

Catawba Indian Genealogy

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Editor's Note

Ian Watson's *Catawba Indian Genealogy* will prove to be a valued and precious contribution to Native American genealogical studies as well as to Catawba Indian anthropology and history. It helps restore to our knowledge of the Catawba the faces and the families—the real people—who carried on the Catawba world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through his genealogical work, the received picture of a generic, dwindling, remnant Catawba “tribe” is transformed to actual people - persons in specific places and times, living Catawba lives in specific ways.

This work had its beginnings in highly skilled and competent genealogical research assistance which Mr. Watson provided for Catawba research of mine. It grew into his own, independent research and scholarly contribution, which the Geneseo Foundation and the Anthropology Department at SUNY Geneseo are pleased to publish in this volume.

Mr. Watson is a graduate of Harvard University, with a B.A. degree in Scandinavian linguistics. He has written and edited travel guidebooks to a number of European countries and has most recently worked in international Internet development.

Russell A. Judkins
Series Editor

Foreword

When Ian Watson contacted me ten years ago to discuss his work on Catawba genealogy, I must confess that I was skeptical. Having studied the Catawba records myself, I doubted that anyone could penetrate the thicket of tantalizing but scattered and difficult sources on Catawba life in order to reconstruct family histories. Then, when I learned that Mr. Watson was just sixteen and that he planned to do the genealogy in a single summer, my skepticism only grew.

The results of his work, presented here in revised and somewhat expanded form, quickly laid my doubts to rest. *Catawba Indian Genealogy* is an impressive achievement. Piecing together fragmentary sources, Ian Watson has crafted a study that succeeds on several levels. Most obviously, it brings into the light hitherto shadowy Catawba family histories over the past two centuries. But then it goes beyond that painstaking task to consider what these family connections can reveal about marriage patterns, naming practices, and the uses of oral history. Meanwhile it generously (and correctly) points out that, for all of the ground covered here, many sources that will shed further light on the Catawba past remain unexploited by genealogists, an enticing prospect indeed. Nor is the success of this work restricted to Catawbas and their students. In addition, Watson's study stands as testimony that no group, however hidden from the more obvious forms of documentation, is truly hidden from a determined and imaginative researcher, a finding that will hearten those interested in other groups long thought to be lost or forgotten. Finally Watson raises the whole question of whether genealogical codes and techniques established for Euroamerican families can even be applied to American Indian peoples. Careful in its construction, ambitious in its scope, generous in its spirit, yet with a healthy skepticism about the difficulties inherent in applying alien customs of thought and behavior, *Catawba Indian Genealogy* makes a valuable addition to the efforts of scholars to listen for the voices of those historically kept silent.

James H. Merrell
Lucy Maynard Salmon Professor of History
Vassar College

Preface

This monograph was originally written in 1986. The previous year I had begun working for Russell Judkins, of the Department of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Geneseo, as a research assistant. From my own work on my family history I had become a skilled genealogist; Dr. Judkins needed help tracking the family lines of the Catawba Indians who migrated to New Mexico and Colorado in the late 1800s. I had great luck answering his questions with simple census searches. Inspired by this success, I conceived, applied for, and received a stipend from the Younger Scholars program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (grant FI-20730-86) to spend the summer of 1986 compiling a complete genealogy of the entire Catawba Indian tribe. This was the summer I was sixteen years old.

My research program involved a thorough trawl through secondary sources and census records, and then a trip south. In Columbia I worked at the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina and at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. In Rock Hill, I worked at the York County Library, the Winthrop College Library, and on the Reservation. In Washington, I worked at the National Archives and at the National Anthropological Archives in the Smithsonian Institution. I made a card index covering the entire tribe, and drew up preliminary genealogical charts of each family. The better part of July, August, and September I spent compiling and writing up the family sketches and commentary that appear in this volume. Unfortunately, I was only able to complete compiled genealogies for a little over half the families in the tribe. My final report, submitted in September, left out major families such as Ayres, Canty, George, Kegg, Mursh, Sanders, Scott, Timms, Watts, and White. Later that fall I was able to finish the Kegg and Sanders sketches, as well as partial sketches of the Canty and Mursh families. These are printed here for the first time.

What I wrote was well received, and for years afterward I hoped to return to the data and finish my work. I was frustrated by the fact that new source material on the tribe had surfaced after the summer of 1986, and to do it justice I would have had not only to write up the remaining families but to revise what I had already written—extensively and painstakingly. More importantly, I had no personal investment in Catawba genealogy, and no source of funding for any more research, and during college I gave up my interest in American social history in favor of Scandinavian linguistics. Finally, hand problems left me unable to type much, and reconciled me to acknowledging that I didn't want to complete the project and ought to find a home for my Catawba manuscripts. The South Caroliniana Library was eager to house my papers, while Russell Judkins suggested finally *publishing* what I *had* completed.

I hope that some young Catawba, as part of an academic project and with funding perhaps from the tribe, will be able to extend the work that I have done. A complete Catawba genealogy would be a satisfying and encompassable project, and there would be surprising joy and beauty in doing it. This comes particularly when masses of scattered personal data unexpectedly resolve themselves into clear continuous lives, relationships, and genealogical structures. There is then order out of chaos, and simplicity out of daunting complexity. It was wonderful to realize, for example, that Epp and Absalom Harris were the same person. More such insights await the next person to explore Catawba genealogy.

With that in mind, let me describe both the material I have placed at the South Caroliniana Library, and the major record sources which came to light after the summer of 1986.

The material that I have deposited at Caroliniana filled two copier-paper boxes in my basement, and consists of the following. A filing system, containing copies of most of the primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography. An extensive card index. The preliminary charts I made of each family before writing each sketch—these are under “Compilation Notes,” and the George family diagram is particularly good. A partial photocopy of the Plat Book, along with a useful index I made (in the “Lease Extracts” folder). Two research notebooks. Interview tapes. A disk copy of this monograph, which would be available to anyone who wants to undertake the continuation of this work.

The early Mormon records of the Catawbas are a goldmine of genealogical data. Many of the early record books are on LDS microfilm #0001985, which can be ordered at any branch LDS genealogical library. Baptisms started in the mid-1880s and naturally the data are most complete for people born after 1875 or so. But these records also give names, birthdates, parents’ names, and more for many Catawbas born in the 1860s, 1850s, and even earlier. This solves many mysteries, creates a few new ones, confirms many of the speculations about the Harris family (for example) which I reached only through tortuous logic, and brings light into certain obscurities surrounding the Georges and the daughters of John Mursh which had discouraged me from finishing a number of family sketches. I made convenient extracts from these records in 1987-88, which are filed under “LDS” in my papers. I managed to incorporate LDS records into the revised versions of the Blue and Stephens family sketches, which are printed here, and I have footnoted a few places in the Harris sketch which the LDS records illuminate. Otherwise this wonderful source remains unexploited.

No researcher should overlook the Bureau of Indian Affairs General Service File #8990-1908-052 at the National Archives. In it are dozens of letters concerning the Catawbas, many from people across the southern states and the Indian Territory claiming Catawba ancestry and obviously hoping for money out of it. Most of these claims probably have *some* kernel of truth to them and doubtless much could be learned about Catawba splinter groups (such as the Fort Smith association) through a careful analysis.

Similarly, more work could be done on the descendants of the Catawbas who joined the Choctaw Nation in 1853.

Thomas Blumer's exhaustive *Bibliography of the Catawba* (Methuen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1987) pointed up many obscure documents which mention Catawbas by name. A list of these documents, with the reference numbers assigned by Blumer, is also in my files (under "Blumer").

James Merrell's appealing book on the Catawbas, *The Indians new world: Catawbas and their neighbors from European contact through the era of removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), is full of insights and references which provide both context and clues for genealogical work on the tribe up to the mid-nineteenth century.

Let me emphasize that recent court proceedings have made further Catawba genealogical research more imperative than ever. In an age of cash settlements and casino proceeds, the question "Who is a Catawba?" has become crucial in a way it was not in 1985. I should like to point out that two uncertainties lurk inside this question. The less obvious of these surrounds the definition of the term *Catawba*. As many scholars have pointed out, "Catawba" had little meaning before it came to refer to a mixed group of southeastern Indians who aggregated in what is now York County, South Carolina in the first years of the eighteenth century. So, what group of Indians, at what point in history, comprises those people who were first *Catawba* and whose descendants can conceivably still be considered Catawba Indians? I recently spoke to someone who descends from an Indian family named Harris from Rockingham County, North Carolina—exactly the area where the Cheraws supposedly lived before joining the Catawba Nation (see the map on page 4 of James Merrell's recent book). If these Indians were some kind of Cheraws—and there is no proof, and probably never will be—were they *Catawba*? No, I think—but insofar as the notion "Cheraw" has no modern continuation except as part of the notion "Catawba," I do think twice. One can argue that even the "Catawba" of the early to mid-1700s were not really *Catawba* yet, especially because of lingering internal diversity, and thus that no one who cannot trace descent from the people listed in the Plat Book (1810-1827) could ever be considered part of the tribe.

If we could ever settle this issue, we could proceed to another: Which descendants of the Catawba are *still* Catawba? Are the descendants of the substantial percentage of Catawbas in the 1880s and 1890s who moved to Colorado still Catawba? (Almost certainly so.) The descendants of the Catawbas who joined the Choctaw Nation in 1853? (Well, partly so, in *some* sense—genealogically, at least.) The various claimants in the BIA files? (Remains to be seen.) The question here is, is one a Catawba by descent or by association? Is Catawba a genealogical or a social term? The answer is obviously somewhere in the middle. My work can help give clear unbiased answers to the genealogical side of the problem.

What now follows is an updated version of the report I produced in 1986. I have added the family sketches mentioned above, revised and streamlined the introduction and commentary, added a short section of

reprints of important primary documents, and made many minor corrections and additions.

I have used a variation of the author-date citation system. Essentially anonymous sources such as census records, petitions, and tribal rolls are cited by an abbreviation (such as C1900a, G1792, or TR1943) which can be followed up in the first section of the bibliography. Sources with an author are cited by the author and date (e.g. Brown 1966), which one can look up in the second section of the bibliography. Page numbers are included when applicable. This system, I believe, has the dual advantage of saving space, and of being simple to use, especially when one becomes familiar with the sources and their abbreviations.

I am greatly in debt to four Catawba scholars who took time to help me understand Catawba history and sources: Thomas J. Blumer, Russell A. Judkins, James H. Merrell, and Wes White. In the Catawba community I am particularly grateful to Roger Trimnal, Georgia Harris, and Sallie Wade, and also appreciated the help of Samuel and Helen Beck, Nola Campbell, Wilburn Harris, Haddon Johnson, and Judy Canty Martin. I would also like to thank Mary Mallaney, of the York County Library in Rock Hill, as well as John Dealy and Scott Reisinger, who first brought the NEH Younger Scholars program to my attention, and my parents, who drove me to South Carolina to research this project in 1986.

Rochester, N.Y.

August 1995

Introduction

Before sketching individual Catawba families I would like to discuss what else has been done in American Indian genealogy and what the significance of this project might be. I will also give a history of Catawba genealogical record sources, because the genealogies that follow are very much limited by the record sources that exist.

American Indian genealogy

There is very little to say about American Indian genealogy, except that there isn't much of it in print. Scholarly American genealogy did not progress to the point where it became interested in groups other than early American colonists until several decades ago, which means that all scholarly interest in Indian genealogy has been recent. A glance through Filby and Meyer's *Who's Who in Genealogy and Heraldry*¹ will show many active genealogists who list American Indian genealogy as one of their interests. Recent publications include many general articles on American Indian genealogy, including three by Jimmy B. Parker, an article by George J. Nixon in the genealogical manual *The Source*, several general papers from the two World Conferences on Records in 1969 and 1980 (for which see the bibliography in Parker's *Ethnic Genealogy* chapter), a descriptive chapter and bibliography in Timothy Beard's *How to Find Your Family Roots*, and E. Kay Kirkham's two volumes on American Indian genealogy.²

All of these publications, however, have concentrated heavily on records of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole) and occasionally on other western Indian tribes. The eastern tribes which did not go west during the removal era of the mid-1800s have been genealogically neglected. Even more neglected are the tribes who have never been under the supervision of the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington. Since government records are one of the major sources for American Indian genealogy, regardless of location, non-federal tribes have been considered to be off the genealogical map.

¹P. William Filby and Mary Keysor Meyer, ed., *Who's Who in Genealogy and Heraldry* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981).

²Jimmy B. Parker, "American Indian Genealogy Research," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 63(1975):15-21; "Sources of American Indian Genealogy," *Genealogical Journal* 6(1977):120-125; chapter in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Ethnic Genealogy: A Research Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 209-238. George J. Nixon, "Records Relating to Native American Research: The Five Civilized Tribes," in Arlene Eakle and Johni Cerny, ed., *The Source: A Guidebook of American Genealogy* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry Publishing Co., 1984), 534-557. Timothy Field Beard, *How to Find Your Family Roots* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), chapters 13 and 26. E. Kay Kirkham, *Our Native Americans and Their Records of Genealogical Value* (2 vols., Salt Lake City: Everton Publishers, 1980-1983).

In addition, while there have been many methodological articles on American Indian genealogy, there has been very little compiled Indian genealogy. The genealogical section of Emmett Starr's *History of the Cherokee Indians*³ was an early attempt, but it was not compiled with the same standards as an Indian genealogy would be today. A few scattered published genealogies, mostly of Pocahontas' descendants and the rest of small families, are listed in the American Indian genealogy bibliography in Timothy Beard's *How to Find Your Family Roots*.

Thus in some ways, this project unintentionally became something of a new idea in American Indian genealogy. Despite the best efforts of the Catawbans themselves, they did not go west during the 1800s, and except for sixteen years from 1943 to 1959, and for a short time during the 1840s, they had no official status with the federal government. Right away, that puts us in unexplored genealogical territory. Additionally, this project was intended to be a complete genealogy of the entire tribe. That is also a new kind of undertaking. Perhaps this project may encourage others to do similar, more systematic and more organized genealogical studies of other Indian tribes.

In another way, however, this project is nothing new, for it is part of something that can be called southern ethnic genealogy. In 1977, Gary B. Mills published *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), which reconstructs the history and genealogy of a small, isolated ethnic group in Louisiana. Several years later, he and his wife Elizabeth Shown Mills exposed Alex Haley's *Roots* as a collection of "faction" rather than genealogical truth.⁴ Recently, Mrs. Mills has published an article on "myths and misconceptions" faced by the southern ethnic genealogist.⁵ I hope that my work on the Catawbans can be considered as a contribution to this body of scholarship.

A history of Catawba genealogical record sources

The ancestors of today's Catawba Indians may have been visited by Spanish and French expeditions as early as the mid-sixteenth century. The settlement of Charles Town in 1670 brought Europeans into close contact with coastal Indians, and by 1700 several traders had settled among the Indians of the Carolina piedmont. In 1701 John Lawson, an English adventurer and later a Carolina colonist, journeyed to the upper reaches of what is now known as the Wateree River. He visited a number of small

³Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City: The Warden Co., 1921).

⁴See Gary B. Mills and Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Roots and the New 'Faction': A Legitimate Tool for Clío?" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 89(1981):3-26; Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, "The Genealogist's Assessment of Alex Haley's *Roots*," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 72(1984):35-48.

⁵Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Ethnicity and the Southern Genealogist: Myths and Misconceptions, Resources and Opportunities," in Ralph S. Crandall and Robert M. Taylor, ed., *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986), pp. 89-108.

Indian tribes, such as the Congarees, the Santees, the Esaws, the Sugarees, the Saponis, as well as the tribe of the “Kadapau king.”

During the thirty years after Lawson’s visit, many of these South Carolina tribes were forced together by a variety of pressures. Europeans brought their inevitable companion, disease, and the consequent losses due to smallpox and other foreign illnesses. Even in 1701, Lawson had found evidence of raids by war-parties from enemy tribes. And undoubtedly these Indians felt pressure from the whites who were beginning to move up the Carolina river valleys.

Beginning as early as 1700, then, a slow process of consolidation and amalgamation resulted in a body of Indians known since the mid-eighteenth century as the Catawba Nation.⁶ It is not completely clear to me what kind of domination the Catawba tribe had in this confederacy which resulted in its being called the Catawba nation rather than, for instance, the Cheraw Nation or the Sugaree Nation. Nor have I done the research necessary to set down a chronology of increasing affiliation of the smaller tribes of South Carolina with the Catawbas. But by the 1760s it seems that this consolidation was reasonably complete as far as outsiders were concerned. Less often are tribes mentioned as affiliated with the Catawbas, or incorporated with the Catawbas. More often, the Catawbas are referred to as a unit, situated in several towns along the Wateree River and by 1763 in a fifteen mile square reservation in what is now York and Lancaster counties, South Carolina. From the little research I have done I believe that there was still a considerable amount of ethnic diversity among the Catawbas, and I will discuss this in more detail later.

In 1750 Nopkehe, better known as King Hagler, became the leader of the Catawbas, and continued so until his death on 30 August 1763 (see Ward 1949). He was king during the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1759, which killed many Catawbas, and was remembered in oral tradition as late as the twentieth century. It was from King Hagler that some Catawba generals⁷ of the early 1800s claimed descent. Many of these claims are mentioned by Brown (1966), but the only documentary allusions to Hagler’s family are in colonial South Carolina records (McDowell 1958; McDowell 1970). King Hagler was succeeded by Colonel Ayres, and Colonel Ayres by King Prow, who died shortly before the close of the Revolution (see Hutchison 1843), and probably by 1780 when New River, their next leader, had become General (see M02).

Throughout this period Catawba genealogy is essentially untraceable. To even begin a genealogy, one needs some way of identifying people—names. A few scattered names of kings from the 1700-1735 period appear in various records, but it was not until the late 1730s that Catawba headmen were regularly mentioned *by name* in colonial documents. Names of Catawba kings, headmen, and captains appear on letters, petitions, and reports of traders frequently from the 1750s on (see McDowell 1955; McDowell 1970;

⁶The changing definition of this term over two and a half centuries is one of the major themes of Charles Hudson’s *The Catawba Nation* (1970). For this period, see particularly pp. 26, 46-48.

⁷Catawba military titles, such as “General” and “Colonel,” are explained below.

V1906; Brown 1966). This has made it possible for Catawba historians to do biographical work on early Catawbas; in other words, to follow King Hagler, or Touksecay, or Captain Harris throughout their careers as Catawba leaders (for examples, see Merrell 1982; Brown 1966). But virtually nothing is ever said of their parents and their children, nor do any documents specify their relationships to any other Catawba, which makes genealogy at such an early period impossible. And since there were probably several hundred Catawbas during the 1760s, we realize that we can reconstruct biographies of only a miniscule percentage of Catawbas, and genealogies for none. It is interesting to note the similarity of early Catawba headmen's names to those of Catawbas of the nineteenth and twentieth century, but it is virtually impossible to prove any genealogical connection between the two, and I have left early Catawba genealogy almost untouched in the genealogical section of this paper, especially since I haven't had the time to pursue it thoroughly.

Genealogy as we know it is a purely European concept, and when applied to Indians the result is often, unfortunately, Indian genealogy seen through a European filter. So it is not surprising that the two events which seem to bring about the beginning of traceable Catawba genealogy were initiated by Europeans rather than Indians. The first event was the Revolutionary War, and the second was increasing white settlement by Scots-Irish colonists in the Carolina backcountry. White settlement brought about more and more infringement of Catawba hunting and property agreements by settlers, and more and more petitions to the South Carolina General Assembly listing the names of all Catawba headmen and sometimes other members of the tribe. Pressure from white settlers, as well as lack of money, probably due to the loss of Catawba hunting grounds to South Carolina township boundaries, led the Catawba headmen to start leasing parts of the 144,000 acre reservation they had received in 1763 to whites. By at least 1786 both petitions and leases were appearing in official records (see G1786; Holcomb 1981, 61), and both list Catawbas by name. Eventually there became so many leases that a local white man was appointed to superintend the surveying of land and payment of rents to Indians. A book of rent records kept by Hugh White from approximately 1810 to 1827 has survived, and is commonly called the Plat Book (PB) or Rent Book. The existence of earlier rent books can be inferred from several entries in the Plat Book, notably the following: "Brot forward Credits on the old Books for payments made to Genl N River Sally N River and Jamey Kegg" (PB, 293).

More than ever, now, the Catawbas must have needed a formal system of headmen to sign documents, which leads us to the importance of the Revolution in Catawba genealogy. The Revolutionary army apparently served as a model for the new military system of Catawba government, a change also facilitated by the death of King Prow about 1778 or 1779 and the succession of New River as Catawba chief (see Hutchison 1843). The old offices of King, (war-)captain, and "headman" were discarded in favor of a hierarchical system of government in which the chief of the Catawbas was called "General," and he had under him one colonel, one or two majors, several captains, and several lieutenants. Simple rules of succession applied: a general was succeeded by the colonel after his death, and one can follow

many people as they rise from lieutenant or captain through the ranks up to colonel or general. The first appearance of the new system was on the first truly *personal* document in Catawba history: a roll listing fifty-two Catawba men who served or were alleged to have served in colonial Capt. Thomas Drennan's company of Catawba Indians in the Revolutionary War during 1780 (M02). We do find one Catawba called "Colonel" before the Revolution—Colonel Ayres, who succeeded King Hagler—so the Revolution may not have been the only cause of the military system of government. But in any case, it was probably for whites, rather than themselves, that Catawbas adopted their new governmental system.

These new developments are the chronological beginning of an era in Catawba genealogy, just as, for example, the 1850 census marks the beginning of an era in traditional white genealogy. We start with the Revolutionary roll of 1780, which may list almost every able-bodied adult male in the tribe. We have Catawba petitions dated from 1786 to 1844 (G...) each of which lists current Catawba headmen. One important petition, of 1792 (G1792), lists thirty-one Catawba men from General New River on down, probably a majority of the Catawba men then living; it is comparable in genealogical worth to the 1780 Revolutionary roster.⁸ We know the names of headmen signing leases from as early as 1785 (Holcomb 1981, 61). Hundreds of leases from 1810 to 1840, each signed by four or five Catawba headmen, are preserved at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (L). In addition, with white settlement increasing, there are many contemporary accounts of the Catawbas in the 1770-1840 period extant (see for instance Hutchison 1843; Mills 1972; Smyth 1968; Springs 1871). These records allow us to compile a biographical picture of nearly every male member of the tribe from 1780 on, fleshed out for headmen and more sketchy for other Catawbas. Once again, there is a dearth of recorded relationships during the 1780-1810 period, and a corresponding lack of real genealogy as opposed to unconnected biography. But fortunately, many Catawbas of the 1780-1810 period survived past 1810 when the Plat Book (see below) began to document relationships, and genealogical linkage, however tenuous, begins to be possible.

After 1810, Catawba genealogy becomes much more complete, though still based on similar sources, for the Plat Book's first entries start at approximately that time (see PB, 165, 197). The Plat Book's method of

⁸In discussing records of the pre-Plat Book, 1780-1810 period, one of the most important questions to resolve is how well extant records represent the entire Catawba population—in other words, if there were fifty Catawba men at a certain date, how many can be documented? Many Catawba records, such as the land leases and most petitions, only record the names of the upper crust of the tribe. There are only a few records which list the name of a large percentage of the tribe. The first of these are the Revolutionary roster of 1780 and the petition of 1792, which list forty-six and thirty-one names respectively. John F.D. Smyth estimated sixty or seventy Catawba warriors just before the Revolutionary War (Smyth 1968, 1:185); considering the probable inaccuracy of his estimate and the rapid Catawba depopulation he mentions elsewhere (1:192), the Revolutionary roster probably includes just about every living Catawba warrior. The thirty-one names on the 1792 petition probably do not include every Catawba man, but certainly do include a majority. These two records therefore probably cover most Catawba males of the late 1700s, and together form a priceless baseline for Catawba genealogy.

keeping track of rents was as follows: rent on a certain white man's lease was assigned to be paid to a certain Indian, or sometimes, a certain group of Indians. Whenever rent (usually in the form of cash, whiskey, old horses, mares, or cattle, and sometimes other goods) was paid to an Indian, the date, the amount paid, and the name of the Indian was recorded. Since rent was paid to women as well as men, the Plat Book is the first large-scale record of existence of both Catawba men *and* women. Moreover, the Plat Book is the first Catawba record that systematically provides records of relationship as well as records of existence. Often, the Plat Book will explicitly indicate relationships when referring to a Catawba; for instance, it might assign rent to "Mary Doe daughter of John," either to show that it was talking about Mary Doe, daughter of John Doe, rather than Mary Doe, daughter of Billey Doe, or, more often, to show that Mary Doe was taking over the rights to rent that had formerly belonged to her father John Doe. To a more experienced reader, the Plat Book also implies many relationships. Some of these can be discovered as follows:

- When two people are assigned rents together or receive rent interchangeably, it often means that they are closely related, perhaps husband and wife or brother and sister.
- When Mary Doe receives rent that formerly had been received by, or assigned to, John Doe, it often means that Mary Doe was an heir to John Doe, though sometimes it means simply that John Doe's allotted time to receive rent was up and the rent was being assigned and paid to someone else.
- When the Plat Book records a rent payment to John Doe for Mary Doe (e.g. "27th April 1819 paid John Doe for Mary Doe \$5.00") it sometimes means that Mary Doe and John Doe are related, and sometimes that Mary Doe was somehow unable to receive rent, possibly because she was too young to receive except through a parent or guardian or too old to receive except through a child.
- The Plat Book frequently refers to someone's heirs, obviously indicating that that person had just died.
- The Plat Book includes a number of informal and probably unbinding wills in which, for instance, John Doe might bequeath the rents on the land of James Smith to his daughter Mary Doe and the rents on the land of George Jones to his wife Jinney Doe.
- Finally, the Plat Book uses the term "Jr." in its normal early American sense: that is, without meaning that John Doe Jr.'s father was also named John Doe, but rather that there was another John Doe among the Catawbas who was older than, but not necessarily the father of, John Doe Jr.

One wishes that the Plat Book could be more complete and specific in its indication of relationships, and that it would mention children as well as

adults. But though it is not perfect, the Plat Book marks the beginning of real Catawba genealogy.

This set of records, then—petitions, leases, contemporary accounts, and the Plat Book—carries us through the 1780-1840 period with a limited degree of success. We see the death of General New River between 1796 and 1801 (see Holcomb 1981, 186; G1801); the succession of General Jacob Scott and his death about 1821 (see L; PB) and the succession of Jacob Ayres, a Colonel since at least 1801, to the Generalship, dying by 14 July 1837 (G1801; L). We also see, among other things, the intermarriage of the Mursh family—Pamunkey Indians from Virginia—with the Catawbas in the first decade of the 1800s (see Hutchison 1843; M01). During the latter part of this time period, the Catawbas became more and more interested in leaving their South Carolina home—especially since they had no land left, having leased it all to whites—and moving to North Carolina to join the Cherokees living there (see Hutchison 1843, the best reference for this time period). The death of old General Ayres probably was the end of a conservative era of Catawba tribal government, and after the short tenure of General William Harris, James Kegg became General of the Catawbas. Kegg was literate and progressive, and active in trying to find his tribe a home in North Carolina (see for instance Hutchison 1842). It was he who signed the Treaty of Nation Ford in 1840 (MR1840), relinquishing rights to the 144,000 acres in South Carolina that had been given to the Catawbas in 1763 and leased to whites ever since. At one point that year, all but four Catawba men (John Joe, Sam Scott, Allen Harris, and David Harris) were in North Carolina with the Eastern Cherokees (see Hutchison 1843), encouraged by the treaty's provision for a Catawba reservation near the Cherokees in Haywood County, N.C. Unfortunately, the reservation was never laid out, and there was enmity between the Catawbas and Cherokees—the Cherokees wanted the Catawbas “to give up their tongue and nationality” and to become adopted Cherokees (see C1849, 4). With no North Carolina reservation, and having failed to ally themselves with the Eastern Cherokees, the North Carolina resettlement plan was abandoned, and the Catawbas during much of the 1840s seem to have wandered back and forth through North and South Carolina from Haywood County to their old home in York District, S.C.

During the late 1840s efforts to remove the Catawbas west of the Mississippi with the Five Civilized Tribes gathered steam. There was some question of removal to Oklahoma to join the Choctaws or Chickasaws, both of whom had made friendly overtures towards adopting the Catawbas, and in 1847 and 1848 Catawbas living in North Carolina sent petitions to the Office of Indian Affairs asking to be removed. An appropriation was made for removal, but the proposal never bore fruit (see Covington 1954), and in 1849 the Catawbas' situation was confused and uncertain. A census made that year found 56 Catawbas in Haywood County, N.C., 27 in Greenville District, S.C., 13 in Chester District, S.C., and 14 in York District, S.C., but the Catawba population was obviously very mobile, for several of the Catawbas living in Greenville District, S.C., were also listed as members of a church at Echota Mission, N.C., and had signed the North Carolina petitions of 1847 and 1848.

The 1840s were a period of change and transition in Catawba life, and this is reflected in Catawba genealogical records. The leases stopped in 1840 when the Catawbas gave up their land, and every Catawba record of the decade has to do with removal. The topic of removal is sure to bring in the Office of Indian Affairs, and it was during the 1840s that the Catawbas began their sporadic contact with the federal government. The first record is an 1844 petition to the South Carolina General Assembly asking for a home for the tribe, signed by a few Catawba men in North Carolina (G1844). In 1847 and 1848, petitions asking for removal headed by the signature of new Catawba chief William Morrison were sent to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington; signed by thirty and forty-two adult North Carolina Catawbas respectively (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280). In 1849 South Carolina Governor Whitmarsh B. Seabrook appointed B.S. Massey of Lancaster District, S.C., to find out the status of the Catawbas, and what plans there were for Catawba removal. Massey's report (C1849) contained three exhibits which together constitute a census of all Catawba adults living in 1849. The first exhibit was a list of thirty-three "Catawbas, in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission," N.C. The second was a list of "Accounts of the Catawba Indians, due W.H. Thomas, at Qualla Town," N.C., giving twenty-eight Catawba names. The third was a census of the Catawbas in 1849. It listed every Catawba over the age of ten by name and age, and gave the number of Catawbas under ten years of age.⁹ All in all, 110 Catawbas were enumerated, and the names and ages of 63 of them were given—one of the most important documents in Catawba genealogy. A petition of 1850 rounds out the Catawba records of the attempted removal period (G1850).

These records, plus the supply list of 1853 which we will discuss in a moment, make up an island of genealogical records in a wide dearth of data running from the end of the Plat Book in 1827 to the beginning of the *Reports and Resolutions* in 1869. The 1853-1869 gap is not a major difficulty. It is short; there are three petitions and Civil War records during it; 1880-1910 census records provide data on it; and family and oral records start at this time. But the other gap is a problem. From the period 1828 to 1846 we have only lists of headmen signing leases (L), two petitions (G1840, G1844), the signatures on the Treaty of Nation Ford (MR1840), and a few contemporary accounts (such as Hutchison 1843) to flesh out Catawba genealogy. Even worse, Catawba records prior to 1828 list almost no names of children, so it is virtually impossible to take the name of an adult between the ages of twenty and forty-five during the 1847-1853 period and trace him or her back to the Plat Book period (1810-1827). To make things even more difficult, there were only three Catawba men living in 1849 who were born before 1805 and thus old enough to be normally listed in the Plat Book (James Kegg, Anthony George, and Lewis Stephens; Kegg and Stephens actually are found in the Plat Book); there were more old women living in 1849, but most are not traceable in the Plat Book, probably because they had married and changed

⁹Actually, the youngest Catawba whose name was listed was twelve years old, and it is doubtful whether Massey listed all of the Catawbas between the ages of ten and about fifteen.

their surnames. What this means is that Catawba genealogy post-1847 can only rarely be connected to Catawba genealogy pre-1828. Regardless of how assiduously one compiles Catawba genealogy in either period, one will not be able to connect the two to any high degree, unless additional records for the 1828-1847 period become available.

Beginning with Governor Seabrook's 1849 visit to the Catawbas and the resulting appointment of B.S. Massey to take a Catawba census, South Carolina began to take an interest in the Catawbas. Thus began a period of approximately ninety years during which the Catawbas lived on a state reservation under state support. Massey had been charged by Seabrook to

collect them if possible, and make an effort to settle them with the Cherokee Indians; and if I could not effect that, to urge on them to return and settle on the plantation on the river in York District [South Carolina], belonging to the State, for their use and occupancy...After collecting them at the Cherokee nation, I soon found that I could not unite and settle them with the Cherokee Indians. I then urged them to return to South Carolina...and they agreed to do so, and they soon commenced their return, and have continued to come in by small parties up to this time [1853].

Most of the Catawbas came back to South Carolina, but a significant portion left the main band of the tribe. By late 1853 there were 84 Indians on the Reservation. But seven were still going back and forth from the Reservation to North Carolina. Five had left for Charleston in 1851, and had disappeared by 1854. Twenty-two had left for the Choctaw country in Arkansas in December 1851, and of these, fifteen survivors were adopted by the Choctaws in 1853 (Massey 1854, 5-6; LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504).

B.S. Massey (Massey 1854, 7-21) compiled a list of all adult Catawbas on the reservation who received supplies from him during 1853, mentioning wives' names and numbers of children. This list is superior to the 1849 census enumeration since it indicates some family relationships, whereas the 1849 census does not, but it is inferior to the 1849 document in that it does not include ages. Nevertheless, it is another very important Catawba record.

Massey still advocated removal to the west for the Catawbas in 1853 (Massey 1854, 6), and though there was talk of removal again in 1859 and 1860 (see N1860), the Catawbas on the Reservation were there to stay. In fact, from 1853 to 1885, there is very little Catawba history to write. It was a period of state control and state allocation, and a period of increasing stability for the Catawbas after the turmoil of the 1840s. The population was reasonably stable: the number of Catawbas on the reservation fluctuated between eighty and one hundred from 1853 into the twentieth century. Chief Allen Harris served throughout the 1850s until his death in 1860, beginning a new system of government that has lasted, with modifications, until today. Many of his successors were Harrises, and throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the Harrises were the largest and most important family on the Reservation. Aside from the growing number of family records and oral recollections which shed light on the period, most records from 1853 to

1885 are South Carolina records. There were a few petitions to the General Assembly of South Carolina (GNDA; GNDB; G1877a; G1877b; G1877c; M04), and records connected with Catawba service in the Confederate Army (M05; see also N1900). The *Reports and Resolutions* of the South Carolina General Assembly contained a report each year on the Catawbas (see R....). These reports listed expenses incurred by the Catawba agent, which were paid by the state comptroller-general. The agent's expenses included payment of allotments to each Catawba, and from 1869 to 1883, this expense was not listed just as a lump sum paid for allotments; each Catawba head of household was listed. The amount paid to each head of household can in some years show how many people were in his household, but not all of the *Reports and Resolutions* indicate this, and some indicate it only partially, so this evidence must be used cautiously. Still, it is an important tool for the genealogist, and one of the most important source materials for the 1870s, since it practically provides a yearly census of Catawba families. Another important genealogical source begins in the 1860s: the old Catawba cemetery. The first Catawba burial ground, still remembered by Catawbas on the Reservation today, was across the river in Lancaster County, S.C., and if any stones remained, they were bulldozed a few years ago. Speck (1939a, 416) learned that this cemetery was abandoned in 1855 when the new cemetery was laid out. The new cemetery is at the end of a gravel road off George Dunn Road on the Reservation, next to Wilburn Harris's house. In this paper, I have followed other Catawba historians (see Hudson 1970, 114) in referring to this cemetery for simplicity as the old Catawba cemetery. When I visited it in July 1986, I found forty-one inscribed gravestones; the earliest was the stone of John Brown, who died in September 1867, although a broken stone, for Rebecca George, may read 1865. A new cemetery behind the LDS church on the Reservation is now in use, but burials in the old cemetery continued as late as 1973.

The 1880s were another period of change in Catawba life and Catawba records. Mormon missionaries arrived in 1883 and converted much of the tribe. I saw the early Mormon records of the Catawbas (i.e. LDS1985) too late in this project to incorporate them into the family sketches, but one can get an inkling of their value from the two sketches (Blue and Stephens) in which I *did* include evidence from Mormon church rolls. The Mormon influence, as well as other factors, led five families west to Texas and Colorado in the late 1880s, and some mixed-Catawba descendants of John Mursh to Salt Lake City in 1887 (see Speck 1939a, 407n.; Mooney 1887). Another important arrival came in 1881, when anthropologist Albert Gatschet visited the Catawbas (see Gatschet 1881). There had been earlier Catawba visitors with scholarly or linguistic goals, such as geologist Oscar Lieber in 1856, but Gatschet's visit was the beginning of a new era of interest in the Catawbas by anthropologists, activists and antiquaries such as James Mooney, H.L. Scaife, and McDonald Furman. Linguistic evidence collected by Gatschet helped James Mooney write *The Siouan Tribes of the East* in 1894, which asserted the Siouan origin of the Catawbas, and Mooney's work became a starting point for Frank Speck's research in the twentieth century. Furman visited the Catawbas throughout the 1880s and 1890s; Scaife came

in 1893. Their accounts, like those of anthropologists from Gatschet to Speck, are invaluable to the Catawba genealogist, both as cultural background reading and as source data. In particular, Speck's numerous published articles provide in passing an amazing amount of genealogical data, and his unpublished manuscripts, which I have not seen, may add even more.¹⁰ Any genealogist, working with any American Indian tribe, should become thoroughly familiar with ethnographic and anthropological material.

The *Reports and Resolutions* stopped including lists of Catawba allotments by head of household after the 1883 issue (R1883). Fortunately, the federal census fills this gap. Census enumerators prior to 1880 were not required to list Indians, though a few Catawbas living off-reservation did find their way onto the 1870 census. Beginning in 1880, at least in the case of the Catawbas, enumerators were instructed to visit reservations and include Indians in the census. The 1880, 1900, and 1910 population schedules¹¹ list every Catawba on or off the Reservation, and the 1900 and 1910 censuses include the special questions asked only of Indians (e.g. degree of Indian blood and Indian name—though the Catawbas had long ago adopted English names almost exclusively). Census reports are always filled with errors, and the Catawbas are no exception. In fact, the census reports for the Catawbas are if anything more inaccurate than for whites, probably because the enumerator was dealing with people speaking a different language and following different marriage patterns than the whites he was used to. Certainly, the reported degree of Indian blood in the census is so unreliable that I have considered it virtually useless as a genealogical tool.

The *Reports and Resolutions*, the census, the cemetery, accounts of visitors, and the growing number of oral and family recollections form the backbone of Catawba genealogy throughout the late 1800s. Finally, we are able to reconstruct Catawba genealogy with a degree of accuracy and completeness approaching that which we are used to seeing from white genealogy.

Catawba history after 1900 is less relevant to this project, but still it produced several records that are genealogically valuable. The Catawbas have continued to live on the Reservation throughout the twentieth century. They have increasingly intermarried with whites and even Cherokees, and become in many ways more and more assimilated into white society. Chief Samuel Taylor Blue, the last native speaker of the Catawba language, died in 1959; his widow, considered the last fullblood, died in 1963. Of the Catawbas on the Reservation today, Wilburn Harris has the highest Catawba blood quotient of anyone I know. He is somewhere between three-quarters and seven-eighths Catawba, although at least one-eighth of that is originally Pamunkey, since he, like most Catawbas, is descended from the Pamunkey family which married into the Catawbas in the early 1800s (see above).

In 1943, a "Memorandum of Understanding" was signed in which the state of South Carolina and the Office of Indian Affairs would jointly provide

¹⁰See Merrell (1983) for a general description and evaluation of Speck's Catawba research.

¹¹The 1890 population schedules were destroyed by fire in 1921.

for the welfare of the Catawbas. New reservation lands were purchased, but most Catawbas still continued to live on the old Reservation, as they had done since 1853. Eventually, in the late 1950s, the Catawbas decided to terminate their tribal status and give a cash or land settlement to every Indian. An act of Congress in September 1959 did so, and ended the legal existence of the Catawbas, though certainly not the practical existence of the tribe. Three tribal rolls were compiled during this time: one in 1943, one in 1956, and another, required by the act of 1959, which was officially dated 2 July 1960 but includes data from December 1960, and was not printed until February 1961 (TR1943; TR1956; TR1961). The roll of 1956 is organized in family groups and indicates birthdates and relationships to the head of the household; the roll of 1961 also gives birthdates and some relationships, but is organized alphabetically. Since all three rolls include people born as early as the 1870s, they are useful sources for earlier Catawba genealogy.

During the past ten years, the Catawbas have started to pursue a land claim suit, arguing that the 1840 Treaty of Nation Ford, in which they relinquished their 144,000-acre reservation, was not valid. The suit may have stimulated an interest in their history, something very evident when I visited the Reservation in July 1986. Every Catawba whom I visited was interested in and knowledgeable about Catawba history and genealogy. There wasn't an appreciable difference between Mormons and non-Mormons, except that Mormon Catawbas had compiled personal ancestral charts as asked by the LDS Church. Sallie (Harris) Wade, the oldest Catawba living on the Reservation today, and Georgia (Harris) Harris both took the time to talk to me about Catawba genealogy, and remembered many facts about Catawbas of the late 1800s and early 1900s which might otherwise have been lost. Other Catawbas opened their homes, personal knowledge, and family records to me and provided much information which is extremely useful, and, as oral information goes, reasonably reliable.

In recent years Catawba scholarship has been plentiful. Charles M. Hudson researched the Catawbas for his 1965 dissertation, published *The Catawba Nation* in 1970, and contributed a chapter on the Catawbas to *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1979), edited by Walter L. Williams. Steven G. Baker researched Carolina Indians of the 1600s and 1700s (see Baker 1974, Baker 1975). Thomas J. Blumer, at the Library of Congress, has been working with the Catawbas for well over a decade, and is about to publish a comprehensive Catawba bibliography.¹² Wesley D. White, currently of Maxton, North Carolina, has done extensive genealogical and historical research on Carolina Indians which I have found very valuable. And recently, James H. Merrell, of the Department of History, Vassar College, has published several items on early Catawba history and the work of Frank Speck, notably his voluminous dissertation covering Catawba history from 1650 to 1800 (Merrell 1982).¹³

¹²Published as *Bibliography of the Catawba* (Methuen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1987).

¹³In 1989 Dr. Merrell published *The Indians new world: Catawbas and their neighbors from European contact through the era of removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

We have now taken recorded Catawba history from its beginnings in the early 1700s to the present. We started with a century and a half in which the Catawbans gradually progressed from a level of documentation that makes genealogy impossible to another level where we can trace Catawba genealogy almost as well as traditional white genealogy. Since then, there has been another century and a half in which Catawba genealogy has become even more well documented and easily traceable. We have also seen anthropologists and historians show an increasing interest in the Catawbans from 1881 to the present. Now, we can move on from a discussion of the circumstances that created Catawba records, to an analysis of these records and the creation of a Catawba genealogy.

Family sketches

The genealogies that follow cover only about one-half to two-thirds of historic Catawba families. Prominent absences include the Ayres, George, Scott, Timms, Watts, and White families, and the post-1850 Canty family.

The extent to which members of each of the families can be linked genealogically varies widely. In some families, like the Joe family, there has been virtually no genealogical linkage. The Joe sketch in this writeup is essentially a series of biographies. In other families, such as the Harrises, data showing the interrelationships of various family members is abundant. Some families, such as the Brown family, fall between these two extremes: the early history of the Brown family is a series of only speculatively connected biographies, while the latter part, typically after 1850, can be genealogically reconstructed.

These differences call for two types of organization. Families such as the Joes and the early Browns have been discussed in a chronological manner, with generally one paragraph devoted to each person. Some of these families, such as the Browns, while they cannot be grouped into fathers and sons and mothers and daughters, can be grouped into generations. For example, there might have been seven Does who were born between about 1780 and 1800, eleven Does born between 1810 and 1825, and fourteen Does born between 1840 and 1855. While it is obvious that the Does born from 1810 to 1825 were the children of the Does born from 1780 to 1800, no specific relationships can be proven. In these cases, the generations will be separated, and members of a generation clearly grouped together.

Families like the Harrises, whose members can be linked genealogically and traced back to one or more progenitors, have been organized using the most widely accepted form of genealogical organization: the so-called Register System. In the Register System, the progenitor of a family is assigned the Arabic number 1. Lower-case Roman numerals, beginning with "i," are assigned to each of his children, in order. If a child died young, or never married, or married a person who has his own sketch somewhere else, concise details of that child's life are added. If a child deserves a sketch of his own, though, the child is assigned a sequential Arabic number; the child gets his own separate sketch; his children are assigned lower-case Roman numerals; and the cycle continues.

It should be noted that the Register System is distinctly unsuited to Catawba genealogy, and indeed to any society that did not follow European marriage and naming customs. Though I haven't enough data to make proper conclusions, I believe that the ability to apply the Register System to the Catawbas after about 1850 is evidence of their increasing assimilation into white society and their increasing adoption of white marriage customs. If there was enough evidence to reconstruct Catawba genealogy in the period before about 1830, I have an idea that it would be nearly impossible to fit the

Catawbas into the Register System. Illegitimacy, such as we know existed in Catawba society of the 1770s (see Smyth 1968), as well as polygamy (if present), and the confusion of Indian and English names would render the Register System completely useless for the early Catawbas.

This genealogy is by no means a final, definitive product. It is only the result of a summer's work, and I have had only a few months to simmer a mass of detail into a genealogical essay. Moreover, there are important sources that have not been consulted. Records of York and Lancaster Counties, South Carolina, including land and court records, has not been examined. Records of Catawba members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints have not been fully exploited. Nor have the Catawba migrations to Oklahoma and North Carolina been properly investigated.

BLUE

Chief Samuel Taylor Blue's birthdate has never been pinned down. His birthday was 15 August (N1955; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956), but no one is quite sure in what year he was born. One source supports 1870/71 (C1880a). One supports 1871 (N1963a). Four support 1872 (N1955; TR1956; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 564-565; Black 1939, 4) four support 1873 (Florence Speck 1942; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 555; Speck 1934, xi; LDS1985/7311, 5); one supports 1876/77 (C1910a); and two support 1879 (C1900a; Blue 1955). I lean towards either 1872 or 1873, especially judging from the birthdates of his children.

Samuel's mother was Margaret (George) Brown, for whom see under Margaret George (Blue 1955; C1880a; C1900a; C1910a; Speck 1934, xi; Speck 1939b, 26; Black 1939, 5). His father, a white man, was also named Samuel Blue (Blue 1955; McDavid n.d., 113, 123; Black 1939, 5; LDS1985/7311, 5). Chief Blue said in 1955 that his father "was born in Fort Mill S.C. His parents came from England. They were Englishmans" (Blue 1955). His father was probably the Samuel Blue who was living in York, S.C., in 1850, aged 25, with a wife Sarah Blue and two young children, Araminta Blue and John Blue (C1850). This census record says that Samuel Blue was born in Lancaster County, S.C., which agrees reasonably with Chief Blue's statement that his father was born in Fort Mill, S.C., which is in York County on the border of Lancaster County. I have tried to trace Samuel Blue's ancestry further, but even a glance at printed census indexes will show that all Blues in South Carolina were concentrated in Marion and Chesterfield counties; Samuel was the only one in the York County area. One source (Black 1939, 5, who said he got all his information from Chief Blue himself) tells us that Samuel Blue "died about 1878, leaving the mother and Sam to work and provide for themselves." I have found no independent verification of this death date, but Samuel Blue was not living with Margaret (George) Brown in 1880, and in 1900 and 1910 she was called a widow (C1880a; C1900a; C1910a).

Samuel Taylor Blue typifies the surname ambiguity common to some Catawbas. Generally, he was known as Blue, after his father, but on the

1880 census he is called Sam T. Brown, after his mother (C1880a), and even as late as 1934, Frank Speck called him Sam Brown (Speck 1934, xi).

Chief Blue's first marriage was to Minnie Hester George (P02; P04; Blue 1955; Black 1939, 6, 10). The marriage took place in July 1887 (P02; P04; Black 1939, 6, 10), or when Samuel was fourteen years old (Blue 1955; Black 1939, 10). Minnie Hester George was born 19 Sept. 1871, and died in the spring of 1897 (P02; Black 1939, 10) or 28 Dec. 1896 (LDS1985/6823, 70). He remarried Louisa Hester Jean Canty on 8 May 1897 (Blue 1955; Florence Speck 1942; P04; C1900a; C1910a); Black (1939, 10) says that the remarriage was three months after the death of his first wife, putting that death date roughly in February of 1897. Louisa Hester Jean Canty was the daughter of George and Betsy Canty (Blue 1955; Florence Speck 1942; P04; N1963a; Black 1939, 10). She died on 9 July 1963 (N1963a; N1963b).

Samuel Taylor Blue became chief of the Catawbas as early as 1931 (Speck 1939b, 47; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 564-565), and served in that capacity at various times until his death, which occurred on 16 April 1959 (N1963a; P04) or 18 April 1959 (Brown 1966, 353).

Samuel Blue allegedly had twenty-three children: three by his first wife and twenty by his second wife (see Blue 1955; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; Black 1939, 10). When I asked Georgia Harris whether Samuel Blue really did have twenty-three children, she told me "No, it's no exaggeration. They lost a lot of them" (I01). But Charles Hudson, rightfully skeptical of this figure, reported that "according to the genealogy I collected, Chief Blue fathered ten children, only seven of whom produced grandchildren" (Hudson 1970, 108); Hudson, I note, interprets the belief that Chief Blue had 23 children as an invention by whites stereotyping him, but Catawba sources clearly believe that he had 23 children too (see I01; Blue 1955). I can prove twelve children of Chief Blue, three by his first wife and nine by his second wife. Speck and Schaeffer (1942, 570-571) say that Samuel Blue had four stillborn children. Black (1939, 10), says there were *eleven* stillborn children, of whom five "died unnamed in infancy" after the birth of Arnold Lee Blue in 1917, which, considering his wife's age, is quite likely true; one stillborn child may also have been born between Elsie Inez Blue and Arnold Lee Blue. But other than these six possibilities there are no gaps in the succession of birthdates from 1898 to 1917 which would allow for the birth of any more stillborn children. Thus, unless we consider the unlikely possibility of twin births, it is difficult to believe that Samuel Blue had any more than eighteen children, of whom, in any case, only ten survived to adulthood.

Children of Samuel Taylor Blue and Minnie Hester George (C1900a; C1910a; N1980; Black 1939, 10):

- i. Fred Nelson Blue, born 25 Oct. 1889 (TR1956; TR1961; but N1980 and LDS1985/7311, 6 say 25 Oct. 1890; C1900a says Oct. 1891; C1910a says 1888/89); died 8 Aug. 1980 (N1980); married a white woman, Leola Watts (McDavid n.d., 126; TR1956) and had a number of children.

- ii. Rodie Blue, probably born between Fred Nelson Blue and Nora Lily Blue. The only source which gives her name is Black (1939, 10), who mentions "Rodie Blue, a daughter, who died in infancy."
- iii. Nora Lily or Lillie or L.E. Blue, born 19 Nov. 1893 (LDS1985/7311, 7) or 20 Nov. 1893 (LDS1985/6822, 30) or May 1894 (C1900a) or 1893/94 (C1910a); d. May 1915 in childbirth (LDS1985/7311, 7), but the name of her husband, if any, is unknown.

Children of Samuel Taylor Blue and Louisa Hester Jean Canty (Florence Speck 1942; C1910a; P04; McDavid n.d., 123),

- iii. Herbert Blue, born 25 April 1898 (P04; C1900a; TR1956; TR1961; Black 1939, 10; LDS1985/7311, 8, 6820, 38, 6822, 24); married, first, 17 March 1915, Lavinia Harris, daughter of D.A. Harris and Lizzie Patterson (see under David Harris); she died by 2 May 1918, when he remarried Lula Addie Mae Blankenship (P04; McDavid n.d., 123; TR1956; Black 1939, 10); they had several children.
- iv. Andrew Samuel Blue, born 6 Oct. 1900 (P04) or 16 Oct. 1900 (Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 9), or 16 Sept. 1900 (TR1956), or 16 Jan. 1900 (TR1961); or Samuel Andrew Blue (Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 9, 6822, 36); d. 18 Sept. 1960 (TR1961); married Doris Belle Wheelock (P04; TR1956; McDavid n.d., 123; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; Black 1939, 11), daughter of Archie and Rosa (Harris) Wheelock, for whom see under Allen Harris, and had several children.
- v. Joseph Harvey Blue, born 14 March 1903 (LDS1985/7311, 9, 6822, 52) or 3 March 1903 (P04) or 17 March 1902 (Black 1939, 11); died of a gunshot wound 8 January 1914 (P04; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 9).
- vi. Lula Samuel Henrietta Blue (Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 10, /6822, 58), or Samuel Lula Henrietta Blue (P04), known as Lula, born 3 May 1905 (P04; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956; TR1961; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 10, /6822, 58). She married Major John Beck (P04; TR1956; TR1961; McDavid n.d., 123; Black 1939, 11) and had several children.
- vii. Henry Leroy Blue, born 14 Aug. 1907 (P04; TR1956; TR1961; Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 10, 6822, 68); married, 21 Jan. 1933, Eva Mae Bodiford (P04; Black 1939, 11), or Erma May Bodyford (Florence Speck 1942), who was born in Bradleyton, Alabama, 19 Oct. 1905 (Florence Speck 1942); they had several children.
- viii. Vera Louise Blue, born 21 Aug. 1909 (P04; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956; TR1961; LDS1985/7311, 11; Black [1939, 11] gives 14 Aug. 1907 but this is an obvious confusion with Henry Leroy Blue; LDS1985/6822, 74 gives Louisa Vera Blue, born 20 Aug. 1909); married Albert Henderson Sanders, son of William and Nora

- Sanders (see C1910a; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956; TR1961; Black 1939, 11). They had several children.
- ix. Guy Larson Blue, born 3 Dec. 1911 (P04; TR1961; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/7311, 12, /6822, 84), or 2 Dec. 1911 (TR1956), or 3 Dec. 1912 (Florence Speck 1942); married Eva Bell George (P04; TR1956; Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11), and had several children, including present Catawba chief Gilbert Blue.
 - x. Elsie Inez Blue, born 3 March 1914 (P04; Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/6822, 92, /23240, 313), or 21 March 1914 (TR1956), or 1 March 1914 (TR1961); married, 3 Sept. 1932, Landrum Leslie George (P04; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956; TR1961; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/23240, 313), but had no children.
 - xi. Arnold Lee Blue or "Donny," born 23 Nov. 1917 (P04; Florence Speck 1942; Black 1939, 11; LDS1985/6822, 106, /23240, 1280) or 23 Nov. 1918 (TR1956); married Lillian Harris (TR1956; TR1961), and had one son Arnold Jr.; he seems to have died before the time of the 1961 tribal roll (see P04; TR1961).

BROWN

Brown is the oldest recorded Catawba surname. Thomas Brown, a white man and an important Catawba trader, bequeathed in a will dated 4 Dec. 1745 two tracts of land totalling 361 acres, two slaves, and cattle to William Brown, "my natural son, born of a free Indian woman of the Catawbas Nation." In another part of the will he said that William Brown was 15 years old, putting his birth at ca. 1729/30 (D1745). The last we hear of William Brown is in 1748 when he was abducted by northern Indians, but was later returned to the Catawbas (Brown 1966, 168). Interestingly, if we accepted that this William Brown was the progenitor of the Brown name among the Catawbas, it would call into question the fullbloodedness of many Catawbas of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly that of Sallie (Brown) Gordon, one of Frank Speck's main informants.

Two Catawba Browns who served in the Revolution in 1780 could have been the sons of William Brown: John and Patrick Brown, and among the whites serving in the Catawba company was a man named Matthew Brown (M02). Interestingly, Thomas Brown, the trader, had a brother named Patrick (Brown 1966, 108, 164). The Catawba Patrick Brown may have been named for his white counterpart. John Brown was a Major in the Catawba tribal government by 1 Sept. 1785 when he signed a deed (Holcomb 1981, 61) and continued in the same position until at least 6 April 1796 (*ibid.*, 55, 186; G1792). Patrick Brown, though, left no further records.

The next generation of Browns are listed in the Plat Book and in Catawba petitions. They include Betsey, Billey, Jamey, John Genet, and Thomas Brown, who all seem to have been related since they often took one another's rent or succeeded each other to the rights to rent on a certain lease. We will take one by one in a moment. Two unconnected Browns also appear in the Plat Book: a Polley Brown, who appears once (PB, 138), and a Susy

Brown, who appears two times (PB, 116, 266), connected with Billey Ayres and Col. Jacob Ayres, which suggests that Susy might be a copying error for Sally, and that she may be the same as Jamey Brown's wife Sally (see below).

Betsey Brown appears in the Plat Book under dates from 14 June 1814 to 2 Oct. 1824 (PB, 214, 205). She was the mother of Patsey George (PB, 205, 243) who also appears sometimes as Patsey Brown (PB, 265, 293).¹⁴ She had strong connections with Jamey Patterson (PB, 210, 215, 265, 267), and less important ties with the White family (215, 268), Polly Stephens (139), the Canty family (210), and with Thomas Brown (204).

Billey Brown signed a petition as Capt. Billey Brown in 1805 (G1805) but this may be a mistake for Thomas Brown who was a captain at the time and did not sign the petition. Billey was alive on 21 May 1818 (PB, 139) but did not live long (see PB, 192). His daughter Nancy Brown received the rent of Billey Brown deceased (PB, 192; another reference, PB, 117, also suggests strongly that he had a daughter Nancy). He also had a daughter Harriet, who was associated with Jamey Patterson (PB, 220). He himself was strongly associated with John Joe (PB, 138-139).

John Genet Brown was living as early as 30 Nov. 1810 when he signed a petition (G1810). His middle name is variously spelled Gennet, Genet, Genat, Jenat; he is often referred to as J.G. Brown, John G. Brown, or Genet Brown, but never as John Brown. He was a Captain and Major in the Catawba government in 1818 and 1819, and became a Colonel by 4 Dec. 1821 (L; G1821). He was last known to be alive 16 July 1824 (PB, 295) and probably died that year, for he does not appear further in the Plat Book, nor did he sign any leases after 14 May 1824 (L). He had a daughter Nancy (PB, 294; other references supporting this conclusion are PB, 161, 163, 222-223). She married Richardson Kennedy (PB, 222). John Genet Brown was strongly associated with Prissey Bullen, who among other things deeded all her rents to him (PB, 109, 160, 165, 169, 174, 218, 230, 240, 300, 301, 331), and with the Redhead family (123, 177, 180, 207). He also had connections with the Harrises (PB, 303).

Note here that the Plat Book states explicitly that both Billey Brown and John Genet Brown had daughters named Nancy. It is difficult to take all the Nancy Brown references and separate them into two groups, one for Nancy, daughter of Billey, and one for Nancy, daughter of John Genet Brown. All I can do is to say that Billey's daughter Nancy was definitely living from 4 June 1812 to 8 April 1824 (PB, 117, 192), and that John Genet Brown's daughter Nancy was living from December 1824 to 19 May 1826, and definitely married Richardson Kennedy (PB, 133, 161, 166, 222). Either Nancy Brown may have been living earlier or later than the times I have given. Actually, it is just possible that there was only one Nancy Brown, Billey's daughter, who was adopted by John Genet Brown after Billey's death. John Genet Brown, in fact, once took rent for Billey Brown's daughter Nancy (PB, 117).

¹⁴Patsey George was Margaret Wiley Brown's aunt (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 572); Margaret Wiley Brown's father was probably Anthony George, so Patsey Brown/George and Anthony George may have been brother and sister.

Jamey Brown was living as early as 30 Nov. 1810 when he signed a petition (G1810), and was listed in the Plat Book under dates from 11 May 1813 to 12 July 1819 (PB, 115). He was dead by Sept. 1820 when his widow Sally took his rents (PB, 111). Sally, sometimes called Sarah, was living as late as 1824 (PB, 107). She was assigned rents with Billey Ayres once (PB, 106), which suggests that she may have been the same person as the Susy Ayres who I list above among early, unconnected Browns. Jamey himself took rent for Priskey Bullen in 1816 (PB, 175). Sally Brown received rent for Jamey Brown's children in December 1822 (PB, 111, 114), but their names are not known. Several lucky chances allow us to learn the identity of Sally Brown. A strange note in the Plat Book (p. 114) reads: "Quincy West Florida Apalachicola District Jamey Brown Catawba Indian intermarried with a Pamunky Pocahontas." We can interpret "Pocahontas" as a derogatory term for a Pamunkey woman, and not indicative of her actual name. So, checking the Murshes—the family of Pamunkeys who joined the Catawba nation in the early 1800s—we find that Sarah Mursh, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Mursh, was born 29 March 1790, was twenty-eight and called Sally in 1820, and, as Sarah Brown, testified for her mother's claim for a pension on 16 Jan. 184[] (the last number is unreadable) (M01). The only impediment to the obvious conclusion that Sarah Mursh married Jamey Brown is that Sarah was listed as a dependent of Robert Mursh, living at home in 1820, not as a married woman living with her husband Jamey Brown, as we would expect. But given what little we know about the stability and permanence of Catawba marriages, this is not much of an obstacle, especially considering that Robert Mursh may have been trying to further his cause with the pension department by claiming an extra dependent. The reference to Florida is puzzling. Though it was written next to the note about Jamey Brown, it may be an unconnected scribble.

The last early member of the Brown family who we must consider is Major Thomas Brown. He was living as early as 27 Nov. 1801 when he signed a petition as Captain Thomas Brown (G1801), and he continued a Captain until at least 1 June 1813 (G1811; L). By 1 June 1814, when he signed a lease, he had risen to the rank of Major (L). He continued signing leases as Major Thomas Brown until at least 6 June 1822 (L). He first appears in the Plat Book under date of 1 June 1813 (PB, 276), and makes his last appearance in the Plat Book, and in any record, for that matter, on 22 June 1826 (PB, 165, 217). He had a wife Jinney or Janey, who was living from at least 1 June 1813 to 22 June 1826 (PB, 165, 276). He was associated with Prissy Bullen (PB, 169, 196, 219, 241) and with Betsey Brown (PB, 204). Unfortunately, the Plat Book does not tell us if he had any children.

Judging from their birthdates, the next generation of Browns were probably children, or in some cases grandchildren, of the Browns from the Plat Book, mentioned above. But there aren't enough records to prove specific relationships. This generation first shows up in the late 1840s, and consists of Betsy, Esther, Frankey, Mary, Rebecca, William, and Rachel Brown. I can only guess at the relationships between them: Frankey, Elizabeth, and William Brown were listed together in "Accounts of the Catawba Indians, due W.H. Thomas, at Qualla Town," and may have been

related (C1849); Billey Brown and Rachel's son John were listed together in Greenville Dist., S.C., in 1849, as were Rachel and Esther, and they may have been related too (C1849).

Elizabeth or Betsy Brown was at Quallatown, N.C., with most of the Catawbias, in 1848 when she signed a petition asking to go west (LR, Misc., 1848, M280). She was still there in 1849, and was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South at Echota Mission (C1849). She was last known alive when she and her two children received supplies from agent B.S. Massey from 23 January to 23 June 1853 (Massey 1854, 14). I think it doubtful that she was the same Betsy Brown as the one who is mentioned in the Plat Book (see above). But she is quite likely the same person as the Mary Brown who received supplies for herself and her two children from 6 June to 4 November 1853 (Massey 1854, 17), simply because Mary does not appear in Catawba records from 1847-1849 as one would expect, and she begins to receive supplies in 1853 around the same time as Betsy stops receiving supplies. It was not normal for Catawbias to stop receiving supplies in the middle of 1853; most of the Catawbias that Massey (1854) listed received supplies from January or February until October or November.

Esther (also Easter) Brown was living in Greenville District, S.C., in 1849, aged 28, and thus born circa 1820/21 (C1849). She was alive from 14 Feb. 1853 to 31 Oct. 1853 when she received supplies (Massey 1854, 17). She signed an undated petition, probably sometime in the 1850s (GNDb). McDavid (n.d., 113) reports that Peter Harris married Easter Brown. I wonder if Peter Harris (age 14 in 1849) would have married Easter Brown (28 in 1849). Perhaps he married another Easter Brown who was among the many unnamed children of Brown women listed by Massey (1854).

Frankey Brown was at Quallatown, N.C., from 1847 to 1849, when she was aged 27, thus born circa 1821/22 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280; C1849). No further record appears.

Mary Brown, who received supplies with her two children from 6 June to 4 November 1853 (Massey 1854, 17) is probably identical with Betsy or Elizabeth Brown, although I cannot explain the name change. See Elizabeth or Betsy Brown, above.

Rebecca Brown was "in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission," on 17 Sept. 1849 (C1849). There is no other record of her.

William or Billey Brown signed a petition in North Carolina dated 9 November 1844 (G1844), and another in 1847 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17). He was living in Greenville District, S.C., in 1849, aged 20, thus born circa 1828/29 (C1849), though he may have been somewhat older since he signed a petition in 1844. He signed another petition on 9 Nov. 1850 (G1850) and was living alone in 1853 (Massey 1854, 16). He signed an undated petition sometime in the 1850s (GNDb). There is no further record of him, and I suspect he died young.

This brings us to Rachel Brown, who is the only Brown living in the 1840s and 1850s whom we can even tenuously connect to people living today. We first hear of Rachel Brown when she signed petitions in North Carolina in 1847 and 1848 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280). She was living

in Greenville Dist., S.C., in 1849, aged 35 and thus born circa 1813/14. Rachel Brown *and son John* were given supplies in 1853 (Massey 1854, 8). This strongly suggests that Rachel Brown and John Brown, who was aged 12 (thus born ca. 1836/37), living in Greenville Dist., S.C., in 1849 (C1849), and who was affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Echota Mission, N.C., were mother and son.

I believe that this John Brown is the same one who married Margaret George and died in 1867. But there is some reason to question this. McDavid (n.d., 113) and Sallie Brown Beck (P02, P05) also agree that John Brown's mother's name was Sally Brown, not Rachel Brown. I have no record of a Sally Brown who could have been John's mother (although she could have died young, or remarried, and not been listed on any of the Catawba records of 1847-1854 as Sally Brown). The name Sallie, given to his daughter, supports the theory that his mother's name was also Sallie. It is also worth mentioning that Sallie (Brown) Beck's records identify her grandfather John Brown as John *William* Brown Sr. in two cases (P02, P05) which raises the possibility that he may have been named for William Brown, who I mention as connected with a John Brown in the 1849 Catawba census (see above). William Brown was probably not his father, for McDavid (n.d., 113) learned—probably from oral tradition—that the father of John Brown (d. 1867) was a white man named Joe Cherry, and Sallie Rebecca (Brown) Beck, John's granddaughter, called John's father "Mr. Cherry" in family records (P02).

John Brown signed an undated petition during the 1850s (GNDb) and a petition in support of agent John R. Patton's military exemption in 1863 (M04). He was supposedly a Civil War veteran, although I have not verified this in Confederate records yet (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; N1900). John Brown died in September 1867, and is buried in the old Catawba cemetery on the Reservation near the river (CM).

He married Margaret George (McDavid n.d., 113; see also Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; and any aged Catawba on the Reservation can confirm this—since Margaret George was Chief Samuel Blue's mother, everyone remembers her and her family.) Margaret George was reputedly the daughter of Anthony George and Rebecca Mursh; see George and Mursh. Margaret George, often called Margaret Wiley Brown since she later married a white man named Wiley, is listed as having had six children in 1910 and five in 1900, three of whom were alive (C1900a; C1910a). One was Samuel Blue, whose father was white (for him, see George and Blue). Five more, all by John Brown, are listed by McDavid (n.d., 113). Two of these are well-known: proof that John William Brown and Sallie Brown Gordon were children of John Brown and Margaret George seems almost superfluous, since so many people and records agree on it. The 1880 census lists Sally and John Brown living with their mother Margaret Brown on the Reservation (C1880a). Frank G. Speck used Sallie Brown Gordon as an informant throughout his Catawba research, and specifically states that she was her mother's daughter many times, and family records and oral sources agree on their parents' names again and again (see I01 and P02, for instance). McDavid gives three more children who died young, a set of twins and a

single birth, which complete the six children given Margaret Brown by the census. It is questionable, however, that these three children were by John Brown. Although McDavid states that they were (and, appropriately, does not list Sam Blue, who was a child of Margaret Brown but not of John Brown), mistakes like this can happen very often when recording genealogies orally, as McDavid undoubtedly did. One of the births may fit in the gap between Sallie's and John's (i.e. circa 1865); the single birth may have been before 1863, while the twins' birth could not have, since one was named Wade Hampton after the Civil War hero and governor of South Carolina by the same name. Alternatively, both births could have been after John Brown's death in 1867. Because of this uncertainty, these births are not treated under Brown.

Proven children of John and Margaret (Brown) George:

- i. Sallie Brown, born circa 1862/63 (C1880a); Dec. 1864 (C1900a); circa 1863/64 (C1910a); or 1865 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 555). She had an illegitimate daughter Nora, sometimes called Nora Brown and sometimes Nora Gordon; she later married Lewis Gordon, and had children by him. Both legitimate and illegitimate children are discussed under Gordon.
- ii. 1. JOHN WILLIAM BROWN, born circa 1866/67 (C1880a); Oct. 1867 (C1900a); circa 1867/68 (C1910a); circa 1866/67 (gravestone, CM), or 21 Oct. 1867 (P02, P05). The 21 Oct. 1867 date given by his daughter Sallie (Brown) Beck seems correct, since it is supported by census records.

1. JOHN WILLIAM BROWN was born 21 Oct. 1867 (P02, P05), the son of John Brown and Margaret George. He married, 13 June 1889, Rachel Wysie George, daughter of Taylor George and Emily Cobb (P02; P05; McDavid n.d., 115; C1900a and C1910a roughly support this date; Speck and Schaeffer [1942, 562] who call Rachel George his mother's brother's daughter, though the actual relationship between Margaret and Taylor George is somewhat unclear; see George). Rachel Wysie George was born 21 Aug. 1874, and died 20 Sept. 1960 (P02; P05; TR1961). At some unknown point, probably circa 1890, "John Ballard, a white man from Lincoln county, N.C.," was acquitted at York County Court of "assaulting John Brown, a Catawba Indian, with intent to kill" (Furman n.d.) His home was mentioned as a favorite dancing place (Speck 1939b, 47). John Brown, his wife Rachel, and their children are listed together in the 1900 and 1910 censuses (C1900a; C1910a). He and his wife lost four children during the influenza epidemic of 1918. He was chief of the Catawbias in 1923 and 1924 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). He died 20 June 1927, aged 59, and is buried in the old cemetery on the Reservation (CM; P02; P05).

Children of John Brown and Rachel Wysie George (P02; P05; C1910a; C1900a; other sources as cited):

- i. Early Morgan Brown, b. 26 Jan. 1891; d. 16 March 1963. He married, 4 July 1910, Edith Berthe Harris, daughter of David Adam Harris (P02; C1910a; C1900a); he later married Emma (Harris) Canty, Wesley Harris's daughter (see TR1956; TR1961; McDavid n.d., 111; C1900a; C1910a).
- ii. Sallie Rebecca Brown, b. 22 Sept. 1893; still living in 1986, according to her son Samuel Beck, who lives near the Mormon Church just off the Catawba reservation proper. She married, 24 Dec. 1914, Fletcher John Beck, son of Jefferson Swafford and Lillie Florence Beck, part Cherokee, who was born 11 March 1893. They had six children, two of whom married Catawbas (P02; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 571).
- iii. Arzada Brown, b. 3 July 1896; still living on the Reservation in 1986. She married, 5 July 1912, John Idle Sanders (see also Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571), son of John Sanders (C1910a), who was born 12 Oct. 1892 and died 27 Aug. 1973 (CM; TR1956; TR1961). They had several children.
- iv. Cora Brown, b. 13 August 1898; d. 9 Oct. 1918 (CM; P02). She married, 22 April 1917, Ernest Sanders, son of John Sanders (P02; C1910a; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). She and their infant son Melvin Sanders died within a day of each other during the 'flu epidemic of 1918.
- v. Maggie (or Abbie?) Brown, b. 17 March 1901; d. 5 Oct. 1918 (CM; P02) married, 6 April 1916, Richard J. Harris.
- vi. John William Brown, b. 13 April 1903 (P02; CM gives 15 April which is more likely to be in error than P02); d. 4 Oct. 1918 (CM; P02).
- vii. Roy Brown, b. 28 Jan. 1905; m., 23 May 1931, Edna Mae Wheelock, apparently daughter of Archie and Rosa (Harris) Wheelock, who was born 14 May 1911 (see P02; C1910a; TR1956; TR1961). They were both still living on the Reservation in 1960 (TR1961).
- viii. Mary Rachel Brown, b. 11 July 1907; m., 9 Dec. 1924, Olin Flow Plyler (P02; CM; TR1956; TR1961); d. 22 Feb. 1955 (P02; CM). Several children.
- ix. Henry Brown, b. 31 March 1909; d. 12 June 1911 (P02; CM).
- x. Ethel Alberta Brown, b. 6 Oct. 1911; d. 8 Oct. 1918 (P02; CM).
- xi. George Brown, b. 16 Sept. 1914; married, 15 Oct. 1952, Mildred Tomlinson.

CANTY

To 1850 only.

There were many white Cantys in north central South Carolina in the 1700s, and at least two were associated with the Catawbas early on. William Cantey was the first recorded South Carolina trader among the Catawbas, from approximately 1707 to 1711 (Brown 1966, 107, 110). In 1712, Captain

John Cantey had command of 41 Catawbas during the Yamassee War (Brown 1966, 131-132). Undoubtedly the first Catawba Cantys were descended from intermarriages between these or other white Cantys and Catawba women.

The first recorded Canty was George Canty, who served in the Revolution in 1780 (M02), signed a petition in 1792 (G1792), and served as Major in the Catawba tribal government from 27 Nov. 1801 to 28 Sept. 1810 and possibly a little beyond (G1801; G1805; L). He probably died soon after 1810, since in 1813 Col. Jacob Ayres was paid "one Horse for seven years rents...the above rent was paid on a/c of the heirs of the late Major Canty and is to be paid hereafter to them" (PB, 121). Rent on that lease was subsequently paid to Nancy, Richardson, and Johnston Kennedy, and to the family of Billey Canty. Billey Canty, I suspect, was the son of George Canty. I have no idea what the connection between the Canty family and the Kennedy family was, if any. At one point I thought that Kennedy was a corrupted form of Canty, or vice versa, but upon seeing the two families clearly distinguished in the Plat Book, I don't think so any more.

Brown (1966, 271) gives us a list of Catawbas who purportedly served in the Revolution who are not mentioned in the Drennan paybill (i.e. M02), citing a source in Lyman Copeland Draper's Draper Manuscripts. William Cantey is included in this list. I have found no record of any William Canty living before 1811, and given the general unreliability of Brown, on top of the failing memories of the old men who told Lyman Draper about the Catawbas, I suspect that this William Canty is an error for Billey Canty of the Plat Book period, or for George Canty, who did serve in the Revolution. I highly doubt that this putative William Canty, Revolutionary soldier, might have been the same as the Billey Canty of the Plat Book, for Billey Canty, I believe, was too young to have served in the Revolution.

As mentioned above, Billey Canty may have been the son of George Canty of the Revolution, for after Billey's death his family was given rents on the lease assigned to the heirs of the late Major Canty (PB, 121). Our first record of him is his mark on a petition of 29 Nov. 1811 (G1811). He had no military title then, but by 18 Aug. 1813 he was Capt. Billey Canty (L), and he signed a petition dated 28 Nov. 1815 as "Cap^t W^m Canty." He was last known to be living on 31 July 1816 when he was paid rent (PB, 211).

Harriot Canty took rents for the heirs of B. Canty (PB, 106-107). Another list of rent payments assigns rent to "Billey Cantys sister" and then pays to Harriot Canty and John Joe (PB, 168-169). Still another list of rent payments in the Plat Book lists payments to Billey Canty, then one payment to "the sister and heir of Billey Canty," and then payments to Harriot Canty on 6 June 1822 (PB, 210-211). These references prove that Billey Canty was dead by 6 June 1822 and that he had a sister Harriot. But Billey Canty still had family living on 18 August 1823 when General Jacob Ayres was paid "the rents due to the family of Billey Canty" (PB, 121; see also pp. 260-261).

Harriot Canty, Billey's sister, was living by 24 Oct. 1819 (PB, 169) and was last known alive on 25 June 1827 (PB, 113). She is so strongly associated with John Joe in the Plat Book that I suspect she was his wife (see

PB, 112, 120, 162, 163, 169, 174). She was also associated once with Billy Kelley in the Plat Book (p. 215).

Lewis Canty is the last of the Cantys mentioned frequently in the Plat Book. He was living as early as 12 August 1817 (PB, 127). The Plat Book tells us explicitly on page 320 that he was married to Sally Ayres by 7 August 1825, when Lewis Canty and Sally Ayres entered into an agreement about the rents belonging to Sally's sister Betsy Ayres; Lewis and Sally's "children or grandchildren (as the case may be)" were mentioned. Lewis was also associated with Jinney Scott (PB, 145, 238), with Sally New River (PB, 145, 238), and with General Jacob Ayres (PB, 297).

Lewis was a captain in the Catawba government by 4 Dec. 1821, when he signed a petition (G1821). In a partial search of Catawba land leases, I found leases signed by Lewis Canty from 13 May 1824 to 21 Aug. 1830, and Dr. James Merrell, who searched all the leases, found leases dated from 1820 to 1835. In leases up to 1824 he was designated Capt. Lewis Canty. Between the summer of 1824 and the summer of 1825 he was promoted to Colonel, second in command under General Jacob Ayres. Though he signed the petition of 1821 with his mark, all the leases which I saw with his name on them were actually signed by him, making him only the second known literate Catawba, after John Nettles (L). Presumably Lewis died shortly after he last signed leases in 1835.

Several other Cantys appear briefly in the Plat Book, but can't be connected to the ones I have already mentioned. The heirs of J. Canty were mentioned (PB, 144); rent on that lease was later given to Lewis Canty, and he may have been related to J. Canty. A Nancy Canty is mentioned (PB, 250); this may be an error for Nancy Kennedy. A Sally Canty is mentioned four times, twice with Harriet Canty. She may or may not be Lewis Canty's wife Sally (Ayres) Canty; her association with Harriet Canty leads me to suspect that she was not Lewis's wife (PB, 162, 236, 237, 267). Finally, probably about 1820 Henry Canty and Lucey Canty were assigned to take the rent on the lands of Robert Mursh, the Pamunkey who moved in with the Catawbans (PB, 262).

The next generation of Cantys were adults during the late 1840s and early 1850s, a time when a glut of Catawba records allows us to reconstruct a fair amount of Catawba genealogy. Franklin, Eliza, Peggy, and Rosey Canty all appear on Catawba records between 1847 and 1853. All we know of Rosey is that she was living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849 when she was 36 years old, thus born about 1813/14; perhaps she was a daughter of Billy Canty.

Similarly, we know relatively little about Peggy. She signed petitions in North Carolina in 1847 and 1848 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR Misc., 1848, M-280). She was living in Greenville Dist., S.C., aged 20, in 1849, thus born around 1828/29 (which leads me to suspect that she was a younger sister of Franklin Canty, who was also living in Greenville Dist. in 1849, aged 23). In 1853 she and her three children received supplies (Massey 1854, 21).

This sketch is unfinished, partly because a complete analysis of the Mormon records in LDS1985 is a prerequisite for understanding the Cantys of the period from 1850 to 1880.

CLINTON

Members of this family only appear in records from 1810 to 1827, and left no descendants by this name. Jamey Clinton, the most prominent of the name, was living by Sept. 1810 when he received rent due him (PB, 133). He signed a petition on 30 Nov. 1810 (G1810) but appears on no further petitions. He is mentioned frequently in the Plat Book from then on, with entries dating up to 4 April 1827 (PB, 241). One particular entry deserves special attention: on page 240 Jamey Clinton is assigned rent, then his name is crossed out, and "Now Sally Ayres his wife 1819" is written underneath. No payments were made to Sally Ayres, though, and payments to Jamey Clinton continued under that least until 1827 (PB, 241). There are no impediments to Jamey Clinton having had a wife, but it seems unlikely that she was Sally Ayres, for Sally Ayres was married to Lewis Canty (PB, 127, 168, 320). Possibly there were two Sally Ayreses (see Sally Ayres).

Numerous people are associated with Jamey Clinton in the Plat Book. In particular, on 31 Sept. 1816 he willed his rents to Jamey Kegg and Betsey Kegg now Ayres (PB, 284) and on 3 Dec. 1818 willed further rents to Betsey Ayres (PB, 331). Doubtlessly he was related to them, for connections with Jamey Kegg, Betsey (Kegg) Ayres, and her son John Ayres appear all through the Plat Book (113, 133, 149, 150, 151, 171, 176, 188, 199, 229, 241, 298, 299). Other minor connections are with Sally New River (133, 241), the White family (133, 257), General Jacob Scott (241), and the Widow Gilbert George (256). Also, the only time Sugar Jamey (fl. 1780-1814) appears in the Plat Book, he is succeeded by Jamey Clinton, which may indicate a connection between the two (PB, 241, 267).

The only other documented member of the Clinton family is Peggy Clinton. In the index of Indians receiving rent in the Plat Book (pp. 264-267), rent on the lands of Spell Kimble was originally assigned to her; then her name was crossed out for "Sus. Redhead." The payment record of this lease also assigns her the rents, but "Sus. Redhead" is not mentioned in the list of payments, nor is Peggy Clinton; General Jacob Ayres received all the rent money (PB, 180-181). Similarly on another lease, Peggy Clinton was assigned all the rents, but General Jacob Ayres received them (pp. 158-159). No other record of Peggy Clinton exists; no record shows any connection with Jamey Clinton; and the identities of both Peggy and Jamey Clinton are unknown.

COOK

Tom Cook served in the Revolution in 1780 (M02) so was probably born prior to 1765. As Capt. Tho. Cook he signed the petition of 1792 (G1792), and he remained a Captain in the Catawba tribal leadership until his disappearance from the records in 1812. He signed every Catawba petition that I have found from 1792 to 1811 (G1801, G1805, G1810, G1811), once more as Captain. He signed Catawba leases dated from 18 August 1810 to 17 Sept. 1812 (L). His last appearance in Catawba records is his only entry in the

Plat Book: in October 1812 rent was “paid for a Child to Cap^t Cook” (PB, 121). Presumably he died soon afterwards, for no other record of him appears in the Plat Book. Rent on that lease was taken by various people after 1812, none of whom can be identified as his specific successor.

The child who was paid for in 1812 may have been the second Capt. Thomas Cook, who was living in 1839-40. I did not find any leases signed by him when I searched one box of the Catawba land leases at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. But Dr. James Merrell, who searched all six boxes, found three leases signed by him in 1839 (L). On 14 November 1840, “Capt. Tho^s Cook” signed a petition (G1840). No further record appears.

GORDON

Lewis Gordon, the first Catawba Gordon, was the son of Lucinda Harris and a white man, supposedly named Stell Gordon, who was born in Providence, N.C. (see under Lucinda Harris); McDonald Furman said in 1894 that he “looked for more like a white man than an Indian” (Furman 1894). Lewis was born in Fort Mill, S.C. (C1900a), circa 1867/68 (C1910a), or circa 1868/69 (C1880d), or in August 1869 (C1900a). He is called Lewis B. Gordon on some records (N1900; C1910a).

Lewis Gordon married Sallie Brown, the daughter of John Brown and Margaret George (McDavid n.d., 113; Speck 1934, xi; Speck 1939b, 26; I01; I02; C1900a; C1910a; N1900). The 1900 census puts their marriage date at 1887/88, and the 1910 census puts the date at 1888/89 (C1900a; C1910a). But they did not have any children until Ruth’s birth in 1898. Sallie (Brown) Gordon was living as late as 1943 (TR1943).

Ruth and Ervin Gordon are stated to be children of Lewis and Sallie Gordon many times (C1900a; C1910a; McDavid n.d., 113). These same three sources also state that Lewis and Sallie Gordon had a daughter Nora Gordon. Nora was definitely a daughter of Sallie Gordon. But it isn’t clear that Lewis Gordon was her father. She was born in September 1884 (C1900a, supported by C1910a), before Lewis and Sallie Gordon’s 1887/89 marriage date as given by the 1900 and 1910 censuses, and when Lewis Gordon would have been only about fifteen years old, a possible but unlikely age for a father. Speck called her Nore [sic] Brown, seemingly disassociating her from Lewis Gordon, though he also stated that Lewis and Sallie Gordon had had a son and two daughters (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). Georgia Harris told me that Nora was Sallie Brown’s daughter, and didn’t mention Lewis Gordon (I02). Obviously, Nora Brown or Nora Gordon should not be considered a daughter of Lewis Gordon until some kind of explicit proof can be given.

Child of Sallie (Brown) Gordon (sources cited above):

- i. Nora Brown or Nora Gordon, born September 1884; married William Sanders, son of John Sanders, about 1902/03, and had several children (I01; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; McDavid n.d., 113, 120; C1910a).

Children of Lewis Gordon and Sallie Brown (C1900a; N1900; C1910a; McDavid n.d., 113):

- ii. Ruth L. Gordon (N1900; C1910a; McDavid n.d., 113; “Rhett” in C1900a), born April 1898; married John Ayres (McDavid n.d., 112), and had several children.
- iii. Lewis Ervin Gordon, born 9 April 1900 (CM, supported by C1900a; C1910a; N1900; McDavid n.d., 113); died 23 March 1954 (CM). Onetime chief of the Catawbas. He married, 26 Nov. 1916, Eliza Jane Harris (P01; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571); she was the daughter of James and Margaret Elizabeth (Harris) Harris; see under Harris. Their daughter Gladys was born 22 August 1921 (P01; Speck 1944, 38; McDavid n.d., 112).

HARRIS

The Harris family is one of the oldest traceable families in the Catawba Nation. In the late 1800s, it was also the largest. Catawbas on the Reservation today will tell you that there are two Harris families. I have identified four distinct Harris families, plus several miscellaneous, unconnected HARRISES, and they will be dealt with in the following sections:

(I) Early and Miscellaneous HARRISES

(II) David Harris (b. 1809/10), his sons John, Jim, and Peter, and their descendants, including Ben, Robert Lee, Jim, D.A., and David Harris.

(III) Allen Harris (b. 1813/14), his wife Rhoda, and their children and descendants, including all members of the Owl family.

(IV) Absalom (“Epp”) Harris, his sister Nancy, and speculation on the identity of their parents.

(V) Lucinda Harris (b. 1839/40), her family, and her son Wesley Harris.

I am almost certain that if one could trace back far enough, all of these families would turn out to be related. Exact connections are unclear, but when one considers that the earliest, speculative progenitors of families II, III, and IV were born in 1809/10, 1813/14, and probably circa 1805/06 respectively, it seems clear that they were of the same generation, and if not siblings, possibly cousins. Lucinda Harris’s identity is less clear, but I would not be surprised in the least if she was a member of families II or IV.

The origin of the Harris surname is unclear, especially because of its early appearance. There were many white HARRISES in the Catawba area during the Plat Book era, and the name could have derived from one of their ancestors.

(I) Early and miscellaneous Harrises

The Harris name appears in Catawba history as early as 28 October 1738 when “John Harris King of the Charraws” and “Captain Harris of Sugar Town” were commissioned as Catawba headmen (Brown 1966, 218). “Capt. Jeamy Harris of Old Sugar Town” was living in 1741 (*ibid.*, 220). Brown tells us that a Capt. Harris was also named Chuppepaw (*ibid.*, 228), but I have not followed up on her source. Chippapaw or Chupahaw was living in 1756 when he signed a treaty between Virginia and the Catawbas (V1906, 241, 243-244). Capt. Harris was a head man of the Catawbas on 15 Oct. 1754 and again about December 1757 (McDowell 1970, 14, 421).

The next Harris of record is Peter Harris. Early information on his life is sketchy, speculative, and unreliable. His gravestone, placed by Thomas D. Spratt, says that he was seventy years old at his death in 1823, thus born in 1752 or 1753 (transcription in Brown 1966, 272-273; Spratt 1876). Thomas D. Spratt (1876) said that Peter was “left an orphan by the smallpox,” and raised by Spratt’s grandfather, Thomas Spratt. The great smallpox epidemic of 1759 would have found Peter Harris six years old, which lends credence to Spratt’s account. Peter Harris served in the Revolution in 1780 (M02). After the Revolution, he was apparently taken on tour to England (Spratt 1876; Brown 273-274). He is next heard of on 22 Jan. 1813 when he was paid rent (PB, 243). He was “interpreter” on a petition of Catawba headmen dated 28 Nov. 1815 (G1815), and signed a petition dated 3 Dec. 1821 as “Capten” Peter Harris (G1821). On 25 Sept. 1819 he willed rent to “his wife Betsey Harris...during her lifetime and after her death her son to take it if he out-lives her” (PB, 330). On 19 July 1822 his wife was called Betsy Dudgeon (PB, 302-303), which may have been her maiden name. In 1822 he petitioned the state of South Carolina for a pension for his Revolutionary service. The petition is undated, but it is accompanied by a letter from Hugh White, superintendent of the Catawba Nation, dated 25 Oct. 1822. He was granted a petition of \$60 per year effective December 1822. Shortly before his death, he went to live with James Spratt, son of the Thomas Spratt who allegedly raised him (Spratt 1876). In November 1824, James Spratt petitioned the state of South Carolina once more, asking reimbursement for expenses incurred in housing Peter Harris, who “had billoted himself on the Charrity of your petitioner in his last sickness and death,” which occurred on 6 Dec. 1823 (M03). After his death, Betsy Harris took some of his rents (PB, 242), and Betsy Dudgeon reported that Peter Harris died in debt to her (PB, 310). The recollections of Thomas D. Spratt (Spratt 1876) suggest that Peter was related to David Harris (born 1809/10), who was a son of Priskey Bullen, but no relationship can be explicitly proven; see under David Harris. The identity of the son of Betsy Dudgeon/Harris mentioned in Peter’s 1819 will is unknown.

There were several other early Harrises whose ancestry and descendants are virtually unknown:

- A George Harris served in the Revolution (M02), but I have no further record of him.

- Nancy Harris received rent as early as 1816 and as late as 29 August 1821 (PB, 105, 227, 235), was associated with someone named Sam Evans (PB, 227, 235), and with James Harris, who received rent in July 1827 on a lease originally assigned to Nancy (PB, 227).
- William Harris was a major in the Catawba tribal government by 17 Oct. 1834, and was promoted to General by 14 July 1837; he remained General until at least September 1839 (L). He was probably the young man whom David Hutchison (1843, p. 1, col. 3) says was elected General after the death of General Jacob Ayres but soon died. At any rate, he was probably dead by 1 March 1840 since he did not sign the Treaty of Nation Ford (MR1840). See family IV for discussion of the possibility that he was the father of Absalom and Nancy Harris.
- Jane Harris was among the Catawbas “in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Echota Mission,” N.C., in 1849 (C1849).
- Polly Harris was in North Carolina in 1848 and 1849, but she is discussed under David Harris since I believe she may have been David’s wife.
- Mary Harris was living in North Carolina on 4 Oct. 1848 when she signed a petition (LR, Misc., 1848, M280).
- Jesse Harris was aged 17 in 1849, thus born circa 1831/32 (C1849); he had a wife and two children in 1853 (Massey 1854, 13), but nothing more is known of him.
- Julia Harris received an allotment from the Catawba agent on 10 April 1875 (R1875). The size of the allotment indicates a family of five persons, but 1875 was one of the years when allotment size does not always accurately reflect family size.

(II) David Harris

1. DAVID HARRIS. A David Harris was aged 40 in 1849, thus born about 1808/09 (C1849). On 21 May 1819 Priskey Bullen bequeathed all her rent to John Genet Brown, excepting that on the land of James Miller and James Moore, which she reserved “to herself (for a little boy)” (PB, 331). Rent on the land of James Moore, which was originally assigned to Priskey Bullen, was later assigned to “David Harris son of Priskey,” and David Harris was paid rent on this land at four times from November 1823 to July 1827 (PB, 164-165). Three of these four times, other people were paid for him, which in the Plat Book is often a sign that the person was unable to take rents for themselves, for some reason, which in this case may have been David Harris’s age. But it is clear that Priskey Bullen had a son David Harris who was a

little boy in 1819 but just old enough to take rents from 1823 to 1827, and the birthdate of 1808/09 of the David Harris living in 1849 fits this David Harris well.

The identity of David Harris's father is not known. One clue is given by the recollections of Thomas Dryden Spratt (Spratt 1876). He said that Peter Harris (for whom see Early and Miscellaneous HARRISES) had a son, who married a Catawba woman, and had three sons, two of whom served in the Civil War but had died by 1876. The life of David Harris and his sons fits this account perfectly: he had three sons, two of whom served in the Civil War and died by 1876. David was probably related to Peter Harris, especially since he named a son Peter. But was David Harris actually a son of Peter Harris of the Revolution, by Priskey Bullen? Peter died in 1823, aged 70, and would have been 56 years old when David was born—a possible, but unlikely father, especially since Peter's wife is given in other sources as Betsy Dudgeon (although there is no proof that Betsey Dudgeon was Peter's wife in 1808-09). It is more likely that David Harris was Peter Harris's grandson, and that Spratt skipped a generation, not uncommon in writing down genealogies from memory.

David Harris was a captain in the Catawba tribal government from 28 July 1838 to September 1839 (L), and a colonel by 1 March 1840 when he signed the Treaty of Nation Ford (MR1840, 237). But he was called Major David Harris when he signed another petition on 14 Nov. 1840 (G1840). He was in North Carolina by 1847 when he signed a petition (LR, Misc., 1847, P17), and was in Greenville District, S.C., by 1849, though he was still "in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission," N.C., that year (C1849). He signed an 1850 petition for tribal lands in Greenville District (G1850). The last record of him is in 1853, when from 14 February to 4 November he and his wife, but no children, received supplies from Catawba agent B.S. Massey (Massey 1854, 21).

David Harris's wife's name is not known for sure, but she may have been Polly Harris, who was listed next to him in the list of Catawbans connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church (C1849).

The *only* evidence that the children named here were actually of David Harris is from Spratt 1876, and from the testimony of Robert Lee Harris to Raven McDavid. Robert Lee told McDavid (n.d., 109) that his grandfather's name was Dave Harris; he didn't know his grandmother's name. The ages of David Harris's oldest children, when compared with his age, provide good circumstantial evidence that they could have been his children, and we should also note as further evidence that Peter Harris, David's son, named a son David, and that James Harris, also David's son, named a son David Adam Harris. David Harris possibly had other children besides the three listed here.

Children of David Harris by an unknown wife, possibly Polly Harris (McDavid n.d., 109; supported also by Spratt, 1876; C1849 strongly

suggests that John, James, and Peter were brothers by listing them next to each other, aged 18, 16, and 14 respectively):¹⁵

- i. 2. JOHN HARRIS, born circa 1830/31 (C1849; Owens and Thomas 1983, 59).
- ii. 3. JAMES HARRIS, born circa 1832/33 (C1849; Owens and Thomas 1983, 59) or circa 1833/34 (CM). His granddaughter Georgia Harris told me that his name was James Thomas Harris (I01).
- iii. 4. PETER HARRIS, born circa 1834/35 (C1849); the 1880 census gives his birthdate as circa 1830/31 but this could easily be in error.

2. JOHN HARRIS, born circa 1830/31, was first recorded on 4 Oct. 1848 when he signed a petition in North Carolina (LR, Misc., 1848, M280). He was living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849 (C1849). He was married in 1853 to a wife Jinny (Massey 1854, 15). He went to visit the Choctaw country in 1859 with Allen Harris, and was called one of the chiefs of the Catawba Indians (N1860). Apparently he and/or his brother Jim succeeded Allen Harris as chief after Allen's death in 1860 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). On 20 Dec. 1861 he enlisted in the Confederate army (Company H, 12th S.C. Infantry) at Camp Pemberton, S.C., with his brother James Harris. He took a musket ball in the left leg at the Battle of Antietam at Sharpsburg, Maryland on 17 Sept. 1862, and was captured there by the Union Army. He was sent to Fort Monroe for exchange on 11 May 1863, was later at home, and was absent without leave from 29 April 1864 to 11 August 1864, though satisfactory evidence for his absence was later given—apparently the musket ball in his leg, from two years earlier, was bothering him (M05, 12th S.C. Inf., #759; Owens and Thomas 1983, 59; see also Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). His Civil War record is almost identical to his brother's, and both brothers died in 1874, so at first I was skeptical that they were actually two different people. But they are clearly differentiated in all known records, and in various family and oral records.

On 10 Oct. 1863 he signed a petition of heads of families in support of Catawba agent John R. Patton's military exemption (M04). For some reason, written in between the "John" and the "Harris," but somewhat above the line, was "Mush." I have not found any connection, however, between John Harris and the Mush or Mursh family.

John Harris appears on Catawba allotment lists from 15 April 1869 to 14 April 1874 (R1869, R1870, R1871, R1874). After 14 April 1874 he appears on no allotment lists, but his widow Nancy does. He supposedly died in 1874 (Owens and Thomas 1983, 59; see also Spratt 1876).

I don't know what happened to his wife Jinny, who was living in 1853 (see above). Possibly she is the same as John Harris's well-known wife Nancy (Harris) Harris (McDavid n.d., 109; I02; I03; Hart 1981, 91; see also C1880c; C1900a), who was the sister of Absalom ("Epp") Harris (see Harris,

¹⁵Mormon records support the identification of David Harris as the father of John, James, and Peter, and suggest that David's wife was named Nancy (LDS1985/7311, 41).

section IV), and was born circa 1829/30 (C1880c), or in May 1835 (C1900a), or about 1837/38 (Whyte 1860), and died sometime between June 1908 and 15 Dec. 1908 (the exact date should be available with a little work; see Hart 1981, 91). She may be the Mrs. Nancy Harris Brady, in whose house Mormon elders held a meeting in May 1883 (see Brown 1966, 340), which would suggest that she married a Brady at some point after her husband's death, possibly a white man named Samuel B. Brady, who was living on the Reservation in 1880 (C1880a).

All of John Harris's children, I believe, were by his second wife Nancy. She had two children in July 1860, probably Billy Bowlegs and Angeline (Whyte 1860). The 1900 census says that she had six children (C1900a). She can be proved the mother of Robert Lee and Ben Perry Harris (see C1880c; C1900a; Hart 1981, 91; I02; I03; Ward 1940, 9); Billy Bowlegs Harris and Johnny Harris are called brothers of Ben Perry Harris and Robert Lee Harris by two sources (McDavid n.d., 109; I03) and are proved brothers by the 1880 census (C1880a); and the addition of Angeline and Fanny, given only by Robert Lee Harris for Raven McDavid (n.d., 109) rounds out the six children listed by the 1900 census. I doubt very much that any of John Harris's children were by his wife in 1853, Jinny Harris, unless Jinny was the same person as Nancy.

Children of John Harris and Nancy Harris, sources cited above:

- i. William Harris, always known as Billy Bowlegs. He was born about 1857/58 (C1880a) or in April 1857 (C1900a) or circa 1855/56 (C1910a, which erroneously calls him a Canty). He never married and did not have any children. He appears on allotment lists from 22 Feb. 1876 to 1883, always living alone (R1876-R1883). He was chief in 1905 and 1906 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). Wes White says that he died in 1922 (White 1981, 47), but he was an informant for Frank Speck as late as 1924 (Speck 1939b, 49). Speck called him deceased in 1938 (Speck 1938b, 198), and said in 1939 that "Billy Harris used to bite his tongue 'so the dead would not come back and bother us.' No further explanation was forthcoming from Billy, who has been dead some years..." (Speck 1939b, 43).
- ii. Angeline Harris, given only by McDavid (n.d., 109), who apparently collected his information from Robert Lee Harris. I have no other record of her, and must question her existence for that reason. Of her mother's six children only three were living in 1900 (C1900a). Those were Billy Bowlegs, Robert Lee, and Ben Perry, so Angeline was probably dead by 1900, if she existed at all.
- iii. John Harris, born about 1862/63 (C1880a). He was alive in 1880, but probably was dead by 1900, since his mother had only three living children then (C1900a).
- iv. Fanny Harris, given only by McDavid (n.d., 109). See Angeline Harris, for everything said about her is applicable to Fanny also.

- v. 5. ROBERT LEE HARRIS, born 15 Sept. 1867 (CM; C1900a). C1880a, C1910a, and Ward (1940, 9) also give estimates of his birthdate ranging from 1867 to 1869. He was obviously named for Civil War General Robert E. Lee, one of many Catawbias named for political figures during the 1860s and 1870s.
- vi. 6. BENJAMIN PERRY HARRIS, born about 1869/70 (C1880c; C1910a) or in February 1871 (C1900a), and obviously named for Benjamin Perry, provisional governor of South Carolina in 1865.

3. JIM HARRIS was living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849 (C1849). He had a wife and one child by 1853 when he received supplies from the Catawba agent (Massey 1854, 18). Apparently he and/or his brother John succeeded Allen Harris as chief after Allen's death in 1859 (see N1860; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). On 20 Dec. 1861 he enlisted in the Confederate Army with his brother, at Camp Pemberton, S.C., as a cook in Co. H, 12th S.C. Infantry. He was wounded at Sharpsburg, Maryland, on 17 Sept. 1862. He was present on muster rolls as late as November/December 1864 (M05, 12th S.C. Inf., #757). He signed a petition of heads of Catawba families in support of agent John R. Patton's exemption from military service, dated 10 Oct. 1863 (M04). He received allotments from the Catawba agent from 1 May 1869 to 2 May 1874; two of the allotments, in 1869 and 1874 respectively, indicate that he had a family of six persons (R1869; R1870; R1872; R1874). He died in May 1874 and is buried in the old cemetery on the Reservation (CM).

His wife's name was Sarah. She received allotments from the Catawba agent after her husband's death, and in 1883 was living on the Reservation and still had one child, but it is impossible to separate her from the other Sarah and Sally Harris(es) who were living at that time. (see R1869-R1883). She is known to be Jim Harris's wife only from oral and traditional sources (McDavid n.d., 122, 130; I01) and from the fact that she is known to have been the mother of children whom oral tradition ascribes to Jim Harris (see C1880a, C1900a, C1910a). Sarah was born about 1839/40 (C1880a), or about 1831/32 (C1900a) or about 1834/35 (C1910a). The big question is: what was her maiden name? There is no doubt who her mother was. She was undoubtedly Rebecca Mursh, an almost legendary figure who appears to have also been the mother of Margaret George, Taylor George, Nelson George, John Scott, Betsy Scott, and Jefferson Ayres. This is shown by McDavid (n.d., 130) and supported by Speck's statement that Sarah's son David Adam Harris married his mother's brother's daughter Della George (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 562), as well as oral information (I01). But her surname is given both as Scott (McDavid n.d., 122, 130) and Ayres (I01). Rebecca Mursh had children by both these names, and it is difficult to be sure which was her actual surname. Sarah was also called Sarah Jane Ayres, not just Sarah Ayres, by her granddaughter Georgia Harris (I01).¹⁶ She was alive as late as 1910 (C1910a); I have not found her death date.

¹⁶Mormon records help resolve this puzzle (see LDS1985/7311, 48).

Children of Jim Harris and his wife Sarah (proved by McDavid n.d., 122, 130; I01; Furman 1894; C1880a; C1900a; C1910a; C1910a tells us Sarah had had eight children, of whom two were living—I have no record of any children besides the four listed here):

- i. A child, born by 1853, as the 1853 pay list of the Catawbas lists Jim Harris with a wife and one child (Massey 1854, 18). No further record.
- ii. 7. JAMES HARRIS JR., born March or May 1858 (C1900a; supporting evidence from C1880a; C1910a; CM; Furman 1894).
- iii. Martha Harris, born circa 1859/60 (C1880a); married John Sanders (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; I01) and died by 1900 (see N1900). For her descendants, see under Sanders.
- iv. 8. DAVID ADAM HARRIS, more commonly known as D.A. Harris, Toad Harris, or, as a boy, *Nepetcikpo* (literally “one toad” in Catawba); born 15 June 1872 (LDS1985/7311, 42, 46; supported by C1880a, C1900a, C1910a, and Furman 1894).

4. PETER HARRIS was living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849 (C1849). He was living alone when he received supplies from Catawba agent B.S. Massey in 1853 (Massey 1854, 19). On 13 May 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate Army, 2 Co. G, 17th South Carolina Infantry. He was captured at Petersburg, 2 April 1865, and was a prisoner of war at Hart’s Island in New York Harbor. He was released 16 June 1865. Among his military service records at the National Archives are several records of being treated for pneumonia in various hospitals. A descriptive list called him of York District, S.C., although another called him of “Black stalk” (i.e. Blackstock), Chester District, S.C.; he had a dark complexion, dark hair, black eyes, and stood 5’ 8½ tall (M05, 17th S.C.Inf., #930). He was paid allotments from 1869 to 1883 (R1869-R1883). The allotment of 1883 is the last record I have of him; he does not appear on the 1900 census and must have died between 1883 and 1900.

McDavid (n.d., 113) says that a Peter Harris married Easter Brown, and had a son Tom Harris, who married Nan Gordon, a white woman. I have no other proof of this marriage. But since a Tom Gordon who was the right age to be a son of Peter Harris did exist, I am including Tom as a child of Peter Harris simply because there is no other place to fit him in the Harris family, and since there is no evidence to contradict McDavid’s statement that he was a son of Peter Harris. At least one Easter or Esther Brown did exist, and I have considered the identity of the one who supposedly married Peter Harris under Brown.

Peter Harris definitely did marry a wife named Elizabeth (C1880a; I04). She was born about 1830/31 (C1880a). She was alive in 1883 (R1883) but was probably dead by the time of the 1900 census, in which she was not listed.¹⁷

¹⁷Mormon records give evidence of Peter Harris’s first marriage, identify his second wife as M.E.L. Sanders, flesh out our understanding of his children, and raise questions about the

Possible child of Peter Harris and Easter Brown (McDavid n.d., 113):

i. 9. TOM HARRIS.

Children of Peter Harris and his wife Elizabeth (sources as cited; all but Gus proven by C1880a):

- ii. 10. EDWARD HARRIS, born circa 1862/63 (C1880a) or about 1866/67 (C1910a) His early birth, in relation to the other three children listed here, makes it very possible that he was Peter's child, but by a different wife, not Elizabeth.
- iii. 11. DAVID HARRIS, born circa 1873/74 (C1880a) or July 1872 (C1900) or circa 1876/77 (C1910a); always known as David Harris or as Davie Harris to distinguish him from David A. Harris (D.A. or Toad Harris).
- iv. Gus Harris, born July 1875 (C1900a). He is not listed in the 1880 census as a child of Peter and Elizabeth, which makes me question this identification. The only proof of his being a son of Peter Harris is the fact that he was listed next to Edward Harris in a list of Catawbans on the Reservation in 1900 (N1900). Catawba expert Dr. Thomas J. Blumer of Washington, D.C., also told me that he was a member of this family, and I trust Dr. Blumer's long association with the Catawbans enough to include Gus as a member of this family.
- v. Butler Harris, born circa 1877/78 (C1880a) or July 1876 (C1900a). Sallie Wade told me that Butler Harris died the spring after Tom Stephens died (i.e. spring 1906—see Tom Stephens' gravestone [CM]). She said that he died of cancer, and that he was reasonably old (though he could not have been more than twenty-nine) but she gave explicit relationships which prove that she was talking about this Butler Harris. He was unmarried in 1900 (C1900a).

5. ROBERT LEE HARRIS, born 15 September 1867, died 8 November 1954 (CM). He was among the first four converts to the Mormon Church in 1883 (Speck 1939b, 25). He was chief of the Catawbans in 1939 and 1940 (Ward 1940, 9). Wes White says (White 1981, 49) that Robert Lee Harris "married Betsey Harris a Catawba about 1888; no children. Married white in 1924; one child, a daughter, Wynona Harris." He may be the Robert Harris who was the second husband of Nettie (Harris) Owl in 1928 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). More information is needed about Robert Lee Harris's marriages and child(ren).

6. BENJAMIN PERRY HARRIS married Mary Dovie George (P02; White 1981, 50; C1900a; C1910a; I02), daughter of Taylor George and Emily Cobb

distinction between his son Tom, and James Harris Jr. (number 7). See LDS1985/7311, esp. pp. 41-42.

(C1880a; I02; I03), who was born 23 May 1877 (P02; TR1956) or 27 May 1877 (White 1981, 50), and died 12 Sept. 1972 (White 1981, 50). Ben P. Harris died about 1929 (White 1981, 50; supported by Speck 1938b, 198).

Children of Benjamin Perry Harris and Mary Dovie George (C1900a, C1910a):

- i. Sallie H. Harris, born 28 April 1895 (C1900a; TR1961) and still living in 1986 when I interviewed her on the Catawba reservation. She married Will Wade and had several children including Gary Wade, who currently lives on the Reservation.
- ii. Robert W. Harris, born 15 August 1897 (TR1956; C1900a); d. July 1956 (CM). He married his second cousin Isabella Harris, daughter of D.A. Harris, who was born 7 Feb. 1904 (C1910a; TR1956; TR1961); she remarried Ephraim George after his death (TR1961).
- iii. Nancy Cornelia Harris, born 17 October 1899 (C1900a; C1910a; TR1956; TR1961); married Richard Jackson Harris, son of D.A. Harris and Lizzie Patterson (TR1956; TR1961).
- iv. Martha Harris, born 14 Jan. 1902 (TR1956; TR1961; C1910a); married an Eastern Cherokee named Johnson and had one son, Haddon Johnson, who currently lives on the Reservation, and assisted me when I interviewed his aunt Sallie Wade.
- v. Carrie I. Harris, born circa 1904/05 (C1910a); better known as Ida Harris, born 17 April 1904, who had two sons Wilburn (by Richard J. Harris, D.A. Harris's son) and Melvin Harris (see C1900a; C1910a; TR1956; TR1961; I03).
- vi. Benjamin Joseph Harris, born 15 April 1906 (C1910a; TR1956; TR1961); alive in 1961 (TR1961).
- vii. Irene E. Harris, born circa 1907/08 (C1910a).
- viii. Minnie F. Harris, born 23 Dec. 1909; married, first, Ernest Sanders, and later, David Spencer Harris (C1910a; TR1956; TR1961; McDavid n.d., 125).
- ix. Another son, born by 1928 (see Speck and Schaeffer 1928, 570-571).

7. JAMES HARRIS, JR., was first recorded when he signed a petition in 1877 (G1877). By 14 May 1878 he was married to Fannie Canty (R1878, supported by C1880a and I01), for whose ancestry see Canty. She was living as late as 1883 (see R1879-R1883) but died young, certainly by 1894 (I01; Furman 1894), with no children by 1883 (R1883). James Harris was farming twenty-seven acres in 1880, ten of which were planted with Indian corn, seven with oats, and ten with cotton; he owned a horse, cow and calf, two pigs, poultry, and made butter (C1880f). He was among the first four converts to the Mormon Church in 1883 (Speck 1939b, 25). He was elected chief of the Catawbias in November 1892 (Furman 1894) and served possibly until 1897 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565). About 1897, judging from the birthdate of his first child, he married Margaret Elizabeth Harris, daughter

of Epp Harris and Martha Jane White (I01; P01; C1880c; C1900a). She was born 15 August 1879 and died 8 December 1926 (I01; P01). Jim Harris died 30 August 1912 (P01) or 31 August 1912 (CM), and is buried in the old cemetery on the Catawba reservation.

Children of Jim Harris and Margaret Elizabeth Harris (C1910a; P01):

- i. Jesse Allen Harris, born 25 April 1899; died 19 Nov. 1977 (P01); married, 7 Jan. 1942, Jennie Sanders (P01).
- ii. Eliza Jane Harris, born 30 April 1902; died 15 Nov. 1960 (P01; TR1961) married, 26 Nov. 1916, Ervin Gordon, son of Lewis Gordon and Sallie Brown (P01).
- iii. Georgia Henrietta Harris, born 29 July 1905; still living on the "New Reservation" in 1986, when I interviewed her about Catawba history and genealogy, about which she is very knowledgeable. She married, 23 April 1927, (William) Douglas Harris (P01), her second cousin, son of David Harris and grandson of Peter and Elizabeth Harris, for whom see below. He was born 8 Dec. 1905 and died 29 Dec. 1966 (see C1910a; P01; TR1956; TR1961). They had two sons (P01; TR1956; TR1961).
- iv. John Thomas Harris, born 30 July 1907; died 10 July 1912 and buried in the old cemetery on the Reservation (CM).
- v. Robert Lee Harris, born 16 August 1910; died 15 July 1912 and buried in the old cemetery on the Reservation (CM).
- vi. George Furman Harris, born 7 Jan. 1913, and better known as Furman Harris. He married, 30 March 1931, Bertha George (P01) and had several children (see TR1956, TR1961).

8. DAVID ADAM HARRIS, better known as D.A. or Toad Harris. He married, first, about 1891/92, Lizzie Patterson, daughter of James Patterson, for whose ancestry see Patterson (I01; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; C1900a). She was alive as late as 1900 (C1900a). His second wife was (Margaret) Della George, daughter of Taylor George and Emily Cobb, who was born 4 Dec. 1879 (I01; P02; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). He had children by her as early as 1896, while he was married to Lizzie Patterson, and was living with her steadily by 1910 (see C1900a, C1910a). She died 28 Feb. 1917; his third wife was an Irishwoman (see White 1981, 51), Dorothy Price (I04; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571).¹⁸ D.A. Harris served as chief from 1906 to 1917 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; Blue 1955). He died 1 Sept. 1930 (White 1981, 50; see also Speck 1938b, 198).

Children of D.A. Harris and Lizzie Patterson:

¹⁸Speck also calls the wife of David Harris (D.A.'s first cousin, the son of Peter Harris) Dartha Price. But Nola Campbell, David's daughter, told me that D.A. married Dorothy Price and David married Maggie Price (I04).

- i. Edith Berthe Harris, born 13 June 1893 (P02; C1900a; TR1956; TR1961); married Early Brown, son of John Brown and Rachel Wysie George (P02). See under Brown.
- ii. Lavinia M. Harris, born November 1895 (C1900a; C1910a; C1900a erroneously calls her Wade V. Harris); she married Herbert Blue, son of Samuel Taylor Blue and Louisa Hester Jean Canty as his first wife on 17 March 1915, and died before his remarriage on 2 May 1918 (P04).
- iii. Richard Jackson Harris, born 13 Feb. 1898 (C1900a; C1910a; TR1956; TR1961); married Nancy Cornelia Harris, daughter of Ben P. Harris and Mary Dovie George, who was born 17 Oct. 1899 (TR1956; TR1961; see C1900a, C1910a). Richard Harris was living on the Reservation as late as 1980 (White 1981, 51). He also had a son Wilburn by Ida Harris, daughter of Ben P. Harris and Mary Dovie George (TR1956; I03).
- iv. Fannie Harris, born 6 July 1900 (CM); living with her grandmother Sara Harris in 1910 (C1910a); married, first, Alonzo Canty (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571), and second, Ephraim D. George (CM); she died 15 Dec. 1951 (CM).

Children of D.A. Harris and (Margaret) Della George (note that Speck and Schaeffer [1942, 570-571] say that they had two additional daughters, whose names I have not found):

- v. Artemis Harris, born 6 Sept. 1896 (CM; TR1956; C1910a; I01; C1900a says March 1896); died 18 Dec. 1957 (CM). She married her first cousin Theodore Harris, born 27 March 1893 (TR1956; Speck and Schaeffer 1928, 570-571; CM), the son of Wesley Harris and his wife Alice George (Speck and Schaeffer 1928, 570-571; C1900a; C1910a; N1900; I02). They had several children.
- vi. Cora (C1900a) or Carrie L. Harris (N1900), born Dec. 1899 (C1900a). No further record; not necessarily a daughter of D.A. Harris, but definitely a daughter of Della George (C1900a; N1900). No further record.
- vii. Hoyt Sidney Harris, born 1901 (C1910a; CM; I01); died 1955 (CM); a wife Emmaline (Speck and Schaeffer 1928, 570-571).
- viii. Isabel(la) Harris, born 7 Feb. 1904 (C1910a; TR1956; TR1961; I01); married her first cousin Robert W. Harris, son of Ben P. Harris and Mary Dovie George, who was born 15 August 1897 (TR1956; C1900a), and died in 1956 (CM). After his death, she remarried Ephraim George (TR1961).
- ix. Dennis Harris, born possibly circa 1907/08 (C1910a; TR1956 gives 4 June 1904 but this is probably in error; TR1961 gives 8 August 1905 which is more likely; I01); living 1960 (TR1961).
- x. Chester Gilbert Harris, born 15 August 1909 (TR1956; TR1961; roughly supported by C1910a; I01); alive 1961; had several children.

- xi. Floyd Raymond Harris, born 17 Nov. 1913 (CM; I01); died 23 Jan. 1952 (CM).

9. TOM HARRIS, supposedly son of Peter Harris, received allotments from 10 August 1876 to 1883 (R1876-R1883). The 1876-1880 allotments are for one person (R1876-R1880); the 1881 is for two people (R1881), and the 1883 for Tom Harris and child (R1883), so evidently he had a child in 1880 or 1881. McDavid (n.d., 113) says that he married a white woman, Nan Gordon (the fact that she was white is consistent with the fact that Tom was not mentioned as having a wife on the allotment list of 1883, since his wife would not have been paid if she was not Catawba); and that he had three children: Easter, Rachel, and one unnamed child. Easter, we are told, married Johnny George (the son of Billy George, for whom see George). McDavid also says (page 122) that Nan Gordon, the “widow of” Tom Harris, married Wesley Harris (for whom see under Lucinda Harris and descendants). Wesley Harris did marry a wife Nanny or Nancy by circa 1895/96 (C1910a; I02). Tom Harris does not appear on the 1880 census of the Reservation, nor did I receive information from oral or family sources about him or his children. McDavid and the allotment lists are the only source for information in his life, and until further information surfaces, this information should be treated with care.¹⁹

10. EDWARD HARRIS was living on the Reservation in 1910 with a white wife Ruth C. Harris (C1910a). It was his second marriage, but her first, and the census says they had been married about 1898/99, and that Ruth had had six children, three of whom were living. No children, however, were living with Edward and Ruth in 1910, except for Luther Harris, who may have been adopted (I02; I03). Sallie Wade, whom I interviewed in 1986, seemed to say that they had a daughter named Pearly, but I am not sure that’s what she meant, and have no other evidence for this. I have no other record of Edward Harris or his wife.

Known child (possibly adopted) of Edward and Ruth C. Harris:

- i. Luther, born 7 July 1896; died 18 Jan. 1946 (CM).

11. DAVID HARRIS was listed as married in the 1900 census, but his wife is not enumerated with him (C1900a). About 1904/05 he married a second wife, Maggie Price, a white woman (C1910a; I04). The 1910 census calls her twenty years old, but it also says that she was married in 1904/05, and that this was her second marriage—possible, but probably a little too much for a twenty-year-old. David Harris had several children, but I have not learned all their names. They include Nola (Harris) Campbell (I04), who was born 2 May 1918 (TR1956; TR1961), and (William) Douglas Harris, who was born 4

¹⁹Mormon records flesh out the relationship between Tom Harris and Nan Gordon and between Nan Gordon and Wesley Harris; give evidence for Tom and Nancy’s daughter Esther; and raise questions about the distinction between Tom Harris and James Harris Jr. (no. 7). See LDS1985/7311, pp. 41-46.

August 1907 (TR1956) or 8 Dec. 1905 (TR1961) or circa 1905/06 (C1910a), married Georgia Harris, daughter of John and Margaret Elizabeth (Harris) Harris, on 23 April 1927, and died 29 Dec. 1966 (P01).

(III) Allen Harris

1. ALLEN HARRIS was aged 35 in 1849, thus born about 1813-14. No oral or documentary sources prove or suggest his ancestry, but undoubtedly he was the son of one of the Harrises living during the era of the Plat Book—there weren't very many Harrises at that time, either, so one might be able to speculate with some success. We first hear of him when he signed a lease as Major Allen Harris on 11 August 1838 (L). He signed the Treaty of Nation Ford (1 March 1840) as Lieut. Allen Harris, which is probably an error since he signed a petition of 14 Nov. 1840 as Colonel Allen Harris, indicating a rise rather than a drop in rank. He actually signed the Treaty of Nation Ford, rather than marking it, the first appearance of his signature, making him only the fourth known literate Catawba (MR1840; G1840).²⁰ In 1840 when most Catawbas were in Haywood County, Allen Harris was “engaged in attending a ferry [in South Carolina] that year; but he intended to go [to Haywood] the next” (Hutchison 1843, p. 1, col. 4). He signed the North Carolina petitions of 1847 and 1848 requesting removal to the west, but the tribal office he may have held at that time, if any, was not indicated (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280). He was living in Chester County, S.C. in 1849 when the Catawba census was taken, but at the same time was connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Echota Mission South, in North Carolina (C1849). His name was the second, after Chief William Morrison's, on a petition of 9 Nov. 1850 asking the South Carolina General Assembly for lands in Greenville County (G1850). After Morrison's departure in December 1851 (see under Morrison), he became Chief of the Catawbas. No documentary evidence to show that he was Chief exists; that is, no document has been found which shows the words “Chief Allen Harris” or a similar construction. But Speck's informants remembered him as a former chief, though their dates were off (Speck 1942), and McDonald Furman (1894), visiting Rhoda Harris, learned that she was the widow of Chief Allen Harris. Two undated petitions exist in the South Carolina Archives headed by his signature, and both appear to be from the 1850s, also showing that he was Chief. One is a petition signed by Allen Harris, Nancy White, and Nancy George, requesting a home for the Catawbas “under such regulations as will enable the sober and industrious amongst us to provide for themselves without being compelled to share with the intemperate and the idle” (GNDA).

²⁰Another example of Allen Harris's literacy, an 1860 handwritten letter to Catawba neighbor A. Whyte asking Whyte to inform former South Carolina governor Robert Allston that Allen had named his only son after Allston, is in Allston's papers at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston. Whyte told Allston that Allen “left me a paper, which he requested me to copy for your inspection—I choose rather to forward it, as it came from his hand, that you may see his attainments, and that ingratitude does not constitute any part of Allan's character” (Harris 1860; Whyte 1860).

The other is a petition signed by eighteen Catawbas requesting land in the State of Arkansas (GNDb). When a chance came to view the Choctaw country in Arkansas and Oklahoma, in 1860, Allen and John Harris went to see it. The *Yorkville Enquirer* reported that “Mr. D.J. Rice, accompanied by Allan and John Harris, two of the chiefs, started on the 16th July last, to visit & examine the Choctaw country, & returned on the 29th August. Unfortunately, Allan Harris died soon after his arrival at their destination.” (N1860; see also Harris 1860, Whyte 1860). Thus we can fix the death date of Allen Harris as sometime late in July 1860, at the age of forty-five or forty-six.

Allen Harris was married to Rhoda Harris by 1849 (C1849). The 1849 census clearly shows that they were married: the list of Catawbas affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Echota Mission, N.C., lists Allen Harris and Rhoda Harris right together, and Allen Harris and Rhoda Harris head the list of males and females, respectively, living in Chester County, South Carolina; the 1853 Catawba supply list explicitly states that Rhoda was Allen Harris’s wife and that they had two children (Massey 1854, 9). The 1900 census lists Rhoda as having been married for fifty years, even though the enumerator was not required to list that fact for Rhoda since she was widowed (C1900a). This is probably a round-figured estimate, but puts their marriage date at 1849 or 1850. Their oldest daughter was aged 33 in 1880 (C1880a). All this suggests a marriage sometime in the late 1840s. Rhoda Harris’s maiden name, I believe, was George: she was the sister of Nancy George in the 1880 census (1880a); Nancy George signed a petition with Allen Harris (GNDA); and I believe that Nancy George kept her maiden name for the 1880 census. She was born about 1829/30 (C1849, C1910a) or about 1826/27 (C1880a; Whyte 1860) or in May 1830 (C1900a). After the death of her son Allen in 1881, she and her daughter Betsy, who survived her mother about two years (I02), lived alone. McDonald Furman visited her in 1894, and said (Furman 1894) that

the best house in the nation, by all odds, is the home of Rhoda Harris, the widow of Chief Allen Harris. I called at this house, which has been built three years. It has a piazza, and four rooms, is surrounded by fruit trees and several outhouses, and has a very nice looking garden at its back, indeed it is just such a home as any small and industrious white farmer would be proud to own. This was the most intelligent household that I visited among the Indians. Rhoda is a dignified, pleasant old lady who is something over 60, and who shows the white blood strongly. She has two granddaughters at the Carlisle Indian School in Penn; one of these, Cammie Owl, lives with the Cherokees in North Carolina.

Scaife (1896, 17) visited “the widow of Chief Harris, who had died a few years before,” in 1893. She was living in a one-room corn crib. The woman Scaife met was in my opinion probably not Rhoda but Nancy (Harris) Harris, the widow of Chief John Harris (see Harris, section II).

Rhoda died in 1918 (I01) or perhaps a little before (I02). Sallie Wade recalled tending to her before she died: “She couldn’t even see when she died,

she was so old. You'd just have to carry her around like a baby, and set her in the rocking chair, she'd sit there till you moved her again, cause she was well worn" (I02).

The 1900 and 1910 censuses agree that Rhoda had six children, three of whom died by 1900 and 1910 (C1900a, C1910a). Allen Harris said in 1860 that "we have had six children but one died and they were all gerls but the last one" (Harris 1860).

Children of Allen Harris and Rhoda George (note that the dates overlap sometimes, which can be explained by either the inaccuracies of census age reporting or possibly a twin birth):

- i. 2. SUSAN(NAH) HARRIS, born about 1846/47 (C1880a; CC 31 July 1904, #762; Speck 1934, xi; CA #6221), or in 1847 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 555), or about 1847/48 (CC 30 June 1898, unnumbered); or about 1848/49 (C1910g), or about 1849.50 (C1900g), or, Speck (n.d., cover of book 1) reported that she was 74 years old on 1 July 1921 (i.e. 1846/47)—whether this means that 1 July was her birthday is unclear. She is proved a daughter of Allen and Rhoda by Rhoda's informing McDonald Furman that she had a granddaughter named Cammie Owl (Furman 1894), who is listed as Sampson and Susannah Owl's daughter in the 1880 census (C1880a).
- ii. 3. NANCY HARRIS, born circa 1849/50 (C1880a). I cannot prove that she was a daughter of Allen and Rhoda. But she was living next door to Rhoda Harris in 1880 (C1880a), which makes relationship likely, and on 12 July 1870 Nancy Harris—probably this Nancy Harris and not the widow of Jim Harris—received an allotment with Susannah Harris, in a way that suggests the two were related, perhaps sisters (R1870). Also, Allen and Rhoda Harris had two children by 1853 (Massey 1854, 9) and Nancy would make the second one after Susannah. Thus there is very strong circumstantial evidence that Nancy Harris was the daughter of Allen and Rhoda Harris.
- iii. 4. HARRIET HARRIS. Proving that Harriet Harris was the daughter of Allen and Rhoda Harris is somewhat complicated. Harriet Harris received allotments from 10 April 1875 to 1879 (R1875-R1879), and received an allotment for herself and three children in 1883 (R1883). From 1880-1882 she received no allotments, but the allotments of Alonzo Canty for those years show a jump in the size of his family exactly equal with the addition of Harriet Harris's family (R1880-1881); Alonzo Canty's allotments before 1880 and after 1881 are for one person. So we suspect that Harriet Harris went to live with Alonzo Canty during 1880-1881. Proof comes as follows: The 1880 census (C1880a) shows that Alonzo Canty was living next door to Rhoda Harris, with a wife Harriet and four children: Nettie F., William W., Lottie Elbert, and James J. (C1880a), but it is evident that Alonzo Canty only

had a short relationship with this woman, because the size of his allotments decreased again after 1883 and because he was married to Georgia Henrietta Patterson when he went to Colorado several years later (see under Canty). I was told by Sallie Wade in 1986 that Rhoda Harris's daughter Betsy raised her sister's children, and when I asked her to name some of these children, she mentioned Lottie and Nettie. Thus we can conclude that Harriet Harris was the sister of Betsy Harris and thus the daughter of Allen and Rhoda Harris. The 1880 census puts her age at 23 and thus her birthdate at circa 1856/57.

- iv. A daughter, probably born sometime during the 1850s, who died young. See above for Allen Harris's statement mentioning this daughter and census data supporting her existence.
- v. Betsy, born circa 1857/58 (C1880a), in September 1854 (C1900a), or circa 1854/55 (C1910a), and proved a daughter of Rhoda Harris by each of those census records. Sallie Wade told me she was known as Betsy Bob, although I am not sure; Ms. Wade may have been telling me about another Betsy (I02). She never married and had no children, but instead raised her sister Harriet's children (I02). She died about two years after her mother (I02), therefore sometime around 1920.
- vi. 5. ALLEN ALLSTON HARRIS, born 9 June 1860 (Harris 1860). He is sometimes called Allen Harris (CM), sometimes Austen Harris (R1881), and once Allen A. Harris (C1880a). The real story of his name was told by his father in a letter of 15 July 1860 (Harris 1860): "Mr A Whyte Dear Sir if you write to governer Alston²¹ A bout there present that our woman hav Received yestaday I want you to tell him that I hav taken A great plessure to name the only son I hav that was born on the 9 day of this month [after him] & am going to Rase him to the direction that the governers advise our wemen..." Taking into account his father's letter stating that he was named after Governor Allston, and the 1880 census and cemetery record indicating that his name was Allen A. Harris, it seems likely that his name was actually Allen Allston Harris.

2. SUSANNAH HARRIS, born circa 1846-1850, married, circa 1874/75/76/77 (C1900g; C1910g) Sampson Owl, a Cherokee, who was the son of Suate Owl and his wife Jennie Owl (CA #6221). Sampson Owl's birthday was 17 November (CA, #6221); he was born about 1852/53 (C1880a), or 1853/54 (CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 30 June 1899, #672; CC, 31 July 1904, #761; CC, 30 June 1906, #758; CC, 30 June 1910, #89; CC, 30 June 1911, #233; CC, 30 June 1912, #1119; CC, 30 June 1914, #1166), or 1854/55 (CC, July 1909, #86), and was alive as late as 30 June 1914 (CC, 30 June 1914, #1166), and probably later, for Milling calls him a former chief of the Eastern Cherokees (Milling 1940, 259). Speck reported that Susannah died in 1934

²¹Robert F. W. Allston was governor of South Carolina from 1856 to 1858.

(Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 555; Speck 1938b, 198; Speck 1939b, 26). They were living with the Catawbas in 1880 (C1880a), and as late as 1883 (R1883); Sampson Owl had a Catawba name meaning "he is an owl" (Gatschet 1881, 13). In 1880 Sampson Owl was farming twenty-six acres of land in South Carolina, of which three were planted with Indian corn, seventeen with oats, and six with cotton; he owned a horse, cow and calf, pig, and five "barn-yard poultry" (C1880f). About 1883 (four years ago in 1887) she and her husband moved away from the Catawba reservation; they disliked the fact that the Catawbas had become Mormons. Speck reported that she "indignantly removed to the Eastern Cherokee...became a Baptist and socially disowned her people" (Speck 1939b, 25-26; see also Mooney 1887).

Sampson Owl had a stepson named George Owl who was eighteen years old in 1880 (C1880a), and described as "idiotic" by the census enumerator; he may be the same George Owl who is mentioned once by Speck (1934, 24).

Sampson and Susannah Owl had at least the two natural children listed below. The 1900 census (C1900g) indicates that Susannah had had three other children, all dead by 1900, and the 1910 census (C1910g) says she had five more children, all dead by 1910. Sampson and Susannah also adopted a daughter Agnes Owl, who was born circa 1893/94 (CC, 30 June 1899, #674), or circa 1894/95 (CC, 30 June 1910, #90; CC, 30 June 1911, #234; CC, 30 June 1912, #1120; CC, 30 June 1914, #1167) or circa 1895/96 (CC, 31 July 1904, #763; CC, 30 June 1906, #759; CA #6221; C1910g), or circa 1896/97 (CC, July 1909, #87).

Children of Sampson Owl and Susannah Harris (sources as cited):

- i. Cammie Owl, born ca. 1877/78; living and affiliated with the Eastern Cherokees 30 June 1898 (C1880a; CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered). She was a student at Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Furman 1894).
- ii. Ida Owl, born ca. 1880/81, or May 1881; living and affiliated with the Eastern Cherokee 30 June 1899; living 1900 (CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 30 June 1899, #673; C1900g).

3. NANCY HARRIS was born about 1849/50 (C1880a), and was alive in Texas in 1892 (G1892). The 1880 census shows her living in South Carolina with three children (C1880a). She had removed to Gainesville, Texas by 10 February 1892, when she sent a request to Gov. Benjamin Tilman of South Carolina for a portion of the aid given the Catawbas by the state of South Carolina (G1892), mentioning her children and grandchildren in the plea.²²

²²I have recently had correspondence with Faye (Ballard) Dodds of Purcell, Oklahoma and Cynthia Little of Choctaw, Oklahoma, descendants of Nancy Harris's daughter Lillie, who have collected information and photographs of Nancy Harris and her descendants. Nancy Harris's gravestone in Bradley, Oklahoma, lists her birthdate as 16 Jan. 1851 and her death date as 16 Dec. 1919; late in life she married a man named Starkey. Lillie Susan Harris was born 21 April 1872, died 21 May 1955, and is buried in Lindsay, Oklahoma; she married

Children of Nancy Harris (C1880a):

- i. 6. HILLARY HARRIS (twin), born circa 1869/70.
- ii. Agnes Harris (twin), born circa 1869/70; according to a letter dated 16 January 1892 from Indian agent A.E. Smith in the papers relating to her mother's petition (G1892), she was living, with small children, on the Reservation in South Carolina.
- iii. Lillie Harris, born circa 1872/73.

4. HARRIET HARRIS was born circa 1856/57, and was alive as late as 1883 (R1883). She and her children received allotments from 1876 to 1879 (R1876-R1879). She then moved in with Alonzo Canty, with whom she was staying in 1880 and 1881 (C1880a; R1880; R1881). By 1883 she and her children were living alone again (R1883). The date of her death is not known.

The names of four of Harriet Harris's children are given in the 1880 census (C1880a). Sallie Wade told me (1986) that Betsy Harris raised her sister's [Harriet's] children—about a dozen girls, she said (I02). Sallie Wade gave me the names of five of these girls: Lottie, Nettie, Lula, Rosa, and Janey. Other sources prove that Nettie and Lottie were the daughters of Harriet Harris. But other sources also prove that Rosa was *not* a daughter of Harriet; rather, she was a daughter of Harriet's brother, Allen A. Harris. This leads me to question whether Lula and Janey were daughters of Harriet. They could be—in which case they must have been born after the 1880 census—but since Sallie Wade was wrong about Rosa Harris's parentage, she may have been in error about Lula's and Janey's too.

In any case, proven children of Harriet Harris are (C1880a and other sources where cited):

- i. 7. NETTIE F. HARRIS, born circa 1872/73 (C1880a) or circa 1873/74 (C1910a; CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 31 July 1904, #765), or April 1875 (C1900h). Catawba expert Dr. Thomas J. Blumer has told me (letter of 18 August 1986) that her father was a white man named "Frank Collins, owner of the Collins Clay Hole," but I have no proof of this.
- ii. William W. Harris, born circa 1875/76; no further record after 1880 census.
- iii. Lottie Elberto Harris, born circa 1877/78; alive in 1880 (C1880a). Dr. Thomas J. Blumer has told me (personal communication, 18

John Ephraim Ballard, born 5 Jan. 1867 in North Carolina, who died 8 Jan. 1907 and is buried in Nall Cemetery near Gainesville, Texas; they had eight children, the first two born in South Carolina in 1889 and 1891, and the rest in Cooke County, Texas. Mrs. Dodds' information completes the story of Hillary Harris as well: he returned to Texas or Oklahoma after splitting up with his wife Rachel in Colorado. He later married a woman named Mae, by whom he had no children, and they are buried together in Caney Cemetery in Caney, Oklahoma. According to the gravestone, "Hillard" Harris was born 8 March 1870 and died 18 July 1944, while Mae was born 21 Sept. 1882 and died 9 June 1966.

August 1986) that she later married a man named Jenkins and was living at various times at Cherokee and in Philadelphia, but I have no documentary proof of this.

iv. James J. Harris, born circa 1878/79; alive in 1880 (C1880a).

5. ALLEN ALLSTON HARRIS, born 9 June 1860, had no wife living with him in 1880 (C1880a) but had a daughter Rosa Harris by Nancy White or Whitesides in 1880 or 1881 (I01, supported by correspondence from Dr. Thomas J. Blumer, as well as circumstantial evidence from I02; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; Speck 1944, 45; and C1910a). In 1880 Allen was farming 25 acres, presumably on the Reservation, fifteen planted with Indian corn and ten with cotton; he owned a horse, a milk cow and one other head of cattle, three pigs, and poultry (C1880f). Allen A. Harris was stabbed to death 26 Feb. 1881 by two white men, and is buried in the old Catawba cemetery on the Reservation (CM; R1881; Brown 1966, 321; Scaife 1896, 19).

Child of Allen Allston Harris and Nancy White or Whitesides (sources cited above):

i. Rosa Harris, born circa 1880/81 (C1910a); married, circa 1903/04 (C1910a), Archie Wheelock (C1910a; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; Speck 1944, 45). Archie Wheelock was a full-blooded Oneida from Wisconsin (C1910a). They had two daughters: 1. Doris Belle Wheelock, born 14 Jan. 1905, who married Samuel Andrew Blue, son of Chief Samuel T. Blue (see TR1956; TR1961; C1910a; P04); and 2. Edna Mae Wheelock, born 14 May 1911, who married Roy Brown, son of John William and Rachel Wysie (George) Brown, on 23 May 1931 (see P02; TR1956; TR1961).

6. HILLARY HARRIS was born about 1869-70, the son of Nancy Harris. The 1880 census is the only contemporary record of Hillary. But from other sources we can reconstruct the details of his life. First, we find that Milling (1940, 260) and Speck (1939a, 407) list Hillary Harris among the heads of families who had gone west to Sanford, Colorado in the 1880s or 1890s. Turning our search to the west, we find no Harrises at Sanford in 1910 (see C1910b), but the 1900 census shows a Harris family: Rachel Harris, daughter of Alexander Tims, born April 1866, with three children born in 1887, 1890, and 1893 in South Carolina, Texas, and Colorado respectively. Rachel is listed as married, but her husband is not with her (C1900b). From her age and her children's birthplaces, it seems likely that Rachel was Hillary's wife. But we need more evidence. Following up on the Texas clue, on 10 February 1892 Nancy Harris of Gainesville, Texas, petitioned Governor Benjamin Tilman of South Carolina for a share in the yearly allotments that the Catawbans received from the state of South Carolina, and in the petition mentioned that her children and grandchildren were with her (G1892). This is undoubtedly Hillary's mother, Nancy, who would have had at least two grandchildren through Hillary in 1892. Thus our chain of evidence is complete. Hillary Harris was born about 1869-70 and was probably alive in

1900 when his wife was listed as married; married, circa 1886-87, Rachel Tims, daughter of Alexander James and Martha A. (____) Tims, who was born in April 1866 and was alive in 1900 (C1900b). He moved from South Carolina to Texas between the births of his first child in October 1887 and his second child in December 1890, and moved to Sanford, Colorado by March 1893 when his third child was born (ibid.)

Children of Hillary Harris and Rachel Tims (C1900b):

- i. Alexander J. Harris, born October 1887 in South Carolina; alive 1900 in Colorado; descendants in Colorado and New Mexico.
- ii. Eveline Harris, born December 1890 in Texas, probably at Gainesville; alive 1900 in Colorado.
- iii. Elli Harris (son), born March 1893 in Colorado; alive 1900.
- iv. A child, probably born between 1893 and 1900. The 1900 census lists Rachel (Tims) Harris as having had four children, one of whom was dead.

7. NETTIE F. HARRIS, born about 1872/73/74/75, married, circa 1890/91, W. Loyd Owl, a Cherokee, who was related to Sampson Owl, Nettie's uncle (I01; C1900h; CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 31 July 1904, #s 764-765; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; CM). Loyd Owl was born in November 1874 (C1900h), or circa 1871/72 (CC, 30 June 1908, #17), or circa 1872/73 (CC, 31 July 1904, #764; CC, 30 June 1906, #768), or circa 1873/74 (CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 30 June 1899, #653; CC, July 1909, #17), and was alive as late as 30 June 1910 (CC, 30 June 1910, #17). Nettie Harris lived with Loyd Owl on the Cherokee reservation in North Carolina as late as 1904 (CC, 31 July 1904, #s 764-765), but by 1910 they had divorced and Nettie had come back to live with the Catawbas (C1910a). The children of Loyd and Nettie Owl were listed in 1910 as living with Nettie at Catawba (C1910a) as well as with Loyd at Cherokee (CC, 30 June 1910, #s 17-24). It isn't clear with whom they actually were living, or if they were living with both parents.

By 1928 Nettie was no longer married to Loyd Owl but had married Robert Harris (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571).

Children of Loyd Owl and Nettie Harris (C1900h; C1910a; CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 30 June 1899, #s 654-658; CC, 31 July 1904, #s 766-770; CC, 30 June 1906, #s 769-774; CC, July 1909, #s 18-24; CC, 30 June 1910, #s 18-24; CC, 30 June 1911, #s 1024-1030):²³

- i. Lula L. (erroneously Lucy Ann in CC, 31 July 1904, #766), born circa 1890/91, or circa 1891/92, or circa 1892/93; alive 1910.
- ii. David, born circa 1892/93, or 1893/94; alive 1911.

²³From Faye (Ballard) Dodds of Purcell, Oklahoma, I have now received a copy of a chart prepared by Mary Wachacha of Cherokee, N.C., a granddaughter of Lula Owl, which gives further information on the children of Loyd Owl and Nettie Harris and confirms the existence of their ninth and tenth children, Wilson and Minerva, who died in infancy.

- iii. George A., born circa 1894/95, or 1895/96; alive 1911.
- iv. Henry McClain, born circa 1895/96, or 1896/97; alive 1911.
- v. Frell, born circa 1897/98, or March/April 1899, or circa 1898/99; alive 1911.
- vi. Thomas or William (given as both on censuses), born circa 1904/05; alive 1911.
- vii. Mable C., born 7 April 1907; died 5 Sept. 1911 and buried on the Catawba reservation (CM).
- viii. Charlotte, born November/December 1908, or circa 1908/09; alive 1911.
- ix. Another son (?), born by 1928 (see Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571).
- x. Another daughter (?), born by 1928 (see Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571).

(IV) Absalom (Epp) Harris

This section will cover Absalom or “Epp” Harris and his family, his sister Nancy Harris, and their probable mother, Sallie Harris. Introducing these people, proving their relationships, and showing their descendants, while trying to be clear at the same time, is very difficult. So I will discuss them in a more or less informal way. This will consist of three stages:

1. Proof that Absalom and Epp Harris are different names for the same person; description of him, his wives, and his daughter.
2. Proof that Nancy (Harris) Harris was the sister of Absalom Harris.
3. Circumstantial evidence suggesting that Sallie Harris was the mother of Absalom and Nancy Harris, and that William Harris was their father.

1. Absalom Harris = Epp Harris

It took a long time before it became clear to me that Absalom and Epp Harris were different names for the same person. As I started to bring all the data on them together, I realized that Absalom Harris showed up on every record that Epp should have showed up on but didn't, and that Epp Harris showed up on every record Absalom should have showed up on but didn't. Their ages were approximately the same. Finally, I realized that since Epp Harris was often called Epps Harris, “Epp” or “Epps” was probably a corrupted form of “Abs,” a diminutive of Absalom.

The problem with this identification is that there is almost no evidence whatsoever which tends to suggest that Epp and Absalom Harris were one and the same. There is, actually, a considerable amount of evidence that casts doubt on this conclusion. For instance, Absalom always received

two person allotments and Epp one person allotments; the blood quotients given for Epp in the 1900 census and Absalom in the 1910 census differ; and there are numerous inconsistencies in the names of their wives. So to believe that Epp and Absalom were identical, one must be convinced that all these discrepancies are meaningless. And in fact, the three mentioned above can be explained with some degree of satisfaction: the first by the fact that Absalom's wife Mary received allotments separately for a time which just happened to be the exact time when Absalom was listed in the allotment lists as Epp; the second by chalking the difference up to the incredible inaccuracies in blood quotient reporting that make these statistics virtually useless as a tool of genealogical identification; the third by Absalom's strange marital arrangements. One must also remember the most overwhelming piece of evidence in favor of the identity of Absalom and Epp, something that could only be explained by a coincidence beyond reasonable belief: that Absalom appears on every record that Epp should appear on but doesn't; that Epp appears on every record that Absalom should appear on but doesn't; and that *never once* do *both* Absalom and Epp appear on any record.

Absalom ("Epp") Harris was born about 1833/34 (Furman 1894, when he "claimed to be about 60 years old"), or in May 1835 (C1900a), or about 1839/40 (C1880c; C1910a). He does not appear on the 1849 Catawba census or any of the records printed with it, which suggests that he was probably born more towards 1840, since if he was over twelve he would probably have been included on the census or at least on one of the records printed with it. He makes his first appearance in Catawba records when "Absalem" Harris received supplies from agent B.S. Massey from 7 March to 5 October 1853 (Massey 1854, 15). He next appears when as "Absolum" Harris he signed an undated petition sometime in the 1850s (GNDb). As "Epps" he signed a petition of heads of families in support of agent John R. Patton's military exemption, dated 10 Oct. 1863 (M04). Epp Harris is supposed to have served in the Civil War (N1900), but I have not verified this in Confederate records, probably because I searched the indexes under Epp only, not under Absalom.

Absalom received a two person allotment in 1869 (R1869) and another two person allotment in 1875 (R1875). From 1877 to 1881 he received a one person allotment (R1877-R1881). Epp Harris appeared on Albert Gatschet's 1881 map of the Catawba reservation (Gatschet 1881). In 1883, Absalom Harris and wife, living on the Reservation, received an allotment (R1883).

In 1880, Absalom Harris was enumerated in Waxhaw, Lancaster County, South Carolina (C1880c). He had a wife Mary, who was aged 50, and thus born about 1829/30. No children were living with them. Checking allotment lists, we find that Mary Harris received one-person allotments from 1877 to 1881 (R1877-R1881)—just the time period when Absalom's allotment size dropped from two to one.²⁴

²⁴I should mention here several other appearances of a Mary Harris in Catawba records. Mary Harris was paid 22 March 1870 by the Catawba agent (R1870). Mary Harris and Little Mary Harris both received allotments from the Catawba agent on 10 April 1875 (R1875). Mary's indicated a five-person household and Little Mary's a four-person household, but these allotments were during one of the years in which allotment size does not always accurately show family size. Usually, the juxtaposition of a "Mary" and a "Little Mary"

Living right next door to Absalom and Mary Harris in 1880 was Martha J. White, aged 24, with her daughter Margaret White, aged one. Georgia Harris (I01) told me that her mother, Margaret Elizabeth Harris, was the daughter of Epp Harris and Martha Jane White. Margaret Elizabeth Harris was born 15 August 1879 (P01). Evidently Margaret Elizabeth Harris was an illegitimate child of Absalom Harris by Martha Jane White.

By 1900, though, Absalom Harris and Martha Jane White were married. The 1900 census (C1900a) lists Epp and Martha Jane Harris. Martha Jane was born in May 1860. She and Epp, says the census, had been married only two years; possibly this means that they had only been legally married for two years, and possibly it is simply a mistake. Martha Jane Harris had had one child, who was still living. And living with Epp and Martha Jane, was Epp's daughter Margaret, whom the census lists as born in August 1878. The census does not explicitly state that she was Epp *and Martha Jane's* daughter, but it seems reasonable to assume so, especially given the 1880 census record showing Martha Jane and Margaret (C1880c).

The 1910 census (C1910a) lists Absalom and Martha Jane Harris once more. This time, Absalom is called Absalom rather than Epp. Martha Harris, his wife, was called sixty years of age, thus born about 1849/50; this seems to be incorrect, given the 1880 and 1900 census records cited above and other records which will be discussed under White. It was Absalom's second marriage, and Martha's first. Absalom and Martha had been married thirty-five years, according to the census taker. This puts the date of their marriage at 1874/75. This figure may have been an attempt, either by Absalom or by the census taker, to legitimize the birth of their daughter Margaret, born in 1879; more likely, the census taker asked Absalom when his oldest child was born and subtracted a few years to get an approximate marriage date. Once again, the census lists Martha as having had one child, who was still living.

One other source sheds light on the marriage of Absalom Harris and Martha Jane White. Frank G. Speck collected information on all the Catawbas living on the Reservation in 1928, and recorded that Epp Harris had married Janey White, who was part Pamunkey and somehow related to Epp, and they had had one daughter (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571).

According to the family Bible of his granddaughter Georgia Harris, Epp Harris died on 9 July 1916, and Martha Jane (White) Harris died 3 July 1936.

We have now given the facts of Absalom Harris's life, and I hope that the chain of evidence is reasonably clear. Now let us try to bring all the facts together and reconstruct Absalom's life in a more orderly, concise fashion:

Absalom Harris was probably born about 1840, and first appears in records in 1853. He may have served in the Civil War. He was probably

would indicate that two Mary Harrises existed in 1875. However, I have no idea who the second one would have been. Nor do I know for certain whether either of the Mary Harrises of 1875, or the Mary Harris who was living in 1870, were the same as the Mary Harris who was Absalom Harris's wife.

married to his first wife, Mary, by 1869 when he received a two-person allotment. But from 1877 to 1881, he and Mary were receiving allotments separately and may not have been steadily living together, for Absalom had a child by Martha Jane White in 1879. In 1880, Absalom and Mary *were* living together, but Martha Jane White was living next door, with a child whom family tradition, family records, and the 1900 census show to be by Absalom Harris. Absalom and Mary were still living together as late as 1883, when Absalom received a two-person allotment. But by 1900 Absalom had actually married Martha Jane White. It isn't clear just what happened to Mary, Absalom's first wife.²⁵

Margaret Elizabeth Harris, the daughter of Absalom Harris and Martha Jane White, was born 15 August 1879, according to her daughter Georgia Harris's family Bible (P01; I01). There is some reason to question this birthdate, even though it probably came from her own personal knowledge. The 1880 census indicates a birthdate of 1878/79 rather than 1879/80 (C1880a). The 1900 census gives a birthdate of August 1878 (C1900a). The 1910 census gives her age as 35, thus born about 1874/75 (C1910a). Her mother Martha Jane White changed from a one-person to a two-person allotment between 10 November 1877 and 14 May 1878 (R1877, R1878). So she may have been slightly older than the Bible record indicates.

The 1910 census (C1910a) says that she had been married twice, but no evidence of a first marriage exists, and I doubt that she was married more than once. Her marriage was about 1897/98 (C1910a and as judged from birth of first child), though the 1900 census (C1900a) calls her single. She married James Harris Jr., also known as James Thomas Harris, and her children are listed in his sketch. She died 8 December 1926 (P01).

2. *Nancy Harris*

The next step in the discussion of this family is to show that Absalom Harris and Nancy (Harris) Harris were brother and sister. Luckily, this is much easier than puzzling out the details of Absalom's life. First of all, oral sources show that Nancy, who married John Harris, was a Harris (McDavid n.d., 109; I02). The 1880 census (C1880c) shows that in the family headed by Absalom Harris, were living his sister Nancy Harris and his nephews Robert L. and Ben P. Harris, who are proved sons of John and Nancy Harris in John Harris's sketch. Nancy was born about 1829/30 (C1880a) or in May 1835 (C1900a), or about 1837/38 (Whyte 1860).

²⁵Sallie Wade (I02) told me of an "Aunt Mary Harris" who lived with her uncle (i.e. Robert Lee Harris). She didn't know who this Mary Harris was, and thought that she had no children. The 1900 census, interestingly, shows a Mary Harris who living not with, but next door to, Robert Lee Harris (C1900a). She was born in May 1835, was single, and had had two children, neither of whom was living. She could have been Absalom's first wife, Mary. The ages are reasonably close (1829/30 and 1835). That would mean that Absalom left her—which he seems to have done to some degree anyway, during the 1877-1881 period when she received allotments separately (see above). No Mary Harris was listed in the 1910 census.

3. Who were the parents of Absalom and Nancy Harris?

To recap, we now know that Nancy Harris was born sometime circa 1829-1838 and that her brother Absalom was born about 1840. Who could their parents be? Checking the 1853 supply list of the Catawbas, we find that Absalem Harris, Sallie Harris, and Nancy Harris were listed consecutively (Massey 1854, 15-16). Since we know that Absalom and Nancy were siblings, this raises the distinct possibility that Sallie, listed between them, was also related. Checking further, we find that there was only one known Sallie Harris living at the time: she was, moreover, aged 43 in 1849 (C1849), which puts her birthdate at circa 1805/06, making her in her mid-to-late twenties at Nancy's birth and in her mid-thirties at Absalom's. Therefore, though the evidence is very sketchy and very circumstantial, it seems likely that Sallie Harris was Absalom and Nancy's mother. Sallie was first recorded in 1847 when she signed a petition in North Carolina (LR, Misc., 1847, P17); she was living with the Cherokees in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849 (C1849); she was called Sallie Harris, Sr., on 11 Oct. 1863 when she signed a petition (M04); and she was probably living as late as 3 May 1869 (R1869) and possibly into the 1870s, but it becomes difficult to distinguish records of her and records of Sarah Harris, the wife of James Harris and mother of D.A. Harris. Sallie Harris was chosen as one of five women to receive money donated to the Catawbas by former South Carolina governor Robert Allston in 1860; she was described as a "widow, aged about 60—[who] is raising two nieces" (Whyte 1860). I do not know who her nieces were. This statement confirms that she had been previously married and had had children, although it raises a question: if she was raising two nieces in 1860, might Absalom and Nancy Harris have been her nephew and niece rather than her children? While that is possible, I believe it is unlikely, particularly in view of the fact that she was called a widow.

Now, let us consider one more question: who was the husband of Sallie Harris, and the father of Absalom and Nancy? Since the 1900 census (C1900a) agrees that both Absalom and Nancy were fullbloods, we can eliminate non-Catawbas from our search and concentrate on the Harris family. Considering the few known HARRISES living in the early 1800s, there is only one logical answer: Chief William Harris, who was alive as early as 1834, became chief about 1837, and died sometime between September 1839 and 1 March 1840 (see under miscellaneous HARRISES). He was the only known Harris of the proper age to be having children in the 1830s apart from David and Allen Harris, both of whose children are already known. We can also offer one piece of hard evidence for this theory: Nancy Harris named her first son William. This theory is, of course, speculation, and the possibility of illegitimacy has been neglected. But William Harris seems the most likely father for Absalom and Nancy Harris.

(V) *Lucinda Harris*

Lucinda Harris was aged 39 in 1880, thus born about 1840/41 (C1880d). We first hear of her when she received supplies from Catawba agent B.S. Massey in 1853 (Massey 1853, 9). In 1863 she signed a petition in support of agent John Patton's military exemption (M04). She received allotments from the state of South Carolina from 1869 to 1883 (R1869-R1883); the allotments show that in 1869, 1874, and 1875 her household consisted of five persons; on 24 July 1877 there were only four persons, but on 10 Nov. 1877 there were five again; in 1878 and 1880 there were four persons in her household; in 1881 there were three; and in 1883 her household consisted of herself and two children. On 6 Nov. 1888 her funeral expenses were paid by the Catawba agent (R1889).

The 1880 census (1880d) shows Lucinda with four children: Wesley (age 20), Iven (age 18; a mistake for John), Lewis (age 11) and William Harris (age 2 months). Their birthdates agree roughly with the allotment sizes given above. Wesley started receiving allotments in 1878 (R1878), which accounts for the decrease in Lucinda's allotment size from five to four; John started receiving in 1881, which accounts for the decrease from four to three. The only difficulty is in explaining why Lucinda received a five person allotment from 1869 to 1877, since there were only four known people in her household until the birth of son William in early 1880. Possibly Lucinda had another child, who died about 1880, since in 1880 Lucinda's allotment was for four people, which covers her known children John, Lewis, and William, and since this putative fifth child was not listed in the 1880 census. Possibly this fifth child was Mary Ann Harris, whom McDavid (n.d., 122), but no other source, calls a daughter of Lucinda Harris.

Oddly, all four of Lucinda's known children bore different surnames during adulthood. Most illegitimate children of Catawba women seem to have taken the mother's surname, but this was only the case with one of Lucinda's children. Instead of Wesley, John, Lewis, and William Harris, we have Wesley Harris, John Sanders, Lewis Gordon, and William Sawyer.

How do we prove that the adults Wesley Harris, John Sanders, Lewis Gordon, and William Sawyer were the children of Lucinda Harris? We have Sallie Wade's testimony that *all four* of them were half-brothers (I02); Georgia Harris told me that Wesley Harris was a half-brother of Lewis Gordon, and later that Lewis Gordon was a half-brother of William Sawyer (I01). Moreover, we learn from McDavid (n.d., 120, 122) that John Sanders, "Louis" Gordon, Wesley Harris, and someone named Mary Ann Harris were children of Lucinda. I know nothing more of Mary Ann Harris, who may be the possible fifth child I have mentioned above. McDavid (n.d., 122) placed a "(d)" next to her name, possibly indicating that she died young.

The next puzzle is to find out who the father of each of Lucinda's children was. John Sanders is called a son of another John Sanders (McDavid n.d., 120). A Catawba named John Sanders who was supposedly killed in the Civil War (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; N1900) might have been his father, though Georgia Harris said his father was white, and the 1910 census calls him a half-blood Catawba (I01; C1910a). His ancestry will

be discussed in more detail under Sanders. McDavid (n.d., 120, 122) says that Lewis Gordon's father was a white man named Stell Gordon; the 1900 census tells us that Lewis Gordon's father was born in Providence, N.C. (C1900a), but my efforts to find Stell Gordon listed in censuses of that area were not fruitful. McDavid (n.d., 120, 122) noted that Mary Ann Harris's father was named Joe Hagen, and tells us (page 122) that Wesley Harris's father was either Bob Crawford or Joe Hagen—McDavid's notes are not clear. Sallie Wade (I02) said that Will Sawyer's father was a Cherokee and his mother was a Catawba, and Georgia Harris (I01) lent credence to this theory by mentioning Will Sawyer when I asked about a different, part Cherokee person living on the Reservation in 1910. It's not clear how much we can trust these oral recollections, but I have no better data to go by.

John Sanders, Lewis Gordon, and Will Sawyer will be treated under their respective surnames. We will discuss Wesley Harris now. He was born about 1858/59 (C1910a) or about 1859/60 (C1880d). He first appears on record when he signed a petition in 1877 (G1877c). He received allotments from the Catawba agent for a family of one person from 1878 to 1881 (R1878-R1881) but by 1883 he had a wife and one child and was living off the Reservation (R1883). Sallie Wade (I02) told me that his first wife was Alice George, who was born 17 Dec. 1866 (P02), the daughter of Taylor George and Emily Cobb.²⁶ She died young—about two years after her son Theodore was born, according to Sallie Wade (I02)—thus about 1895. It's not certain, though, that she was Wesley's wife in 1883, and the identity of the child that Wesley and his wife had in 1883 (R1883) is unknown.

Wesley Harris was not enumerated on the 1900 census of the Reservation, but he was included on a list of Catawbans on the Reservation published in the *Rock Hill Herald* that year (N1900). Listed immediately after Wesley, and therefore probably his children, were Emma J. Harris, Allen S. Harris, and Theodore Harris. Obviously Allen S. Harris and Theodore Harris are the Spencer and Theodore Harris who are known from other sources to have been Wesley's children (I02; C1910a). Emma J. Harris is presumably the Emma J. Harris who married Henry Canty and later Early Brown (I01; McDavid n.d., 111, 119), and was enumerated right next to Wesley Harris on the 1910 census (C1910a).

Wesley's second wife was named Nanny or Nancy (I02; C1910a). The 1910 census says that they were married about 1895/96 (C1910a). But this date must be questioned for two reasons: firstly, she was not listed on the 1900 list of Catawbans on the Reservation along with the rest of Wesley's family (N1900), and secondly, the 1895/96 date puts their marriage about two years after the birth of Wesley's son Theodore by his first wife. Sallie Wade told me that Wesley's first wife died two years after Theodore's birth

²⁶P02 erroneously calls Alice (George) Harris a daughter of Jefferson Ayres and Emily Cobb, but Jefferson Ayres died a year and a half before she was born. Emily Cobb remarried Taylor George after Jefferson Ayres' death. The 1880 census says that Alice George was a daughter of Taylor George (1880a), and Sallie Wade (I02) told me that Alice (George) Harris was her mother's oldest sister; Sallie's mother was Mary Dovie George, daughter of Taylor George and Emily Cobb. Thus it's clear that Wesley Harris's wife Alice was also a daughter of Taylor and Emily.

(I02), and while it isn't uncommon to find men remarrying very soon after the death of a wife, these two dates are close enough to warrant caution, even though both are from secondary sources and must be considered approximate. McDavid (n.d., 113, 122) says that Nanny was white, and Sallie Wade told me that she was a white woman from Gaffney (I02). McDavid also says that her maiden name was Gordon, and that she was the widow of Tom Harris, supposed son of Peter Harris (see above under Peter Harris), by whom she had had three children, only one of whom lived very long (McDavid n.d., 113). This may be correct, for the 1910 census says that she was on her second marriage and had had four children, only two of whom were alive, which agrees with McDavid's listing of her children when we add in Walter, her child by Wesley Harris, who was living in 1910 (C1910a). The 1910 census says that she was sixty-one years old (C1910a), but this is impossible, for she had a son Walter born in 1902/03 (C1910a; McDavid n.d., 122).

Neither Wesley Harris's death date nor that of his second wife is known, and as one can see, information on him is contradictory and unsatisfactory.

Child of Wesley Harris and an unknown wife, possibly Alice George (R1883):

- i. A child, alive 1883.

Children of Wesley Harris and Alice George (N1900; C1910a; I01; I02; McDavid n.d., 119):

- ii. Emma J., born 6 June 1889 (TR1956; TR1961; roughly supported by C1910a). She married, first, about 1904/05, Henry Canty (C1910a; McDavid n.d., 111), and later, Early Morgan Brown (TR1956; TR1961).
- iii. Allen S. or Spencer, born circa 1891/92 (C1910a); died young (McDavid n.d., 119).
- iv. Theodore, born 27 March 1893 (TR1956; TR1961; roughly supported by C1910a). He married his first cousin Artemis Harris, daughter of D.A. Harris and Della George, by whom he had several children (see Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 562, 570-571; TR1956; TR1961).

Child of Wesley Harris and Nanny Gordon:

- v. Walter, born about 1902/03 (C1910a). McDavid (n.d., 122) credits him with two wives: Jeanie George and a white wife whose name is unreadable. By Jeanie George, McDavid says, he had two children who died young. He is listed on the 1956 tribal roll as "Brother to Tehodore [sic] (Idaho)," probably meaning that he was living in Idaho (TR1956). He is not listed on the 1961 roll of the Catawbas (TR1961).

HEART

(Also Hart.) Only three people bearing this surname were ever recorded as Catawba Indians. Their relationships are unknown, as are their connections with any other Catawbas. Possibly since they first appeared in North Carolina, where the Catawbas were living with the Cherokees, they are the product of a Catawba-Cherokee intermarriage, and bear a Cherokee, or even a white surname. John Heart signed a petition of Catawbas living in North Carolina on 9 November 1844, signed petitions in North Carolina in 1847 and 1848, was living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849, aged 30 and thus born about 1818/19, and signed a petition asking for tribal lands in Greenville County, S.C., on 9 Nov. 1850 (G1844; LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280; C1849; G1850). Betsy Hart or Heart was living in Greenville Dist., S.C., in 1849, aged 26, and thus born circa 1822/23 (C1849); she was obviously among the Catawbas who went west in 1851-1852 (see Massey 1854, 5-6, and LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408), for on 9 November 1853 she was made a citizen of the Choctaw Nation (LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504). A Rebecca Heart was also made a citizen of the Choctaw Nation at the same time.

I can make only one sensible arrangement out of the preceding data: that John Heart and Betsy Heart were husband and wife, that Rebecca Heart was their daughter, not born by 1849 or too young to be enumerated on the 1849 Catawba census (which only listed people over twelve years old by name), but old enough to be made a citizen of the Choctaw Nation in 1853. Betsy and Rebecca Heart, at least, must have gone west with the emigrants of 1851-52. John Heart would have died between 9 Nov. 1850 and 9 Nov. 1853, so may or may not have gone west; possibly, he was one of the seven migrants who died on the way west (see Massey 1854, 6).

JOE

The first member of the Joe family may have been King Prow of the Catawbas. When John F.D. Smyth visited the Catawbas shortly before the Revolutionary War, he "had the honour of being introduced to the king, or chief of the Catawba nation, whose hard-mouthed Indian appellation I cannot recollect, but his English name was Joe" (Smyth 1972, 1:185). King Prow was king of the Catawbas from about 1765 to about 1778 or 1779. His name was also spelled Frow or Soe.

The first recorded Joe was called simply "Joue" or "Joe," and served with Capt. Drennan's company of Catawba Indians during the Revolutionary War (M02).

A John Joe appears in the Plat Book under dates from 21 May 1818 to 30 December 1824; his late appearance in the Plat Book suggests that he was not considered an adult until circa 1818, and thus was probably born circa 1795-1800, although his absence from the Plat Book during the 1810-1818 period might just as easily be explained by other factors. He is associated so strongly with Harriot Canty in the Plat Book that I think she might have

been his wife (PB, 112-113, 120, 139, 162-163, 169, 174). He signed leases as a Lieutenant in the Catawba tribal government from 27 July 1827 to 30 May 1829 (L). By 1 March 1840, when he signed the Treaty of Nation Ford, he was a Major (MR1840). He had a family in 1840, was still living in York County, S.C., after most of the Catawbias had gone to live with the Cherokees, and was described by David Hutchison as one of "the most trifling, lazy and intemperate Indians belonging to the tribe" (Hutchison 1843, page 1, col. 5). He signed a petition dated 14 Nov. 1840 as Capt. John Joe (G1840) but died, "supposed to be by intemperance," by 11 July 1843 (Hutchison 1843, page 1, col. 6).

Katy or Caty Joe was living as early as 4 Oct. 1848 when she signed a petition (LR, Misc., 1848, M280). She was on a list of Catawbias "in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Echota Mission," N.C., in 1849, but was found by B.S. Massey to be living in Greenville County, S.C., that same year (C1849). She was aged 50, so born circa 1798/99. Judy (Canty) Martin learned from her grandmother that Caty Joe was the mother of Eliza and John Scott, who were born in the mid-1820s (see P03), which raises the possibility that Caty Joe is identical with the Caty Scott who appears often in the Plat Book (see under Scott). Certainly she had children, for in 1860, when she was one of five Catawbias chosen to receive a gift of money from former South Carolina governor Robert Allston, she was described as "an old Indian say 80 to 90 years old [who] is raising some grandchildren" (Whyte 1860). Note that this statement would put her birthdate somewhere between 1770 and 1780, not 1798/99 as reported above. Caty Joe also received supplies from agent B.S. Massey in 1853 (Massey 1854, 18). She was living as late as 11 Oct. 1863 when she signed a petition (M04). She was probably dead by 1869, since she does not appear in any of the Catawba allotment lists in the *Reports and Resolutions* of the South Carolina General Assembly from 1869 to 1883 (see R1869-R1883).

Jinny Joe was living as early as 1847 when she signed a petition (LR, Misc., 1847, P17). She was living in Greenville Dist., S.C., in 1849, aged 43, so born about 1805/06 (C1849). No further record appears.

Joseph Joe was one of the Catawbias who received supplies from agent B.S. Massey in 1853 (Massey 1854, 15). I have not found any other record of him; probably he was a son of one of the Joe women living in 1849 (C1849), but was under twelve in 1849, not old enough to be enumerated by name in the Catawba census.

The last Joe of whom I have record is Mary Joe, who signed a petition in North Carolina on 4 Oct. 1848 (LR, Misc., 1848, M280), and was listed as "in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission," N.C., 17 Sept. 1849 (C1849). No further record appears.

KEGG

The first members of the Kegg family whose names survive are John and Billey Cagg, who both served in Drennan's Catawba company in the Revolutionary War (M02). John was a captain in the Catawba government on 24 November 1792 when he signed a petition (G1792). He probably died

sometime in the 1790s as he appears on no further petitions. Billey Cagg was probably dead by 1792, since he did not sign the same petition that John signed (the 1792 petition, it seems, was signed by most of the adult men in the Catawba nation).

No record of children of John or Billey Cagg exists, but simple chronology suggests that the next generation of Keggs—Nanny, Betsey, and Jamey—were most likely their children. There are few records of Nanny or Nancy Kegg. She and her children are mentioned briefly in the Plat Book several times without significance (PB, 208, 242, 266, 302), often on the same lease as members of the Harris family. The only actual dated payment to her or for her occurred in January 1819 when Billey Ayres was paid “for Nanny Keggs children.” If she had children by 1819, she was probably no younger than nineteen or twenty, and possibly as old as thirty-five or forty; thus she was probably born sometime in the 1780s or 1790s. There is actually no evidence to suggest that she was born a Kegg; she may just as easily have married into the family.

Two entries in the Plat Book show that Betsey Kegg and Jamey Kegg were related. Firstly, on 31 September 1816 Jamey Clinton willed his rents to Jamey Kegg and “to Betsey Kegg now Betsey Ayres” (PB, 284); later, in 1821 and 1822, rent on a lease assigned to Jamey Kegg was paid to Betsey Kegg (PB, 108-109). On 16 August 1818 Polley Stephens willed rent to John Ayres and his children by Betsey Kegg (PB, 315). Betsey was associated with John Ayres as early as 24 June 1813 when he received rent on a lease assigned to her (PB, 112-113), but the earliest payment to Betsey (Kegg) Ayres herself was not until 27 April 1815 (PB, 124). Numerous other payments date up to 13 May 1824 (PB, 108, 112-113, 124). Betsey was certainly adult by 1815 when she first received rents for herself; was “married” to John Ayres by 31 September 1816, and had children by 16 August 1818; from these dates we can estimate that she was born no later than 1795 or 1796.

Jamey Clinton’s bequests to both Jamey and Betsey Kegg lead me to guess that they were brother and sister. 1. JAMES KEGG was fifty-five on 3 April 1840 (MR1840) and sixty-six in 1849 (C1849), which suggests a birthdate somewhere around the years 1782-1785. He first appears on record in 1812 when he received rent for Billey Scott (PB, 332), and shows up in the Plat Book frequently from then until as late as 1827 (PB, 135, 240). He was associated in the Plat Book with James Clinton, Polly Evans, Sally New River, John Ayres, and Billey Scott, but no relationships are stated (PB, 115, 123, 141, 149, 150, 191, 199, 213, 332). The connection with James Clinton, though, seems to have been particularly strong; not only did James Kegg take rents for Clinton quite often, but on 31 Sept. 1816 Jamey Clinton willed his rents to Jamey Kegg and Betsey Kegg now Betsey Ayres (PB, 315).

In 1816 one Professor Blackburn visited the Reservation, and his observations were later published in Robert Mills’ *Statistics of South Carolina* in 1826 (Mills 1972, 112). He reported meeting a “Capt. Keg” who was married to Jenny, the daughter of Billy Scott. “Capt. Keg” was almost certainly James Kegg, for there were no other known adult male Keggs in

1816.²⁷ The observation that he had married Jenny Scott is very interesting, for the Plat Book (pp. 204-205) shows that in November 1816 rent, originally assigned to Jinney Scott, was paid to Jinney Kegg or Jinney Scott. The use of two surnames in the Plat Book is often a tip-off to a recent marriage, suggesting that Jinney Scott may have married a Kegg sometime before November 1816. Jinney might then be the wife of James Kegg and the father of his four known children. Another connection with Billy Scott's family occurred in 1812 when Jamey Kegg paid \$36 on an account of Billy Scott's (PB, 332). However, assuming that Jamey Kegg married Jinney Scott from such scanty evidence is dangerously speculative, especially since another Jinney Scott, wife of General Jacob Ayres, was living at the same time (see for instance PB, 332), and might somehow have been confused with the wife of Jamey Kegg. It is also possible that Jamey Kegg was the husband of Nanny Kegg (mentioned above).

I found no leases signed by James Kegg in my search of the first of the six boxes of leases of Catawba land to whites (L). But Dr. James Merrell, who made a more thorough search of the leases, reports eighteen leases signed by James Kegg in 1838 and 1839. Probably he was one of the new, progressive group of men who became tribal leaders beginning about 1837 after the deaths of John and Jacob Ayres (see Hutchison 1843).

He had risen to the position of General (i.e. chief of the Catawbas) by 1 March 1840 when he signed the Treaty of Nation Ford (MR1840). He signed a petition dated 14 Nov. 1840 as Genl. James Kegg (G1840); it is also important to note that he put his signature to this petition, only the third documented literate Catawba (after John Nettles and Lewis Canty). In 1842 he went to see Governor Morehead of North Carolina, apparently about plans to move the Catawbas to Haywood County, N.C. to join the Cherokees, and carried a letter of introduction from David Hutchison of Nation Ford (Hutchison 1842). He was living in North Carolina by 1844 when he signed a petition there (G1844). He was called "General Kegg" in 1847 when he received clothing and other goods for "himself and friends" (C1849, 13), but that same year marked the end of his Generalship, the last the Catawbas would ever have. On an 1847 petition of North Carolina Catawbas, William Morrison, an even more progressive and equally literate Catawba of unknown ancestry, was called chief. James Kegg did not sign the petition, but he did sign a similar one of 1848 (also headed by Chief Morrison; LR, Misc., 1848, M280). His name was listed in an account of the Catawbas due W.H. Thomas at Qualla Town, N.C., in 1849, as "Dr. James Kegg"; the "Dr." may be an abbreviation for "debtor," though no other Catawbas in the list had a similar prefix (C1849). In B.S. Massey's 1849 census of the Catawbas he was listed as living in Haywood County, N.C., aged 66 (ibid.)

Many residents of York County remembered James Kegg well, and several recollections are preserved in the Draper Manuscripts at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. For instance, R.A. Springs of Springstein, York County, said in 1871 (Springs 1871) that

²⁷I believe that Professor Blackburn erred in calling James Kegg a captain in the Catawba government in 1816; he signed no petitions or leases as Captain during that time period.

Ja^s Kegg Gen^l or Chief...was more than ordinary by nature wrote a good hand but could not resist the besetting evil of spirits—he said to me one day his ancestors name was Hogshead but it had been reduced to Kegg he expected it would be brought down to quart & pint bottle...James Kegg was a fellow of infinite humour. He purchased a negro woman. Some one asked him what he bought her for? he replied to be called master—A negro man applied to Kegg to obtain his negro woman for a wife—Kegg replied he was a widower Maybe so. he want her himself...

B.S. Massey reported in 1854 that James Kegg had gone to Charleston with several other Catawbans in 1851, and had not been heard from after about 1853. But Joseph F. White of Fort Mill, S.C., a neighbor and acquaintance of the Catawbans in York County, told James Kegg's son in a letter dated 17 April 1853 that "it is reported that your father, old Jamey Kegg, died last fall [i.e. fall 1852] in Charleston" (LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408).

Jim Kegg, Philip Kegg, and "Old Man" Kegg are listed by Speck (1939a, 416) as Pamunkeys who married into the Catawbans in the early 1800s; his informant seems to have been Sallie (Brown) Gordon. This doesn't seem likely, in view of the presence of Billey and John Cagg in Catawba records of 1780-1792, before any other recorded Pamunkey intermarriage, and the lack of any other tradition of the Keggs being Pamunkeys. Also, in 1840, the commissioners for the Treaty of Nation Ford reported that General James Kegg "now claims the Generalship he [illegible] as being their Senior about 55 years of age and being a full blooded Indian and the only descendant of the 'Newriver' family" (MR1840, 236). This also shows that Pamunkey connections are unlikely. The only evidence for Newriver connections is the one instance when Jamey Kegg took rent for Sally New River on 15 August 1821 (PB, 191).

James Kegg had three proven children. Philip Kegg and Susy Kegg are proved children of James by the 1853 letter from Joseph F. White to Philip Kegg, cited above, which refers to Jamey Kegg as Philip Kegg's father and Susy Kegg as Philip Kegg's sister. And two sources (Hutchison 1842; MR1840) mention a daughter of James Kegg's married to a Cherokee preacher; for reasons shown below, I believe that she was identical with the Catawba woman Betsy, who married the Cherokee Will or Gun-skar-lee-ski, and had three children, one of whom kept the name Kegg.

Children of James Kegg and an unknown wife, possibly Jinney (Scott) Kegg or Nanny (—) Kegg:

- i. 2. BETSY KEGG, probably born about 1820, as she had a daughter born as early as 1839/40. She married Will or Gun-skar-lee-ski, a Cherokee, and had three children. Their only surviving son was known as James Kegg during his lifetime, and said that his mother was a Catawba born in South Carolina (CA #6634; C1900i); papers in a granddaughter's application for enrollment as a Cherokee on the Guion Miller Rolls also call her a Catawba (CA #16336). This leads me to believe that she was a Kegg, and if she

was a Kegg, she was almost certainly a daughter of General James Kegg. I think it quite likely that she was the same person as the daughter of James Kegg who was married to a Cherokee preacher by 1840 (see below). If it can be determined that her husband Will was in fact a Cherokee preacher, this identification would be beyond doubt. But at this time it is conceivable that James Kegg had two different daughters who married Cherokees.

- ii. 3. PHILLIP KEGG, supposedly born about 1826/27 (C1849), but almost certainly born somewhat earlier.
- iii. Susy Kegg, born circa 1827/28 (C1849). She signed petitions of Catawbas living in North Carolina in 1847 and 1848 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280), and was living at Quallatown, Haywood Co., N.C., in 1849 (C1849, 17). She was reported to have died in Haywood County, N.C., in 1852 (LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408).
- iv. A daughter, married to a Cherokee preacher by 1840 (MR1840; Hutchison 1842), and most likely identical with James Kegg's daughter Betsy, mentioned above.

2. BETSY KEGG was probably born about 1820, as her first child was aged eleven in 1851 and thus born in 1839/40 (Chapman 1851, #325). She seems to have died before the Eastern Cherokee Chapman Roll of 1851, on which she was not listed with her husband and children (Chapman 1851, #322-#325); actually, she may have died even earlier, perhaps shortly after the birth of her last child in 1844 or 1845. However, it is possible that she was not listed on the Chapman Roll because she was Catawba, even though she was married to a Cherokee. But the fact that her youngest child in 1851 was aged six makes it more likely that she had died several years previously, as does the fact that her son James Kegg was unable to state her place of residence in 1851 (CA #6634). Her Cherokee name was Quatsie or Quatsy (CA, #s 6634, 15709, 16336).

She married a Cherokee whose Cherokee name was Da-wee-gun-skar-lee-ski (CA #16336) or Kus-ska-lee-skee (CA #6634), or Cun-ska-lee-skih (CC #6634), or Gun-skar-lis-ki (CA #15709), and whose English name was Will or Willie (Chapman 1851, #322; CA #s 6634, 15709) or Willis Reed (CA #16336). He was born in Jackson County, N.C., about 1820/21 (CA #6634; Chapman 1851, #322), and died in 1878 (CA #6634).

Their eldest son took the English name James Kegg in later life, a fact which helps prove that Betsy was a daughter of Catawba General James Kegg. It has not been possible to find out what English surname their other two children took.

Children of Will and Betsy (proved by Chapman 1851, #s 322-325, and by various statements in CA, #s 6634, 15709, 16336):

- i. 4. REBECCA JANE or BECKY, born circa 1839/40 (Chapman 1851, #325). Her Indian name was Qua-gar-gee-nee (CA #16336) or Wogi-jean-nih (CA #15709).

- ii. 5. JAMES KEGG, born in Swain Co., N.C. (CA #6634), circa 1841/42 (Chapman 1851, #323; C1910f; CC, 30 June 1910, #657; CC, 30 June 1911, #694; CC, 30 June 1912, #735; CC, 30 June 1914, #749), or circa 1842/43 (CC, 31 July 1904, #500), or in 1843 (C1900i), or circa 1843/44 (CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered), or in 1844 (CA #6634), or circa 1844/45 (CC, July 1909, #633), or circa 1848/49 (CC, 30 June 1906, #502). His Indian name was Tsi-mih Sun-daw-ny (CC #15709) or Usa-tau-nee (CC #6634), or Jee-mee Sa-taw-nee (C1900i).
- iii. William, born circa 1844/45 (Chapman 1851, #324); died about 1860 (CA #6634). His Indian name was We-loo-mih (CA #15709).

3. PHILLIP KEGG. The only record of Phillip Kegg's age is the 1849 Catawba census (C1849), which puts his birthdate at 1826/27. This is almost certainly incorrect, though, since "Lieut. Philip Kegg" signed the Treaty of Nation Ford (1 March 1840), and must have been a few years older than his alleged thirteen (MR1840, 237). He also signed a petition to the South Carolina General Assembly in North Carolina on 9 Nov. 1844 (G1844), and signed both the 1847 and 1848 petitions of North Carolina Catawbas to move west (I1847, I1848). On both petitions his name was signed right after that of Chief William Morrison, indicating that he may have held a relatively high position in the tribe (again, inconsistent with his allegedly being 20 and 21, respectively, when he signed the petitions). He was still living in Quallatown in 1849 (C1849). In 1850 he signed a petition asking for tribal lands in Greenville County, S.C. He was one of the Catawbas who moved west to the Choctaw country in Arkansas and Oklahoma, leaving South Carolina in December 1851 and arriving west in February 1852 (LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408; Massey 1854, 5). On 9 November 1853 he was made a citizen of the Choctaw Nation by an act of the Choctaw General Council (LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504).

The record of admission to the Choctaw Nation reads mentions "Phillip Kags [sic]" and then "the infant child of Phillip Kags and Cynthia Kags." From this we deduce that Phillip Kegg was married to Cynthia Kegg, who signed a petition in Haywood County, N.C. in 1848 (LR, Misc., 1848, M280), and was living there in 1849, aged 30 (C1849) and thus born circa 1818-1819. Once again, the fact that she was born in 1818/19 makes it more likely that Phillip Kegg was born before the reported 1826/27. She must have gone with the Catawbas who migrated to the Choctaw country in 1851 and 1852, but was not among those admitted to the Choctaw Nation in 1853. Perhaps she was among the six Catawbas who had died on the trip (see LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408). Her maiden name is not known.

No more is known of Philip Kegg after 1853. Searching in Choctaw records might turn up additional information.

Known child of Phillip and Cynthia (66) Kegg (LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504):

- i. A child, described as an infant on 9 November 1853 when admitted to the Choctaw Nation.

4. REBECCA JANE or BECKY, born circa 1839/40, whose Indian name was Qua-gar-gee-nee or Wogi-jean-nih, died about 1865 (CA #6634). But before her death she married one Lewis Gibson, a black man (CA #16336).

Children of Lewis and Rebecca Jane Gibson (order uncertain) (CA, #s 6634, 16336):

- i. Solomon, d. 1877.
- ii. Eliza or Liza, born in 1863 at Soce Creek, Jackson County, N.C. Her Indian name was Lar-ye-sar. She married David Taylor, who had died by 29 Jan 1907 when Liza Taylor called herself a widow (CA #16336). The Jackson Taylor, born about 1890/91, called "grandson" of James Kegg on the 1910 census (C1910f), could have been their son, and thus James Kegg's grandnephew.

5. JAMES KEGG, whose Indian name was Tsi-mih Sun-daw-ny, Usa-tau-nee or Jee-mee Sa-taw-nee, was born probably about 1842/43 in Swain County, N.C., and was living as late as 1914 (CC, 30 June 1914, #749). He served as a Confederate soldier in William H. Thomas's company of Cherokee Indians (Brown 1966, 330; C1910f).

He married, first, a woman named Jensy, daughter of Otter or Stah-hi and his wife Ne-que-dah-yih (CA #15709). Jensy died about 1873 (ibid.)

He married, secondly, a woman named Katy or Kun-ta-kih, who took the English name Katy Kegg after her marriage. She was the daughter of John Oo-la-yo-ih or John Oo-lay-woh, and his wife Tih-ya-nuh or Dah-yane (CA #6633; Chapman 1851, #s 693-700), and was born in Swain Co., N.C. (CA #6633), about 1849/50 (Chapman 1851, #700; CC, 31 July 1904, #501) or in 1850 (CA #6633); the federal censuses of 1900 and 1910 and most Cherokee census rolls of 1898-1914 put her birthdate between 1852 and 1857, but in light of her appearance on the Chapman Roll, these dates are impossible. Their marriage took place about 1884/85 (C1910f); the 1900 census (C1900i) reports that the marriage took place in 1870 or 1871, but this is probably incorrect. Katy Kegg was also living as late as 30 June 1914 (CC, 30 June 1914, #750).

James Kegg had only one child by Jensy (CA #15709, in which Modiah Kegg states that he had no brothers or sisters; CC, July 1909, #s 633-635), and none by Katy Kegg (C1900i; C1910f).

In the 1900 and 1910 federal censuses, James and Katy Kegg were enumerated in Oconolufta, Swain Co., N.C. He was a literate, English-speaking farmer; Katy, though, could not read or write, and her primary language was "Indian" (i.e. Cherokee) (C1900i; C1910f).

Child of James Kegg and Jensy (CA #15709; CC, July 1909, #s 633-635):

- i. Matthew or Modiah Kegg, whose Indian name was Mo-dah-yih (CA #15709). He was born near Birdtown, N.C. (ibid.), about 1864/65 (CC, 31 July 1904, #502), or about 1865/66 (CC, 30 June 1912,

#737; CC, 30 June 1911, #692; CC, 30 June 1910, #659), or about 1866 (CA #15709), or about 1867/68 (CC, 30 June 1898, unnumbered; CC, 30 June 1899, #456; CC, 30 June 1914, #751), or about 1868/69 (CC, July 1909, #635). Further information on Modiah Kegg's marriages and children can be found in the above sources.

KENNEDY

Records of the Kennedy family among the Catawbas appear only in the Plat Book and in one other source. I have no idea where they came from, or where they went after the Plat Book era. Although Kennedy and Canty are phonetically similar, the families are certainly not one and the same, for they are clearly distinct families in the Plat Book. The same cannot be said for the Kennedys and the small Gandy family: there may be some connection between the two families, but nothing has been proven.

The first Kennedy on record is John Kennedy, a Catawba who was acquitted of trading with Negroes by Governor Moultrie on 28 March 1793 (MR1793).

Four Kennedys appear in the Plat Book: Betsy, Johnston, Nancy, and Richardson Kennedy. All are certainly related, for they take each other's rents many times. Betsey Kennedy appears in the Plat Book very few times; she was living from at least 1813 to 20 June 1816 (PB, 121), and possibly from 1811 to 1824 (PB, 293). She is associated with Richardson Kennedy, Johnston Kennedy, Nancy Kennedy, Billy Canty, Sally New River, and Betsy Ayres in the Plat Book (PB, 121, 238, 266, 293).

Johnston Kennedy appears in the Plat Book under dates from 29 May 1812 to February 1820 (PB, 233, 176). He is strongly associated with Richardson Kennedy (PB, 176, 201, 212, 233, 252), and is also associated with Nancy Kennedy (232), Sally New River (233), and Betsy Kennedy (121).

Richardson Kennedy is possibly mentioned in the Plat Book as early as 1813 (PB, 259), and certainly as early as 4 August 1817 (PB, 213, 259). Entries continue up to 6 Nov. 1826 (PB, 191). He was called "Richardson Kennedy Indian Boy" on 10 July 1823 (PB, 177). He married Nancy Brown, daughter of John Genet Brown (PB, 222). He is associated in the Plat Book with Betsy Kennedy (PB, 121), Betsy Ayres (175, 177, 191, 259), Nancy Kennedy (PB, 175, 200), and Johnston Kennedy (176, 201, 212, 233, 252).

Some or all of the entries for Nancy Kennedy may be for the Nancy (Brown) Kennedy who was Richardson Kennedy's wife, but nothing prevents there having been a second Nancy Kennedy. Treating all Nancy Kennedys in the Plat Book as the same person, Nancy was the daughter of John Genet Brown (PB, 222), was alive as early as 1815 (PB, 334) and as late as 14 April 1824 (PB, 334). She was dead by August 1825 when her estate was mentioned (PB, 303), and probably by 13 July 1824 when we have the first record of payments to Nancy George for Nancy Kennedy's child (PB, 201, 233). Nancy George was the guardian for Nancy Kennedy's child (PB, 200). Payments to Nancy George for Nancy Kennedy's child continue through 24 Nov. 1826 (PB, 233). Nancy Kennedy was connected with the George family,

even apart from the fact that Nancy George was appointed guardian of her child (see PB, 200, 201, 203, 235, 239, 303), with the Harris family (PB, 203, 303), and with Richardson, Johnston, and Betsy Kennedy (PB, 200, 232, 238). I do not know who Nancy Kennedy's child was.

MORRISON

The Morrison family is somewhat of a mystery. The progenitor of the family could have been related to a white man named William Morrison who complained about the Catawbas to North Carolina officials in 1754 (Merrell 1982, 468). The first reference to the family is of a "Morrison" who served in Drennan's Catawba company in the Revolutionary War (M02). After that, we have not a single reference to the name for over sixty years—no mention at all in the Plat Book, petitions, leases, or anything else—until, all of a sudden, we find that William Morrison was chief of the Catawbas in 1844. Then, in 1851, the entire family disappears once more, although this time, we know where they went. Some went to Charleston, where they disappeared, and others went to live with the Choctaws. One of the Choctaw members came back in 1886, and just as suddenly as William Morrison, became chief of the tribe all over again. But once again, he left the Catawbas to return to the West, and today there are no Morrisons in the Catawba Nation.

William Morrison signed a petition in North Carolina 1844 with his actual signature, not his mark (G1844), the first appearance of his name in Catawba records. His name was at the head of the petition, indicating that he was chief, although he was not explicitly described as chief until he signed another petition in 1847, and a third in 1848 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, M280). John C. Mullay, who took a Cherokee census in 1848, stated in a letter of 13 Nov. 1848 "that 'Wm Morrison' whose name as 'Chief' is first signed to the letter [i.e. the petition of 1848 referred to above], an intelligent, respectable Catawba, called on me *in private* while I was in the neighborhood of the present home of his people..." (Covington 1954, 42-43). William Morrison was still Catawba chief on 9 Nov. 1850 when he signed another petition (G1850). The 1849 Catawba census finds a William Morrison, aged 33 and thus born about 1815/16, living in Haywood County, N.C. (C1849), and in the list of Catawbas "in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission," we find William Morrison and Mary Morrison heading the list, and Thomas and John Morrison together, towards the bottom. Thomas and John Morrison may have been William Morrison's sons (see Thomas below); Mary Morrison might have been William Morrison's wife, though she was not listed in the accompanying census of Catawbas; perhaps she was not Catawba (C1849).

We next hear about these Morrisons on 9 November 1853 when William Morrison, Thomas Morrison, and Sarah Jane Morrison were made members of the Choctaw Nation (LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504). They were members of the group which had left for Arkansas and Oklahoma in December 1851 (see Massey 1854, 5-6; LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408). Sarah Jane Morrison may have been another child of William Morrison. B.S. Massey reported that "Jim Morrison and child" started for Charleston about

1851; they were last heard from in 1853, and their whereabouts were unknown in 1854 (Massey 1854, 6). I have no idea who Jim Morrison was.

Now we come to Thomas Morrison. Thomas and John Morrison were listed as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South at Echota Misson in 1849 (C1849), but they were not listed in the accompanying Catawba census, which suggests that they were under the age of twelve, for children under that age were not enumerated by name in the census. Thus they must have been born between 1837 and 1849. A Thomas Morrison was among the Catawbans who were made citizens of the Choctaw Nation on 9 November 1853 (LR, Choctaw, 1854, D504), so Thomas Morrison obviously went west in the migration of 1851-1852 (for which see Massey 1854, 5-6, and LR, Choctaw, 1853, D408). In 1886 a Thomas Morrison, who had left South Carolina for Arkansas when he was small, came back to the Catawba Nation, and was described as forty-five and fifty years old (see below). Thus he was born sometime from 1836 to 1841. B.S. Massey "learnt from a letter from Thomas Morrison, one of the Catawba Indians, a man of some intellect," that of the twenty-two who went west, seven had died (Massey 1854, 6). This letter must have been dated in either 1852 or 1853, and if Thomas Morrison was described by Massey as "a man of some intellect," he must have been born towards the beginning of the term given above, i.e. circa 1836-37, which would make him just young enough in 1849 not to be included in the Catawba census, and just old enough in 1852-53 to be described, with a little stretching, as "a man of some intellect." He was the last member of the Morrison family to live among the Catawbans. Speck (1944, 38) reports that

...some recollections narrated by Sam Blue and his sister may be noted concerning the life of a noted Catawba "medicine doctor," Tom Morrison. He is listed among those who served as chief in an interim about 1886²⁸ ...He was born in Arkansas in one of the small Catawba groups who fled from South Carolina at the time of a smallpox "scare." When about fifty years old he visited his tribe in South Carolina and stayed for about five years on the reservation, returning to Arkansas about 1900.

McDonald Furman (1888) was told by James Harris and A.E. Smith that

Chief Morrison went away from his people when he was small and returned in 1886. His wife was dead when Harris wrote [March 1888]. She was half Catawba...He was married in the Choctaw Nation...Chief Morrison is about 45 years of age...Harris says that Thomas Morrison was elected Chief as near as he could tell from memory on November 5th, 1886...When he visited Columbia in January, 1887, the Columbia Register, speaking of him and another red man who accompanied him, tells us; "they were both clad in the habiliments of civilization and had nothing about them to attract unusual notice save their strongly marked Indian features." The Chief was mentioned as "being a man of more than ordinary

²⁸ On this see Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565.

statu[r]e” and was “very deaf” and “difficult to converse with.” The Columbia correspondent of the Augusta Chronicle has spoken of Chief Morrison as “an intelligent Indian” and of his “having served nobly through the war, and rendered invaluable services as a scout in the Confederate army.”

Obviously, research in Choctaw, Oklahoma, and Arkansas records should be undertaken to learn more about William and Thomas Morrison and the rest of the Morrison family.

MURSH

First generation only.

(Also Marsh, Mush.) Mursh is not a Catawba name. It was introduced by Robert Mursh, a Pamunkey Indian from King William County, Virginia, who came to live with the Catawbas in the early 1800s. Some of his children married Catawbas, and their descendants were considered Catawbas. But some remained outsiders of a sort, and in 1887 twelve Mursh descendants left the Nation for Utah (Mooney 1887). However, there are strong genealogical connections between the Murshes of the early 1800s and the Catawbas of today through several Mursh women, apparently daughters of John Mursh and granddaughters of Robert Mursh, who had children by Catawba men in the early to mid-1800s and have many descendants in the Nation today. It is important to note for further research that the Murshes, due to their ambiguous racial status in South Carolina, may appear in county records in which Catawbas do not.

ROBERT MURSH was over sixty on 17 Aug. 1818 (M01, frame 19) and 62 on 25 Oct. 1820 (M01, frame 15), thus born about 1757/58. He enlisted in the Virginia Line of the Continental Army in 1776 and served with various companies during the Revolution (M01, frames 15, 19-20). On 1 Oct. 1782 (M01, frame 11) or in August 1783 (M01, frames 22, 42, 60, 68), or 7 August 1783 (M01, frame 48), or in 1783 (M01, frame 29), he married his wife Elizabeth, according to Pamunkey rites; Elizabeth specifically stated in a pension deposition that they were both Pamunkeys (M01, frames 42, 52). Later, Robert Mursh became a Christian and afterwards a Baptist preacher, and decided to have a formal marriage which would be more acceptable to whites; this happened about 1796 or 1797 (M01, frames 22, 30, 40, 42, 52). A deposition by Robert and Elizabeth’s daughter Sarah (Brown) Mursh states that the second was performed by a Baptist preacher named John Mills (M01, frame 52). A deposition by Elizabeth states that the first marriage was by Jack Mills, pastor of the Baptist Church at King William, Virginia (M01, frame 48). It seems likely that Elizabeth mistook the second marriage for the first in the deposition and that the second was by John or Jack Mills at the Baptist Church in King William, Va.

The two marriages raised an interesting question when Elizabeth applied for a pension after Robert’s death. The pension laws stated that a

soldier's widow must have been married to that soldier by 1794 in order to receive a pension. Since a legal marriage, by pension department standards, didn't occur until 1796 or 1797, the question was whether Robert and Elizabeth were formally married in 1783. The department finally decided (M01, frame 87) that

If at the time of the first marriage, the parties belonged to a tribe of Indians, over whom the law of Virginia, in regard to marriages, had not been *in fact* extended and enforced, & if they were married according to the usages & customs of their tribe, and lived together, and sustained the relations of husband and wife, by virtue of said marriage, among their tribe—such marriage would be valid in any country to which the parties might emigrate—and could not be rendered invalid by a subsequent solemnization by other forms, induced by a change of religion.

Elizabeth Mursh was aged 59 on 25 Oct. 1820 (M01, frame 16); aged 80 on 14 July 1843 (M01, frame 11); aged 85 on 29 April 1848 (M01, frame 42); aged 85 on 8 Nov. 1848 (M01, frame 60), and aged 86 on 29 Jan. 1850 (M01, frame 68). The 1820 statement would put her birthdate at 1760-1761; the other four, combined, sometime between 29 Jan. and 29 April 1763. She was alive as late as 29 Jan. 1850 when she deposed in her pension case (M01, frame 68).

By 1806 Robert and Elizabeth Mursh had moved to South Carolina, for on 8 February 1806 they and son Robert were admitted to Flint Hill Baptist Church in York District by letter from Christ Church, King William County, Virginia (Brown 1966, 272). Joseph F. White and John Niven deposed in 1847 and 1849 respectively that they had known the Murshes since the first decade of the 1800s (M01, frames 53, 102). They first settled in Lancaster District (M01, frames 27, 53), later moving to York District, within three miles of White and a quarter mile of Niven (M01, frames 53, 102). David Hutchison (1843, 1, col. 7), though he erroneously called him John Mursh, stated that Robert came about a year after the departure of missionary John Rooker; Hutchison said Robert was

a Northern Indian [who] with his family came and settled amongst them...He was also a Baptist Minister, and appeared to be an humble and good christian. He had served during the Revolution, [and] received a pension from the United States...The old man settled among them with the same views and benevolent intentions that Mr. Rooker had done, and with just about the same result, or rather worse, as he thought. He continued with them five or six years, the most of his time teaching and preaching, and then with great reluctance left them. John Mush, his son, married a Catawba woman, who became a member of the Baptist Church, and soon after his father left the Nation, he removed into Chester District, supporting by his industry a very large family...

Robert Mursh may have left the Nation after a few years, but he did not leave York District. He purchased the right to lease 50 acres of Indian land from William Pettus by verbal agreement (see PB, 262; M01, frames 34, 39, 55). This land was described as “fifty acres of very poor, broken Indian land, sold to him, on a long credit, for the price of three dollars pr. acre, more than one third of which he still owes. This land has never afforded a necessary support for his family” (M01, frame 35). On 25 Oct. 1820 his property consisted of two cows and four (cow) bells, hogs, two horses, plantation tools, four chairs, a table, a trunk, a Dutch oven, two pots, a frying pan, a gun, books, three augers and a drawing knife, four barrels, household furniture, fifty acres of “poor land,” and his crop of corn—130 bushels of it (M01, frame 16).

Robert Mursh continued to live in York District until his death on 7 December 1837 (M01, frames 11, 29, 42, 48, 60, 68, 70, 101).

Children of Robert Mursh and his wife Elizabeth (M01, frames 6-8, 10, 16-17, 22, 53, 55, 56), all probably born in King William County, Virginia:

- i. Kitty Mursh, born 16 August 1784; died young (M01, frame 22).
- ii. John Mursh, born 6 May 1786. A complete discussion of John Mursh would discuss his wife Betsy and document his children. The evidence for his wife and children (mostly listed in C1849 under the name Quash) is highly complex and circumstantial. From various sources (LDS1985/7311, CM, C1849, Massey 1853, M01, C1880b, C1880e, etc.) it appears that his daughter *Margaret Mursh* had Elizabeth Missouri White by George White in 1849. *Mary Mursh* had a daughter Margaret Elizabeth L. by John Sanders in 1842. *Rebecca Mursh*, reputedly born about 1813, may have had John Scott about 1826, Sarah Jane Harris in 1829, Margaret George by Anthony George in 1846, and Taylor George by Taylor George in 1849, as well as several other children; she may be the Rebecca/Becky Marsh mentioned four times in the Plat Book. *Lucy Mursh*, reputedly born about 1818, may have had Emily Cobb by John D. Cobb in 1843, Margaret Jane McLure (who married Billy George) by Robert McLure in 1845, John Gandy by Thomas Gandy in 1850, James Watts by Evans Watts in 1858, and William D. Watts by Evins Watts in 1860. And there are yet more complexities to the Mursh family which I have not had time to straighten out.
- iii. Robert Alexander Mursh, born 26 March 1788. On 8 February 1806 he with his parents was admitted to Flint Hill Baptist Church in York District (Brown 1966, 272). The only further record of him is the fact that Joseph F. White deposed in 1847 that he had known Robert A. Mursh (M01, frame 53).
- iv. Sarah Mursh, born 29 March 1790. She married Jamey Brown; see under Brown.
- v. James Mursh, born 13 March 1792; died young (M01, frame 22).

- vi. Philadelphia, or Delphy Mursh, born 5 Feb. 1794; died young (M01, frame 22).
- vii. Betsey Mursh, born 14 Nov. 1796; probably Robert's daughter Elizabeth, living with her father in 1820 and described as aged 22 (M01, frames 16-17). The children of John and Betsy Houghland, born from 1822 to 1834, are listed in the Mursh family bible next to the children of Robert and Elizabeth Mursh (M01, frame 7). Undoubtedly, this Betsy Houghland was the former Betsy Mursh. It would be interesting to trace these Houghland descendants; undoubtedly quite a few, if not all, are unaware that they have a considerable strain of Pamunkey blood.
- viii. Patsey Mursh, born 28 July 1798; died young (M01, frame 22).
- ix. Rhoda Mursh, born 21 Feb. 1800; living with her father in 1820 (M01, frames 16-17); alive 29 Jan. 1850, and called Rhoda Mursh, when she deposed for her mother's pension claim. It's interesting that there was only one Catawba ever named Rhoda: Rhoda Harris, wife of Chief Allen Harris, whom I have identified as a George. Perhaps there was some connection between Rhoda Mursh and Rhoda George.

NETTLES

John Nettles, the first literate Catawba, was first recorded among "Those Indians who did Service Which Cannot be Vouched for" in Capt. Drennan's Catawba company in the Revolutionary War in 1780 (M02). He was probably at least fifteen years old when he served, putting his birthdate sometime before 1765. His actual signature—not just his mark—appears on the Catawba petition of 1792 (G1792), making him the first Catawba who could write (excepting a wobbly signature by "Billy" [Brown?] on a 1759 petition brought to my attention by James Merrell). He signed the petition of 1801 (G1801), and then as Major John Nettles signed petitions of 1810 and 1811 (G1810, G1811). His signature appears on land leases as Major from 18 August 1810 to 17 September 1812 (L). He probably died soon after 1812.

The story of his literacy is told by David Hutchison (1843, p. 1, col. 7):

...a boy by the name of John Nettles was selected, being the most promising boy in the Nation. He was taken to Virginia, placed at the College of William and Mary, and was kept there five or six years. The object was to give him a liberal and finished education, and to send him back to improve his tribe. It is said that during the whole time he behaved well, and stood high as a student, and at the end of the time he was dismissed with high honors. During the short time that he remained there, waiting an opportunity to return home, he was found lying in the street drunk. The Professors or Trustees had him taken to a house, and taken care of, and after waiting a day or two, met in a private room to converse with him on the subject, explaining in the most feeling terms, the object in educating him. He listened to them with apparent mortification, and a readiness to acknowledge his fault.

But when they were done speaking, he called their attention to the window, and pointed to a hog walking in the street, and said, 'Take that hog and wash him clean, and as the weather is warm it might be very agreeable; but let him go, and he will lie down and wallow in the first mud-hole he comes to, for he is still a hog,' thus intimating that an Indian would be an Indian still. He was sent back to the Nation well recommended, married, and had a family. It was some years afterwards when I became acquainted with the Indians, and he then ranked among the lowest. I was acquainted with him until his death, which was upwards of twenty years, and he remained the same. His time spent at school had unfitted him for the habits of Indian life, which was to make a support by hunting, fishing, and a small portion of labor, to all of which he was a stranger. In his dress also he differed a little from the Indians, adopting the breeches of the whites instead of the breech-clouts of his tribe. This rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the Nation. In doing business with the Whites at this time, the business was always transacted through the aid of an interpreter; but the Indians would in no instance allow Nettles to interpret for them. From the time I became acquainted with him, he appeared to have lost his education almost entirely. He could read and write, though very indifferently, and I never knew him to have any book except the Testament. All the time I knew him, his habits were peaceable, moral and temperate, and yet he ranked as above.

Hutchison states that John Nettles had a family, but no record of any other Catawba named Nettles exists. John Nettles is mentioned briefly in the Plat Book; he was paid 20 July 1810 on the land of William White. By July 1815 the rent from that land had been assigned to General Jacob Scott (PB 197, 267). This may indicate a relationship of some sort between Nettles and Scott, but nothing can be proved from this one reference.

OWL

Two members of the Cherokee Owl family married into the Catawbas. Sampson Owl married Susannah Harris, daughter of Allen and Rhoda (George) Harris, and Loyd Owl married Nettie Harris, daughter of Harriet Harris and granddaughter of Allen and Rhoda Harris. Both of these marriages, and their children, are treated under Harris.

Sally Wahoo, also known as Sally Screech Owl, a Catawba living with the Cherokees who died in 1888 or 1889, is treated under Wahoo.

PATTERSON

The Patterson name was not limited to Indians in the Catawba area. White men named Littleberry Patterson and Benjamin Patterson leased land from the Catawbas during the early 1800s (PB, 114, 220), and the surname among the Catawbas may have derived from these men or some of their relations.

The first recorded Catawba Patterson was Tom Patterson, who signed a petition on 24 November 1792 (G1792). I have no further record of him. On 28 March 1793 Jenny Patterson was pardoned by Governor Moultrie for trading with Negroes, the first record of a Catawba woman that I have found in historical records (MR1793).

In November 1815 rent was paid to “the heirs of Patterson...in presence of Jamey Kegg” (PB, 107). Possibly the Patterson who had just died was the Tom Patterson of 1792. Rent on that lease was next paid to Daniel Patterson in November 1817 and April 1824 (*ibid.*); presumably he was the son of the Patterson who died prior to November 1815, though he could have been a different heir. He was alive as late as 13 May 1824 when he was paid rent on a lease originally assigned to Harriet Brown daughter of Billy Brown (PB, 220-221). After the note of the April 1824 payment, Hugh White (superintendent of the Catawbas and author of the Plat Book) added “total paid to Daniel Patterson in his lifetime ninety seven 97.00,” probably indicating that Daniel Patterson died shortly after April 1824 and that Hugh White was summing up all the payments made to him.

The other Patterson to appear frequently in the Plat Book is Jamey Patterson. He was alive as early as 1821 when he was paid rent (PB, 245), and received his last rent in July 1827 (PB, 165). He is connected with Major Thomas Brown (PB, 244); with Betsey Brown (PB, 215), and with D[avid] Harris [PB, 165]. I found leases signed by him date dfrom 27 July 1827 to 30 May 1828, in which he appears variously as Lieutenant and Captain James Patterson, and Dr. James Merrell reports that he signed further leases up to 1832 (L). On 14 May 1824, he willed rent to Patsey Patterson—the only appearance of a Patsey Patterson in the Plat Book (PB, 329).

Virginia Patterson signed a petition in North Carolina in 1847 (LR, Misc., 1847, P17). She is probably the same person as the Jiney Patterson who was living in Chester Dist., S.C., in 1849, aged 30 and thus born about 1818/19 (C1849). Also living in Chester County was a Martha Patterson, aged 18 and thus born about 1830/31 (C1849); her name reminds us of the Patsey Patterson who was bequeathed rents in 1824, although Martha would not have been alive then. A Martha Patterson, presumably the same as the one living in 1849, received a one person allotment on 3 May 1869 (R1869) and miscellaneous payments on 12 Nov. 1869, 19 March 1870, 12 July 1870, and 8 Aug. 1876 (R1869, R1870, R1876).

Family information collected by Judy (Canty) Martin of Cortez, Colorado, but with no supporting documentation, says that Jenny Patterson was the mother of Martha Patterson by a white man named John S. Sitgraves, and that Martha Patterson was the mother of James Patterson by another white man named Labon Chappell (P03).

James Patterson was born 8 Nov. 1849, and married Elizabeth Missouri White, daughter of George White and Peggy White, on 24 July 1868 (P03). He received allotments from 1869 to 1883 (R1869-R1883), and in 1883 was living off the Reservation. In addition to his children by Elizabeth Missouri White, he is remembered as having had another, illegitimate child, Lizzie Patterson, who became the first wife of D.A. Harris (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; I01). D.A.’s wife Lizzie (Patterson) Harris was born

in October 1873 (C1900a), and McDavid (n.d., 127) says that she was Lizzie Watts. Florence Speck's genealogical notebook states that she was the daughter of Jim Patterson and Lucy Watts (Florence Speck 1942). Therefore I suspect she was the same as the Elizabeth Watts who was aged five in 1880, the granddaughter of Evan and Lucy (Mursh) Watts (see C1880e), but I have no proof for this. Nor have I found that Evan and Lucy Watts had a daughter Lucy.

James Patterson was among the Catawbas who went west to Colorado about 1890 (Speck 1939a, 407). Information from Judy Martin (P03), shows that date of the migration to have been before 1 Sept. 1887. We find him in Sanford, Colorado, in 1900 and 1910 (C1900e, C1910b). He died in Sanford 1 Sept, 1931, and his wife died there 14 July 1934 (P03).

Children of James Patterson and Elizabeth Missouri White (P03, supported to some extent by C1900e):

- i. Martha Jane Patterson, born 21 Nov. 1868; married Pinkney Head, another of the Catawbas who had gone west (see C1900d, C1910c).
- ii. Georgia Henrietta or George Henrietta, born 4 July 1870; married John Alonzo Canty, another western Catawba (see C1900c, C1910b).
- iii. Tarsabell, born 24 June 1872.
- iv. Lula, born 10 Oct. 1874.
- v. Eldora Livinia, born 11 Feb. 1877.
- vi. Maggie Emma, born 24 March 1879; d. 22 Jan. 1890.
- vii. Elizabeth Abby Ellen, born 18 March 1882; married a man named Beals from Tennessee, and later Rufus Garcia (C1910b); the Garcias on the Reservation today are descended from her children who came back to South Carolina.
- viii. Mary Maud, born 14 Feb. 1884.
- ix. James Moroni Heber, born 25 March 1887.
- x. Joseph Brigham, born 1 Jan. 1890; d. 28 Jan. 1890.
- xi. Henry Alonzo, born 29 Jan. 1891.

SANDERS

The first record of the Sanders family is of Nancy Sanders, who had three children when she received supplies from Catawba agent B.S. Massey in 1853 (Massey 1854, 17). If we assume that she was at least twenty years old, since she had three children, then she was probably born no later than 1833. Nancy signed a petition in support of the military exemption of agent John R. Patton on 11 Oct. 1863 (M04) and appears in Catawba allotment lists continually from 1869 to 1878, always living alone (R1869-R1878). The Catawba agent's report of 31 October 1879 shows payments to "J.W. Latham, making coffin for N. Sanders," to "A.L. Beach, funeral expenses of N. Sanders," and to "Freidhein & Co., funeral expenses of N. Sanders" (R1879). If account books of any of these three still exist, they might provide further

information on the death date of Nancy Sanders. But it seems that she must have died sometime between 31 October 1878 and 31 October 1879.

Two Catawba members of the Sanders family were said to have been killed in the Civil War: John and Bill Sanders (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; N1900). I have not verified their service in Confederate records at the National Archives. Perhaps they were sons of Nancy Sanders, for if they served in the Civil War they were most likely born between 1840 and 1845, just young enough so that they would have been listed under their mother's name in the 1853 instead of in a separate listing.

Mormon records give evidence that Peter Harris's second wife was Elizabeth or M.E.L. Sanders, born 24 May 1842, the daughter of James Sanders and Mary Mursh (LDS1985/7311, 41). I have not been able to figure out whether James Sanders was white or Catawba and, if he was Catawba, how he might fit in with the other Catawba Sanderses.

Otherwise, the only member of the Sanders family who has descendants living today was another John Sanders, who was born circa 1861/62 (C1880d; C1910a). He is called John Evens Sanders in one record (P02). His mother was Lucinda Harris, a Catawba woman who had several children by several different men (see under Harris). It is clear that his father was white. Georgia Harris told me so (I01), and the 1910 census calls John a half-breed Catawba, which means that his father would have been full white, since we know that his mother was a full-blooded Catawba.²⁹ McDavid (n.d., 120, 122) calls him John Sanders Jr., and his father John Sanders; this is confirmed by Mormon records (LDS1985/7311, 92). Certainly it is possible that John was fathered by a white man named John Sanders. But it is suspicious that there is also evidence of three adult *Catawbas* named Sanders, living at the time of John's birth—and that one of them was named *John* Sanders! It would seem more likely than not that John (b. 1861/62) was related to other Catawba Sanderses. It is even possible, for instance, that the John Sanders who reportedly died in the Civil War (see above) was actually all or almost all white, and fathered John Sanders in 1860 or 1861 before leaving to die in the Civil War.

We do know that John Sanders married, sometime between 1883, when he was living alone off the Reservation (R1883), and the birth of his first known child William in 1884/85, Martha Harris, the daughter of Jim and Sarah Harris, who was born circa 1859/60 (I01; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; P02; C1880a; see under David Harris). Their last known child was born circa 1895/96, and she probably died by 1900, when she was not listed with John and their children in a list of the Catawbas on the Reservation (N1900).

About 1909/10 John Sanders remarried a white woman who is called Loula Sanders on the 1910 census. She was thirty years old in 1910, had been married once previously, and had four living children by her first husband (C1910a).

²⁹ The 1900 and 1910 censuses call Lucinda's son Lewis Gordon a half-breed, and since we know from other sources that Lewis's father was a white man (see under Gordon), Lucinda must have been a full Catawba.

John Sanders was called one of the first four Catawba converts to Mormonism (Speck 1939b, 25).

Children of John and Martha (Harris) Sanders (lists from McDavid n.d., 120; N1900; C1910a, which says that John Sanders had eight children of whom four were living; P02):

- i. William Sanders, born circa 1884/85 (C1910a); married, about 1902/03, Nora Gordon or Nora Brown (I01; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571; McDavid n.d., 113, 120; C1910a), for whom see under Gordon. They had a number of children, the first of whom was Albert Sanders, who married Vera Blue, daughter of Chief Samuel Blue (see C1910a; Florence Speck 1942; TR1956; TR1961; Black 1939, 11).
- ii. Joseph Hinson Sanders, born circa 1886/87 (C1910a); married, 10 October 1910, Lillie Florence Beck (P02; McDavid n.d., 120; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). They had no children (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). He died 13 February 1930 and is buried in the old Catawba cemetery on the Reservation (CM; also see Speck 1938b, 198-199; who erroneously calls his father Henry Sanders). He served in World War I as "Mech, 56 Depot Brig." (CM). Lillie Florence Beck was part Cherokee (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). She was born 26 November 1876 at Clayton, Georgia, and died 11 March 1951 at Whittier, N.C. By Jefferson Swafford she was the mother of Fletcher John Beck, who married Sallie Rebecca Brown, daughter of John William and Rachel Wysie (George) Brown (see under Brown) (P02).
- iii. Dora Sanders, listed between Joseph and John Idle in N1900 and also listed by McDavid (n.d., 120); probably died between 1900 and the 1910 census, on which she was not listed (C1910a).
- iv. John Idle Sanders, generally known as Idle Sanders, born 12 Oct. 1892 (CM; TR1956; TR1961); d. 27 August 1973 and buried in the old Catawba cemetery on the Reservation (CM). He married, 5 July 1912, Arzada Brown, daughter of John William and Rachel Wysie (George) Brown, who was born 3 July 1896 and was still living on the Reservation as of 1986 (P02; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). They had a number of children.
- v. Robert Sanders, listed as a son of John and Martha Sanders by McDavid (n.d., 120); probably died young.
- vi. Lewis Ernest Sanders, born 18 July 1895 (P02; C1910a; also listed in N1900); died 5 Feb. 1936, and buried in the old Catawba cemetery on the Reservation (P02; CM). He served in World War I (CM). He married, first, 22 April 1917, Cora Brown, daughter of John William and Rachel Wysie (George) Brown, born 13 August 1898, who died 9 Oct. 1918 (CM; P02; C1910a; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-571). They had a son Melvin, born 23 Jan. 1918, who died 10 Oct. 1918 (P02). He married, secondly, 25 April 1925, Jennie or Jean Canty (P02; Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 570-

571). He married, thirdly, 6 April 1932, Minnie Florence Harris (P02).

- vii. and viii. (probably). The 1910 census says that John Sanders had had eight children, of whom four were living. The four living ones were William, Joseph, John Idle, and Lewis Ernest Sanders. Especially in view of the gaps in the birthdates of his children, there is no reason to doubt the census, and no reason not to give John two more children who died young.

STEPHENS

The Stephens family, I believe, is one of just a few Catawba families whose surnames derive from old Catawba personal names. A Catawba named Little Stephen served in the Revolution (M02); he is the first member of the family of whom I have record. He probably survived to almost 1810, although there is no further record of him. The Plat Book, which began about 1810, assigns rent in several places to Stephen's children, Stephen's heirs, and Stephen's daughter (PB, 106, 216, 224-225, 264, 267). Usually, when the Plat Book assigned rents to someone's heirs, his entire name was given (e.g. Billey Canty's heirs), so I suspect that this "Stephen" was one of the few remaining Catawbas who had not assumed a surname by 1810.

When a Catawba died during the Plat Book period, one can sometimes get an idea of who his children were by checking who took the rents on his leases after his death. Unfortunately, this approach doesn't work very well with the Stephens family. But there is enough evidence to show that "Stephen" was related to, and probably the father of, other Stephens who were living in the early 1800s. The rents on one lease, assigned to Stephen's daughter, went to Lewis Stephens, Isaac White, and Polly White (PB, 216-217). The rents on another, assigned to Stephen's children, went to Colonel Jacob Ayres for Stephen's children, and to William Stephens (PB, 224-225). The rents on a third lease, assigned to Stephen's children and Stephen's heirs, went to Anny Ayres, Sally Brown, Billey Ayres, Billey Canty, and Harriot Canty (PB, 106-107).

Three Stephenses appear in the Plat Book. Billey or William Stephens was living from at least July 1823 to 16 July 1824 (PB, 225, 207, 217). He took rent on a lease assigned to Stephen's children (PB, 225). In another case, rent was assigned to Billey Stephens but paid to Lewis Stephens (PB, 142-143).

Polly Stephens was living from 1817 to at least 1823 (see PB, 108-109, 111, 138-139, 301, 305, 315). She may have been the same as the Polly White who with Isaac White received rent due Stephen's daughter (PB, 216-217). She was very strongly associated with John Ayres (PB, 108-109, 111, 138, 301, 305), and on 16 August 1818 willed all her rent to John Ayres "and upon the death of Jno. Ayres to his Children by Betsey Kegg" (PB, 315).

Lewis Stephens appears in the Plat Book under dates from 21 May 1818 to August 1826 (PB, 137, 233). He has connections in the Plat Book with Billey Stephens (143), Harriot Canty (162), Moses Ayres (219), the

White family (219), and Caty Scott (232-233). I found no leases signed by Lewis Stephens in a search of one-sixth of the Catawba land leases at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, but Dr. James Merrell, who searched all of the leases, reports finding three leases signed by Lewis Stephens, dated 1837 (L). Lewis Stephens was a lieutenant in the Catawba government by 14 Nov. 1840 when he signed a petition (G1840). He signed petitions in North Carolina in 1844, 1847, and 1848 (G1844; LR, Misc., 1847, P17; LR, Misc., 1848, P18). In 1849 he was living in Haywood County, N.C., and was aged 46, putting his birth about 1802/03 (C1849). Lewis's son Tom's baptism record shows that Tom's mother was name Harriet (LDS1985/7311, 91), and a Harriot Stephens, who was also living in Haywood County, N.C., in 1849, aged 44 and thus born circa 1804/05 (C1849), was certainly Lewis's wife. Lewis Stephens was listed by B.S. Massey (1854, 6) as one of the Catawbas who started for Charleston about 1851, were last heard of in 1853, and had disappeared by 1854.

Two other Stephenses are listed in the 1849 census of the Catawbas: Polly Stephens and Thomas Stephens. Polly was twenty-four (born ca. 1824/25) and Thomas was eighteen (born ca. 1830/31). Thomas is proved a son of Lewis and Harriet Stephens (LDS1985/7311, 91), and I think Polly too must have been a child of Lewis Stephens, especially since, like Lewis and Thomas, she was living in Haywood County, N.C. (C1849). Polly was among the Catawbas who went to Charleston in 1851, never to return (see above).

Thomas, however, did not go to Charleston. He was living in the Nation on 11 Oct. 1863 when he signed a petition (M04). He received allotments from the State of South Carolina from 1869 to 1883, always living alone (R1869-R1883), and in 1883 he was living off-reservation (R1883). He was mentioned as a former Catawba chief (Speck 1939b, 21); Speck also learned that his brother was chief at some point prior to 1840 (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565) but I have found no record of Tom Stephens being a Catawba chief, or of any Stephens who was the right age to be Tom's brother (unless Speck's informants were thinking of Lewis Stephens, probably Tom's father, who did hold a minor office in the Catawba government prior to 1840; see above). In 1900 he was living with the family of D.A. Harris, to whom he may have been related (see C1900a). He also lived with Chief Sam Blue, and gave Sam Blue "much of his knowledge of ancient Catawba life" (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 565; Speck 1939b, 49, 55). He died 14 Dec. 1905 (CM). His gravestone grossly overstates his age as 110, just as Billy George's age was exaggerated at his death in 1896. When "Thos. Stephen" was baptized into the Mormon Church in 1897, his birthdate was given as "About [18]18" (LDS1985/7311, 91), which would make his age at death roughly 87. However, his age was 74 or 75 if we accept the more reliable 1830-31 birthdate from the 1849 census. The baptism record, incidentally, gives his birthplace as Charleston Co., S.C. I can offer no explanation for this, except that it might have something to do with Lewis Stephens taking off for Charleston in 1851.

Sally (Harris) Wade, who was ten years old when Tom Stephens died, told me in 1986 that he froze to death while visiting his wife's grave in Lancaster County. If he had a wife, she must have died before 1869, for he

was always given one person allotments from 1869 to 1883 (R1869-1883). She said (I02):

Well, he was a good old man, I can say that about him. Now I can remember him, from the time I first remembered, he was old, you know, and he was just about the size of Guy Garcia, that size of man. Well I always thought, I didn't know, but ... [how] old he was. He stayed around with Uncle Toad Harris's mom all the time, Aunt Sarah, and I used to think that that was his sister, but, they tell you he didn't have no sister...Well, that's who he was staying with when he left and went, you know, 'cros't the river down to Lancaster to see his wife that evening, he left the Nation and walked down there to where Bull Waters [?] is now, and he stayed all night with Uncle Jim and Aunt Jane, and the next morning, it was raining, they tried to not get him to go, you know, on down to Lancaster, told him to wait till it slacked up raining, and it was January, it was cold, but he went on anyhow, he intended to see his wife, cause he told 'em that might be the last trip, you know, that he'd ever make over there, to see her grave...the next morning he left, and on the way to Lancaster, he stopped at this man's house and asked to get warm, you know, it was raining. A Plyler man, and so the Plyler man told him [inaudible] he couldn't come in, so he went on, and he walked on, he walked about two miles from that man's house, up towards [inaudible], that's where he got in the ditch. Well, he got in the muddy ditch, and couldn't get out of it, so he had his hands up agin' the wall, and his hands froze to the [inaudible], 'cause me and Sallie Beck and Lula went with Paul and Uncle Toad and, I don't remember who the other man was, but Paul and Uncle Toad, I know, and Uncle Sam, and they got him out...[inaudible]...But they brought him back in the wagon, I remember the wagon, cause that's the only way they had to go then, but they went and got him, brought him back here, over two miles from [inaudible], from that man's house, where he asked to go in out of the rain, you know, that's how far he got...He probably would have lived [if he had been let in], but he probably would never had made another trip over there, cause he was old.

WAHOO (SCREECH OWL)

Albert S. Gatschet noted in his Catawba notebook (Gatschet 1881, reverse of page 56) that

[James] Mooney adds that Sally Screech Owl, the old Catawba potter here (on Quallatown reserve, N.C.) has died, leaving Sampson [Owl]'s wife the only full Catawba on the [Cherokee] reservation...(Letter to AS Gatschet, Cherokee, N.C., July 19, 1888).

Sally Screech Owl is undboutedly the Catawba woman among the Cherokees who Mooney (1894, 73) mentions:

About the same time [circa 1841] a number of the Catawba, dissatisfied with their condition among the whites, removed to the eastern Cherokee in western North Carolina, but finding their position among their old enemies equally unpleasant, all but one or two soon went back again. An old woman, the last survivor of this emigration, died among the Cherokee in 1889. Her daughter and a younger full-blood Catawba [i.e. Susannah (Harris) Owl] still reside with that tribe.

In 1847 Sally Wavahoo signed a petition of North Carolina Catawbas who wished to remove to the west (LR, Misc., 1847, P17). It is difficult to make out her name on the petition, and Brown (1966, 322) transcribed it as Warahow.

Cementing the identification of Sally Screech Owl as Sally Wahoo, Tom Blumer tells me that Wahoo does in fact mean "screech owl" in Cherokee; the name is in fact found on several Cherokee census rolls of the early 1900s (CC, 31 July 1904, #1415; CC, 30 June 1906, #1382).

A Moses Wahoo was paid by the Catawba agent on 12 July 1870, and "M Wahoo and G George" were paid 9 August 1870 (R1870). Usually, a double entry in the *Reports and Resolutions*, like the latter one, means that the two people in question were related, often married. I cannot prove any relationship between Moses Wahoo, G. George, and Sally Wahoo. It is possible that we are dealing with a Catawba, Sally George, who married a Cherokee, Moses Wahoo, and spent a year back with the Catawba in 1870. But there is no concrete evidence for Sally Wahoo's ancestry or the name of her Cherokee husband. Her daughter may show up in Cherokee records; I have not looked.

WILLIAMS

Billey Williams served in the Revolution in 1780, so was probably born by 1765 (M02). He signed the Catawba petition of 24 Nov. 1792 (G1792). The Plat Book says that the rent on the lands of Richard Ross was once Billey Williams' rent (PB, 266). Agent Hugh White began keeping records in the Plat Book about 1810; the first assignment of Richard Ross's rent was to Billey Williams' heirs, leading me to believe that Billey Williams died shortly before about 1810. Richard Ross's rent was next assigned to Nancy Brown, and rent on his lands was received by John Genet Brown, Nancy Brown, and Jack Evans (PB, 162-163). They may have been the heirs of Billey Williams. Nothing more is known of Billey Williams or of any other Catawba named Williams.

Commentary

I have slowly become aware that genealogical research can shed light on aspects of Catawba history that have never been fully understood. In addition, my Catawba research suggests lessons for other American Indian genealogists. Below I will discuss, first, the Cheraw minority among the Catawbas, which was evident as late as the early 1800s. Then, some discoveries about Catawba marriage patterns during the 1800s, and a discussion of the question of Catawba polygamy. Next, Catawba surnames, which I feel may be very interesting to anthropologists and historians. On the genealogical side, I will discuss why Catawba genealogy is so difficult, in hopes that it might help others trying to compile genealogical information on Eastern tribes. Then, I will show how the ability to trace Catawba genealogy is dependent wholly on their degree of contact with European society, and speculate on what this means for American Indian genealogy in general. Finally, I will discuss the role of oral history in this project, for ever since Alex Haley's *Roots*, oral history has been a catchword for southern genealogists concerned about genealogy's image and reliability.

The Catawbas and the Cheraws

The Catawbas, as mentioned in the Introduction, are really an amalgamation of a number of South Carolina Indian tribes which merged during the early to mid-1700s. At one point, observer James Adair noted, there were over twenty different dialects spoken in the Catawba Nation, each apparently representing a different group which had become wholly or partially a member of the Catawba Nation (see Hudson 1970, 47-48). At least one larger tribe sent a migrant to the Catawbas: one Catawba, living in 1780 and 1792, was known as Chickesaw Jammy (M02; G1792).

Prominent among the smaller South Carolina Indian tribes associated with the Catawbas were the Cheraw (also Sara) Indians. They formed perhaps the largest ethnic minority among the Catawbas. In 1759 they were described as "a Nation of Indians incorporated with the Catawbas" (*South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, S.C., 2 June 1759, copy courtesy Wesley D. White); Steven G. Baker (1975, table 1) notes that fifty or sixty Cheraws were living with the Catawbas in 1768. Three Catawba surnames can be associated with the Cheraws. We know of a man named Cheraw George (see Brown 1966, 249), and of a man named Cheraw Robin (McDowell 1955, 145). We also know that the Harris family was of Cheraw origin (see Brown 1966, 218, 249). Interestingly, we find records to connect all three of these surnames. The odd forename Pinetree belonged to two Catawbas: Pinetree George and Pinetree Robin (M02; G1792). It could have been a forename peculiar to Cheraws. And in the Plat Book, the George and Harris families

were associated (see PB, 135, 202, 203, 302, 303). Similarly, the George and Harris families were prominent in Catawba affairs during the mid-1700s, but became less important during the late 1700s and early 1800s. Starting in the 1840s, both families became increasingly important in Catawba history, becoming probably the two largest families on the Reservation in the late 1800s. The continued association between the George and the Harris families, both probably of Cheraw origin, leads me to conclude that ethnic diversity continued to divide the Catawbas into factions long after the Catawbas were nominally unified.

Catawba marriage patterns

Did the Catawbas practice polygamy during the nineteenth century? If not, what were the rules governing Catawba marriages? These are questions that genealogical analysis is well suited to answer.

We know that the Catawbas practiced polygamy at the time of Lawson's visit in 1701 (see Brown 1966, 96-97). But did this continue? The only other evidence I have found showing that Catawbas ever practiced polygamy is Billy George's statement to H. L. Scaife, who visited the Reservation in 1893: "We can't have but one wife, and that aint [sic] right" (Scaife 1896, 21). Scaife added a parenthetical note to this statement: "Influence of Mormon teachings." This was interpreted by Frank Speck as proof "that after 1890, the Catawba had accepted Mormonism and were practicing a continuation of their earlier polygamy" (Speck and Schaeffer 1942, 562).

But did the Catawbas really practice polygamy in the nineteenth century? If not, when did their "earlier polygamy" stop? Probably by the 1770s, when John F.D. Smyth visited the Catawbas. His account does not specifically state that the Catawbas were monogamous, but in a two-page description of Catawba marriage customs, he does not mention polygamy at all. He states that though the Catawbas "conduct[ed] a promiscuous intercourse between the sexes before marriage," but "after they marry they are remarkable for their fidelity to the objects of their choice, unless they happen to take a dislike to each other..." (Smyth 1968, 1:189-190).

The earliest record which details Catawba marriages is the Plat Book. Once again, it never specifically shows that Catawbas were monogamous, but if the Catawbas practiced polygamy on a large scale it should show up in the Plat Book, and it doesn't. Numerous Plat Book wills bequeath rent to Catawba heirs, but never does the will of any one person mention more than one wife. Nor does the Plat Book ever mention any other marriages that could be construed as polygamous.

Catawba marriages become traceable with a higher degree of accuracy after 1850, and once again, I have found no evidence of polygamy. The 1853 Catawba supply list (Massey 1854) shows seven Catawba couples, all of them monogamous. None of the *Reports and Resolutions* from 1869 to 1881 show any evidence of polygamy, and the more detailed allotment list in the *Reports and Resolutions* of 1883 shows eight monogamous Catawba couples (R1883).

The federal censuses of 1880, 1900, and 1910 show no Catawba polygamy. And I have thoroughly investigated Catawba genealogy of the 1850-1900 period and found only one man (Absalom ["Epp"] Harris) whose marriage might possibly be called polygamous in the broadest sense of the word: it seems that he had relationships with two different women during the late 1870s and early 1880s, but his is probably a case of adultery rather than polygamy.

Finally, there is a big problem with the interpretation of Billy George's statement as a indication of polygamy—Billy George never lived in polygamy. The statement itself does not say that Billy George had more than one wife at once in 1893 or at any other time. In fact, it indicates submission to, though disbelief in, the legal requirement that he must have one wife. And genealogical records show that in 1880 and 1883 Billy George had just one wife, Margaret George (C1880a; R1883). The 1900 census shows Margaret, widowed since Billy's death in 1896, living with her son John. Billy George's daughter Lucy, born in 1885, was also living in that household. Though the census does not explicitly state that Lucy was Margaret's daughter, it seems likely that she was, especially considering that Margaret was reported to have had three living children (C1900a). Therefore it is clear that Billy George was not living in polygamy as late as 1883; that he had a child in 1885 after the arrival of the Mormon missionaries, probably by the same wife that he was living with in 1880; and that the wife he was living with in 1880 was living with his children in 1900. It is not possible that Billy George could have married a second wife between 1883 and Scaife's visit in 1893, for Billy also told Scaife that he had been married twice (Scaife 1896, 21); the first wife was a unnamed wife with whom he was living in 1853 (Massey 1854, 10), and the second was Margaret, who could not have been the same woman as Billy George's 1853 wife since she was born in 1845 (C1900a). This completely rules out the possibility that Billy George ever practiced polygamy.

It should now be clear that the Catawbas never once, so far as we know, practiced polygamy from the 1770s to the present. Though some may have believed that polygamy was morally tolerable, even acceptable, existing records show that they did not put that theory into practice, especially since a polygamous marriage by Mormon rites could only have been performed at a Mormon temple in the West, to which the Catawbas would have had to travel. Possibly, census takers and other record-keepers may have intentionally tried to smooth out illegitimacies and improper marriages for their reports. But it would have taken a conscious effort by everyone connected with the Catawbas from 1850 to 1910 to cover up any number of polygamous marriages.

Having discarded the idea that Catawbas practiced polygamy, we can now move on to a discussion of what Catawba marriage customs really were, and I would like to present the following as a working hypothesis which might explain many mysteries in Catawba society of the 1800s. One of the most important things to remember about Catawba society during the 1800s is that the sex ratio was extremely unbalanced. In 1840 there were 36 Catawba women to twelve men (MR1840, 235). In 1849 there were 38 adult

females to 25 adult men (C1849). In 1853 the ratio was 30 to 15 (Massey 1854). The ratio of female Catawbas over eighteen years of age to men of the same age in the 1880 census was twenty-four to sixteen (C1880a). In 1883, the ratio of adult females to adult males was 27 to 18 (R1883a). Going back further, we find that the Plat Book mentions approximately 58 women to 55 men—a small majority, but greater when we remember that men probably took rent for their families, meaning that some women were probably never mentioned in the Plat Book. The imbalance was obviously due to a higher mortality rate among adult men, since the 1849 census shows 24 Catawba boys and 23 Catawba girls (C1849). The higher mortality rate among men might have been due to the intemperance mentioned by so many Catawba visitors of the 1800s.

This imbalance meant that most Catawba men were married, since they had little difficulty finding a wife. For instance, of the fifteen men in 1853 seven were married, one (Anthony George) probably widowed, four too young to be married (John Brown, Absalom Harris, Jeff Ayres and Peter Harris), and only three truly unmarried (Joseph Joe, William Brown, and John Scott). This wasn't true for the women: a few married Catawba men, but the rest, unable to find a Catawba husband, stayed single.

Therefore, we find two different marriage patterns among the Catawbas of the late 1800s. The first includes those Catawba couples who were, in a Catawba sense, officially married. They were as “remarkable for their fidelity” as the Catawba couples John Smyth encountered in the 1770s. For example, Allen and Rhoda Harris married in the late 1840s and had six children before Allen's death in 1859. Rhoda remained a widow, never remarrying, until her death about 1918. There are many other examples of similarly stable marriages, just like marriages that genealogists are used to encountering in white colonial society.

The second marriage pattern includes those Catawba women who were never formally married. These women had children by a variety of men: young, as yet unmarried Catawbas; the few Catawba bachelors; and more frequently, local whites, for whom the Reservation was “a regular place of resort for lewd purposes” (*Deseret News*, 21 May 1887, quoted in Hudson 1970, 80), though in many cases the relationship was lasting enough for the child's father's name to be known. Throughout the 1800s, it seems that there were always a few women who had children in this manner: Rebecca Mursh in the 1830s and 1840s; Lucinda Harris in the 1860s; and Harriet Harris in the late 1870s and early 1880s, among others. They were responsible for much of the current white mixture in the Catawbas.

These marriage patterns were most prevalent in the late 1800s. During the early 1900s, Catawba marriages began to be somewhat more stable, and the rate of illegitimacy decreased. White intermarriage was no longer limited to illicit affairs, and in recent years has become almost the rule, rather than the exception, though it is only recently that South Carolina state law has formally recognized interracial Indian-white marriages.

Catawba surnames

I have identified forty-one distinct surnames present among the Catawbas before 1910. There are other names which I have not counted, such as Otter, since they appear to be nicknames rather than surnames. Two questions should be asked of this data. First of all, where did these surnames come from, and what does that tell us about where the Catawbas came from? Secondly, when did the Catawbas adopt surnames, and what does that say about the history of the Catawbas?

The first question can be answered by a quantitative analysis of the origins of Catawba names. Of the forty-one surnames, fifteen, are definitely of white origin (Blue, Brown, Bullen, Canty, Deloe, Evans, Gordon, Garcia, Patterson, Rooker, Sanders, Watts, White, Whitesides, and Wiley). The criterion for proof of a surname's white origin is whether there is an identified white person who married or had a child by a Catawba and thereby brought the surname into the Catawba Nation. A look at the 1790 South Carolina census suggests that five more surnames (Clinton, Gandy, Head, Nettles, and Timms) are probably of white origin; this makes for a total of twenty white-derived surnames, or 49%. Two surnames, or 5%, are of Cherokee origin (Owl and Wahoo). One (Mursh) is of Pamunkey origin. Four, or 10%, probably come from personal names or nicknames (Joe, New River, Redhead, and Stevens). The origin of fourteen others, or 34%, is uncertain (Ayres, Bunch, Cook, Dudgeon, George, Harris, Hart, Keggs, Kennedy, Otis, Scott, Simmons, Thompson, and Williams); many "look" white, while Ayres may come from the descriptive Ears, George may come from a personal name, and George and Harris may be in some sense Cheraw.

Catawba surnames thus reflect the varied ethnic origin of today's Catawbas: not just "Catawba" (whatever that means), but also white, Cherokee, and Pamunkey. In addition, it points up an interesting question for Catawba scholars. If the only reason that Catawbas acquired white surnames was because of white intermarriage, then how could any of the Catawbas who claimed to be fullbloods in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been fullbloods?

Now let us turn to an investigation of the rate at which Catawbas acquired surnames. The first Catawba surname, Brown, was present as early as 1730 (see D1745); James Bullen, a half-breed, was probably born around the same time if not earlier (see McDowell 1970, 86); Harris was present by 1738 (see Brown 1966, 218) and Ayres by 1752 (McDowell 1958, 378). In the 1750s and 1760s, though, few Catawba headmen had surnames—it was the exception rather than the rule (for examples, see correspondence in McDowell 1958; McDowell 1970). During the late 1700s, Catawba surname adoption seems to have increased, and by 1780 twenty-nine of fifty-two living Catawba men had true surnames, or 56% (M02). The Plat Book records well over a hundred Indians, of whom only three (Sugar Jamey, Big Jamey, and Old Gracey) did not have surnames (PB).

Thus we see that Catawbas adopted surnames wholly during the period 1730-1810, which was a period of increasing white settlement in South Carolina, and we see that the adoption of white surnames was probably

directly tied to the Catawbas' growing amount of contact and intermarriage with white South Carolinians. From the limited research I have done, it seems that there is a high correlation between the rate of adoption of surnames and the degree of assimilation of an Indian society. I do not propose to take this idea any further in this paper. But I think that it would be an interesting topic for further investigation.

Difficulties in Catawba genealogical research

The first difficulty in Catawba genealogy is a lack of records. Simply put, almost none of the standard sources used by American genealogists are present to the same degree for the Catawbas. The following chart shows the records genealogists use most, together with a measure of their availability and utility for Catawba genealogy:

<i>Record</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Utility</i>
Family sources	Average	Average
Vital records	None	—
Cemetery records	From 1867 only	Poor
Federal census records	From 1880 only	Poor
Church records	From 1883 only	Good
Court records	?	?
Probate records	None	—
Land records	None	—
Military records	Below average	Average

The genealogist's reaction to this is to develop a different methodology adapted to working with American Indians; in other words, to seek out and use records specific to Indians rather than records normally used in white genealogy. But here there are difficulties too. The most important body of Indian records—records of the federal government and especially of the Office of Indian Affairs—contains very little on the Catawbas. In non-federal sources there is a reasonable amount of non-traditional source material for the Catawba genealogist, but here there are problems of interpretation. The Plat Book, the “census” of 1849, and the *Reports and Resolutions*, among other records, are some of the most important Catawba genealogical documents. But no one knows enough about Catawba mores and customs of that period to make proper use of these records. For example, when studying early New England genealogy, one soon becomes aware of patterns in New England society that are consistent from state to state: for instance, that children were generally born at two-year intervals, or that the suffix “-in-law” could mean different things in colonial New England than it does today. These assumptions come from years of study by decades of social historians and genealogists, as well as a knowledge of the period from surviving contemporary sources. But for the Catawbas, we have none of this knowledge, since the “general dearth of source materials on the Catawba Indians,” as James Merrell (1983, 248) put it, has prevented scholars from

gaining anything close to a complete picture of Catawba life during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Without this critical background knowledge, the genealogist cannot hope to interpret records properly. We cannot always be sure what to read out of the fact that two Catawbas are listed next to each other on a certain record, or the fact that a certain Catawba is mentioned in the Plat Book only from 1820 to 1822. We can make guesses, but this sort of uncertainty makes Catawba genealogy impossible at worst and difficult at best.

White genealogy and American Indians

It should be evident from the genealogical section of this report that the ability to trace Catawba genealogy is directly dependent on the extent to which Catawbas came into contact with white society. This is, by the way, not the same as being dependent on the degree to which Catawbas were assimilated into white society. As mentioned in the introductory section, “scientific” genealogy is a Western invention, and just about every Catawba record—except certain oral and family records—that sheds light on Catawba biography or genealogy was created by whites. We can trace this from the 1700s to 1900: the correspondence of the mid-1700s (found in McDowell 1958 and McDowell 1970) was an effort by South Carolina to gain friendship and military alliance with the Catawbas; in the 1780-1840 period, the petitions, land leases, and the Plat Book were mostly the result of land-hungry settlers pushing into the Carolina frontier; the census of 1849, the supply list of 1853, and the *Reports and Resolutions* of 1869-1883 were all creations of the South Carolina government. Very few documents were produced by the Catawbas themselves. For here we have a group of people that was largely illiterate,³⁰ and was not interested in or capable of preserving records of their ancestry aside from oral records.

When a genealogist comes along and uses these records to create a Catawba genealogy, his work is only a Catawba genealogy seen through white eyes, and those eyes don't see everything. For instance, from working with certain Catawba families of the mid-1800s—especially some of the families which are not included in this report—I believe that a large amount of illegitimacy has been overlooked, partly because some Catawbas never knew their father's name or the exact circumstances under which their parents were married, and partly because when it came time to tell their grandchildren about their family, or a census enumerator about their parentage, it was much easier to overlook the complicated illegitimate relationships and smooth out the facts to something simpler if less accurate. Similarly, the anthropological work of Frank Speck and many others, which I have relied upon a great deal, shows an understandable lack of any attempt to straighten out the complex relationships between Catawbas: to discover

³⁰As late as 1910, the literacy rate (defined for these purposes as the percentage of Catawbas who could read and write) on the Reservation was approximately 19 out of 41 (46%) for Catawbas over eighteen, and 10 out of 28 (36%) for Catawbas over thirty (C1910a).

just whether Margaret Brown and Taylor George were siblings or half-siblings, or just how Taylor George and his wife Emily Cobb were related. Nor did these anthropologists ever properly explain Catawba social life to an extent which would give a genealogist enough background knowledge to be able to fit raw genealogical data into accepted patterns of Catawba behavior.

This means that in this genealogy of the Catawbas, it has mostly been possible just to take facts about Catawba lives and relationships and fit them not into Catawba social patterns, but white social patterns! Unfortunately, I believe, this problem will be found to be common to many non-European ethnic groups to which genealogical analysis is applied. It raises a big question: is a genealogist, studying an American Indian tribe, doing *Indian* genealogy, or just Indian genealogy to the extent that it can be done by accepted white methods? Additionally, is it possible to do a genealogy of that ethnic group through the eyes of that group rather than of whites? Isn't there a way to do a genealogy of a tribe in a way that matters to that tribe, and is consistent with the custom of that tribe, rather than a genealogy such as this one that matters primarily to whites and secondarily to Indians? Finally, if there exists a more "correct" methodology for American Indian genealogy, would it mean anything to whites, and is that even necessary? What I mean to say is that I would very much like to read a well-documented genealogy of a group with a kinship, naming, and marriage system so radically different from the European-American pattern as to render the Register system of genealogical organization totally irrelevant and useless. Such a group would demand the development of a completely new system of genealogical exposition. I have concluded that if there is any such way to do Indian genealogy, the Catawbas are not the right tribe to do it on. Their traditional culture was lost by the 1920s and 1930s, when anthropologist Frank Speck could only do what has been called "salvage anthropology" for the Catawbas. I hope genealogists will investigate other groups which are not as assimilated.

On the reliability of oral history

In the past, American genealogists have had little use for oral tradition. Not only have recollections handed down through the generations been found particularly unreliable, but genealogists working on colonial families usually have plenty of contemporary sources to work with. Some amateur genealogists include family fables about the immigrant progenitor of their surname, but mostly oral history is justifiably neglected.

The publication of Alex Haley's *Roots* in 1977 had a dual effect: it popularized oral history among amateur genealogists, and at the same time stimulated genealogists to re-examine the role of oral history, particularly with regard to black genealogy. Gary B. Mills and Elizabeth Shown Mills, who showed in 1981 that much of the oral tradition Haley used had little or

no basis in fact, made perhaps the definitive statement about the role of oral history in genealogy today:³¹

The current, and even trendish, emphasis upon oral history has obscured for many the basic fact that *there is no such thing as The Gospel According to Aunt Lizzie*. Family traditions are surrealistic images of the past, blurred by time, colored by emotion and imagination. They are valuable as cryptic maps that can lead to rewarding personal revelations; but the careful researcher must decode them through dogged exploration of the actual documents our ancestors left us. Family traditions are not definite, intrinsically authentic roadmaps to one's heritage, and it matters not whether one's family is Afro-American, Irish, Italian, or Japanese.

To this list we can add "American Indian." Orally preserved genealogical data among the Catawbas has the same error and inaccuracy as among any other ethnic group. But oral records have also been an important source for me, so I think I should explain how I have used them.

First of all, among the Catawbas there is a certain time period during which oral history is a reasonably reliable source. Any person can usually be expected to accurately recall their own birthdate and details of their immediate family. Details about their aunts, uncles, and cousins are also usually reliable. So for any oral informant, oral history can be used to the same extent as any other genealogical source as long as the information is from the period of that informant's life and in many cases two or three decades prior to their birth. For instance, Sallie Wade's statement to me that her mother's oldest sister was Alice George, who married Wesley Harris, can be taken as reasonably reliable, especially when one finds that other documentary sources do not contradict this statement. This type of oral history has been used extensively.

When Catawba informants start to recall members of their grandparents' and great-grandparents' generations, memories begin to fail. It is at this point that the genealogist must start comparing his notes from oral informants with his notes from documentary sources. Often, oral sources will support documentary sources, and will sometimes even fill in a gap left by them. Unfortunately, oral sources will sometimes contradict documentary sources, and it is the task of the genealogist to judge the relative reliability of his data and to make a conclusion based on a preponderance of evidence.

This is what I have tried to do with the Catawbas. The oral information in this genealogy consists of material gathered by anthropologists, primarily that later published by Frank Speck; Raven McDavid's notebook of Catawba genealogies, probably compiled in the 1940s; and data from four oral informants on the Reservation today. When the information covers events that happened during the informant's lifetime, or people in the informant's immediate family, that information has generally been taken at face value, and usually the information is recent enough so

³¹Gary B. and Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Roots and the New 'Faction': A Legitimate Tool for Clio?" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 89(1981):6.

that documentary sources can support the oral information. Information about events prior to the informant's lifetime has been taken with a grain of salt. I have tried to find supporting documentary evidence for these oral statements, but it has not always been possible; when I question an oral source, I have clearly indicated that in the text. But when memories stretch back to the early 1800s, to events of which the informant could clearly have no knowledge, I have become very skeptical, especially since some Catawba memories are obviously derived not from family knowledge but from study of the anthropological and historical literature on the Catawbas. I may include the oral tradition, but that does not mean in any way that I can accept it as genealogical fact. Deviance from these general rules comes when oral tradition is the only source for a given relationship or birthdate. In those situations, I have included only the oral data, but the unreliability of those sources should be clearly understood. In any event, the reader can easily tell when oral sources are being used, since the source code will either be "McDavid n.d.," I01, I02, I03, or I04.

Essentially, my research confirms the current belief in genealogy about the value of oral evidence. It is useful to a certain extent, especially when the information is about recent generations, or when there is no documentary evidence to compare oral data with. But when working with oral data from far beyond the personal experience of the informant, oral history should be used only as a guide and a key to documentary evidence, and a temporary placeholder until more solid material can be found.

Documents

Reprinted here are extracts from several of the primary sources which were used in the preparation of this genealogy, and which are essential to any future genealogical work on the tribe. The selection criterion was that sources had to be unavailable in print or in microfilm, or nearly so, *and* of paramount importance to Catawba genealogy. The 1780 and 1792 name lists, the cemetery transcript, and the 1943 tribal roll have never been published, while the 1849 and 1853 name lists were South Carolina state publications which survive today only as single copies in the South Caroliniana Library.

The Revolutionary payroll of 1780

On 21 June 1783 Thomas Drennan submitted a “Pay bill for Cap^t Thomas Drennans company of Catawba Indians under the comand of Genr^l Thomas Sumpter in the State of South Carolina Servis—for the year 1780 and discharge[?] in the year 1781.” It lists the following people.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Genr ^l New River | 21 Littel Aleck |
| 2 John Brown | 22 (Col ^o) John Eayrs |
| 3 Robbin | 23 Petter Harris |
| 4 Willis—dece ^{sd} killed @ Roc ^k M ^t
(his wife & child alive) | 24 Jacob Eayrs |
| 5 Suggar Jamey | 25 Billey Readhead |
| 6 Pintree George | 26 John Tompson |
| 7 [Jn ^o] Morrison | 27 Joue |
| 8 Henry White | 28 Pattrick Brown |
| 9 John Cagg | 29 George Cantey |
| 10 [Cap ^t] Quash | 30 Jacob Scott |
| 11 Littel Mick | 31 Bobb |
| 12 Patrick Readhead | 32 James Eayrs |
| 13 Billey Williams | 33 Littel Stephen |
| 14 Big Jamey | 34 Littel Charley |
| 15 Billey Cagg | 35 John Celliah [Kelliah] |
| 16 John Connar | 36 Petter George |
| 17 Docter John | 37 George White |
| 18 Chunkey Pipe | 38 Jack Simmons |
| 19 Cap ^t Petter | 39 Billey Scott |
| 20 Billey Otter | 40 Young John |
| | 41 Tom Cook |
| White Men. Mathew Brown, Michael Delou, Ralph Smith | |

An attached unnumbered list entitled “List of those Indians who did service which cannot be vouched for” is very similar. It omits those people numbered 4, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 28, 29, 32,

33, 38, and 40 on the other list, as well as the “white men.” It adds the information given in brackets above under numbers 7, 10, 22, and 35. It also lists the following additional Catawbans:

Jammy Jo[mes?]	George Harris
Gilber[]	Chickesaw Jimmy
Capt Redhead [= #12 above?]	John Nettles [= #17 above?]
Tom Cross	

Source: “Pay bill for Capt Thomas Drennans company of Catawba Indians...” Comptroller General’s Accounts Audited, 3931-A, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. My reference: M02.

The Catawba petition of 1792

On 24 November 1792 the Catawbans submitted a petition to the South Carolina House of Representatives, signed by the thirty-one Catawba men listed below. Except for John Nettles, each signed with their mark.

Gen ^l New River	Billey Scott
Coll ^o John Ears	John Kennedy
Major John Brown	Patrick Dickson
Cap ^t Peter	Pinetree Robbin
Cap ^t Jacob Scott	Tom Patterson
Cap ^t Tho ^s Cook	John Nettles
Cap ^t Jammy	George Canty
Cap ^t John Scott	John Yong
Cap ^t John Cagg	Billy Readhead
Jammy Bullen	John Ears
Jammy Ears	John Kelley
Peter George	John Deloe
George White	Billy Ears
Pinetree George	Gilbert George
Billey Williams	Chickeshaw Jammy
Jacob Ears	

Source: Petition of “the Chief and head men of Cataba Nation...,” 24 Nov. 1792, South Carolina General Assembly Petitions, 1792, #26, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. My reference: G1792.

The Catawba census of 1849

After the treaty of Nation Ford in 1840 the Catawbans were not settled on a new reservation, as the treaty implied they would be; rather they dispersed across North and South Carolina, some going to the Cherokees in North Carolina. The “census” of 1849 stems from an attempt by B.S. Massey to account for all of them. It consists of three separate lists, all of which are reproduced below. Many Catawbans appear on more than one list.

EXHIBIT A.

List of the Catawbas in connection with the Church at Echota Mission.

SHOAL CREEK CAMP GROUND, Sept. 17th, 1849.

Mr. MASSEY,

Dear Sir : At your request I furnish you with the number and names of the *Catawbas*, in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the Echota Mission, viz :

William Morrison,	John Scott,
Mary Morrison,	John Hart,
Betsy Hart,	Lewis Stevens,
Nancy George,	Allen Harris,
Polly Stevens,	Rhoda Harris,
Cinthy Kegg,	Franklin Canty,
Betsy Brown,	David Harris,
Harriet Stevens,	Polly Harris,
Molly Red Head,	Patsy George,
Sally Red Head,	Ginny Ayres,
Rebecca George,	Mary Joe,
Rachel Brown,	Thomas Morrison,
Caty Joe,	John Morrison,
Eliza Canty,	Jefferson Ayres,
Sally Harris,	Jane Harris,
Ginny Joe,	John Brown.
Esther Scott,	

Males, 11. Females, 22. Total, 33.

Very respectfully yours, &c.

U. KEENER,

Preacher in Charge.

EXHIBIT B.

Accounts of the Catawba Indians, due W. H. Thomas, at Qualla Town.

Rosa Ayrs,	\$143 22 ½
Jenny Ayrs,	18 30 ½
Elizabeth Ayrs,	43 22 ½
Mary Ayrs,	31 29 ½
Margaret Ayrs,	19 72 ½
Frankey Brown,	71 77 ½
Elizabeth Brown,	81 25
William Brown,	6 00
William George,	73 47 ½

Anthana George,	123 55
Patsey George, Anthaney's Daughter,	143 27 ½
Mary George,	5 45 ¼
Nancy George,	8 78 ¾
David Harris,	67 13 ½
Salley Harris,	61 02 ½
John Harris,	3 00
Jinny Joe,	33 08 ¼
Katy Joe,	15 12 ½
Franklin Kanty,	83 77 ¼
Philip Kegg,	46 87 ½
Dr. James Kegg,	4 83 ¼
Susan Kegg,	37 78 ¾
William Morrason,	42 42
Polla Readhead,	22 65
Easter Scott,	1 00
Lewis Stephens,	66 13 ¼
Polly Stephens,	25
John Scott,	51 79 ¼
	<hr/>
	\$1,306 22

EXHIBIT C.

A List of Names of Catawba Indians, residing in North Carolina, Haywood County, Cherokee Nation.

MALES.	AGE.	MALES.	AGE.
James Kegg,	66	Jessey Harris,	17
Phillip Kegg,	22	William Morrison,	33
Billey George,	33	John Hart,	30
Lewis Stephens,	46	Peter Harris,	14
Thomas Stephens,	18	James Harris,	16
Antoney George,	50	John Harris,	18
Total,			12
Male children under 10 years of age,			12
FEMALES.	AGE.	FEMALES.	AGE.
Nancey George,	44	Susy Kegg,	21
Rebeccah George,	36	Cyntha Kegg,	30
Harriot Stephens,	44	Mary Ayers,	21
Margaret Ayers,	18	Mary Ayers,	12
Betsey Ayers,	19	Salley Readhead,	60
Salley Harris,	43	Polly Stephens,	24
Frankey Brown,	27	Sally Ayers,	50
Rosey Canty,	36	Salley George,	35
Julia Ann Ayers, (a cripple,)	15		

Total,	17
Female children under 10 years of age,	15
Total at Qualla Town, Cherokee Nation, Haywood County, North Carolina, Females,	32
Males,	<u>24</u>

NUMBER IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Greenville District.

MALES.	AGE.	MALES.	AGE.
Franklin Canty,	23	John Scott,	23
John Brown,	12	David Harris,	40
Billey Brown,	20		
Total males,			5
Male children under 10 years of age,			2
FEMALES.	AGE.	FEMALES.	AGE.
Polley Ayers,	35	Betsey Mush,	18
Eliza Canty,	23	Patsey George,	30
Caty Joe,	50	Rachel Brown,	35
Jane Ayers,	18	Esther Brown,	28
Jinny Joe,	43	Polly Readhead,	40
Mary George,	18	Betsey Hart,	26
Patsey George,	48	Peggey Canty,	20
Total females,			14
Female children under 10 years of age,			6
Total males,			7
Total females,			<u>20</u>
			27

Chester District.

MALES.	AGE.	MALES.	AGE.
Allen Harris,	35	Robert Mush,	19
Sam Scott	50		
Total,			3
Male children under 10 years of age,			3
FEMALES.	AGE.	FEMALES.	AGE.
Rody Harris,	19	Nancey George,	70
Jiney Patterson,	30	Little Nancy George,	24
Martha Patterson,	18		
Total,			5
Female children under 10 years of age,			2
Total in Chester District, males,			6
Total in Chester District, females,			7

York District, in their old homes.

FEMALES.	AGE.	FEMALES.	AGE.
Betsey Quash,	60	Peggy Quash,	25
Susey Quash,	35	Rachel Quash,	30
Delphy Quash,	32	Polley Ayers,	35
Nancey Quash,	37		
In the District of York, total			7
Females under 10 years,			4
Males under 10 years,			<u>3</u>
			14
In South Carolina,			54
In North Carolina,			<u>56</u>
Total of Catawbas in both States,			110

Source: Appendices A, B, and C of *Correspondence relative to the Catawba Indians, Embracing Gov. Seabrook's Letter to the Special Agent and Commissioners appointed by him*. Columbia: I.C. Morgan, State Printer. Also in: *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South-Carolina* (Columbia, 1849), pp. 249-270. My reference: C1849.

Massey's 1853 list of Catawbas

B.S. Massey was in charge of distributing provisions—salt, flour, bacon, lard, blankets, shoes, and so forth—to indigent Catawbas throughout the year 1853. He submitted a report to the state of South Carolina, organized by recipient, listing the date and composition of each payment. Extracted below are the names of each recipient; the first date they were supplied; if they received provisions on more than one date, the last date they were supplied; and the page number of their entry in Massey's report.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>First supplied</i>	<i>Last supplied</i>
7	Polly Ayres	3 Feb.	1 Oct.
	Old Nancy George	21 Feb.	22 April
8	Little Nancy George	21 Feb.	22 April
	Eliza Canty & 3 ch.	3 Feb.	11 Nov.
	Rachel Brown & son John	3 Feb.	4 Nov.
9	Allen Harris, wife Roda, & 2 ch.	1 Feb.	4 Nov.
	Lucinda Harris	10 May	4 Nov.
10	Billey George, wife, & 2 ch.	14 Feb.	11 Nov.
11	Robert Marsh, wife, & 3 ch.	14 Feb.	9 Nov.
	Lucy Marsh & 4 ch.	14 Feb.	9 Nov.
12	Peggy White & 3 ch.	14 Feb.	9 Nov.
13	Jesse Harris, wife, & 2 ch.	14 Feb.	9 Nov.
14	Betsy Brown & 2 ch.	23 Jan.	23 June
	Little Patsy George & 1 ch.	23 Jan.	4 Nov.
	Old Patsy George	23 Jan.	4 Nov.
15	Joseph Joe	1 Feb.	17 Nov.
	Sally George & 3 ch.	29 Jan.	

	John Harris & wife Jinny	28 Jan.	11 Nov.
	Absalem Harris	7 March	5 Oct.
16	Sallie Harris	1 Feb.	15 June
	Nancy Harris	15 April	12 May
	Anthony George	14 Feb.	
	William Brown	31 Jan.	4 Nov.
17	Mary Brown & 2 ch.	6 June	4 Nov.
	Nancy Sanders & 3 ch.	16 May	9 Nov.
	Esther Brown & 3 ch.	14 Feb.	31 Oct.
18	Jimmy Harris, wife, & 1 ch.	14 Feb.	4 Nov.
	Caty Joe	14 Feb.	4 Nov.
19	Jefferson Ayers	23 Jan.	31 Oct.
	Peter Harris	31 Jan.	2 Nov.
	Rachel Tims & 3 ch.	14 Feb.	9 Nov.
20	Rebecca George & 4 ch.	14 Feb.	4 Nov.
21	Davy Harris & wife	14 Feb.	4 Nov.
	Peggy Canty & 3 ch.	14 Feb.	4 Oct.
22	John Scott	28 Jan.	4 Nov.
	Betsy Marsh	17 Feb.	4 Nov.
23	Mary Ayres	10 Feb.	

Source: Massey, B.S. *Report to the Governor of South Carolina on the Catawba Indians*. Columbia: R.W. Gibbes & Co., State Printers, 1854. My reference: Massey 1854.

Catawba cemetery inscriptions

Following is a transcript of the headstone inscriptions in the old Catawba cemetery off George Dunn Road, on the Catawba reservation near Rock Hill, S.C.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. John Idle Sanders
Oct. 12, 1892
Aug. 27, 1973 | 5. Joseph H. Sanders
South Carolina
Mech. 56 Depot Brig.
February 13, 1930 |
| 2. Fannie Harris
Wife of E. D. George
July 6, 1900
Dec. 15, 1951 | 6. Mable C.
Dau. of W. L. & N. F. Owl
April 7, 1907
Sept. 5, 1911 |
| 3. Effie H. Robbins
Apr. 3, 1892
Nov. 8, 1972 | 7. Alen Harries
Died 26 of February 1881 |
| 4. Lewis Ernest Sanders
South Carolina
Pvt. 1 Cl. O. M. Corps
February 5, 1936 | 8. Robert L. Harris
Sept. 15, 1867
Nov. 8, 1954 |

-
9. Hoyt Sidney Harris
1901
1955
 10. M. Lee Harris White
1918
1940
 11. Ralph M. Harris
1938
1940
 12. Louis Ervin Gordon
April 9, 1900
Mar. 23, 1954
 13. Artemis H. Harris
Sept. 6, 1896
Dec. 18, 1957
 14. E. O. Harris
1931
1932
 15. A. E. D. Harris
1929
1929
 16. Carrie Harris
1911
1913
 17. James Harris
Aug. 31, 1912
Age 54
 18. Robert Harris
Aug. 16, 1910
July 15, 1912
 19. John T.
son of J. & M. E. Harris
July 30, 1907
July 10, 1912
 20. Jim Harris
Died May 1874,
Age 40 Years
 21. Thomas Stevens
Died Dec. 14, 1905
Aged 110
 22. Robert [Harris]
Died July [] 1956
 23. Floyd Raymond Harris
South Carolina
PFC 5 Infantry
World War II
November 17, 1913
January 23, 1952
 24. Loran Harris
South Carolina
PFC SVC BTRY
80 FIELD ARTY BN
WORLD WAR II
June 10, 1924
August 5, 1958
 25. Margaret Brown
July 4, 1837
Aug. 9, 1922
 26. Melvin,
son of C & E Sanders
Born Jan. 23, 1918
Died Oct. 10, 1918
 27. Cora
Wife of Ernest Sanders
Born Aug. 13, 1898
Died Oct. 9, 1918
 28. Ethel
Daughter of J. W. & R. W.
Brown
Born Oct. 6, 1911
Died Oct. 8, 1918
 29. John Brown
Died June 20, 1927
Aged 59 years

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>30. Mary Rachel Brown
Wife of O. F. Plyler
July 11, 1907
Feb. 22, 1955</p> <p>31. Abbie
Daughter of
J. W. & R. W. Brown
Born Mar. 17, 1901
Died Oct. 5, 1918</p> <p>32. Nora Lillie
Wife of F. Blankenship
Nov. 12, 1893
[] 26, 1915
Also Four Children who
Died in Infancy</p> <p>33. John W^m
Son of J. W. & R. W. Brown
Born Apr. 15, 1903
Died Oct. 4, 1918</p> <p>34. Sam N. Beck
South Carolina
PFC 778 Tank Bn
World War II
December 17, 1925
January 22, 1950</p> | <p>35. George R. Grey
Feb. 12, 1868
Jan. 20, 1956
Sioux Tribe</p> <p>36. Blanch D.
Dau. of I & A Sanders
Born Nov. 6, & Died
Nov. 16, 1912</p> <p>37. Henry Brown
Born Mar. 31, 1909
Died Jan. 12, 1911</p> <p>38. John Brown
Died Sept. 1867</p> <p>39. Margaret J.
Wife of [W. F.?] George
Nov. 12, 1845
May 13, 1908</p> <p>40. Rebecca
Wife of Anthany George
Died Jan 20, 18[65?]</p> <p>41. Luther C. Harris
July 7, 1896
Jan. 18, 1946</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Source: Copied 17-18 July 1986 by the author. My reference: CM.

The 1943 tribal roll

The numbering error in the roll (two 147s and no 172) is original. This exactly reproduces the original with no corrections of spelling errors.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Adams, Baby
2. Adams, Clarence Roddy
3. Adams, Josephine
4. Adams, Judean
5. Adams, Mammie</p> <p>6. Ayers, Claude
7. Ayers, Daisey
8. Ayers, Earnest
9. Ayers, Fred
10. Ayers, Hazel</p> | <p>11. Ayers, Herbert
12. Ayers, John
13. Ayers, Ruby</p> <p>14. Beck, Baby
15. Beck, Eugene
16. Beck, Fletcher Jr.
17. Beck, Gerald Leon
18. Beck, Helen
19. Beck, Lillie
20. Beck, Louise</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

-
21. Beck, Lulla
 22. Beck, Major Jr.
 23. Beck, Phyllis
 24. Beck, Rachel
 25. Beck, Sallie
 26. Beck, Sam Nelson
 27. Beck, Samuel

 28. Blue, Andrew
 29. Blue, Arnold
 30. Blue, Baby
 31. Blue, Baby
 32. Blue, Bobby
 33. Blue, Dorris
 34. Blue, Eva
 35. Blue, Gene
 36. Blue, Gilbert
 37. Blue, Guy
 38. Blue, Guy Leslie
 39. Blue, Guynell
 40. Blue, Harvey
 41. Blue, Herbert
 42. Blue, Herbert, Jr.
 43. Blue, Lavone
 44. Blue, Leroy
 45. Blue, Lillie
 46. Blue, Louisa
 47. Blue, Marcel
 48. Blue, Mildred
 49. Blue, Nelson
 50. Blue, Patricia
 51. Blue, Priscilla
 52. Blue, S. T.
 53. Blue, Shirley
 54. Blue, Sylvia

 55. Brindle, Francis
 56. Brindle, Jesse Roy
 57. Brindle, Melvin Lester
 58. Brindle, Missouriia

 59. Brown, Baby
 60. Brown, Donald
 61. Brown, Early
 62. Brown, Edith
 63. Brown, Edna
 64. Brown, Edward
 65. Brown, Emma

 66. Brown, George
 67. Brown, Grace Alice
 68. Brown, Harold Thatcher
 69. Brown, Leola
 70. Brown, Lizzie
 71. Brown, Mary Ann
 72. Brown, Nettie
 73. Brown, Otis Roddey
 74. Brown, Peggy Thatcher
 75. Brown, Rachel
 76. Brown, Richard
 77. Brown, Roy
 78. Brown, William

 79. Canty, Alice Elain
 80. Canty, Allen
 81. Canty, Alonso
 82. Canty, Artie
 83. Canty, Billie
 84. Canty, Catharine
 85. Canty, Cecil
 86. Canty, Ella
 87. Canty, Henry
 88. Canty, Hewyard
 89. Canty, Huey
 90. Canty, James
 91. Canty, Laurance
 92. Canty, Lou Ella
 93. Canty, Nellie
 94. Canty, Sadie
 95. Canty, Stella

 96. Caponis, Constance
 97. Caponis, Johnnie
 98. Caponis, Rena

 99. Flint, Robbins

 100. Fox, Baby
 101. Fox, Baby
 102. Fox, Charles
 103. Fox, Earnest
 104. Fox, Jimmie
 105. Fox, Joe
 106. Fox, Josephine
 107. Fox, Louis Russell
 108. Fox, Mary
 109. Fox, Tony

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110. Fox, Tony, Jr.
111. Garcia, Ben
112. Garcia, Ben Jr.
113. Garcia, Bettie
114. Garcia, Bonnie
115. Garcia, Fletcher Calvin
116. Garcia, Guy
117. Garcia, Irene

118. George, Alberta
119. George, Baby
120. George, Carolyn Diane
121. George, Charlie
122. George, Claude
123. George, Elane
124. George, Elsie
125. George, Ephriam
126. George, Etta
127. George, Evans
128. George, Evans Jr.
129. George, Evelyn
130. George, Fannie
131. George, Fay
132. George, Francis
133. George, Geneva
134. George, Gladys
135. George, Howard
136. George, J. P.
137. George, Joan
138. George, Joyce
139. George, Landrum
140. George, Lavern Randolph
141. George, M. P.
142. George, Macaroni Jr.
143. George, Margaret
144. George, Marion Plillet
145. George, Marian
146. George, Queely
147. George, Thelma
147. Gordon, Elisa
148. Gordon, Ervin
149. Gordon, Gladys
150. Gordon, Sallie

151. Harris, Artemis
152. Harris, Baby
153. Harris, Baby
154. Harris, Bertha
155. Harris, Betty
156. Harris, Blanche
157. Harris, Carl
158. Harris, Chester
159. Harris, Christine
160. Harris, Cleatus
161. Harris, David
162. Harris, David
163. Harris, Dennis
164. Harris, Dewey
165. Harris, Douglas William
166. Harris, Florence
167. Harris, Floyd
168. Harris, Furman
169. Harris, Georgia
170. Harris, Gilbert Dianne
171. Harris, Grace
173. Harris, Grady
174. Harris, Henry
175. Harris, Hoyt
176. Harris, Ida
177. Harris, Isobel
178. Harris, Jeff
179. Harris, Jennie
180. Harris, Jennie
181. Harris, Jessie
182. Harris, Jewel
183. Harris, Joseph
184. Harris, Joseph Jr.
185. Harris, Lillian
186. Harris, Leona
187. Harris, Lorraine
188. Harris, Letta Juanita
189. Harris, Martia Raymond
190. Harris, Mary B.
191. Harris, Melvin
192. Harris, Minnie
193. Harris, Mitchel D.
194. Harris, Morgan
195. Harris, Nancy
196. Harris, Nola
197. Harris, Paul
198. Harris, Pearly
199. Harris, Perry
200. Harris, Raymond
201. Harris, Reola
202. Harris, Richard

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203. Harris, Robert L.
204. Harris, Robert W.
205. Harris, Rosa
206. Harris, Sylvia
207. Harris, Theodore
208. Harris, Velda
209. Harris, Violet
210. Harris, Wesley
211. Harris, Wilburn
212. Harris, Wilford
213. Harris, Winona
214. Harris, Woodrow
215. Johnson, Naddia Lee
216. Johnson, Martha
217. Medlin, Margaret
218. Medlin, William Lamont
219. McGee, Lucille
220. Petty, Baby
221. Petty, John Wayne
222. Petty, Pauline
223. Plyler, Elizabeth
224. Plyler, Herbert
225. Plyler, Leonard
226. Plyler, Ann
227. Plyler, Glen, Jr.
228. Robbins, Earl
229. Robbins, Effie
230. Robbins, Esther
231. Robbins, Fay
232. Robbins, Jimmie
233. Robbins, Mabel
234. Robbins, Ruth
235. Robbins, Viola
236. Robbins, Viola Harris
237. Robbins, William Jr.
238. Rogers, Ed
239. Rogers, Jimmie
240. Rogers, Mary Jane
241. Sanders, Ada
242. Sanders, Albert
243. Sanders, Albert, Jr.
244. Sanders, Arzada
245. Sanders, Baby
246. Sanders, Brenda
247. Sanders, Calvin
248. Sanders, Clara Lee
249. Sanders, Fred
250. Sanders, Irodel
251. Sanders, Jack
252. Sanders, Kirk
253. Sanders, Laura
254. Sanders, Leona
255. Sanders, Lois
256. Sanders, Lou Gene
257. Sanders, Mahovia
258. Sanders, Marie
259. Sanders, Renda
260. Sanders, Roberta
261. Sanders, Sarah Lee
262. Sanders, Thomas
263. Sanders, Vera
264. Sanders, Verdia
265. Sanders, Vivien
266. Sanders, W. M.
267. Sanders, W. McLain
268. Sanders, William
269. Sanders, Willie
270. Starnes, Lucy
271. Thomas, Baby
272. Thomas, Bulah
273. Thomas, Cleo
274. Thomas, Nora Lee
275. Thomas, Randolph
276. Tremmel, Baby
277. Tremmel, Gloria
278. Tremmel, Roger Snow
279. Tremmel, Virginia
280. Wade, Esmerllia
281. Wade, Franis Canty
282. Wade, Gary Harris
283. Wade, Sally
284. Wade, Sherry
285. Wade, William

286. Walter, White

291. Watts, William Jr.

287. Warner, Ethel

292. Wright, Barbara

293. Wright, Mary Ethel

288. Watts, Clifford

294. Wright, Mary Francis

289. Watts, Eula

295. Wright, Sylvia

290. Watts, William

Source: "Catawba Tribal Roll, 1 July 1943," #11273-1959-077, part 1, Central Classified Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Copy courtesy Thomas J. Blumer. My reference: TR1943.

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Abbreviations Used

BAE: Bureau of American Ethnology.

LDS: Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), Salt Lake City, Utah.

NAA: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

RBIA: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

SCDAH: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C.

YCL: York County Library, Rock Hill, S.C.

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C1850: 1850 census, York, York County, S.C., p. 188B, #385/385

C1870a: 1870 census, Fort Mill, York County, S.C., p. 416, #186/183

C1870b: 1870 census, Lewisville, Chester County, S.C., p. 140, #55/63

C1880a: 1880 census, Catawba, York County, S.C. (ED 166), entries for Catawba Indian Reservation: pages 466B-468B, #s 288/288-295/295, 302/302, 309/309-314/314.

C1880b: 1880 census, Landsford, Chester County, S.C. (ED 41), p. 182A, #360/361.

C1880c: 1880 census, Waxhaw, Lancaster County, S.C. (ED 84), p. 384A, #s 24/25, 25/26.

C1880d: 1880 census, Steel Creek, Mecklenburg County, N.C. (ED 120), p. 571B, #38/38

C1880e: 1880 census, Steel Creek, Mecklenburg County, N.C. (ED 120), p. 581A, #212/212

C1880f: 1880 census, Agriculture Schedules, Catawba, York County, S.C. (ED 166), pp. 29-30. (South Carolina Archives, Microcopy 2, Reel 9.)

C1900a: 1900 census, Indian Reservation, York County, S.C. (ED 100), pp. 247A-249A, #s 1/1-14/14

C1900b: 1900 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 9), p. 160A, #4/4

C1900c: 1900 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 9), p. 160B, #14/14

C1900d: 1900 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 9), p. 163A, #55/55

C1900e: 1900 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 9), p. 164B, #95/95

C1900f: 1900 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 9), p. 165A, #105/105

C1900g: 1900 census, Ocona Lufty, Swain County, N.C. (ED 108), p. 294A, #15/15.

C1900h: 1900 census, Ocona Lufty, Swain County, N.C. (ED 108), p. 294B, #19/19

C1900i: 1900 census, Oconee Lufty, Swain County, N.C. (ED 109), p. 307B-308A, #23/25

C1900j: 1900 census, Cherokee Training School, Oconee Lufty, Swain County, N.C. (ED 109), p. 316B

C1910a: 1910 census, Catawba, York County, S.C. (ED 101), pp. 54A-56B, #s 360/372-378/394.

C1910b: 1910 census, Sanford (Pct. 14), Conejos County, Colorado (ED 17), p. 127A, #s 1/1-3/3

C1910c: 1910 census, Farmington (Pct. 5), San Juan County, N.M. (ED ---), p. 215B, #332/350

- C1910d: 1910 census, Cedar City, Iron County, Utah (ED 52), p. 153A, #129/136
- C1910e: 1910 census, Oconolufuta, Swain County, N.C. (ED 152), p. 277A, #94/95(?)
- C1910f: 1910 census, Oconolufuta, Swain County, N.C. (ED 153), p. 285A-B, #30/30
- C1910g: 1910 census, Oconolufuta, Swain County, N.C. (ED 153), p. 289B, #70/70
- CA: Eastern Cherokee Applications of the U.S. Court of Claims, 1906-1909. (M1104)
National Archives.
- CC: Eastern Cherokee census records, 1898-1914. LDS film #0573768; National Archives
film M595/22. Cited by census date and number(s).
- CM: Transcript of old Catawba cemetery off George Dunn Road, Catawba Indian
Reservation, Rock Hill, S.C. Copied 17-18 July 1986 by the author.
- D1745: Will of Thomas Brown, Charleston Deeds, 3A:182-187, microfilm, S.C. Archives, copy
courtesy of Wesley D. White.
- G1786: Petition of "Cataba Indians," 25 Feb. 1786, South Carolina General Assembly Papers,
Petitions, 1786, #32, SCDAAH
- G1792: Petition of "the Chief and head men of Cataba Nation..." 24 Nov. 1792, South
Carolina General Assembly Petitions, 1792, #26, SCDAAH
- G1801: Petition of "the head men of the Cataba Nation," 27 Nov. 1801, South Carolina
General Assembly Papers, Governors' Messages, #818, SCDAAH
- G1805: Petition of "the Head-men and Acting Chiefs of the Cataba Nation of Indians," 25
Nov. 1805, South Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, 1805, #6, SCDAAH
- G1810: Petition of "the head men and Chiefs of the Catawba Nation of Indians in York
District," 30 Nov. 1810, South Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, 1810,
#6, SCDAAH
- G1811: Petition of "the Head men and Chiefs of the Catawba Nation of Indians in York
District," 29 Nov. 1811, South Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, 1811,
#28, SCDAAH
- G1815: Petition of "the Cataba Indians," 28 Nov. 1815, South Carolina General Assembly
Papers, Petitions, 1815, #5 and #6 (duplicates), SCDAAH
- G1821: Petition of "the Cheifs [sic] and head men of the Catawby nation," 4 Dec. 1821, South
Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, 1821, #8 and #9 (duplicates), SCDAAH
- G1840: Petition of "the Chiefs and Head men of the Catawba Indians residing in the District
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Petitions, 1840, #34, and N.D., #2639 (duplicates except that 1840 #34 omits
signature of James Kegg), SCDAAH
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Papers, Petitions, 1844, #24
- G1850: Petition of "the headmen of the Catawba tribe of Indians," 9 Nov. 1850, South
Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, 1850, #25, SCDAAH
- G1855: Petition regarding Catawba child at Fishing Creek Seminary. South Carolina
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- G1877a: Petition of "the undersigned Catawba Indians" to appoint William White of Rock
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- G1877b: Petition of some of the "members of the tribe of Catawba Indians, located in the
Eastern portion of York County" to remove R.L. Crook and install William Whyte as
agent, dated 5 May 1877. Governor Wade Hampton papers, Letters Received, Box 4,
Folder 37, SCDAAH. Copy courtesy Wesley D. White. Also in: "Catawba Indian
records: the second census of the Catawba Indians and other miscellaneous records,"
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assistance. Governor Benjamin R. Tilman papers, Box 9, folder 22, SCDAAH. Copy
courtesy Wesley D. White.

- GNDa: Petition of Allen Harris, Nancy White, and Nancy George for a home away from intemperate Catawbas, undated but circa 1850-1859, South Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, N.D., #2476, SCDAH
- GNDb: Petition of Catawba Indians to remove west, undated but probably in mid to late 1850s, South Carolina General Assembly Papers, Petitions, N.D., #2477, SCDAH
- I01: Personal interview with Georgia Harris, at her home, Rock Hill, S.C., 19 July 1986.
- I02: Personal interview with Sallie (Harris) Wade at home of Haddon Johnson, Catawba Indian Reservation, Rock Hill, S.C., 19 July 1986.
- I03: Personal interview with Wilburn Harris at old Catawba cemetery, Catawba Indian Reservation, Rock Hill, S.C., 18 July 1986.
- I04: Telephone conversation with Nola (Harris) Campbell, Rock Hill, S.C., 18 July 1986.
- IGI: International Genealogical Index. Published by Genealogical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and available at branch LDS genealogical libraries.
- L: [South Carolina] Secretary of State, Papers Pertaining to State Grants of Catawba Indian Lands. SCDAH. (Catawba land leases 1809-1841.)
- LDS1985: LDS microfilm #00001985. This microfilm contains several "books" which are numbered 6822, 7311, 23240, etc.
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- P02: Miscellaneous family group sheets of Catawba Indians. Gift of Emma Reid Echols, May 1983. Probably originally in the possession of Sallie (Brown) Beck. MCF CIF Genealogy, YCL.
- P03: Various personal genealogical records, including some information collected from her grandparents, collected by Judy (Canty) Martin of Cortez, Colorado. Photocopies in author's possession.
- P04: Charts of personal ancestry of Roger S. Trimnal, Rock Hill, S.C. Photocopies in author's possession.

- P05: Charts of personal ancestry in possession of Samuel Beck, Rock Hill, S.C. Parts originally compiled by Sallie (Brown) Beck.
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