



THE ENDURING

VISION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

NINTH EDITION

VOLUME 1: TO 1877

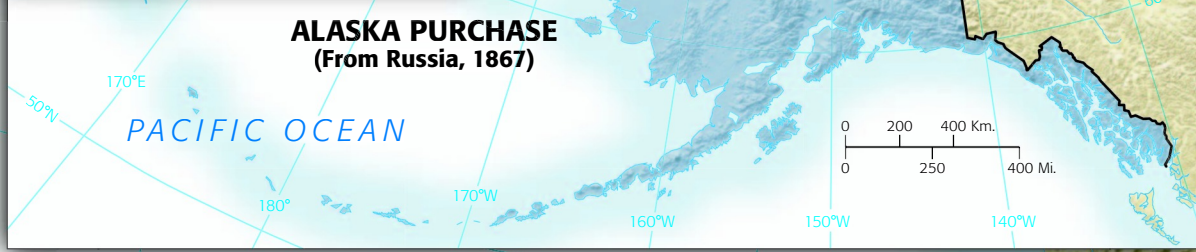
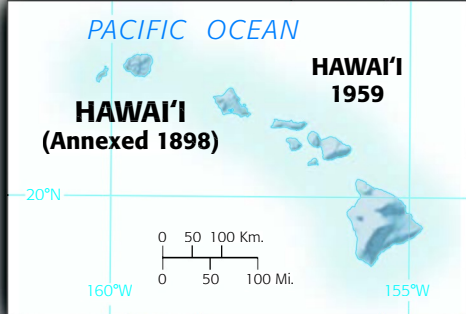
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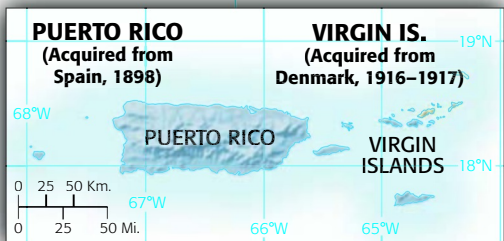
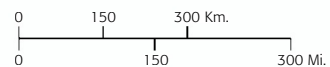


THE ORIGINAL UNITED STATES
(By Treaty with Britain, 1783)

THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES

Territorial Growth of the United States

1820 Date of states admission to the Union
● Geographic center of population by decade



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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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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.

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.

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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MindTap for *The Enduring Vision, Ninth Edition*, is a personalized, online learning platform that provides students with

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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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of keeping us all on track. Cathy Brooks, Senior Content Production Manager at Cengage, and Patty Donovan, Senior Production Editor at partner SPi Global, ably shepherded the work through the crucial stages of production.

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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NANCY WOLOCH received her Ph.D. from Indiana University. She is the author of *Women and the American Experience* (fifth edition, 2011), editor of *Early American Women: A Documentary History, 1600–1900* (third edition, 2013), and coauthor, with Walter LaFeber and Richard Polenberg, of *The American Century: A History of the United States Since the 1890s* (seventh edition, 2013). Dr. Woloch is also the author of *Muller v. Oregon: A Brief History with Documents* (1996). She teaches American history and American studies at Barnard College, Columbia University.

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

The Continent and Its Regions (p. xxviii)

The West

The Heartland

The Atlantic Seaboard

A Legacy and a Challenge (p. xxxii)

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

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.



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;



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



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.

THE ENDURING
VISION
A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

1 The Enduring Vision

Native Peoples of America, to 1500

The First Americans, ca. 13,000–2500 B.C.E. (3)

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

Peopling New Worlds
Archaic Societies

The Emergence of Tribal Societies, ca. 2500 B.C.E.–C.E. 1500 (5)

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.?

Mesoamerica and South America
The Southwest
The Eastern Woodlands
Nonfarming Societies

Native American Kinship, Gender, and Culture, ca. 1500 C.E. (14)

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

Kinship and Marriage
Gender and Work
Spirituality, Rituals, and Beliefs
Native American Social Values

The Whole Vision (20)



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)

CHRONOLOGY

13,000 B.C.E.—C.E. 1500

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

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 non-state 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.



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.



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.

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

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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.

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.

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.

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.



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)

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.