

LOWER CAYUGA SETTLEMENTS PRIOR TO 1850: DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

David Faux

Morgan (1) and Graymont (2), in their classic studies familiar to most students of Six Nations "Iroquois" history, indicate that preceding the American Revolution the Cayuga tribe was settled in New York along the shores of the lake that bears their name. It is also clear, as shown by the research of Weaver (3), for example, that after 1849 the Cayuga who migrated to Canada were located in Tuscarora Twp., and adjacent parts of Oneida Twp., within the present-day Six Nations Indian Reserve. In addition, the work of Johnston (4) has shown that between these dates (1785-1849), the Canadian branch of the Cayugas were dispersed along an 80 km section of the Grand River. What has not been reported, however, is the changing spatial dimension of the settlements of the Cayuga people within this time frame. In other words, the specific location of the Cayuga settlements at any given point in time is virtually unknown.

Previous research concerning the Six Nations Indian settlements along the Grand River has profiled the Mohawk Village site in Brantford (5,6), and the Onondaga Village site near Middleport (7) through a consideration of the documentary record. Similarly, it is the object of the present study to explore the archival sources relating to the three Lower Cayuga settlements, and in so doing, to serve as an introduction to a subsequent report of archaeological findings.

The American Revolution and the Cayuga Diaspora

The year 1779 marked a turning point in the fortunes of the Six Nations people. It was in this year that, due to the incursions of General John Sullivan into their homeland, many were left homeless and were forced to become refugees dependent on British largess at Fort Niagara. As shown in Figure 1, there were four Cayuga villages at the time, all located in a cluster on the east side of Cayuga Lake. They were destroyed by Colonel Walter Butler of Sullivan's army in September 1779 (8). Doubtless there were factions and schisms within the community which were aggravated by the circumstances of the War, resulting in at least three groups forming by 1783. One remained within the bounds of New York (many moving west or eventually coming to Canada); another consolidated as the Upper Cayugas and came to reside near the Mohawks at Brantford; while the third group, the Lower Cayugas, settled on land adjoining that of the Delaware people, just above Cayuga on the east (north) side of the Grand River (9). Perhaps the 18 Cayugas residing on 24 June 1783 at the Head of Lake Ontario (Hamilton) formed the nucleus of the Upper Cayugas, while the 12 Cayugas then settled on the Grand River served as the vanguard of the Lower Cayugas (10). Irrespective, a census taken in 1785 indicates that 198 Upper Cayugas and 183 Lower Cayugas were then established on the Grand River (11). The question of where, precisely, this first and two subsequent Lower Cayuga settlements (with their associated longhouses) were situated is the focus of this report. Each of the three areas is denominated below by the name of the Euro-Canadian village which was constructed on or near the vacated site.

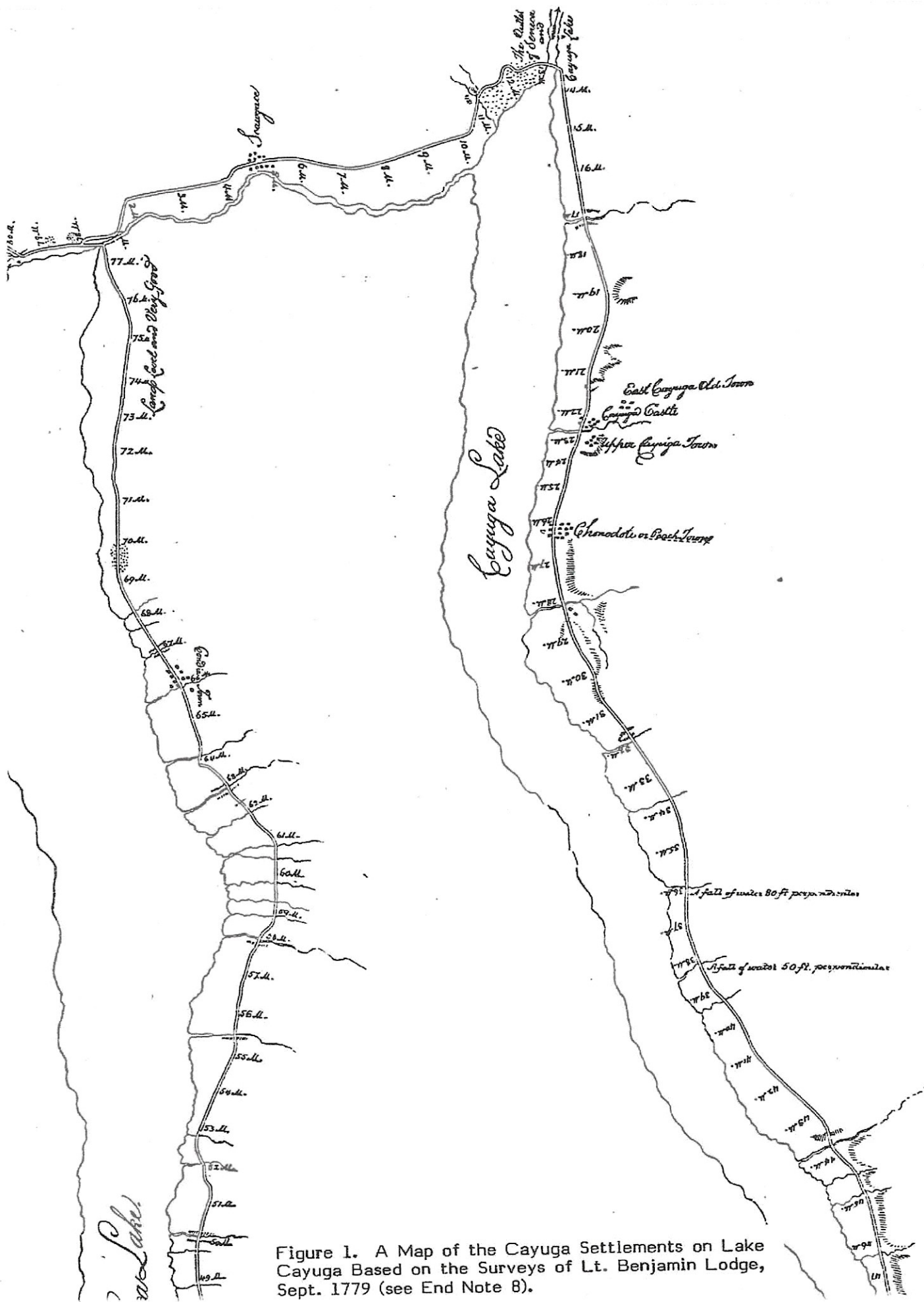


Figure 1. A Map of the Cayuga Settlements on Lake Cayuga Based on the Surveys of Lt. Benjamin Lodge, Sept. 1779 (see End Note 8).

The Ruthven Settlement

In Seneca Twp., between the present-day town of Cayuga and the now vanished canal-era village of Indiana, is the Ruthven estate. Here, on a high hill overlooking the Grand River, is the pillared Classical Revival mansion built in 1845 on Lot 7 by Colonel David Thompson (12). This is important, for the purposes of this paper, because Thompson chose what appears to be the former site of the first Lower Cayuga longhouse (a structure of religious, social, and political significance for non-Christian Six Nations people) on which to erect his home. While there is clear evidence (which will be described later) that the Cayuga settlement at Ruthven had been vacated for about 10 years before the building of the Thompson home, it is less certain whether the site represents the first Lower Cayuga settlement on the Grand River.

Figure 2 illustrates the nucleus of the settlement in 1820, prior to Thompson's time, and indicates that the core of the settlement included six apparent houses clustered around the Cayuga longhouse. Subsequent maps in 1828 and 1835 (see Figures 3 and 4) confirm the location of the longhouse on this site at these points in time. Earlier maps (13), however, do not show a Cayuga village below Brantford.

In addition, Augustus Jones in his survey of the Grand River in 1791 notes only, "Houses on both sides of the river scattering" between the Delaware village and the Young Tract (i.e., approximately Cayuga and York). It is probable, however, that the scattered nature of their dwellings (relative to the Delaware Village) did not lend itself to the label "village" by observers (14).

There is therefore a lack of convincing evidence, based on survey records, relative to the location of the Lower Cayuga settlement prior to 1820, and it might be questioned whether the Lower Cayugas were at Ruthven at all in 1819 or earlier. The census records for 1851-52 (15), however, suggest an early date for the Ruthven location. In particular, instead of a general designation such as "Upper Canada", the census taker entered the specific birthplace of those resident in Tuscarora Twp. Thus Kanadakayon (for example) was noted as being born at Cayuga about 1791, and was a Lower Cayuga according to the 1850 census for presents (16). Also, in the same household was Onakwadekha, born at Cayuga about 1823, and the latter's wife Yonkweh who was born at Indiana about 1832. An examination of all available materials suggests that "Cayuga" refers to the Ruthven settlement above the town of Cayuga, and "Indiana" refers to the settlement in Oneida Twp. directly across the Grand River from the village of Indiana. Other Lower Cayugas were recorded as being born at "York", which probably referred to the VanEvery Tract on the shore opposite to the village of York. Furthermore, the testimony of Mrs. George Montour indicates that at least as early as 1812 the longhouse at Ruthven was occupied by her husband, and before that by his brother Joseph and their uncle Highflyer (17). Therefore, it is tentatively concluded that Ruthven represents the first Lower Cayuga settlement on the Grand River, dating from approximately 1785.

The totality of the documentary data suggests that the Lower Cayuga settlement on the Seneca Twp. side of the river extended from the Seneca - North Cayuga Townline upriver to the Young Tract, skipping this block of land, then including the Fishcarrier Tract (occupied by Peter Fishcarrier) at York; and that the longhouse was situated on or very near the site where the Thompson house stands today (see Figure 5).

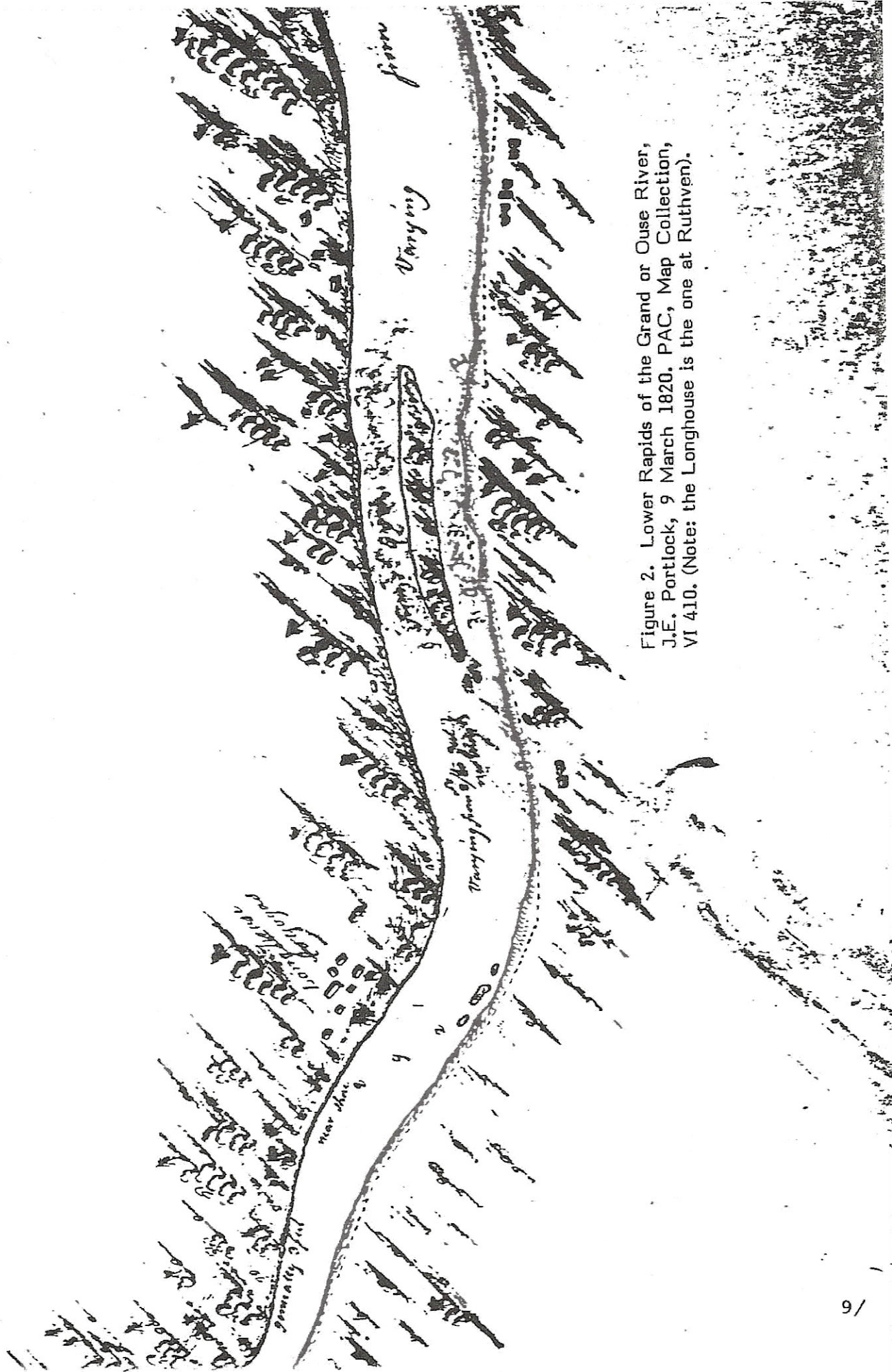


Figure 2. Lower Rapids of the Grand or Ouse River, J.E. Portlock, 9 March 1820, PAC, Map Collection, VI 410. (Note: the Longhouse is the one at Ruthven).

Unknown reasons impelled the Cayugas to abandon their holdings at Ruthven after 1833 (approximately). It seems probable that their original settlement was fractured by the emergence of new power blocks, changes (geographical - social) brought about by the operation of the Grand River Navigation Company on the east side of the river, and/or the sale of various parcels of land to non-Indians. Individuals signed away their claims throughout the 1830's and early 1840's. For example, the head chiefs Joseph Montour and his father George Montour; and Hannis Highflyer ceded their improvements on Lots 10-14 to Joseph Young in 1838 (18) and 1837 (19) respectively. A map of Seneca Twp. in 1843 shows that David Thompson and Joseph Young by then owned most of the property formerly occupied by the Lower Cayugas (20). At this time the Delaware John Curly (whose wife was a Lower Cayuga), and the Lower Cayugas Slink (John Skyler), and (John) Nanticoke still had improvements on this side. Only Curly appears to have had a house (also occupied at one time by his cousin Skyler) on his clearing (Lot 1).

Before discussing the destination of the party which left Ruthven under the direction of the Montours, Highflyer, and Jacobs; the history of a settlement directly opposite the Ruthven site, under the leadership of the Styers family, will be outlined.

The Mt. Healy Settlement

It is apparent that some Lower Cayuga people had clearings on the west side of the river prior to 1833 -- immediately above those occupied by Delaware families. All of these parcels were sold in 1833 to Marcus Blair, who composed a map (see Figure 6) which shows the individual "improvements" bought by him. The document also includes the names of the former occupants, which are generally names of known Lower Cayuga people (e.g., John Hayner). The clearings were just below the present Oneida - North Cayuga Townline (in North Cayuga Twp.). It appears that these plots were solely for planting as Marcus Blair bemoaned the lack of any shelter on the improvements he had purchased. Additional evidence pointing to a lack of dwelling sites on the North Cayuga lots is found in another map, illustrating this region in 1831 (21), which shows no symbols indicative of Indian houses in the area depicted on the 1833 Blair map.

By the late 1830's, and probably earlier, a group of Lower Cayugas were congregated near Mt. Healy immediately above the Blair properties, and had established a longhouse on Lot 64. This structure was about 300 meters back from the river, nestled in a hollow adjacent to the house of Hannah Styers, a head woman of the leading family of this settlement. Since the Styers family was the most prominent among those settled at Mt. Healy, and since surface collections are available for the house sites of Hannah Styers and her sister Betsey Styers, it may be useful to briefly outline the background of this family.

Among the many White captives with the Six Nations Indians during their retreat from the Colonies was a young girl of German descent (possibly from the Mohawk Valley) called Hannah Styers (born c.1784). At some point she married a Cayuga named John, who adopted her surname (22), and they had at least four children: George (born c.1801), Hannah (born c.1805), John (born c.1810), and Betsey (born c.1812) (23). More will be said about this family in the following pages.

Plans of the Grand River

& Location of 6 Nations of Indians,

as founded by the Rev. Mr. Luggar,
February 20th 1828

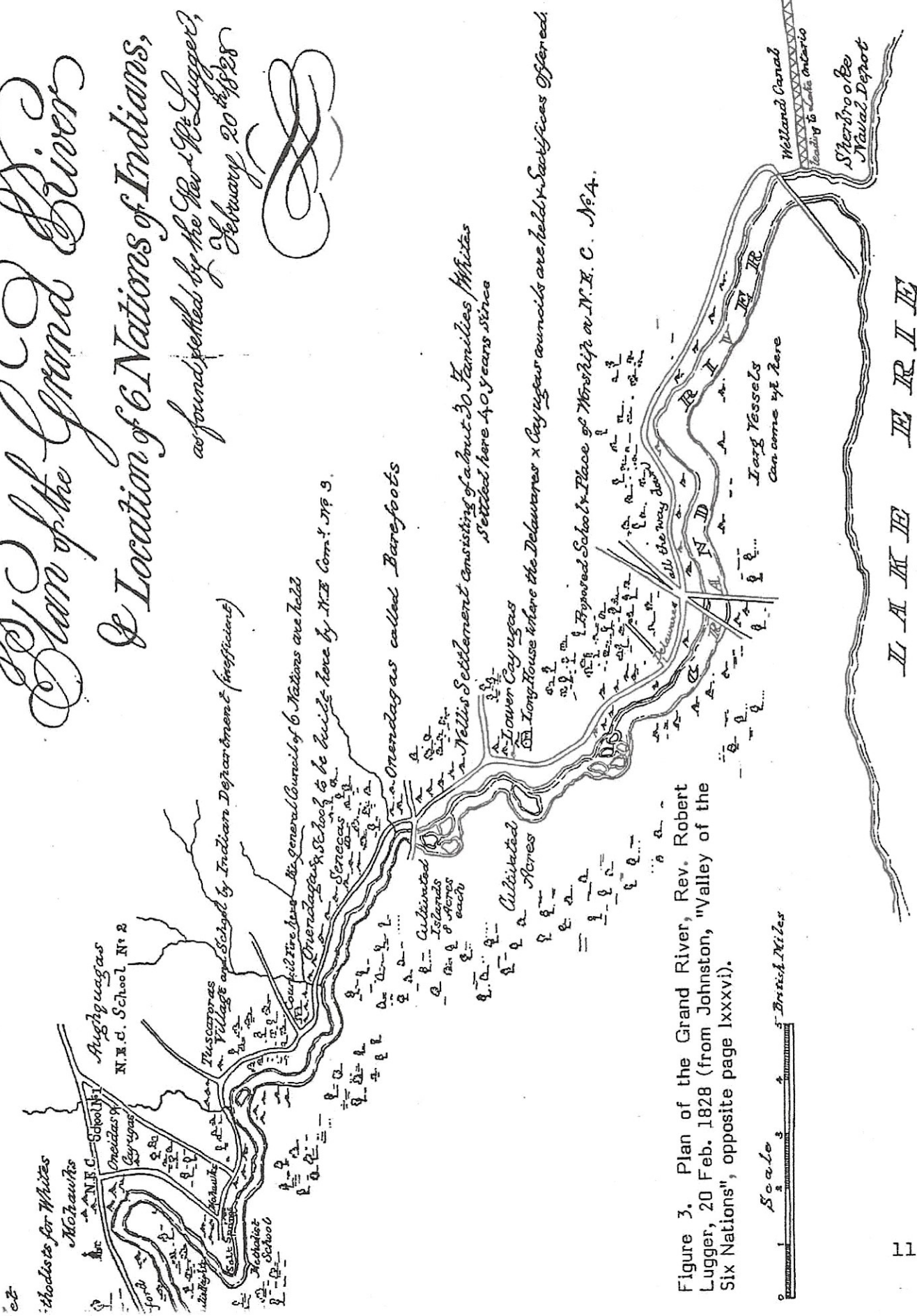


Figure 3. Plan of the Grand River, Rev. Robert Luggar, 20 Feb. 1828 (from Johnston, "Valley of the Six Nations", opposite page lxxxvi).

While the lands near Mt. Healy were being sold to Whites as early as 1835 (24), there was a flurry of activity in 1848, at the time of the removal to the present Six Nations Indian Reserve (25). The surveyor DeCew produced detailed maps of these properties at the time of the sales which included the boundaries of each clearing, and the location of dwelling houses (Figure 7) and the longhouse. As late as the mid 1850's, individual Indians were still receiving payments for their former lands from White purchasers. For example, James Lane made the last of several payments for the clearing of John Hill on Lot 63 in 1854 (26).

Summarizing the above and related data, the Mt. Healy settlement extended from the Oneida - North Cayuga Townline to the town of Mt. Healy, omitting the Dennis and Cook Blocks, and included the lands at the mouth of McKenzie Creek and parts of the Anderson Block (VanEvery Tract) (see Figure 5). What has not been established is the date when the Lower Cayugas first occupied these parcels of land. A close inspection of the map shown in Figure 2 indicates that there were scattered houses (presumably occupied by Lower Cayugas) in the vicinity in 1820. Whether some Lower Cayuga families were established on these and adjacent sites between 1785 and 1820 cannot be determined with certainty at this time.

The Willow Grove Settlement

A third settlement appears to have been transplanted from the Ruthven area in the mid 1830's. This migration (which additionally included virtually the entire Delaware community) was led by George Montour, Hannis Highflyer, and John Jacobs (all close relatives). This mixed group of Lower Cayuga and Delaware peoples moved up McKenzie and Boston Creeks, tributaries to the Grand River (perhaps following the road from York to Townsend), to Willow Grove, where Boston Creek crosses the Plank Road (Highway 6) from Hamilton to Port Dover.

One possible reason for not joining the Styers group includes factionalism (the struggle for power between vying groups). Another reason why many may have elected to remove to Willow Grove as opposed to Mt. Healy was that John Claus was pressing a claim to his father's (William Claus) property, which he maintained included all the land occupied in that location by the Lower Cayugas (27). In response to this threat, the Cayugas petitioned the government, in 1845, not to be required to move to Tuscarora, but to have their lands at Mt. Healy confirmed to them (28). Therefore, to many, the Willow Grove location, not encumbered by this problem, must have held a definite appeal.

The Willow Grove settlement was composed of houses scattered in a seemingly haphazard fashion near the Plank and Townsend (now vanished) Roads, pivoting about the community longhouse in the clearing occupied by Hannis Highflyer on Lot 11 west of the Plank Road. The longhouse, according to a map of 1842 (see Figure 8), was perched on a rise above the flats of Boston Creek. A large brick house (now functioning as a clubhouse for a golf course) and barn were later constructed on this site. The 1842 map also shows five houses, located further up Boston Creek. The two that are labelled with the occupant's name (J. Bull and C. Moses) are Delawares. The land inspection returns for 1843 (see Figure 9) indicate the presence of three log houses in addition to the longhouse on the 45 acre clearing on Lot 11. Similar data are available for the adjacent lots. Figure 5 gives an indication of the extent of the Willow Grove settlement.

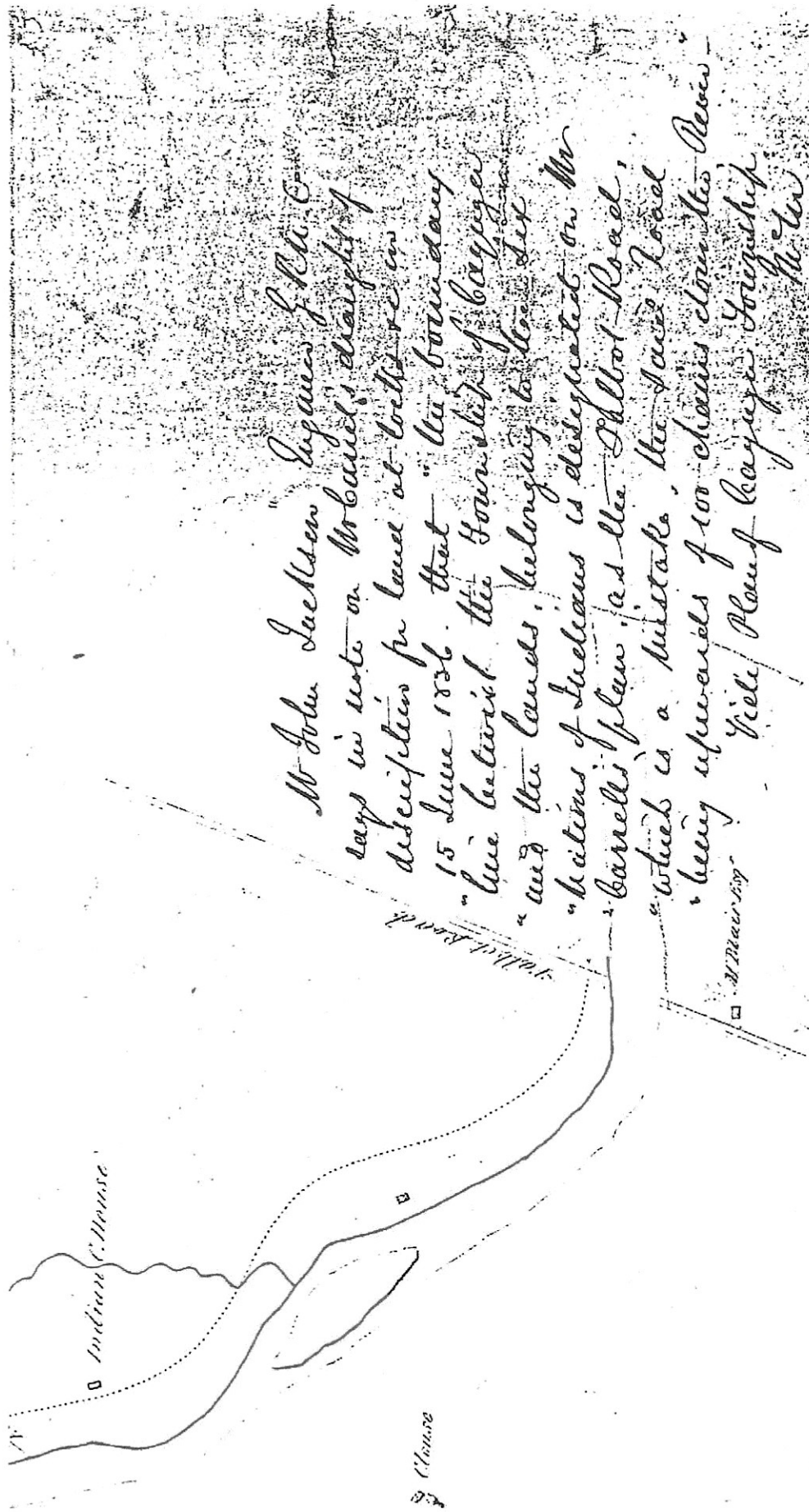


Figure 4. Location of the Ruthven Longhouse (the
 "Indian C. House"). Plan of Part of the Grand River
 Showing the Indian Lands Apportioned to the
 G.R.N.Co. at each Lock and Dam, 26 March 1835,
 Peter Carroll. Ministry of Natural Resources, Survey
 Records, Seneca, 7061.

Dating the first arrivals at Willow Grove is problematic. There is some evidence that the first occupants in Willow Grove arrived in the early 1830's (and perhaps earlier). For example, Snow Swades (a Lower Cayuga) released his title to Lots 5 and 7 in the 2nd range west of the Hamilton - Port Dover Plank Road in 1834 (29). Also, James Jamison reported in 1889 that in 1838, he visited the houses of Jacobs, Highflyer, and Montour along the Plank Road (30). A reasonable conclusion in relation to these data is that the community was initially established shortly after 1830, and that by 1838 the main body of the former inhabitants of Ruthven had fixed themselves at Willow Grove.

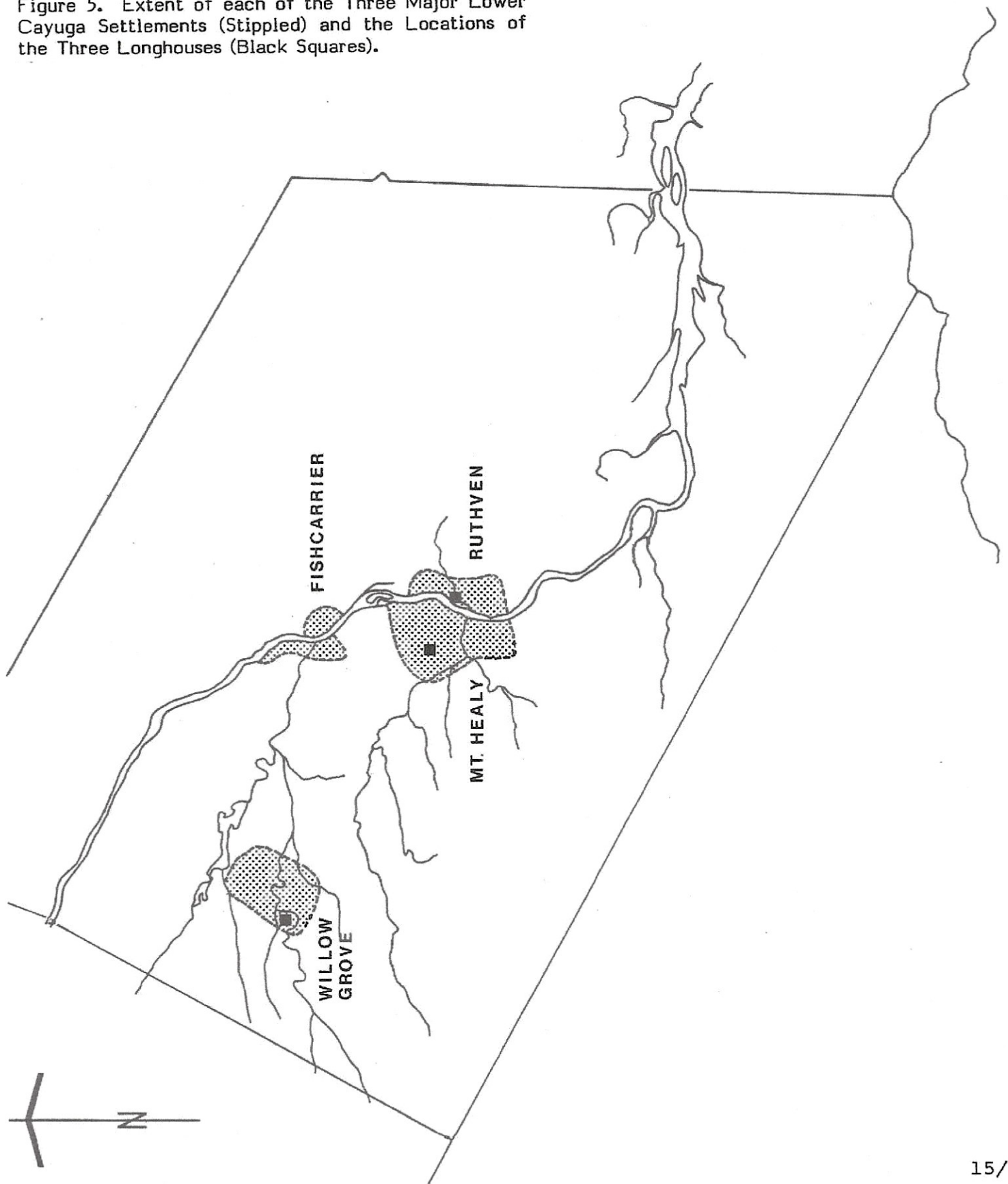
Repeating a pattern common to the other two settlements, the lots at Willow Grove were sold at various times during the 1830's and 1840's. Again, with the approach of the move to the new Reserve lands in the late 1840's, the sales became more common. For example, on 3 March 1846 William Basket sold his clearings on Lots 9 and 10 on the east side of the Plank Road to Edward J. Henderson (31).

It is likely that there was considerable pressure to move to the consolidated Six Nations Reserve. The move would supposedly inhibit non-Indians from purchasing parcels of land within the Cayuga community, which in the past had driven a series of wedges into the fabric of the settlement, necessitating frequent moves in order to keep their people together. Another attraction of the proposed reserve was that they would be sheltered from any tax burden. This factor was of concern to the Cayugas while living both at Mt. Healy and Willow Grove, to the extent that on 3 March 1847, 69 chiefs, warriors, and women from both settlements put their marks to a petition requesting that they be exempt from taxation, and that they not be compelled to work on the roads (32).

An unambiguous terminal date for the Lower Cayuga settlements at both Mt. Healy and Willow Grove can be derived from archival sources. On 4 April 1848 it was reported that all the tribes had located new land on the consolidated reserve, "except the Cayugas supposed there were six families..." (33). The specific date of the first removal of Lower Cayugas is 26 May 1847, at which time it was reported that the Cayugas under Chief John Jacobs had until this date refused to select land on the new reserve, however that day "a few did locate" (34). These data suggest that the majority of Lower Cayuga people left their former holdings during 1847 and 1848. Reference to the census of 1851-52 confirms this statement as, although there are some inconsistencies, the date of birth of the first children of Lower Cayuga parents to be born in Tuscarora is 1847-1848 (children 5 and over born at Indiana, those 4.5 years and younger born at Tuscarora) (35).

Therefore, in summary, in the interval between 1785 and 1849 the Lower Cayuga people inhabited three overlapping settlements, each with its own longhouse. Until the 1830's the community seems to have remained essentially intact, with the focal point being near the longhouse at Ruthven, but including some few dwellings on the opposite side of the river which would later develop into the Mt. Healy settlement. The 1830's ushered in an era of rapid change and a series of personal and community relocations which accelerated in direct proportion to the numbers of White people in their midst. No sooner did an individual Cayuga chop a clearing out of the bush when a non-Cayuga would appear on his doorstep offering what must have seemed to be a princely sum for a seemingly endless commodity. Soon the Cayugas were reduced to a minority group, and their landbase along the Grand River was rapidly shrinking. Eventually the Cayugas were forced to migrate to more remote regions of their territory where they could congregate free from (temporarily) the encroachments of non-Indians, and so retain their identity. In

Figure 5. Extent of each of the Three Major Lower Cayuga Settlements (Stippled) and the Locations of the Three Longhouses (Black Squares).



conclusion, although there was considerable overlap, it appears that there was a trend toward moving from the east to the west side of the Grand River, and toward locations more remote from the river (and closer to their final destination - the present Six Nations Indian Reserve).

The Exceptions

Two families of Lower Cayugas did not follow the mainstream. Some of the Styers family elected to purchase lands in the same manner as Whites. As early as 1842, George Styers had expressed an interest in acquiring title to his lands in the Mt. Healy area which he had lately "taken up", and asked Indian Department officials for instructions as to how to proceed (36). The census for 1851-52 indicates that he and his family (living in a one story frame house), and that of his sister Betsey Styers (living in a one story log house) were residing there (37). The property remained in family hands until 1878, when James Styers released all interest in Lot 68, Oneida Twp. (38).

There was also a small settlement on Lot 14 Concession 4, South Cayuga Twp. In 1861, the residents included the family of Susan Cook and her sons George and John VanEvery (39), who probably had close connections with the neighbouring Delaware family, descendents of Peter Curly. The VanEvery family assigned their right to this property to a non-Indian, Philip Tufford, in 1864 (40).

The above report was intended to provide documentation concerning spatial and temporal dimensions of the occupation of the Lower Cayuga people in the Grand River Valley between 1785 and 1849. It will hopefully serve as an aid to the interpretation of related archaeological samples. It may also be useful as a guide to those concerned with archaeological conservation, from the point of view of documenting sites which are worthy of preservation (in particular the three longhouses). A planned publication by Ian Kenyon and David Faux will expand on this study by discussing the process of acculturation as it affected the Lower Cayuga people. This will be accomplished through an examination of ethnographic and archival materials in relation to the archaeological data collected from four Lower Cayuga sites.

ADDENDUM

Houses and Longhouses: Descriptive Data

Historical archaeologists may find the above study unsatisfactory in certain respects. Granted that it is useful to have precise information about the location of various houses and Longhouses, however there are other important questions about these structures which archival research has largely failed to answer. Two such questions include: "What was the size and shape of a 'typical' Lower Cayuga house and Longhouse?" Also, "have any of the buildings attributable to the Lower Cayugas survived to the present day?" Fortunately, both questions can be addressed and partially answered through an examination of published materials which record the observations or recollections of those who had seen the buildings, or who reported what others had told them.

In 1835 Patrick Shirreff, a Scottish farmer who toured North America with a view to examining its agricultural potential, reported his perceptions during a visit

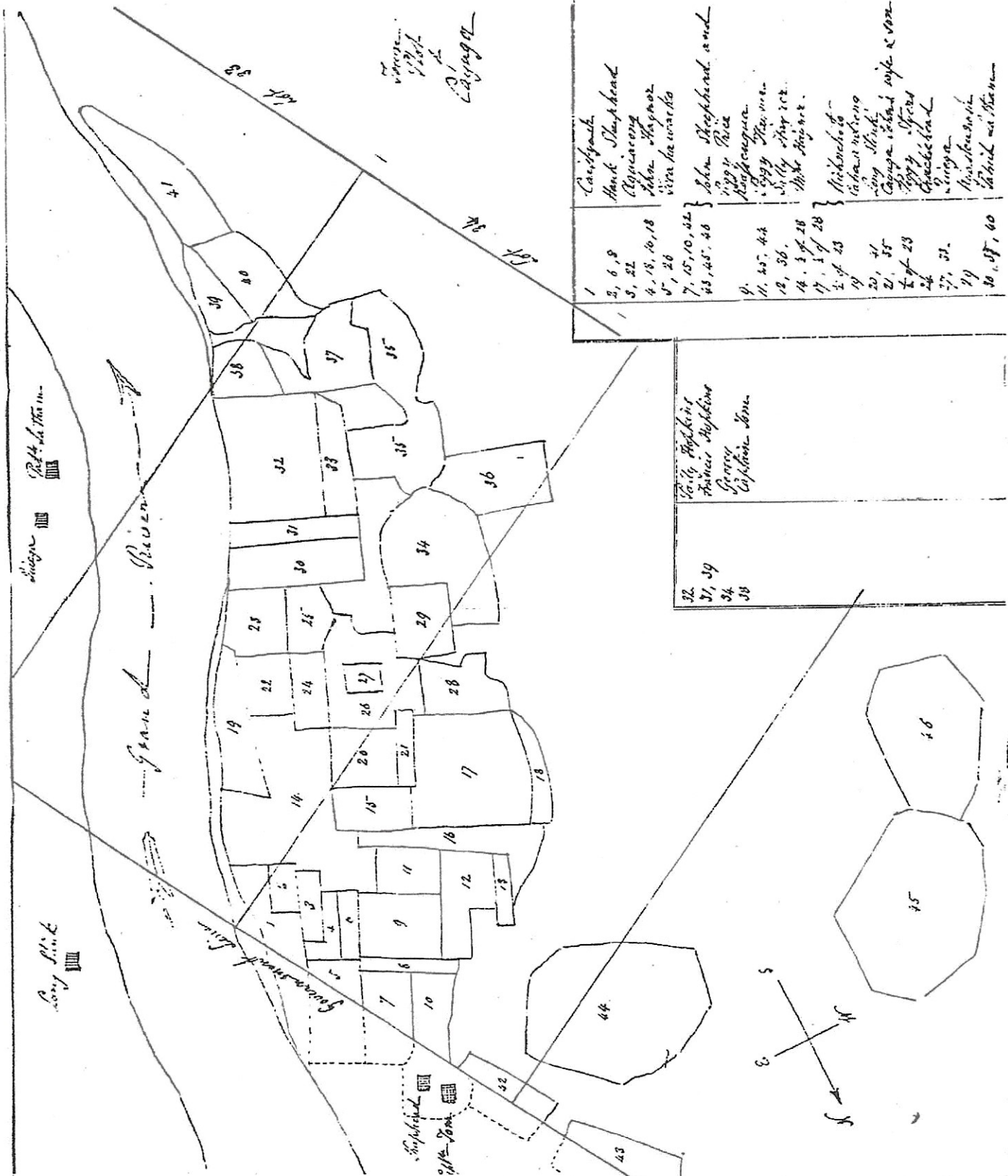


Figure 6. Cayuga Clearings in the Southern Part of the Mt. Healy Settlement. Map Enclosed with the Letter of Marcus Blair, 6 Sept. 1833, Showing the Location of the Improvements that He Bought from Individual Lower Cayugas and Delawares. Archives of Ontario, RG 1, A - I - 7, Box 7, Number 9.

to the Grand River. After an inspection of the lands in the Nelles Tract near York and calling on a prominent Cayuga named Peter Fishcarrier, Shirreff travelled downriver and visited the Ruthven Longhouse:

Some distance below Fish Carrier's is the Council-house of the tribes, a long narrow wooden building, with an upper and lower range of benches round both sides, on which the senators recline during council. It is kept by two old women, who cook on days of meeting. At the time of our visit they were in the act of churning, and I sipped a little of the buttermilk. The butter was particularly white in colour. I also partook of bread made from Indian corn meal, mixed with a few unhusked French beans, which looked like raisins in a cake. The bread was soft and damp, and seemed to have been prepared by boiling. To me it was unpalatable, although some of my friends did not dislike it. The roof was hung with ears of Indian corn, considered public property, which are contributed by individuals in years of abundance, and reserved for times of scarcity. The Council-house is also used for dancing, and contained a number of ornaments worn on such occasions, consisting of strings of bones for fixing on different parts of the body, and prized for the clattering they make when in motion. (41)

The ultimate destiny of this building is unknown, however it is not unreasonable to speculate that some component may have survived to the present day.

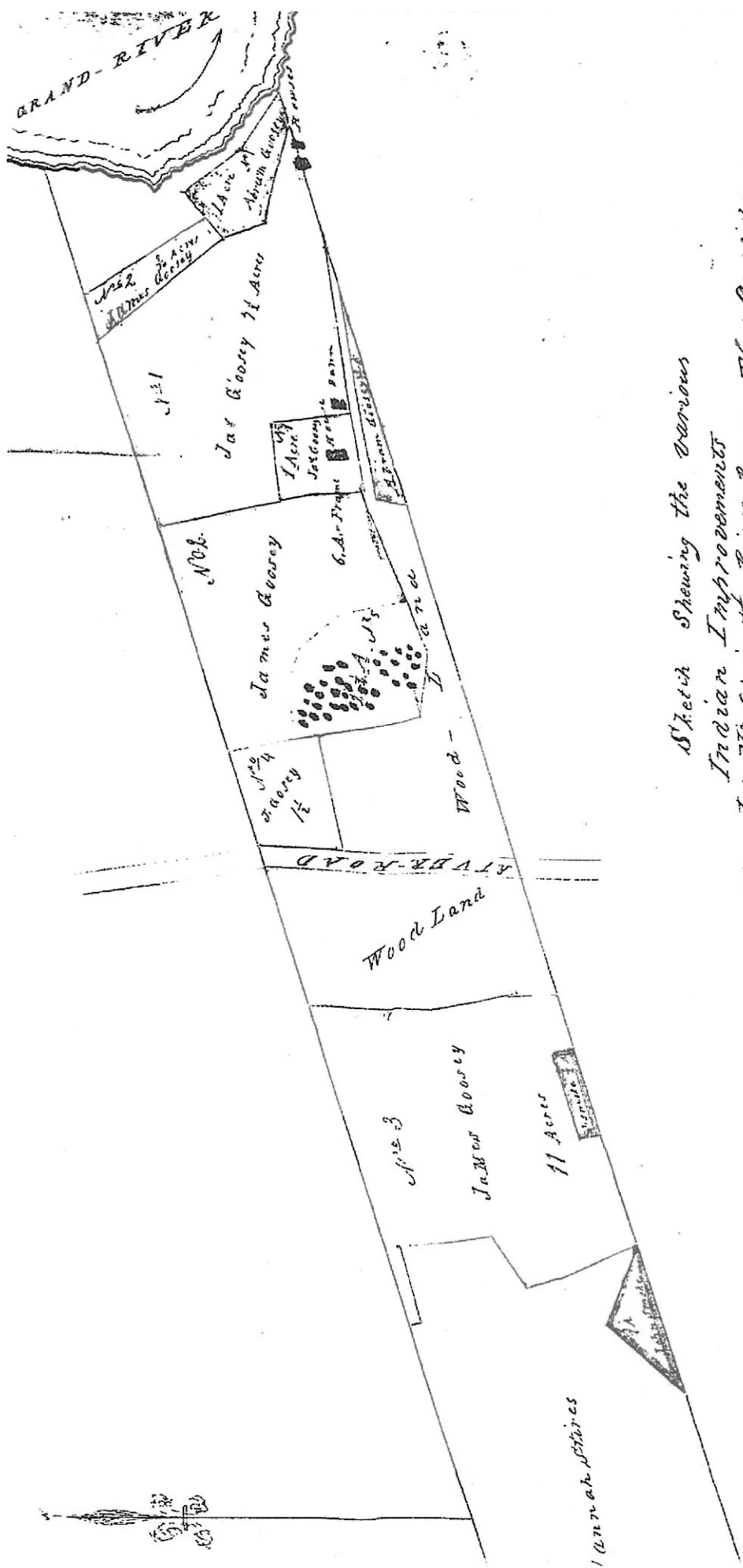
There is evidence that both the Hannah Styers house, and the Mt. Healy Longhouse, were preserved, at least until 1969. In a short history of the "Catha Farm" (Lot 64, Oneida Twp.), Emerson P. Thompson reported that:

In one of the fields back near the creek on a clay knoll stood the "Long House" built of logs where the Indians used to burn the "White Dog", and hold their annual feast and dance. Near it stood the house of the Indian chief, and where, instead of using 2 by 4 studding timbers 6 by 6 were placed about 3 feet apart. We still call the hill the "Long House knoll", and even when it is wet it is very wavy due to the pounding and tramping it got when the Indians held their dances.

The house of the Indian chief made of logs was moved to the present site of the farm buildings, fixed up and used by Aunt Eliza and Uncle Sandy Thompson. The Long House was also moved up here and fixed over, and that is where John Thompson and his wife started housekeeping, living in it until the present house was built in 1908. In 1912 the Long House was rebuilt into the present driving shed. (42)

Frank Speck, in his ethnographic study of the "Big House" ceremonies of the Delaware people, was concerned with ascertaining traditions which assigned precise locations of former Delaware "Big Houses" (comparable to the Longhouses). He asked knowledgeable informants to show him where the buildings stood, according to their own recollections, and the testimony given to them by older Indians. Jesse Moses, a Delaware, had discussed the location of these structures with Chief Joseph Montour and Nicholas Snake, and had reported to Speck that:

A white farmer, Jerry Downey, on the farm adjoining the Hagan farm told me that his pig pen, a log building about fifty feet long, was once



Sketch Showing the Various
 Indian Improvements
 Upon Lot N^o 64 in the River Range I^o of Oneida -
 Scale 1 inch = 200 Feet

By Edmund DeCew
 Cayuga Valley I^o of Oneida 1848

Figure 7. Sketch Showing the Various Indian Improvements upon Lot 64 in the River Range of Oneida, 27 May 1848, Edmund DeCew. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 814, pp. 659-660.

C. P. B. The improvements marked James Goosy's house most been James Johnson's Goosy being the name by which he was known to me. Another I will marked I smoke the pipe in which some Indians informing me that it belongs to P. Tom C.

(Edmund DeCew)

a Long House. I had heard that the Cayuga had a Long House in that vicinity in the early days, which may possibly have been the building referred to. The structure was still standing there a few years ago, when I saw it. (Jesse Moses, notes, Jan., 1943). (43)

In conclusion, the documentary evidence points to the location of former houses and Longhouses associated with the Lower Cayuga settlements in the interval between 1785 and 1849. Some of these sites today are characterized by a scattering of surface artifacts in plowed fields; whereas others are disguised from the casual observer by virtue of being situated on land used as pasture, or among the buildings of present-day farms. It is also possible, on the basis of the data presented in this report, that some of the structures which originally occupied these sites have been at least partially preserved. Although physically removed from the context in which they were once embedded, one or more may be sufficiently intact such that a study of its form may allow a better understanding of how the Lower Cayuga settlements would have appeared to those travelling in the area prior to 1850.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Ian Kenyon for encouraging me to transform the random collection of data in my files into the present article and for reviewing the manuscript. Thanks also to Janie Fox for drafting figures 5 and 8.

END NOTES

- (1) Lewis H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1962 (originally published in 1851).
- (2) Barbara Graymont, The Iroquois in the American Revolution, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972.
- (3) Sally M. Weaver, "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario", in Bruce G. Trigger, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast, Volume 15, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978, pp. 525-536.
- (4) Charles M. Johnston, The Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River, Toronto: University Press, 1964.
- (5) Ian Kenyon and Neal Ferris, "Investigations at Mohawk Village, 1983", Arch Notes, Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society, January 1984, pp. 19-49.
- (6) David Faux, "The Mohawk Village in Historical Perspective", Woodland Indian Historical Society, January 1984, pp. 19-49.
- (7) Ian Kenyon, "The Onondaga Settlement at Middleport", KEWA, Newsletter of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, March 1985, pp. 4-23.

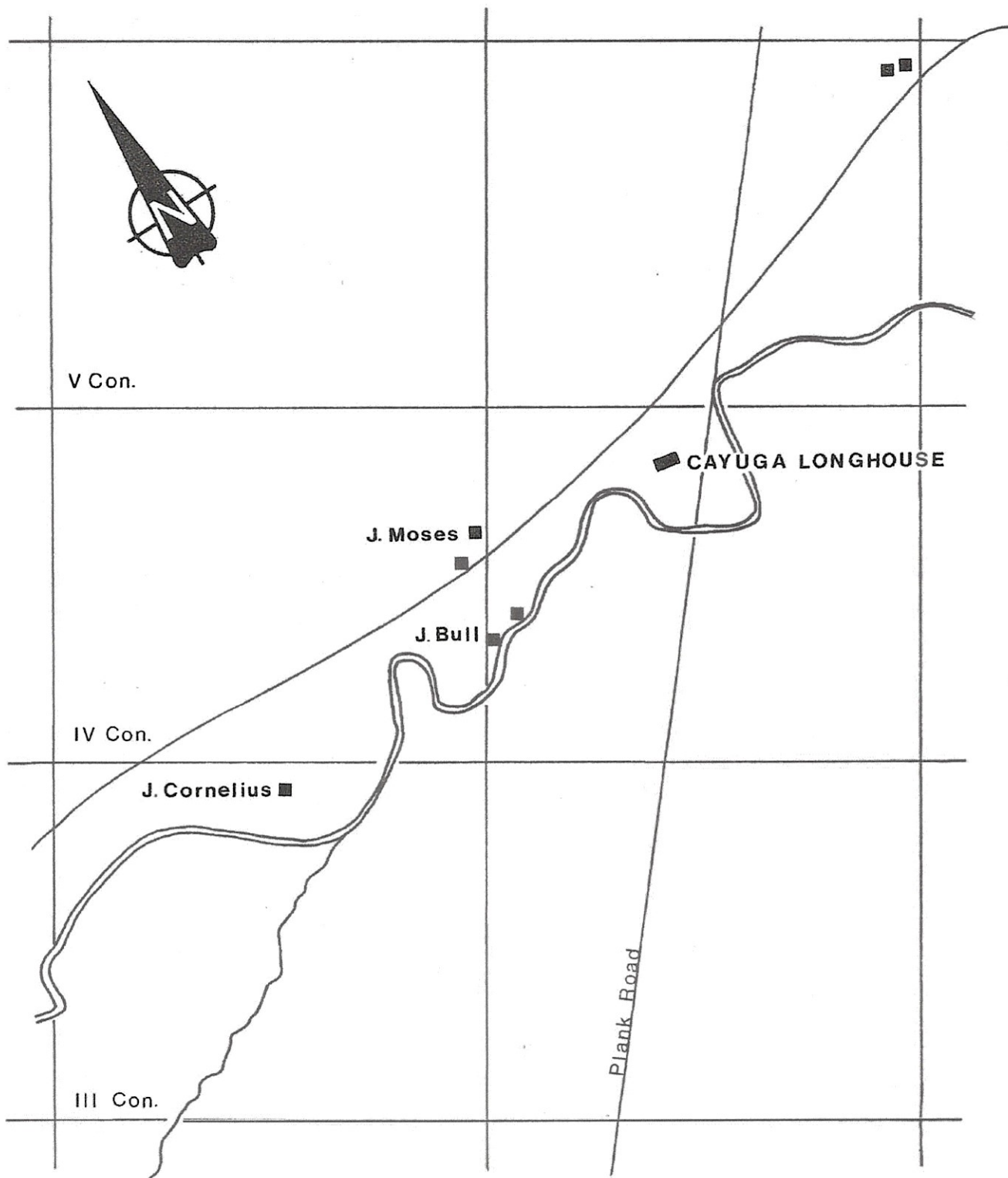


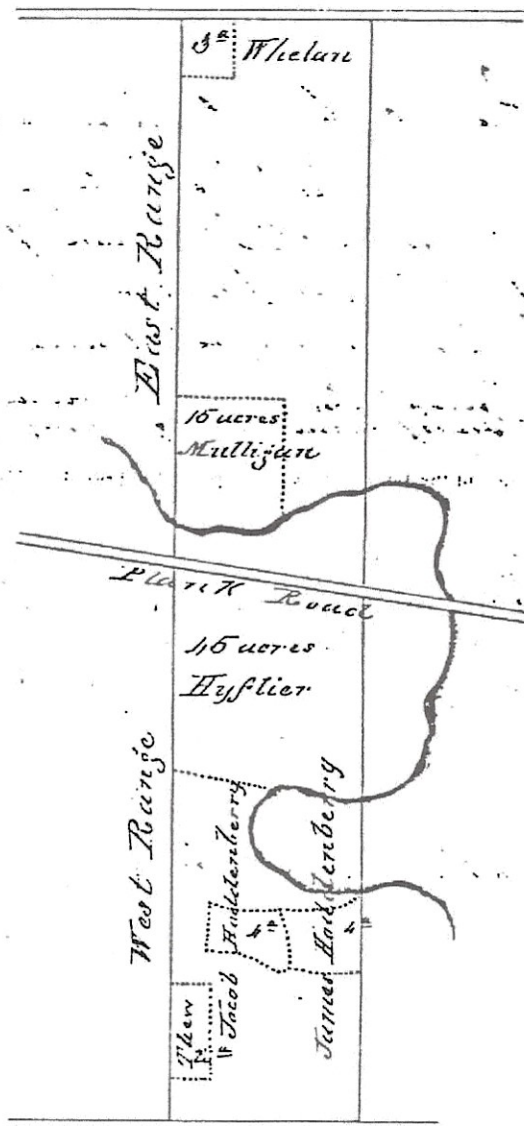
Figure 8. The Willow Grove Vicinity in 1842. Buildings are Shown by Black Squares. Plan of Oneida on the Grand River, 24 June 1842, William Walker. Ministry of Natural Resources, Survey Records, Oneida Twp., Q24. Redrafted.

- (8) Frederick Cook, Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations, Auburn, N.Y.: Knapp, Peck, & Thomson, 1887.
- (9) Weaver, Six Nations of the Grand River.
- (10) Public Archives of Canada (PAC), R.G. 10, Volume 15, Return of the Six Nation Indians & Confederates by Villages or Settlements Near this Post, Niagara, 24 June 1783, p. 74.
- (11) Johnston, Valley of the Six Nations.
- (12) Marion Macrae and Anthony Adamson, The Ancestral Roof: Domestic Architecture of Upper Canada, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1963, pp. 125-130.
- (13) For example, H. Chewett, Map Filed in the Surveyor General's Office, Newark, 23 Oct. 1794, in E.A. Cruikshank, ed., Simcoe Papers, Volume 3 (1794-1795). Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1925.
- (14) Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Survey Records, Augustus Jones, Field Notes of the Indian Lands on the Grand River, Haldimand County, FN Book 835 (Original Old Book No. 828), 1791-92, p. 4.
- (15) PAC, Ontario Personal Census, 1851, Tuscarora Twp.
- (16) PAC, RG 10, Vol. 999A.
- (17) Testimony of Mrs. George Montour, 21 Nov. 1889, "Testimony Taken Before the Committee on Indian Affairs Under Resolution of May 15, 1889", New York Senate Document No. 58, Vol. 2, Buffalo, N.Y., 1890, p. 57.
- (18) Original deed signed by the Chiefs and others of the Six Nations Indians to Joseph Young, 25 April 1838, in the possession of Mrs. J.H. Nelles, Caledonia.
- (19) Original deed signed by the Chiefs and other of the Six Nations Indians to Joseph Young, 19 September 1837, in the possession of Mrs. J.H. Nelles, Caledonia.
- (20) PAC, Map Collection, H3/440, Sketch of the Lots Adjoining the Village of Indiana, in Township Number Two, Shewing the Different Improvements Thereon, June 1843.
- (21) PAC, MG 9, D 4, Lewis Burwell, 6 January 1831, pp. 747-748.
- (22) Mrs Elliot (Ethel Styers) Moses, personal communication to Dorothy Hutton, Caledonia, 23 June 1967.
- (23) David Faux, "A Genealogical Study of the Lower Cayuga People Using Archival Sources", unpublished data arranged on index cards according to heads of families, 1980.
- (24) For example, PAC, RG 10, Vol. 129, Agreement Between Samuel VanEvery and William Fearman, 11 October 1835, p. 72662.

e actually and necessarily required by the Grand
 complete the work from its present navigable
 f it; and let a diagram of the same, with full

2 In all instances where the clearances of Squatters or of Indians are irregular, so that they cross
 other Lots, as laid down on the old or new surveys, you will report the best method of adjusting
 such inconveniences without doing injustice to parties interested; you will state as correctly as
 possible, the fair and reasonable price which any one party should pay to another in the event of
 the improvements of the former falling within the limits of the latter, and transmit with the said
 information, diagrams or sketches, shewing how the proposed arrangements are to be made.

d be reserved for Town Plots, or sites of Villages,
 position, accompany your report.



The dotted lines point out the several
 Improvements with the quantities in
 each and the names of the owners attached

Figure 9. Part of the Willow Grove Settlement. Map
 Showing Lot 11 in the First Concession West of the
 Plank Road, Land Inspection Returns, Oneida Twp.,
 1843, Robert Kirkpatrick. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 729.

- (25) For example, PAC, RG 10, Vol. 817, Letters from Edmund DeCew, Surveyor, re Lots 61-69, pp. 233-334.
- (26) PAC, RG 10, Vol. 894, p. 366.
- (27) Ibid, Vol. 7, Letter from William Stewart, 26 March 1844, p. 3590.
- (28) Ibid., Vol. 39, Pt. 1, 1843, pp. 79731-79736.
- (29) Ibid., Vol. 122, pp. 6056-6058.
- (30) Ibid., Vol 104, 4 July 1834, pp. 467-469.
- (31) Testimony of James Jamison, 27 November 1889, New York Senate Document, p. 214.
- (32) PAC, RG 10, Vol. 809, 3 March 1846, p. 352.
- (33) Ibid., Vol. 170, p. 98652.
- (34) Archives of Ontario, MU 2986, Thorburn Papers, Box 3, V. Diaries, Superintendent Six Nations Indians, Diary Number 7, 24 April to 17 August 1847.
- (35) Ontario Census, 1851, Tuscarora Twp.
- (36) PAC, RG 10, Vol. 457, 13 July 1842, p. 80824.
- (37) Census of Ontario, 1851, Oneida Twp., District 1, p. 1.
- (38) Haldimand County Registry Office, Cayuga, Ontario, Instrument Number 1180, Oneida Twp., Lot 68, Broken Front, 158.5 acres, 29 November 1878.
- (39) Census of Ontario, 1861, South Cayuga Twp., District 1, p. 9.
- (40) PAC, RG 10, Vol. 896, 19 September 1864, p. 1089.
- (41) Patrick Sherriff, A Tour Through North America Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration, Benjamin Bloom, 1835, p. 152-3.
- (42) A History of Mt. Healy. Mt. Healy Branch, Women's Institute, 1969, p.39.
- (43) Frank G. Speck, The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth: The Bear Sacrifice Ceremony of the Munsee-Mahican in Canada as Related by Nekatcit. Reading, PA, Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, 1945, pp. 33-34.