

Colonial Latin American Historical Review

Volume 2

Issue 2 *Volume 2, Issue 2 (Spring 1993)*

Article 11

4-1-1993

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Recommended Citation

Rebolledo, Tey Diana. "Devens, Carol, Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 2, 2 (1993): 236. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/clahr/vol2/iss2/11>

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indeed lucky to survive at all. The apparent lesson to be learned is that there are no glorious conquests in human annals.

This work is excellent history. Simmons once again proves that he is a thorough researcher and an engaging writer.

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Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900. By Carol Devens. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. xi + 185. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

As Carol Devens states in her introduction, the purpose of this book is "to bring Native American women in from the margins of written history, to acknowledge in the Western record the place they have always held in their own cultures." It also studies the dynamics of the initial contact and the ongoing interaction between indigenous and alien peoples, in particular the role that gender played therein.

The book follows what the author sees as three separate patterns of cultural interaction. The first response is one in which after initial contact ensued, the communities expelled or rejected the missionaries. An example would be the reaction to the Jesuit missionaries at St. Josephs at Sillery in the 1640s where "women scorned priests and converts alike for flouting tradition, and they had little patience for Christians who threatened eternal damnation to those who clung to heathen practices" (p. 66).

The second pattern is one of accommodation to Christianity, for example, the response to Wesleyan missionaries in the 1840s, which Devens calls demure. She writes, "there was no clear pattern of acceptance or rejection; women seldom openly resisted the Wesleyans, but, unlike men, neither did they seek out religious or secular instruction" (p. 66).

The third reaction is one of split response—a pattern that occurred largely along gender lines, with males accepting Christianity, while females held on to traditional ways. The example given here is of the failures of various American Boards of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to have the women accept them. Since they focused their missionary efforts largely on the men, the women did not feel so threatened and did not have to resort to open confrontation. Nevertheless, when the White settlements began to overwhelm them and the men viewed the missionaries as allies, the women reverted to the first pattern and defended their interests as women.

These patterns are important to the study of gender because Devens argues that it was the women who resisted the imposition of both Christian values and male-dominated gender roles upon them. She further argues that this came about because the missionary-period males and females had "complementary functions" playing an integral role in the productive unit, with neither sex dominating the other. The male-dominated ideology of the European missionaries undermined the social equilibrium of many native communities, and thus she sees the three patterns as strongly reflecting the role of women. Women's reliance on traditional ways in those communities which resisted the missionaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, was crucial not only to their own well-being, but also to the survival of their communities.

The final chapter of the book, "Separate Worlds," addresses a variety of issues and questions that this study of indigenous women raises, including the sense of dichotomy in Ojibwa culture that anthropologists have tried to understand since the 1930s. Assumptions about the roles of men and women clouded the issue when observers assumed that the current status of male domination has always existed; others saw women as marginal participants who struggled to maintain "traditional" social boundaries by means of passive resistance. Other scholars have suggested that native women acted as liaisons between native and White culture. Devens suggests instead that women played pivotal roles of resistance, and roles not only create separate worlds for men and women, but also put them at odds, "entrenched in separate confrontations with a New World hostile to the hopes and visions of both" (p. 128).

Countering Colonization is a provocative book which raises some questions. When most of the information comes from mission sources, the historical interpretations are seen through the eyes of the colonists, not the natives. Could the separate gender roles indeed be the "separate but equal" pre-European utopia described in the book? Was women's work, particularly when few women ventured into the male world, considered important? We may never know. Devens has, however, succeeded in establishing the importance of women's resistance during the colonization period, and in putting women back into written history.

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