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# Annuity Censuses as a Source for Historical Research: The 1858 and 1869 Tonawanda Seneca Annuity Censuses

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During the 1840s the ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan visited the Iroquois of New York State—particularly the Seneca at Tonawanda—to gather information about their culture. This research led eventually to his study, *League of the Iroquois*, the first and one of the finest ethnological treatises on the Iroquois.<sup>1</sup> While it seemed easy for Morgan to gather information on Iroquois customs, religion and society, this did not prove the case for those hired to take censuses of the Iroquois.

In 1845, the State of New York commissioned ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to take a census of the Iroquois people in the State. Schoolcraft received little cooperation from the Indians and soon discovered that the Iroquois were suspicious of the State's growing interest in their numbers and economic condition. The Tonawanda chief, John Blacksmith, asked:

Why is this census asked for, at this time, when we are in a straitened position with respect to our reservation? Or if it is important to you

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or us, why was it not called for before? If you do not wish to obtain facts about our lands and cattle, to tax us, what is the object of the census? What is to be done with the information after you take it to Governor Wright, at Skenectati?<sup>2</sup>

This resistance was acknowledged a few years later by State officials.

In the state census of 1845, some difficulty was experienced in procuring from this class of our population, the desired information, from the jealousy with which inquiries after their domestic industry were received, and a suspicion that this measure might possibly have some connection with the troubled state of their land titles. On the former occasion, the subject was a novel one, and the parties that clung to their ancient form of government, naturally regarded the measures as favoring the views of their opponents, by the introduction of customs peculiar to civilized life.

While this passage hints at factionalism between a "traditional" element and others with more "progressive" views, it also notes the more pressing land issue that was especially important to the Seneca at Tonawanda. The Seneca at that time were engaged in fighting off an attempt by the Ogden Land Company to acquire Tonawanda Reservation.<sup>3</sup>

Although some Seneca continued to resist Schoolcraft and refused to be counted, Schoolcraft did eventually complete the census which in turn proved so useful that New York State decided to take Indian censuses in conjunction with the State census. In 1855 the State hired educated Indians for the undertaking and repeated the practice for the 1865 census.

However, even with Indian census takers, Iroquois people were still suspicious and often uncooperative. As Nathaniel Strong, a Cattaraugus Seneca found, the taking of a census prompted a chief's council on the Onondaga Reservation. He was asked by the chiefs "...whether this census, and the statistical information to be obtained had not reference to some kind of taxation." After assuring the chiefs that this was not the case, Strong was allowed to proceed.<sup>4</sup>

Strong again encountered more resistance at his next stop, on the Oneida Reservation, where he had to deal with two factions, the Windfall Party and the Orchard Party, each representing a different settlement. The Windfall Party could not agree on coop-

erating with Strong. Like the Onondaga, they too were worried that such an enumeration would mean taxes, "...as they were before taxed by the action of the county in which they lived."<sup>5</sup> Strong was more successful with the Orchard Party. But rather than allowing him to go house to house, party chiefs called the people together in one place to answer Strong's questions. Strong evidently had little choice in this procedure for he pointed out, "...as I had every confidence in the men who arranged this matter, I did not hesitate to adopt this course. They were men known to me, so that the statistical information of 'Oneida Indian Settlement,' has been obtained without calling at a single house."<sup>6</sup> Such a procedure, however, does lead to some methodological problems and opens the results to certain questions of accuracy.

Despite such caveats, early censuses often are valuable sources of information for writing Indian history and especially in noting degrees of acculturation.<sup>7</sup> This article, which focuses upon the Tonawanda Seneca, will suggest the need to utilize annuity censuses along with published censuses in writing Iroquois history.

The Seneca are prominent in the history of New York and in the early history of the United States. They were the most populous nation of the original five nations that constituted the famed Iroquois Confederacy. Situated in western New York—they were known in the Confederacy as the "keepers of the western door"—they assumed a large role in the Iroquois expansion westward into the Ohio River valley and thereby directly confronted the imperial aims of the French, British, and Americans. Furthermore, throughout the eighteenth century, the Seneca played a pivotal role in the destiny of the American colonies.<sup>8</sup>

By the late eighteenth century, their power to control their own destiny diminished and, placed on reservations, they succumbed to the disruptive influence of contact with an aggressively expanding new nation. Circumscribed by reservation boundaries and victimized by an often lawless frontier element in the white society, the Seneca experienced cultural collapse, despair, family breakdown, drunkenness, thievery, and increased incidences of witchcraft.<sup>9</sup> Out of this despair emerged a new religion, the *Gawioo* or Good News of Handsome Lake, that revived the spirit of the people and spurred economic and social recovery.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, soon thereafter Seneca fortunes again suffered reversals. The pill of reservation life was made even more bitter as land agents for the Holland Land Company—and later the Ogden

Land Company—sought to acquire what little territory remained to the Seneca and at the same time urged their movement westward. This was the nadir of Seneca history. The threat galvanized the Seneca, and both Christian and Longhouse people (those who followed the teachings of Handsome Lake) coalesced to resist land sales and removal. By 1850 it appeared that the Seneca were winning their fight against the Ogden Land Company, but victory was still not certain. In 1847 the court ruled in favor of John Blacksmith who was evicted from his sawmill by the Company. Since the Ogden Land Company considered the case a test case, they appealed the decision.<sup>11</sup> Many Senecas remained vigilant, wary of anything they considered as pressure for removal. Others, however, now more optimistic about their future, settled down and began again to improve the land.

The Seneca Sachem, Ely S. Parker, confirmed this fact in his discussion with George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in July of 1853. Objecting to statements made by the New York Sub Agent, Stephen Osborne, that the Tonawanda Senecas were "surely but slowly retrograding," Parker cited the many improvements made at Tonawanda despite constant harassment by the Ogden Land Company. He pointed to the increased acreage under cultivation and the increased number of houses and schools.

TABLE I

Mid-Nineteenth Century Seneca  
Published Population Statistics

	Total Population			Absolute Growth 1845-1865
	1845	1855	1865	
Allegany	783	754	825	= + 42
Buffalo Creek	446	*	*	= -446
Cattaraugus	922	1,179	1,347	= +425
Tonawanda	505	602	509	= + 4
Total	2,656	2,535	2,681	+25 = 1.25/yr.

\* Reservation sold in 1845 with most people moving to Cattaraugus and Tonawanda.

Sources: *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (Albany, 1857)  
*Census of the State of New York for 1865* (Albany, 1867)

Censuses in the mid-nineteenth century also noted these improvements which mirrored the growing confidence of the Tonawanda people.<sup>12</sup> If acculturation can be measured in part by a growing population (Table I), by agricultural statistics (Table II), and a schoolhouse, a church, and a sawmill (valued at \$700), then the improvements made by the Seneca at Tonawanda between 1845 and 1855 were indeed significant.

TABLE II  
Economic Indicators  
Printed Agricultural Statistics

Tonawanda	1845	1855	1865
Acres of improved land	2,216	2,515	2,006
Acres sown of Wheat	200	126	153
Bushels harvested of Wheat*	2,400	1,715	200(?)
Acres sown of Oats*	100	87	149
Bushels harvested	2,500	2,811	3,086
Acres sown of Corn*	170	159	177
Bushels harvested	3,950	3,725	8,145
Acres sown of Potatoes*	40	16	30
Bushels harvested	1,150	1,179	3,161
Acres sown of Peas*	30	5	20
Bushels harvested	200	44	40
<hr/>			
lbs. of butter	3,200	9,540	2,175
# of meat cattle	305	261	223
# milking cows	88	95	56
# horses	130	97	95
# of swine	390	409	399**

\* refers to production in previous year

\*\* slaughter and alive

Sources: See Table I

Ninety-four residents worked at unskilled occupations; several others were engaged in skilled or professional occupations, including medicine, teaching, ministry, law and engineering.<sup>13</sup> As shown in Table II, acreage increased by 1855; however, the actual number of acres given over to specific crops generally declined. Why this should be so is not really clear. There is perhaps a significance in the figures on oats and potatoes; while the number of overall acres in tillage for these two crops is less in 1855 than in 1845, the total harvest is larger. While better weather and crop conditions may have existed, the more abundant harvest may indicate adoption of improved farming techniques. By 1855 the number of both milking cows and swine increased; the former may account partly for increased butter production in 1855.

The State census for 1865 gives an even better picture of Tonawanda Seneca agricultural statistics for it includes more crop categories; however, it also reveals a decline in reservation population from 602 in 1855 to 509 in 1865. One factor responsible to some extent for this decrease was the Civil War, since many Seneca men volunteered to serve.<sup>14</sup> However, population decline certainly cannot be attributed entirely to those away at war, since figures decreased for females as well as males. An underestimate of the reservation population is more probable considering the difficulties encountered by the enumerators. According to the official State census director:

The census [of] the present year was reported by Edward M. Poadry, an intelligent Seneca belonging to the reservation [Tonawanda], who was chosen to obviate the objections which these people have heretofore raised against inquiries being made upon their reservation, from a jealousy concerning the pre-emption claims of a land company. Yet, this precaution did not fully remove the difficulty. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The enumerator reported:

I commenced and worked three days without being molested. I then met with some that would not let me take the census, in some thirty families. Their excuse was, that I was taking the census, and the value of all the lands and other property, and appraising what they had, so that we could sell the land, and they would have to remove from their homes. They wanted me to wait for a council of the Six Nations, that was to be held on the Cattaraugus Reservation, so that I was obliged to wait for that.<sup>16</sup>

It is not known what the Six Nations council decided or whether Poadry could include the "some thirty families." But that some of the Tonawanda Seneca considered Poadry more than just a census taker is certain. It is clear from his statement above, "so that *we* could sell the land," that the Seneca believed him to be aligned with those who favored, or had favored, selling the reservation. Being a Seneca did not keep Poadry from being suspected by other Senecas as a tool for those interests in the State that still sought the Tonawanda Seneca's land and removal to the west.

By 1865 the Seneca had weathered the storm over the removal issue but it is evident that conservatives or traditionalists (and even some progressives who refused to move) remained wary of census takers. Their resistance raises objections to our depending too heavily upon the State censuses for demographic data on New York State Indians—especially the Tonawanda Seneca.

The problem of resistance was not confined to the 1865 census nor was it perpetrated by an ad hoc disgruntled group, as evidenced by remarks in the 1855 census claiming that on the Tonawanda Reservation "...the pagan party very reluctantly afforded any information, and in some instances refused to answer the inquiries."<sup>17</sup> It is certain that such groups were effective in preventing complete enumerations of the population and the gathering of agricultural and occupational statistics. While it may have been possible to obtain agricultural statistics, gathering accurate census counts and vital statistics data would be less likely unless a person knew the reservation extremely well. This problem of under-enumeration is obviated by the annuity censuses.

Taken to facilitate government payment of yearly annuities to the Iroquois, these censuses were never published. Those for 1858 and for 1869 exist in the Ely S. Parker papers.<sup>18</sup> Their identity as annuity censuses was not immediately apparent, but subsequent investigations made this assumption almost certain.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike published State censuses, the two annuity censuses list families, sometimes noting kin affiliations between households; designate some women as "widows" or as "Mrs."; and note deaths and pregnancies in households. This last practice accorded with the government policy of making payments to the families in which a birth was expected or to those in which a member had recently died.<sup>20</sup>

In grouping population by households and designating the household heads, the annuity censuses resemble federal and state manuscript censuses, but unlike these manuscript censuses they do

not name individual members, other than the household head. Unfortunately, the annuity censuses do not give ages for anyone or specify sexes of the children.

It is not clear who took these censuses. Since they were found in the papers of Ely S. Parker, a Tonawanda Seneca, it is likely he or one of this three brothers, Nicholas, Isaac, or Spencer Cone, gathered the data. Given the facts that both the 1858 and 1869 censuses are in pencil, that several names are in Seneca, and that relationships are often spelled out (for example, Dennis Sky's daughter, John Bigfire's wife, Andrew Blackchief's mother, Widow Kettle's daughter), it is obvious that only a Tonawanda Seneca could have taken the censuses.

It is clear from the annuity censuses that Tonawanda population grew, but grew very little. This is reflected in the crude rate of increase figures of  $-3.2$  in 1858 and  $1.6$  in 1869, presented in Table III. While the 1869 figure is not spectacular in terms of growth, it does signal that the population at Tonawanda had moved above parity. The gross population figures support this claim although higher numbers may represent migration from other reservations. Further study is needed to trace names from one reservation to another.<sup>21</sup> Study of a partial 1840 census of the

TABLE III

Tonawanda Manuscript Annuity Censuses  
Some Demographic Indicators of Population Size

	Births*	Deaths	Absolute Growth	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	Crude Rate Increase	Total Population
1858	17	19	-2	27.5	30.7	-3.2	619
1869	26	25	+1	41.3	39.7	+1.6	629

\* Births are not listed separately on the annuity censuses. Instead there is a category denoted as "Anti" which stood for anticipated births. It is these figures which we have listed as births and, of course, there is no way of knowing how many were live births. This same category, "births" for anticipated births, is repeated in Table V.

Sources: Manuscript census for 1858  
Manuscript census for 1869

Seneca at Buffalo Creek Reservation indicates that such migrations took place.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Senecas forced to leave the Buffalo Creek Reservation in 1844 after it was sold moved to Tonawanda and Cattaraugus.<sup>23</sup>

More important than compilations of population totals furnished by these annuity censuses are their data on Seneca family structure and acculturation on the Tonawanda Reservation. As Table IV indicates, while the size of households declined, the number of households increased, which may reflect either a younger population whose greater economic security allowed establishment of separate households rather than continuance in an extended household situation, or a family break-up with spouses separating and setting up independent households, or a combination of both. It is difficult to prove separate households for the young since ages are not provided in the annuity censuses, but there is information supporting unstable family life. For example, in 1869 John Bigfire's household contained three men, two women, and three children. His wife is listed for a separate household comprised of one adult male and one adult female. Mrs. James Mitton is head of a household including one man and two women, one of whom is pregnant. James Mitton, however, resides elsewhere. While these households do not absolutely indicate a break-up between spouses, a passage in the 1865 census lends credence to this assumption:

The marriage relation is very lax, and very few were legally married. Most of the men would take to themselves a woman, and after living as long as they could agree—"a month, six weeks or a year, as the case may be." A few were, however, legally married, settled down and doing well.<sup>24</sup>

But if the increase in the number of households is considered significant, also of note is the decline in the size of households. Young couples beginning married life may account for it, but there may be another factor which operated to keep population down. Although there were some jobs off the reservation, most Tonawanda Seneca farmed on the reservation. Tillable acreage was limited since the reservation had definite boundaries and land outside could not be purchased and added to the reservation area. It is also probable that family farms could not be further subdivided and still remain profitable. Thus, lack of opportunity in the form of land may have contributed to the low rate of population increase and decreased family size.<sup>25</sup>

A striking fact disclosed by the annuity censuses is the large number of female-headed households. The Iroquois were matrilineal and residence was usually matrilocal with the husband going to his wife's residence.<sup>26</sup> With reservation life came changes, and increasingly the multi-family longhouse was given up in favor of the individual family household and nuclear families became the rule. The assumption, however, that males became the household head in accordance with the prevailing American pattern<sup>27</sup> is thrown into question by the annuity censuses. Certainly it might be assumed that with the death of the husband the widow would assume the head of the household. However, not only are there more female-headed households than there are widows, as can be seen in Table III, but there are many households where adult males inhabit the house along with the children and women are designated as household heads. Tonawanda was more traditional than the Seneca reservations of Cattaraugus and Allegany and have retained old customs given up on the other two.<sup>28</sup> Or female-headed households may have been a redivivus custom fitting nicely with their image of themselves as being more traditional. Either way, the number of female-headed households increased by 1869.

The traditional orientation of Tonawanda is underscored by another custom still practiced there to some extent in 1865—the manner of naming children. As the census enumerator for 1865 pointed out:

The custom of naming children is mentioned as opposing a difficulty in reporting the Census. A woman after bearing children to a husband, will name them after the grandfather and others, but not as much as formerly.<sup>29</sup>

By 1869 the Tonawanda Seneca had passed through a cruel and trying history and were beginning to turn their destiny around. Their efforts are reflected in increased agricultural production (Table II); however, their population remained only at parity (Table V). The community did not grow. Unfortunately, not much is known of late nineteenth-century Seneca history. Between their slow acceptance of reservation life in the early nineteenth century and their adjustment to twentieth-century rural-urban life, Seneca history remains clouded.

If we are to learn more about this "Dark Age" of Seneca, and indeed Iroquois history, we must resort to censuses and use them judiciously with other data, comparing published censuses with

TABLE IV Tonawanda Manuscript Annuity Censuses  
Household Size and Composition

Year	Families	Mean Family Size	Female Headed Households	Male Headed Households	Widow Headed Household	Adult Males	Adult Females	Children
1858	136	4.6	38 (28%)	98 (72%)	16	159 (26%)	188 (30%)	236 (38%)
1869	147	4.3	55 (37%)	92 (63%)	13	167 (27%)	196 (31%)	211 (34%)

Sources: See Table III

TABLE V Tonawanda Recapitulation: All Sources

Year	Families	Mean Family Size	Births	Deaths	Absolute Growth	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	Crude Rate of Increase	Total Population
1845*	—	—	13	7	+6	25.7	13.9	+11.8	505
1855*	106	5.7	10	7	+3	16.6	11.6	+ 5	602
1858**	136	4.6	17	19	-2	27.5	30.7	- 3.2	619
1865*	126	4.0	14	21	-7	27.5	41.3	-13.8	509
1869**	147	4.3	26	25	+1	41.3	39.7	+ 1.6	629

\* from published New York State Censuses

\*\* from Annuity Censuses

Sources: See Tables I and III

annuity censuses. A close reading of these censuses raises more questions about Tonawanda society than they answer. Their importance lies precisely in those areas that are most difficult to glean from published censuses or other published accounts: family size, number of households, name changes, and kinship connections between households. Why are people identified by their relationships, like Blogett Sundown's daughter, or Andrew Blackchief's mother, unless perhaps these people had Seneca—not English—names? Does this signal another streak of conservatism in the community, conservatism that prompted individuals to desire only Seneca names? Does the designation of "Mrs." in front of some female names and not others indicate a more rapid degree of acculturation (of consciousness of propriety by some individuals), or does it distinguish those who were legally married in a Christian church from those married in a traditional way? Or to look at the question from a different perspective, might such use of the address "Mrs." reveal a perceptual difference by the participants towards marriage that was unrecognized before? Is it possible to discover this perceptual difference? As more of these annuity censuses are found, might it be possible to trace migration from one reservation to another? Might we further refine figures on population increase and make demographic comparisons with other Iroquois reservations?

The answers to these questions would provide greater insight into Seneca society, into how they viewed themselves in relation to the surrounding non-Indian society. Answers would allow the historian to assess better the kinds of stresses and strains in the Seneca acculturation process that were taking place at Tonawanda and perhaps other Iroquois reservations in the mid- and late nineteenth century.

There are, certainly, problems inherent in the use of annuity censuses; for example, we cannot tell the number or degree of mixed-bloods on the reservation or how many Seneca married non-Seneca. Nor can we get figures on ages of children or their sex. But given the sparse information available on Indian vital statistics and the relative inexactitude of those who gathered the little we have, it behooves us to use everything we can find.<sup>30</sup>

#### NOTES

1. See William N. Fenton's introduction to Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (1851; rpt. New York, 1962), pp. v-vii.

2. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (1846; rpt. Millwood, New York, 1975), p. 7.

3. *Instructions for Taking the Census of the State of New York in the Year of 1855* (Albany, 1855), p. 46. For the Senecas' controversy with the Ogden Land Company, see A. F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York, 1970), pp. 321-29 and William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse, 1978), pp. 20-28, 65-68.

4. *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (Albany, 1857), pp. 499, 503-504.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 506.

6. *Ibid.*

7. For example, see William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Conser, Jr., "The Cherokee in Transition: A Statistical Analysis of the Federal Cherokee Census of 1835," *The Journal of American History* 64 (1977):678-703; S. Ryan Johansson and S. H. Preston, "Tribal Demography: The Hopi and Navajo Populations as Seen Through Manuscripts from the 1900 U.S. Census," *Social Science History* 3 (1978):1-33; Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1879-1970* (Berkeley, 1976); Russell Thornton, "American Indian Historical Demography: A Review Essay with Suggestions for Future Research," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1979):69-74.

8. There are many works on the Iroquois in general and the Seneca in particular. Besides Morgan and Wallace mentioned above, see Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, 1972); George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study of Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison, 1940); Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rights*, ed. William N. Fenton (Toronto, 1963). The Seneca, Arthur C. Parker, was also a prolific writer on Iroquois history and culture. Some of his works have recently been brought together by William N. Fenton in a collection entitled *Parker on the Iroquois* (Syracuse, 1968). Probably the greatest contributor to Iroquois studies is William N. Fenton. See his many articles, especially "The Iroquois in History," *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, eds. Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie (New York, 1971), pp. 129-68.

9. Wallace, pp. 321-29.

10. *Ibid.*

11. In 1846, John Blacksmith was evicted from his sawmill by the Ogden Land Company. Blacksmith sued the Company and won. The case was appealed by the Company all the way to the Supreme Court which finally ruled in 1857 that while the treaty which gave Tonawanda to the Company was valid, only the Government could remove Indians from their land. This was a victory for the Seneca since the Government showed no predisposition to remove them. See Armstrong, pp. 34, 54, 58-60.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 52; *Census 1855*, pp. 499-519; *Census of the State of New York for 1865* (Albany, 1867), pp. 600-608.

13. *Census 1855*, p. 503. The unskilled occupations were not designated.

14. Armstrong, pp. 77-83.

15. *Census 1865*, p. 602.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Census 1855*, p. 500.

18. "Census of the Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians residing in the County of Genesee, State of New York, May 24, 1858," Ely S. Parker Papers, American Philosophical Society; "Census of the Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians taken on 8th May 1869," Ely S. Parker Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library.

19. Letter, Onondaga Indian Agent to W. Hunt, May 24, 1849, Onondaga Folder, Collection 267, Manuscript Division, New York State Library, Albany.

20. *Ibid.*

21. It would be interesting to see if the growing city of Buffalo, about twenty miles from Tonawanda, with its promise of economic opportunity encouraged migration from the Allegany Reservation (near the Pennsylvania border) to Tonawanda. This may, of course, be reading twentieth-century economic concerns into nineteenth-century migration motivations. Research currently underway by Christopher Plant will perhaps provide further information on this question.

22. This census found in the Ely S. Parker Papers in the American Philosophical Society was probably taken by Asher Wright, a missionary to the Buffalo Creek Seneca from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It is described as: "Two Notebooks, each containing the English and Indian names of over 300 Senecas residing at Buffalo, arranged by clans, and giving the following information, age, number of children, sex, religion and rank." See also Thomas S. Abler, "Moiety, Exogamy and the Seneca: Evidence From Buffalo Creek," *Anthropological Quarterly* 44 (October 1971):211-33, which makes use of this census.

23. Frederick Houghton, "The History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 24 (1920):167-81.

24. *Census 1865*, pp. 602-603.

25. Stuart M. Blumin has found availability of land as a factor in the limiting of family size in the Hudson Valley in the mid-nineteenth century. "Where nearby land was available it could be purchased for younger sons, or even added to the original farm before subdivision. When it was no longer available, or too expensive, farmers could marry later, could attempt to limit their offspring, and could do their best to find a place for those who did arrive. The declining birth rates . . . found in developing rural areas indicate how seriously farmers regarded this responsibility" (Stuart M. Blumin, "Rip Van Winkle's Grandchildren: Family and Household in the Hudson Valley, 1800-1860," in *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930*, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (New York, 1977), pp. 104-105). Of course, the Senecas may not have held the same views concerning land and family size.

26. William N. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," in *Handbook of North American Indians (Northeast)*, Vol. 15, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C., 1978): pp. 309-10.

27. Wallace, p. 312.

28. Elisabeth Tooker, "Iroquois Since 1820," in *Handbook of North American Indians (Northeast)*, Vol. 15, p. 453.

29. *Census 1865*, p. 603.

30. Henry F. Dobyns makes the same suggestion. In paraphrasing Sherburne F. Cook, Dobyns points out, "One either uses such data as may be available and learns something, however inadequate, or abjures such data and learns nothing" (Henry F. Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, 1976), p. 7).