonquian-speaking peoples from New England, adding to and changing the type of occupation in the region. Several such communities developed in Saratoga, Washington, and Warren Counties. The “Palmertown Indian” community was established around Mount...
McGregor in northern Saratoga County prior to the Seven Years War, perhaps as early as the late seventeenth century. Its members appear to have been refugees from Connecticut who remained in the area until Euroamerican settlement pushed them out during the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{37} The “Podunk Indians” were located in Hogtown near the Washington and Warren County borders on the east side of Lake George. They were also thought to be Algonquian refugees from southern New England who shared their encampment with the Mahican.\textsuperscript{38} Between Lake George and Schroon Lake were the “Horikan Indians,” who lived around Brant Lake.\textsuperscript{39} As late as 1858, a Warren County map showed an established Indian settlement between Thirteenth Lake or Pond and Puffer Pond near Johnsburg; it covered several surveyed lots (see Map 2.1).\textsuperscript{40}

![Map 2.1: 1858 Chase Map](image)

Two communities of people, probably Algonquian-speaking, lived in wigwams in Elizabethtown in Essex County at the turn of the nineteenth century; their presence was noted as Euroamerican settlers arrived. The villages were connected by “a well-worn Indian trail, a path of a foot or more in width and

\textsuperscript{37} For Palmertown Indians settling there before the end of the Seven Years War see Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, \textit{The Historic Muse on Mount MacGregor, one of the Adirondacks Near Saratoga} (Troy, NY: N.B. Sylvester, 1885), 8 and J. H. French, \textit{Gazetteer of the State of New York}, 681 footnote 6 indicates the Palmertown Mountains were named after Indian refugees from Connecticut who settled there. Marge Bruchac speculates this community moved to the southeastern foothills of the Adirondacks which were flooded by the creation of the Great Sacandaga Reservoir in 1930, see Bruchac, \textit{Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery}, x.

\textsuperscript{38} Stiles, \textit{From Then Till Now}, 147. The word Podunk is Algonquian and is thought to mean “neck or point of land”. Also see Genevieve Woodard, \textit{American Indians in Washington County, New York}, Theme VF - Indians of North America,” WCHSRL. Lisa Brooks, \textit{The Common Pot}, 54 and map describes the Algonquian-speaking “Paudunk” people who lived along the Connecticut River near today’s Hartford, CT. Alice Nash in her communication to the author dated 6 June 2013 indicates the Podunk were a tribe from the Connecticut and Massachusetts border area of southern New England.

\textsuperscript{39} Brown, \textit{History of Warren County, NY}, 189.

\textsuperscript{40} 1858 \textit{Chase Map of Warren County}, WCR&A shows an “Indian Settlement” in lots 15, 16, and 17. This is the area Sabael Benedict was headed towards when he disappeared.
several inches in depth”. The son of an early settler, Oliver Abel, Sr. took the path to play with the Indian boys in the village at Barton’s. Oliver described the Native people there as one who never forgave an abuse nor forgot a kindness. They “were good natured, easy going fellows, given to the chase almost entirely. They used stone mortars and other utensils of their own invention. They hunted with bows and arrows mostly and were successful”. The early history of Elizabethtown’s Aboriginal communities identified them as “Adirondack Indians” but states: “The Indians … who were numerous here a little over a century ago, gradually fell back before the advancing wave of civilization.” It concludes by dismissing “the “noble red man,” who once fished the streams and hunted the forests of Pleasant Valley, enjoying his natural birthright to his heart’s content”. This suggests that Natives and Newcomers lived peacefully together until the number of settlers grew and began to affect the ability of Native people to successfully hunt in the vicinity, forcing them to move.

The history of Parishville in St. Lawrence County records an existing Native community south of their village located in the “South Woods” (as northern Adirondackers and St. Lawrence Valley locals call the Adirondacks) near a brook. The vicinity became known as Picketville to incoming settlers whose activities eventually drove the Native community away. Mitchell Sabattis and his siblings were reportedly born near Parishville; town historian Emma Remington believes Mitchell was born in Picketville and that his mother may have been buried there. If this was the case, it suggests Picketville was an Abenaki community, home to those who remained around Akwesasne after Roger’s Raid in October of 1759. Robert Rogers and about 200 ‘rangers’ began their expedition to Odanak from Crown Point on Lake Champlain in September, raiding and burning the village of St. Francis (Odanak) on 4 October. According to French records, Roger’s Raid killed 30 Abenaki out of a likely population of 500; twenty of the dead were women and children. Many men were away fighting or hunting but news about the raid spread quickly and Rogers’ Rangers were pursued and forced to split up with the result that Rogers lost nearly one third of his men. Nevertheless, the raid destroyed the community and caused the Abenaki and

41 Brown, Pleasant Valley, 64-65. One village was across from where the Maplewood Inn was built by early settler Amos Abel who arrived in 1798 and the other was located at or near the John Barton Homestead on Barton Brook. Brown also mentions the existence of many artefacts near the home of Alonzo Still and suggests there was a previous occupation there. Brown’s assessment that the people were Algonquian is based on his belief they were the people the Iroquois called the Adirondacks. Abel’s description that they mostly relied on the hunt also suggests they were Algonquian although Iroquoian people would not be out of the question. Also see, the obituary, “Death of Abigail (Rice) Johnson, Whose Mother, Abigail (Andrews) Rice, Witnessed the Horrors of the Wyoming Massacre,” The Elizabethtown Post (Elizabethtown, NY), 16 August, 1901, 1 which states Amos Rice drove the first wagon into Elizabethtown and the vehicle “was a strange sight to the Indians, who were plenty here 100 years ago, outnumbering the white settlers at that time”.

42 Brown, Pleasant Valley, 64.

43 Ibid, 66.

44 Emma Remington, Parishville Historian, personal conversations with the author 17 November 2008 and July 2009. Also see local history written by Emma Remington entitled A Heritage: The American Indian Town of Parishville (Parishville, NY: Parishville Museum). Ms. Remington noted that what appeared to be sunken graves existed in the Picketsville area and that they pre-dated Euroamerican settlement. See Chapter Three for more on the Sabattis family.
other Algonquian-speaking peoples there to scatter; some went to Akwesasne and la Présentation (which became Fort Oswegatchie in 1760).45

Nineteenth century wilderness guides provided information about sites of Indian occupation. Coreys and the Indian Carry in Franklin County were well-known as a portage or ‘carry’ even before contact; it allegedly was the home of the “Saranac Indians”. Guide Carlos Whitney (c. 1838-1917) reported that the Saranac Indians lived at the Indian Carry in two communities between the Upper Saranac and Stony Creek Ponds as late as the 1850s. The men hunted and fished in the area and the women grew corn; early settlers noted that young men demonstrated feats of their masculinity by tying knots in sapling trees. Algonquian villages existed at the north and south ends of the carry and Euroamerican Innkeepers built Coreys (or Rustic Lodge) and Hiawatha Lodge over them. Carlos recalled coming upon an Indian woman who was ice fishing on the Upper Saranac, thus demonstrating the area was occupied in the wintertime as well as during the warmer weather during the nineteenth century.46 Abenaki Maurice Paul Denis (Dennis) claimed the Saranac Indians were Abenaki and that they started hunting in the Adirondacks around 1600.47 The word Saranac is believed to be a corruption of the Abenaki word “Salanac” which, according to anthropologist, J. Dyneley Prince, means sumac bud or cone.48 Given the practice of settlers naming Indian people from their place of origin - for example St. Regis Indians - it is plausible they were a group of Abenaki who had settled in the region and became known as the Saranac Indians.

45 Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800, 175-81; Benn, The War of 1812, 19, 62; Smith, “Fort La Presentation: the Abenaki,” l. Also see “A Brief History of Akwesasne 1755-1915”, Current, 6-7. Rogers claimed to have killed 300 Abenaki but scholars believe he exaggerated the figure to make up for the number of his own troops that died. La Présentation is also referred to as Fort de la Présentation.
46 Angus, The Extraordinary Adirondack Journey of Clarence Petty, 3-4, 7, 22-24. Whitney was a cousin to Ellsworth Petty, the father of well-known guide and Adirondacker Clarence Petty, (1905–December 2009). Clarence Petty had memories of finding arrowheads and chippings on an island in the Upper Saranac where he and his brother played while his parents fished. Also see Frederick J. Seaver, Historical Sketches of Franklin County and Its Several Towns with Many Short Biographies (Albany, NY: J. B Lyon Co, Printers, 1918), 376 which references a nearby lead mine that Indians used for making bullets; “Our Adirondack Correspondence,” The New York Herald (New York, NY) 10 August, 1857; col F; Alfred Billings Street Woods and Waters, or The Saranacs and Racket (New York: M Doolady, 1860), 209-213 refers to a settlement on Bear Island in the Saranac and that the woods were full of “Injins” hunting, fishing and trapping.
48 J. Dyneley Prince, “Some Forgotten Indian Place names in the Adirondacks,” Journal of American Folklore (1900), 123 -28, 125. Marleau, Big Moose Station, 2 indicates Salanac was a berry. Gordon Day questions these translations but only offers a tentative alternative that Saranac is a corruption of the French “St. Helens” in Foster and Cowan, eds., In Search of New England’s Native Past, 251.
While the region continued to support the pre-colonial-type of occupation as described in the first chapter, the Adirondacks clearly became a place of refuge for other Algonquian and possibly Iroquoian people due to the violence and settlement expansion that occurred during the colonial period.\textsuperscript{49} Such a situation was not unique to the Adirondacks. In his study of Southeast Asia, James C. Scott uses the terms “shatter zones” and “zones of refuge” to describe different southeast Asian people over various periods of time, people who used a mountainous region that encompassed several boundaries to deliberately escape state-making and its social structures. Scott describes “shatter zones” as regions where state-making processes or natural disasters caused people to leave their homeland for more peripheral and remote areas; in the process they often created a diverse region of ethnicity, custom, and language. “Zones of refuge” are the peripheral and remote regions where people purposefully and politically place themselves out of the reach of the state. Inaccessible landscape and mobility are the two principles these refugees use to thwart state efforts to absorb them; sometimes they also adopt ambiguous identities.\textsuperscript{50} Refugee communities in the Adirondacks fit Scott’s definitions, especially as warfare and colonisation based on

\textsuperscript{49} See Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds. \textit{Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability In the American South}, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 2 uses the term “Mississippian shatter zone” as a framework to explain the instability of the eastern part of North America as a result of colonisation and the Indian slave (or for captives in the case of the Iroquois) trade during the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century; she includes New England and New York in this framework.

world capitalism created shatter zones in the homelands of Algonquian people in the Northeast. Affected Algonquian people from New England and elsewhere moved into the isolated Adirondacks, using land and water routes as a means of mobility. Further, the people who fled there took on ambiguous identities to escape the reach of Europeans and, perhaps, their Indigenous enemies. As a result, the Adirondacks were a more intensively used home to escape this violence and settlement.

All the refugee communities disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century. Local historian George Levi Brown alludes to the two villages in Elizabethtown being quietly pushed out because Euroamerican settlement intruded on the hunting there. It is likely all of these communities met the same fate. Yet, as these refugee communities vanished, a new zone of refuge was created as Abenaki and Mohawk individuals and families arrived to escape the pressures brought on by reserve life.

Place of Refuge after the Revolutionary War

After the American Revolution and the War of 1812, a border was established between America and British North America which created a more peaceful type of shatter zone. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 created the 45th parallel as the border between the U.S. and British North America in the Northeast; the boundary was firmly established by the 1814 Treaty of Ghent which ended the War of 1812. This border separated the Abenaki communities of Odanak in Québec and what was left of an important seasonal village, Missisquoi, in present-day northern Vermont. For the Mohawk at Akwesasne, the border was even more invasive; it split their community between two nation states, two provinces, and a state. The border and reserves also challenged the mobility of these Algonquian and Iroquoian people; which they often ignored. However, what they could not ignore was the eventual land pressure from Eurocanadian and, to some degree American, settlement.

The Abenaki of Northern New England who retreated to Odanak during the violent period of the eighteenth century were not the same as the Algonquian people of Southern New England. The latter, including the Mahican and other Algonquian-speakers in the southeastern part of today’s New York State, led semi-settled and agrarian lifestyles which resembled the Five (and later Six) Nations Iroquois. Northern New England Algonquian, which included the ‘western’ Abenaki, had a semi-nomadic lifestyle; their traditional territory was made up of today’s states of Vermont, New Hampshire, and northern Massachusetts, as well as parts of southern Québec in Canada. These differences were undoubtedly a result of the environmental variations in the landscape, climate, and soil conditions; the northern part of New England was (and is) mountainous with valleys that contained heavily forested hardwood trees and had a harsher climate than the southern part of the region which was affected by the ocean. As a result,

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the Abenaki had to know their territory with great intimacy. Traditionally the Abenaki lived in seasonal villages near major water routes during the coldest weeks of the winter and the spring. For example, Missisquoi was an important seasonal community located in northern Vermont on the river of the same name; the river flows into Lake Champlain. After their mid-winter festival around February, most Abenaki families left their seasonal town and hunted moose and, at times, deer. They returned to the village in the spring; women tapped maple trees, gathered wild food products, and planted crops while the men fished and hunted fowl. During the summer months many families moved to ponds or lakes. Men continued to fish and hunt while women tended their gardens, gathered plants for food and medicine, and picked berries. In the fall, most families returned to their hunting grounds to obtain more meat for the upcoming winter.

Abenaki hunting territories were clearly defined, according to Haviland and Power, they were based on “a system of trails related to watercourses. In the center of each hunting territory was a tributary stream of a larger river…[T]he tributary served as a transportation artery, from which one could gain access to all parts of the territory”. While not precisely fixed, boundaries were based on separations between watersheds. Families marked their territory often with blazes; others who wanted to hunt there needed to ask permission which was rarely, if ever, denied amongst their own people. Politically, the Abenaki worked in family bands consisting of one to three families of fifteen to forty people. Macro bands were alliances of various family bands who worked together within a shared village and watershed. Each macro band governed with their elders, a war chief, and a civil chief, the latter being the most significant. Band leaders were chosen based on their “exceptional prowess and prestige” and continued in their position based on their ability to be persuasive and influential. Most marriages occurred between macro band members. When a marriage occurred with another macro band the two became related to each other; they shared hunting territory, traded, and cooperated in common endeavours such as defence. As a result of the dynamic nature of their communities, Abenaki leaders learnt to be diplomatic and choose strategies to maintain peace and power.

During times of crisis, Abenaki bands dispersed and scattered; they regrouped when the emergency passed. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they escaped to Catholic mission villages, especially to Odanak (created c.1660-1700), and to the increasingly important seasonal village

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52 Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 37, 47.
54 Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonter*, 161. Mohawk seasonal practices were described in Chapter One.
55 *Ibid*, 158-68. They managed game resources by using only a quarter of the territory in any given year.
57 Day, “Western Abenaki,” *Handbook*, 151, 153 claims Odanak as a community of immigrants could not be older than 1660 and that the French established a mission there in 1700 under Father Jacques Bigot.
of Missisquoi. Eventually, these villages also contained Algonquian-speaking refugees from southern New England and some Mahican from the refugee village of Schaghticoke (c. 1675-1754) in eastern New York, a community which also included Southern New England Algonquian people. When this village broke up, many of the inhabitants first went to Missisquoi in northern Vermont and then on to Odanak with their Abenaki hosts. The remaining Schaghticoke residents taken during the Albany raid of 1754 went directly to Odanak. However, that did not mean the Abenaki gave up their homelands throughout northern New England and southern Québec. Because of their affiliation with the French, the British tried to keep the Abenaki within the community of Odanak after the Seven Years War (1756-1763). This resulted in some leaving for other locations, including the Adirondacks.

After the American Revolution, some Abenaki returned to their traditional territory around Missisquoi only to discover that the Levi, Ira, and Ethan Allen families had used the Abenaki’s strategy of dispersal as an excuse to appropriate their land and build on it. The Allen brothers strategically called the Abenaki “Canadian Indians” and emphasized their itinerant habits to successfully weaken the latter’s territorial claims. As a result, some Abenaki stayed on in Vermont, living quietly in small isolated neighbourhoods, as itinerants, or hiding in environments such as swamps. However, many removed or returned to Odanak, which created increased population pressure for that community. In addition, the nearby Eastern Townships opened for Loyalist settlement in 1792; this development resulted in greater pressure on the surrounding Abenaki hunting and fishing territory. Other portions of their hunting territory were turned over to lumbering interests. By 1852 the initial phase of pulp manufacturing began on the St. Francis River and altered transportation routes which ruined fishing and hunting. Provincial legislation began to limit the type of game and fish and when it could be taken in the 1850s. As a result

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58 Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 11, 14, 18, 24. Missisquoi is the surrounding area of the community of Swanton, VT; there is a community of Abenaki people living there still.
60 Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 202. Day, The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians, 23-24 refers to feeder communities and intermediate stations that the Abenaki moved between. The Adirondacks certainly could have contained some of those small communities; Day does not specify where they were. He also describes “a Penacook village between Montreal and Albany [being] on Lake Champlain where they had been living not long before” in 1687. While Day assumes this village was on the Vermont side of Lake Champlain given the number of settlement and encampment sites and an old Indian trail that connected New York City to Montreal (New York Route 22), I suggest this village could have easily been in the Adirondacks on the western side of the lake.
62 In 1797, the Abenaki petitioned for more territory; the British granted them 8,150 acres in the township of Durham in 1805. However, the Crown also sold lands the Abenaki used for hunting and trapping to private clubs for sport, with the result that some Abenaki hunters became guides working for pay on their former territory. For history of Odanak after the Revolutionary War and references to land pressures and tourism work see Day, The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians, 55, 61. Thomas M. Charland, O.P., Histoire Des Abénakis D’Odanak: 1675 – 1937 (Montréal: Les Éditions du Lévrier, 1964). In addition to land and economic pressures, the Abenaki were also facing spiritual dilemmas. A fire at the Odanak Catholic Church in 1819 resulted in arguments over whether to build separate churches for the Abenaki and Eurocanadian Catholics. A largely Catholic
of these and other changes, many Abenaki had to find different ways or places to live: one of these places was the Adirondacks.

The culturally and largely ethnically Mohawk of Akwesasne also experienced settlement pressure as well as social, political, and industrialization demands. After Roger’s Raid on Odanak in 1759, the St. Regis Mohawk absorbed other Native peoples, including Abenaki and other Algonquian-speaking people. By 1769, the Mohawk began to complain about the people from Odanak (and Schaghticoke) still at Akwesasne and many left; however, a few remained and intermarried with them. In addition, some of the Catholic Onondaga and Cayuga from Fort Oswegatchie (formerly La Présentation under the French) moved there after New York State forced them to abandon their homes in 1806; this community was also ethnically multicultural. The residents of Akwesasne endured yet another threat to their homeland during the War of 1812. While the conclusion of this war ended imperial conflicts, other changes continued to press them, such as the replacement of their communal form of agriculture with Westernized family farms. Crop failures and famine became an issue: 1816 was known as the year of no summer because of a volcano eruption in Italy; in addition, snow remained on the ground until June. The people of Akwesasne suffered through sporadic epidemics from 1820 to 1850 and may have lost as much as half their population. Matching the Abenaki experience, from the late 1850s on the St. Regis Mohawk were


63 Benn, The Iroquois in the War of 1812, 19, 62. Both the Abenaki and Oswegatchie Iroquois kept their own chiefs until the War of 1812 and Abenaki names were kept separate in records until the 1820s. Church records indicate there was a three-way movement between Akwesasne, Mississquoi, and Odanak. Smith, “Fort La Presentation: the Abenaki,” 1. Also see “A Brief History of Akwesasne 1755-1915”, Current, 6-7.


also affected by provincial conservation and game laws that limited their ability to obtain game and fish near their reserve.\textsuperscript{66}

Subsistence hunting nearby became unproductive early on as Loyalist and immigrant settlement moved into the area. Fishing, though, remained viable until the mid-twentieth century when industrial pollution from plants on the St. Lawrence River ended that practice. By the 1850s Akwesasne men were working in the lumbering industry and piloting rafts on the St. Lawrence, as well as other group wage work. Akwesasne historian, Daren Bonaparte describes a landscape that was deforested by settlement “as a wasteland of sorts, devoid of the very means of survival. It was during this era that many people began to relocate for much of the year and only returned to Akwesasne in the warmer seasons”.\textsuperscript{67} Nevertheless, despite these many and profound changes, as Carl Benn argues Mohawk people maintained their customary \textit{style} of working and applied it to the emerging nineteenth century economy. Men chose work that fit long-standing, pre- and early-contact practices of group travel on a temporary or seasonal basis to support their families. Mohawk women mostly worked from home and used their traditional skills to make crafts to sell to a growing market.\textsuperscript{68}

Given these and other external and internal pressures on reserve, Abenaki and Mohawk people had to consider other ways to obtain resources for their families. Historian Frank Tough states that “movements and intended movements of Native peoples are important indications of their response to a changing regional economy”.\textsuperscript{69} Based on the movement of Abenaki and Mohawk individuals and families to the Adirondacks for at least part of the year, one can logically conclude that this region was familiar to them; they knew they could obtain the resources they needed there. Eventually, those who came to the region were also able to reasonably contend with the nineteenth-century market economy and modernity. Those who came to the Adirondacks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries survived by trapping, hunting, fishing, and eventually doing seasonal work such as guiding or working in resource-industry jobs. Their presence in the area during this early period is evident by the appearance of individuals in local histories; a few even had towns or geographic features named after them. For example, Piseco Lake is thought to be named after a St. Regis Mohawk, Pezeeko, who was found living

on the western shore of the lake by the early nineteenth century surveyor, Joshua Brown. Another allegedly lone Indian was “Indian Jo” and his wife for whom “Indian Jo(e) pond” and “Indian Jo(e) Island” were named in St. Lawrence County. Other individuals were merely mentioned in passing as part of the early lore or history. For example an Indian trapper called “Old Alec” was said to live near Duanes in Franklin County. Another individual, Samson Paul, was alleged to live alone in Warren County; however, further inquiry divulges he was part of an interesting Algonquian family, some of who relocated to the area after the Seven Years War. Samson Paul married a local Euroamerican woman and they had at least one daughter. Less is known about the unnamed “old Indian who lived in a hut [in Derrick] and prayed in Latin and knew all about the animals”. As Margaret Bruchac argues, such narratives of ‘lone Indians’ were meant to convince Euroamerican settlers that Native people had vanished from a region, a device that Bruchac urges needs to be countered by stressing the importance of including Aboriginal families and communities when writing histories. One such case in point in the Adirondacks is Sabael Benedict, who brought his family to the region around the time of the American Revolution; they became the first recorded family of any ethnicity to live in the interior year-round. As a result, the towns of Indian Lake and Sabael, New York were named in honour of Sabael Benedict. Lewey Lake was named after Sabael’s son Louis Elijah; Squaw Brook and Squaw Brook Mountain were named for his wife Marie Angelique Ignace.

As Euroamerican settlers arrived in the nineteenth century some took up residence near the Benedicts and other Native families in communities such as Elizabethtown, Picketville, and Johnsburg. Over the course of this century, a number of Abenaki people and a few Mohawk and Oneida even moved close to tourist towns. A small group arrived at Ballston Spa as early as 1800 to make and sell baskets; more followed decades later to Saratoga Springs, Sharon Springs, Lake Luzerne, Old Forge, and Caldwell.

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70 Adcock and Adcock, Images of America: Piseco Lake and Arietta, 10. Also see Knox, “Piseco Lake,” New York State Conservationist, 2, 106. Piseco might also mean fish.
71 Smith, History of Warren County, 408-09. “Indian Biographies From Lake George,” Post Star (Glens Falls, NY) 14 December, 1963, 13-14. Samson’s daughter was named Christina and she married Erustus (Esustus?) Jaqua. According to the 1855 New York Stat Census – Town of Hague, Warren County they were living there and both were identified as Indian baskermakers. Jaqua was 45 and born in Allegheny County and Christina was 40 and born in Warren County. They had a 2 month old male child living with them by the last name of Jaqua. According to Thomas Lynch, Warren County Clerk’s Records Manager, Hague was the northern-most stop for Lake George steamers and was a good location to sell baskets.
72 For references to Indian Jo see Albert Vann Fowler, ed., Cranberry lake 1845-1959: An Adirondack Miscellany (Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1959) for map of Jo Indian Island; “Joe Indian Lake Founded By Fugitive Redskin couple,” Watertown Daily Times (Potsdam, NY) 30 September, no year; and Emma Remington, conversation with author, 17 November 2008, Ms. Remington informed me the correct spelling was “Jo” and that he and his wife lived outside of the White settlement at Jo Indian Pond which is named for him. Jo’s wife and possibly both are buried there on Woodchuck Point. Per my conversation with Ms. Remington it is believed Jo froze to death on or next to the St. Lawrence River near Massena which is the town just west of Akwesasne leading me to believe they were St. Regis Mohawk and kept in touch with their community. Old Alec is mentioned in Seaver, Historical Sketches of Franklin County, 23-24. Quote from 89 year old Florence Vedder who lived in Derrick near Tupper Lake from 1900-1915, her family left when the large trees played out, “Derrick remains a pleasant memory,” Plattsburgh Press Republican, (Plattsburgh, NY) 29 October, 1989, section C.
73 Bruchac, “Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery,” 259. See also Jean O’Brien’s Firsting and Lasting.
(now Lake George). All but Old Forge (which was settled later) had Indian encampments that catered to tourists; these Native newcomers moved there on a seasonal basis to take advantage of tourism’s economic opportunities. A few, as in the case of the Camp family in Lake George and members of the Denis families in Lake Luzerne and Old Forge, even decided to stay more permanently. The encampments and families who worked them will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Historians typically ignore small Indian communities that existed beside larger Euroamerican ones because they assume these Native families assimilated into the community. However, such was not entirely the case of Adirondack Indian communities; indeed, they were quite visible at the time. These Native communities sometimes consisted of an extended family living within a household, while others consisted of an actual, albeit small neighbourhood of family members and other Indigenous families living in Western-style homes on the outskirts of towns such as Caldwell and Long Lake or in tourist town encampments. Whether the community was one large household or a neighbourhood, they often took advantage of their long-established skills to make money. Furthermore, Aboriginal people from Odanak, Akwesasne, and other Native reserves visited members of these small Native communities; at times they stayed with these Adirondack families for extended periods, typically to work in the area. Eventually these neighbourhoods also disappeared. However, instead of an exodus of the entire population from Euroamerican settlements, Algonquian and Iroquoian individuals and families who chose to remain lived quietly together or amongst their non-Native neighbours as they adapted to the nineteenth century’s changing demographics and economy. Some, such as the Abenaki widow Sarah Keziah, even owned their own home. Moreover, Euroamericans noted the existence of Indian people in their towns; they showed up on maps and sporadically on census records. Even today, many Adirondack archivists are able to point out where a local Indian community had been or where a Native family had lived in the past. As the next chapters describe, these families rarely assimilated into Euroamerican communities right away or even fully. Instead, they took advantage of their heritage and skills and marketed them to tourists.

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75 Luzerne is close to Lake George but was its own resort area. For whatever reason Luzerne and Lake George used the U.S. Federal Indian Census form in 1900. Luzerne recorded two families (Stone and Denis) for a total of 11 Abenaki living there in the Twelfth Census of the United States – Indian Population. Luzerne Town, Warren County, 1900. This also happened for some families on the 1910 census. For example, Abenaki and widow for a second time, Susan Lagrave (Brasil or Brazile) Watso Benedict was living in Jefferson County with four of her children. They were the only ones listed on the Thirteenth Census of the United States – 1919: Indian Population for Orleans Town, Jefferson County.


77 “Map of Lake George dated 1891 per Survey by Garrett Clute in 1810,” WCCO-RC&A shows the home of J. Camp which is at the corner of Dieskau and Mohican Streets just east of the Fort William Henry Hotel just outside the village. This location is where other Abenaki came to live. The F. W. Beers County Atlas of Warren, New York 1876, WCCO-RCA contained the phrase “Indian Encampment” in this neighbourhood. 1880 United States Federal Census, Village of Caldwell, Warren County lists two Indian families living next to each other probably in this location: one household included members of the Camp, Watso, and Paul families and the other was a household of the Benedict and Tahamont families. As we know, not all Native people made the census records and some who did in the Adirondacks were misidentified as White.

78 Deed to Sally (Sarah) Keziah (Kazia) 22 December 1860 – Warren County NY Deeds, Book 7, p. 222, Glens Falls, NY, WCCO-RCA.
As described above, various forms of occupation by Native people existed in the Adirondacks; they encompassed both Indigenous and more Westernized forms. Even from a Western perspective, it is clear that Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking peoples occupied the Adirondacks in both pre- and post-contact periods. They continued to use the space in customary ways for labour and resources, while others used it as a haven during times of crisis. Native people adapted their use of the space by working in different occupations such as the military, the commercial fur trade, and, later, wage work. In addition, they created new community spaces to accommodate changing political and later economic needs.

MAINTAINING TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

The Family of Sabael Benedict

A clear example of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation in the Adirondacks is that of the family of Sabael Benedict, who came to the area around the time of the American Revolution (figure 2.1). He and his family represent how Indigenous people occupied the Adirondacks as both a place of continuity and change.

The records do not indicate if Sabael Benedict, with or without his family, had lived seasonally in the region before he brought his family to Indian Lake to permanently settle, some time before or just after the Revolutionary War. One cannot help but speculate that given his knowledge of the area and the choices he made, Sabael Benedict probably had been there before. While legend has it that Benedict and his family lived in the central Adirondacks alone, this is not correct. Many of the previously mentioned ‘lone’ Indian hunters were staying in the region. For example, the St. Regis hunter and guide Captain Gill lived in a wigwam located on the Lake Pleasant outlet with a wife, Molly, and her daughter of the same name; later reports have him living with the daughter, suggesting his wife had died. As the next section about violence and cooperation explains a number of Abenaki and Mohawk hunters occupied the area at
least part of the time after the Revolutionary War. Some of these hunters had wives and children with them. In addition, some and probably all of the refugee communities existed during this period.

Ironically, the Benedict family has been constructed by local lore as the first ‘settlers’ in the interior of the Adirondacks. Benedict and his family lived on Squaw Brook Point, probably where the stream entered into the western shore of Indian Lake, around present-day Sabael, New York. The point was described as fertile land by the family of Laura Guenther who settled nearby. It is possible the couple’s two sons and twin daughters were born here, although this is not certain. The family lived on the point until after the children’s marriages and Marie Angelique’s death in the 1840s. According to Guenther and the Reverend Todd, Sabael thought the location of their home had become haunted, so he moved to the east side of Indian Lake (probably on the south side of Jerry’s pond). Todd met Sable in 1850 and described his home as a sparsely furnished wigwam with a dirt floor. A hunter who visited Sable in the spring of 1853 described the centenarian as breaking ground to plant potatoes.

Sable and Marie may have had five children; we know of three that survived to adulthood. Their first son, Joseph Panadis, (1795 - 1797) was buried at the same time their second son Louis Elijah (1797?- after 1855?) was baptized at the Catholic Church at Odanak as Lazare Panadis, May 1797. Sable and Marie Angelique’s twin daughters were named Catherine and Margaret; they were baptized 17 July 1800, probably at Saint-Jean-Francois-Regis, the Catholic mission at Akwesasne. Their surviving son, Louis Elijah, married Abenaki Marie or Mary Wzokhilain at St. Francis on 16 October 1820; they had at least four children, possibly more. There is no record of Mary coming to or living in the Adirondacks.

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80 “Partial History of Indian Lake Area,” *The Indian Lake Bulletin* (summer 1961). Papers borrowed from Scotty Miller. Articles by “Laura M. Guenther. Mss,” AM - BML, VF – “Indian Lake, NY” reviewed 29 April 2009. Indian Lake was smaller then it is today; nineteenth century damming enlarged the Lake and changed the entrance of the brook from this period. Squaw Brook Point is now underwater.

81 Christopher Roy, “Looking back on the life and times of John Mitchell, Abenaki of Indian Lake,” *Denton Publications* (Elizabethtown, NY) 24 June 2009 suggests this is possible. The 1880 U.S. Federal Census- Chester, Warren County, NY, p 46 D indicates Alice Mitchel Johnson (c. 1820-after 1880), the daughter of Catherine Benedict and John Mitchell, reported she and both of her parents were born in Canada. However, this is not definitive as many Abenaki children were baptized in Canada (as Catherine was) but they were not born there. And, there are numerous contradictions with census reporting by many Abenaki people in the Adirondacks including ethnicity and place of birth suggesting one or both began to create barriers for them.

82 Horton “Sable Benedict, Indian Pioneer,” 18; reportedly Marie Angelique died in a diphtheria epidemic.

83 Guenther, “Partial History of Indian Lake Area.” Benedict was living on the east side of the lake by 1847 per Guenther’s memoirs. Bill Zulo, Hamilton County and Indian Lake Historian, personal conversation with author, 3 October 2011 indicates Sable buried his wife near Squaw Brook where it enters the lake. Given the damming of the lake, the grave, if there, must be underwater.

84 Todd, *Summer Gleanings*, 264-65. Todd noted they kept dogs and had a black horse which they had little use for.

85 Ibid, 261-66; “Sable Benedict,” WCHO, 2; reviewed 17 November 2009.

86 Christopher Roy, personal conversation with author, 7 May, 2009 and e-mail correspondences dated 1 October, 2012 and 24 February, 2013. I do not have any details on the possible fifth child.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid. The exact date of birth of Louis Elijah or Lige and the whereabouts are unknown but it is believed he was still an infant when he was baptized at the Catholic Church. Louis Elijah eventually became Protestant based on Rev. Todd’s account in
She eventually began to call herself a widow due to her husband’s long absences from Odanak; he apparently preferred living in northern New York. Louis Elijah’s sister Catherine (c. 1800 - before 1845?) married Abenaki John Mitchell, Sr., probably known as Michel Ajean at Odanak (1802? - ?) on 8 February 1820 in Canada; however they lived most of their lives together in the Adirondacks. They had five surviving children. Catherine’s twin, Margaret Benedict (c.1800 - ?) married Euroamerican John Camp, Sr. (c. 1778 - 1884) of Vermont probably before 1821; they may have had as many as five children.

Sabael had approximately thirteen surviving grandchildren who had many offspring of their own. Some lived in the Adirondacks, others at Odanak, and still others moved about the Northeast and West. His children and grandchildren married into Abenaki families with names such as deGonzague O'todoson (Watso), Agent or Ajent (Mitchell), Obamsawin, and Wazmimet or Wasamemit (Emmett). All these Odanak family names appeared in the Adirondacks, especially as craft artists, during the era of wilderness tourism. Benedict’s descendants also married into non-Abenaki families of both Indigenous and European ancestry. They often lived near each other and worked together, albeit at times only temporarily. For example, the Camp family lived near the Mitchell family in Indian Lake in the 1870s. Cousins John Mitchel, Jr. and Samuel Benedict worked in a lumbering camp together in 1860. Nearly all the Abenaki people that came to live in the Adirondacks were related to Sabael Benedict, with the notable exception of the family of Peter Sabattis. Peter Sabattis had connections at Akwesasne and used the Catholic Church there at least for baptisms. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Sabattis...

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*Summer Gleanings*, 265 although he was not devout. Sabael maintained a mixture of Catholic and traditional Abenaki beliefs. Based on death records of Louis Elijah’s wife, Mary must have converted as well. She died in 1862 and is buried at Odanak according to Anglican Church records found in *Quebec Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection)*, 1621-1967 Record for Mary or Marie Benedict on ancestry.com in the 1862 Abenaquis Protestants P.Q. Registres Photographries au Greffe de Sorel. The known children of Louis Elijah and Marie or Mary Wzokhiain were: Mary Jane (born before 1836), Salomon (c. 1836- ?), Samuel (1838 - 1889, drowned in Lake George) and Edwin (1841 - 1901 at Odanak).

89 Christopher Roy, personal conversation with author, 7 May, 2009.
90 John Mitchell was the son of Capt. Pierre Michele Agent and Marie Eunice Angelique. Their children were: Margaret, Peter, Alice, Joseph and John, Jr. (c. 1837, probably born in Troy, NY - 1920 in Indian Lake, NY). There may have been a son Edward who died young. John Mitchell, Sr. remarried in 1846 at Odanak so it is presumed Catherine died prior to this date. Christopher Roy, e-mail communication with author, 1 October 2012.
91 John Camp, Sr. was born in present-day Vermont the son of European parents. He died in Lake George, Warren County. The only children we have records about are their three sons: John, Jr. (born between 1823 - 1826 in Vermont - ? in Lake George), Elijah (October 1836, VT - 1904, Indian Lake, Hamilton County, NY), and George W. (c. 1843 in New York State - 1919?). Christopher Roy, e-mail communication with author, 1 October 2012.
92 Chapter Five on Marketing Culture will include many of these families.
93 *1870 United States Federal Census - Indian Lake, Hamilton County shows Elijah and George Camp next to each other on the census. Their cousin's daughter, Mary Louise Mitchell and her husband, Charles Palmer are listed next. 1860 United States Federal Census - Indian Lake, Hamilton County, NY show the cousins living with and working for James Cosgrove and his family along with six other non-Native men.*
94 The history of the Sabattis family is featured in Chapter Three on Wilderness Tourism and Guiding. Some have claimed the two families were related but I have not found a connection.
family were probably living around Parishville, less than forty miles from the Mohawk community. It may have been that Peter Sabattis and Sabael became acquainted during a Benedict family trip to Akwesasne; however, there are no records to confirm or even suggest they socialized or worked together. For whatever reason, Peter decided to bring his family to the Long Lake area, near Indian Lake, around 1830.

Both Sabael and his son Louis Elijah were hunters and trappers. In addition to working with each other, Sabael and Lige also worked with other Abenaki. For example, Sabael had a run-in with Euroamerican trapper, Nicholas Stoner in 1822 after his Abenaki companion named Francis stole one of Stoner’s traps and, it is likely, some pelts. It was apparent that Sabela and Stoner also knew each other. Sabael smoothed things over with the hot-tempered Stoner and probably saved Francis’ life.95 The elder Benedict spoke Abenaki and French better than English.96 As they aged, father and son lived together, although one or both were often away. There are reports that the pair occasionally drank too much, although these records blamed Euroamerican cultural influences and change for this behaviour.97

Sabael and Louis Elijah were well-known for their hunting prowess and knowledge of the landscape. Combined with a reputation for generosity, the two were sought out by White settlers, industrialists, surveyors, and eventually sports hunters to guide them. For example, Guenther described Benedict helping her pioneering family during the summer of 1847 as they homesteaded. “Old Sabael had shown Grandpa how to grind corn with stones but it was such a slow & laborious process.”98 Sabael and Elijah’s connections to Euroamerican industrialists were usually made around mining interests. Prior to 1810, Sabael reportedly showed some prospectors the location of an iron ore mine near Keeseville for a basket of corn and $1.99 He or his son is credited with finding the “iron dam” at Tahawus and in 1826 revealing it to David Henderson who, along with his partners, opened the McIntyre Mine. It was probably Louis Elijah who brought the men to the location; he received a plug of tobacco and $1.50 for his efforts.100 Sabael was thought to know of other lead mines and, possibly the whereabouts of a silver mine.

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95 Simms, *Trappers of New York*, 153-58. See the next section for more about this violent period and two other incidents involving Nicholas Stoner. Louis Elijah also figured into the story, he was trapping with other young Abenaki men.
96 Todd, *Summer Gleanings*, 263-65 mentioned he spoke broken English. No records mention Louis Elijah’s difficulty with English so it is presumed he spoke that language better than his father did. Alice Nash’s article “Théophile Panadis (1889-1966),”22 indicates that even into the twentieth century most Abenaki were trilingual speakers and that English was the least known.
97 Todd, *Summer Gleanings*, 265 mentions they were charging when not tempted by alcohol which “neither has the power to resist.” George Levi Brown, “Sebille, the Indian,” *Elizabethtown Post Gazette* (Elizabethtown, NY) 5 April 1900, typed from a poor typescript given by Mrs. Early (T. Ovitt, 6/70), Bio File – Benedict family - AM - BML, reviewed October 2008 indicates Sebille (not sure if father or son, the article appears to combine the two) broke into a still if he had to. Nash, “Théophile Panadis (1889-1966),”30 indicates that alcohol “is associated with tension, conflict and sorrow in Abenaki communities from the first arrival of Europeans to the present day.” Excessive alcohol consumption by Adirondackers was not limited to Native people, as the next chapter on guiding references.
100 “A History of the McIntyre Mine near Newcomb, N.Y.”, Adirondack-Park website, accessed 19 October 2011, [http://www.adirondack-park.net/history/mcintyre.mine.html](http://www.adirondack-park.net/history/mcintyre.mine.html). There are several sometimes contradictory accounts about this
he found while trapping. How and where Sabael died is unknown. In 1855 he left his home on the east side of Indian Lake headed towards Thirteenth Lake or Pond, probably to trap or perhaps to visit at the Indian Community located there. His dog was allegedly found dead in Jerry’s Pond; Jerry’s and Puffer Ponds were supposedly dragged but Sabael’s body was never found. He was thought to be 108 years of age at the time. How and where Louis Elijah died and is buried is also a mystery; the last record we have about him was left in 1855 when he was 58.

The body of water that is Indian Lake is long and fairly narrow even today; it runs north by northeast and is connected by a series of rivers and smaller lakes to create a valley just south of the Adirondack High Peaks. Through a series of other lakes and rivers, one can navigate from Indian lake and connect to Lake Champlain and the Hudson, St. Lawrence, and Mohawk Rivers (see Map 2.3). These routes involve carries, or portages, as rapids and land impede direct thoroughfare. Today, dams and drainage have changed the size and flow of some of these rivers and lakes. At the end of the eighteenth century, a smaller and narrower Indian Lake was geographically a central location from which to hunt and sell furs. It was well-positioned for an Abenaki hunter who customarily looked for a body of water with tributaries to serve as transportation routes through a hunting territory.

Incident. Perhaps the most interesting is Masten’s *The Story of Adirondac* which describes the trek to the mine led by Lewis Elijah; the party included Duncan McMartin, Jr., David Henderson, an African-American manservant named Enoch who was afraid of the Indian guide, and a dog named Wallace. The trip took from Monday afternoon to Saturday. Legend has it that Henderson was so worried Benedict would tell someone else that he made Lige travel with him to Albany to stake his claim. Because of the remote nature of the location, the mine only became important during WWII when the titanium also located there was mined with a $50 million contribution from the U.S. government to build a railroad and get the mine off the ground.

Todd, *Summer Gleanings*, 265, Todd thought it was probably micaceous rocks. Also see Masten, *The Story of Adirondac*, 17. Henderson was in North Elba looking for evidence of silver mines when he was approached by one of the two with the chunk of lead.

Near Durant Lake outside the village of Blue Mountain Lake is an unmarked stone monument with a hole in the centre in honour of Louis Elijah Benedict. Some believe it is his grave, while others claim it was a 1930s Civilian Conservation Corp project monument and the plaque was stolen leaving the hole in the centre. The last record of Louis Elijah Benedict in the Adirondacks may be Raymond’s article or the 1855 New York State Census – Queensbury (Glens Falls), Warren County where an Elijah Benedick, age 58 is boarding with the Abenaki family of widow Sarah Kazia (age 48) in June. There are fourteen people living there, most were reported as “St. Francis”; they had been there for two months.

Unknown author, “article about Chief Sabael,” *Indian Lake Bulletin*, July c. 1965 as part of papers from Cliff and Kelly Marl, Lake Road, Sabael, I.L. located in FF - “Indian Lake, NY” AM - BML, reviewed 29 April 2009. Sabael sold his furs to traders in Lyons Falls by way of the Moose River, at Warren’s on the Hudson River, Williams Store in Speculator, as well as various traders coming into the region. For reference of selling furs at Williams’ Store in Newton’s Corners, present day Speculator see Simms, *Trappers of New York*, 153, 156.
It is not too much of a stretch to conclude that the central Adirondacks were treated as a hunting territory by Sabael Benedict who acted as a civil chief. He found a waterway that met Abenaki hunting territory specifications. Sabael and his family also had a place they called home where they planted a few, hearty crops. From there they traveled extensively throughout the Adirondacks and across international borders for work and social purposes, probably taking advantage of the water routes. As Abenaki and others married into the Benedict family, they lived near each other and often worked together in kinship-like arrangements. It is possible Sabael invited the Sabattis family to move there; at the very least, they did not seem to bother each other. The Sabattis family may have used Long Lake with its direct access to the Raquette and St. Lawrence Rivers as their watershed territory. With a little imagination, one can see the Sabattis family and even a few Euroamerican and Franco-Canadian families as macro-bands that Sabael’s family worked with, sometimes married into, and perhaps invited to the Adirondacks to live. Further, Sabael negotiated difficult situations and was influential with fellow-Abenaki and trappers, incoming settlers, and industrialists; such relationships demonstrated his “exceptional prowess and prestige” as a band leader; he continued in this position because he was clearly persuasive and influential.

Sabael Benedict drew on centuries-old models of kinship networks and leadership tactics to pursue intercultural alliances, just as his predecessors had done in other regions. Historian Heidi Bohaker has argued that fellow Algonquian-speakers, the Anishnaabeg, used kinship and alliance networks for many reasons, including during times of trouble. Writing about the Anishnaabeg’s use of their paternal
kinship system of “Nindoodemag” during their relocation to the pays d’en haut, Bohaker argues Nindoodemag was part of a pattern of Anishnaabeg mobility that also helped to maintain their identity.\textsuperscript{106} As well, Cynthia J. Van Zandt suggests that as early as 1580 Natives, Europeans, and Africans searched for ways to create alliances with each other as a way to coexist in North America. At the same time, they tried to gain as much control as possible. These efforts were sometimes misunderstood but the ability to negotiate with multiple cultures and incorporate the Other into their social network were successful strategies that created beneficial alliances between Natives and Newcomers.\textsuperscript{107} The ‘frontier bordered lands’ space that the Adirondacks represented during this period allowed the Benedict family and others the opportunity to maintain a more traditional life-style and have some control over their lives longer than they would have at their home reserves and territories that were shrinking. Individuals such as Sabaël Benedict implemented a strategy of cooperation with incoming Euroamericans, one which allowed them and their families the ability to live here in a mostly safe and initially familiar environment.\textsuperscript{108} However, this strategy was not always successful, especially when direct competition with White hunters and trappers were involved.

**VIOLENT ENCOUNTERS AND CAUTIOUS COOPERATION**

The period following the American Revolution and into the mid-nineteenth century was at times an era of violence in the Adirondacks, particularly between Euroamerican hunters and those from Akwesasne (St. Regis). While geographically part of New York State, during this period the region was culturally ambiguous, as newly branded “Americans” and “Canadian Indians” roamed the forest for furs, squatting privileges, and, later, jobs. Canadian Indians was a moniker often used to identify Iroquoian and Abenaki people working in the area, a name that was a strategy employed by Americans to disassociate them from their homelands on the U.S. side of the border.\textsuperscript{109} How this hostility manifested prior to their interactions here is complicated and was a process that occurred over time.

White trappers who migrated into the region after the American Revolution were often from New England. The descendants of English colonists, these New Englanders, together with their countrymen along the eastern seaboard, had a history of fighting with and even massacring Algonquian-speaking people once their skills and services were no longer needed; this violence began in the early seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{110} As Francis Jennings suggests, “In these lands the English – Puritan and royalist alike – held

\textsuperscript{106} Bohaker, "Nindoodemag, 51.
\textsuperscript{107} Van Zandt, *Brothers among Nations*, 10, 15, 187.
\textsuperscript{108} Cayton and Teute, *Contact Points*, 2 describe a frontier as an area where settled, unsettled, and uncivilised met.
\textsuperscript{109} Haviland and Power, *The Original Vermonters*, 243.
\textsuperscript{110} Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 31. New England colonists were usually Puritans and other marginal populations the English wanted to place at arm’s length. Also keep in mind Ethridge’s *Mapping Mississippian Shatter Zones*, 21, 421 which argues a lot of the violence during this period was due to world-systems capitalism even between Indian nations. On a broader scale, one could also include
the simple view that the natives were outside the law of moral obligations”. New England massacres began at least as early as the Wessagusset massacre led by Miles Standish in 1622; they also included the Pequot Mystic Massacre of 1637 and two massacres of Narragansett people under the leadership of Major John Talcott on 2 and 3 July, 1676. More so than other colonizers in North America, the English tried to maintain strict boundaries between themselves and Indigenous peoples. In the early days of colonization, this practice was based on English notions of civilization which focused on Protestant Christianity, instead of later distinctions based on ethnic differences. Initially dependant upon local Algonquian people for their food and survival, historian Karen Ordahl Kupperman argues that early English colonists “were fearful and paranoid, constantly on the lookout for treachery, which they expected at every turn. They reacted to even the slightest challenge with horrifying vengeance, and they did so in a spirit of self-righteousness”. Kupperman adds that early English settlers’ responses were based on European political policies of needing “to be on the winning side at all costs”. Once entrenched - and also based on their colonial experiences in Ireland and Scotland - the English applied a political hypothesis of fear to keep the “lower orders” under control. They practiced a four-step process to acculturate Native people: deliberately inciting competition between Indian nations to divide and conquer, failing to live up to promises made, waging wars of extermination to terrorize the Native people, and creating sophisticated propaganda processes to justify their acts. Often these wars of extermination occurred after an epidemic, which prevented weakened Algonquian people from defending their territories.

Algonquian people did not passively accept attempts at acculturation: they fought back. Both sides committed atrocities that terrorized Indians and colonists alike during battles and raids. In addition,
Indians who allied with the French kidnapped New England and New York colonists, often women and children, and brought them to Canada to be adopted or held for ransom (as did the Dutch - and later the Iroquois allied with the English). While in New France, attempts were made to convert Protestant captives to Roman Catholicism. All of these experiences helped to ferment hatred against Native people by New Englanders who had lost beloved family members and maybe property.\textsuperscript{119} Parents taught their children that Indians were their enemies and that revenge was necessary.\textsuperscript{120} Alan Taylor suggests colonists’ fears of being scalped and having their bodies mutilated also motivated this hatred. Scalping was seen as the taking of trophies and mutilation as a desecration “of the divine image”; English Protestants also believed an intact body had a better chance of getting into heaven.\textsuperscript{121} Of course, New Englanders were not the only colonists who feared and hated Native people. “A New Yorker confirmed that no child was “allowed to grow up in that region, without imbibing … hatred and horror of the Indians. Tales of Indian cruelties were in the mouths of all mothers and nurses”.\textsuperscript{122}

Old animosities that were based on previous loyalties forced during war were another reason for the violence in the region. A number of the Euroamerican hunters and trappers who moved into the Adirondacks were soldiers during one or more of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century wars. Native people either chose sides and fought in these wars or tried to remain neutral. Iroquoian people, only some of whom fought alongside the British during the American Revolution, were subjected to particular hostility in the region, perhaps because of the Mohawk’s clear alliance with the English. New York State saw more battles on its soil than any other colony; most of these were small skirmishes or raids on settlements, lone farms, and Indian villages. Combined with operations such as the Battle of Oriskany (1777), the Cherry Valley raid (1778), and the Sullivan-Clinton campaign (1779) the fighting became personal and racialized.\textsuperscript{123} During the war, the Americans created a propaganda campaign describing atrocities conducted by the Iroquois conveniently omitting their own acts.\textsuperscript{124} One of these atrocities was the killing and scalping of Jane McCrae in Washington County in the Adirondacks; it was sensationalized by American General Horatio Gates and spread throughout the colonies as a threat to all White settler women.\textsuperscript{125} Furthermore, prior to the War of 1812, the federal government of the new United States used newspapers and other media to produce a nationalist campaign aimed at creating loyalty to the country and away from individual states. This campaign was filled with anti-British sentiment and used

\textsuperscript{119} Jennings, \textit{The Invasion of America}, 183-84, 213, 315; Axtell, \textit{The Invasion Within}, 287-90, 300, 304-06.
\textsuperscript{120} White, \textit{The Middle Ground}, 366, citing James Hall, \textit{Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West}. Also see the record of Nat Foster who exemplifies this history later in this chapter.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid}, 203.
\textsuperscript{123} Berleth, \textit{Bloody Mohawk}, 115, 270-71, 283.
\textsuperscript{124} Taylor, \textit{The Divided Ground}, 112.
\textsuperscript{125} Deloria, \textit{Playing Indian}, 44.
images of Indians killing and scalping men, women, and children, all of which escalated tensions between Americans and Native people. “As the great savage villains of American nightmares, Indian warriors evoked a hatred that could best rally Americans for a war”. Moreover, as increased European immigration to North America created more competition for land, some of these colonists turned into “Indian haters”. Richard White describes these Indian-hating people along the western frontier at the time of the American Revolution as: “Anglo-American, Scots-Irish, and German-American patriots [who had] lost relatives and property to Indians…. They kill Indians – friend and foe alike, where and when they found them – without much through of the consequences to the revolutionary cause.” Their encounters often led to people on both sides being killed or captured; Indian haters saw all Indigenous North Americans as standing in the way of the land they wanted.

These “Big Knives,” as they were sometimes called by the Native people they fought with, imitated and lived in similar ways to Native Americans, particularly in the ways they fought and died. They occasionally misconstrued practices in ways that made themselves appear to be “Indian lovers.” Such settlers saw themselves as avengers for past wrongs and wanted to eradicate all Indigenous people who were in their way. White argues that the murderous actions of these ‘Indian haters’ were a rejection of attempts to come to a common understanding and a shared world between Euro- and Native North Americans. Algonquian people of the “middle ground” experienced and understood social and cultural boundaries as permeable. Indian haters failed to recognize how they too crossed boundaries; they distrusted those people who did cross social borders and believed Native people could not be civilized.

This latter belief seems incongruous, given how eastern revolutionary leaders initially viewed these White frontiersmen as “murderous” and saw their behaviour as being worse than that of “savages” and “even more “wild” and removed from [the] boundaries of civilized society than Indians”. However, revolutionary leaders developed relationships with these backwoodsmen because the latter’s effective Indian-like fighting style and because eastern leaders needed their allegiance in the west. Eventually, these frontiersmen were incorporated into the larger process of nation building, since their image was seen as ‘American’. Robert Parkinson argues that during this era the Europeanized image of the “Noble

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126 Jasper M. Trautsch, ““Mr. Madison's War” or the Dynamic of Early American Nationalism,” *Early American Studies* (Fall 2012): 630-70, 636, 639. Trautsch argues this campaign got a majority of Republican legislators elected and forced the U.S. into the War of 1812 which Madison was trying to avoid.


128 White, *The Middle Ground*, 378. Also see Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 141 who argues this competition over land was also the reason Europeans and Indian people began to see each other differently.


130 White, *The Middle Ground*, 368-70, 389.


133 Ibid, 105, 107-08, 116-17.
“Savage” was transferred to the murderous frontiersmen, while Native people took on the image of “merciless savages.”\textsuperscript{134} These frontiersmen helped to change American policy towards Indian people during and after the American Revolution; murder and warfare won out over negotiations and gift-giving.\textsuperscript{135}

Simultaneously, the English openly cultivated relationships with First Nations so they might fight alongside them. Thus Native people were identified with the British enemy, whether they were involved with them or not. The Revolutionary War press shaped the national identity to resemble backcountry settlers, while critical documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, helped form perceptions of Indigenous people as non-American.\textsuperscript{136} Furthermore, in the post-Revolutionary period, America operated under the Articles of Confederation, a weak federal form of government that gave more power to the states; this process, combined with excessive war debt, meant the United States could not control their citizens, many of whom questioned the federal government’s authority. As a result, the violence continued unabated for some time including in the Adirondacks.\textsuperscript{137} While there is no evidence that the hunters who were known in the Adirondacks experienced the extreme violence exhibited by the frontiersmen of the interior, legends about figures such as Nicholas Stoner and Nat Foster often referred to them as “Indian haters” and “Indian hunters”.\textsuperscript{138} The actions of some of these men demonstrated a propensity towards violence directed at Native people as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth.

Local histories suggest that violent encounters occurred. Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester’s \textit{Historical Sketches of Northern New York} claims there were many Indians in the Adirondacks after the Revolution who continued to hunt there either singly or in groups. He added that when Native and non-Native hunters met up, they sometimes got into disputes and occasionally someone was killed.\textsuperscript{139} Based on Sylvester’s accounts and my research, it was the Native hunters and trappers who were killed in these encounters.

Jeptha R. Simms’ 1846 \textit{Trappers of New York or a Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster} depicts encounters between Euroamerican and Mohawk hunters and describes a violent, frontier-like environment, particularly in the western part of the region. The relationship between Native and Euroamerican hunters was often unfriendly and full of suspicion. Simms describes the character of this

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Ibid}, 120-21.

\textsuperscript{135} White, \textit{The Middle Ground}, 384, 395.

\textsuperscript{136} \textit{The Declaration of Independence} states in relevant part: “The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. … He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions”. From “The Declaration of Independence: The Want, Will, and Hopes of the People,” accessed 24 September 2011, \url{http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/}.

\textsuperscript{137} White, \textit{The Middle Ground}, 413-17.

\textsuperscript{138} Adcock and Adcock, \textit{Images of America: Piseco Lake and Arietta}, 11 Other local White trappers who were considered to be Indian hunters or haters included Shadrack Dunning and Green White. Shadrack Dunning and Nicholas Stoner were more often called Indian Hunters.

\textsuperscript{139} Sylvester, \textit{Historical sketches of northern New York and the Adirondack wilderness}, 177-78.
period as “the rule of might and right;” when a hunter believed his traps had been robbed he saw it as legitimate to take the law into his own hands.\textsuperscript{140}

Such incidents happened despite there being law enforcement, admittedly sparse, within the region as Nicholas Stoner demonstrates. Stoner (c.1762–1853) was a deputy sheriff in Fulton County and was on duty during one of the violent episodes in which he was involved.\textsuperscript{141} Stoner’s father Henry, a German immigrant, had been killed and scalped, purportedly by Kahnawake Mohawk, during the American Revolution and his death affected his son’s perception of Indian people. In the spring of 1785 seven Mohawk hunters arrived in Johnstown to sell the furs they had trapped in the Adirondacks. Afterwards they stopped at Union Hall, also known as DeFonclaire’s Inn, to have dinner. While awaiting their meal they had drinks and treated those they wanted to befriend when Nicholas Stoner entered. Stoner was purported to have been drinking before his arrival and picked a fight. A brawl ensued and before the fracas ended Stoner pulled the lead earring out of the ear of a man named Captain John and threw a heated fire poker into the neck of another hunter who supposedly bragged about killing Stoner’s father. Nicholas was arrested and the hunters advised to leave town. The Mohawk hired local resident Samuel Copeland to carry them and their belongings by wagon to the Sacandaga River “where they had left most of their rifles, their squaws and canoes” to return to Canada. (Simms’ noted that “Indian women usually remained at the camp, and did the cooking for the hunters”). As news of the tavern brawl traveled, some of the local Revolutionary War veterans broke Stoner out of jail. They enjoyed a bit of drinking at a local tavern before the jailer found the group and sent Nicholas home.\textsuperscript{142} Simms described other incidents of Stoner killing Mohawk hunters in the forest for allegedly stealing from his traps. After killing them, he typically took their furs and rifles, and, on at least one occasion, a canoe as trophies.\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{140}Simms, \textit{Trappers of New York}, 18, 112, 191. Simms interviewed Nicholas Stoner and obtained information on Nathaniel Foster through an informant named W. S. Benchley who knew Foster well. Simms is not anti-Indian per se and tries to provide Indian names to places when he can. However, he calls both Foster and Stoner heroes and he sees his book as a tribute and them and their contemporaries.

\textsuperscript{141}\textit{Ibid}, 82-84. The Stoner family lived in the Broadalbin area, Fulton County. Henry Stoner was killed while Nick was serving at King’s Ferry, NY. As a deputy, Stoner worked for Sheriff Little. It has been suggested that Stoner served as an archetype for James Fennimore Cooper’s Natty Bumppo in his Leatherstocking Tales; however Taylor’s \textit{William Cooper’s Town}, 53 argues the archetype was David Shipman, a squatter near the Cooper family in Otsego County.

\textsuperscript{142}Simms, \textit{Trappers of New York}, 113-22, 145. The Mohawk traded with a local merchant named John Grant who had an interpreter Lieutenant Wallace who could speak Mohawk. Stoner was there to speak to a Constable Nathaniel Thompson. Simms refers to the hunters as Canadian Indians from the St. Lawrence River. Per Sims, Stoner noted that one of the hunters had a light complexion and asked him about his origins to which the young man indicated he was part White. One of the Mohawk’s companions took offense to the question and told Stoner it was none of his business. Stoner responded with a threatening fist and yelling “‘Out, you black booger!’” and the fight began. Simms believed the man Stoner threw the poker at must have died from the wound. Also see Schneider, \textit{The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness}, 77-78.

\textsuperscript{143}Simms, \textit{Trappers of New York}, 126-33, 143-44. Another example involved a companion of Stoner’s declaring a bear had disturbed their traps but the more experienced Stoner knew they were moccasin footprints. According to Stoner when he caught up with the ‘bear’, he shot him and took his furs and rifle.
Similar tales are told about self-proclaimed Indian hater, Nathaniel “Uncle Nat” Foster (c. 1766-1840) “for whom killing Natives was something of a hobby”. Foster was taught to loathe Native people by his father, a loathing combined with his experiences of Revolutionary war-time raids on the family’s Hinsdale, New Hampshire home while his father was away fighting in the war. In addition, Nat experienced the burning of the family’s cabin and kidnapping of his sister Zilpha by the Mohawk about two months after they arrived in the Adirondacks. Although he and a party of neighbours recovered Zilpha by the end of the day unharmed, Foster remained bitter and angry towards Native people. The best known example of Foster’s role in post-war violence was the 1833 murder of St. Regis Mohawk, Peter Waters, also known as “Drid”. While Waters was not the only Native person Foster killed this incident became well-known because Nat was arrested and tried. The two families were neighbours on the abandoned Herreshoff settlement on Brown Tract in Herkimer County. The Waters’ family was already living there when the Fosters’ arrived in 1832. Nat and Peter Waters had a running feud which reportedly began when Drid borrowed Foster’s boat without permission and then failed to return it to its rightful place. In addition, Foster publicly demanded Waters pay him in full for kindnesses his family had shown Mrs. Waters and their two children when Drid was away.

Events escalated and the two men began to threaten each other. On the day of the murder, 17 September, 1833, Foster planned to go hunting at Fourth Lake with locals William S. Wood and David Chase and a fishing party of four men. Drid was to accompany them and then continue on another twelve miles to Raquette Lake to pick up his traps. That morning Waters and Foster quarrelled and a fight ensued; Drid drew a knife and cut Foster’s arm. Instead of going to the local authorities to report the assault, Foster went home, got his rifle, and proceeded to a spot on First Lake now called Indian Point. He waited for the fishing party with Drid to appear and then Foster shot him dead. Drid was buried on the

144 Schneider, The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness, 78.
145 A.L. Byron Curtis, The Life and Adventures of Nat Foster: Trapper and Hunter of the Adirondacks, (Utica, NY: Press of Thomas J. Griffiths, 1912), 26, 83-84, 94-110 and Simms, Trappers of New York, 175, 182. Curtis described Nat and his brother hunting and trapping to help feed the family; they also had sheep and pigs, plus agricultural produce. Their father, Nathaniel Foster, Sr. had fought in and around the Adirondacks during the Revolution and just before the war ended in 1783 he moved his family northwest of Fish House in present-day Fulton County. Fish House was Sir William Johnson’s old camp; it was destroyed when the Sacandaga River was flooded in 1930 to create the reservoir. When his father announced the move Nat asked if there were any “Injuns” and his father reportedly said lots of them and that Nat ought to make it his life’s work “shooting the red devils”. With the burning of the family cabin and kidnapping of his sister, Nat resolved to do just that. Simms, Trappers of New York, 208-40; Simms uses actual trial testimony, however I was unable to locate the testimony from Herkimer County and I was referred to this book.
146 Ibid, 243- 48; Schneider, The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness, 78-80. Other ‘incidents’ involving Foster and the killing of Indian men include: the killing of Hess; the story where Foster claimed “The best shot I ever made, I got two beaver, one otter, and fifteen martin skins; but I took the filling out of a blanket to do it!”; drowns an Indian man taking a drink of water and steals his furs and supplies; and “killing 18 otters with one shot”.
147 Ibid, 200, 203. The quarrel was probably fuelled by the two men discussing the incident over drinks and further aggrevated by Foster’s friends taunting Drid that Nat would seek revenge against him. Simms reports that W.S. Benchley of Newport, NY, familiar with Foster and Waters, believed both men had been drinking when the trouble began. Simms described Foster as a temperate drinker at least compared to fellow Euroamerican trapper Green White who also had run-ins with Mohawk hunters.
148 Ibid, 212. The fishing party consisted of Jonathan Tyler, and his son Willis, Herman Thomas and Nelson Stimpson.
banks of First Lake near the dam in Old Forge. The trial, held in February 1834, lasted two days. The Judge instructed the jury of eleven peers that self-defence needed to be more than a threat and had to include an act of harm. The jurors found the defendant not guilty. Initially fearful of retaliation by Water’s relatives and compatriots, Foster removed himself and his family from the property. However, only Mrs. Waters’ relatives came. They buried their countryman in a flexed position, which was a traditional form of burial for the Mohawk, and then brought Mrs. Waters and her children with them back to Canada.

Euroamericans continued to complain about Native hunters and trappers well into the nineteenth century; in this period their complaints escalated into assault and battery. In the early 1850s, a guide known as Tucker told his Sport, S.H. Hammon a story about beating a “Canadian half-breed” who lived on the northwest shore of Chateaugay Lake and forcing him and his wife to leave the area. Tucker claimed he beat the man because he allowed his dogs to run deer down in the winter solely for their skins, a practice Tucker claimed he did not believe was sporting. However, his reasoning is suspect, given that the running down of deer by dogs was a popular practice used by Adirondack guides to help their sports more easily kill their prey.

Conflict over trapping and hunting were not the only reasons for violence between non-Native and Native people in the Adirondacks. James Paul was pushed into an icy Lake George “[o]ne ‘town meeting day’” near a tavern called Garfield’s in Hague, Warren County. Paul was reportedly “semi-intoxicated” and “ruffians… prevented him from reaching boat, dock or shore. Finally exhausted, he folded his arms and, with typical stoicism, sank”. Whether this “typical stoicism” was true or if the wording was used to mask the violence and inevitability of the outcome, drawing on images of the ‘vanishing Indian,’ is unknown; I could not locate any other record of the incident to confirm this newspaper article or to indicate if the “ruffians” were ever prosecuted. Biographer A.L. Byron Curtis tells

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150 Ibid, 208-40. Simms uses the court records and cites them in his chapter about this incident. The court allegedly could only find 11 men who had not already formed an opinion about the case and that is why there was not a full compliment of 12 jurors.

151 Ibid, 241-42. Mrs. Waters’ brother came to get her and her two children. Foster removed his family to Booneville and later to Pennsylvania before returning to the area. For a similar version of the Drid / Foster story see Sylvester, Historical sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness, 181-82 who also used the court records and Curtis, The Life and Adventures of Nat Foster, chapter 14, “The Murder and Trial”. For reference to the relatives reburying Peter Waters in their customary way see Martin Pickands, Principal Investigator, “Cultural Resources Reconnaissance Survey,” Cultural Resource Survey Program, September 2000 and Mary Hogan photograph entitled “Peter Waters, May He Rest in Peace,” October 2001 showing the dedication of a monument to Peter Waters on the banks of First Lake in Old Forge on 1 October, 2001. Pickands and his wife, Department of Transportation representative Marty Dwyer, local historian, Mike Caltaione, St. Regis Tribal Historian Ateronhiatokon, and Chief Alma Ransom are in the photo. Document and photograph located TWHA - GM, reviewed September 2009.


153 Graham, Jr., The Adirondack Park: A Political History, 83-87. The practice was banned by conservation legislation in 1877; however, the outcry from the travel industry temporarily repealed the legislation which was reinstated permanently in 1885 with the creation of the area as a forest preserve. This practice is described in the next chapter.

154 “Indian Biographies From Lake George,” Post Star (Glens Falls, NY) 14 December 1963, 13-14, 14. The timing of this incident is not clear but was probably during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.
a story of Nat Foster tricking and murdering an Indian man with whom he was allegedly having a sharp shooting contest. Curtis claims Hamilton County officials reported it as an accident. Evidence of racialized and other types of violence in the Adirondacks continued into the early twentieth century. As late as the fall of 1912, two related Oneida men met mysterious and untimely deaths. Joe Wheelock of Old Forge had gone to a bar in Otter Creek to pay a bill when he collapsed on Saturday, 28 September. He was carried onto the porch and left there on a cold, rainy night until the following afternoon; Wheelock died two days later. A physician ruled the initial cause for the collapse was a stroke but bruises on his head and neck, plus abrasions on his arm, caused his family to believe there was foul play. After an inquest on 15 October which resolved nothing, Wheelock's Oneida relative and co-worker at the Iroquois Pulp and Paper Company, Alexander O. Charles of McKeever, New York pushed to have a second inquest. According to newspaper accounts, Charles left for Port Leyden on 10 October to witness the exhumation of Wheeler's body. He met with Utica attorney Sholes on 23 October and was expected to return home the next day. His body was fished out of the Erie Canal on 13 November. On or about 2 December, a coroner eventually confirmed foul play but by February 1913 neither case had been investigated. I could find no records to indicate arrests had been made in either case. However, despite these examples, not all encounters between Euroamericans and Native people during this era were violent; their relationships were more complicated than the above confrontations suggest. In the late eighteenth century, Revolutionary War veteran Jonathon “Jock” Wright (c. 1746–1826) and a partner nick-named “Crookneck” Simmons hunted and trapped in the area around Lake Champlain and Lake George, as well as the northern parts of the Hudson River. Although “Indian hunters were continually crossing their tracks,” Wright and Simmons had no serious trouble with them or any other hunters. Moreover, in 1785 French entrepreneur Peter Sailly ran a fur trade enterprise in Clinton

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156 “Will Hold Inquest at Fulton Chain: District Attorney Fuller Exercises Authority in Case of Indian’s Death,” Utica Herald Dispatch (Utica, NY) 10 October, 1912; “Want Marks on Dead Explained,” Syracuse Journal, (Syracuse, NY) 7 October, 1912, 5; “Attending Inquest,” Utica Herald Dispatch, (Utica, NY) 15 October, 1912, 3; “Indian Joe’s Inquest,” Utica Herald Dispatch (Utica, NY) 16 October, 1912, 4 describes suspicious bruises on the left side of Joe Wheelock’s face and neck and abrasions on his arm; “Wife Declares Charles Murdered,” Utica Herald Dispatch (Utica, NY) 14 November, 1912, 10; Charles’ wife insisted her husband was murder and that $50 and a wallet were missing. Coroner Getman had to agree his death was suspicious given the bump on the crown of Charles’ head. “Robbery Murder’s Possible Motive,” Syracuse Journal (Syracuse, NY) 3 December, 1912, 11 reported that Charles had been murdered as he had been hit over the head and had either fallen or was thrown into the canal. “Second Indian Tragedy,” Utica Saturday Globe (Utica, NY) 16 November, 1912 mentions there was some suspicion that Charles’ death may have been a result of his inquiry into Wheelock’s death. “Indians Body in the Canal: Left his home in the Adirondacks Three Weeks Ago,” The Auburn Citizen (Auburn, NY) 16 November, 1912, 2. “Indian Found Drowned,” Evening Recorder (Amsterdam, NY), November 1912; “Justice for Indian?” Utica Daily Press, (Utica, NY) 6 February 1913. The delay was due to striking coroners.

157 Simms, Trappers of New York, 258-269. As the beaver and other game played out in the eastern region, Wright moved to Norway, NY in 1796 just south and west of today’s Adirondack Park boundary line in Herkimer County.
County. Native people came to Sailly’s home to trade and at times slept in his kitchen.\(^{158}\) Completed in 1819, Constable Hall in Constableville, Lewis County featured an “Indian Room” built onto the ground floor. The Iroquois were known to stop over and use the room which contained a fireplace and an old flintlock rifle for their use. “They customarily expressed their thanks for hospitality by giving a haunch of fresh meat to the Constables after a successful hunting trip”.\(^{159}\) In spite of Nicholas Stoner’s history, he was also known to hunt and trap with St. Regis Mohawk including Powlus, Capt. Gil, and Flagg, the latter noted for wearing a loon skin for a cap.\(^{160}\) In addition, Stoner and a companion shared a camp with a Kahnawake Mohawk named Anderly and his daughter. It was from Anderly that Stoner discovered that the War of 1812 had begun.\(^{161}\)

Other examples of cooperation can be found. In 1826, six year old Clarence Walworth gave some clothes left on the family’s Saratoga Springs porch to a traveling St. Regis Mohawk. About six months later, the Mohawk returned with a gift of a youth-sized bow and arrow to repay the boy’s kindness.\(^{162}\) Perhaps the most poignant example of cooperation involved William F. Wood (c. 1798-1868), a Vermonter who arrived in the Adirondacks around 1832 to work as a trapper. While working alone, he had the misfortune to fall into the icy Independence River. The timing of the accident is unclear but it probably happened before 1839. Wood’s legs were frozen and it was several days before he was discovered by Nat Foster. Wood had to have both of his legs amputated below the knee. The surgery was “performed by Wood’s Indian friends, who also nursed him back to health and provided him with heavy leather knee pads to assist crawling”.\(^{163}\) (Not surprisingly, he became known as “Stumpy” Woods.) The surgery and pads worked so successfully that he was able to travel, hunt, and trap in the Adirondacks during any season. While this period contained many acts of violence based on inherited beliefs, real and imagined fear, war-time experiences, and competition, it is important not to over-generalize. As noted above, many early settlers and hunters got along with the Native people working and living in the Adirondacks. However we must recognize that this period was full of tensions; these incidents of violence brought about enormous changes, especially for the Mohawk of St. Regis who were continuing to pursue

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\(^{158}\) Bixby, “Peter Sailly (1754 – 1826),” 11. Sailly’s original venture was iron ore, but he found fur trade more lucrative. He purchased on credit about 30,000 francs of French goods to trade with the Indians; however he soon learned it was cheaper to buy American goods. He sold the furs he obtained to John Jacob Astor who was headquartered in Albany, NY at the time.

\(^{159}\) Pilcher, *The Constables*, 25. The Oneida were employed by William Constable, Jr. to help build Constable Hall located in Constableville, Lewis County, NY.


\(^{161}\) Ibid, 141. Simms claims the father and daughter were “Caughnawaga” from Grand River in Canada – it is more probable they were from Kahnawake (a/k/a Caughnawaga) near Montréal.

\(^{162}\) Jean McGregor, “Gift of Shirt to Indian Brought Bow and Arrow,” from column "Chronicles of Saratoga" in *The Saratogian* (Saratoga Springs, NY), 23 April, 1948.

\(^{163}\) Pilcher, *The Constables*, 51. Dates of the accident are as early as 1835 to as late as 1850. Pilcher references several visitors to corroborate the accident occurred by 1839; Wood had settled around Indian Point on the western side of Raquette Lake by then. Ruth Timm’s *Raquette Lake*, 12 notes Wood lived there for twenty years before moving to Elizabethtown to live with relatives. He died there in 1868.
customary hunting and trapping labour in their traditional territory. The encroachment of White hunters and trappers curtailed the mobility of these hunters and how they responded to encounters could be a matter of life and death. These were complex relationships at a very personal level.

Euroamerican settlement and industry began to pervade the interior of the Adirondacks early in the nineteenth century; tourists soon followed in their wake. As noted, some Mohawk and Abenaki families and individuals were already working and living in the area. Records indicate that encounters between local Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking people and new Euroamerican settlers, surveyors, anthropologists, and eventually visitors were mostly friendly and cooperative. For example, an unnamed seven foot Mohawk was part of the crew for the Old Military Tract, surveyed between 1812-1813. In Washington County Indian people showed homesteaders how to make maple sugar and told them stories about its discovery. According to local historian Fred Tracy Stiles, two stories exist; the first is that the knowledge came from a dream. The other story is that an old man’s teeth had gone bad and he had to soften his meat by soaking it in water in a birchbark basket. One day, in an effort to save time, the woman who cooked for him used some left over sap in the soaking basket instead of fetching water; the sap marinated the meat. When the meat was cooked it became sweet and that is how maple sugar was discovered. Encounters between Natives and Newcomers in Elizabethtown were generally cordial and children played together. When a conflict over a dog which had stolen meat set out to cool occurred, the dog’s Native owner replaced it with a quarter of a recently killed deer, “a payment of both principal and interest”. Editor Charles Fenno Hoffman and a companion hired St. Regis Mohawk, Captain Gil, to guide them in the late 1830s. During the course of Hoffman’s trip, they ran into a group of hunters from Akwesasne who had several sports hunters with them, including Major Jake Peabody. They joined forces and hunted together; Gil told the group several Mohawk legends that occurred in the Adirondacks.

There are no known records left by the Mohawk and Abenaki people to clarify why they took the risk of coming to the region at this time. We know that Akwesasne and Odanak were experiencing limited possibilities based on colonization practices of settlement, legislation, and missionization that resulted in social, political, economic, and land pressures at reserve and reservation communities, factors which

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165 Stiles, From Then Till Now, 147-48.

166 Brown, Pleasant Valley, 64. Oliver Abel, Sr. was Brown’s informant and told the author about playing with Native boys and a family story about a dog owned by an Indian man who lived in the settlement across from them. The dog stole a cooked roast that his mother had set out to cool. Angered over the theft, Oliver’s mother threatened the dog’s owner that the next time the dog came by she would scald it. The man told her he would replace the roast and the next day went out and killed a deer.

probably explain why some came to the area during this uncertain period. One cannot help but speculate that the Adirondack landscape, which kept Europeans away and delayed most Euroamerican settlement until well after the War of 1812, felt familiar during an era of imperial upheaval as Americans and British fought and negotiated for dominion over the northern portion of the continent. Experiencing a shatter zone at their reserves, these Iroquoian and Algonquian people used the Adirondacks as a familiar zone of refuge; one that had been part of their homeland and that their ancestors knew well. Coming to the Adirondacks during this precarious age reflects the tension between the agency exerted by Mohawk and Abenaki people and the colonial practices imposed upon them. Responding to the latter, they created a new world in the Adirondacks, if only for a time, that drew on customary skills that they could use in their new reality. As a result, they became part of the fabric of Adirondack history and culture. White settlement and resource-type industries such as lumbering and mining entered the region at the beginning of the nineteenth century and were well underway within two decades. Year round-wage work in industrial occupations helped to increase settlement but it also reduced the ability of Iroquoian and Algonquian hunters and trappers to work the Adirondacks for furs, hides, and meat. By the late 1830s, even Major Peabody had to admit exploitation of the area was disturbing the hunting and fishing there.\footnote{Hoffman, \textit{Wild Scenes}, 192.}

\textbf{LOCATION OF EXCHANGE}

Prior to the late 1830s, Algonquian and Iroquoian people were freer to move about the land and pursue seasonal activities in the Adirondacks; even as most adapted to reservation life they continued to cross the border for these pursuits. However, by 1840 the new world the Mohawk, Abenaki, and others had created in the Adirondacks had become smaller and the land less useful as Euroamerican settlement and industry affected their ability to successfully hunt and trap in the area. As a result, many Mohawk, Oneida, and Abenaki living in and around the region adapted their labour strategies to incorporate wage employment, often as temporary contractors in some of the region’s resource-type industries. The Mohawk in particular worked together in groups at lumbering, bark peeling for tanning, and on the railroad. Local lumberman, Herbert McGee was known to have “hired Indians from up North – they apparently saved his life up there by the border at one time”. The St. Regis group also worked on road construction for McGee.\footnote{Peg Masters and George Cataldo, “Howard Weiman Logging History Interview,” \textit{transcript}, TWHA, reviewed 18 March 2009. Also see “Body of Victim Identified,” \textit{Utica Herald Dispatch} (Utica, NY) 28 May 1913 which identified the body of Jack Jock, a St. Regis Mohawk who “was one of about 60 St. Regis Indians employed by the International Paper Company at the logging camp near Carter’s”. He was run over by a train on the Mohawk and Malone Railway tracks. For railroad work examples see Henry A Harter, \textit{Fairy Tale Railroad: The Mohawk and Malone From the Mohawk, through the Adirondacks to the St Lawrence – The Golden Chariot Route} (Binghamton, NY: Vail-Ballou, 1979), 42, Charles H. Burnett, \textit{Conquering the Wilderness: The Building of the Adirondack & St. Lawrence Railway by William Seward Webb, 1891-92} (Privately Printed, 1932), 39, and Marleau, \textit{Big Moose Station}, 45-47.} Akwesasne Mohawk often lived together outside of Euroamerican towns and
sometimes small shanty communities called Sientihne grew up around logging camps (see figures 2.2 and 2.3). The Mohawk word “Sientihne” [pronounced Zhien tih ne] is a hybrid based on how the Mohawk heard the English word "shanty", and the Mohawk suffix "neh" which means a building or place. There are reports of women and families in these camps. For example, George Washington Sears recorded his visit to a lumbering or bark peeling camp headed by St. Regis Mohawk William Bero in the summer of 1880. In addition to the crew of fifteen men were Bero’s wife and adult daughter, a school teacher at Akwesasne, and four children, including an infant. Perhaps the young woman in illustration 2.3 was living in such a camp. Bark peeling was typically done for the tanning industry which arrived in the area in the 1850s and was responsible for even more settlement and loss of trees. Collecting spruce gum for the chewing gum business was another industry in the central part of the region; Mohawk Johnny Leaf (1848-1908) used to earn seasonal wages collecting the gum on a crew that worked for Tim Crowley of Piseco. When these jobs were done, most St. Regis Mohawk workers returned to Akwesasne, although some, such as Leaf, remained. Meanwhile, others found work in the wilderness tourism industry, the subject of the next three chapters.

This chapter, and those that follow, suggest Mohawk and Abenaki people did not disappear in the region; instead they adapted to the changing space of what the Adirondacks had to offer as a location of exchange and a familiar homeland. Those relying on the Adirondacks were eventually overrun by Euroamerican settlers and industry; yet they also were able to maintain a number of their principles and practices. In resource-industry labour, Mohawk men worked together and the women who accompanied them did complementary work in the camps. This pattern of work resembled labour practices before and after contact. Sabael Benedict and his son Louis Elijah adapted their work to include trapping for wages and guiding while also continuing their subsistence hunting and living practices. Within the wilderness tourism industry we see a similar situation: women and men carried forward their customary work practices within the new commercial venture of North American wilderness tourism. How White tourists viewed the adaptations Native people made to survive, and, more importantly, how they failed to see beyond the stereotypical symbols of their own beliefs, added to the discourse of their disappearance in the Northeast. But, as this dissertation explains, Indigenous people did not disappear. Instead, Algonquian

170 John Fadden, e-mail message to author, 29 October, 2009.
172 Harris, Adirondack, Lumber Capital of the World, 16, 31, 36, 49-50, 89-90. Also see “Lewis County,” Utica Daily Observer (Utica, NY), 26 May 1871 which reported fires had destroyed the camps of “a large party of Indians who were employed peeling bark” around the Moose River district.
173 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 137. Christopher Roy, e-mail message to author, 21 April 2009; “Obituary” as part of the “Jimmy Dewstop Letter”, unknown publication but probably the Boonville NY Herald (Boonville, NY), Th., 27 February 1908, 9. Leaf, sometimes spelled Lief was also a hunter, trapper, and guide and his sister Christina and her family made baskets.
and Iroquoian people deliberately chose what facets of their life made sense to change and those to maintain in order to move forward in this new world of limited mobility and changing opportunity.

**CONCLUSION**

One of my favourite Adirondack histories is *Contested Terrain*, a book which also captures the conflict between outsiders and local Adirondackers from the late nineteenth century up to the present day. However, I take exception to the author’s statement that: “[t]he only thing that distinguished the Adirondacks from western frontier regions was that exploitation of local riches … did not involve the removal or slaughter of indigenous peoples”. Based on my research, I argue that removal and killing of indigenous people did happen here on a smaller scale and in a different form than we normally think of. There may not have been a mass slaughter such as the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee but many, especially Mohawk hunters, were killed in the Adirondacks without threat of penalty. While there was no forced removal similar to the 1838 Cherokee Trail of Tears, Iroquoian and Algonquian people’s *livelihood* was *removed* as resource-type industries and settlers affected the amount of game in a territory Iroquoian and Algonquian people needed for food and as a resource for income. Anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins suggests that when settlers enter a hunter-gatherer peoples’ territory the latter’s “economy is seriously afflicted by the imminence of diminishing returns”. When this happened, Native people were forced to either travel further to make up for the economic loss or, more often, they were forced to move

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as settlements expanded and settlers cleared the land they used for gathering and hunting purposes. Archaeologist Stephen W. Silliman argues the combination of violence, forced labour changes, settlers and “the ensuing material, cultural, and political entanglement” are not forms of cultural contact, they are acts of colonialism. In a less dichotomised manner, I suggest they are both, especially as we look at social entanglements. As this chapter reveals, the Adirondacks do have a history of colonization that included violence and economic changes, ones that resulted in death, removal, and entangled relations. Resembling the place itself, these incidents remained quietly isolated, seemingly only important to very regionalized, local Adirondack history. However, as we broaden our understanding of colonization as a process that also includes incidents such as forced labour changes and entanglements due to settlement, we start to see that the history of the Adirondacks contributes to larger and important arguments in North American colonization history. As Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm argue historians cannot tell nuanced and complicated histories about contact without first acknowledging Native peoples’ rights to self-determination in political, social, and economic matters. It is only after self-determination has been removed, that Native people are forced to exert their agency to survive; it is the tension between these rights and the acts of agency that “produce truly balanced and nuanced histories in which neither Native actors nor colonial power is ignored”.

In a similar manner, the Adirondacks are an important borderlands region of the Northeast. As an indigenous homeland for Native peoples in proximity to the region, it served as a place of resources and labour, and sometimes even as a buffer zone. Before the American Revolution, the area had become a space that acted as a zone of refuge, originally for Algonquian-speakers from southern New England and maybe others. After the Revolution the area served the same purpose for Abenaki with ties to Odanak and Mohawk from Akwesasne who needed to find work away from their reserve communities. As Abenaki and Mohawk hunters tried to continue their customary practices, some found crossing the political boundary created by Britain and the United States useful. In both cases, Algonquian and Iroquoian-speaking peoples chose to use their familiarity with the Adirondacks to make it a more permanent home. This borderlands history provides insight into strategies employed by these peoples during difficult times and in some cases suggests what happened to a few of them.

In addition, the Adirondacks continued to act as a location of exchange for some Abenaki, Mohawk, and White trappers who went there to make use of its resources. Unlike the relationship between White trappers and St. Regis Mohawk trappers, there are no records to indicate there were animosities between Mohawk and Abenaki hunters and trappers during this period. Annexed by New York State after the Revolutionary War but ignored as most White settlers moved into the more fertile

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176 Silliman, “Culture Contact or Colonialism?, 55-74, 57.
177 Brownlie and Kelm, “Desperately seeking absolution, 543-56, 556.
lands of Iroquoia, a number of especially Abenaki individuals and families chose to live there more permanently before the arrival of Euroamerican and immigrant settlers into the interior. By using strategies of cooperation based on traditional Abenaki leadership and alliance-making skills, Aboriginal Adirondackers became “safe Indians” in the minds of eastern Euroamericans, both those who moved to the region and those urban, middle- and upper-class Whites who vacationed there. However, the tensions that still existed between Indian and Euroamerican hunters and trappers also made the idea of a vacation there exciting. This environment helped set the stage for wilderness tourism in the area.

If we ignore this period of violence and cooperation, we not only deny Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking people their rightful history in the Adirondacks after the American Revolution, we also refuse to recognize a crucial piece of the place’s history and the beginnings of wilderness tourism. In addition, this period saw initial efforts to shape the complicated relationship between Aboriginal and Euroamerican settlers as they started working together instead of competing with one another or seeing each other as former adversaries. While these were certainly acts of colonialism, Iroquoian and Algonquian people who came to or left the Adirondacks for reasons of their own were not without agency. Economic need was certainly a factor, but Native people came here and purposefully occupied this place; sometimes on their own terms, sometimes not, more often in some negotiated form of settlement. As a result, acts of reciprocity began to take place between Native and non-Native peoples and the land, acts which created opportunities for entangled exchanges within a colonizing context. It is important to understand this era, as within a generation or two Iroquoian and Abenaki people went from being enemies of post-Revolutionary Euroamericans who moved there to their neighbours, spouses, and business partners who exchanged ideas. To study their lives together without knowing about this violent period conceals the breadth of distance and complexity concerning how far the two peoples had come over a short period of time. As Daniel Usner argues, to study “the imagined Indian without considering the spaces of intercultural conflict, negotiation, and exchange in which much of the imagination took place is to perpetuate the voicelessness, namelessness and facelessness … assigned to Indian people.” 178 These encounters paved the way for Adirondackers of Aboriginal and European ancestry to come together and create communities where both could peacefully live and work. The next chapters construct a portrait of the complex rural society and culture created by these relationships during the era of wilderness tourism.

Chapter 3:

“The old Indian, Elijah, known to all in that region as one of the trustiest guides in all the wilderness”¹:
A History of Aboriginal Guides and Wilderness Tourism in the Adirondacks:
(c. 1840 – 1920)

“New York has her wilderness within her own borders; and though the sailors of Europe are familiar with the soundings of her Hudson, and Fulton long since invented the steamboat on its waters, an Indian is still necessary to guide her scientific men to its head-waters in the Adirondac Country.” ²

T.S. Morrell’s portrayal of his camping experience at Rock Pond on a Sabbath morning in 1883 is a fascinating description of an Adirondack wilderness tourism adventure. Morrell of Newark, New Jersey was in a group that consisted of himself and two men named Atwater and Hardham, plus three guides: Mitchel Sabattis, Calvin Towns, and Lorenzo “Ren” Towns, all of Long Lake. Morrell described the landscape and of waking up in a home-made lean-to that morning in romantic terms. A devout Methodist, Sabattis greeted his party’s waking with an admonition to not fish that day in respect for the Sabbath. However, Atwater and Hardham chose to ignore the reproach. Morrell did not fish; instead he accompanied Ren Towns while the guide caught minnows for bait. Upon returning to the camp, Sabattis inquired if Mr. Morrell had broken the Sabbath; in his reply, Morrell denied fishing and stated that he had only floated around the lake enjoying the scenery. “Oh I see!?” said Sabattis, “‘You have not broken it, - only bent it a little’.” Sensing a heavy rain by nightfall, Sabattis suggested they break camp after dinner. The guides prepared a meal of mock turtle soup, ham and eggs, canned Boston baked beans, fried and roasted brook trout, boiled salmon trout, pie and cake plus spring water and tea, which everyone shared. The party of travelers finished off their meal with pipes and “segars” and then took an hour’s nap before rolling up their blankets and putting them into the already loaded boats. The party returned to Sabattis’ boarding house in Long Lake. Morrell had come down with a chill and then a fever. He remained at the Sabattis boarding house for several days being treated with mustard plasters, quinine “and a hot Jamaica rum punch [that] put [him] in a sweat”. The following day he was weak but on the mend. The rest of the party continued to fish until everyone left for home by way of the Raquette River towards the Saranaes.³

³ “American Angler” Article Recalls 1883 Fishing Trip to the Long Lake Area,” Tupper Lake Free Press (Tupper Lake, NY) 20 October 1960, 8, 11. Mock turtle soup consisted of boiled water, Liebig’s extract of meat, salt and pepper, cut lemon slices, and cooked egg whites. Morrell noted the cigars and tea were of the finest quality.
What is interesting about this wilderness travel experience is that Mitchel Sabattis (1823-1906) was a well-known Abenaki guide of the Adirondacks; the other two guides were his Eurocanadian, now American, sons-in-law. Lorenzo Towns was born in Québec and arrived in the area in 1853 at the age of 15. He married Mitchel’s eldest daughter, Louisa (1849-1922) in 1872. Calvin Towns reported that he was born in English Canada and arrived in the U.S. in 1880 at the age of 20. He married Mary Elizabeth Sabattis (1864-1887) within a year or so of his arrival. Mary Elizabeth died in 1887 and Calvin married her older sister, Emeline (1862-1915) in 1892. Mitchel and his German or Dutch-American wife Elizabeth “Betsy” Dornburg(h) (1827-1901) ran the boarding house where Morrell recovered. Morrell’s travel account gives us a glimpse of the experience of the Adirondack wilderness tourist and the work their guides performed. It also describes for us the sense of humour and religious conviction that Mitchel Sabattis possessed and tells us what it might have been like to travel with him on a wilderness vacation. Furthermore, it illustrates the complexity of his family and business.

As Chapter Two suggests, wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks was furthered by the tensions of encounters between Natives and Newcomers, especially hunters and trappers. But there was more to wilderness tourism than these encounters; there were non-local influences as well. To set the context for these developments, this chapter begins with a brief discussion of the influences on wilderness tourism and then examines the guide and sportsmen’s relationship in general, based on recent scholarship; it also includes a discussion about the specific relationship between the “Sport” (as they were called in the region) and guide in the Adirondacks. Next, the chapter provides a history of wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks, including hunting techniques and the typical experience one seeking a wilderness vacation had there.

This chapter then focuses on the history of Algonquian and Iroquoian people who worked in the Adirondacks as guides for a variety of employers, such as the military, early White settlers, surveyors, and, eventually, tourists. As the previous chapter argued, the family of Sabael Benedict employed customary leadership skills and a strategy of cooperation with incoming Euroamerican hunters and pioneers, thereby becoming “safe Indians”. Later in the century, Native people continued this approach as they guided for tourists. Building on that argument, I introduce Abenaki Mitchel Sabattis and his family,

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4 Baptismal record, “Russeltown (Methodist Church and Presbyterian Church)” Québec Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1967; 1900 United States Federal Census – Long Lake provides the date Lorenzo Towns arrived in U.S. and how long married.
5 1900 United States Federal Census – Long Lake provides the date Calvin Towns arrived in U.S. and how long he was married to Mary Elizabeth. He claimed to have been born in English Canada, but by the 1910 Census he was claiming to have been born in New York State. 1910 United States Federal Census – Long Lake provides the number of years Calvin and Emeline were married.
6 First Congregational Church Pulpit Bible presented in 1842 by Rev. J Todd, a/k/a the Keller Family Bible (1892), LLA – the Dornburg(h) and Keller families intermarried and were some of the first church members and Euroamericans to settle in Long Lake. The bible includes the dates of birth, marriage and death date information for most of the Dornburg(h) family and others related to the Kellers.
who continued this tactic and as a result were sought after by nineteenth-century sportsmen who hired Mitchel, his sons, and even grandsons to guide them.

Four inter-related arguments are suggested in Chapter Three. To start, the deliberate Abenaki and Mohawk leadership strategies of cooperation which created “safe Indians” in the Adirondacks, combined with wilderness tourism, kept local Indigenous people current in the imagination of wealthy and middle-class EuroAmericans from the Northeast during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Such strategies were deployed during a period of state removal of Indigenous people such as the federal policies of the Jackson administration, which compelled most Indigenous people living in the eastern part of the U.S. to move west of the Mississippi River after 1830. Even earlier, the policies of New York State’s Governor, George Clinton (1777 - 1795 and 1801 - 1804) forced most of the Haudenosaunee and the Mahican outside of its expanding boundaries. Families with ties to Odanak and Akwesasne who moved to the Adirondacks after the American Revolution adapted their work to accommodate White trappers, settlers, and then tourists; they became safe to hire for Euroamerican sportsmen from eastern cities. As Bill Parenteau argues, the sportsmen and guide relationship created an environment of Aboriginal culture as a commodity “at a comfortable level and at a safe distance”. Sports wrote about their wilderness experiences in the Adirondacks with both Euroamerican and Aboriginal guides in national publications in exciting terms. They discussed encounters with St. Regis and St. Francis people and noted if their guide was one of them. Sportsmen’s chronicles kept the lives of these Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people in the public sphere until the end of the nineteenth century, while other eastern Indigenous peoples moved west or went into hiding. As a result, these Mohawk and Abenaki peoples remained visible during this period. At the same time, though, these writers suggested their Indian guides were borderlands people who were not indigenous to the region and implied their days were numbered.

The chapter then examines the experience of other Aboriginal and then Euroamerican guides. Categories such as class and the importance of the rural context are significant lenses from which to look at inter-relationships between Natives and non-Natives in contact history during the nineteenth century and in later periods, especially as regions became more settled by Whites. This section compares Sports’ writings about Native and non-Native guides. The travel literature of wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks does not indicate that sportsmen treated their Aboriginal guides much differently on a personal level than their Euroamerican counterparts. While dependent upon their services, these sportsmen admired the abilities of their guides, whether Aboriginal or Euroamerican. Eventually though,

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7 The Indian Removal Act of 1830, Statute I, 28 May 1830, 21st Congress, Session 1, Ch. 148, Chap CXLVIII (148).
8 For examples see Taylor, The Divided Ground; Hauptman, Formulating American Indian Policy in New York State, 1970-1986; Campisi and Hauptman, The Oneida Experience. Silverman, Red Brethren.
9 Parenteau, “Care, Control, and Supervision,” 33-34.
the moneyed, urban, White male reappeared in their writings as the superior man. This does not mean that ethnicity was not a factor: it was. Yet despite some ethnic slurs used by Sports who often focused their contempt on individuals and families they considered to be “half-breeds”, the vast majority of this supercilious writing focused on rural people and class issues.

This chapter also argues there was an exchange of identities between Aboriginal and Euroamerican guides as the latter became known as “Native” guides. Unlike other studies that focus solely on the relationship between White hunters and anglers who deliberately chose Aboriginal guides during this period, my research examines the life of guides such as Mitchel Sabattis who competed and worked with the local Euroamerican Adirondack guides who outnumbered the Indigenous guides. The population in the Adirondacks was small and the number of individuals of any ethnicity who professionally guided was limited. While many of the earliest wilderness tourists went to the Adirondacks for their physical and mental health, some Sports traveled there as adventurers to duplicate the exploration of the American West on a small scale. However, the Aboriginal population in the Adirondacks could not accommodate all those seeking an “authentic” Indigenous experience. As a result, Sports began to see all the local people as having “Native” identities and all Adirondackers thus became “Native.” For those Adirondackers who truly were Native, this blurring of racial boundaries meant they were seen as “safe” or unthreatening Indians.

Finally, this chapter concludes by arguing that the relationship between local Aboriginal and Euroamerican people in the Adirondacks during the wilderness tourism era was complex; it demonstrates the area was a changing indigenous homeland and a location of exchange. These two cultures traded ideas, their labour for wages, and even concepts of identity that were tied to the land in the wilderness tourism experience. They eventually negotiated the intimate exchange of relationships as they began working, marrying, and raising families together. This does not mean Indigenous people did not face racism in the Adirondacks during this period; they did and continued to do so for many years to come. But given the suspicion and hatred between these two cultures at the end of the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth centuries, this later exchange was no small act. Within a generation or two, the relationship transformed from one of violence and suspicion to one of working together and creating the most intimate of relationships. Further, despite appearances of assimilation into Euroamerican Adirondack communities, the records reveal a strong sense of a continuity of identity, especially among

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11 For example, Parenteau, “Care, Control, and Supervision and Loo, “Of Moose and Men.
12 See Introduction for discussion about population.
14 See Chapter Two.
Abenaki families who settled in the region and became Adirondackers along with their Euroamerican neighbours who settled there.

SETTING THE CONTEXT

Wilderness Tourism, a General History

Wilderness tourism originally became popular as a result of the Romantic Movement’s aesthetic appreciation of nature and for health reasons in particular; taking to the outdoors was used as a treatment for men with tuberculosis. Women also used outdoor environments as treatment for tuberculosis, but they were expected to do so at institutions such as Trudeau’s Adirondack Cottage Sanatorium in Saranac Lake, instead of venturing into the forest. This earlier period was the precursor to the ‘wilderness cult’ travel of the late nineteenth century, one bound up with concerns about masculinity. The latter type of travel was seen as a cure for the malaise of over-industrialization and urbanization, both of which sparked anxieties about modern life towards the end of the nineteenth century. Historians such as Jackson Lear and Tina Loo describe anti-modernists as those who believed the modern industrial world was artificial and deleterious and they looked for ways to overcome it.

During this era, many European and Euro-North American upper- and middle-class men worried that they were becoming soft and unmanly because of over civilization. (Such concerns were not new, though, as they were expressed in the early 1700s when the British feared they were becoming as over-civilized as the Romans; Englishmen created a movement searching for and glorifying their Anglo-Saxon past as one of “primitive vigor and virtue”). At the same time, the tenets of Charles Darwin’s 1859 Origins of Species had been distorted to become the disturbing concept of “social Darwinism” towards the end of the century; this notion held that all humans began as savages but only White Protestants had achieved civilized status. Concurrently, Protestant millennials believed in a battle between Protestant Christians and infidels; the Protestants were expected to win, thus demonstrating their perfect evolution. Worried White males explored a variety of strategies to remake middle-class manhood into a more powerful image. Late-nineteenth-century upper- and middle-class males replaced manliness with masculinity, a construct that reflected the physical

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15 Gassan, The Birth of American Tourism, 5, 9, 31, 37-40, 45, 88, 160 describes Ballston Spa as the first “elite retreat” to sample mineral waters starting in the late 1780s resulting in the development of inns, taverns, and hotels. Eventually nearby Saratoga Springs dominated the spa scene as it added other forms of entertainment to help draw tourists.
18 Kupperman, Indians and English, 27 – 29, 29. The English believed the Romans became corrupt and dishonourable over time. Kupperman describes the English embracing the writings of early seventeenth century historical author, Tacitus who wrote about power and the need for “prudence and restraint” and the need to avoid luxury. He compared political Romans to their ancient ancestors, the robust and communal Saxons and ancient Britons who loved liberty and were willing to fight for it. Some early English writings described the Indigenous people of North America in Tacitus-like ways and even saw them as similar to their own ancestors.
attributes of being male. The self-made man went from an individual enmeshed in his community and interested in having an honourable character to one that was concerned with himself and his body. These upper- and middle-class males were opposed to feminism; they joined fraternities, appropriated the “rough code” of the working class, and participated in more aggressive sports. Some scholars of gender argue White middle- and upper-class men were going through a gender crisis; others suggest it was a crisis of where and how they fit into this modern era.

The late nineteenth century brought about many reasons for this sense of crisis. Economic depressions in the 1870s and in the 1890s thwarted the previous trend of sons working for their fathers until they had earned enough money and experience to start their own successful business, as well as thwarting the hopes of clerks who hoped to rise to management level jobs. In addition, increased immigration, labour unrest, and women’s suffrage added to social, political, and cultural upheaval. Cities riddled with diseases such as tuberculosis, cholera, and yellow fever, plus an increase in taverns, prostitution, and other forms of unsanctioned amusement caused well-to-do, mostly Protestant, urbanites to leave the cities in droves, especially during the summer, to pursue leisure activities. The relationship between Protestantism and leisure activities shifted as American Protestant culture moved from being one of work and salvation to one of therapeutic or consumer culture.

By the end of the nineteenth century, historian Frederick Jackson Turner pronounced the American frontier closed; this statement added to the sense of crisis. Turner suggested that the reaction between wilderness and the edge of settlement, or the frontier, had created not only the American character, but democracy itself. Six years later, President Theodore Roosevelt coined the phrase “the strenuous life”. Roosevelt believed that the Euroamerican race was superior and dominant; after all, they had displaced and dispossessed the Indigenous people throughout the continent. However, he also believed in ‘racial decadence,” echoing British concerns expressed a century earlier, this term implied a

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20 Ibid, 15-16, 19. In the 1860s the exemplary middle-class male body was lean and wiry but by the 1890s the heavy-weight prize fighter body became the ideal. Also see Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989). Carnes argues young men joined fraternal orders to transition from adolescent to adult males and to re-bond with other males. He further suggests they were trying to escape the female influence of their mothers, teachers, and a Christianity that had become too feminine for them.


22 Bederman, Manliness and Civilization, 12.

23 Ibid, 12-15; Carnes and Griffen, Meanings for Manhood, 6-7.

24 David Strauss, “Toward a Consumer Culture: ‘Adirondack Murray’ and the Wilderness Vacation.” American Quarterly 39:2 (Summer 1987): 270-83. Assisted by mid- to late-nineteenth century ministers such as William Henry Harrison Murray a/k/a – “Adirondack Murray,” urban middle-class Protestants with additional money and time looked to their ministers to help them spend both.

race lost its strength through over-civilization.26 These concerns created a need for escaptism leading to the ‘cult of the wilderness’ which was influenced by ‘primitivism’; the latter held that men’s happiness decreased as they became more civilized and thus they needed authentic ‘primitive’ experiences to compensate.27 T.J. Jackson Lear argues that this escaptism “was ambivalent, often co-existing with enthusiasm for material progress.” He suggests these contradictory beliefs “helped ease accommodation to new and secular cultural modes”.28

All of these concerns encouraged urban, middle- and upper- class Euroamerican men to leave their workplace for extended periods, mostly in the late spring, summer, or early fall, to travel to nearby wildlands for a wilderness experience. Regular vacations were seen as a means of relaxation; the wilderness vacation was to be strenuous and exciting, replicating the challenges of pioneering or the battlefield.29 Wilderness tourism became a popular way to improve a man’s health and test his manhood. These men went into the wilderness as campers, hunters, and anglers. A few women also went but in general they did not have the ‘authentic’ experience of men because hunting was considered a male sport.30 Wilderness tourism has been described as a “journey to the past” that gazed upon primitive cultures in the hope of understanding their own society which was seen as increasingly riddled with conflict.31 Some scholars view these actions, especially hunting, as similar to imperial ones. Late-nineteenth-century sports hunting has been described as a masculine way to exert control over nature, it marked the hunter as a virile, as opposed to effeminate, imperialist.32 Gregory Gillespie uses the term “cult of imperialism” to describe these hunters whose travel writing demonstrated “a ritualized expression of class, gender, and social privilege.” Gillespie argues these sports hunters represented the strategy of the discourse of the anti-conquest, whose seemingly innocent acts of describing and renaming became part of

26 Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 185, 200. Roosevelt first used the phrase in an 1899 speech promoting US imperialistic control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. He was so concerned about racial decadence that he also worried about “race suicide” a term developed by sociologist Edward A. Ross (1901) and pressed Euroamericans to forget their learned restraint (a manliness characteristic) and have more children.

27 Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 47. Nash argues the concept of primitivism and the “Noble Savage” go back to the Middle Ages. The “New World” brought these concepts into the Romantic era’s purview and while Romantics such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau had no desire to revert to a primitive state, there were qualities that could be incorporated into late eighteenth century life (c. 1762). Compare this to François-René de Chateaubriand who was inspired to travel to North America in 1791-92 and upon his return to France he wrote two novelettes (*Atala* and *Réné*) romanticising life in Kentucky.

28 Lears, *No Place of Grace*, xiii.

29 Strauss, “Toward a Consumer Culture, 270-83. Earlier, preachers had advocated for city parks, gyms and vacations as acceptable forms of entertainment. Murray, and others like him, trumped those types of amusements with the recommendation of a wilderness-style vacation.

30 John MacKenzie, “The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and North America, 1800 – 1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987): 176-98, 179. Wealthy women sometimes were allowed to hunt, usually in fox hunts by the mid-nineteenth century. Men created new forms of hunting such as stag hunting in Scotland to exclude them. For those women that did hunt, hunting became “a powerful expression of female emancipation of sorts”.

31 Parenteau, “Care, Control and Supervision,” 35.

an imperial process. Later, sports hunters were responsible for conservation laws which often affected local people’s ability to practice subsistence hunting. John F. Reiger argues the conservation movement’s origins were part of upper-class sportsmen’s efforts to protect their hunting territory and the animals contained in it; these motives combined with the public’s concern for dwindling wildlife which challenged the American myth of inexhaustibility. The Adirondacks became an important location for this wilderness experience in the Northeast and reflected many of these concerns around masculinity.

These visitors also went to places like the Adirondacks and participated in wilderness tourism experiences as part of an American search for a distinct cultural identity and shared past. Richard Roth claims that one of the reasons well-to-do Sports came to the Adirondacks was to compare their lives to how people lived in a purer setting, as they searched for ‘the’ American culture. Philip Deloria argues that Euroamericans were still searching for their identity during the nineteenth century and that “British” and “Indianness” competed with one another for that distinction. He explains that the authentic is a social construct born out of a self-perception of being inauthentic or out of place; seekers of authenticity often look to the “Other” – whether a people, place or time period – to find authenticity. He suggests, “The quest for such an authentic Other … has been played out in the contradictions surrounding America’s long and ambivalent engagement with Indianness”.

Daniel Francis suggests that Euro- North Americans have always felt uncomfortable about arriving on the continent after Native people; as a result, we have romanticized and reviled Indians simultaneously, creating an ambivalence about trying to impose Western culture yet still not feeling at home. Wilderness tourism thus allowed Sports to experience both identities alongside concepts of modern and primitive. Some, such as Ernest Thompson Seton, founder of Woodcraft Indians and co-founder of the Boy Scouts, went so far as to prefer Aboriginal culture. Seton opined that in his search for the “perfect man” the pioneers and frontiersmen were almost [sic] without exception, treacherous, murderous, worthless, without the shadow of a claim on our respect … a measure of dull brute grit that came in some sort from consciousness of their better weapons … and knowledge that, backing them, though far away, was an army of their kind, in overwhelming numbers coming on. … And still I held my vision of the perfect man – athletic, fearless, kind, picturesque, wise in the ways of the woods, and without reproach of life. And by a long, long trail, with ample knowledge of histories and of persons, I was led, as many before have been, to choose the ideal Redman. His was a better system, a better thought, because it produced

36 Deloria, Playing Indian, 101.
37 Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 236-37.
38 Ibid, 101-02.
far nobler, better man. He, more than any type I know, is the stuff that fires our highest dreams of manhood, realized complete. … Him, therefore, I proclaim as the model for an outdoor life, our travel guide on the four-fold way that leads to perfect manhood. 39

As a result of this search for identity and the need to challenge one’s manhood, influential outsiders purposefully manipulated cultures in and made changes to rural areas still considered untainted by urbanisation. David Whisnant argues that cultural interpositions need to be looked at as interference rather than benign accidents in order to understand the politics of culture instituted by formal institutions and powerful individuals. He describes an experience of cultural “otherness” and the ways in which people perceived each other across cultural and especially social class boundaries. Whisnant suggests that even when these cultural interveners fail, their “attitudes and assumptions remain, styles and designs persist, myths retain credibility”. 40 The powerful visitors who constructed and shaped the physical, economic, and political landscapes of the Adirondacks to meet their own needs also saw the region’s Aboriginal people, who acted as guides, artisans, entrepreneurs, and performers, as part of their own mythology. Longing for an authentic experience, they rarely noted the Aboriginal or even the Euroamerican people who worked for wages in other industries. As Lynda Jessup states; “The untamed masculinity Victorians attributed to those they identified as primitive men … made Aboriginal guides an attractive, ultimately authenticating aspect of the wilderness experience”. 41

Relationship Between Sportsmen and Guides

Wilderness touring in both the United States and Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth century often required employing a guide. Bruce Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson explore tourism in northern Ontario’s Temagami Area Provincial Park in the twentieth century, which has some striking geographic and economic similarities to the Adirondack Park. They suggest that “the familiar presence of the Temagami Indians [there] became an essential part of the popular vision of Temagami as a wilderness area of adventure and escape. 42 Bill Parenteau takes this idea a step further and suggests sportsmen in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Québec saw First Nations guides as authenticating their wilderness experience. Many hunters and fishermen were fascinated with Native culture and fancied their


40 David Whisnant, All That is Native and Fine: the Politics of Culture in an American Region (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 8, 14, 254. Also see McKay, The Quest of the Folk.


42 Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 220.
contacts with Indigenous guides as being more authentic.\textsuperscript{43} Tina Loo describes a relationship of power and control and changing masculine identities as Euro-North American male hunters used their personae as masculine and bourgeois managers of labour to denigrate their Aboriginal guide “in terms of both gender and class, and used strategies drawn from the world of the workplace”\textsuperscript{44}. In response, Indigenous guides took on the roles of tricksters to resist and manipulate their arrogant customer. Each used their roles against the other as they struggled for control.\textsuperscript{45}

Concepts of wilderness, masculinity, power, and authenticity are very relevant to studies about the role of Indigenous people working in wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks. Well-to-do tourists wrote about their experiences; they often employed the tourist gaze and engaged in behaviour that involved competing with their guides, whether the latter was Indigenous or not. Tourists created meaning and passed judgment based on their urban sensibilities, especially about matters of authenticity with regards to Aboriginal people, the latter was characterized by ideas about looks, blood quantum, and how Abenaki and Mohawk were supposed to behave. To some extent, Algonquian and Iroquoian people modified their art and the marketing of it to adjust to tourists’ tastes helping to support these visitors’ opinions. The Mohawk and Abenaki who came to the Adirondacks to work in this industry realized they were operating within a staged setting. Those who came to sell their handicrafts made modifications as necessary to make a living. Wilderness guides were allowed a different sense of power than craft-makers but, as this chapter shows, even their influence had limitations.

The wilderness tourism era in the Adirondacks started in the late 1830s and continued into the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{46} Sometimes the Sports did not bother to name their attendants and these writers often kept their guide’s activities vague, probably as a way of enhancing their own image. Nevertheless, even these urban Sports were dependent on their guides to have a ‘wilderness’ experience. In some instances Sports even complained about a specific individual or group of guides. Their feelings of superiority over their guides was evident in their writing, a phenomenon that was not confined to the Adirondacks. Patricia Jansen points out that guides in nineteenth century Ontario were the employee of the wilderness tourist. The Sport “usually expected to exert a certain amount of control over [their guides], and were sometimes frustrated, offended, and annoyed when full cooperation was not

\textsuperscript{43} Parenteau, “Care, Control, and Supervision,” 3. These sporting narratives described encounters, used Indigenous names, and characterized guides’ personalities. In addition, they illustrated how Aboriginal hunting and fishing methods differed from their own.
\textsuperscript{44} Loo, “Of Moose and Men,” 298.
forthcoming”. 47 To be sure, although Sports passed judgment on and ultimately felt superior to their guides, some exhibited a real, albeit romanticised, respect for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal guides. These sportsmen seemed to genuinely respect their guides, especially for their woodcraft skills; these Sports wrote pages about them and might even dedicate a chapter to their guide(s). For example, Cecil Clay of Philadelphia defended Mitchel Sabattis in his column in Field and Stream after Sabattis and others had been accused of killing deer out of season in 1877. Clay did not believe the charge and went so far to claim if he himself saw Sabattis do such a thing he would have to put it down to “‘killed by special act of Providence’”. 48 However, Clay did recall an incident where Sabattis, guiding a hunting party in February of 1861, had to shoot a deer out of season in order to feed the group, an act Clay felt was justified. Clay was exhibiting what Lynda Jessup explains as a form of noblesse oblige, as Clay and other wilderness travelers did not realize it was they who put Sabattis and his neighbours in a position to be prosecuted. 49

Adirondackers, whether Aboriginal or Euroamerican, became what Ian McKay calls the “folk” who represented a more innocent time and were seen as naïve and simple. McKay defines “the folk” as “noble peasants” that were similar to the “noble savage”. 50 This portrayal existed alongside Karl Jacoby’s two contradictory tropes: “the pastoral [which] stressed the simplicity and abundance of rural life” and “the primitive, focused on the backwardness and privations of rural life”. 51 Concurrently, many of these nineteenth-century urban Americans, especially from the Northeast, began to sentimentalize Native people and wax nostalgic for an era when Indians roamed the (also vanishing) Eastern forests. 52 Sports and industrialists who came to the area, particularly in the early to mid-part of the century, viewed the wild landscape of the Adirondacks as temporary. While they mourned its inevitable passing, these sportsmen and businessmen simultaneously imagined the region becoming a more industrialised and civilized state.

47 Jasen, Wild Things, 138. Jasen mentions that wilderness tourists in Canada often preferred Métis guides as their experience with the Hudson’s Bay Company had taught them to be respectful.
49 Jessup, “Landscapes of Sport, Landscapes of Exclusion,” 104.
50 McKay, The Quest of the Folk, 10. McKay argues that the moneyed and politically powerful in the Nova Scotia tourism industry manipulated the region’s history to portray ‘innocence’ and specific traditional identities.
52 For example, see Charles Lanman, Adventures in the Wild of the United States and British American Provinces in two volumes (Philadelphia: John W. Moore, 1856), 1: 204-05. Lanman struggled with his aversion to what happened at Fort William Henry in Lake George against Native Americans being driven from their territories in return for “gewgaws” as White people continued to make war on them for their land. Lanman laments “I cannot believe that we shall ever be a happy and prosperous people until the King of kings shall have forgiven us for having, with a yoke of tyranny, almost annihilated an hundred nations”.

WILDERNESS TOURISM IN THE ADIRONDACKS (C. 1839-1920)

The contradiction between wilderness and commercialization existed side-by-side in places such as the Adirondacks. The North American landscape had a long history of being seen as a commodity, especially by European and later Euro-North American explorers and merchants;\(^{53}\) it also served as the foundation for major industries, including tourism. As discussed earlier, scholars argue that wilderness tourism reflected the experience of nineteenth century colonial expansion in North America. Travel writers were the “capitalist vanguard” who appropriated indigenous knowledge and used their labour to ‘discover’ places that only became ‘real’ once they had written about them.\(^{54}\) Both hunters and travel writers represented Pratt’s strategy of the anti-conquest: the wilderness tourists who wrote about their experience in the Adirondacks during this era were no exception.

The Adirondacks became popular for wilderness touring because of their uninviting climate and geography for farming and because of their proximity to many major northeastern cities such as New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia. As a result, the region maintained its wildlands setting better than most landscapes in the Northeast. The earliest Westernized images of the region were often imagined seventeenth and eighteenth century maps and military records.\(^{55}\) These were followed by images created by naturalists, artists, and writers. Considered the media of their day for distributing information and influencing popular culture, these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century chroniclers documented parts of the Adirondacks. Kalm’s *Travels into North America* (1749) and Milbert’s early nineteenth century botanical history were followed by Hudson River School artists such as Thomas Cole (1801-1848) and Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) who ventured into the area to paint. Another important artist was Charles Cromwell Ingham (1796-1863), who traveled with and illustrated the first region-wide geological survey in 1837. These artists captured the wilderness-like scenery and first brought the landscape of the Adirondacks to the attention of both the European and American public.\(^{56}\) Probably the most influential painter to encourage wilderness tourism was Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait, who started painting the area in 1852. His paintings depicted scenes of hunters and anglers with their guides and provided a visual understanding of these relationships.\(^{57}\)

Travel writers appeared alongside the artists. Early publications encompassing at least the fringes of the Adirondacks included Theodore Dwight’s *Travels in New England and New York* (first published

\(^{53}\) Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 19-22; also see Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*, 11-12, 69.


\(^{55}\) See Chapter Two.

\(^{56}\) Caroline M. Welsh, “These Glorious Mountains,” accessed 11 May, 2011, http://antiquesandthearts.com/archive/cover.htm. Milbert also created lithographs from his specimens and Ingham’s “The Great Adirondack Pass, Painted on the Spot, 1837” is credited for introducing the Adirondacks to the nation’s consciousness. According to Warder H. Cadbury in his introduction to John Todd, *Long Lake* [1845], V-VI, Burlington College Prof. Farrand N. Benedict began to survey the Adirondacks during the summer months starting in 1834 by calculating the height of mountains and mapping potential canal routes. He built a dam and a small canal from Round Pond to Long Lake. He eventually purchased and owned Township 40 on Raquette Lake.

\(^{57}\) Roth, “The Adirondack Guide (1820-1919),” 36-49. Tait painted during the 1850s and 60s and some of them became prints.
in 1821), Gideon Davison’s *The Fashionable Tour* (first published in 1822), and Henry D. Gilpin’s *The Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Saratoga, Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston, &c* (first published in 1825). Many publications began as letters to the editor of city newspapers; authors then used these letters to compile a book. The letters of Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806-1884) were published in the *New York Mirror* during the fall of 1837. Hoffman is the first known Sport to chronicle his experiences there and he captured the public’s imagination and attention. His descriptions of camping trips with the aide of a guide helped to spark the interest of camping in the Adirondacks. Hoffman wrote about the region before it was formally known as the Adirondacks; he referred to the high peaks region as the *Aganuschion* range or *Black Mountains* because of “sombre cedars and frowning cliffs”. He published his book *Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie* three years later; other travel writers soon followed.

Early wilderness tourism within the Adirondacks was rudimentary: it took weeks to get there and return home and the accommodations were rough for Sports used to an urban environment. The early wilderness tourist was almost always male and he often traveled as, or became part of, a party of three or four. These tourists traveled by steamer, railroad, or a combination of both to a small border city such as Saratoga Springs, Utica, Plattsburgh, or Watertown where they “jumped off” into the Adirondacks. The Sport(s) then continued by stage coach or wagon to a small settlement where he or his party hired a group of local men to guide them into the interior wildlands. The ratio of Sports-to-guides varied; Phillip Terrie suggests it was typically one-to-one. Euroamerican guides, sometimes called *foresters*, were seen in romantic ways as pioneers; wilderness travelers wrote about them, their families, and homes as if they were. In 1869, guides earned $2.50 day; by the time they organized in 1891 they earned $3.00 day plus

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59 Charles Fenno Hoffman letters, *New York Mirror* (New York) 23 and 30 September 1837; 7, 14, 21, 28 October 1837; and 16 December, 1837. They were later reprinted in his *Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie*, two volumes, I, 1-122 covered the Adirondacks, 102-12. Hoffman had suffered a crushing injury to his leg which had to be amputated at the age of 11; he walked with the use of a wooden leg. He was educated in law but chose instead to make a living as a writer. He traveled to the West and the Adirondacks to improve his health. At the same time Eammons was conducting his geological survey and apparently his naming of the region won out over Hoffman’s.
60 J. Bonsall, *The Northern Tourist: An Illustrated Book of Summer Travel* (Philadelphia; John E. Potter & Co, 1879), 5-8 describes how individuals left their home city, such as Philadelphia, and traveled to New York; from there they had their choice of trains and steamers into parts of the Adirondacks such as North Creek. The individual or party then caught a stage or wagon to their final destination. Also see Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 41-42 which described a combined railroad and steamer route from Boston, to Albany, to Whitehall.
61 Terrie, *Forever Wild*, 46. Also see Roth, “The Adirondack guide (1820-1919)” for a detailed study of this occupation in the Adirondacks through art, writings, and history.
62 Terrie, *Forever Wild*, 46. In 1846, L.E. Chittenden described being in a party of six with two guides (Mitchel Sabattis and Alonzo Whetheby) during his five week foray in his *Personal Reminiscences*, 140-41. The party consisted of Chittenden, an artist and his “masculine Scottish wife” along with a minister and his two teenage sons who Chittenden described as “nuisances”. Cecil Clay’s “Hunting, Fishing Trips in Newcomb Area Century Ago Recalled in Old Letters,” *Tupper Lake Press* (Tupper Lake, NY) 4 January 1960, 2, 7 describes having two guides for him to make a winter climb up Mount Vanderwacker in 1861; one was Mitchel Sabattis’ son (probably his eldest Charles age 16 at the time) and another youth. Clay of Philadelphia, PA wrote five letters about his Adirondack experiences with a Sabattis guide to *Field and Stream* magazine in the 1870s.
expenses. The guides did all the heavy lifting, including portaging the transportation over a local “carry” between lakes and rivers. The party usually ventured into the forest by boat, often in an Adirondack guideboat which was quicker and easier to row and carry alone than a canoe (figure 3.1). Similar to a canoe, the guideboat is lighter and is usually rowed, although it can also be paddled. The guideboat can be rowed from the middle when alone or from the stern with a passenger in the bow. When hunting for deer using the jacklighting technique, described in the next paragraph, the guide paddled from the stern to make less noise. Seats were caned and the centre seat was removable; the interior ribbing formed a yoke to allow a guide to carry the boat over his head by himself. Early versions were painted black or dark blue on the outside and green on the inside to act as camouflage. Once into the interior, the forester set up a base camp for the party and themselves. If the trip changed regions, the Sports obtained a new guide from that area. In addition to setting up the camp, foresters cooked, cleaned, and packed up camp. They led the camper into situations where they viewed sublime scenery, hunted wild animals, and fished. Sports often brought items from home that represented civilization to them, such as a tie or even dishes or bottles of spirits that the guides had to transport and carry.

63 Murray, Adventures in the Wilderness, 33 and “Adirondack Guides,” New York State Forest Commissioners Annual Report, 1894, 348. This report also explains that in the off season many guides worked in the lumber industry.
64 Kenneth Durant, Guideboat Days and Ways (Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1963) as cited in Maitland DeSormo’s Summers on the Saranac, 111 explains that the shape was originally square at the back similar to a rowboat but became sharp on both ends like a canoe c. 1875. They were and are not the sturdiest boat due to their design’s emphasis on speed. Also see Brumley, Guides of the Adirondacks, 9. Today guideboats are for show and mostly varnished wood.
65 “Adirondack Guides”, NYS Forest Commissioners, 349; Murray, Adventures in the Wilderness, Appendix 87 explained that the region was too vast and difficult for any one person to know it all. He lists four areas: St. Regis and Saranac guides in the north; Potsdam and St. Lawrence guides for the west; Brown’s Tract guides for the south; and Long Lake guides for the central region. By the 1880s there were approximately 500 guides working throughout the region according to the article “About 500 Guides Working Adirondacks By 1880s, Old Magazine Article Reports,” Tupper Lake Press (Tupper Lake, NY) 22 September 1960. By 1891, the Adirondack Guide Association was formed and according to the Forest Commission Report of 1893 there were 16 pages of guides in 43 areas as described in the article by John J. Duquette; “The Famous Adirondack Guides’ Association: Heyday of the guides,” Adirondack Daily Enterprise (Saranac Lake, NY) 18 June, 1987, 8.
Adirondack wilderness tourists primarily wanted to hunt white-tailed deer; however, they also hunted moose and often fished during the same experience. Deer hunting techniques varied in the Adirondacks; today they are illegal, but for those dependent on the meat and later wages for survival, they were useful methods. Both Sports and guides felt ambivalent towards these practices. These techniques included ‘jacklighting’ and ‘hounding’ (also known as ‘floating a deer’) during the warmer weather. Jacklighting involved the use of a lantern at night from a boat to mesmerize deer that came out of the woods to drink. One had to mortally wound the deer in one shot with this technique. For less skilled hunters, hounding or floating a deer used dogs to run the animal into the lake where the hunter and his guide waited, often in an Adirondack guideboat. The guide rowed the boat near the deer for the Sport to take a shot. Sometimes the guide had to hold onto a deer’s tail to allow inferior hunters more time to make a kill. If that failed, the guide might hit the deer over the head with his oar or slit its throat with a knife. Hoffman described one of his two Euroamerican foresters, Linus Catlin, making and using a ‘withe’ to float a deer in the late 1830s. Catlin used a birch sapling and stripped it of all branches except two to create a noose to entangle in the deer’s antlers. Dogs chased a deer into the lake and Catlin was nearly killed using the withe, as the deer pulled him into the water as it desperately tried to fight him off.

66 Hoffman, *Wild Scenes of the Forest*, I, 101-11 Hoffman thought these practices were unsporting when it came to hounding a deer but did not feel the same towards hunting a moose on the crust because the moose had a chance to escape. Hoffman’s other guide, John Cheney was not a fan of “withing” a deer.

According to Hoffman, they dined on the venison with a bit of cognac that evening. In the winter, deer and moose were sometimes hunted ‘on the crust’ by hunters on snowshoes, often with dogs. ‘Crusting’ a deer or moose in winter took advantage of an icy top crust over snow often caused by a light rain. The crust could hold a person, especially if they used snow shoes (still best made by Indians around the Canadian border according to Hoffman) but the animal sank into the snow; people could kill the poor creature even with a club. If the animal escaped into a ‘yard’ (moose or deer) killing them was more difficult, especially moose which are more aggressive and will charge at a human or other aggressor. Yards were often in a wooded area packed down by the moose or deer. This allowed the animals access to food and in the case of moose some safety from predators. Both two- and four-legged hunters might wait the animal out for their source of food to dwindle.

The deer killed and fish caught were the main source of protein for the vacationing Sports, their guides, and for the nearby communities. Some Sports were mindful of the need to practice conservation. For example, Hoffman’s other guide, John Cheney, shot four partridge on their way home but could not be convinced to shoot others because he did not need them, an act which Hoffman admired. However, we know at least a few hunters did kill game and fish excessively and left their remains to rot. One account of the late 1850s described how Mitchel Sabattis and fellow guides Alonzo “Lon” Wetherbee and Caleb Chase abandoned a Sport who broke his promise not to persist in his practice of shooting too many deer and catching large amounts of trout and leaving the excesses in the woods to spoil. Warder Cadbury’s introduction to Reverend John Todd’s *Long Lake* describes the pastor as a wasteful hunter; the locals referred to him as a butcher of deer. In 1858 the Long Lake community finally asked him to stop coming there to hunt or, they warned, they would make an example of him.

While Sports enjoyed the idea of getting away from their work and the city, they feared getting lost in the Adirondacks with its difficult terrain and predators. Sport and Reverend Joel T. Headley described the incident of his brother getting lost; when they finally found him, he was “pale as marble” and “in a state of complete bewilderment”. Sports even feared losing their minds if they got lost, reflecting their Puritan ancestor’s apprehension “that life in the wilderness can lead to mental or moral

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70 Ibid, I, 117.
71 Todd, *Long Lake*, XXIV; Todd set up a Methodist mission in Long Lake in the early 1840s, including the appointment of a young missionary named Parker in 1848 who did not stay long (introduction at xi, xiii, xxiii). Also see “Hunting, Fishing Trips in Newcomb Area,” *Tupper Lake Press* (Tupper Lake, NY) 4 January 1960 which had several stories about Mitchel Sabattis. One wonders if it wasn’t Todd who was left to fend for himself although given Sabattis’ Methodist background it seems unlikely. Cadbury’s introduction also suggests that Todd may have been the muse for Longfellow’s parson in his poem, “The Birds of Killingworth” in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.
72 Headley, *The Adirondack; or Life in the Woods*, 248. Headley suffered both mental and physical ailments; he camped in the Adirondacks during the 1840s and wrote his own series of letters which he later published into this book which romantically expounding the virtues of camping in the region to regain one’s health. Headley follows the story of his brother getting lost with one about a lone, local hunter who got lost and died of starvation to emphasize the seriousness of the situation.
degeneration”. Most Sports stayed a few weeks; while they enjoyed getting away from their everyday life, they also relished returning to it. Sportsmen often wrote about the first newspaper or bit of news they obtained upon returning from the woods. These early travelers often noted and compared the Adirondack scenery to European epics and locations. Sports wrote about the wild scenery in Edmund Burke-like language: mountain scenery was sublime, lake scenery was beautiful. Hoffman described the region as one of a thousand lakes with outlets coming out of cataracts only comparable to Switzerland. He opined that most local hunters had never climbed the mountain (Marcy) but was sure even they could appreciate the scene below as well as a cultivated man. He recorded the variety of plant life and geography and even mused that if the New York State Indians had chosen to live in the Adirondacks they might still be living their traditional lifestyle. Sports also described how industry, especially lumbering and mills were juxtaposed with the wildlands and even worried about the affects these industries had on the landscape. Hoffman travelled to the McIntyre Iron Works where he and his party stayed for several days. He described the manufacturing town as a romantic place, yet one that also was desolate because of the tree stumps, reflecting the new and incomplete nature of the community.

After the American Civil War (1861-1865), the middle class began to travel more, journeys which included wilderness tourism, although they did not typically stay as long as the upper-class travelers. Professional photographers and writers penned guidebooks to provide details of the region especially for them. The guidebooks included schedules, places to stay, sites to see, and even recommended which guides to hire in a specific area. Some of the guidebook writers and photographers for the Adirondacks included local individuals and families such as members of the Holley family, the Taintor Brothers, E. R. Wallace, and Seneca Ray Stoddard, the latter being the most well-known photographer and guidebook writer of the Adirondacks. In 1869, the New England minister known as

74 Hoffman, *Wild Scenes*, I. 2, 23, 31, 73, 75, and 79. Hoffman arrived in Port Henry, NY with a companion and they walked about 20 miles into the interior where they stayed the night in a log cabin with a local family who took them in. The next day a family member used a makeshift buckboard to carry them and their luggage over treacherous roads to Lake Henderson. From there they traveled by canoe to a carry that was the site of the McIntyre Iron Works. While in the “Indian Pass” Hoffman used sublime language of “gloomy labyrinth” and “wild chaos of rock” and “rainbow hues of autumn” and “beautiful lake” to describe a glen below. Despite descriptions of fauna, water, and scenic beauty, Hoffman labelled Mt. Marcy a desert with only wildlife located thereon.
75 Headley, *The Adirondack; or Life in the Woods*. Also see introduction by Warder H. Cadbury in Todd’s *Long Lake* (1845), xvii-xxiv, 80. Another Adirondack travel writer was Samuel H. Hammond who was one of the first to call for the preservation of the Adirondacks in 1857. See *Wild Northern Scenes*, 83.
“Adirondack Murray” wrote his *Adventures in the Wilderness*, causing a veritable stampede of middle-class-campers into the region who became known as “Murray’s fools”. *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* spoofed these tourists the following year and described the guides in ambiguous terms in an article entitled “The Raquette Club”.77 Boarding houses, hotels, restaurants, and shops appeared in quick order to cater to the needs of middle-class-tourists. Eventually the wilderness vacation included the entire family. Long-established resorts on the outskirts of the region, such as Saratoga Springs, competed with those being built in the interior, such as the Paul Smith Hotel, built in 1859. Men still went into the forest to hunt but it was often for a shorter duration. Hotels began to contract with local guides to take their guests into the forest; however, these guides had an inferior reputation to the independent ones.78 Women and children stayed at the resort which furnished entertainment for them such as boat rides, craft-making, and social gatherings.

All of this changed the wilderness tourism environment in both landscape and experience. The wealthy, some of them Gilded Age “Robber Barons,” bought large amounts of land that they privatized and then built ‘rustic’ *Great Camps* to separate themselves from the masses. Modeled on European hunting estates, the Adirondack Great Camp soon became a unique regional architecture, popular among the wealthy. These camps were only lived in for as little as a few days to a few months a year; they were maintained by a large staff that created a small community unto itself. These Great Camps required a complex system of outbuildings, sanitation, water, and power and they were extremely expensive to maintain.79 By the twentieth century, the man and the very occasional woman who wanted an ‘authentic’ wilderness experience looked further afield for places still considered wild. The automobile eventually eliminated the era of wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks. Motels replaced hotels and resorts and the state created facilities which eliminated the need for a guide in many places.80 Combined with new

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77 “The Raquette Club,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* CCXLII (August 1870), XLI, 321 – 38, 333. 335, KVL, VF - “Adirondack Mountains - personal Narratives”. The article described the guides as “There were guides of all sizes, ages, nations, and degrees: lazy…, witty…, talkative… low bred…, bragging…, silent…, bad…, good…, independent…, hotel…, sober…, thirsty…, gray-haired…, guides well-recommended and guides without character – Frenchmen, Yankees, Irish, and Indians”. This fictional tale describes a party fearing they were under attack by Indians after the beer they brought exploded while camping in Tupper Lake.

78 Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 35; Also see Brumley, *Guides of the Adirondacks*, 18.


80 Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 134-35 describes the state building facilities such as campsites and bathrooms in 1923 for motorists and the availability of lightweight canoes which allowed people to go into remote waterways without a guide.
regions to explore and better and faster transportation to take them there, the hey-day of the wilderness
vacation in the Adirondacks came to an end in the 1920s.

HISTORY OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE WORKING AS GUIDES IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Aboriginal people have a long history of guiding Europeans, and later Euroamericans, in the
Adirondacks for a variety of purposes. They guided explorers, priests, and military officers in and around
the area during the colonial period. Such work included helping Sir John Johnson and other Loyalists
escape through the region to avoid arrest during the American Revolution. The area remained mostly
unsettled by Whites until the end of the War of 1812 as a result of continued violence and the opening up
of better farmland in Iroquoia and further west. The handful of newcomers who ventured into the
Adirondacks around this period found they could rely on the assistance of the Algonquian and Iroquoian
people already there. According to former Long Lake Historian, Frances Seaman, “The first explorers,
surveyors and settlers sought the expertise of the Indians living in the interior of this mountainous region
to guide them”. Seaman describes Peter and Mitchel Sabattis and Sabael and Elijah Benedict as “the first
guides in the interior”. The local history around Parishville credits Peter Sabattis with assisting new
colonists into that area. Seaman goes on to state that Euroamericans who settled in the region “learned
the area’s secrets,” sometimes from local Abenaki or Mohawk, and they also began guiding. For
example, Reverend John Todd described a Euroamerican guide named Wilson around the St. Regis River
who learned his craft when he accompanied an “Indian Chief” to the region for his health. Arguably, no
one was as helpful as Sabael Benedict and his son, Louis Elijah, in assisting incoming White settlers.
Memories recorded by Laura Guenther describe Sabael Benedict as assisting her grandfather Gideon and
his cousin, Willard Porter, in the summer of 1847 when they traveled to present-day Sabael, NY to take
up residence. “They had met & talked with several native Indians, chief of whom seemed to be old
Sabael…. He introduced them to 2 Indians, John & Lige Camp…. It was a bit difficult to understand his
broken English”.

histories also include this escape, especially when referring to the naming of Raquette Lake. Donaldson, A History of the
Adirondacks, 1: 42-43 claims the lake got its name from finding the party’s abandoned snowshoes which had been left there
because the snow had started to melt.
82 Frances Seaman, “Adirondack Guides hold a special place in history,” Hamilton County News (Long Lake, NY) Tue., 4
August, 1992, 4.
reviewed 4 May 2009.
84 Seaman, “Adirondack Guides hold a special place in history,” 4.
85 Todd, Long Lake, 59. Wilson stayed in the region to trap and hunt.
86 Guenther, “Glimpses of Sabael, NY”, 2. Ray Smith, former archivist of Long Lake, e-mail to author, 30 April 2009 with
reference to communication from Hilary078@aol.com to the Long Lake Archivist. Smith provided a copy of some of the
manuscript and explained they appeared in instalments in the Indian Lake Bulletin, 1961 and again in 1965 and states the title
Surveyors also used the assistance of Aboriginal guides on a local and state basis. In his field notes, John Richard’s survey of the Old Military Tract during the years 1812-1813 mentioned a seven-foot Mohawk blazing trees as part of the survey crew. Ebenezer Emmons’ geological survey of 1836–1838 employed Louis Elijah Benedict as a guide in the interior of the region including the northern headwaters of the Hudson River. Later, Henry Lossing employed Mitchel Sabattis to guide him to the same headwaters. New York State Superintendent of the Adirondack Survey from 1872 to 1900, Verplank Colvin engaged Native men to obtain food and Sabattis for guiding on some of his surveys.

In addition, Indigenous guides assisted with the assessment of rail routes. Henry J. Raymond, the publisher of The New York Times, considered investing in a railroad through the region and published several letters about his experience traveling with a party of financiers. They left from the southeast at Saratoga and traveled to Lowville just outside the western boundary of the Adirondacks. Elijah Benedict was his guide during much of this trip. In his first letter, published 19 June 1855, Raymond describes an incident whereby the supplies for the group were capsized en route to the camp. To compensate, Elijah caught and cooked some trout for the party. A week later, Raymond published a description of the campsite Elijah created for them.

Our two huts had been built at right angles to each other – on two sides of a square. With Indian skill and unwonted care, Elijah had finished them off in superb style. They were water-proof from the roof, and a thick carpet of nicely arranged spruce boughs made a most comfortable floor. A fire of huge logs was kindled in front of each, and after an

was “Glimpses of Sabael: Its First White Settlers-Their Descendants Living Nearby.” John and Lige Camp were related to Sabael and were probably his son-in-law and grandson or perhaps two grandsons. Johnson, “Land Grants and First Settlers in Keene,” tss., KVL, VF – “Indian Lore”. The field notes warned future surveyors to look high in the trees for their survey marks not because they stood on snow banks to make them but because their 7’ Mohawk did.

Emmons also used a number of Euroamerican ‘native’ guides. Emmons romantic descriptions of the region also helped to create an interest in camping there. Lossing, The Hudson, from the Wilderness to the Sea, 13. Lossing described Sabattis as 30-40 years old and the best man in the region to lead travelers there.

Nina H. Webb, Footsteps Through the Adirondacks: The Verplanck Colvin Story (Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1996), XIX, 42, 159-60. Colvin used “fleet footed Indians who could run for food”. Sabattis gave Colvin a canoe paddle as a token of their friendship and told the surveyor he had dipped the paddle into 250 Adirondack waterways that were still unexplored. The paddle is currently located at the Adirondack Museum. Also see “The Adirondack Region – Ascent of Mount Seward,” Albany Argus (Albany, NY) 21 November 1870 which mentions Sabattis guided Colvin along with other guides up Mount Seward. They were the first group to measure this mountain.

Watson B. Berry, “Start of Adirondack Journey, Saratoga To Lowville, Is Told” Watertown Daily Times (Watertown, NY), from column “A North Country Chronicle,” November 1957 published much of Raymond’s letter verbatim. Berry used this and the other Raymond letters in a manuscript entitled “Addendum to Chapter 13.” SLUL, “Watson Berry Papers,” Box 2, folder 4A. The third and fourth letters by Raymond are available online; I used them instead of Berry’s recreations. While Raymond and his party were inspecting the region for a proposed rail route, his letters sound very similar to those written by Sports. Berry believed this party was the first to trek across the entire region.
hour or two of talk we prepared for sleep. Two feet of space were allotted to each person, and each camp would thus hold eleven.\textsuperscript{92} Raymond’s other letters described a landscape of beautiful lakes, isolation, and “rough, rocky and barren wilderness”. He recorded resources such as timber and iron ore that the building of a railroad could open up for exploitation and “effect its practical annexation to the state and speedily reduce it to culture and settlement”. He also wrote that he felt ill much of the time and looked forward to getting home.\textsuperscript{93} Getting sick during their trip was not an uncommon experience for Sports and other travelers to the area.

Louis Warren argues that the end of Indian Wars curtailed Native people’s ability to carry on their customary economic subsistence practices such as hunting, gathering, and fishing in remote areas that were traditional hunting territories. As a result, they participated in Euroamerican economic activities “but they also reinforced traditions and could serve as a continuing claim to alienated lands”.\textsuperscript{94} Similarly, Mohawk and Abenaki people took advantage of their awareness of the Adirondack landscape, their homeland, and used traditional skills to earn wages and create relationships with the newcomers, surveyors, anthropologists, and eventually tourists who were entering what was to them a foreign space. As Deloria explains, Native people knew that Whites believed they had a mysterious font of cultural power, especially with regard to the land, and they used this belief to their advantage.\textsuperscript{95} St. Regis and St. Francis guides in the Adirondacks did not hide their heritage and some were able to take advantage of it. As Euroamericans and immigrants entered the Adirondacks, Sabaël Benedict and Peter Sabattis together with their sons developed relationships with them and industrialist entrepreneurs. These two Abenaki families became some of the first, or at least the best known, early guides and informants in the area. They and their descendants were active in all facets of wilderness tourism including guiding, artisanal work, performing, and as entrepreneurs. Based on these exchanges, the Benedict family and later the family of Peter and, in particular, Mitchel Sabattis became “safe Indians” in the imagination of eastern urban Euroamericans who hired them as guides. These well-to-do Sports wrote about the Indians they came in contact with, making the experience sound potentially dangerous, challenging, and exciting: all the necessary ingredients prescribed to wealthy urbanites for a wilderness remedy meant to restore their health and masculinity.

These Algonquian and Iroquoian people fit into the Sports’ nostalgic quest for an “Other” period while having their safe, exciting, and ‘authentic’ pioneering adventure. To these Indigenous guides, the


\textsuperscript{93} Raymond, “A Week in the Wilderness: Fourth Letter,” 2. The third letter described the party’s trip to the Iron Ore mining town of Adirondack or Tahawus. The group was uncharacteristically traveling through the region with horses and wagons. Raymond suffered a cold and many head aches during the trip and was relieved to have emerged from the wilderness.

\textsuperscript{94} Warren, “Nature of Conquest,” 299.

\textsuperscript{95} Deloria, \textit{Playing Indian}, 178-79.
Adirondacks were not a wilderness: it was their homeland. It was their deep knowledge of the landscape that made them so valuable to European and Euro-North American professionals, settlers, and eventually tourists. As a result, wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks helped to keep Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples who lived and worked there extant in the minds of EuroAmericans from the Northeast during the nineteenth century, in contrast to state and federal policy which attempted to make them disappear.

However, these wilderness accounts also helped to reinforce the notion of the disappearing Indian as they made those Iroquoian and Abenaki people living in the Adirondacks appear exotic and the last of their kind. These Aboriginal people were often called "Canadian Indians" or they were identified specifically as St. Regis or St. Francis Indians. Such practices reinforced their status as non-residents and did not acknowledge they were Mohawk and Abenaki people who had historically considered the Adirondacks as part of their homeland.

The Family of Mitchel Sabattis

One of the best known Aboriginal guides for Wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks was Mitchel Sabattis (1821-1906). Born to Abenaki parents named Jean-Baptiste Saint-Denys or Soniaro8ane (c. 1767- c.1840s?) and Marie-Cecile on 16 September 1821, Mitchel was baptised the next day at Saint-Jean-Francois-Regis, Akwesasne’s Catholic mission as Michel Soniaro8ane. The parents used the father’s first name as the child’s last name and it became the more widely used Jean-Baptiste, which eventually

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96 This spelling is based on Frances Seaman, “Mitchel Sabattis Honored,” *Hamilton County News* (Inlet, NY), Wed., 11 August 1982, 15 describing the Town of Long Lake placing a completed stone on the grave of the famous guide. This effort included research for the correct spelling of his name with one “l”; verified on a deed to convey property to the Wesleyan Church. It is unlikely he actually signed his name as other documents indicate he did not write. Since this is the spelling on the deed and his gravestone, I have used this spelling throughout the chapter unless spelled differently in a quote.
turned into Sabattis. According to local histories, Mitchel Sabattis arrived in the interior of the Adirondacks with his father, locally called Captain Peter Sabattis, about 1830. They traveled to the region with a St. Regis Mohawk named Thompson and his son; both boys were about eight at the time. Not much is known about their lives during this early period but local histories, an obituary, and an article dated 22 July, 1900 shed some light. The obituary chronicled Adirondack Euroamerican guide John Plumley’s account of the first time he went to Long Lake in the summer of 1833 as a boy. He described “a small party of Indians camping at the foot of the lake”. Mitchel was approximately eleven and was paddling a birch-bark canoe when he “signalled” to John and his father to take a ride with him. They accepted the offer and were taken to a camp where Peter Sabattis and several other Indigenous hunters were skinning a moose. “The Indians gave John’s father a part of the moose as a sign of their friendliness”.

The 1900 article also referred to a story Mitchel used to tell about killing his first moose as a youth. His story described how he and his father camped during the summers and spent their winters in a settlement, including a log house in Newcomb where they stayed “many winters, but white men got in there and occupied the log house”. They camped outdoors along lakes and streams as they trapped, often for marten and sometimes they trapped moose with the use of a deadfall. (A deadfall is a type of trap for large game that uses a weight to stun or kill the animal.) At some point, Captain Peter brought other members of his family to the area where they hunted, trapped, and fished from spring to fall and then worked their way out of the mountains for the winter. Peter Sabattis sold his furs at Potsdam, New York for the family’s supplies. This account helps to support the belief that prior to the 1830s the family lived near Parishville in St. Lawrence County and that Mitchel was probably born there.

Parishville Historian Emma Remington explained there was an Indian community south of Parishville in the South Woods locally known as Picketsville; locals believe Mitchel and his siblings were born there at an

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97 Christopher Roy, e-mail to author, 18 July 2011. Roy explained that “Jean-Baptiste (ca. 1767–after 1840) was known as Peter Sabattis, the origin of the name “Peter” was from his father, Pierre Saint-Denys (ca. 1733-1811) who was adopted and raised by Abenaki people. Jean-Baptiste also had a brother named Pierre Saint-Denys. The fact that Jean-Baptiste Saint-Denys became Peter Sabattis instead of Sabattis Peter is a bit more unusual, but [Roy has] seen it happen before in anglophone contexts”. With regards to Mitchel’s baptismal name, Roy states “In his baptismal entry, his father’s surname is actually recorded as Soniaro8ane. … Which would make Michel Soniaro8ane the baptismal name, but perhaps a name that was never used again”.

98 Radford, “Mitchel Sabattis,” 45. According to Aber and King’s History of Hamilton County, 140 “Honest John” Plumley was “Adirondack Murray’s” favourite guide; Murray also recommended Sabattis and his sons.

99 “An Aged Indian Hunter: Adventures of Mitchell Sabattis in the Adirondacks,” Sun (New York) Sunday, 22 July, 1900. The article reported that Sabattis had suffered a second stroke. Father and son found a moose yard with a cow and bull. It took them two days but they eventually chased down the cow and killed her for meat and her hide.


101 For example Donaldson, A History of the Adirondacks II. 83 states “The place of his birth is unanimously agreed upon as Parishville, Saint Lawrence County”.
encampment by a pond and an old Indian trail (figures 3.3 and 3.4). This article also provides a connection to Newcomb where Mitchel and his young family first settled.

Former Colton Town historian Flora Miller wrote a brief history of Mitchel’s father Peter Sabattis; she claims he fought with the American colonists in the Revolutionary War. Afterwards, Peter Sabattis worked in an early form of guiding by blazing trails for roads between Lake George to Lake Ontario during the War of 1812. Others claim it was Mitchel’s grandfather, Pierre Saint-Denis (c.1733-1811) who participated in the American Revolution. Whatever the case, after the War of 1812 Peter Sabattis came back to the region to work by hunting, fishing, and trapping, especially up and down the Raquette River. According to local history, Peter Sabattis was well thought of by local people in St. Lawrence County and had adopted Christianity. His wife died young and it is reported his daughter Hannah took care of him in his old age. Peter Sabattis is listed on the 1840 federal census for Long

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102 Emma Remington, personal conversation with author, 17 November 2008 by telephone and in person at the Parishville Museum July 2009. This Native community location has been identified as the south side of Alder Meadow Brook about a mile off of Pickerville Road.

103 Lossing, The Hudson, From the Wilderness to the Sea, 13 notes Mitchel was the grandson of Peter Sabattis who along with Natanis befriended Benedict Arnold on his trek through the wilderness in 1775 to attack Québec. Christopher Roy, personal conversation, 18 July 2011 puts Peter Sabattis, the father, at the age of eight at this time. Abenaki boys were known to act as cooks, runners, and other help during war time (recall Sabaël Benedict was 12 and acting as a cook at the Battle of Québec); it is unlikely Mitchel’s father was directly involved in battle during the American Revolution however we cannot rule out that he acted as an assistant of some kind. Also see Thomas Bissell, “Traces “pedigree” of Sabattis,” Tupper Lake Free Press (Tupper Lake, NY), Wed., 15 March 1995 who argues the Capt. Peter of the Benedict Arnold march was Mitchel’s grandfather. Another local journalist argued that Peter the father was captured as an eight year old boy at Odanak by Rogers’ Rangers (1859) and served as a guide in Paul Rayno, “Peter Sabattis, guide for Rogers, Arnold,” unknown publication, n.d, AM-BML, VF – “Sabattis Family,” reviewed October 2008.

104 Flora Miller, “Captain Peter Sabattis,” 1-3, unknown publication, n.d. AM-BML, Biography File – “Mitchel Sabattis,” reviewed October 2008. The baptism of his children at nearby Akwesasne confirms he was Catholic. It is believed Peter’s wife
Lake as being between the ages of 80-89; Hannah was likely living with him at the time but Mitchel was not. The last account of Peter and his daughter Hannah Sabattis appear to have been written by the Reverend Joel T. Headley who had traveled to Long Lake during the month of August sometime between 1842 and 1846. Headley had employed Mitchel Sabattis as his guide; Headley also met Peter and Mitchel’s sister, Hannah. (He was the first Sport to write about hiring Mitchel Sabattis as his guide and he employed Mitchel on later occasions.) Headley described Hannah as barely twenty and stated that her father shook with palsy and muttered in French and an Indian language. Referring to the father, Headley claimed he was called “Old Peter” by this time and “his once powerful frame” was “now bowed and tottering”. Yet, despite emphasizing Peter’s frailty, Headley noted that he still roamed the region, camped where he was when night fell, carried a canoe (although he groaned under its weight), continued to hunt using an old fowling rifle, and assessed pieces of birch bark for the making of a new canoe. Headley described Hannah as pretty, with shoulder-length dark, wavy hair; she refused to speak to him which might have demonstrated her distrust - belying the “well thought of” consideration of the family by local people - or perhaps her silence was an expression of modesty. Headley last saw Hannah paddling her father in a canoe; she sat in the stern while Peter occupied the middle. Local history suggests Peter died in 1861 although there are no records about him after Headley’s account. Assuming local history is correct, Peter was over 100 at the time of his death.

Mitchel Sabattis married “Betsy” Dornburg(h) in 1844. They had at least fifteen children, although not all lived to adulthood and at least two daughters who made it into their twenties died within that decade. The family began their lives and business in Newcomb, where Mitchel and Betsy increased
the value of their farm from $200 in 1850 to $1,500 by 1860. There is an oft repeated legend and published reminiscence by Sport and Vermont politician, Lucius E. Chittenden (1824-1900), that Chittenden bought the Sabattis’ Newcomb mortgage in 1846. After discovering at the end of his wilderness adventure that the Sabattis family was about to lose their home, Chittenden offered to buy out the mortgage and give them more time to pay if Sabattis promised not to drink for the next year. Sabattis was alleged to have been drinking heavily at this time and he kept his promise; indeed he reportedly never drank again. As Chittenden tells it, Sabattis was a successful guide thereafter and the family lived a happy existence. Records for this transaction have not been found. However, two indentures exist from 1848 for real estate located in Township Twenty seven of the Totten and Crossfield Purchase (Newcomb) between Mitchel and Daniel F. Woodworth and Woodworth’s wife Elizabeth; they indicate Sabattis had purchased land from the Woodworth’s. Another indenture, dated 1861, between Sabattis and his wife, Betsy and Anthony Alexander Clay of Philadelphia indicated Clay held a mortgage for the family in the amount of $1,000 for ten years. Nor do the records suggest every member of the large Sabattis family lived a happy life but they did not appear to be any worse off than other local families. How much of the mortgage story is true we may never know, but it certainly is an example of many Sport’s desire to express their noblesse oblige towards a guide of whom they were fond.

While the family lived in Newcomb in the 1840s until at least 1861, they were active in the Long Lake Methodist community. Reverend John Todd, a minister from Pittsfield, Massachusetts who came to sponsor the Long Lake Church, wrote about Mitchel playing the violin for a service there as early as 1844. The Long Lake Methodist Church became part of the Champlain Conference which began in 1845; however, the original Long Lake assembly did not last long. Later, around 1855, the church was

and partially raised a granddaughter Clara (born 1879). At least one other grandchild, Byron Thompson (1893-1933) lived with the family for a time after the death of his mother Dora.

109 1850 United States Federal Census - Newcomb lists the young family with three children and a farm worth $200. By the 1860 United States Federal Census - Newcomb, the family had 6 children and their farm was worth $1,500 plus personal property worth $400. It is the richest property on the census page.

110 Chittenden, Personal Reminiscences, 151-56. See entrepreneur chapter for other details of this legend. I reviewed Chittenden’s papers at the University of Vermont and checked the Essex County Clerk’s office for mortgage information but was not able to confirm this story. Chittendon embellished in his memoir, for example he claimed Sabattis died shortly after their 1885 visit. In reality, Sabattis outlived Chittenden by nearly six years.

111 Essex County Clerk’s Office, Elizabethtown, NY, reviewed March 2009; my thanks to Deputy Clerk, Janet Cross for her assistance. Woodworth indenture is dated 1 November and is located in deed book ff, page 116. The Clay indenture dated 21 February 1861 is located in Mortgage Book 4, 102-105; this indenture indicated Sabattis already owed the $1,000 and over the period of ten years would owe $2,000. See Adirondack Record (Elizabethtown, NY) April-June, 1919 with New York State Supreme Court records which indicate this property was in Newcomb and still called the “Sebattis Lot”; it was near the south shore of Harris Lake and today’s Route 28N between Long Lake and Minerva, accessed 20 August 2012, http://news2.mvln.net/adirondack-record/1919/adirondack-record-1919-april-june%20-%200015.pdf.

112 Todd, Long Lake, 80. Headley’s writings confirm Mitchel played violin.
reconstituted and remains a congregation to this day. By 1861, Mitchel and Betsy hosted Methodist church classes in their home. In 1865, land was deeded to Mitchel to build a meeting house; he and his third eldest son, Isaac (“Ike”), along with two other members of the assembly traveled to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and Connecticut where Mitchel spoke before the congregations of ministers he had previously guided in order to raise money for the Long Lake Wesleyan Methodist Church. They returned with $2,000, enough to build their house of worship. Mitchel was known to occasionally preach at the church.

Sabattis was not the only Native person to participate in Adirondack churches; for example Stockbridge minister and Wampanoag Anthony Paul (c. 1746-1816) was a licensed Presbyterian minister in Lake George at the end of the eighteenth century. Paul came under the influence of the Mohegan Presbyterian preacher Samson Occum and probably attended the New Lebanon School; he married Samson’s daughter Christiana. Anthony and Christiana and four of their children were baptized at Bretherton in Oneida territory in 1784; the family originally went to Saratoga but moved to the Lake George and Bolton area in the early 1790s. Local history claims that Paul preached there until alcohol allegedly got the better of him and he was forced to give up his ministry. He tried later to work for the Baptist Society but that did not work out. Anthony Paul became sick on his return from a trip to Connecticut; he died and was buried near the mouth of Roundout Creek, near Kingston, New York. In addition, a Mohawk by the name of Brant was the Baptist minister in Elizabethtown in 1835. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Daniel Emmett or Wasamimet was a member and usher at the Indian Carry Chapel in Franklin County; as Chapter Four describes, Elizabeth Camp and her daughter Emma Camp Mead were very active in their local Methodist and Baptist churches. We do not

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113 “History,” Long Lake Wesleyan Methodist Church website, accessed 15 September 2012, http://longlakewesleyan.wordpress.com/history-of-lwmc/. The roots of the Long Lake Wesleyan Church date back to John Wesley’s efforts in London in 1744. The America Wesleyan Methodist Church was against slavery in the nineteenth century; both African and Euroamericans were members of the church at large and at least in Long Lake so were Indian people.
114 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 778. James and Mary Mulholland deeded the ¼ acre to Mitchel Sabattis for $25.
117 Kelly Wisecup’s “Medicine, Communication, and Authority in Samson Occom’s Herbal,” Early American Studies (Fall 2012), 540-65, 559 identifies Moses Paul as Wampanoag; Moses was Anthony’s father.
118 “Indian Biographies From Lake George,” Post Star (Glens Falls, NY) 14 December, 1963, 13-14. This article indicates Anthony and Christiana lived around Lake George for the rest of his life although they moved several times.
119 Wessels, Adirondack Profiles, 184, indicates Elder Brant was the pastor and he claimed to be related to Joseph Brant.
120 DeSormo, Summers on the Saranacs, 103. The Indian Carry Chapel was built in 1888 by the Champlain Presbytery to originally serve as missionary service to loggers but by 1920 it, and the Island Chapel (of similar origins) had become Episcopal.
know why the Catholic Mitchel converted to Methodism. It is possible he became a Methodist because his wife’s family was involved in the Long Lake church.121 It has been noted that Mitchel attended school for a few weeks in 1844, allegedly to catch the eye of his future wife Betsy Dornburg(h); thus, it would not be too much of a stretch to consider that he began attending Methodist services to see her there as well.122

Another Sport that Sabattis guided in the summer of 1848 and 1849 was C.W. Webber. Webber, along with the publication of articles about the region in The Spirit of the Times, was credited for bringing the Adirondacks to national attention. Webber often championed and then criticized both accommodations and guides.123 In addition to Webber, Headley, and Chittenden, all of whom Mitchel guided during the 1840s, he continued to guide Sports, surveyors, and sightseers for decades. Many of his Sports were ministers; they liked him and he liked them probably because neither drank and they had similar beliefs. In 1886, Mitchel suffered a stroke; however, he continued to do light guiding.124 The Sabattis family remained in Newcomb until after 1861; they showed up on the Long Lake census in 1870. Even though he was actively guiding during this period, Mitchel always noted his profession on the census as a farmer until the 1880 census when he first listed “guide” as his occupation.125 He did not identify any employment on the 1892 New York State census, possibly implying he was retired.126 On the 1900 United States Federal Census - Long Lake, filed in June of that year, Mitchel and Betsy’s youngest son Harry and his family lived with them. Within a month Mitchel suffered a second stroke; a local newspaper article noted that Harry was taking care of his parents thereafter.127 Betsy died in 1901 at the age of seventy-four. Mitchel continued to live with Harry and his family until his death on 17 April 1906 at the age of eighty-four.128

121 First Congregational Church Pulpit Bible a/k/a/ Keller Family Bible.
123 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 194, 762. The Spirit of the Times was a popular upper class gentlemen’s newspaper that was published in New York; it began in 1831 and was edited by William T. Porter and his brothers and later by George Wilkes (c. 1861), and William B. Curtis in 1878.
124 “American Angler” Article Recalls 1883 Fishing Trip to the Long Lake Area,” 8.
126 1892 New York State Census - Long Lake, Hamilton County, New York. The 1900 United States Federal Census – Long Lake also lists him as not employed. His son Harry and his family are living with Mitchel and his wife, Betsy. There are no 1890 United States Federal Census records as most of them were destroyed in a fire.
127 “An Aged Indian Hunter”
The census counted Mitchel as being “Indian” if it identified ethnicity; in the case of the 1892 New York State Census, he and his children’s ethnicity was marked with an “X” in the “colored” column. His children were usually identified as being Indian except in the 1870 federal census when they were classified as “W”. His wife and the wives of his sons were distinguished as being White. The grandchildren who occasionally lived with Mitchel and Betsy during a census period were, though, identified as Indian. However, in the next generation, they and their offspring were sometimes recognized as Indian and at other times as being White. The 1880 Census is interesting as Mitchel’s son and a granddaughter on the next page were identified as White while all of the children on the front were identified as Indian. As the children became adults and had families of their own, their status changed from census to census: one year they were classified as Indian, five or ten years later they were White, only to return to their Indian status by the next census, a typical pattern for other families of Native heritage in the area. On at least one occasion the Isaac Sabattis family identity changed on the same census as someone wrote over the initially recorded “W” and corrected it to “In”. The various censuses also indicated that many family members remained geographically close to the Mitchel Sabattis homestead in Long Lake. The fluidity of these representations of the family’s ethnicity accords with

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130 *1910 United States Federal Census – Long Lake* originally listed the children of Isaac Sabattis as “W” and then replaced it with “In”.

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Lauren Basson’s argument that ethnic identities are “contextual and relational. They are narratives in progress, constantly influencing and being influenced by the other stories that surround them”.

Accounts about Mitchel Sabattis are uniformly complimentary. No one wrote poorly about him personally; indeed, descriptions of him were glowing and stressed his honesty and devotedness. He was generally admired by the people who addressed him. While Sabattis was a physically small man and often described as reticent, other accounts described his confidence and humour. His skill and reputation as a hunter and guide earned him the recognition of being among the top three or four best hunters and guides in the history of the Adirondacks. Mitchel’s reputation as a prolific hunter was as distinctive as his prowess as a guide. He did not care for panthers and was proud of the nine he had killed in his lifetime. Perhaps his aversion to panthers was based on his livelihood as a farmer.

These romanticized reports of Sabattis noted that he was a St. Francis Indian and occasionally inferred he was the last of his kind in the region despite his large family, the descendants and relatives of Sabael Benedict, the Joseph and Denis families, as well as others who lived and worked there. As well, he was one of the few guides who crossed Adirondack regions. According to L.E. Chittenden, Sabattis’ “exceptional traits of character as well as exceptional gifts for woodcraft made him one of the leading experts of his day.” A multi-skilled and multifaceted man, Sabattis made boats, snow shoes, and he carried the mail between Blue Mountain Lake and Long Lake.

Sabattis also served as an informant for Surveyor Verplank Colvin and anthropologist Julius Dyneley Prince, as did other Abenaki in the region. During the nineteenth century Aboriginal people

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132 Sabattis, John Cheney, Orson “Old Man” Phelps, and Alvah Dunning are often named as well-known Adirondack guides. Regionally, other guides might be considered one of these three such as “Honest” John Plumeley in the central region, Nick Stoner or Nat Forester in the west, Bill Nye in the high peaks, and the Merrill family (Darius and his son Charles E.) around Chateaugay Lake in the north.
133 “An Aged Indian Hunter,” claimed Mitchel felt that panthers were cowardly animals. The article provides a story of Mitchel killing two panthers in as many days when he was a young man. He received a bounty of $62 each from New York State for some of those he killed. Aber and King’s History of Hamilton County, 24 reported that Mitchel had a specially trained dog to trail and tree panthers. He is credited with killing hundreds of deer and numerous moose and bear.
134 1850 and 1860 United States Federal Census- Newcomb both listed Mitchel Sabattis’ occupation as a farmer.
135 As late as 1992, Anne LaBastille’s “Doctors of the Wilderness,” Natural History (May 1992), 42-45, 43 describes Mitchel as “a full-blooded Abenaki Indian, and late in life was probably the only Abenaki living in the Adirondacks”.
138 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 522-23 noted that Prince had a summer home in Blue Mountain Lake and used Sabattis as an informant. The article also states that Mitchel and his father named a lot of the waterways and mountains in the area, for example they named Long Lake Qua-nah-ga-wah due to its shape. Webb, Footsteps Through the Adirondacks, 43. Foster and Cowan, eds., In Search of New England’s Native Past, 57, 233. Day also indicates that the Benedict and Watso
served as informants for ethnologists and the new discipline of anthropology; the Abenaki and Iroquois in New York State were part of this phase. For example, Seneca Ely S. Parker or Ha-sa-no-an-da (1828-1895) worked with Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), author of the *League of the Iroquois* published in 1851. Morgan, a leading figure and pioneer in the field of anthropology based his work on the concept of salvage anthropology and “a certain boyish enthusiasm which was overburdened with a corresponding sense of guilt at the displacement of savages, if not the very ideas of savagism”. Recording place names was a feature of this ethnographic work. Relying on the writings of Floyd Lounsbury, linguist Gordon Day suggests that legitimate Indigenous place names have to be at least two or three generations old. Thus, ironically if Mitchel Sabattis or his father named a place or geographic feature, such as a lake, associated with the Adirondacks, the validity of the name was often questioned and not always considered authentic. Mitchel spoke Abenaki and English and possibly Mohawk and French; he did not write and probably did not read. His sons followed in his footsteps as guides and also appeared to be well thought of in that occupation. Mitchel also had grandsons who became guides; for example, his son Charles’ younger son, Joseph Druyea Sabattis (1878-1951) worked as a guide and was a taxidermist of some repute. Despite the multiplicity of occupations and skills, it is as a guide that Mitchel Sabattis is remembered.

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139 Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, IX. On the inside cover, Morgan dedicated the book to Parker and indicates the book is the result of their “joint researches”. Morgan and Parker were conducting their research at the time the Ogden Land Company was trying to extirpate the remaining lands in New York State belonging to the Seneca nation. Modern anthropology is credited to Franz Boas (1858–1942) born and educated in Germany. He and his followers collection of information has been called salvage anthropology and is based on the belief that Indian nations were destined to disappear.


141 Henry D. Kellogg, “Mitchell Sabattis” *Northern Monthly* 1: 2 (Glens Falls, NY) June 1906, 14-15 claimed Mitchel could speak four languages “quite fluently – Abenaki, Mohawk, French and English” and described him as “an authority on many facts relating to Indian history”. This was written as an obituary for this S. R. Stoddard monthly journal. Ruth V. Riley’s article, “Famous Adirondack Guides,” 12 indicates Mitchel spoke Abenaki and knew “the Indian nomenclature” of the area around Long Lake, as doe the article “An Aged Indian Hunter”. His legal documents were always signed by his marking it with an “X”.

142 Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 39 recommended only 10 guides in Long Lake and among them were Mitchel Sabattis and his sons.

143 “Pioneer Guides of Long Lake Fostered Development of Region in Early Days” *The Adirondack Arrow* (Inlet, NY), Anniversary Old Timers’ Sports Section – Part II, 16 June, 1938, 7 described Joseph Druyea Sabattis as an “outstanding guide and a close student of wildlife and finally became a taxidermist”. The *Long Lake Register Report for Peter Sabattis and his descendants* (created and provided by archivist Raymond Smith dated 20 October 2008) indicates that Joseph guided Gen. E. A. McAlpin at Brandreth Lake, NY and that Joseph is listed on the 1920 New York State Guide Registration and that people sent him work from all parts of the country because his work showed animals in the most natural way.
The records do not reflect that Mitchel or his sons resorted to stereotypes of Indians to make a living. There are no photos or written records of them in plains headdresses or other, similar garb. While they were well-known as St. Francis Indians, it does not appear that father or sons ever marketed themselves as anything other than Adirondack guides. (As mentioned, in addition to guiding, father and sons were farmers and they participated in wage work.) Yet Mitchel and his children were known to be Abenaki by both the local and the sporting community.

It was reported that Mitchel was related to the Dennis family in Lake Luzerne and as noted there were a number of Abenaki and other Native families in the region. However, Mitchel married a Euroamerican woman and only one of their many children married an Aboriginal partner. Many of the Indigenous guides and their offspring married non-Aboriginal people. Some had happy and long marriages such as that of Mitchel and Betsy, others did not. The Camp family were particularly hard-hit when it came to troubled, ethnically mixed marriages. The family of the husband of their daughter Emma (1866-1934; Abenaki–Oneida) forced an annulment of her first marriage to their son (1882); it is probable that they persuaded him to divorce her the second time. Emma’s brother, Gabriel (1883-1948) wed Elsie Corscadden in 1916; her family temporarily disowned her for marrying him. It appears the Corscadden

144 “Falling Star, the Indian Beauty Who Died Last Week,” The Sun (New York) 23 January 1903, 5.
145 Dora E. or “Dorry” Sabattis (1867-1894) married Frank W. Thompson (1863- unk) before 1893; he is believed to have been from Akwesasne and one cannot help but speculate that maybe he was related to the Thompson family that arrived in the region in 1830 with Peter and Mitchel Sabattis.
146 Letters located in the Camp Family files, ILM. Letters between Elsie and her mother and brother indicate this reconciliation was somewhat tentative as they tried to deny her part of the estate of her father because he had so recently accepted her back into the family. Elsie Camp letter dated 25 April 1924 responding to a letter from her mother, Mary Corscadden. Elsie asked for an accounting and was looking for what was fair. Mary Corscadden letter dated 27 April 1925 to her daughter Elsie Camp explained that James Corscadden had been ill for three or four years and that he had just accepted her back into the family the past winter and until then he wanted to only leave her $1. Mary offered her daughter $100 to settle the issue. Elsie Camp letter to Mary Corscadden dated 8 May 1925 asks for $500 to settle. Mary Corscadden letter to her daughter dated 28 May 1925 Elsie to hear
family reconciled shortly before her father’s death, but not without continued conflict. Mitchel’s son Charles’ marriage ended in divorce, as did several of Mitchel’s grandchildren’s marriages. Ike’s daughter, Blanche (c. 1890–1938?) married a poor man. Their house burned down in the late 1930s after Blanche tried to dry green wood in the stove. The court then removed at least five children from the couple and caused their distraught mother to suffer a breakdown.\textsuperscript{147} In addition, the children and grandchildren of these local families were not immune to the ramifications of premature deaths. When twenty-six year old Dory Sabattis died from pneumonia in 1894, her son Byron K. Thompson (c. 1893-1933) went to live with his Sabattis grandparents. By 1905, he was living with the family of his Uncle Harry. By the age of seventeen he was working at odd jobs and boarding possibly at a lumber camp.\textsuperscript{148}

Sabattis’ marriage raises questions about such relationships. Little has been written about interracial marriages between Indigenous men and European or Euroamerican women beyond captivity narratives; those works that exist usually explore the period after the American Civil War and focus on middle-class relationships. One exception to the time period is Theresa Strouth Gaul’s work about the marriage of New Englander Harriett Gold and Cherokee Elias Boudinot in 1826. Gaul argues that these types of marriages “had long had the potential to ignite firestorms of debate in U.S. society because of the ways it intimately tested boundaries of racial and national identity….”\textsuperscript{149} The daughter of a Cornwall, Connecticut family who supported the Protestant missionization of Indigenous North Americans, Harriet Gold was introduced to and fell in love with Elias Boudinot who had been educated for most of his young life at the nearby Foreign Mission School. Some of Gold’s siblings, extended family, the community, and the school protested the marriage, while her parents and a few of her siblings were supportive. Local and multi-state newspapers publically debated their relationship and criticized Gold, her parents, and “the antebellum “culture of benevolence” … [the latter was used] to explain the vehemence of … attacks and
the community’s response to the marriage.”\textsuperscript{150} Not only had the couple crossed ethnic boundaries which included New England’s antimiscegenation stance, they also transgressed class lines as Native Americans in New England at the time were considered “a dispossessed and servile underclass”.\textsuperscript{151} Gaul argues that the act of White men marrying Indian women was less contentious and seen as a continuation of the colonial process. However, White women’s status “functioned to stabilize whiteness as a racial identity” and thus White men were obliged to protect them in the name of protecting the ‘superior’ race.\textsuperscript{152} On the other hand, Gaul suggests that for Boudinot, a Cherokee man trained in the ways of Protestant America, his marriage to a White woman demonstrated that he believed in American Protestant values and fit into their new society.\textsuperscript{153} Boudinot quickly discovered his belief conflicted greatly with Euroamerican attitudes.

Later studies include Kathleen Ellinghaus’ investigation of race relations from 1887-1937; Ellinghaus looked at Euroamerican women who married prominent Indian men who had been educated at the Carlyle and Hampton schools. She argues that White women were symbols of the purity and power of their race and the few who crossed racial boundaries for love were part of the “imperial project”.\textsuperscript{154} Ellinghaus explains that while normally women’s citizenship and status were based on those of their husbands, in this instance the husband obtained their American social status from their wives.

To some extent, they subverted the hierarchies of race and gender by which settler societies operated, but they were also caught up in the tangible and defining mores of tolerated social behavior. They played a significant role in the story of race relations and the intimate ways in which colonialism could operate in settler societies.\textsuperscript{155}

Similarly, Cathleen D. Cahill’s article “‘You Think It Strange That I Can Love an Indian’” examines Euroamerican and Native American employees at boarding schools and on reserves. She describes a concerted policy effort by the Indian Service after the American Civil War to assimilate Indigenous people into more Anglo-American ways of living through intermarriage. Even a marriage between White women, who were thought of as the moral centre of the family, and Indigenous men was acceptable because it was hoped these intermarriages would assist the country in eliminating treaty obligations.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{150} Ibid, 9.
\bibitem{151} Ibid.
\bibitem{152} Ibid, 11.
\bibitem{153} Gaul, \textit{To Marry an Indian}, 21-22. This included rejecting the matrilocal and matrilineal Cherokee traditions surrounding marriage.
\bibitem{154} Kathering Ellinghaus, \textit{Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887 – 1937} (Lincoln, NB & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 219-20. Ellinghaus also compares the U.S. experience with Australia’s experience of working-class-White women marrying Aboriginal men; she concludes they were often categorized as eccentric and those couples who tried to assimilate were seen as threatening the status quo (150).
\bibitem{155} Ibid, xiii.
\end{thebibliography}
Citing the work of Anthropologist Ann Stoler, Cahill refers to this practice as a strategy of “intimate colonialism”. However, none of these studies describe or examine marriage between poor, rural European and later Euroamerican women who married Indigenous North American men. As Nancy Grey Osterud argues, there was no ‘separate sphere of influence’ for rural women in upstate New York, especially as compared to their urban middle-class counterparts. While not seen as equal to men, women’s labour on the farm and elsewhere kept their influence more closely tied with rural men while at the same time country women’s kinship networks were very powerful strategies in their lives and labour. As a result, the relationship between rural White women and Aboriginal men likely do not have the same meaning as those studied by Gaul, Cahill, and Ellinghaus. Indeed, rural women’s’ work and relationship to their husbands appear more similar to the complimentary traditional work done by Iroquoian and Algonquian women with their men’s work and drawing on kinship ties; the labour performed was not exactly the same but the philosophy is. It is difficult to know for certain until further study of this group has been done.

As I have argued, the Iroquoian and Algonquian people who came to the Adirondacks and stayed were eventually seen as safe and cooperative people; tentative relationships were created and grew into more intimate ones. Intermarriages might not have appeared unthinkable in this context. Both Indigenous and Euroamerican people of the region lived similarly in this remote region. They planted gardens, hunted, trapped, and fished mostly for subsistence purposes; they gathered berries and plants for food,

Cathleen D. Cahill, “‘You Think It Strange That I Can Love an Indian”: Native Men, White Women, and Marriage in the Indian Service,” Frontiers, a Journal of Women’s Studies, 29: 2-3 (2008), 106-45, 106-08, 130 citing Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), 7, 19. Cahill briefly mentions Theodore and Ella Branchaud who were a janitor and cook but she chose not to include them in her study. Keep in mind, Gaul’s To Marry an Indian, 15 suggests that intermarriage to assimilate Native people had been an eighteenth century consideration and had been rejected by the early nineteenth century. Also see Rachel F. Moran, Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race & Romance (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001); Gary B. Nash, “The Hidden History of Mestizo America,” The Journal of American History 87:3 (December, 1995), 941-96; and Nancy L. Gallagher, Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1999). For more on the Eugenics movement around this area see Lutz Kaelber, University of Vermont, Eugenics: Compulsory Sterilization in 50 American States, “New York” accessed 13 September 2012, http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/eugenics/NY/NY.html and “Vermont,” accessed 13 September 2012 http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/eugenics/VT/VT.html. Kaelber, “Vermont,” Eugenics: Compulsory Sterilization in 50 American States, Accessed 13 September 2012, http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/eugenics/VT/VT.html (updated 2011). The other two groups were French Canadians and the disabled. For a contradictory argument see Vermont’s “Response to Abenaki Petition” (January 2003), 67-78, which suggests French Canadians were the focus of the movement and that the Abenaki were not specifically mentioned in eugenics survey papers although they admit many were ingrain in the French Canadian communities there. The Bruchac family blames this movement for their grandfather not acknowledging his Abenaki heritage, see Marge Bruchac “‘Bruchac’s Gloves and Bowman’s Stories,” As the Crow Flies Newsletter Issue 3 (Black Crow Network, Inc., 1999), 1. Nancy Grey Osterud, Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1-2. Osterud’s study focused on a region just west of Binghamton, New York and thus was more agriculturally focused than those communities located in the Adirondacks. However, the work of women in both locations was similar.
dyes, and medicines; and they found ways to use these and other local resources for some income and later to seasonally work for wages.

It is doubtful though, that the White women who married Algonquian and Iroquoian men during this period were concerned about imperial efforts to assimilate their husbands. Life was so harsh in the Adirondacks that a loving husband who could support a family was probably enough for these hard-working women. It is possible, at least in the case of Mitchel and Betsy Sabattis, that Methodism had some influence on their relationship. Mitchel and the family of Elizabeth Dornburgh were some of the first members of their Long Lake congregation.\(^\text{158}\) Early North American Methodism often attracted marginalized people\(^\text{159}\) so long as one followed their strict rules all were welcome. As Cecilia Morgan points out, interlocking networks such as religious and humanitarian circuits facilitated the necessary mobility to create intimate relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.\(^\text{160}\) Did Betsy Dornburgh see her marriage as a Christianizing mission? It is hard to say; there are no records to indicate what her feelings were. Nor does it explain why other women of European descent married Algonquian and Iroquoian men here during the long nineteenth and early twentieth century; indeed, it may have been this latter group that had the most trouble especially with their families. After all, many of these wives were the descendants of migrating New Englanders who disliked the idea of miscegenation between races and probably originally arrived with at least a suspicion or even hatred of Indians.\(^\text{161}\) However, no records exist about these early marriages that suggest they invited public rebuke or discrimination. So long as the women were from a poor class of rural White families, there did not seem to be a major issue with Native and Newcomer unions. As the next chapter illustrates, later in the century and once these unions involved middle-class women there was more evidence of tensions around their marriages to Native men.

Shared values of kin networks probably helped cement these early marriages. Grey Osterud’s study of a nineteenth century agrarian community in the southern tier of New York State argues that kinship was the main form of social organization in rural communities at this time. Work united the men; women were more engaged in family decisions and social activity than their urban sisters.\(^\text{162}\) These bonds of kinship and labour helped to create an alternate model from the Western patriarchal, middle-class


\(^\text{159}\) Richter, Facing East From Indian Country, 239-40.


\(^\text{161}\) Kupperman, Indians and English, 75, 192-93 indicates the earliest colonists did not have ethnic issues with their Algonquian neighbours as much as Christian versus pagan and civilized versus non-civilized ones. It was in the nineteenth century when race became the issue. See Chapter Two for further discussion.

\(^\text{162}\) Osterud, Bonds of Community, 277. Osterud’s work is focused on farming and does not address Aboriginal people but it is informative about an upstate New York rural community.
separate sphere to one “of human relations based on mutual aid” founded on kinship. This would have been a very familiar model to Indigenous societies in the Northeast. In the Adirondacks both Aboriginal and Euroamerican men and women created work and social networks that included each other. With regards to the Sabattis family, Mitchel’s guiding business included several of his sons, grandsons, and Euroamerican sons-in-law as well as Euroamerican neighbours. His Euroamerican wife Betsy ran the boardinghouse; at least two of their daughters helped their mother while the men were away, as did Isaac’s Euroamerican wife, Arline. We see here in this rural community the same kinship arrangement that Osterud describes, one that is very similar to strategies employed by Iroquoian and Algonquian people for social, political, and economic purposes.

Unlike the Benedict and other Indigenous Adirondack families, the records do not indicate that the Sabattis family maintained contact with a reserve community such as Akwesasne or Odanak. While the Benedict family traveled back and forth to Odanak (and at least once to Akwesasne) for baptisms, spouses, marriages, and even burial, the Sabattis family experienced these milestones locally. This change from depending on a reserve community to a local one occurred for many of the Abenaki (and other Native) families who remained in the region, although as Chapter Five and the Conclusion describe, this change was not always the case, nor was it final as descendants reconnected with Odanak especially. One

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163 Ibid, 279.
164 Sears, *The Adk Letters of George Washington Sears*, 114–122 commends Betsy Sabattis for being able to run the boarding house alone although it was often filled with her family members. That day Sears met Ike with his wife Arline M. Hall (1856-1920) and their children. Elizabeth Camp (Oneida) and her daughter Emma Camp Mead (Oneida and Abenaki) ran a hotel and camps while Elizabeth’s husband Elijah (Abenaki) and son Gabe (Oneida and Abenaki) took Sports hunting. Their experience will be featured in the next chapter on entrepreneurship.
could probably argue that for Mitchel Sabattis his spiritual and perhaps socio-political communities of Newcomb and Long Lake along with family, co-workers, and friends replaced a reserve community for him and his family. It is unknown why this was so; it may have been that there was no family left at Odanak or Akwesasne to provide a tie to those communities for Mitchel Sabattis. Perhaps he fell out with them. Small country towns during the nineteenth century were often isolated; inhabitants searched for ways to be self-sufficient, including forging networks of people that helped each other survive. As a boy, Mitchel made friends with local Euroamerican boys such as John Plumley and Caleb Chase of Newcomb; the latter credits Mitchel with teaching him his woodcraft. Mitchel later worked with these men, other local Euroamerican guides, his sons, and sons-in-law in guiding and other pursuits. These small town kinship ties were public: everyone knew who you were related to and they also reflected an individual’s obligations and mutual expectations between kin. The degree of flexibility or rigidity was based on particular family relationships.

This does not mean Mitchel did not experience prejudice based on his being Abenaki. The records reflect he encountered at least one incident of bias when Isaac B. C. Robinson, a townsperson challenged his ability to vote in 1862. Robinson claimed the community did not have the power to allow him to vote because he was an Indian. Native Americans did not get the right to vote in the United States until 1870 with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. However, they were only enfranchised if they were citizens; if they still belonged to a tribe, as many did, they could not become citizens until 1924 when the Indian Citizenship Act was passed. Nonetheless, it seems hypocritical to rely on the law in this instance when so many White Adirondackers ignored legislation when it was convenient for them to do so.

Moreover, occasionally Sports wrote about Mitchel in stereotypical terms. An article relating an

165 “Hunting, Fishing Trips in Newcomb Area,” Tupper Lake Press, 7
166 Osterud, Bonds of Community, 56.
167 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 21, 25. It appears Robinson was trying to follow the letter of the law; however one cannot discount personal prejudice, we just don’t know. Despite this, Mitchel became the Commissioner of Highways in 1866. His son Isaac served as Town Clerk in 1880 and 1881.
168 U.S. Constitution, Amendment 15, Section 1 wording obtained from “Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution: Primary Documents of American History,” The Library of Congress, Accessed 3 October 2012, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=015/lsl015.db&recNum=379 states in part: “Section 1. The right if citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude”. While technically allowing for American Indians who had become citizens the right to vote, it wasn’t until the Citizenship Act that most Native people were allowed to exercise that right. 43 U.S. Stats at lg, Ch 233, p. 253 (1924) also known as the Indian Citizenship Act states: “Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all noncitizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: Provided, That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property”. See “Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties,” Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929, Accessed 3 October 2012, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol4/html_files/v4p0420c.html.
1843 trip down the Raquette River from Long Lake refers to a teacher, probably John MacMullen, and one of his students being “guided by a passing party of “half-breeds,” one of them believed to have been Mitchell [sic] Sabattis, famed Indian guide”. This was probably Mitchel’s first guiding experience, albeit an inadvertent one.\(^{170}\) J. T. Headley described being happy to see “the swarthy and benevolent face of Mitchell [sic]”.\(^{171}\) Chittenden occasionally slipped into “Indian-speak” when quoting Mitchel. He claimed Mitchel once stated “We go home – no use for waste time tonight”. Yet just before that statement, Chittenden quoted him as saying “There is no deer within two miles of Long Lake now … That sound would scare the devil”. It is possible that Sabattis actually said the former sentence and he was “playing Indian” for the party; we do not know.\(^{172}\) Chittenden also used Indian stereotypes as a ploy to get rid of bothersome fellow travelers. At least once he threatened a fellow traveling minister with possible danger because he had angered Sabattis by failing to keep quiet as instructed; Chittenden told him that Mitchel “like all his race, was of an unforgiving nature,” which contradicted all other writings about him.\(^{173}\)

Chittenden went as far as using romantic stereotypes when he described one of Mitchel’s sons as having grown “up with the figure of Apollo, and when I last saw him I thought that physically he was the most perfect man I had ever seen”.\(^{174}\) In a different vein, in a letter dated April of 1882, George Washington “Nessmuk” Sears criticised the “time-honored house of Sabattis” because it had become “too prolific of young half-breeds”.

Mitchel Sabattis is by far the best-known Abenaki guide who worked in the Adirondacks during this period. He was born in the northern part of the region and grew up in the central Adirondacks where

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\(^{170}\) “Guides Take Time Out at ‘Tupper Lake’ On 1843 Trip to Make Spruce Bark Canoe,” Fourth in a Series unk. publication. 7 January 1960, 2, 7, LLA, VF – “Guiding”. Given the date and that it is part of a series running in 1960, it is probable the article was run in the *Tupper Lake Press*. “The Adirondacks in 1843,” 31 TSS. SLUL, VF – “Adirondacks in 1843,” appears to be a typescript of this article and was published in the *New York Evening Post*, u.d. and *St. Lawrence Plaindealer*, 3-5 (Canton, NY) 24 August, 1881. Brumley’s *Guides of the Adirondacks*, 153-54 describes this encounter and identifies the author as a teacher named John MacMullen and his companion, probably a student referred to as Jim R. The pair had to be rescued after capsizing their own craft. Brumley claims this was Sabattis’ first guiding experience and that it was inadvertent versus Headley’s account which was a formal hiring of Sabattis as a guide in 1846.


\(^{172}\) See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 178-79 and Loo, “Of Moose and Men”, 317, who both suggest that Native people often took on the persona of the trickster as a way to deal with overbearing sportsmen who had hired them as guides. Also see Cecilia Morgan, *A Happy Holiday: English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 144. Morgan’s examination of late-nineteenth-century Irish guides suggests this form of performance was not limited to the Indigenous people of North America. Morgan argues that guides’ “forcing their way into these narratives” were agency-making ways of dealing with tourists condescension.

\(^{173}\) Chittenden, *Personal Reminiscences*, 143. It is more probable the group angered Chittenden. It does not appear Chittenden believed this himself, but he used Mitchel’s Abenaki heritage to gain a personal escort after allegedly ridding himself of the five other people in the party.

\(^{174}\) Chittenden, *Personal Reminiscences*, 150.

\(^{175}\) Sears, *Canoeing the Adirondacks with Nessmuk*, 124. Sears (1821-1890) was from Massachusetts and he claimed Nessmuck was the name of a Narragansett who taught him his woodcraft; the name reportedly means wood duck or drake. However, he also refers to the Narragansett people as Nessmuck on p. 39, so it may have been a nickname for the Narragansett people. Sears suffered from asthma and eventually tuberculosis, yet traveled throughout the Western hemisphere and even contracting malaria. His Adirondack letters to *Field and Stream* ran from 1880-1883. This specific letter was dated 13 April 1882; he was complaining that Long Lake had become too civilized and had too many guides.
he lived all of his life. His reputation as a hunter, family man, Methodist, and guide were exemplary to the point that his many other skills were overshadowed by them. His family and social ties were attached to the people and communities (Newcomb and Long Lake) in the Adirondacks instead of a reserve community. Yet, for all of this, he was always known to be a St. Francis Indian, as were his children.

Other Indigenous Guides in the Adirondacks

Sabattis was not the only Aboriginal guide who was scrutinized by Sears. He also described William Bero, a St. Regis guide and foreman of a Mohawk crew peeling hemlock bark, probably for tanning. Sears complimented Bero’s woodsman ability and described his fishing prowess for trout with a simple pole made of tamarack. He lauded the hard workers in Bero’s camp and opined that other Indians may be lazy, “but not … the St. Regis or Mohawk and only in part of the Senecas and Oneidas”.176 Hoffman characterised St. Regis guide, Captain Gill as “a capital guide” when not drinking. Traveling with a companion, the pair and Gill met up with a group of St. Regis Mohawk who were hunting along with a Major Jake Peabody. During the trip Gill told the Sports several Mohawk legends about the region including the story of the Piseco Lake “Giant Rocks” or “Otne-Yar-Heh”.177 The story describes a party of warriors who were brutally attacked by a group of Iroquois who thought the warriors were their enemies. Too late the victorious party discovered their mistake but the damage was done; they decided to leave the dead and dying on the banks of Lake Piseco. The bloodied bodies became covered by the sand and debris which solidified into flint; this material later froze around the warriors’ bodies during the winter creating what appeared to be great rocks. However, in the spring, hungry bears tore at the area of the least amount of stone by the warriors’ feet which allowed the giants to stand upright and move. The giants determined to go to the home of those who hurt them; they caused great destruction wherever they went and they could not be stopped. Gil credited the giants for forming the League of the Haudenosaunee who, together, were able to drive the giant stones back into the mountains.178 Major Peabody emphatically questioned that the giant rocks around Lake Piseco looked like men; Gill shot Peabody a scornful look in response. One of the St. Regis hunters explained to the Major that Whites could not see the spirit in objects as the Indian did; Whites looked for ways to use the object instead.179

Chance meetings with Aboriginal people in the Adirondacks stood out for Sports. While camping on Blue Mountain Lake in 1843, Todd documented an encounter with “a young Indian and his squaw, of

176 Sears, Canoeing the Adirondacks with Nessmuk, 38-40.
177 Hoffman, Wild Scenes in the Forest, II: 21-24, 29-51 (Flying Head), 122-26 (Hues of Autumn), and 178-91 (Giant Rocks).
178 Ibid, II: 178-91. Hoffman and a law student companion hired Gill in the late 1830s and described him as “old” and living in the region year-round by himself along with his daughter, Molly. They purportedly lived in a wigwam located “on the outlet of Lake Pleasant”.
179 Ibid, II: 190-91. The Major then went on to exclaim he’d grown tired of Indian legends and wanted a story from the lawyer that included women.
the St. Regis tribe” who had come from Canada to find his younger brother.\footnote{Todd, \textit{Long Lake}, 36} Around 1850, Todd also met Sabael Benedict at his wigwam and described the visit.\footnote{John Todd, DD., \textit{Summer Gleanings: or Sketches and Incidents of a Pastor’s Vacation} collected and arranged by his daughter (Northampton, MA: Hopkins, Bridgman & Co., 1852), 262-66.} And as previously mentioned, Headley made a point of recording his contact with Peter and Hannah Sabattis. Not all Sports limited their writing to mere observation. MacMullen’s writings admired the woodcraft of his St. Regis “half-breed” rescuers as they made a canoe of spruce bark to replace the craft he and his student capsized. However, MacMullen also included a description of the difference between the skin colour of the full-blooded Mohawk woman (“clear, translucent, light copper-colored skin, that told at once her high health and her race”) and those he considered to be half-breeds (“dull, white cheese”).\footnote{“Guides Take Time Out at ‘Tupper Lake’ On 1843 Trip to Make Spruce Bark Canoe”.} A particularly harsh description of an Aboriginal family was recorded by Samuel Hammond in his \textit{Hills, Lakes and Forest Streams}. Hammond described them as “half-breeds” and “a deterioration of both branches of the ancestral tree” who made a living by trapping, hunting and basket making. He described the family as dirty, ugly, and unkempt after he and his guide, Tucker, showed up on the family’s doorstep uninvited. The pair arranged to stay overnight; Hammond chose to sleep in a bed that he described as comfortable, made of feathers and sheets “not positively dirty”. In the morning, he awoke, though, complaining of being bitten by fleas and bedbugs. Despite all of this, Hammond and Tucker accepted some baked biscuits from the wife and purchased the husband’s canoe for a five dollar gold piece the next morning. Hammond opined later that Indians were similar to the wild animals of the forest: they were both destined to disappear.\footnote{Hammond, \textit{Hills, Lakes, and Forest Streams}, 71-75, 168-72, 235.}

Such attitudes were not confined to individual Sports. Historian Thomas Ingersoll examines people of mixed ethnicity from contact to Indian Removal in the 1830s when “the popular “halfbreed” hobgoblin had a special and dangerous power”.\footnote{Thomas N. Ingersoll, \textit{To Intermix With Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals} (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), xii-xiii.} He argues that early on mixed-race people were regarded with suspicion due to “their ambiguous racial identity, thereby creating the conventional wisdom that held them to be “lawless,” … unruly, and threatening, and incapable of socialization”.\footnote{Ibid, 79 citing Indian Agent John McElvain to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hearing, 20 May 1833, National Archives M234, Roll 601, Ohio Agency, 1831-1838, 439.} Ingersoll explains that during this period the idea of miscegenation made “core white elites” anxious; only those mixed-race people who could pass as White were allowed into colonial and later American society.\footnote{Ibid, xii-xiv} Focusing on the children of mixed marriages who were raised by their Indian mothers, Ingersoll argues the offspring of ethnically mixed couples were seen as Indian which barred them from Anglo-respectability if they could not pass. He notes that Indian people were very open to mixing and only
Europeans and Euroamericans held an ideology of racial exclusiveness. Furthermore, Lauren Basso argues that mixed-race people “exposed the constructed character of racial assumptions that underlay the definition of the nation and its social boundaries. They revealed the unnatural, artificial quality of the racial categories that U.S. policymakers and their associates presented as natural and scientific”. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the existence of mixed-raced people was considered unnatural in scientific, social, and political arenas. Ethnically mixed people in the United States often selectively adopted Euroamerican socio-economic practices while simultaneously maintaining some of their Native way of life; still others chose between the two cultures. American policy wanted them to choose Euroamerican culture and disappear as a group. Because they consciously refused to do so, people of mixed ethnicity were condemned for not civilizing and fitting into Euroamerican society; as a result, they were especially singled out for criticism and scrutiny. Further, they had a tendency to marry each other or within their Indigenous parent’s nation, thereby thwarting the policy to make them White. Later in the century, when Euroamericans saw Native Americans through the lens of the ‘vanishing Indian’ their ethnically mixed relatives were classified as inauthentic. Sports writing about Indigenous people of mixed heritage in the Adirondacks, whether as their guides, as craft makers, or in general, reflected this prejudice. However, in the Adirondacks the tendency was for Abenaki people and a handful of Mohawk to marry Euroamerican Adirondackers, unions which caused these Indigenous Adirondackers to ‘vanish’ into rural Euroamerican society and disappear from the area’s history.

“NATIVE” GUIDES AND SPORTS IN THE Adirondacks

Euroamerican Guides

While not as callous as the Hammond example, Euroamerican Adirondack families did not escape the condescending writing of Sports demonstrating that urban sportsmen focused their gaze on the difference between class and rural versus urban, too. Encounters with the Otis Arnold family who settled on the deserted Brown tract in the western section of the region reflected such attitudes. An interesting account of the family was chronicled by the Hon. Amelia M. Murray, maid of honour to Queen Victoria, during her travels to the region in 1856. As the host of the party made arrangements for a guide, Murray walked to the Arnold farm with another female traveler and met Mrs. Arnold and her six daughters aged twelve to twenty. Murray reported the six girls were astonished and refused to talk to her because they

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187 Ibid, xvi, 40, 76.
189 Ibid, 33-34.
190 Ibid, 79-80.
191 Ibid, 240, 255.
had never seen another woman except their mother.\textsuperscript{192} C.W. Webber spent several pages on “Old Sturge” the father of his Louis Lake guide. Webber described “Old Sturge” as “a helter-skelter, harum-scarum, good-natured, headlong fellow, who is forever blundering into the most ludicrous scrapes with wild animals…” After describing a “scrape” with a bear Webber points out that “Nobody … but ‘Old Sturge,’ would ever have dreamed of doing such a stupidly reckless thing; but this is only one out of many such madcap capers”.\textsuperscript{193}

Non-Aboriginal guides received similar treatment by the Sports, both complimentary and not, minus comments on their ethnicity. One exception may have been French Canadian guides; however, they are beyond the scope of this project and need a specific study of their own.\textsuperscript{194} White foresters such as John Cheney and Alvah Dunning were spoken of in as glowing terms as was Mitchel Sabattis. Other, lesser-known guides received positive reviews but they did not attain the fame of these three. However, well-known and less-celebrated guides were sometimes characterized with backwoods-type images. Alfred Street’s guide’s speech was recorded in an uncomplimentary fashion, similar to authors who used “Indian speak”. For example, when his guide Harvey exclaimed that the night was ready for a deer hunt by floating, Street quoted Harvey as saying “and a rael inkstand of a night ‘tis, too…” Street continued, “I think one deer, ef not two ‘s jest about ‘s good’ s dead”.\textsuperscript{195} Adirondack Murray cautioned his reader to carefully choose their guide for an ignorant, lazy, low-bred one could cost them dearly.\textsuperscript{196} C.W. Webber made his guide, George, out to be a bumbler and in the end less than honest. He found amusement in his guide’s discomfort with gnats, blamed George for getting them lost on at least two occasions, and accused this same guide of trying to trick them. When Webber’s companion suggested George probably knew better than they, Webber insisted he did not as he had traveled throughout the world to hunt and wrote about it as an authority.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{192} Donaldson, \textit{A History of the Adirondacks}, 1, 124-25. Hon. Lady Amelia Murray is considered to be the first female “to make a pleasure-tour through the Adirondacks”. Oddly, Donaldson omits the companion who was the niece of the party’s escort, Governor Horatio Seymour. Murray published her letters in a volume entitled \textit{Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada} (New York: G.P. Putnam & Company, 1856). The eldest daughter eventually overcame her shyness enough to bring Lady Murray some milk.

\textsuperscript{193} Webber, \textit{The hunter-naturalist}, 533-35.

\textsuperscript{194} There were some ethnic difficulties with French Canadian lumber jacks and immigrants to the region so it is possible these same issues existed with guides from Québec. Andrew Holman, “Reading the Canadian Border in American Juvenile Fiction, 1890-1940” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association Conference on panel \textit{Borders, Borderland & Bordered Land} 31 May 2011). Holman argues that French Canadians are seen as mindless, suspicious and their accent as ‘un-American’ and that English Canadians are seen as “less than” Americans. During the Round Table discussion of Alan Taylor’s \textit{The Civil War of 1812} at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association (30 May 2011) discussion turned to the failure of the French in Lower Canada to support and join the American Revolution. It is possible that veterans who settled in the Adirondacks held a grudge against them as they did the hunters from Akwesasne.

\textsuperscript{195} Alfred Billings Street, \textit{Woods and Waters, or The Saranacs and Racket} (New York: M Doolady, 1860), 82.

\textsuperscript{196} Murray, \textit{Adventures in the Wilderness}, 33. Murray especially hated talkers and those who thought they were witty. This may be why he admired the quiet Sabattis.

\textsuperscript{197} Webber, \textit{The hunter-naturalist}. 499, 502, 512, 528. George tried to convince Webber that the only way he could keep up with a deer in the lake was to be alone in the boat. He planned to force the deer towards the two Sports on shore. Webber accused him
While Richard Roth suggests Webber’s writing reflects the hunter as someone who “examines and explains”, I believe his writing more clearly reflects Pratt’s arguments about colonial expansion. As the upper-class hunter, Webber trained his gaze on the local landscape and people and wrote about them; in the process he reinvented a colonial space with himself as the expert and boss. In addition he used the experience to assert his upper-class, masculine identity. Loo suggests Sports expressed their masculinity with their Aboriginal guides by using work-related management techniques and treating guides as their employees. Some Adirondack travel records reflect this argument for both Aboriginal and Euroamerican guides, but not always. And while Webber used work-related management techniques and treated guides similar to his employees, he also competed with them. Loo reminds us that masculinity is class-based and “often defined against other men, at play as well as at work”. I also add, masculinity is geographically based, as urban Sports competed with their rural guides.

The work experience of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous guides in the Adirondacks were very similar in terms of their treatment by the Sports. While ethnicity and gender were (and still are) certainly factors, it is just as important for historians to consider class and the rural context when they examine contact history in the nineteenth century and later, especially when studying the occupations of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in regions that had become dominated by Euroamerican society. Recognizing and considering these two forms of analysis alongside ethnicity and gender adds other layers of complexity and depth that is often missing from contact history.

**Becoming “Native”**

“Native” guides, whether Abenaki, Mohawk, or Euroamerican did the same work and each was written about by their Sports; sometimes glowingly, other times disparagingly. Despite the intolerance shown towards ethnically mixed people, though, overt bigotry was not often seen in the records; stereotyping was more the norm. Adirondack typecasting of Indian people during this era focused on language and demeanour: for example, Sabattis was described as taciturn and Sabaël Benedict as speaking broken English. Plains-Indian-style stereotyping eventually appeared in the region and, as the next two chapters demonstrate, Abenaki and Iroquoian people used it for marketing purposes to sell their wares. Even then, it was the generation trying to make a living in the early twentieth century that had to don headdresses. As Elizabeth Vibert has argued, the image of Indian masculinity in North American

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of wanting to have all of the amusement of the hunt to himself. He dismissed George the next day. It should be noted that Webber spelled Adirondacks as “Ariondack”.

imagination changed over time from Eastern Woodland to the plains hunter at the end of the nineteenth century.\footnote{Elizabeth Vibert, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race, and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” in Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. Catherine Hall (New York: Routledge, 2000), 281-97. It was as though as each Indigenous nation was invaded by the Americans, their image was replaced with the next group to be divested of their homeland. This use of stereotyping will be addressed further in Chapter Five.}

This early stereotyping of Indigenous people was little different from that used by Sports who saw their local Euroamerican guide as a rube and sometimes even incompetent. Both groups of guides were accused of drinking too much. And both types of guides found ways to resist their Sports if their urban employer took on too strong an air of superiority. While absolute arguments are difficult to make, it does appear that the Sports’ assumption of their urban and class-based superiority marked the Sports’ perception as did ethnicity when they wrote about their wilderness experience in the Adirondacks. As Ruth Sandwell concludes “conceptions of rural were neither fixed nor uniform. Rural society was defined from the outside by nineteenth-century urban bureaucrats and by a popular bucolic vision of rural harmony. It was defined from the inside by the behaviours, expectations, and beliefs of those living [there]”.\footnote{Sandwell, Contesting Rural Space, 13-14.}

There was not a large population of any people who lived permanently in the Adirondacks.\footnote{See Introduction for discussion on the issue of the difficulty of determining an accurate population for the Adirondacks.} Some of the Aboriginal families and individuals who still used the area to hunt, trap, and earn wages by working in tourism and resource-type industries often returned to their home reserve communities; such was the case, in particular, for the Mohawk from Akwesasne. As a result, in order for Sports to report they’d had an authentic wilderness experience in the region, they had to code all guides as “Native”. Philip Terrie claims that depictions of Adirondack guides in the travel literature were ambiguous – admired yet seen as beneath their Sport. “To romantic tourists, the Adirondack guide was an anachronism in an intellectually and scientifically progressive age. The guide was like the Indian – interesting, but as a picturesque object of historical study or as the subject of a novel or epic poem”.\footnote{Terrie, Contested Terrain, 53.} Lynda Jessup argues that,

antimodernism was often ambivalent and Janus-faced, smacking of accommodation as well as protest. It describes what was in effect a critique of the modern, a perceived lack in the present manifesting itself not only in a sense of alienation, but also in a longing for the types of physical or spiritual experience embodied in utopian futures and imagined pasts. As such, it embraces what was then a desire for the type of ‘authentic,’ immediate experience supposedly embodied in pre-industrial societies.”\footnote{Lynda Jessup, “Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: An Introduction,” Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity, Lynda Jessup, ed. (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 3-9, 3. Jessup defines antimodernism as “the term antimodernism is used to refer to the pervasive sense of loss that often coexisted in the decades around the turn of the century along with an enthusiasm for modernization and material progress”.}
This sentiment and underlying need included contact with and references to the “folk” as well as Indian people in North America. Warren suggests that the American landscape was “the most tangible and enduring artefact of our [Natives and Newcomers] mutual histories. … [A] close look at enduring Indian connections to the land reveals the surprising legacies that have grown from the nature of conquest”. Could one of those legacies be the entanglement of identities between Indian people and rural Whites who lived in the same landscape and survived by practicing the same pluralistic occupations? As outlined in Chapter Two and in this chapter, early non-Indigenous Adirondackers had to quickly learn how to survive in a non-agricultural landscape. Some brought their woodcraft skills with them from places such as Northern New England and Canada, probably originally learned from Indian people many generations ago; others learned them from local Abenaki and Mohawk people or each other. By this time rural Euroamericans living in landscapes such as the Adirondacks also knew the land intimately. As a result, it appears that the term “Native” became equal to knowledge of the actual wildlands that were thought to be disappearing as quickly as Indians were believed to be by a growing nineteenth-century urban upper and middle class. Rural Whites were replacing, or at least augmenting Indigenous people as part of an imagined utopian “native” American history, especially in the minds of these eastern urbanites.

LOCATION OF EXCHANGE

During this era, upper-class tourists viewed many of the Euroamerican people living in the Adirondacks as similar to Indigenous people. They saw them as antiquated, primitive, and living off the land to the point that these visitors referred to the local people as “Natives” – they differentiated those who really were Native by calling them St. Francis or St. Regis Indians, thus removing them as original inhabitants of the Adirondacks. Yet the influence of the people from Akwesasne and Odanak was very present in the lifeways of many local Adirondackers of European ancestry during this period. Their practices and customs were more similar to their Indigenous neighbours than they were to White rural commercial farmers or urbanites. This sharing of a “Native” identity became yet another example of the Adirondacks as a location of exchange, as Sports affiliated these rural Euroamericans with their Mohawk and Abenaki neighbours and connected both to the land.

The relationships between Adirondack Aboriginal guides and their Euroamerican counterparts go mostly unrecorded other than the fact that they often worked together and eventually they became connected through kin. As noted earlier, Sabattis laboured with his sons and sons-in-law on many occasions. Sabattis, his sons, and grandsons also worked with other Euroamerican guides. The Raquette Lake House Register provided several examples of this collaboration as wilderness tourists checked into

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205 Ibid. Also see McKay, The Quest of the Folk.
hotels with their guides. The register noted Isaac Sabattis (1851-1912) checking in with local Euroamerican “Native” guide David Keller, also from Long Lake, on 5 August 1879. A party of eleven Sports checked in on 9 October 1880 along with five guides including Ike Sabattis. An 1881 entry included M. Sabattis along with several other local guides working for as many Sports. It appears that two of the Sports, George and Henry Dale, were referred to the hotel by Abenaki guide and Indian Lake camp owner, Elijah Camp.207

Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal guides had to work in other occupations during the off-season. Boatbuilding became an offshoot from guiding. Donaldson believed that Mitchel Sabattis and one of the Palmers of Long Lake designed the first Adirondack guideboat with its original square stern.208 In an interview, Harry Sabattis claimed that his father Mitchel worked with Reuben Cary and Caleb Chase to design the first Adirondack guideboat.209 Caleb Chase of Newcomb began to manufacture the guideboat in the 1850s and others soon followed. Isaac Sabattis worked in boatbuilding during the off-season until at least 1900 as did other local men.210 During this period, the records reveal a complex interrelationship between “Native” Adirondackers of both Indigenous and Euroamerican backgrounds as they navigated differences and similarities. Together, these Adirondackers probably created a new boat design and Euroamerican guides adopted the use and making of the pack-basket thought to be introduced to the area by the Abenaki (see figure 3.8).211

207 Raquette Lake House Register, ILM reviewed 19 October, 2008. See Chapter Four for more on the Camp family.
210 King and Aber, A History of Hamilton County, 138.
211 Miller, “The Adirondack Pack-basket,” 8-9 claims Julius Paul Dennis, Old Forge told him the pack-basket was an Abenaki design. Mitchel Sabattis used one to carry the mail between Long Lake and Blue Mountain Lake. Keep in mind Odanak, similar to Akwesasne, was a cosmopolitan community that while linguistically and culturally ‘western’ Abenaki also contained other Abenaki and Algonquian-speaking people. The origins of the pack-basket design could easily be claimed by other Algonquian- or even Iroquoian-speaking people. Given the history of the Abenaki in the Adirondacks, it is certainly plausible they introduced the design there.
CONCLUSION

As discussed in the last chapter, Sabael Benedict arrived in the Adirondacks in the late eighteenth century before Euroamerican settlement into the interior. He brought his family, both nuclear and extended, to stay probably because of the familiar landscape and their ability to continue customary practices as they acclimated to the imperial changes on the continent. I believe this next generation used the region’s environment with its low levels of White population to give themselves the time they needed to adapt to the modernisation changes occurring during the nineteenth century. Kenneth Coates and William Morrison suggest that Aboriginal people chose work in rural areas because it gave them some control. The work was seasonal and allowed them to continue in traditional activities. And guiding served a similar purpose. Bruce Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson suggest that guiding was often a form of transition employment “from land-based and independent subsistence activity to wage employment” for Native people and guiding provided them “opportunities to earn income from outdoor work similar in nature to the traditional pursuits in which they were highly skilled”. Euroamerican Adirondackers made similar decisions when they moved into the region. Jacoby describes these settlers as having a “homestead ethic”, one where individuals and families valued their freedom and control over their own lives at least

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213 Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 220.
until 1885, when legislation promoted by the conservation movement began to curtail their practices. These were very similar reasons to be in this area during this period. The Adirondacks, as a location of exchange, provided a purposeful space where both peoples could live their lives according to their own needs and desires. Reciprocal acts occurred here to the point it is difficult to tell which ethnic group was borrowing the most from the other. What was occurring were occasions for entangled exchanges between people and the land.

The history of Aboriginal guides in the Adirondacks thus may be more complex than that of other places because of the mixture of Aboriginal and Euroamerican "Native" guides who competed and worked together. A great deal of suspicion and animosity had been created by the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812 between Algonquian and Iroquoian hunters and trappers and the Euroamerican veterans who moved to the region. Within a generation or two, these same peoples were sharing their lives in the most intimate ways. Adirondack families of Abenaki, Mohawk, and other Indigenous people have been a part of the history of many Adirondack towns since their beginnings. Despite the assumption that the Indian peoples who remained assimilated into White Adirondack communities, this was not always the case. Many families kept dual identities and histories alive as both Indigenous people and Adirondackers. For example, a recently deceased great-grandson of Mitchel Sabattis named Hal Cranston (1923-2003) was interviewed in 1999 at the age of seventy-six by a reporter from the *Tupper Lake Free Press*. Mr. Cranston was very aware of the role his Abenaki family played in the development of Long Lake. A direct descendant of Isaac Sabattis, Hal heard stories about the family, learned to hunt and fish from his uncle Norman Sabattis, and continued in the family business by teaching wealthy and famous tourists to square dance. These examples demonstrate that the Adirondacks continued to be an Indigenous homeland and a location of exchange for Algonquian and Iroquoian people; now it included exchanges with rural Euroamericans. The question then occurs: were Adirondack communities culturally more Euroamerican or more Aboriginal especially during the long nineteenth century? After all, the Mohawk and in particular, the Abenaki people who remained there negotiated complex relationships with colleagues, neighbours, and families to create a future that made sense to them. The two peoples experienced similar life-styles that reflected Native social and economic traditions.

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214 Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature*, 33. He describes how a number of families were technically squatting on land and using the nearby resources whenever and for whatever purpose they needed until the conservation movement legislation began to be enforced there.

215 Newton Greiner, “Hal Cranston traces his Abanaki roots to earliest recorded Adirondack history,” *Tupper Lake Free Press* (Tupper Lake, NY), Wed. 27 January 1999, 6. Isaac Sabattis was Hal Cranston’s grandfather; his mother was Ike’s daughter Rosa (1898-1952). Hal Cranston passed away in 2003. He played guitar and called square dances (c. 1947–1975) for generals George C. Marshall, Omar Bradley and McCullough. In addition he called dances for Barry Goldwater, Jeannette McDonald, Jean Raymond, June Allison, and Hetta Hopper at Camp Topridge owned by Marjory Merriweather Post. Cranston relays a story of Mrs. Post flying him (and his band I assume) to Mara Largo, FL where they stayed a week and were given a car to drive while there. In addition to this work, Hal was a WWII veteran, carpenter and he worked for wages in various industries in Tupper Lake, Franklin County, NY.
as much as if not more than European ones. In addition, some Indigenous people shared their woodcraft and technology with their Euroamerican neighbours who borrowed from them and visa versa. As Gary Nash argues: “The frontier, as it involved white settlers and native peoples, is indelibly etched in our national consciousness as a battleground, but it was also a cultural merging ground and a marrying ground. Nobody left the frontier cultural encounters unchanged”. The records reveal a strong sense of continuity of identity for these Native people, while also experiencing nineteenth century changes that had been muted in a rural space. Together, Natives and Newcomers created distinctly “Adirondack” products such as the guideboat and pack-basket, demonstrating the continuing capacity of the Indigenous people there to continue sharing from the common pot and bowl with one spoon. As the next chapter illustrates, this region also allowed Iroquoian and Algonquian people the time and space to experiment and adapt age-old entrepreneurial traditions to nineteenth and early twentieth century modernity.

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216 Nash, “The Hidden History of Mestizo America,” 947.
Chapter 4:
“Crum’s Place”:
Native American Entrepreneurship in the Adirondacks

Visitors were first ushered into a small, dark room, hung about with guns, fishing rods, and paraphernalia of the forest and waters. When dinner was ready they were invited into a small, clean cheerful dining room …

“Crum’s Place” (1863-c.1890) was a Saratoga Lake house restaurant owned by George Speck, also known as George Crum (1824-1914) who identified himself as St. Regis Mohawk. Prior to opening his restaurant, George worked in a variety of occupations in the Adirondacks that helped prepare him for this venture. He began by guiding, hunting, and cooking for camping parties in the Adirondacks by the owners of the Congress Spring in Saratoga Springs. By 1851 George was working as a cook for Cary Moon at Montgomery Hall also in Saratoga. When Moon opened his Moon’s Lake House on Saratoga Lake in 1853, George and his sister Catherine, also known as Katie or “Aunt Kate” Speck Wicks Adkins

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1 “Famous Hunter Guide and Cook Dies at 96 Years,” Obituary of George Crum, n.d., n.p. clipping from 1907 Yearbook, CSSH, VF – “Potato Chip Research,” reviewed October 2009. There are problems with this obituary; for example, George Speck was 90 years old when he died in 1914. The origin of the obituary is unknown, but this version is located in this yearbook at the City Historian’s office and at SCHSRL. There are various legends how Speck also became known as George “Crum” – one is that Cornelius Vanderbilt forgot his name and called him Crum instead of Speck according to Stephen Williams, “Three Malta sites are set for markers,” The Daily Gazette, (probably Schenectady, NY) B, 6 December, 2004. Another is that George preferred Crum because a crumb was bigger than a speck, see Earl F. Gates, The Town of Malta; Biography and History of Saratoga County, (Malta, NY: 1991), 45. George’s obituary indicated that his father had used the name as a jockey.

2 Mary Ann Fitzgerald, Saratoga Springs City Historian, “Saratoga Chips” Chronology,” 1-3, SCHSRL, VF – “Saratoga County Potato Chip Stories”. George was born and raised in Ballston Spa; he supposedly was married twice to sisters “from an Indian reservation in Wisconsin”. Legend has it that the first wife left him and alleged he had mistreated her; however, when her brother came to threaten George he instead ‘replaced’ her with another sister, Esther. However, the vital record book in the Malta Town Clerk’s office indicates George’s second wife was Esther Bennett born in Salem, Washington County, probably New York State. The Malta census identifies her as being Indian and that George and the children were mulatto. George and Esther had four sons: Richard (Dick), William, George Jr., and Owen all of whom enlisted in the Civil War. William and George Jr. were killed in the war, Dick was wounded in the fighting but survived and made a career in the service. What happened to Owen is a mystery. George also had a long-time relationship with Nancy Hagemore who worked at Crum’s Place.

3 Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, History of Saratoga County, New York with Historical Notes on its Various Towns, 535 identifies his mother as Diana Tull born in Saratoga Springs 15 July 1825 and that she was “proud to claim that Indian blood flowed in her veins. She was related to the Stockbridge Indian tribe, and died in 1873, aged seventy years”. Other references to his mother being Stockbridge Indian are: Hugh Bradley, Such Was Saratoga (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940), 121; George Waller, Saratoga: Saga of an Impious Age (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 95; “Potato Chip Story Is Zesty Slice of Pure Americana,” Snack Food Blue Book (1976), 70; “Two Presidents, Four Governors Eat at Crum’s,” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY) 3 May 1946. Gates, The Town of Malta, 45 indicates George Crum identified himself as “an Indian of the St. Regis Tribe”.

4 “Famous Hunter Guide and Cook Dies at 96 Years,” Also see Fitzgerald, “Saratoga Chips” Chronology,” 2.
(1814-1917) were employed as cooks there.\(^5\) Around 1863, George was running his own restaurant on his own terms.

Just before George started his restaurant, he and his sister probably invented the ‘Saratoga’ or potato chip while working at Moon’s; the Saratoga chip is cut thicker than today’s potato chips. There are several legends about the actual creation of the chip; the most credible version is that Kate, while peeling potatoes, inadvertently dropped a peel into hot oil for frying crullers. Kate fished out the peeling and drained it where George ‘discovered’ it. George tasted the fried potato peeling and declared it good and decided to repeat the effort for the customers. This was the account that ‘Aunt Kate’ gave in an interview to a reporter from *The Saratogian* in 1901. In this interview, she claimed to have been the ‘inventor’ of the Saratoga chip. George was still alive at the time and did not discredit her version, nor did he ever take credit for inventing the side dish. He has been described as a confident, even temperamental chef; it is presumed he would have protested if the story was not accurate.\(^6\)

If Kate or George invented the Saratoga chip they did not benefit from it financially. Nor did George serve the chip at his own establishment, “Crum’s Place,” located on Malta Avenue near Saratoga Lake. His sister Kate also cooked there. According to Saratoga County Historian Earl F. Gates, George took the Civil War sign-on money his sons received to enlist and started his restaurant. He also purchased a farm that he used to feed his family and guests.\(^7\) Behind the restaurant was a ravine and two cold springs where George kept brook trout and black bass. Lucky customers were allowed to dine spring-side and have their wine chilled in the wellspring.\(^8\)

George’s restaurant was very popular and frequented by wealthy and powerful guests such as William Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Henry Hilton and U.S. Presidents Chester Arthur and Grover Cleveland.

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\(^5\) “Mrs. Wicks Dies at Age of 102,” *unk. publication*, probably *The Saratogian* (Saratoga Springs, NY) 27 May 1917, SCHSRL, VF – “Saratoga County, Potato Chip Stories,” reviewed 2 October 2009. This obituary lists the siblings’ parents as Catherine and Abraham Speck. Perhaps the paper confused the deceased’s formal name for her mother’s given her Aunt Kate and Katie nicknames. Katie was married twice, her first husband George Wicks died c.1909 and she later married Fred Atkins. “Aunt Kate” had seven children, seven grandchildren and several great grandchildren at the time of her death. In addition to cooking she also took in borders and told fortunes according to Fitzgerald, “‘Saratoga Chips’ Chronology,” 2.

\(^6\) *The Saratogian*, (Saratoga Springs, NY) c. 1901, SSPL. Also see Bruce E. Ingmire, “Ramblings About Saratoga: The Invention of the “Saratoga Chip,”” *Poor Richard’s Saratoga Journal* (Saratoga, NY), n.d., 15, SCHSRL, VF – “potato chip stories.” Ingmire tries to sort out the conflicting stories that also include Pete Francis. Ingmire suggests that since potatoes were native to North America and the Speck siblings and Pete Francis were Native American, the trio may already have known about frying potatoes in thin slices and that they used their chef skills to perfect them. For examples of the different versions of the creation of the chip see Chris Carola, Beverly Mastrianni, & Michael L. Noonan, *George S. Bolster’s Saratoga Springs* (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Co, Publishers, 1990) and Timothy Starr, “Made in Saratoga,” *Saratoga Living* (Fall, 2009), 55. William S. Fox and Mae G. Banner, “Social and Economic Contexts of Folklore Variants: The Case of the Potato Chip Legends,” *Western Folklore* 42 (May 1983), 114-26. The most common ‘other legend’ about the chip’s invention reflects George’s alleged temperament: a customer having dinner at Moon’s complained that his fried potatoes weren’t done. Irritated, George Speck cut the potatoes finely and deep fried them, thus inventing the potato chip.

\(^7\) Gates, *The Town of Malta*, 46. This type of thing is also part of my family’s history so perhaps the practice of young Civil War recruits giving some or all of their enlistment money to their parent(s) is not unusual. A New York State enlistment broadside promised $202 from various sources to young men if they joined the service. See “Enlist! Enlist! Rensselaer Co. Regiment” recruiting broadside image, accessed 25 August 2012, [http://www.railsplitter.com/sale10/images/847.jpg](http://www.railsplitter.com/sale10/images/847.jpg).

\(^8\) Fitzgerald, “‘Saratoga Chips’ Chronology,” 2. Also see “Famous Hunter Guide and Cook Dies at 96 Years.”
Legend has it that Crum’s Place was a very democratic establishment; they took no reservations and ‘first come, first served’ was the routine, no matter who you were and no matter how much a customer might protest about the wait. A New York Tribune article dated 27 December, 1891 credited George’s Indian heritage for this egalitarian behaviour.\(^9\) Perhaps the food and the experience were worth the wait, but one suspects these powerful men used to special consideration also considered it a form of ‘roughing it’ and a way to ‘play Indian’.\(^10\) In addition to working at his restaurant, George served as a game constable in the town of Malta for a short time; he also ran his 40-acre farm and hunted and fished in the off season.\(^11\)

Almost twenty years prior the opening of Crum’s Place, Mohawk, Peter “Pete” Francis (1810-1874) opened his own restaurant in the summer of 1845.\(^12\) His restaurant was referred to as “Pete Francis’ place” or cottage and was located on the southern shore of Saratoga Lake; it was identified on an atlas published two years after his death simply as P. Francis.\(^13\) It is believed that Pete was born in Schenectady; in 1828 he married George and Kate’s sister Mary perhaps demonstrating a kinship network. Some stories claim that he spent his youth as an Adirondack guide and was taught to cook by a French client. (There is a similar account of George Speck learning to cook from a Sport, which has often been repeated. It is possible that the two men have been confused.) Other versions indicate that Pete learned to cook from the French loyalist Andrew Berger, a chef at the posh Sans Souci Health Resort Restaurant built in 1803, one of the first luxury hotels in the region.\(^14\) Pete cooked there from 1823-1845; his sister-in-law Kate Speck also cooked at the Sans Souci restaurant for a number of years.\(^15\) Regardless of where the men learned to cook, they both were apparently superb and successful chefs. Ballston Spa State Senator James M. Cook, a Sans Souci customer, was so impressed with Pete’s abilities that he helped finance his restaurant and many of the San Souci’s patrons frequented his place. “Governors, judges, members of Congress enjoyed his fish dinners and likewise enjoyed his equally famous tales of adventure”.\(^16\) Pete was especially noted for his Saratoga Lake bass dinners.\(^17\) In addition to his cooking abilities, Pete played the violin, was described as having a kind heart and generous nature, and was a great swimmer and diver. He ran his business until he died in 1874. Pete’s wife Mary tried to keep the

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\(^10\) Deloria, Playing Indian. See later in Chapter for discussion on this phenomena.

\(^11\) Sylvester, History of Saratoga County, 536.

\(^12\) Evelyn Barrett Britten, “Pete Francis, Chef Extraordinaire,” from the column “Chronicles of Saratoga,” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY) 7 December, 1956, SSHM, reviewed 5 October 2009.


\(^15\) Fitzgerald, “‘Saratoga Chips’ Chronology,” 2.

\(^16\) Evelyn Barrett Britten, Chronicles of Saratoga Springs (Saratoga Springs, NY: published privately by Evelyn Barrett Britten, 1959), 172. This book is an accumulation of Britten’s newspaper column “Chronicles of Saratoga” from The Saratogian. This particular article appeared in the newspaper under the title “Pete Francis, Chef Extraordinaire.”

\(^17\) Ibid.
restaurant going but she was unsuccessful; it closed within a few years. It is unknown what happened to her; seven of their nine children grew to adulthood and some remained in the area.¹⁸

What was the likelihood that there were two American Indian men located around Saratoga Lake with such extraordinary cooking talents that they could parley that talent into running successful restaurants? Philip J. Deloria might consider these two Native American restaurateurs as examples of *Indians in Unexpected Places*. In his study, Deloria examines the expectations of American Indians in a variety of areas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Deloria argues that Native Americans - in his case, northern plains people - did not miss out on turn of the twentieth century modernity; many engaged directly with it and struggled with the same forces with which Euroamericans grappled. Deloria argues that these seeming anomalies of the nineteenth century were not as unusual as one would think; these supposed exceptions demonstrate a new way of looking at this period suggesting “secret histories of unexpectedness.”¹⁹ He goes on to explain that American Indians were seen in terms of assimilation and antimodern primitivism that allowed them the opportunity to shapeshift between both worlds and take advantage of “windows of possibilities” to make a living and thereby created secret histories of unexpectedness. This shapeshifting allowed Indian people the space and time to manoeuvre in a world that was changing not only for them but for everyone.²⁰

However, as Native people became adept at being modern, that too created problems. As Paige Raibmon suggests, colonizers employed a binary notion of authenticity which pitted late nineteenth century progress and antimodernism against each other, resulting in the belief that once Indian people started to be modern, they stopped being authentic in the eyes of the dominant culture. As Raibmon argues:

> Notions of authenticity that were closely related to the myth of vanishing Indian simultaneously generated and delimited opportunities for Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people did not exercise much control over the terms of this discourse, but they often manipulated it to their benefit. The growth of both anthropology and tourism provided opportunities that helped Aboriginal people make a living under the difficult economic and political conditions created by late-nineteenth century colonialism.²¹

The Adirondack region of northern New York demonstrates that Raibmon and Deloria’s arguments also apply to the northeastern part of North America and even earlier in the century. The Adirondacks were a place where Algonquian and Iroquoian, and, eventually, other Indigenous peoples from both Canada and

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¹⁸ Warren Algerond, Letter to the Editor entitled “A Memory of Pioneer Days”, *The Saratogan*, (Saratoga Springs, NY) 23 August, 1912 and published 24 August, 1912, SSPL. The article indicates Pete and Mary Francis had three sons, George, David, and Edward (who traveled to South America) and four daughters Sarah, Maria, Dora and Marie Magdalene who were still alive in 1912; two daughters Augustus Aurelia and St. Cecilia had passed on. This letter indicates Pete was also “an Indian scout and fisherman” and had traveled widely including North and South America, as well as Europe.


the United States were able to take advantage of that “window of possibility” that the Wilderness tourism era of the Adirondacks offered. Yet these possibilities may have cost them their place in the area’s historical narrative over time and space, a theme which is explored here and in the next chapter.

This chapter makes three main arguments. First, the relationship between Native people and the tourism industry was more complex than other scholars have given it credit. While tourism did stereotype and market Indigenous culture, it also provided them opportunities (for better or worse) to participate in capitalism in the Adirondacks. Another argument this chapter puts forth is that those who were involved in entrepreneurship did so for a variety of reasons, including increasing their social status and gaining White middle-class-respectability while simultaneously maintaining their identity as Algonquian or Iroquoian people. The previous chapter raised questions of whose culture dominated when we look at similarities between Aboriginal and poorer rural Euroamerican Adirondackers; this chapter examines what happened once people experienced class mobility. Finally, I argue the Adirondacks continued to act as a location of exchange for Native people operating a business and provided Algonquian and Iroquoian people a space to adapt to modernity. However, as Native people adjusted to and became successful at Euroamerican concepts of entrepreneurship, it appeared to the dominant culture, especially those writing about history and current events, that these Native Adirondackers were becoming more rural than Indian as their lifestyle became similar to their middle-class Euroamerican neighbours. What follows are the stories of several families who left records, and those whose efforts at entrepreneurship were a mere mention in someone else’s chronicle. While labour such as basket and other craft-making skills and guiding are also entrepreneurial, this chapter focuses on those ventures that stress a commercial acumen versus, or in addition to, relying on a specific skill to sell. These families and individuals are distinguished as small businessmen and women.

While the term “entrepreneur” is often thought of on a grander scale, small businesses can also be seen as entrepreneurial. Jill Jepson’s definition of an ‘entrepreneur’ is especially useful in this case. Jepson defines entrepreneur as “anyone who markets a product or service with primary or sole responsibility for the endeavour”.22 Susan Ingalls-Lewis advocates that one has to measure entrepreneurship in terms of the commercial and industrial possibilities and to consider the riskiness of the enterprise. For example: did the entrepreneur take a risk by investing capital in it originally or use profits to put back into the business, which might include buying goods on credit, leaving a salaried position, expanding, upgrading or diversifying their business, expanding their workforce, advertising and developing innovative ways to market their business? She further ponders how many entrepreneurs ran businesses but did not make it into the records. Ingalls-Lewis suggests looking at fictional and anecdotal

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records for these “‘hidden’ economies” as well as for patterns of contemporary microenterprises. She argues that although “historians have described history as the story of ‘change over time,’ history also requires an understanding of continuity over time”.23 These two historians emphasize women-owned urban businesses; I believe their arguments also apply to small, rural businesses run by either or both genders. This chapter defines entrepreneurs in these terms; large entrepreneurial activities such as lumbering will be considered large-scale capitalist enterprises.

COMPLEXITY OF NATIVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

Brief History of Native Entrepreneurship

Iroquoian and Algonquian people have been entrepreneurs for a long time; the concept of enterprise was nothing new to them. Anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins argues that Indigenous peoples’ trade efforts were reciprocal gift exchanges that were social as much as they were economic. Reciprocity was considered to be a back and forth exchange of material goods that established relationships.24 However, the farther away the parties moved from close kin relationships vis-à-vis the household, band, nation, and inter-nation, the more the transactions became more business-like. These transactions went from being based on concepts of mutual assistance at the family and band end of the spectrum to those of self interest at the farthest end, where haggling and bartering was socially acceptable. 25 Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples living about the Adirondacks had been active traders both before and after European contact; nineteenth century entrepreneurship was a matter of adapting their earlier practices of reciprocal gift exchange for unavailable goods to more contemporary market economy circumstances. For example, prior to colonization Algonquian peoples who lived on the Atlantic coast and around Long Island gathered whelk (white) and quahog (purple or black) shells, manufactured beads from these shells, and traded them for non-local goods to other Indigenous people without access to the ocean and these shells.26 This trade was a form of entrepreneurship: these Algonquian people took a risk and expanded their efforts by creating new and maintaining existing trade networks even with potential enemies. They also used time that could have been used for other subsistence practices to gather and make the beads. After contact, these coastal Algonquian-speakers diversified by incorporating the Dutch into their enterprise until European glass beads destroyed this economic endeavour. Iroquoian-speakers were also well-known entrepreneurs. According to William Fenton, “Chiefs of lineages were the entrepreneurs in

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23 Susan Ingalls Lewis, Unexceptional Women: Female Proprietors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Albany, New York, 1830 – 1885 (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2009), 120-121, 158-159, 161, 163. Ingalls-Lewis argues that small businesses should be at the center of business and labour history to provide a more accurate, rich, and complex historical narrative; one that includes women and people from different classes and ethnic backgrounds.

24 Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, 185-91.


the Huron trade … which entailed elaborate arrangement of external affairs, which was a function of civil chiefs also in Iroquoia”. Even Native people associated with the Adirondacks had a reputation as early entrepreneurs; the Abenaki used to obtain French goods and sell them to other Native people. This and other efforts of “entrepreneurship had annoyed the French from early in their trading relationship”.

During the colonial period, seventeenth century Oneida women were observed trading salmon caught in rivers flowing into Lake Ontario to more eastern Mohawk villages.

Prior to colonization, Native people were self-reliant and used the local natural resources for their economic needs including the trading of meat and fur, mining, collection of shells, and the gathering of plants and berries. I add the practice of agriculture to this list as we know the Huron traded excess “corn, tobacco, fishing nets and other products” for meat, hides, and dried fish from the nearby Algonquin nations.

One could even include hospitality, as many North American Aboriginal nations proffered shelter, food, and even relationships in return for the trade goods a European and later North American trader could provide to a community.

Indigenous people of North America gathered, mined, and used their surplus to trade with each other and they were well-known to be shrewd and particular traders. However, the literature on Native entrepreneurship in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is underdeveloped. A few scholars, though, have explored the topic. Robbie Ethridge’s *Creek Country* describes changes in the Creek’s economy with the decline of the deer skin trade. The Creek became wage earners and entrepreneurs starting at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. They sold their wares and services, and undertook entrepreneurial endeavours to respond to a changing frontier economy. Among other ventures, the Creek rented their horses for hire and ferried travelers across rivers in their country; they even stopped the building of bridges in Creek country to maintain their ferrying enterprise. Women, in particular, fed and housed travelers, which according to Ethridge was rooted in gender-based concepts that valued hospitality; they often received cash for these services. The Creek traded medicinal herbs, made and sold hickory oil, and those living in the northern parts of their

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29 William A. Starna, “The Oneida Homeland in the Seventeenth Century,” in *The Oneida Experience: Two Perspectives* Jame Campisi and Laurence M. Hauptman, eds. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 15 based on the records of Dutch barber-surgeon, Meyndertsz van den Bogaert sent to investigate French traders in eastern Iroquoia in 1634.


territory picked and sold ginseng. Eventually, though, they had to sell their land as it was the most valuable commodity they owned.\textsuperscript{34}

Rolf Knight’s seminal Indians at Work (1996) dedicates several pages to examining entrepreneurship in British Columbia from 1858-1930. Despite the different location and peoples, Knight’s discussion of Indian entrepreneurs in resource-driven economies sheds light on entrepreneurship in the Adirondacks.\textsuperscript{35} He argues that resource extraction areas that included capitalist enterprises such as lumbering provided wage labour and opportunities for First Nations people versus non-resource-driven economies, such as the prairies. These latter types of economies employed few people outside of the family. Knight lists resource-driven entrepreneurial efforts similar to those in the Adirondacks such as small enterprise logging, freighting, owning stores, hotels, and cafes, recruiting labour, timber leases, mining speculation, and shipping. Knight goes on to explain that Indigenous wage labourers, independent producers, and entrepreneurs were dependent on a region and the era. Following this line of thinking, the Adirondacks were the region and wilderness tourism was the era which led to entrepreneurial opportunities for Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples there. In addition, Knight suggests that when one compares the life and labour of Native people with their non-Native counterparts in the same jobs within the same area and era, there are more similarities than differences.

When one examines the records of the Adirondacks during this era, similarities between Aboriginal and local rural people of European descent emerge. Many of the jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities in the Adirondacks during the era of Wilderness tourism were available to both groups of people. A number of these families intermarried and they worked together either directly or indirectly; some became entrepreneurs in a variety of enterprises. As one of the area’s earliest Indigenous entrepreneurs, mid-nineteenth-century-Mohawk-restaurateur Pete Francis must have felt he was taking a big risk by taking out a loan and running his own business. He enjoyed telling stories to entertain his customers and was even accused of some bragging during the telling.\textsuperscript{36} Pete also employed his kinship network by including his in-laws and wife in the business. Nearly a generation later, Pete’s brother-in-law George Speck followed suit. Speck eventually closed his restaurant and retired before he died, but he also continued to cater a meal for special guests, demonstrating his reputation as a cook and restaurateur still held.\textsuperscript{37} The cabins, boarding houses and hotels in Hamilton County, which will be described below, seemed to hold their own during the proprietor’s lifetime. Thus, it is fair to say that many of these Native

\textsuperscript{34} Ethridge, Creek Country, 175-94.
\textsuperscript{35} Rolf Knight, Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in BC 1858 – 1930 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996), 105. Knight also mentions professions such as the ministry, being a foreman, or running a business for others. In addition, Knight discusses cottage industries, which were mission driven and reserve enterprises, but neither are applicable to this entrepreneurial study of the Adirondacks. Also see Lutz, Makuk, 179, 191, 219-220 for references to small scale Indigenous entrepreneurship also in the Pacific Northwest.
\textsuperscript{36} Britten, Chronicles of Saratoga, 172-74 as told to the author by 97 year old Cornelius E. Durkee.
\textsuperscript{37} Fitzgerald, “Saratoga Chips” Chronology,” 2.
individuals and families were successful small business people living in a dominantly Euroamerican economic and political world, albeit a rural one that still harboured some of the landscape and lifestyle with which they or their immediate ancestors were familiar. This does not mean these individuals and families did not travel outside of this protective space: they did. But in the Adirondacks they were able to experiment with entrepreneurship and even change their class status during an age of increasing urbanization and industrialization.

**Iroquoian and Algonquian Pre-Wilderness Tourism Entrepreneurship in the Adirondacks**

Records of entrepreneurship that include Iroquoian and Algonquian people in the Adirondacks date back to at least the eighteenth century. In Washington County, Col. John Henry Lydius ran a trading post called Fort Lydius or the Lydius House (c. 1731-1744) at Fort Edwards. Lydius’ wife, Genevieve Masse was Métis and was probably from Kahnawake; they had married in Montreal where he resided from 1725-1730. The trading post catered to local Mohawk and Mahican traders, but it also did well in its dealings with Huron and Ottawa or “French Indians” from Canada. One can’t help but speculate that Genevieve Masse might have had a family network that Lydius was taking advantage of, as many fur traders did in those days. As Susan Sleeper-Smith argues, many Métis women acted as cultural brokers and they used their kinship network to increase their role in the fur trade.

In Warren County, Thomas Hammon (sometimes spelled Hammond) was described as “a half-breed Oneida Indian … [who] kept a store here prior to and during the last war with Great Britain.” Hammon and his sister, Dinah, were brought to the area by Captain Green of Whipple City, now known as Greenwich, Washington County, New York. It is unknown what Green’s relationship was to the two Oneida siblings. The records are quiet about Thomas’ upbringing and nearly nonexistent about his sister Dinah, who is only mentioned because she arrived in the area with him. Thomas married Keziah Reynolds of Caldwell (Lake George) on 26 March, 1806 at the home of her brother Solomon; it is

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39 Johnson, *History of Warren County*, 17. Also see Glenn, *Story of Three Towns*, 78 who claims the pair had been deposed in April of 1750 regarding the boundary line for the Kahnawake Mohawk.


42 Smith, ed., *History of Warren County New York*, 343 referring to the War of 1812. The store still existed at the time Smith wrote his history in 1885 and stood opposite and fronting an old tavern stand.
unknown if his wife was of Native or European ancestry.\textsuperscript{43} Thomas and Keziah moved to nearby Queensbury and Thomas opened a general store on a corner there.\textsuperscript{44} The couple had children, possibly as many as four sons and three daughters, although younger children could have easily been grandchildren living with them.\textsuperscript{45} Thomas was dead by 1831 and only one son, Walter S. Hammon, age 18 by December 1831 was known to still be in Queensbury.\textsuperscript{46}

Thomas ran his general store as early as 1808. For a time, he also incorporated lumbering into his business. According to Warren County historian H. P. Smith, the area where Hammon’s store was located became known as “The Oneida” after his Iroquoian heritage. By 1812, the Oneida had grown to be a busy place with two large and busy inns, three stores, a large lumbering business that served nearby mills, a variety of mechanic shops, and a Baptist church and society. In addition, two well-known justices of the peace, Dan D. Scott and James Henderson, held their weekly tribunals there. According to Smith, “From the oft repeated expressions, ‘Lets go up to the Oneida’s,’ ‘I bought this at the Oneida’s,’ and ‘we must send down to the Oneida’s,’ was derived the name which through the vicissitudes of half a century has clung like a burr to the settlement”\textsuperscript{47}. Locals today still know the area by this name.

The documents left behind about Thomas Hammon, indicate that he did not always have a smooth go of it in Queensbury. In February 1814 the state filed a criminal indictment alleging Thomas Hammon was maintaining a “disorderly house occupied as a store” and that night and day men were drinking. On or about 1 November 1813, these men had apparently created a nuisance resulting in the indictment.\textsuperscript{48} (As historians have pointed out, during the nineteenth century, the division between types of businesses were not always clear-cut. In nearby Albany, the state’s capital, a grocery store and a saloon might be part of the same business during this era.\textsuperscript{49}) Hammon also found himself the defendant in two civil lawsuits in 1814 and 1815; the 1815 lawsuit stemmed from Hammon accusing Joseph Lane of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 409, Keziah also had a brother, James. There was a small Abenaki community in Caldwell, later Lake George and a Queensbury Abenaki family named Keziah. I have not been able to locate any records about Keziah Reynolds to determine if she was Abenaki (as were many of the Caldwell Indian community) or if the name is just a coincidence.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 401-02.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} 1810 United States Federal Census – Queensbury, Washington County and 1830 United States Federal Census – Town of Queensbury, Warren County.
  \item Pamela Vogel, Warren County Historian, Letter to Joyce Harvey, 8 September 1981, WCHO, reviewed 17 November 2009, this letter provides genealogical information on Thomas Hammon, a possible descendant of Ms. Harvey. The 1810 Washington County Census for Queensbury (not yet part of Warren County) had a Thomas Hammon between the ages of 26-45 living there with a female (presumably his wife) in the same age range and three other females, two under the age of 10 (daughters?) and another between the age of 16-26 (could this be his sister, Dinah?). Hammon is noted on the 1830 Warren County Census – Town of Queensbury, 101, as being between the ages of 50-60 but a Warren County Surrogate Court record re: Walter S. Hammond – Letters of Guardianship, 19 December, 1831 indicates Thomas Hammon was “late of the Town of Queensbury” and that Walter was 18 years old, “child of Thomas Hammon, deceased”. Assuming this is the correct Hammon(d) family, that put Thomas’ lifespan from c. 1775-1831. There is no mention of his wife in the Surrogate Court papers despite the census information indicating there was a woman in the household between the ages of 26-45 was probably Thomas’ wife. The four sons’ ages ranged from between 1 month-under 5 (1) to 15-20 (1, likely Walter); the daughter was between the age of 5-10.
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Smith, History of Warren County, 401-02. Hammon’s store was located on Ridge Road about 5 miles North of Glens Falls and south of Lake George near Round Pond and French Mountain.
  \item \textsuperscript{48} Criminal Indictment, The People vs. Thomas Hammon, 22 February, 1814, WC-RCA.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} Ingalls, Unexceptional Women, 48.
\end{itemize}
perjuring himself while giving testimony during the 1814 lawsuit. However, Thomas also learned to use the justice system for his own benefit. The court records show at least three judgements in Thomas’ favour against others for various amounts of money owed him from January 1817 to September 1818. Another lawsuit appeared to favour his case but he failed to show for a subsequent hearing; thus the court found for the defendant and charged Thomas court costs. According to the local history, Thomas’ downfall was alcohol and the business eventually failed. He purportedly moved to nearby French Mountain and died there “an inebriate and outcast”. With the store’s closure, local traffic diminished and so did the influence of the community.

Thomas was not alone in his legal troubles. Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor describes the period between 1750-1820 as a ‘litigated economy’ since debt collection was a main source of litigation in pre- and post- American Revolutionary America. During this time, credit and debt were social interactions and a person’s good character was as important as their ability to repay the loan. “Courts stepped in for recordkeeping and enforcement as communities expanded and became more specialized. Litigation was an everyday part of the credit economy, and court records provide a helpful vantage point.” To bring a law suit before the court took money, knowledge, and time which gives one a clue about the individuals’ financial and sophistication abilities to navigate the system. Court suits were only a small portion of the debt transactions that existed at this time; much of the debt that was captured in the “memory economy” of verbal agreements between neighbours was never recorded.

This local history suggests that Hammon fit the stereotype of an Indian who succumbed to alcohol abuse when he tried to work within modern society. However, Thomas Hammon’s history is more complex than this narrative admits. Warren County historian Mr. Smith regularly portrayed Native men as dying drunk and alone in the woods, when in reality he did not know the cause of their deaths.

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50 Record of Judgement, Warren County Pleas Court, Benjamin Seely vs. Thomas Hammon 14 September, 1814 and Record of Judgement, Warren County Pleas Court, Joseph Lane v Thomas Hammon, 17 February, 1815, WC-RCA.
51 Judgement, Thomas Hammon vs. Solomon Moon et al, 22 January, 1817 awarded $84. ±± to Hammon from Solomon, Benjamin, and Robert Moon; Judgement, Thomas Hammon vs. John K Parks and Luke Knapp, 15 May, 1817, awarded $121.33 including court costs; and Judgement, Thomas Hammon vs. Jeremiah Tubbs filed 26 September, 1818 in the amount of $67.40. WC-RCA. There is no mention in the documents if these lawsuits were personal or part of the business but given the multiple defendants, the lawsuits appear to be business related. Hammon was not the only Native person to get involved in litigation. Mitchel Sabattis was sued by Edgar J. Brackett and Henry Bradley as assignees in bankruptcy of Edward M. and Samuel C. Barnes; a judgement was rendered against him in the amount of $303.48, plus costs of $19.71 and filed in the ECCO 20 May 1876. As this chapter details, the Camp family also used and were challenged by the court system.
52 Smith, History of Warren County, 401.
53 Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor, The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 71-2, 90. Credit was extended through three forms: book debt, bonds, and promissory notes. Before reaching the litigation stage, the parties tried to settle the issue amongst themselves, perhaps been through an arbitrator and a Justice of the Peace before the plaintiff (creditor) resorted to purchasing a writ. Most defendants (debtors) failed to appear in court giving the plaintiff an automatic judgement. For those who appeared, there were often continued negotiations resulting in out of court settlements. Women and slaves had no legal standing to bring suits during this period; married women might use their husband’s name to bring suit; widows had legal status.
54 Smith, History of Warren County, 408-09 claims that Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. Anthony Paul was a drunkard and that no one knows what happened to him but the general belief was that he built and lived in a hut on Lake George just below the
What we do know is that Thomas Hammon was living with his family in the town of Queensbury until at least 1830; he died within a year of that census taking. He also owned property, although the details of his ownership are missing. While the local history tries to dilute Hammon’s ethnicity by describing him as a “half-breed Oneida”, his Oneida identity was so strong that, as we have seen, the neighbourhood around his store became known as “the Oneida”; even today local norms have refused to change it despite efforts to do so. It is unknown if Thomas’ wife took the younger children and left the area after his death or if she too died with him or within that year; she was not listed as a parent when the Surrogate Court appointed Burden D. Sherman guardian of their eighteen year old son Walter in December of 1831. If Thomas decided to give up and go live in the woods it was within a year before his death; up until that time he appeared to be supporting his family. How he supported them after 1818 though is unknown as there are no other records pertaining to the store after this date.

Algonquian and Iroquoian Entrepreneurship during Adirondack Wilderness Tourism Era

The majority of the nineteenth century records illustrate that Native peoples involved in entrepreneurial efforts began by earning an income or obtaining funds in a variety of ways. Some were guides and artisans who expanded their businesses, while others were wage earners in some other capacity. Local history indicates that both Francis and Speck had been Adirondack guides and cooks for someone else before they opened their restaurants. Basketmakers set up in their own place of business at the many Indian encampments in the area. For example Adelphine LeClair operated a shop at the Indian Camp in front of Mineral Springs in Saratoga to display and sell her wares. Abenaki Ann Paul Dennis Fuller had a shop at Rainbow Lake in Franklin County to sell to patrons at the nearby Paul Smiths Hotel. By the turn of the twentieth century, Abenaki Angeline Sarah Keziah-Otondonsonne and her husband Norman Frank Johnson were operating a store in Lake George to sell their baskets. We tend to

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Narrows where the beetling cliffs of Tongue Mountain almost shut off the passage where he died. The article, “Indian Biographies From Lake George,” Post Star (Glens Falls, NY) 14 December, 1963,13-14 indicates Rev. Paul and his wife, Christina Occum Paul paid a visit to Connecticut and Rev. Paul became ill on the way home and succumbed around Kingston, NY where he is buried. This article also indicates that Rev. Paul had issues with alcohol. Smith’s accounts have the two men meeting a similar fate except Hammon goes to die around French Mountain, while Paul meets his fate near Tongue Mountain. Vogel letter to Harvey, 8 September 1981.

Smith, History of Warren County, 402. Attempts to change the name to Northville and Middleville over the years were unsuccessful.


Gertrude Audrus Record Letter to newspaper columnist Evelyn Barrett Britten, 29 October, 1953 describing her visits to the Indian encampments as a child. See Chapter Five for more on basketmaking and encampments.

See Chapter Five for details on Ann Paul Denis Fuller’s experience with selling baskets and modeling.

“Basketmaking Indians of Lake George,” New York Times (New York) 8 September 1912, X10; their story is more fully described in Chapter Five.
think of Natives as being victimized by these displays but as Louis Warren explains, Indian people often
took the initiative to play on tourists’ expectations of the wilderness experience; they cultivated trade in
crafts and other souvenirs including photographs with them.\footnote{Warren, “The Nature of Conquest,” 299-301.}
As Raibmon notes, “Survival under
colonialism required compromises, but these compromises were not necessarily symptoms of decline and
could be signs of resiliency”.\footnote{Raibmon, \textit{Authentic Indians}, 64.}

Some entrepreneurial efforts were small scale, carried out on a seasonal basis and probably meant
to supplement other income. A Saratoga County advertisement mentioned “The big Indian Homo or
Holmes, the Photographer at Congress Spring Park” and suggested people “See the Big Indian
Photographer and take with you a semblance of arts, wonders and mysteries as being exhibited at the Big
Indian Photography Gallery, opposite Congress Spring”.\footnote{\textit{Daily Sentinel}, (unk location, possibly Rome, NY, there was about this time a \textit{Daily Saratoga Sentinel} in Saratoga Springs, NY) 13 September, 1873, SSHMA.}
William Traversy, who was probably French
and his Abenaki wife were basket-makers originally from Pierceville, Quebec who travelled to Fourth
Lake, near Old Forge in Herkimer County. In addition to making and selling baskets, in 1918 William
tapped maple trees and brought syrup to market.\footnote{“Old Forge,” \textit{Utica Herald Dispatch}, (Utica, NY) 26 May, 1905 announcing the arrival of Mr. & Mrs. Traversy to Old Forge that year and the \textit{Boonville Herald} (Booneville, NY) 29 March, 1928 reporting on news from 10 years ago noted Mr. Traversy was tapping maple trees to bring the syrup to market in 1918. At that time, Mr. Traversy was living on the Moose River Rd. (Route 6) on the way to Boonville. No mention of Mrs Traversy in the latter report, but she was mentioned in the “For Sale” section of the \textit{Utica Daily Press} (Utica, NY) 30 June, 1908 selling their camp on Fourth Lake which was 100' wide and near the Eagle Bay Hotel.}

In Keene Valley (Essex County), Florence Emma, Emmo or Emmeau (1848-1927) met
and married David Edmonds in Port Henry. Florence’s nationality is still uncertain. Her family knows
that she was born in an Indian community on a hill “above Montreal,” which suggests the Lake of Two
Mountains or perhaps Kanesatake. Her mother, Margaret Emma, died when she was young and her father
sent her to live with a family in Port Henry. Her sister Margaret moved in with a Québec family; as an
adult she joined Florence in Keene Valley to work and raise her two children. Both Margaret and
Florence were midwives in the area. Margaret was listed as a cook in a hotel in the 1880 census; at the
time she and a daughter lived with her sister and brother-in-law in order to escape an abusive husband.
Florence and David had six children; she worked as a domestic or in the laundry of the AuSable Club. To
make some extra money, Florence grew sweet peas to sell to Interbrook Lodge for their dinning room
tables.\footnote{Philip Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009, See Conclusion for the story of this family.}
For a time, Mitchel Sabattis and his wife Elizabeth lived in Newcomb, also in Essex County
where he owned a farm. In 1855 he produced 80 pounds of maple sugar, an amount that seems excessive

\footnote{Martha Lee Edmonds Owen, Florence Edmond’s great-granddaughter, personal conversation with author, 4 April, 2009 and e-mail to author dated 24 September 2012. Also see Adrian Edmonds, \textit{Recollections of an Adirondacker, Vol I stories of a Keene Valley House}, Adrian Edmonds to Fred and Sarah Cook on the purchase of their home in Keene Valley (KV Library Assoc, c. 2005). The different spellings of Florence’s maiden name show up in documents or obituaries.}
for family use. As Lutz argues Native people’s economy can best be described as ‘moditional’; a “mixed-mode production system” that allows for the coexistence of First Nations’ traditional economy with capitalism versus capitalism replacing their customary economies. Many non-farming rural economies operated similarly by combining subsistence activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, along with wage labour and small scale farming alongside capitalism.

Boarding houses and camps became important forms of entrepreneurship in the Adirondacks during the wilderness tourism era. Mitchel and Elizabeth Sabattis ran one in Long Lake, and possibly ran an earlier home in Newcomb, to complement his guiding business. Local history and a memoir reported that Mitchel and his wife were about to lose their Newcomb home in August of 1846 when Sport, Lucius E. Chittendon from Burlington, Vermont who was staying with them, took a liking the family. Chittendon promised to buy Sabattis’ mortgage to stave off foreclosure if Mitchel stopped drinking. Mitchel was to meet him at the Bartlett Carry in Franklin County on 2 August, 1847 to demonstrate his sobriety. Sabattis promised to stop drinking and appeared early at Chittendon’s home the following February with $100 in cash and a loaded, hand-made sled filled with pelts and meat; the sled was pulled by a pair of borrowed horses. Chittendon took what he wanted from the sled and they brought the rest to the local butcher to sell the furs and meat. The cash and goods were allegedly enough to pay off the mortgage. However, as Mitchel described to Chittendon how he and his wife wanted to put an addition onto their home and add furnishings for a boarding house, Chittendon supposedly convinced him to make a payment instead and use the rest of the money to build his boardinghouse. It is unclear if Sabattis and his wife added a boardinghouse onto their Newcomb home or if they waited to buy property in Long Lake. There are some problems with its chronology and a lack of documents to substantiate this story; however, it is accepted as fact in the area and no member of the large Sabattis family has ever publically disputed it. Perhaps it is only a legend, but Chittendon includes it in his memoirs.

Mitchel and his wife stopped taking in boarders at their Long Lake establishment by 1878. Mitchel sold the Long Lake boardinghouse in 1896; this may have been a result of a mortgage foreclosure. According to the civil records in the Hamilton County Clerk’s Office, Mitchell Sabattis, his

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67 Christopher Roy and David Benedict, “Abenaki People in the Adirondacks - Mitchel Sabattis,” Adirondack Journal (Warrensburg, NY) 7 June, 2009, accessed 1 July, 2009, http://www.adkmuseum.org/about_us/adirondack_journal/?id=154. Roy and Benedict noted that Mitchel and Elizabeth’s property with tools and livestock was valued at $840 and exceeded the value of her mother and brother’s neighbouring home by as much as four times.

68 Lutz, Makúk, 23.

69 Chittendon, Personal Reminiscences, 151-54. I was not able to confirm this information in the Essex County Clerk’s Office or by looking through Chittendon’s papers at UVM. Chittendon donated his papers in 1898 to the UVM library which has made subsequent purchases. However Chittendon writes about it in his memoires and it is the legend surrounding Mitchell Sabattis’ pledge to stop drinking. United States Federal Census documents confirm Mitchel and his family lived in Newcomb during this period; 1850 United States Federal Census – Newcomb Essex County, NY and 1860 United States Federal Census – Newcomb Essex County, NY under “Sebates”; they show up on the 1870 United States Federal Census - Long Lake, Hamilton County, NY and remains there until his death in 1906.

70 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 784.
wife Betsy, their grandson Byron Thompson, and the grandson’s recently widowed father Frank were foreclosed on in December of 1895 for a mortgage taken out 4 March, 1871. Another member of Mitchel and Betsy’s family, their grandson Joseph D. Sabattis (c. 1878-1951), supplemented his income with entrepreneurial pursuits; as well as being a professional guide, Joseph was also a taxidermist.

More notable as an Abenaki basket-maker, Andrew Joseph and his family built and ran camps known as “Joseph’s cottages” in Long Lake and rented them out during the twentieth century. Another Abenaki entrepreneur in the cabin business was John Mitchell, Jr. (c. 1891-1945) who had previously been employed in the lumber industry. His family ran a camp called “Cedar River Headquarters” at the northern part of the Cedar River Flow west of Indian Lake; there were several cabins on the property. According to Indian Lake historian Bill Zulo, the property was originally leased by a paper company who used the buildings to house loggers. The Mitchell family refurbished them to house guests. However, the buildings eventually burned down.

Of all these examples, one of the best recorded instances of entrepreneurship in the Adirondacks by Native Americans belongs to the Camp family of Indian Lake. John Camp (c. 1778-1884) was purported to be an eighteenth century English sea captain who met and married Abenaki Margaret (also known as Maria) Benedict (c. 1801-unk), daughter of Sabael Benedict and his wife, Marie Angelique Ignace. John and Margaret Camp had three or four children; their middle son, Elijah married Elizabeth Kennedy, also known as Kanada (1846-1936), an Oneida woman (figure 4.2). They were married in 1861 at Oneida, New York and settled in Indian Lake that same year. Elijah and Elizabeth had three children.

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71 Clarence F. Fuller, Plaintiff vs Elizabeth Ann Sabattis & Mitchel Sabattis her husband, Byron Thompson and Frank Thompson, Defendants, Hamilton County Clerk’s Office, civil records mortgage foreclosure. Byron, age 14 and a minor was the individual actually served. Dory Sabattis died in 1894. The Sabattis’ were not the only Native American family who were sued for debts; there are records in the Hamilton County Clerk’s Office against John Mitchell, Edward Mitchell, and two of Mitchel and Betsy Sabattis’ sons (Charles and Isaac); every one of these defendants failed to appear in their lawsuits and the plaintiffs received default judgments against them c. 1890s-1910s. Compare this with Emma Mead who was the subject of a municipality’s attempt to condemn some of her property for a highway. Emma not only answered but she unsuccessfully countersued for more money (Board of Supervisors of Hamilton County, Plaintiff vs Emma Mead, Defendant, filed 6 November, 1933. According to the “history” of the Shamrock Motel which now occupies the site of the old “Mitchell Sabattis House and Garden” on Long Lake, Mitchel and Betsy’s son Isaac built and ran the nearby Houghton House in the 1880s. During the same period, Isaac’s sister, probably Mary Elizabeth and her husband, Calvin Towne also ran a boardinghouse called the Main House; however I could not substantiate this. Calvin Townes was married first to Mary Elizabeth Sabattis who died 4 December, 1887 and he later married her sister Emeline in 1900.

72 Obituary “Joseph D. Sabattis,” New York Times, (New York, NY) 26 September, 1951. Joseph died at the age 73 from a heart attack the day before at his camp in Long Lake, NY. The Obituary indicates he was the grandson of Capt. Peter Sabattis, “last of the full-blooded Huron Indians to dwell in the Adirondacks”. Joseph was purported to be “the best rifle shot in the Adirondacks”.

73 Philip Joseph, personal conversation with the author, 3 May, 2009. Phil is Andrew’s youngest son; see Conclusion for history of this family.

74 Bill Zulo is now the Hamilton County Historian. Also see “Kills Waitress, Ends Own Life in Suicide Pact: Camp Operator and Tahawus Woman ‘Wanted To Be Together’; Bodies Found Sunday Morning,” Ticonderoga Sentinel (Ticonderoga, NY) 23 August, 1945.

75 Camp family children included Susan Camp (c. 1821-after 1892) who married John M. Stone an Indian basket-maker from Connecticut according to the Warrensburg News (Warrensburg, NY) 7 December, 1882 which also noted they had a son, Lewis; John Camp (c. 1824- December 1914) who married fellow Abenaki Susan Watso (they had 5 children: Margaret, Mary Ann, John, Mary Elizabeth, and Suzan, all baptized at the Church of England, Odanak, Yamaska County, Québec); Elijah Camp
who lived to adulthood: Emma, Samuel, and Gabriel (more commonly referred to as Gabe) (figures 4.3 and 4.4). According to Zulo, Elijah Camp ran a site for sportsmen called “Hunter’s Home” (figures 4.5 and 4.6). Indian Lake museum photographs identify it as “Leige Camp,” Leige being a nickname for Elijah. The building was located on Little Moose Lake southwest of the Cedar River Flow, approximately twenty miles from Indian Lake down what is even today a back road, some of it still unpaved. Guests arrived by train at North Creek about eighteen miles southeast of Indian Lake; Elijah and, eventually, his son Gabe picked up their guests at the train station and transported them to the camp. Later, some customers stayed at the small hotel Emma opened in Indian Lake called the “Adirondack House” (figure 4.7). The photographs of Leige Camp reveal a substantial, two-story building, built in the style of a log cabin with a front porch. The Adirondack House was a large, two story, wood-framed building with an addition on it. There was a family farm which helped to provide food for the family and guests (figure 4.8) and some small camps on sight (figure 4.9). In addition, Elijah and later his daughter Emma owned and ran retail stores.  

4.2: Elizabeth Camp       4.3: Emma Camp as teenager       4.4: Gabe and Samuel Camp as boys

(1836-1904); and George Camp (1845-unk) who married Nellie ? (1852-unk). Camp family information compiled by David Benedict a present-day ancestor of Sabael and Louis Elijah Benedict. This information was given to me by the Indian Lake Museum curator and town historian, Bill Zulo. Susan Camp’s place in the genealogy is somewhat assumed based on comment made by David Benedict in his records. Elijah and Elizabeth Camp marriage information from Elizabeth Camp’s Obituary, December 1936. Elizabeth’s mother was Betsy Cooper Kennedy based on land claim form; Camp- Mead file, 1927-1965, ILM.  

76 Bill Zulo, Indian Lake Historian, personal conversation with author dated May 2009; photographs part of the Camp family photograph and records collection ILM.
These photographs of the Camp family and their enterprises do not resemble the usual photographs of nineteenth century Indian people. Most of the typical photos of Indigenous people during
this period were taken by anthropologists looking for a vanishing civilization or by missionaries who wished to document their transformation from paganism to Christianity and civilization. In this instance there is more agency: they arranged and sat for the photos themselves. There is nothing in the photograph that identifies them as being Abenaki or Oneida. They are dressed similar to their customers, owned property, and they were familiar and comfortable with the Sports that patronized their services. Yet it was common knowledge in the community that the family was Native; they were often identified in the census as such. Elijah’s obituary identified him as being “Indian” although the obituaries of his children and wife, who outlived her two oldest children, did not.77

By all accounts in the family records, the Sports were well pleased with their experiences at the Camp family enterprises. E.N. Foote of Northampton, Massachusetts wrote the family and told them that he had never had such a good time; he made another reservation for four and promised to send “considerable business” their way.78 Another guest in April of 1884 went so far as to request Elijah send him some trout and pickerel by express to Sing Sing, now Ossining, New York. A letter to Elijah’s daughter Emma in June of that year acknowledged receipt of the fish.79 Local businesses and community members sent guests to Elijah.80 Elijah also ran a small store located near Leige Camp on Little Moose Lake; there are only a couple of references to it in the records. A note dated 1884 from John McGinn of Indian Lake requested the delivery of goods and kerosene.81 In addition, Elijah was involved in the lumbering business as early as November of 1884 when he agreed to cut and peel logs for George F. Scarritt and Ed. D. Mott. Correspondences in the 1890s tell us that Elijah signed a Quit Claim Deed in July of 1890 for $5 to quit his half interest in a gold and silver mine at Stanton’s Point, about three miles north of Indian Lake.82 Other records about Elijah Camp indicate he was active in the community. He

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77 New York State Census – Indian Lake: 1892, 1905, 1915 and 1925, located in the Hamilton County Clerk’s Office. The Camp family is not listed in the 1892 census although Elijah had been buying and selling property in the county since the 1860s. No one was identified as “Indian” in the 1915 New York State Census Record – Hamilton County – everyone was White despite records previous and subsequent to this census. For example, in the 1905 New York State Census for Hamilton County, John Mitchell, Sr. and Edward Mitchell were listed as “copper” under color. In the same census Elizabeth, Emma, and Gabe Camp’s occupation were listed as “Indian birth”; in the 1925 New York State Census for Hamilton County Elizabeth is listed as the head of household, she and her children are all identified as Indian again. Obituaries located at in Camp family notebook located at ILM, no publications identified and taped into notebook under the year they died.


79 George N. Griffin, (Hart’s Drug Store, Sing Sing, NY) Letter to Friend Camp. 15 April, 1884; follow up letter from Griffin to Emma dated 2 June 1884 acknowledging receipt of the fish.

80 Dorne Fuller, Blue Mountain Lake, NY Letter to Elijah Camp, 18 July, 1883 sending Elijah a Sport and requesting he personally guide the man or “furnish a good guide”. George D. Harris, Coal at Wholesale, (Ft. Edwards, Washington County). Letter to Elijah Camp, Esq. 3 June, 1884 about sending a party of 3-5 to stay for 1-2 weeks and inquiring about charges and transportation. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM.

81 Bill Zulo, Personal conversation with author. John McGinn. Note to Elijah Camp. 30 January 1884, Camp–Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM.

82 Lumbering Agreement between Elijah and George F. Scarritt (?) and Edward D. Mott to log around Lake Durant, 3 November, 1884; Camp–Mead file, 1870-1915. Elijah was to draw and deliver logs by road cut and peeled by E. Camp. Quit Claim deed
allowed the Board of Town Assessor’s to meet at his or Emma’s store on 13 March, 1888. Along with William Hunt, Elijah Camp was elected as Overseer of the Poor on 21 March, 1888. Despite the knowledge he was “Indian”, Elijah was allowed to vote at least locally based on a record dated 19 March 1895 in which he swore his eyesight was too poor to prepare a ballot; as a result he was assisted by John Washburn in the election process.\footnote{Recall from Chapter Three that Mitchel Sabattis in nearby Long Lake, just 22 miles away, was denied the right to vote in 1862 because he was an Indian. The Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) allowed ex-slaves and all men of African descent to vote along with all men no matter what color, creed, or previous servitude (see Library of Congress explanation at \url{http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/15thamendment.html}, accessed 25 August 2012 for language of the amendment). At that point, Native American men born in the U.S. and were U.S. citizens were able to vote but many, especially reserve Indians were not citizens and in a few cases some states blocked those who were from doing so. The 1924 Indian Citizenship (or Snyder) Act specifically allowed for Native Americans, regardless of status, to vote (see Library of Congress explanation, accessed 25 August 2012, \url{http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/elections/voters9.html}).} (He may also have been illiterate).\footnote{His signatures on legal documents were a mark of “X”. For example see Quit Claim Deed Elijah Camp to Taylor Eldridge and James Fuller dated July 1870. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM. Letters and other documents indicate that Elizabeth and the children were all literate.}

Life was not always easy and profitable for Elijah Camp. In 1891, Dr. J.L. Fuller billed him for $76 and $30 for his son Sam, a substantial amount for a medical bill. He also was involved in a lawsuit in Blue Mountain Lake and settled it 30 May, 1893. This lawsuit may have been connected to Elijah and Elizabeth’s sale of their property in October of that year to their daughter, Emma. The sale included an agreement between Elijah and Emma to provide room and board at her farm for her parents in return for work there so long as Emma was agreeable to it.\footnote{The sale included an agreement between Elijah and Emma to provide room and board at her farm for her parents in return for work there so long as Emma was agreeable to it. Later, Elijah was arrested in February of 1899 for first degree assault on a teamster, Elmer Osgood, who worked for him at a lumber camp. Osgood survived the attack; it was alleged Elijah had hit him in the back of the head with a wooden stick. In 1903, Elijah deeded Camp Island over to James McGinn to pay off debts.} Later, Elijah was arrested in February of 1899 for first degree assault on a teamster, Elmer Osgood, who worked for him at a lumber camp. Osgood survived the attack; it was alleged Elijah had hit him in the back of the head with a wooden stick. In 1903, Elijah deeded Camp Island over to James McGinn to pay off debts.

Debt, lawsuits, and poor health eventually took their toll on Elijah Camp. His son Gabe took over the running of Leige camp and ran the family farm before Elijah died. It is unknown what happened to Elijah’s small camp store; it is likely it quietly closed during his financial hardships. Elijah Camp died in Indian Lake on 7 April, 1904 at the age of 68 from apoplexy. In addition to his local immediate family, Elijah Camp’s funeral was attended by his older brother John Camp; his son Samuel traveled from
Pittsburgh to be present.\textsuperscript{87} His obituary indicated Elijah Camp was an Indian, married, a farmer, born in the U.S. He had been ill since March of 1903, which was probably when he had his stroke. He is buried in Indian Lake.\textsuperscript{88}

Elijah’s wife, Elizabeth, continued her involvement in the family enterprises by cooking and cleaning at the boardinghouse-turned-hotel run by her daughter, Emma. This relationship was not without its conflicts. In October of 1916 Sam responded to a letter from his sister, encouraging her not to scold their mother and to be patient with her.\textsuperscript{89} By September of the following year, Elizabeth went to an attorney’s office in Saratoga Springs; on 27 September, 1917 the attorney wrote to Emma on her mother’s behalf. The letter stated that Elizabeth claimed to have been driven from her home and was looking for compensation for over the past ten years as the cook at the Adirondack House. Elizabeth subsequently traveled to Pittsburgh to stay with her son Sam and his wife Florence. Emma replied through her own attorney in Ballston Spa that her mother had been fully compensated over the years and that she had a home there. Elizabeth stayed with Sam over that winter and worked in a Pittsburgh store before returning to Indian Lake at the end of June the following year.\textsuperscript{90}

The Camp family narrative is filled with dramatic episodes and the life of Emma Camp Mead was packed with complexities. Emma Jane Camp was married to Gabriel Mead of Sing Sing on 26 December, 1882 in Indian Lake. She was barely 16 years old at the time of the marriage; her husband was six years her senior. The couple probably met when Gabriel Mead boarded with the family during the summer of 1882. They were married by the Rev. G.W. Farrington, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Indian Lake. Gabriel was the son of Robert G. Mead and part of a prosperous Ossining, New York family who were incensed with the mixed marriage and insisted on an annulment. However, Gabriel stayed with his wife until the following spring. Accounts differ as to what happened next. A \textit{New York Times} newspaper article stated that Gabriel returned home for a visit; Emma wrote that Gabriel’s family tricked him into meeting them and spirited him away. Eventually Emma received notice that he wanted their

\textsuperscript{87} Journal entries of Emma Camp Mead: 4 April, 1904, “Father died suddenly”; 6 April, 1904, “Uncle John came for father’s funeral”; and 7 April, 1904, “Sam came home to father’s funeral, which was April 7, 1904”. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM.
\textsuperscript{88} Obituary located in Camp family notebook, Camp-Mead file, 1870-1916, ILM. The obituary confirmed his father was born in England and claims his mother was born in Canada.
\textsuperscript{89} Samuel Camp Letter to Emma, 22 October 1916. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1916, ILM.
\textsuperscript{90} Dunlavey and Sweeny, 11 Arcade Bldg, Saratoga Springs, NY. Letter to Emma Mead, 27 September, 1917; Florence Camp Letter, 1 October, 1917 stating that Elizabeth Kennedy Camp was in Pittsburgh staying with Samuel and Florence Camp; Attorney J.S. L.A., Ballston Spa Letter to Dunlavey and Sweeny, 2 October, 1917 responding to their letter of 27 September, 1917. Elizabeth Camp Letters to her son Gabriel Camp and his wife Elsie Camp, 10 February, 1918 and 19 May, 1918, simultaneously telling them they should come to Pittsburgh for there was money to be made and how lonely she was. There does not appear to be any correspondence between Elizabeth and Emma during this winter. Elizabeth Camp Letter to Gabriel Camp, 28 May, 1918, indicated she was returning to Indian Lake at the end of June and mentioned she had been working in a store in Pittsburgh with Sam’s wife earning $7 for 5 day/week. She inquired how she could get home from the nearest train station at North Creek. Florence Camp Letter to Gabe and Elsie Camp, 17 June, 1918 mentioned Elizabeth was soon returning. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM. Mother and daughter made up and future correspondences between Elizabeth, who often wintered in Pittsburgh, and her daughter were cordial.
marriage annulled. The article suggested that the wedding was “performed when Gabriel was not in a condition to know what he was doing, and that his consent was obtained by fraud”. General Charles Hughes represented Emma; the District Attorney of Westchester County acted as a referee and annulled the marriage. Though she did not want the annulment, Emma eventually gave in. According to the press, in 1883 she was awarded a $10,000 settlement not to “fight very hard” to oppose the annulment. But there was more to the situation than the paper suggested. In 1885, Mead returned to Indian Lake and the couple remarried on 2 October, 1885, again by the Rev. G.W. Farrington. According to Emma, Gabriel’s parents had kidnapped him the first time and sent him to the Utica Insane Asylum to ‘dry out.’ When Gabriel returned in 1885 he stayed for eight months and then left for good. He eventually married for a third time to a Euroamerican woman, probably one from his own class; they had several children. Although Gabriel obtained a divorce from his second marriage to Emma, she refused to recognize it. Emma did not see Mead again, although she had conceived a child during their second union. Their daughter Bessie tragically died in a fall at Emma’s store on 22 February, 1890 at age 3 years, 7 months, and 7 days. Gabriel Mead was not present at either their daughter’s birth or funeral; for his absence from the latter, Emma unsuccessfully vowed to never forgive or consider him again.

Emma attempted to follow Gabriel Mead’s life through the newspapers and occasionally inquired about locating him through her actress cousin, Margaret Tahamont, and a friend in Brooklyn. She even wrote a letter to her husband after the death of his wife in September 1920, although we do not know if she sent it. In her letter to Gabriel Mead, Emma indicated she had a friend with whom she spent time and with whom she planned to spend eternity; this suggests she had at least one other romantic

92 “Paleface and His Dusky Bride,” New York Times from the Troy Press (Troy, NY, reported on 24 December 1885) 26 December 1885 indicates the pair had reappeared in Sandy Hill and had registered at the Coffee House to visit Gen. Hughes on legal business and that the Mead family had finally accepted the marriage.
93 Newspaper clipping from the Citizen Sentinel, (Ossining, Westchester County, NY) c. 20 September 1920 reporting that Gabe Mead’s wife (her name is not reported) had died suddenly in Ossining surrounded by her son and daughter. Her husband was “in the south” when she died and her other sons were in the war. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
94 Emma Mead letter to Atty William Mehein, Ballston Spa, dated 18 August (?) 1933 inquiring about any legacy for her from Gabriel Mead’s will. Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965.
95 Emma Mead. Letter to Mrs. Fred Payne, 1932. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM; Emma was trying to convince Mrs Payne who was considering leaving her husband to stay with her him for the sake of their children. Note, the letter is out of date chronologically but fits into the file time period that helps to explain what happened to Emma and Gabriel Mead. It is not known if the letter was a copy or one that was never sent.
96 Journal entries, spring 1901; Smith Lent, NYC. Letter to Emma Mead, 9 September, 1910 giving her information about Gabriel Mead, stating he was not drinking any more and that he probably had truly cared about her. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM; J. W. Hagadorn. Letter to Emma Mead, 14 June, 1918 mentions Gabriel Mead and declares he does not understand how he could marry again given he and Emma had never gotten a second divorce. Margaret Tahamont, Letter to Emma Mead, 17 September, 1932, Margaret responded that she could not locate Gabriel Mead as there were too many “Meads” in California.
97 Emma Mead (Pittsburgh) undated letter to Gabriel Mead, the letter is between a letter dated 24 September, 1920 and another dated 11 November, 1920 and based on the contents of the letter it was Gabe Mead’s birthday when she wrote it. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
relationship during her lifetime or maybe it was a spiritual reference. Upon Gabriel’s death, Emma wrote the attorneys who handled his estate and told them she had never divorced him because she did not want to raise doubts about the legitimacy of their deceased daughter. She also asked if Gabriel had left her a legacy: he had not.

In spite of all her personal troubles, Emma was a shrewd businesswoman. She kept in constant communication with guests through letters, which she sometimes used for marketing purposes. In one, she offered to save the recipient their favourite room for the next season. In 1928 she went so far as to write a doctor in Brooklyn to let him know she was willing to house TB patients in two cabins during the winter. In addition, Emma sent gifts such as a basket home to the wife of a Sport who had been a guest. She sold and bought land, real property, livestock, and railroad stocks; she bid on a stage coach route in 1901, and held the rights to a bridge on her property. In addition, on 30 March 1926, Emma wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to find out if she, as an Iroquois, was exempt from paying “any and all taxes on real estate.” She was not afraid to make clever use of her Indian status, although in this instance she was unsuccessful.

Emma started and managed a number of enterprises even before establishing the Adirondack House. She owned and operated Mead’s Store from at least 1883 until it and other Indian Lake businesses burned in April 1891. A two-story building, the store was insured for $4,000. Similar to many entrepreneurially-minded women in the nineteenth century, in 1885 Emma tried her hand at running a millinery business for a short period of time. Another enterprise included a lunchroom and basket-selling business. In the 1925 Syracuse Post Standard, Emma advertised the lunchroom to let for the season along with some camps (figure 4.10). Interested parties were to inquire of her at Nedrow “at the first house on

98 Ibid. She makes a number of Christian-focused comments, references her being alone but having “a friend she goes through life with and promises death with”. She also referred to two dead little sisters, a dead baby brother, and “my own darling little Bessie.”
99 Journal entry dated 17 July, 1933 noted that Gabriel Mead had passed away on that date in Colfax, NC and was buried in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Ossining, NY on 19 July, 1933. Emma Mead Letter to Attorney William A. Mehein, Ballston Spa dated 18 August (?) 1933. She mentions she is not well and suffering from heart trouble and could use the money. Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965 – ILM.
100 Emma Mead letter to Dr. Nackinnon, Brooklyn, NY dated 17 January 1928. Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965 – ILM.
101 Ella Childs Letter to “Emmy”, dated 11 November, 1883, thanking her for the basket and expressing that others admired it; Camp-Mead file, 1870-1916, ILM.
102 For land and real property contracts see: Warranty deed between Emma A. Depan and Tuffield D. Depan to Emma Camp dated 24 October, 1883 for land in Indian Lake Village, Twp 17, Lot 67 for $800. Deed / agreement between Isaac and Olive Kenwell to Emma Mead, 8 May, 1888 for part of Lot 67 of Twp 17, property near “Mead Store” for $10. Contract for Real Estate between Emma Camp Mead and William P. Morehouse, 1904 and another agreement between Emma and George F. Persons, August 1904 who built cottages on the land. Note: There is a codicil to Emma’s Will that mentions if she owns any property in partnership with George F. Persons it is to go to her mother should she survive her, Codicil No. 1 to Will, 6 January, 1925. Diary entry, 30 May, 1901 references a bid of $195 for a stage route and diary entry, 14 March, 1902 mentions the purchase of $1,000 bonds in the Toronto-Hamilton-Buffalo Railroad, plus continued investments in this project. Jessie Pashley Letter to Emma Mead c. 1900 for the sale of a cow. Agreement between P.R. Ordway, Indian Lake Commissioner of Highways and Emma Mead, 13 October, 1896 for a bridge licensed to Emma and subject to her revocation at her will.
103 Emma Mead. Letter to M. Chas H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., 30 March 1926. Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM.
point of reservation from Feb. 28-March 5, 1925”; this indicates she was on the Onondaga reserve, at that time shared with those Oneida who remained in New York State.104

In addition, Emma boxed and sold herbal remedies for livestock; one called "Superior Conditioning Powders" and the other a Heave powder. The front of the packages used a picture of an Indian on horseback and the back of the packaging describes it as “a purely Indian preparation composed of roots and herbs". The label indicated the product was packaged by Camp & Co.; promotional testimonials included one from Emma under her married name as Mrs. E. Mead. A list of customers dated May 1930 indicated Emma had sold at least 34 jars of salves. One of those customers was fellow Abenaki and relative, Ed Mitchell, and another was Mrs. Johnson who may or may not have been her relative (figures 11, 12, 13, and 14). Emma, her brothers and their cousin Margaret had some knowledge of herbal medicines; Indian Lake Museum records have a recipe for rheumatism medicine.105 There are also a number of letters between Emma and her brother Sam in Pittsburgh and their cousin Margaret Tahamont in Hollywood asking Emma and Gabe to send various roots and plants to try and help with their ailments. In one letter dated 29 March, 1926, Margaret reminisced about visits with their Grandpa Camp; when smallpox raged in the area he treated people with witch hazel, syrup, and sugar. (As pointed out, Grandpa Camp was English and one wonders if he learned his treatment from his Abenaki wife,

104 See footnote 102 for reference to Mead Store deed, the property originally being purchased in 1883 by Emma Mead and then perhaps expanded or another small piece of property bought in 1888. Newspaper article from Adirondack Folks c. 24 April, 1891 reported the fire that destroyed the buildings owned by Emma Mead, Neson Ste. Marie, John Ste. Marie and T.D. Depain on that date. All were 2-story structures and were insured. Letter from Mrs. J.A. Beane, (Glens Falls, NY) to Emma Mead, 18 April, 1885, sending Emma hats and bonnets to sell. Mr. Hegeman of Glens Falls, Letter to Emma Mead, 19 May, 1885 inquiring of Emma how the millinery was coming along and requesting payment. Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM. Emma Mead Letter of Inquiry to the Post Standard (Syracuse, NY) 23 February, 1925 for advertisement of lunchroom in the Adirondack Mountains. Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM.

105 Product boxes for the “Superior Conditioning Powders” and “Heave Powders” and list of clients, ILM.
Margaret or Maria Benedict Camp). Margaret Tahamont went on to encourage Emma and Gabe to take the syrup instead of western medicine, even though she herself had recently been vaccinated. ¹⁰⁶

Rooted in colonial times, the use of patent medicine reached its pinnacle in the nineteenth century due to the ability to advertise in the inexpensive penny press-style newspapers and distrust of conventional medical practices. Jane Marcellus’ work on the use of women and Indian people to sell patent medicines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests that the social position of women and Indians at this time were the reason for the use of their images. ¹⁰⁷ Referring to Stuart Hall’s term, “commodity racism,” and her own “commodity sexism,” Marcellus argues that both groups were restricted in their movement during this period: women within intimate power structures, while Indians were pushed out. White men’s images though, were allowed to move about freely. ¹⁰⁸ Using romanticized images of Indians and women on products to ‘cure’ often illnesses with symptoms of malaise provided an alternative to “‘the poisoning century’” and assured settler society the “savage Indian” was part of the long-ago. Marcellus suggests that both images represented feminine earth-energies who used the products of the mysterious forest and a pre-industrial past to cure. ¹⁰⁹ Echoing the arguments for a wilderness vacation, Marcellus explains that when the dominant culture’s business community appropriated the image of Native North Americans, they had a need to be reconciled with, and perhaps healed by, that which it had subjugated. It is as if the Native Americans, as constructed here, held the power and knowledge to save white men from the afflictions of modernity, and that is why their images were chosen to sell a type of medicine that was an alternative to what modern science offered. ¹¹⁰

I am not convinced White North American businessmen cared if Euro-North American society was reconciled with or healed by Native North Americans. I suggest these capitalists were merely looking for visual representations to market their product, which in this case was a patent medicine to address symptoms associated with the industrial and modern present. Images of Indian people represented the past, nature, and, as Deloria describes, a font of mysterious knowledge that allowed for the primitive and the modern to co-exist. ¹¹¹ They were the perfect symbol to cure urban North America’s melancholy.

As we know, Emma was a savvy businesswoman; she used media herself and she probably saw advertisements for Dr. Morse’s Indian Root Pills manufactured by the W.H. Comstock Company in

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Tahamont Letter to Emma, 10 December, 1918, Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM indicated Margaret had been ill, she asked Emma to send her “some consumption weed and some lobely” Margaret Tahamont Letter signed as Margaret Dark Cloud to Emma Mead, 29 March, 1926, referencing a prescription that Emma and Gabe had sent her: Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM.


¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 796, 800, 802-04.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 803.

¹¹¹ Deloria, Playing Indian, 101-02, 178-79.
Morristown, New York located on the St. Lawrence River. She could have used the image of an Oneida woman, but instead, she chose the by then stereotyped image of a Lakota warrior on horseback, one which she knew Euroamericans understood as “Indian”. She took advantage of White culture’s need to see these warriors, emblems of the past, as a cure for modernity to market her cure for livestock health needs. Interestingly, as letters reveal, she saved the medicine to heal humans for herself and her family. The Camp family were not the only Native Adirondackers to continue to use traditional herbal cures. Ann “Falling Star” Paul Denis Fuller was known to believe in witches’ spells and knew of and used herbal cures. Florence Edmonds’ used a poultice she got from Indians camping across from her property to help heal a sore on her husband.


Margaret Tahamont Letter to Emma, 10 December, 1918, Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM which indicated Margaret had been ill, she asked Emma to send her “some consumption weed and some lobely” Margaret Tahamont Letter signed as Margaret Dark Cloud to Emma Mead, 29 March, 1926, referencing a prescription that Emma and Gabe had sent her: Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM. Letters between Emma and her brother Sam in Pittsburgh also indicate they were using home remedies along with modern medicine. In addition, the Indian Lake Museum has a hand-written recipe for an herbal remedy for rheumatism.

“Falling Star: the Indian Beauty Who Died Last Week.”

Martha Lee Owens, personal conversation with author, 4 April, 2009. See Chapter Five for more on Florence.
Emma’s most significant undertaking was the running of the Adirondack House [figure 4.7]. She began by building an addition onto the family home located on Christian Hill; in 1898 she created a boardinghouse for workmen rebuilding the Indian Lake dam that year. Later, she opened the extra rooms for summer vacation lodging and called it the “Adirondack House” which she ran off and on until her death in 1934. A surviving hotel registry dated 1904 indicated the hotel was run seasonally; it was open from 1 May to 30 October and that year E. Mead was listed as the Proprietor. One of the guests who signed the register in 1904 was Florence Atkinson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania who married Emma’s brother, Samuel Camp; they moved to Pittsburgh (figure 4.17). Emma, Gabe, and especially their mother Elizabeth visited and even wintered there with Sam and Florence over the years. Another customer was Fred W. Plate of Brooklyn who in 1915 wrote to Emma to inquire about lodging and transportation for 3 young men - “American, not Hebrew” - and asking about the nearness to the lake and fishing conditions. One wonders if Mr. Plate realized that Emma Mead was Oneida and Abenaki and what he would have thought if he discovered it. Would he have reserved the room? Moreover, did Emma care if she rented to ‘Hebrew’ people? Saratoga Springs had begun to turn away Jewish tourists by 1877; their exclusion has been credited with the development of the Catskills resorts.

As with any enterprise, good help was difficult to find and keep. In 1916 Emma’s mother Elizabeth, who did much of the cooking, suffered from a debilitating illness; Emma described her as “being in bed so long and in such pain.” For employees who were not family members, Emma went to

116 Fred W. Plate, (639 Vanderbilt Ave., Brooklyn, NY) Letter to Emma Mead at the Adirondack House, 14 June, 1915; Camp-Mead file, 1870-1915, ILM.

117 Irwin Richman, Borscht Belt Bungalows: Memories of Catskill Summers (Philadelphia; Temple University Press, 2003), 2. In 1877 Judge Henry Hilton was managing a Saratoga Springs Hotel called the Grand Union and he barred the German born Jewish banker Joseph Seligman (and friend of President Ulysses Grant) from registering at the hotel despite previous stays there.
Warrensburg to “bring home another cracked and lost one” as labour for the farm. However, they didn’t stay and she claimed they wasted her time and money. Perhaps these ‘cracked and lost ones’ did not appreciate the moralizing they might have received from Emma and her mother. Both she and Elizabeth were staunch Christians. Originally a Methodist, Emma became involved with the Baptist Church at the end of her life, complaining the Methodists had become too liberal. An unsigned letter dated 26 September, 1916 described Emma and her mother as being devout Christians; although the writer also constructed at least one of Emma’s tendencies as unrespectable as the writer wondered how Emma, who drove her team of horses fast, could be on the road to salvation with such an unwomanly inclination. Brother Gabe did not share his mother and sister’s ardour as the letter writer claimed “for he is no Christian and merely stands outside the gates and scoffs”. (That said, Gabe and his wife Elsie were married by the local Methodist minister). Perhaps concerned about its moral tone, the letter writer went on to ask if Gabe was running the boarding house yet.

Susan Elaine Gray explains that Methodism’s “underlying belief was that individuals could transcend their circumstances through the power of the gospel”. They could attain grace on earth through conversion and continued faith, thereby providing safe passage to heaven. Methodism, which embodied “the principle of a personal relationship between God and the individual” was not unlike the spiritual beliefs of many Indigenous people. Early on, Native people who converted to Christianity integrated it as an addition or layer onto their own existing belief system to help them struggle with social and spiritual needs brought on by colonialism. During the first half of the nineteenth century, many Algonquian and Iroquoian people in the Northeast, looked to religions such as Methodism as a new power source and thus saw no conflict. Gray explains that Indigenous people “used Christianity in the same ways they would have used a native revitalization led by a prophet – as a means of surviving their present and by which they could secure a new lease on the future”. By the end of the nineteenth century, many Native people were second or even third generation Christians who experienced both spiritual and social benefits, especially those off reserve who may have seen the minister fulfilling the role of a medicine man or woman and other community leaders. As Gray argues, “Christianity did not replace traditional

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119 Unsigned. Letter to Emma Mead, 18 October, 1916 also alludes to Emma driving her horses fast and exclaims “it is hard for me to believe that a woman is on the road to salvation when she is driving a 3-minute team”. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
121 Ibid, 48. Gray compares this to Catholicism which required intersession of saints and continued good deeds.
122 Ibid, 156.
124 Ibid, 97.
125 Ibid, 158-59.
ideas as much as it served to enhance possibilities and increase dimensions of the understanding and experiencing of life in this world”.

Gabe sometimes operated the hotel; he also worked the 125-acre farm, plus hunting and fishing camps “along the Indian River below the lake dam”. In the spring of 1918, Emma and her youngest brother Gabe arranged for him to lease the Adirondack House and Mead farm. Emma was to keep the cottage on the premises and the use of the parlour and the parlour bedroom in the main farmhouse from 1 October 1918 to the end of the lease; she also had personal use of the cellar, ice house and barn. A semi-regular correspondent of Emma’s, J.W. Hagadorn from Brooklyn, referred to Gabe’s desire to increase “his quarters and belongings at the Frog Pond Inn but his new contract without I suppose will prevent that more or less, though I think he could use his house there as overflow cottages if the Adirondack becomes uncomfortably crowded”. Gabe was still running the Adirondack House in 1921 when W. R. Waddell wrote to G.E. Camp, successor to Mrs. E. Mead.

Like her father before her, Emma became involved in the community. She was appointed the Secretary for local School District 3 on 29 August 1891 and was later appointed Clerk (1893-94) and Trustee (1895-97). She was also elected District Clerk in 1899 and Clerk and Collector in 1901. She remained active in the school district until 1930 when the community voted to consolidate with District 1 and sell the school house. In addition to her Adirondack community, Emma was also interested in her Iroquoian community. She became interested in Indian affairs, especially around Oneida land claims that were made in the 1920s. There are letters to federal and state Indian Affairs officials chastising the government for their treatment of Indian people and questioning the validity of land sales. The family file contains the applications of Elizabeth Kennedy Camp, Emma Camp Mead, and Samuel and Gabriel Camp for land claims based on their being Oneida. Emma worked with William Hanyoust, who was a relative, probably her cousin, on these claims and visited him on the Onondaga Reservation in Nedrow for these purposes. In addition, there are letters between Emma and her Oneida cousin Albert and Minnie Schanandoah pertaining to Oneida land issues and other themes including temperance; Emma also

126 Ibid, 160.
127 Aber and King, History of Hamilton County, 521.
128 Lease between Emma Mead (landlord) and Gabriel E. Camp (tenant) 27 April, 1918; Gabe was to pay $300 rent in various instalments. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
129 J.W. Hagadorn, (230 Madison St., Brooklyn, NY) Letter to Emma Mead, 14 June, 1918. A prior correspondence from Hagadorn to Gabe Camp dated 3 September, 1917 refers to the “frog pond’ and the “Frogpond Inn” as a “house of entertainment stuck away down in that bowl…” indicating Gabe may have built or added onto a camp. W.R. Waddell. Letter to G.E. Camp, successor to Mrs. E Mead at the Adirondack House, 15 August, 1921, Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
130 Camp-Mead file: 1870-1915; Camp-Mead file: 1916-1922, ILM.
131 Sylvia in Nedrow, NY Letter to Emma Mead, December 1920 (the Onondaga Nation is in Nedrow) refers to Uncle William (Hanyoust) and a Council at Temperance Hall with a number of Oneida / Oneida and Tuscarora having land within the heart of Philadelphia, PA. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM. Also see William Hanyoust, Nedrow, NY. Letter to his cousin, Emma Mead, 8 November, 1925, they appear to be working together on the land claims; Camp-Mead file, 1924 - 1926, ILM. William Hanyoust died of pneumonia in September 1927, see his Obituary, Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965, ILM.
corresponded with Seneca archaeologist and anthropologist, Arthur C. Parker when he worked for the New York State Museum. Thus, despite her outward appearance of being acculturated into a rural Adirondack community, clearly Emma saw herself and her family as also being Oneida. She, and other Indigenous Adirondackers, often experienced these dual roles. Thankfully, records about Emma Camp Mead’s extraordinary life and business acumen were saved by her family.

While Emma may have left the most records, her brother Gabriel also was active in the running of the family enterprises. He was married to Elsie Corscadden on 14 December, 1916 by A. M. Woodruff, the pastor of the Methodist Church in Indian Lake. Gabe and his wife (figure 4.18) traveled to Pittsburgh shortly after their wedding; it is unknown if they went there for a honeymoon, were looking for work, or went to spend the winter with his brother, Sam. Based on a September 1917 letter from W. Hagadorn, which asked Gabe what kind of motorboat he had purchased, the couple returned to Indian Lake some time between April and September 1917. If Gabe ran the cottages or the hotel at this time, it is likely he returned in the spring. A letter from Richard C. Frandsen of New York City to ‘Mr. Camp’ in September of 1919 refers to the Camps having had a good summer with many boarders. In addition to running the previously mentioned camps, occasionally the hotel, and the family farm, Gabe and his brother Sam also speculated in mining: they may have been following their father in that area. In August of 1920, Sam wrote to his brother regarding an assay report and asking Gabe to blast down 3’ deeper and to send him and the Pittsburgh Transformer Company 25-30 pounds of rock. Sam goes on to state that he also was going to write to Ed Mitchell. Sam indicated that Ed’s claim was “stronger than ours in gold but it has none of the other stuff, but richer” Sam concluded by asking Gabe to ask Ed to “send some of that green stone from the 3 Island mine if it is any good.” In addition to mining, the brothers looked into forming a partnership in a fur business. In a letter dated 18 December, 1926, Sam instructed Gabe not to buy the hides until Sam knew the cost; Sam wanted to check with the people he was working with to be sure they wanted them at that price. There is no other correspondence about these enterprises which suggest they were not fruitful inquiries.

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132 For example see: Emma Camp Mead Letter to “cousin Albert” Schanandoah dated 23 September 1923; Emma Camp Mead Letter to Minnie Schanandoah dated 30 May 1922; Emma Camp Mead to Arthur C. Parker, Albany, NY, 10 June 1923 all in Camp – Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM.
133 Certificate announcing wedding of Gabriel E. Camp and Elsie Corscadden signed by A. M. Woodruff, pastor Methodist Church, Indian Lake, NY, 14 December 1916, Camp-Mead file: 1916-1922, ILM.
134 Florence Camp Letter to Elizabeth and/or Emma, 4 January 1917: Camp-Mead file: 1916-1922, ILM.
135 Samuel Camp Letter to Elizabeth and/or Emma, 15 April 1917 indicated Gabe was still in Pittsburgh. W. Hagadorn, Brooklyn, NY “frog pond” letter to Gabe in Indian Lake, 3 September 1917 referenced the motor boat inquiry. Richard C. Frandsen, 10 W. 82nd St., NYC Letter to “Mr. Camp,” 6 September, 1919. Camp-Mead file, 1916-1922, ILM.
It appears also that Emma had her issues with business; she came close to selling the Adirondack House on at least two occasions. She first put it up for sale in October 1924. However, by 1925 she was writing letters telling customers how to get to the Adirondack House. She also advertised to hunters in the October 1925 *Field and Stream*. According to the ad, the cost for a stay at the Adirondack House was $18-$20 per week for adults and $3.50 per day; potential customers were directed to contact Mrs. E. Mead. She continued to correspond with potential customers into the next year as she described the particulars of the camps to lease. When the D&H Railroad applied in 1926 to stop providing service into the area except during the summer months, Emma wrote to the Public Service Commission to complain. By June of 1926, Sam had written to his mother to inquire if Gabe had any boarders, although that year the Adirondack House was run under Emma’s name. By 1929, Emma wanted to sell her property for $15,000.

Samuel J. Camp died at the age of sixty-four on 28 July, 1934 while living in Pittsburgh; he is buried in Indian Lake. Emma soon followed him, dying on 4 December that same year at the age of sixty-eight. The letter she wrote to her attorney shortly after Gabriel Mead’s death in 1933 indicated she had heart trouble. According to her obituary, her brother Gabe was running the Adirondack House at the time of her death. Both the Methodist and Baptist ministers officiated at her funeral. In 1936, Elizabeth Kennedy Camp died from a cerebral haemorrhage at the age of 90 years, 8 months, and 16 days. (See figures 4.13 and 4.14 for photographs of mother and daughter later in life). The Methodist Minister officiated at Elizabeth’s funeral; her obituary stated, “she was spoken of as the saint of the community”. Elizabeth had been living with Gabriel and his wife who had been taking care of her during a long illness. Gabriel Camp died ten years later on 28 September, 1946 at the age of 62 or 63. Following his mother, Gabe also died of a cerebral haemorrhage. His obituary listed him as a farmer. The entire family is buried in Indian Lake, all but Gabriel and Elsie are in a family plot. None of the children of Elijah and Elizabeth Camp had any living children of their own; the property was run by Gabe’s wife Elsie for a time. Elsie eventually remarried; she outlived her second husband by two years and died in 1959. Elsie is buried next to Gabe. Understanding the historical value of the family’s records about their life during

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138 Delaware & Hudson Co. letter to Emma at the Rome State School, October 1924 includes reference to the cost of her advertisement to sell the hotel, land, and barns. Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM.
139 Emma Mead letter to Alfred T. Brown, 2 Marble Hill Ave., NYC, undated regarding her Advertisement in the October 1925 Issue of *Field and Stream*. Emma Mead Letter to Mrs. A.H. Walsh, 115 Gray Ave. Webster Groves, 8 February, 1926. Notice from the D&H Railroad, 7 April, 1926. Certificate of Conducting Business per 4440 penal law, for the business under the Name of “The Adirondack House” under the name of Emma Mead, 28 July, 1926. Camp-Mead file, 1924-1926, ILM. Undated letter from Emma Mead in the 1929 section of the Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965, ILM possible response to a letter from C.M. Gorden, Trust Officer. Letter also notes that Gabe and his wife had been in Pittsburgh for a month.
140 *Obituaries* located in Camp family notebook, under year of death, Camp-Mead file, 1927-1965, ILM. The family plot is located in the back of the cemetery in front of the woods with a large obelisk in the centre.
141 Elsie ran the Adirondack House after Gabe’s death with her second husband Harold Conklin who died in 1957. Elsie died in 1959 and the house remained empty for two years until local historian Ted Aber purchased and made it into a private home per Aber and King, *The History of Hamilton County*, 521.
this period Elsie Corscaden Camp Conklin donated the Camp-Mead family documents and photographs to the Indian Lake Museum.

All photographs courtesy of and located at the Indian Lake Museum, Indian Lake, NY

COMPLEXITY OF TOURISM AND NATIVE PEOPLES

By the early twentieth century several Adirondack Native families were running commercial enterprises in housing guests, often complementing a guiding business but the Camp family was the most notable or at least kept the best records. It appears the running of the Adirondack House got the better of Emma on more than one occasion as she looked to sell the business at least twice; perhaps her health was an issue. Yet it is obvious that Emma had a lot of business sense. She looked for ways to save money, such as her inquiries into tax exemptions based on her Oneida heritage. She also attempted to make money in smaller enterprises and even inquired about a legacy from her deceased husband. Emma and the business outlasted the heyday of wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks and survived the depressions so prevalent in this era. It appears Emma did well for herself and her family, all of whom were working together; while they did not always do so amicably, they managed.
Similarly, the Sabattis and other entrepreneurial Abenaki families continued to work together and get by, some seasons doing better than others. George Washington Sears a/k/a “Nessmuk” described the Sabattis boarding house in letters to Field & Stream in 1881 and 1882. In August 1881 Sears paddled to Long Lake and “Mitchell Sabattis’ landing” where “Auntie Sabattis will take care of you. She has been doing that sort of thing for a good many years”. He described the landing as having a sandy beach, one that led to a steep path from the landing to the house. He also noted that the family used a rock by the landing as their washing station and mentioned ‘Aunty Sabattis’ gate,” which probably faced the road. Mitchell was out guiding that day, but Sears reported that Elizabeth, Mitchell’s wife could “supplement him as camp-keeper”. He mentions there were no tourists present that day but the house was full with two married daughters, their son Ike with his wife, plus eight grandchildren, all of whom kept Grandma Sabattis busy. Sears admired Elizabeth’s ability to keep things under control. Both Sears and Ike were ill; Sears suffered from symptoms of tuberculosis and Ike was down with *cholera morbis or morbus*, a non-contagious form of cholera now referred to as a gastrointestinal disturbance. By 13 April, 1882 Sears described how tourists were avoiding “the old and time-honored house of Sabattis … because the house of Sabattis was too prolific of young half-breeds. There were nine of them when I was there”. As discussed in Chapter Three, and again in Chapter Five, those individuals known to be of mixed parentage often felt the sting of the tourists’ pen as they were deemed to be less authentic and not up to the romanticized standards of some visitors to the region.

As these examples describe, none of these families’ enterprises included the need to stereotype or market themselves as Indians; indeed, except for the Sabattis household, it is possible many of the guests did not even realize they were Native. Patricia Albers describes Indigenous peoples’ roles in tourism as that of artists and performers versus “producers or laborers in a capitalist marketplace”. She goes on to argue that “the success of Native Americans in tourism is contingent on denying them any connection to a capitalist workplace and its associated wage labor. It rests on an obfuscation of the very labor conditions that support the creation of cultural productions for tourists.” In general, Albers is correct; however, her conclusions are painted with too broad a stroke. Indeed, these families in the Adirondacks belie this conclusion. Locally their heritage was well-known, their identity remained intact and they ran their businesses in ways similar to anyone else that lived in the Adirondacks. This is not to say stereotyping

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142 Sears, *The Adk Letters of George Washington Sears*, 114-24. It is unknown for certain but assumed the reference to “Aunty Sabattis” was Mitchell’s wife Betsy versus his sister Hannah, or perhaps it was Betsy Sabattis who is mentioned in the Wesleyan Methodist Church records as referenced in Chapter Two. For reference to *cholera morbus* see Merriam Webster Medical Dictionary online accessed 14 December 2012, [http://www.merriam-webster.com/medical/cholera%20morbus](http://www.merriam-webster.com/medical/cholera%20morbus).

and the marketing of Indigenous peoples’ culture did not occur in the Adirondacks; the next chapter demonstrates it did. But these families and enterprises managed to contravene the usual effects of tourism on Native people and it is doubtful they were unique.

Further, depicting the tourism industry strictly as a stereotyping of cultural production for the benefit of dominate culture tourists not only over generalizes: it also denies Indigenous people their complex history of labour, entrepreneurship, and agency within that form of labour. The Adirondacks proved to be a place where some entrepreneurially-minded Indian people could make a living and raise their families alongside their Euroamerican neighbours. Some, like Pete Francis, George Crum, and Emma Camp Mead even caught the attention of wealthy and powerful White men. That is not to say Algonquian and Iroquoian people were not marginalized; they were. The newspaper headline to attract attention to the article about Emma Camp Mead’s annulment called her a “dusky maiden” and the travel writer George Washington Sears referred to the children of Mitchel Sabattis as “half-breeds”; both clearly demonstrate the racism of the late nineteenth century. Perhaps this marginalization was the reason some of these families started their own businesses, although I found no specific evidence of such a link. The issue of their omission from the region’s broad history is proof enough of their marginalization and helps to support Albers and Raibmon’s contention that tourism served to make authentic Indian cultures vanish. Yet, the tourism industry in the Adirondacks also allowed tourists and some locals to get to know Abenaki and Mohawk peoples who worked in a variety of occupations during an era when Indigenous people were thought to be vanishing in the Northeast. And it may have been the waning of the wilderness tourism era that vanished them from the area’s history.

MOTIVATIONS OF ALGONQUIAN AND IROQUOIAN ENTREPRENEURS

What then motivated these families to take on the risks of entrepreneurship? There are few sources that allow for a definitive statement on the subject and there does not seem to be any one pattern in the Adirondacks. Some individuals, such as Pete Francis and Mitchell Sabattis reportedly took advantage of a supportive patron who loaned them money because their skills were extraordinary. Others, like Emma Camp Mead and George Speck, managed to obtain a considerable sum of money and risked it to start their own enterprises. Still others began small and reinvested in their ventures over time; such was the case of the Joseph and Mitchell families. Individuals such as Florence Edmonds risked only their time and labour as they found ways to take advantage of local resources and turn them into petty commodity efforts for additional sources of income. For most, if not all, entrepreneurship was part of a mixed

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145 Raibmon, Authentic Indians, 9.
economic endeavour that is suggestive of Lutz’s moditional economy. None of these families were planning on getting rich from their efforts. As Sandwell argues, for rural people occupational plurality was a strategy to maintain rural family values of leaving land to next generations and to maintain cultural traditions. For Indigenous families, occupational plurality was a traditional way of understanding work; over time, one suspects some of them chose to live and work in rural areas because this style of work was familiar to them and it allowed them to maintain some cultural traditions, especially those that easily fit into rural North American society. As this chapter earlier suggests, entrepreneurship, often through trade and sometimes by exchanging hospitality for goods, was work Indigenous people were used to performing.

Another question that arises is how entrepreneurship was different and how it was the same for Native families living in the Adirondacks as compared to non-Indigenous entrepreneurs. While there were a variety of entrepreneurial efforts managed by Iroquoian and Algonquian men and women in the Adirondacks during the wilderness tourism era, operating some kind of temporary housing such as a boardinghouse, guesthouse, or camps for tourists was the most prevalent. These undertakings often complimented their guiding business. Scholarship about this venture in North America indicates it was a female-dominated business. It was a common and respectable way for women to earn income in both the U.S. and Canada and it has a history in North America dating back to at least the eighteenth century. Davide Strackbein argues that boarding enterprises allowed both married and unmarried women independence within a home setting. Most scholars of this endeavour have focused on urban housing and emphasize the selling of domestic space, which was undervalued. Less study has been conducted on the running of guesthouses in rural areas; this scholarship focuses on the family having to share their home and rural women having to accept and cultivate a space of domesticity that they had not previously valued. Rural women had to create a persona of a welcoming female in a homey atmosphere while also being a tough-minded businesswoman thus creating a delicate balance of “domesticity and

148 For example see Wendy Gamber, “Tarnished Labor: The Home, the Market, and the Boardinghouse in Antebellum America,” Journal of the Early Republic 22:2 (Summer, 2002), 177-204. This article also emphasizes the desire of boarders and keepers to find like-minded relationships and interestingly a stereotype of using the boardinghouse to marry off single daughters or even the boardinghousekeeper herself to unsuspecting boarders - one wonders if the parents of Gabriel Mead bought into this stereotype after their son married Emma Camp. Wendy Gamber, The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 2; Also see Peter Baskerville, “Familiar Strangers: Urban Families with Boarders, Canada, 1901,” Social Science History 25:3 (Fall 2001), 321-346, 337.
commerciality”. This is very different from their urban counterparts who avoided the tough-minded businesswoman label in order to remain respectable. Strackbein also argues that women who ran boarding houses contributed to the agrarian social changes that occurred in the transformation of both places and people to a more urban environment by providing lodging that was familiar to them. In addition, Mary Bouquet’s study of rural boardinghouse keeping in Devon, England suggests that country women who took in visitors helped to stimulate the local economy and increased social activity in the community, thereby giving women who did so a central role in their communities. In reviewing Bouquet’s work, Martine Segalin takes her argument a step further and suggests that this practice also built relationships and exchanged values between urban and rural, as well as added “to the representations and social uses of tourism in rural areas”. Both rural and urban proprietors looked to middle-class values to help them run their business and interact with their guests.

While there are some similarities in managing a guesthouse business, such as using their home space to make money, there are also a few major differences between Iroquoian and Algonquian entrepreneurs in the Adirondacks and Euro-North American entrepreneurs. For one thing, the running of a boardinghouse or similar venture was considered a woman’s business in White society in both rural and urban settings. In addition, the expectation of the Euro-North American businesswoman was that she would create a home-like atmosphere for her boarder(s). Further, the business was usually conducted year-round and affected the family’s living space nearly all of the time with little to no relief. This was not the case for Native entrepreneurs in the Adirondacks. Their undertaking was run by both women and men. The entire family helped to run the operation and we often see men’s names attached to the business, such as the Sabattis boardinghouse. These enterprises often reflected complimentary and gendered skill sets: men guided guests into the forests and they set up temporary camps or they might even have a substantial building guests stayed in; women took care of the main home that might house the guest for a time and they fed and outfitted the guiding party at least initially. In some instances, men and women maintained a main house with rooms and sometimes cabins on the property. The expectation of these proprietors was to provide comfortable but rustic surroundings; this atmosphere was to be different from the boarder’s home, yet still pleasant. Once the guest(s) and the male member(s) of the household ventured out into the woods, primitive and comfortable was the goal. As described in Chapter Three,

150 Ibid, 9.
153 Ibid.
guides created an outdoor living environment for their Sport that reflected a wilderness camp with many of the comforts of home, sometimes down to eating on china. We know that Indian people valued the providing of hospitality, it was part of their cultural practices and sometimes that included exchanging hospitality for goods and the prestige it brought to the community. In addition, some scholars have argued that hospitality was a gendered-type of work ‘style’ typical of Native women.\textsuperscript{155} Thus, for these Algonquian and Iroquoian families, it was not unusual for both genders to provide hospitality, although the jobs were different.

As well, running a guesthouse was seasonal work for these Native entrepreneurs in the Adirondacks; at some point the family closed their home off to guests and engaged in other types of work based on the season. Many non-Indigenous Adirondackers who ran guesthouses managed their enterprises similarly. Living in an isolated area and knowing that one would eventually get their privacy and domestic space back in a few months might have made it easier for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Adirondack families to cope with the opening up of their private home for public consumption, and, in the case of the Sabattis family, even criticism. The first few weeks of catering to boarders may have even been a welcome relief to the tedium of the past winter. Harry Otis Gough of Elizabethtown has memories of his family taking in borders in the mid-twentieth century. He recalls his

\begin{quote}
 [G]randmother cooking on a wood stove in the kitchen in the middle of the summer and people being served breakfast in the dining room. When they were eating the door between the kitchen and dining room was always closed. … She used to serve them breakfast and possibly dinner…. During the summer we always ate on the back glassed in porch and there always seemed to be people around. … As far as moving from one bedroom to another I always thought that was kind of neat. It was a good change and when summer came there always seemed to be people around to interact with. I guess you can say this just was something that I grew up with and didn't know anything else and by no means did it ever bother me. … I guess as I was older and a stranger just stopped in for a room it was a nuisance because we had to be quiet and keep the TV low. I don't know if my parents ever got sick of the guests coming and going, but again, this was something that dated back to when my mother was a kid and I think you just get used to it like people do that run a bed and breakfast today. … All in all I enjoyed my growing up both on a farm and around tourist and visitors -- I don't remember anyone treating me or my family with anything other than full respect. I was usually disappointed to see the summer end because friends were leaving and I would have to go back to school. I really enjoyed my childhood and my summers and the tourist and visitors / strangers were not a negative.\textsuperscript{156}
\end{quote}

As this study demonstrates, both Indigenous and White Adirondackers were used to performing a variety of labour during changing seasons; boarding tourists was probably nothing more than seasonal work for them, a way to make some income that had both advantages and disadvantages. One could even argue

\textsuperscript{155} Ethridge, \textit{Creek Country}, 179-94.

\textsuperscript{156} Harry Otis Gough, e-mail to author, 18 September 2012.
that non-Native Adirondackers borrowed this style of working from Native American forms of hospitality and work.

Over the course of this period, both Native and non-Native temporary housing entrepreneurs began to appear to be living as middle-class people. They were living in larger homes that they had expanded to accommodate guests, whether seasonally or year-round. Both welcomed and communicated with well-to-do city visitors, which required a certain dress and manners designed to make tourists comfortable and hopefully return the following year. These families helped the local economy by attracting urban tourists to the region, work which undoubtedly was appreciated by other businesses and the municipality. For example, it appears that Emma easily accepted the role of providing a welcoming atmosphere for her guests; her Oneida heritage may have helped there. However, perhaps Emma also looked to middle-class-values as a guide to run her businesses. After all, she had lost the love of her life because of ethnic and, probably, class differences. Perhaps in this instance, at least, running a small hotel helped to blur these lines of difference. It was also very possible she and her family helped to stimulate the economy of Indian Lake by the running of the Adirondack House, camps, and other enterprises.

Emma’s community service and work with the Methodist and Baptist churches suggest she was an accepted and active member of the community; her obituary certainly implied she was and it omitted the fact she was Abenaki and Oneida. As Peter Bailey argues, working-class people often used middle-class respectability as a tactical strategy to circumvent middle-class institutional surveillance and interference, despite their limited attachment to respectabilities’ norms. The working class used these roles to take advantage of amenities and services and to keep middle-class authority figures at bay. While it is not really appropriate to identify country people, even those living in non-farming communities, as working class, to date there is not a good term for scholars to use to describe the work of wage-earning, (often seasonal) rural people who labour within pluralistic economies. They did share certain similarities with urban, working-class people from time-to-time. In particular, they both adopted and rejected middle-class values. Bailey describes nineteenth-century middle-class respectability as:

primarily enjoined moral rectitude, but in addition, it also demanded economic continence and self-sufficiency. Though its possession was a badge of conformity, its attainment was a matter of independent individual achievement through an ongoing process of self-discipline and self-improvement. Essentially, a distillation of evangelical disciplines, it represented a secular vision of election – minus the uncertainties – and in so far as it demanded an appropriate faith and conduct, it both incorporated an ideology and defined a life-style.

157 Peter Bailey, “Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand up?” Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability,” *Journal of Social History* 12:3 (Spring, 1979), 336-353, 336, 343.
This description certainly fits Emma Camp Mead and probably her mother, Elizabeth Kennedy Camp, whereas Gabriel Camp, who “merely stands outside the gates and scoffs” may have rejected some of the tenets of middle-class respectability. Even Emma did not always epitomize middle-class respectability. Before she married Gabriel Mead it was reported that she often enjoyed spending time with the tourists at her father’s camp and was “thrown much in society” with Mead when he stayed with the family in 1882.159 As the owner and operator of her business, Emma was very visible in the enterprise; she advertised in her own name, had business cards, and personally wrote to guests to market her business for the following season. This is conduct that raised eyebrows during this period, at least in urban settings. Even in her later years, Emma was criticized for driving her horses too fast. Overall, she learned the hard way what it was like to try and circumvent middle-class values. Similar types of surveillance were being experienced by Aboriginal people, especially on reserves during this era and rural people also were being scrutinized and judged by the urban middle class.160 Given the capacity of Native people to shapeshift as a survival strategy, taking on roles of middle-class-respectability probably was an acceptable response as they navigated new and changing political, economic, and social frontiers. Nevertheless, these Native families’ entrepreneurial efforts had consequences. The records reflect these entrepreneurial families who avoided work that used cultural stereotypes continued to have strong Algonquian and Iroquoian self-identities, but now they were becoming entangled with rural Adirondack identities. To visitors and even locals, their identity shifted from Indian families to rural ones. Such shifts were demonstrated by their changing status on the census, obituary recordings, and erasure of them as Native people in the region’s history.

As well, while some members of the early generations of nineteenth century Mohawk and Abenaki maintained close relationships with relatives and home communities, a change appears to have occurred during the mid- to late-nineteenth century with later generations. The children and grandchildren of these families and their ties to their Native communities may have become too far removed as they and their descendants became more attached to specific Adirondack communities. This was not true for all; some, like Jules Denis and Emma Camp Mead, did maintain contact and visit with relatives at their home communities. And, many, especially Abenaki in the area, kept in touch with each other, such as the Joseph family in Long Lake and the Denis family in Old Forge.161 However, a shift away from traveling to reserve communities for important events such as baptisms, marriages, and burials occurred during this period for many and these events began to be memorialized more locally. Whether families maintained

161 See Conclusion.
contact with reserve communities or not, Native Adirondackers adapted to the changes in the surrounding environment, culture, and economy. Many continued to maintain their identity as Algonquian and Iroquoian people through their relationships with each other and their continued work with customary skills such as hunting, guiding, and the making of crafts or even herbal remedies. For those families operating businesses such persistence might have been a bit more challenging. Yet their Iroquoian and Abenaki culture, style of work, and economy were useful reference points that they could incorporate in their efforts to become successful business women and men. For example, Abenaki families work focuses around a patriarchal family unit complemented by a gendered division of labour. In the case of boardinghouse and guiding enterprises, Abenaki men took care of the hunting, fishing, and guiding needs of the Sports while the women and children took care of the boardinghouse or hotel. An Iroquoian example of the maintenance of traditional patterns was Emma Camp Mead, who self-identified as Oneida. As were many Iroquoian women, Mead was a strong female voice in her home and family. She, and all of the women in this chapter, Native or not, worked hard to create a hospitable atmosphere for their guests. In addition, many if not all of these enterprises were seasonal and were incorporated into other ways to earn a living.

Some roles in tourism required these Native Adirondackers to maintain an Indian identity through craft-making and selling, guiding, or performing, while other opportunities such as running their own business relied less heavily on demonstrating ‘Indianness.’ This did not mean these businessmen and women had assimilated; some such as Thomas Hammon, were known for their heritage. What it does mean is that those Iroquoian and Algonquian people who came to work and settle in the Adirondacks had some choices. The region continued to be a location of exchange that allowed local Iroquoian and Algonquian people the opportunity and time to adapt to nineteenth century modernity as they took advantage of and negotiated a series of complex relationships between Native and non-Native people and the land. The region became a space that allowed for Deloria’s secret histories of unexpectedness, just further east and beginning at an earlier time.

CONCLUSION

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a challenging period and difficult times called for drastic measures. We must remember that the first Indigenous peoples to live year-round in the Adirondacks were seeking a place of refuge. Those who stayed - or arrived later - chose to work within the economy of the area. Some intermarried with each other and a few, such as the case of Elijah Camp and Elizabeth Kennedy (Kanada) married a partner from another Native nation, while still others married Euroamericans; many became part of the society there. Some worked for wages, others sold their talents or services, and a few became entrepreneurs. In this regard the Adirondacks of the nineteenth and early twentieth century could be seen as a space for Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples to enter capitalism without losing and sometimes taking advantage of their identity. However, this was not always easy: for
example, Abenaki Jesse Bowman who ran a store in Greenfield, Saratoga County just outside the blue line chose to hide his heritage.\textsuperscript{162} As Knight argues, Indigenous people responded to the many social, political, and economic changes that happened around them in diverse and complex ways. Contrary to criticisms that Native peoples who went to work or found ways to take advantage of the economy were assimilated into the dominant society Knight responds:

One should give members of those generations credit for being something more than mere pawns responding to the acculturative pressures…. They recognized that no solution existed in a return to a past age… If there is any single process which is wondrous in this account, it is the resilience and adaptability of Indian people during those early, chaotic, generations.\textsuperscript{163}

Knight cautions that scholars should not denigrate Indian peoples for working and seizing the opportunity to be part of the nineteenth and twentieth century world around them in spite of the restrictions facing them. As he points out, “Social change is not synonymous with ‘cultural genocide’.”\textsuperscript{164} The courageous Iroquoian and Algonquian families who took a risk and became entrepreneurs before and during the wilderness tourism era seized a window of opportunity presented to them. They too created secret histories of unexpectedness concentrated in the rural region of the Adirondacks; however, there were consequences for these choices, even if unintended. Over time their work and lives became co-mingled with their Euroamerican neighbours and their place in the region’s history was forgotten, although many retained recognition in very local accounts. And, as the next chapter suggests, these and other blended families who chose to display their customary skills and talents as Iroquoian and Algonquian craft workers and performers became part of a North American colonizing narrative that relied on distinctions between authentic and inauthentic.\textsuperscript{165} Such a narrative could not see past these family’s adaptations; locals and visitors alike began to fall prey to the misguided trope of the vanishing Indian in the Northeast.

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\textsuperscript{163} Knight, \textit{Indians at Work}, 18
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Ibid}, 197
\textsuperscript{165} Raibmon, 3, 212.
\end{flushright}
Chapter 5: Performing Native Culture: Marketing Art, Acting, and Educating Newcomers in the Adirondacks

5.1: Cleophie Obomsawin and Jules or Julius Paul Denis later Dennis, Old Forge, NY
Courtesy of the Town of Webb Historical Association, Goodsell Museum, Old Forge, NY

This photograph on a postcard of Abenaki couple Cleophie Obomsawin (1877-1934) and her husband, Chief Jules or Julius Paul Denis or Dennis (c. 1856 or 1866 -1953)\(^1\) near Old Forge, New York is intriguing. He is aiming his bow and arrow at some unknown in the water while Cleophie in round, wire-rimmed glasses is holding a paddle, looking at the camera and trying not to laugh. It represents in no small way the theme of this chapter – the performative nature of marketing Native culture for the tourist industry in the Adirondacks during the wilderness tourism era.

Performance studies argue that social realities are constructed by historical and social circumstances which can be observed in the “doings” of a people that are learned, practiced, and presented over time.\(^2\) Performance and cultural studies scholar Della Pollock suggests there is a complicated and broad relationship between history and performance that crosses disciplines. She argues by crossing these fields of study, one can recover the agency of historical actors, particularly their representation through historical remnants, and trace them within the metanarrative which otherwise hides them in its shadow. Pollock goes on to define performance in conjunction with the study of history as “primarily something done rather than something seen. It is … the process by which meanings, selves,

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\(^1\) The family subsequently changed the spelling of Denis to Dennis after a J. Denis moved to the area resulting in Jules’ mail getting delayed, thus effected his basket-selling business according to “Bernard P. Dennis memoir” received October 2007, 3, TWHA – GM, VF – “Dennis family”. I will use Denis for Jule but Dennis for Maurice and later generations.

\(^2\) Shana Komitee, PhD candidate, Student’s Guide to Performance Studies, written for Professor Julie Buckler as a teaching resource for “Literature 128: Performing Texts” (Harvard University, c. 2005), 2; accessed 15 January 2012, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic649702.files/Performance_Studies.pdf: Performance researchers examine performative components and try to determine what circumstances caused the behaviour, what relationships are involved, and how the performance affects societies.
and other effects are produced. … It is the embodied process of making meaning.” Tourism sociologist Tim Edensor argues that thinking of tourism as performance illustrates that roles can be selected and changed based on the stage (the site) and its location, the culture of the tourist, and the roles that tourists take on. Anthropologist and one of the founders of the field of Performance Studies, Richard Schechner outlines seven, often overlapping functions of human performance: to entertain, create beauty, make or change identity, make or foster community, heal, educate, and deal with spiritual or unknown realms. Algonquian and Iroquoian people living and working in the Adirondacks during the wilderness tourism period performed a number of these types of overlapping functions. Here, evidence of the tourist gaze in the past, combined with remnants of material culture and documents still existing in the present, allows the scholar’s penetrating gaze to look deeper into the meaning of these performances.

Most forms of tourist occupations employing Aboriginal people in the Adirondacks directly linked Native culture to their labour. To be sure, this was not the case for all those who worked in tourism. Tyendinaga Mohawk John Baptiste (later Battese) of Long Lake, New York (c.1869-1907) was a caretaker of camps around Raquette Lake. Unmarried Mohawk girls from Akwesasne worked as waitresses, maids, and in the laundry at the Lake Placid Club and as domestics in peoples’ homes. Of course, one might argue that even these roles involved a performance in terms of their interactions with guests, employers, and employees who may have compelled these workers to perform “Indian” for them. Even Native entrepreneurs used images to ‘play Indian,’ as we have seen in Emma Camp Mead’s use of a mounted Plains warrior on her packaging for an herbal remedy for livestock. However, occupations tied to tourism that put Aboriginal Adirondackers “on display” were invariably linked to Native culture, even if it eventually was not entirely their own. These activities are illustrative of Indigenous people performing culture as a way to market themselves and their goods, and to make obvious to their colonizers their continued existence. These occupations included guiding and acting as informants for scholars as well as more obvious performances such as creating, selling, and demonstrating the making of baskets and other crafts. Other work included fortune telling, encampment demonstrations, participating in pageants, sports shows, acting, modeling, and, eventually, running and performing in tourist attractions by the mid-twentieth-century.

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6 The other founding member was fellow Anthropologist Victor Turner, From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play (New York: PAJ Publications, 2001).
7 Deloria, Playing Indian.
This chapter examines the contradictory and performative nature of stereotyped or “Indians-on-display”–type occupations, such as selling crafts and performing on various stages, to illuminate how the mostly Abenaki and Mohawk people here were active agents as they modified and changed their wares and performances to meet Victorian era tastes. As Abenaki and Mohawk families adapted they reminded Euroamericans and Eurocanadians that they were still a thriving people who were capable of shifting to accommodate Westernized economies. However, this stance, combined with their performances of ‘playing Indian’ to White audiences’ expectations of them as a disappearing culture (such as acting in pageants as will be discussed later in this chapter), also caused middle- and upper-class tourists to question the authenticity of all performances. Ultimately, the combination of adjustments for work and notions of authenticity based on activity and blood quantum helped to make Native people less visible in the region. Thus, the notion there was no “real” Indian history in the Adirondacks was merely a part of the larger myth of the “vanished Indian” in the Northeast. Nevertheless, while the outward appearance of Abenaki and Mohawk artists and their art may have changed, both were grounded in their tradition and history.

In addition, this chapter continues to explore the concept of the Adirondacks as a location of exchange and Indigenous homeland as new Abenaki and Mohawk people arrived to make a living and those already there continued to interact with local Euroamerican Adirondackers and tourists. At the same time, tourists and some locals began to ‘play Indian’ in pageants and other displays for entertainment and commemorative purposes. Meanwhile, local Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples continued their efforts to make a living there by cooperating, adapting, and making cultural changes, some superficial and others more lasting. Some alterations were adjustments many families and businesses made to survive during this period. However, Native families also had to contend with White society’s belief that they and their culture were disappearing; they had to make choices other long-time rural Adirondackers did not have to make. In contrast, Indigenous people who remained or arrived later to the region continued the centuries-old practice of educating newcomers about their history and culture.
The Adirondacks have an early history of Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking people “performing culture”. For example, women told fortunes for tourists beginning in the nineteenth century. Clairvoyance was a respected cultural trait of Mohawk and Abenaki people. Mohawk Tom Porter’s grandmother, Konwanataha, was a seer or teieia’tarétha which means “she makes judgments or finds out something”. Abenaki culture also included men and women clairvoyants, called Wassobamit, “the “clear seers””. This ability was used for healing purposes but some Mohawk and Abenaki seers decided to use their talents to make a living. Mohawk Elizabeth Bowen Morresy lived in a longhouse near the Kaydeross Creek in the Town of Greenfield. According to her great-granddaughter Violet (or perhaps Viola) Shayne, who repeated the story told to her by her mother Jennie Green Trimmer, mid-nineteenth century tourists from Saratoga Springs came by carriage to have Elizabeth tell their fortune. Jennie told her daughter about hiding under her grandmother’s bed and “listening while the Mohawk matriarch told fortunes”. At a New Hampshire tourist site, it was reported a Saint Francis clairvoyant was delighted to be reunited with a bride whose fortune she had told the previous year; her prediction the young woman would marry well and have many children had already come true. In addition, Katie Speck Wicks Adkins told fortunes to supplement her income in Saratoga Springs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the mid-twentieth century, Frontier Town performer and artist Clara Chee – Chee Bird Eagle (Chickahominy) read fortunes with cards.

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8 Porter, And Grandmother Said, 116.
11 “From the White Mountains,” New York Times (New York) 23 August 1858; the young woman had married and inherited four stepchildren plus a small fortune.
12 Fitzgerald, ““Saratoga Chips” Chronology,” 2.
13 Gary Glebus, Schroon Lake Historian and his wife Shelly Glebus, personal conversation with author, 5 October 2009. The Chickahominy are Algonquian-speakers from Virginia.
Adirondack Indian Encampments

Advertisements in local newspapers and guidebooks noted that the art of fortune telling was also a form of entertainment at the Indian encampments that sprang up around the spas and tourist sites in the Adirondacks (figure 5.2). These encampments included Lake George (figure 5.5), Saratoga Springs (figure 5.3), Alexandria Bay on the St. Lawrence River north of the region, and another at Sharon Springs south of the Adirondacks near the old Mohawk village of Canajoharie. Writing about the 1908 Québec tercentenary, H.V. Nelles argues that Indian encampments were sites of Indigenous domestic and social life that helped to demonstrate their culture was still very much alive, reproducing, and thriving.14 However, the encampments in the Adirondacks pre-dated the Québec tercentenary; they demonstrated that Native people had been staging this performance for nearly a century. The encampments were well known for the making and selling of baskets.15 Ballston Spa, then called Ballstown Springs, appears to have the earliest record of an Indian encampment in the region. In 1800 a dying Abigail May spent the summer there in the hopes of a cure. While there, the twenty-four year old kept a diary. On 11 August, 1800, Abigail May took “a walk to the wigwam on the Hill” with companions. They watched an Indian family making baskets and Abigail described the experience as follows:

[T]he pains bestowed and the labour required to make baskets – I thought it cruel ever to dispute the price with the poor creatures – there were three squaws and a papoose in the wigwam all whose earthly goods might have been put in a bushel. [sic] for straw served them for bed chairs tables and all – an iron pot contain[ing] [sic] some indian [sic] dumplings and herrings was boiling over some coals at the door ---- and yet they appeared happy. how [sic] is it? but [sic] that is a question you cannot answer better than I.16

Indian encampments grew larger over time. Saratoga Springs had at least three encampment locations during the nineteenth century; the first it seems was at Pine Grove located on North Broadway. It was in business at least as early as 1826, when young Clarence Walworth gave a shirt to a Mohawk man returning to Canada. This site lasted until the late 1840s and may have originally been set up as a

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15 “Indian Encampment,” advertisement unknown publication (n.d.), SSHM.
16 Abigail May, Abigail May Journal at Ballstown Springs 1800 transcribed from the original by Field Horne (New York State Historical Association, 1982), 113, SCHSRL, Ballston Spa, NY. Abigail died at her home in Boston shortly after her return 30 August 1800. The journal was transcribed by her adopted sister Lucretia starting in March of 1801.
Mohawk encampment. Some of the activities included the selling of "bows and arrows, canes and baskets. Here Indians shot at pennies to show their skill." The second encampment ran from approximately 1840 to 1900; it was a camp where “Indians, who by this time also numbered many half-breeds built tents among the trees…. Famous Indian warriors and their squaws from all the Indian reservations of the northeast came to visit here". The encampment was visited by tourists to see “the feats of the Indians, and [who] liked to buy their handmade wares, especially moccasins and bows and arrows”. Encampment participants “dressed in colourful regalia. Indian boys exhibited their skill by shooting at a cent fastened to the end of a stick stuck in the ground some 20 feet away”. And it was not just boys who shot at the pennies; the occupation for six year old Mary Reeves on the 1870 U.S. federal census indicated that she too “shoots pennies”. It was probably this encampment that was referred to as “the Picturesque Indian Village.” According to one article, the Indian Village activities had morning parades and “first-class” entertainment that included:

fancy rifle shooting by “Texas Charley” … Indian medicine ceremony and other descriptive acts of Indian life [which] were found of great interest. The specialty and variety programme is “simply immense.” The entire performance is free from vulgarity, the audience, in fact, being composed of many well-known citizens and guests. The children, especially, were delighted and expressed their approval again and again. Two performances will be given daily during the week under the spacious tents between Lake avenue and Circular street.

17 Evelyn Barrett Britten, “3 Indian Encampments Once Located in City,” The Saratogian, (Saratoga Springs, NY) column “Chronicles of Saratoga,” 5 May 1962, copyright 1959, CHSS. This incident is described in detail in Chapter Two. Also see Evelyn Barrett Britten, “Indian Encampments Stir Memories,” The Saratogian, (Saratoga Springs, NY), column “Chronicles of Saratoga,” 5 December 1959.
18 Waller, Saratoga: Saga of an Impious, 71. Also see Evelyn Barrett Britten, “When the Indians came visiting,” the location of the camp was across from the home of Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth.
19 Britten, “3 Indian Encampments Once Located in City” indicates the encampment was located on a triangular shaped piece of land “formed by the intersection of Ballston Avenue with South Broadway, and West Circular Street. She later described the location as north of South Street (now Lincoln Avenue) near Broadway in her article “When the Indians came visiting”.
20 Britten, “When the Indians came visiting”. Also see Jean McGregor (which was the name Britten went by before she married), “Unique Memorials Mark Graves of Indians in Greenridge Cemetery,” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY) 27 April 1945 where she claims this was a St. Regis camp but other Native people joined them. According to Britten, an oral history by Edward H. Fuller indicated the St. Regis families used the white tents, but there were also “rustic lodges”. Some of the goods sold included “beaded bags and slippers and fancy colored baskets and bows and arrows”.
21 1870 United States Federal Census- Saratoga Springs dated 1 August of that year included the following people in the Reeves household: Eugene Reeves (53, identified as ½ Indian), bow and arrow maker, wife Sarah (40) making baskets, daughter Sarah (13) selling baskets, son Eugene (12) attend target, daughter Mary and son Henry (7) shoots pennies, and 5 year old Victoria had no occupation listed. In addition to the Reeves, Mary Tahamont (25) and Mary Sattregross (25) also made baskets and their children Emily Sattergross (9), George Tahamont (7) and Muin (?) Tahamont (2) accompanied them. These three had no occupation listed for them. All were born in Canada except George and all but Eugene Sr. were listed as White, which is doubtful. The Abenaki family of Peter Joseph and his wife and two daughters are also nearby; he is identified as a basket maker and she as keeping house, both are identified as Indian. Christopher Roy’s “Abenaki Sociality,” 57 indicates Eugene was Eusebe and French Canadian; his wife was the former Sarah Glandon, the daughter of Angelique Pakigan (Abenaki).
According to *Lee’s Guide* there were two competing camps in the 1880s; this one and another on Ballston Avenue (figure 5.4). The guide called the Congress Park encampment the “Indian Camp and Park” and the Ballston Avenue one the “Indian Encampment” and cautioned the traveler not to confuse the two. The third encampment located at Congress Park (c. 1870s-mid 1890s) was described as being covered with tents and log houses, where the Indians camped from late spring until late autumn or until snow came. They wove baskets, embroidered fabrics and produced numerous colourful articles of their handcraft. Within the camp were a Punch and Judy Show, and glass blowers who made glass objects while the customer waited.

Both of these encampments included activities and performers that were not attached to Native culture, which created grumblings that the Indian encampments were no longer authentic because they did things that Natives were not expected to do.

Lake George also had more than one encampment during the nineteenth century, beginning as early as 1830. In addition to making and selling baskets, bows and arrows, and other souvenirs the encampments at Lake George also held basket-making classes for tourists at upscale hotels. These

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23 Lee, *Lee’s guide to Saratoga*, 207, 259. The “Indian Camp and Park” was run by A.F. Mitchell, proprietor. The “Indian Encampment” on Ballston Ave. was run by John Leclare, proprietor. Both had a number of “innocent outdoor amusements” including rifle range, bowling, and lawn croquet; the encampment also had the “Circular Railway” which was a small train that ran on a small length of track in the shape of a circle.

24 Britten’s “When the Indians came visiting” claims the exact location “occupied the block from Circular Street running from Spring Street to East Congress Street (now in our park).” Also see Britten, “3 Indian Encampments Once Located in City.” The dates for this encampment are based on Britten’s statement that the site began in the 1870s and ended when Richard Canfield began improvements to the Canfield Casino. According to the brochure “Historic Congress Park” accessed 17 February 2012, [http://www.saratogaspringsvisitorcenter.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/BROCHURE-Congress-Park.pdf](http://www.saratogaspringsvisitorcenter.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/BROCHURE-Congress-Park.pdf) Canfield purchased a building called the Club House in 1894 and it became known as Canfield Casino; he began improvements on the property shortly thereafter.

25 Agnes Gilligan, “News of Lake George and Vicinity Places,” *The Post-Star* (Glens Falls, NY), 8 September 1952 mentions there were two encampments in Lake George, both home to the St. Francis Indians. One was at Dieska Street and the other
encampments became tourist attractions; they may have been the precursor of the Indian villages that were part of twentieth century roadside attractions in the Adirondacks. In addition to their commercial, entertainment, and educational value, the encampments also served as the seasonal home of the people who worked there. Some continued living there: Abenaki Andrew Joseph (1892-1978), for example, was born at the Saratoga Congress Park encampment and spent some of his youth in Saratoga Springs until the family moved to Long Lake. The Abenaki family of Louis Watso (c. 1777-1803) and his wife the former Mary Jane Benedict Paquette worked at the encampment at Lake George; eventually Watso settled there.

Basket-making and Other Souvenirs

The making of baskets is seasonal and physically demanding work. The gathering of the material was more time consuming than actually weaving the baskets and other crafts. The Mohawk and the Abenaki had gendered views about the making and selling of baskets that demonstrated traditional values; typically the men carefully selected and fell the ash trees.

The basketmakers look for straight, knot-free trees, 10 to 16 inches in diameter at the butt end. In the late fall or early spring, when the earth is frozen, they fell the trees, haul the logs home, and remove the bark. With a knife, they make a lengthwise incision through six to eight annual rings. An identical parallel cut is made three or four inches from the first. The entire scored area is then pounded three times with a heavy wooden maul. This ritual causes the wood to separate into layers at the annual rings, while preserving the “spirit” of the tree. The men, and many hardy women, pry the strips from the log, roll them into bundles, and repeat the cutting and pounding process around the log’s circumference. … Each basketmaker cleans and prepares his own splints according to his needs. First, he soaks the rough strips until they become pliable, then shaves them clean with a jackknife. At this stage, the splint is ready to be worked into a large utility basket. For a smaller, fancier basket, it needs further refinement. A tool called a splitter peels the splint again and again until the desired thinness is attained. With a splint gauge, a wooden device with evenly spaced metal cutting teeth, the basketmaker cuts the peeled splint into uniform strips, varying in width from 1/16 to 1/14 of an inch.

along Canada Street “up from McGillis Street”. Dieskau Street eventually became a year-round neighbourhood for some Abenaki families who built homes near the Catholic Church. According to Woods, “A History in Fragments,” 69 the Lake George encampments began as early as 1830.

26 Phillip “Phil” Joseph, personal conversation with author (see Conclusion).
27 S. R. Stoddard, Lake George (Illustrated): A Book of To-Day (Glens Falls, NY: published by the author and Albany, NY: Van Benthuysen & Sons Printers, 1879), 46 which claimed Watso was an arrow maker and “Mrs. Pawket” was watching a brood of children. Also see 1880 United States Federal Census – Village of Caldwell, Louis which indicated he was a widower and 103 years of age. He is listed a border in the home of fellow Abenaki, John Camp Jr. and Susan Watso Camp.
These uniformly thin strips of wood were woven into baskets and other crafts, including cane furniture and miniature items such as snowshoes, during the winter months. Men often made the larger work baskets while the women wove the smaller, more elaborate baskets including sweetgrass baskets. Sweetgrass was usually gathered by the women and found around Akwesasne and in some parts of the Adirondacks, for example Lake Placid. The plant was carefully selected and harvested during the summer (the same season that black flies are so prevalent in the region, as are snakes). Sweetgrass had to be dried in a dark place, bundled and stored for winter weaving. Before the weaving could occur the sweetgrass bundles were soaked in warm water and wrapped in a towel to restore its flexibility. It was sometimes braided and dyed before being woven into baskets; sweetgrass added intricacy, texture, and scent to the baskets. While sweetgrass baskets were associated with the Mohawk, a number of Abenaki became expert at incorporating sweetgrass into their baskets.  

Mohawk representatives took the handicrafts made at Akwesasne and traveled to the Adirondacks during the season to sell them; according to the records, they did so primarily at the encampments. The Mohawk women who traveled there continued to make more baskets and other crafts while other members of the group sold their wares and sometimes performed. At the end of the season, they usually returned home. This was not dissimilar to the past when the majority of Mohawk women stayed in the village to work but a few accompanied the men on hunts and military campaigns where they performed specific and usually separate jobs. As discussed in previous chapters, both the Mohawk and Abenaki adapted their customary style of work to fit contemporary economic industries such as lumbering; they continued this gendered practice when it came to the making and selling of wares. Similarly, both Abenaki men and women made baskets and other souvenirs. Sometimes they made their crafts at Odanak and an individual or family brought them to the Adirondacks to sell at encampments. However, they also sold them in a variety of ways, practices which will be described below. In addition, some moved to the Adirondacks to make and sell their baskets, in a few cases they invited family and others to come to stay with them and make baskets to sell in the region. This too was probably representative of their customary economic practices. Instead of leaving most of the women and children in a village, the Abenaki customarily traveled together as a family band for work. Families traveled to their respective economic hunting territories and set up camp wherever it made sense based on whatever resource(s) they were after: both genders shared in the work.

In the Adirondack tourism trade, it appears that Abenaki and other Algonquian families staked out specific markets as their own and the entire family used their skills to make and sell wares. For example, the Penobscot Smashwood brothers Frank (c. 1849-1924?) and Gregory (c. 1857-1887) staked

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out Keene Valley and Elizabethtown respectively.\(^{30}\) By the early twentieth century, Frank owned his own farm and also made furniture.\(^{31}\) The Denis family was well-known in Old Forge, as was the Joseph family in Long Lake, for their baskets. This does not mean they did not cross into each others’ craft-selling territory. For example, Jules Denis sometimes drove to Long Lake to sell baskets out of his car. Andrew Joseph sold most of his baskets to the local hardware store or in his family’s gift store. The two men were friends; Jules was known to visit at the Joseph home.\(^{32}\) As in the past, it was acceptable for a friend or family member to sometimes use another’s economic space if they needed to so long as they requested permission. There are no records to let us know if Jules Denis asked Andrew Joseph for permission to sell his baskets in the Long Lake market, but given their close ties and Abenaki practice, it is probable he did or that Andrew even invited him to use the area. Thus we see here traditional practices continuing and being adapted in the making and selling of baskets and crafts.

For Indigenous men and women in the Northeast, making and selling their baskets and other handicrafts was one of the best ways they could earn a living between 1860 and the 1890s. Many abandoned other economic pursuits to produce them; U.S. and Canadian tourist sites were especially good markets. According to Raibmon, baskets were popular because they “embodied the affiliation between Aboriginal people, nature, and the past…. They were the perfect souvenir”.\(^{33}\) Indeed, other people, such as the French in Québec, appropriated the practice of making and selling baskets and Indian curios; as a result, in the 1890s the market became glutted. In addition, these goods also began to be manufactured by machine at lower costs than handmade. Adding to this competition was the U.S. legislated Tariff Act of 1890 that eliminated the duty-free status of these wares crossing the border during this decade.\(^{34}\)

As a result of this competition and tariff barriers, Abenaki and Mohawk people had to be creative in their marketing efforts. As in other parts of the Northeast, they traveled around communities and sold directly while others set up seasonal shops. Martha Lee Owens of Keene Valley recalls their family’s history of Native people camping on family property across from the home of her Aboriginal great-

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\(^{30}\) Janet Hall, Keene Historian, personal conversation with author, 6 April 2009; the Smashwood brothers were believed to be Penobscot from Maine and were also called Bosso or Boss. Frank’s first wife Elizabeth was also probably Penobscot per Christopher Roy, personal conversation with author, 7 May 2009. Frank married for a second time to a local woman named Sarah Ann Brown in 1886; they were married for 23 years. Gregory died from a hemorrhage of the lungs at the age of 30 in Elizabethtown. His obituary of 1887 reported he died on 19 April and was also called Charley Boss. He was described as a Canadian Indian who “was industrious, working at basket making,” *Elizabethtown Post* (Elizabethtown, NY) 21 April, 1887. There was also a third brother, Joseph who worked in the mines in Port Henry. Per Christopher Roy, personal conversation with author, 7 May 2009 he divorced and moved to Burlington, Vermont where he shortened his name to “Wood”.

\(^{31}\) 1915 New York State Census – Keene, Essex County. Frank was still making baskets in 1920 but due to his wife’s illness he had not made any in two years according to a local column by George L. Brown called “News in and About the County Seat,” *Adirondack Record* (Elizabethtown, NY) 2 June 1922. Sarah Brown Smashwood died in July of 1923 and by April of 1924 the newspapers were reporting he was in poor health. See *Adirondack Record* 26 July 1923 and *Adirondack Record* 7 April 1924.

\(^{32}\) Phil Joseph, personal conversation 10 July, 2009. Also see Conclusion.

\(^{33}\) Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 147.

\(^{34}\) Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 25, 142. Also known as the McKinley Tariff a protectionist piece of legislation enacted 21 October of that year; it was popular with business but not with the populace. See “Up Go the Prices Now,” *New York Times* (New York) 21 October, 1890.
grandmother and Euroamerican great-grandfather, Florence and David Edmonds (figure 5.6). According to family history and a deed, Florence purchased the land in 1881. Native people, including Jules Denis, were known to sell baskets in Keene Valley during the summer in the 1880s; they set up tents and usually left in the fall. It is possible the people camped across from the Edmonds’ family were this Abenaki group there to sell crafts.

Native craftspeople and sellers used Adirondack railroad and steamship stations to set up their wares to sell to tourists embarking or disembarking. Raibmon describes both forms of transportation as being a frontier marker of advancement and contributors to tourism. Besides tourists these forms of transportation often brought needed goods, mail, and even family members home. Tourists arriving meant money for the community either directly or indirectly. Both Native and non-Native people took advantage of the arrival of railroads and steamships to sell to tourists who could not get enough of Indian crafts, as they had become a fad for the well-appointed Victorian home. Getting to tourists first by setting up on the docks or in the streets made a big difference. A photograph taken by Adirondack photographer and guidebook author Seneca Ray Stoddard shows Dennis Gill of Canada waiting at the

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35 Martha Lee Owens, personal conversation 4 April 2009. As referenced in chapter four Martha Lee’s great-grandmother, Florence Emma/Emmo/Emmeau (1851-1927) was an Aboriginal woman of unknown ethnicity from the Montréal area. She and David Edmonds married in 1874. Property Deed located in Essex County Clerk’s Office, Book 84 filed 28 November 1881 between Eli and Eliza Crawford to Florence Edmonds.
36 “Bernard P. Dennis memoir,” 1-2 puts Jules in Keene Valley in the early 1880s.
37 “Waiting for Tourists to Roll In,” photograph in The Post-Star (Glens Fall, NY), 14 December 1963 shows a group of several men and two women dressed in Native clothing, all wearing feather headdresses of some sort waiting at the Lake George train depot “in the early years of this [20th] century, when railroad service was more readily available than it is today.” 1855 New York State Census – Town of Hague, lists Christiana Paul and her husband Erustus Jaqua living there; they are both identified as Indian and are basketmakers. Hague was the northern terminus for Lake George steamer stops. Another example was the William Traversy family in Old Forge; they were basket makers from Québec who owned a camp on 4th Lake next to the Kenmore Hotel where the steamer stopped, see “For Sale,” Utica Daily Press (Utica, NY) 30 June, 1908.
38 Raibmon, Authentic Indians, 129, 141, 143.
39 Ibid, 143-45. Some Victorian homes even had an “Indian corner”.

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steamboat landing in front of the Sagamore Hotel on Lake George. He is standing beside a large basket that the photo claims contains sweetgrass baskets and birch bark articles made by his family to sell to tourists (figure 5.7).  

In addition, Native individuals and families traveled by train or boat for commercial purposes. Although an unflattering account, Stoddard’s travel guide tells us that Native people took a steamer on Lake Champlain, sleeping on the deck during their journey. Ann or Annie Paul Denis Fuller (1860-1903) traveled as far away as New York City by train to sell her baskets. She may have done so door-to-door but it is more likely that she sold them at a commercial fair. In either case, she was “discovered” by Harriet Maxwell Converse who suggested to Ann that she could make more money in New York as an artist’s model. “Falling Star,” as she was often called in New York circles, annually returned to New York City in the winter for at least four years to pursue this endeavour. While there, she continued to make and sell baskets, moccasins, buckskin dresses, and beadwork. Annie returned to her home in Lake Luzerne (Warren County) in the spring and fall; during the summer she had a cabin and shop at Rainbow Lake in Franklin County. Most of her summer customers were nearby tourists from Paul Smith’s hotel, located in the town of the same name. To sell her handicrafts, Ann dressed the part of an Indian woman but in the summer she modified the material to a more comfortable corduroy with some beadwork for decoration. Ann’s life as a model is explored further on in this chapter.

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40 S.R. Stoddard, *Photograph # 1112* entitled “Sagamore Dock” (1906), AM-BML.
41 Stoddard, *The Adirondacks: Illustrated* (1874), 41-43. He also wrote or used a poem called “Lo! The Poor Indian,” by “Shortfellow” to textualize the drawing and describes them as a noble, but dying race. The steamer preceded the railroad into the eastern part of the Adirondacks; it docked at Port Kent.
42 “Women Here and There,” *New York Times* (New York) 12 March 1899, 20; “Indian Woman in New York,” *New York Times* (New York) 30 April 1899, 23; “Falling Star: The Indian Beauty Who Died Last Week,” 5. Her obituary has her selling the baskets door-to-door; however, the article “Indian Woman in New York” which had interviewed Falling Star (as she was known in New York) claimed she was attending the Commercial Fair there when she was asked to model.
Other craftspeople set up their own enterprise in various forms and expected people to come to them. For example, Abenaki Daniel Emmett or Wasamimet set up a tent under a crab apple tree at Coreys for the season (figure 5.8). He chose this space because it was near the water which he needed to make his canoes from local birch trees; he carefully chose those without knots (figure 5.9). According to the late Clarence Petty, Dan arrived at the landing on the Upper Saranac with baskets and balsam pillows from Odanak and, possibly, Akwesasne to sell. He had so many sweetgrass baskets that Petty recalls Emmett being “Steeped in Sweetgrass”.  

Emmett traveled to the region and marketed his wares for so long that in the beginning he transported his goods from the landing to Coreys by horse and wagon; as times changed he got them there by automobile. Petty remembered that sometimes women or young men accompanied Dan or came to visit or help him pack up and go home. Often he lived by himself in the tent but he had visitors. Emmett used the tanned hide from a moose he had killed in Québec the autumn before to tie parts of the canoe together. He submerged the bark in the water to begin the process and finished by melting spruce pitch to pour onto the seams to prevent leakage. He made at least three canoes every season. Emmett also made pack baskets and ash splint baskets from local trees; in addition, he also repaired moccasins and guide boats. Sometimes called “Indian Dan” by locals and tourists, Emmett expected customers to come to him to purchase his wares. He did not dress any differently than the locals or his customers to market his products. If he still had merchandise left by the end of the season, he packed it into a canoe and sold them at hotels in Axton or Long Lake. Petty recalled it was quite a sight seeing Dan and a couple of young men, probably Abenaki, paddling birch bark canoes down the river loaded with the remaining baskets and souvenirs.

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43 Clarence Petty, personal conversation 1 June 2009. Several times Petty referred to Daniel Emmett as “a real artist”.
44 Ibid, Mr. Petty believed he first met Daniel Emmett in 1911 when Emmett a teenager or in his early 20s; Emmett died in 1951-52.
45 Ibid. For a detailed description and photographs of Daniel Emmett at age 82 making a canoe see Eugene W. Bond, “How to Build a Birchbark,” Natural History LXIV: 5 (May 1955), 242-46. The article did not use his last name and identified him as Montagnais; however, Mr. Petty was able to identify him and I was able to double check with the above photograph of Dan Emmett (5.8) at a younger age. Mr. Petty and other records confirm Dan was “Ah-BEN-a-Kee” which is the pronunciation Dan told to a youthful Clarence Petty (it is also the pronunciation used by Phil Joseph). It is believed the canoe he made for this article is the one located at the Adirondack Museum (See illustration, 5.9).
46 Clarence Petty, personal conversation 1 June 2009. Mr. Petty reminisced that one season several young Abenaki men with TB came to help Dan during the season; ironically this region especially was known as a place to seek a cure for TB. DeSormo, Summers on the Saranacs, 102. Noah John Rondeau Diary, 8 August 1932, 13 August 1932, AM-BML. Daniel returned to Québec for the rest of the year and guided hunters, some of whom were his Adirondack customers. Wealthy families such as the Rockefellers were fond of Daniel Emmet and purchased canoes from him.
47 Clarence Petty, personal conversation 1 June 2009. The Petty family moved to the region in 1911 and Clarence and his brother used to caddy for the tourists. He recalls Dan was set up near the golf course and almost daily called out to them to ask; “How much did you make today?” Mr. Petty’s mother ran the local post office and got to know Daniel Emmett quite well as he came by twice a day to pick up mail.
The marketing of souvenir wares sometimes changed in form over time as the tourist area grew or as the artists became more successful. Two photographs of the Jules Denis family are illustrative. The first, a turn of the century photo probably taken in Keene Valley, is of the family standing in front of a small, portable building used to sell baskets; note the flags placed on top of the building to draw peoples’ attention (figure 5.10). As well, the family was wearing Westernized clothing. Jules arrived in Old Forge in 1892 to sell baskets seasonally and later brought his family there in 1918 to live year-round. According to the 1920 census records, both Jules and Cleophe could read and write, possibly French, and spoke English (although it was not their first language). The second photo was taken around 1920 with Jules and his third wife, Cleophe, making baskets in front of their home on North Street in Old Forge. Their son Bernard (c. 1910–1925) and an unknown, probably Abenaki, man watch (figure 5.11). Jules and Cleophe are in pan-Indian garb while their son and friend are in Western clothing. Old Forge had become a popular tourist destination at the turn of the century and the family took advantage of their skills to make and sell baskets. In addition, they found other ways to perform in Old Forge as did their son, Maurice, performances which will be described further in the chapter.

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48 1910 United States Federal Census – Old Forge. The Denis family had a young woman living with them named Vicky Capino, age 21 who was also Abenaki. Her relationship to them was servant, but her occupation was basket weaver. Vickie too was literate but could not speak English which causes me to wonder if Jules and Cleophe’s literacy was French, too. Their two sons Bernard and Maurice attended the local school. According to Phil Joseph, Jules and his father Andrew spoke fluent Abeanki. 49 Photograph 5.10 of Jules Paul Denis include his sister Hermine, cousin Marie Obamsawin, and friend Charles Masta. The boy has been identified as Jules’ son Joseph P. Denis (b. c. 1898) by his second marriage to Marie or Mary Benedict (great granddaughter of Sabael, granddaughter of Louis Elijah).
However, not all Native people in the Adirondacks had to resort to stereotyping to sell their wares. By 1912 Angeline Sarah Kaziah-Otondosonne (1851-1925) and her husband Norman Frank Johnson (1852-1919) had owned a basket store in Lake George village for many years when the Abenaki couple was interviewed by the *New York Times*. Angeline wore a black dress and neither she nor her husband, who barely spoke to the reporter, were very forthcoming about their life. She admitted to not being able to read or write and her English was said to be limited although it did not prevent her from getting her point across in the interview. As the reporter noted,

> Mrs. Johnson showed a quaint sense of humor, for at times she would look up from her work with a twinkle in her eyes to pronounce again some Indian word that was as bewildering to the neophyte [transcriptionist] as the rapidity with which she was putting the finishing touches on the dainty sweet grass basket. A proud smile of satisfaction greeted his inability to comprehend the word, and she would return to her work without proffering further assistance in solving its spelling.\(^{30}\)

The difference between these two families’ marketing strategy is striking. Lake George had been a well-known tourist destination since the end of the eighteenth century, whereas Old Forge was just coming into its own at the nineteenth-century’s end. The Johnson family had been living in the region year round for decades. Angeline reported that she arrived in Lake George village, called Caldwell at the time, with her parents who were looking for a place to sell baskets. They found Caldwell to be a good place to market their wares and it was close to Saratoga. Their shop was a well-known landmark to purchase baskets for both tourists and locals alike.\(^{51}\) One cannot help but speculate that their longevity in

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50 “Basketmaking Indians of Lake George,” *New York Times* (New York) 8 September 1912, X10. Angeline commented that she worked until 2 or 3 o’clock in the morning making baskets during the winter to sell during the season.

51 *Ibid,* Angeline’s family had been given permission to leave Odanak for as long as five years but they stayed longer. As a result, they were “disowned” and their Québec property threatened to be divided amongst the reserve community. Per Roy’s “Abenaki Sociality” this was a result of the *Canadian Indian Act* and not an Abenaki custom. The family successfully fought to get reinstated but chose to remain in the Adirondacks. Norman Johnson was born in Troy, NY although his family returned to
the well-established tourist town of Lake George allowed the Johnson family to avoid performing to stereotypical roles and exert a more direct agency, one that included resistance and humour, even demonstrating superiority to a reporter and his transcriber who could not spell their names or Abenaki references. In addition, despite their long residency in Lake George, the family still spoke Abenaki better than English and their children spoke it as well. While the Denis family became well known and at least outwardly respected in Old Forge, their lives were different. They obviously felt compelled to resort to stereotyping to market their baskets and other wares; they also took advantage of their status as Native people to make money performing by posing for post cards and participating in regalia during community events. This does not mean the Denis family did not cherish their Abenaki culture; they too taught the language to their son Maurice. As the conclusion of this chapter demonstrates, Maurice found ways to embrace his and other Native peoples’ culture and he educated locals and tourists about it. For the Johnson and Denis families, Abenaki cultural survival lived alongside earning a living in a space that was socially, politically, and economically Western. Whether it was the differences in the age of the community and length of time the family had lived there is a matter for speculation: both families had to assess their situation and determine how to best market their wares and themselves to make a living.

Records about the Mohawk basket trade in the Adirondacks during this period are few; the majority of documents pertaining to the making and selling of baskets are about the Abenaki. That is not to say there were not informal sales by Mohawk people in the Adirondacks, especially those who traveled to and lived seasonally at encampments and in lumbering camps; however, so far no records of these informal sales have been found. Akwesasne was considered to be the largest supplier of ash splint baskets in the region; indeed it provided more than all reserves in the Northeast combined. We also know the Mohawk sold baskets seasonally at the Indian encampments. It is likely the Mohawk women of Akwesasne chose to make their baskets at home and sell them to middlemen to market their goods. These entrepreneurs, many of whom were White, purchased the baskets in large quantities from Indigenous

Odanak from time to time. He too had been exiled from Odanak because he had stayed away for so long and mounted a successful campaign to be reinstated.

52 Philip Joseph, personal conversation 10 July 2009. Phil recalls his father Andrew speaking the language with Julius Denis when the latter visited their home; the two men had a ‘pet name’ for him when he became a pest. Julius’ son Maurice had to translate the not-so-complimentary ‘pet name’ for Phil who was not taught the language. See Conclusion for more about the Joseph family.

53 My thanks to Sue Ellen Herne, Museum Director, Akwesasne Cultural Center, e-mail to author, 24 September 2012 for her review of this consideration and the idea of informal sales.

54 Ruth B. Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700 – 1900, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 67, 289 citing Harriet Converse “Reservation Indians of New York State,” Illustrated Buffalo Express c. 1895 located in Scrapbook of Indians (unprovenanced), D72-23 at the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, NY. Converse noted the trade was so busy it employed most of the women and children at St. Regis. [Harriet Converse is also important in the upcoming “Falling Star” history).
basket weavers and either sold them in their own stores or in catalogues (figure 5.12).\footnote{W.S. Tanner photograph, “W.S. Tanner, Lawrence, Kansas. Gives Exclusive Sale to One Merchant in a City of his St. Regis Indian Fancy Baskets,” c. 1894, accessed 21 January 2012, \url{http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ cph. 3c 32279/}. C.N. Saba and Company Catalogue Cover, Wellington Street, West, Toronto, Ontario, Chimney Point Historic Site and Museum, Addison, VT .} An example of this practice in the Adirondacks involved the Standard Supply Company in Otter Lake. The store’s owner, Roscoe Norton, sent bags of local balsam by train to the St. Regis Indian Trading Company in Hogansburg, New York (the main town on the reservation); craft makers bought and used the balsam to make pillows for tourists. Norton then purchased the pillows and baskets from Akwesasne; these items arrived by train “for wholesale distribution”.\footnote{Elizabeth Folwell, “Wish you were here: Hand-tinted memories from Standard Supply,” \textit{Adirondack Life} XX:6 (November/December 1989), 60-62, 61. Interestingly, the store’s large sign over the building’s front door read in large letters “Indian Sweet-Grass Baskets Balsam Pillows” and right underneath this in much smaller font was the name of the store.} Perhaps the competition from the Abenaki in a region with a small population and highly seasonal tourist economy compelled the Mohawk to mostly ignore this market since they were able to supply to larger ones with less effort, thus demonstrating their astute business acumen.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{st_regis_indian_trading_company_catalogue}
\caption{St. Regis Indian Trading Company Catalogue Company, c. 1917}
\end{figure}

Based on the quantity of material culture evidence available, beadwork was another handicraft that was popular in the Adirondacks. Most of the beadwork was made by Mohawk craftspeople and sold at encampments, although some Abenaki people were beadworkers as well.\footnote{Bruce J. Bourque and Laureen A. Labar, \textit{Common Threads: Wabanaki Textiles, Clothing, and Costume} (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009)116-121 regarding Wabanaki beadwork and 117-18 for specific reference to Abenaki beadwork being sold it in tourist resorts such as Saratoga. Ann “Falling Star” Paul Denis Fuller also beaded.} As we know, Native women customarily used marine shell beads for diplomatic and decorative purposes; glass beads eventually became popular at least for the latter function. As figures 5.13 – 5.16 pictured below indicate, starting in the last part of the nineteenth century beadwork was applied to souvenir items on both Aboriginal and Westernized forms; these forms included moccasins, purses, decorative bird, and letter holders. Other souvenir ware sold around the region included miniature items such as snow shoes and boats, pin cushions, and mementos with tourist locations beaded onto the keepsake. Retired archaeologist and...
beadwork enthusiast Dolores Elliott claims there are over eighty different beadwork forms created by
Iroquoian beadworkers, ranging from the practical to the impractical.

Iroquois beadwork is an old practice; it dates back to at least the end of the eighteenth century. Initially, the Iroquois were the only beadworkers to raise the beads above the surface of the cloth base. They did this by putting more beads on the thread than they needed to complete the pattern thus creating an arch. Iroquois beadwork is so distinctive experts can tell which Iroquois nation and even family did the work. These souvenirs began as cardboard cut into the desired shape; the form was covered by cloth, often velvet, and the back was covered in calico. To make these souvenirs, the beadworker, or sewer as some prefer to be called, follow a pre-drawn pattern placed onto the cloth, although the thread went through the cardboard. The Mohawk often used beadwork around the perimeter to hide the edges. Stuffing ranged from sawdust to sweetgrass to cattail fluff or even newspaper.  

A popular beaded souvenir found in the Adirondacks was the form of a padded canoe with the words “FAST” and “BOAT” beaded on each side of the keepsake; these were often made by Mohawk women from Akwesasne and Kahnawake. Elliott claims the canoe was meant to represent Indians. Beadworkers often used glass seed and tubular beads to create beautiful designs; the flower motif being the most popular. The Mohawk also used many bird motifs.  

Ruth Philip’s argues that flower motifs replaced more established geometric patterns that had spiritual connotations. The flower was more acceptable to White missionaries and bureaucrats who saw it as a symbol of “the feminine and the folk”. Native people appropriated the floral image to “continue to signify indigenous beliefs in the dynamic cosmic powers…. The use of floral images … signalled a major reformulation of older constructs in Indianness made necessary by the new realities of the nineteenth-century settler colonialism”. Yet, their adoption of new designs, materials and techniques also demonstrated the versatility of Native people as they incorporated them into their own worldview, economies, and practices that aided them in resisting assimilation.

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59 Ibid.

60 Philips, Trading Identities, 157, also see 182-88 for discussion on.

61 Ibid, 158, also see 196.

Victorian women treated these souvenirs as a representation of a more innocent and natural world of the past, not unlike their husbands’ ideas of a wilderness vacation. Thus, the two cultures were often interconnected in gendered ways. As Chapter Three describes, White middle- and upper-class male tourists connected directly with their Native, male guides. White middle- and upper-class female tourists often connected less directly with female (and sometimes male) Native artists through their craftwork.

Susan Stewart argues that all souvenirs are miniatures or samples that represent a second-hand experience for the possessor and act as a calendar for the individual who has taken the object from its natural place and added a narrative to it. The distance and the narrative give the object its value to the buyer. Stewart suggests that to own an “exotic” souvenir is to have a trophy that illustrates the maker had been tamed; it also provides a sense of distinction to the owner who is trapped in a society of increasing standardization. Phillips’ seminal work on the souvenir trade supports this argument. She demonstrates that art objects made by Native people during the Victorian era were “trophies of imperial possession”

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that naturalized European immigrants as “Native” to the land; these trophy souvenirs became markers of travel experiences that served to commemorate the demise of Indigenous peoples’ culture.  

It is certainly possible that well-to-do buyers of Mohawk and Abenaki souvenirs purchased them for these reasons. Both the Mohawk and the Abenaki were admired and remembered as having fierce reputations in the Northeast, the latter held until the conclusion of the War of 1812. To own and display an item made by them could provide a unique social status to the purchaser while also implying, however erroneously, that they were a conquered people whose culture was destined to disappear. However, as Phillips points out, these souvenirs also became “the object record of historical processes by which ideas of culture difference have been constructed. They illuminated many individual acts of negotiation and cross-cultural appropriation that are not recorded in any other place”. The artwork becomes the voice for the “colonized subject, the commentator from the margins who recognizes things of interest and value in the dominant culture, modifying them to suit his or her needs and tastes, but who, in the process, also sometimes reveals the dominant culture’s contradictions and absurdities”. The artwork and the artist also reminded settler society consumers that Indian people were still present in places they were believed to have disappeared from and in which they could still take centre stage.

Mohawk and Abenaki performers associated with the Adirondacks, and those who worked in other towns and cities of North America, found opportunities to incorporate their own, other Native, and non-Native peoples’ culture into ways of making a living in the tourism and entertainment industries. When the basket market was saturated in the 1890s they made adjustments. Abenaki and Mohawk women crafted new types of souvenirs and decorated them with beads; they also added the name of the place where the souvenir was purchased and adopted new motifs. They took advantage of the fads, wore pan-Indian clothing if that is what was required to draw buyers’ attention, accepted other work when necessary, and as the discussion below demonstrates they suffered when times became lean. Abenaki and Mohawk artists with connections to the Adirondacks may have changed their artwork and their dress may have changed over time but their techniques and performances were still traditional. They kept their identity and values, traveled for work, maintained contact with families, adapted long-established skills and even spiritual concepts onto new forms, and kept their sense of humour as they did so.

Staged Performers

In addition to marketing baskets and other souvenir items, some families participated in more obviously staged performances for tourism and entertainment. As the opening of this chapter describes,

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65 Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 8
Jules and Cleophie Denis wore costumes and posed for postcards; one can tell that Cleophie especially found the performance to be a bit silly. Another postcard photograph of the pair has them paddling a canoe on Darts Lake in regalia; the canoe was owned by Bill Darts, a local guide. Even the guide Mitchel Sabattis posed for photographs although, notably, he did not dress in buckskin or wear a headdress; indeed, he often wore the same hat. Some of these photographs appeared in travel guides. He rarely looked forward in the photographs and he seemed uncomfortable (figures 5.17 and 5.18). His posing was done during an earlier period than that of the Denis family; Sabattis also was drawn by illustrated books author and historian Benson Lossing in his 1866 *The Hudson, from the Wilderness to the Sea* and Adirondack photographer Seneca Ray Stoddard’s 1874 guidebook *The Adirondacks: Illustrated*. As well, Sabattis posed for at least one portrait that, in all likelihood, he commissioned. In this photo, he is seated on an elaborate, fringed chair facing forward, looking directly at the camera. He wore a suit and his ever-present hat. He is holding onto a walking stick that appeared to have been whittled and smoothed. By comparison, there is nothing about this photograph that makes him appear to be uncomfortable, which suggests the act of performing in other contexts was not to his liking.

Historians who have studied photography in colonial contexts have pointed to the power relations that surrounded its use. Raibmon suggests that Whites, both individuals and for commercial purposes,
used photographs of Native people as a way to demonstrate their dispossession.\textsuperscript{70} Carol Williams also argues that Indigenous people realized that posing for the camera at the request of Whites offered them few benefits and was yet another encroachment they had to control. She proposes that photographs used for promotions and ethnography were done to construct cultural and ethnic differences. “Between parties of unequal status, looking was not an innocent act”\textsuperscript{71}. Grace Hale suggests photographs, moving pictures, and other forms that emphasized visibility, especially of ‘Others’, were meant to “create and circulate the spectacle” while at the same time control where these Others fit in geographically and representationally. She goes on to explain that “spectacle, the power of looking, was different from narrative, the power of telling. A picture, a representation, could convey contradictions and evoke oppositions … more easily and persuasively than a carefully plotted story”. Ultimately, these visual sources were used to contain the mobility of Others while allowing “whiteness [to] float free”.\textsuperscript{72}

Despite these arguments, pictures can also be used to uncover hidden histories by impeaching the lack of textual evidence. In addition, Native people adopted the use of photography early on, including having their portraits taken in large numbers which they sometimes “integrated into the ceremonial commemoration of ancestors”.\textsuperscript{73} This adoption of portrait photography in particular also reflected an increased economic mobility, the possession of a disposable income, and “more significantly … hints at increased personal control over representation of the self”. Williams explains that the increased use of this self-representation challenged the stereotype of impoverished Indians and “revealed themselves as purposeful and strategic consumers”.\textsuperscript{74} The use of portraiture also showed that Indigenous people were as hard working, industrious, and affluent as their White neighbours. Following Western conventions of portraiture, these photos charted the growth and changes in a person or family, demonstrated economic stability and respectability, and showed that Native people understood this representation.\textsuperscript{75}

Photographs of Iroquoian and Algonquian Adirondackers illustrate these scholars’ arguments. Photographs taken for post cards, travel brochures, and such often created a spectacle of Algonquian and Iroquoian people within the specific setting of the wild landscape, while Whites could be anywhere, including ‘playing Indian.’ Yet the photographs contained in the Camp family records demonstrate Algonquian and Iroquoian people here used portraits and snapshots to define themselves and show their

\textsuperscript{70} Raibmon, \textit{Authentic Indians}, 130, 203. Also see Susan Sontag, \textit{On Photography} (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1977), 4 and Daniel Francis, \textit{The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture} (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2012), 57. Francis argues that photographs and art with First Nations as their subject were tantamount to “taking possession of the Indian image” which allowed the artist to manipulate these representations into White society’s version of what authentic Indians were supposed to be.

\textsuperscript{71} Carol J. Williams, \textit{Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest} (Oxford University Press, 2003), 8, 144, 146.

\textsuperscript{72} Hale, \textit{Making Whiteness}, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{73} Williams, \textit{Framing the West}, 138.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Ibid}, 141.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid}, 164-69.
sophistication and respectability (see Figures 5.19 – 5.26). Further, as Native people adopted and consumed photographs of themselves and their families, they demonstrated their willingness to adapt to select aspects of Euroamerican culture, which contradicted White audiences’ concepts of them as primitive.\footnote{Ibid, 176.} Overall, we must be as grateful to the families that performed for the camera in the Adirondacks as we are to those who left us their portraits; without both of them we would have scant evidence of these families and their neighbours here.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
5.19: Emma Camp as a Teenager & 5. 20: Emma Camp Mead & 5. 21: Emma Camp Mead \\
Baker & Record Photographer & Z.G. McGill, Photographer \\
488 Broadway, Saratoga Springs & A. F. Holley, Photographer & Third St. & Broadway, Troy, NY \\
& Chestertown, NY & \\
All photographs courtesy of the Indian Lake Museum, Indian Lake, NY
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cc}
5.22: Emma Camp Mead & 5.23: Emma Camp Mead, framed snapshot \\
Unknown photographer & Unknown photographer \\
All photographs courtesy of the Indian Lake Museum, Indian Lake, NY
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
Some Aboriginal Adirondack performers became musicians, models and actors. Wenonah “Princess Whitecloud” Moseley (c. 1889-1940) was an accomplished musician who lived and died in Saratoga Springs. As did many Adirondack residents, a number of Native people had to leave the area for work opportunities but they often maintained residency or contact with their families in the region. Some went to New York City where there was an “Indian Colony” of performers that included individuals such as Ann “Falling Star” Paul Denis Fuller and families such as the Tahamonts; Margaret Camp Tahamont was a cousin of Emma Camp Mead. There was no physical neighbourhood for this ‘colony’; the ties were ethnic and “clannish to a degree”. When the ninety-year old Iroquois man, Split Moon died in New York City his “funeral was conducted in Indian form” and his remains were returned to Kahnawake.

When performing as actors, lecturers, and models, these individuals and families often dressed in ‘Indian’ regalia, although probably not their nation’s customary dress. Inspired by Wild West Shows (especially Buffalo Bill’s) the Plains Indian was the image North Americans and Europeans wanted to see. Many of these performers continued to make baskets and other craftwork, which they displayed and sold in New York City; they also returned home with their handiwork. Ann Fuller continued to make and sell her crafts during the winter months while she lived in New York City; she also modeled for the Metropolitan School of Fine Art and the Chase School, as well as for lesser known art schools and private artists. She was very specific about what she was willing to do and could not be talked into modeling in any way she believed was immodest. For example, she refused to allow a sculptor to use her torso. “But

77 Obituary, “Princess Wenonah Whitecloud (Moseley),” Unk publication (April 1940), CSSH, VF – “Ethnic Heritage: American Indians / Native Americans – Newspaper Clippings”.
78 William Vander Weyde, “New York’s Indian Colony,” publication unk, n.d., ILM (article includes the Tahamont family).
79 Ibid.
80 Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 103, 106. Other Wild West Show producers included Adam Forepaugh’s Wild West Combination, Pawnee Bill’s Historical Wild West Exhibition and Indian Encampment, and the 101 Wild West Show to name a few.
I only posed for the head and the hand and the foot,” she told a reporter. “A White woman is going to pose for the rest of the body. I wouldn’t do that; you couldn’t get me to for all New York. I wouldn’t do it if I starved. And no Indian woman would. No Indian man would either.” Fuller went on to describe how she had referred two young men from a different tribe for a modeling job that asked them to pose nude. They refused to do it using similar language: “we wouldn’t do that if they would give us all the world”.

As figure 5.27 illustrates, Ann Fuller often dressed in buckskin with a feather in her hair for these modeling jobs.

Ann Fuller rented a basement apartment on West Twenty-Fifth Street in New York during one winter while she pursued her modeling and sold her handiwork. She sent the money she did not need for living expenses back to her family in Lake Luzerne. Fuller even had business cards noting her occupation as an artist’s model and seller of Indian handicrafts. In New York, she also worked as a spokesperson for Adirondack hotels at a turn of the century sports show there. As part of the show, she sometimes gave out spring water; she also used her appearance as an opportunity to sell her beadwork. On one occasion a rude customer at the show made inappropriate advances. Seeing her patron, Mrs. Converse, in the crowd, Fuller called the New Yorker “Chief” and asked that she come over “to protect that man from me”. Embarrassed, the man quickly left. While Ann Fuller was willing to try new things, she was not willing to relinquish her values. She was creative in both her handicraft and marketing; she knew how to use her position to protect her dignity and she insisted upon being treated with respect. Ann exerted her own agency when she had to. Her modeling career ended when she was injured in a debilitating train wreck about a year before her death in January of 1903. She continued to make baskets in Lake Luzerne until she died there.

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81 “Indian Woman in New York,” 23.
82 Ibid
83 “Falling Star: the Indian Beauty Who Died Last Week,” 5; “Indian Woman in New York,” 23. I could not find a direct relation to Julius Denis but it is possible. Denis or Dennis is a common name in Québec and difficult to trace with all the duplications. I have used the spelling Ann Denis as that is the one used in the 1870 United States Federal Census – Chesterfield, Essex County, NY; it is the first record of her in the U.S. and subsequent census records have her as Annie Fuller. According to her obituary Mitchel Sabattis was her great uncle.
84 “Women Here and There,” 20 and “Indian Woman in New York”, 23. The sculpture she refused to pose for the torso was yet to be completed at this time, it was supposedly located in the Department of Anthropology at the Museum of Natural History. She was going to sell them a buckskin dress she made for the White model to wear.
86 Ibid, I have not been able to identify the train wreck she was injured in; there was one around that time in New York, but she is not listed as one of the injured passengers. Ann is supposedly buried in an unmarked grave in the Anglican Church cemetery in Lake Luzerne. Her wages had paid for other relatives markers, but no one paid for her. Despite her Anglican burial, recall Ann also believed in witches’ spells and knew herbal cures according to this obituary. It is believed her mother outlived her.
Ann was not dissimilar to other Native women who performed in North American cities during the Victorian era. Cecilia Morgan argues that the presence of colonized people in the cities of the colonizer, and their actions there, blurred borders and provides new insights into the colonized “as historical actors, participants in the ‘contact zones’ of imperialism”.\(^{87}\) She notes it is also important to take into consideration race and gender when analyzing the meaning of their experiences. Morgan adds that these type of “performances by colonial subjects [should be seen] as part of the complex strategies of representation and negotiation that they forged from the very limited menu offered by imperialism’s contingencies, strategies described by anthropologist James Clifford as a ‘pragmatic response, making the best of given (often bad) situations’”.\(^{88}\) Pratt calls the practice of these performers “autoethnography” or “autoethnographic expression” whereby the colonized represent themselves based on the colonizer’s terms.\(^{89}\) Mohawk, E. Pauline Johnson gave “recitals” in drawing rooms and theatres in North America and Britain; she was never known as an actress and instead was described as an “elocutionist”.\(^{90}\) Half of her performance was done in buckskin and the other half in Victorian, middle-class dress representing both of her identities. Johnson was very careful who she worked and traveled with. Even her publicity photographs were posed to present her as non-threatening, a different stance from Native male actors, who were often posed facing forward and staring in a challenging manner.\(^{91}\) At the turn of the century, women, whether Native or not, had to be careful of their reputation, especially if they worked as models or in the entertainment industry. Native women in particular had to be conscious of middle-class Victorian stereotyped beliefs that they had loose morals.\(^{92}\) A Native woman who worked as an artist in this period was in a very complicated occupation, one which allowed them an opportunity to earn decent

\(^{87}\) Cecilia Morgan, “‘A Wigwam to Westminster’: Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s-1990s,” *Gender and History*, 15:2 (August 2003), 319-341, 319.


\(^{89}\) Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 9.


\(^{91}\) *Ibid*, 51, 60, 70, 81, 113.

\(^{92}\) *Ibid*, 20, 104.
wages in a creative way but also left them open to charges of immorality. Like Pauline Johnson, Ann Fuller was very aware of her position and how it could be portrayed; both women dressed modestly based on Victorian and their own cultural values.

Both sexes though, were fully aware of their audiences and used their racialized and gendered bodies, along with their knowledge of the colonizer for economic, educational, and political purposes. For example, a 1902 Brooklyn newspaper reported on a performance by Elijah “Dark Cloud” Tahamont (1861-1918) who had ties to the Adirondacks. Tahamont lectured on Native religion to the meeting of the Chiropean Club at the Knapp home.93 Tahamont told the audience “In very fair English, not devoid of eloquence” about legends and three great powers of rock, fire, and water. “The white man thinks we have no religion, but we have the sweetest, most beautiful religion, because we believed in nature – we look at the water, the trees, the mountains: we go among the rocks to talk with the Great Spirit”. Tahamont’s performance was characterized as almost arrogant, while the women who performed were seen in domestic terms, as they presented their artwork and offered hospitality.94

Yet, Native women were not always limited to such demure roles as Ann Fuller’s experiences demonstrate. In many ways, Ann educated her followers by her actions as well as her artwork. Her refusal to model for the torso provided Victorian New Yorkers an education on Abenaki women’s values and even power as she fended off unwanted advances. In addition, she was a gifted artist, lecturer, and businesswoman who was invited to speak in upper-class New York City circles. Margaret Camp, (1854-1933?), a great granddaughter of Sabaël Benedict, cousin to Emma Camp Mead and Tahamont’s wife was another important example of Native performers with ties to the Adirondacks. A basket-maker from Lake George turned actress, Margaret’s stage names included "Soaring Dove" or "Dove Eye"; she sometimes signed letters to her cousin Emma as Margaret Dark Cloud. It is not clear if she was using Dark Cloud as a last name or if she had adopted it as her own stage name after her husband died. Elijah Tahamont began his career as a lecturer and model for the artist Frederic Remington. Margaret, Elijah, and their two daughters Beulah (1887-1945) and Bessie (c. 1894-1909) moved from Lake George in the early 1900’s to New York City; the entire family modeled and acted there (figure 5.29).95

93 Brooklyn Historical Society, “Guide to the Chiropean yearbooks ARC.164” explains the Chiropean Club was an apolitical woman’s group formed in 1896 with Christian ties. Their goal “was to "bring together women with the view of making them helpful to each other and useful to society."” Accessed 16 December 2012, http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/bhs/arc_164_chiropean_yearbooks_content.html
94 C. Roy, “Abenaki Sociality,” 64 citing from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle (Brooklyn, NY) 18 April 1902. The article erroneously identified the Abenaki Tahamont as a “Mohawk chief”.
95 1900 United States Federal Census – Indian Population, Lake George, has Elijah and Margaret living there with their two daughters and Margaret’s relative Maud Benedict (age 19). Bessie Tahamont died in Astoria, NY at the age of 15; she and her sister Beulah went to public school there. Beulah went to public school there. Beulah became Arthur Parker’s first wife in 1904; they both remarried, she to T.W. Filson, a rail yard employee. See communication from Margaret Bruchac to "H-AmIndian (Joyce Ann Kievit)" <amindian@MAIL.H-NET.MSU.EDU dated 25 April 2005 subject line “Beulah Tahamont Parker and Bertha Parker Cody (Native archaeologist),” accessed 24 September 2012, http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?tr=xv&list=h-amindian&month=0504&week=d&msg=y D6InQQ1H%2bT2ZpRXXRGCOQ&user=&pw=. The posed photograph of Bessie
In 1910 Elijah went to work for American Mutoscope and Biograph (later known as Biograph). He made his first screen appearance in a movie directed by D. W. Griffith and the family followed Griffith to California in 1912 (figure 5.28 and 5.30). Elijah appeared in thirty-five silent movies before he died, allegedly of complications from the Spanish flu, in 1918.\(^{96}\) However, a letter from Margaret to Emma claims he was hit in the head by a board while at work at Universal Moving Picture Company two weeks before; the company provided treatment in the form of six stitches for a probable skull fracture.\(^{97}\) When times were good the pair obtained parts and put on their own productions, although at times they had to separate to pursue projects. For example, figure 5:31 is a photograph of a pageant in Bear Lake that Margaret organized while Elijah was performing at Lake Tahoe. The back of the photo states in part: “Here is a sketch I put on last summer while I was working with moving picture co. in the mountains called Bear Lake. … Elijah was up to Lake Tahoe and I was at Bear Lake for 3 weeks and he was 5 weeks at Tahoe Whitewater Co.”\(^{98}\)
As demand for Wild West Show Indians fell after 1910 and wages began to stagnate, Aboriginal actors turned to performing in pageants as well as stage and movies. However, these engagements, while employing large numbers of Indian people, were for much shorter periods of time than the Wild West Shows. Instead of jobs for the summer or even a year, these types of performances might be for only a week or a month. Following the success of the turn-of-the-century Wild West Shows, Hollywood transferred the stereotyping features of these shows, along with the narratives from popular literature such as those by James Fennimore Cooper, to early motion pictures. According to historian L.G. Moses, filmmakers employed Indians and their families for a time in westerns and historical reenactments on locations. These movies were often motivated by individuals who wanted to record the “vanishing” Indian; it was this fate that made Indians so popular at this time.

However, despite knowing they had played themselves very well in the Wild West Shows, some filmmakers erroneously believed Native people had no tradition of acting. Filmmakers turned to Whites to ‘play Indian’; the latter tended to be cast in the larger roles during the 1920s. By the end of that decade, “filmmakers discovered, it was easier to employ pretend Indians. … For more than a generation, however, and including the first years of motion pictures, real Indians had been the Show Indians”. By 1933 there were few opportunities left for Native actors especially to work full time. Margaret herself noted in 1932 that talking films and the depression threw many Native people out of work.

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99 L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 256, the average salary was $30-45 + food, lodging, and transportation there and back.
100 *Ibid*, 250. For example, filmmaker Thomas Ince tried to make stars out of his Indian actors c. 1908-1913 but he was not successful.
101 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 52, 68. Rodman Wanamaker was one such producer.
104 Margaret Camp Tahamont letter to Emma Camp Mead, 17 September 1932, Camp-Mead files, 1927-1965, ILM.
When the fashion to include real Native people in the movies ended, Margaret, with her poor health, suffered. She and her surviving daughter Bertha carried on as best they could. During one lean period, Margaret traveled from Los Angeles by car with other Native actors to pick hops in Portland, Oregon but there were too many there looking for work to make it profitable. Hop picking was labour-intensive work for $1 per box; one wonders how the sickly Margaret would have fared even if she had obtained work. She may have gone to the hop fields to take advantage of the other opportunities the spectacle of hop picking had created, which included selling baskets and curios, being paid to have picture taken, and acting in performances. In addition, medicine people and shamans were known to accompany groups of their people to these locations: perhaps Margaret hoped for a treatment for her ailments. Born in the Adirondacks but baptized at Odanak, Margaret was initially denied an old age pension because she could not prove she was born in the U.S. She died some time after 1933 and was probably buried in California. While Margaret did not return to the Adirondacks, she maintained a running correspondence with her cousin Emma, who sent Margaret herbs and remedies for the many ailments her cousin suffered; they stayed close through their letters, which only stopped after Emma’s death. Margaret and her husband Elijah were very representative of the experience of Native performers during this period. They used the stage to creatively make a living and they used the spotlight as an opportunity to educate Euroamericans about Indian ways.

LOCATION OF EXCHANGE

Adaption and Questions of Authenticity

Despite the need for some Native performers to leave the Adirondacks for work prospects, others continued to travel to the region for the opportunities there. Over time, a number of the craft-makers who settled in the Adirondacks married Euroamericans or brought their spouses who were of European ancestry, often French Canadian. For example, French Canadian William Traversey (1867-?) married Abenaki Mary or Marie Anne Pakikan (1871-?) about 1894; when they arrived in Old Forge around 1900 they were both considered to be “Indian basketmakers”. Spouses of European ancestry making and

105 Ibid.
106 Raibmon, Authentic Indians, 74-97, 75, 84, 90-92. Raibmon describes Native people going to the Pacific North West to pick hops and how it became a spectacle representing the trope of the vanishing Indian.
107 “Camp family Records,” ILM. The last letter between the cousins that I saw is dated 1933; Emma died in December of 1934. There is no mention of Margaret dying in the Camp family records I reviewed so Margaret probably outlived Emma. Many of Margaret’s letters contain references to being alone and ill. Both women sent herbal remedies to each other.
108 “Old Forge,” Utica Herald Dispatch (Utica, NY) 26 May 1905 announced the arrival of Mr. & Mrs. William Traversy, Indian basketmakers from Pierreville, Quebec, they lived near the Kenmore on 4th Lake. They must have owned this property as they eventually sold it in 1908 according to an ad placed by Mrs. Traversy in the Utica Daily Press (Utica, NY), 30 June 1908, 11 which described the property on Fourth Lake as a lot 100 feet wide with spring water and about 200 feet from Eagle Bay Hotel and notes that Steamers stop at Abenarke’s (?) Dock. The family appears to have immigrated; they are listed in United States
selling baskets appear to have been acceptable to the Native community. For example, the Abenaki in Québec petitioned New Hampshire resort proprietors in the 1890s not to allow anyone “‘but Indians or those married to Indian women’” to sell crafts at their hotels. They warned owners that French Canadians were once again appropriating their crafts and denying them their living. They cautioned proprietors to be aware that these goods were not authentic and that their guests were being sold goods of a lesser quality. These Abenaki petitioners clearly separated French Canadians who married into their community from those who had not. One can easily argue this notion was a continuation of the Indigenous practice of adopting ethnically different people into their society; once embraced by the community these people became culturally part of their nation.

However, White tourists and travel writers saw these ethnically mixed families as spurious. As the next generations of multi-heritage craft-makers plied their wares along with both Native and non-Native parents and contemporaries, the authenticity of all the people who made and sold these goods came into question. For example, the Taintor Brother’s 1889 travel guide described the Saratoga Springs Indian Camp near the Circular Railway as

A number of shanties, half tent, half hut, are planted here, and a gypsy band, part Canadian, part Indian live therein, and sell such things as good Indians are suppose to wear and use. Small boys urge the visitor to set up the persuasive cent, that they may hit it with their little arrows, and pocket the same. The performance is varied by sundry domestic scenes, with appropriate dresses and motions, and the whole affair is very picturesque, and is highly instructive to the inquiring mind. To be sure, it is a little theatrical, and one has grave doubts concerning the fidelity of the display to nature; but it serves to fill an idle hour, and amuse children and others.

As the encampments expanded to include amusements such as bowling, croquet, and Punch and Judy shows the tourists began to further question the validity of the scene and those who worked there. At the same time Aboriginal people living, working, and contributing to the culture of the region since before contact began to fade from the local historical memory. This amnesia occurred despite the Adirondacks early history of Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking people fighting in local wars,

census records including the 1910 U.S. Federal Census - Town of Webb, William occupation was a carpenter, Marie has none listed. In the 1915 New York State Census – Town of Inlet, both Marie and William’s occupation are basket makers.
109 Philips, Trading Identities, 52-54, 288. The petition is located in the Frank Speck papers at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Philips describes the petition’s “value as a historical documentation of concepts of property and appropriation”.
110 The children of mixed French and Aboriginal parentage have been known as métis which has created some confusion with those people who are part of the Métis nation. Children of Native and European dissent other than French used to be called Country Born but that term has fallen out of practice. This work reluctantly uses the terms of mixed heritage or ethnically mixed to refer to these offspring unless documents have specifically referred to an individual as being Métis or métis.
clashing with trappers, assisting and teaching new settlers, and participating in the settlement experience with Euro-Adirondackers which included the borrowing and adaption of each others’ culture.

Moreover, Native people were not the only cultural performers in the Adirondacks. The dime novelist Ned Buntline (born Edward Zane Carroll Judson in Philadelphia, 1822-1886) lived in the region for a time in a cabin he called Eagle’s Nest (c. 1856-1870?). Not wanting to share his land or the lake his cabin sat on, he went so far as to pretend to be an Indian to scare away trespassers. Hotel proprietor and later manager of the Adirondack Lodge near Lake Placid Henry van Hoevenberg (1849-1918) used to dress in buckskin and tell stories to entertain his guests. The Adirondack “hermit”, Noah John Rondeau (1883-1967) constructed wigwams in his ghost village he called Cold River (population 1) which he built on abandoned lumber property. By the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century even well-to-do tourists and summer residents began to borrow from Native culture and “play Indian” throughout the Adirondacks. For example, a photograph of three young female guests on the grounds of the Irondequoit Club Inn in Piseco who were preparing for “an Adirondack adventure” featured one young woman with headband, braids, and a sidearm. As Philip Deloria has argued, Euroamericans turned to Native culture to help define themselves as other than British; these individuals adopted the persona of the Indian as it suited their purpose. In addition, many part-time residents began to name their “Great Camps”, hunting reserves, and even their boats after Indian-sounding names.

Credited with the building of the first Great Camps in the Adirondacks, William West Durant (1850-1934) built three of them; one was named Uncas and another Sagamore which was thought to mean “wise old chief” in an Algonquian language. Durant founded a steamboat company called “Blue Mountain Lake and Raquette Lake Steamboats” with steamers called Irocosia and Toowahloonah serving Blue Mountain Lake and on Raquette Lake the Killoquah and Utowana. The Lake George Steamboat Company named their steamers the Ganouskie and the Minne-Ha-Ha, the latter launched in 1857 (one by that name still runs on the lake

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112 Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, V. II, 121. Donaldson noted he danced and whooped around and occasionally shot his rifle in the air for good measure.
113 *Ibid.*, V. II, 26. Donaldson claims that his dressing this way reflected his “outdooring disposition”.
114 Linda Champagne, “Noah John Rondeau Interviewed: Adirondack Hermit Part III” *Lake Placid News* (Lake Placid, NY) 28 September 1967. Rondeau admitted to his interviewer that he learned much of his woodcraft from Abenaki Daniel Emmet when Rondeau lived at Coreys. For a copy of postcard with the wigwams he built see the website “Me & Noah Rondeau,” accessed 24 February 2012, [http://www.4peaks.com/pprond.htm](http://www.4peaks.com/pprond.htm). For a hermit, Rondeau was very social; he dined with the likes of the Rockefellers and he attended sports shows.
115 Adcock and Adcock, *Images of America*, 45.
117 “Great Camp Sagamore,” *You Tube Video*, accessed 6 February 2012, [http://wn.com/Sagamore_Camp](http://wn.com/Sagamore_Camp). The video is of Bob Vila touring the camp and the tour guide provides him with this meaning. According to Alice Nash’s comments to the author dated 6 June 2013, Sagamore along with “sakamo, sangheman and sachem are all Algonkian words for leader or “chief”, in different languages. “Sachem” is most commonly known because it occurs in southern New England where the early English adopted it, but the English were also familiar with “Sagamore” from the region north and east of Boston”. Uncas was completed in 1893 and Sagamore in 1897.
today). William Seward Webb (1851-1926) purchased 147,000 acres of land in the west central part of the Adirondacks. Part of this property was used for a hunting reserve that he called Ne-ha-sa-ne which the family took to mean “beaver crossing the log”. Melville Dewey named roads and buildings in and around his Lake Placid Club (1890-2002) after the Six Nations and owned a group of club houses called Theanoguen or the Iroquois Group. Children’s summer camps at the beginning of the twentieth century also got into the act. “At Camp Walhalla (Lower Chateaugay Lake) in 1905, girls … made baskets “under the tutelage of an Indian basketmaker”.” As Bunny McBride explains, “having a “real Indian” at one’s camp was a thing of prestige”. Camp administrators saw Indians as the perfect model for a nature-based experience that incorporated ritual in an all-too-secular world and taught woodcraft skills to the urban children of parents who could afford to send their children for a leisure vacation. According to Leslie Paris, it was believed that “Indians … had an authentically spiritual relation to nature. … Indianness suggested a spiritual bond between the performer and the performed”. Paris adds that this experience also taught these children the rules of adult racialized society where the Other was located in a nostalgic past, dispossessed and replaced by an “advanced” White civilization and progress. “Playing Indian” by children at summer camp was similar to the experiences of their fathers’ participation in a wilderness vacation and their mothers’ collecting souvenirs; all were looking for ways to assuage the stress of modernity and find ways to have intense experiences. These practice were gendered: boys got to rough it while girls learned domestic skills. Daniel Francis adds that once these children returned to school,
their text books added such a divergent understanding of Indian people that it was difficult for the campers to reconcile the two images.\textsuperscript{127}

Native people who participated by working for summer camps did so for a variety of reasons; which included their need for seasonal work and to earn wages in ways that fit into existing economies. For men, this work, like guiding, offered opportunities to demonstrate their woodcraft skills at jobs that were less physical and dangerous than other occupations for similar wages. Further, it provided occasions for both sexes to educate White campers by “offering positive (if sometimes essentialist) portrayals of Indian life”.\textsuperscript{128} Indeed, some camp administrators and promoters of Native, often youth, to work as camp counsellors during the interwar years were motivated by the desire “to foster interracial unity and exchange”.\textsuperscript{129} The programs they ran provided some Native youth the opportunity to learn about traditional skills that had been waning on reserve and to make contacts with White youths. Akwesasne was one of the first communities to organize such a group called “The Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization” (AMCO). Mohawk youth were trained to become camp counselors: some had to be taught Mohawk ways which were then passed on to White campers. Promoters recorded that “besides supplying employment and good contacts for the young Mohawks, the Akwesasne program is making them conscious of their own cultural background. Indian traditions should be given their own rightful and dignified placed in the minds of white children”.\textsuperscript{130} Meetings of the AMCO were held in the Adirondacks. Reports from the counsellors who taught at the camps to the AMCO told of White children with very stereotyped and derogatory ideas about Native people. Both Mohawk and often well-to-do White campers shared their histories and came away with a better understanding of each other’s culture; some Mohawk youths became interested in obtaining a university education.\textsuperscript{131} In addition to these organized efforts, individuals sometimes became involved in groups for similar reasons. Maurice and Juliette Dennis were active in local Old Forge Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, showing the Scouts Abenaki skills.\textsuperscript{132}

Besides using real or imagined Indian names to label camps and boats, Native peoples’ images were liberally employed for marketing purposes. For example, Glens Falls has used the images of both Native and non-Native characters from The Last of the Mohicans because the community believes the

\textsuperscript{127} Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 171.
\textsuperscript{128} Wall, The Nurture of Nature, 238 (quote), also see 236, 239, 242, 244.
\textsuperscript{129} Paris, Children’s Nature, 197, also see 217.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{132} “Chief Maurice Dennis Instructs Girl Scout Class in Indian Lore,” The Adirondack Echo (Old Forge, NY) 3 June 1966; photograph of Maurice Dennis in headdress seated in front of “Boy Scout Troop in 1948”, TWHA – GM, VF – “Dennis Family.”
cave they call “Cooper’s Cave” was an inspiration for part of that story. The cave has been promoted as a tourist attraction. Pageants often used the images of Native people. For example, Lake George’s 1938 souvenir program entitled “The Romance of Lake George” features an image in the centre of the page with a lone Indian figure leading other passengers off a docked steamboat while well-clad individuals look on. In the lower right corner is the image of a Native family; the male figure is atop a horse with loaded traverse attached, several tipi-like (possibly wigwams) homes are set in front of a forest in the background. Perhaps the designer of the program thought the two images were an appropriate “then vs. now” illustration. As figures 5.32 and 5.33 illustrate, Saratoga Springs used their likeness to advertise High Springs and events around the region. Francis argues the appropriation of the image of Indian people for commercial purposes serves to trivialize and domesticate Native people’s history. These images also serve “to represent what non-Natives think about Indians, they [also] are appropriated by non-Natives as meaningful symbols of their own culture”.

Staged performances of Euroamericans playing Indian also occurred in the Adirondacks. Melville Dewey, a student of Iroquois society, incorporated their culture and history into the Lake Placid Club’s ceremonial events. The first event was 3 September 1903 and consisted of a bonfire; it became the “prelude to the annual Six Nations Council Fires during the “Moon of Flaming Leaves” in early

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133 James Fennimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), for example 55, 61, 67, 70-71, 88, 91-94. Griffith Bailey Coale’s “Cooper’s Cave” is a large painting of the main characters from this book plus other Native men and hangs in the lobby of the Queensbury Hotel in Glens Falls.
135 Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 185.
The Iroquois roles were played by members of the Dewey family and select guests; the audience were club members and their visitors. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Sacandaga Amusement Park’s Fourth of July event included a pageant in which local White men portraying Indians attacked a cabin built on the baseball field there. They shot flaming arrows at the cabin and as the pioneers were about to be ‘scalped’ a bugle sounded and soldiers marched from the woods and killed the attackers. The Saratoga Pageant of 1912 included numerous roles for Native people in several of their scenes, but they were all played by Euroamericans (figure 5.34). The first Episode entitled “Sarachtogie: The Hunting Ground of the Mohawks” had over fifty Native parts and included a sunrise song, hunt, encampment, and dance. Lake George held a pageant celebrating Sir William Johnson in July of 1938 with twelve “episodes”; Whites played the role of Native people in several of them. As Wall explains, “Having rendered contemporary Aboriginal peoples virtually invisible, white campers could now step in to fill the void as their remaining heirs. In doing so, they distinguished themselves — true lovers of nature — from other less enlightened elements of their society.”

Despite these examples, Adirondack communities also produced pageants that employed Native actors. Made popular in England in 1905, pageants quickly crossed the ocean and became fashionable in

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136 Ackerman, *Lake Placid Club*, 171-73. Other ceremonies included: “the “Passing of the Warpole,” “Return of the Maize Maiden,” or focused on individuals. The last one was held in 1953, cancelled by the Lake Placid Club Board of Governors; however, the tradition continued with day campers.


138 “Pageant of Saratoga,” *Program* (19-24 August 1912), 9-10, SSPL. Other acts including Native characters were Episode 2, “Purchase of the Land,”; Episode VIII, Murder of Jane McRae, and Episode XI, The Drama of Saratoga Springs a) Indians Discovering High Rock Springs.

139 “The Romance of Lake George”. Cover includes a scene of Native people although using tepees and a horse. Saratoga also had a pageant that year to celebrate Johnson, see Jean McGregor, “Saratoga Has Its Part in Bi-Centennial of Sir William Johnson,” *unk Public.* but probably *The Saratogian* (Saratoga Springs, NY) 10 October 1938.

Pageants were a spectacle used to commemorate historical events, similar to today’s reenactments. Pageantry and spectacle were used to celebrate the past but were shaped by concerns about the present and future. Pageant supporters saw the form as a creative force that could bring communities together by "encouraging participatory democracy through the educated involvement of ordinary citizens" in cultural life. The "1909 Champlain Tercentenary Celebration of the Discovery of Lake Champlain" (4 July - 9 July 1909) included a water pageant on 5 July 1909 depicting the battle between Champlain and his allies against the Iroquois and included 150 Native actors, mostly from Canada, under the leadership of L.O. Armstrong of Montreal (figure 5.35). The participants were described as the “descendants of the tribes originally occupying the Champlain Valley". In addition to this re-enactment, they also acted in the Longfellow play Hiawatha “written to express the war-like temperament of the Algonquin”. The play ran one or two showings a day from 5 July to 9 July in both Adirondack and Vermont communities (figure 5.36 may have been one of these pageants or perhaps another one). Michael McNally suggests the Hiawatha pageants “offer an excellent vantage” to examine the gap between expectations of Indians and the lives of “real” Indians as they “played” Indian for settler society audiences. McNally reminds us that many traditional Native cultural performances had been outlawed during this period (1880s-1930) by federal assimilationist policies; the Hiawatha pageants were an opportunity for Native people to be conspicuous and influence concepts of Indianness, even if it was only in small ways.

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141 Nells, The Art of Nation Building, 143; the pageant originator was Louis Napoleon Parker.
142 Ibid, 11.
145 Champlain Tercentenary Celebration 4-10 July, 1909: Published Under the Auspices of the State Commissions of New York and Vermont an of the Central Vermont Delaware & Hudson and Rutland Railroads” Brochure Vermont / New York Boundary Lines Records 1814-1985, 5-7, VSAR. Every day the cast had to move to a different location: 5 July was in Crown Point, NY, 6 July in Ticonderoga, 7 July in Plattsburgh, 8 July in Burlington, VT and 9 July at Isle LaMotte, VT. U.S. President Taft attended the evening performance in Burlington.
147 Ibid, 107, 130-32. McNally refers especially to Deloria’s Playing Indian for his argument about influence.
Smaller pageant-like celebrations in the Adirondacks continued into the late 1950s and usually included an early history of Native people. Eventually these events started to incorporate local Native families in them, even if the connection was not always obvious. Originally called “Tom Cook’s Grove,” the “Forest Theater” near Ticonderoga put on a number of what became known as “the annual Indian pageant” from 1931 to after 1948. The pageants were meant to portray the events and culture of the Iroquois. Sponsored at first by the Champlain Valley Archaeological Society, eventually the Society for the Preservation of Indian Lore and the New York State Historical Association sponsored them and gave their approval of the plays’ accuracy. The early pageants used only Euroamerican actors; eventually, though, they caught the attention of Ray Tehanetorens Fadden (1910-2008) who was born in the Adirondacks and married to Christine Chubb, a Mohawk woman from Akwesasne. He became a school teacher at Akwesasne and worked fervently for both the community and its history. A strong supporter of the need to celebrate Iroquois history and to tell it accurately, he organized youth to perform as singers, dancers, and extras in the later years of the annual Indian pageants. Ray Fadden also became involved

148 George H. Spring, “The Annual Indian Pageant at Ticonderoga,” *North Country Life* (summer 1948), 32-39 provides a history of this event which started as an informal gathering and grew into formal, educational plays with a cast of 100-125. The “Forest Theater” amphitheatre was capable of seating 2,000 people. Farmer Tom Cook donated 25 acres for the production of these plays which included the ability to park 1,200 cars. Spring was the Secretary for the Society for the Preservation of Indian Lore which was sponsoring the pageant by 1938. The article implies the pageant was continuing at this time; so far I’ve found no other documents to support this although peoples’ memories do. For example, I received an e-mail dated 5 March 2012 from Gene Warner who grew up in Vermont. He recalled attending the Ticonderoga pageants in the late 40s or early 50s. It is believed that the Forest Pageant productions now held at Six Nations, Brantville, ON are a result of these plays.


150 DeGarmo, “Indian Camps and Upstate Tourism,” 5; Woods, “A History in Fragments,” 70. Ray’s son John attended the pageants starting at the age of four and told Woods that all the Six Nations were present and recalled seeing Arthur C. Parker at
in the Lake Placid Club ceremonies and was commissioned in 1946 to draw a series of murals for the club
depicting Iroquois stories.\textsuperscript{151} In addition, he was instrumental in establishing the aforementioned
Akwesasne Mohawk Counselors Organization in the late 1930s and 1940s.\textsuperscript{152} Fadden also worked with
promoters in the 1950s to create the tourist attraction called the “Lake George Indian Village” which was
meant to be a combination of a museum to the Six Nations and an attraction.\textsuperscript{153} For two summers Fadden
lectured there and Iroquois youths performed social dances. He and the promoters fell out after the second
year and the attraction’s promoters brought in people from the plains to work there.\textsuperscript{154} Ironically, the
Iroquois were not “Indian” enough for the promoters and tourists. Subsequently, Fadden started the Six
Nations Museum at Onchiota in the 1950s; today Ray’s son John, supported by his wife Eva Thompson
and their sons, run the museum and educate visitors, both local and from other areas, about Iroquois
history and culture.

Schroon Lake’s community pageant of 1957 included the early history of the relationship of the
Iroquois and Algonquian people with that lake and community. The family of Chief Swift Eagle, who ran
the Indian Village at nearby Frontier Town in North Hudson, took part in the event.\textsuperscript{155} Swift Eagle was
Apache and Hopi-Tewa from New Mexico and an accomplished flutist. His wife, Clara Chee-Chee Bird
Eagle made jewellery and the regalia they performed in; she also read cards to tell fortunes. Having met
in New York City, the couple had four children who performed with their parents at Frontier Town.
Given that the theme of this tourist attraction was a western frontier town, it was not as odd to see this

\textsuperscript{151} Woods, “A History in Fragments,” 70 Ray Fadden also wrote and published pamphlets about Iroquois culture. John Fadden, personal conversation June 2009. The murals are now located at the Mills Student Union, Malone Campus of North County Community College. John Fadden’s opinion of the Lake Placid Club pageants based on his communication with the author dated 12 May 2013 was that they were not really authentic, but he appreciated the sincerity behind them.

\textsuperscript{152} John Fadden, e-mail to author, 24 April 2010 with attachment of a copy of pamphlet “The Records, Laws, and History of the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization”. One of the purposes of the organization was to teach Mohawk children about their culture and contradict the stereotypes prevalent at the time.

\textsuperscript{153} Clare Audette, “Indian Village is Being Built at Lake George,” Post-Star [Glens Fall, NY] 16 June 1952. The promoters were Paul Lukaris and George E. McGowan, along with Fred Lyons and John Parrott; Fadden was to be curator of the museum, too. In addition scholars Carl E. Guthrie and William A. Ritchie were helping with tracing lore and facts of Six Nations history.

\textsuperscript{154} Woods, “A History in Fragments,” 70. Ray’s son John Fadden performed there and John’s mother was the cook. Also see, “Indian Village is Being Built at Lake George,” Post-Star.

\textsuperscript{155} “Aquanite, 1957”, Tss (Schroon Lake, NY) unk.date maybe 1957 and “I Remember When” Program for Aqua-Nite Week-End (Schroon Lake, NY) unk.date maybe 1957, AM-BML, VF – “Schroon Lake, NY.”
family with western and eastern roots performing there. Swift Eagle’s mission for performing at the attraction was to educate visitors to the truth about Native people.\textsuperscript{156}

Swift Eagle was the son of a medicine man in New Mexico; he was sent to a boarding school about 1911 at approximately ten years of age. He graduated from the school and stayed on for a few years to be in charge of the orchestra. Upon returning home, Swift Eagle was chosen by the elders to travel and educate Americans about their culture because of his flair for performance and story telling. He initially traveled west and appeared at the Coconut Grove in Hollywood where he met and became friends with athlete and part-time actor, Jim Thorpe [Sac and Fox (Sauk)]. Thorpe introduced him to some movie producers and Swift Eagle found work in westerns, often playing the villain. This was not what the elders had intended for him and he was called home and refocused. Thereafter, Swift Eagle traveled throughout the U.S. and Canada to speak and perform; during a performance at Frontier Town in 1954, he was asked to stay. In addition, Swift Eagle performed at school assembly programs in the Northeast; he described his life as a boy and demonstrated the twelve different dialects and sign language he knew to communicate with other nations. He saw working at Frontier Town as an advantage because the people came to him instead of his having to travel and go to them. Swift Eagle wanted everything to be as authentic as possible at the Indian Village at Frontier Town; he and his family conducted powwows, sang and told stories. Swift Eagle occasionally expressed some resentment when people were difficult.\textsuperscript{157}

In Old Forge, the Denis family, both Jules and later his son Maurice, often participated in local celebrations. For example, a photograph of a drum-wielding Jules with fellow Abenaki Walt LaGrave and Ana Panadis, plus probably Mohawk Josephine Ski, all in regalia, participated in what was probably the opening of the Hollywood Hills Resort Hotel in 1934.\textsuperscript{158} Jules was so well known for his contribution in these events that his obituary stated, “He was an outstanding participant in ceremonies and pageants in the Old Forge area”.\textsuperscript{159} Later in the century, Maurice Dennis and sometimes his wife Juliette participated in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[156] Gary Glebus, Schroon Lake Historian and his wife Shelly Glebus, personal conversation with author, 5 October 2009; both Gary and Shelly personally knew “Swifty” and “Chee-Chee” and had worked at Frontier Town when they were teenagers.
\item[157] Ibid; Arthur L. Benson, \textit{The Story of a New York City Tenderfoot and his Adirondack Mountain Adventure} (Frontier Town Productions, 1979). Benson was the founder of Frontier Town and hired Swift Eagle and his family. The self-published book has Swift Eagle and two of his children on the front cover and other photographs and information about the family and the Indian Village they ran.
\item[158] Caption under a photograph labelled “Jules P. Dennis on left with his friend Ana Panadis” located at the TWHA along with another photograph of Jules, Ana, and either Juliet M’Sadoques Dennis or Josephine Ski (Mohawk – another photograph identifies the woman as Josephine) plus the torso of a young man (tentatively identified as Walt LaGrave, the photographer cut off his head probably because he was so tall. LaGrave was known to come to Old Forge and he worked with the Denis/Dennis family so this identification has merit). All are dressed in regalia and Chief Denis is carrying a drum in the first photograph. The hotel was opened for business 7 June 1934 according to “Take a First Look at the Hollywood Hills Hotel by Ken Sprague” on the website \textit{Adirondack Express} accessed 4 February 2012, \url{http://www.adirondackexpress.com/Columns/09202011_history}.
\item[159] “J.P. Dennis, Indian Chief,” \textit{Unk. publication}, (Old Forge, NY) n.d., VF – Dennis Family, TWHA-GM.
\end{footnotes}
Old Forge events, for example the Old Forge Winter Carnival. Maurice Dennis also appeared skiing while wearing a headdress for Easter Seals and the Cadette Girl Scout Show of Shows.¹⁶⁰

These examples demonstrate that the more well-to-do Euroamericans and even communities in the Adirondacks wanted to memorialize a Native past in the region. Originally, these efforts, especially for visitors, were nothing more than attaching Indianness to wilderness romanticism. As time went on the motivations of those such as the Lake Placid Club’s Dewey and the Ticonderoga pageant producers, despite their erroneous belief that the Iroquois culture was disappearing, became more sincere. Apparently in their minds, the Algonquian, and more specifically the Abenaki, connection had been severed or was less worth celebrating. How these performances of Aboriginal culture were viewed by rural, year-round residents is more of a mystery; their voices are mostly absent in these records although some participated as cast members in the productions. That communities wanted Native families and performers in their local celebrations suggest the communities wanted to involve their Indigenous neighbours, even if the performance was less than historically accurate or traditional for Iroquoian and Abenaki people. Of course, a number of these performances were for and by the tourists. As Lynn Woods’ article on Native people in the Adirondacks suggests, a contradictory and complicated relationship between Whites and Indians had developed by the twentieth century. When asked about working in the region, Akwesasne Mohawk elders claimed that they were not subjected to bigotry from local Adirondackers (unlike their encounters in communities near Akwesasne). However, they also did not want to talk much about these experiences.¹⁶¹ Maurice Dennis’ daughter Andrée Dennis Newton argues that her parents had been subjected to prejudice by tourists in Old Forge, which contradicts accounts that imply a friendly relationship in and around the community. Andrée describes an experience her father endured when children laughed and threw stones at him on the train ride at the local attraction called the Enchanted Forest where he ran the Abenaki Village.¹⁶² Meanwhile, other Native and non-Native Adirondackers continued working together in various and less conspicuous occupations and at times they continued to marry and raise families together. Performances of Indigenous culture by Abenaki

¹⁶⁰ “Juliette Dennis, “Queen of Winter” Saluted,” Adirondack Tourist (Boonville, NY) 7 December 1983, 3, 14. This winter carnival celebrated Juliette and Maurice who both participated in the festivities. Maurice Dennis also participated in previous carnival when the Queen was Diane Tremblay, a representative of Montreal’s Expo 67, photograph, Adirondack Home News (Holland Patent, NY) 1 March. Photographs of Maurice Dennis on skis wearing headdress, The Adirondack Echo (Old Forge, NY) 1976 (Easter Seals) and 30 March 1973 (Show of Shows). The Easter Seals caption indicates Dennis was “a former member of the 10th Mt. Ski Troops”; he had also been a ski instructor at McCauley Mountain in the past and a lifeguard. See Conclusion of this chapter for more about Maurice Dennis’ role of running an Indian Village at the Enchanted Forest, a tourist attraction in Old Forge. Articles and newspaper photographs location, TWHA, VF – “Denis or Dennis family.”


¹⁶² Ibid, 79. Also see Juliette M’Saadaques letter (from Odanak where the couple had moved in 1986) to the Town of Webb Historical Association 22 March 1992 making it clear that her husband Maurice Dennis had willed all items donated to the association to her and that she was designating that ownership to their daughter Andrée. Compare this to the newspaper photograph and caption describing the going away party given for the couple at the McCauley Mountain Chalet in “Farewell,” Adirondack Echo (Old Forge, NY) 6 June 1986 or Maurice Dennis’ obituary entitled “Area’s friend passes away,” Unk. publication, 29 December 1987, TWHA, VF – “Andrée Dennis Newton.”
and Mohawk people living in, or with ties to, the Adirondacks and performances by White tourists, seasonal residents, and permanent residents continue to support the notion of the region as a location of exchange, as reciprocal and complicated actions around culture, identity, change, and continuity fluctuated and became entangled with efforts to co-exist and make sense of a changing world for everyone. Luckily, the performances of Native Adirondackers quietly and creatively left an imprint and a record of their persistence there.

CONCLUSION

During this period, all citizens of North America experienced difficult times as they adjusted to a world of increased industrialization, urbanization, and economic uncertainty. Working people in all settings, whether urban or rural, had to adjust and make changes in order to survive. Yet such changes had a potential ineffable effect for Native people: they had to listen to Euroamericans’ and Eurocanadians’ expectations that they as a distinct people were vanishing because their culture was being replaced by Western progress. In turn, they made objects or acted in ways that appeared to support this settler society view. These Indigenous artists had to remove themselves from the traditional notion of making art for aesthetic purposes and think of that art as a commodity, whether as an object or as a performance. Aboriginal people had to temporarily disconnect from their own rich culture and represent one that was simplistic and stereotyped. They had to make choices that outwardly appeared contradictory to their culture’s survival even as they continued to perpetuate it privately.

Despite United States and Canadian governments’ policies of assimilation, tourism demanded a stage-managed performance of exoticism and something to consume; souvenirs filled the latter need demonstrating a relationship of exchange and appropriation. As Phillips argues, the socio-economic conditions and policies of the Victorian era set the stage for the commodification of Native art. Yet the success of these artists also represents a strategy of resistance that helped to continue traditional practices although the end result was often modified. While many occupations in tourism and entertainment put Indian people on display in very stereotyped ways, these industries also offered some economic, social, and political benefits for Native people. They allowed Iroquoian and Algonquian people the ability to earn respectable wages, escape the surveillance and control of reserve life, met their own society’s expectations of gender roles, and offered them some limited opportunities for a political voice. In the Adirondacks, the making and selling of souvenirs, or as Neal Ferris calls them “symbols signifying enclave membership” also identified them as Abenaki and Iroquoian people. For Native “performers”

163 Dubinsky, The Second Greatest Disappointment, 63-65.
164 Phillips, Trading Identities, 8-9, 198-99.
165 Ferris, The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism, 171.
the Adirondacks and elsewhere provided a stage to educate White tourists and locals about the richness
and benefits of their culture. These voices, then and now, told and continue to tell the North American
public that their history was important to specific regions and the continent, that they were still there and
planned to remain, and that their culture had and has something to contribute to the present.\textsuperscript{166}

While educating Euroamericans, these Native performers also continued to learn, borrow, and
grow as artists. In an example of intercultural exchange, Maurice Dennis (1908-1987) learned about totem
poles after a trip to Alaska; he was so intrigued by them that he approached an Abenaki elder to teach him
to carve. Dennis incorporated totem poles into his art and displayed them at the Indian Village, part of the
Enchanted Forest in Old Forge (figure 5.37). Maurice designed and ran the village with his wife Juliette
M’Saadaques (1919-2005). Juliette M’Saadaques also was an artist and educator; she made and
demonstrated the making of baskets and other handicrafts. (The pair met when Juliette came to work for
Jules). The Dennis’ used the Indian Village to educate tourists in the 1950s and 1960s about Native
culture; Maurice was careful to explain totem poles were not a customary Abenaki practice.\textsuperscript{167} Maurice
Dennis represents the long-held practice of Indigenous people exchanging art, design, and other cultural
forms from each other long before contact. He also continued the practice of Native people educating
Newcomers in the ways of Indigenous North America. Today, his daughter, Andreé continues her father’s
legacy of carving and teaching, while her sister Liette continues the basket-making tradition of their
mother Juliette.\textsuperscript{168} These sisters, John Fadden and his family, and other Aboriginal Adirondackers
continue to remind us that Native North Americans from the Northeast still exist and thrive, despite over
236 years of a border that has divided their territories and the numerous bureaucracies of two nation states
having done everything in their power to assimilate them. Instead these Algonquian and Iroquoian people
have shown they are a very industrious, determined, and adaptable people with a rich heritage and history
that has contributed to local and national narratives and the North American identity. In some sense, they
helped to create the pan-Indian imagery that still exists. The history and lessons they teach need to be
included in the education of North America, not just in the first chapter of a history textbook. They
contributed to this continent’s history, science, art, and culture long before contact and they continue to
engage us. The dialogues of historical performance need to continue; moreover, Indian people need to be
cast as prominent players throughout the life of the production.

\textsuperscript{166} Nelles, \textit{The Art of Nation-Building}; Morgan, “‘A Wigwam to Westminster,’”319-41; Moses, \textit{Wild West Shows}, 272-73.
\textsuperscript{167} Dick Case, “After 40 Years Old Forge is getting ‘too busy,’ for totem pole carver,” \textit{Syracuse Herald-Journal} (Syracuse, NY)
22 October 1984. Also see Nash, “Théophile Panadis (1889-1966),” 18-21 refers to Panadis carving objects with traditional tools,
so it is likely the Abenaki have some tradition of carving, just not totem poles.
\textsuperscript{168} “Maurice Paul Dennis,” \textit{Adirondack Echo} (Old Forge, NY) 30 December 1987; “Andreé Newton, Old Forge Artisan,
Continues A Native American Tradition,” \textit{The Adirondack Express} (Old Forge, NY) 10 March 1992, 5; No title, article about
Andreé Newton receiving the Award of Excellence at the 26\textsuperscript{th} Annual Remsen Barn Festival of the Arts, 24-25 September, 2005,
\textit{The Adirondack Express} (Old Forge, NY) 11 October 2005.
5.37: Maurice & Juliette Dennis working at their Indian Village, Enchanted Forest, Old Forge, NY c. 1950s-60s. The sign identifies them as descendants of the Abenaki at Odanak. Photograph located at and Courtesy of the Town of Wells Historical Association - Goodsell Museum, Old Forge, NY.
Conclusion:
“The Beaver are Embarrassed to be Caught; The Otter Get Offended and Angry”
- Lessons to be Learned

Each of the family histories of Aboriginal Adirondackers in this thesis, along with many others, contributed to the culture and history of the Adirondacks; however, those contributions are often unknown or ignored because time and colonial concepts of progress have concealed them. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this sparsely populated wildlands area with a small, scattered, and fluctuating seasonal Native population ostensibly was dominated by a Euroamerican one. Yet both cultures depended on their woodcraft expertise and at times on each other for survival. Many of the first pioneers to the region were helped and taught skills by the Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking people already there but many communities today are not aware of this history. Nor did Native peoples’ influence stop there. As described throughout this work, Abenaki and Mohawk people in the Adirondacks continued to add to the region’s culture during the era of wilderness tourism and into the twentieth century. Such may well have been the case in other rural areas where a minority Native population lived, worked with, and married into the families of Euroamerican settlers. By teasing out these histories and working them into the larger narrative, one can discern exchanges between the two cultures and see glimpses of their influence on each other. Furthermore, while not equally shared during any given era before or after contact, the land has tried to support both Native and non-Native families. Ultimately, both peoples have influenced each other and the landscape. As Daniel Barr explains, “the significance of cultural interaction is more often found in the meeting than in the end result”. Those meetings intended “to create a world that might include everyone”. ¹

Wilderness tourism in the Adirondacks began to wane after World War I partly due to state policies, mostly because leisure and entertainment experiences changed. As early as the turn of the twentieth century, New York State began to constrain practices that Adirondackers had been performing for decades to protect the wildlands of the region for all New Yorkers. Collecting firewood was restricted; guides had to tear down camps; game laws were enforced to limit hunting and fishing numbers; and hunting and fishing seasons were reduced to the late summer and early fall. ² Cars and the middle class tourist became more frequent visitors during the twentieth century. The state of New York and the region made accommodations for them by building better roads which spawned moderately priced hotels, followed by motels and campgrounds. ³ New York began to buy more land to encourage tourism and

¹ Barr, The Boundaries Between Us, xi
² Terrie, Contested Terrain, 132. These laws were not totally restrictive, the forest preserve land did allow for some limited exercise of subsistence hunting and fishing on public lands but local people were denied on private lands.
³ This occurred elsewhere in North America. For example, see Carr, Wilderness by Design, 7, 53; Whisnant, Super Scenic Motorway, 17, 50; and Shaffer, “Seeing the Nature of America,” 155-84.
prohibited logging in areas such as the High Peaks. Elite visitors were not happy with the increase in tourism and the state’s involvement. As Raymond John Sabattis’ trajectory illustrates (1875-1957), tourists who wanted an “authentic” wilderness experience went elsewhere after 1920. Raymond, the grandson of Mitchel Sabattis, was a guide from 1905 to after 1915 at Brandreth Lake but by 1920 he was a farmer and later a carpenter. It is possible and even probable that Raymond continued to guide after 1920 but it was no longer considered his primary occupation.

After 1920, a lengthy vacation stay at a grand hotel with ballrooms, gardens, and summer activities was replaced with accommodations more useful for shorter stays. Types of leisure also changed. Instead of men spending weeks at hunting and fishing in the woods with a trusty guide while the family idled the summer away at resorts, the family motored to the area for a long weekend or maybe a week to participate in sports such as hiking, golfing, and skiing with their marked and groomed trails and links. Amusements at the Indian encampments were replaced with roadside tourist attractions that catered to children. A few of the larger lakes continued to tour people in steamers that evoke nostalgia for the late nineteenth century; communities planned events to bring in tourists and entertain their citizens. Historic sites were marked and museums established; both continue to draw seasonal visitors. Eventually restaurants, local stores, and outlet malls sprang up to vie for tourist dollars as the allure of the amusement parks began to fade. Today, rock climbing, a ride down Mount Van Hoevenberg’s bobsled run near Lake Placid, or white water rafting has taken the place of the nineteenth-century wilderness experience for the majority of tourists who still want to experience the sublime combined with a bit of a thrill.

As a result of these early twentieth century changes, both Native and Euroamericans living in the Adirondacks had to make economic adjustments. Adirondackers changed old or started new businesses that catered to these middle-class tourists. A handful of guides were (and still are) able to continue guiding for hunters and anglers in their specific region. Instead of camping in the forests, these Sports sometimes stayed at the home or cabins of their guide or perhaps at a neighbouring motel. Local people still made or produced regional goods to sell but the products and the forum changed. Today hand-made souvenirs can be found at regional grocery stores, shops, community farmers’ markets, roadside stands, and online sales. Adirondackers found work performing in seasonal roadside attractions and they participated in other forms of entertainment. Abenaki, Mohawk, and other Native families continued to

4 Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 124-28. Ford began mass producing cars in 1908. Terrie notes that by 1920 the State was buying private property even through the use of eminent domain if necessary.

5 1905 New York State Census – Long Lake; 1910 United States Federal Census – Long Lake, 1915 New York State Census – Long Lake all list his occupation as a guide and also a caretaker in 1915. By the 1920 United States Federal Census – Broadalbin, he was listed as a farmer and in the 1930 United States Federal Census – Broadalbin his occupation was a carpenter. Raymond also worked as a New York State Forest Ranger part of the time while he was a guide. As a guide he worked for General E.A. McAlpin and possibly for U.S. President Howard A. Taft and writer Irwin S. Cobb who were guests at Brandreth Lake. Raymond’s brother, Joseph Duryea Sabattis (1878–1951) was a well-known taxidermist and was known to have worked for General McAlpin in that capacity.
contribute to these changing forms of tourism activities, many of which overlapped eras. As Chapter Four described, the Camp family guided, ran a store for a time, and rented out camps and rooms in a hotel as their customers changed from upper class Sports to those of the middle class. Daniel Emmet continued to make and sell canoes, baskets, and other crafts at Coreys until he died in 1953.\footnote{Christopher Roy, “Letter to the Editor,” \textit{Adirondack Daily Enterprise} (Saranac Lake, NY) 23 June 2009.} As Chapter Five details, starting in the 1950s some Native families helped develop and perform in Indian villages located in the tourist attractions. They also participated in local events with the intention of educating the public. Some even founded museums to remind locals and tourists alike that they were part of New York State’s history and still contributing to it.\footnote{In addition to the Six Nations museum at Onchiota, Akwesasne has a cultural centre located on the New York State side of the community and the Iroquois Indian Museum at Howes Cave, NY is just south of the park as are at least two archaeological sites in the Mohawk Valley. Tom Sagogweniongwass Porter runs Kanatsiohareke, an educational centre as part of a Mohawk community re-established in 1993 near the old Mohawk village site of Canajoharie near today’s Fonda, NY in the Mohawk River Valley, see website \url{http://www.mohawkcommunity.com/}.}

The Adirondacks of the twentieth century continued to be a place that Native people explored for resources, labour, and home. Cherokee Joseph Pinetree and his wife Grace Hill of Plainfield, New Jersey moved with their son Joseph Tenderfoot Hill to Raquette Lake in 1925. Pinetree operated excursion boats, a pickle boat, and a ferry; he also was an engineer on the Raquette Railroad that started at Blue Mountain Lake and ran north. In addition, he made baskets and other crafts from local wood and carved items for nearby churches.\footnote{Jessie LaPutra (? Last name partly illegible) “In Our Midst… A Statue … And A Man,” \textit{Boonville Herald} (Booneville, NY), 20 December 1978. The son, Joseph Tenderfoot Hill (born 1920) went to school in Raquette Lake although he finished school in New York City indicating the family left the area before 1937.} First Nations people from Canada still crossed the border for the same reasons. Henry (1900-1963), Frank (1902-1959), and Mitchell (1903-1971) Nolett, the sons of Abenaki Frederick Nolett (1873-after 1930), left Odanak around 1912 to work in steel mills in the vicinity of Albany, New York. Mitchell Nolett moved for a time to Keene to sell baskets in a shop during the 1930s. However, the depression made it impossible for the family to remain there year-round. Eventually, Mitchell’s brother Henry opened a basket and souvenir shop on the Cascade Road (Route 73) between Keene and Lake Placid and ran it until the 1960s (figure C.1). At times, Mitchell and his family spent summers in Keene; his sister Germaine or Jermaine worked as a waitress at the Cascade Hotel and his son Donald, Sr. caddied at the AuSable Club during World War II.\footnote{Martha-Lee Owen personal communication to me dated 6 November 2009 regarding her conversations with Donald Nolett, Jr. and Donald Nolett, Sr. about their families’ history in Keene. Nolett was possibly Wawanolette at Odanak. Mitchell eventually ran a store in Albany and thought about buying the store in Keene but his wife was against the idea. Also see 1911 Census of Canada – Yamaska, Quebec; 1912 List or Manifest of Alien Passengers Applying for Admission – From Canada at port of Island Pond (St. Albans), VT; 1930 United States Federal Census – Colonie.} As described in Chapter Five, the family of Swift Eagle (Apache-Tewa and Chickahomony) came to North Hudson in the 1950s to run the Indian Village at Frontier Town, a local roadside tourist attraction. Today, families such as the Faddens and the Bruchacs as well as individuals such as Mohawk Tom Sagogweniongwass Porter and Kay Ionataie:was Olan and
Abenaki Denise Watso educate the public about Iroquois and Abenaki history in the Adirondacks in a variety of ways. They run museums, educational centres, and websites. They participate at regional events by speaking and telling time-honoured stories. Many also write, sing, dance, and create art that reflects their culture in order to ensure the history of the original peoples are included in the Adirondacks and elsewhere (figure C.2).

C.1: Sign believed to be the Henry Nolett Shop sign, located on the Cascade Road between Keene and Lake Placid. Located at the Adirondack Museum Storage facility. Photograph by Melissa Otis.


Some of the Native families who settled in the region, as well as those who came later, kept in contact with their home communities. They visited and remained active there; still others intermarried and appeared to forget about them. However, subsequent generations became interested in their family and peoples’ history. Mitchel Nolett wanted to forget about his Abenaki past but his son Donald Sr. and grandson Donald, Jr. were interested; they subsequently resumed contact with Odanak.10 The granddaughters of Tyendinaga Mohawk John Battese (c. 1865-1904) illustrate the complexity of these family histories. Battese and his Euroamerican wife Edith Austin (1875-1942) had a daughter Izetta Belle (1895-1965), who was brought to Tyendinaga at least once for a ceremony; however, she was afraid of the activities as she was unfamiliar with the cultural practices.11 John died when Izetta was a young child; she and her mother moved in with her maternal grandfather. It is doubtful she ever returned to the reserve. She attended school in Port Henry between 1915 and 1916 before returning to Long Lake and marrying Arthur J. Russell (1897-1936); they had nine children.12 When Izetta’s husband died young, she moved in with her mother at Long Lake to raise her large family. Izetta’s relatives knew she and her children were

10 Martha-Lee Owen, personal communication to me dated 6 November 2009.
11 Edith Russell, personal conversation with author, 4 March 2010.
12 “Long Lake,” Essex County Republican (Keeseville, NY), 2 April 1915 reported Izetta coming for an Easter visit and “Boreas River,” Essex County Republican (Keeseville, NY), 7 July 1916 reported the school closed on 23 June and Izetta returned home to Long Lake.
part Mohawk. Today, Izetta’s daughter, Beverly Locke is interested in her Mohawk ancestry, while her sister Edith Russell is aware but not as active in pursuing it.\textsuperscript{13}

Others, such as Martha-Lee Owens, are still looking for the origins of their family; in the meantime they learn what they can about the people who lived and worked in the region. Those seeking their family’s roots indirectly express a sense of longing for that connection denied to them by their ancestors. However, they also realize there might have been good reasons for their family member’s decision to give up that part of their identity in order to fit into the new community and era. Yet, the records demonstrate they did not, or perhaps could not, completely deny their Indian identity. Local Keene Valley lore describes Florence Edmonds having her babies by the river as an example of her maintaining Indigenous customs; Edmonds family history mentions that Florence used the nearby Johns Brook to clean up right after she had given birth.\textsuperscript{14} When there is no running water in a home, a nearby brook was handy for such a task, (although it probably was a cold experience). This may have been the practice of many Adirondackers, but somehow it was interpreted by the local community to express Florence’s Aboriginal identity.

Many of the Abenaki families who have been in the region since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are aware of their heritage and their relationship to the Adirondacks. They have kept their history alive in their family and often within their local community. The family of Abenaki Peter Joseph is one such example of this practice. Born about 1811 in Canada, Peter and his wife Theresa or "Talasa" Saziboet (c. 1813-?) lived in Saratoga Springs by 1870. He was a basket maker and she kept house. While born in Canada, Peter had become an American citizen; they owned real estate valued at $700.\textsuperscript{15} Theresa and Peter had three daughters born in New England states and a son, Louis or Lewis Joseph (1859-1934), born in New York State.\textsuperscript{16} Around 1889, Louis married fellow-Abenaki Anna J. Miner (c. 1872-before 1920) born in Essex County, New York. They discovered Long Lake was a good place to sell baskets so they moved there from Saratoga by 1900. According to family history and anthropologist Christopher Roy, they were distantly related through marriage to Mitchell Sabattis who

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{13} Beverly Locke, e-mail messages to author, 24 February, 26 February, and 27 February 2010 and Edith Russell, personal conversation, 4 March 2010. Also see \textit{United States Federal Censuses for Long Lake – 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930 and Canadian Census for Hastings, Ontario – 1881.}
\bibitem{14} Janet Hall, Keene Valley Historian, personal conversation, 6 April 2009; Martha Lee Owens, personal conversation, 4 April, 2009 and letter from Adrian Edmonds’s (Martha’s father) cousin Norma Brown to Albertine Reynolds 2 March 1987 re: memories of the Edmonds family.
\bibitem{15} \textit{1870 United States Federal Census – Saratoga Springs.}
\bibitem{16} Roy, “Abenaki Sociality,” 57. The three daughters were: Marie Louise (c. 1833-1863?) born in Vermont, she married Vermonter Abram Burllett, (1833-1909); Susan (c. 1836-before 1900) was born in Connecticut and she married John M. Stone (c. 1834-after 1910?), born in Québec; and Sarah (c. 1842-after 1900?) born in Connecticut married James E. Couse (c. 1843-after 1900?) who was born in New York State. All of their husbands were of European ancestry and were listed as basketmakers on the \textit{1870 United States Federal Census – Saratoga Springs.}
\end{thebibliography}
lived in the area. The couple rented a farmstead located between the farm of Mitchell’s son Isaac Sabattis and the house of Ike’s brother Charles. By 1900, Louis and Anna had three children: James, Helen, and Andrew.

Ten years later, the couple were still renting a house in Long Lake and the family had grown by a daughter, Anna. Louis and his two sons James and Andrew often worked as labourers. We know from family history that Louis continued to make baskets but neither he nor his sons ever declared basket-making as their primary occupation. Anna died between 1910 and 1920; their two daughters continued to live with their father up to 1920 at least. Five years later, Louis was working as a labourer for a hotel; his son Andrew and his family were living with him. By 1930, Andrew was the head of the household and Louis was living with his family. According to Andrew’s youngest child, Philip Joseph (born 1934) Louis died the year he was born.

Andrew Joseph (1892-1978) was born at the Indian encampment at Saratoga Springs; it is believed he was the last baby born there. The family moved to Long Lake by the time Andrew was eight years of age. Andrew and his mother were close; he took her death before the age of fifty hard. Around 1918, Andrew married a Latvian immigrant by the name of Edith Savings (1896-1974); they had six children together. The children of Andrew and Edith Joseph include: Andrew Savings or “Andy” (1918-1991), Jane (1921-2012); Katherine or “Kay” (1924-1984); Edith (1927); John or “Johnny” (1930); and Philip or “Phil”. Their story reflects the history of cultural continuity and change that occurred for Native families in the Adirondacks.

Fleeing from the violence in their homeland, the Savings family immigrated to New York about 1915. Edith’s father Augustus had been a banker; they were well-to-do in Latvia, but they left most of their wealth behind. Edith’s mother never got over her experience of forced immigration and she, similar to Anna, died young. (Edith’s father eventually returned to Latvia; a philosopher and atheist, he wrote a

17 Roy, “Abenaki Sociality,” 132. Roy indicates in his footnote 34, “Mitchel Sabattis and Andrew Joseph’s maternal step-great-grandfather, Louis St.-Denis, were patrilateral first cousins and likely knew each other as youths and adults”.
18 1900 United States Federal Census – Long Lake. All of the Joseph children born survived to adulthood, beside Andrew they were: James (1889-? before 1979) and Helen (1895-?before 1979) all born in New York State. The 1910 United States Federal Census – Long Lake Town indicated the couple recently had a daughter Anna M. who was 8 months old (1909-? after 1979). Louis’ widowed brother-in-law, John M. Stone (husband of Louis’ older sister Susan) was also living with them. This census identified mother and children as White but someone wrote “Ind” over their status. All dates of death are based on whether they were alive or not when Andrew died in January 1979 according to his obituary, “Andrew Joseph,” The Saratogian – Tri-County News (Saratoga Springs, NY) Wednesday, 17 January, 1979, 3A.
19 1920 United States Federal Census – Long Lake. Louis is a widower.
20 1925 New York State Census – Long Lake Village identifies Louis as Indian and a U.S. citizen. Andrew’s family consist of his wife Edith and children Andrew S., (7), Jane M (5), Katharine G (1) and Anna M (15).
21 1930 United States Federal Census – Long Lake identifies Louis and Andrew as Indian, Andrew’s wife and children are White. Andrew’s occupation is a fruit dealer.
22 Philip Joseph and his wife, the former Wilma Black, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009. “Phil” as he prefers to be called was born at Mercy Hospital in Tupper Lake the same year his grandfather died, thus he does not remember him.
23 Phil Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009; according to Phil, Andrew thought his mother Anna “walked on water”.

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book called *Domas*, or “Thoughts,” which enjoyed some popularity in Latvia. Phil’s mother Edith, a devout Christian, refused to translate the book for her children. Edith came to Long Lake to work as a governess for the Johnny Schulte family. According to Phil, Mr. Schulte thought Andrew would make a good husband for Edith so he brought her with him and his family so the two could meet. Edith could speak five languages and was well-educated and instilled the need for a good education to her children. Andrew Joseph guided for Mr. Schulte through the Sagamore Hotel; he apparently agreed with Mr. Schulte as he set his sights on the young governess.  

Local records combined with family history demonstrate that Andrew was a hard-working and multi-talented man. In addition to guiding, he was a produce dealer, a labourer, and a sought-after carpenter. Andrew worked as a stone crusher during the depression years for $1 a day. Phil recalls his father selling vegetables and giving food to people when he knew they could not pay because he felt sorry for them. His mother, Edith felt less sorry for people, noting she had not received any handouts. Andrew sometimes supplied food to families who did not pay, which made it hard on the family. “But that was dad’s MO”.  

As times changed, Andrew built and rented cabins plus rooms in their home to accommodate Sports and travelers from the early 1930s until 1953. The family’s Long Lake business was known as “Joseph’s Cabins”. Andrew also told stories to the Sports; he was not above making fun of or chastising a novice hunter or angler. Phil recalls an incident: as an eager young son, he had heard a particular story about bears enough times that he wanted to tell it to a visiting Sport. The guest stopped him and insisted “I pay your father for guiding me but mostly I pay him to tell that bear story because it makes me feel like a kid again”. Phil’s wife, the former Wilma Black, confirms that Andrew was a great storyteller. Andrew also teased novice hunters he guided by telling them to “fire off a quick shot” if they got a deer. Inevitably the amateurs asked him if they had to pull the trigger faster in order to comply. Andrew would call them hopeless but agree to guide them anyway. On at least one occasion while taking wealthy visitors from the Sagamore Hotel fishing, he told them not to get excited and stand in the Adirondack guideboat they were using because it could take on water. When the fishermen failed to heed his warning, Andrew took out the caned seats and made them sit in the water collected in the boat while he rowed them back to shore, chastising them to listen to him the next time.  

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24 Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009 and 5 September 2012. Also see *1920 United States Federal Census – Long Lake* which confirms she and her parents were born in Russia and that they emigrated in 1915. Edith could speak Latvian, Russian, German, French, and English. At that time, Edith and Andrew were renting a home and had a 1 year old son, Andrew, Jr.; Andrew, Senior was working as a labourer.  
26 Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009. Phil also noted that his father caned seats for these boats from time to time.
While hard working, Andrew was not always a sensible businessman. Phil recalls his father refused to turn off the cabins’ vacancy sign until every room was filled, even if he charged less than the cost of renting it. Edith worked as hard as her husband. In addition to taking care of the family, she crocheted and made handiwork items such as quilts for them and their business. Edith also sold some of these items in the family’s gift shop that she ran from the porch of their home. In addition to the handmade items by Andrew and Edith, the family also sold fireworks around the Fourth of July and flowers for Memorial Day. Edith helped run the cottages and guesthouse with the help of their six children, made breakfast, lunch, and supper for the hunters and also washed towels for the Sagamore Hotel for 5 cents per towel. Similar to both Abenaki and rural Euroamerican Adirondack families, Edith’s work was gendered and complemented her husband’s forms of labour and his enterprises. She was not always happy in the Adirondacks; like her mother, Edith did not want to be poor. She was a religious woman though, and when they sold the cabins, she insisted on giving ten percent to the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Andrew did his best to fix up their home to make his wife’s life in the Adirondacks more pleasing.

Andrew Joseph was best known for his basket-making; he made them without a mould. He also made snow shoes, talking sticks, war clubs, and Abenaki wooden cups (figures C.3 and C.5). According to his youngest son, Andrew made hundreds if not thousands of baskets during his lifetime. He learned his craft from his father Louis; it took them less than a week to make and sell eighteen to twenty-four baskets to Sullivan’s, a local store in Long Lake. In addition, Andrew sold some of them from Edith’s gift shop at the house. Similar to other Native people during this era, Andrew occasionally donned a headdress to market his goods and to tell stories (figure C.6). He realized his customers wanted the headdress and he was willing to give it to them to support his family. It also told his uninformed customers of Abenaki culture that these were genuine, Indian-made works of art. He was well-known in the central Adirondack region as an Abenaki and his baskets are his legacy (figures C.4 and C.5).

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27 Ibid. Phil states his father cut the price of an overnight stay to fill up the cabins and thought that was a feather in his cap. However, this caused his mother to have more laundry to do and thus they did not really make a profit. Wilma added that Andrew wanted to give his customers a lot for their money and worked many hours.

28 Ibid, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009. Once, a customer had purchased a braided rug Edith made for approximately $100. On a trip to New York City shortly thereafter, Edith discovered the rug for sale in a shop for four to five times as much than the customer paid for it which of course displeased her. The family had to occasionally send the police after guests who had stolen his mother’s quilts.

29 Anthony Bufo, “Work Horse of the Woods: the Adirondack Pack Basket and the Man who made them for seventy years,” Adirondack Life (Fall, 1973): 20-24, 21 claims father and son started on Tuesday by cutting the tree and they began weaving on Wednesday. They put the finishing touches on their baskets by Saturday and on Sunday ferried them across the lake to Sullivan’s store who purchased the baskets for $9/dozen.

30 Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009 including review of photographs of the cabins and a business card. Also see “Obituaries: Andrew Joseph,” The Saratogian (Saratoga Springs, NY) 17 January 1979 and Bufo, “Work Horse of the Woods, 24 which claims Andrew made “several dozen baskets a week”.

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Unfortunately, Andrew did not usually sign his baskets; there are many of his baskets throughout the region that people do not realize he made.\footnote{Note, in C.3 carved into the wooden cup is the word “Abenaki’s cup”. Also note the small basket woven onto the sewing basket on C.4; its purpose is to hold small items such as needles, thread, or thimbles. Andrew Joseph made all types of baskets as demonstrated in C.5, including large laundry and Adirondack pack baskets as well as smaller baskets with handles and letter holders.} 

C.3: Abenaki Cup

C.4: Sewing Basket

C.5: Collection of baskets, snowshoes, letter holder, and bookmarks (also the start of a basket)


All artwork made by Andrew Joseph from the personal collection of Phil Joseph. Photographed by Melissa Otis. Courtesy of Phil Joseph.

While many of the Joseph family’s experiences accommodated westernized North American culture, they also passed on Abenaki skills and customs. At birth, Louis Joseph gave his grandson Phil an Abenaki name, which Phil later changed to fit his adult life.\footnote{Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation, 10 July 2009, As a baby Phil was given the name “Big Moose” because he was such a large baby. Phil changed it to “Straight Arrow” at the first opportunity given his dislike for the earlier name.} Andrew taught Phil and his brothers how to fish, track, and hunt as early as the age of five. The techniques Andrew taught his sons were not always legal by this time but they were skills this father believed an Abenaki man should know in order to feed his family. For example, Phil described a fishing technique Andrew taught him to catch a lot of fish.
despite the state’s regulations limiting their numbers. Adopting some forms of modern technology, father and son(s) used about six light bulbs and dynamite wire connected to a minnow. “It keeps you pretty busy if all you got is a row boat to tend to those as they go down and you go for the slip loose and put your reel on and pull in a pike. … Dad says, ooo, there’s one down over there and you’ve got to row down there to get that”.33 Andrew taught his sons how to track deer and to know when the animal had been hit but kept running. (Phil explained that it’s hard to track a deer because it is very probable it is not the only one there making tracks.) Andrew instructed his sons to watch does feeding as it was normal for them to precede the buck; “bucks sent the does out to run interference”. In addition, Phil observed that his father deliberately fired his rifle several times because bucks wait to hear where the shots are coming from before they run. On one occasion, Andrew insisted he had wounded a deer that ran off. Failing to see any evidence that the deer had been hit, Phil questioned his father’s claim. Andrew brought his son to the spot where the deer was shot. They followed a deer’s tracks until they found the buck’s body. When asked how he knew he’d hit the deer, Andrew brought Phil back to the original tracks and showed him the where the deer’s dew claws on the hind legs had left an imprint in the snow. Andrew could tell the buck had been hit because of the lack of stability in the deer’s hind leg tracks; this is how he taught Phil not to walk on deer tracks so he could test for the stability of these claws. Phil explained that when he and his brothers hunted they sometimes became as excited as the Sports; when that happened they failed to hit their target. His father rarely missed because he saw the animal as food on the table; providing for one’s family required patience and composure.34

Phil also learned to trap and skin animals for the fur trade from his father. Phil recalls his father often taught his children to learn life’s lessons through their own experience. Phil learned the hard way how to deal with different trapped animals. According to Phil, the beaver are very intelligent; they are embarrassed when they get caught in a trap and bury their head in the mud. Phil had to club those beaver that had not drowned in the trap. He had to take the ensnared beaver by the tail and “bop” it on the head. In addition to beaver, Phil and his father also trapped otter. Phil explains the otter is offended when he gets caught. The first time Andrew told Phil to “take care of” of a trapped otter, Phil assumed he could treat it like a beaver. When Phil grabbed the otter by the tail it snapped at him like a rattle snake and tried to bite him. Phil complained to his father that he should have warned him about the otter’s reaction, to which Andrew replied; “Now you know the difference between an otter and a beaver” and added that “now you will never forget it”. Phil felt that his father always thought it was a joke when he had to teach

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
Phil something Andrew believed an Indian should already know.\(^{35}\) This reference to animals with human emotions is representative of Abenaki worldviews that persisted in the Adirondacks well into the twentieth century. These were relationships between humans and animals that needed to be respected as part of Abenaki (and other Algonquian and Iroquoian) weltanschauung.\(^ {36}\) The Joseph family (and Phil’s father-in-law) trapped “everything”; according to Phil, he and his brother John had to help skin a skunk once. “Our family was poor – we did what we had to”. Phil explained that rabbit skin came off easily because it was not attached. Skinning a beaver was different because they carried a lot of loads so they had a lot of fat. Father and sons had to scrape the furs and clean them good. One only gets what you can cut with a knife. The Joseph family had a board they put the beaver skin on and they used a scraper to clean the furs being careful not to cut the hide to maintain its value. Wilma’s father William J. Black eventually became a middle man and bought the furs local men trapped and sold them to furriers in New York City and Montreal.\(^ {37}\) In addition, Andrew passed on his basket-making skills taught to him by his father Louis to his two older sons, Andrew and John; John still makes them and makes sure to put his name on the basket.\(^ {38}\) Phil, the studious son, educates others by talking to people about his family and the Abenaki. He recently donated his father’s basket-making tools and some baskets to the Adirondack Museum to preserve his family’s history in the area.\(^ {39}\) While fluent himself, Andrew chose not to teach his children the Abenaki language.

Much the same as many in the Adirondacks, the Joseph family had to work hard and at a variety of jobs to make a comfortable living or just to make ends meet. However, non-Native Adirondackers did not have to contend with the notion their culture was destined to die out and that they were “the last”. As discussed in Chapter Two, declarations of the last of their kind assisted the dominant culture in clearing the landscape of its Indigenous citizens. Perhaps Edith could understand these ramifications better than most Americans, albeit from a different perspective. As an immigrant from Latvia, her family had experienced upheaval that required them to leave their homeland and they experienced deprivations that had not previously existed. Both of the parents of Andrew and Edith struggled with the status quo; even their generation had its difficulties. Edith did not always bear living in this rural area quietly but her faith and her family kept her going.

\(^{35}\) *Ibid*. Phil claims the only time his father ever warned him about something was when Phil could have gotten his leg broken hooking up a chain to a horse to haul logs.


\(^{37}\) Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009 and 2 August 2011, William Black eventually bought the Village Inn in Long Lake and got out of the fur business.

\(^{38}\) Phil and Wilma Joseph, personal conversation with author, 10 July 2009. Andrew, and probably Louis, made their own tools including a hand-made knife to create their baskets which were passed down from father to son. Andrew did not teach his daughters or Phil how to make baskets.

\(^{39}\) *Ibid*. 
The descendants of Andrew and Edith are distinctive in their upbringing, yet in a number of ways they are similar to other Adirondackers (see figures C.7 and C.8). Many have to leave the region to find work, but often one or two stay or come back, at least on a part-time basis. Edith and Andrew’s children are reflective of this phenomenon. Andy and Kay remained in the Adirondacks, Edith and Phil did not move too far outside the ‘Blue Line’, while Jane and John lived in other states. Phil’s life demonstrates the complexities of being a modern-day Abenaki Adirondacker (C.9). He is a card carrying member of the Abenaki at Odanak and his car’s license plate reads “Abenaki”; yet he is also a proud Adirondacker and of his Latvian heritage. Growing up in Long Lake had its benefits and tribulations. He was able to take advantage of the skills his Abenaki father taught him but he also experienced prejudice in school from some of his classmates. In response, Phil chose to be studious; he became the valedictorian of his class and went to university, as did his sister Jane. Indeed, three of Andrew Joseph’s children were the valedictorian of their class (Jane, Kay, and Phil) which made their father very proud. He was known to brag about it in the town that he did not feel totally accepted him and his family. Moreover, Phil’s experience with the sons of tourists was mixed. During the season, he and the vacationing boys played together; however, these well-to-do youths did not understand why the Joseph family had so many jars of canned food in their cellar. They accused the family of being hoarders. Phil indignantly explained that this was the food his family lived on during the winter when the tourists were gone. He went to Syracuse University and lived away from the Adirondacks for some of his adult life. In retirement, he made Indian Lake his seasonal home while wintering in Florida. His brother John lives in New Jersey and returns home periodically to visit by flying one of several of his own planes to the small nearby Piseco Airport.40

40 Philip Joseph, personal conversation 10 July 2009 and 10 April 2012. Both Phil and Jane studied at Syracuse University. Jane went through grade and high school in eleven years and became a math teacher; however, most of her students were close to her age. She especially found the older girls difficult to handle. World War II offered Jane the opportunity to become an aeronautical engineer through Penn State. Kay, who was also a valedictorian, went to Mildred Elly, a business college in Albany. Sister Edith went to work for a pharmaceutical company. Andy married a granddaughter of Mitchell Sabattis and joined the army in 1944; he worked on diesel engines and the couple raised two children. John runs two successful demolition businesses in New Jersey, John Joseph, Inc. and Explosive Supply, Inc.
The Adirondacks have always been and still are a difficult place to make a living. This is not dissimilar to the original use of the area by Native people as a space of resources, labour, and refuge. Sometimes it is a place that can help feed and house your family; other times its usefulness is to provide nourishment for the soul. Families living within a new and different culture made decisions about how they moved forward. Some clung tenaciously to old customs including language, food, dress, and so on, while others worked towards fitting into the new culture. Responses to cultural change have never been homogenous; individuals and families borrow, adapt, and use those habits they find useful or attractive to fit their particular needs. Yet, for better or for worse, a society and a region eventually obtain a character that they and outsiders identify them with. The customs or objects that were borrowed to create that character became part of the collective memory. American historian David Glassberg argues that mainstream society wants history that connects them emotionally to the past and helps them to understand who they are and the place they live. He suggests historians can use their skills to help the public connect to and see the value of their communities by extending the time period people often consider and including the histories of neighbours that are often omitted. This type of history expands peoples’ social perceptions so they know “that they are part of a larger society and environment.”

To Glassberg’s arguments I also add that it is important to appreciate their own unique place within it.

This conclusion argues that when historians writing about North American spaces and culture do not include Native peoples’ history throughout the historical narrative of that place or culture, it is because they choose to omit it, not because the history does not exist. Indian people have and continue to engage us; it is up to us as scholars of North American history to decide if we are going to listen and include them and their experiences in our work. Writing history is a profound but also culpable practice.

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41 David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 209-211, 211. Glassberg focuses on the United States, but his work also reflects other countries dominated by settler societies such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.
Historians of North American spaces and culture need to ask ourselves why and what the ramifications are when we choose to add or exclude people and their experiences in our scholarship. It is my hope this history of Algonquian and Iroquoian people in the Adirondacks reflects the shared insight of the Algonquian “common kettle” hung alongside the Iroquoian “dish with one spoon.” The entangled exchanges that ensued between Natives and Newcomers and the land during the long nineteenth century demonstrate the endurance of the Indigenous people and their relationship to this place that is both unique, and not, in North American history. The Adirondacks have been (and still are) a homeland for Mohawk and Abenaki people. The region was, and remains, a location of exchange as Native people stayed or left and other Newcomers arrived to call this place home. For a more complete and rich history of the Adirondacks and North America in general, all parties should be invited to the table to contribute and share in its telling. We just might learn some valuable insights about each other and ourselves that we did not know.
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