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sociocultural evolution that conform to a consistent nomothetic explanatory paradigm" (pp. 583–84). And of course, we need to avoid jargon.

The *Columbian Consequences* series is a triumph of the quincenary. Still, the decision to hurry each of these richly detailed and diversified reference volumes through to publication within a year, while keeping costs down, required a very great sacrifice. None has an index. So obvious is the need, I hope some enterprising indexer will submit a proposal to the Research Tools Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities and list me as a reference.

In the end, editor Thomas takes stock of the contributors to his series and concludes that "the final result remains biased toward white, Anglo, male scholarship" (p. xx). Obstacles still stand in the way of minorities and women. All royalties from *Columbian Consequences*, therefore, have been assigned to the Native American Scholarship Fund sponsored by the Society for American Archaeology. This, Thomas admits, is a small beginning, "[b]ut we hope that it sends a message to upcoming generations that those of us in the existing scholarly community are indeed serious about encouraging a diversity of opinion from a wide range of constituent groups" (p. xxi).

Looking toward the Columbian millennium in 2492, such a spirit could be the most encouraging consequence of all.

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Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions 1630–1900. By Carol Devens. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992. 185 pages.

Carol Devens's *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions 1630–1900* is an excellent, carefully detailed and documented analysis of the responses of Native American women and men to missionary activity in their communities. It begins with the earliest periods of Catholic missions under the Jesuits' direction and continues through several periods of Protestant missionary work, in both Canada and the United States.

Devens's principal emphasis is on the differing reactions of women and men to the missionaries and their messages and on the

reasons for these divergent attitudes. In order to arrive at this analysis, Devens makes good use of citations from journals written by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century describing traditional gender roles in Native American societies. The Jesuits accurately describe the different economic, social, and ritual roles of men and women, but Devens aptly points out that the separate gender identities of native people were not "disruptive" but were "countered by the complementarity of social and productive activities" (p. 13). Further, this complementarity created a "vital symmetry upon which the community's survival depended" (p. 13). This is an important point and one that is consistent with much recent work in the study of gender roles among Native Americans and, indeed, among traditional peoples throughout the world. It counters the popular but erroneous stereotype of subservient, dependent women living under the authority of fathers and husbands.

Devens argues that the "complementarity" and "vital symmetry" of Native American women's and men's roles were disrupted by the external forces resulting from European colonization. She particularly stresses the impact of the fur trade and consequent shifts in the work performed by the genders. As men became heavily involved in trapping and trading, women became less independently productive and began to aid in the preparation of furs for market. A co-occurring phenomenon was that, as a result of their involvement in the fur trade, men gradually became attracted to Christian missionaries. Men received material goods, economic wealth, and social prestige from their work. For the most part, women were left out of this network of rewards. Because of the different experiences of women and men in the fur trade, they developed differing attitudes toward Europeans, including the missionaries. Eventually, this divergence led to antagonism between men and women over the issue of whether to accept Christianity or to maintain traditional religious beliefs and practices.

Although Devens's analysis is thorough, she could have added that, among many Native American peoples, men became attracted to Christian influence and indeed were willing to convert to Christianity partly because there were material rewards for doing so. Evidence from Algonkian and Iroquoian communities in the seventeenth century demonstrates that Jesuits gave gifts of tools, utensils, clothing, and food to Christian converts, and, even more importantly, French traders gave higher prices for furs delivered by Catholic converts than for those traded by

nonconverts. And, finally, the French government allowed merchants to trade guns and ammunition only to Catholic converts.

Throughout her study, Devens shows the interconnections between Native American acceptance of Christian missions and the wider social, economic, and political contexts of the periods with which she deals. This is an important contribution, because it appropriately contextualizes people's reactions. Devens points out that during periods of economic hardship—when population decreased due to disease, and land and hunting areas diminished due to treaty cessions—native people were more susceptible to missionaries' influence. As she says, men especially saw missionaries as "useful allies," whereas women began openly to oppose the moral and religious messages of missionaries and to "defend their interests as females" (p. 89). Women's responses were triggered by the fact that the missionaries, from the Jesuits through the American and Canadian Protestant ministers, not only preached a religious message but also attempted to teach Euro-American gender roles to native people. The missionaries argued against traditional mores, which treated women as independent, autonomous beings; instead, they tried to instill European norms, which viewed women as ideally dependent and obedient to their husbands. As women increasingly resisted these social preachings, they became identified, both by themselves and by men, as the "conservators of traditional ways" (p. 113).

Devens points out the errors of many twentieth-century anthropologists, such as A. Irving Hallowell and Ruth Landes, who assumed that the Ojibwa people they studied were living according to aboriginal patterns. According to Devens, Hallowell (*Culture and Experience*, 1955) and Landes (*The Ojibwa Woman*, 1971) failed to understand the impact of social and economic change throughout the previous two centuries. Although Devens counters Hallowell's and Landes's assumptions with the studies done by Eleanor Leacock of the Montagnais-Naskapi (*The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade*, 1954) and by Jeanne Guillemin of the Micmac (*Urban Renegades*, 1975), she could have used Leacock's empirical and theoretical writings to stronger advantage. Leacock wrote extensively on the impact of Jesuit missionary work among the Montagnais-Naskapi in effecting social and economic change (e. g., "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization," 1980). She showed how the Jesuits especially attacked women's traditional independence and importuned men to ignore their wives' opinions. Furthermore, Leacock's theoretic-

cal writings on gender roles and relations in small band societies have advanced our understanding of the complementarity of women's and men's activities and of the autonomous functioning of both genders (e. g., "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society," 1978).

In sum, Devens's book is a most welcome and valuable contribution to the analysis of gender, of the impact of European colonization on traditional Native American cultures, and of the specific responses of people to the complex social, economic, and political contexts in which they live.

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New School for Social Research

Dead Voices: Natural Agonies in the New World. By Gerald Vizenor. University of Oklahoma Press, 1992. 152 pages. \$17.95 cloth.

In *Dead Voices: Natural Agonies in the New World*, Ojibwa writer Gerald Vizenor continues his tradition of authoring the unexpected. In fact, the real surprise of a new Vizenor release would be to discover no surprises at all.

Vizenor's usual themes resonate in *Dead Voices*. Contradiction, opposition, and transformation are at the heart of this new novel of survival on the urban reservation. Vizenor pits Native American against Euro-American, nature against culture, trickster against anthropologist, cross-blood against chicken-feather traditionalist, flea against exterminator, city against reservation, tribal trash against cultural trash, the inventive Indian against the invented Indian, the oral tradition against the written word, transformation against translation and separation, the garden of Eden against the garden of iron, and cultural survival against cultural death.

The surprise is that Vizenor accomplishes all this not through polemic or critique (techniques he has employed in past novels) but through a series of "traditional" stories about the shapeshifting adventures of an unlikely pair of protagonists: a cross-blood professor who plays the role of student and a urine-soaked bag lady who serves as his mentor and teacher.

The book is not only a lively and entertaining set of transformation stories; it also constitutes an in-depth exploration of the provocative question, Must written words be the burial ground of myth? As the novel opens, we learn that the narrator, Laundry