

Mohawk – Wyandot Ancestry of Lt. John’s First Wife Catharine:

A Detailed Analysis of the Genealogical Evidence

by

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Evidence Relative to the Wives of John Young:

Lt. John Young, who served in the Six Nations Indian Department during the American Revolutionary War, was married at least twice. His first wife Catharine’s given name appears in the 1770 baptismal record of their son Daniel at Trinity Lutheran Church, Stone Arabia, NY. Additionally, in the Census of Niagara of 1 December 1783, Lt. John Young was listed with his four children, and wife Catharine Young (age 36 so born about 1747). On 15 October 1796 Young petitioned for land for himself, his four children, and his wife, “deceased, since the Peace” (25 December 1784). It can therefore be stated with confidence that Catharine died between 1784 and 1796.

In his will dated 15 April 1805 John Young mentioned his, “beloved wife Priscilla”. Priscilla (Ramsay) Nelles was an Indian captive (since age 6) and widow of Captain Hendrick William Nelles, Young’s fellow Indian Department officer, friend, and neighbor who died in 1791.

The primary goal of this article is to clearly and as unequivocally as possible, identify the ancestry of Catharine, the mother of John Young’s four children. Priscilla and any potential previous wife subsequent to Catharine can be ruled out as being mother to any of Young’s children. All four children named in the Census of Niagara, are also named in John Young’s will (and none other).

Please note that many of the reference details to the above and later materials can be found in the biography of John Young by [clicking here](#). However some key references will be given later for those records and sources not specifically noted in the biography, or in the author’s work pertaining to Six Nations records and sources (David K. Faux, “Understanding First Nations Genealogical Records: Sources and Case Studies”, Ontario Genealogical Society: Toronto, 2002).

Evidence Relative to the General Racial – Ethnic Ancestry of Catharine:

1) Land Records:

a) 1838 Deed – Six Nations in Council to Joseph Young -

On 25 April 1838 the Six Nations Chiefs in Council granted land to Joseph Young (born 1782), of Young's Tract on the Grand River, the youngest son of Lt. John and Catharine. The original deed is among family records, and a copy is registered in the National

Archives of Canada, Indian Affairs Papers, RG10 Series (Vol. 113, p.512). In the deed they specified that Joseph was to have a parcel of land adjoining one already in the possession of the said Joseph Young ***one of our people***. The term "one of our people" clearly indicates that the chiefs recognized Joseph as a member of the Six Nations, born of a mother who was a member of one of the Six Nations. There are numerous other such references such that the meaning is absolutely clear. On 1 March 1809 the Chiefs in Council at Onondaga discussed, *A tract of land that was granted to John Dochsteder, who also had a family of our nation, noting his family who were our people*, and specifically the farm in the possession of his daughter of the Onondagas and Grand son of the Cayugas (Johnston, 1964, p. 111). On 22 March 1817, the Mohawk Chiefs assigned lands to Abraham Kennedy Smith (whose mother was Mary Hill, a Mohawk). The Chiefs indicated that this *was our particular choice one of our own People & not have any more strangers occupy any more of our People's Farms* without the permission of the Chiefs in Council (RG10, Vol. 34, p.19745).

In order to receive special consideration it was key to being perceived by the Council as having the all important stamp of being "one of our people". Hannah Dochstader, *an orphan daughter of a deceased Indian chief of the Six Nations Indians* petitioned for land 6 October 1838 (RG10, Vol. 155, p. 89861). In a related matter expressed in a letter dated 19 June 1845, Hannah (who resided directly opposite the Young Tract), was *informed by Mr. Wm. Cook and my son from an interview they had with the Chiefs of the 6 Nations Indians yesterday that I am still recognized by them as one of their people* (RG10, Vol. 814, p.612).

b) Land Transactions Pertaining to the Estate of Abraham Young –

After the death of their father Abraham Young (the eldest son of Lt. John Young and Catharine) in 1815, over a number of years his children sold off their respective shares to their uncle Joseph Young (above), or to Andrew Alexander Van Every. The matter involved extensive litigation, and is documented in the Indian Affairs Papers. One key document is the survey map of the Young Tract by Samuel Ryckman. On the back of the map is a list of all of Abraham's children, framed by a line or bracket, and rough notations as to which children sold their interest to their uncle Joseph Young. Ryckman wrote the term "**Six Nations Indians**" to the right of the list of names (RG10, Vol.3, pp. 10-11).

2) Oral Traditions of the Elders of the Six Nations:

Elliott Moses was a chief of the Delawares (his ancestry also included Lower Cayuga) who resided on the southern block of the Six Nations Reserve, and was perhaps the most knowledgeable individual on the Reserve in the 1960s concerning the history and traditions of Six Nations and Delawares. On 23 June 1967, while on a field trip with Dorothy Hutton a local historian of Haldimand County, he pointed to the house on the hill where Warner H. Nelles (see below), the son of Warner Nelles and Elizabeth Young (daughter of John and Catharine Young) was born. Hutton reported that Moses said that,

his grandfather or before knew that there was some or a bit of Indian blood in the Nelles' who lived on the other side of the River on the hill. Probably Moses' grandfather or great grandfather knew, perhaps first hand, of the installation of Warner H. Nelles to the role of sachem of the Six Nations (see later). Hutton read this verbatim from her notes 4 September 1979. This and related material was donated to the Haldimand County Museum upon her demise. Hence even up to modern times the link between the Young – Nelles family and the Six Nations was still recognized by elders on the Reserve. This adds further evidence that Catharine was a Native American – since the Young connection is the only known Indian ancestry in the Warner Nelles line (Records of Mary Nelles, Caledonia, Ontario).

Evidence Relative to the Specific Ancestry of Catharine:

1) Young Family Links to Mohawk Lands, Ft. Hunter, New York State - During the Revolution:

Two uncles of Lt. John Young, although residing in the Canajoharie District prior to the beginning of the Revolution in 1776, are documented as having been residents of Mohawk property in the Mohawk Flats area of Ft. Hunter New York in 1780. This location was on the west side of Schoharie Creek, some thirty miles to the east of their permanent residences near what is today Ft. Plain and Canajoharie. Since some Mohawk families had not left for Canada at this time, clearly John Young's uncles had permission to occupy the homes of those Mohawks who had vacated their lands to join the British.

Andrew Young, brother of John's father Adam Young, and Theobald Schremling, brother of John Young's mother (who was married to Adam Young's sister – kind of double uncle to John Young), resided among the few remaining Mohawks prior to the raid of Sir John Johnson on 18 October 1780. The area known as the Mohawk Flats, between Schoharie Creek and Auriesville, was owned in whole or in part by the Hill family, prominent Mohawks. Aurie's Creek was named after Aurie Kanaghowende "of the Hill". For example, Mary Hill Katehriunigh was the wealthiest individual (male or female) at Ft. Hunter prior to the Revolution. The list of claims for wartime losses included 112 acres of rich flat land commonly called the Mohawk Flats (National Archives, Colonial Office Vol. 42, Q Series, p.242). This claim was made at Lachine, Quebec 11 April 1784. Her brothers Aaron Hill Kanonraron and David Hill Karonghyontye each owned 100 acres of land, but submitted their claims at Niagara (Colonial Office Records, Q Series, Vol. 24, pt. 2). This family was by far the wealthiest at Ft. Hunter in terms of both land and material possessions.

During the above noted raid of Sir John Johnson and his Loyalist troops, after devastating the Caudahurity settlement to the south, they moved toward the Mohawk River and captured Peter Martin and Andrew Young (Simms, 1883, p.441), as well as the above Mary Hill Katehriunigh (Claus Papers, MG19, F1, Vo. 25, p.66). However, the troops failed to recognize Theobald Schremling as kin to the Young family, and he was killed outside his house, *the present residence of Richard Hudson* (Simms, 1845, p.423). According to an Atlas of the area dated 1853, R. Hudson was residing between

Auriesville and the Schoharie Creek, closer to the latter, his house being near a hillside, where three trails intersected. This home is one of very few located on the Mohawk Flats – there being considerably more houses in the uplands closer to Auriesville. Later maps, from the 1880s, show the property to be occupied by a B.R. Hudson.

It seems clear that the Hudson property on the Mohawk Flats (which had been occupied by Schremling in 1780), was originally (before 1777) owned by a prominent Mohawk family. It was on this property, in the care of Schremling, where the precious items from the Ft. Hunter Chapel were buried for safekeeping. These furnishings, *were put in a hogshead [barrel] by the Mohawks and buried on the side of the hill south of the Boyd Hudson place near Auriesville, N.Y.* (Reid, 1901, p.91). The silver items, a gift from Queen Anne in 1710, were recovered after the Revolution and brought to Canada. They were divided between the Mohawks of Tyendinaga near Deseronto, and the Chapel of the Mohawks on the Six Nations lands (now Brantford) on the Grand River.

Thus one can conclude that at the beginning of the Revolution there was a connection between the Mohawks, most likely the Hill family (who owned most of the Mohawk Flats) of Ft. Hunter, and the Young family of Canajoharie. A reasonable hypothesis that will be explored here is that Lt. John Young's wife from prior to the Revolution was a Mohawk who had family ties to the Ft. Hunter area, specifically the Mohawk Flats, and most likely to the Hill family.

2) Diaries, Journals and Supporting Materials – After the Revolution:

a) Diary of Patrick Campbell, 1792 (Published 1793) -

No record has surfaced to directly state the surname of Catharine. In the quest to detail her ancestry, there is an important diary entry mentioning John Young's wife, written about 8 years after the Census of Niagara, which includes information as to the maternal ancestry of John Young's wife – whether Catharine or another – who was alive in 1792.

On 14 February 1792 a Scottish traveller, Patrick Campbell, visited the Young family on the Grand River and recorded entries in a diary, published in 1793. Here he stated that Mr. Young served as a lieutenant in the Indian Department in the "last war", and was *married to a squaw, sister to **one of the chiefs** of the Mohawke nation **who succeeded Captain David*** (p. 180). He further added, *Here I for the first time played cards with a squaw.* At another location in the diary Campbell noted that Aaron Hill, *eldest son of the renowned chief, Captain David, whom everyone who knew him allowed to be the handsomest and most agreeable Indian they had every seen; he died about two years ago, and, what would be deemed hard by many, the son does not succeed to the honours and titles of the family, but they go in the female line to his aunt's son. Captain Brant did all he could to get the son, who seems worthy of his gallant and amiable father, to enjoy the titles, but it would not do; the ancient laws, customs, and manners of the nation could not be departed from* (see Johnston, 1964, p.61, 65).

In sundry sources it can be seen that David Hill's personal name was Karonghyontye, but that he also held the Bear Clan sachemship of Astawenserontha – both Native names for Captain David Hill being included in a deed of sale to the Van Horne Patent in New York to Jelles Fonda, 6 July 1789. The other title that could be inherited was “Captain”. Other record sources in the RG10 collection indicate that Seth Hill Kanenkaregowa was one of the individuals who succeeded his uncle David Hill. Seth was the son of John “Widemouth” Seth's son and Mary Hill Katehriunigh (David’s sister); and at some point after November 1790 when his uncle died, Seth became Captain Seth Hill Astawenserontha. He inherited both the military title "Captain", and one of the three Bear Clan (Tribe) titles among the Mohawks, Astawenserontha (the name translates as, "He Enters Wearing Rattles"). [Click here](#) for a close up of David Hill in Benjamin West’s 1776 painting of Hill with Col. Guy Johnson (Andrew W. Mellon Collection, 1940.1.10, National Gallery of Art).

Hypothesis 1: Catharine was the sister of Chief Astawenserontha -

A reasonable conclusion at this point is that John Young’s wife in 1792 was a sister of Seth Hill. However because Campbell did not mention the name of John Young’s wife in his 1792 diary entry, it needs to be shown that the wife mentioned here was Catharine who was enumerated at Niagara in 1783.

Verification that the wife noted in the 14 February 1792 entry in Campbell’s diary is named Catharine could or should come from documents created three years earlier - one of the two July 1789 deeds of sale to the Lower Mohawk lands at Ft. Hunter and the Upper Mohawk lands on the Van Horne Patent at Canajoharie, both sites being situated along the Mohawk River in New York State. These deeds of sale were signed at Niagara by all or most of the principle men and women of both of the Upper and Lower Mohawk “Castles”. Many of those present signed their Native names to the Ft. Hunter deed, although in many cases someone else added in their baptismal and white surnames. On the Canajoharie deed, those Mohawks who were literate tended to sign only their baptismal name, and someone added their Native name.

There was only one woman with the apparent surname Young:

peggy young
kayadontyi

She signed the Ft. Hunter Lower Mohawk deed of 9 July 1789. She may have signed the deed with her own full name and in her own handwriting (although this is not entirely clear). It could be argued that she meant to imply “young peggy”, as among the Mohawks formerly of Ft. Hunter there was, for example, a “Lydia” and an “Old Lydia” and a “Young Brant”. In other records from earlier years there was a Brant Senior, Old Brant; there is also Abraham Major and Abraham Minor. “Little” and “big” were also used to differentiate individuals with the same first name. However names such as say “Gideon young” and “Gideon old” being employed to identify two individuals with the same first name appear to be rare, although in at least one document in 1795, “Young

Brant” was written as “Brant Young” (Wisconsin State Historical Society, Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Series F, Vol. 15, p.215) – so it is difficult to know how best to interpret this entry. Therefore it is unclear whether this 1789 entry records a surname or a descriptor. The fact that the name Kayadontyi appears not only among the Astawenserontha Bear Clan but also families of the Turtle and Wolf Clans complicates matters (Seth Newhouse Manuscript, see later).

There were a number of prominent Mohawk women with the name Margaret who could have signed this document. Perhaps Seth’s sister Margaret was the woman noted above – if she had not died. This would be likely if an older Margaret, grandmother of Seth Hill, was alive (although perhaps not at the signings of either deed due to age) - possibly the grandmother (“old”) Margaret who would have been 78 in 1789. Also in 1784 a Margaret, widow of Captain Daniel submitted a claim for losses while at Lachine (see note re Mary Hill above). Furthermore, there was a Canajoharie Mohawk who may have returned to her original home at Ft. Hunter after the death of her husband in 1768, Margaret Hill Brant (more on her later). There is a Margaret (Konwageri in Mohawk) among the signers of the Canajoharie deed. Also there was a Margaret Cotter and a Margaret Symington who were flourishing at the time of the War of 1812 (more on them later). Hence there is no lack of those who could be the “young Margaret” here.

Returning to the “peggy young” entry, since there is no record of any other individual with the surname Young having married a Mohawk, it seems evident that in July 1789 John Young was married to a Mohawk woman named Margaret (of which peggy is a nickname). Verification of this hypothesis means that John Young was married three times.

In terms of the possibility that Catharine may have had two names, the probability is exceedingly small. The present author knows of only one dual female name among the Mohawks of the 18th Century – Mary Magdalene. In effect, historically, this would have been considered a single Biblical name. It was not until later in that Century where a true “middle name” was first recorded. “Doctor” Henry Aaron Hill, also known as Aaron Henry Hill was the apparent son of Aaron Hill Kanonraron and, as with his Palatine German neighbors, his so-called middle name may have simply been his father’s first name. In this way those with common names could be differentiated. Mohawks had one prename until the end of the Century when increasing acculturation brought the naming patterns of Mohawks and Europeans into general alignment. Hence it would be unprecedented for Catharine to also be known as Margaret, and this possibility can effectively be ruled out.

The conclusion is clear, in 1789 Lt. John Young was married to a Mohawk woman who appears to be of the Astawenserontha Bear Clan family, but a Margaret not a Catharine so not the mother of the four children!

As it turns out it was “relative easy” to trace Margaret’s ancestry based on the information recorded in various locations in the Patrick Campbell Diary published in 1793. The ancestry of his first wife Catharine, however, was much more of a challenge

to identify. The first task was to determine whether Seth had a sister Catharine in addition to Margaret since it was common for a widower to marry the wife's sister or cousin (or other member of the Owachira – maternal lineage).

The question is, does Seth, the undisputed inheritor of two of his uncle's titles, have a sister Catharine born about 1747 (date of birth of Catharine from the 1783 Census of Niagara), and / or a sister Margaret who can be shown to have survived to adulthood. The parents Johannes (Hans) "son of Seth" and Maria (Mary) "daughter of Aaron" were married 12 January 1747 at the Albany Reformed Dutch Church (see Sievertsen, 1996 for all references to church register details). Seth Hill was baptized 10 July 1748 at the Albany Reformed Dutch Church and his presumed sister Margaret 18 May 1749 at the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church (however under 'parent's names' only "Hans" was written).

Both Seth and Margaret appear as siblings during the 1770s in the account books of Jelles Fonda (a Mohawk Valley shop keeper who served the Native community, particularly those of Ft. Hunter, prior to the American Revolution) where it is possible to reconstruct detailed genealogies, due to the meticulous record keeping. Seth had a sister Margaret and a brother John noted here in the mid 1770s, with a mother Mary, uncles Aaron and David Vanderbarrak (Hill) and step – father Sadoquot (Jelles Fonda Accounts, Cornell University Library, Microfilm 903). Importantly, **no** Catharine appeared in these family accounts. All of their Mohawk names are found in other records (e.g., the above 1789 deed; see Faux 2002).

The names of brothers, Kanonraron (Aaron Hill), Oterouyanente (John Hill), Karonghyontye (David Hill); their sister Katehriunigh (Mary Hill); and the latter's son Kanenkaregowagh (Seth Hill); and Anequendahonji (Johannes Crine – Green) the maternal uncle of the first four are all found in the same grouping of Bear Clan family names in the Seth Newhouse Manuscript. Also found there is Kayadontyi (the Native name used by "peggy young" in the 1789 Ft. Hunter deed; and the Kayakhon (Katerin) from the 1789 Canajoharie deed). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth Century the names all belonged to the Astawenserontha Bear Clan family. The Seth Newhouse Manuscript (see Faux, 2002) lists all of the women's and warrior's names in each of the 9 Mohawk families

It will be important to try to find a suitable (e.g., born circa 1747 as per the Census of Niagara in 1783) Catharine in the Mohawk baptismal records, to show that indeed Johannes and Mary Hill were the parents of Catharine, who was in turn the person described in the 1792 diary. The only possible entry appears in the Anglican registers of Ft. Hunter, where a Catharine, daughter of Johannes and Mary, was baptized 14 February 1758. Two years earlier an Aaron, son of Johannes and Mary, was baptized 15 February 1756. These would seem to be brother and sister – and with an elder Aaron being the father of Mary Hill, it is quite likely that this was Mary Hill Katehriunigh (David Hill's sister). In 1768, a daughter Mary was baptized to Johannis and Mary at the Caughnawaga Reformed Dutch Church (near the trading post of Jelles Fonda at Caughnawaga). On the same day Mary sponsored the baptism of Aaron, the son of

Aaron and Susanna. Since other records show that Mary Hill's brother Captain Aaron Hill Kanonraron was married to a Susannah, this does seem to identify this family grouping (which is also seen in the account books of Jelles Fonda). It should be noted, however, that there was more than one John (Johannes, Hans) and Mary (Maria) who were baptizing children around this same time interval – so the identification has a tentative nature to it. However, there was no baptismal entry circa 1747 for a Catherine, daughter of a John and Mary. Furthermore, if the above Catharine baptized in 1758 was the daughter of Mary Hill Katehriunigh, as would seem to be the case, then Young's wife Catharine born circa 1747 was not the sister of Captain Seth Hill. If Catharine was Young's wife in the 1792 Campbell Diary, her brother did not inherit the Astawenserontha title.

Hypothesis 2: Catharine was a Close Relative of Margaret Hill –

Often when a great chief dies, his adult name is raised up in another male of his lineage to honor the man. It is expected that the man who now possesses this important name will act in accordance with the behavior expected of the previous chief, and assume his social role. It is probably this name that Captain Joseph Brant attempted to persuade the Chiefs in Council to assign to Aaron Hill, David Hill's son (see Campbell Diary above). The inheritance pattern of the Confederacy Sachemship Astawenserontha title was entirely inflexible, it always went to a member of the former chief's Owachira (maternal line), assuming that there was an eligible candidate. Seth Newhouse, in his List of Chiefs, penciled "L.M." (Lower Mohawks) for Astawenserontha, but "U.M." (Upper Mohawks) for the other two Bear Clan Chieftaincies (see Fenton, 1950, p.41).

The status of a name such as Karonghyontye, however, would not necessarily continue beyond the lifetime of the successor. This tradition is common to all Iroquoian cultures (e.g., Tooker, 1978; Sioui, 1996). It is important to emphasize that among the Six Nations inheritance very strictly follows the maternal line. Thus a chief is succeeded by his brother or nephew, or maternal cousin but never by his son. Sievertsen (1996), however, lists some of the personal names which were assumed by a son on the death of the father. For example, John Deserontyon's son Peter, while being known as Peter John in some records, was also listed as Peter Deserontyon (Johnson, 1964, p.204). Apparently Joseph Brant attempted to obtain this "perk" for David Hill's son – but failed. It is one thing for Mohawks at Ft. Hunter (New York) or Tyendinaga (Ontario) to make an "arbitrary" decision, but the Six Nations Chiefs in Council as established on the Grand River is quite another matter. Here conservatism and the traditions of the Confederacy rule.

Considering the status of David Hill Karonghyontye (Astawenserontha) in the Mohawk community, it stands to reason that his given name, while not among the 50 hereditary sachems, would be assigned to a kinsman as a badge of honor. Perhaps by following the individuals who inherited the name Karonghyontye, we can tease out family relationships.

At this time, apparently it was necessary for a successor to produce a “medal” or gorget possessed as a gift from the British for wartime service. A gorget was a smooth, generally crescent-shaped metal (usually silver or silver gilt) ornament on a necklace that was worn by European military officers as a badge of rank. Thus a nephew would present this item to Council as a credential to legitimize his claim to be installed in the place of his predecessor. This is precisely what “Little Peter”, nephew of the deceased David Patterson did, and on 11 October 1819 both the Indian Department officials and the Chiefs in Council accepted Peter, and *invested him with the gorget & recommended to him to follow the example of his uncle, the late Chief, as a good man, & good warrior* (Claus Papers, MG19, Vol. 11, p.252). The subject was even more problematic at Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte) where on 26 September 1815, John Ferguson wrote to Claus that, *On the subject of Medals, George Martin told me, that his relation Old John Green, was the first entitled by Birth, to be a Chief – He has had a Medal some years – the next he said was a son of Abram Hills – this Abram is one of whom you allude in our letter – the Man who actually killed his cousin, Laurence* (RG10, Vol. 31, p.18458).

As noted above, David Hill died in November of 1790, and his major “honours and titles” went to his nephew (son of his sister Mary Hill Katchriunigh) Seth Hill Kanenkaregowa who became Captain Seth Hill Astawenserontha. However, what became of his given name? The present author has attempted to secure copies of all known documents relating to the Mohawks (e.g., deeds, journals) from 1790 to 1845.

In order to identify the successor to the title Karonghyontye it will be helpful to ascertain the English translation of the name. The translator of a letter written from David Hill to Daniel Claus, in Mohawk and dated 1784, indicates that the meaning of Karonghyontye is, ‘Flying Sky’. *The elements of the name are as follows: Karonghy -, from ga rongh ya ‘sky, firmament, heavens’; and –ontye, from the present imperfect tense of an irregular verb, dagaden, to fly* (MG19, Claus Papers, Vol. 4, p.21). This will be important as we shall see shortly.

b) Journal of General Lincoln, 1793 (Published 1836) -

The first occurrence of the name Karonghyontye or Flying Sky subsequent to the death of David Hill in November 1790 relates to a journal General Lincoln kept enroute to and during a treaty held with the Indian tribes of the northwest (Ohio), Lincoln being one of the Commissioners of the United States. On 11 June 1793 Lincoln crossed over from Canada to Buffalo Creek and visited a Seneca village. *There one of the chiefs expressed their friendship, and the great desire they had for peace* (p.116). This speech was given prior to the departure of Lincoln and some of the men of the Seneca village to the Ohio country. A sketch was made of the Indian orator (and all present) and included with the publication of Lincoln’s journal. The artist was one Col. Pilkington who titled the sketch, *Talk with the Indians at Buffalo Creek in 1793* (Mass. Hist. Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. 5, 1836).

c) Journal of General Dearborn, 1838 (Published 1904) -

In 1838 General Henry Dearborn wrote a journal of his trip to the Niagara Frontier, *for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Senecas & Tuscarora Tribes of Indians* (p.39). On 2 October he showed the above sketch published in Lincoln's journal two years previous to some Seneca Chiefs. One of them, Capt Pollard, then an aged man, stated that he was present when the Commissioners Genl. Lincoln Col. Pickering & Govr. Randolph visited the Senecas on this Creek in 1793, and could identify the Chief shown in the Lincoln Journal. The interpreter, Mr. Strong, Capt Pollard's son, wrote the following letter to Dearborn and is worth quoting in full:

Buffalo Creek Oct. 2nd 1838

Genl. Dearborn,

Sir. Capt Pollard states, that the Council held on Buffalo Creek 1793, (as mentioned in Genl Lincoln's Journal) In which Genl Lincoln and Mr. Randolph Commissioners of the United States. The orator mentioned in the journal, and the accompanying Sketch, was a Mohawk Chief, Colleague of Capt Brandts, by the name of 'Flying Sky' – Capt Pollard further states, that at the above mentioned Council, Capt Brandt was at Sandusky or at Detroit, As Brandt came as a passenger in the Vessel come down the Lake; after the Commissioners above mentioned – Brandt returned with them & the rest of the Seneca Chiefs up the Lake –

Note. This statement of Capt Pollard explains why the duty of making Speech to the Commissioners fell upon Chief Flying Sky – had Capt Brandt been present at the Council, he undoubtedly would have made the Speech.

*Your friend
Hon-non-de-ah*

(Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Vol. 7, 1904, p.145).

[Click here](#) for a copy of the engraving showing Flying Sky in 1793. It is important to note, however, that an assumption must be made here. That is to say, for the above to be true, the memory of Capt Pollard for events that occurred 45 years earlier must be accurate in the essentials. What can be validated is that Capt Pollard was correct about Joseph Brant arriving later, by ship, then being among the Seneca contingent heading back by boat to the Detroit area (assorted documents in the files of the present author).

As the above evidence shows, Chief Karonghyontye was Brant's ambassador to the Western Tribes. This role is precisely what would be expected of him as the embodiment of his kinsman David Hill. For example David Hill joined Joseph Brant as a Mohawk deputy at the Ft. Stanwix Treaty 10 September 1784 (Public Papers of George Clinton, Vol. 8, p.370). Furthermore, David Hill was, *frequently sent on embassies for the Six*

Nations; with Captain Isaac Brant at Marietta, 1788 (Wallace, 1958, p.415). David Hill's successor clearly followed in his footsteps.

d) Journal of Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, 1793 (Published 1827) -

So who was this Karonghyontye (Flying Sky), proposed brother of Catharine Young? The answer may be a nephew (step-nephew) of Captain Joseph Brant, called "Tawalooth" by the Stockbridge Indian Captain Hendrick Aupaumut.

Aupaumut wrote a journal of his travels as an official emissary of the United States to the Western Tribes. His "Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians" (Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vo. 2, 1827) unfortunately, while peppered with days and months, does not contain the year of his journey. A participant (who was present with General Lincoln in the above document), Timothy Pickering, attested to the authenticity of the Aupaumut journal, and noted it was he whose office issued a *Memorandum of instructions given to Captain Hendricks by Colonel Pickering* (p. 67) in 1793 (the same year as the events in the Lincoln journal). Hendrick's journal also places him at Buffalo Creek in the second week in June (see Lincoln Journal), and noted that the Senecas had already sent out runners to invite the Mohawks of the Grand River to attend. Aupaumut boarded a ship for Detroit on the 18th of June. The journal continues with an aside describing how Aupaumut was informed that Joseph Brant sent out a party in the spring to take the overland route to the rendezvous place of Miami (Ohio country), and enroute seek the approval of Brant going to see the Americans at Philadelphia. Apparently, three days after they left the Grand River, this Tawalooth begin to say that he is the head of that company, and that he will deliver the messages of his uncle, to the western Indians (p.85).

Aupaumut stated that on the 13th of July (1793) *Brant's messangers arrived, eleven in number. The Head of them called Tawalooth. On the 17th inst. This Tawalooth, Brant's nephew, and now messenger, delivered a speech in a council* (p.112).

Judging by the role played by Brant's nephew here, he is one in the same with the Flying Sky from Lincoln's journal. While Tawalooth is far from a good rendition of Karonghyontye, Aupaumut was a Mohican and the editor of his journal noted how Aupaumut had made a hash of some Indian words in languages with which he had little familiarity.

Aupaumut believed that Brant's nephew was causing severe problems for the "American cause", by *delivering his uncle's Message, and by his own artful lies being a proper Liar or Emmissary of the Devil.* Aupaumut also noted that Tawalooth could speak the Shawany tongue, also some other languages (p.113).

Joseph Brant had one biological nephew alive at that time, George Johnson, his sister Molly's son (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, "Gonwatsijayenni", Vol. 4, 2000). The others were step-nephews, who were all termed simply "nephew". Among those in this category of "step-nephews" were the sons of Brant Canagaradunckwa's children (Joseph

Brant's step-brothers and step-sisters) by his other two wives (i.e., after Joseph's father died, his mother became the third wife of Brant Canagaradunckwa),

Brant Canagaradunckwa was a good friend of Sir William Johnson. One of Brant's daughters became the consort of Sir William, and the mother of his sons Brant Johnson Kaghyakon and William Johnson Tagawirunte. Brant resided at Ft. Hunter where he was a head village chief and lived in a two-story frame house in the style of a middle class Colonial resident. In 1753 he married Margaret, the mother of Joseph and Molly (who became the wife of Sir William Johnson after the death of her predecessor) – both of whom took their step-father's first name as a patronymic (using "Brant" as a surname). He moved to Canajoharie, Margaret's home village in 1753 and became one of the chief sachems in this location. His first two wives, prior to Margaret, were:

- 1) Catharine, the first wife of Brant Canagaradunckwa had known children (step-brothers and step-sisters to Joseph Brant): Thomas Brant (b.1721), Nicholas Brant (aka Brant Canadiorha), Johny Brant, Hester, Rachel and Rosina, as well as the daughter who had two children by Sir William Johnson (prior to Sir William taking up with Joseph's biological sister Molly Brant).
- 2) Brant Canagaradunckwa's second wife Christina had one known child (step-brother to Joseph Brant): Young Brant (b.1742).

This entails a rather large pool of individuals who may have had sons who would be step-nephews to Joseph Brant. One is known to have had contact with Timothy Pickering, noted above in relation to the Lincoln and Aupaumut journals. In attempting to establish a "British Mohawk Treaty", *Pickering had discussed Mohawk claims at Canadaigua with Henry Young Brant, a nephew of British Army Captain Joseph Brant* as recorded in Pickering's journal entry of 13 November 1794 (Hutchins Report, Ch. 12, p.289). It is possible that Henry Young Brant was the Tawalooth above, although there is no record of him in the 1793 proceedings, and his mother Catherine Konwateatiatha (1789 Ft. Hunter deed) was a head woman of the Turtle Clan (Seth Newhouse Manuscript) and so Henry Young Brant was not Flying Sky of the Bear Clan.

The present writer collected a series of documents relating to this time and place (e.g., Simcoe Papers) and related records consistently give the name of Brant's messenger and interpreter at treaties and councils to 1794 as *Isaac, Brant's nephew*. The problem is that Joseph Brant had a son named Isaac and some individuals confused the nephew and the son. When a group of 10 Mohawks led by one "**Karaguntier**" appeared in Detroit causing a ruckus, a British officer called him, "Brant's son" (i.e., Isaac Brant). It is considerably more likely, in light of the above, that this was Brant's step-nephew Isaac Brant who was documented to be in the area in related sources of the time.

Another "nephew" was Joseph Brant's "adopted nephew", John Norton (the son of a Scottish mother and Cherokee father, served as a school teacher and Indian Department interpreter). This "adoption" appears to have taken place about 1795 but not likely before. If correct this would rule out Tawalooth and Norton being one in the same. The

present author has not found any evidence of this adoption or reference to it in primary source documentation. The only references are in secondary sources such as William L. Stone's, "Life of Joseph Brant, Vol. 2, pp.411-12). John Norton's Indian names were Teyoninhokarawen (after 1799) and earlier "The Snipe" (Dow-wis-dow-wis). On 22 December 1795, Governor Simcoe forwarded a letter to Lord Dorchester from Joseph Brant requesting that Norton be made Interpreter in the Indian Department for the Six Nations.

It cannot be ruled out that Tawalooth and Norton were one in the same. Norton was a trader among the Western Nations prior to 1795, and was in the Sandusky, Falls of the Miami River area in the summer of 1793, when on 20 June 1793 Norton took an inventory of the goods of John Askin (trader) at that location. In effect, Norton could have been Tawalooth but not Flying Sky based on timing alone. The fact is that Brant's interpreter prior to 1795 was his nephew Isaac, and that in 1795 Brant petitioned for a paid position as interpreter for Norton. This may mean that Isaac remained in the Sandusky area after the defeat of the Western Nations at Fallen Timbers by General Anthony Wayne, and that Brant needed a replacement who would reside at Six Nations on the Grand River (see Biographical Introduction, Journal of John Norton, 1816, Published 1970 by the Champlain Society). Thus Norton would be "in the room of" Isaac, Brant's nephew and so "interpreter and adopted nephew" would make good sense as an appellation for Norton – however the nephew designation likely came with his adoption and being given a Mohawk name in 1799 (see above).

Tawalooth may be a rather poor rendition of Ka ra yoo th (a modified version of Karonghyontye) but this is highly debatable. What would make more sense is that Tawalooth was the personal name of Isaac prior to becoming a Chief. In addition, since the journal of Aupaumut was not meant to include official details here, he was more likely to use the name that Isaac was known as three years earlier. Since the name is likely an approximation, perhaps it was the Isaac Dehonw (rest missing) of the 1789 Canajoharie deed.

Further support of this identification comes from the records of Governor Simcoe and Lord Dorchester relating to the events leading up to a 1794 battle. *Consequently, Simcoe instructed by Dorchester played a tense diplomatic game in the American border areas -- not much aided by **Six Nations Chief Isaac Brant**, who realistically thought it impossible to create a neutral Indian state there, as Simcoe had hoped. American military power soon settled the question in any case, shattering Indian resistance and forcing the western tribes to virtual surrender in 1794* (Canada: A Celebration of our Heritage, Chapter 5, 1999). While it is established that Isaac, nephew of Captain Joseph Brant was a Chief of the Six Nations, raised up as Karonghyontye, it has never been proposed that Joseph Brant's son Isaac Brant was a chief of any description – nor that he was involved in the politics of the Western tribes prior to 1793. Hence the reference here would seem to be to the nephew.

Hence Karaguntier, Karonghyontye, and Karughyundye (the latter: Claus Papers, MG19, F1, Vol. 4, pp.31-2), despite small surface appearances, are likely all the same name, and

the same man – from 1790, Isaac Brant, step-nephew of Captain Joseph Brant. The name Tawalooth is probably the personal name of Isaac Brant, but it could be Aupaumut's attempt at writing what he heard.

Returning to Isaac Brant, Karonghyontye, Flying Sky, there were three Isaac Brants who in the 1790s either residing at, or associated with, the Grand River. It will be important to differentiate between these individuals with the same name. Captain Joseph Brant's eldest son was Isaac Brant (born about 1767 died 1795 in a fight with his father Joseph), who in turn had a son Isaac (born about 1790) who *was a counterpart of his father. He served with some distinction in the War of 1812-14, but was killed in a drunken frolic by a blow with a gun barrel, inflicted, as was supposed, by a white man* (Mulvany, 1883, p.132). In an affidavit of 22 March 1817 signed by Mohawk Chiefs, they describe the farm owned by the descendants of Captain David Hill (grandfather of this Isaac), which was then occupied by people who, *kept a bad haus [tavern], and at last has been the means of killing one of our Brothers / Isaac Brant / last winter* (RG10, Vol. 34, p. 19745). So this Isaac, grandson of both Joseph Brant and David Hill, born about 1790 and leaving no known progeny should not be confused with Isaac Brant, step-nephew of Joseph Brant, one time emissary and interpreter for his uncle, whose sons fought on the American side during the War of 1812 (see later).

e) Deeds, Claims and Other Documentation –

If the above Isaac Brant Karonghyontye was a step-nephew of Captain Joseph Brant, then Catharine Young must have been a step-niece of Brant.

In seeking out the activities of Isaac Brant, Joseph Brant's step-nephew, since he does not appear along the Grand River after 1793, he was probably residing in the Ohio country among the Six Nations groups there. The most likely candidate was a man with the surname Brant, married to a daughter of Charlieu. In all probability he was the Isaac, nephew of Joseph Brant (and the latter's interpreter and ambassador). This man's four children, Susan VanMeter, Thomas Brant, Paulus Brant and Isaac Brant were residing at the Honey Creek Mohawk settlement founded at Upper Sandusky in Ohio circa 1817 (when the John VanMeter Reservation was granted). They had formerly been living among the Wyandot in the area – although “Mohawktown” near Tiflin, Ohio had been in existence for an unknown duration. The eldest child, Thomas, was a Captain, and his brothers Paulus and Isaac also fought on the American side during the War of 1812 (Welsh, 1844). Oddly, the Mohawks of this part of Ohio were known as the Bear (Isaac's clan). It would appear that all of the time spent by Isaac in the Ohio country, plus, perhaps, the politics of the Grand River, encouraged him to set down permanent roots among the Western Indians – Wyandot and Seneca. Thomas Brant Tooteeandee had become head man of the village at Honey Creek by 1835.

It is interesting to note that in 1805 Joseph Dequania, a Seneca Chief of the Grand River, sold his property, immediately across the Grand River from the Young Tract, to Sarah Anderson. Sometime previous to 4 October 1829 one Peter Pork murdered “Joseph Tequania (Strong Arm) in the Sandusky area (History of Seneca County, 1886). The

surname Pork was found among the Lower Cayugas residing just south of the Young Tract in the 1830s and perhaps earlier. The point being that many individuals from the various Nations on the Grand River moved to the West in the first half of the 19th Century.

The Hypothesis here is that from the 1790s, Isaac Brant Karonghyontye was residing at Sandusky hence the reason why the name Karonghyontye does not appear in any document signed by the Six Nations Chiefs in Council on the Grand River until the year 1810. This is 20 years after the death of the former holder of the name, David Hill. After their father Isaac Senior's death, his children elected to stay in the region with other Mohawks, in territory that belonged to the Senecas and the Wyandot (e.g., Lang, 1880).

As noted, the first recorded appearance of the name Karonghyontye on the Grand River was in 1810 – the baptismal name of this Chief being Paulus. Although not strictly necessary to the thesis of the present work, it may be interesting to explore the background of Paulus, since he would appear to be the brother to both Isaac Brant above, and Catharine Young. Perhaps Paulus Brant noted above was named after his proposed uncle.

Paulus signed his baptismal name on the 1789 Canajoharie (Upper Mohawk) deed noted above. Since the name appears at the bottom of the document it is not clear whether the name is spelled Paulus, Poules or a similar variant. However, someone wrote in "Shagoyadiyostha". This name is of the Bear Clan Astawenserontha family (Seth Newhouse Manuscript). Apparently he did not use any surname, and on later deeds even his baptismal name is missing (which was common with Canajoharie Mohawks at this time). Paulus probably obtained the necessary gorget for installation as a Chief (see above), as an heirloom from his brother Isaac and given to their mother, or perhaps a sister, who was a Clan Matron, entitled to select the next Karonghyontye (more on the genealogy later).

The first official appearance of Paulus in the records of the Grand River after 1789 was 9 February 1801, when a group of Chiefs acknowledged their appreciation of the efforts of Joseph Brant. The name "Shagoyatiyostha" is the second on the list of Chiefs (Draper Manuscripts, F21. p.7). "Shakoyadiyostha" is also included among the list of Chiefs present at the Onondaga Council House 9 November 1806 to confirm the lands of the Youngs and others. The three white witnesses to the minutes of the Council meeting were Warner Nelles, John Young, and Samuel Ryckman. Paulus's name was always included among the principal Chiefs of the Mohawks, in this case between Shoskowitzowane (Bear Clan Sachem) and Hayonwaghtha (Turtle Clan Sachem). Minor chiefs are never found listed between the hereditary sachems, hence Paulus must have been a high ranking Mohawk – even before being raised up as Karonghyontye.

A signer of a Second family deed dated 1 January 1808, was Paules Shakoyadyughstha (RG10, Vol. 160, pt. 1, 91900-A) among the four Mohawk Chiefs who signed the document. The small paper seals placed beside the name without the words "his mark" suggests that Paulus used his signature since it is known from other documents that the

three previous Chiefs on the document were literate. Also, on 31 July 1809 Paul Shagoyatiyostha appears on another deed to the Secord family. This individual was undoubtedly the same as Paulus Shagoyadiyostha who signed his first name on the 1789 Canajoharie deed (see above).

As noted above, the first appearance of the name “Flying Sky” at the Grand River after the death of David Hill in 1790, is 1 January 1810 where Poulous Karonghyontye was among the chiefs who signed a deed to Isaac Secord (RG10, Vol. 103, pp.236-9); and then 11 April 1811 in a complaint about sovereignty that was sent to the Indian Department where one of those listed is a chief “Paul Karrongonty” (RG10, Vol. 27, p.16291). Unfortunately these documents are copies and it is not possible to determine who signed, and who made their marks.

It can be safely concluded that sometime between 31 July 1809 and 1 January 1810, Paulus Shagoyadiyostha began using the name Karonghyontye in all official records. Hence it is likely that his brother died about one year previous, and Paulus was raised up as Karonghyontye in late 1809.

In exploring the succession of the title beyond Paulus Shagoyadiyostha matters get very complicated, since it would appear that both Paulus Shagoyadiyostha and a Paulus Sahonwadi were contemporaries (although the latter died circa 1787) and each had two sons, Peter Paulus and Paul Paulus (Powless). There was also a likely kinship connection between the two. It appears that Sahonwadi may have married Margaret, the sister of Captain Seth Hill Astawenserontha.

At some point likely during the War of 1812, Paulus Shagoyadiyostha died. On a “List of Mohawks who receive rations”, undated, but relating to the time of the War of 1812, there is a “Widow Paulus Deyotwanhea” – the later apparently being the Native name of Paulus’ widow (Archives of Ontario, MS 94, John Norton Papers, 1796-1843). Therefore about 1812 Paulus Shagoyadiyostha / Karonghyontye had died and his title assigned to his probable nephew or other maternal line kinsman

On 29 November 1817, a *List of Indian Claimants for Losses Sustained during the late War* included 77 Mohawk Claimants, plus the name of the person who received the third installment in 1837. Two entries of interest are:

- 7) Widow Powlis, received by Mary Johnson, her mark.
- 8) Pawlis Onwanegharaugh, received by Paul Powlis, his mark.

(Archives of Ontario, 8 Victoriae, Appendix GGG, A. 1844-5). Caderin Pauls (widow) was still alive when a census of the Upper Mohawks was taken 31 July 1823 (RG10, Vol. 41, p.22349).

As to Paulus’ name Karonghyontye, apparently when the eldest son of Paulus Sahonwadi, Paulus Powless, reached adulthood he was given the name Karonghyontye – “signing” by making his mark. He appears as Paulus Paulus X Karenhyontye in a deed

signed 17 February 1816 (Archives of Ontario, MU2918, Street Papers), along with Francis Cotter (whose importance will become clear soon). He was shown as Paulus Onwaneharon (another Astawenserontha name; and the same as the above from the 1817 Claim), 24 June 1813, listed between brothers Francis Cotter and Nicholas Cotter (Johnston, 1964, p.203). Hence sometime between 1813 and 1816 Paulus Powless became Karonghyontye. Later, about 1822, the name was assigned to his brother Peter Powless (as reflected in a series of deeds in the RG10 Series). It should be noted that Paulus Peters, the father of Sahonwadi, was a close associate of Nicholas Brant Canadiorha – who we will encounter later.

Most of the subsequent assessment of the identity of Catharine, the first wife of John Young and mother of all his children, rests on information in the obituary of one of her grandsons. The content can guide a search backwards in time to help pin down the identity of Catharine. Hence the interpretation will hinge on how much of the content can be verified, and yield clear interpretations. As we shall see, following leads from both the Patrick Campbell Diary of 1792, as well blending those from the following obituary of Warner H. Nelles, may provide “answers”.

2) Obituary of Warner Henry Nelles, 1896:

The above Joseph Young's nephew, Col. Warner H. Nelles, was born 1799 on the Grand River Six Nations Indian Reserve, the son of Lt. John Young's daughter Elizabeth (Young) Nelles and husband Warner Nelles. Warner H. Nelles was the nephew of Joseph Young, who was mentioned as being “one of our people” in a deed from the Six Nations in 1838. Warner H. Nelles was also the first cousin of the author's ancestor Rachel (Young) Young.

The key segment from his obituary of 12 October 1896 reads (with emphasis added):

His popularity as a young man may be judged when, being only seventeen, he was made a chief of a tribe of Indians called the Beavers. Upon the death of the old chief, they saluted him as Tahanata, and the chain of wampum they threw over his head is still in the family. Up to the end of his death he was still recognized as chief, though the tribe is greatly scattered (Haldimand County Museum, Dorothy Hutton Collection N-1-4).

Clearly Warner H. Nelles was eligible, by descent from his mother and maternal grandmother, to inherit a title as a chief of the Six Nations, *There being no foundation for the common belief that white men are made chiefs of any kind when Indians adopt such persons, or confer a name on those whom they wish to compliment* (Boyle, 1898, p. 176).

While more specific information will be provided later on the use of wampum in the installation of new Chiefs of the Six Nations, it may be helpful to note the general uses of wampum in Native American societies. Wampum are shell beads made from the whelk, generally from sources along the Atlantic Coast. There are two colors, white (signifying something positive), and purple (which can have a more negative connotation such death

in its use in mourning rituals). Wampum has been used as currency, and had a set value. The Six Nations use it to make strings for use in communicating messages and in the Condolence Ritual (more on this later). Another use is to weave the wampum beads into long belts composed of figures such as a tree in order to symbolize something, and to be used a mnemonic device to recall the specifics of a treaty or obligation of some kind. Basically wampum had a very high degree of symbolic as well as monetary value.

The name Tahanata and Age of Installation: It was shown above that the Young – Nelles family were members of the Six Nations, and linked most particularly to the Mohawk Nation. There are 50 hereditary sachem titles of the Six Nations. Nine names are specific to the Mohawks, and none of the latter titles is “Tahanata” or any similar name. However at the time of Nelles’ installation, there was a single exception.

A list of "Mohawks Principle Chiefs" was created by Chief George Martin for the Indian Department 22 February 1815 (i.e., about two years before Nelles was made chief) and included the names of the holders of the three hereditary sachemship titles for each of the Turtle, Wolf and Bear Tribes (Clans), and the associated War Chiefs for each sachem (Archives of Canada, MG19, F1, Claus Papers, Vol. 10, p. 153). Number 3 in the Bear Tribe is John Johnson Astawenserontha (Captain Seth Hill died in 1808). While it is not entirely clear who this John Johnson is, it could be the John, brother of Seth Hill (but using the first name of his father as a surname – very common among Mohawks and their neighbors the Dutch). This Johannes, born to John and Wari (Mary), was baptized 19 January 1751 at Ft. Hunter. The associated "War Chief" was John Green Aronghyenghtha. While this individual would appear to be the Johannes, son of Johannes Crine and Neeltie baptized 19 May 1755 at Ft. Hunter. The father Johannes Senior was a member of the Astawenserontha Bear Clan family. Hence Johannes Junior, in theory, could not become chief of his father’s Owachira (maternal clan). The matter is confusing, and best left alone since it is peripheral to the main focus of this story.

Oddly, here the Bear Tribe was shown as having four hereditary sachem titles with #3. Astawenserontha and #4. Tahatonne linked together via a bracket thus }. Since time out of mind there have been three Turtle Clan titles, three Wolf Clan titles, and three Bear Clan titles - and no more – except circa 1815. A hypothesized reason for this exception at this particular time will be given later. It is also noted (e.g., Hale, 1881; Tooker, 1978) that there were so – called “pine tree” chiefs elected from time to time due to merit, but the title died with the original holder. Each Principal Chief had an associated War Chief (as seen in the 1815 Martin document), also appointed by the Clan Mothers, but the title also died with the chief. There was also a class of sub – chiefs to assist the Principal Chief with his duties – also appointed by the Clan Mother. Tahatonne / Tahanata may have started as this category but was elevated (for reasons noted elsewhere) to almost equivalent to, in this case, Astawenserontha. So Tahatonne - Tahanata first may have been essentially a “special advisor” to the more senior sachem who held the title of Astawenserontha. However it is unique to have a list with 10 Principal Chiefs (hereditary sachems) among the Mohawk, giving the Bear Clan / Tribe a numerical advantage (also in the number of War Chiefs with 5 in contrast to the 3 for the Turtle and Wolf Clans / Tribes). [Click here](#) to see the Martin document.

The spelling differences (Nelles obituary - Tahanata; and Martin document - Tahatonne) could reflect a simple switching of the last two syllables in the name. It can be assumed that the Nelles obituary informant was most likely one of his children or grandchildren, all of whom were born and raised in St. Catharines, a Canadian city about 80 kms (50 miles) away from the Reserve. Perhaps he or she made a simple error. However, it was typical of this time to inscribe the name of the office holder's Indian name on the wampum. Beauchamp (1901) discusses this matter, indicating that the item number 57, *belongs to the writer, and contains a chief's name* (p.349). Thus the Nelles informant may have been reading the name directly from the wampum strings in their possession, and is unlikely to have made a mistake. Also, considering that Martin may have been only vaguely knowledgeable about this rarely used name (Tahanata/Tahatonne), a spelling irregularity by Martin is entirely possible – since Indian names are frequently spelled in wildly different ways (see Sievertsen, 1996). There is no compelling reason to assume that Martin's version is more likely correct relative to information provided by Nelles family members. The present author does not recall the name Tahatonne / Tahanata appearing in any record pertaining to the Mohawks of the Grand River (1790 – 1896) other than the 1815 list and the Nelles obituary – or if so it is not easily recognizable.

To give two examples of possible earlier instances of the name, on 5 April 1687 a Mohawk named Tahaiadons offered proposals at a conference in Albany. About 100 years later, on the above 1789 deed signed by the Canajoharie Mohawks there is a name, David Dehanonyantha. His identity is unknown. Phonetically this is similar to, and perhaps more precisely written, Tahanata (D and T being equivalent in Mohawk). It is exceedingly difficult even for those who are fluent in the language to determine whether two Mohawk names are identical, due to spelling and dialectical differences and change in word meaning over time. One other example of a Six Nations name likely to be equivalent to Tahanata / Tahatonne was “Tachanuntie or Tachanontia”, an Onondaga Chief attending the June 1744 Conference in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was known as “the Black Prince” due to his African – Indian heritage (Colden, 1747, p.110; Shannon, 2008).

There is also the strong possibility that names introgressed from other Iroquoian Nations (more on this subject later), especially after the wars of the mid 17th Century when Iroquoian speaking tribes such as the Huron, Wenro, Attiwandaronk, and Erie were effectively destroyed, and many of the survivors adopted into member nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Clearly Tahanata is a Six Nations name (Iroquoian language family). For example on 12 July 1742 among the Tuscaroras at a conference in Philadelphia was Tahnatakqua. Reg Henry (see below) told the present author that frequently endings such as “ha” to personal names are dropped in everyday use. An example relating to the Mohawks is Brant Canagaradunckwa (various spellings). On 23 August 1752 Brant appended a note written in Mohawk to Conrad Weiser in a letter sent by Daniel Claus. He signed his name “Kanakaradon” in this document (Kelsay, 1986). He dropped the “ckwa” which is

equivalent to the “kqua” in the name above. Among the Mohawks of the Bear Tribe from Canajoharie, accompanying Sir William Johnson to Montreal in 1760, was Johannes Tehanagrackhas. Here the “ckhas” could have been “optional” so if dropped yielding Tehanaghra. If the last “r” was meant to be a “t” this name would be identical to Tahanata.

If the chiefship was of ancient lineage, it may have been similar to the others including Astawenserontha. Most of the chiefly titles never appeared in any of the hundreds of documents to the end of the 18th Century. This has puzzled historians and led to questions about the antiquity of the chiefly names associated with the Confederacy (Shannon, 2008). Perhaps there was a “taboo” to using these names for what might be called “profane” purposes – such as signing land deeds. The one exception was the head Turtle Clan chief, Tekarihokea. Most individuals used their name given upon reaching adulthood. For example David Hill used only Karonghyontye except in the 1789 Canajoharie Upper Mohawk deed where he appears for the Mohawks of the Lower Castle using both his above name and Astawenserontha – but this was very rare and it appears that someone else wrote in one or both names (it is not his signature). The 1789 Canajoharie deed includes most of the 9 sachem names (but these names seem to have been added by a white witness to the document). This practice appears to have changed prior to the War of 1812. By about 1800 Captain Seth Hill had dropped his old name of Kanenkaregowagh and was known only as Astawenserontha in all official documents. However, as noted above, it appears that David Hill’s name was elevated to a special category and inherited by a maternal lineage relative.

As to the meaning of the name Tahatonne / Tahanata, it is very difficult to obtain a clear interpretation of the meaning of Mohawk names from many years ago since they are frequently shrouded in the mists of time. Much depends on which dialect of Mohawk is used (there being differences in pronunciation and spelling between say Grand River and Kanawaki); and the languages and dialects spoken by anyone today trying to interpret a particular spelling of a name. Reg Henry, Cayuga, Six Nations linguist, translated Tahatonne to possibly mean, "He is coming towards you saying over and over". However, when hearing Tahanata in association with the above spelling of the name, Reg said if he was working with a Cayuga or Seneca name it / they would be closer to Ta ne (on) ta’ ha? which would mean, “(He is Putting) Pine Trees in Between” (personal communication, 21 November 1980). It is highly likely that the Akwesasne Mohawk name of the well - known writer Ray Fadden, is equivalent to Tahatonne / Tahanata. His name was Tehanetorens, which translates to “(He Walks) Through the Pines” (Indian Country Today, 29 December 2008). Conceptually these are all likely the same name, with a meaning of something to the effect of “(He is Going) Between the Pine Trees”.

Francis Cotter held the title of Tahatonne / Tahanata in the George Martin document of 1815. Unfortunately all documents which have been located and date to this interval were signed by Chief Cotter using only his non – Native name. Understanding the “Cotter connection” may be one of the keys to identifying Catharine’s ancestry. Since there is often missing data or inadequate documentation, an assumption will be made here that by virtue of the Cotter – Nelles link, that their respective mothers were closely related. A

working hypothesis is that Catharine and Cotter's mother were sisters. The evidence, admittedly all circumstantial, will be explored throughout the present work.

Francis Cotter's father was N. Cotter (likely Nicholas), a white man, married to Margaret, a Lower Mohawk (Claus Papers, MG19, F1, Vol. 21, pt.2, p.85 – no date but before 27 March 1819). Note that there is a great deal of fluidity in deciding who was Upper Mohawk (supposedly from Canajoharie) and Lower Mohawk (supposedly from Ft. Hunter). There are many instances in the various census records for annual annuity payments where it is noted that by petition a family had changed their affiliation from one band to the other.

Francis Cotter, according to the Six Nations Chiefs on 9 January 1814, was among a group of Mohawks who acted in an "Unbecoming manner" by refusing to fight the enemies of the King (during the latter stages of the War of 1812), and so they recommended that he not receive any of "His Majesty's bounty" – which meant annuity payments (Johnston, 1964). Cotter and 8 other Mohawk chiefs blamed this schism on the behavior of the Lower Mohawks formerly of Fort Hunter, where members of the Upper Mohawks formerly of Canajoharie “are treated like outcasts” (Indian Affairs, RG10 Series, Vol. 118, p. 169562, no date but before 27 November 1818 – Vol. 790, p. 7048). Francis Cotter was thus an Upper Mohawk chief apparently with ancestral ties to Canajoharie, although his mother also had ties to the Lower Mohawks – as seen above.

The conditions on the Reserve in 1816 and 1817 appear to have been lawless and chaotic, permeated with factionalism and name-calling. As of about 1816, Cotter appears to have been "shunned", both via the factionalism within the Mohawk community, and by his behavior during the War of 1812. The evidence shows that on 17 February 1816 Francis Cotter was still a “Principle Chief” when he signed a certificate – it being noted in a later addendum that he was among those still living 14 April 1835 (Archives of Ontario, Street Papers, MU2928).

One other reason why Francis Cotter was dissatisfied with his circumstances, was perhaps that he had expected to be raised up as either Astawenserontha or Karonghyontye. The former was firmly in control of the Lower Mohawks. The second had been assigned to Paul Powless, also a member of the Lower Mohawks. In order to placate Cotter and those who sided with him (the Upper Mohawks), it may be that the Chiefs decided to elevate Cotter's personal name to the chiefly rolls and place him alongside Astawenserontha (as seen on the 1815 George Martin list of Chiefs). If this is correct, then until circa 1814 Tahanata / Tahatonne was not a chiefly name, it was simply the name of an Upper Mohawk who was raised up as a chief in order to defuse a potentially serious political crisis. Hence it is likely that there is no “history to” the name prior to Cotter. If so, it seems to have been a futile gesture by the Chiefs since Cotter and family gave up everything a few years after his installation to move to the Detroit area and become Wyandot.

Abraham Kennedy Smith of Brantford petitioned in 1843 to have lands he purchased from Cotter confirmed. On 13 April 1817 Smith paid Margaret Cotter, mother of Chief

Francis Cotter and Nicholas Cotter, Mohawks, for lands near Brantford owned by the family. The chiefs in council validated the sale on 12 May 1817, but none of the Cotters were then present (standard in land transactions of this nature), suggesting that they had moved away in April 1817 (Indian Affairs, RG10 Series, Vol. 120, 8 November 1843, p. 4834). An Indian Department document specifically stated that sometime before 27 November 1818, Francis Cotter had “gone to Detroit” (Indian Affairs, RG10 Series, Vol. 790, p. 7048). He settled among the Wyandots (Hurons) at Amherstberg, Anderdon Township, Ontario where his son Nicholas was baptized in 1822. Family records give the name of the wife of Francis Cotter as Catherine Brown, a Wyandot of the Turtle Clan. His first son Francis Jr. was said to have been born in 1813 in “Toronto” (which to the Oklahoma informant may have been a generic statement for “Canada”). However the 1843 Wyandot rolls of those moving to Kansas shows Francis Cotter Jr. to be under age 25, so likely born in Anderdon Township. The Cotters were also involved in one way or another with the Wyandot Upper Sandusky settlement (for example Francis was a member of a six man firing squad who executed a convicted murderer in that community); and perhaps the Honey Creek Mohawk settlement at Sandusky, noted earlier, which was established between about 1815 and 1817, associated with both the Senecas and Wyandots (Sturtevant, 1978), as well as his relatives the Brants. All of these were in the Detroit area.

It is clearly established that in 1836 all of the Cotter family were residents of Amherstburg when on 23 September 1836 “F. Cotter” signed a deed which alienated the north and south thirds of the Anderdon Reserve. On 26 September 1836 a group of seven “Warriors” of the Wyandot, not present during the first signing, which included Anthony Cotter, Nicholas Cotter and Francis Cotter, signified their approval of the deal (these and similar documents are found on the Wyandotte-nation.org website).

It may be instructive to look for a reason as to why the Cotter family were able to transfer their allegiance from the Mohawks to the Wyandot so quickly. One could infer that Francis Cotter, although at one time an Upper Mohawk chief, had an ancestral connection to the Wyandot. It is possible that his mother, as was the case with many Mohawks in the mid to late 18th Century, spent her early years in the “Old Northwest”. We will see that the proposed father of Margaret, the mother of Francis Cotter, was an ambassador to the Huron / Wyandot of the Detroit and Sandusky areas.

There is no evidence that Francis Cotter Sr. was ever a chief of the Wyandot. In effect he gave up a role as a principal chief of the Six Nations to become a “rank and file” member of the Wyandot. He and his family joined the majority of Wyandot, and migrated to Kansas in July 1843 with many of their fellow tribal members from Upper Sandusky, settling on the Wyandotte Purchase in Kansas where Cotter died 29 September 1852 (William Walker Jr. Diary).

As noted above, doubtless upon departure from the Grand River (or perhaps before) Cotter would have been “dehorned” (a form of impeachment), or he voluntarily turned in his wampum credentials - his chiefship removed and given to an available candidate from within the matrilineal family. Most likely it was due to his removal to the Detroit area to

join the Wyandots that resulted in Cotter's loss of his Mohawk sachemship. He was clearly frustrated by the factionalism among the Mohawk, and opted for a refuge elsewhere. The obituary informants said that the reason for Nelles' assuming the Tahatonne / Tahanata title was due to the "death of the old chief", clearly an error, but understandable since this was the reason for a new chief to be installed in the vast majority of instances.

Exploring the apparent Mohawk – Wyandot link via the title Tahatonne / Tahanata may be productive. Although perhaps pushing the data, it is noteworthy that one of members of the tribes of the Huron – Wyandot Confederacy was the Tahonteanrat (phonetically somewhat similar to Tahanata) who were adopted by the Seneca in 1651, and came to reside in their own village among the Seneca. Apparently Tahonteanrat means “white eared people” or “deer people” (see any of the works of Trigger, Heidenreich or Warrick in this and any other matter pertaining to the Huron). It is also of some interest that by 1750 the Wyandot had three clan groups, the Turtle, Deer and Wolf. The Deer (note above re “Deer people”) included the Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine and Snake clans. At this time there was a council of chiefs from each clan chosen by clan mothers as with the Six Nations. However an individual was elected from among this group as head chief, and by custom was from Bear clan, but later the Deer clan due to a lack of suitable candidates (Powell, 1880). If this tradition was still active in 1815, perhaps Francis Cotter of the Bear clan was elected to represent the Wyandot faction at Six Nations, as over the years (particularly the late 1650s), the Iroquois had taken Wyandot (Huron) captives and had “adopted” these as Mohawks.

In looking at the record of chiefs at Detroit (Amherstburg), there are Wyandot names that could well be equivalent to Tahatonne / Tahanata, based on the assumption that it may have introgressed into the Mohawk sachem group via Huron captives. For example in 1757 Tahaddy a Wyandot chief who met with Sir William Johnson; 1780 Dawaton (the Sastaretsi); 1782 Dewatonte or Dawatong (the Sastaretsi or second head chief) – these all being from the Detroit area (Busar, 2007). The Chief Tehaawtores who signed a Treaty in 1789 has a name remarkably similar to the much later spelling of the name of Ray Fadden - Tehanetorens. Similarly in 1805 we find “Tahunehawettee or Adam Brown”. Unfortunately translations of these names are not available. Thus, in relation to the two matrilineally inherited Mohawk Bear Clan associated names which are linked with the Hill, Cotter, and Young – Nelles families:

Astawenserontha = “(He Enters) Wearing Rattles” (Mohawk League sachem name).

Tahatonne / Tahanata = “(He is Going) Between the Pine Trees” (Mohawk name tied to the above but with an as yet unspecified connection to the Wyandot).

Warner Henry Nelles was born 2 May 1799 so if the Cotters left in April of 1817, and he was installed soon thereafter, Nelles would indeed have been age 17 precisely as the obituary reported. This fact adds external validation to the content of the Nelles obituary.

Hence in April 1817 either Margaret Cotter, and/or other Clan Matrons, or Elizabeth (Young) Nelles, selected a member of the Astawenserontha Bear Clan with “Beaver Tribe” connections (see below) to fill the vacancy. The candidate picked was the second born son of Elizabeth (Young) Nelles, Warner H. Nelles. There is little to suggest that the individual chosen to be a sachem had to be the eldest son. This was true in the case of Seth Hill, but his uncle David Hill was the youngest son.

The Identity of the Beaver Tribe: There are various census lists of the tribes along the Grand River from 1784 to the 1860s (e.g., Johnston, 1964). None include a specifically denoted “Beaver Tribe”. Perhaps the “Beaver Tribe” was an extended family group such those recorded 27 March 1819 (Claus Papers, MG19, F1, Vol. 21, pt.2, p.86) including “Peg Symington Canada” (Lower Mohawks) and the “St. Regis Family” (St. Regis or Akwesasne Mohawk Reserve also comprised of Abenaki and Onondaga). However it is noteworthy that in this document, contemporary with the installation of Nelles, there was no group denominated specifically as “the Beavers” or the “Beaver Tribe”. It is important to note that the terms tribe and clan were generally interchangeable. Typically in the 19th Century and earlier “Tribe” meant what is today termed “Clan”. Today there are only three Mohawk clans / tribes (Turtle, Wolf and Bear). The question is whether there was ever a Beaver tribe / clan grouping among the Mohawks, specifically the Upper Mohawks. Clearly Cotter’s and thus Nelles’ maternal Tribe / Clan was Bear (Astawenserontha), Lower Mohawk according to Seth Newhouse as noted earlier, and the same family grouping as per the Patrick Campbell Diary (1792) also referred to previously, but they may have represented a group with a link in common to a “tribe” known as the “Beavers”.

Documents signed in the Mohawk Valley in the 18th Century show that in addition to the “big three” among the Mohawk, there were, *several sub – tribes, as the Beaver, the Elk, the Serpent, the Porcupine, and the Fox, as shown by deeds of record, of which the most frequently met is that of the Beaver* (Proceedings of the New York State Historical Society, 1906). In the previous century, a Dutch map of 1614 showed 8 Mohawk villages, and 100 years later there are only three (Snow et al., 1996). In 1634, at a time of great upheavals due to the epidemics, the original 8 had collapsed to 4 settlements. In 1634 Schanatisse had 32 longhouses. This village was situated on a “very high hill” west of Canahoharie Creek. *It is supposed to have been the castle of the Beaver tribe – a sub – gens* (Ibid). The location fits with the Allen archaeological site, west of modern Canajoharie, and about 2 miles inland (see Snow et al., 1996). However, by the time of Greenhalgh’s visit in 1677, Schanatisse was not recorded. The researchers at the Three Rivers website noted that, *Shanatisse, the Castle of the Beaver Tribe, who apparently joined the Bear Tribe upon the destruction of their Castle.* During the attack by the French 16 February 1693 the three villages on the north side of the River, Caughnawaga, Canagora, and Tionontegen were burned. *A castle on the south side of the Mohawk, said to have been two miles inland, escaped. Presumably it was the village of the Beaver family, but we have nothing further concerning it* (Ibid). The Bear Tribe is associated with Canagora (Canajoharie), or the western (Upper) Castle. Here, if this is correct, the

Bear and Beaver merged about 1666, but the Beavers retained some degree of autonomy in the 18th Century, and the Nelles obituary would suggest, perhaps, into the 19th Century.

Beauchamp, in discussing the aboriginal use of wood in New York, described an artifact, showing a Bear on a wampum *belt which he holds in his paws to avenge the death of some one and he is conferring about it with his brother, the Beaver*. He further noted that a, *Council of War between the tribe of the Bear and that of the Beaver, they are brothers* (Figure 78).

Although Huron / Wyandot captives were being brought to the country of the Six Nations over an extended period, there was one event which had perhaps the most profound effect and may relate directly to the story here. In 1657 the Mohawks “convinced” an entire tribe of Hurons residing on L’Isle d’Orleans near Quebec City to come and live in Mohawk country. The Bear Tribe (Attignawantan) of the Huron / Wyandot, the once most powerful tribal unit, chose to become Mohawk. The Rock Tribe opted to join countrymen among the Onondaga. The Cord Tribe remained with the French to take their chances among the French. As noted earlier, the Deer Tribe joined the Seneca in 1651. The Bear Tribe comprised initially a fourth village among the three already settled by Mohawks (and likely many Huron / Wyandot captives). Apparently these groups may include those who fit into the Young family saga. It was reported that in the 1660s that two thirds of the Caughnawaga Castle along the Mohawk River was comprised of Huron / Wyandot and Algonquin immigrants or captives (see Snow et al., 1996). The record clearly indicates continuing contacts between all Huron – Wyandot descendants. Some Huron / Wyandot, who had joined the Onondagas (Rock Tribe etc.), later lived among the Mohawk in Canada (e.g., Kanawaki; St. Regis - Akwesasne) and some later came to the Mohawk Valley communities, which were clearly a hodge podge, a complex mixture of ethnicities and clans.

What is interesting and likely relevant here is that the Huron / Wyandot adopted the beaver as their national symbol. Sioui (1999) stated, *It is not unrealistic to say that in both their physical organization and social vision, the Wendats were naturally inclined to take the beaver as their model. This animal was their political emblem* (pp. 93-4). Since at least the days of the early French missions, the Wyandots considered the beaver to represent many concrete and abstract elements of Wyandot life, including the beaver lodge symbolically representing the Wyandot village (Sioui, 1999, p.94). Although they self – identified as the Nation of the Beaver, it does not appear that many if any other nations used that term in reference to Wyandots.

It is the opinion of the present author that the beaver was, considering Sioui’s information, the symbol of the Wyandot and their descendants among the Six Nations – at least among the Mohawk, probably because it was the numerically largest clan.

At the individual level, in the many hundreds of documents the present author has explored relating to the Mohawks, after about 1750 only Nicholas Brant Canadiorha (Captain Joseph Brant’s step – brother) was clearly listed on a deed as “of the Beaver” (Halsey, 1901, p. 158; Lyman Draper Manuscripts). At that time it appears that all

Mohawks were, at least at the official level, integrated into either the Turtle, Wolf or Bear Clans. Although Nicholas may have been born of the Beaver Clan probably originally among the Wyandot descendants, he was affiliated with the Mohawk Bear Clan (e.g., being on a list of Bear Clan members who accompanied Sir William Johnson to Montreal in 1760). His father Brant Canagaradunkwa was of the Bear Clan (Minutes of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, Vol. 6, 9 July 1754, p. 128), as was Nicholas' wife Margaret (as noted below). It would have been unacceptable for his father to marry someone of the Bear Clan; or for Nicholas himself to marry a woman of the Bear Clan if in fact he was born to the Bear Clan (clan exogamy being expected and the practice almost always followed). There were only three official clans, and linking up with the father's clan was probably acceptable under these circumstances (e.g., war parties). Sievertsen (1996) provides examples where sons not only became associated with their father's clan, but also assumed his Mohawk name. Nicholas was born circa 1727, at a time when the Beaver Clan was still formally recognized, particularly at Canajoharie.

As noted above, in a document of 1760, "Nicolas Brant" was described as "of the Beaver". Two documents indicate that this connection was probably to the Huron / Wyandot. On 21 May 1765, John Campbell wrote to Sir William Johnson from Detroit stating that, *Two days ago Nicolas a Mohawk, a Wyandot of Sanduskey, and two Canada Indians came in to me in company with four Chiefs of the Hurons of this place* (JP, Vol. 11, p. 744). On 8 June 1766, the Mohawks showed Sir William Johnson, *the Belts they intended to send to the Huron Nation by one of their Chiefs going that way, namely, Nickus alias Kanadyora* (JP, Vol. 12, p. 122). Hence it would appear that Nicholas Brant was an ambassador to the Huron / Wyandot, doubtless spoke their language, and may have had some unspecified connection with the Huron / Wyandots of Sandusky Ohio, and Detroit (which includes Amherstburg, Anderdon, Ontario).

One interpretation here is that the Cotter - Nelles sachemship may have encompassed a group of Mohawk families all of whom were descendants of Brant Canagaradunkwa's family (or related Huron / Wyandots), where all three of his (Brant Canagaradunkwa's) wives appear to have had Wyandot links. His first wife (who was the mother of Nicholas), Catharine Tagganakwari, was of a clan not included among the three Mohawk clans which points to her likely having been Wyandot / Huron, particularly with reference to the comments to follow relating to the ancestry of the Brants. His second wife, Christina of the Turtle Clan, was the daughter of Taquayanont, a sachem of the Serpent Clan from Canada (Caughnawaga) residing at Wilden Hook in the Schoharie settlement; and whose family played an important role in Colonial politics as friends of Conrad Weiser. The third spouse was Margaret, the mother of Joseph Brant and Molly Brant, who was supposed to be a descendant of Huron captives, adopted into the Mohawks, on both sides of the family, and who had relatives in Caughnawaga, Canada and among the Cayugas (Kelsay, 1986) - Joseph and his sister Molly adopted their step-father's name. Informants on the Six Nations Reserve have told the author that there are still to this day families on the Reserve who recognize their connection to the Wyandot.

Nicholas Brant's Native name was Canadiorha. To complicate matters, the name among the Mohawk appears to be linked also to the Onondaga. In Evert Wendell's account book

(Waterman, 2008) there is an entry of 1698 for an “Onondaga boy”, Kanaedeijorhae. The translator of Mohawk names (Gunther Michelson) knew of Canadiorha in later records as a Mohawk, but he concluded that the name should be classified as Onondaga (see note 269). Nicholas was perhaps a descendant of Huron / Wyandot ancestors perhaps adopted into the Onondaga. This Onondaga boy appears on the Mohawk page, folio 18, page 36. The editor believes that Wendell was in Mohawk country when he made this entry in 1698. If born about 1685 he may have been a brother to Brant Canagaradunkwa’s wife Catharine in the maternal line, and she later named a son after her brother. Catharine’s mother Maria was one of the most frequently appearing individuals in Wendell’s accounts. Both she and her husband Asa Onasiatexha had many entries including lengthy transactions related to their joint and separate trade missions to Canada. It should be noted, however, that there was a Jacob Canadiorha, an Oneida, residing in the Susquehanna River area (Onaquaga). Hence, many Six Nations names have a similar or even exact equivalent among other Iroquoian speaking Nations.

John Norton reported in his diary that Joseph Brant's ancestors on both the mother and father's side were Wyandot (Huron) captives adopted by the Mohawk. Joseph, although a step – son of Brant Canagaradunkwa, adopted Brant’s first name as a surname. The Onondaga adopted many Huron after the raids of the 1640s, as did the Mohawk. Joseph Brant's son Joseph also reported to William Allen that his father's step - father was a chief who was denominated an Onondaga Indian (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. V, “Thanendanegea”). Both Canagaradunkwa (the Indian name of Joseph Brant’s step – father) and Canadiorha appear to have disappeared with the deaths of Brant and Nicholas, despite the prominence of both individuals, possibly because both were Wyandot in origin.

In exploring the Wyandot – Onondaga – Mohawk connection, the following observations may or may not be relevant. Among the Onondaga the head chief is Atotarho. Also sachems, but linked as “cousins” and holding a special relationship to Atotarho, are Enneserarenh and Dehatkahthos or Tchatkatons of the Beaver Clan (Hale, 1881). The first “cousin” has a name that resembles the Mohawk Astawenserontha; and the second “cousin” is phonetically similar to Tahatonne / Tahanata. This “cousin” relationship being somewhat similar to the relationship between the Mohawk titles being highlighted by the bracket used by George Martin to join them (in 1815).

Nicholas Brant Canadiorha (son of Brant Canagaradunkwa and step – brother to Joseph Brant) had ties at Schoharie (a very multicultural Mohawk settlement led by those from Caughnawaga and likely Huron, as well as Oneidas, River Indians, Tuscaroras, and particularly those from Onaquaga on the Susquehanna River). Here he had one of his children baptised in 1758, and was also a sponsor for a child of his sister Rosina, wife of Aront in the same year, it being noted in the record that Nicholas and Margaret were from Canajoharie (Sievertsen, 1996).

Ultimately the “Beaver Tribe” likely represented a very powerful sub - group among the Mohawk Bear Clan, and may have attained considerable status in the new community – but not forgetting their roots, nor severing their connections to the homeland in Canada,

or their distant kin among the Wyandot. Since they were fully adopted Mohawks (and there being relatively few “true” Mohawks), the Huron Bear Tribe may have furnished the lineage for the Astawenserontha sachemship, as well as the closely associated Tahatonne / Tahanata sachemship which is outside the original Mohawk three from the days of the founding of the League (the Five Nations Confederacy) and may have Wyandot - Onondaga roots. Among the Huron / Wyandot, over the course of time, the Bear phratry (Bear and Deer clans) was linked to the Turtle phratry (Turtle and Beaver clans) via the division into moieties (halves). These terms roughly meaning “side” used by anthropologists to signal divisions or groupings between clans each of which had reciprocal duties (e.g., to condole members of the other “side”). Hence the Bear and Beaver clans were associated from early days (Sioui, 1999, p.115).

There is, however, no evidence that the Hill family were Wyandot descendants – but by virtue of the number of Huron among the Mohawks in the 17th Century, this has to be considered a distinct possibility. Their being of the Bear Clan makes it impossible to differentiate Mohawk Bear and Wyandot Bear – at some point they became one. One interesting observation, although somewhat late in time (1890s), which is that one of the Tuscarora Sachems was “Karinyentye” of the Beaver (Chadwick, 1897). This appears to be the same name as Karonghyontye in Mohawk (David Hill’s personal name from the Bear Clan).

To this point there are strong suggestions that the father of Catharine Young (first wife of Lt. John Young), and presumably the father of Isaac Brant (Joseph Brant’s step-nephew) and Paulus Shagoyadiyostha, may have been Nicholas Brant Canadiorha of Wyandot - Beaver ancestry, or a close relative; which would serve to account for the statement in the Nelles obituary. The question now is whether Nicholas’ wife Margaret can be shown to have been a member of the Bear Clan Astawenserontha Hill family, and of course whether they had a daughter named Catharine born about 1747.

It stands to reason that John Young would marry into an acculturated and prominent family (marriage was transacted as a way to economic or political advancement) of Canajoharie. None in that vicinity meets the criteria better than the Brant family of Canajoharie (Upper Mohawk Castle), and further afield the Hill family of Tiononderoge (Lower Mohawk Castle). In the 1789 deed of sale for Ft. Hunter, Captain Joseph Brant signed to represent the Canajoharie Mohawks and Captain David Hill (noted in the 1792 Campbell Diary) did the same for the Ft. Hunter Mohawks.

At the time of his marriage to Catharine circa 1765, John Young, later lieutenant of the Six Nation Indian Department, resided at Canajoharie on property owned by his father Adam on the Van Horne Tract among the Mohawk settlements between Ft. Hendrick opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek, and the most westerly cluster at Indian Castle. However it is important to note that proximity was one of the major determining factors in selecting a marriage partner. It was most typical to marry neighbors, generally close ones at that – certainly among the Palatine Germans of the Mohawk Valley (Jones, 1986). Young resided among the Canajoharie Mohawks at the Upper Castle. It was 36 miles to the Ft. Hunter Lower Castle. While finding a marriage partner who was residing in the

latter location was certainly possible, it was somewhat improbable – although the previously noted pre-Revolution association between the Young family and the Ft. Hunter Mohawks, likely the Hill family, needs to be explained.

The above suggests that it was very likely that Catharine was also residing at Canajoharie in the 1760s. It is interesting and perhaps noteworthy that on 14 September 1765, the year before the birth of Young's first child, Sir William Johnson (via John Butler) gave *1 gallon of Rum & a Cagg to Cattreen the Squa* (JP, Vol. 13, p.511). This gift was generally for a wedding celebration, and such a gift would only be to a high - ranking woman (and/or a relative of his consort/wife Molly Brant, sister of Joseph Brant).

It was the acculturated Mohawks who tended to be scrupulous about ensuring that each child was baptized (whether the event would be recorded by the minister is another matter), and tended to accept or encourage their children's marriages to prominent White men – the Brants and Hills being the most sterling example of this tendency in the Mohawk Valley and in the early days along the Grand River. An unnamed daughter of Brant Canagaradunckwa married Sir William Johnson and had two sons by him (noted in the will of Sir William), one of whom, Lt. Brant Johnson, married a white woman. Joseph Brant's sister Molly Brant also married Sir William Johnson. Esther Hill married Epaph. Lord Phelps, and Mary Hill married William Kennedy Smith (see Faux, 2002).

There was a small handful of Mohawks named Catharine baptized between 1744 and 1749 (the target year range based on Catharine's age in the Census of Niagara of 1783, which indicates that she was born circa 1747). However there is generally a "problem" in an attempt to link any to the matter here under discussion. The only recorded Mohawk baptism of a Catharine in 1747 occurred 3 June at the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church. She was born to Nicus Brant and Margaretje, with the former's father Brant (Canagaradunckwa) and step - mother Christina as sponsors. [Click here](#) to see the baptismal record. Unfortunately only a brother Lawrence (baptized 1754 Ft. Hunter) and a sister Susanna (baptized 1758 Schoharie) are documented in the church registers. There were likely more (perhaps many more) children, probably baptized by Reverend Ehle - but he left no existing written records of his ministerial duties.

As to Isaac Brant and Paulus Shagoyadiyostha, they were likely two of the unrecorded children of Nicholas Brant. There is an Isaac who signed on the Ft. Hunter deed of 1789 (illegible Native name), and an Isaac Dehonw (rest missing) on the 1789 Canajoharie deed. They appear to have successively inherited the title of Karonghyontye from Captain David Hill. Isaac used the Brant surname (or more correctly, his children did) and was noted on multiple occasions as Joseph Brant's nephew and Paulus clearly had an Astawerserontha name, and was an Upper Mohawk from Canajoharie. Thus both conform to the individuals found in the description of the brother of the wife of Lt. John Young in 1792 as seen in the Campbell Diary, as well as subsequent information that fits key requirements. Concerning Paulus, what may be important to note is that the present author, based on circumstantial evidence, prior to realizing that Paulus had inherited the Karonghyontye title, had already included him among the children of Nicholas Brant. It is probable that Nicholas named a child after someone who appears to have been his best

friend. For example in 1763 Paulus Petersen and Nicolaes Brandt wrote a joint letter to Sir William Johnson stating that George Klock had threatened to kill Brant, the father of Nicholas. A similar letter on 6 March 1766 was also written by “Nicklass” and Paulus (JP, Vol. 5, pp. 57-58).

Nicholas / Nicus / Nickus etc. was the step – brother of Captain Joseph Brant Thayendinagea. Joseph was the head Upper Mohawk chief during the Revolution, Captain in the Six Nations Indian Department, a friend and colleague of John Young, and approved the grant of land on the Reserve for Young in 1787. Their friendship is reflected, for example, in the fact that John Young named his youngest son Joseph (born 1782), and Joseph Brant witnessed the sale of John’s Loyalist land grant at the Head of the Lake to Richard Beasley in 1803.

In summary, Nickus (Nicholas etc. Canadiorha) was of the “Beaver Tribe” (Mohawk, but originally Wyandot) which could be the connection noted in the Nelles obituary (via the large extended Beaver Tribe family members among the Upper Mohawks whose representative among the Principal Chiefs was Tahatonne / Tahanata of the Bear Clan).

Oral History Evidence

Almost a year after this manuscript was presented to the family members present at the Young Reunion in July 2009, Tom Nelson was going through some old correspondence to find information on some of his Hines ancestors (who have no known link with the Wyandots). He found a reference from 2002 that, while meaning nothing to him at the time, takes on some significance in light of the present study concerning the Wyandot connection. An elderly distant relative in Fulton, New York named Bill Hines recalled, *Also my father says his father or great grandfather was chief of the winedot tribe in canada.* He further said, without any prompting, that ultimately these “winedot”, *moved to the west to where the Apaches or Cherokees lived.* The recollection does not have any tie to the Hines family, so Tom believes that, *This is an example of family history being passed between relations and then getting distorted as applying to one family line, when it was another. This would have been a reference to the Six Nations ancestry in the YOUNG family through Celestia having married Charles Harrison HINES who was a first cousin of Bill’s father.* Further that, *This has to be in reference to Warner NELLES being made a Chief of the Beavers (which was of Wyandot origin) – (tom Nelson, personal communication, 23 March 2010).*

Tahatonne / Tahanata – Astawenserontha Bear Tribe / Clan: As noted earlier, there was an individual Johannes (John) Tehanaghra, associated with the Canajoharie Bear Tribe, who accompanied Sir William Johnson to Montreal in 1760. The name is possibly identical to Tahanata. As noted previously, Nicholas Brant Canadiorha joined his brother Thomas Ganaghsadirho (head village chief of Ft. Hunter) among the Mohawks of Ft. Hunter in the above expedition to Montreal, although in 1760 the former was residing at Canajoharie. It is possible that all of these names are of the Beaver Tribe, affiliated with the Bear Tribe. In other documents found in the Sir William Johnson Papers, Nicholas and Thomas both used the surname Brant from time to time (but not consistently). In the

Fonda Account records for 1761, there is a Canajoharie Mohawk named Johny Brant. It is possible that this individual was Tehanaghra from the document dated one year earlier. Hence he could have been a brother to Nicholas and Thomas, and so John Brant Tehanaghra / Tahanata, of the Beaver Tribe, affiliated with the Bear Tribe – but which Bear Clan / Tribe family?

If John Young married the above Catharine then, based on the status of her grandson Warner Henry Nelles, it is evident that Catharine's mother Margaret, the wife of Nickus Brant Canadiorha, must have been of the Astawenserontha Bear Tribe / Clan lineage.

In the Johnson Papers there is an entry written 14 August 1761 in Johnson's "Detroit Journal", stating that Nickus the Mohawk, with his party encamped here last night. He told me he expected White Hame [White Hans, Johannes Crine], his uncle, would be up with us in a day or two (JP, Vol. 13, p. 240). Johannes Crine (aka "White Hans") was baptized 28 January 1722 to Kryn (Crine) and Anna at the Albany Reformed Dutch Church. Nickus Brant Canadiorha's mother was Catharine (wife of Brant Canadaradunckwa). The above-mentioned Crine Anaquendahonji and Anna had a daughter Catharine who was on 21 June 1712 at the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church. The birthdate of this Catharine must have been about 1711. Since the first child of Brant Canadaradunckwa and Catharine was baptized 12 February 1721, she was clearly not the mother of Brant Canadiorha.

The Native name of Catharine, wife of Brant Canadaradunckwa, was Tagganakwari (Sievertsen, 1996). A child named Catherine Tejoqueetsjveni was baptized 4 July 1703 at Albany to Asa (Onasiadikha) and Maria. The later is a reasonable phonetic equivalent of the former (taking into consideration probable spelling errors) of the name recorded later. Asa was a sachem of Canajoharie in 1713 (DRCHNY, Vol. 5, p.372). So if White Hans was not the biological uncle to Nicholas Canadiorha in the maternal lineage, it can be asked whether the informant meant the paternal lineage of Nicholas. The lineage of his father Brant is known, his mother being Marie Senehanawith from Canada; not the Crine family of Anna Hazeankahha and Kryn Anequendahonji, who in the long list of baptized children did not have a son named Brant, nor any circumstantial evidence to suggest such a link. This then leaves one option.

A thorough exploration of the genealogy shows that the correct information must be that **White Hans Crine was the uncle of Nicholas' wife Margaret**, and hence she was the daughter of Aaron Oseraghete Hill and Margaret Crine (and thus a sister of David Hill Karonghyontye, Captain Aaron Hill Kanonraron, and Mary Hill Katehriunigh). The clerk may have missed the subtleties – as the recording of accurate genealogical relationships of Mohawks was not typical except by traders when money was involved. No other interpretation remotely fits. Captain Aaron Hill Kanonraron (brother of Captain David Hill) stated, in his own words, that White Hans was his uncle. Thus, in this case Aaron Jr.'s mother was the elder Margaret, daughter of Kryn Anequendahonji and Anna, and the sister of Johannes Crine (White Hans) (Sievertsen, 1996).

Hence, Margaret Brant and Mary Hill Katehriunigh were likely sisters. This would also explain why Lt. John Young's uncles were residing in homes owned by the Ft. Hunter Mohawks on the Mohawk Flats in 1780 – if whites were going to occupy the homes the occupants had deserted to fight for the British, it was better to seek tenants among those who had a family connection. It enhances the likelihood that Margaret “the younger” was Kayadontyi (i.e., the “peggy young” from the 1789 Ft. Hunter deed). After the death of her husband in 1768, it would make sense that she would have returned to her birthplace and the home of all her siblings, the Mohawk Flats at Ft. Hunter, and so would have been a signor to the 1789 Ft. Hunter deed.

All of the children of this family were members of the Astawenserontha Bear Clan. Using this scenario, Nicholas Brant Canadiohra's wife was Margaret Hill whose youngest brother was Captain David Hill Karonghyontye / Astawenserontha who had the latter title until 1790, and her nephew Seth Hill Kanenkaregowa was raised up as Astawenserontha in 1791 and became Captain Seth Hill Astawenserontha (Patrick Campbell Diary, 1792; papers in the RG10, Indian Affairs Series and the MG19, Claus Papers).

If, as intimated above, John Young was related to both the Brants and the Hills via his wife, a reasonable question is whether there is evidence of a continuing affiliation with these families along the Grand River. The fact that Joseph Brant was a witness to the sale of John Young's Loyalist grant at the Head of the Lake has already been noted. Furthermore, the youngest son of Joseph Brant, John Brant, was elected to the House of Assembly in 1832, *with the support of settlers on the Six Nations' lands, especially Warner Nelles, an election official* (Herring, 1998, p.57). Furthermore on 17 September 1791 in the William Nelles Account Book there is an entry, *Aaron Hill Capt David Son to Wm Nelles.* This debt was discharged by John Young at an unspecified date (Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room).

In summary:

- 1) The Beaver Tribe / Clan comes from the Wyandot “branch” of the Upper Mohawks, from the descendants of the wife (Catharine) of Brant Canagaradunckwa, the mother of Nicholas Brant Canadiorha. The name Tahanata may have been that of John, the brother of Nicholas.
- 2) The Mohawk Bear Tribe / Clan Astawenserontha – Tahatonne / Tahanata link is via Nicholas Brant's wife Margaret Hill. This interpretation appears to be consistent with the weight of evidence.

The tie is via Mary and Margaret, both head women of the Astawenserontha Bear Tribe / Clan, apparent sisters, daughters of Aaron Hill Oseraghete and Margaret Crine (Green). Apparently Mary Hill (Lower Mohawk), wife of Johannes (son of Seth Sr.), was entitled to choose the Astawenserontha successor, and her (likely younger) sister Margaret Hill Brant (born Lower Mohawk but became Upper Mohawk), or her daughter, had the right to select a candidate to fill the associated Tahatonne / Tahanata Bear Tribe / Clan Upper Mohawk title. There may have been some political reasons for this split, relating to the

perception of a segment of the Mohawk community led by elements of the Astawenserontha family members linked to the Wyandot, that they were the victims of discrimination.

Since Margaret Hill Brant's eldest daughter Catharine Young (wife of Lt. John Young) had died (circa 1793), Catharine's proposed sister Margaret Cotter selected her son Francis to be installed with the Tahatonne/Tahanata sachemship. When Cotter was "dehorned" in 1817, or simply left to join the Wyandot, it is possible that as a parting gesture Margaret Cotter chose her grand nephew Warner H. Nelles as her son's successor (there being no evidence that she lost her status as Clan Matron). Otherwise the right to choose the successor of the Tahatonne/Tahanata sachemship may have gone directly to Margaret's niece, Catharine's daughter Elizabeth (Young) Nelles.

Beaver Tribe Scattered 1817 – 1896: The above obituary of Warner H. Nelles stated that to the time of his death he was still recognized as chief, but that the Beaver Tribe "is greatly scattered". It may be the large extended family of the Mohawk Beaver group, Upper Mohawks, descendants of Brant Canagaradunckwa (and Wyandot faction), for whom a special sachemship was created. Many of this family / group had chosen to settle at Sandusky prior to the raising up of Cotter. When Nelles was installed, the diminishing number of remaining members of the Beaver Tribe moved to Amherstburg near Detroit in Ontario, as well as Upper Sandusky, and Honey Creek in Ohio. All of these were Wyandot and Seneca – Mohawk settlements. Most eventually moved west to allotments in Kansas and Oklahoma. As an example, his mother's cousins, Thomas Brant and siblings, were already residing in the Sandusky area before Warner H. Nelles was installed.

Others were to follow scattering throughout the succeeding years. Documented surnames of Mohawks residing in the Sandusky – Detroit area include Cotter, Brant, Battise, Garlow and Bumberry, names (with the exception of Cotter) still known also at Six Nations. The origin of the David Young among the Wyandot is unknown. In a list of Upper Mohawk property holders at the Grand River, 3 January 1843, there was a notation beside the name David Froman, "Sandusky" (RG10, Vol. 140, p.170338). David Froman was residing among the Wyandot at Wyandotte, Kansas on 14 June 1844 (Miller, 1881). So indeed, the word "scattered" would seem to apply.

The present author is well aware that the above linkage involves some speculation, but there simply does not seem to be any other way to explain all of the available data – no further documentation is expected since the author has exhausted most or all of the available sources.

The Installation Procedure: To close with reference to the last clause in the Nelles obituary, it is perhaps noteworthy that the obituary informants were entirely accurate in their reporting of the manner of installing a new chief among the Six Nations (further external validation). During what is termed the Condolence Ceremony, when the new chief is "raised up", the string or strings of wampum are used as a sacred emblem to "crown" the candidate chief, Warner H. Nelles, hence the Condoling Chiefs *threw over*

his head the wampum. In looking at the images of both David Hill (1776) and Paulus (1793) noted above, they are wearing wampum (most white, some purple), in their hair, cascading down from the top. Each has three strings, with the leather end being prominent in one string. Both wear this wampum on the right side of their head, with two strings in front of the ear. The design is virtually identical to # 57 *String containing a chief's name* (p.349) also with three strings (Beauchamp, 1901). The new chief keeps the wampum strings as *their certificate of office* (Tehanetorens, 1983, p.5) – and in the early days this seems to have meant actually wearing the wampum, as a badge, where it could be most readily seen and identified. It appears that David and Paulus wore the wampum strings on their head, at least during formal occasions – which would tangibly denote their chiefly status – representing the “horns of office”. The fact that the Chiefs placed the wampum over Nelles’ head during the installation ceremony fits well with the descriptions of his above maternal kin when presiding at official functions.

The fact that Nelles still had the wampum strings supports the idea that it was a sachemship for life, and that he was not “dehorned” by the Clan Matrons despite his apparent lack of participation, probably since it was not one of the ancient Bear Clan sachemships. This would explain why Tahatonne / Tahanata (or the surname Nelles) does not appear among any documents signed by the chiefs in Council – Nelles left the Grand River in the 1820s; nor does it occur among any of the Astawenserontha “Warriors Names” in the Seth Newhouse Manuscript. It appears to be in a class by itself, and was likely chosen from among Wyandot - related names associated with the Bear Tribe to be used for political reasons only at the time (circa 1814) when factionalism was tearing apart the fabric of Mohawk society at the Grand River. It did not seem to work as planned since, as noted above the first-known office holder, Francis Cotter, left the Six Nations of the Grand River to become a member of the Wyandot Nation; and many or most of the malcontents moved west over time to ultimately reside in the adjoining Seneca and Wyandot Reservations of the Quapaw Agency in Oklahoma. Furthermore the successor of the title Tahanata / Tahatonne, Warner H. Nelles, was also unable to carry out his duties due to his residential situation.

CONCLUSION:

Interpretation in Light of the Above Evidence - First it is important to note that the incompleteness of the record sources from the various communities of the Mohawk Valley and the Grand River Valley (e.g., baptismal and marriage registers), it has been necessary to rely on the material that retains a “fuzzy” quality and is at times open to more than one interpretation. Hence, as is true of much genealogical work, it is possible to derive a family tree which is likely correct – but it has to be admitted here that it may never be possible to put forward a completely definitive version of Catharine Young’s ancestry.

The major aim of the present study was to explore the evidence relating to the ancestry of Catharine, the mother of all four children of Lt. John Young – Abraham Young, John Young Jr., Elizabeth (Young) Nelles, and Joseph Young. Based on the preponderance of evidence, and on a balance of probabilities, **the mother of Lt. John Young’s children**

was Catharine (1747 – 1785), daughter of Nicholas Brant Canadiorha (a Mohawk sachem of the Wyandot Beaver Tribe / Clan) and Margaret Hill (Mohawk Bear Tribe / Clan, Astawenserontha family). Catharine was a first cousin in the maternal line to Margaret Hill Kayadontyi, who became the second wife to Lt. John Young.

It is important to note that Captain Joseph Brant Thayendenagea took the surname Brant from the given name of his step – father Brant Canagaradunckwa. He was the step – brother of Nicholas Brant Canadiorha, and **Catharine Young was Joseph Brant’s step – niece.** Therefore while there is a family connection between the families of John Young and Joseph Brant, it is not biological.

Also, the evidence suggests that Catharine was the first cousin of Lt. John Young’s second wife, Margaret Hill Kayadontyi. This observation is consistent with the high probability that when a wife died, if she was a Mohawk, the widower would tend to marry a member of the Owachira (maternal lineage) if a suitable individual was available. It appears that Margaret’s husband Paulus Sahnwadi died in 1786 so the timing was such that the Young and Powless families could be united by marriage as they were by kinship.

More Conservative Interpretation – If one were to be perfectly frank about the data, and put aside the natural tendency to want the fruits of one’s research to yield a detailed genealogy of distant ancestors, the following must be considered. There are “gaps” in the information stream that can be filled, but by sometimes something of a Procrustean fit. Hence, it is possible that the Kayadontyi peggy young who signed the 1789 Ft. Hunter deed was a second of three wives of John Young. Thus she could have been Margaret (baptized 1749) the sister of Seth Hill who inherited the Astawenserontha and Captain titles from his uncle David Hill. Since this entry in a deed is the only item of positive evidence, and since there is an alternative explanation, and since adding another wife stretches the law of parsimony, the hypothesis has been thoroughly considered and rejected – but in truth lingering doubts exist.

Hence if we were to look at only what can be said with relative certainty a more “bare bones” interpretation in relation to Catharine Young emerges:

- a) The surname of Catharine, first wife of John Young, is unknown.
- b) Catharine was, at least in the maternal line, of Six Nations Indian ancestry.
- c) Catharine was of the Mohawk Bear Clan, Astawenserontha family, linked to the Hill family formerly of Ft. Hunter. The evidence shows that a tie predates the Revolution and the death of Catharine.
- d) A Bear Clan chiefly title, Tahanata / Tahatonne, meaning (*He is Going Between the Pine Trees*), is associated with the family. It came to the Young – Nelles family in 1817 when Warner H. Nelles was raised up in this name by the Six Nations in Council.
- e) There is a relationship in the maternal line with the former holder of the title, Chief Francis Cotter of the Upper (Canajoharie) Mohawks who in 1817 joined the Wyandot of Anderdon Township. His father was a white

man, and his mother Margaret was listed in one document as a Lower (Ft. Hunter) Mohawk.

ADDENDUM:

The inherited title of Tahatonne / Tahanata remained in the Young – Nelles family until 1896 at which point it appears to have become extinct. One reason is that Nelles left the Grand River soon after assuming the title (although his father Warner Sr. was a frequent attendee at Six Nations Councils); another is that there would seem to have been few families in the Grand River area to comprise a cohesive unit for the Beaver “tribe”; and a further matter was that there was no one remaining in the female line of the Nelles or closely related families to assume the role of Clan Mother. So the name and title were effectively lost to the Six Nations virtually from the moment Nelles was raised up as Tahatonne / Tahanata.

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