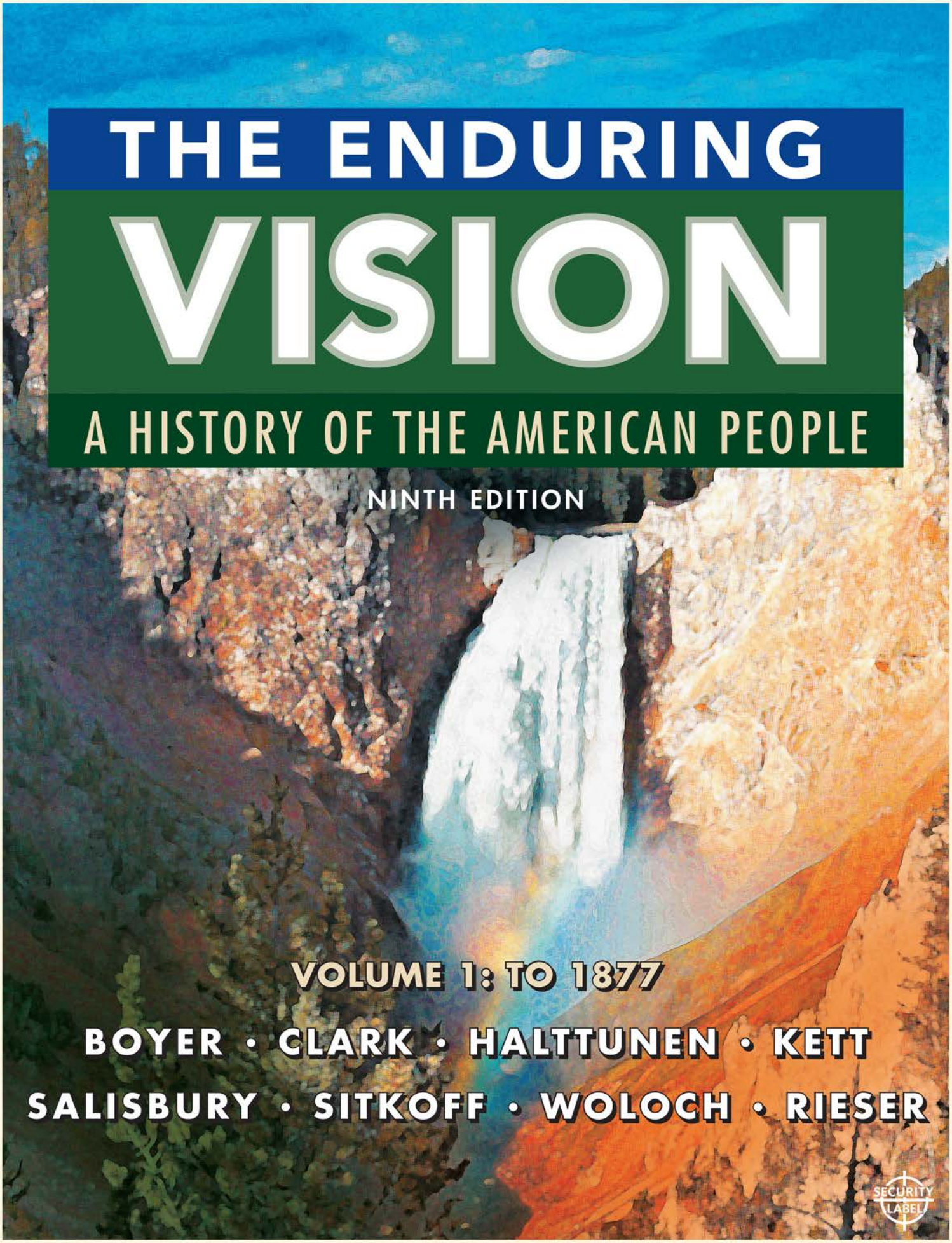

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Territorial Growth of the United States

1820 Date of states admission to the Union

● Geographic center of population by decade

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THE ENDURING VISION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

NINTH EDITION

VOLUME 1: TO 1877

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***The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, Ninth Edition**
Volume 1: to 1877
Paul S. Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Jr., Karen Halttunen, Joseph F. Kett, Neal Salisbury, Harvard Sitkoff, Nancy Woloch, Andrew Rieser

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In March 2012, shortly after completing his revisions to *The Enduring Vision*, our colleague Paul Boyer died, leaving both the text's authors and the editors at Cengage Learning deeply regretting our loss. Paul was a distinguished cultural and intellectual historian of the twentieth-century United States who served as a quiet leader on *The Enduring Vision* team ever since its inception more than 25 years ago. For every successive edition, he worked tirelessly to bring the textbook up to date, not only by adding recent events, but often overhauling the final chapters of the text from the new perspective generated by those recent events. He was a gentle and generous colleague, and we dedicate this Ninth Edition to him with gratitude and affection.

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Appendix A-1

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SPECIAL Features

GOING TO THE SOURCE

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Preface

The history of the United States has been shaped by an *enduring vision*, a shared commitment to a set of beliefs and values—including individual freedom, social equality, the rule of law, and openness to diversity—that run like threads through the lives of the American people. Those powerful beliefs and values express the people's collective determination to give meaning to America. Over the course of U.S. history, even when those values have been violated, that central vision of America has endured. *The Enduring Vision*, *Ninth Edition*, continues its authors' commitment, first undertaken nearly 30 years ago, to convey the strength of that enduring vision over centuries of often destabilizing change.

Over the past 50 years, the discipline of history itself has changed dramatically, moving from an earlier focus on national political narrative toward a rich and complex array of approaches—such as social, cultural, environmental, and global history. *The Enduring Vision* aims to integrate the best recent scholarship in all fields of American history without abandoning a clear political and chronological framework. In keeping with our central theme, our primary emphasis from the first edition to this new ninth edition has been social and cultural history, the fields that have shaped the authors' own teaching and scholarship. We are attentive to the lived historical experiences of women, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans—that is, of men and women of all ethnic groups, regions, and social classes who make up the American mosaic. It was in their daily lives, their lived experience of American history, that the enduring vision of America was articulated—and it was their actions that put those visionary values to the test.

The Enduring Vision is designed for both college classrooms and Advanced Placement courses in U.S. history. Though it offers an appropriately complex treatment of the American past, it requires no prerequisite knowledge from students. Our approach is not only comprehensive, but readable, lively, and illuminating. *The Enduring Vision* is also attentive to the process of historical learning. Recent research on history education has emphasized the crucial importance of teaching students the fundamental skills of historical thinking, such as addressing both continuity and change over time, using evidence to construct and test their own hypotheses, understanding past events in their own contexts, and coming to terms with the contingency of history. *The Enduring Vision* is especially effective in helping students understand the connections between particular historical events and larger trends and developments.

Newer Approaches to the American Past

This new ninth edition of *The Enduring Vision* sustains the emphasis on social and cultural history that was established in the first edition. Religious history remains an important focus, from the spiritual values of pre-Columbian communities to the political activism of contemporary conservative Christian groups. Family history and the history of education receive serious attention. Visual culture—paintings, photographs, cartoons, and other illustrations—is investigated through all chapters in the volume. For the ninth edition, Andrew Rieser of the State University of New York, Dutchess Community College, is an important addition to the author team, bringing notable expertise in cultural history.

Environmental History

From the first edition on, *The Enduring Vision* has also paid close attention to the environmental history of America's past because it is clear that geography, land, and landscape have played an important role throughout human history. *The Enduring Vision*'s unique **Prologue** on the American Land solidly establishes those themes early on, and our extensive coverage of environmental history, the land, and the West is fully integrated into the narrative and treated analytically—not simply "tacked on" to a traditional account. We seek to encourage students' spatial thinking about historical developments by offering a **map program** rich in information, easy to read, and visually appealing. And our primary source feature, **Going to the Source** (described in more detail later), offers a number of primary sources involving the land, including excerpts from Meriwether Lewis's Journal, Thoreau's essay "Walking," and a Dust Bowl diary.

Global History

In response to newer developments in the history discipline, recent editions of *The Enduring Vision* have underscored the global context of American history. We continue to engage with new literature on global history throughout the narrative. In addition, our online MindTap resource includes a special feature titled **Beyond America—Global Interactions**, which was first introduced in the sixth edition. From the origins of agriculture ten millennia ago to the global impact of environmental changes today, we have emphasized how all facets of our historical experience emerge with fresh new clarity when viewed within a broader world framework.

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Histories of Technology and Medicine

Students show a particular fascination with the histories of technology and medicine. In our popular **Technology & Culture** feature (available in MindTap), and throughout the print text, we continue to highlight the historical importance of new inventions and technological innovations. In addition to discussing the applications of science and technology, we note the often unanticipated cultural, social, and political consequences of such innovations—from new hunting implements developed by Paleo-Indians to contemporary breakthroughs in information processing and debates over net neutrality. Medicine and disease receive extensive coverage, and we look at the epidemics brought by European explorers and settlers as well as today's AIDS crisis, bioethics debates, and controversies over health care financing.

Organization and Special Features of *The Enduring Vision*

The general organization of the text is chronological, with individual chapters conforming to important historical periods. In keeping with our emphasis on social and cultural history, some chapters take a more thematic approach, overlapping chronologically with those that precede and follow them, thus introducing students to a more sophisticated understanding of the different levels—political, cultural, economic, social—of historical periodization.

Pedagogical Structure

Within each chapter, we offer a number of features designed to help students grasp its structure and purpose. A brief chapter introduction prepares students for the broader developments, themes, and historical problems that are addressed in that chapter. A **chapter outline** lists both the major headings and the subheads of the chapter, while also providing **focus questions** for each section—questions designed to help students read the chapter actively rather than passively. Those questions also appear under the major headings within the body of each chapter. **Chronologies** appear near the beginning of each chapter to provide an overview of key events. The chapter **conclusion**, The Whole Vision, addresses and answers the focus questions, providing students with an opportunity to review what they've read.

As a further pedagogical aid, each chapter includes **key terms and definitions** that appear in marginal boxes near where the boldfaced term first appears in the chapter. All terms are also grouped at the end of the chapter for quick and easy review. In addition, an annotated, up-to-date list of core readings, available on the website, offers guidance for those wishing to explore a particular topic in depth.

Special Features

In MindTap, every chapter of *The Enduring Vision* provides students with either a **Beyond America—Global Interactions** feature or a **Technology & Culture** feature. **Beyond America—Global Interactions** offers provocative, in-depth discussions of America's place in world history, focusing on such global developments as the origins and spread of agriculture, slave emancipation in the Atlantic World, and global climate change. **Technology & Culture** provides fascinating insight into such subjects as sugar production in the Americas, guns and gun culture, and the interstate highway system. Both features address important developments in U.S. history from the perspective of major new approaches to the past, with an intensity of detail geared to engaging students' curiosity and analytic engagement.

Among the many new exciting additions to *The Enduring Vision*'s MindTap is a thought-provoking unit reflection activity titled "Thinking Like an Historian" that challenges students' critical thinking skills by walking them through a brief historiography based on recent scholarship, asking them to analyze a related set of primary source images, and finally presenting them with an overarching essay question that aims at the heart of a core unit theme.

Every chapter in the print version of *The Enduring Vision* also includes a primary source feature, **Going to the Source**, first introduced in the seventh edition. Its pedagogical purpose is not only to bring history alive for our students, but to offer opportunities for their direct engagement in historical interpretation and analysis. **Going to the Source** offers a rich selection of primary sources, drawing on speeches, diaries, letters, and other materials created by Americans who lived through and helped shape the great events and historical changes of successive periods. In selecting documents, we focused especially, but not exclusively, on environmental themes. A brief introduction places each selection in context, and focus questions suggest assignment and discussion possibilities. The voices captured in **Going to the Source** include both prominent historical figures (from Christopher Columbus to Barack Obama) and lesser-known men and women (such as the Cherokee named Swimmer who explained the place of human beings in the natural world to an early anthropologist, and North Dakota farm girl Anna Marie Low who endured the terrible dust storms of the 1930s).

Chapter-by-Chapter Updates to the Ninth Edition

This edition of *The Enduring Vision* brings the work fully up to date, incorporating major developments and scholarship since the eighth edition went to press. In our chapter revisions, we have introduced new material and new visual images, tightened and clarified lines of argument, and responded to reviewers' suggestions for strengthening our work.

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For the ninth edition of *The Enduring Vision*, we have carefully assessed the coverage, interpretations, and analytic framework of each chapter to incorporate the latest scholarship and emerging themes. This process is reflected both in our textual revisions and in the new works of scholarship cited in the end-of-chapter bibliographies. A chapter-by-chapter glimpse of some of the changes highlights new content and up-to-the-minute scholarship.

Chapter 1 significantly revises and expands coverage on Native American food ways, spirituality, marriage, and gender roles, while providing a more focused discussion of regional differences between native peoples. **Chapter 2** enhances the treatment of initial contact between Europeans and Native Americans, updates the material on West Africa and African slavery, and provides a stronger treatment of gender throughout. In **Chapter 3**, the topics of race and slavery in the Chesapeake and gender dynamics in colonial New England and New Netherland have been refined and extended. **Chapter 4** extends treatment of the Middle Passage and includes new material on women in the Great Awakening.

Chapter 5 includes expanded treatment of the role of women in colonial resistance against British policies. **Chapter 6** increases the coverage of slave experiences and women's roles during the revolutionary war and also contributes new material on the impact of the war on Native American culture and society. **Chapter 7** supplies a new chapter opener and greatly enhanced treatment of women and African Americans in the new republic. **Chapter 8** expands coverage of women's roles in the War of 1812 and broadens the discussion of the economic significance of the cotton gin. **Chapter 9** expands the treatment of the Trail of Tears and elaborates on women's factory work and the ideology of separate spheres. **Chapter 10** extends the treatment of abolitionism and the experience of free blacks. **Chapter 11** sharpens the discussion of the impact of mechanization on workers' lives and brings in new material on the impact of the rising market economy for women's household roles.

Chapter 12 includes new material on yeoman farmers' wives, southern paternalism, and secret slave churches. **Chapter 13** provides new details on gender roles for families on the trek west, Native American experiences, and Lincoln's reactions to the U.S. war with Mexico. **Chapter 14** consolidates sections on the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act while providing new material on the southern response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. **Chapter 15** increases discussion of the role of women in the Civil War and the effect of the war on women's lives.

Chapter 16 adds new material on the Memphis Riot of 1866 and a new section analyzing the successes and failures of Reconstruction. **Chapter 17** includes new material on Plains Indians family structure and gender roles. **Chapters 18** and **19** include condensed opening vignettes and other revisions for improved clarity and readability. **Chapter 20** improves the treatment of the Populist support for women's suffrage and enhanced analysis of the political impact of Populism's defeat in 1896. **Chapter 21** condenses and consolidates two sections on the national phase of the Progressive Movement into one section.

Chapter 22 updates the treatment of the 1918 influenza epidemic, reflecting new scientific research. **Chapter 23** includes new material on the formation of the credit industry and its role in facilitating consumerism. **Chapter 24** improves the coverage of Hollywood's "Golden Age" while **Chapters 25** and **26** provide condensed opening vignettes and other improvements in clarity and readability.

Chapter 27 enhances the treatment of the interstate highway system and racial segregation in the North. **Chapter 28** offers expanded discussions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and new paragraphs on the post–civil rights struggle for black equality, with particular emphasis on mass incarceration. **Chapter 29** expands the treatment of 1960s student protest, including new material comparing U.S. protests in 1968 with those in Mexico and Europe. Taking advantage of new scholarship on the conservative movement, **Chapter 30** supplies a thoroughly reorganized section on that topic, including new material tracing the origins of modern conservatism to anti–New Deal activism in the 1930s. Supply-side economics is now clearly defined and its contribution to conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s explained.

Chapter 31 has been significantly reworked and updated with new narratives and analysis of the Obama presidency and foreign policy challenges. The chapter updates readers on recent climate change agreements and trade pacts; the status of the Afghan war; worsening U.S. relations with Russia; and events in the Middle East (including the Syrian Civil War and the ISIS threat). The chapter also provides improved treatment of the Tea Party and new sections on political polarization, congressional gridlock, and the 2014 midterm elections; developments in civil liberties, including NSA spying, marriage equality, and voting rights; current demographic and economic trends, stressing the uneven quality of the economic recovery and the ongoing racial inequities that prompted a wave of urban unrest in 2014 and 2015; and the 2016 presidential primaries and general election.

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Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, Second Edition (ISBN: 9781133587880), Prepared by Michael J. Galgano, J. Chris Arndt, and Raymond M. Hyser of James Madison University. Whether you're starting down the path as a history major or simply looking for a straightforward, systematic guide to writing a successful paper, this text's "soup-to-nuts" approach to researching and writing about history addresses every step of the process: locating your sources, gathering information, writing and citing according to various style guides, and avoiding plagiarism.

Writing for College History (ISBN: 9780618306039), Prepared by Robert M. Frakes of Clarion University. This brief handbook for survey courses in American, western, and world history guides students through the various types of writing assignments they may encounter in a history class. Providing examples of student writing and candid assessments of student work, this text focuses on the rules and conventions of writing for the college history course.

The Modern Researcher, Sixth Edition (ISBN: 9780495318705), Prepared by Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff of Columbia University. This classic introduction to the techniques of research and the art of expression thoroughly covers every aspect of research, from the selection of a topic through the gathering of materials, analysis, writing, revision, and publication of findings. They present the process not as a set of rules but through actual cases that put the subtleties of research in a useful context. Part One covers the principles and methods of research; Part Two covers writing, speaking, and getting one's work published.

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Acknowledgments

In undertaking revisions of our textbook, we have drawn on our own scholarly work and teaching experience. We have also kept abreast of new work of historical interpretation, as reported by our U.S. history colleagues in their books, scholarly articles, and papers at historical meetings. We list much of this new work in the books cited in the bibliographies on *The Enduring Vision* website. We are much indebted to all these colleagues.

A special thanks goes to Debra Michals of Merrimack College whose expertise as a U.S. history author and women's history scholar helped round out Volume I of the ninth edition of *The Enduring Vision* with numerous important scholarly details and insights.

We have also benefited from the comments and suggestions of instructors who have adopted *The Enduring Vision*; from colleagues and students who have written us about

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specific details; and from the following scholars and teachers who offered systematic evaluations of specific chapters. Their perceptive comments have been most helpful in the revision process.

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Johnny Moore, *Radford University*

Earl Mulderink, *Southern Utah University*

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While Paul Boyer is no longer with us, his example of professionalism and attention to detail served as an ongoing inspiration for everyone involved in the project. Paul was a distinguished cultural and intellectual historian who served as the leader of *The Enduring Vision* team for 25 years until his death in 2012. For every successive edition, he worked tirelessly to bring the textbook up to date and incorporate new perspectives and authors. He was a gentle and generous colleague; he is missed and fondly remembered; and we dedicate this volume to him.

Paul S. Boyer (deceased)
Clifford E. Clark, Jr.
Karen Halttunen
Joseph F. Kett
Andrew Rieser
Neal Salisbury
Harvard Sitkoff
Nancy Woloch

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PAUL S. BOYER was the Merle Curti Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He was also a visiting professor at the University of California, Los Angeles; Northwestern University; and the College of William and Mary. An editor of *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (1971), Dr. Boyer also coauthored *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (1974), for which, with Stephen Nissenbaum, he received the John H. Dunning Prize of the American Historical Association. His other works include *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (1978), *By The Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (1985), *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (1992), and *Promises to Keep: The United States Since World War II* (third edition, 2005). Dr. Boyer was also editor-in-chief of the *Oxford Companion to United States History* (2001). His articles and essays appeared in the *American Quarterly, New Republic*, and other journals.

CLIFFORD E. CLARK, Jr., M.A. and A.D. Hulings Professor of American Studies and Professor of History at Carleton College, earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He has served as both the chair of the History Department and director of the American Studies program at Carleton. Dr. Clark is the author of *Henry Ward Beecher: Spokesman for a Middle-Class America* (1978), *The American Family Home, 1800–1960* (1986), *The Intellectual and Cultural History of Anglo-America Since 1789* in the General History of the Americas Series, and, with Carol Zellie, *Northfield: The History and Architecture of a Community* (1997). He also has edited and contributed to *Minnesota in a Century of Change: The State and Its People Since 1900* (1989). A past member of the Council of the American Studies Association, Dr. Clark is active in the fields of material culture studies and historic preservation, and he serves on the Northfield, Minnesota, Historical Preservation Commission.

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of Our Time (2012), and *Perspectives on Modern America: Making Sense of the Twentieth Century* (2001). Dr. Sitkoff's articles have appeared in *American Quarterly*, the *Journal of American History*, and the *Journal of Southern History*, among others. A frequent lecturer at universities abroad, he has been awarded the Fulbright Commission's John Adams Professorship of American Civilization in the Netherlands and the Mary Ball Washington Professorship of American History in Ireland.

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PROLOGUE
Enduring Vision, Enduring Land

IN THE VISION THAT Americans have shared, the American land has been central. For the Native Americans who spread over the land thousands of years ago, for the Europeans who began to arrive in the sixteenth century, and for the later immigrants who poured in by the tens of millions from all parts of the world, North America was a haven for new beginnings. If life was hard elsewhere, it would be better here. Once here, the immigrants continued to be lured by the land. If times were tough in the East, they would be better in the West. New Englanders migrated to Ohio; Ohioans migrated to Kansas; Kansans migrated to California. For Africans, the migration to America was forced and brutal. But after the Civil War, newly freed African Americans embraced the vision and dreamed of traveling to a Promised Land of new opportunities. Interviewed in 1938, a former Texas slave recalled a verse that he and other blacks had sung when emancipated:

I got my ticket,

Leaving the thicket,

And I'm a-heading for the Golden Shore!

For most of America's history, its peoples have celebrated the land—its beauty, its diversity, and its ability to sustain and even enrich those who tapped its resources. But within this shared vision have been deep-seated tensions. Even Native Americans—who regarded the land and other natural phenomena as spiritual—sometimes depleted the resources on which they depended. Europeans, considering "nature" a force to be mastered, were even less restrained. The very abundance of America's natural resources led them to think of these resources as infinitely available and exploitable. In moving from one place to another, some sought to escape starvation or oppression, while others pursued wealth despite the environmental consequences. Regardless of their motives, migrants often left behind a land bereft of wild animals, its fertility depleted by intensive farming, its waters dammed and polluted or dried up altogether. If the land today remains part of Americans' vision, it is because they realize its vulnerability, rather than its immunity, to irreversible degradation at the hands of people and their technology.

To comprehend fully Americans' relationship with the land, we must know the land itself. The North American landscape, as encountered by its human inhabitants, formed over at least 3 billion years, culminating in the last Ice Age. From the earliest peopling to more recent waves of immigration, the continent's physical

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characteristics have shaped human affairs, including cycles of intensive agriculture and industrialization; the rise of cities; the course of politics; and even the basic themes of American literature, art, and music. Geology, geography, and environment are among the fundamental building blocks of human history.

The Continent and Its Regions

Differences in climate, physical features, soils and minerals, and organic life are the basis of America's geographic diversity (see Maps P.1, P.2, and P.3). As each region's human inhabitants utilized available resources, geographic diversity contributed to a diversity of regional cultures, first among Native Americans and then among the immigrant peoples who spread across America after 1492. Taken together, the variety of these resources would also contribute to the rise to wealth and global preeminence of the United States.

MAP P.1 NORTH AMERICAN CLIMATIC REGIONS America's variety of mostly temperate climates is key to its environmental and economic diversity.

The West

With its extreme climate and profuse wildlife, Alaska recalls the land that North America's earliest peoples encountered (see Chapter 1). Alaska's far north is a treeless tundra of grasses, lichens, and stunted shrubs. This region, the Arctic, appears as a stark wilderness in winter and is reborn in fleeting summers of colorful flowers and returning birds. In contrast, the subarctic of central Alaska is a heavily forested country known as taiga. Here rises North America's highest peak, 20,310-foot Denali (formerly known as Mt. McKinley). Average temperatures in the subarctic range from the fifties above zero Fahrenheit in summer to well below zero in the long, dark winters, and the soil is permanently frozen except during summer surface thaws and where, ominously, global warming is having an effect.

The Pacific coastal region is in some ways a world apart. Vegetation and animal life, isolated from the rest of the continent by mountains and deserts, include many species unfamiliar farther east. Warm, wet westerly winds blowing off the Pacific create a climate more uniformly temperate than anywhere else in North America. From Anchorage to south of San Francisco Bay, winters are cool, humid, and foggy, and the coast's dense forest cover includes the largest living organisms on Earth—the giant redwood trees. Along the southern California coast, winds and currents generate a warmer, Mediterranean climate, and vegetation includes a heavy growth of shrubs and short trees, scattered stands of oak, and grasses able to endure prolonged seasonal drought.

To the east of the coastal region, the rugged Sierra Nevada, Cascade, and coastal ranges stretch the length of Washington, Oregon, and California. Their majestic peaks trap abundant Pacific Ocean moisture carried eastward by gigantic clockwise air currents. Between the ranges nestle flat, fertile valleys that have been major agricultural centers in recent times.

Still farther east lies the Great Basin, encompassing Nevada, western Utah, southern Idaho, and eastern Oregon. The few streams here have no outlet to the ocean. A remnant of an inland sea that once held glacial meltwater survives in Utah's Great Salt Lake. Today, however, the Great Basin is dry and severely eroded, a cold desert rich in minerals and imposing in its austere grandeur and lonely emptiness. North of the basin, the Columbia and Snake Rivers, which drain the plateau country of Idaho and eastern Washington and Oregon, provide plentiful water for farming.

Western North America's "backbone" is the Rocky Mountains. The Rockies form part of the immense

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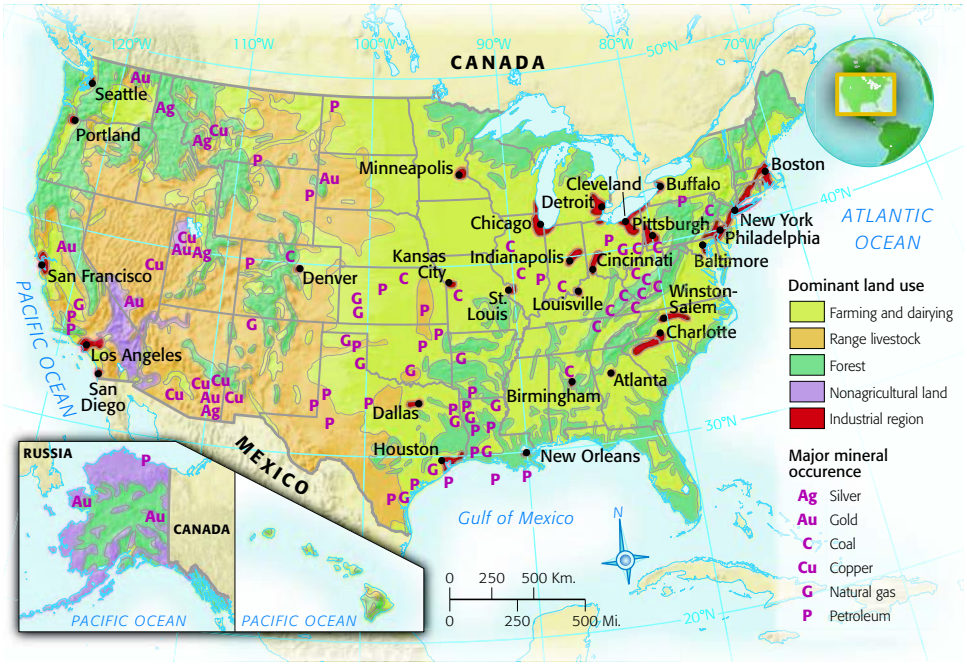
MAP P.2 LAND USE AND MAJOR MINERAL RESOURCES IN THE UNITED STATES The land has been central to America's industrial as well as agricultural productivity.



MAP P.3 NATURAL VEGETATION OF THE UNITED STATES The current distribution of plant life came about only after the last Ice Age ended, ca. 10,000 B.C.E., and Earth's climate warmed.

mountain system that reaches from Alaska to the Andes of South America. Beyond the front range of the Rockies lies the Continental Divide, separating the rivers flowing eastward into the Atlantic from those draining westward into the Pacific. The climate and vegetation of the Rocky Mountain high country resemble those of the Arctic and subarctic regions.

Arizona, southern Utah, western New Mexico, and southeastern California form America's southwestern desert. The climate is arid, searingly hot on summer days and cold on winter nights. Adapted to these conditions, many plants and animals that thrive here could not survive elsewhere. Dust storms, cloudbursts, and flash floods have everywhere carved, abraded, and twisted the rocky landscape. The most monumental example is the Grand Canyon, where the Colorado River has been cutting down to Precambrian bedrock for 20 million years. In the face of such tremendous natural forces, human activity might well seem paltry and transitory. Yet it was in the Southwest that Native Americans cultivated the first crops in what is now the continental United States.

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CARIBOU AND THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE This scene from the open tundra of Alaska points to the uneasy co-existence between wildlife and the human pursuit of fossil fuels. *(Design Pics Inc / Alamy Stock Photo)*

The Heartland

North America's heartland comprises the area extending between the Rockies and the Appalachians. This vast region forms one of the world's largest drainage systems. From here, the Great Lakes empty into the North Atlantic through the St. Lawrence River, and the Mississippi–Missouri–Ohio river network flows southward into the Gulf of Mexico. By transporting peoples and goods, the heartland's network of waterways has supported commerce and communication for centuries, before—as well as since—the arrival of Europeans.

The mighty Mississippi—the "Great River" to the Ojibwe Indians and one of the world's longest rivers—has changed course many times. Southward from its junction with the Ohio River, the Mississippi meanders constantly, depositing rich sediments throughout its broad, ancient floodplain. It has carried so much silt over the millennia that its lower stretches flow above the surrounding valley, which it periodically floods when its high banks (levees) are breached. Only the Ozark Plateau and Ouachita Mountains remain exposed, forming the hill country of southern Missouri, north-central Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma.

Below New Orleans, the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico through an enormous delta with an intricate network of grassy swamps known as bayous. The Mississippi Delta offers rich farm soil capable of supporting a large population. Swarming with waterfowl, insects, alligators, and marine plants and animals, this environment has nurtured a distinctive way of life for the Indian, white, and black peoples who have inhabited it.

North of the Ohio and Missouri Rivers, themselves products of glacial runoff, Ice Age glaciation distributed glacial debris. Spread even farther by wind and rivers, this fine-ground glacial dust slowly created the fertile farm soil of the Midwest. Glaciers also dug out the five Great Lakes (Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario), collectively the world's largest body of fresh water. Water flowing from Lake Erie to the lower elevation of Lake Ontario created Niagara Falls, a testimony like the Grand Canyon to the way that water can shape a beautiful landscape.

Most of the heartland's eastern and northern sectors were once heavily forested while thick, tallgrass prairie covered Illinois, parts of adjoining states, and much of the Missouri and middle Arkansas river basins. Beyond the Missouri, the prairie gave way to short-grass steppe—the Great Plains, cold in winter, blazing hot in summer, and often dry. The great distances that separate the heartland's prairies and Great Plains from the moderating effects of the oceans continue to make this region's annual temperature range the most extreme in North America. As one moves westward, elevations rise gradually;

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HARVESTING WHEAT A team of combines harvest wheat adjacent to the farm shop in the Palouse region of Washington. *(Rick Dalton - Ag / Alamy)*

trees grow only along streambeds; long droughts alternate with violent thunderstorms and tornadoes; and water and wood are ever scarcer.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, much of this forested, grassy world became open farming country. Gone are the flocks of migratory birds that once darkened the daytime skies of the plains; gone are the free-roaming bison. Forests now only fringe the heartland: in the lake country of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, on Michigan's upper peninsula, and across the hilly uplands of the Appalachians, southern Indiana, and the Ozarks. The settlers who largely displaced the region's Native Americans plowed up prairie grass and cut down trees. Destruction of the forest and grassy cover made the heartland both a "breadbasket" for the world market and, during intervals of drought, a bleak "dust bowl." With farming now in decline, the heartland's future is uncertain.

The Atlantic Seaboard

The eastern edge of the heartland is formed by the Appalachian Mountains, which over the course of 210 million years have been ground down to gentle ridges paralleling one another southwest to northeast. Between the ridges lie fertile valleys such as Virginia's Shenandoah. The Appalachian hill country's wealth is in thick timber and mineral beds—particularly coal deposits—whose heavy exploitation since the nineteenth century has accelerated destructive soil erosion in this softly beautiful, mountainous land.

Descending gently from the Appalachians' eastern slope is the Piedmont region. In this broad, rolling upland extending from Alabama to Maryland, the rich, red soil has been ravaged in modern times by excessive cotton and tobacco cultivation. The Piedmont's modern piney-woods cover constitutes "secondary growth," replacing the sturdy hardwood trees that Native Americans and pioneering whites and blacks once knew. The northward extension of the Piedmont from Pennsylvania to New England has more broadleaf vegetation and a harsher winter climate, and was shaped by glacial activity. The terrain in upstate New York and New England comprises hills contoured by advancing and retreating ice, and numerous lakes scoured out by glaciers. Belts of rocky debris remain, and in many places granite boulders shoulder their way up through the

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ABANDONED "RUST BELT" FACTORY The American landscape is littered with reminders that large-scale factory production has ended or been diminished in many industries. *(Photo by Jeff Kowalsky/Bloomberg via Getty Images)*

soil. Though picturesque, the land is the despair of anyone who has tried to plow it.

The character of the Atlantic coastal plain varies strikingly from south to north. At the tip of the Florida peninsula in the extreme south, the climate and vegetation are subtropical. The southern coastal lands running north from Florida to Chesapeake Bay and the mouth of the Delaware River compose the tidewater region. This is a wide, rather flat lowland, heavily wooded with a mixture of broadleaf and coniferous forests, ribboned with numerous small rivers, occasionally swampy, and often miserably hot and humid in summer. North of Delaware Bay, the coastal lowlands narrow and flatten to form the New Jersey pine barrens, Long Island, and Cape Cod—all created by the deposit of glacial debris. Here the climate is noticeably milder than in the interior. North of Massachusetts Bay, the land beyond the immediate shoreline becomes increasingly mountainous.

North America's true eastern edge is not the coastline but the offshore continental shelf, whose relatively shallow waters extend as far as 250 miles into the Atlantic before plunging deeply. Along the rocky Canadian and Maine coasts, where at the end of the Ice Age the rising ocean half-covered glaciated mountains and valleys, oceangoing craft may find numerous small anchorages. South of Massachusetts Bay, the Atlantic shore and the Gulf of Mexico coastline form a shoreline of sandy beaches and long barrier islands paralleling the mainland. Tropical storms boiling up from the open seas regularly lash North America's Atlantic shores, and at all times brisk winds make coastal navigation treacherous.

For millions, the Atlantic coastal region of North America offered a welcome. Ancient Indian hunters and more recent European colonists alike found its climate and its abundance of food sources alluring. Offshore, well within their reach, lay such productive fishing grounds as the Grand Banks, off Newfoundland, and Cape Cod's coastal bays where cool-water upwellings on the continental shelf had lured swarms of fish and crustaceans. "The abundance of sea-fish are almost beyond believing," wrote a breathless English settler in 1630, "and sure I should scarce have believed it, except I had seen it with my own eyes."

A Legacy and a Challenge

North America's fertile soil, extensive forests, and rich mineral resources long nourished visions of limitless natural abundance that would yield untold wealth to its human inhabitants. Such visions have contributed to the acceleration of population growth, intensive agriculture, industrialization, urbanization, and hunger for material goods—processes that are exhausting resources, polluting the environment, and raising temperatures to the point of endangering human health and well-being.

In searching for ways to avoid environmental catastrophe, Americans would do well to recall the Native American legacy. Although Indians often wasted, and occasionally exhausted, a region's resources to their detriment, their practices generally encouraged the renewal of plants, animals, and soil over time. Underlying these practices were Indians' beliefs that they were spiritually related to the land and all living beings that shared it. In recapturing the sense that they are intimately related to the land they inhabit, rather than alien to it, future American generations could revitalize the enduring vision of those who came before them.

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THE ENDURING VISION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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1 The Enduring Vision
Native Peoples of America, to 1500

KWAKWAKA'WAKW SUN TRANSFORMATION MASK, NORTHWEST COAST Worn during Peace Dance ceremonies in the late nineteenth century, this mask drew on the deep-seated religious and artistic traditions of Northwest Coast Native Americans. *(Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution #D115235)*

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CHRONOLOGY 13,000 B.C.E.–C.E. 1500

ca. 13,000 B.C.E.	Human communities in the Americas.
ca. 9000 B.C.E.	Paleo-Indians established throughout Western Hemisphere. Extinction of big-game mammals.
ca. 8000 B.C.E.	Earliest Archaic societies. Domesticated squash grown in Peru.
ca. 7000 B.C.E.	Athapaskan-speaking peoples enter North America.
ca. 5000 B.C.E.	First maize grown in Mesoamerica.
ca. 3000–2000 B.C.E.	Inuit and Aleut peoples enter North America from Siberia.
ca. 2500 B.C.E.	Archaic societies begin giving way to a more diverse range of cultures. First maize grown in North America.
ca. 1200–900 B.C.E.	Poverty Point flourishes in Louisiana.
ca. 400–100 B.C.E.	Adena culture flourishes in Ohio Valley.
ca. 100 B.C.E.–C.E. 600	Hopewell culture thrives in Midwest.
ca. C.E. 1	Rise of chiefdoms on Northwest Coast and in California. Ancestral Pueblo culture begins in Southwest.
ca. 300	Hohokam culture begins in Southwest.
ca. 700	Mississippian culture begins.
ca. 900	Urban center arises at Cahokia.
ca. 1000	Norse attempt to colonize Vinland (Newfoundland).
ca. 1200	Ancestral Pueblo and Hohokam peoples disperse in Southwest.
ca. 1200–1400	Cahokia declines and inhabitants disperse.
ca. 1400	Iroquois Confederacy formed.
1428	Aztec empire expands.
1438	Inca empire expands.
1492	Christopher Columbus reaches Western Hemisphere.

American history began with the people now referred to as Native Americans, thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. Because Indians did not communicate through alphabetic writing before Europeans arrived, the principal sources of evidence about them are **archaeology**, **oral traditions**, graphic images and inscriptions, and cultural patterns (sometimes noted later by observant Europeans). As with all sources, historians have examined and interpreted this evidence critically to form a picture of the American past.

The earliest Native Americans lived in small, mobile bands of hunter-gatherers. They spread over the Americas and adapted to a variety of regional environments. As a result, their cultures diverged and diversified. By the time Europeans arrived, Indians lived in communities numbering from a few dozen to several thousand. All residents' contributions to these communities were vital, but each community had its own political, social, and gender organization. A group's regional location determined how they obtained food, which in turn helped shape their social structure. Some focused on farming, others hunting and gathering, and others fishing, but all drew on a variety of food sources. Although Indians' customs and spiritual beliefs varied widely, there were often similarities and shared cultural characteristics between peoples with different tribal, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds.

archaeology
The scientific study of human history and prehistory using material remains such as artifacts, buildings, monuments, fossils, and inscriptions, often excavated.

oral traditions
A group's cultural practices and history passed from one generation to the next by word of mouth and often using the device of storytelling; verbal retelling of the past, not written down.

1-1 The First Americans, ca. 13,000–2500 B.C.E.

What tools have historians used to convey a sense of the American past and its peoples before the arrival of Europeans?

Exactly how and when the Western Hemisphere was first settled remains uncertain. Many Indians believe their ancestors originated in the Americas, but most scientific findings indicate that humans began arriving from northeastern Asia sometime during the last Ice Age (ca. 33,000–10,700 B.C.E.), when land linked Siberia and Alaska. There would have been

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no reason for these travelers to realize that they were passing from one of Earth's hemispheres to the other. Thereafter, as the Ice Age waned and global temperatures rose, they and their descendants dispersed throughout the Americas, adapting to environments ranging from tropical to frigid. Though divided into small, widely scattered groups, they interacted through trade and travel. Over several thousand years, indigenous Americans learned from one another and developed ways of life that had much in common despite their diverse backgrounds.

1-1.1 Peopling New Worlds

Most archaeologists agree that humans had spread to many parts of North America by 13,000 B.C.E. Often small foraging **bands** in search of food, most of the newcomers apparently traveled by watercraft, following the then-continuous coastline from Siberia to Alaska and progressing southward along the Pacific. As they went, groups stopped and either settled nearby or traveled inland to establish new homes. Coastal sites as far south as Monte Verde, Chile, reveal evidence from about 12,000 B.C.E. of peoples who fed on marine life, birds, small mammals, and wild plants, as well as an occasional mastodon. (Archaeologists estimate dates by measuring the radioactive carbon 14 [radiocarbon] in organic materials such as food remains.) Evidence of human encampments from the same period have been found at several North American sites. Some of the earliest Americans arrived by land. As the glaciers gradually melted, a corridor developed east of the Rocky Mountains through which these travelers passed before dispersing over much of the Western Hemisphere (see Map 1.1). A few archaeologists conjecture that some of the earliest Americans may have crossed the Atlantic from one or another western European site.

Although most Native Americans are descended from these early migrants, the ancestors of some native peoples came later from northeastern Asia, after the land connecting Siberia with Alaska had submerged. The Athapaskan (or Dene) people settled in Alaska and northwestern Canada in about 7000 B.C.E. Some of their descendants later migrated to the Southwest to form the Apaches and Navajos (as mentioned later). After 3000 B.C.E., Inuits (Eskimos) and Aleuts crossed the Bering Sea from Siberia to Alaska.

Native American oral traditions offer conflicting support for scientists' theories, depending on how the traditions are interpreted. Pueblos and Navajos in the Southwest tell how their forebears experienced perilous journeys through other worlds before emerging from underground in their present homelands, while the Iroquois in the region of modern-day New York and Ontario, Canada, trace their ancestry to a pregnant woman who fell from the "sky world." In accounts from the Iroquois and other peoples, the original humans could not settle on the water-covered planet until a diving bird or mammal brought soil from the ocean bottom, creating an island on which they could walk. Still other traditions recall large mammals, monsters, or "hairy people" with whom the first people shared Earth. Many Native Americans today insist that such accounts confirm that their ancestors originated in the Western Hemisphere. However, others note that the stories do not specify a place of origin and may well reflect the experiences of their ancestors as they journeyed from Asia—across water, ice, and unknown lands—and encountered large mammals before settling in their new homes. If not taken literally, they maintain, the traditions support rather than contradict scientists' theories.

Paleo-Indians, as archaeologists call the earliest Americans, established the foundations of Native American life. Paleo-Indians appear to have traveled within well-defined hunting territories in bands consisting of several families and totaling about fifteen to fifty people. Men hunted while women prepared food and cared for the children. Bands left their territories when traveling to quarries to obtain stone for making tools and other objects. There they encountered other bands, with whom they exchanged ideas and goods, intermarried, and participated in religious ceremonies. As in nonmarket economies and nonstate societies throughout history, these exchanges followed the principle of **reciprocity**—the mutual bestowing of gifts and favors—rather than the notion that one party should accumulate profits or power at the expense of the other. These encounters enabled Paleo-Indians to develop a broad cultural life that transcended their small bands.

As at Monte Verde, Paleo-Indians everywhere exploited a variety of plant and animal foods available in their local environments. Initially, they focused on the large mammals—mammoths, mastodons, and giant species of horses, camels, bison, caribou, and moose—that proliferated then in the Americas. But suddenly in about 9000 B.C.E., the megafauna became extinct. Although some scholars believe that Paleo-Indian hunters killed off the large mammals, most maintain that the mammals were doomed not just by humans but by the warming climate, which disrupted the food chain on which they depended. Human beings, on the other hand, were major beneficiaries of environmental changes associated with the end of the Ice Age.

bands
Paleo-Indian traveling groups within hunting territories; these groups consisted of several families and totaled 15–50 people.

Paleo-Indians
Earliest peoples of the Americas, 13,000–8000 B.C.E.

reciprocity
Mutual bestowing of gifts and favors rather than competition for resources.

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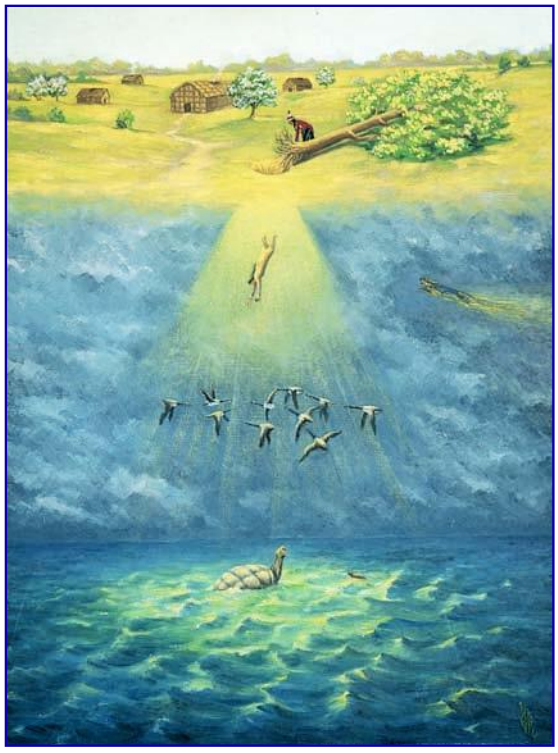

***SKY WOMAN*, ERNEST SMITH (1936)** A visual depiction of the Iroquois people's account of their origins, in which a woman fell from the sky to a watery world. *(Granger, NYC—All rights reserved).*

1-1.2 Archaic Societies

After about 8000 B.C.E., Native Americans began modifying their Paleo-Indian ways. The warming of Earth's atmosphere continued until about 4000 B.C.E., with far-reaching global effects. Sea levels rose, flooding coastal areas, while glacial runoff filled interior waterways. The glaciers receded northward, along with the arctic and subarctic environments that had formerly extended into what are now the lower forty-eight states of the United States. Treeless plains and evergreen forests gave way to deciduous forests in the East, grassland prairies on the Plains, and desert in much of the West. The regional environments we know today emerged during this period.

Archaic peoples, as archaeologists term Native Americans who flourished in these new environments, lived off the wider varieties of flora and fauna that were now available. With more sources of food, communities required less land and supported larger populations. Some Indians in temperate regions resided in year-round villages. From about 3900 to 2800 B.C.E., for example, the 100 to 150 residents of a community near Kampsville, Illinois, obtained ample supplies of fish, mussels, mammals, birds, nuts, and seeds—without moving their homes.

Over time, Archaic Americans expanded women's and men's roles. Men took responsibility for fishing as well as hunting, while women procured wild plant products. Gender roles are apparent in burials at Indian Knoll, Kentucky, where tools relating to hunting, fishing, woodworking, and leatherworking were usually buried with men and those relating to cracking nuts and grinding seeds with women. Yet gender-specific distinctions did not apply to all activities, for objects used by religious healers were distributed equally between male and female graves.

Archaic Indians—usually women in North America—honed their skills at harvesting wild plants. Through generations of close observation, they determined how to weed, prune, irrigate, transplant, and otherwise manipulate their environments to favor plants that provided food and medicine. They also developed specialized tools for digging and grinding as well as more effective methods of drying and storing seeds. The most sophisticated early plant cultivators lived in **Mesoamerica** (central and southern Mexico and Central America), where maize agriculture was highly developed by 2500 B.C.E.

1-2 The Emergence of Tribal Societies, ca. 2500 B.C.E.–C.E. 1500

What was the relationship between the environment, available food supplies, and the development and success of various Native American societies from 2500 B.C.E. to 1500 C.E.?

After about 2500 B.C.E., most Native American societies moved beyond the ways of their Archaic forebears, particularly in their relations with the environment and with one another. The greatest change occurred among peoples whose environments enabled them to produce food surpluses by cultivating crops or other means. Surpluses enabled most of these societies to support larger populations in smaller territories than previously. Some of the most densely populated societies transformed trade networks into extensive religious and political systems linking several—sometimes dozens of—local communities. A few of these groupings became

Archaic peoples
Native Americans from 8000 until 2500 B.C.E.

Mesoamerica
Roughly, land extending from modern Mexico to Columbia; Central America plus Mexico.

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MAP 1.1 THE PEOPLING OF THE AMERICAS Scientists postulate two probable routes by which the earliest peoples reached America. By 9500 B.C.E., their Paleo-Indian descendants had settled throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Iroquois Confederacy
The council of chiefs from the Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca Iroquois nations.

formal confederacies and even states. The five Iroquois nations (Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca) united around 1400 C.E. to become the powerful **Iroquois Confederacy**, for example. Two of the states—the Aztecs and Incas—went still further by becoming empires. But mobile hunting-fishing-gathering bands persisted in environments where food sources were few and widely scattered.

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By 1500 C.E., the vast array of tribal societies encountered by the earliest Europeans had been established in the Americas.

1-2.1 Mesoamerica and South America

As Mesoamerican farmers refined their practices, their crops improved. When they planted beans alongside maize, the beans released an amino acid, lysine, into the maize, which heightened its nutritional value. Higher yields and improved nutrition led societies to structure their lives around farming. Over the next eight centuries, maize-based farming societies spread throughout Mesoamerica.

After 2000 B.C.E., some Mesoamerican societies produced crop surpluses that they traded to less populous, nonfarming neighbors. Expanding their trade contacts, a number of these societies established formal exchange networks that enabled them to enjoy more wealth and power than their partners. After 1200 B.C.E., a few communities, such as those of the Olmecs in Mesoamerica (see Map 1.2) and Chavín de Huántar in the Andes (see Map 1.3), developed into large urban centers, subordinating smaller neighbors. Unlike in earlier societies, the cities were highly unequal. A few wealthy elites dominated thousands of residents, and hereditary rulers claimed kinship with religious deities. Laborers built elaborate temples and palaces—including the first American pyramids—and artisans created statues of rulers and gods.

Although the earliest hereditary rulers exercised absolute power, their realms consisted of a few closely clustered communities. Anthropologists term such political societies **chiefdoms**, as opposed to **states** in which a ruler or government exercises direct authority over

MindTap

Beyond America
The Origins and Spread of Agriculture

chiefdoms
Political societies in Mesoamerica where the earliest hereditary rulers exercised absolute power over a few closely clustered communities.

states
Political societies in Mesoamerica where a ruler or government exercised direct authority over many communities.

MAP 1.2 MAJOR MESOAMERICAN CULTURES, CA. 1000 B.C.E.–C.E. 1519 Mesoamerica was a center of cultural and political ferment, culminating in the rise of the Aztecs. The Aztecs were still expanding when they were invaded by Spain in 1519.

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many communities. Besides Mesoamerica and the Andes, chiefdoms eventually emerged in the Mississippi and Amazon valleys. A few states arose in Mesoamerica after 1 C.E. and in South America after 500 C.E. Although men ruled most chiefdoms and states, women served as chiefs in some Andean societies until the Spanish arrived.

The capital of the largest early state, Teotihuacán, was situated about fifty miles northeast of modern-day Mexico City. Numbering at least a hundred thousand people between the second and seventh centuries C.E., it was one of the largest cities in the world at the time. At its center was a complex of pyramids, the largest of which, the Pyramid of the Sun, was about 1 million cubic meters in volume. Teotihuacán dominated the peoples of the valley of Mexico, and its trade networks extended over much of present-day Mexico. Although Teotihuacán declined in the eighth century, it exercised enormous influence on the religion, government, and culture of its neighbors.

Aztecs
The empire that migrated from the north during the thirteenth century and settled on the shore of Lake Texcoco as subjects of the local inhabitants.

Teotihuacán's greatest impact was on the Maya, whose kingdom-states flourished from southern Mexico to Honduras between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. The Maya developed a calendar, a numerical system (which included the concept of zero), and a system of phonetic, hieroglyphic writing. Maya scribes produced thousands of books on bark paper glued into long, folded strips, which recorded religious ceremonies, historical traditions, and astronomical observations.

Other powerful states flourished in Mesoamerica and South America until the fifteenth century, when two mighty empires arose to challenge them. The first was the empire of the **Aztecs** (known then as the Mexica), who had migrated from the north during the thirteenth century and settled on the shore of Lake Texcoco as subjects of the local inhabitants. Overthrowing their rulers in 1428, the Aztecs conquered other cities and extended their domain to the Gulf Coast (see Map 1.2). In the 1450s, the Aztecs interpreted a four-year drought as a sign that the gods, like themselves, were hungry. Aztec priests maintained that the only way to satisfy the gods was to serve them human blood and hearts. From then on, conquering Aztec warriors sought captives for sacrifice to nourish the gods.

PYRAMID OF THE SUN, TEOTIHUACÁN Begun during the first century C.E., this pyramid remained the largest structure in the Americas until after the Spanish arrived. *(Richard A. Cooke/Corbis)*

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A massive temple complex at the capital of Tenochtitlán formed the sacred center of the Aztec empire. The Great Temple consisted of two joined pyramids surrounded by smaller pyramids and buildings. Most of the more than two hundred deities the Aztecs honored originated with other societies, including those they had subjugated.

To support the nearly two hundred thousand people residing in and around Tenochtitlán, the Aztecs maximized food production. They drained swampy areas and created artificial islands with rich soil from the lake bottom. Aztec farmers grew food on the islands to supply the urban population. Aztec engineers devised an elaborate irrigation system to provide fresh water for both people and crops.

The Aztecs continued expanding into the early sixteenth century and collected taxes from subjects living within about a hundred miles of the capital. Conquered peoples farther away paid tribute, which replaced the free exchanges of goods formerly carried on with neighbors. Trade beyond the Aztec domain was conducted by *pochteca*, traders who traveled in armed caravans. The *pochteca* sought salt, cacao, jewelry, feathers, jaguar pelts, cotton, and precious stones and metals, including gold and turquoise, the latter from the American Southwest. Whether the Aztecs would have expanded still farther remains a mystery because they were violently crushed in the sixteenth century by the Spanish (see Chapter 2).

Meanwhile, a second empire, that of the **Incas**, arose in the Western Hemisphere. From their sumptuous capital at Cuzco, the Incas conquered and subordinated societies over much of the Andes and adjacent regions after 1438. One key to the Incas' expansion was their ability to produce and distribute a wide range of surplus crops, including maize, beans, potatoes, and meats. They constructed terraced irrigation systems for watering crops on mountainous terrain, perfected freeze-drying and other preservation techniques, built large storehouses, and constructed a vast network of roads and bridges. Like the Aztecs, the Incas were still expanding when Spanish invaders crushed them in the sixteenth century.

1-2.2 The Southwest

The Southwest is a uniformly arid region with a variety of landscapes. Waters from rugged mountains and forested plateaus follow ancient channels through vast expanses of desert on their way to the gulfs of Mexico and California. The amount of water has fluctuated over time, but securing water has always been a challenge for southwestern peoples. Nonetheless, some of them became farmers.

Maize first reached the Southwest via Mesoamerican trade links in about 2500 B.C.E. Yet full-time farming began only after 400 B.C.E. with the introduction of a more drought-resistant strain. Thereafter, southwestern populations rose and Indian cultures were transformed. The two most influential Southwestern cultures were Hohokam and Ancestral Pueblo.

Hohokam culture emerged about 300 C.E., several centuries after Native Americans had begun farming in the Gila and Salt River valleys of southern Arizona. Hohokam peoples—organized in large workforces—built irrigation canals that enabled them to harvest two crops a year. They also built permanent towns, usually consisting of several hundred inhabitants. While many towns remained independent, others joined confederations with several towns linked by canals. The central village in each

Incas
The empire that conquered and subordinated societies over much of the Andes and adjacent regions after 1438.

Hohokam
Early agricultural society of the Southwest.

MAP 1.3 MAJOR ANDEAN CULTURES, 900 B.C.E.–1432 C.E. Despite the challenges posed by the rugged Andes Mountains, native peoples there developed several complex societies and cultures, culminating in the Inca Empire.

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confederation coordinated labor, trade, religion, and political life for member communities.

Although unique, Hohokam culture drew on Mesoamerican materials and ideas. From about the sixth century C.E., the large villages had ball courts and platform mounds similar to those in Mesoamerica. Archaeologists have uncovered rubber balls, macaw feathers, cottonseeds, and copper bells from Mesoamerica at Hohokam sites. Mesoamerican influence was also apparent in the creations of Hohokam artists, who worked in clay, stone, turquoise, and shell.

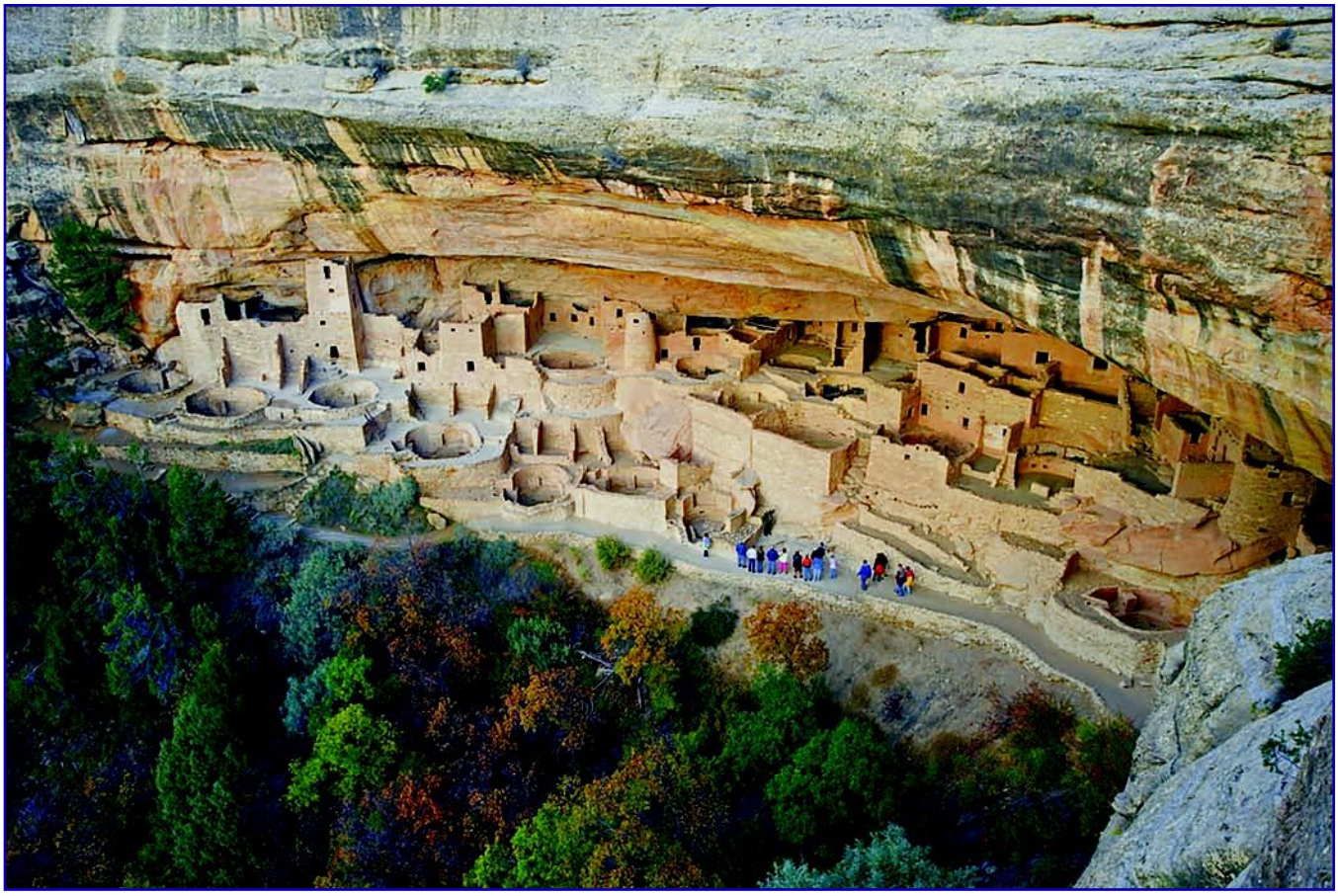
Ancestral Pueblo culture originated in about 1 C.E. in the Four Corners area where Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah meet. By around 700 C.E., Ancestral Pueblos were harvesting crops, living in permanent villages, and making pottery. Thereafter, they expanded over a wide area and became the most powerful people in the Southwest.

Ancestral Pueblo
Southwest Native American culture known especially for its architecture, which consisted of apartments and kivas.

Distinctive for their architecture, Ancestral Pueblo villages consisted of extensive complexes of attached apartments and storage rooms, along with *kivas*—partly underground structures in which male religious leaders conducted ceremonies. To this day, similar apartments and kivas remain central features of Southwestern Pueblo Indian architecture.

Ancestral Pueblo culture reached its height between about 900 and 1150, during an unusually wet period in the Southwest. In Chaco Canyon, a cluster of twelve large towns forged a powerful confederation numbering about fifteen thousand people. A system of roads radiated from the canyon to satellite towns as far as sixty-five miles away. Road builders carved out stairs or footholds on steep cliffs rather than go around them. By controlling rainwater runoff through small dams and terraces, the towns fed themselves and their satellites. The largest town, Pueblo Bonito, had about twelve hundred inhabitants. People traveled over the roads from the satellites to Chaco Canyon's two Great Kivas—about fifty feet in diameter—for religious ceremonies. The canyon was also a major trade center, with links to Mesoamerica, the Great Plains, the Mississippi Valley, and California.

Ancestral Pueblo culture—as manifested at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde in southwestern



CLIFF PALACE, MESA VERDE Modern tourists help demonstrate the scale of this remarkable Ancestral Pueblo community site. *(Jose Fuste Raga/Corbis)*

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Colorado, and other sites—declined in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The overriding cause was drought. As often has happened in human history, an era of abundant rainfall ended abruptly. Without enough water, inhabitants abandoned the great centers, dispersing to form smaller modern Pueblo communities, many of them on the Rio Grande. Hohokam communities also dispersed, forming the Akimel O'odham and Tohono O'odham tribes of southern Arizona. With farming peoples now living in the few areas with enough water, the drier lands of the Southwest attracted the nonfarming Apaches and Navajos, whose arrival at the end of the fourteenth century ended their long migration from the far north (mentioned earlier in this chapter).

1-2.3 The Eastern Woodlands

Unlike the Southwest, the Eastern Woodlands—stretching from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic Ocean—had abundant water. That and deciduous forests provided Woodlands Indians with a rich variety of food sources, while the region's extensive river systems facilitated long-distance travel. As a result, many eastern Indians established populous villages and complex confederations.

By 1200 B.C.E., about five thousand people lived at **Poverty Point** on the lower Mississippi River. The town featured earthworks consisting of two large mounds and six concentric embankments, the outermost of which spanned more than half a mile in diameter. During the spring and autumn equinoxes, a person standing on the larger mound could watch the sun rise directly over the village center. As elsewhere in the Americas, solar observations were the basis for religious beliefs and a calendar.

Poverty Point was the center of a larger political and economic unit. The settlement imported quartz, copper, obsidian, crystal, and other materials from long distances for redistribution to nearby communities. Poverty Point's general design and organization indicate Olmec influence from Mesoamerica. Poverty Point flourished for about three centuries and then declined, for unknown reasons. Nevertheless, it foreshadowed later developments in the Eastern Woodlands.

A different kind of mound-building culture, called **Adena**, emerged in the Ohio Valley around 400 B.C.E. Adena villages were smaller than Poverty Point, rarely exceeding four hundred inhabitants. But Adena people spread over a wide area and built hundreds of mounds, most of them containing graves. The treatment of Adena dead varied according to social or political status. Some corpses were cremated; others were placed in round clay basins or given elaborate tombs.

After 100 B.C.E., Adena evolved into a more complex and widespread culture known as **Hopewell**, which spread from the Ohio Valley to the Illinois River Valley. Some Hopewell centers contained two or three dozen mounds within enclosures of several square miles. Hopewell elites were buried with thousands of freshwater pearls or copper ornaments or with sheets of mica, quartz, or other sacred substances, many of which originated in locales east of the Rockies. Through trade networks, Hopewell religious and technological influence spread to communities as far away as Wisconsin, Missouri, Florida, and New York. Although the great Hopewell centers were abandoned by about 600 B.C.E. (for reasons that are unclear), they had an enormous influence on subsequent developments in eastern North America.

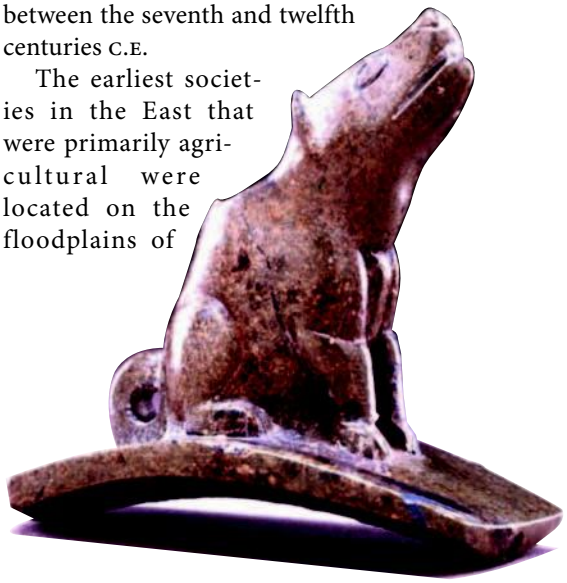
The peoples of Poverty Point and the Adena and Hopewell cultures did little farming. Indian women in Kentucky and Missouri had cultivated small amounts of squash as early as 2500 B.C.E., and maize first appeared east of the Mississippi by 300 B.C.E. But agriculture did not become the primary food source for Woodlands people until between the seventh and twelfth centuries C.E.

The earliest societies in the East that were primarily agricultural were located on the floodplains of

Poverty Point
The town on the lower Mississippi River that was the center of the Indian communities around 1200 B.C.

Adena
An early Native American culture centered in the Ohio River valley from about the tenth century B.C. to about the second century C.E., noted for its elaborate burial mounds and highly developed artistic style.

Hopewell
An early Native American culture centered in the Ohio River valley from about the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., noted for the construction of extensive earthworks and large conical burial mounds and for its highly developed arts and crafts.



HOPEWELL EFFIGY PIPE This depiction of a coyote was carved between 200 B.C.E. and 1900 B.C.E. *(Ohio Historical Society)*

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the Mississippi River and its major tributaries. Beginning around 700 C.E., they developed a new culture, called **Mississippian**. Mississippian craft production and long-distance trade dwarfed that of Adena and Hopewell peoples. As in Mesoamerica, Mississippian centers, numbering hundreds or even thousands of people, arose around open plazas. Large platform mounds adjoined the plazas, topped by sumptuous religious temples and the residences of chiefs and other elites. Religious ceremonies focused on the worship of the sun as the source of agricultural fertility. The people considered chiefs to be related to the sun. When a chief died, his wives and servants were killed to accompany him in the afterlife. Largely in connection with their religious and funeral rituals, Mississippian artists produced highly sophisticated work in clay, stone, shell, copper, wood, and other materials.

Mississippian
An early Native American culture formed in about A.D. 700 C.E in the floodplains of the Mississippi River and noted for the construction of extensive earthworks and large conical burial mounds, religious ceremonies, and its highly sophisticated arts and crafts.

Cahokia
Area located near modern St. Louis, Missouri, where about twenty thousand people inhabited a 125-square-mile metropolitan area.

After 900 C.E., Mississippian centers formed extensive networks based on river-borne trade and shared religious beliefs, each dominated by a single metropolis. The largest, most powerful such system centered on **Cahokia**, located near modern St. Louis, Missouri, where about twenty thousand people inhabited a 125-square-mile metropolitan area.

For about two and a half centuries, Cahokia reigned supreme in the Mississippi Valley. After 1200 C.E., however, Cahokia and other valley centers experienced shortages of food and other resources. As in the Southwest, densely concentrated societies had taxed a fragile environment with a fluctuating climate. Competition for suddenly scarce resources led to warfare and undermined Cahokia and its allies. The survivors fled to the surrounding prairies and westward to the lower valleys of the Plains, where they regrouped in decentralized villages. Mississippian chiefdoms and temple mound centers persisted in the Southeast, where Spanish explorers would later encounter them as the forerunners of Cherokees, Creeks, and other southeastern Indian peoples (see Chapter 2).

Despite Cahokia's decline, Mississippian culture profoundly affected Native Americans in the Eastern Woodlands. Although Mississippian-style mounds and other earthworks did not spread elsewhere, life for the Iroquois and other peoples as far north as the Great Lakes and southern New England eventually

CAHOKIA MOUNDS This contemporary painting conveys Cahokia's grand scale. Not until the late eighteenth century did another North American city (Philadelphia) surpass the population of Cahokia, ca. 1200. *(Cahokia Mounds Historic Site, painting by William R. Iseminger)*

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revolved around village-based farming. Women developed new strains of maize and beans, along with techniques and tools for cultivating crops. Only in more northerly Eastern Woodlands areas was the growing season too short for maize (which required one hundred or more frost-free days) to be a reliable source of food.

Eastern Indians' land management practices were environmentally sound and economically productive. Indian men systematically burned hardwood forests, eliminating, as an early New England colonist put it, "all the underwood and rubbish which would otherwise overgrow the country, making it unpassable and spoil their . . . hunting." Hunting was enhanced because burned-over tracts favored the growth of grass and berry bushes that attracted deer and other game. The men cleared fields so that women could plant corn, beans, and squash in soil enriched by ash. After several years of abundant harvests, yields declined, and the Indians moved to another site to repeat the process. Ground cover eventually reclaimed the abandoned clearing, restoring fertility naturally, and the Native Americans could return. Most early European colonists would settle on lands long cultivated by Eastern Woodlands peoples.

1-2.4 Nonfarming Societies

Outside the Southwest and the Eastern Woodlands, farming north of Mesoamerica was either impossible because of inhospitable environments or impractical because native peoples could obtain ample food from wild sources. On the Northwest coast, from the Alaskan panhandle to northern California, and in the Columbia Plateau, Native Americans devoted brief periods to catching salmon and other spawning fish, which they dried and stored in quantities sufficient to last the year. Their seasonal movements gave way to a settled lifestyle in permanent villages where they had access to fish in rivers and the ocean as well as to whales and other sea mammals, shellfish, land mammals, and wild plants.

By 1 C.E., most Northwest coast villages numbered several hundred people who lived in multifamily houses built of cedar planks. Trade and warfare with interior groups strengthened the wealth and power of chiefs and other elites. From the time of the earliest contacts, Europeans were amazed by the artistic and architectural achievements of the Northwest coast Indians. "What must astonish most," wrote a French explorer in 1791, "is to see painting everywhere, everywhere sculpture, among a nation of hunters."

At about the same time, Native Americans on the coast and in the valleys of what is now California were clustering in villages of about a hundred people to coordinate the processing of nutritious and easily stored acorns. After gathering millions of acorns from California's oak groves each fall, tribal peoples such as the Chumash and Ohlones ground the acorns into meal, leached them of their bitter tannic acid, and then roasted, boiled, or baked them prior to storage. Facing intense competition, California Indians combined their villages into chiefdoms and defended their territories. Chiefs conducted trade, diplomacy, war, and religious ceremonies. Along with other wild species, acorns enabled the Indians of California to prosper.

Between the Eastern Woodlands and the Pacific coast, the Plains and deserts were too dry to support large human settlements. Dividing the region are the Rocky Mountains, to the east of which lie the grasslands of the Great Plains, while to the west are several deserts of varying elevations that ecologists call the Great Basin. Except in the Southwest, Native Americans in this region remained in mobile hunting-gathering bands.

Plains Indian hunters pursued game animals, including antelope, deer, elk, and bear, but their favorite was buffalo, or bison. Buffalo provided Plains Indians with meat and hides, from which they made clothing, bedding, portable houses (tipis), kettles, shields, and other items. They made tools from buffalo bones and containers and arrowheads from buffalo horns. Limited to travel by foot, Plains hunters stampeded herds of bison into small box canyons or over cliffs, killing dozens, or occasionally hundreds. Because a single buffalo could provide two hundred to four hundred pounds of meat and a band had no means of preserving and storing most of it, the practice was especially wasteful. Yet humans were so few in number that they had no significant impact on the bison population before the arrival of Europeans.

During and after the Mississippian era, refugees from Cahokia and elsewhere in the Eastern Woodlands moved to the lower river valleys of the Plains, where the rainfall had increased enough to support cultivated plants. In contrast to Native Americans already living on the Plains, such as the Blackfeet and the Crow, farming newcomers such as the Mandans and Pawnees built year-round villages and permanent earth lodges. They also hunted buffalo and other animals.

As Indians elsewhere increased their food production, the Great Basin grew warmer and drier, further limiting already scarce food sources. Ducks and other waterfowl on which Native Americans formerly feasted disappeared as marshlands dried up after 1200 B.C.E., and the number of buffalo and other game animals also dwindled. Great Basin

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WAHKPA CHU'GN BISON KILL SITE, MONTANA This artist's sketch shows one of the several ways that Plains Indians procured buffalo before the advent of horses and guns. *(Linda Rayner/Ethos Consultants)*

Indians such as the Shoshones and the Utes countered these trends by relying more heavily on *piñon* nuts, which they harvested, stored, and ate in winter camps. Hunting improved after about 500 C.E., when Indians adopted the bow and arrow.

In western Alaska, Inuits and Aleuts, carrying sophisticated tools and weapons from their Siberian homeland, arrived after 3000 B.C.E. Combining ivory, bone, and other materials, they fashioned harpoons and spears for the pursuit of sea mammals and—for the Inuits—caribou. Through continued contacts with Siberia, Inuits introduced the bow and arrow in North America. As they perfected their ways of living in the cold tundra environment, many Inuit groups spread westward across upper Canada and to Greenland.

The earliest contacts between Native Americans and Europeans occurred in about 980 C.E., five centuries before the arrival of Columbus, when Norse expansionists from Scandinavia colonized parts of Greenland. The Greenland Norse hunted furs, obtained timber, and traded with Inuit groups. They also made several attempts, beginning in about 1000, to colonize Vinland, as they called Newfoundland. The Vinland Norse initially exchanged metal goods for ivory with the local Beothuk Indians, but peaceful trade gave way to hostile encounters. Beothuk resistance soon led the Norse to withdraw from Vinland.

1-3 Native American Kinship, Gender, and Culture, ca. 1500 C.E.

What role did gender and kinship play in shaping the various Native American cultures that emerged by 1500?

By 1500 C.E., native peoples had transformed the Americas into a dazzling array of cultures and societies (see Map 1.4). The Western Hemisphere numbered about 75 million people, most of them in Mesoamerica and South America. Between 7 million and 10 million Indians were unevenly distributed across North America. As they had for thousands of years, small, mobile hunting bands peopled the Arctic, Subarctic, Great Basin, and much of the Plains. More sedentary societies based on fishing or gathering predominated along the Pacific coast, while village-based agriculture was typical in the Eastern Woodlands and the river valleys of the Southwest and Plains. Mississippian urban centers still prevailed in much of the Southeast. North American Indians grouped themselves in several hundred nations and tribes, and spoke hundreds of languages and dialects.

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Despite differences among Native American societies, all were based on kinship, reciprocity, and communal ownership of resources. While some tasks were performed by both men and women, each gender also had its own distinctive roles and expectations, though these, too, varied from one Indian group to another. Trade facilitated the exchange of goods, technologies, and ideas. Thus over time, the bow and arrow, ceramic pottery, and certain religious values and practices had spread to Indians everywhere.

1-3.1 Kinship and Marriage

Like their Archaic forebears, native North Americans were bound together primarily by kinship. Ties among biological relatives created complex patterns of social obligation and interdependence. **Nuclear families** (a husband, a wife, and their biological children) never stood alone. Instead, they lived with one of the parents' relatives in multigenerational **extended families**.

In **patrilocal** societies, the extended families of men took precedence and couples went to live with the husband's family upon marriage. In **matrilocal** societies, the opposite was true, and couples would reside with the wife's relatives. Lineage varied, too. Hunter-gather cultures were typically **patrilineal**, with the line of descent and inheritance (power over the land) traced through the father. Farming-based cultures, such as the Pueblos, tended to be **matrilineal**, tracing the line of descent and inheritance through the mother. In matrilineal cultures, the primary male adult in a child's life was the mother's oldest brother, not the father. Some other cultures did not distinguish sharply between the status of female and male family lines.

Customs regulating marriage varied considerably. Some male leaders had more than one wife, and either husbands, wives, or both could terminate a marriage and begin a relationship with someone new. This flexibility to end and begin new relationships was especially true in matrilineal cultures such as the Pueblos, where a person's identity was based not on who they married, but rather on who their mother was. In most cultures, young people married in their teens, usually after engaging in sexual relationships. Native American cultures also included homosexuality and "two-spirit" people, more often men but also some women who cross-dressed and lived as the opposite gender. Believed to possess both male and female natures, in some societies, they were hailed for their unique spiritual power.

Kinship was also often the basis for armed conflict. Indian societies typically considered homicide a matter to be resolved by the extended families of the victim and the perpetrator. If the perpetrator's family offered a gift that the victim's family considered appropriate, the question was settled; if not, political leaders attempted to resolve the dispute. Otherwise, the victim's family members and their supporters might seek to avenge the killing by armed retaliation. Such feuds could escalate into wars between communities.

The potential for war rose when densely populated societies competed for scarce resources, as on the Northwest and California coasts. Yet Native American warfare generally remained minimal, with rivals seeking to humiliate one another and seize captives rather than inflict massive casualties or conquer land. The risk of being taken captive and incorporated into an enemy's culture was especially high for women and their children, though men might be taken to replace the death of a family member killed in battle.

1.3.2 Gender and Work

While Native American societies considered the contributions of both men and women vital to a group's survival, work was largely divided along gender lines. This varied, too, based on the nature and location of a particular group. Women did most of the cultivating in farming societies, except in the Southwest (where women and men shared the responsibility). In Pueblo cultures, men managed trade with other Indian groups and built homes, while women made clothing, pottery, and prepared food. In Iroquois society, men likewise managed trade, but they also hunted and got the soil ready for farming. Women cultivated the crops. In the hunting societies of the Plains, men killed the buffalo, bison, and other animals, while women skinned the animals and prepared hides and meat. In the sea-based cultures of the Northwest, women fished alongside men.

In cultures where women produced the greater share of the food supply, they could gain power, albeit indirectly. Among the Iroquois, for example, women collectively owned the fields and distributed food. They supplied men going off to battle, and by determining whether or not to provide food, they could also decide when to begin and end a

nuclear families
Families that consist of a husband, a wife, and their biological children.

extended families
Extension of the nuclear family that included additional relatives.

patrilocal
Social custom in which, upon marriage, a wife goes to live with her husband's family or community.

matrilocal
Social custom in which, upon marriage, a husband goes to live with his wife's family or community.

patrilineal
A kinship system in which the line of descent or inheritance/property is traced through the father/male line.

matrilineal
A kinship system in which the line of descent or inheritance/property is traced through the mother/female line.

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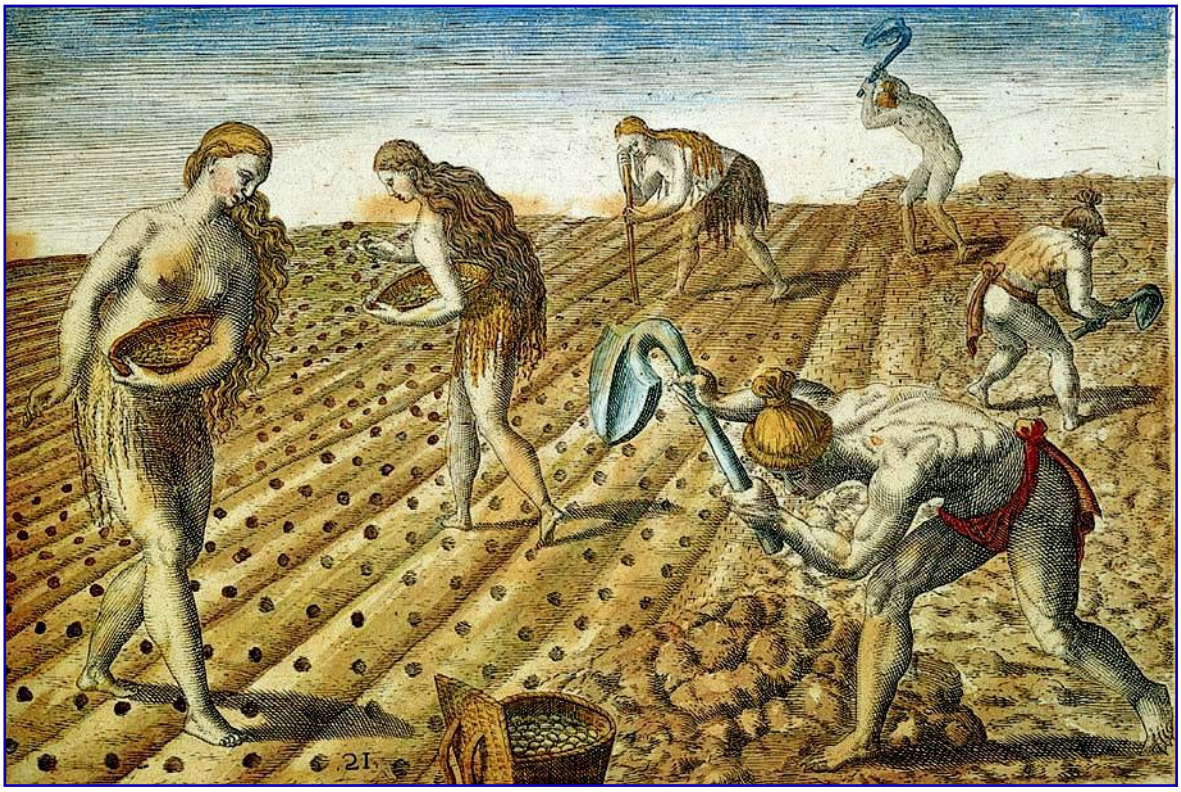

GUALE INDIANS PLANTING CROPS, 1564 A French explorer sketched this scene on the Florida coast in which men are breaking up the soil while women sow corn, bean, and squash seeds. *(Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)*

war. Women might seek to prompt a war, for example, if they wanted to avenge the loss of a family member or wanted to bring new captives into the community.

The supreme authority of chief typically rested with men in Native American cultures, though there were some rare exceptions of women as sachems (chiefs) in New England, for example. In most societies, however, women's political power took the form of influence. Among the Iroquois, women played a decisive role in selecting chiefs, which gave them a kind of indirect power.

1-3.3 Spirituality, Rituals, and Beliefs

Native American religions revolved around the conviction that all nature was alive, pulsating with spiritual power. A mysterious force, such power united all nature, including human beings, in an unbroken web. Native Americans endeavored to conciliate the spiritual forces in their world—living things, rocks and water, sun and moon, even ghosts. For example, Indian hunters prayed to the animals they killed, begging their pardon and thanking them for the gift of food. (For one example, see Going to the Source.) Native people also looked to nature for stories of how they came into being, and women were often featured. The Iroquois origin story of Sky Woman (mentioned earlier), as well as the Penobscot Corn Mother and the Acoma tale of two sisters, all highlight women as primary creative forces in peopling the world.

Native Americans had several ways of gaining access to spiritual power. One was through dreams and visions, which most Native Americans interpreted as spiritual instructions. Sometimes a dreamer received a message for his or her people. Those who could interpret dreams were prized, and in some cultures, such as the Seneca, women could be both interpreters and spiritual healers.

Native people also sought power through physical ordeals and rituals. Power-seeking rituals, such as the Sun Dance performed by

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Indians of the Plains and Great Basin, were often practiced by entire communities. Young men in many societies gained recognition as adults through a vision quest—a solitary venture that entailed fasting and envisioning a spirit who would endow them with special powers. Some tribes initiated girls at the onset of menstruation into the spiritual world from which female reproductive power flowed. In fact, women's sexuality was highly valued in most Indian cultures as the source of new life (reproduction) as well as a means to squelch hostile spirits. Female sexuality played a role in adopting new members into the community, too.

1-3.4 Native American Social Values

Native American societies demanded a strong degree of cooperation. Using physical punishment sparingly, if at all, Indians punished children psychologically by public shaming. Communities sought unity through consensus rather than tolerating lasting divisions. Political leaders articulated slowly emerging agreements in dramatic oratory. The English colonizer John Smith noted that the most effective Native American leaders spoke "with vehemency and so great passions that they sweat till they drop and are so out of breath they scarce can speak."

MAP 1.4 LOCATIONS OF SELECTED NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLES, 1500 C.E. Indian nations were well established in homelands across the continent when Europeans first arrived. Many would combine with others or move in later centuries, either to avoid white invaders or because they were forced.

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GOING TO THE SOURCE

A Cherokee Oral Tradition

The following story is an example of a Native American oral tradition. Since before Europeans arrived, Indians have told and retold such stories as one means of conveying their beliefs and histories through the generations. This account was related by a Cherokee man named Swimmer to an anthropologist, James Mooney, in the 1880s. Mooney titled the story "Origin of Disease and Medicine," but it also sets out Cherokee beliefs on relations between humans, animals, and plants.

In the old days the beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and plants could all talk, and they and the people lived together in peace and friendship. But as time went on the people increased so rapidly that their settlements spread over the whole earth, and the poor animals found themselves beginning to be cramped for room. This was bad enough, but to make it worse Man invented bows, knives, blowguns, spears, and hooks, and began to slaughter the larger animals, birds, and fishes for their flesh or their skins, while the smaller creatures, such as the frogs and worms, were crushed and trodden upon without thought, out of pure carelessness or contempt. So the animals resolved to consult upon measures for their common safety.

The Bears were the first to meet in council in their townhouse under Kuwâ'hi mountain, the "Mulberry Place," and the old White Bear chief presided. . . . [But the bears could not devise a workable] plan, so the old chief dismissed the council and the Bears dispersed to the woods and thickets without having concerted any way to prevent the increase of the human race. Had the result of the council been otherwise, we should now be at war with the Bears, but as it is, the hunter does not even ask the Bear's pardon when he kills one.

The Deer next held a council under their chief, the Little Deer, and after some talk decided to send rheumatism to every hunter who should kill one of them unless he took care to ask their pardon for the offense. . . . No hunter who has regard for his health ever fails to ask pardon of the Deer for killing it.

Next came the Fishes and Reptiles, who had their own complaints against Man. They held their council together and determined to make their victims dream of snakes twining about them in slimy folds and blowing foul breath in their faces, or to make them dream of eating raw or decaying fish, so that they would lose appetite, sicken, and die. This is why people dream about snakes and fish.

Finally the Birds, Insects, and smaller animals came together for the same purpose, and the Grubworm was chief of the council. It was decided that each in turn should give an opinion, and then they would vote on the question as to whether or not Man was guilty. . . . They began then to devise and name so many new diseases, one after another, that had not their invention at last failed them, no one of the human race would have been able to survive.

When the Plants, who were friendly to Man, heard what had been done by the animals, they determined to defeat the latter's evil designs. Each Tree, Shrub, and Herb, down even to the Grasses and Mosses, agreed to furnish a cure for some one of the diseases named, and each said: "I shall appear to help Man when he calls upon me in his need." Thus came medicine; and the plants, every one of which has its use if we only knew it, furnish the remedy to counteract the evil wrought by the revengeful animals. Even weeds were made for some good purpose, which we must find out for ourselves. When the doctor does not know what medicine to use for a sick man the spirit of the plant tells him.

Source: *James Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, in 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897–98, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1900), pp. 250–252.*

QUESTIONS

1. How would you characterize relationships among humans, animals, and plants in the story?
2. What is the principal lesson for human beings in the story?

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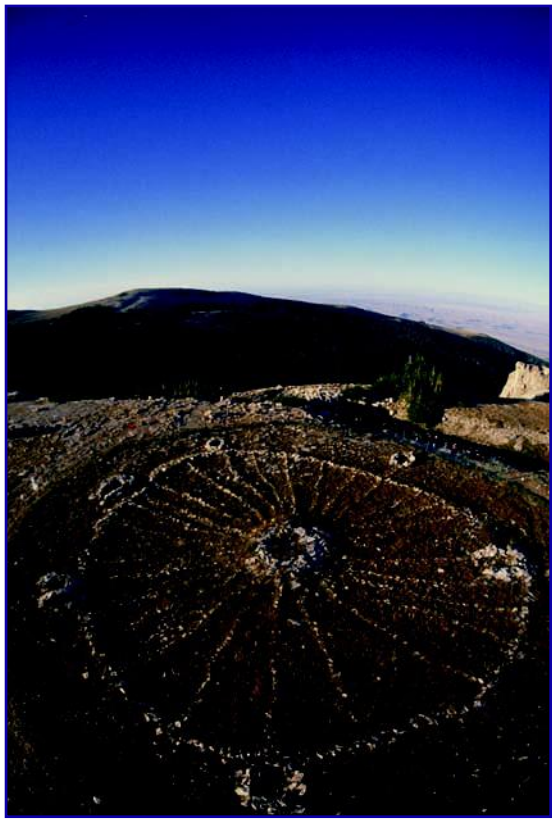

BIG HORN MEDICINE WHEEL, WYOMING The medicine wheel was constructed between three and eight centuries ago as a center for religious ceremonies, including those relating to the summer solstice. *(University of Saskatchewan, University Library, University Archives & Special Collections, Courtney Milne fonds, image 460-008)*

Native Americans reinforced cooperation with a strong sense of order. Custom, the demands of social conformity, and the rigors of nature strictly regulated life and people's everyday affairs. Exacting familial or community revenge was a ritualized way of restoring order that had broken down. On the other hand, the failure of measures to restore order could bring fearful consequences—blind hatred, unending violence, and the most dreaded of evils, witchcraft. In fearing witchcraft, Native Americans resembled the Europeans and Africans they would encounter after 1492.

The principle of reciprocity was central to Native Americans. Reciprocity involved mutual give-and-take. Its aim was to maintain equilibrium and interdependence even between individuals of unequal power and prestige. Most Indian leaders' authority depended on the obligations they bestowed rather than on coercion. By distributing gifts, they obligated members of the community to support them and to accept their authority, however limited. The same principle applied to relations between societies. Powerful communities distributed gifts to weaker neighbors who reciprocated with tribute in the form of material goods along with labor and other services. A French observer in seventeenth-century Canada clearly understood: "For the savages have that noble quality, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honor the present that they give him. But it is with hope to receive some reciprocal kindness, which is a kind of contract, which we call. . . . 'I give thee, to the end thou shouldst give me.'"

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CHAPTER REVIEW

The Whole Vision

KEY TERMS

archeology (p. 3)
oral tradition (p. 3)
bands (p. 4)
Paleo-Indians (p. 4)
reciprocity (p. 4)
Archaic peoples (p. 5)
Mesoamerica (p. 5)
Iroquois Confederacy (p. 6)
chiefdoms (p. 7)
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Aztecs (p. 8)
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Poverty Point (p. 11)
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Hopewell (p. 11)
Mississippian (p. 12)
Cahokia (p. 12)
nuclear families (p. 15)
extended families (p. 15)
patrilocal (p. 15
matrilocal (p. 15)
patrilineal (p. 15)
matrilineal (p. 15)

What tools have historians used to convey a sense of the American past and its peoples before the arrival of Europeans?

Historians rely on multiple sources to convey the past, but when few or no written records are available they must piece the story together using other evidence. In studying the history of Native American cultures before the arrival of Europeans, historians have had to rely heavily on archeological sources along with Native American oral accounts passed from generation to generation. These materials, along with other scientific data, have painted a picture of the geological changes that facilitated the peopling of North America by 13,000 B.C.E. Archeological sources indicate who these people may have been, how they probably arrived, how and where they dispersed throughout the region, what food sources they developed, how they established societies and cultures, and how they interacted with each other. Archeological findings also point to environmental changes that for better or worse altered Indians' ways of life. Finally, historians can compare scientific data with the oral traditions of native peoples, looking for ways these stories may verify or differ from archeological and scientific findings to provide a rich and complex portrait of the past.

What was the relationship between the environment, available food supplies, and the development and success of various Native American societies from 2500 B.C.E. to 1500 C.E.?

Whether a particular Native American society rose, endured, or failed had much to do with its relationship to the environment and, in turn, its access to food supplies. Regional variations in environment, weather, and terrain helped shape not only the types of food available but also the social, economic, and political organization of the people within native societies. Indians with surplus food could engage in trade, which brought different native societies into contact with each other and fueled cultural exchanges and adaptation. The greater the trade opportunities for a society, the wealthier and more powerful it became. It also helped shape whether communities organized independently, communally, or as chiefdoms extending over wide areas. Environmental changes over time influenced whether a society would continue to thrive or exist at all. In addition, scarcity of food supplies shaped the political organization of various societies, as they sometimes combined to safeguard their supplies from outsiders or waged war on intruders.

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- *What role did gender and kinship play in shaping the various Native American cultures that emerged by 1500?*

  All native peoples looked to kinship systems to organize their communities and to reinforce accepted cultural and spiritual values. Ideas about gender roles—what was considered acceptable for men and women to do—structured daily life and the individual experiences of members within all Native American communities. The ways in which a group defined and prescribed gender, however, varied based on the community's location and economic foundation (farming, hunting, nonfarming). Gender and kinship systems determined everything from what constituted a family, when and who a person married, where married couples would live, to lines of descent and inheritance. In every society, the contributions of all members were vital to its survival, but gender determined the types of work done by men and women. The political aspects of native societies (who their leaders were and who elected those leaders) were also gendered. Finally, religious and spiritual practices and rituals were defined in gender terms, from the beliefs about creation to who could be spiritual healers and leaders to rites of passage.

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