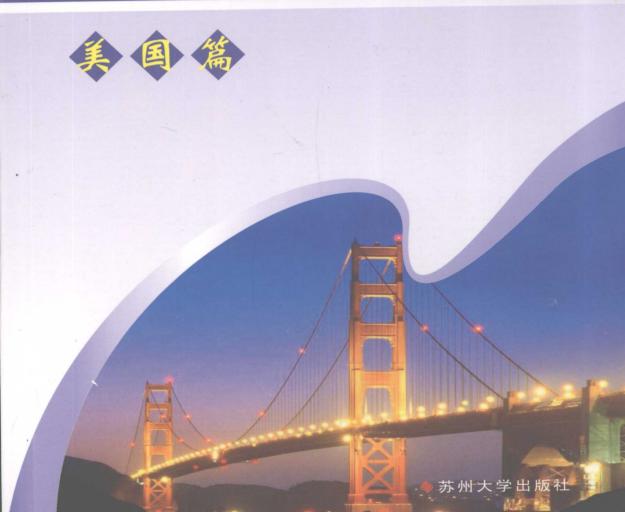
英语国家 社会与文化

SOCIETY & CULTURE



英语国家社会与文化

(美国篇)

主 编 蔡永良 董剑桥

苏州大学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

英语国家社会与文化. 美国篇/蔡永良,董剑桥主编. 苏州: 苏州大学出版社,2008. 9 ISBN 978-7-81137-125-3

I. 英··· Ⅱ. ①蔡···②董··· Ⅲ. ①英语一阅读教学一高等学校—教材②美国—概况 Ⅳ. H319.4. K

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2008)第 148815 号

英语国家社会与文化

(美国篇)

蔡永良 董剑桥 主编 责任编辑 谢永明

苏州大学出版社出版发行 (地址: 苏州市干将东路 200 号 邮编:215021) 宜兴文化印刷厂印装 (地址: 宜兴市南漕镇 邮编: 214217)

开本 787mm×960mm 1/16 印张 57. 25(共2册) 字数 1 087 千 2008 年 9 月第 1 版 2008 年 9 月第 1 次印刷 ISBN 978-7-81137-125-3 定价:88.00元 (共2册)

苏州大学版图书若有印装错误,本社负责调换 苏州大学出版社营销部 电话:0512-67258835

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了有 着中国对外开放日益深入、北京奥运会成功举办,一方面,中国展示了 其独特的悠久历史和璀璨的华夏文化,而另一方面,外国文化尤其是 英语国家的文化不断涌入中国,中国人民正源源不断地汲取外来文化的营养,充实着自己的文化。目前,很多中国人都非常渴望了解英美等国家的社会和文化。在这样的一个背景下,我们编辑出版了这套丛书。希望这套丛书有助于人们更深入地了解英美等国家的社会和文化,去实现他们的愿望和理想。

《英语国家社会与文化》包括美国篇和英联邦篇,而英联邦篇又包括英国、加拿大、澳大利亚三个部分。该套丛书从不同视角如地理、政治、历史等介绍英语国家社会与文化。丛书中每单元包括中文导读,主要从某一领域概括性地作一介绍。每单元精选了三篇英语文章,分别选自权威媒体,具有经典性、趣味性和科学性,其中含有中国视角。文章中文化含义较强的短语、句子等都有注释,并配备了相关思考题和参考文献。

丛书内容丰富,选材新颖,视角独特,可读性强,非常适合英语专业学生教学和备考英语专业八级需要,也适合对于相关英语国家社会与文化感兴趣的人士自学之用,而对于那些欲出国学习和工作的人士该套丛书也会令他们受益匪浅。

出版者 2008年9月



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An Empty Land

导 论

早期北美大陆和居民

1. 北美地理概况和自然环境

北美洲地处西半球北部,东临大西洋,西连太平洋,北濒北冰洋,南接墨西哥湾和加勒比海,与太平洋彼岸的亚洲遥遥相望,同大西洋对岸的非洲和欧洲成犄角之势。

大陆地形的基本特征是山脉成南北走向,与海岸平行,分布于大陆的东西两侧。西部为科迪勒拉山系,从阿拉斯加一直延伸到墨西哥,东部为阿巴拉契亚山脉。整个北美的地势成凹字形,两边高,中间低,东部和西部为高原和山地,中部为平原区。广阔的内陆低地对美国经济和殖民历史有很多重大影响,除了它提供的巨大的农业潜能外,人们迁移穿越整整半个国家,也不会遇到严重的地形障碍。这有利于遥远的西部融入国家的经济结构。而东西边界濒临两大洋的地理位置则给对外贸易和国际交往提供了得天独厚的条件。

北美土地上江河奔腾,多数大河发源于西部的科迪勒拉山系。北美的河流大都是外流河,科迪勒拉山系以东的密西西比河、圣劳伦斯河、格兰德河汇入大西洋,马更些河和纳尔逊河汇入北冰洋;山系以西的科罗拉多河、哥伦比亚河、弗雷泽河、育空河等流入太平洋;东海岸的波托马克河、特拉华河、哈得孙河、詹姆斯河等流归大西洋。密西西比河为北美最长的河流,它同其他的支流共同构成了世界上最大的内河航运系统。这些河流不仅有灌溉农田之利,还有交通运输之便。

北美洲是多湖泊的大陆,著名的五大湖——苏必利尔湖、休伦湖、密歇根湖、

伊利湖和安大略湖——有北美地中海之称,是世界上最大的淡水湖群。

北美洲的自然资源十分丰富,可耕地多,草原广阔,矿产资源丰富多样,森林覆盖率高,水力资源占世界总储量的8.9%,渔场面积占世界渔场总面积的20%。

北美洲地跨热带、温带和寒带,气候复杂多样。大陆中部广大地区处于北温带,冬季温和,降水适中,植物生长期长。西南部地区则属地中海式气侯,夏季干燥,冬季温和。北美的气候宜于作物生长和人类生存,为农业和畜牧业的发达提供了有利条件。

总之,北美洲地理位置优越,自然资源丰富。英国殖民先驱约翰·史密斯说,这是"天堂赐给人类最理想的居住场所"。

2. 美洲原住民

最初的北美人。迎接首批欧洲移民到来的北美大地远非一片空旷的荒原,当哥伦布发现美洲大陆时,那儿已经居住着相当数目的红种人。哥伦布误把美洲当做印度,把身上涂有红色染料的当地人叫做"印度人"。这一历史误会的印记一直延续到今天。

由于至今尚未在美洲发现类人猿遗迹,关于美洲原住民的起源一般都同意 迁移说,但是来自何处,对此观点不一。比较合乎逻辑的是"亚洲移民说",即原 住民是从西北方向移居美洲的。

在公元前 34000 年到 30000 年之间的冰河时代,世界上大面积的水源被封存在广袤无垠的大陆冰原中。那时的白令海海平面比现在低几百米,因此在亚洲和北美洲之间出现了一个陆地桥。这个陆地桥是一个潮湿的苔原,没有树木,表面被草和植物所覆盖,吸引着大批动物来此栖息。这批移民沿袭祖先的传统,以狩猎和采集为生,他们显然是在跟踪猎物的途中,不知不觉跨过了陆地桥。

当然,穿过巨大的冰河通道到达现在的美国需要成千上万年的时间。虽然不断发现早期人类在北美的活动痕迹,但几乎没有证据可以肯定地表明他们在这里的活动早于公元前12000年。在北美与南美的土地上到处都能发现原住民的古迹、文物,这表明在公元前1万年之前在西半球的大部分地区就可能有人类存在。

大约在那时,猛犸和其他一些大型动物开始灭绝,取而代之的是为原住民提供主要食物和兽皮来源的野牛。大肆的捕猎或自然灾害使得动物越来越少,作物、浆果和植物的种子便成了早期北美人的食物。后来渐渐出现了最初的农业。早在大约公元前8000年,居住在现今墨西哥中部的原住民便开始种植玉米、豆类等植物,种植技术慢慢地传播到北部各地。

原住民的分布概况。到了15世纪,在北美洲已经居住着几百万被称为原住民的原始居民,他们分成数百个语言不同、文化程度各异的部落,散居在北美洲的丛林莽原、山涧河畔。在漫长的历史过程中,他们在这里悄悄地生活着,逐渐

建立起了自己特有的社会和文化。

按照地理位置,北美原住民可大致分为西南文化区、东北文化区、西北沿海文化区和混合文化(区)。

西南文化区,即现今美国的新墨西哥、科罗拉多等地。居住在这一地带的普韦布洛(Pueblo)曾经创造出令人叹服的文化。普韦布洛人是史前阿纳萨齐人(Anasazi)的后裔。他们的文化经过制陶时期和黄金时期等几个历史阶段。普韦布洛人建筑悬崖住宅,在山顶上用石头建造多层的、城堡式的房屋,从事农业生产和集体狩猎。

东北文化区,是从落基山脉以东直到大西洋沿岸的广大地区。这一地区的经济生活呈较为复杂的形态。该区东南的土著居民主要从事谷物、豆类和南瓜的种植;最北端的印第安人主要依靠狩猎和捕鱼为生;大湖区则兼有农牧。由于经济生活的差异,东南地区人口较为密集,而北部人口较为稀少。居住在东南地区的易洛魁人(Iroquois)用木柱和树皮建造"长屋"。中南部还存在许多十分精致的庙宇土丘。东北文化区的居民已经形成了他们的政治组织——部落联盟。这种组织形式源于母系制的家庭。在部落中,妇女行使着不同寻常的权利,甚至有废除部落首领的大权。在密西西比河下游地区,阶级已经出现。庙宇和偶像已经普遍存在于该文化区的东南部,各部落都有专职的祭司执掌宗教仪式。

西北沿海文化区,即今天的美国阿拉斯加和加拿大的西不列颠哥伦比亚地区。该地区的原住民最主要的生活方式是捕鱼、狩猎及采集。他们已经学会用火,还经常用大小不一的独木舟和皮筏自由航行在海洋和河流中。

混合文化区,即现在美国的西北地区和太平洋沿岸海岸地带。该区的原住民具有大体一致的文化模式,不过又可分为3个小区域。大盆地地区居住着肖肖尼族,北部高原地区大部分是萨利西族,中央加利福尼亚地区散居着操不同语言的原住民。南部的居民多住蓬松的遮棚,北部除遮棚外还有坑式小屋。

原住民的生活状况。北美印第安人聚集程度较低,大部分为游牧部落,以狩猎、捕鱼为生。也有些部落是定居的,从事农业生产。他们能够精耕细作,但基本上还处于石器时代,生产水平低下。通常由女性负责耕作和进行食物分配,男性负责捕获猎物及抵御外来侵袭。他们主要穿兽皮,用的是陶器,水上交通靠独木舟。但是美洲的农作物相当丰富,在今天全世界的农作物中,有半数以上源自美洲,比如玉米、土豆、烟草等。

原住民的社会组织。虽然部族繁杂、居住分散,各部落的文明程度不一,语言礼仪各异,但总体上均处于人类社会的童年时代——氏族社会阶段。最基本的单位是以亲属关系结成的氏族,然后由氏族组成胞族,再由胞族组成部落,最后是部落联合而成的部落联盟,部落人数一般不超过2000。在整个北美大陆上始终没有形成民族和国家,不存在政府和军队。原住民没有私有制的观念,部落内保持着原始的平等和民主。首领和酋长由成年男女选举产生,氏族有罢免他

们的权力,氏族议事会议决定所有大事。正因为他们的社会还没有形成上尊下卑的等级制,所以印第安人一般都有极强的独立意识和自尊心,很难被驯服或奴化。他们英勇善战,但也保持着一些比较原始野蛮的习俗。

原住民的原始文化。虽然有些北美部落发明了一种象形文字来保留某些文化,但印第安文化还是以口头文化为主。原住民有大量的口头语和手势语,仅北美的原住民部族就有500多种口头语。美国有26个州、1000多条河流、200多个湖泊和数不清的城镇、山丘、河谷、森林、公园,用的是印第安名称。世人熟悉的密西西比、密苏里、俄亥俄等州,以及密歇根湖、芝加哥市等地名都是印第安名称,并具有印第安含义。如肯塔基在易洛魁语中意为"肥沃的河边牧草";迈阿密原为当地印第安部落名,意为"半岛上的居民";等等。原住民还有世代相传的口头文学,包括丰富的民间传说、神话、故事、诗歌、民谣等。他们的宗教可以归为泛神论,主要是对自然的图腾崇拜。他们也行使巫术,举行伴有大规模舞蹈的宗教仪式。

在广袤的北美土地上为生存而斗争的原住民,用他们的劳动和智慧创造了自己独特的原始文化,在人类文化史上留下了独特的印迹。他们的文明因白人的到来而被迫中断。这对他们来说,完全是一个极其偶然的外来因素。据说,在一个古老的印第安传说中,有位神奇人物将在400年后返回。所以,当欧洲人突然出现时,一些原住民以为是他们的神回来了,高兴地去欢迎他们,送食物给他们,帮助他们安家,教会他们如何在新的环境中生存,不料白人带给他们的却是毁灭。

阅读



First Peoples

The first human beings emerged in Africa more than two million years ago. Some devised stone tools, thus inaugurating the Paleolithic revolution, a life based on hunting and finding edible nuts, berries, and plants. The Paleolithic people who most resemble us in their aptitude for tools and facility with language appeared more recently, perhaps fewer than 40,000 years ago. ² They spread through much of Africa, Europe, and Asia, displacing those humans that had preceded them.

For thousands of years the frozen wasteland of Siberia remained impenetrable to these tool-making humans. But as the supply of big mammals grew increasingly scarce elsewhere in Asia, hunters ventured farther north. What drew them especially were wooly mammoths. Weighing 16,000 pounds, about as much as a large elephant, a single mammoth provided enough meat to feed two dozen hunters nearly all winter. Its fur could be worn as clothing and its fat could be burned for heat. Its bones, when stretched with fur, functioned as simple tents. A wooly mammoth was a kind of movable mall, and hunters regarded it with the avidity of shoppers at a clearance sale. As mammoths moved deeper into the arctic tundra, so did their human predators. ³

Some of the hunters crossed what is now the Bering Strait to Alaska. What happened next is a matter of conjecture. Eventually these Paleo-Indians came upon lush grasslands, watered by the streams and lakes of the melting ice. Then they happened upon an astonishing scene; vast herds of large mammals. There were plenty of mammoths, but also equally enormous mastodons, with massive legs and stout feet; giant beavers the size of bears; 20-foot-long ground sloths weighing over 6,000 pounds; strange monsters such as glyptodonts, which resembled armadillos but weighed over a ton, and also countless camels, horses, cheetahs, caribous, and deer.

The Demise of the Big Mammals

With so much available game, the hunters' skills improved. They learned to throw a two-section spear designed somewhat like a slingshot. By swinging the lower shaft in a circular motion, the upper shaft, tipped with a sharp stone projectile would whip forward with great force. They also chiseled long stone blades especially designed to penetrate thick hides. Archaeologists have named these hunters after their ingenious blades, first found at Clovis, New Mexico. ⁵

Loosed upon herds of unwary animals, these hunters seemingly slaughtered them almost at will, or stampeded them over cliffs. Archaeologists have found Clovis blades in nearly every state of the United States and even at the southern tip of South America. ⁶

And then the big mammals were gone. By about 8000 BCE, most of the large mammals of North America had become extinct, including the mammoths, mastodons, saber-toothed cats, giant beavers, bears, horses, and camels. Whether the hunters had killed off the big mammals or the warming climate caused the blubbery, heavily furred animals to become extinct is a source of debate. What is beyond dispute is that the absence of large mammals profoundly influenced the subsequent course of American history. ⁷

The Archaic Period: A World without Big Mammals

The loss of the big mammals marked the end of the Clovis culture. Descendants

of these Indians had to find new sources of food, clothing and shelter. The ensuing period, termed "archaic", comprising about one hundred human generations, was characterized by scarcity. Prolonged droughts or severe winters resulted in starvation. Among the Indians north of Mexico, in what is now the United States, there was little if any population growth. Eventually the archaic Indians adapted to particular habitats. In woodland areas east of the Mississippi River, they learned to hunt small animals, like rabbits and beavers, which had previously not been worth the bother; or they learned to find stealthy animals like bears and caribous or to sneak up on skittish ones like elks and deer. On the Great Plains, Indians thrived on bison, which could be stampeded over cliffs. The larger species of bison were among those that would become extinct, but another species of bison still exists in North America.

Most archaic bands searched for game continuously. They migrated from one place to another according to a seasonal schedule, often returning to the same campsites year after year. ¹⁰ In the spring, when fish spawned, archaic Indians moved to rivers and streams. In the summer, they hunted small animals. In the fall, they shifted to upland woods to gather protein-rich nuts, some of which they hid in caves for emergencies. In the winter they often migrated to forests in search of deer, bears, and caribous.

As archaic peoples became more knowledgeable about local food sources, they traveled less frequently. They provided for special needs through a remarkably far-ranging trading system, as goods were passed from one band to another. Copper, used for tools and decorative objects, was acquired from the Lake Superior region; it was traded for chert, a crystalline stone that fractured into sharp, smooth surfaces, ideal for tool making. ¹¹

Often perilously hungry, they discovered that sunflower seeds and sumpweeds (a type of spinach) were edible. Over 2,000 years ago, peoples in the Midwest planted sunflower and sumpweed seeds. They were the first inhabitants of what is now the United States to domesticate plants, although most archaic peoples remained primarily hunters and foragers.

The First Sedentary Communities

Some archaic peoples happened on unusually rich habitats that could sustain them throughout the year. Indians living along the coast and rivers of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska found fish to be so plentiful that they could be scooped up in baskets. These people made nets and fishhooks. Eventually they built boats out of bark and animal skins. Those living along the New England coast discovered a

seemingly inexhaustible supply of shellfish. But for even these people, survival was a full-time job. 12

As tribes remained longer in one area, they began to regard it as their own. They built more substantial habitations, developed pottery to carry water and cook food and buried the dead with distinctive rituals in special places, often marked with mounds. ¹³

One of the earliest sedentary communities was located at what is now Poverty Point, on the Mississippi River floodplains north of Delhi, Louisiana. It was founded around 1500 BCE. Poverty Point Indians, like those of the Pacific North West, became adept at fishing with nets. They also supplemented their diet with bottle gourd seeds and squash. ¹⁴

Poverty Point peoples filled countless grass baskets with earth and dumped them onto enormous mounds. One mound, shaped like an octagon, had six terraced levels on which were built some 400 to 600 houses. Another was more than 700 feet long and 70 feet high. Viewed from above, it resembled a hawk. In all, the mounds consisted of over a million cubic yards of dirt.

The enormity of their construction projects reveals much about Poverty Point peoples. They could not have diverted so much time and energy to construction if they were not proficient at acquiring food. Moreover, while most archaic bands were egalitarian, with little differentiation in status, the social structure of Poverty Point was hierarchical. Leaders conceived the plans and directed the labor to build the earthworks. ¹⁵

After about a thousand years, Poverty Point was abandoned. No one knows why. Several hundred years later, scores of smaller mound communities, known as Adena, sprouted in the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. The inhabitants of these communities were also hunters and foragers who cultivated plants in their spare time. The Adena communities lasted several hundred years.

Around 200 BCE, another cluster of mound builders, known as Hopewell, flourished in Ohio and Illinois. Hopewell mounds were often shaped into squares, circles, and cones; some, viewed from above, resemble birds or serpents. ¹⁶ Around 400 CE, the Hopewell sites were abandoned.

The impermanence of these communities serves as a reminder that the transition from a nomadic existence of hunting and foraging to a settled life based on agriculture was slow and uneven. For the archaic Indians living north of the Rio Grande, this was about to change. For people living in what is now Central america, it already had. ¹⁷



The Maize Revolution

Maize did not exist seven thousand years ago. But around 5000 BCE, perhaps far earlier, Indians in southern Mexico interbred various species of grasses, exploiting subtle changes and perhaps significant mutations. Eventually they created maize. A geneticist writing in *Science* in 2003 declared this to be "arguably man's first, and perhaps his greatest, feat of genetic engineering." The original ears were too small to provide much food value, but within several thousand years in Central America had developed maize that resembled modern corn.

The Neolithic revolution—the transition from hunting and gathering to farming—had come to Central America. Within another thousand years or so, nearly every valley in central Mexico bristled with cornstalks. Population grew and cities emerged. Surplus corn allowed some people to specialize in activities unrelated to food production. By 100 CE, Teotihuacan, forty miles north of what is now Mexico City, had a population approaching 100,000 and featured miles of paved streets and a pyramid as large as those of Egypt. Mesoamerica was nearing its classical period, culminating in the great corn-growing civilizations of the Mayans, Aztecs, and Incas. 4

Eventually corn cultivation leapfrogged the deserts of northern Mexico and was adopted by the Indians of the southwest: the Hohokam and Mogollon of Arizona and New Mexico; and the Anasazi of the Colorado Plateau. ⁵ Abandoning their nomadic life, these Indians settled near rivers, built trenches and canals to channel water to the crops, dammed gullies to capture runoff from flash floods, and constructed homes near the comfields.

Their culture revolved around corn. Sun and water became the focus of their religious beliefs, symbols of life and rebirth. Priest-astronomers carefully measured changes of the seasons. If corn was planted too early, it might shrivel before the late summer rains; if planted too late, it might be destroyed by frost. The centrality of corn to religious beliefs was underscored by the proximity of corn storage to sacred ceremonial pits, known as *kivas*. Corn Mother symbolism, suggesting a relationship between the fertility of the earth and of women, dominated religious practices. Control of the corn surplus was a key to political power. ⁶

Despite the aridity and blistering heat of the Southwest, the corn-cultivating peoples increased in number after 800 CE. The Chaco Canyon, a 22-mile-long gorge in western New Mexico, witnessed the development of a most improbable human habitat. The Anasazi, who grew corn there, carved entire villages into the sandstone

and shale cliffs. As population increased, the Anasazi built dozens of towns and villages linked by an elaborate system of roads. The largest of these cliff towns, Pueblo Bonito, had buildings more than five stories tall. ⁷ The Hohokam constructed an irrigation canal system that spanned hundreds of miles and contained an intricate network of dams, sluices, and headgates. Snaketown, a Hohokam village 250 miles west of modern Phoenix, had a population of several thousands. ⁸

These communities were far smaller than those of their mightier neighbors to the south. But the triumph of the corn-growing Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon is measured not by the wealth and population figures, but by the magnitude of the environmental challenges they overcame. ⁹

The Diffusion of Corn

Corn cultivation spread east and north. By 200 CE, cornfields dotted the southern Mississippi River Valley. Thereafter, the advance of corn showed. Farther north, early cold snaps killed existing varieties of the plant. Moreover, corn cultivation required unremitting labor, and few Indians were eager to subject themselves to its incessant demands. Fields had to be cleared, usually by burning away the undergrowth. Then the soil was hoed using flat stones, clamshells, or the shoulder blades of large animals. After planting, the fields required constant weeding. Ripened corn had to be shucked and dried. ¹⁰ Compared to the thrill of the hunt, the taste of game, and the varied tasks associated with hunting and gathering, farming held little appeal. Males regarded it as a subsidiary activity, a task best relegated to women. ¹¹

But over time many Indians learned that the alternative to agricultural labor was starvation. Fields farther north and east were cleared and planted with corn, beans, and squash. ¹² Old skeletons provide a precise means of tracking corn's advance. When corn is chewed, enzymes in the mouth convert its carbohydrates to sugar, a major cause of dental cavities. ¹³ Radiocarbon dating of skeletons from the vicinity of what is now St. Louis first shows dental cavities around 700 and those from southern Wisconsin, around 900. By 1000 dental cavities can be found in skeletons throughout the Midwest and the East. Corn had become king.

Population Growth after 800

Corn stimulated population growth. An acre of woodlands fed two or three hunters or foragers; that same acre, planted in corn, provided for as many as two hundred people. Hunting and foraging Indians usually found enough to eat in summer and fall, but in winter, food sources might disappear. But dried corn, stored in glazed pots or sealed in underground pits, could sustain many people over a period. Corn cultivators may not have had a particularly nutritious diet, but they could

usually survive a long, hard winter.

Corn cultivators also had more children than hunting and gathering peoples. The high caloric corn diet caused women to menstruate at an earlier age, making it possible for them to have more children. ¹⁴ Corn also promoted fertility by shortening the duration of breastfeeding. Even toothless infants could be fed a soft mush of boiled corn and could be weaned earlier; once mothers ceased breastfeeding, they were far more likely to become pregnant. Thus while hunting-gathering women would likely conceive no more frequently than once every four years, women who regularly ate corn were likely to have children twice as often. ¹⁵

A sedentary lifestyle promoted population growth in other ways. Infants and toddlers were a nuisance on the trail; some hunting and foraging Indians practiced abortion or even infanticide to ensure mobility and reduce the number of mouths to feed. ¹⁶ But farming Indians nearly always could make use of additional hands, even young ones, to help with plowing, hoeing, weeding, and harvesting. Because farmers rarely moved, they built more permanent homes and more successfully sheltered infants from inclement weather and physical dangers. ¹⁷

As in the Southwest, the corn-cultivating peoples of the Mississippi Valley responded to increasing population by clearing more woodland and planting more corn. ¹⁸ At first, corn cultivators and hunting-foraging peoples successfully cohabited within the same ecosystem; hunters traded for corn, essential for survival during winter, and corn cultivators traded for game, a source of complex protein. But over time the two groups often came into conflict, and when they did, the much more numerous corn cultivators prevailed.

The corn-cultivating societies expanded west into Dakota, east through the Carolinas, south into Florida, and north into Wisconsin. Their villages consisted of clusters of homes, surrounded by corn fields. They shared a constellation of beliefs and ritual practices. ¹⁹ Like the Hopewell, they built burial mounds, but those of the corn cultivators were much larger. Some villages became towns and even small cities. Large temples and granaries and the homes of the governing elite were located on top of the mounds.

The most important and populous of these communities was located in the vicinity of St. Louis. Archaeologists call it Cahokia.



The Iroquois ²

Far to the North of the declining southeastern mound-building societies, between

what would become French and English zones of settlement, five tribes comprised what Europeans called the League of the Iroquois: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Senecas. The Iroquois Confederation began as a vast extension of the kinship group that characterized the northeastern woodland pattern of family settlement and embraced perhaps 10,000 people by the sixteenth century.³

Not long before Europeans began coming ashore in eastern North America, the loosely organized and strife-ridden Iroquois created a more cohesive political confederacy. ⁴ As a result, villages gained stability, population increased, and the Iroquois developed political mechanisms for solving internal problems and presenting a more unified front to outsiders. This facilitated the development of a coordinated Iroquois policy for dealing with the European newcomers.

In the palisaded villages of Iroquoia, work, land use, hunting, and even living arrangements in longhouses were communal. While there might be individual farming or hunting efforts, it was understood that the bounty was to be divided among all. One historian has called this "upside-down capitalism", where the goal was not to pile up material possessions but to reach the happy situation where individuals could give what they had to others. ⁵ This Iroquois societal structure would stand in contrast to that of the arriving Europeans, as would Iroquois gender roles, political structure, and familial customs.

Pre-Contact⁶ Population

For many decades, anthropologists and historians estimated that the population of the Americas, and especially North America, was small, only about 10 percent of Europe's population at the time of Columbus's first voyage in 1492. Recently scholars have conceded that most estimates made in the past were grossly understated due to the conventional view that Indian societies peopled by nomadic hunters and gatherers could not be very large. ⁷

Archaeological research in recent decades has indicated that sophisticated Native American agricultural techniques were capable of sustaining large societies. ⁸ Therefore, population estimates have soared, with today's scholars estimating the pre-contact population north of the Rio Grande River to be at least 4 million people. Though estimates vary widely, the most reliable indicate that about 50 to 70 million people lived in the entire hemisphere when Europeans first arrived, contrasting with some 70 to 90 million in Europe (including Russia) around 1500, about 50 to 70 million in Africa, and 225 to 350 million in Asia. The colonizers were not coming to a "virgin wilderness", as they often described it, but to a land inhabited for thousands of years by people whose village existence in some ways resembled