

IROQUOIAN OCCUPATION OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY DURING AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

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Previous work has suggested that the year 1779 marked the end of the Iroquoian occupation of the Mohawk Valley in New York. The present study explores evidence indicating that groups of Mohawk Iroquois remained in their home villages at Fort Hunter and Canajoharie until the 1790s and data showing that there were Oneida Iroquois at or near the Canajoharie settlement during the 1790s, possibly until the 1820s. This report focuses on the specific location of the above settlements in the interval between 1779 and 1830, and on biographical details pertaining to individual Iroquoian occupants.

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that the Mohawk Iroquois were forced to permanently abandon their "castles" early in the American Revolution, trekking west to Niagara or north to Lachine, then moving finally to Ontario, Canada, in 1784. Local histories relating to the Mohawk Valley have tended to perpetuate this belief. For example, in 1947 Greene stated that the few Mohawks remaining in their villages "were removed to Albany by a detachment of regular Army troops in 1779--thus ending the Mohawks' occupancy of the Valley, covering a period of two centuries--1580 to 1779" (Greene 1947:25). More recent scholarly studies of the Mohawk people, for example Fenton and Tooker in 1978, also fail to mention any post-Revolutionary migration back to the Mohawk Valley. These authors assert that, "resettlement of these Mohawks in their old valley was an obvious impossibility" (Fenton and Tooker 1978:476). Some work published in the nineteenth century, however, points to the possibility that these viewpoints (that there were no Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley after the 1770s) may be inaccurate. For example, Simms, in his publications of 1850 and 1883, recorded interviews with persons who were alive

during and immediately after the Revolution. This evidence, based on the recollections of informants, suggests that there were Mohawks living in or near their former settlements at Fort Hunter and Canajoharie during the 1790s. The present study will explore this and other documentary evidence that indicates that there were Mohawk and Oneida Iroquois people settled in the Mohawk Valley west of Schenectady after 1779. The primary objective is to identify the specific persons and places involved in this occupation of the Mohawk ancestral homeland.

EFFECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At the dawn of the American Revolution the Mohawks were living in two major settlements in the Mohawk Valley, located between present-day Herkimer and Amsterdam, New York. According to Sir William Johnson's estimate of 1770, there were 180 individuals (38 houses) at Canajoharie (near present-day Indian Castle), 160 persons (32 houses) at Tiononderoga (Fort Hunter), plus another 80 at Schoharie (near present-day Middleburg), south of the Mohawk Valley. Four years later, these 420 Mohawks had been reduced to 406 (Guldenzopf 1984:87).

The series of events leading to the first wave of Mohawk emigration (comprised of 90 warriors), on May 30, 1775, is outlined in Lydekker (1938) and Graymont (1972). These authors note that the majority of the Mohawks sided with the British in the Revolution, due largely to the influence of the Loyalist Johnson (e.g., Sir John Johnson and Guy Johnson) and Brant (e.g., Joseph Brant and Mary Brant) families.

The Mohawks who remained in their home communities were soon under considerable pressure to show their loyalty by going to Lachine, Oswego, or Niagara to join the British forces in order to fight the "Bostonians" (American Archives 1776:770-771). A clear schism within the Mohawk communities became apparent at this time--likely rooted in the traditional rivalry between the war chief and peace chief factions. There were, however, additional factors that fostered a reluctance among some Mohawks to leave their two villages. I (Faux 1980, 1981a) have argued, on the basis of archival evidence, that the Fort Hunter Mohawks had the most to lose during the war. They appear to have been the more acculturated of the two groups, according to data in the claims for wartime losses. These records pertaining to the Fort Hunter group (PAC 1784a:240-242, 1784b:307-320) indicate larger farm acreages compared to the Canajoharie group. It probably became imperative that a contingent remain in Fort Hunter to protect their valuable properties. An additional reason for maintaining some presence there was because, according to the legal position maintained by the Corporation of the City of Albany, the latter would have the right to possess the land once the settlement had been deserted by the Mohawks (NYCD 1856-1887:6:16).

MOHAWKS WHO REMAINED AT FORT HUNTER DURING THE WAR

The majority of the inhabitants of Fort Hunter, according to the testimony of their war chief Capt. John Deserontyon, left for Canada on September 8, 1777 (Draper 1879:14F:49). Mrs. Lydia Martin, the granddaughter of Capt. Isaac

Hill (a Fort Hunter war chief), recalled hearing that only three families chose to remain at this time. Mrs. Martin further noted that "One of these lagging families was named Claus" (Draper 1879:13F:34-35). A census recorded in the Schuyler Indian Papers indicates the names and ages of at least (the document is torn) four families residing at Fort Hunter in 1778. These Mohawks who refused to leave Fort Hunter, until their options had run out, were the families of the three major village (possibly pine tree) chiefs--none of whom held a hereditary title (e.g., Newhouse 1885). These individuals, Little Abraham (Tiorhansera), Johannes Crine (Aneqwendahonji), and Lawrence Claus (Agwiraeghse, see Schuyler 1778), were strong advocates of neutrality (e.g., Clinton 1901:5:646). Their ranks were thinned by a defection of "two of the few Mohawks that remained at home. . ." in August, 1779--these persons apparently bowing to pressure from others of the Six Nations Iroquois (Kirby 1896:59).

The families that did stay were under suspicion of acting as spies for the British. For this reason Col. Peter Gansevoort was detached from the army of General John Sullivan (who was then attempting to crush the Six Nations resistance in western New York) with instructions to transport the residents of Fort Hunter to prison in Albany. The Mohawk community at Fort Hunter at the time of their capture (September, 1779) was composed of only four houses, occupied by six or seven families, according to General Sullivan. While the group was freed from prison in October, they may not have been able to return immediately to their previous homes, as each house had been assigned to a white family (Stone 1865:2:39). Subsequent events, noted below, however, suggest that it is probable that they did go back to Fort Hunter soon after their release.

In February, 1780, the two leading men of the Fort Hunter Mohawks, Little Abraham and Johannes Crine, volunteered to act as ambassadors, taking a peace proposal to the Six Nations at Niagara who were serving with the British (Clinton 1901:5:646). That spring, in May, 1780, a party led by Sir John Johnson descended upon Fort Hunter and took some of the Mohawk residents (including the Crine family) with him to Canada (NYSA 1786-1788:17-20). It was, however, not until October, 1780, when Sir John succeeded in removing (temporarily) what appears to have been the last remaining Mohawk family, that of Mary Hill (Kateriunigh, see HP Add. Mss. 21787:186).

An inspection of the data contained in church registers clearly indicates the presence of some Indian people in the eastern portion of the Mohawk Valley beyond Fort Hunter subsequent to 1778. In the Dutch Reformed Church at Schenectady, between 1779 and 1782, there were 17 Indian children baptized (LDS 1728-1785:396-442). These were likely Oneida children, as the bulk of their tribe were reported to be at Schenectady after the Battle of Oriskany in 1777 (Penrose 1981:356). There is, however, no evidence that these Oneidas lived at Fort Hunter.

MOHAWKS WHO RETURNED TO FORT HUNTER AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Sometime toward the end of the Revolution (1783), a few Mohawks returned to the Mohawk Valley with the intention of recovering title to their former possessions. In October, 1785, Johannes Crine (baptized 1722, see NYSL 1689-

1724) petitioned, from New York, the Congress of the United States for redress due to losses incurred during the war and for back pay as a captain in the service of the American cause (National Archives 1774-1789:145-147). One year later, he petitioned the New York State Legislature, claiming to represent the Mohawks "friendly to the cause and interest of the United States" who had tried to reclaim their lands at Fort Hunter, but had been informed that the Corporation of the City of Albany were the current owners (NYSA 1786-1788:17-19). He had probably returned prior to 1784, when he signed the Treaty of Stanwix as one of two Mohawk representatives (Kappler 1972:6). While Crine died about 1787 (NYSL 1789:41-44), it would appear that his son John Crine (Aronghyenghtha, baptized 1755, see Ogilvie 1750-1759:2c), with the latter's wife and three sons, were living about this time at Fort Hunter, "about 20 rods [101.5 m] south of the chapel parsonage" (Simms 1883:2:735). In the spring of 1790, according to the report of a local resident named Jeremiah Martin, Crine (Krine) and his wife were drowned in the Schoharie River. Their children John Krine (16 years of age), Krine Krine, and Isaac Krine were subsequently taken into the homes of three inhabitants of the area (Judge Harper, Peter Martin, and Col. John Newkirk respectively). The same source also indicated that "When the oldest grew to manhood [1795?] he went to Canada and sometime after he came back and took his brothers with him to their tribe, where they all remained" (Simms 1883:2:735).

Other Indians that, according to Jeremiah Martin, returned after the war were "Squint-Eye" and his "squaw." They apparently "remained upon the glen site of the creek several years after the war, but they finally went off to Canada" (Simms 1883:2:735). Reference to an account book listing the Indian customers of Jelles Fonda (Fonda 1772-1777), indicates that Squint-Eye (sometimes written in Dutch as Schele) was a nickname for Lawrence Claus (b. 1722, see Schuyler 1778). His family, along with the Crines, was previously noted as being among those remaining in the village during the war. The recollections of Jeremiah Martin are probably reliable, since eighteenth-century documentary materials confirm the existence of the adults he describes (e.g., Fonda 1772-1777).

Similarly, Mary Hill (noted above) and her family probably stayed at Fort Hunter until about 1790. This fact was known to descendants of parties who had more clearly supported the British cause. In 1809 Peter John of the Bay of Quinte, son of Capt. John Deserontyon, complained about the behavior of certain "Mohawks of the name of Hill, persons who did not adhere to His Majesty during the Rebellion which drove us from our country, but adhered to the American Rebels, and never came to this Country until all their lands were sold to the American Government" (PAC 1809).

Two other Indians, according to published sources, appear to have lived near Fort Hunter after the war. One resided with Cornelius Putnam of "Cadaughrita" (south of Fort Hunter) until, on the way to Johnstown, he was confronted by hostile Americans who pointed their guns at him. He supposedly retired to Canada shortly after the incident (Simms 1883:2:735-736). The other was Elijah Pie, a Stockbridge Indian, who supposedly came from Massachusetts to reside on the west side of the Schoharie Creek about 1825--allegedly to die and be buried near his mother's grave. Pie lived "about a mile southeast of Auriesville," dying in the Montgomery County Poor House about 1840 (Beers 1981:121).

Other than the above Elijah Pie, whose mother may have been a Mohawk, there is no evidence that there were any Mohawks living in the vicinity of Fort Hunter after about 1795.

The data that speak to the occupation of the other settlement of Mohawk people in the Mohawk Valley will now be explored. There is, in addition to evidence based on the recollections of elderly Mohawk Valley residents, primary source documentation from archival sources indicating that a combined group of Mohawks and Oneidas were living at or near the village of Canajoharie during and subsequent to the American Revolution.

IROQUOIS RESIDING AT CANAJOHARIE DURING THE REVOLUTION

It is important to note that in 1755, and possibly at the time of the Revolution, the Mohawk Canajoharie settlement was composed of two nuclei. Evidence from both cartographic (e.g., Knittle 1965:194) and written accounts (e.g., Hamilton 1979:86) confirms the existence of two contemporaneous settlements. One was located near the site of Fort Hendrick (built in 1755), on the south bank of the Mohawk River, opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek. The other component was west of Fort Hendrick, adjacent to Nowadaga Creek (near present-day Indian Castle), and north of the church (built in 1769). While it is generally assumed that the term Canajoharie Castle applies to the Indian Castle site, it is possible that it may also relate to houses near the former site of Fort Hendrick.

In common with the situation at Fort Hunter, many of the Canajoharie Mohawk males left their settlement between 1775 and 1777 in order to serve with the Loyalist forces. Those that remained at Canajoharie were suspected by the Americans of being spies and made themselves particularly obnoxious to their American neighbors by, as late as August, 1777, sheltering Loyalist (Tory) families who had been driven from their homes (Penrose 1978:126). The antagonism toward the residents of the Canajoharie village came to the boiling point after the Battle of Oriskany, where the Mohawks were known to have participated in the decimation of the American militia and their Oneida supporters. In retaliation, a group of Oriska (Oneida) Indians, led by Honyerry Doxtader, and a group of local white residents, most prominent among whom was Peter S. Dygart, spent the fall of 1777 plundering the Canajoharie Mohawk settlement. They stripped hardware and glass from the houses and took a wide variety of items, including horses, field and garden crops, and household contents (Penrose 1978:125-134). The personal effects of Mary Brant were divided by Dygart and Doxtader (Penrose 1978:134). That there were still some Mohawks remaining in the "castle" is evidenced by the statement of one of the pillagers. Johannes G. House testified that after raising some goods buried by Brant Johnson (Kayaghkon) of Canajoharie, he gave one of the barrels, which contained flour, to "Abm. an Indian belonging to the aforesaid Castle" (Penrose 1978:128).

On June 28, 1779, it was noted that "Some Cannojarahere Indians arrived at Lachine on Saturday night last--they were obliged to leave their village thro' the ill treatment they met with from the Rebels . . . they are Four Men, Two Women, & Five Children Young Brant's Brother is One of them" (PAC 1779:98).

There is evidence that in October, 1780, a mixed group of Oneidas and Mohawks were living in or near the Canajoharie Castle. In a report to Frederick Haldimand, an officer in Sir John Johnson's Corps noted that his party had been discovered by three Oneidas, one of whom "escaped in to the Fort of Conadeschary where there were twenty two more of that Nation & Mohawks" (HP Add. Mss. 21787:184). Also in 1780 (February 19), two Indian children were baptized at the Palatine Church, across the Mohawk River from the Canajoharie Castle (Kelly 1982:32). Their tribal affiliation is unknown.

The available documentation is silent concerning the occupants of Canajoharie between 1780 and the end of the war. There are data, however, that clearly record the presence of Iroquoian people in the area by the mid-1780s.

IROQUOIS OCCUPATION OF CANAJOHARIE: 1784-1830

Evidence from American Church and Archival Sources

The records of the Fort Herkimer (German Flats) Reformed Church, located west of the Canajoharie Castle, indicate that 10 Indian children were baptized there between 1786 and 1794. The names of the parents include Jacob Dochsteder and wife Lea, and John Tenny (DeNie, etc.) and wife Dorothea. The Indian sponsors were Joh: Georg Dachsteder and Sara; Joh: George Smarth and Catharina; Abhm and Catharin; and David and Maria De Ny. White sponsors at one of the baptisms were "Maj. Pieter Schuyler & his lady" (Kelly 1983:60-102). The Revolutionary War pension applications (Penrose 1981:349-366) suggest that the above individuals with the surname Dachstaeder (and variants) were Oneidas. Joh: George (i.e., Hanyery) Dachsteder was probably the same as the Hanyery Doxtader (Tewahangaraghkan, b. 1744/45, d. 1839) who plundered the Canajoharie Castle (Penrose 1981:350-358) and who served under Col. Jacob Klock of the Canajoharie militia. Doxtader and Dolly Cobus (d. 1844) had a son Jacob Doxtader, likely the Jacob, husband of Lea, in the above church registers, and a daughter Dolly (i.e., Dorothy), possibly Dorothea, the wife of John De Nie above (Penrose 1981:252).

It is also apparent that at least two Mohawk families, later residents of Ontario, were among these Oneidas. A child of Georg Martin and Catharin was baptized at the Fort Herkimer Church on August 12, 1788. The sponsor was "Johannes Hess, Indian" (Kelly 1983:76). George Martin (Shononghese) and Catharine Rollston (Wanowenreth), a white woman adopted as a Mohawk, were to become leading members of the Mohawk community on the Grand River and leave a large family of descendants on the present Six Nations Indian Reserve.

George Martin is the subject of a recent biography which, unfortunately, does not include any details of Martin's background in the Mohawk Valley (McNab 1984). A tombstone inscription in the Mohawk Chapel churchyard (Brantford, Ontario) indicates that Martin was born at "Kanajohara U.S." (i.e., Canajoharie Castle in New York) on December 23, 1767, and died "at Grand River C.W. [illegible] 1853." If his name derives from the practices current among Mohawks in the mid-1700s, then it is likely he is George, son of Martin (e.g., Kelsay 1984:51). Reference to all available church records for the Albany to German Flats corridor, however, does not provide any record of children

born to a Martin in the 1760s. There is nothing that would indicate that George Martin was, by birth, a high-ranking individual in the Mohawk community. He was "appointed a war Chief by the Six Nation" sometime prior to 1815 (PAC 1815:153).

Johannes Hess, the sponsor of the Martin baptism, may have been a son of the "Hess" who was the son of Moy Myshes, noted in an account book entry of 1756 (Fonda 1751-1763). In addition, "Hanneshess" and Abram made a joint claim for wartime losses in 1784 at Niagara (PAC 1784b:309). Relative to the other claimants, their possessions were modest--suggesting that Johannes Hess was not among the higher ranking Mohawks. Likely descendants of Johannes Hess include Joseph Hess Shaonwati, a wolf clan war chief in 1815 (PAC 1815:153), and Peter Hess, born about 1784 in the United States (Census of Ontario 1861:9).

There is evidence that at least 28 Mohawks were residing at Canajoharie in 1788. On January 12, 1788, this group of 18 men and 10 women signed a petition at Canajoharie expressing the desire that those persons who were now occupying their lands at Fort Hunter and Canajoharie be removed, so that they could peacefully return to their former habitations. An alternative proposal was that they be allowed to lease or sell these lands (NYSA 1786-1788:41-44). Some of the signatories were adults who can be positively identified as Fort Hunter Mohawks (e.g., Crine Crine Dekaghnawadeghgwen, see PAC 1789) and others who were former residents of Canajoharie (e.g., Hendrick Onaghtoron, see Draper 1879:2F:54). The only hereditary chief in the group was Thomas Shawennowne, a wolf clan sachem (Sharenhowaneh, see Newhouse 1885:246).

A reasonable inference is that, considering the close proximity of the Fort Herkimer Church to the Canajoharie Castle, the above Oneidas and Mohawks were residing in the structures at Canajoharie that had been spared from destruction. Determining the absolute number of individuals is problematic and the proportion of Oneidas to Mohawks is unknown.

The Mohawks of both Fort Hunter and Canajoharie had apparently given up any hope of returning en masse to the Mohawk Valley as, in the year 1789, both groups appointed Jelles Fonda as their agent empowered to sell their former lands in the valley (PAC 1789; NYHS 1789).

Evidence from Local Histories

Stories collected by local historians of the Mohawk Valley also point to the return of various groups of Mohawks to Canajoharie. For example, John B. Dygert and Frederick Petrie informed Jeptha Simms that, near Frankfort, west of the Canajoharie Castle, Adam Hartman killed a Mohawk known as "Saucy Nick" sometime after 1784 (Simms 1883:2:689). In addition, Frederick Petrie told Simms about an Indian named Hess who, before the Revolution, had "dwelt about two miles from the present village of Little Falls" (i.e., at the Canajoharie Castle), and served with the British during the war. "Some ten or twelve years after the war" (i.e., about 1794/96) Hess returned to the Mohawk Valley and met Nat Foster in a tavern in Little Falls. Hess allegedly bragged of his exploits during the war, which included the taking of 42 scalps. There is some controversy about subsequent events, which, according to one unsubstantiated account, included the shooting and killing of Hess by Foster (Simms 1850:243).

Whether or not Hess had been shot, it is noteworthy that the church records cited previously recorded a Johannes Hess as being in the valley at about this time, thereby providing cross-validation for the story.

The name of Hess was also recalled by other valley residents. According to Lodowick Moyer and Col. Henderson, Hess and a companion named Cataroqua appeared in the valley "About nine years after the war" (i.e., circa 1793). Hess was described as "a fine looking young fellow," and Cataroqua as "advanced in years" (Simms 1883:2:555-557). Their reason for being in the Mohawk Valley was supposedly in order to hunt. It is difficult, however, to imagine why if this was their purpose, they would trek hundreds of miles to do what they could accomplish in a day's walk from home north of the Grand River (Johnston 1964:308).

It seems likely, reasons aside, according to all the above evidence, that there were at least a number of Mohawks who stayed near Little Falls (at Canajoharie?) after the war, some of whom can be tentatively traced to predecessors in New York and descendants in Canada. The available records do not, however, indicate how many years they remained in the Mohawk Valley. It is known, however, that George Martin was a permanent resident of the Grand River in Canada some time prior to 1815 (PAC 1815:153).

Evidence from Canadian Sources

There is the possibility that some of the Mohawks and/or Oneidas remained at or near Canajoharie until the 1820s. The Indian Affairs Papers in Canada indicate that the family of "John Carlough (or Garlow as he is sometimes called) . . . are afraid of being struck off the Indian list. They are Americans and scarcely tinged with Indian Blood who came to the province either 1822 or 23" (PAC 1852:180775). John Garlow is noted as being "White" in an 1833 entry in the church registers of the Mohawk Village, and his wife Sarah is listed as an Oneida (BCM 1827-1851). In the 1849 census for presents, their sons Solomon and Philip are both recorded among the Lower Mohawks (PAC 1849). In the church registers Hannah Carlo (1847), Christopher Garlow (1851), and Abraham Carlo (1839) are noted as being Mohawks, whereas Peter Carlough (1835) is denominated as an Oneida (BCM 1827-1851).

The 1851-1852 Ontario census indicates that John Carlough (a non-Indian) was born about 1782/83 in New York State, and his wife Sarah (an Indian) was born about 1788/89 in New York State. Their son Solomon was also born in New York State about 1827, while his brother Philip was born about 1830 on the Grand River, Ontario (Census of Ontario 1851:9). These data suggest that Sarah was an Oneida (possibly also part Mohawk), who married a white man named John Garlow, in New York, and moved to Ontario sometime in the 1820s. The question then arises, where in New York were they living?

The Garlow (Peter, Philip, Charles, Adam) family resided in the vicinity of Canajoharie before the Revolution (MacWethy 1969:10). Philip Gerlock (Garlow) and wife Maria Elisabeth had a son Johannes born December 4, 1781, and baptized in the Fort Herkimer Church (Penrose 1978:254), who was probably the above John Garlow. Referring back to the church register data, it will be recalled that a number of Oneidas were living near Fort Herkimer in the 1780s and 1790s. A reasonable speculation is that Sarah was born to one of them

about 1788, the approximate date of birth of Sarah Garlow (above). On May 6, 1787, a daughter Sara was born to John Tenny, Indian, and Dorothea--the sponsors being Joh: Georg Dachstaeder and Sara, both Indians (Kelly 1983:69). It is possible that this Sara and Sarah Garlow are one and the same.

CONCLUSIONS IN RELATION TO RESIDENCE LOCATION

The evidence noted above indicates that three generations of a Mohawk family named Crine returned to Fort Hunter after the war (about 1784) and lived about 101.5 m (330 ft) south of the parsonage that still stands on Queen Anne Street. It was also reported that the Lawrence Claus family resided on the west bank of the Schoharie Creek, although more specific information is lacking. The scant available evidence suggests a terminal date for the Mohawk presence in or near Fort Hunter as 1795 (the approximate date when the three Crine brothers left to take up permanent residence in Canada).

Again, as with the situation at Fort Hunter, the evidence relating to the Mohawk occupation of Canajoharie after the war is sparse. There are unequivocal data indicating that during the late 1780s there was a mixed group of 28 Fort Hunter and Canajoharie Mohawks staying at Canajoharie. Their length of stay is unknown. In addition, George Martin and Johannes Hess, Canajoharie Mohawks, were, for reasons unknown, staying somewhere near Fort Herkimer (possibly at nearby Canajoharie) in 1788. Whether they were among the former party is unclear, unless George Yowirat Roghnengheronde and George Martin are the same individual. Some uncertain evidence further indicates that at least two Mohawks, Hess and Cataroqua, were near Canajoharie in the 1790s. There is no firm evidence that there were any Mohawks at Canajoharie after the mid-1790s.

The specific place of residence of the Mohawks in the Canajoharie area after the war is not known. One hypothesis is that they would have occupied the most substantial available homes in the settlement. The former houses of Joseph Brant and Molly Brant, the two wealthiest Canajoharie Mohawks (PAC 1784b:307-325), were doubtless the most desirable abodes. A survey record, however, indicates that in 1789 both of these structures were then occupied by white persons--Peter Schuyler in Molly Brant's house and Jere Adam Smith in Joseph Brant's house; while Nicholas Schuyler and Adam Ackert had recently constructed homes on the same lot (Lot 12 Van Horne Patent, see NYSL 1789). Reference to the 1790 census of New York supports this evidence, placing these individuals in the vicinity of the Indian Castle Church (Census of New York 1976:99). It is apparent, however, according to claims for wartime losses, that Molly Brant had two "Dwelling Houses" and two other "Small" houses (PAC 1784b:316). In addition, other persons at Canajoharie had substantial dwellings. Brant Johnson, for example, had "A frame house" at "Conojohare on the Mohawk" (Antliff 1985:349). A reasonable speculation is that the Mohawks returned to some of these, or more humble dwellings, either at the upper or lower component of the Canajoharie settlement.

Similarly, it is not known specifically where the Doxtader, Tenny, and other Oneida families were residing, although the same hypotheses relative to the Mohawks are applicable here. It would appear that at least one family of Oneidas remained in the vicinity of the Canajoharie Castle until the 1820s. It is

likely that their daughter married a white man named John Garlow, a resident in the same vicinity, and departed for Canada prior to 1830.

SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In considering the social status of the individuals who comprised the group that stayed in the ancestral villages during, and returned after, the Revolution, there was only one hereditary chief whose name emerges in the associated records. It is tentatively concluded that the typical person remaining in the Mohawk Valley was a village chief, pine tree chief, or head warrior (or woman). In other words, it would appear that the traditionalists, those attached to the hereditary power elite among the Mohawks, and to the British authorities (the Johnson family and the Crown), remained under the protective umbrella spread by the king's representatives. Those whose status was derived from their own individual efforts were less predictable. Some like Aaron Hill were early adherents to the Crown; while his brother David Hill hesitated initially, then became active in the service of the king. Their sister Mary Hill and Uncle Johannes Crine, in contrast, served the American cause throughout the war.¹

Future archaeological and documentary research may eventually serve to more clearly delineate the spatial and temporal dimensions of the above occupations and to provide more satisfactory anthropological explanations relating to the dynamics of the population shifts. It is to be regretted that the few documents available at this time do not provide unambiguous answers to questions about Iroquoian residence in the Mohawk Valley between 1779 and 1830. What does exist, however, is sufficient to require the amendment of commonly accepted opinions about the removal of the Iroquoian presence in the Mohawk Valley during the American Revolution.

END NOTE

1. Genealogical relationships have been established using the sources cited in the above text and in an article by me (Faux 1981b).

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