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King's book offers a new perspective, both geographic and theoretical, on the rise of the great Mississippian chiefdoms.

Claudine Payne

Arkansas Archeological Survey

Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World. By William Engelbrecht. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003. 231 pages. Illustrated. \$65.00 cloth.

Operating at the intersection of archaeology and history, William Engelbrecht offers the reader a "state of the field" report on Iroquoia. He begins his study by rejecting the argument that intergroup conflict emerged over resources, and the notion that life in the distant past was generally peaceful. He argues "spirituality and warfare are deeply rooted in the cultures of northeastern North America and are key to understanding Iroquois cultural development" (p. 4). Engelbrecht then uses these two notions to interpret Iroquoian development from the Owasco period (c. A.D. 950–1350) until the early nineteenth century.

Increasingly, archaeologists are using material culture to reconstruct the social fabric of the society under study. Engelbrecht's work continues the trend. Although this approach is fraught with difficulties, the author does an excellent job of showing how archaeology can help reconstruct Iroquoian society. He does so by combining the archaeological data with the works of historians, anthropologists, linguists, and Iroquoian tradition. These sources allow him to recreate the human evolution of Iroquoia. This does not mean that the narrative omits traditional archaeology. Readers learn how longhouses were made (and of what), when horticulture arrived (and the types), how fishing nets operated in shallow water, and the size of Iroquois villages. Nevertheless, Engelbrecht maintains, "a strict 'stones and bones'" approach to archaeology "leads to an impoverished perspective" (p. 4).

To detail how the Indians of what is now New York became Iroquois, Engelbrecht begins by examining the Owasco period in the light of indigenous spirituality, specifically the concept of *orenda*. The author connects such everyday Iroquoian (or pre-Iroquoian) objects as fishing nets, masks, and weapons with their possible connections to indigenous spirituality. He then shows how the archaeological record parallels the religious observations of early European visitors to Iroquoia. Focusing on the notion of "balance," Engelbrecht sees warfare as one way that the indigenous peoples of Iroquoia maintained their harmony with the world around them. This was particularly significant when horticulture became more important in the northeastern woodlands.

By the end of the Owasco period, the people of Iroquoia cultivated squash, maize, and beans (listed in the order that they took root). The transformation from a hunting and gathering to horticulture culture produced significant changes. Engelbrecht ties this shift to increased conflict within Iroquoia, contending that this growing strife resulted from cultural requirements rather than economics. Acknowledging that the connections are

unclear between Mesoamerican, Mississippian, and Owasco cultures, Engelbrecht embarks on a brief, and interesting, examination of the similarities between Mesoamerican, Iroquoian, and even Southeastern woodlands cultures regarding warfare, corn, and sacrifice. He hypothesizes that some of the skeletons found at the Pearson and Sackett sites might be victims of an Arrow Sacrifice, a ritual most often associated with the Aztecs. Insights such as these should lead readers to think about *Iroquoia*, and Engelbrecht's analysis of it, long after they've finished the book.

In pursuing his argument, Engelbrecht follows a logical progression from household to village, and then from nation to League. This book, however, is not an easy read. In some places, it reads like a lecture rather than a monograph. It is probably best suited as an information resource rather than a text for classroom use (or even pleasure reading). In this sense, the layperson is not the primary audience of the book. The average reader might not find it interesting to learn which way the exterior bark of a longhouse ran. To bolster his text, Engelbrecht has included seventy illustrations and six maps. The illustrations run the gamut from archaeological artifacts to contemporary artists' renditions of events or deities from Iroquois history. The illustrations help bring the story of Iroquois development to life. They show the continuity and adaptation essential to Engelbrecht's reading of Iroquois development.

The author offers a new interpretation of Iroquoian longhouse construction. Acknowledging wind direction, space limitation, microclimate effects, and slope angle as influences, Engelbrecht argues that the Iroquois longhouse was a military adaptation which reflected not just family and clan size, but Iroquois war strategy. By having only two openings fewer people would be necessary to defend the structure than if the longhouse had numerous doors. This was an important consideration, Engelbrecht argues, when warriors were away from the village. His interpretation allows him to suggest a new reading of the Mohawks and Senecas as "doorkeepers" for the Iroquois League. For him, the term *doorkeeper* carries military connotations. Engelbrecht uses this type of argument to maintain his thesis, and his implicit attack on Paul Wallace's *White Roots of Peace*.

Although the Iroquoian longhouse was the dominant Iroquoian architectural style, the eighteenth century saw significant housing changes among some groups. The Mohawks, for example, moved away from the longhouse to begin living in single-family homes, evidently at the suggestion of Sir William Johnson. Building on the work of Kurt Jordan, Engelbrecht argues that the Mohawk used dispersed single-family settlement as a means to combat colonial land encroachment. Here, Engelbrecht asks the reader to see the development not as a form of "cultural disintegration," but as a means for cultural continuity (p. 167). It was also, Engelbrecht points out, healthier. What gives his analysis of Iroquois villages and housing its strength is his treatment of the topic over time. He makes the Iroquois a dynamic, adaptive, and flexible set of communities.

The notion of movement leads to one of the book's great strengths, its use of archaeological data from Iroquoian groups outside the core area of the Five Nations. By incorporating evidence from Jefferson County, St. Lawrence,

and Allegheny Valley groups into his narrative, Engelbrecht widens his ability to explain the transformation of the region from horticultural communities living in dispersed settlements to the larger palisaded villages we associate with the historic Iroquois. Archaeologically, this transformation took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Accompanying the appearance of larger villages in the fifteenth century was the creation of villages in specific locales. By the sixteenth century, the region's population was concentrated in areas associated with the historic Five Nations. The author sees this consolidation, at least in part, as resulting from defensive needs. Marriages facilitated these alliances and, given the matrilocality of the groups under discussion, the emergence of moieties within the village might have occurred at this time. The archaeological evidence shows the emergence of localized ceramic styles—an indicator that females were no longer moving between regions with any regularity. As Engelbrecht interprets the data, these trends led to the emergence of groups “becoming Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, or Mohawk,” and ultimately, the creation the League of the Haudenosaunee (p. 128).

Engelbrecht uses archaeology to place the creation of the League of the Haudenosaunee before contact with Europeans. The evidence suggests it began to form in the late fifteenth century. At this time, non-local marine shells made their appearance among the indigenous groups of Iroquoia. The author argues that the shells' appearance represented “the existence of non-hostile relationships or alliances between groups” in the region (p. 132). At the same time, evidence suggests the emergence of pan-Iroquoian pipe styles. Scholars associate the pipe and wampum beads with the League. These items appeared at the same time the groups associated with the Five Nations took up their historic territories. The archaeological evidence suggests they were “Iroquois,” and it was as members of the League that they dealt with the colonists during the colonial period.

A word of warning: Chapter nine, “The Present,” makes little sense if you have not read the book's preface. Unlike the previous chapters, the conclusion of chapter eight did not lead naturally into discussions of the modern landscape or Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. This does not mean that the chapter is an afterthought; rather, it suggests the difficult task of bringing Iroquoian archaeology into the present.

One strength of Engelbrecht's book is his constant reference to what still needs doing in Iroquoian archaeology. He tells readers “despite over a century of archeological investigation, little is known of the mortuary customs of the New York Iroquois before 1550” (p. 60); and “the implications of these similarities in artifact styles in Owasco and early Iroquois cultures are imperfectly understood” (p. 113). These passages invite someone to fill in the missing elements of our understanding of Iroquoia. One hopes people take him up on his invitation. Even if they do not, this book will serve as a quick reference guide to Iroquoian archaeology for years to come.

Language and Literacy Teaching for Indigenous Education: A Bilingual Approach. By Norbert Francis and Jon Reyhner. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 2002. x + 262 pages. \$119.95 cloth; \$49.95 paper.

Norbert Francis and Jon Reyhner set an ambitious set of tasks for themselves in this book. The authors provide an overview of the state of the indigenous languages of the Americas, a summary of several initiatives in bilingual education, a comparative assessment of numerous options for curriculum development, classroom materials, and pedagogical strategies including immersion, a focused discussion of literacy, and a chapter on assessment. Both descriptive and prescriptive, the book seeks to reach a variety of professionals and community members interested in language education for children in indigenous communities: teachers, teacher-trainers, scholars of indigenous language and education, and community activists. The book is probably most useful, however, for educators involved in administration or curriculum development of language programs in indigenous communities. Although the focus here is on the Americas, the points made and the models suggested have the potential for broader application.

The book argues that bilingual education will have positive effects not only on the self-esteem and cultural retention of students but also on their conventional academic performance in the national language. The authors make a useful distinction between additive bilingualism, in which the child's second language is developed while the first language is maintained or strengthened, and subtractive bilingualism, in which the second language essentially replaces the first. Additive bilingualism, the authors argue, will achieve positive results on all fronts: academic achievement on the part of students, literacy in both the indigenous language and the national language, and most importantly, student retention. By strengthening indigenous languages, additive bilingualism preserves a wealth of valuable resources, for both the native speakers of these languages and for others who are enriched by studying them, hearing them spoken, and experiencing their associated linguistic cultural forms—narratives, poetry, songs, jokes, communicative events, and so forth. The authors specifically advocate a bilingual approach in which students learn important concepts in their first language until their second language is strong enough to serve fully as an educational medium, rather than total early immersion in the second language.

The book disagrees with the notion that orality and literacy are two distinct or opposed modes of language use—a challenge that carries a number of pedagogical implications. They point out the many ways in which oral traditions from the indigenous language speech community can not only prepare students for literacy but also lay the foundation for the development of a general package of critical thinking skills summarized as cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). They stress the importance of strengthening and restoring traditional forms of discourse, not just indigenous languages in general. The authors illustrate this point with a helpful extended discussion of using specific coyote narratives to support the development of CALP.