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THE ADOPTION OF WHITE AGRICULTURE
BY THE ONEIDA INDIANS

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In 1796 Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, Congregational clergymen who were investigating the progress of missionary activity among the Oneida Indians of New York State, reported the following for this Iroquois tribe:

They have an idea that to labor in cultivating the earth is degrading to the character of man, 'who (they say) was made for war and hunting and holding "councils", and that squaws and hedgehogs are made to scratch on the ground.'¹

Yet only 14 years later, while traveling in 1810 among the same people, Governor De Witt Clinton of New York noted in his journal that the Oneidas were doing some farming.²

Between the years 1823 and 1846 groups of Oneidas migrated from their aboriginal homeland and founded two major communities, one on Duck Creek near Green Bay, Wisconsin, and the other on the Thames River near Delaware, Ontario. Referring to the latter community in 1850, S. P. Jarvis, one-time Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote:

They have made excellent roads through the tract at their own expense, and I may add, have made

greater strides toward civilization than most of the other Tribes or Bands resident in the Province.³

By 1860 farming had become the ideal role for men in the Green Bay community⁴ and it is our conclusion that a similar situation existed at approximately the same date among the Oneidas on the Thames River in Ontario. The purpose of this paper is to suggest some of the causes which led to this change, especially among the Oneidas of Ontario. For the purposes of this presentation Oneida culture history will be discussed for three successive periods: pre-Revolutionary War, and transition, when the Oneidas were in New York State, and stable community, the last beginning with the establishment of the new communities in Ontario and Wisconsin, and lasting roughly until the end of the 19th century.

Horticulture, hunting, and gathering were the modes of obtaining subsistence in the first period, before the 17th century. Women were responsible for the planting, tending and harvesting of crops, supplementing this with the gathering of plant foods in the forest. These activities were organized around the matrilineal kin unit and the mutual-aid society. Storage and distribution of subsistence goods were also largely controlled by women. The men helped in horticultural production by clearing new fields of trees, but their major contribution to subsistence was in the form of game and fish. This may have accounted for close to half of their requirements in pre-contact and early contact times.

After harvesting their crops in the fall, the villagers split into small family groups and moved into the forest, living for a few months largely on game. Warfare was important to the men as one means of acquiring prestige, but under pre-contact conditions war activities probably added little toward the economy as no substantial amount of booty was available. The

men's production activities did not attain the degree of association within permanent units that the women's did, although men did work cooperatively in groups for raiding, hunting and fishing, building defense fortifications and houses, and clearing sites for new villages and fields. Whenever the women accompanied or assisted the men in male spheres of production, they assumed a subordinate position. Essentially there was a sharp division between the sexes in both economic and other social relations.

As a result of an increase in warfare during the Beaver and Colonial wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, men contributed less to subsistence through hunting and partial assistance in horticulture. Iroquois culture and society focused on war and expansionist activities, with the prestige and influence of the warrior at a high peak. The productive activities of the women were crucial for keeping the war parties supplied with rations. How much the men provided in sum toward subsistence during this period of intensive warfare is difficult to estimate, but it would appear that a significant contribution was made at times in the form of war booty (whether through furs taken from the enemy, conquest of new beaver hunting territory, acquisition of middle-man position with fur-trapping Indians to the west, or obtaining captives who were put to work doing horticulture), together with a more token amount in the form of presents from Europeans who wished to recruit or hold the Indians' allegiance.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the United States government placed the Oneidas on a reservation in their traditional territory in New York State. In 1779 there were three villages in the valley of Oneida Creek, and very likely the same villages continued to be occupied after the close of the war. The bulk of the Oneida population resided in one village, Canowaroghere.

Whites moved into this region in large numbers and completely surrounded the Oneidas. Oneida women continued to practice horticulture, while the men resisted early efforts of the Whites to teach them agriculture, preferring to hunt and fish.⁵ It was apparent by the close of the 18th century, however, that male hunting and warring activities were no longer feasible. In 1794 Oneida population numbered 628.⁶ Directly adjoining the Oneida Reservation, in New York, on lands ceded by the Oneidas in 1788, were 300 Stockbridge Indians on a tract six miles square, and 150 Brotherton Indians on a tract three miles long by two miles wide.⁷ The Stockbridges were at this time following the White pattern of agriculture, with men plowing and working the fields, using animals for draught purposes, and having their land divided in individual holdings. Belknap and Morse emphasize the development of this property concept as a factor in the relatively successful adjustment of the Stockbridges and Brothertons, in contrast to the Oneidas. Ambitious individuals among the Oneidas, they noted, "have little encouragement to proceed, because their neighbors will live upon them as long as they have anything to eat."⁸

The Oneidas were experiencing, during this transition period, severe cultural and social disorganization. Their land base was rapidly dwindling; by 1811 they did not have more than 10,000 acres.⁹ At least ten years after the end of the Revolutionary War friction still existed between the small minority which had sided with the British and those who had thrown in their lot with the Americans. Another source of dissention in Oneida society — one which continued until the last major migration from New York State in the 1840's — was the transfer of land to the Whites by unauthorized individuals. Still another cause of division among them, and perhaps a basic one in the factionalism which pervaded Oneida society

at the beginning of the transition period, was the pressure brought to bear to change their way of life. The principal agent of this acculturative force was the missionary, whose program was nothing less than the elimination of Indian culture and the wholesale introduction of Western culture. By the end of the Revolutionary War the Oneidas were already divided into a Pagan Party and a Christian Party of Presbyterian denomination, with each group occupying separate portions of the main Oneida village. By 1805, their differences having increased, these parties formally divided the New York State Reservation. Shortly thereafter a few more Christian parties arose. In 1816 an Episcopalian missionary, Eleazer Williams, won over the Presbyterians and also converted some of the Pagans. These became known as the First Christian Party and the Second Christian Party. Methodism entered in 1826, when some of the remaining Pagans were converted; they assumed the name of the Orchard Party.¹⁰ Each faction had its own leaders and acted independently of the others, at least until the resettlement process.

In 1823 a group of 150 Oneidas and an equal number of Stockbridges moved from New York to Wisconsin, under the leadership of Williams. In 1825, 1827, and 1833, more Oneidas followed. All settled on lands in Wisconsin obtained by treaty from the Winnebago and Menomini Indians. Originally the size of the Wisconsin Reservation had been 500,000 acres. As a result of treaties in 1831 and 1838 between the emigrant New York Indians and the United States, the amount of land in Wisconsin was reduced to 65,000 acres.¹¹

Through negotiations with the State of New York from 1839 to 1842, most of the Oneidas remaining in New York arranged to dispose of the land there left in their possession. There were 578 members of the tribe in New York at this time; they

owned about 4,500 acres of land.¹² Between 1840 and 1845 a total of 436 of these New York Oneidas migrated, in three separate parties, to settle on a 5,400-acre tract near the village of Delaware in Middlesex County, Ontario. This tract had been purchased from private individuals by the New York Oneidas, who had pooled their money, and the migration of the New York Oneidas to Ontario was directed by Oneida leaders. Across the Thames River were two other groups of Indians — Chippewas and Munsees — who had been there before the arrival of the Oneidas, and who had lived under reservation status since 1819.

In describing the stable reservation period which followed for the Oneidas, coverage is restricted to the Oneidas settled near Delaware, Ontario, although it is my opinion after reading Harry W. Basehart's study, *Historical Changes in the Kinship of the Oneida Indians*, that the same general pattern of adjustment prevailed among the Oneidas who moved to Green Bay, Wisconsin. Records and accounts for the Ontario Oneidas during the period 1840-1880 are scanty, and it is therefore necessary to extrapolate from more numerous later written records, as well as to rely upon oral traditions recorded in the Oneida community of Ontario in 1957, when field work there was undertaken.

The settlement pattern established in the new Oneida community in Ontario was a line village, with houses facing the road and located close to one another, rather than being arranged in nucleated village or isolated homestead fashion. Although each man, woman, and child contributed \$41.00 toward the purchase price of land in Ontario, the land was not divided on a per capita basis. Individuals carved out farm sites according to their needs and ambitions, obtaining holding rights in the land rather than ownership in fee simple. Improvements

on the land, however, were considered individual property. While land was freely transferred among Oneidas, it was inalienable to Whites.

It was during this period that the Oneida men became intensively involved in agriculture, and the nuclear family became the production unit on the Ontario Reservation. Records for the 1890's show farm products and agricultural day labor accounting for about 75% of the total income, with hunting and fishing catches valued at about 1 1/2%.¹³ The Oneidas were well supplied with farm buildings, assorted kinds of farm implements, and livestock including horses, cattle, pigs and chickens. Men were responsible for the care of large livestock and mechanical farm equipment, plowing of fields, and construction of buildings. Those who did not own an acreage of land sufficient for profit farming hired themselves out as day laborers to near-by White farmers. Women helped with the field work during the harvest, but the home and garden was their major focus of interest. They cared for the small livestock, of which there was a substantial amount, and marketed some vegetables and eggs on a door-to-door basis or at the "farmers' markets" in near-by towns. They also worked in White homes as domestics, especially when young and unmarried. In 1888-1890 63 Oneidas from a total population of 778 Ontario Oneidas migrated to Green Bay, Wisconsin. The reason given by the Indian Agent for this movement was, "They can get land more easily among their own people, the present reserve being too small for the number of Indians living upon it."¹⁴ It is obvious these people were looking for farm land; in 1957 the Ontario Reservation, after farming had become practically non-existent on it, provided housesites for a total population of about 1,500 people.

An important part of the Oneida agricultural complex in Ontario was the fall and winter woodcutting, which in some of

its features was essentially like the annual movement out of the community in aboriginal times. After the harvest small groups, either of related family units or of families friendly to one another, left for the surrounding forests, where they cut firewood or did lumbering for wages. Living in shanties, each group was under the leadership of one man, who acted as spokesman and representative of the group in relations with the Whites. In later years similar groupings also went out to pull flax, to pick the berry crop, and to work in canneries. Income was further added to by handicraft productions, most of which were marketed in White communities. Men carved wooden ax handles, walking sticks, trivets, and bowls, while the women made baskets and mats. Proceeds from handicrafts were estimated in 1899 as constituting 16% of the total income.¹⁵

An agricultural fair, directed exclusively by the Oneidas of Ontario, was organized in the early 1880's. A portion of the Reserve was set aside as a permanent fair ground and a race track was constructed. The men belonged to agricultural societies, holding their meetings in a special agricultural hall on the Reservation. This building was also used as an exhibition hall during the fair. Athletic, plowing, shooting and, especially, woodcutting contests were extremely popular. Men who excelled in these activities became prominent figures in the community. This was, in fact, an important means of acquiring prestige for the younger men.

Mutual aid practices were highly developed. The entire populace was solicited for aid when an individual family experienced a severe crisis, such as the loss of their home through fire. Sometimes the initial overture for this aid was made by the chiefs' council; at other times it originated with private individuals or organizations such as the welfare and mutual-aid associations scattered around the Reservation.

These associations handled minor crises on a local basis. Men and women participated together in "bees" and attended the same "socials." These latter were public teas or suppers, the proceeds of which were sometimes used for the benefit of needy individuals. Men and women also belonged to the same death-insurance and sick-benefit societies. Each sex also had its exclusive associations, however.

Methodism was the predominant religion; an Oneida, Rev. Abram Sickles, was the minister of the first church. A White Anglican minister, Rev. Richard Flood, although dwelling in the Delaware village ten miles distant, took an active interest in the Oneida Indians and established a station in their community in 1847; a church building was constructed in 1869. Churches were foci of interest and social activity; church socials and prayer meetings were prominent in the community calendar of events. Men dominated the religious organizations, occupying all the lay positions, as women were regarded as inherently incapable of exercising leadership in religion. During church services, men and women sat on different sides of the church, although women were allowed to sing with the men in the choir. A Baptist congregation was organized in the 1870's. The Indian Department's censuses of religious affiliation showed no "pagan" believers until after 1900.

By 1880 there were two schools; another was added in 1882. Enrollment in the three schools was 112 children from a total community population of 702. The church organizations exercised considerable control over these schools, which were apportioned to the religious denominations according to their representation in the community: two for the Methodists and one for the Anglicans. Funds for support of the schools came from the church mission organizations, the Indian Department's budget, and, occasionally, from the Oneida Band's treasury.

The teaching staff for the schools in the late 19th century was composed of both Oneidas and Whites; religious instruction was part of the teaching program. Across the river, on the Chippewa Reserve, was the Mount Elgin Industrial School, founded in 1849. This was a boarding school for Indian children from the southern Ontario area, supported and directed by Methodists. The program of instruction emphasized trades and farming for boys and domestic work for girls. A total enrollment of 50 pupils is given for the year 1883, but what percentage of these were Oneidas is not stated.

The Oneida community was governed by a hereditary chiefs' council, which was recognized by the Indian Department until 1934, when an elective system was instituted. Upon their arrival in Canada, the Oneidas requested the aid of the chiefs at Six Nations Reserve on Grand River, Ontario, in performing the condolence ceremony for installing new chiefs and rekindling the Oneida council fire. The Oneida chiefs' council served mainly in the capacity of peacemaking and arbitration, such as settlement of domestic quarrels, inheritance disputes, and land boundary differences. Also within its jurisdiction was the maintenance of roads and bridges on the Reservation. The chiefs appointed 15 pathmasters, giving each responsibility for a certain section of the roads and providing statutory labor to do the work. Two poundkeepers were also appointed to impound stray livestock and a like number of fence-viewers to survey lands when boundary problems arose. The chiefs were held in high esteem and their council had effective control over the community's internal affairs. Indian agents during the 19th century lived 10-20 miles distant from the Oneidas and do not appear to have, in practice, subordinated the chiefs' authority. People in the present-day community say that the Indian Act — a set of regulations by the Canadian government for the

administration of Indian reserves — was ignored by the chiefs and that Indian Department representatives themselves applied the regulations of the Act only casually during the 19th century.

Although the women continued to nominate and depose chiefs, as was their traditional privilege, their influence in political affairs does not seem to have been as important as is suggested for the early historic period. Male leaders exercised considerable personal influence over clan mothers, and appear to have taken a decisive part in the nomination process for chiefly positions. An Oneida male informant stated in 1957 that the major reason the women retained the right to nominate chiefs after the migration to Ontario was because they paid a share on the same basis as the men toward the purchase of the Reservation. Frequently heard in the present-day community is the saying, "Politics is a man's business." However, in the general council — a community-wide meeting held to discuss and take action on questions of general importance — the women retained the right to participate and vote, and it appears that they exercised this right.

Membership in the Oneida band became based on patrilineal principles. Although this was not accepted by all Oneidas, the majority came to regard male descent as the determining factor establishing legal Oneida band membership. If one could trace descent back to the original settlers in the female line only, then his legal status, and hence his right to reside on the Reservation, was questioned. Matrilineal clan affiliation continued to count in nominating hereditary chiefs and for some socio-ceremonial functions, but clan descent was no longer of any consideration in band membership, land inheritance, control of marriage, or collective economic production.

There is no evidence of the existence of factionalism in the community until the beginning of the 1900's, when a small group

of Longhouse believers became organized. By 1914 the community was divided into Longhouse and Christian factions. Each faction had its own hereditary chiefs' council, claiming to be the legitimate government of the community. It was the Christian faction, however, which succeeded in obtaining recognition from the Indian Department. The Longhouse group numbered about 60 in 1915 and had increased to 180, or one-fifth of the total population, by 1930. Thereafter it diminished and in 1957 it totaled about 100 members.¹⁶ Ties were maintained continuously with the more sizeable and influential Longhouse group at Grand River Reserve, 65 miles to the east. The root of the factionalism that developed after 1900 appears to have been similar to that in the transition period: differing views concerning the adoption of White culture. By 1900 the stable community period had come to an end, for the contact with Whites had greatly increased and external pressures had become more intense. The Longhouse group advocated more resistance to acculturative forces while the Christian group encouraged assimilation.

Discussion

Morris Freilich, a student of the modern Iroquois, has demonstrated that in at least one Iroquois group, the Caughnawaga Mohawks near Montreal, the traditional male role has persisted throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Freilich, some of the major components of the male role are as follows; extensive geographical mobility and absence from the community for extended periods of time, accomplishing exciting and dangerous feats, bringing home booty, accepting only a minimum amount of authority, working in all-male groups (but without any permanent ties), and lacking responsibility for maintenance of home and family. During the 19th

century Caughnawaga males could not go out on raiding expeditions, but they found rafting, circus work, and fur trading in the West close enough substitutes for the role of warrior. In 1886 Caughnawaga men were employed in the construction of a steel bridge in Montreal. Freilich notes that the decision to build the bridge was an historical accident, something beyond the control of the Caughnawagas, but the fact that Caughnawaga men took up this work so eagerly and successfully once the opportunity arose, eventually becoming famous as high steel workers, was not an accident. This type of work involves mobility, danger, excitement, independence, and booty — in short, possibilities for enacting a role still valued by the male members of the Caughnawaga community.¹⁷

The role of warrior also carried prestige among the early historic Oneidas, who were, in fact, reputed as the most ferocious of all Iroquois warriors.¹⁸ But during the stable community period of the 19th century considerable change occurred in the activities of Oneida males. Once having scorned the planting of crops, men subsequently directed this activity. Life was more sedentary and generally devoid of dangerous ventures than in days of old. Farming and handicraft production demanded long-sustained effort, and opportunities to acquire booty were gone. Farming as a way of life, similar in many respects to the way of life of rural Whites, had secured a place in the community. In the oral traditions of the mid-20th century community, which no doubt present a somewhat over-idealized picture, the stable community period is characterized by self-sufficiency, self-fulfillment, and stable inter-personal relations. Many of the older people interviewed in 1957 indicated that in the past farm activities had provided a basis for a number of enjoyable social relations. One man spoke with emotion about the "hoeing bees" in which numerous families

participated. He was quite explicit that it was not so much the exchange of work which was accomplished through these bees that was important, as the fact that the bees were an expression of the close bonds that existed between the people, and that they were highly sociable affairs. During the stable community period the hereditary chiefs' council also assumed new responsibilities for the administration of the community, then adjusting to reservation life.

On the surface it would appear that during the 19th century there evolved a new conception of the male — as a more “amiable” figure than had existed during the early historic period. It is a fact, however, that the concept of the amiable male is of long standing in Iroquois culture, and represents the ideal conception of the male.¹⁹ Mildness in manner, readiness to assume the responsibility for maintenance of family and community, willingness to compromise in disputes and act in concert with the group are well-known characteristics of the hereditary chief. Furthermore, the chief was expected to serve as an exemplary model for the rest of the people and urge upon them the principles of mildness, and so forth, especially when the community was not on a war footing. This view of the ideal man still exists in the present-day Oneida community, and although it is expected that younger men may not be able to realize it to the same degree as their elders, it is nonetheless regarded as a possibility for all men. The more placid man of the 19th century was not an entirely new figure in Iroquois society.

After the demise of the Iroquois League as a political force, and with the subsequent intensive settlement of Whites around them which reduced their land base, the Oneida men found themselves without any major productive role in the society. In the process of adjusting to their new circumstances they did

not adopt the woman's role, however, since traditionally this was viewed as beneath an active male. Instead, men became responsible for heavy fieldwork and the use and care of large livestock, while women continued to do garden work and to care for small animals. These are two distinct forms of activity, both necessary for the successful operation of a farm. Furthermore, it was the male who directed farm operations and generally assumed the dominant position in the society. Possibly, also, the adoption of new crops, such as wheat, oats, and hay served to lessen identification of agricultural work by men, with the traditional horticultural activities of the women.²⁰

With the onset of the transition period it seems likely that the women eventually would have encountered serious problems, had they attempted, through aboriginal horticultural practices alone, to provide a major portion of subsistence on a land base which was insufficient to allow for the replacement of exhausted fields with new clearings. Modification of the woman's role occurred, but did not, however, involve any great alteration of motor habits, for the 19th-century Oneida woman who tended gardens, worked with the hoe, and cared for the home was performing essentially the same motor activities as the aboriginal Iroquois woman. But the 19th-century woman's economic activities became more closely integrated with those of her husband instead of with the women of the extended matrilineal family, as had been common in the past. The fact that women's horticulture already existed among the Oneidas, and was also an essential part of the new farming complex, may well have facilitated the adoption of White agricultural practices by the men.

A model of the White pattern of agriculture was presented to the Oneidas both by Whites and by acculturated Indian neighbors during the transition period. The Stockbridges were

successfully practicing White agriculture when they settled among the Oneidas, and it is known that they introduced some changes into Oneida culture, such as the technique of splint basketry. Belknap and Morse mention that the Oneidas were buying corn and meat from the Stockbridges.²¹ Whites living on the Oneida Reservation also provided a model; for example, De Witt Clinton wrote in his journal in 1810 as follows:

Abraham Hatfield and his wife (Quakers), have resided here sometime; having been sent by that Society principally with a view to teach the savages agriculture. . . . They are amply provided with oxen and the instruments of agriculture, to administer to the wants and instruction of the Indians. The Oneidas are much attached to the Quakers.²²

Finally, the Oneidas saw farm life carried on daily by Whites living nearby. In 1784 Samuel Kirkland, a longtime missionary to the Oneidas, wrote:

Many Oneidas at the conclusion of the American Revolution observed the difference between White and Indian lives. The Whites were prosperous and appeared the favorites of Heaven, and so they too wanted Christ and comfort.²³

The relocation of the community was probably also important in bringing about the crystallization of the male agricultural pattern. If the men were beginning to learn agriculture and adopting the patri-centered farm model while still in New York State, movement to a new community probably made possible a clearer expression of this pattern. In the resettlement process, with the opportunity to choose lands according to new needs and interests, male relatives could locate closer to one another, thereby making the sharing of labor and implements more convenient. Also important was the institution of an hereditary chief's council. During the latter part of the pre-Revolutionary War period, hereditary chiefs figured less

prominently than war chiefs in community affairs. But with the end of warfare, and the relocation of the community away from White pressures, hereditary chiefs no doubt regained a measure of influence. Given a peaceful setting, the chiefs could more effectively emphasize the ideal of the good man.

In summary, it would appear that Oneida males might have strenuously resisted adopting the role of farmer, coming as they did from a society where horticulture was identified as woman's work and regarded as completely inappropriate for males in the prime of life. Yet a successful transition from hunting and war activities to farming as the principal and ideal role for men did take place among the Oneida during the 19th century. Five factors are suggested as significant in bringing about this transition, namely:

- (1) Inability of males to continue playing the role of warrior-hunter after the transition period began;
- (2) The presence within the aboriginal culture of an ideal conception of the male which included basic elements involving more sedentary life and attention to domestic pursuits;
- (3) A long-established horticultural tradition among women which was similar to a distinct set of activities for women within the White farming complex, and which represented a partial preadaptation toward the assumption of that pattern;
- (4) An operating model of the White pattern of agriculture presented by Indian neighbors already highly acculturated, and by Whites living close to the Oneidas;
- (5) The relocation of the community, facilitating the adoption of new spatial and social relations as well as the re-emphasis of traditional relations consistent with the evolving pattern of agriculture.²⁴

Notes

1. Belknap and Morse, Report on the Oneida, p. 17.
2. Campbell, The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton, p. 186.
3. Jarvis, Letter to the Governor General.
4. Basehart, Historical Changes, pp. 171-2.
5. Ibid., p. 92.
6. Belknap and Morse, Report on the Oneida, p. 6.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. Ibid., p. 23.
9. Campbell, The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton, p. 250.
10. Berkhofer, Protestant Missionaries, pp. 300-302.
11. Ritzenthaler, The Oneida Indians, pp. 11-12.
12. Treaty of 1840, p. 310.
13. Canada, Annual Report of 1899, pp. 506-522.
14. Canada, Annual Report of 1890, p. 3.
15. Canada, Annual Report of 1899, p. 522. More recently, since about 1925, harvesting the tobacco crop on Ontario farms has supplanted earlier economic activities as a factor inducing seasonal migration.
16. These figures include children as well as men and women.

17. Freilich, Cultural Persistence, passim.
18. Hewitt, Oneida, p. 124.
19. Fenton, The Present Status of Anthropology, pp. 507-510.
20. In her monograph, Conservatism Among the Iroquois, Shimony notes (pp. 154-155) that there are distinct planting practices and attitudes for women's crops (corn, beans, and squash) and men's crops (oats, wheat, and hay).
21. Belknap and Morse, Report on the Oneida, pp. 21-23.
22. Campbell, The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton, p. 188.
23. Quoted in Berkhofer, Protestant Missionaries, p. 263.
24. Farming began to decline after World War I and by 1957 had practically disappeared. Overpopulation, resulting in fragmentation of land, and insufficient resources to keep pace with the "scientific revolution" in farming appear to be responsible.

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