

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN IROQUOIAN SOCIETY

Patricia Reed
McMaster University

ABSTRACT

Three primary sources (Gabriel Sagard, Joseph-Francois Lafitau and Lewis Henry Morgan) written in three different centuries are consulted to discover what information they contain on the economic, social and political role of women in Iroquoian society. This information is analyzed with respect to its reliability and credibility. Recent interpretations of the ethnohistoric record (Brown, Tooker and Trigger), as well as the primary sources are considered in terms of the role of women in the authors' societies. These sources show that the role of Iroquoian women changed over time; however, the record may have been influenced by the role of women in the authors' societies at the time.

RÉSUMÉ

La lecture de trois témoignages (Gabriel Sagard, Joseph-François Lafitau et Lewis Henry Morgan) tirés de trois siècles différents permet une examination du rôle économique, social et politique que la femme joue dans la société iroquoise. Afin d'analyser l'authenticité des données relevées de ces textes, surtout sur le plan du rôle prescrit de la femme dans chaque société des interprétations ethnographiques récentes (Brown, Tooker et Trigger) sont consultées. Ces témoignages démontrent que le rôle de la femme iroquoise a changé au cours des siècles. Cependant, ils donnent aussi l'apparence d'avoir été influencés par les perceptions du rôle de la femme dans les sociétés des auteurs.

INTRODUCTION

The position of Iroquoian women in their society is not well understood (Tooker 1984). In this paper, three primary sources from three different time periods will be discussed in terms of the information they contribute to the knowledge of the role of Iroquoian women in their society. Firstly, Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet missionary from France, who spent from 1623 to 1624 with the Hurons, and who wrote *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, will be considered. An analysis of Sagard's work will provide some insight into the place of Iroquoian women

shortly after European contact. Secondly, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times* by Joseph-François Lafitau, a Jesuit missionary also from France, will be discussed. Lafitau spent from 1712 to 1717 at Sault-Saint-Louis or Caughnawaga, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River opposite Montreal. Here he lived with Iroquois converts, especially Mohawks, who had been drawn to this settlement (Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) 1966 Vol 3:335). Thirdly, Lewis Henry Morgan, an American ethnologist, will be considered. Morgan studied the Seneca, and his book *League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee, or Iroquois* was published in 1851.

Many aspects of the society will be considered in order to attempt to understand the position of women in Iroquoian society. These include: the tasks and activities women performed; the control over the choice of a marriage partner and the ability to divorce; the matrilineal inheritance pattern; control over warfare; and power in the religious, political and economic spheres. The above three sources will also be analyzed as to their reliability and credibility with respect to the information they disclose about the role of Iroquoian women. Part of this analysis will include a brief look at the position of women in the societies of the authors (i.e. seventeenth and eighteenth century France and nineteenth century America) and a discussion of the possible effect of this on the authors' perception of the role of Iroquoian women. In summarizing the information presented by these three authors, possible changes in the position of Iroquoian women over time will also be considered.

Recent articles such as Tooker (1984), and Brown (1970), on the question of the economic and political power of women in Iroquois society, will be reviewed in terms of the analysis of the information gathered from Sagard, Lafitau and Morgan and the discussion of the reliability of this information. Finally, a discussion of the difficulty of ascertaining the Iroquoian women's own point of view from these sources will conclude this paper.

SAGARD

In his book *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, Sagard does not explicitly discuss all aspects of the role of women in the society of the Huron. He describes the activities that the women perform as compared to the occupations of the men; however, he briefly glances over political contributions with respect to women and does not mention any influence they may have had in the economic sphere. According to Sagard, the Huron men occupied themselves with fishing, hunting and

going to war. They also did the trading, made the lodges and canoes and made the tools needed to carry out these tasks.

The rest of the time they pass in idleness, gambling, sleeping, singing, dancing, smoking or going to feasts, and they are reluctant to undertake any other work that forms part of the women's duty except under strong necessity (Wrong 1968:96).

This would seem to indicate a relatively strict division of labour between the sexes, with specific men's jobs and women's jobs. It could show also that there was a social pressure present which kept men from doing women's jobs. There is no evidence from Sagard of formal sanctions for assuming the role of the opposite sex; however, Morgan does mention an incidence of this and it will be discussed later in this paper.

However, the women, "... usually do more work than the men, although they are not forced or compelled to do so" (Wrong 1968:101). They did the cooking and took care of the household. Their tasks also involved "sowing and gathering corn, grinding flour, preparing hemp and tree-bark, and providing the necessary wood" (Wrong 1968:101). Sagard states that the women were the ones who made the pottery (Wrong 1968). The women also had leisure time and spent it as they pleased, gaming and going to dances and feasts. However, "among our Hurons they are not admitted to many of the men's feasts nor to any of their councils, nor allowed to put up lodges and make canoes" (Wrong 1968:101). This would indicate that there was also social pressure present amongst the Hurons that kept the women from doing men's tasks. From Sagard's wording, it would seem that the prohibition against women doing men's work was stronger than the prohibition against men doing women's work. The men were 'reluctant to' perform women's duties, whereas the women were 'not allowed to' make lodges or canoes. This could be a function of Sagard's attitude towards women from his own society where men had power over women or it could be a function of the translation of his work from French to English.

With regard to marriage, Sagard states that a Huron woman had the right to refuse the man that her parents had advised her to marry (Wrong 1968:122). Since Sagard mentions that an instance of a young woman refusing to abide by her parents wishes occurred while he was staying with the Huron, this observation would be reliable, as Sagard actually experienced this rather than being told about it. However the example Sagard witnessed involved the daughter of a great chief. Therefore, this case could have been the exception rather than the rule. He also states that husbands and wives could separate for any reason. The husband

could initiate the separation by saying to the wife and her relatives that the wife was no good and might provide for herself somewhere else. The wife could also leave the husband if he was not pleasing her (Wrong 1968:224). Thus, the women also had the power to dissolve the marriage if they chose to.

Sagard does discuss the inheritance pattern of the Hurons clearly:

Since the children of such marriages cannot be vouched for as legitimate, this custom prevails among them, as well as in many other parts of the West Indies that the children do not succeed to their father's property; but the fathers constitute the children of their own sisters their successors and heirs, since they are sure that these are of their blood and parentage (Wrong 1968:130).

This appears to indicate that the Huron were a matrilineal society with the inheritance passing from the mother's brother to the sister's children. However, Sagard does not inform the reader what the property consisted of that was passed from the man to his sister's children, whether it be land or material goods of some sort.

In another chapter, Sagard alludes to the fact that it is probably not the land that would have been inherited. He states that

... all the forests, meadows and uncleared land are common property, and anyone is allowed to clear and sow as much as he will and can, and according to his needs; and this cleared land remains in his possession for as many years as he continues to cultivate and make use of it (Wrong 1968:103).

Since Sagard also says that the Hurons moved their villages every ten or fifteen years when the wood supply or the land in the area was exhausted (Wrong 1968:92), it is doubtful that a particular piece of land would be inherited from one generation to the next.

As mentioned above, the women cultivated the corn. They would sow enough to provide food for two or three years, either for protection against a bad season or to trade with other nations for furs or other necessities (Wrong 1968:103). There is no evidence from Sagard that control over the production of an important part of the food supply gave the women of Huronia greater privileges or freedom as was said of more recent times by Jenness (1932:137).

In his book, Sagard also discusses the political system of the Hurons. He appears to contradict his earlier statement that inheritance passed through the mother's brother to the sister's children. He states that:

The chiefs among the savages are usually rather old than young, and they take rank by succession, as royalty does here [in France], on the understanding that the son of a chief continues to practise the virtues of his father ... (Wrong 1968:148).

Perhaps property was passed from the mother's brother to the sister's children but political authority was passed from father to son.

Sagard must be questioned in terms of how many successions he actually witnessed in his nine month stay among the Huron. He may have witnessed one or he may have been told about one that occurred in this manner and made a general comment from that. His observation would contradict evidence from a later time that states that senior Iroquois women chose their chiefs (Tooker 1984:112). Sagard continues by saying: "Yet a chief has no absolute authority among them, and the tribe is led by entreaty, advice, and example rather than by commands" (Wrong 1968:148).

In discussing the Huron councils, Sagard states that the women, girls, and young men did not take part, except at a general council, where the young men from age twenty-five to thirty could assist (Wrong 1968:149). This also contradicts evidence from a later time amongst the Iroquois where women are believed to have had some political power and have had the opportunity to have their opinions heard at councils through a male speaker (Randle 1951:172). Sagard may have been unaware of the possible fact that a man was speaking on a woman's behalf at the council. He may not have observed this phenomenon at a council meeting during his stay in Huronia. Alternatively, he may not have noticed the involvement of Huron women in politics because it was not something that occurred in his society at this time. This possibility will be discussed later in the paper.

The reliability and credibility of Sagard's work in general has been discussed by this author elsewhere (Reed n.d.), however, the concern here is specifically with Sagard's comments about the women of Huron society. Some insight into Sagard's writing on the subject of women can be gained by looking at the role of women in Europe and particularly in Sagard's native country, France, around the time of Sagard's visit to the Huron.

ROLE OF EUROPEAN VERSUS HURON WOMEN

The majority of the information on the role of women in European society has been taken from *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* by Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (1977). Since a detailed study of the position of women in the native countries of the authors

analyzed is beyond the scope of this paper, it is felt that this source is adequate in providing an indication of the general attitudes and prevalent theories of the position of women at these times.

For women of this time period in Europe, about the only career available was that of marriage, with the exception of Catholics who could choose the convent. Widows were the only women who could possibly attain economic self-sufficiency and who were free of the domestic supervision of a man (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977). It does not appear that women had very much say in the choice of their future spouses. In the book *Not in God's Own Image* (O'Faolain and Martines 1973), the editors include a letter written in 1622 by a French woman to her daughter. The editors believe that the letter contains "what were probably fairly standard sentiments of the time" (O'Faolain and Martines 1973:242). The letter reveals that the mother and her relatives chose the daughter's fiance without consulting the daughter " ... for this is how wise people act" (ibid:242). This would indicate a powerlessness on the part of the young woman to choose her marriage partner. However, it appears in this example, that the female of the older generation, the mother, did have the power to choose her daughter's spouse, although the sex of the relatives who aided her is not specified. In this aspect of their lives, it would seem that Huron women had more power than French women did, as the Huron women had the right to refuse their parents' choice of a marriage partner.

The function of marriage in seventeenth century Europe was to form alliances between families and transmit family property (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977). "Both fathers and husbands insisted on female chastity to ensure that all heirs would be the legitimate offspring of their respective families" (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977:199). This could clarify Sagard's interpretation of the Huron's custom of passing the property from the mother's brother to the sister's children. He believed that this was because the father could not be sure of the legitimacy of his wife's children due to the relatively temporary nature of their marriages, rather than seeing it as a function of the Huron's matrilineal society.

Wives in seventeenth century Europe were occupied with taking care of the household. This included supervising and disciplining the children and, for the richer families, the servants. Also, preparing food, washing and making cloth and clothing for the family were part of their duties. Rural wives also would help in the fields, which included reaping, threshing and ploughing (ibid). It would be no surprise to Sagard to find the Huron women working at cultivating the corn, since this was something he probably witnessed in France as well.

Something that Sagard would not have witnessed in France would have been women's involvement in politics. In general, this did not begin to

occur in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century (ibid). In the 1600s:

... there is near unanimity in the distaste shown for the notion of woman's involvement in politics. Nature and convention, divine and human law all predispose man rather than woman to govern ... Such a point of view is supported by theological, medical, ethical and economic authority ... (MacLean 1980:60).

Since Sagard had probably not seen women involved in politics in France, he may not have noticed their involvement in Huron politics, especially if they did not speak for themselves but had a man speak on their behalf as was reported in later Iroquois society (Randle 1951). Therefore, in this area of Huron culture, women may have had more power than Sagard has indicated.

As can be seen from the above example, Sagard does not explicitly discuss all aspects of the woman's role in Huron society. However, some information may be gleaned from his book. The fact that some aspects were not dealt with can be explained by Sagard's lack of attention to these areas of the Huron society, perhaps because he had no previous experience with them in his native society.

The gaps which Sagard left in his description of Huron women can possibly be filled in by a detailed study of the Jesuit Relations which cover the period from 1634 to 1650. This is beyond the scope of this paper; however, Trigger's (1978) summary indicates that women had more power in Huron society than Sagard reported. The Jesuit Relations show a pattern similar to what was found in the eighteenth century by Lafitau (1977) among the Mohawk. According to Trigger (1978:57), in the Jesuit Relations there is evidence that offices were inherited by nephews rather than by sons. This is contrary to what Sagard states. It is unlikely that the inheritance pattern of the Hurons would have changed in the ten years between Sagard's visit and the first visits of the Jesuits, so Sagard may have recorded this incorrectly. He could have been influenced by the pattern of his own society as the passage quoted above suggests. The Jesuit Relations also show that women "were involved in determining public policy" (ibid:57) by playing a role in installing new chiefs. Also, women could tell their daughters to divorce husbands if they did not approve of them and matrons could discipline young men who had accepted baptism (ibid:57). The evidence from the Jesuit Relations supports the idea that Sagard may have missed some aspects of the role of Huron women due to lack of attention.

LAFITAU

Information on the role of Iroquoian women in the 1700s comes from the work of Joseph-François Lafitau. Lafitau was born in 1681 at Bordeaux, France. In his youth he had ready access to books and would have had opportunities to be exposed to diverse peoples in the busy commercial port of Bordeaux. He joined the Jesuits at the age of fifteen and received a "typical Jesuit education" (DCB 1966 Vol 3:334). Lafitau studied philosophy for two years and rhetoric for one year at Pau. He then taught grammar for a year at Limoges, studied and taught humanities for three years at Saintes, and taught rhetoric for a year again at Pau. Lafitau finished his studies with a year of philosophy and two years of theology at Poitiers and he completed the course in theology in Paris in 1711. It is believed that during this time he probably read about the customs of ancient people and people in the Americas, which would give him a background for his later study of the Iroquois (*ibid*).

In April of 1711, Lafitau petitioned to be sent to the missions of New France. He was given permission to leave at the end of the year and in the meantime, he returned to Bordeaux to be professor of rhetoric at the college there. He reported to Québec toward the end of a period of hostility with the Five Nations, and was ordered to Sault-Saint-Louis or Caughnawaga (also Kahnawake) which was located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montréal. He remained there from 1712 to 1717 as a missionary (*ibid* 335).

A brief account of the history of Caughnawaga and its inhabitants is important in understanding the uniqueness of the Iroquoian people with whom Lafitau resided. The settlement of Caughnawaga began in 1667 with several French families and a few Oneida. It grew during the 1670s and included some Iroquois who had come to the St. Lawrence to hunt and trade and also some who had been converted by the Jesuits in villages south of Lake Ontario. The village was moved up the St. Lawrence three times from its beginning until 1717, due to soil exhaustion and depletion of the wood supply in the area (Fenton and Tooker 1978). The Mohawks were the most numerous tribe in the settlement; however, the Onondagas and Hurons were also numerous enough that both of them had their own chiefs as did the Mohawks. It was said that some forty tribes were represented in the village (*ibid*:470).

Blanchard states that there were four reasons for the Mohawk to found Caughnawaga. Firstly, the site was in an ideal defensive position. It was protected by both the Lachine Rapids and Lake St. Louis. Caughnawaga was vital to the defense of New France (Blanchard 1982:79) and the Iroquois who lived there knew of their value to the French as well as the

English. They used their pivotal role to gain advantage over both. By 1716 there was estimated to be about two hundred warriors at Caughnawaga (Fenton and Tooker 1978). Secondly, the position of the site allowed the Iroquois completely to dominate the fur trade. By the mid 1700s, two-thirds of furs coming through Canada went through Caughnawaga to illegal markets in Albany (Blanchard 1982: 88). Thirdly, the Iroquois were learning of the debilitating effects of alcohol and were prohibiting its consumption in the settlement. Finally, in Iroquois villages, total participation in local religious ceremonies was expected. Those who had converted to Catholicism, however, were discouraged from this participation by the priests. By forming this new community, the Catholic Mohawks could practise their religion without causing friction in traditional villages and yet they could still participate in the affairs of the Nation of the Mohawks and in the Iroquois Confederacy (ibid:89). Although Caughnawaga was a community consisting of Catholic Mohawks, it was still located within the bounds of the Mohawk territory of Kanienkeh. Therefore, a traditional Iroquois council made decisions for the community. However, because of their respect for the Jesuits and their closeness to Montréal, they did have to make some compromises such as banning dream divination of which the Jesuits did not approve (ibid 92).

The Iroquois at Caughnawaga, then, were unique in that they had converted to Catholicism. According to Richter, they had several reasons for doing so:

... social and ideological disorientation resulting from disease and other aspects of European contact led many to seek new religious answers; the evidently superior powers of the Christian God impelled some to abandon traditional deities; and material benefits -- food, clothing, tools, medicines -- brought others into the missionaries' orbit (Richter 1985:8).

Richter cites incidences of the violence caused by the factioning of traditional villages as more of their number converted to Catholicism. When priests began to encourage these converts to escape the violence by moving to such settlements as Caughnawaga, many of them complied (ibid:11). This was the situation into which Lafitau arrived in 1712 at the settlement of Caughnawaga,

The uniqueness of the settlement of Caughnawaga must be taken into account in the study of Lafitau's (1977) work, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. He would be encountering almost exclusively those Iroquois who had converted to

Christianity for whatever reason. His sample would be biased towards a small representation of the population who had gathered together with a common characteristic, that of conversion to Catholicism. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to ascertain the contribution of information from individuals in this community versus information which Lafitau read or heard about other Iroquois communities since he does not name his informants (DCB 1966 Vol 3:335). He makes no mention of Kateri Tekakwitha, a prominent woman in the community just before his arrival, who had become the first Native American to be made a candidate for canonization by the Catholic Church and whose life and influence on the mission at Caughnawaga was described by other Jesuits such as Chauchetiere and Cholenec at that time (Blanchard 1982). The only informant Lafitau cites is Father Julian Garnier, another Jesuit missionary who was with him at Caughnawaga and had been there for a considerable amount of time before his arrival. Lafitau had also read the Jesuit Relations and Sagard, and so includes information about the Huron in his book (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1:27).

As indicated by the title of his book, Lafitau uses a comparative method in his study of the American Indians. He compares customs of the Indians to customs of the Greeks and Romans, among others. He also does not hesitate to include his knowledge of other nations of American Indians aside from the Iroquois (*ibid*:41), and does not always cite the source of this knowledge.

... without reference to dates, places, or persons, and putting himself outside of events, he uses his observations in America by a kind of evolutionary inference to illuminate the customs and practices of antiquity (DCB 1966 Vol 3:337).

However, Lafitau stresses the importance of studying cultures in terms of themselves and viewed the Iroquois as people in their own right, whose customs were worthy of study (*ibid*). Lafitau's purpose in writing his book was to build a science of culture by comparing the customs of the Indians with those of people of antiquity. He was interested in gathering information about the characteristics and practices of the Canadian Indians during the five years that he spent with them (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1:26). He also projected what he had found back to an earlier century (Morgan 1962:xv).

The trade with European nations has made the Indians lose many of their ancient folkways and altered their ways of living. I examine [in this book] this culture and these customs

as they were before their alteration, as they had been received from their ancestors (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1:41).

He expressed his intention to write another book on the influence of Christianity on the Indians but this book was never published.

Keeping the above considerations of Lafitau's biases in mind, and also the fact that this, too, is a translation from the French, his discussion of the role of Iroquoian women will now be studied. The occupations of the men and women in the society were similar to that which Sagard had described for the Huron in the previous century. The men still did the lesser amount of work of the two. "Laziness, indolence and inactivity are to their taste and form the basis of their character ... " and they were seen as doing "nothing except holding meetings, singing, eating, playing, sleeping and loafing" (ibid Vol 2:15). The hardest work they did was erecting palisades, building or repairing houses, preparing skins, and getting their gear ready for hunting and fishing. This may be a bias on the part of Lafitau who may have had the European attitude that hunting and fishing were leisure pursuits rather than activities necessary for subsistence (Axtell 1981). The Europeans would see the men as taking part in recreational activities rather than contributing significantly to the economy of the society.

The women of the society continued to do the majority of the work in the fields, sowing corn, beans, pumpkin, watermelons and sunflowers. The women of the village would join together to form groups to perform the heavy work (Lafitau 1977 Vol 2:54). Lafitau states that the men did no work in the fields or with the harvest (ibid Vol 1:55).

Divorce amongst the Iroquois continued to occur, although Lafitau believed that formerly they were less frequent and the Iroquois had become more corrupt (ibid:350). The matrons of the longhouse had the responsibility of marrying off the boys and girls in the longhouse. Young people could suggest which potential spouses they liked and which they disliked but this was rare and "most of them are victims of their desire to please their parents" (ibid:342). According to Lafitau, neither the husband nor the wife left their family and lodge after being married. Each one remained at home and the children were not considered to be of the husband's lodge, but the wife's (ibid:70).

Lafitau, like Sagard, describes the matriliney of the Iroquois. He states that "The chief's dignity is perpetual and hereditary in his lodge [maternal household] passing always to his aunt's children or his sisters' or his nieces' on the maternal side" (ibid:292). Again, land was not likely to be one of the possessions passed from mother's brother to sister's children. Lafitau also mentions that the Iroquois were forced to move their villages as the

land and wood supply around them became exhausted (*ibid* Vol 2:70) and, therefore, land would be temporarily used and not likely to be inherited. He also says that people could not marry anyone within their maternal lodge or even adopted into that lodge, whereas within the father's household the restrictions were not as strict (*ibid* Vol 1:339).

Similar to Sagard, Lafitau states that the women cultivated the corn and grew enough to store " ... in pits lined with bark and covered with earth" (*ibid* Vol 2:56). Still there is no evidence for the idea that producing a large part of the food supply gave the women more freedom or privileges, as Jenness (1932:137) has said of more recent times.

The women in Iroquoian society had considerable political power according to Lafitau. The women chose the new chiefs from their maternal brothers or their own children and the latter were succeeded by their brothers or nephews in the mother's household (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1: 70). "The matriarch, after conferring with [the members of] her household, confers again with those of her clan to whom she makes acceptable the one chosen for the succession, a choice which she is free to make" (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1:292). The matrons chose the person best fitted, by his good qualities, for the rank.

The women also chose or were in the position of Agoianders, those who watched the chief, to make sure that there was no misconduct. "Their duty is to watch more immediately over the nation's interest; to keep an eye on the funds or public treasury; to provide for its conservation and watch over the use which should be made of it" (*ibid*:294). While the Agoianders were recognized in the councils, they did not appear before the allied nations, as this was reserved for the chiefs. Again, as according to Sagard, the chiefs had no real authority to command obedience, but, they were obeyed. They gave their commands as requests and the obedience paid them by the people appeared entirely free (*ibid*:293).

Also, with respect to the political power of women in Iroquoian society, Lafitau states that the women were first to deliberate on private or community matters. They would hold their council separately and then advise the chiefs of their decisions so that the chiefs could deliberate on them (*ibid*:295). They also had orators who spoke for them in the public councils. They would choose an orator from among the men who would speak "as if he were a woman and sustains that role but that is seldom done except in foreign affairs or meetings of the confederated tribes" (*ibid*:298). On this point Lafitau differs from Sagard, who sees no political power for the women of seventeenth century Huronia.

The women also had some control over warfare: "the matron, who has the principal authority in this household, can force these children to go to war if it seems best to her, or keep them at home if they have undertaken

a war displeasing to her" (ibid Vol 2:99). Women in the society studied by Lafitau appeared to have much more power than those studied by Sagard.

Lafitau states the power of women very strongly at one point in his book:

Nothing is more real, however, than the women's superiority. It is they who really maintain the tribe, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of generations and conservation of families. In them resides all the real authority: the lands, fields and all their harvests belong to them; they are the soul of the councils, the arbiters of peace and war; they hold the taxes and the public treasure; it is to them that the slaves are entrusted; they arrange the marriages; the children are under their authority; and the order of succession is founded on their blood ... And, although the chiefs are chosen among them, they are purely honorary. The Council of Elders which transacts all the business does not work for itself. It seems that they serve only to represent and aid the women in the matters in which decorum does not permit the latter to appear or act (ibid Vol 1:69).

Unfortunately, Lafitau does not specify to whom he is referring, whether it is the Hurons or the Iroquois, and whether it is all the women of the society or just the matrons of the longhouse who held the power.

Lafitau's treatment of the role of women in Iroquoian society can also be looked at in terms of the position of women in Lafitau's native country of France. Women were slowly finding a public voice in Europe at this time (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977). There were two trends of thought on this subject during the Enlightenment. Some spoke for female equality based on natural law: "Reason points to the natural equality of all humanity" (ibid:220). Others stressed the sexual differences and the appropriateness for women of an exclusively domestic role. These trends arose at the beginning of the eighteenth century and culminated towards the end of the century in such writers as Mary Wollstonecraft and the Marquis de Condorcet who based their ideas for the rights of women in the political sphere and in the area of education on the argument of natural law (ibid:230). Lafitau might have realized that it would be of interest to those in Europe that a Native matron had the power to make peace or war (DCB 1966 Vol 3:338). As Europeans began to question the role of women in their own society, they would be interested in knowing the position of women in other societies and whether this supported their arguments for either of the above trends. Unfortunately, the voices of

Wollstonecraft and Condorcet, and the seeming support of Lafitau's example, were drowned out by other writers, such as Rousseau, who saw marriage and motherhood as the destiny and worth of women's lives (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977:233). This view carried through to the ultimate suppression of women's political activities during the French Revolution as well.

MORGAN

In contrast to the observations on the role of women in Iroquoian society by Lafitau are the observations of Lewis Henry Morgan, in the nineteenth century, in his book *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*. Lewis Henry Morgan was born in 1818 near Aurora in upstate New York. According to Fenton he showed "intellectual curiosity and an early talent for writing about man and nature" (Morgan 1962:vii). He graduated from Union College, Schenectady, in 1840, and then read law for four years. After he was admitted to the bar, he moved to Rochester where he acquired some wealth as a corporation lawyer, speculating in railroads and mining. He was also interested in political affairs and served in the New York Assembly from 1861 to 1868 and from 1868 to 1869 in the State Senate (Dictionary of American Biography [DAB] 1934 Vol 13:183).

Morgan had an interest in Indian matters and after college he joined a secret society called the "Gordian Knot". This society was modeled after the Iroquois Confederacy under the influence of the young Seneca Ely S. Parker, with chiefs and sachems and the wearing of Indian costume during meetings. Its purpose was the study and perpetuation of Indian lore, the education of the Indians, and the aid in reconciling the Indians to the situation imposed by the Europeans (DAB 1934 Vol 13:183). Morgan began to study the customs and society of the Iroquois more seriously, and in 1847, after aiding the Seneca in defeating a fraudulent land claim by the Ogden Land Company, he was adopted into the Hawk clan. "He was given the name Tayadawahkugh, or 'One Lying Across', signifying that he would serve as a bond of union between Indians and whites" (DAB 1934 Vol 13:184). In commenting on his own credibility in the preface to his book, Morgan states that this adoption gave him "... favourable opportunities for studying minutely into their social organization, and the structure and principles of the ancient League" (Morgan 1962:x).

The homestead of Ely Parker became the headquarters for visiting ethnologists, and Morgan was the principle recorder of the group. They were discovering that "ethnography is a systematic science which classifies cultural phenomena, establishes sequences, and is less concerned with

events" (ibid:xii). Morgan favoured a comparative view of political institutions because of his background with legal training, and he also investigated kinship and government because of his interest in the systematic method (ibid).

Morgan's book *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* was published in 1851, and has been called the first scientific account of an Indian tribe to be written (DAB 1934 Vol 13:184). He did not directly observe all events described in his book, but gathered some information in long letters from Ely Parker between field trips. He used Parker's notes almost word for word in descriptions of Handsome Lake's speeches, the council for installing chiefs, and the thanksgiving festivals (ibid:xiii). Morgan's purpose for writing this book was "To encourage a kinder feeling towards the Indian, founded upon a truer knowledge of his civil and domestic institutions ... " (ibid:ix). Morgan realized that the public had an unjust notion of the Indian based on an imperfect knowledge of their society and influenced by prejudice. He wanted the European society to play a part in reclaiming what was left of the Iroquois and raising them "to the position of citizens of the State" (ibid:x).

Like Lafitau, Morgan put the structure he found back into an earlier century. Fenton, in his introduction to Morgan's book, justifies this by stating that he believes that the major political and social structures were stable over long periods of time, and that one of the most conservative aspects of the League was the political structure (ibid:xv). It is interesting to note that it appears that Morgan did not read Lafitau, and so he 'rediscovered' such aspects of the Iroquois society as matriliney and the kinship system a century after Lafitau (DCB Vol 3:337).

Morgan says relatively little, specifically, about the role of Iroquoian women in their society. With regards to their occupation, the women continued to be the cultivators of the corn and other plants and also gathered wild fruits. Thus, the women "provided the principal part of their subsistence, for the warrior despised the toil of husbandry, and held all labor beneath him" (Morgan 1962:329). Morgan states that while hunting was still necessary, it had become secondary in importance to horticulture in the subsistence pattern of the Iroquois after the formation of the League (ibid:199). It was the duty of the women to prepare food for their husbands and to provide food for guests. The offering of food to visitors was an essential part of the hospitality of the Indians and it rested on the industry and kindness of the women (ibid:329).

Morgan also mentions an interesting incidence of males being required to take on the role of females, and the circumstances surrounding this case. In his discussion of the importance to the Iroquois of adhering to treaties, Morgan gives an example of what occurred when a treaty was

broken. After the Delawares had been conquered by the Iroquois and had acknowledged this fact, they attacked a nation under the protection of the Iroquois, thus breaking an agreement of their treaty. The Iroquois chiefs assembled them and degraded their status as a nation and "... forbade them from ever after going out to war, divested them of all civil powers, and declared that they should henceforth be as women" (ibid:338). They symbolized this degradation by putting the female skirt on them and putting a corn-pounder in their hands "... thus showing that their business ever after should be that of women" (ibid). Morgan states that the Delaware never freed themselves from this denationalization and, in 1742, when they sold some of their lands without the approval of the Iroquois, the chiefs again chastised them and said "How came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women ..." (ibid:339). Morgan does not cite his source of information for the example of the infraction of the treaty; however, the source of the land deal and its consequences is cited as Colden's *History of the Five Nations*. This would support a continuance of a relatively strict sexual division of labour, as was indicated by Sagard, to the point of using the acquisition of a female role as a degradation for males. There does not appear to be any incidences of females taking on male roles in the sources discussed here or whether this was also a form of degradation.

Marriage, as described by Morgan, was a contract between the mothers of the two young people rather than the young people themselves. The matrons and older men of the respective tribes to which the young people belonged were consulted, but the final decision was under maternal control. The young people to be married were not even made aware of the negotiations until the announcement of their marriage "without, perhaps, ever having known or seen each other" (ibid:321). They never attempted to disagree, and obedience to their parents was considered a duty. They could be disowned if they disobeyed and this was enough to ensure agreement. The father never attempted to interfere in the marriage plans of his children, considering this to be the domain of the women (ibid). In this aspect of their lives, it would appear that both the young men and women had lost control over time. They had no power of choice of their future spouse; however, the mothers had almost total control over whom their children married.

Divorce was still common, although Morgan, like Lafitau, believed that it was less frequent in the past. "In later days, however, the inviolability of the nuptial contract was less sacredly regarded, the most frivolous reasons, or the caprice of the moment, were sufficient for breaking the

marriage tie" (ibid:324). If the differences were irreconcilable, the couple could separate.

As with Sagard and Lafitau, Morgan describes the pattern of matrilineal descent among the Iroquois. "Under the original as well as modern regulation, the husband and wife were of different tribes. The children always followed the tribe of the mother" (ibid:83). Property, titles and rights were inherited through the female line. This would ensure that things such as sachemships remained within the tribe, since the children were of the same tribe as the mother (ibid:84). Morgan is the first to specify the nature of the property which was inherited. He states that it consisted of "planting lots, orchards, houses, implements of the chase, weapons, articles of apparel, domestic utensils, personal ornaments, stores of grain, skins of animals, and those miscellaneous fabrics which the necessities of life led them to invent" (ibid:326). During marriage, the rights of the property of the husband and wife remained distinct and in case of separation, each retained their own property (ibid). As in earlier times, no one person owned land, as it belonged to the community. However, a person had a right to a piece of land as long as he continued to use it (ibid).

In Morgan's description of the political system of the Iroquois, women appear to have little of the power observed by Lafitau in the previous century. He states that a tribal council determined the successor to a chief and that the chosen one would probably be a nephew or brother of the deceased chief (ibid:88), but he makes no mention of the contribution of the women in this choice. He also states that the tribal council had the right to depose a chief in cases of misconduct (ibid:89), but, again, he makes no mention of the voice that women had in this. Morgan comments that if warriors had an interest in a particular issue, they would hold a council to discuss it and then present their decision to the sachems. "In like manner would the chiefs, and even the women proceed, if they entertained opinions which they wished to urge upon the consideration of the council" (ibid:106). While he does not comment on the political role of women in *The League of the Ho-De-Sau-Nee, or Iroquois*, he alludes to an influence in political matters by women in his book *Ancient Society* (1963). Still, he does not find the participation of women in political matters unique enough to comment upon it extensively (Brown 1970:154). In his book *Houses and house-life of the American aborigines*, Morgan states that the influence of women did not extend past the household, saying that "This view is quite consistent with the life of patient drudgery and of general subordination to the husband which the Iroquois wife cheerfully accepted as the portion of her sex" (Morgan 1965:128 quoted in Brown 1970:154). This is very different from Lafitau's observation that

the Council served "only to represent and aid the women in the matters in which decorum does not permit the latter to appear or act" (Lafitau 1977 Vol 1:69). This difference, whether in reality or in the way that Morgan recorded the reality, may be due to the influence of the white American society at the time, and will be discussed later in this paper.

Morgan does indicate, however, that women were more active in the area of religion. Women could be appointed as, or help to appoint Keepers of the Faith, an elective office with duties including taking charge of the religious festivals and supervising the worship in the tribe. They were to "designate the times for holding the periodical festivals, to make the necessary arrangements for their celebration, and to conduct the ceremonies" (Morgan 1962:185). They also made opening and thanksgiving speeches at council meetings. All of the Keepers of the Faith were equal in privileges and authority; however, the women were usually put in charge of the festivals (*ibid*:186). Only the women who were Keepers of the Faith could prepare the feast but this was not their only duty. They had an equal voice in all religious concerns and in the management of the festivals (*ibid*). Finally, the Keepers of the Faith were prompters of the speaker during an address, and they could make their recommendations known on a specific issue to the people through the speaker (*ibid*). It appears that women had some power, and it was manifested in the religious sphere in the society which Morgan studied.

Just as the society which Lafitau studied had been altered by the conversion of some of its members to Christianity, so too was the society that Morgan studied altered, in this case by a religious movement started by the prophet Handsome Lake around 1800. Morgan devotes a chapter of his book to the description of this movement. The new movement incorporated aspects of both the old religion and new doctrines. At first Handsome Lake and his ideas were not accepted; however, at the time of his death "the whole unchristianized portion of the Iroquois had become firm believers in the new religion, which, to the present day, has continued to be the prevailing faith" (*ibid*:226). Handsome Lake supported the institution of marriage and encouraged spouses to be faithful to one another because the Great Spirit would bless them with children. Those women who could not have children were encouraged to adopt orphans. Handsome Lake also cautioned against unsuitable marriages, and charged the parents with choosing a spouse for their children and then letting the children know what they had decided for them. He also stated that divorce was acceptable. As long as the couple could not be contented with each other "they may separate in mutual good feeling; and in this there is no wrong" (*ibid*:238). It is difficult to ascertain the amount of influence that this religious movement had on the society which Morgan studied and described without a detailed analysis of the

movement, as Morgan projects what he has found into the past and does not differentiate between possible old and new influences.

Morgan expresses the Iroquois opinion of women thus: "The Indian regarded woman as the inferior, the dependent, and the servant of man, and from nurture and habit, she actually considered herself to be so" (ibid:324). Such a drastic reversal from Lafitau's observations on the superiority of women must be questioned. Perhaps the answer lies in a glimpse of the position of women in Morgan's society, nineteenth century middle-class white America. At this time, men were working outside the home and for them to have a leisured wife was a symbol of political and economic power (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977:298). This, however, caused a moral dilemma for the woman since this was against the work ethic and they felt they must occupy themselves somehow. They did this by striving to become better wives and mothers and this resulted in "the cult of domesticity, according to which the home became a sanctuary and woman its guardian angel" (ibid:299). They were to be guardians of morality and protected from the evils of commerce and production (Green 1983:7). This made a gap wider than ever before between the spheres of the men, politics and work, and the sphere of women, the home (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977:299).

Women could not properly propose marriage in nineteenth century America, as this was the responsibility of the men. If the woman accepted the proposal, the man then asked for the consent of her father. The father had the power to delay the marriage if he had any uncertainty about it. While single, the woman was subordinate to her father and once engaged, she was subordinate to her betrothed (ibid:18). Motherhood was seen as the purpose of a woman's life, providing the "fulfilment of a woman's physiological and moral destiny" (ibid:29). The perfect woman was seen as the wife and mother, the centre of the home and family. In nineteenth century America, inequality between men and women was supported by science, religion and the political structure of the time (ibid:57). With this confinement to the home it was nearly impossible for women to become involved in the politics of their day.

This attitude towards women that was prevalent in Morgan's native society may have affected the observations in his book in one of two ways. Firstly, his preconceived ideas of the role of women may have predisposed him to ignore certain aspects of Iroquois society, namely, women's involvement in politics. Perhaps if he had been familiar with the writings of Lafitau, his observations would have been different. Also, since his main informant, Ely Parker, was a man, this would have biased his knowledge towards the male sphere of activities.

Secondly, the society as a whole that Morgan was studying at the time may have been influenced by the attitudes of the white society. Randle comments that Europeans and Americans, belonging to a patriarchal society, would have been more used to dealing with men "and no doubt any dealings with Iroquois women were minimized and gradually eliminated" (Randle 1951:174). This practice may have undermined any political power women did have by not allowing them to be heard by the European men. Morgan does not state how much integration had occurred between the two cultures, as his main goal is to describe the society as it was in the past. However, he does mention that Handsome Lake taught that it was a great sin to intermarry with the whites (Morgan 1962:252) so this perhaps would have discouraged some integration. The writings of the other ethnographers who studied this society, although they were all influenced by Morgan, may provide some clue as to whether the aspects of the female role in Iroquois society which were recorded by Lafitau had disappeared or were simply not noticed by Morgan.

CONCLUSION

In summary, several changes can be seen to occur in the role of Iroquoian women from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. While the occupation of women and the pattern of matrilineal descent remained relatively the same over time, women's position shifted in other areas of society. With respect to marriage, in Sagard's time, a young woman had the right to refuse a spouse chosen by her parents and women also had the power to initiate divorce. In the next century, Lafitau writes that the matrons of the longhouse had the task of marrying off the young people in the longhouse. The young people might try to influence the choice; however, they abided by the decision of the matrons. Either spouse could initiate divorce. In the nineteenth century, Morgan reports that the mothers of the couple negotiated the marriage often without the knowledge of the couple. The young people had to abide by the decision on threat of disownment. Divorce was still present. In this aspect of society, it would appear that, while the young people of both sexes lost their power of choice of a spouse over time, the women of the older generation became more prominent in the decision-making process of the matrimonial arrangements of their children. Women retained the right to initiate divorce.

Women's roles also changed over time in the political sphere. Sagard mentions that women did not take part in Huron councils and there is no evidence recorded that they participated in choosing new chiefs or that they expressed their opinions through a male speaker at the councils. However, this record can be questioned, as the Jesuit Relations show that

soon after Sagard's visit, women did have the power to choose new chiefs. Sagard may have failed to pay attention to this aspect of Huron society.

Amongst the Iroquois, Lafitau observes that the women did have the power to name new chiefs, as well as to name or to be Agoianders, or advisors to the chiefs. They could also have their opinions spoken in council by a man. The apparent discrepancy between Sagard and Lafitau's accounts of the political role of women brings to light a problem in the analysis of the Iroquois and the Hurons. Trigger states that "... most Iroquoianists have assumed that the more abundant data for the Huron during the first half of the seventeenth century illustrate what Iroquois culture was like at that time" (1978:57). While Trigger has criticized this, he believes that comparisons are acceptable if social and economic institutions are being considered generally. In this case, the differences between the Huron and the Iroquois societies may have had an effect on the political role of women observed. Randle believes that the high position of women in the Iroquois society can be connected to

the symbolic extension of the Longhouse as the conceptual basis of the League. The extended family structure of the Longhouse, symbolized in the League, accounts for the function of the matrons to hold the chief's names in their clans and their consequent right to appoint and depose chiefs (1951:171).

If this position is accepted, then this may help to explain the fact that Sagard did not observe any of the political influence among the Huron that Lafitau later recorded among the Iroquois. Since the Huron were not part of the Five Nations League and, therefore, were not part of the symbolic Longhouse, the Huron women may not have enjoyed the political influence of the women of the Five Nations Iroquois. Finally, Morgan does not record any observations of the political power of women among the Seneca in the 1800s in his book *League of the Ho-De-Sau-Nee, or Iroquois*. However, he does allude to their influence in political matters in his other publications, although this is not emphasized. Therefore, in the political sphere, the women of Iroquoian society appear to have either gained or had the same amount of political power in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and then possibly lost power in the nineteenth century. As mentioned above, this could be a function of Morgan's attitude towards women as influenced by his own culture, or it could be the influence of that culture on the Iroquoian society.

Several recent articles have been written on the problem of the role of Iroquoian women in their society. Brown (1970) emphasizes the economic

contribution of the women to the society. She looks at the control women had over the agricultural production and the rights to the land. She also discusses the control women had over the distribution of the food in the daily meals as well as for feasts and in showing hospitality to guests as Morgan observed. Brown concludes that "The high status of Iroquoian women was the result of their control of the economic organization of their tribe" (1970:164).

Tooker (1984) disagrees with Brown in the emphasis of the economic contributions of the women. She believes that the men would also have been considered to have been providing a major portion of the diet. She further believes that the food provided by the women was balanced but monotonous and the fish and meat provided by the men would have added interest to the diet, although she does not cite incidences of that opinion being expressed by the Iroquois. In fact, Morgan gives descriptions of the celebrations held by the Iroquois to honour the 'Three Sisters', as the corn, beans and squash were called, indicating that they were not only part of the diet but also part of the religious life of the society. This could indicate that they would not have been considered 'monotonous'. Tooker also de-emphasizes the women's rights to land. She points out, as was observed by Sagard and Morgan, that the ownership of land was temporary and based on use (Tooker 1984:116).

Tooker (1984) also lessens the importance of the political role of Iroquoian women. She states that the only manifestation of their power was in the ability to name new chiefs. They were not allowed to speak in council although they could attempt to influence the men. Tooker lessens the uniqueness of this by saying that the women in many other societies try to influence the men; however, it has not been emphasized in other societies as it has amongst the Iroquois (Tooker 1984:113). Therefore, according to Tooker, social relationships between men and women were not based on economics or politics but on reciprocal obligations (ibid:119). Men cleared the land for women to work and brought back the produce of hunting, fishing, trade and warfare, while the women cultivated the food and prepared it for the men. Men were concerned with finding a household to shelter and feed them in exchange for their services, and women were concerned with keeping the household running (ibid:121). Tooker, therefore, de-emphasizes the power which women were thought to have had in Iroquoian society.

Trigger appears to agree with Tooker in that he does not believe that Iroquoian women had a particularly powerful role in their society. He states that the relative positions of men and women must be understood in their evolutionary contexts. He, like Tooker, sees the economic interdependence of the sexes based on their horticultural subsistence pattern with a continuing need for the products of the hunt. After

horticulture was adopted, the tasks of the sexes would have been separated, with the women staying near the village to tend the fields and the men travelling to fish, hunt, and trade. Trigger (1978:62) believes that "matrilocal residence was a response to prolonged male absences from their villages". With the arrival of the Europeans and the fur trade, the absences of the men were increased.

Historically, then, Trigger believes that the activity patterns of the sexes produced a situation where the women were concerned with the interests of their extended family and the men were concerned with broader relationships, encompassing the entire community with respect to other communities. Although Trigger believes that women exercised power in their extended family and could, therefore, influence decisions of war and peace, they did not publicly exercise this power. Only men were allowed to speak in council. Thus, Trigger states that "Men and women exercised authority over those aspects of their lives that were of greatest concern to them" (ibid:63). Although women had some power over the affairs of their extended family, "The result was not a matriarchy, but an equality based on the separation and complementarity of sexual roles" (ibid).

Therefore, recent thoughts on this subject, as exemplified by Trigger (1978) and Tooker (1984), appear to be a de-emphasis on the power of women in Iroquoian society and an emphasis on the equality of the sexes, based on reciprocal obligations stemming from the different activities carried out by the men and women. Once again, as was seen with the primary sources, the position of women in Iroquoian society as emphasized by these articles can be compared to the position of women in the society of the authors. It can be suggested that Brown (1970), writing during the time of the strong feminist movements of the early 1970s, has been influenced by these movements to emphasize the power of Iroquoian women, whereas Trigger (1978) and Tooker (1984), using the same historical documentation, have emphasized the different but relatively equal roles of the sexes, perhaps in a counter-reaction to the earlier and more strongly feminist writings.

While an analysis of the ethnohistoric data cited in this paper gives an indication of the outward manifestations of the possible economic and political power of Iroquoian women in their society, little is revealed about what power the women actually thought they had. The external power of Iroquoian women can be ascertained; however, their point of view remains unknown. An idea of the power which women considered themselves to have can be seen in this quote from an Iroquoian woman to Colonel Proctor in a council of 1791:

... you ought to hear and listen to what we, women shall speak, as well as the sachems (chiefs); for we are the owners of this land -- and it is ours. It is we that plant it for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them (quoted in Bonvillain 1980:58).

A study of the literature is needed to discover similar quotes which would give an indication of the Iroquoian women's point of view of the power that they possessed. Unfortunately, these insights are probably rare considering that most ethnohistoric documents were written by European men coming from a patrilineal society and used to dealing only with men.

In conclusion, as can be seen from the above, many factors must be considered in an analysis of the role of Iroquoian women in their society. The outward manifestations or external power of women can be revealed by authors such as Sagard, Lafitau and Morgan; however, caution must be used in interpreting their works and consideration must be taken of their biases and the uniqueness of the groups they studied. The role of women can be seen to change over time; however, these changes may have been changes in the observations of the role rather than in the reality. The changes in observations may have been influenced by the role of women in the authors' societies at the time. A review of other publications by the same authors studied here, and by other authors writing during the same time periods, may clarify the influence of the attitudes of the authors' native societies on their observation of Iroquoian society. Recent articles also seem to reflect an influence of the position of women in the authors' societies on what is interpreted in the ethnohistoric literature. Finally, the sources considered here reveal little of the point of view of the Iroquoian women about the power that they possessed. An indication of this must be searched for elsewhere in the literature.

REFERENCES

Axtell, James

1981 *The Invasion Within: The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America. The European and the Indian. Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 39-85.

Blanchard, David

1982 ... *To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667-1700.* *Anthropologica* XXIV:77-102.

Bonvillain, Nancy

1980 "Iroquoian Women" *In* *Studies on Iroquoian Culture.* Nancy Bonvillain, editor. *Occasional Publications in Northeastern Anthropology*, No. 6.

Bridenthal, Renate and Claudia Koonz, eds.

1977 *Becoming Visible: Women in European History.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Brown, Judith K.

1970 *Economic Organization and the Position of Women Among the Iroquois.* *Ethnohistory* 17:151-68.

Dictionary of American Biography

1934 Edited by Dumas Malone. New York: Charles Scribners Sons.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography

1966 Edited by George W. Brown. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fenton, William N. and Elisabeth Tooker

1978 *Mohawk.* *In* *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol 15.* Bruce G. Trigger, editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institute.

Green, Harvey

1983 *The Light of the Home.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Jenness, Diamond

1932 *The Indians of Canada.* *Bulletin of the National Museum of Canada,* No. 65. Ottawa: F.A. Acland.

Lafitau, Joseph-François

1974-

1977 *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore, editors. 2 Vols. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

MacLean, Ian

1980 *The Renaissance Notion of Women*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morgan, Lewis H.

1962 *League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois*. New York: Corinth Books.

O'Faolain, Julia and Lauro Martines, editors.

1973 *Not In God's Image*. New York: Harper and Row.

Randle, Martha C.

1951 *Iroquois Women, Then and Now*. In *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*. William N. Fenton, editor. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #149. Washington, 167-80.

Reed, Patricia L.

1988 *Gabriel Sagard: The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons. Evaluation of a Primary Source*. Unpublished Course Paper. Manuscript in possession of the author.

Richards, Cara E.

1957 *Matriarchy or Mistake: The Role of Iroquois Women Through Time*. In *Cultural Stability and Cultural Change*. Verne F. Ray, editor. Proceedings of the 1957 Annual Meeting of the American Ethnology Society, 36-45.

Richter, Daniel K.

1985 *Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686* *Ethnohistory* 32(1):1-16.

Tooker, Elisabeth

1984 *Women in Iroquois Society*. In *Extending the Rafters*. M.K. Foster, J. Campisi, M. Mithun, eds. Albany: SUNY Press, 109-123.

Trigger, Bruce G.

1976 *The Children of Aataentsic*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

1978 Iroquoian Matriliney. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 48(1-2):55-65.

Wrong, George M.

1968 *Sagard's Long Journey to the Country of the Huron*. New York: Greenwood Press. A Facsimile Edition.

