CHAPTER 20

Practical Spirituality and the Transformation of Political Power: The Great Law of Peace and the Influence of Iroquois Women and Policies on U.S. Women Suffragists

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Introduction

The Great Law of Peace, or *Kaianerakowa*,[1] served as the living structure uniting the Haudenosaunee Nation, or what is sometimes called the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.[2] In this chapter, I consider how the Iroquois people, culture and governing structures that embody the social and spiritual meanings of the Great Law inspired vision in Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Personal experiences with the Iroquois, and proximity to Iroquois nations, influenced the US women's development as feminists, both critically and creatively: on the one hand, the policies and internal habits of being supporting Iroquois life brought to light the inequities and injustices in restrictive US laws and institutions; and on the other, they provided a positive vision of an alternative way of living. Through their reflection on the ethos and social traditions that daily guided the Iroquois people, Stanton and Gage gained rare insight

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Today, their writings and speeches, that integrate concepts related to human creative potential, democratic culture, law and governance, can be viewed within the larger context of a global movement for a dynamic and coherent realization of ethics, that protects optimal human development and the welfare of all, including people from poor nations, the environment and future generations. The last section of this chapter looks in particular at how the greater political, theological and philosophical messages brought forward through nineteenth century woman's suffrage were carried forward in twentieth century movements in the United States, pertaining to the promulgation of peace, the moral and spiritual expansion of human identity, the extension of citizenship beyond nation-state boundaries, and the affirmation of civil rights and racial equality.

My writing on this topic is book length and is organized into four sections covering:

I. Great Law of Peace and *Deganawidah*[5]
II. Matilda, Joslyn Gage
III. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
IV. Transformation of Power as a Global Movement

The following are excerpts from each of those four sections.[6]

Part I: The Great Law of Peace

Bearing in mind that when the Onkwehonwe people of 1100 CE received The Peacemaker's Great Law and Good Message of the Peace and the Power, they were warring people, disunited and disquieted, one may be curious to learn how, in one generation, they reconfigured themselves into a united, federalized nation, beginning an internal peace and prosperity that would endure for hundreds of years and that would greatly arouse the interest of two leading framers of the United States Constitution, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. This Native American federalized nation, made of five and later six tribal nations, became a strong and gracefully organized alliance that swept across a vast territory stretching from the St. Lawrence River (known by the Mohawk people as the *Kaniatarowanenneh* and by the Tuscarora as the *Kahnawá'kye*), south into Pennsylvania and west into Illinois. How is it, one may wonder, that despite the eventual encroachment of Europeans, the dominating and oppressive forces of colonialism and imperialism, and the myriad territorial and political treaties broken and manipulated by the US government,

that a united nation of citizens, known as the Haudenosaunee Nation and as the Iroquois League and Iroquois Confederacy, is still in existence today and considered the oldest participatory democracy in the world?

Hopefully one would agree that the extraordinary social and ontological transformation experienced by the Onkwehonwe people and the impressive longevity of Iroquoian governance and values warrant the study of the Iroquois League's ethical foundation, that is, The Great Law of Peace, and that law's originator, Deganawidah, or The Peacemaker. Understanding how Iroquois policies and culture and history reflect the wisdom of the Great Law helps those from a Western, secular perspective to recognize the power of the Great law to bring about the moral and spiritual transformation in the person and new dynamic structural organization within the social order. Although this section addresses the requisite question, "What is the Great Law of Peace?" it also aims to engage curiosity in a more critical and fecund practical question: "Why was the Great Law of Peace effective?"

The fact is that Gage and Stanton were relating to the Great Law of Peace about 800 years after its inception and obviously never met Deganawidah, or heard him speak. What remains to be explored is how they nevertheless recognized and related to the immense transformative socio-spiritual potential of Iroquoians' guiding visions of law and justice. Their critical reflections on the meaning of Iroquoian values and governing structures inspired a social and spiritual vision within them that can still contribute guiding wisdom for humanity today.

About Deganawidah and the Great Values

From a very young age, The Peacemaker expressed the need to establish a Great Peace, or *Skennenkowa*, which would bring all people together and end all violence. The Peacemaker understood that he had a Divine Mind and that The Great Law of Peace he brought was a global message of peace. He is recorded as having said that he carried "the Mind of the Master of Life," and that his message would "bring an end to the wars between east and west." His message of Peace can be summarized in his declaration that, "The word that I bring is that all peoples shall love one another and live together in peace" (Buck 1996: 113–114).

His own people, the Huron, did not accept his message, so when he was grown, he traveled "Eastward" on a canoe he built of white stone. He journeyed to the Mohawk Nation, whose people identified themselves as

People of the Flint (Shenandoah 1994: 10). Deganawidah explained to early followers that although "the day was early and young" and "the new mind also tender and young," they could be assured that "the Good Message of the Peace and the Power" that brought people the Great Values was like the newly arisen sun. The Good Message, like the sun, that from the human point of view seems to travel across the sky, would "proceed on its course and prosper" as would the "new mind" itself and future generations of grandchildren (Gibson et al. 1992: 205). The full Message the Peacemaker brought is often called the Great League of Peace and Power and the Great Law; when translated as the Good Message, it encompasses Iroquoian understandings of the words Power and Peace. It is also in itself called The Iroquois Confederacy.

The Great Values to be shared commonly by all the people were explained in three parts, each part with two aspects, one relating more to the individual, the other more to social relations and the society's infrastructures. These two complementary aspects were therefore considered an expression of Sacred Twin Principles. From the beginning it was understood that inner comprehension of the Great Values in the Great Law would support the emergence of self-governance within a moral community.

The Great Values relates to Great Law of Peace	*Sacred Twin Principles*	
	Relates to individual	*Relates to social relations and infrastructures*
Peace	Inner physical and spiritual **integrity**, related **to living traditions** that protect wholeness, healing, and holistic well-being *Ne' Skeˇn˜'non*	**Awareness of the unity of life** and humankind, equity in relations *Skennen*
Righteousness	(related to **the Good Mind**) awakened inner conscience, social awareness, and process of ethical decision-making, resulting in **good behaviors** of people and counselors who advocate goodness *Ne'Gai'i•hwiio*	**Justice**, social justice in carrying out policies of the League, actualization of *kariwiio*, the Good Word
Popular Sovereignty *Ne' Găshasden'sa'*	**Power**, the underlying supernatural power, or *orenda*, that is also related to the constituent power of the individual, Kasastensera	**Strength**, force, authority, or power of a people, of a people's institutions. Also its civic and military power, *Kasastensera kowa sa oiera*

See also Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee (2000: 122)

Deganawidah infused the Great Values into the structures of the Iroquois model of governance. Because each value was expressed in two ways, as a Sacred Twin Principle, the Iroquois cultivated not only Justice within the League but were also naturally led to care seriously about how they developed their personal practice of the Good Mind. The two concerns were understood to be inseparable from one another.

The Great Law and the Good Message of the Peace and the Power brought to people the real hope of reaching peace and unity through the wisdom and coherence of these well-balanced values and governing structures. The appreciation of mind, reason, moral power (*orenda*), and global vision that is awakened by Deganawidah's teachings is discussed in a section preceding ***Theories and Practices of Government in the Great Law of Peace*** that is not included in this publication.

Theories and Practices of Government in the Great Law of Peace

The Peacemaker established governing structures that would intentionally support the social values and ways of relating that encouraged each person's Good Mind to develop strong *orenda* through creative participation in democracy and dignity making, regardless of one's gender, nation, or status as someone young or old, weak or strong. His aim was "to create a government whose purpose was not only to put an end to war and robbery, but to eliminate the causes of conflict through the establishment of universal justice" (McKeehan 2008). Council leaders were enlightened by The Peacemaker's instruction on human kindness as a moral imperative. He directed them and all the Haudenosaunee to "be a good person" and to be compassionate, without making distinctions between those who are wealthy and those who are poor, or those who are good and those who are negligent. He instructed leaders to "take into account everyone's well-being, that of the ongoing families, so that they may continue to survive, your grandchildren" (Gibson et al. 1992: 100–101).

Leadership in the Iroquoian sense does not have to do with official title or role status. Political expediency and all forms of coercion, domination, and centralized power were expelled from the society. Instead dialogue and dignity were emphasized. Rather than governing structures that imposed hierarchy, the Great Law of Peace established structures that supported complementary, horizontal social relations. These structures are found in embryonic form in the Great Law. They are directly

responsible for supporting the developmental patterns and processes through which the "outcomes," of the League of Peace and Power were achieved.

For example, the local and federal halves of Haudenosaunee government were not in a hierarchical relation with the federal council, enforcing executive power over nations and clans. The federal council "held no power of fiat," and in fact no sphere of government could take any unilateral form of action. Flowing, circular processes of reciprocating communication between councils in each domain of government life were practiced and continually deepened. Since social values and governing structures did not support one-directional, linear, and anti-dialogical communication styles, these harming and limited forms of expression did not emerge. It is said that "the guiding precept of the league was *consensus*, not coercion" (Johansen and Mann 2000: 122).

Moreover, the Iroquoian political structures established through the Great Law assured that the creative and spiritual powers of both men and women contributed equally to the collective wisdom of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Legal codes that preserved family integrity and policy-making rights that determined when military force was necessary were placed in the hands of the women. Women also had distinct voting rights that protected the integrity of lineage titles and of clan and nation history, which were recorded on the wampum kept by women. For example, when it came to selecting Clan Mothers, only women determined nominees, and no open voting was allowed. In addition, even when appointing male chiefs, women were the only ones with the power to nominate, although both male and female had the right to vote for their choice (Powell 1879: 61).

In general, a culture of respect and dignity was alive within the nations of Iroquois Confederacy because of an underlying social ecology in which natural pro-social self-esteem emotions like respect and gratitude flourished. Such emotions are related to the formation of relational self-awareness, identity, and status within the society (Immordino-Yang and Faeth 2009). By differentiating clans within nations and by establishing meaningful interweaving relationships, people did not need to relate through competition and dominating uses of power within fixed hierarchical systems. It was the specificity of one's role and the value of its distinct contribution to the whole of the Haudenosaunee Nation that infused Iroquoian political life and leadership with a sense of worth and dignity:

> One was not merely a member of the Wolf Clan, but of the Wolf Clan of the Senecas whose female representatives sat in clan councils. One was not simply an Onondaga, but an Onondaga of the Deer Clan whose male representatives sat in the Grand Council. The latter-day habit of self-identification by nation only reflects Westernization. Traditionals know their clan as well as their nation. The league was set up so that each clan, arranged by nation, held title to "names," or civic positions in governmental councils. (Mann 2000: 125)

It is said that this "intricate interfacing of clans and nations, men and women, all operating councilmanically by halves, wove the league together in a web of interlocking citizenships and created a strong sense of identity and status." The Haudenosaunee Confederacy further explains that, "As a matrilineal society, each clan is linked by a common female ancestor with women possessing a leadership role within the clan.....The clans are represented by birds and animals and are divided into the three elements....Each member of a clan is considered a relative regardless of which nation they belong to." (Available at http://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/clansystem.html) Pride in identity came through one's larger affiliation with local place and particular group rather than through claim to a superior title or political victory, and individual moral power was connected to the inherent creative moral power within all life, *orenda*.

Besides nurturing pro-social positive emotions like respect, humility, and gratitude, conducive to peace and creativity, the Iroquoian governing structures offered citizens an embodied way to take part in a global and spiritual vision of a world order of peace based on the principles of reciprocity, complementation, and balance. These principles promised unity, not through conformity to the top-down impositions of a centralized government demanding obedience to arbitrary and technical legal and economic policies, or to rigid and biased puritanical religious standards but rather through structural resonance in organization and communication, realized through the world-unifying metaphor of an East-West axis. This metaphor provided by Deganawidah expressed the Sacred Twin Principle, or principle of reciprocating halves, that is apparent in the structure of the councils, clans, and nations of the League.

The absence of domination and violence in the culture may be the hallmark, or the sign of purity, that authenticates The Great Law of Peace, but its actual signature is its embrace of the Sacred Twins (or quadruplets) as a

wise principle of complementation and balance that serves practically to provide just and dynamic social structures that prevent human ignorance and insecurity, arrogance, and superiority, from allowing any one individual, group, or nation to tower above or exalt over another (www.sixnation.org 2000). The East-West axis is one of the most prophetic inner meaning-making structures in the Great Law and the Good Message of the Peace and the Power. In this metaphor, one comprehends that "East is meaningless without West, which is itself meaningless without East. Neither direction is more or less important than the other, and directionality exists only as long as both stand" (Mann 2000: 124).

Structuring governance around the Sacred Twin Principle opens people naturally to an all-embracing global vision of world peace because, by its nature, it avoids exclusionary and dualistic modes of perception, thought, and action and encourages supportive, inquisitive, and dialogical relations among diverse institutions, peoples, and nations. The principle of the Twins was originally expressed as quadruplets, so it is possible to understand how the general Iroquoian metaphor of an East-West axis further implies global unity and wholeness through the reflexive inclusion of North-South reciprocity and balanced integration, too. Furthermore, Deganawidah's central visionary image was of the Tree of the Great Peace, also called the Tree of Justice. This Hoop image was described as having "roots that extend to the four cardinal directions" which would eventually become recognizable to all (Hoffman 2000: 185). Scholar Chris Hoffman calls the Peacemaker's Tree "an image of world peace, far ahead of its time" (185).

The governing structures of the Haudenosaunee Nation that emerged from The Peacemaker's Great Law of Peace gave the Iroquois the stabilized means through which to play a living, breathing part in the larger holistic vision and prophetic promise of world peace. The principle of "collaborative halves" informed all governmental organizations abiding "under the roof" of the Great Law of Peace (Mann 2000: 124). Through participation in these structures, people realize their humanity beyond divisive fears and modes of argumentation and control grabbing. Those structures served as a great beacon of hope to nearby early women suffragists, like Stanton and Gage, who were engaged in the struggle against oppression and injustice, searching for models of justice and cultures of peace that awaken conscience and a sense of the possible.

The Illumination of Dignity in the Great Law of Peace

The Peacemaker's teachings promoted an independence of political thought and action that was later further promulgated by Gage and Stanton. This independence is an expression of human dignity. It develops through practical participation in society bringing one's "robust, concrete, and practical attention" to everyday matters (Reid and Taylor 2010: 37). Reid and Taylor define dignity as "a sense of personal integrity, security, and honor that is highly charged affectively, as well as the incarnation of abstract political principles in daily embodied practices of livelihood, social interaction, and speech among equals" (37). The Onkwehonwe people's dignity began to flourish in just this kind of way as they related to the Peacemaker's Great Values.

Jacques Maritain, writing in support of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, offers an explanation of how an individual comes to possess dignity that closely parallels the Peacemaker's understanding and that helps us to understand the collective transformation experienced by the Onkwehonwe as they united to form the League of the Peace and the Power. Maritain writes:

> A person possesses absolute dignity because he is in direct relationship with the absolute. ... His spiritual fatherland consists of the entire order of things which have absolute value, and which reflect, in some way, an Absolute superior to the world and which draw our life towards this Absolute. (Maritain 1944: 6; Vatter 2013: 236)

The spiritual fatherland referred to by Maritain above includes the ethical principles and the essential values that "guide thinkers into a communal event, learning for solidarity, which means the willingness to become a risk-sharing community" (Carter et al. 2001: 25). In such a "communal event" people like the original warring Onkwehonwe are able to move beyond their unconscious condition of isolation and dependence within relativistic or chaotic systems that deny human dignity. These include any systematic or organic construction of a social reality in which people manage human risk within social roles that are held either statically and coercively, or chaotically, with no movement toward genuine moral and spiritual growth and structural transformations.

Through a direct relation to Great Values (closely aligned with what Maritain would call the "entire order of things which have absolute value"), people gain the dignity and wisdom to approach together the real

interrelational challenges of being human. They can thus become compassionately and practically "risk sharing" as did the Onkwehonwe when they constituted the League of the Peace and the Power. For the first time they had a direct relationship to absolute values, such as peace, justice, and moral power, that served as a "spiritual fatherland." They were able to give "robust, concrete, and practical attention" to everyday matters in a way that was optimally harmonious with the good of the whole society (Reid and Taylor 2010: 37). Furthermore, the Great Law bestowed a deeply felt "sense of personal integrity, security, and honor" while also assuring that people embodied in the daily practices of "livelihood, social interaction and speech" the "abstract political principles" (Great Values) that promote recognition of the absolute equality of all people (37).

Because practice of the Good Mind in relation to the Great Values encouraged Iroquoians to claim an unmediated and direct relation to this absolute, rather than one based on coercion or evasion, a culture of peace was able to organize around the federalist ideal of unity in diversity. The differentiation of distinct clans and nations within the Iroquois League, all abiding by the Great Law of Peace, and then their ongoing creative integration, was able to transform the Onkwehonwe people's habitual way of relating to their differences and desires. Rather than resorting to internal wars and fighting, they initiated and sustained new habitual ways of relating with dignity to diverse stances and needs, applying dialogical and dialectical communication and discernment that were protected through practice of the Good Mind.

The Peacemaker's guidance for unified nation building and his illumination of human dignity resonate with a Thomistic conception of democratic authority and appear to be a universal template for making an ethical and virtuous society. For Thomas Aquinas, natural law was appreciated as a form of habit, "not in itself, but because the principles (or precepts) of the natural law are naturally held in our minds by means of an intellectual habit" (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy 1995). The Peacemaker's teachings on the Good Mind and Great Law of Peace similarly create an "intellectual habit" of relating to guiding ideals. Aquinas called this synderesis. Synderesis referred to a natural knowledge innate within everyone and that informs us of the moral requirements, or the imperatives, involved in being human. Although distinct from one another, Aquinas' articulation of synderesis can be understood to be related closely to the philosophical realization of what Strydom calls "cognitively structured normative dimension" and to what Maritain calls a "spiritual fatherland."

The following chart helps one to perceive the unity in these similar intellectual and spiritual descriptions of law:

Name for ethical concept of law	*Author*	*How it is defined*
Great Values	Deganawidah	*The principal things, or essential guiding principles, that support both the individual and the larger society and that everybody agrees to live in accord with*
Spiritual fatherland	Maritain	*The entire order of things with absolute value*
Cognitively structured normative dimension	Strydom	*Meta-level premises, principles, or presuppositions that exist in dynamic tension with the plurality of constructively embodied combinations of interpretatively chosen principles*
Synderesis	Aquinas	*A natural knowledge innate within everyone and that informs us of the moral requirements, or the imperatives, involved in being human; also understood as the habit by which humans understand the first moral principles (which are also the first principles of the natural law)*

In the above chart one can hopefully appreciate an overlapping consensus, or a resonance of shared meanings, that can help one to comprehend these distinct concepts. For example, consider how the Peacemaker's teachings on the practice of the Good Mind are in close accord with the intellectual habit of synderesis. Both relate people inwardly to a normative order of absolute values or to what Maritain calls a spiritual fatherland which is akin to Strydom's cognitively structured normative dimension.

Further inquiry in this direction reveals that the Great Law of Peace that united the Iroquois is reflected in the medieval conception of constitutionalism in which a "common" or "customary" or "ancient" legal order protects the very common good (Vatter 2013: 243). Like the medieval conception of constitutionalism, The Great Law of Peace provided people with a way to govern themselves in concrete situations by "establishing the political body as legal corporation: society is legal order *before* becoming a political unity; society is law before becoming a state" (Vatter; Grossi 2004, italics by own). While George Washington and Benjamin Franklin hoped the US Constitution would serve as an antecedent legal order conducive to the emergence of the political unity of federalism that they found within the Iroquois League, they lacked appreciation for the primacy of the Great Values and the practical

application of the Sacred Twin Principles. These were essential to maintaining Iroquoian structures of equality and dynamic balance. Indeed, it is remarkable that in 800 years, the Iroquois, whose history prior to the Great Law was hostile and violent, did not experience serious cultural deterioration and maintained consistently high general standards of human dignity. Most likely because of their perception of the demands of their day and the nature of their background experiences, the US founding fathers, though attracted to Iroquois symbols like the bound arrows, were unable to access the real keys to Iroquois social health and integrity. It can be argued that this critical impairment prevented the very common good of the US people from arising out of their nation's governing structures. It certainly prevented US women from realizing the standards of participation and the rights known to Iroquoian women within their federal nation.

It can be said that because of their perspective on justice and human need, early feminists like Gage and Stanton were able to make more astute and penetrating observations of Iroquois' culture and ways of relating than were the founding fathers. They came to distinguish Iroquoian ethical concepts of law from the legal codes and conventions that were institutionalized in their country and elsewhere. This helped them to name and question imperialist mindsets and dominator ideologies of Western modernity. Scholars David Bedford and W. Them Workman, remark that *The Great Law of Peace* is "an invaluable resource for defining the features of whiteness. ... As a standpoint outside that of the modern, bourgeois, liberal culture, analysis of The Great Law acts like a stain, drawing out key features of modernity and highlighting them" (2002: 27–28). For early US feminists and abolitionists, the "whiteness" of US social structure and order was recognizable in the otherwise taken-for-granted and invisible imperialist assumptions of patriarchal societies that historically have relied on various forms of violence, oppression, and coercion to conquer, colonize, or simply to assert their way.

Bedford and Workman further explain that the "hegemonic discursive frames of whiteness ... fail to move beyond their immuring universalist claims to recognize their own uniqueness and specificity" (27). Since discursive frames form the cultural resources that shape, motivate, and give meaning to collective action, a "hegemonic" frame will not only be powerless to motivate genuine social change for justice, it will also impede it by excluding the voices and perspectives most needed for new insight and for collective realization (Benford and Snow 2000). The result is that "the

engulfing presence of whiteness includes ... loss of the capacity to imagine alternative ways of living" (2002: 27).

But for Stanton and fellow suffragists like Gage, The Great Law of Peace, which underpins Iroquoian government and culture, successfully de-universalizes whiteness and gives them an inspired way to retrieve human dignity and to imagine, with bold hope, "alternative ways of living." By awakening their powers of discernment and vision, we see how it also helped these women to reach foundational understandings of law that express a new relation to the universal itself.

Part II: Matilda Joslyn Gage

A Brief Overview of Gage's Contributions to the Nineteenth-Century Feminist Movement

Matilda Joslyn Gage was a suffragist, Native American activist, and abolitionist. She was known for her active role in the Underground Railroad; for her speaking and writing on women's suffrage; and for her close relationship with women from the Iroquois Confederacy, who adopted her into the Wolf Clan of the Mohawk Nation and offered her the opportunity to have a voice in the Chieftainship. This was shortly after Gage was presented with a supreme writ, denying her the ability to vote in local school board elections, a right she had attempted to secure many years prior for the women of Fayetteville, New York (Wagner 1999).

As a feminist, Gage can be remembered for her critical observation of women's situation within the context of the ongoing human struggle to transcend and transform the power dynamics of an unbalanced patriarchal state. Fueled invisibly by an imperialist mindset and dominator ideology, the authoritarian state was maintained by the unquestioning tolerance of social and physical violence. Gage challenged directly the feudal and priestly power structures that had oppressed the "mass of mankind," in the Middle Ages, and that continued, in new guises and within a different governing system, to impede women's development in the 1800s (Gage 1852). In her view, these static social structures denied woman's capacity for self-reliance and access to education, and thereby fettered the moral, intellectual, and spiritual progress of all humanity. For Gage, the real task was to provoke awareness of structural violence within the state, against people of color and women especially, and to reveal the intimate relationship existing between state, self, and civil society. She did this mostly by

calling upon a wide range of historical examples and by using structural comparisons and contrasts across cultures.

An example of her political and historical approach to critique and social change emerges in Gage's first major public speech as a suffragist, which she gave in 1852 at the National Women's Right Convention in Syracuse. Gage called boldly for Syracuse to "sustain her name for radicalism." At the heart of this call was the request that women perceive their social position and the root causes of their oppression from a more encompassing viewpoint that gave them a critical perspective on their situation. For Gage, studying history broadly and comparatively was the primary way to achieve this perspective. She reminded listeners that:

> Women are now in the situation of the mass of mankind, a few years since, when science and learning were in the hands of the priests, and property was held by vassalage; the Pope and the priests claimed to be, not only the teachers, but the guides of the people; the laity were not permitted to examine for themselves; education was held to be unfit for the masses, while the tenure of their landed property was such as kept them in a continual state of dependence on their feudal lord. (Gage 1852)

By calling the attention of nineteenth-century women to the ways in which their plight was essentially similar to that of peasants and serfs of both genders in pre-industrial Europe, Gage opened people's minds and hearts to the practice of "interpretation across cultural boundaries" (Jung 1993: 223; Reid and Taylor 2010: 135). This imaginative and contemplative practice draws the individual toward more nuanced and sensitive understanding of what it is to be human and to have natural rights. Gage was critically concerned with raising people's awareness of their place within a larger historical narrative. She cared about broadening their political sense of identity.

Her study of many different specific-rooted historic cultural contexts eventually allowed her to assert reliable conclusions about natural rights. These conclusions could be described as a higher moral ground of "lateral universals" (Reid and Taylor 2010). They represented a horizontal resonance and overlapping consensus across peoples, places, and time periods, regarding the true meaning of justice and the significance of human equality. Lateral universals revive for people a larger meaning of the body politic, not by abstracting the body politic from its particular expressions in time and place but by enlivening moral imagination and empathy, inviting

peoples to realize from within the deeper structures of their being and life experience that "cultures have a concretely transcendental dimension" (2010: 135).

This recognition was clearly central for Gage and she applied it to attain new insights about culture. When she investigated positive cultural models of peace, such as the model of law and self-governance provided by the Iroquois, she sought to find the transcendent dimension within the culture and the people, for example, the guiding principles of balance within the Great Law of Peace and the practice of the Good Mind, and then called attention to that dimension to help people discern the assumptions and limiting beliefs that informed the dominant social structures in the United States. However, while she relied often on this use of political contrasts and cognitive dissonance to heighten social self-awareness, she also introduced nineteenth-century US women to the more heart-felt and quiet recognition of an underlying human commonality that was present across borders.

Whether referring to a Mohawk woman or an ancient Egyptian, the "Other" was not regarded as a foreigner by Gage but rather as a friend. For her, sympathy existed across borders as did solidarity. For example, she spoke out on how Native American treaties were being violated by US federal and state governments, and while strongly supporting Native American efforts to maintain independent nation status, likened the position of US women citizens to that of the Iroquois who were likewise, in different ways, subjected to the hypocrisy of US government rule. Gage understood that the human desire to experience the simple prosperities of creative participation, well-being, and peace was a shared one. Essential human longings could be felt across borders in the bare acts of daily life and caregiving. In this way, Gage provided access to "the unity of the human spirit ... [that] already exists in each culture's lateral relationships to the others, in the echoes one awakens in the other" (Reid and Taylor 2010: 139). This practical approach to uncovering authentic or natural law and to transforming political power, which can be witnessed in her earliest feminist efforts like the 1852 Syracuse speech, was guided by her sincere instinct toward human solidarity. It represents a meaningful contribution to the study of law and social change that can be translated and passed on from her specific nineteenth-century context as a suffragist to those engaged today in the larger socio-spiritual movement for global justice.

Beginning in 1869, Gage made ongoing significant contributions to the advance of the nineteenth-century feminist movement by helping to

found the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and to organize the Virginia and New York state suffrage associations. Besides writing important educational pamphlets for the group such as *Woman as Inventor* (1870), *Woman's Rights Catechism* (1871), and *Who Planned the Tennessee Campaign of 1862?* (1880), she served for 20 years as an officer in the New York association.

From 1878 to 1881, Gage published the NWSA newspaper, the *National Citizen and Ballot Box.* She stated firmly that "neither fear nor favor would hinder [the paper's] presentation of truth and the calling of attention to unjust customs and laws." The paper would "oppose Class Legislation of whatever form," and Gage promised "women of every class, condition, rank and name" that they would find the paper "their friend" (http://www.accessible-archives.com/collections/national-citizen-and-ballot-box/). From 1881 to 1887, she co-edited with Stanton and Anthony the first three volumes of *The History of Woman Suffrage*, which was a six-volume work. Here, her broad view and understanding of history and her developed intellectual capacity for investigative research were particularly valued.

Gage's desire and ability to cross all boundaries in her embrace of women helped her to relate women's modern-day concerns to a larger, trans-civilizational framework and to present a vision of a world in which the innate creative power within the individual is a potent unifier, bestowing a sense of dignity and responsibility (Vatter 2013). She termed this power the "divine element of motherhood within creation." She recognized that political and spiritual appreciation of the feminine created a common foundation of social meaning that supported female authority. This work can be understood to be on behalf not only of women but also of the Sophianic Feminine itself, fulfilling the human need to participate in "fundamental human reconciliation ... linking and harmony ... wholeness and *coincidentia*" (Austin 1999: 2). Especially in her latter days as social thinker, activist, and feminist, Gage called people's attention to the sincerity of human mystical rather than positivist aspirations to know reality.

As she herself was a "mystical aspirant" willing to engage in the more challenging and often spurned human emotions of doubt and incompleteness and inspired by the Sophianic desire to become whole, Gage was able to reveal to people a far more vast and inclusive human spiritual heritage than they had ever consciously considered. To Gage, this heritage provided

humanity with the personal reservoir of courage and insight to approach the arduous task of transforming political and economic power. It also provided cognitive tools to dismantle harmful assumptions about morality and human development that were inseparable from a movement then rising within the United States, toward a falsely Christian State.

In Gage's 1893 book, *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages: With Reminiscences of the Matriarchate*, she provided historical evidence to support her argument that when the feminine dimensions of spiritual, creative power are collectively acknowledged and respected, then the Sophianic Feminine, or relationship-oriented quest, can be rightfully restored to social agreements and social justice can prevail. In addition to referencing in her scholarship her longtime relationship with the Iroquois, she also researched and cited the history of the women of Malibar, known as the Nairs. She observed in *Woman, Church, and State* the significance of how these successful people recognized "the feminine both in humanity and in the divinity." She also educated the reader on very powerful, but forgotten, female spiritual leaders, expounding, for example, on the history of Isis in ancient Egypt, and calling her "one of those extraordinary individuals, such as occasionally in the history of the world have created a literature, founded a religion, established a nationality." Gage referred to Isis as "a person of superior mentality, with power to diffuse intelligence." She insisted on the political need to protect humankind's spiritual heritage and to nurture remembrance of humans' status as evolutionary beings capable of spiritual realizations of civility and civilization. She likewise affirmed the inherent need and desire to grow optimally toward right relationship with, and responsibility to, all creation.

Throughout her last years on Earth, Gage maintained forward engagement in social justice causes. She was particularly provoked into action by the aforementioned efforts then underway to form a Christian State, in which a one-dimensional political theological conception of God would further justify a State that institutionalized belief in woman's inferiority to man and the negation of her natural rights as a human. Gage no doubt perceived that a Christian State would also seriously harm any progress made in uplifting the social status of indigenous peoples and former slaves. To avoid this ideological and political backsliding, and to maintain the progress already made through her literary and oratorical communications, Gage initiated the Woman's National Liberal Union and wrote *Woman, Church and State.* She died in March of 1898 in Chicago, Illinois,

with these social justice actions accomplished, and with the additional name, Sky Carrier, or *Karonienhawi*, by which she would be remembered by the women of the Wolf Clan of the Mohawk Nation who, having recognized Gage's bold struggles and her visionary intention to uphold the dignity and equal rights of all peoples, had adopted her in 1893.

Part III: Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a suffragist whose activism originated in the abolitionist movement. In her work for women's rights, she continually related to Iroquois culture and ideals, referring in books and interviews to Iroquoian understandings of the role and status of women, including their appreciation of motherhood, marriage, and economic and physical protection for women. Since Susan B. Anthony did not have children while Stanton did, Stanton was the one who for many years stayed "on the home front" writing speeches and articles for Anthony and for herself. This writing was a serious contemplative and analytic process. Although she did not extensively study the wampum belts that recorded the Great Law of Peace itself, as part of her efforts on behalf of women and oppressed people everywhere, she endeavored quietly to uncover its social meanings based on what she saw and experienced of the Iroquoian women and culture. This meditative labor was in a sense how the Great Law of Peace awakened both critical and positive social and spiritual vision in Stanton.

The Solitude of the Self

In *Solitude of the Self*, Stanton made her most coherent and potent biopolitical argument. She continuously politicized the bare life of the individual so it could become, in itself, a source of legitimization. As she neared the end of her life, Stanton seems to have felt duty bound to communicate final conclusions from her journey as a suffragist: that each life was in the end, equally vulnerable; that we share a common human nature and common needs; and that the bareness of the human life is also its strongest ground for claiming the authority and equality of its rights and responsibilities.

In *Solitude of the Self*, Stanton distinguished the "abiding tendencies" of the bare self that reveal natural law, from the "particularistic customs and laws" of nineteenth-century U.S. life. For her, transformation of political power is made legitimate and perceived as possible because the

deeper order and values in the state of nature, that is, its "abiding tendencies," represent the real political condition of humans (Vatter 248). By legitimate, it is meant that transformed political power is recognized as moral power and that it has a scientific authority free from positivism. Abiding human tendencies and needs can be discerned both in the close analysis and in the broad perspective and this builds the biopolitical ground for asserting natural rights and for establishing natural law as the "ideal formula of development of a given being" (Vatter 247).

Historically, Stanton can be remembered as someone who contributed to the dawning human recognition of the biopolitical and universal nature of human rights and responsibilities. She powerfully linked the "inclinations" and needs of human nature to the acknowledgment of the moral authority inherent in natural rights themselves. This insight about natural rights is indigenous, or rooted, because it connects people directly to the moral power within all of creation and to the sacredness of each individual's unmediated relation to the transcendent source of that moral power. Natural law as meant here does not consist of arbitrary or speculative abstractions. Nor is it based solely on sensory material perceptions of the natural world. Instead it is rooted in the natural needs of people to know peace and justice and to participate in life-affirming processes of growth. Like the sacred image of the Iroquoian Tree of the Great Peace, these roots of natural law are meant to spread and to unite humankind in the remembrance of themselves as members of one family. The causal reasoning that underlies Stanton's vision of just social transformations could be sequenced:

1. the moral power of the individual's rights implies law;
2. the understanding of law as "an ideal formula of development" for each life implies a natural sacred order; and
3. a natural sacred order implies a providential order, or an even more grand "ideal formula of development," through which natural law comes to be protected through deep structural social transformations in governance and education.

In this vision of an unfolding movement of justice, reformed social structures would assure that the creative and ethical processes ongoing within individuals would be supported, not thwarted, by one's larger social context and political conditions. Each essential value put forth in The Peacemaker's Great Law of Peace had two aspects, one pertaining to the

individual (for instance, Righteousness) and one to the larger collective society (for instance, Justice). Likewise, the concept of a providential order, which is implied in Stanton's underlying line of reasoning, established two pillars for governance: one, the pillar of individual constituent power, or participatory power, and the other, the promise of a larger normative order of governance or an ethical world civilization and reformed culture (Vatter 2013: 250). For Stanton, the individual's personal path of development and private, interior life could not be separated from a common and vast public vision of justice.

In her last address before Congress, Stanton, like Deganawidah, established twin ideals of governance: she connected one's right to develop optimally and to participate in society making with one's responsibility to implement governing principles in the real world that protect those rights for all and that further extend the capacities of the matured soul for the benefit of all beings everywhere. The seriousness of her practical spirituality is evident. Stanton unites the transcendent and the immanent, ideal and real, theory and practice, and ends and means. She embodies a great border-crossing reverent love for life and a genuine maternal concern for the welfare of all humanity. In this sense, one may hear how, in *Solitude of the Self*, Stanton releases from within her being a song of flight that soars upward to touch the highest mandates for human development. Indeed, Stanton played a rare providential role in human history. Like all sincere moral and spiritual leaders she inspired critique of society and history for the purpose of emancipation, illusion-destruction, self-creation, and world creation. Through ardent participation in a greater cause, she embodied a life-affirming will, far greater than her own.

In *Solitude of the Self*, Stanton introduced five paradigm-shifting concepts that move one from positivist constructions of law and exclusionary uses of power, to integral realizations of law that protect rightful paths of human development and inclusive practices of power; in doing so she upheld the "twin" pillars of ideal governance and gave voice to the biopolitical need for an "organic change in the structure of present day society" (Shoghi Effendi 1990: 23). Together, these shifts represent the promise of humanity's collective Strength, or Popular Sovereignty, which Deganawidah affirmed in the Great Values and represented through the visionary image of the Tree of Justice.

The five shifts implied by Stanton pertain to recognition of: human dignity and agency; individual particularity and equality; the need for comprehensive dynamic education; the significance of optimal development;

and the sanctity of each individual's relation to the mystery of life. Together these five insights move people from blind acceptance of dehumanizing customs and social policies to the critical and compassionate affirmation of new humanizing ones. Further explanation of these shifts has been removed for this publication but can be found in the full-length work.

In Stanton's vision of absolute or divine Justice that is expressed at the closing of *Solitude of the Self*, one's solitary relation to the grandeur of life represents a holy reality that no one is permitted to ignore, to oppress, or to refuse to protect. For her, it is the person's relation to mystery and common ability to feel "the joys and sorrows of time and eternity," that makes each one a solitary "Robinson Crusoe" with needs for an unimpeded path to complete education and full development. In *Solitude of the Self*, she insists that:

> To guide our own craft, we must be captain, pilot, engineer; with chart and compass to stand at the wheel; to watch the winds and waves, and know when to take in the sail, and to read the signs in the firmament over all.

When these responsibilities of human development are addressed practically, as social needs and mandates that pertain to public welfare as well as individual security, then, individuals together, can, in the words of Carter, Miller, and Radhakrishnan, "navigate the seas of ethical decision-making." They explain:

> In the same way constellations once guided sailors, the constellation of general principles point us toward regions of moral action. Yet the precise longitude and latitude of any moral region can only be determined in creative collaborative expeditions we undertake. Ethical decision-making is collaborative and creative practice. (Carter et al. 2001: 24)

At the end of her life, Stanton perceived more clearly than ever that all people, regardless of gender, social status, race, income, or ability, must come to be able to co-participate in the navigation of "the seas of ethical decision-making."

Advocacy for women's rights in the nineteenth century yielded insights about the moral requirements, or the imperatives, involved in being human. When reflected on today, these insights may inspire "acts of conscience" that challenge the current system. For Stanton, the ultimate act of conscience involved recognizing the sanctity of each individual's interior life, and protecting this innermost ground of being. Without protec-

tion and ontological preparation, it is a most frightful ground from which all human insecurities can run rampant, becoming real-world threats that endanger us. Respect for human sociality must therefore include recognition of the vulnerability and sacrality of every human life.

As Deganawidah taught, the necessary ontological foundation of dignity for a society can be created through the practice of the Good Mind. It does not assure a fixed social security but rather a fluid one in which people alone and yet together can tolerate the creative insecurity of life itself, developing optimally adaptive responses to it through right education and governance that generate true human prosperity. It is the cultivation of this quality of mind and being that sustains Reverence for Life and carries forward a society's greatest promise and its ethical ground of Strength. Stanton's most brilliant plea for US "women's rights," made at the close of the nineteenth century, recalls this Iroquoian respect for Reason and for the cultivation of the spiritual mind. It remains a most hopeful sign of deepened rationalism for those in the twenty-first century approaching the new unknown possibilities for world governance, global law, and restorative justice.

Part IV: Transformation of Power as a Global Movement

In 1899, Stanton declared that "it requires no courage now to talk *suffrage*." Instead, like Gage, Stanton urged the younger generation of "coadjutors" to "demand *equality* everywhere" (Stanton 1969: 338; Hogan 2006: 113). Like the Peacemaker's teachings on the Sacred Twin Principles, the suffragists' message expressed the inseparability of individual and collective development. Like his vision of the Tree of the Great Peace, they too envisioned a realization of law and peace that would unite all people in the recognition of a common humanity and allow all life to be protected within a "cared for planetary biosocial ecosphere" (Strydom 2013).

Like the governing structures in the federalized Iroquois League of Peace and Power, this new world structure would embody cosmopolitan principles like reciprocity, equality, and human unity. Like the Tree of the Great Peace itself, such structures would shelter and shade humankind. Peace and domestic justice would be made possible in nations by harmonizing the policies and practices of institutions and individuals within a common global ethical framework, and by renewing cultural life, so that it

nurtured the ontological foundation of dignity for all people. By urging "coadjutors" to "demand equality everywhere," Stanton was in her own way affirming a vision of a comprehensive global reformation of self and society.

The social and spiritual vision awakened within Stanton and Gage by the needs of their day and by their interactions with the Iroquois, makes permeable previously closed provincial and conventional constructions of human identity, like those often formed around gender, race, region, and class. By turning attention to the bareness of the self, as Stanton did, in her speech *Solitude of the Self*, one draws closer to the boundary-crossing realization that "underneath our thoughts and feelings, prejudices and beliefs, there is a grounded self that is part of a larger whole" (Siegel 2007: 231). For example, when Gage was adopted and renamed by the women of the Mohawk Nation, her self-contained identity as nation-state citizen and as a member of a particular cultural, racial, or ethnic group, crossed into her new identity as a member of the League of Peace and Power, opening the possibility of an overlapping or transcultural identity. Denying or limiting any person their rights to the dignity of such a transformational and plural human identity was not an option for the early American suffragettes.

The Harlem Renaissance is a striking example of local civic and creative arts renewal that had, at its philosophical and political foundation the same critique of equality, identity, individuality, creative optimal development, agency, and dignity that infused Gage's and Stanton's spiritual politics. While many view the Harlem Renaissance, which occurred between the end of World War I and the middle of the 1930s, as a rare example of an innovative flourishing movement in the arts, there is a much greater substance of meaning and history underlying its creativity.

Alain LeRoy Locke, known as the philosophical architect, "Dean," and father of this movement, was an African American philosopher who was influenced by Bahá'í teachings on equality, which encompass unbiased appreciation not only of gender equality but also of racial equality. In the nineteenth century, as the early feminists were becoming increasingly active and directly responding to social and spiritual insights from the Good Message, "Twin Manifestations" known as the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh, originally named Siyyid 'Alí Muḥammad Shírází and Mírzá Ḥusayn-'Alí Núrí declared themselves in Shiraz and near Baghdad, Iran, respectively, to be fulfillments of the prophecies given to humanity during the Adamic Cycle and messengers for a new era, in which an organic world system of peace, divine justice, and spiritual civilization would be realized globally.

Many Bahá'ís today understand Bahá'u'lláh to be the return of Deganawidah, fulfilling for humanity teachings necessary for reaching both the Lesser Peace and The Most Great Peace, including world-embracing spiritual understandings of a divine Tree representing peace and complete human unity (Bidwell 2011). Locke declared himself a Bahá'í in 1918 and was influenced most directly by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, born 'Abbás Effendí, the oldest son of Bahá'u'lláh, and understood by Bahá'ís to be the "Most Mighty Branch" on the Tree of His Revelation and the authorized interpreter of the Bahá'í Writings. 'Abdu'l-Bahá traveled throughout the United States in 1912 for a period of nine months, offering a series of talks collected together now as *The Promulgation of Universal Peace*. In one of his recorded talks in Paris in 1912, 'Abdu'l-Bahá asserted a view of practical spirituality as the fulfillment of practical reason, emboldening Locke's own desire to put philosophy into the field of action:

> What profit is there in agreeing that universal friendship is good, and talking of the solidarity of the human race as a grand ideal? Unless these thought are translated into the world of action, they are useless. The wrong in the world continues to exist just because people talk only of their ideals, and do not strive to put them into practice. If actions took the place of words, the world's misery would very soon be changed into comfort. (*Paris Talks* 15–17)

Locke's larger-scale concern was with the "practicalization" of World Citizenship. He said in a 1947 New York City address on the topic, "Vital morality, we together agree, is the effort to practicalize the ideal, and to do that, one must spend less time in the praise and justification of morality in the abstract and more time and effort on the concrete ways and means of moral action" (1).

Locke, throughout his life, and particularly in his years nurturing the Harlem Renaissance, set vital morality not only in comparison to philosophical morality but also in contrast to Victorian morality. He aimed by this to liberate artists from white bourgeois shame about aspects of African American life that reinforced racist beliefs and that held back the realization of greater ideals of human development for African Americans. This positioning of vital morality in contrast to Victorian morality has many parallels to the arguments presented by Stanton in talks like *Our Girls* (reviewed in the full text) that criticized imperialist and bourgeois moral conventions that oppressed the physical, mental, and spiritual develop-

ment of girls and women and that imposed false standards of normalcy. There are similarities with Gage's conception of law and morality as well: as stated in Part II, she understood that authentic laws are not in themselves coercive or manipulative expressions of will; rather, they become vitally evident to humanity as necessary and real guiding precepts as the practical fulfillment of truth and reconciliation at a global, or foundational, level is progressively attained.

The integral transformation of the social and cultural spheres in the Harlem Renaissance expansively included biological and physical dimensions, as well as cognitive and spiritual ones. Practicing justice means that all of these dimensions of life are involved when the social and cultural spheres are transformed. As Carter et al. explain: "The truth found by philosophical reason must be consistent with truth revealed in scripture, science, and tradition. Neither are they limited to being a humanist-centered method (insular, secular, and complacent self-righteousness, ethnocentrism, or anthropocentrism). They include the entire biosphere" (2001: 25).

Said another way, in the Harlem Renaissance the social and cultural sphere was not treated as a disembodied or schismatic reality. Harlem itself was a rooted and reclaimed socio-spiritual-biological ecology, and the creativity that flourished there was an intimately relational one weaving together remembrance of birth and death, inner and outer life, and invisible and visible worlds. Reid and Taylor direct attention to the creative substance of "generative matrices of co-constitution," like those that flourished during Harlem Renaissance. Spontaneity, communicative power, and the presence of higher intelligence within human creativity was celebrated in this renaissance, as were feelings of belonging to a particular place. Locke encouraged a realization of human identity that moved participants beyond limited social and cultural constructions of self and toward the world-soul encompassing vision of world citizenship. Reid and Taylor's writing on the "stuff of our being" within eco-commons, can be taken as an apt description of the border-crossing nature of the creative freedom that was brought to life during the Harlem Renaissance, especially in the improvisation within jazz music:

> To be a creature—human or nonhuman—is to be hinged between one's own embodiment and the particularity of places that accrue the grounds for life from unruly and ruly cycles of interdependence, mortality, and natality of the ecological commons. ... The stuff of our being arises as dynamic

> infrastructures of forms of life that we share with nonhuman creatures- generative matrices of co-constitution. (2010: 5)

The civic and creative arts renewal that was Harlem Renaissance once again proves the ability of humans to contribute dynamically to the regeneration of a new cultural and political life world. Indeed, in their embrace of the creativity inherent within all life and present within both visible and invisible worlds, renewed social forms need not encompass only human-to-human social relations (Apffel-Marglin 2016). Through this encompassing recognition of vital morality as innate connection to life matrix, all people can be appreciated as having the potential for ethical social creativity and can participate as mothers, birthing and caring for an emergent world-in-common. This ethos reflects directly Gage's respect for the social, spiritual, and political dimensions of what she referred to as, "the divine element of motherhood within creation."

Zora Neale Hurston, a brilliant writer, folklorist and anthropologist, who was encouraged by Locke, and whose creativity thrived during the Harlem Renaissance, described a sense of spiritual belonging that overcame imposed limitations on human identity and that resonate with the spirit expressed by early U.S. suffragists, who viewed political transformation as hinging upon recognition of the inherent creative wisdom within life. Hurston powerfully embodies both Gage's and Tocqueville's appreciation of the aristocratic or truly "rich" individual, whose cultivation of creativity and interiority lets them rise above class constructions of aristocracy to ideal realizations of individuation, courage and nobility.

> At certain times I have no race, I am me. ... So far as my feelings are concerned Peggy Hopkins Joyce on the Boule Mich with her gorgeous raiment, stately carriage, knees knocking together in a most aristocratic manner, has nothing on me. The cosmic Zora emerges. I belong to no race nor time. I am the eternal feminine with its string of beads. (1928: 14)

Hurston's creativity was grounded in a deep-seated respect for the individual as a moral and spiritual being whose bare life has political significance because of its particularity and because of the raw beauty of its truth-speaking voice. Her appreciation of democracy, which was celebrated in the local cultural and creative renewal of Harlem, was in this sense Iroquoian and counter to notions of the individual that exist within the U.S. construction of a mass democracy.

The political spiritual critiques that supported women's rights in the nineteenth century address the ontological concerns that ground the argument for all natural rights, that is, for universal rights. Those critiques reflect the human dignity concerns and the peace aspirations that surfaced in the twentieth century in response to the seemingly racial and economic centered problems of disenfranchisement, segregation, and race-inspired violence. Far from being forgotten after nineteenth-century feminist struggle, the ideal of dignity and agency and the Iroquoian Great Value of Peace through equality instead underlie the practical spiritual aims of the U.S. Civil Rights movement during the middle decades of the twentieth century especially.

One can see then that the Great Law of Peace, as lived out by the Iroquoians since about 1142 CE, gives to people in the twenty-first century an opportunity to meditate on the essential insights and guiding values that protect human rights, nation-state integrity and planetary well-being. Nineteenth century feminism and Iroquoian concepts of law may seem like bygone and even arcane topics in a rapidly shifting information age that treats knowledge as a commodity and that focuses on communicating the fast-paced nature of change and new technologies. But as I have hopefully outlined in this discussion, these seemingly outdated topics uncover insights about the meaning of equality and human individuality that transform not only one's sense of identity as a human being, but also one's comprehension of ethics, innovation, responsibility, diversity and democracy. They offer a critical realistic approach to the problems of our day and their practical spiritual remedies.

Notes

1. The "Great Law of Peace" was also known as The Iroquois Confederacy Constitution or the *Gayanashagowa*. It had 117 articles, and was an oral constitution recorded on wampum belts. Barbara A. Mann explains that the Great Law of Peace was debated for ratification by the Senecas during the Green Corn time (late August or early September) of 1142 C.E. in Ganondagan, near modern day Victor, New York.
2. Additional names are Haudenosaunee Nation and the League of Peace and Power. During colonial years the French said the "Iroquois League," and only later was the federalized nation referred to as the "Iroquois Confederacy." The French also knew them as the "Five Nations" (before 1722), and later as the "Six Nations," comprising the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora peoples.

3. Gage was adopted by the women of the Wolf Clan in the Mohawk Nation. Writing in the Seneca Falls Historical Society Papers reveals that: "Both her [Stanton's] cousin, Peter Skenandoah Smith, and her nearest Seneca Falls neighbor, Oren Tyler, were adopted into Iroquois clans. As she told the Marcellus Observer in an interview, she would, throughout her childhood, have... (additional) encounters with the Iroquois people." (Wagner 2001: 42).
4. The longhouse is considered to be symbolic of the concept of law and republican democratic culture that united the traditional territories of the Haudenosaunee Nation. The website https://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/symbols/ explains that: "Within a long house families all live together in harmony. With the nations united they are all one family living territorially in one long house."
5. Skennenrahawi, Hononhsoni:donh, Deganawida, Dekanawida, Deganawidah, Dekanawideh, Tekanawita are all native names for The (Great) Peacemaker. The website http://www.native-languages.org/morelegends/peacemaker.html, explains that Deganawidah is a more reverent name and is not sually spoken aloud except in ceremonial contexts. Special thanks to Paula Bidwell for her research investigating the spiritual significance of the station of Ḍeganawidah as a visionary messenger of world peace. See her essay, *Many Messengers.*
6. All endnotes in the main body of the text have been removed for this publication due to space constraints, but can be found in the full-length version.

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