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Anthropology

Radically Biblical, Apostolic, Christianity



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Anthropology

The study of human beings from a biological, social, and humanistic perspective. The field is generally divided into two major areas: Physical anthropology deals with the biological evolution and the physiological adaptations of humans; sociocultural anthropology concerns the ways in which people live in society--that is, the ways in which their language, culture, and customs develop.

Anthropology is fundamentally cross-cultural. Most early anthropological research studied non-European peoples and cultures, but a great deal of recent research has focused on modern settings. Anthropologists are firmly devoted to fieldwork, emphasizing firsthand experience and immersion in people's lives and activities.

History

From ancient times, travelers, historians, and scholars have studied and written about cultures that were exotic or different from the ways of life that they knew. The Greek historian, Herodotus, traveled widely among different cultural groups, observing and analyzing their ways of life. As do modern anthropologists, he interviewed "key informants," and he was acutely aware of the significance of differences among cultures in such aspects as family organization and religious practices. Much later, the Roman historian, Tacitus, in his book, *Germania* (about A.D., 98), described the character, manners, and geographical distribution of the German tribes.

In the Middle Ages, a few individuals traveled in many lands and recorded what they saw and heard. The most famous was the Italian adventurer, Marco Polo, who chronicled his travels (1271-95) through China and other parts of Asia, providing a wide range of information about the peoples and customs of the Far East.

During the Age of Discovery, which began in the 15th century, new fields of knowledge were explored. The discovery of the diverse peoples and cultures of the New World, Africa, South Asia, and the South Seas introduced revolutionary ideas about human cultural and biological history. In the 18th century, scholars of the French Enlightenment, such as A.R.J. Turgot and the Marquis de Condorcet, began theorizing about long-term evolution and the development of human civilization from its earliest stage. These anthropological-philosophical views clashed with the biblical account of

creation and with the theological dogma that the simpler cultures and peoples were remnants of groups that had fallen from God's grace and degenerated to a "primitive" condition.

During the 19th century, the discoveries of a Neanderthal fossil in Germany (1856) and the remains of Java Man (in the 1890's) gave impressive evidence of an extremely long process of human evolution. Other archaeological finds -- such as masses of ancient stone tools found near Paris by the Abbe Boucher de Perthes -- testified to a long, slow development of human prehistory, perhaps lasting hundreds of thousands of years.

Anthropology emerged as a distinct field of study in the mid-19th century. In North America, the founder of the discipline was Lewis Henry Morgan, who did major research on the Iroquoian Confederacy. Morgan later set out a general theory of cultural evolution as a gradual progression from "savagery" to "barbarism" (marked by simple domestication of animals and plants) to "civilization" (begun with the invention of the alphabet). In Europe, the founding figure was the British scholar, Edward B. Tylor, who elaborated a theory of human evolution with special concentration on the origins of religion. Tylor, Morgan, and their contemporaries emphasized the rationality of human cultures and theorized, that everywhere, human culture evolves into more complex and developed forms. Also, in the mid-19th century, major foundations for scientific archaeology were developed, especially by the Danish archaeologists at the Museum of Northern Antiquities in Copenhagen. From systematic excavations, they discovered the sequential development of tools from Stone Age to Bronze Age to Iron Age.

Applied anthropology began in the 19th century with such organizations as the Aborigines Protection Society (1837) and the Ethnological Society of Paris (1838). These societies worked to arouse the European conscience against such cruelties as the vast inhumanity of the slave trade and the slaughter of aboriginal peoples in Australia and the Americas.

Physical Anthropology

Physical anthropology, a major area of study and experimentation, is primarily concerned with human evolution, human biology, and the study of other primates.

Evolution of Humans

One branch of physical anthropology is now widely known because of the work of a family of paleo- anthropologists: Louis S.B. Leakey, his wife, Mary, who were British, and their son, Richard. Their discovery, during the 1960's, of a series of fossils in Olduvai Gorge in East Africa, led to major revisions in the understanding of human biological evolution. Fossil remains unearthed in the late 1970's and 1980's, have provided further evidence that in the period from 1 to 3 million years ago, the genus *Homo* ("true human") coexisted in East Africa with other advanced man-ape forms, known as australopithecines. Both of these hominids appear to be descendants of an Ethiopian fossil, *Australopithecus afarensis*, 3 to 3.7 million years old (the famous "Lucy," a skeleton found in 1974). These ancient ancestors of humans had the legs and body for walking bi-pedally, which freed the hands for manipulating objects. Another set of remains, discovered more recently in the Olduvai Gorge by researchers from the University of California, adds further weight to the view that human evolutionary progress was quite uneven. This fossil, approximately 1.8 million years old, includes arm and leg bones that give evidence of relatively advanced upright, bi-pedal locomotion, but small brain size and indications of marked differences in stature between males and females, not much different from "Lucy."

Crude stone artifacts found with some *Homo* fossils in the East African sites demonstrate tool-making and tool-using capabilities going back nearly 3 million years. This technical ability contributed to the apparent evolutionary success--hence, the name, *Homo habilis* ("handy human"). Compared with the vegetarian australopithecines, the *Homo habilis* ancestors of modern human beings, appear to have been developing toward considerable meat eating, judging from the conformation of the teeth and evidence of tool use.

As the number and variety of hominid fossil discoveries have accumulated, it seems that Africa, rather than Asia, is the probable center of earliest human evolution. The newest *Homo habilis* fossil discoveries suggest a creature (female) only about 91cm (about 3 ft.) tall. The usual brain size of the adult form was about 750 cc (about 46 cu. in.). The remains of a larger *Homo* species, however, with a brain size averaging more than 900 cc (more than 55 cu. in.), have been discovered in East Africa, dating from about 1.5 million years ago. This larger proto-human, now usually referred to as *Homo erectus*, spread from Africa to Europe and Asia, perhaps a million years ago, with an increasingly diversified tool-making inventory.

The best known remains of *Homo erectus* are the famous Java man, formerly known technically as, *Pithecanthropus*, and the equally well-known Peking man, a collection of skeletal materials found at Zhoukoudian (Chou-k'ou-tien) near Beijing, originally labeled, *Sinanthropus pekinensis*. Both are much younger than the East African *Homo habilis* materials and date from about 750,000 to 300,000 years ago. The Peking man fossils are especially interesting because the brain size is even larger than that of the Java materials, averaging more than 1050 cc (more than 64 cu. in.), and the skull and other bone materials are slightly more “modern.” *Homo erectus* fossils have also been found in Europe and Africa, with many stone tools and other evidence of a simple hunting-gathering culture. At Zhoukoudian, the archaeologists found the oldest evidence of human use of fire, as well as indications of cannibalism.

The famed Neanderthal specimens and dozens of similar fossils are believed, by some anthropologists, to be a direct part of human ancestry; others believe they were a side branch of *Homo sapiens*, that died out tens of thousands of years ago. From 100,000 to 35,000 years ago, Neanderthals were a numerous hunting-gathering people in much of Europe and the Middle East. They were robustly built, with heavy brow ridges and an average brain size of about 1500 cc (about 92 cu. in.), greater than that of most modern *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

Some fossils have been found that appear to be intermediate between Neanderthal and *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Such remains may be evidence of “intermarriage” between Neanderthal peoples and the direct ancestors of humans; or they may simply reflect a wide range of variation in a single *Homo sapiens* population. Since the last phases of the Ice Ages, about 20,000 to 10,000 years ago, large numbers of skeletal remains resembling modern humans, have been found in Europe and Africa and elsewhere.

The Americas have produced no human skeletal materials older than about 15,000 years, and the few specimens that are several thousand years old are all *Homo sapiens sapiens*. It seems clear that biological evolution leading to modern humanity took place in the Old World.

Human Biology

Another major branch of physical anthropology is the study of contemporary peoples and their biological features. Much early study and debate centered on the

identification, number, and characteristics of “principal races.” As refined techniques were developed for measuring skin and eye color, hair texture, blood type, head shape, and other dimensions, the classification of races became more and more complicated. Modern theorists hold that any ideas of “pure races” or ancestral archetypes are misleading and mistaken. All humans, living today, are *Homo sapiens sapiens* and are descended from the same general, complex ancestry. Genetic features have always varied geographically, but in every region, genetic inheritance results in “ranges of variation” and intermediate types or combinations. Thus, categorization of people by supposed race is more a social and political, than a biological statement. “Oriental,” “black,” “Hispanic,” and “white,” are socially defined groupings involving much mixing of genetic qualities with cultural characteristics.

Biological anthropologists later shifted their attention to the complex patterns of human genetics. They have studied the interplay of genetic adaptations with physiological and cultural (non-genetic) adaptations in illness, malnutrition, and environmental stresses, such as high altitudes, and hot climates. Medical and nutritional anthropologists combine biological-genetic perspectives with cultural and social data in studying illnesses, such as hypertension and diabetes, and in investigating growth and development under varying circumstances of nutrition and health.

One recent Nobel Prize winner, the American physician, Daniel Carleton Gajdusek, gained particular attention for his discovery that the mysterious wasting sickness, called kuru, found only among an isolated people in highland New Guinea, was caused by a slow virus (which he isolated and identified) that was communicated through cannibalistic practices. Some biological anthropologists have traced the genetic patterns and other features of such diseases, as sickle-cell anemia, thalassemia, and diabetes.

Study of the Primates

Since humans are primates, with biological cousins among the apes and monkeys, the study of the behaviors, population dynamics, dietary habits, and other qualities of baboons, chimpanzees, gorillas, and similar primates is an important comparative dimension of anthropology. British anthropologist, Jane Goodall, and her colleagues have spent years observing the free-ranging chimpanzees in a national park in Tanzania. They discovered that chimpanzees are capable of using simple tools -- notably small sticks to “fish” for termites and ants -- and can throw stones and sticks

effectively. In a famous experiment, chimpanzees were observed using heavy sticks in “beating up” a stuffed leopard. They communicate with each other, both vocally and physically. Studies of communications patterns and of group life among monkeys and apes provide insights for understanding the remote past of human evolution.

Socio-cultural Anthropology

A large portion of anthropological research focuses on fieldwork among different cultures around the world. Between about 1900 and 1950, such studies were aimed at recording the variety of human ways of life before the simpler, non-Western cultures were completely engulfed by modernization and Europeanization. Research describing the food production, social organization, religion, clothing, and material culture, language, and other aspects of different cultures is, referred to as, ethnography. The comparative analysis of these ethnographic descriptions, seeking broader generalizations about cultural patterns, dynamics, and worldwide principles, is the study of ethnology.

In the second half of the 20th century, ethnology (now usually referred to as cultural anthropology) became more and more interwoven with social anthropology, developed by British and French scholars. For a brief period, it was hotly debated, whether anthropology should be concerned with the study of social systems or, following, the American style, the comparative analysis of cultures. It was soon realized, however, that research, in ways of life and behaviors, is practically always, a combination -hence, the present-day label of socio-cultural anthropology.

Kinship and Social Organization

One important discovery of 19th-century anthropologists was that kinship relationships form the core and principle substance of social relations in all pre-modern societies. In many non-industrial societies, the most important social groups are clans, lineages, and other kinship organizations. When membership, in such kinship “corporations” (for instance, the Roman gens) is assigned to persons through the male line only, the system is called patrilineal descent. Before the growth of commerce and large-scale urbanization, many European peoples were organized economically and politically into patrilineal kin groups.

Matrilineal societies, with kin-group membership traced through females, are less common. Herodotus was the first scholar to describe such a social system, which he found among the Lycians of Asia Minor. Several well-known Native American groups have matrilineal kinship systems, including the Iroquois, Cherokee, Creek, Crow, Navajo, and some Pueblo communities in Arizona and New Mexico.

Bilateral kinship organizations, in which kinship relations are traced through both maternal and paternal sides of the family, is prevalent both in the simplest hunting-gathering societies (such as the Ikung peoples of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa and the Inuit, or Eskimo) and in complex societies. Modern North Americans have bilateral kinship systems. (Contemporary Western bilateral kinship, however, is adapted to a social system, largely dominated by non-kinship organizations and relationships). A study of kinship organization in 860 pre-industrial societies, showed that about 50 percent had patrilineal systems, some 35 percent, bilateral; and 15 percent, matrilineal.

In kinship-based societies, the members of a lineage, clan or other kin-group, are usually descendants of a common ancestor. Similarly, groups of lineages may often consider themselves descendants of a common ancestor (such as “the children of Abraham”). This concept allows large numbers of people to be united for warfare or ritual activities, making them distinct from their neighbors and enemies. For example, among some Central Asian “hordes” that for centuries attacked Europe with their swift cavalry, the complex military organization was based on patrilineal kinship.

Voluntary Associations

Some non-industrial, small-scale cultural groups also have important social groupings not based on kinship. The Plains peoples were famed for their “military societies” -- groups of men who fought and celebrated together, and who also, assumed some “police” duties in the communally organized buffalo hunts. The Zuni, Hopi, and other Native American communities of Arizona and New Mexico, still have religious fraternities that provide for a richly elaborate ceremonial life. In some West African cultural groups, secret societies exercise social control and recreational responsibilities.

Practically all ethnic and national groups develop special modes of organizations when they migrate into new surroundings. The familiar Sons of Norway, Italian-American

clubs, and other ethnic organizations of North America are matched by similar voluntary associations of migrant groups in African and Asian cities.

The Evolution of Political-Social Systems

The simplest human societies are hunting-gathering groups such as the Inuit, Kalahari San, Congo Pygmies, and Australian aborigines. Among these peoples, small numbers of families are grouped together into bands -- that is, nomadic groups of perhaps, 30 to 100 persons, related by kinship and associated with a particular territory.

The few remaining hunting-gathering bands (in remote parts of Africa, India, and the Philippines) are important because they exemplify, in a general way, the state of social organization and culture of 99 percent of all human experience. Their kin relations, religious ideas, methods of health care, and cultural characteristics, illustrate the cultural roots of modern humanity.

More complex social and economic systems were not possible until especially favorable food sources allowed early humans to settle in permanent, year-round communities. Then came the crucial breakthrough -- although only a moderate change at first -- as people learned to domesticate plants and animals for food, transportation, clothing, and other uses.

The Neolithic transition -- that is, the beginnings of domestication of food resources -- occurred independently in the Middle East and in East Asia about 12,000 years ago, according to the latest archaeological evidence. With greater population concentrations and permanent living sites, social-political organizations developed that linked together numbers of local groups. The new social systems, often encompassing several thousand people in multi-community tribes, were united by religious ceremonies, food exchanges, and cultural features.

Although small-scale tribes often had no real "central government," increases in populations and food sources led to the need for, and the possibility of, political centralization. Chiefdoms are the small-scale social systems in which food products and political tribute flow to a central leader, or chief, who in turn, redistributes the food and tribute to the community members.

The Rise of Nation-States

The origins of nation-states have been much argued. In the pre-Biblical Middle East, for example, the first city-states developed when population increases led to expanding food needs, followed by the development of irrigation projects to satisfy these needs. This, in turn, led to the growth of military systems to protect these resources. In other instances, location on crucial trade routes -- for example, Timbuktu on the Saharan salt-trade route -- favored military and administrative centralization.

Ethnological and archaeological studies support the view that states or kingdoms came into existence somewhat differently in different historical and ecological situations; once started, however, kingdoms nearly everywhere displayed certain patterns of growth. Fledgling kingdoms seldom “stand still;” the tendency to engulf neighboring regions -- to exploit them economically and to “pacify” potential invaders -- is widespread. In the “first civilizations”-- in the Middle East, Egypt, northern India, Southeast Asia, China, Mexico, and Peru -- military fortifications soon appeared, usually accompanied by temples and other examples of religious ritual that marked the growth of priesthoods. Social stratification, with a small military-religious elite and a large subservient population of peasants and workers, was an inevitable consequence.

Evolution of Religious Systems

The belief of simple hunting-gathering bands can be complex with regard to the supernatural world, the “forces of nature,” and the behaviors of spirits and gods. Some small scale societies, however, such as the Kung peoples of the Kalahari, seem to possess unelaborated ideas about the supernatural, the causes of things, and the hereafter. The Siriono of eastern Bolivia, for example, are reported to be totally vague about where people go after they die.

Small-scale, relatively egalitarian hunting-gathering groups usually lack the extra resources to support full-time religious specialists. All human groups, however, large and small (including modern North American cultural groups), have shamans - men or women thought to have direct contact with supernatural beings and forces, from which they derive power to affect such problems as illness. The shaman is often the only person with a specialized religious role in small-scale societies.

In the lower middle range of cultures -- for example, small societies practicing cultivation -- communal religious systems involve the people in complex ritual performances, often with a rotation of priestly responsibilities. Where kinship groups are the main elements of social solidarity, religious observances are often centered around family and lineage.

The rise of centralized social systems with social stratification has almost always been accompanied by the development of ecclesiastical religious systems with full-time priests, complex rituals for the entire populace, and increased tendencies to both moral and political rule making. These complex religious systems seldom eliminated either the practices of individualized shamanism (especially for healing of sickness), or the family-centered religious observances that reflect kinship solidarity.

Archaeological evidence from the earliest city-kingdoms testifies to the frequently close partnerships between the ecclesiastical leaders and the leaders of commerce and statecraft, thus emphasizing the conservative aspect of religion. On the other hand, movements of radical social reform have usually been religious, and both in simpler societies and in more complex "civilizations," new religious systems arise regularly whenever some portion of the society experiences severe frustration and hardship. Thus, religion may, at times, serve the status quo; but, some religions are forces of radical change.

Development of Culture

The rather simple schemes of cultural evolution proposed in the 19th century have been debated, elaborated, and modified as new archaeological and ethnological data have come to light. Some leading anthropologists, early in the 20th century, such as the German-American, Franz Boas and the American, Alfred Kroeber, took a strong anti-evolutionist point of view. They argued that cultural and social processes have been so diverse throughout the world that no general stages or trends could be discerned. The point of view has now been largely discarded.

Two fundamentally different explanations of cultural evolution have been elaborated. The 19th century evolutionists held that broadly similar processes of cultural growth and elaboration occur in different societies because of a fundamental psychic unity of all humankind. Thus, the parallels in the rise of social stratification and ruling elites, for example, are seen as caused by human mental qualities.

The contrary view, held by increasing numbers of anthropologists, puts primary emphasis on the material conditions of life -- the energy sources, technologies, and production systems of human groups. Environmental influences are also stressed, because the growth of complex cultural systems has been especially favored by certain geographical and climatic features. For example, the prehistoric Middle East was rich in varieties of game animals (wild pigs, sheep, goats) and wild plants that proved especially amenable to domestication.

Most theorists would now agree that material influences -- including available energy, technology, and the organization of production (and reproduction) -- are major components in cultural evolution and social processes. Still, the force of ideas also looms large; some widely cited examples of the power of ideas are the spread of Islam, the struggle between Communist and non-Communist ideologies, and the influence of commercial advertising.

A comprehensive theoretical approach gradually emerged in anthropology during the 1970's. Usually called ecological theory, this approach requires a holistic, multi-variable research strategy. In the spectrum from materialist to mentalist viewpoints, it can be adjusted to various intermediate positions. The American anthropologist, Margaret Mead, for example, studied the development of the individual personality under varying social and economic conditions. In general, when the focus is on larger time frames (such as hundreds or thousands of years), the emphasis shifts toward materialistic determination. Research centered on shorter time spans, including cultural features of modern society, can emphasize symbols and ideas (such as ethnic identity and religious revivalism) and still remain within the ecological framework.

Methods and Applications

The research methods of anthropologists are as varied as the topics they study.

Archaeological Research

For archaeological anthropologists, it is fundamental to establish chronological patterns -- the time sequences of past human activities that have left physical remains to be excavated. Of modern methods of dating archaeological remains, the radio-carbon technique, is perhaps, the most widely used. The basis of this method is that living plants and animals contain fixed ratios of a radioactive form of carbon, known as

carbon-14. Carbon-14 deteriorates at a constant rate, leaving ordinary carbon. Measuring the traces of radiocarbon in pieces of charcoal, remains of plants, cotton fibers, wood, and so forth, permits fairly accurate assessment of age in materials that are as much as 60,000 to 70,000 years old.

The ages of ancient fossil remains in East Africa, dating from several million years ago, have been established by another powerful radiological tool, the potassium-argon method. Radioactive potassium (potassium-40) breaks down extremely slowly, yielding argon-40.

Time sequence of archaeological remains are still read primarily through meticulous attention to stratigraphy -- the time-ordered deposition of soil, organic materials, and remains of human activity. Such deposits, gradually build up and cover each preceding phase in any human living site. The techniques used in establishing stratigraphic sequences include soil analysis, geological assessment, and study of animal and plant remains, as well as the detective work of piecing together the remains of floors, storage pits, and other constructions.

Socio-cultural Research

In socio-cultural anthropology, research rests on the fundamental idea of participant observation in a community or social system. The anthropologist first becomes immersed in the life of the community and, through daily contacts and observations, establishes rapport with the people. This first phase of field research can take weeks, even months, particularly if one must learn the local language. The early ethnographers obtained their data mainly from extensive interviewing of a few key informants -- persons who were "experts" about the local culture and social system. These data were cross-checked among several informants and pieced together with the fieldworker's own direct observations.

Research in complex and changing cultural systems, however, requires additional methodological tools. Structured interviews (with samples of people) are now routinely used to obtain focused information about food use, health behavior, economic resources, labor migrations, recreation, and other topics. Meticulous recording of transactions in the marketplace, hours of work, catches of fish and game, and crop yields are used in analyzing economic behavior. Complex psychological tests are

employed when the focus turns to questions of personality. Data from Church archives, native texts, government reports, and other written sources are also analyzed.

As field data have become more complex and sophisticated, requiring routine management of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of bits of information, archaeologists have turned to computers to map-out time sequences, spatial relationships, and other patterns. Trends of cultural change, relationships of economic activities to social interactions, multi-ethnic interactions, and other complicated patterns are tested with complex statistical methods.

Such technical, quantified research methods have not replaced traditional field-research styles. Rather, detailed interviews of key informants, as well as complex qualitative analysis of symbol systems, ceremonies, and other cultural features, are still essential parts of eclectic, holistic methodology.

Current Trends

Anthropology in the 1980's is increasingly an applied science, as researchers concentrate on social issues in areas such as health care, education, environmental protection, and urban development. Many anthropologists are now employed by government agencies, research corporations, Native American tribal governments, and health-care facilities, and much fieldwork is carried out in complex cultural sciences -- school systems, citywide health systems, large-scale agricultural development programs, and multi-community rural regions.

The shift to the study of complex, multicultural systems and the increase in quantified research methods have led to the need for team research. Early research typically involved a lone fieldworker, isolated for months in some remote village; now, however, many field projects consist of several persons, including statistical consultants, both biological and social scientists, and student assistants.

Another significant trend is to work more closely with community people -- ethnic organizations, tribal governments, neighborhood health clinics, migrant labor organizations, women's groups, and other special-interest groups -- whose activities require up-to-date quantitative and descriptive data. Linguists have worked

with Native American organizations and other ethnic groups to help develop bilingual, bicultural school materials.

Anthropologists have traditionally developed social attachments to their research communities as a matter of practical methodology. Those social relationships, in the 1980's, have often become partnerships in which the people in the communities, that are studied directly, experience, at least, some benefits of the projects. In turn, these pragmatic applications of anthropological methods lead to new directions in social and bio-cultural theory.

Aborigines

Earliest known inhabitants of a country. The term is generally applied to the original or native inhabitants of a country, as opposed to an intrusive conquering race from another area, or colonists, and their descendants. Most nations have instituted measures for the welfare of the aborigines within their territories. Such measures include those of the United States and Canada concerning Native Americans and Inuits, and those of Australia concerning its aboriginal groups.

All aboriginal peoples have been affected by contact with contemporary civilization; in some cases, the introduction of disease, warfare, alcohol, and drugs has demoralized and decimated peoples. Others, such as the Ainu of northern Japan, have become almost wholly assimilated. The greatest degree of racial mixture has occurred among the native Polynesians of Hawaii. The Native American population of the United States has extensively inter-married with Americans of African and European descent. Those Native Americans, living on reservations, retain some traditional folkways. In Central and

South America and in the Caribbean region, many groups have become extinct, in most cases, after Spanish or Portuguese conquest. Among aborigines who have kept strong elements of their original identity, are the Inuit, Maori, Dayak, and Australian aborigines. Tribes in such comparatively inaccessible areas as the Amazon River Basin of South America, still live according to their traditional cultures.

Aleut

Native of the Aleutian Islands, belonging to the Inuit-Aleut linguistic group, and usually classified as, a Native American.

The Aleuts originally moved to the islands from Alaska. They were dependent on the sea for food, clothing, fuel, and materials, for shelter, such as driftwood and whalebone. When the islands came under Russian domination in the 1740's, the native population numbered about 25,000. The Aleuts, who were skillful hunters of sea mammals, were exploited by the fur traders. Harsh treatment by the Russians and smallpox and influenza epidemics, took their toll on the native population, which today numbers about 2,000. Most are members of the Russian Orthodox Church. They live in wood frame houses, engage in fishing, hunting, and raising sheep, and eat processed foods.

Apache

Group of six culturally related Native American tribes descended from Athabascan-speaking peoples. The tribal groups are the Kiowa Apache, who lived between the northern border of New Mexico and the Platte River; the Lipan of eastern New Mexico and western Texas; the Jicarilla of southern New Mexico; the Mescalero of central New Mexico; the Chiricahua of the Chiricahua mountain range in southwestern Arizona; and the Western Apache of central Arizona.

History

Early Apache inhabitants of the southwestern United States, were a nomadic people; some groups roamed as far south as Mexico. They were primarily hunters of buffalo, but they also practiced limited farming. For centuries they were fierce warriors, adept in desert survival, who carried out raids on those who encroached on their territory.

The first intruders were the Spanish, who penetrated Apache territory in the late 1500's. The Spanish drive northward disrupted ancient Apache trade connections with neighboring tribes. When New Mexico became a Spanish colony in 1598, hostilities increased between Spaniards and Apaches. An influx of Comanche into traditional Apache territory in the early 1700's, forced the Lipan and other Apaches to move south of their main food source, the buffalo. These displaced Apaches, began raiding for food.

Apache raids on settlers accompanied the American westward movement and the United States acquisition of New Mexico in 1848. The Native Americans and the United States military authorities engaged in fierce wars until all Apache tribes were eventually placed on reservations. Most of the tribes were subdued by 1868, except for the Chiricahua, who continued their attacks until 1872, when their chief, Cochise, signed a treaty with the U.S. government and moved, with his band, to an Apache reservation in Arizona. The last band of Apache raiders, led by the chief, Geronimo, was hunted down in 1886 and was confined in Florida.

Customs and Religion

In traditional Apache culture, women gathered food, wood, and water, while men went out to hunt and raid. Most family units lived in wickiups -- dome-shaped brush huts erected by the women -- or in buffalo-hide tepees. Western Apache tribes were matrilineal; others apparently traced their descent through both parents. Polygamy was practiced when economic circumstances permitted; marriage could be terminated easily by either party. Religion was a fundamental part of Apache life. Among the best-known supernatural beings were the *ga'ns*, protective mountain spirits, represented in religious rites such as the girls' puberty ceremony, still performed by Western Apaches.

In 1990, individuals claiming to be of Apache descent numbered 50,051, with many living on reservations in Arizona and New Mexico. Farming, cattle herding, and tourist-related businesses are important economically; nevertheless, unemployment is high. Present-day culture is a mixture of traditional Apache beliefs, such as witchcraft, and contemporary United States elements.

Arabs

Name given to the ancient and present-day inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula and often applied to the peoples closely allied to them in ancestry, language, religion, and culture. Presently more than 200 million Arabs are living mainly in 21 countries; they constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, and the nations of North Africa. The Arabic language is the main symbol of cultural unity among these people, but the religion of Islam provides

another common bond for the majority of Arabs. Language and religion are united in the Koran, the sacred scripture of Islam.

History

Arabia was the site of a flourishing civilization long before the Christian era. In the centuries following the death of the prophet, Muhammad in A.D., 632, Arab influence spread throughout the Middle East, to parts of Europe, particularly Sicily and Spain, to sub-Saharan Africa, to the subcontinent of India, and to Madagascar and the Malay Archipelago. The cultural and scientific contributions of the Arabs to Western civilization during the Middle Ages was highly significant, especially in astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy.

Modern Arabs

During the past two centuries of rapid world change, hundreds of years of cultural unity have been disrupted, and the Arabs, led by the people of Egypt and Morocco, have moved more and more into separate national traditions. In some countries, such as Iran, Afghanistan, and Indonesia, minority communities of Arabs retain only language, religion, and histories of their migrations to their present locations.

Religion

The Islamic religion, which originated in the western Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century, predominates in most Arab nations. Forms of both major divisions of Islam -- the Sunni and the various Shiite sects -- can be found in the Arab countries. Almost everywhere, nationalism, which emerged in the late 19th century, is an important force. Nationalists sometimes use the Islamic religious tradition as an ideological tool to justify the power of the ruling class.

Urbanization

Dozens of large cities and hundreds of towns reflect the pronounced urban character of the Arab world; in most of the countries, about 40 percent of the people are urban dwellers. All Arab nations suffer from conspicuous economic inequalities, especially the concentration of wealth and power in a ruling elite. Most, are also, undergoing severe urbanization stresses, as the failing rural economies drive poverty-stricken, landless peasants to the cities. The growth of modern cities through rural migration has caused

serious problems in these urban centers, including unemployment, housing shortages, and the proliferation of vast slums.

Rural Populations

Most Arab countries have substantial agricultural, village-based populations. In the villages, the land, the family, and religion are still the main influences on attitudes and behavior. The traditional prosperous village cultures were altered and largely destroyed throughout the region during the late 18th and 19th centuries by European penetration and colonization. In most countries today, present farming on a subsistence level is pervasive.

Nomadic Arabs

Until the mid-19th century, vast semi-desert areas in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula were exploited by nomadic tribes. The camel-breeding Bedouins were well-known as warriors and controllers of the caravan routes. Other pastoral tribes specialized in sheep and goat husbandry. In present-day Sudan, the Somali Republic, and Djibouti, pastoral economies, operating on subsistence levels, remain the only means of survival for many poverty-stricken Arab groups.

Arapaho

Native American tribe of Algonquian linguistic stock, originally inhabiting what is now Minnesota, and later, the plains between the Yellowstone River and Rio Grande. At an unknown time, the Arapaho formed a permanent alliance with the Cheyenne, but, unlike the Cheyenne, they were friendly toward white settlers. The Arapaho were a nomadic tribe, whose art and religious ceremonies exhibited advanced characteristics of Plains culture, especially in the sun dance. The tribe now lives in settlements in three major divisions: the Northern Arapaho with the Shoshone in Wyoming; the Southern Arapaho with the Cheyenne in Oklahoma; and the Gros Ventre, or Atsina, with the Assiniboine in Montana.

Arawak

A once-predominant group of Native Americans, originally inhabiting an area, that stretched from present-day Florida, down through the islands of the West Indies, and the coastal area of South America, as far as southern Brazil. The group is in the Arawakan linguistic family. The Arawak were the first natives of the Americas encountered by the Italian-Spanish navigator, Christopher Columbus.

A number of Arawak tribes have been extinct for several hundred years. Those of the Lesser Antilles were subjugated in fighting with the Carib peoples in the late 15th century. The Arawak population, in the West Indies, fell from a probable 2 to 3 million, to a few thousand, by the early 16th century; by the end of that century, island Arawak were extinct. This catastrophic mortality rate was due to the introduction of European diseases, damage to the Arawak's food supplies, and Spanish brutality and enslavement.

Before the Spanish conquest, the large-island ecologies, offering bountiful harvests and abundant fish, combined with the compact and stable island populations, permitted the development of an elaborate political and social structure. A class of hereditary chiefs ruled three other classes, the lowest of which, was composed of slaves. Conflict between classes was apparently minimal. In this matrilineal society, rulers were succeeded by their eldest sister's, eldest son. Religion offered a hierarchy of deities parallel to the social structure.

The Arawak tribes of South America better survived European contact because their groups were smaller and more scattered. Their social structure was also matrilineal, but much less complex. Mainland Arawak traded with the Dutch and English. In the 17th and 18th centuries, they made a transition to plantation agriculture.

In the 20th century, the existing Arawak began to accept wage-paying jobs as a supplement to farming, hunting, and fishing. Although their present-day culture reflects various non-Arawak influences, this group has been noted since pre-Columbian times as skilled potters, weavers, and wood-and-metal-workers. Today some 30,000 Arawak live in Guyana, with smaller numbers in Suriname and French Guiana. Arawakan-speaking groups are also wide-spread in other parts of South America.

Aztec

People who dominated central and southern Mexico from the 14th to the 16th century and who are best known for having established an elaborate and wide-ranging empire destroyed by Spanish invaders.

Their name is derived from a mythical homeland to the north called Azatlan; they also called themselves, the Mexica. The Aztec language belongs to the Nahuatl branch of the Uto-Aztecan family.

Origins

After the fall of the Toltec civilization, which flourished from the 10th to the 11th century, waves of immigrants flooded into Mexico's central plateau area around Lake Texcoco. As late arrivals, the Aztecs were forced to occupy the swampy area on the western side of the lake. They were surrounded by powerful neighbors who exacted tribute from them, and their only piece of dry land was a tiny island surrounded by marshes.

That the Aztecs were able to convert this disadvantageous beginning into a powerful empire within two centuries was due, in part, to their belief in a certain legend. According to this legend, they would establish a great civilization in a marshy area where they would see a cactus growing out of a rock and, perched on the cactus, an eagle eating a snake. The priests said they saw this when they arrived in the dismal swamp. (Today, as a reflection of the continuity of this tradition, the eagle, cactus, and serpent appear on all Mexican paper money).

As the Aztecs grew in number, they established superior military and civil organizations. By 1325, they founded the city of Tenochtitlan (located on the site of present-day Mexico City).

The Capital City

The shallow lake bed was converted by the Aztecs into *chinampas* (highly productive gardens formed by piling up mud from the lake bottom to make artificial islands). Causeways and bridges were built to connect the city to the mainland, aqueducts were constructed, and canals were dug throughout the city for easy transportation of goods and people. When the Spanish arrived, they called it the Venice of the New World.

Religious structures dominated the landscape -- giant, stepped, limestone-faced pyramids, on which, temples were erected.

As a result of its location and superior organization, the city flourished. By the time the Spanish, led by Hernan Cortes, began their conquest in 1519, the great market was attracting up to 60,000 people daily. Goods were brought into Aztec hands by tribute agreements with conquered territories, and many goods were exported from the city to be traded in other parts of the Aztec Empire and Central America.

The Aztec Confederation

The Aztecs formed military alliances with other groups, creating an empire that extended from central Mexico to the Guatemalan border. In the early 15th century, Tenochtitlan ruled jointly with the city-states of Texcoco and Tlateloco (now Tacuba). Within 100 years, the Aztecs seized complete power, and although kingships remained in the other city-states, these became, merely honorary titles.

By the end of the reign of Montezuma II in 1520, 38 tributary provinces had been established; however, some of the tribes, at the fringes of the Aztec Empire, remained fiercely independent. Because of these divisions and internal strife within the far-flung Aztec Empire, Cortes was easily able to defeat the empire by 1521. In addition to domestic problems contributing to the downfall, the emperor, Montezuma naively welcomed the conqueror, Cortes, thinking him to be the god, Quetzalcoatl, (the Plumed Serpent).

Aztec Society and Religion

Aztec society was divided into three classes: slave, commoner, and nobility. Slave status was similar to that of an indentured servant. Although children of poor parents could be sold into servitude, it was often only for a specific time period. Slaves could buy their freedom, and those who escaped from their masters and reached the royal palace without being caught, were immediately given their freedom. Commoners, or *maceualtin*, were given lifetime ownership of a plot of land on which to build their houses. The lowest groups of commoners (*tlalmaitl*), however, were not allowed to own property; they were tenant farmers. The nobility comprised nobles by birth, priests, and those (especially warriors) who earned their rank.

In Aztec religion, numerous gods ruled over daily life. Among these were Uitzilopochtli, (sun god), Coyolxauhqui (moon goddess, who, in Aztec myth, was murdered by her brother, the sun god), Tlaloc (rain god), and Quetzalcoatl, (inventor of writing and the calendar, and also associated with the planet, Venus and with resurrection).

Human and animal sacrifices were an integral part of Aztec religion. For warriors, the ultimate honor was to be slain in battle or to volunteer for sacrifice in a major ritual. Prisoners were often used for less important rituals. Victims would ascend the steps of the pyramid, where priests would then stretch them across a convex stone and rip their hearts out with a sharp knife.

The Aztecs used pictographic writing that was recorded on paper or animal hides. Some of these writings, called *codices*, exist today. They also used a calendar system developed by the earlier Mayan civilization. This system consisted of 365 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days, to which were added 5 “hollow” days, thought of as very bad luck. Another calendar, having 260 days (20 months of 13 days), was used exclusively for divination.

Aztec People Today

Modern Aztecs live in the vicinity of Mexico City and number well over 1 million. They are the largest aboriginal group in Mexico. They retain the Aztec-Nahua language, and their religion is a blend of Aztec and Roman Catholicism.

Basques

People living in north central Spain, primarily in two autonomous regions, the Basque Country (Pais Vasco) and Navarra, and in the Pyrenees-Atlantiques department of southwestern France. The origin of the Basques has long been a subject of scholarly research. Although possessing certain marked physical traits, the Basques are not considered a distinct race by most modern ethnologists. Their ancient language, customs, and traditions, however, distinguish them from all other peoples of Europe. Attempts have been made by various scholars to link the Basque language with a

number of non-Indo-European languages, but such connections are not accepted by the majority of linguists.

Characteristics

Among the outstanding characteristics of the Basques are their independent spirit, love of freedom, and respect for individual liberty; a favorite Basque motto is “Neither slave nor tyrant.” These qualities are reflected in their ancient laws (called *fors* in France and *fueros* in Spain), which traditionally governed every area of their lives and were strictly adhered to. These laws were maintained by democratically elected assemblies (*juntas*), and great care was taken to secure honesty at the polls. It was not uncommon for a fisherman to preside over meetings in which Spanish noblemen were seated.

The law of primogeniture, of great importance to the Basque people, gave permanence to the family structure. The importance of the family is reflected, to some extent, in the appearance of most Basque homesteads, which differ markedly from the one-story house of the average French and Spanish farmer. The typical Basque house has an air of dignity and stability; its site includes a garden, vineyard, pasture, and woodland.

The Basques are devout Roman Catholics and have fought to prevent domination of their religious institutions by French and Spanish ecclesiastical authorities. Notable religious figures of Basque origin include, St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Order of the Jesuits, and the Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier. The Basques have retained many religious customs dating from medieval times. Among the most colorful are the Procession of the Crosses and the Corpus Christi processions. The latter are especially interesting because of the national dances performed.

Dancing and games play an important part in the lives of the Basque people, who are especially fond of a strenuous game known, as *jai alai*. They still preserve part of their ancient costume, notably the beret (*boina*), a blue or red cap.

Many Basques have immigrated to America. It is estimated that about 250,000 Basques live in South America and about 50,000 live in the United States. Most of those in the United States are employed as shepherds in California, Nevada, and Wyoming.

History

The Basques first appeared in written history late in the 1st century B.C., when they successfully withstood the Roman invaders of Spain. They maintained their independence throughout the period of Roman rule of the Iberian Peninsula. The Basques adopted Christianity between the 3rd and 5th centuries. In the 6th century, they fought fiercely and successfully against the Visigoths. Late in the 6th century, groups of Spanish Basques migrated northward across the Pyrenees to Aquitania, which thereafter, was known as Gascony. Those who remained in Spain withstood the Moors, who dominated most of the peninsula from the 8th to the 11th century. The Spanish Basques preserved their tradition of autonomy throughout the Middle Ages. Biscay (Vizcaya), one of the provinces, was independent from 1093 until 1350. Not until 1370, was it definitely part of the kingdom of Castile, to which Guipuzcoa had been united in 1200 and Alava in 1332. When a Spanish kingdom was established late in the 15th century, the Basque provinces preserved customs, laws, and diplomatic relations with other countries with slight variation until 1876, when the provinces were absorbed by Spain. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), an autonomous Basque state was established by the Republican government, but the victory of the Nationalists under General Francisco Franco ended this regime. Agitation for re-establishment of Basque autonomy arose during the next three decades. The separatist movement grew dramatically in the 1970's, and many violent incidents occurred. Between 1979 and 1983, the Spanish government granted limited autonomy, including an elected parliament, to the Basque Country and 16 other autonomous regions. Since then, relations between the Basques and the central government have improved, though occasional terrorist acts are still carried out by the ETA, the separatist organization.

Bedouins

(Arabic *Badawi*, "dwellers in the desert"), nomadic Arabs inhabiting the deserts of the Middle East and northern Africa. In ancient times, their territory included only the deserts of Egypt and Syria. Later they entered Mesopotamia and Chaldea. The Muslim conquest of northern Africa, in the 7th century, opened vaster tracts to the Bedouins. Although they form only a small part of the population of these areas, they use a great deal of territory.

Beginning about 1045 and continuing at a decreasing rate for several centuries, Bedouin nomads from central Arabia invaded northern Africa. These invaders took over all suitable grazing land and upset the balanced agricultural and urban civilization that

the resident Berbers had achieved. The Bedouin flocks destroyed most of the natural ground cover; by overgrazing, the flocks turned pastureland into semi-desert. Some of the balance has been restored, however, and today many Middle Eastern and North African states have tried to curtail the movement of Bedouin groups from one country to another.

Culture and Customs

Some Bedouins have retained their nomadic and pastoral way of life. They subsist primarily on meat, milk, and dairy products provided by their herds. In general, they leave crop agriculture and commerce to the native peoples of northern Africa. Traditionally exploitive and aggressive, most Bedouins have been disdainful of any kind of settled life. However, with the rise of oil production in the 1960's and 1970's, many Bedouins have taken jobs in the oil industry. Government programs throughout the Middle East have encouraged the Bedouins to become more settled and urban. Currently, only 5 to 10 percent of Bedouins engage in a fully nomadic lifestyle, but many more are seasonal nomads.

Virtually, all Bedouins are Muslims. They manufacture their own woolen clothing. Members of many tribes shave their heads, but beards are worn by all men.

The typical Bedouin tent is made from strips of cloth woven from goat or camel hair and vegetable fibers, sewn together and dyed black. In the instances in which Bedouins become sedentary and erect permanent dwellings, they build rectangular houses several stories in height, with stone or adobe walls.

Political and Social Systems

The political system of the Bedouins is based on an extended patriarchal family unit. Each unit, from a minor family to an entire tribe, is led by a sheikh. The title descends from father to eldest son. The actual political authority of each sheikh depends, not upon the size of the unit he rules, but upon his wealth and the force of his personality.

The social system of the Bedouins has four classifications, loosely based on ancestry and mobile wealth. For example, the camel breeders, the highest on the social scale, usually inter-marry and consider other Bedouin groups inferior.

Berber

Name given to the language and people of certain native, non-Arabic tribes inhabiting large sections of North Africa. Berbers are sparely built and range in skin color from white and near-white to dark brown. Through the centuries they have mixed with so many other ethnic groups, notably the Arabs, that Berbers are now identified usually on a linguistic rather than a racial basis. The Berber language is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic linguistic family and comprises about 300 closely related local dialects. It is primarily a spoken language; its written form is little known and rarely used. Berbers constitute about 40 percent of the population of Morocco, about 30 percent of the population of Algeria, and about 1 percent of the population of Tunisia. The number of identifiable Berbers in North Africa is slowly declining as more and more of them adopt the language and culture of the Arab majority. Like the Arabs, the Berbers are Muslims; they are less orthodox, however, and their religious rituals include many elements, some animistic, which derive from ancient pre-Muslim and pagan religions. Most of the Berbers inhabit rural areas, where they dwell in tents and clay huts or, in the larger villages, in stone houses. The traditional Berber occupations are sheep and cattle raising, but increasing numbers raise crops. Other industries, in which Berbers engage, include flour milling, wood carving, the quarrying of millstones, and the production of domestic utensils, agricultural implements, pottery, jewelry, and leather goods.

The Berbers have lived in North Africa since the earliest recorded time. References to them, date from about 3,000 B.C., and occur frequently in ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman sources. For many centuries, the Berbers inhabited the coast of North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean. They continued to inhabit the region until the 7th century A.D., when the Arabs conquered North Africa and drove many Berber tribes inland to the Atlas Mountains and to areas in and near the Sahara. After the Arab conquest, the Berbers embraced the Muslim faith of their new rulers. Succeeding centuries were marked by almost continuous struggles for power in North Africa among the various Berber tribes, between the Berbers and the Arabs, and between both these peoples and Spanish, Portuguese, and Turkish invaders. During the same period, the Barbary Coast of North Africa, the name of which, is derived from the word, Berber, became famous as the principal base of Arab and Berber pirates, who preyed on Mediterranean shipping.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, France and Spain subjugated Morocco and Algeria. After World War I, the Berber and Arab populations of North Africa began actively to seek independence.

Beginning in 1920, the Riff, led by the Riff emir Abd-el-Krim, repeatedly defeated Spanish troops occupying the Spanish zone of Morocco; Berbers advanced into French Morocco in 1926, but were repulsed the following year, by combined French and Spanish troops. During the upsurge of native nationalism that swept French North Africa after World War II, the Berbers played a somewhat equivocal role. In French Morocco, Berbers, led by the pro-French Berber pasha, Thami el-Mezouari el-Glaoui, constituted the chief bulwark of French control. In 1953, the French, aided by el-Glaoui, deposed and exiled the national sultan of Morocco, Muhammed V ben Youssef. Anti-French feeling grew steadily thereafter, among the Berbers of Morocco, as well as among the Arabs. On August 20, 1955, a force of Berbers from the Atlas Mountains region of Algeria, raided two rural settlements in Morocco and killed 77 French nationals. After a number of such anti-French outbreaks among the Berbers of Morocco, el-Glaoui, yielding to popular sentiment, adopted a nationalist position. The loss of Berber support helped to force the French to end the exile of Muhammed V, in 1955, and to grant Morocco independence in 1956. In Algeria, violent resistance to French rule by segments of both the Berber and the Arab population continued until the country was granted independence in 1962.

Blackfoot

A closely related confederacy of Native American tribes of Algonquian linguistic stock, who roamed the northern Plains region between the upper Missouri and Saskatchewan rivers. The confederacy is also called Blackfeet.

The Blackfoot consists of three distinct divisions: the Siksika or Blackfoot proper, the Kainah or Bloods, and the Piegan. The entire group is known among its members as the Bloods. Originally from Saskatchewan, in the mid-18th century, they drifted into the Montana area in search of buffalo. By the mid-19th century, at the peak of their power, they controlled a vast territory.

The Blackfoot were expert horseback riders, noted buffalo hunters, and fierce warriors. They were feared by other Native American groups and were frequently at war with their neighbors, the Cree, Sioux, Crow, and other tribes. In times of war, the three divisions united to defend their lands.

The Blackfoot were a nomadic tribe, living in tepees in easily dismantled villages. The tribes were divided into several bands, each led by a chief. The bands assembled in summer for social and religious ceremonies. Except for growing tobacco, the Blackfoot did no farming; their culture and economy, were thus, essentially typical of those of the Plains tribes. While the men made weapons and hunted, the women did household chores and gathered wild plants for food. The Blackfoot practiced polygamy; a prosperous warrior might have several wives.

In 1990, 32,234 people claimed to be members of the tribe, including several thousand, who lived on the large Blackfoot Reservation in Montana.

Caddo

Native American tribe and confederacy of tribes of the Caddoan family, originally dwelling along the Red River area of Louisiana and Arkansas. The Caddo were a sedentary agricultural people. They lived in cone-shaped dwellings of thatched grass over poles. Groups of the dwellings surrounded temple mounds. A matrilineal society, the Caddo were class conscious, with a hereditary upper class. They were settled on a Native American reservation in Oklahoma during the 19th century. In 1901, the reservation was opened to white settlement; however, the Caddo were allowed to remain on allotments of land within the region. Traditional Caddo tribal life dissolved. From a population of 8,000 in the late 17th century, the number of Caddo dropped to about 500 in the late 19th century. The Caddo tribe numbered 2,549 in 1990, with many members living on a reservation in Oklahoma.

Cajun

Name applied to the descendants of French-Canadians who now reside mainly in southern Louisiana. The name, Cajun is the corrupt form of *Acadian*, a pastoral people who originally lived in Acadia (present-day New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) in Canada. It was a French colony until 1713, when it was acquired by Great Britain. In 1755, the British expelled those settlers, who would not swear allegiance to the Crown. About 4,000 Acadians eventually moved to the fertile bayou lands of Louisiana.

Today, the Cajuns live in small, self-contained communities along the Gulf of Mexico. They raise cattle and cultivate various crops, including sweet potatoes, sugarcane, corn, and cotton. Home crafts are important, and the people do much of their own spinning and weaving.

The Cajuns have a mixed African, European, and Native American ancestry, which helps set them apart from their neighbors. French-Canadian folk customs and traditions are preserved among this group, as well as strong regional cuisine and a distinctive musical style. In addition to English, they speak their own distinctive dialect, a combination of archaic French and words taken from Spanish, English, German, black, and Native American peoples. Most Cajuns practice the Roman Catholic religion.

Cannibalism

Eating of human flesh by human beings. The term, *cannibalism*, is derived from *Canibales*, the Spanish name for the reputedly man-eating Carib Native Americans who lived in the West Indies when Christopher Columbus arrived. The practice of cannibalism has been reported in many parts of the world. Some indications point to its practice as early as Neolithic times. The Greek historian, Herodotus and other ancient writers, described various cannibalistic peoples. In medieval times, the Italian traveler, Marco Polo reported that tribes from Tibet to Sumatra practiced cannibalism. It was practiced among many Native North Americans, especially the tribes of the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Until recent times, cannibalism was believed to prevail in central and western Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Sumatra, New Guinea, Polynesia, and remote parts of South America.

Several motives have been proposed for the practice of cannibalism. In some cultures, it was believed that the person who ate the dead body of another would acquire the desired qualities of the person eaten, particularly of a brave enemy. In a few instances, cannibalism might have been dictated by no other motive than revenge. It was even believed that an enemy's spirit would be utterly destroyed if the body were eaten, thus, leaving nothing in which the ghost could live. Cannibalism was sometimes part of a religious practice. The Binderwurs of central India, ate their sick and aged in the belief that the act was pleasing to their goddess, Kali. In Mexico, thousands of human victims were sacrificed annually by the Aztecs to their deities. After the ceremony of sacrifice, the priests and the populace ate the bodies of the victims, believing that this would bring them closer to their gods.

Among Western peoples, cannibalism is rare. Although starvation, has sometimes driven humans to eat the flesh of other humans. One instance, in America, involved members of the ill-fated *Donner party*, in the Sierra Nevada in California, during the winter of 1846-1847. Another occurred in Chile in 1972, when 16 members of a Uruguayan soccer team survived for 70 days after their airliner crashed in the Andes Mountains.

Carib

Tribe of Native Americans of the Cariban linguistic stock, occupying various regions of South and Central America. The Caribbean Sea is named after them. The Carib, who probably originated in the valley of the Orinoco River, were noted for their ferocity. The tribe practiced cannibalism; in fact, the word, *cannibal*, is derived from the Spanish term for these Native Americans, *Canibales*. During the late 15th century, the Carib inhabited most of the islands of the Lesser Antilles and the coast, of what is now, Venezuela, territories from which they had expelled the Arawak people.

Carib men valued exploits in combat above all else. They were not organized into a hierarchical structure under a chief, but fought as individual warriors and raided other peoples. Male captives were tortured and eaten; female captives became slave-wives.

The Carib were expert canoeists, and their fleets sometimes included 100 sail-fitted, dug-out canoes. On land, they lived in small settlements, farmed and fished, and hunted game with blowguns and bows and arrows. Carib communities were generally made up of several matrilineal kin groups.

In the 17th century, when several European countries struggled for control of the Lesser Antilles, the Carib were all but eliminated. Groups remained only on the islands of Saint Vincent and Dominica. In 1796, the British government deported almost all of the 5,000 remaining members of the tribe from Saint Vincent to Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras. They spread over the neighboring mainland, and today, survive in Guatemala and on a reservation in Dominica.

Caucasian Race

Term sometimes applied to a broad and increasingly vague subdivision of the human species with a pre-dominance of light skin color, and higher percentages of light-colored eyes and hair, than are found in other segments of the population. The designation, *Caucasian*, was first used in the 19th and early 20th centuries by scholars, who believed that this subdivision originated in Caucasia, a region of southeastern Europe. Caucasians are now more commonly known as the white race, or as people of European extraction.

The center of the white population is usually considered to be Europe and the Americas, although the spread of Caucasians into North and South America began only a few centuries ago. Hundreds of millions of people in India and the Middle East, however, are most frequently classified as “Caucasoid” peoples, in areas where distinctions are not clear, between the white and non-white populations.

In North America, confusion over the designation, white or Caucasian is considerable. Many people, including Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, are now being identified as “Hispanic,” rather than “white,” in social counts of American populations, such as the United States Census. Increasingly, the term *white*, is becoming a residual category, denoting that part of the population, not covered by the following classifications: blacks, Hispanics, East Asians, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and other “socio-racial” subdivisions.

Cave Dwellers

Term used to designate ancient people, who occupied caves in various parts of the world. Cave dwellers, date generally, from that part of the Stone Age, called the Paleolithic, which started, according to some authorities, about 2 million years ago. Caves are natural shelters, offering shade and protection from wind, rain, and snow. As archaeological sites, caves are easy to locate, and often provide, conditions that encourage the preservation of normally perishable materials, such as bone. As a result, the archaeological exploration of caves has contributed significantly to the reconstruction of the human past.

Wherever caves were available, prehistoric nomadic hunters and gatherers incorporated them into the yearly cycle of seasonal camps. Most of their activities took place around campfires at the cave mouth, and some caves contain stone walls and pavements providing additional protection from winds and dampness. Hunting, particularly of rein- deer, horse, red deer, and bison, was important; many caves are situated on valley slopes providing views of animal migration routes.

The Variety of Artifacts

Artifacts have been found in caves in France, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain. The association of these remains with the bones of extinct animals, such as the cave bear and saber-toothed tiger, indicates the great antiquity of many of the cave deposits. A variety of stone and bone points discovered in excavated caves documents the importance of spears until the bow and arrow appeared in the late Paleolithic era. Other common tools included, stone scrapers for working hides and wood, burins for engraving, and knives for butchering and cutting. Throughout the Paleolithic periods, such tools became increasingly diverse and well made. Bone needles, barbed harpoons, and spear-throwers were made and decorated with carved designs. Evidence of bone pendants and shell necklaces also exists. Among the caves that have yielded relics of early humans are the Cro-Magnon and Vallonnet in France.

Wall paintings and engravings have been found in more than 200 caves, largely in Spain and France, dating from 25,000 to 10,000 years ago. Frequently, found deep inside the caves, the paintings depict animals, geometric signs, and occasional human figures. In the cave of La Colombiere in France, a remarkable series of sketches engraved on bone and smoothed stones, was unearthed in 1913. In caves, such as Altamira in Spain and Lascaux in France, multicolored animal figures were drawn, using mineral pigments mixed with animal fats. Some of the paintings adorn walls of large chambers suitable for ritual gatherings; others are found in narrow passages accessible only to individuals. Hunting and fertility seem to have been important artistic themes. The ritual gatherings themselves promoted communication and inter-marriage among the normally scattered small groups.

On every continent, prehistoric foragers made use of caves. Chinese caves contain some of the earliest evidence of human use of fire, approximately 400,000 years ago. In the Zhoukoudian (Chou-k'ou-tien) Cave near Beijing, remains of bones and tools of *Homoerotic* (Peking Man) have been discovered. In the Shanidar Cave in Iraq, 50,000-

year-old Neanderthal skeletons were unearthed in 1957. Ancient pollen buried with them has been interpreted as evidence that these cave dwellers had developed funeral rituals. In the western deserts of North America, caves have been located that contain plant foods, woven sandals, and baskets, representing the desert culture of 9,000 years ago. Early inhabitants of Australia, the Middle East, and the Peruvian Andes have also left remains in caves.

Gradually, people learned to grow food, rather than forage for it. This was the beginning of the Neolithic age, which, although ending in western Europe, some 4,500 years ago, continued elsewhere in the world until modern times. Once agriculture became important, people established villages of permanent houses and found new uses for caves, mainly as hunting and herding campsites and for ceremonial activities. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, caves continued to be used as shelters by nomadic groups.

Preservation in Caves

In dry caves, preservation is often excellent, due to moisture-less air and limited bacterial activity. Organic remains such as charred wood, nutshells, plant fibers, and bones sometimes are found intact. In wet caves, artifacts and other remains, often are found encrusted with, or buried beneath, calcareous deposits of dripstone. The collected evidence of human habitation on the cave floor, was often buried under rock-falls from the ceilings of caverns. Intentional burials have also been found in a number of cave sites.

Because of the unusual preservative nature of caves and the great age of many of the remains found in them, the fallacious belief has arisen, that a race of cave people existed. Actually, most cave sites represent small, seasonal camps. Because prehistoric people spent much of the year in open-air camps, the caves contain the remains of only part of a groups total activities. Also, the cultural remains outside caves, were subject to greater decay. Thus, the archaeological record of remote times is better seen in cave deposits.

Caves have been systematically excavated during the past one hundred years. Since they often contain the remains of repeated occupations, caves can document changing cultures. For example, the economic transition from food collecting to agriculture, is demonstrated by finds in highland Mexico and in Southeast Asia. Some caves in the Old

World continued to be inhabited even after the close of the Stone Age; relics from the Bronze and Iron ages have been found in cave deposits. On occasion, material dating from the time of the Roman Empire has been recovered. The famous Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered in 1947, were preserved in caves.

Cherokee

North American tribe, of the Iroquoian linguistic family and the Southeast culture area. The Cherokee played an important role in colonial America and in United States history; they remain one of the largest tribes in the United States.

History

Archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that the Cherokee migrated in prehistoric times from present-day Texas or northern Mexico to the Great Lakes area. Wars with the Iroquois tribes of the New York area and the Delaware tribes pushed them southeast to the Allegheny and Appalachian mountain regions in modern North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and northern Georgia and Alabama. There, the Spanish explorer, Hernando de Soto encountered them in 1540. In 1715, small-pox reduced their population to about 11,000.

During the British and French struggle for control of colonial North America, the Cherokee generally sided with the British, and during the American Revolution the tribe aided Great Britain. In 1785, they negotiated a peace treaty with the United States, but Cherokee resistance continued for a decade thereafter. In 1791, a new treaty re-confirmed the earlier one; part of Cherokee territory was ceded to the United States, and the permanent rights of the tribe to the remaining territory were established. Between 1790 and 1817, about 3,000 of the tribe migrated west of the Mississippi, becoming known as the Western Band.

In 1820, the tribe established a governmental system modeled on that of the United States, with an elected principal chief, a senate, and a house of representatives. Because of this system, the Cherokee were included as one of the so-called Five Civilized tribes. In 1827, they drafted a constitution and incorporated as the Cherokee Nation.

Meanwhile, valuable gold deposits were discovered in tribal lands, which by previous sessions had been reduced to about 2,830,000 hectares (about 7 million acres) in northwest Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and southwest North Carolina. In 1819, Georgia appealed to the U.S. government to remove the Cherokee from Georgia lands. When the appeal failed, attempts were made to purchase the territory. In retaliation, the Cherokee Nation enacted a law forbidding any such sale on punishment of death. In 1828, the Georgia legislature outlawed the Cherokee government and confiscated tribal lands. Cherokee appeals for federal protection were rejected by President Andrew Jackson. In 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Georgia legislation was unconstitutional; federal authorities, following Jackson's policy of Native American removal, ignored the decision.

About 500 leading Cherokee, agreed in 1835, to cede the tribal territory in exchange for \$5,700,000 and land in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Their action was repudiated by more than nine-tenths of the tribe, and several of the groups were later assassinated. In 1838, federal troops began forcibly evicting the Cherokee. Several hundred escaped to the North Carolina mountains, purchased land, and incorporated in that state; they were the ancestors of the present-day Eastern Band.

Meanwhile, most of the tribe, including the Western Band, were driven west in a more than 480-km (about 300-mi.) forced march, known as the Trail of Tears. The march west included 18,000 to 20,000 people, of whom, about 4,000 perished through hunger, disease, and exposure. In Indian Territory, the Cherokee reorganized their government under their chief, John Ross.

During the American Civil War, after great internal conflict, the tribe sided with the Confederacy; a postwar treaty with the United States, freed the black slaves of tribal members. Under the General Allotment Act of 1887 -- uncompromisingly resisted by the Cherokee -- plots of tribal land were forcibly allotted to individual members. The government of the Cherokee Nation was dissolved, and its people became U.S. citizens when Oklahoma achieved statehood in 1907. Surplus lands were parceled out by the federal government, and in 1891, the tribe's western land extension, the Cherokee Strip or Cherokee Outlet, was sold to the United States; in 1893, it was opened, mostly to white settlers, in a famous land run.

Culture

Cherokee economy, like that of the other southeastern tribes, was based on intensive agriculture, mainly of corn, beans, and squash. Deer, bear, and elk were hunted. The Busk, or Green Corn Ceremony, was a time of thanksgiving, rekindling of sacred fires, and spiritual renewal. The tribe was divided into seven matrilineal clans that were dispersed in war and peace moieties (half-tribes). The people lived in numerous permanent villages, some of which belonged to the war moiety, the rest to the peace moiety.

In the early 19th century, the Cherokee demonstrated unusual adaptability to Western Institutions, both in their governmental changes and in their adoption of Western methods of animal husbandry and farming, including the plantation system. Public schools were established and in the 1820's, Sequoya, a tribal member, invented an 85-character syllabary script for the Cherokee language. Widespread literacy followed almost immediately. In 1828, the first Native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, began publication.

Contemporary Life

In Oklahoma, traditional Cherokee culture was severely weakened. The old ways, including traditional crafts, are most strongly preserved by the Eastern Band, some of whom continue to live on the Qualla Reservation in North Carolina. The quality of North Carolina Cherokee basketry is considered to be equal to or better than that of earlier times. In Oklahoma, the Cherokee live both on and off the reservation, scattered in urban centers and in isolated rural regions. Their occupations range from fishing to industrial labor to business management. In North Carolina, farming, forestry, factory work, and tourism (about 5 million tourists annually) are sources of income. The Cherokee language has about 10,000 modern speakers. In 1990, there were 308,132 Cherokee descendants in the United States.

Cheyenne (people)

Native American people of the Algonquian linguistic family. The Cheyenne were farmers, hunters, and gatherers in central Minnesota, but were driven from the area by the Sioux and Ojibwa in the late 17th century. They then, gradually, migrated westward along the river that now bears their name. They

settled on the Cheyenne River in North Dakota, living in earth lodges, and farming. The Ojibwa destroyed this settlement about 1770, and the Cheyenne moved south.

When they reached the Black Hills of South Dakota, the Cheyenne switched from farming and small-game hunting to dependence on the buffalo and life as nomads. The horse, which reached this part of America about 1750, helped the Cheyenne become one of the major tribes of the Western Plains. They had a typical nomadic Plains culture and were noted buffalo hunters and fierce warriors. The Cheyenne practiced the sun dance, in which new braves “danced ” for hours while suspended from a pole by skewers inserted beneath the chest muscles. Their religion placed heavy emphasis on visionary experience. During visions, animals were thought to adopt a person, bestowing special powers.

By about 1830, the Cheyenne were divided into two groups: the southern Cheyenne along the upper Arkansas River, and the northern Cheyenne at the headwaters of the Platte River. Until a massive influx of gold prospectors entered their territory in the late 1850's, the Cheyenne were peaceful toward white settlers. Conflicts escalated to a massacre by United States military forces of a peaceful group of Cheyenne men, women, and children at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864.

In 1876, groups of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors were responsible for the defeat of General George Custer and his 300 troops in the Battle of Little Bighorn. After their surrender in 1877, the Cheyenne were relocated by the U.S. government to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). There the tribe suffered from disease and malnutrition and tried desperately to escape. In 1990, the total number of Cheyenne descendants was 11,456. Many lived on reservations in southwestern Oklahoma and in southeastern Montana.

Chickasaw

Native North American tribe of the Muskogean linguistic family, closely related to the Choctaw. They formerly occupied, what are now, northern Mississippi and the adjacent parts of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama. The Chickasaw, who lived in dwellings constructed alongside streams and rivers, rather than in villages, obtained food by

hunting, fishing, and farming. Originally, they were a war-like people, controlling a large territory and raiding nearby tribes such as the Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Shawnee. Conquered people of other tribes, as well as some African-American slaves, were absorbed into the Chickasaw tribe.

Throughout the colonial period, the Chickasaw supported the English against the French, who tried unsuccessfully, to subdue them. During the American Revolution (1775-1783), some of their warriors fought in the Continental army; afterward the Chickasaw maintained friendly relations with the new nation. In the early 19th century, the Chickasaw ceded most of their territory to the United States in various treaties. In the 1830's, the entire 5,000-member tribe was forcibly relocated to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). There they set up a system of self-government modeled on that of the United States; because of this system, they were included as one of the so-called Five Civilized tribes. When Oklahoma was made a state in 1907, new settlers flooded Chickasaw lands. In 1990, the Chickasaw and their descendants numbered 20,631.

Choctaw

Native American tribe of the Muskogean linguistic family, originally occupying an area that now includes Georgia, Alabama, and southern Mississippi and Louisiana. The Choctaw were less warlike than their traditional enemies, the Chickasaw and the Creek. They lived in mud-and-bark cabins with thatched roofs. The Choctaw were an agricultural people, probably the most able farmers of the southeastern region, employing simple tools to raise corn, beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and tobacco. The Choctaw usually had a surplus to sell or trade. They also raised cattle, fished, and hunted with blowguns and bow and arrow. After the arrival of the Europeans, the Choctaw began riding horses and using them for pack animals. Along with the Seminole and Chickasaw, the Choctaw developed their own horse breeds.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Choctaw were forced to move farther and farther west to avoid conflict with European settlers. By 1842, they had ceded most of their land to the United States and were relocated in Indian Territory, land set aside for them in present-day *Oklahoma*. Here, the Choctaw became, along with the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Seminole part of a group of Native Americans known as the Five Civilized Tribes, so called because they had organized governments with written constitutions and because they had adopted other habits of the white settlers, including

the establishment of public schools and newspapers. The Choctaw fought on the side of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. The members of the Choctaw nation were instrumental in developing the new state of Oklahoma (founded 1907). Today a large number of Choctaw and their descendants live principally in Oklahoma and also in Mississippi and Louisiana.

Cliff Dweller

Name applied to people who built their shelters under overhanging cliffs or in shallow caves in the cliff face. Cliff dwellings have existed since prehistoric times; some have become the repository of well-preserved archaeological records of early human life.

In the United States, numerous cliff ruins are scattered throughout the canyons and mesas of the arid Southwest, especially in the upper valleys of the Colorado River and the Rio Grande, in Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. The ruins are on the summits of the mesas or on the rock walls of the canyons. For many years, their origin was the subject of speculation, but ethnological and archaeological investigation has proven that these ruins were built from the 11th to the 14th century, by the immediate ancestors of the modern Pueblo people, who constructed these large communal dwellings for protection from the elements and from the nomadic Navajo and Apache tribes. Because the cliffs were difficult to ascend, the shelters were more easily defended from enemies.

The cliff dwellers were a settled people who derived their livelihood from agriculture. They planted crops in the valleys below their homes and learned to irrigate the fields. Their multi-story buildings, containing sleeping rooms, living rooms, ceremonial chambers for religious practices, and work and storage rooms, were actually complete towns. Like their dwellings, the lives of these people followed a communal pattern. Today most of the ruins can be visited in national parks and monuments, such as Casa Grande National Monument and Montezuma Castle National Monument in Arizona.

Comanche

Native North American tribe, a southern branch of the Shoshone, of the Uto-Aztecan language family, and of the Plains culture area. The Comanche left their original arid

territory west of the Rocky Mountains to move to the southern Great Plains around the 15th century. Here they drove out the Apache people and dominated a vast area during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Comanche were the most skillful equestrians of the Plains. The pinto ponies they preferred were originally acquired by raiding the Spanish and later were bred by the tribe. Extremely warlike, the Comanche made frequent raids, on both European and Native American settlements over a wide area. They extended their forays as far south as Mexico and kept settlers out of their territory for more than a century. They made peace with the United States government in 1875. The Comanche probably numbered about 30,000 in the early 1800's, but shortly thereafter, an epidemic reduced their population to fewer than 10,000.

A nomadic people, the Comanche lived by hunting bison, commonly called buffalo. Families dwelt in tepees and were organized socially into patrilineal bands. Tribe members wore buckskins, with fur hats in the winter. The Comanche war helmet was brashly impressive: a bison scalp complete with horns. Both men and women practiced tattooing. Comanche religion stressed visionary experiences, which an individual deliberately sought out in isolated situations of privation. Animal spirits were believed to favor particular individuals and to render aid to them; protective spirits were also believed to dwell in rocks and thunder.

Comanche descendants numbered 11,456 in 1990. Some live on private landholdings in Oklahoma.

Cossacks

Name given to a group of people in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), chiefly of Russian and Ukrainian stock, who lived principally on the steppes that begin north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains and extend eastward to the Altai Mountains in Siberia. Those inhabiting the regions of the Don and Kuban rivers are known respectively as the Don and Kuban Cossacks.

Origins

Some historians trace the origin of the Cossacks to serfs who fled from the principality of Moscow in the 14th and 15th centuries and established wheat-

growing and stock-raising communities in the valleys of the Dnepr, Don, and Ural rivers and in Siberia. The name, *Cossack*, derives from the Turkish word, *kazak*, which means free person. The individual Cossack communities, like other Russian peasant communes of the time, owned land in common. The Cossack communities were governed by village assemblies, presided over by elected village elders called *atamans* or *hetmans*. The chief ataman or hetman of a region enjoyed great prestige and exercised the authority of a military chieftain in war and of a civil administrator in peace peacetime.

From the 16th century, as the czars extended their realm, the Cossacks were subjected to the authority of the Russian government, which tried to incorporate them into the state on the same basis as the other inhabitants of the country. Therefore, as subjects of the czar, all Cossack males 18 to 50 years of age became liable to military service. They were used most often as cavalry and became famous in the wars of the czars against the Tatars in the Crimea and the Caucasus. The Don Cossacks were the largest group and led colonizing expeditions to Siberia.

The Cossacks cherished their traditions of freedom, however, and conflicts with the czars occurred. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Cossacks, supported by peasants, engaged in two widespread revolts, in 1670 and 1671 and in 1773 and 1774, in the lower Volga Valley. In later years, the czars of Russia, used the Cossacks as border troops and as a special military and police force for the suppression of internal unrest. In the latter part of the 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries, the czarist government used Cossack troops to perpetrate programs against the Jews. Cossack troops were used on a large scale in the suppression of the Russian Revolution of 1905; they refused to be used for the same purpose in the Revolution of 1917.

Life Under Communism

During the civil war in Russia, following the Revolution of 1917, the majority of the Cossacks fought against the Red armies. The establishment of the Soviet system made many changes in Cossack life. The richer Cossacks were deprived of their wealth, and social distinctions based on wealth, were abolished. The new government also abolished the traditional forms of local administration, and Cossack soldiers were relieved of their special military and police duties. Despite resistance, in the early

1930's, the Cossacks were engaged in collective farming, Cossack cavalry units were forbidden, and many Cossacks were re-settled in Kazakhstan and in a number of areas in Siberia. In 1936, the Soviet government re-established a number of Cossack cavalry divisions that later fought valiantly against the Germans in World War II, (1939-1945). Cossack customs and traditions continued to be practiced in several parts of Russia during the Soviet period, particularly in the regions of the Don and Kuban rivers.

Life After Communism

During the last years of the USSR, Cossack organizations experienced a sudden revival. In 1990, Cossack associations were formed in traditional areas of the Russian south, including the lower reaches of the Don river, the North Caucasus, the Ural Mountains, and the Far East. A national Cossack union uniting various Cossack associations was founded in Moscow the same year. After the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, the movement spread to areas outside traditional Cossack lands. By the end of 1992, Cossack associations had appeared in several large northern cities, such as Saint Petersburg and Moscow.

At first, the goals of the Cossack associations were cultural and historical in nature -- to preserve Cossack traditions and promote historical accuracy of Cossack lifestyles. The associations announced plans to publish a newspaper on Cossack affairs, revive equestrian, and other traditional competitions, and build museums. But the associations soon became involved in politics and armed conflicts, spurred, in part, by the slaying of five Cossacks in the North Caucasus in mid-1991. Cossacks began to demand local self-administration and the return of traditional lands. They opposed ceding Russian territory to foreign countries, such as the Kuril islands to Japan. Thousands of Cossack volunteers traveled to Moldova to fight on the side of the self-proclaimed Trans-Dnestr Republic, and many others served with Serbian forces during the fighting in the former Yugoslavia. Cossacks also assumed authoritative power in several small towns in Russia. In Kurganinsk near Krasnodar, for instance, Cossacks seized the city's administrative center, when a local official, publicly opposed Cossack demands to expel Armenians from the area. Several associations sought to form semi-autonomous republics within Russia, and they demanded that Cossacks be considered a separate ethnic group. In mid-1992, a decree signed by Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, rehabilitated the Cossacks. The decree granted them the status of an ethnic group and gave them the right to receive land free of charge. The decree also called for the use of Cossack forces to protect Russia's borders, although some Cossacks interpreted Russia's borders to be the same as those of the former USSR.

Cree

Native North American tribe of the Algonquian language family, and of the Sub-arctic culture area. They were originally a forest people, hunting rabbit, deer, beaver, caribou, moose, and bear in the Manitoba forests. In times of game shortages and ensuing famine, they practiced cannibalism. The Cree traded pelts with the early French and English fur traders of the region. Part of the tribe became allied with the Assiniboine people of Manitoba, moved southwest into the open buffalo country, and became known as the Plains Cree. Those who remained in the forest were known as the Woodland Cree. The Cree were organized socially into bands of related families. In times of warfare, Cree bands formed larger groupings, waging frequent war with neighboring tribes, such as the Blackfoot and Sioux. Some of the Plains Cree inter-married with the French settlers of the region. The Cree currently number about 15,000; most now live on reservations in Canada, south of the Churchill River, in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Creek

Native American tribe of Muskogean language family, and of the Southeastern culture area. In the 18th century, they were the dominant tribe in a confederacy with a membership, at one time, of about 30,000. The confederacy occupied most of what are now the states of Alabama and Georgia and, after the Cherokee, was the most powerful grouping of Native Americans south of New York. The Seminole of Florida were an offshoot of the Creek. A number of other Muskogean tribes were absorbed by the Creek, who held black slaves and inter-married with them.

During the American Revolution, the Creek supported the British. They signed a peace treaty with the United States in 1790, but in 1813, instigated by the British, they again took up arms against the Americans, beginning with a terrible massacre at Fort Mims. They were completely crushed by General Andrew Jackson in a brief, but bloody campaign. The Creek, were then, compelled to sue for peace, which was granted only on submission to a peremptory demand for the surrender of more than half their ancient territory. Other cessions quickly followed, until 1828, when they sold all their remaining territory and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi River to Indian Territory, which later became Oklahoma. A few remained behind. In Oklahoma, the Creek were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, because they established a system of government similar to that of the states.

The Creek were an agricultural tribe, living in villages consisting of log houses. The houses were plastered on the outside with clay and arranged in a rectangle around a central space reserved for public ceremonies, among which the annual busk, or greencorn dance, was the main feature. Their villages were often located at rivers and creeks -- hence, the name Creek, given them, by white traders. Some villages were designated for war ceremonies, and others for peace ceremonies. Creek temples were impressive dome-shaped structures, made of thatch, and situated on earth elevation into which stairs were cut. Creek women cultivated corn, squash, beans, and other crops, and the men hunted and fished. Like many other tribes of the Southeast, the Creek were heavily tattooed and ornamented. Those claiming Creek heritage numbered 43,550 in 1990.

Creole

Term first used in the 16th century, in Latin America, to distinguish the offspring of European settlers from Native Americans, blacks, and later immigrant groups. In colonial America, the designation originally applied to the American-born descendants of European-born settlers. The term, has since acquired varying meanings in different regions. In the United States, in the state of Louisiana, Creoles are the white, French-speaking descendants of the early French or Spanish settlers. These people have their own culture and customs and even a composite language derived from the French. In Latin America, the term may refer, to people of direct Spanish extraction or just to members of families whose ancestry goes back to the colonial period. In the West Indies, the word, *Creole*, is used to identify descendants of any European settlers.

The term also is used to denote a language derived from a pidgin language, but having a more complex grammar and vocabulary because it has acquired native speakers through years of use. Examples include the French-based Haitian Creole and the English-based Krio, spoken in Sierra Leone.

Crow (people)

Native American tribe of the Siouan language family and of the Plains culture area. They originally lived in permanent agricultural villages along the upper Missouri River together with the Hidatsa. In the 18th century, the Crow moved westward to the Yellowstone River area of the Rockies. There, they adopted the Buffalo-dependent Great Plains culture, becoming mounted hunters. The Crow, who call themselves

Absoraka (“bird people”), lived in portable tepees, practiced the sun dance, typical of the plains, and grew a single crop, tobacco, which played a role in religious ceremonies. They became famous as warriors and also as scouts for the U.S. Army against their enemies, the Sioux. In 1868, the Crow moved to a reservation in Montana comprising a portion of their former territory; many still live there today. In 1990, 8,588 people in the United States claimed Crow ancestry.

Delaware (people)

Native North American tribe of the Algonquian linguistic family and of the Eastern Woodlands culture area, originally residing in what are now, the states of New Jersey, New York (Staten Island, Manhattan, and western Long Island), Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania. The Delaware called themselves, Lenape or Leni-Lenape, meaning “original people.” Europeans named them Delaware because they lived along the Delaware River and its tributaries. The Delaware confederacy included the Munsee, Unalachtigo, and Unami divisions. Members of other Algonquin tribes held the Delaware in esteem and respectfully addressed them as “grandfather.”

The Delaware lived in peace with early European settlers and, according to legend, sold Manhattan Island to them in 1626. Growth of the European colonies on Delaware territory was rapid. Native Americans sold much of their land to the Dutch and English. In 1682, they signed a treaty of friendship with Governor William Penn. With less and less land, and under attack from the Iroquois, the Delaware began to move westward. One group was converted to Moravian Christianity in Pennsylvania and remained there. By the mid-18th century, the main body of Delaware had abandoned their coastal villages and migrated to Ohio. Subsequent stops were in Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Texas. By the 1860’s, the Delaware reached Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma, where they settled with the Cherokee.

The Delaware lived in *wigwams*, one-room bark huts, originally arranged along the banks of their river and creeks. A complete picture of their culture is difficult to reconstruct, but the Delaware were probably hunters and corn farmers. Marriage was accomplished through an exchange of gifts, and it could be terminated easily by either party. A Delaware chief, together with his advisers and the tribe’s elders, selected the new chief among those who were eligible, based on matrilineal descent. The Delaware addressed their prayers to Manito, their pantheistic god.

In 1990, Delaware descendants numbered 9,321. Many of them live on reservations and in towns in Oklahoma and in Ontario, Canada.

Ethnology

One of the four subdivisions of anthropology. The other subdivisions are physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics. Ethnology, typically practiced by socio-cultural anthropologists, is concerned with the study of cultures in their traditional forms and in their adaptations to changing conditions in the modern world. Ethnography, the observational branch of ethnology, describes each culture, including its language, the physical characteristics of its people, its material products, and its social customs. In describing a particular tribe, for example, ethnographers gather information about its location and geographical environment. They also investigate all aspects of its culture, including food, shelter, dress, transportation, and manufacture of the tribe; its customs regarding government, property, and division of labor; its patterns of production and exchange; its customs regarding birth, adulthood initiation rites, marriage, and death; its religious ideas relating to magic, supernatural beings, and the universe; and its artistic, mythological, and ceremonial interpretations of its natural and social environment.

Ethnologists are concerned with all aspects of culture in the contemporary world and attempt to present a perspective from which to understand modern society. They stress the observation and collection of actual data. In comparing the social organization of variant societies, ethnologists emphasize the inter-relationship between the individual and the family, clan, tribe, and other groups (for example, social, political, religious) that may exist within a society. In making comparisons, ethnologists must differentiate between responses peculiar to the society and those that are general to humankind. This differentiation clarifies the role of learned behavior in the development of distinctive cultures. Some studies analyze relationships between social phenomena and ecological adaptations.

Family Unit

The family is the fundamental unit of social structure, the only unit common to all groups of people. The family unit has specific functions with relation to its members and to the

total society. It is the primary social institution, serving as the means of transferring culture from one generation to another. Division of labor between sexes is a strong influence in keeping the family together. The institution takes different forms among different peoples. Family systems ordinarily count descent through both father and mother, but many tribes consider a child as belonging to either the father's or the mother's family. This type of inheritance constitutes the unilateral family. The term, *sib*, in United States anthropological usage and the term, *clan*, in British usage denote the unilateral-descent group -- that is, matrilineal or patrilineal clans indicate lines of descent through the mother or father, respectively. The sib or clan has ceremonial, economic, and political functions in many societies.

Society and Culture

Society is never separable from the individuals of which it is composed. The experience and behavior of an individual are shaped from birth by pre-existing customs. The inter-relationship between behavior patterns and ideas, concepts, and attitudes has impelled some anthropologists to use a psychoanalytic approach, with emphasis on personality. The effect of personality on the total range of institutions, within a culture, may be studied in this way. The effect of the culture on the formation of personalities has also been studied.

Ethnologists often employ evidence derived from other sciences in the study of various cultures. For example, the cultivation of the sweet potato as a food plant in Polynesia and eastern Melanesia suggests possible transpacific voyages, as botanists believe the plant originated in pre-Columbian Central or South America.

Generation

Interval of time between the birth of parents and the birth of their offspring. This is usually taken to be approximately 30 years. All children of one set of parents are members of the same generation although they may be years apart in age.

In anthropology, the term, *generation*, refers to one degree in the line of descent from a particular ancestor. Where records have been kept, anthropologists can trace the descent of various branches of a tribe through many generations.

In sociology, members of a society who were born at about the same time, are considered of the same generation. Thus, social scientists attempt to explain the behavior patterns of a particular generation by studying the customs and events of that time. Often, striking differences are found between the generations; for example, during the Vietnam War, young adults in the United States and other countries tended to be highly vocal anti-war activists. The older generation, many of whom, had served in the armed forces during World War II, were frequently more conservative in their reactions to the war, at least, during the first few years. Such differences in attitudes and beliefs often cause mis-understandings and antagonistic feelings between generations.

Gurkhas

(Sanskrit *goraksa*, “cowherd”), Tibeto-Mongolian Hindus of Nepal. The Gurkhas first came to Nepal in the 12th century, when they were driven out of northern India by the Muslims. The Gurkhas claim descent from the war-like Rajputs of northern India in the present state of Rajasthan, and they speak a Rajasthan Sanskrit dialect. In physique, they are short and stocky. An attempt to extend their power southward resulted in the Gurkha War (1814-16) against Great Britain, in which, they were defeated. Since then, many of the Gurkhas, who were excellent fighters, entered British military service in India and in the British colonies, serving in separate Gurkha regiments. Many of the so-called Gurkha soldiers, however, have been Nepalese of other tribes. The Gurkha troops used to carry short, broad-bladed swords, called kukri, which they used in close combat instead of bayonets.

Gypsies

Close-knit, communal people with a common biological, cultural, and linguistic heritage, currently dispersed in small groups throughout the world. Although the Gypsies have been in Europe for more than 500 years, only in the late 18th century, was their original homeland definitively identified as northwestern India, through the discovery of the relationship between the Gypsy language, Romany, and the Indo-European dialects of that region. Popular modern stereotypes continue to define the Gypsies in terms of nomadism and an uninhibited, flamboyant lifestyle rather than as a genuine ethnic group. There is an effort to replace the term, *Gypsy*, with the word *Rom*, meaning “the people.” The term, *Gypsy*, developed from a mistaken belief that Gypsies came from Egypt.

History

The early history of the Gypsies remains speculative. It is not clear whether they were a pariah group living on the periphery of Indian civilization, were members of one or more Hindu castes, or represented a number of different social classes and tribal groups. They apparently left their original homeland in northern India in several waves, beginning as early as the 5th century. The most important migrations, however, began in the 11th century as the result of Muslim invasions of India. The Gypsies initially traveled westward across Iran into Asia Minor and the Byzantine Empire; from there the majority proceeded into Europe by way of Greece during the early 14th century. Their route into Europe can be traced by vocabulary borrowings found in European Gypsy dialects, all of which contain words from such languages as Persian, Kurdish, and Greek. After a sojourn of about 100 years in Greece, the Gypsies spread all over Europe. By the early 16th century, they had reached the most distant areas of the continent, including Russia, Scandinavia, the British Isles, and Spain.

The Gypsies were generally well received in Europe at first, but soon antagonism was aroused by their exotic appearance, deviant lifestyle, and closed society. In Spain, where the Gypsies had enjoyed freedom under Muslim rule, their situation changed after the Christian re-conquest in 1492; between 1499 and 1783, at least a dozen laws were enacted prohibiting Gypsy dress, language, and customs, in an attempt to force assimilation. The first official repression of Gypsies in France occurred in 1539 with the order for their expulsion from Paris. Similarly, in 1563, the Gypsies were commanded to leave England under the threat of death. During the 17th century, in Hungary and Romania, many Gypsies were forced into bondage as serfs; in Romania, their final liberation did not take place until 1855.

The Gypsies were not treated harshly everywhere in Europe. In czarist Russia, for instance, their circumstances differed little from those of the masses of impoverished peasantry. In the Balkans, during almost 500 years of Turkish rule, many Gypsies enjoyed special privileges by converting to Islam. In such countries as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Bulgaria, their position today, is similar to that of other ethnic minorities.

Discrimination against Gypsies, however, has persisted in much of Europe to the present time. In the 20th century, persecutions reached their height during World War II (1939-1945), when about 400,000 Gypsies perished in Nazi concentration camps.

Present Distribution

The total number of Gypsies in the world today is estimated between 3 million and 6 million. Census figures are not precise because Gypsies often are not counted. By far the largest concentrations are found in the Balkans, central Europe, Russia, and other successor republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with smaller numbers scattered throughout Western Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and the Americas.

Although Gypsies first appeared in America as indentured laborers during the colonial period, they began to migrate insignificant numbers from Russia and the Balkans during the late 19th century. Evidence suggests that fewer than 100,000 Gypsies now live in the United States and Canada. Although many western European Gypsies are still nomadic, the vast majority elsewhere, are sedentary. Of the more than 1 million in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, for example, probably no more than 10 percent are nomads. In the United States, Gypsies traveled about in rural areas until the Great

Depression of the 1930's when most settled in large cities on both coasts.

Gypsies are fragmented into groups sometimes referred to as nations or tribes, generally defined by geographic area of settlement or recent origin. The European tribes include the Gitanos of Spain, the Manouche of France, the Sinte of Germany and central Europe, the Romnichals, of Great Britain, the Boyash of Romania, and the Rom of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The Rom also make up the single largest Gypsy group in the United States.

Culture and Customs

Because the Gypsies are widely dispersed, their culture and social organization vary considerably. A salient characteristic everywhere, however, is a strong sense of group cohesion and exclusivity stressing the sacredness of Gypsy traditions in opposition to those of the outside world. Contact with non-Gypsies is regarded as potentially "polluting," a concept probably derived from the religious beliefs of their Hindu ancestors. Another unifying force, is the influence of the Gypsy language, Romany, which consists of a number of dialects belonging to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European languages. Most Gypsies speak some form of Romany, and others employ dialects of the local languages with extensive Romany borrowings.

Gypsies, are perhaps, most profoundly differentiated from one another in the area of religion, as they have usually adopted the faiths of the countries in which they live. Among the Gypsies, can be found, Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Protestants, and Muslims. They have little recourse to the clergy, however, preferring to carry out religious rituals in their own homes or in the context of folk observances.

The various Gypsy tribes are divided into clans, each composed of a number of families related by common descent or historic association. Clans have nominal leaders, who sometimes adopt the title, king or queen. Such titles do not signify positions of generalized political leadership, but are simply bestowed as signs of respect or to impress outsiders.

The Gypsies are family oriented, with the elderly, occupying positions of respect and authority. Marriages are usually arranged and represent the desire to create alliances between families or clans rather than a personal attraction. A strict sexual morality prevails; it is common for unmarried girls to be chaperoned. A number of groups, including the Rom, maintain the institution of bride-price, a payment, made by the family of the groom to that of the bride, to indemnify them for the loss of a daughter and to guarantee that she will receive good treatment.

Another important institution is the *kris*, an informal court, that adjudicates disputes and matters of common law and Gypsy custom. In general, the Gypsies have little dependence of the formal social structures of the societies in which they live because these functions are replicated within their own communities.

Gypsies generally pursue traditional occupations, including music and entertainment; blacksmithing and metalwork; horse and stock trading; peddling and small-scale commerce; fortune-telling and curing; and basket-making wood carving, and other crafts.

The Gypsies tend to be most integrated culturally and economically in the less industrialized regions of southern Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East. Almost everywhere, however, they are under pressure to abandon their traditional way of life. In France, for example, their right to campsites has long been forbidden. Nevertheless, the

Gypsies' growing awareness of their common origins, language, and culture, suggests that Gypsy society will not disappear.

Havasupai

Native American tribe of northwestern Arizona, linguistically of the Yuman stock. The Havasupai are essentially a nomadic tribe, spending the spring and summer months in Cataract Canyon, a branch of the Grand Canyon, and the fall and winter, on the plateau above it.

A small tribe, with only about 547 people, claiming membership, the Havasupai have a singular freedom from culture contacts. Living at the bottom of a canyon, isolated by barriers of rock, and almost entirely self-supporting, they have preserved their indigenous culture to a greater degree than any other Southwest tribe; their basket weaving, language, and customs have been the objects of considerable study.

Hopi

Native American tribe of the Shoshonean division of the Uto-Aztecan language family, of the Pueblo group of the Southwest culture area. Also called Moqui, they live in a small group of autonomous villages, lying on or near three high mesas in north-eastern Arizona. These villages, or pueblos, in which the Hopi culture was retained long into the period of Spanish and American dominance, have been intensively studied by anthropologists.

The Hopi tribe is the only branch of the Shoshonean linguistic stock that adjusted successfully to life in the pueblos. In traditions, social organization, and customs, the Hopi are almost identical with the other Pueblo Native Americans, and in modern times, their culture is far better preserved than that along the Rio Grande. The Hopi are industrious farmers; they harvest and store large crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and some fruits. They also weave baskets and blankets and are skillful potters and carvers. Hopi houses, built by the women, are of stone, roughly cut and laid, and finished in plaster. The ceilings are supported by beams and cross poles and consist of a compressed mixture of brush and clay. The floors are sometimes flagged, and the interior walls are generally whitewashed with gypsum and sometimes ornamented in

simple geometric bands. In early Hopi houses, the doorways, which were the only sources of light, were sometimes built in T-shapes. Windows covered with selenite were introduced by the Spanish; modern houses generally have glass windows and hinged doors.

The tribe is grouped into exogamous clans; that is, the kinship relationship within each clan is so strong, that inter-marriage between clan members is forbidden. The clans, themselves, are usually coupled in pairs, and these links are sometimes strong enough to justify larger exogamous groupings. Marriage is monogamous, and the lines of descent are matrilineal.

The Hopi religion, like that of all other Pueblo peoples, includes the worship of the forces of nature, and has many ceremonies intended to invoke or influence supernatural powers. Ancestor worship plays an important role in Hopi ceremonies, and some Christian influences can be detected, particularly in the dating of ceremonies and the observance of saints' days. Private rites are held in under-ground ceremonial chambers called kivas, and public services and dances are commonly performed out of doors. The most important Hopi religious ceremonies include the kachina fertility mysteries (the kachina is the spirit of an ancestor, usually representing a clan, symbolized in ceremonies by a masked and painted dancer), and the midsummer and midwinter rituals of sun and fire worship. The celebrated snake dance, actually a rain dance, is considered one of the most spectacular of Native American ceremonies. It is performed every two years, near August 20, attracting thousands of visitors. According to the 1990 census, 11,173 Hopi lived in the United States.

Hupa

North American tribe of Athabascan stock, originally occupying a number of small villages along the Trinity River in the Hoopa Valley of northwestern California, and now gathered on a United States government reservation in the same region. Until 1848, the tribe was completely isolated, but in the next few years, as the Hoopa Valley was overrun during the gold rush, the Hupa were driven from their homes. Subsequent re-settlement on the reservation did not wholly succeed in re-establishing the patterns of their traditional life, but intensive ethnological study of the culture, has made it one of the best known of the Pacific Coast division of the Athabascan family. Its present population is less than 500.

Hupa culture, similar to the culture of the Yurok and Karok tribes, is the southernmost example of the indigenous cultures of the Pacific Northwest, although it lacks certain characteristic features of the northern tribes, such as secret societies, masks, totem poles, and potlatch ceremonies. Like the tribes of the Northwest, the Hupa base many of their customs, such as marriage by purchase, and social distinctions, such as the assumption of chieftainship, upon wealth; an aristocracy of the wealthy in earlier days commanded the services of its debtors as slaves. Wealth was acquired through the ownership of fishing sites and oak groves, and by hunting deer, elk, panthers, and other big game, and fishing salmon and sturgeon in the Trinity River; it was reckoned in dentalium, or tooth shell, and woodpecker-scalp currencies and in hides. Vegetable foods used by the Hupa include a variety of wild seeds and nuts, particularly, the acorn. Tobacco is cultivated. The art of the tribe consists chiefly of rich basketry, clothing and skin ornaments, and a body of non-religious, wealth-displaying dances, accompanied by the recitation of narrative and magical formulas.

Inuit

Also called Eskimo, people of Arctic Mongoloid stock inhabiting small enclaves in the coastal areas of Greenland, Arctic North America (including Canada and Alaska), and extreme northeastern Siberia. Their name for themselves is Inuit (in Siberian and some Alaskan speech, *Yuit*), meaning “the people.” The name, Eskimo, comes from the descriptive term for “eaters of raw flesh,” inaccurately applied to them by an Algonquian people.

Physical Characteristics and Regional Groupings

The Inuit vary within about 5 cm (about 2 in.) of an average height of 163 cm (5 ft.4 in.), and they display metabolic, circulatory, and other adaptations to the Arctic climate. Inhabiting an area, spanning almost 5,150 km (almost 3,200 mi.), Inuit have a wider geographical range than any other aboriginal people and are the most sparsely distributed people on earth. They fall generally into the following geographical divisions, moving from east to west: (1) Greenland Inuit, living on the eastern and western coasts of southern Greenland, who have adopted many European ways and are known as Greenlanders or Kalaallit (Kalatdlit); (2) Labrador Inuit, occupying the coast from a point opposite Newfoundland to Hudson Bay, with a few settlements on southern Baffin Island; (3) Central Inuit, including those of far northern Greenland and, in Canada, Baffin Island and western Hudson Bay; (4) Banks Island Inuit, on Banks Island, Victoria Island, and other large islands off the central Arctic

coast; (5) Western Arctic Inuit or Inuvialuit, along the western Arctic coast of Canada; (6) Alaskan Inuit; (7) Alaskan Yuit; and (8) Siberian Yuit.

History

From archaeological, linguistic, and physiological evidence, most scholars conclude that the Inuit migrated across the Bering Strait to Arctic North America. A later arrival to the New World than most Native Americans, the Inuit share many cultural traits with Siberian Arctic peoples and with their own closest relatives, the Aleuts. The oldest archaeological sites identifiable as Inuit, in southwest Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, date from about 2,000 B.C., and are somewhat distinct from later Inuit sites. By about 1800 B.C., the highly developed Old Whaling or Bering Sea culture and related cultures, had emerged in Siberia and in the Bering Strait region. In eastern Canada, the Old Dorset culture flourished from about 1,000 to 800 B.C., until about A.D., 1,000 to 1300. The Dorset people were overrun by the Thule Inuit, who by A.D., 1,000 to 1200, had reached Greenland. There, Inuit culture was influenced by medieval Norse colonists and, after 1700, by Danish settlers.

Language and Literature

The language of the Inuit peoples constitute a subfamily of the Eskimo-Aleut language family. A major linguistic division occurs in Alaska, according to whether the speakers call themselves Inuit (singular, Inuk) or Yuit (singular, Yuk). The eastern branch of the subfamily -- generally called Inupiaq in Alaska, but also Inuktitut in Canada and Kalaallisut (Kaladtlisut) in Greenland -- stretches from eastern Alaska across Canada and through northern into southern Greenland. It forms a dialect chain -- that is, it consists of many dialects, each understandable to speakers of neighboring dialects, although not to speakers of geographically distant dialects. The western branch, called Yupik, includes three distinct languages: Central Alaskan Yupik and Pacific Gulf Yupik in Alaska and Siberian Yupik in Alaska and Canada, each with several dialects. The Inupiaq dialects have more than 40,000 speakers in Greenland and more than 20,000 in Alaska and Canada. Yupik languages are spoken by about 17,000 people, including some 1,000 in the former Soviet Union. These various languages are used for the first year of school in some parts of Siberia, for religious instruction and education in schools under Inuit control in Alaska, and in schools and communications media in Canada and Greenland.

The Inupiaq and Yupik languages have an immense number of suffixes that are added to a smaller number of root words; these suffixes function similarly to verb endings, case endings, prepositional phrases, and even whole clauses in the English language. A root word, can thus, give rise to many derivative words, often many syllables long and highly specialized in meaning, and sometimes complex enough, to serve as an entire sentence.

Because these languages are among the most complex and difficult in the world, few explorers or traders learned them; instead, they relied on a jargon composed of Danish, Spanish, Hawaiian, and Inupiaq and Yupik words. The Inupiaq and Yupik, languages themselves, have a rich oral literature, and a number of Greenland authors have written in Greenland Inupiaq. The first book in Inupiaq was published in 1742.

Social Organization

The manners and customs of the Inuit, like their language, are remarkably uniform despite the widespread diffusion of the people. The family -- including the nuclear family, nearby relatives, and relations by marriage -- is the most significant social unit. In traditional culture, marriages, although sometimes arranged, are generally open to individual choice. Monogamy is the usual pattern, but both polygyny and polyandry also occur. Marriage, a virtual necessity for physical survival, is based on strict division of labor. Husband and wife retain their own tools, household goods, and other personal possessions; men build houses, hunt, and fish, and women cook, dress animal skins, and make clothing. Food sources such as game and fish are considered community property. The underlying social law is the obligation to help one's kin. Community ridicule is the most common means of social control; in extreme cases, after lengthy deliberation, an offender may be socially ostracized or put to death. With the absence of any communal legal structure, harming someone from another group jeopardizes one's own kinship group (which is held responsible for the offense) and raises the possibility of a blood feud. Provocative displays of emotion are strongly disapproved. Some groups control conflict by means of wrestling matches or song duels, in which angry parties extemporize insulting songs; the loser might be driven from the community.

Alliances between non-relatives are formed and maintained through gift giving and the showing of respect. The highest such form of gift giving occurs when a head of household offers the opportunity of a temporary sexual liaison with the most valued

adult woman of his household. The woman maintains the power to refuse the liaison, in which case, respect will be symbolized through the presentation of a different gift.

Provision of Food

The traditional Inuit diet consists mainly of fish, seals, whales, and related sea mammals, the flesh, of which, is eaten cooked, dried, or frozen. The seal is their staple winter food and most valuable resource. It provides them with dog food, clothing, and materials for making boats, tents, and harpoon lines, as well as fuel, for both light and heat. In the interior of Alaska and Canada, caribou are hunted in the summer. To a lesser extent, the polar bear, fox, hare, and Arctic birds, chiefly sea birds, also furnish important supplies. Large game such as whale, walrus, and caribou require bigger hunting expeditions than are possible for one kinship group. Many families follow a seasonal hunting and fishing cycle that takes them from one end to the other of their customary territory; trade with other groups often occurs along the way. In the late 20th century, many Inuit work for wages and buy commercially prepared food.

Housing, Transportation, and Clothing

Igloos (Inuit *iglu*, “house”) are of two kinds: walrus or sealskin tents for summer and huts or houses for winter. Winter houses are usually made of stone, with a driftwood or whalebone frame, chinked and covered with moss or sod. The entrance is a long, narrow passage, just high enough, to admit a person crawling on hands and knees. During long journeys, some Canadian Inuit, build winter houses of snow blocks, piled in a dome shape. Such snow houses, rare in Greenland and unknown in Alaska, were once permanent winter houses of the Inuit of central and eastern Canada. In the 20th century, many Inuit have moved into towns to live in government-built, Western housing.

The principal traditional means of conveyance are the kayak, the umiak, and the dogsled. The light, seaworthy kayak, is a canoe-like hunting boat, made of a wood frame, completely covered with sealskin, except for a round center opening, where the single occupant sits. In Greenland and Alaska, the skin around the hole can be laced tightly around the occupant, making the kayak virtually watertight. The umiak, a larger open boat, about 9 m (about 30 ft.) long and 2.4 m (8 ft.) wide, and made of a wooden frame, covered with walrus skins, is used for whaling expeditions and, sometimes, to transport families and goods. The sled, drawn by a team of native dogs, admirably

adapted for the purpose, is common among all Inuit, except those in southern Greenland. When iron was obtained through trade, iron runners largely supplanted ivory and whalebone runners. In the last half-century, motorboats and snowmobiles have become important modes of travel.

Traditional Inuit dress, for both men and women, consists of watertight boots, double-layer trousers, and the parka, a tight-fitting double-layer pullover jacket with a hood, all made of skins and furs. An enlarged hood forms a convenient cradle for nursing infants.

Religious Beliefs

Traditional Inuit beliefs are a form of animism, according to which all objects and living beings have a spirit. All phenomena occur through the agency of some spirit. Intrinsically, neither good nor bad, spirits can affect people's lives and, although not influenced by prayers, can be controlled by magical charms and talismans. The person best equipped to control spirits is the shaman, but anyone with the appropriate charms or amulets can exercise such control. Shamans are usually consulted to heal illnesses and resolve serious problems. Communal and individual taboos are observed to avoid offending animal spirits, and animals killed for food must be handled with prescribed rituals.

Inuit rituals and myths reflect preoccupation with survival in a hostile environment. Vague beliefs of an afterlife or reincarnation exist, but these receive little emphasis. Most communal rites center on preparation for the hunt, and myths tend to deal with the relations that exist between humans, animals, and the environment. In arctic Canada, Greenland, Labrador, and southern Alaska, large numbers of Inuit have converted to Christianity.

Arts and Crafts

From prehistoric times Inuit tools have been noted for their careful construction and the artistry of their carved ornamentation. Ivory from walruses and whales, the most accessible material for carving, is fashioned into figurines representing animals and people, and into decorated knobs, handles, and other tool parts. Driftwood and whalebone are carved into ceremonial masks, some small enough to be worn on women's fingers during a ritual dance. After contact with European, Canadian, and United States traders began in the 18th century, the Inuit also made, as trade items, scrimshaw-carved tusks and ivory and whalebone objects such as canes and cribbage boards. After about 1950, the Canadian government, concerned with pressures that

increasingly pushed the Inuit into a cash economy, encouraged the carving and sale of highly sophisticated soapstone sculptures. Sculpture and printmaking, marketed through cooperatives, have become main-stays of the Canadian Inuit economy and the best-known aspect of Inuit culture.

Inuit performing arts center on ceremonial songs and dances. Some magical songs are personal property and can be sold or traded. The principal musical instrument is the shallow, tambourine, like shaman's drum.

Adjusting to Change

In the late 20th century, the Inuit have become more assertive, forming organizations to represent their interests, such as the Alaska Federation of Natives (1966). The organizations have been instrumental in resolving land claims since 1971. In Greenland, the 1970's and 1980's were marked by a campaign for home rule from Denmark. In December, 1991, the Canadian government, yielding to ongoing Inuit pressure, agreed to the creation of a new unit known as Nunavut (Inukitut for "our land") in eastern Northwest Territories. Approved by referendum in May, 1992, it will have an area of about 2 million sq. km (about 772,500 sq. mi.). The Inuit will have political control and broad economic rights over the territory.

The International Inuit Circumpolar Conference, founded in 1977, meets every three years. It provides a forum for Greenland and North American Inuit to discuss common problems, lobby for an Inuit voice in the planning of economic development, and promote the preservation of the environment.

Iroquois

Important confederacy of Native Americans of the Iroquoian language family and of the Eastern Woodlands culture area. It was founded in the 16th century, in what is now, central New York State. The original confederacy consisted of five tribes -- the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, and Seneca -- and was known as the Five Nations, or the League of Five Nations. Sometime between 1715 and 1722, however, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian tribe originally of North Carolina, which had migrated to New York, was formally admitted to the confederacy, and the name of the league was changed to the Six Nations, or the League of Six Nations. As representative members of the Iroquoi-

an family, and the ones first encountered and later most intensively studied by white people, the Iroquois gave their name to the family of which they are a part.

The Iroquois had an agricultural economy, based mainly on corn, with supplementary crops of pumpkins, beans, and tobacco and later, of orchard fruits, such as apples and peaches. They made fine pottery, splint baskets, and mats of corn husk and used wampum as a medium of exchange. Public records were woven into the designs of large wampum belts. Each town contained several long, bark-covered communal houses, which had both tribal and political significance; along their inner sides, the families of a clan lived in semi-private compartments, and the central areas were used as social and political meeting places. The common council of the entire confederacy met in such meeting places. These councils were fairly democratic in composition; delegates were elected by members of various lineages, and each delegate represented both a tribe and one of the matrilineal clans within a tribe. The office of delegate was restricted to chiefs, and every delegate had to meet the approval of both tribal and league councils. If the conduct of any delegate was perceived as improper, or if he lost the people's confidence, the women of his clan officially expelled him and chose another delegate to serve in his place. The league, as a whole, had no single head, and deliberative decisions were usually made by a unanimous vote of the league council.

The complexity and stability of this political organization, together with a carefully nurtured skill in warfare and the early acquisition of firearms, enabled the Iroquois to achieve and maintain a position of great power during the colonial period of American history. During their formative period, in the 17th century, they broke up the tribal confederacies to their west, notably that of the Hurons. They continued to expand the territory, under their dominion, until by 1720, they had subdued almost all the tribes in a vast region extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and from the Saint Lawrence River to the Tennessee River.

In their relations with white settlers, the Iroquois, from the start, played the role of an independent power. During the colonial period, they held the balance of power between the French and English, particularly in the area round the Canadian border. With few exceptions, chiefly factions of the Mohawk and Cayuga, who came under the influence of French Jesuit missionaries, the Iroquois allied themselves with English interests. They bitterly opposed the extension of French settlement south-

ward from Canada, and they were responsible for preventing the English colonies from being flanked on the west by the French.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, the league council declared, for neutrality, but allowed each of the six component tribes to take sides as it saw fit. Most of them joined the British. After the revolution, the Mohawk, under their leader, Joseph Brant, crossed into Canada; they were followed by the Cayuga, and both tribes were eventually settled on two reservations to the north of Lakes Erie and Ontario. The Tuscarora are scattered, although a number have found a home among the Mohawk; most of the Oneida are settled at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and most of the Seneca in western New York; the Onondaga still hold their valley near Syracuse, New York. Despite their political importance, the confederacy probably never numbered more than 25,000. In 1990, 49,038 people in the United States identified themselves as Iroquois.

Kickapoo

Native American tribe of the Algonquian language family and of the Eastern Woodlands culture area. The tribe originally lived in central and southern Wisconsin. The name, Kickapoo is derived from the Algonquian *Kiwigapawa*, meaning, "he who moves about." These Native Americans were extremely successful warriors who raided lands far from their villages; they also served as mercenaries for the French, Spanish, British, and Mexicans. When not on raids, the Kickapoo lived in permanent villages, subsisting by raising corn, beans, and squash and by hunting buffalo. Their society was divided into bands based on patrilineal descent. The Kickapoo strongly resisted European culture and religion and, to a large extent, retained their own ways.

In the period before the American Revolution, the Kickapoo moved southward into the Wabash region, now included in the states of Illinois and Indiana, and during the Revolution and the War of 1812, they joined the other tribes of the Ohio Valley in siding with the British against the Americans. In 1819, after ceding their lands in Illinois to the U. S. government, they settled in Missouri, and later, in Kansas. About 1852, a large portion of the tribe made another migration southward through Texas into Mexico, where they became known as the Mexican Kickapoo. Today Kickapoo communities are found in northern Coahuila State, Mexico, and in northeastern Kansas and Oklahoma. In 1990, 3,577 persons in the United States identified themselves as Kickapoo, the majority living in Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas.

Kinship

Human relations based on biological descent and marriage. Kinship is founded on social differences and cultural creations. In all societies, the links between blood relatives and relatives by marriage are assigned certain legal, political, and economic significance that does not depend on biology.

Descent Systems

At the basis of kinship is the primary mother-child bond to which diverse cultures have added different familial relations. Additional kin are recruited to this basic unit by the principle of descent, which connects one generation to the other in a systematic way and which determines certain rights and obligations across generations. Descent groups can be traced through both sexes (that is, ambilaterally) or through only the male or the female link (unilaterally). In unilaterally traced groups, the descent is known as, patrilineal, if the connection is through the male line or, matrilineal, if it is through the female line.

Less frequent forms for tracing descent are the parallel system, in which males and females, each trace their ancestry through their own sex; and the cognatic method, in which the relatives of both sexes are considered, with little formal distinction between them.

Succession and Inheritance

The study of kinship has directed much attention to the terms people use to classify and identify their relatives. Kin, are everywhere, categorized into distinct groups with specific roles and behavior.

The way in which people classify their kin has many practical applications. Thus, the familial relationships, peculiar to a society, will largely determine the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next. The succession of office and titles and the inheritance of property are implicit in the kinship system. Property can pass across generations in several ways, as, for example, from the mother's brother to the sister's son (in some patrilineal cultures); or from the father to his son (in many patrilineal societies).

In some societies, kinship terms may also indicate how the family is split over the inheritance of goods and property. The Iatmul of New Guinea, for instance, assign five different terms to designate the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth child. In any quarrels over patrimony, the first and third children are expected to join forces against the second and the fourth.

Theories of Kinship

The evolution of kinship and its terminology has interested anthropologists since the 19th century, when the American anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan, developed his theory of kinship. Morgan held that kinship terminology, used in non-literate societies, reflected a low level of culture and that the terminology common in civilized societies indicated an advanced stage of development. This theory was abandoned when the discovery was made that the limited number of kinship systems, in use, are found among both technologically simple and advanced peoples.

Some non-evolutionary theories see kinship terms as a result of culture borrowings and modifications, as a means of understanding aspects of the history of a particular society, or even as a linguistic phenomenon. The most common anthropological view, however, is a functional one that relates kinship terms to contemporary behavior. In this theory, the terms are considered tools for understanding the ties between -- and values of -- people in any given society.

Kinship is important in anthropological study because it is a universal phenomenon. It connotes certain basic human attachments made by all people, and it reflects the way in which people give meaning and ascribe importance to human interactions.

Kurds

Semi-nomadic tribes inhabiting the region of Kurdistan in southwestern Asia. Most Kurds are Sunnites, orthodox Muslims, many of whom live in small villages. Their chief manufacture is finely woven rugs. Many Kurds engage in sheep raising and agriculture. The Kurds adopted agriculture only recently as they were assimilated into the broader societies in the areas where they live. They speak Kurdish, a language of the western

Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. In the early 1990's, the Kurd population was estimated at 26 million. Of these, more than half lived in Turkey; the rest live in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and in several of the former republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia,

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan. Accurate population figures, however, are difficult to attain.

The Kurds resisted invasions by many warring peoples, but were subjugated by the Seljuks in the 11th century and brought into the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century. In the 19th century, many Kurds agitated for an independent nation. The Treaty of Sevres, concluded by the Allies with Turkey in 1920, promised the Kurds, an independent state; this promise was not kept. Instead, Turkish leader, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, while working to forge a strong Turkish national identity, suppressed Kurdish culture and identity, leading to a wave of uprisings. Since 1925, Kurdish revolts have occurred in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.

In 1970, after more than eight years of almost continuous war, the Iraqi government promised the Kurds autonomy over a region in northeastern Iraq. The implementation of this pledge in 1974, fell far short of Kurdish demands, however, and the civil war resumed. The rebellion collapsed in 1975, after Iran withdrew its support, as part of a border agreement with Iraq. In 1988, thousands of Kurds were killed (some by chemical weapons) and hundreds of Kurdish villages were destroyed by Iraqi troops, after Kurdish guerrillas sided with Iran in the Iran-Iraq War. In March and April, 1991, immediately after the Persian Gulf War, another uprising consisting primarily of Kurds, challenged Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime. The Kurdish rebels, poorly armed and lacking experience, were easily crushed by the Iraqi government. More than 1 million Kurds fled to Turkey, Iran, and the mountainous areas of northern Iraq. Many civilians are believed to have been killed, either in the rebellion, or in their efforts to flee Iraq. The Kurds demanded Hussein fulfill the promise of an autonomous Kurdish region in Iraq, but negotiations with the Iraqi government stalled. Despite the existence of a Kurdish region in northern Iraq, protected by the United Nations, (UN), the neighboring countries of Iran, Syria, and Turkey support Iraq's claim to the territory against Kurdish desires for an autonomous state. Conflict between Kurdish groups, notably the Kurdish Workers party, and the government in Turkey, where the Kurdish parties are considered secessionist, also continued in the 1990's. In March, 1995, Turkey sent 35,000 troops into northern Iraq to quell and push back Kurdish rebels in the southeastern border

region of Turkey. The battle between Turkey and the Kurdish guerrillas began in 1984 and had resulted in 15,000 deaths by 1995. About 600,000 Kurds remained in refugee camps in northern Iraq under UN protection in 1992.

Malayan Peoples

Ethnic term, diversely employed by various authorities to denote the population of Malaysia and the Malay Archipelago. The Malayan peoples may be divided into four ethnic groups -- Malays, Indonesians, Negritos, and Papuans -- although the archipelagoes of the Indian and Pacific oceans were peopled by three distinct populations. The Malayan peoples are differentiated by various stages of cultural development, which range from the simply structured tribes of the interior of some of the islands of Malaysia and the Malay Archipelago to the more sophisticated Malays of the coast and the peoples of Java and the Philippines.

Throughout the Malayan area, the language shows close kinship with the Malay of Menangkabau, the former empire of central and western Sumatra, which is considered the original home of the Malayan peoples. The literary culture of the Malayan peoples is, in some areas, quite advanced, especially in Java, where the sacred books are preserved in the Kavi tongue.

The literature of some Philippine tribes is extensive, several thousand books and pamphlets having been printed in the local dialects. The Low Malay of Sumatra has become a lingua franca for the whole Malay Archipelago and has a literature of its own.

Maori

Original inhabitants of New Zealand, of Polynesian stock. They immigrated to New Zealand by canoe from other Pacific islands, the last wave of voyagers coming from Tahiti about A.D., 1350. The Maori economy varied, depending on the locale in which they settled. In the northern part of the islands, where the soil was fertile, cultivation of the sweet potato, or *kumara*, provided the staple food supply; in the interior, roots, birds, rats, and freshwater fish made up the diet; and on the seacoast, fish was the principal food. The men hunted and plowed; the women weeded, wove, and cooked.

The Maori lived in villages that were generally guarded by a fort. The people were divided into several tribes, or *iwi*, each tribe made up of members, who descended from a common ancestor. Groups of tribes were allied politically in a type of confederation called a *waka*, a term meaning, "canoe." Each tribe was made up of a number of *hapu*, or clans, which in turn, were composed of family groups called *whanau*. Primogeniture, or inheritance by the firstborn son, was basic to the social system and determined the succession of the highest chief, the *ariki*.

The Maori believed in a number of gods, including Tane-mahuta, lord of the forest, and Tangaroa, a Polynesian ocean god, who presided over the sea and fish. Tribal dignitaries, such as the higher priests and the chief, also believed in a supreme god, Io, whose existence was not divulged to the community. All the Maori believed in a great number of *atua*, or spirits, who gave omens, answered the invocations of black magic, and meted out punishment for the breaking of a *tapu*, or taboo.

In 1841, New Zealand became a separate colony of Great Britain, and British government and settlements were established. The resultant loss of Maori tribal lands triggered the Maori revolts against British rule from 1845 to 1848 and again from 1860 to 1870. Peace was permanently established in 1871, however, after which, the Maori gained representation in the New Zealand Parliament that had been established in 1852. Today, the Maori, in rural areas, largely adhere to their cultural traditions. In urban areas, where more assimilation has occurred, some Maori have entered the professions; others have been elected or appointed to government posts, and many are engaged in industry.

Matrilineage

In sociology and anthropology, system of social organization in which descent is traced through the female line and all children belong to the clan of the mother. The system is occasionally associated with inheritance in the female line of material goods and social prerogatives. Matrilineage is practiced in cultures found throughout the world. It is found in varying forms among the original inhabitants of Australia, Sumatra, Micronesia, Melanesia, and Formosa; in India, in Assam, and along the Malabar Coast; in Africa, in many regions; and in North America, among a number of indigenous tribes.

Maya

Group of related Native American tribes of nations of the Mayan linguistic stock, living in Mexico, in the states of Veracruz, Yucatan, Campeche, Tabasco, and Chiapas, and also in the greater part of Guatemala and in parts of Belize and Honduras. The best-known tribe, the Maya proper, after whom the entire group is named, occupies the Yucatan Peninsula. Among the other important tribes are the Huastec of northern Veracruz; the Tzental of Tabasco and Chiapas; the Chol of Chiapas; the Quiche, Cakchiquel, Pokonchi, and Pokomam of the Guatemalan highlands; and the Chorti of eastern Guatemala and western Honduras. With the exception of the Huastec, these tribes occupy contiguous territory. They were all part of a common civilization, which in many respects, achieved the highest development among the original inhabitants of the western hemisphere.

Agriculture formed the basis of the Mayan economy in pre-Columbian times, maize being the principal crop. Cotton, beans, squash, manioc, and cacao were also grown. The techniques of spinning, dyeing, and weaving cotton were highly perfected. The Maya domesticated the dog and the turkey, but had no draft animals or wheeled vehicles. They produced fine pottery, unequalled in the New World outside of Peru. Cacao beans and copper bells were used as units of exchange. Copper was also used for ornamental purposes, as were gold, silver, jade, shell, and colorful plumage. Metal tools, however, were unknown. The tribes were ruled by hereditary chiefs, descended in the male line, who delegated authority over village communities to local chieftains. Land, held in common by each village, was parceled out by these chieftains to the separate families.

Architecture

Mayan culture produced a remarkable architecture, of which, great ruins remain at a large number of places, including Palenque, Uxmal, Mayapan, Copan, Tikal, Uaxactun, and Chichen Itza. These sites were vast centers for religious ceremonies. The usual plan consisted of a number of pyramidal mounds, often surmounted by temples or other buildings, grouped around open plazas. The pyramids, built in successive steps, were faced with cut stone blocks and generally had a steep stairway built into one or more of their sides. The substructure of the pyramids was usually made of earth and rubble, but sometimes mortared blocks of

stone were used. The commonest type of construction consisted of a core of rubble or broken limestone mixed with mortar, and then faced with finished stones or stucco. Stone walls were also frequently laid without mortar. Wood was used for door lintels and for sculpture. The arch was not known, but its effect was approximated in roofing buildings by making the upper layers of stone of two parallel walls approaching each other in successive projections until they met overhead. This system, requiring very heavy walls, produced narrow interiors. Windows were rare and were small and narrow. Interiors and exteriors were painted in bright colors. Exteriors received special attention and were lavishly decorated with painted sculpture, carved lintels, stucco moldings, and stone mosaics. The decorations generally were arranged in wide friezes contrasting with bands of plain masonry. Commoners' dwellings probably resembled the adobe and palm-thatched huts seen today among Mayan descendants.

Writings

The Mayan peoples developed a method of hieroglyphic notation and recorded mythology, history, and rituals in inscriptions carved and painted on stelae (stone slabs or pillars); on lintels and stairways; and on other monumental remains. Records were also painted in hieroglyphs and preserved in books of folded sheets of paper, made from the fibers of the maguey plant. Four examples of these codices have been preserved: the Codex Dresdensis, now in Dresden; the Perez Codex, now in Paris; and the Codex Tro and the Codex Cortesianus, both now in Madrid. The Codex Tro and Codex Cortesianus comprise parts of a single original document and are commonly known, under the joint name, Codex Tro-Cortesianus. These books were used as divinatory almanacs containing topics such as agriculture, weather, disease, hunting, and astronomy.

Calendar and Religion

Chronology among the Maya was determined by an elaborate calendar system. The year began when the sun crossed the zenith on July 16, and consisted of 365 days; 364 of the days were divided into 28 weeks of 13 days each, the new year beginning on the 365th day. In addition, 360 days of the year were divided into 18 months of 20 days each. The series of weeks and the series of months, both ran consecutively and independently of each other; however, once every 260 days, that is, the multiple of 13 and 20, the week and the month began on the same day. The Mayan calendar, although highly complex, was the most accurate known to humans until the introduction of the Gregorian calendar.

The Mayan religion centered about the worship of a large number of nature gods. Chac, a god of rain, was especially important in popular ritual. Among the supreme deities were Kukulcan, a creator god, closely related to the Toltec and Aztec Quetzalcoatl, and Itzamna, a sky god. An important Mayan trait was their complete trust in the gods' control of certain units of time and of all peoples' activities during those periods.

Linguistic Stock

Maya, called also Yucatec, the language of the Maya proper, is spoken by about 350,000 people in Yucatan, Guatemala, and Belize. The other languages of the Mayan stock include the language of the Huastec and several groups of closely affiliated languages, including those of the Chanabal, Chol, Chontal, Chorti, Chuj, Jacaltec, Motozintlec, Tzental, and Tzotzil; those of the Kkekchi, Pokomam, and Polkonchi; those of the Cakchiquel, Quiche, Tzutuhil, and Uspantec; and those of the Aguacatec, Ixil, and Mam.

History

The origins of Mayan civilization are conjectural, depending on conflicting interpretations of archaeological evidence. The Formative period began, at least as early as 1500 B.C. During the Classic period, from about A.D. 300 to 900, a more or less uniform civilization was diffused throughout the Mayan territories. Great ceremonial centers such as Palenque, Tikal, and Copan were built. About 900, however, the Mayan centers were mysteriously abandoned. Some Maya migrated into Yucatan.

During the Post-Classic period, from 900 to the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century, Mayan civilization centered in Yucatan. A Toltec migration or invasion from the valley of Mexico strongly influenced its art styles. Chichen Itza and Mayapan were prominent cities. For a while, the league of Mayapan maintained the peace, but after a period of civil war and revolution, the cities were abandoned. The Spanish easily overcame the major Mayan groups, although the Mexican government did not succeed in subduing the last independent communities until 1901. In the late 20th century, the Maya made up the bulk of the peasant population in their former lands.

Mohawk (people)

Native North American tribe of the Iroquoian language family and of the Eastern Woodlands culture area. Once the easternmost and chief people of the Five Nations of the Iroquoian Confederacy, the Mohawk had nine delegates on the confederacy council, three from each clan -- the Wolf, the Bear, and the Turtle. They occupied the Mohawk River valley and were semi-sedentary; the women farmed and the men fished or hunted, depending on the season. As in other Iroquoian tribes, families lived together in large bark-colored dwellings called longhouses. Each community was governed by a ruling council and a village chief.

Their first encounter with Europeans was in 1609, when they fought against the French explorer, Samuel de Champlain. They were early associated with the Dutch, from whom they bought firearms, and later mostly became firm allies of the British, fighting with them first against the French and then against the American colonists. After the American Revolution, the Mohawk took refuge in Canada, where most have remained. About 5,000 reside on reservations at Brantford, Ontario, and at the Bay of Quinte. They still farm, and many work in construction. Two settlements are found in Franklin and Saint Lawrence counties in New York State. According to the 1990 census, 15,490 people in the United States reported being of Mohawk descent.

Mojave

Native American tribe of the Yuman language family and of the Southwest culture area. The Mojave lived along the lower Colorado River in Arizona and California and were primarily an agricultural people. They raised corn, beans, and other crops on land that was flooded by the river annually, leaving a deposit of silt when the waters receded. They were also proficient in hunting and fishing.

The Mojave lived in brush huts in scattered settlements along the riverbanks. Their main social unit was the family. Little formal tribal government existed except for the institution of a hereditary chief. In time of war, the various groups united under a single war chief; personal prestige depended on bravery in battle. The Mojave religion was based on the idea of a supreme creator. Dreams, detailed in song, played an important role in religious ceremonies.

In 1990, 1,386 people identified themselves as Mojave, with most living on or near reservations at Parker, Arizona, and near Needles, California.

Mongolian

Also called Mongoloid, human subpopulation, whose center of present concentration is in East Asia (China, Japan, Vietnam, Korea, Mongolia, large parts of Siberia, and most of Southeast Asia). The characteristic physical features of this population include medium-brown skin, straight brown-black hair, brown eyes, and relatively high frequencies of epicanthic fold (the skin fold in the inner corner of the eye that gives their eyes a characteristic almond shape). Many less visible genetic features, including relatively high percentages of genes for type B blood, also characterize East Asians.

In parts of Southeast Asia, the people possess somewhat different physical features reminiscent of neighboring human populations, so that, as elsewhere, no distinct boundaries are discernible among different racial groups.

Native American peoples have also generally been considered a wide-ranging branch of Mongoloids. Most Native Americans have straight, dark hair, medium skin colors, and other traits that link them to East Asia. On the other hand, in the genetics of blood types, the Native Americans differ from East Asians, attesting to the many generations of biological evolution since their ancestors crossed over from Siberia to North America. The far northern peoples -- the *Aleuts* and *Inuit* -- are more like their counterparts in northeastern Asia, suggesting that they arrived in the Americas more recently than other Native American groups.

Mongols

Pastoral people now found in east central Asia, including parts of China and Russia, who speak one of the *Altaic* languages. Their written language, Mongolian, dates from at least as early as the 11th century.

The Mongols are thought to have been a loose confederation of tribes until the Mongol conqueror, Genghis Khan, united them into one formidable nation in the early 13th

century. Under his leadership, they developed a powerful army that swept west into Europe and east into China, eventually forming a widespread Eurasian empire. The descendants of Genghis Khan ruled large areas of China, East Asia, Russia, Iran, and Turkey for long periods of time. The Monguls were subsequently overcome, and they returned to relative political obscurity.

The Mongols now number approximately 1 million, with most of the population practicing Buddhism and the remainder embracing shamanism. The Mongols are still largely a nomadic people, and their wealth consists of sheep, horses, cattle, camels, and goats.

Moro

Member of any of a number of Muslim tribes in the Philippines. They speak Moro or related dialects of the Tagala branch of the Indonesian languages, and live on the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, on southern Palawan, and on Mindanao in the regions of Lake Buluan, Lake Lanao, and the northwestern and western coasts. The Moro are of mixed Malayan stock, with some Arab and Chinese admixture. They follow an economy based on fishing, some farming, and the manufacture of cloth, brass, and steel. Moro homes, often on or near water, are raised high on poles. The timbers are lashed together with rattan, and the sides and roofs are made of palm leaves sewed together.

The Moro were converted to Islam in the 14th century. *Polygamy*, sanctioned by their religion, was formerly widespread, but is now generally confined to the rulers of the tribes. Slavery was also a recognized institution, the slaves being acquired by raids on neighboring tribes. Local government is patriarchal and is headed by a chief called a sultan. The supreme ruler of the tribes is the sultan of Sulu. At the present time, his rule is nominal and does not extend beyond his personal following; he has sworn allegiance to the Republic of the Philippines. According to a recent estimate, the Moro, with other Muslims in the Philippine Islands, number about 3 million.

Natchez (people)

Native North American tribe of the Muskogean language family and of the Southeast culture area. The tribe once lived along the lower Mississippi River, near present-day

Natchez, Mississippi. The Natchez were the largest and most unified tribe of the region, with some 5,000 people in the mid-1600's.

The Natchez were well established in their villages between the Yazoo and Pearl rivers when the French set up a trading post in 1713. French-Natchez relations soon deteriorated, and war ensued. In 1729, the French, together with the Choctaw, drove the Natchez from the region. Some joined the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw and became assimilated; others were captured by the French and sold into slavery.

The Natchez were sun worshippers; they kept a perpetual fire burning in their temples. In their religion, their customs, and their dependence on the cultivation of maize for food, they were like the Creek, Choctaw, and other Gulf tribes. The Natchez, however, had rigid class distinctions, including a noble class of three ranks: Great Suns, Suns, and Honored Men. Unlike other chiefs, the Natchez Great Sun had autocratic powers over his subjects. The tribe is now considered extinct.

Native Americans

Peoples who are indigenous to the Americas. They also have been known as American Indians. The name, Indian was first applied to them by Christopher Columbus, who believed mistakenly that the mainland and islands of America were part of the Indies, in Asia.

This article focuses on the peoples native to North America, Mesoamerica (Mexico and Central America), and South America. The indigenous population, at the time of European contact is estimated, the general physical characteristics of native American peoples are described, and a summary is given of what is known about their arrival and early prehistory in the Americas. The major culture areas of North, Central, and South America are discussed, and a survey follows of the traditional ways of life of Native Americans. Social and political organization are considered, as well as their food, clothing, and housing, their trade, religion, and warfare, and their crafts, visual arts, music, and dance. Finally, the history of Native Americans after European contact and their condition today, in North and Latin America are examined.

Early Population

It is estimated that at the time of first European contact, North and South America was inhabited by more than 90 million people: about 10 million in America, north of present-day Mexico; 30 million in Mexico; 11 million in Central America; 445,000 in the Caribbean islands; 30 million in the South American Andean region; and 9 million in the remainder of South America. These population figures are a rough estimate (some authorities cite much lower figures); exact figures are impossible to ascertain. When colonists began keeping records, the Native American populations had been drastically reduced by war, famine, forced labor, and epidemics of diseases introduced through contact with Europeans.

Physical Traits

Native Americans are physically most similar to Asian populations and appear to have descended from Asian peoples who migrated across the Bering land bridge during the Pleistocene epoch, also known as the Ice Age, beginning perhaps, some 30,000 years ago. Like other peoples with Mongolian characteristics, Native Americans tend to have light brown skin, brown eyes, and dark, straight hair. They differ from Asians, however, in their characteristic blood types. Because many Native Americans, today, have had one or more European-Americans or African-Americans among their ancestors, numerous people, who are legally and culturally Native American, may look fairer or darker than Mongolian peoples or may have markedly non-Mongolian facial features.

Over the thousands of years that indigenous peoples have lived in the Americas, they have developed into a great number of local populations, each differing somewhat from its neighbors. Some populations (such as those on the Great Plains of North America) tend to be tall and often heavy in build, whereas others (for example, many in the South American Andes and adjacent lowlands) tend to be short and broad chested; furthermore, every population includes persons who vary from the average. Some physical characteristics of Native American populations have been influenced by diet or by the environmental conditions of their societies. For example, the short stature of some native Guatemalans seems to result, at least in part, from diets poor in protein; the broad chests and large hearts and lungs of native Andeans represent an adaptation to the low-oxygen atmosphere of the high mountains they inhabit.

Earliest Migrations

Evidence indicates that the first peoples to migrate into the Americas, coming from northeastern Siberia into Alaska, were carrying stone tools and other equipment typical of the middle and end of the Paleolithic period. These peoples probably lived in bands of about 100, fishing and hunting herd animals, such as reindeer and mammoths. They probably used skin tents for shelter, and they must have tanned reindeer skins and sewn them into clothing similar to that made by the Inuit -- parkas, trousers, boots, and mittens. These peoples probably were nomadic, moving camp, at least several times each year, to take advantage of seasonal sources of food. It is likely that they gathered, each summer for a few weeks with other bands, to celebrate religious ceremonies and to trade, compete in sports, gamble, and visit. At such gatherings, valuable information could be obtained about new sources of food or raw materials (such as stone for tools). Such news might have led families to move into new territory, eventually into Alaska and then farther south, into the Americas.

Evidence for the earliest migrations into the Americas is scarce and usually not as clear as archaeologists would wish. Evidence from the comparative study of Native American languages, as well as analysis of some genetic materials, suggest that these earliest migrations may have taken place around 30,000 years ago. More direct evidence from archaeological sites places the date somewhat later. For example, in the Yukon, in what is now Canada, bone tools have been discovered that have been radiocarbon-dated to 22,000 B.C. Campfire remains in the Valley of Mexico, in central Mexico, have been radiocarbon-dated to 21,000 B.C., and a few chips of stone tools have been found near the hearths, indicating the presence of humans at that time. In a cave in the Andes Mountains of Peru, near Ayacucho, archaeologists have found stone tools and butchered animal bones that have been dated to 18,000 B.C. A cave in Idaho, in the United States, contains similar evidence -- stone tools and butchered bone -- dated to 12,500 B.C. In none of these sites do distinctive American styles characterize the *artifacts* (manufactured objects such as tools). Artifacts, having the earliest distinctive American styles, appeared about 11,000 B.C., and are known as Clovis stone blades.

Major Culture Areas

To understand how different peoples live and how their societies have developed, anthropologists find it convenient to group societies into culture areas. A culture area is first of all a geographical region; it has characteristic climate, land forms, and biological population -- that is, fauna and flora. Humans who live in the region must adapt to its characteristics to obtain the necessities of life: No one can grow grain in the Arctic or

hunt seals or whales in the desert, but people can survive in the Arctic by hunting seals, or in the desert by gathering foods, such as cactus fruits. Each culture area, then, has certain natural resources, as well as, the potential for certain technologies. Humans, in the culture areas, use many of its resources and develop technologies -- and social organizations -- to fit the area's physical potential and its hazards (such as winter cold). Neighboring peoples learn of one another's inventions and begin to use them. Thus, societies within a given culture area, resemble one another and differ from those in other regions.

The Americans may be divided into many culture areas, and these divisions may be determined in different ways. Here, nine areas are used for North America, one for Mesoamerica (Mexico and Central America), and four for South America.

North America

The culture areas of North America are the Southwest, the Eastern Woodlands, the Southeast, the Plains, the California-Intermountain region, the Plateau, the Subarctic, the Northwest Pacific Coast, and the Arctic.

The Southwest

The Southwestern culture area encompasses Arizona, New Mexico, southern Colorado, and adjacent northern Mexico (the states of Sonora and Chihuahua). It can be subdivided into three sectors: northern (Colorado, northern Arizona, northern New Mexico), with high, pleasant valleys and pine forests; southern (southern Arizona, southern New Mexico, adjacent Mexico), with deserts covered with cactus; and western (the Arizona-California border area), a smaller area with desert terrain cut by the valley of the lower Colorado River.

The first-known inhabitants of the Southwest hunted mammoths and other game with Clovis-style spear points by about 9500 B.C. As the Ice Age ended (about 8,000 B.C.), mammoths became extinct. The people in the Southwest turned to hunting bison (known as buffalo in North America) and spent more time collecting wild plants for food. The climate gradually became warmer and drier, and a way of life -- called the Archaic -- developed from about 8,000 B.C., to about 300 B.C. Archaic peoples hunted mostly deer, small game, and birds, and they harvested fruits, nuts, and the seeds of wild

plants, using stone slabs for grinding seeds into flour. About 3,000 B.C., the Southwesterner's learned to grow maize (also known as corn), which had been domesticated in Mexico, but for centuries, it was only a minor food.

About 300 B.C., some Mexicans, whose culture was based on cultivating maize, beans, and squash in irrigated fields, migrated to southern Arizona. These people, called the Hohokam, lived in towns in adobe-plastered houses built around public plazas. They were the ancestors of the present-day Pima and Tohono O'Odham (Papago), who preserve much of the Hohokam way of life.

The peoples of the northern sector of the Southwestern culture area, after centuries of trading with the Hohokam, had by A.D., 700, modified their life into what is called the Anasazi tradition. They grew maize, beans, and squash and lived in towns of terraced stone or in adobe apartment blocks built around central plazas; these blocks had blank walls facing outside of the town, thereby, protecting the people within. During the summer many families lived in small houses at their fields. After 1275, the northern sector suffered severe droughts, and many Anasazi farms and towns were abandoned; those along the Rio Grande, however, grew and expanded their irrigation systems. In 1540, Spanish explorers visited the descendants of the Anasazi, who are called the Pueblos. After 1598, the Spanish imposed their rule on the Pueblos, but in 1680, the Pueblos organized a rebellion that kept them free until 1692. Since that time, Pueblo towns have been dominated by Spanish, then Mexican, and finally United States government. The Pueblos attempted to preserve their culture: They continued their farming and, in some towns, secretly maintained their own governments and religion. Twenty-two Pueblo towns exist today.

In the 1400's, hunters speaking an Athabascan language - related to languages of Alaska and western Canada -- appeared in the Southwest, having migrated southward along the western Great Plains. They raided Pueblo towns for food and -- after slave markets were established by the Spanish -- for captives to sell; from the Pueblos, they learned to farm, and from the Spanish, to raise sheep and horses. Today, these peoples are the Navajo and the several tribes of Apache.

The western sector of the Southwest is inhabited by speakers of Yuman languages, including the isolated Havasupai, who farm on the floor of the Grand Canyon; and the

Mojave, who live along the lower Colorado River. The Yuman-speaking peoples inhabit small villages of pole-and-thatch houses near their floodplain fields of maize, beans, and squash.

Eastern Woodlands

The Eastern Woodlands culture area consists of the temperate-climate regions of the eastern United States and Canada, from Minnesota and Ontario, east to the Atlantic Ocean, and south to North Carolina. Originally, densely forested, this large region was first inhabited by hunters, including those who used Clovis spear points. About 7,000 B.C., with the warming climate, an Archaic culture developed. The peoples of this area became increasingly dependent on deer, nuts, and wild grains. By 3,000 B.C., human populations, in the Eastern Woodlands, had reached cultural peaks that were not again achieved until after A.D., 1200. The cultivation of squash was learned from Mexicans, and in the Midwest, sunflowers, amaranth, marsh elder, and goosefoot and related plants were also farmed. All of these were grown for their seeds, which -- except for those of the sunflower -- were usually ground into flour. Fishing and shellfish gathering increased, and off the coast of Maine, the catch included swordfish. In the western Great Lakes area, copper was surface mined and made into blades and ornaments, and throughout the Eastern Woodlands, beautiful stones were carved into small sculptures.

After 1,000 B.C., the climate became cooler and food resources scarcer, causing a population decline in the Atlantic part of the region. In the Midwest, however, populations were organized into wide trading networks and began building large mound-covered tombs for their leaders and for use as centers for religious activities. These peoples, called the Hopewell, raised some maize, but were more dependent on Archaic foods. The Hopewell culture declined by about A.D., 400.

By 750, a new culture developed in the Midwest. Called the Mississippian culture, it was based on intensive maize agriculture, and its people built large towns with earth platforms, or mounds, supporting temples and rulers' residences. Across the Mississippi River, from present-day Saint Louis, Missouri, the Mississippians built the city of Cahokia, which may have had a population of 50,000. Cahokia contained hundreds of mounds. Its principle temple was built on the largest, a mound 30 m (100 ft.) high and roughly about 110 m (about 360 ft.) long and about 49 m (about 160 ft.) wide (the largest such mound in North America, now part of Cahokia Mounds State

Park, Illinois). During this time period, maize agriculture also became important in the Atlantic region, but no cities were built.

The presence of Europeans in the Eastern Woodlands dates from at least A.D., 1,000, when colonists from Iceland tried to settle Newfoundland. Throughout the 1500's, European fishers and whalers used the coast of Canada. European settlement of the region began in the 1600's. It was not strongly resisted, partly because terrible epidemics had spread among the Native Americans of this region, through contact with European fishers and with Spanish explorers in the Southeast. By this time, the Mississippian cities had also disappeared, probably as consequence of the epidemics.

The Native American peoples of the Eastern Woodlands included the Iroquois and a number of Algonquian-speaking peoples, including the Lenape, also know as the Delaware; the Micmac; the Narragansett; the Shawnee; the Potawatom; the Menominee; and the Illinois. Some Eastern Woodlands peoples moved west in the 19th century; others remain throughout the region, usually in their own small communities.

The Southeast

The Southeast culture area is the semi-tropical region, north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the Middle Atlantic-Midwest region; it extends from the Atlantic coast, west to central Texas. Much of this land, once consisted of pine forests, which the Native Americans of the region kept cleared of underbrush by yearly burnings, a form of livestock management, that maintained high deer populations for hunting.

The early history of the Southeast is similar to that of adjacent areas. Cultivation of native plants was begun in the Late Archaic period, about 3,000 B.C., and there were large populations of humans in the area. In 1400 B.C., a town, called Poverty Point, by archaeologists, was built near present-day Vicksburg, Mississippi. Like the Mississippian towns of 2,000 years later, Poverty Point had a large public plaza and huge earth mounds that served as temple platforms or covered tombs.

The number of Native Americans in the Southeast remained high until European contact. Maize agriculture appeared about 500 B.C. Towns continued to be built, and

crafted items were widely traded. The first European explorer, the Spaniard, Hernando de Soto, marched around the Southeast with his army between 1539 and 1542; epidemics, introduced by the Spaniards, killed thousands.

Southeastern peoples included the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, the Creek, and the Seminole, known as the Five Civilized Tribes, because they resembled European nations in organization and economy, and because they quickly incorporated desirable European imports (such as fruit trees) into their way of life. The Natchez, whose elaborate mound-building culture was destroyed by Europeans in the 18th century, were another famous Southeastern people.

The Plains

The North American Plains are the grasslands from central Canada, south to Mexico, and from the Midwest, westward to the Rocky Mountains. Bison hunting was always the principal source of food in this culture area, until the wild bison herds were exterminated in the 1880's. Most of the Plains peoples lived in small nomadic bands that moved as the herds moved, driving them into corrals for slaughter. From A.D., 850 onward, along the Missouri River and other rivers of the central Plains, agricultural towns were also built.

The customs of the Plains peoples have become well-known as the stereotyped "Indian" customs -- the long feather headdress, the tepee (also spelled tipi), the ceremonial pipe, costumes, and dancing. These peoples and their customs became well-known during the 19th century, when European-Americans invaded their lands and newspapers, magazines, and photography popularized the frontier.

Among early Plains peoples were the Blackfoot, who were bison hunters, and the Mandan, and the Hidatsa, who were Missouri River agriculturalists. As European colonists took over the Eastern Woodlands, many Midwest peoples moved onto the Plains, among them the Sioux, the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho. Earlier, about 1450, from the valleys, west of the Rockies, some Shosone and Comanche had begun moving onto the Plains. After 1630, these peoples took horses from Spanish ranches in New Mexico and traded them throughout the Plains. The culture of the Plains people, of the time, thus, included elements from adjacent culture areas.

The California-Intermountain Area

The mountain ridges and valleys of Utah, Nevada, and California resemble one another in the pine forests of the mountains and the grasslands and marshes in the valleys. An Archaic way of life -- hunting deer and mountain sheep, fishing, netting migratory birds, harvesting pine nuts and wild grains -- developed by 8,000 B.C., and persisted with no radical changes, until about A.D., 1850. Villages were simple, with thatched houses, and in the warm months, little clothing was worn. The technology of getting, processing, and storing food was sophisticated. Basketry was developed into a true art. On the California coast, people fished and hunted sea lions, dolphins, and other sea mammals from boats; the wealth of resources stimulated a well-regulated trade, using shell money.

The Paiute, Ute, and Shoshone are the best-known peoples of the Intermountain Great Basin area; the tribes of California include the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Yurok in the north; the Pomo, Maidu, Miwok, Patwin, and Wintun in the central region; and the "mission tribes" in the south, whose European-given names were derived from those of the Spanish missions that sought to conquer them -- for example, the Diegueno.

The Plateau Region

In Idaho, eastern Oregon and Washington, western Montana, and adjacent Canada, mountains are covered with evergreen forests and separated by grassy valleys. As in the Great Basin, the Archaic pattern of life persisted on the Plateau, but it was enriched by annual runs of salmon up the Columbia, Snake, Fraser, and tributary rivers, as well as by harvests of *camas* (western United States plants with edible bulbs) and other nutritious tubers and roots in the meadows. People lived in villages made up of sunken round houses in winter and camped in mat houses in summer. They dried quantities of salmon and camas for winter eating, and on the lower Columbia River, at the site of the present-day city of The Dalles, Oregon, the Wishram and Wasco peoples, kept a market town where travelers from the Pacific Coast and the Plains could meet, trade, and buy dried food.

Plateau peoples include the Nez Perce, Wallawalla, Yakama, and Umatilla in the Sahaptian language family, the Flathead, Spokane, and Okanagon in the Salishan language family, and the Cayuse and Kootenai (with no linguistic relatives).

The Subarctic

The Subarctic region comprises the major part of Canada, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean west to the mountains bordering the Pacific Ocean, and from the tundra south to within about 300 km (about 200 mi.) of the United States border. The eastern half of this region was once heavily glaciated, and its soil and drainage are poor. No agriculture is possible in the Sub-arctic because summers are extremely short, and so the region's peoples lived by hunting moose and *caribou* (a North American reindeer) and by fishing. They were nomadic, sheltering themselves in tents or, in the west, sometimes in sunken round houses (as in the Plateau region). To move camp, they used canoes in summer and sleds in winter. Because of the limited food resources, Sub-arctic populations remained small; even the summer rendezvous at good fishing spots drew only hundreds, compared to the thousands of persons who gathered at seasonal rendezvous in the Great Lakes or Plains regions.

The people's native to the eastern half of the Sub-arctic region are speakers of Algonquian languages; they include the Cree, Ojibwa (also known as the Chippewa), Montagnais, and Naskapi. In the western half, live speakers of northern Athabaskan languages, including the Chipewyan, Beaver, Kutchin, Ingalik, Kaska, and Tanana. Many Subarctic peoples, although now settles in villages, still live by trapping, fishing, and hunting.

Northwest Pacific Coast

The west coast of North America, from southern Alaska to northern California, forms the Northwest Pacific Coast culture area. Bordered on the east by mountains, the habitable land is usually narrow, lying between the sea and the hills. The sea is rich in sea mammals and in fish, including salmon and halibut; on the land are mountain sheep and goats, elk, abundant berries, edible roots, and tubers, similar to potatoes. These resources supported a dense population organized into large villages where people lived in wooden houses, often more than 30 m (100 ft.) long. Each house contained an extended family, sometimes with slaves, and was managed by a chief. During the winter, villagers staged elaborate costumed religious dramas, and they also hosted people from neighboring villages at ceremonial feasts called potlatches, at which gifts were lavishly given. Trade was important, and it extended toward northern Asia, where iron for knives was obtained. The Northwest Pacific Coast is known for its magnificent wooden carvings.

Northwest Pacific Coast culture developed after 3,000 B.C., when sea levels stabilized and movements of salmon and sea mammals became regular. The basic pattern of life changed little, and over the centuries, carving and other crafts gradually attained great sophistication and artistry. Tribes of the Northwest Pacific Coast include the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Chinook, Salish, Makah, and the Tillamook.

The Arctic

The Arctic culture area rings the coasts of Alaska and northern Canada. Because winters are long and dark, agriculture is impossible; people live by fishing and by hunting seal, caribou, and (in northern Alaska and eastern Canada), whale. Traditional summer houses were tents. Winter houses were round, well-insulated frame structures covered with skins and blocks of sod; in central Canada, the winter houses often were made of blocks of ice. Populations were small because resources were so limited.

The Arctic was not inhabited until about 2,000 B.C., after glaciers finally melted in that region. In Alaska, the Inuit and the Yuit (also known as Yupik), developed ingenious technology to deal with the difficult climate and meager economic resources. About A.D., 1,000, bands of Alaskan Inuit migrated across Canada to Greenland; called the Thule culture, they appear to have absorbed an earlier people in eastern Canada and Greenland (the Dorset culture). These people are now often referred to as the Greenland Inuit. Because of this migration, traditional Inuit culture and language are similar from Alaska to Greenland. Living in southwestern Alaska (and the eastern end of Siberia) are the Yuit, who are related to the Inuit in culture and ancestry, but whose language is slightly different. Distantly related to the Inuit and Yuit are the Aleuts, who since 6,000 B.C., have remained in their homeland on the Aleutian Islands, fishing and hunting sea mammals. Like the Sub-arctic peoples, but unlike most Native Americans, the Inuit, Yuit, and Aleut peoples, today, retain much of their ancient way of life because their culture areas are remote from cities and their lands cannot be farmed.

Mesoamerica

Impressive civilizations developed in Mexico and upper Central America after about 1400 B.C. These civilizations originated from an Archaic hunting-and-gathering way of life, that by 7,000 B.C., included cultivation of small quantities of beans, squash, pumpkins, and maize. By 2,000 B.C., Mexicans had come to depend on their planted fields of these crops, plus amaranth, avocado, chili peppers, and other fruits. Towns

developed, and by 1400 B.C., the Olmec civilization boasted a capital with palaces, temples, and monuments built on a huge constructed platform about 50 m (about 165 ft.) high and nearly 1.6 km (1 mi.) long. The Olmec lived in the jungle of the east coast of Mexico; their trade routes extended hundreds of miles, both to Monte Alban in western Mexico (in what is now Oaxaca State) and to the Valley of Mexico in the central highlands. As the power of the Olmec declined (about 400 B.C.), the centers in the central highlands grew, and by the 1st century A.D., the largest city in pre-Columbian Mexico, had developed to an urban size at Teotihuacan, in the Valley of Mexico. Teotihuacan dominated Mexico for the first six centuries A.D., trading with Monte Alban and with the Mayan kingdoms that had arisen in southwestern Mexico and conquering rivals as far south as the Valley of Guatemala. The capital city covered some 21 sq. km (some 8 sq. mi.) with blocks of apartment houses, markets, many small factories, temples on platforms, and palaces covered with murals.

About A.D., 700, Teotihuacan suffered attacks that destroyed its power. Later, in the same century, many Mayan cities were abandoned, perhaps economically ruined, when their trade with Teotihuacan ended. Other Mayan cities, mostly in northern Yucatan, were not so affected. By 1,000 in central Mexico, a new power -- the Toltec -- began building an empire that extended into the Valley of Mexico and into Mayan territory. This empire collapsed in 1168. By 1433, the Valley of Mexico, had regained domination over much of Mexico as a result of an alliance of three neighboring kingdoms. This alliance secured the homeland from which one king, Montezuma I, of the Aztecs, began territorial conquests in the 1400's. The empire flourished until 1519, when a Spanish soldier, Hernan Cortes, landed in eastern Mexico and advanced with Mexican allies upon the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan. Internal strife and a small-pox epidemic weakened the Mexicans and helped Cortes conquer them in 1521.

At the time of these initial Spanish conquests, the native peoples of Mexico included those in the domains of the Aztec Empire and of the powerful kingdoms of the Mixtec rulers in what is now Puebla State and the Tarascan in Michoacan State, and of the Zapotec in Oaxaca, the Tlaxcalan in Michoacan, the Otomi in Hidalgo, and the Totonac in Veracruz; the subjects of the remnants of the Mayan state of Mayapan in the Yucatan and of a number of smaller undestroyed Mayan states to the south; and many independent groups in the frontier regions, such as the Yaqui, Huichol, and Tarahumara in northern Mexico and the Pipil in the south. After the Spanish conquest -- which took more than two centuries to reach throughout Mexico -- most of the Native American peoples were forced to survive as peasants governed by the Spanish-Mexican upper class.

The culture area of Mesoamerica -- Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, western Honduras, and western Nicaragua -- was one of the farming villages producing maize, beans, squash, amaranth, turkeys, and other foods, supporting large city markets where traders sold tools, cloth, and luxury goods, imported over long land and sea trade routes. In the cities lived manufacturers and their workers, merchants, the wealthy class, and priests and scholars who recorded literary, historical, and scientific works in native-language hieroglyphic texts (astronomy was particularly advanced). Cities were adorned with sculptures and brilliant paintings, often depicting the Mesoamerican symbols of power and knowledge: the eagle, lord of the heavens; the jaguar, lord of the earth; and the rattlesnake, associated with wisdom, peace, and the arts of civilization.

South America

The culture areas of South America extend from lower Central America -- eastern Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica -- to the southern tip of South America. Four principal areas can be distinguished: northern South America, including the Caribbean and lower Central America; the central and southern Andes Mountains and adjacent Pacific coast; the Tropical Forest of eastern South America; and the tip and eastern portion of the narrow southern third of the continent, an area supporting only nomadic hunting-and-gathering peoples.

Northern South America and the Caribbean

The culture area of northern South America and the Caribbean includes jungle lowlands, grassy savannah plains, the northern Andes Mountains, some arid sections of western Ecuador, and the islands of the Caribbean. Given its geographical location, the region might seem to link the great civilizations of Mexico and Peru; but because land travel through the jungles and mountains of lower Central America is difficult, pre-Columbian contacts between Peru and Mexico took place mostly by sea, from Ecuador's Gulf of Guayaquil to western Mexican ports. The native peoples of northern South America and the Caribbean lived in small, independent states. Although they traded directly with Mexico and Peru by way of Ecuador, they were by-passed by the empires.

Finds of Clovis-like spear points indicate the presence of hunters in the area by 9,000 B.C; other evidence suggests that people were in the northern region by 18,000 B.C. The Archaic style of living continued from the time of the extinction of the mastodons and mammoths, in the Clovis period, until about 3,000 B.C. About this time, village

dwellers developed the cultivation of maize in Ecuador, and of manioc (a tropical tuber) in Venezuela, and pottery making flourished. Also, after this date, the Caribbean islands began to be settled. By 500 B.C., in towns in some areas of northern South America, distinctive local styles had developed in sculpture and metalwork. Population growth and technological progress continued until the Spanish conquered the region; at that time, the Chibcha kingdoms of Colombia were famous for their fine gold ornaments. Around the Caribbean, smaller groups, such as the Miskito of Nicaragua, the Cuna of Panama, and the Arawak and Carib peoples of the Caribbean islands, farmed and fished around their villages; the Carib also lived along the coast of Venezuela. The peoples lived a simpler life than did the peoples of the northern Andean states.

Central and Southern Andes

The lofty chain of the Andes Mountains that stretches down the western half of South America, together with the narrow coastal valleys between the mountains and the Pacific Ocean, were the home of the great civilizations of Native Americans in South America.

In recent years, excavation at the Monte Verde site in southern Chile, has yielded unequivocal evidence of human occupation dating back to 11,000 B.C. Excavations farther north, in Peru, show that by 7,000 B.C., beans, including the lima bean, were cultivated, as were chili peppers. A few centuries later, the domestication of llamas was begun. Guinea pigs were eventually raised for meat; cotton, potatoes, peanuts, and other foods, gradually became part of the Peruvian agriculture, and about 2,000 B.C., maize was brought from the northern Andes. The peoples of the Pacific coast, from Chile through Peru into Ecuador, also made use of the rich sea life, which included many species of fish, as well as water birds, sea lions, dolphins, and shellfish.

After 2,000 B.C., peoples in villages in several coastal valleys of central Peru organized to build great temples of stone and adobe on large platforms. After about 900 B.C., these temples appear to have served a new religion, centered in the mountain town of Chavin de Huantar. This religion had as its symbols the eagle, the jaguar, the snake (probably an anaconda), and the *caiman* (alligator), which seems to have represented water and the fertility of plants. These symbols are somewhat similar to those of the Mexican Olmec religion, but no definite link between the two cultures is known. After 300 B.C., Chavin influence -- or possibly political power -- declined. The Moche civilization then appeared on the northern coast of Peru, and the Nazca on the southern coast. In both, large irrigation projects, towns, and temples were constructed, and

extensive trade was carried on, including the export of fine ceramics. The Moche depicted their daily life and their myths in paintings and in ceramic sculpture; they showed themselves as fearsome warriors and also made molded ceramic sculptures depicting homes with families, cultivated plants, fishers, and even lovers. They were also expert metalworkers.

By about A.D., 600, the Moche and Nazca cultures declined, and two new, powerful states appeared in Peru: Huari in the central mountains, and Tiahuanacu in the southern mountains at Lake Titicaca. Tiahuanacu seems to have been a great religious center, reviving symbols from the Chavin. These states lasted only a few centuries; after 1,000, coastal states again became important, especially Chimú in the north, with its vast and magnificent adobe-brick capital city of Chanchán. All Peru, was eventually, conquered by a state, that arose in the central mountains at Cuzco; this was the Quechua state, ruled by a people known as the Inca. The emperor of Inca, at the time, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, began large-scale expansion of the empire in the 1400's; by 1525, Inca rule extended from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. Civil war raged within the empire from 1525 to 1532. At its conclusion, the Spanish adventurer, Francisco Pizarro landed in Peru and had little trouble conquering the war-wasted Inca Empire.

During this time, the central and southern Andes were populated by farmers who raised a variety of crops. Local products, transported by llama caravans, were exported and traded between the coast, the mountains, and the eastern tropical jungle. The region's kingdoms were governed by administrators aided by soldiers and priests. Prehistoric Peru had the only great civilization known that did not use writing; but the Peruvians did use the abacus for arithmetic calculation, and they kept numerical records for government by means of abacus-like sets of knotted strings, called *quipus*.

The Tropical Forest

The jungle lowlands of eastern South America seem to have been settled after 3,000 B.C., for archaeologists have not found evidence of any earlier peoples. Population was always relatively sparse, clustered along riverbanks where fish could be obtained and manioc and other crops planted. Various herbs and foods were cultivated, including hallucinogens for use in religious rituals; these were also exported to Peru. Although, animals such as, tapirs and monkeys were hunted, little game was supported by the jungle forests. No large towns existed -- people lived in thatch houses in villages. Sometimes the whole village slept in hammocks, which were invented here. Little clothing was worn, because of the damp heat, but cotton cloth was woven, and the

people ornamented themselves with painting. Among the many small groups of the Tropical Forest culture area are the Makiritare, the Yanomamo, the Mundurucu, the Tupinamba, the Shipibo, and the Cayapo. Speakers of Arawak and Carib languages -- linguistic relatives of Caribbean peoples -- also live in the northern Tropical Forest. Although Tropical Forest peoples retain much of their traditional way of life, today, they suffer from diseases brought by Europeans and from destruction of their lands by ranchers, loggers, miners, and agri-business corporations.

Southernmost South America

In Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, farming peoples such as the Mapuche of Chile, still live in villages and cultivate maize, potatoes, and grains. Although they once kept llamas, after the Spanish invasions, they began to raise cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens, and used horses for herding and for warfare. Farther south, on the Pampas, agriculture was not suitable; people lived by hunting guanacos and rheas and, on the coasts, by fishing and gathering shellfish. In Tierra del Fuego, evidence of this hunting-and-gathering life dates from 7,000 B.C. On the Pampas, hunting was transformed when the horse was obtained from the Spaniards after A.D., 1555. The Tehuelche pursued guanacos from horseback, and like the North American Plains peoples, once they had horses for transport, they enjoyed larger tepees, as well as, more clothing and other goods. Farthest south, around the Strait of Magellan, the Ona, Yahgan, and Alacaluf lacked the game animals of the Pampas; they survived principally on fish and shellfish, but also hunted seals and sea lions. Nomadic peoples, they lived in small wigwams, covered with bark or sealskins. In spite of the cold, foggy climate, they wore little clothing. Life in Tierra del Fuego appears to have changed little over 9,000 years, for no agriculture or herding is possible in the climate. The people's native to this region suffered greatly from diseases brought by Europeans, and few survive today.

Traditional Way of Life

Among the elements of the traditional ways of life of Native Americans are their social and political organization, their economic and other activities, and their religions, languages, and art.

Social and Political Organization

Social organization among Native Americans, as among peoples throughout the world, is based largely on the family. Some Native American societies emphasize the

economic cooperation of husband and wife, others, that of adult brothers and sisters. As among various other peoples, men's work has been largely separate from women's work. Women usually took responsibility for the care of young children and the home, and for the cultivation of plants, while men frequently hunted, traveled for trade, or worked as laborers.

Native American societies also parallel societies elsewhere, in that, their size and complexity are affected by the economic potential of their environment. Accordingly, the smallest societies are found in regions that are poor in food resources. Examples include the Cree, and the Athabaskan-language peoples of the Canadian Sub-arctic, the Paiute of the Nevada desert, and the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among these peoples, two or three couples and their children, often lived together, hunting, fishing, gathering plant foods, and moving camp several times a year, to take advantage of seasonal foods in different localities. During the season, when food was most available, usually summer, these small groups would gather, with several hundred people, spending a few weeks in feasting, trading, and visiting. When agriculture is possible, communities have been larger, from one or two hundred to thousands of people. In most of what is now the United States, people lived in villages and formed a loosely organized alliance with nearby villages. The alliance and each village were governed by councils; village councils usually consisted of representatives from each family, and the alliance council was made up of representatives from the villages. The council selected a man or, in some areas (especially the North American Southeast), sometimes, a woman to act as chief -- that is, to preside over the council and act as principal liaison in dealing with other groups. Often, the chief was selected from a family that trained its children for leadership. In many areas, families in the villages, were linked together in *clans* -- that is, groups believed to be descended from one ancestral couple. Clans usually owned resources such as, agricultural plots and fishing stations; they allotted these, as needed, to member families and protected their members. Similar societies became common in the Tropical Forest culture area of South America.

In pre-Columbian times in Mesoamerica and the Andes of South America, kingdoms that had hundreds of thousands of subjects and empires with millions of subjects were established. These societies were stratified, with a large lower class of farmers, miners, and craft workers; a middle class of merchants and officials; and an upper class of rulers, who maintained armies and a priesthood. In many of these states, children were educated in formal schools; most children were trained to follow their parents' occupations, but talented youth might be selected for more suitable work. Citizens

supported the state religion, although in the empires, local religious observances were sometimes permitted to coexist with the state religion. War captives and debtors often became slaves. The Inca state in Peru was tightly organized and controlled, moving persons and even whole villages around the empire to meet its needs. In Mesoamerican kingdoms, on the other hand, clan-like local groups were generally allowed limited power.

On first encountering Native American societies, Europeans frequently did not understand their organizations, which differed in various ways from European types of social organization; subsequently, the native organization was modified by the British and Spanish conquerors. In North America, Europeans failed to recognize the respect and power accorded to women of the Iroquois, Creek, and a number of other peoples. Among the Iroquois, for example, women made the final decisions in major areas of government. In California, Europeans, who saw the local upper class living in thatch houses and wearing little clothing, failed to understand that the region's native communities had different social classes and highly organized ownership of property. Many descriptions of indigenous societies were written after wars between Europeans and Native Americans and epidemics of diseases brought by Europeans, had severely reduced native populations and disrupted their societies. Other accounts were written with a particular bias, to support an author's ideas of how humans ought to live. Thus, many false stereotypes of Native Americans and their societies became common.

Food

Since at least 2,000 B.C., most Native Americans have lived by agriculture. Maize was the most common grain, but certain grain-like plants were also popular, notably amaranth in Mesoamerica and quinoa in the Andes. Several varieties of beans and squash were grown alongside maize; many varieties of potato were cultivated in the Andes; and manioc, a tropical tuber, was raised in the Tropical Forest area of South America. All these plants, as well as peanuts, chili peppers, cotton, *cacao* (chocolate), avocados, and many others, were domesticated and developed as crops by Native Americans.

Livestock was less important to Native Americans than to peoples on other continents. In the Andes, guinea pigs were bred for meat and llamas for transport and meat, and in Mesoamerica, turkeys were domesticated. Protein was often obtained from plants, especially beans. Maize-growing peoples obtained calcium by soaking maize in a lime

solution as a step in preparing it to eat. Throughout the Americas, additional protein was obtained from fish and game animals, especially deer. Outside Meso-america and the Andes, in many Native American communities, game ranges were regularly burned to improve pasture, thereby maintaining favorable conditions for deer and, on the Plains, for bison. In Mesoamerica and Peru, land was too valuable to pasture animals; instead, land was cultivated, intensively irrigated, and, in mountain regions, terraced.

Hunting and fishing techniques were highly developed by Native Americans, particularly in regions not suited to agriculture. Traps of all kinds were common. Plains peoples relied on corrals hidden under bluffs or in ravines; herds of bison were driven into the corrals, where they were easily slaughtered. Inuit and Sub-arctic groups drove caribou into corrals, or they ambushed them in mountain passes or river fords. Guanacos were similarly hunted in the South American Pampas. Fish were usually taken in nets or *weir* traps (where a fence or enclosure is set in a waterway to catch fish), except in the Northwest Pacific Coast area, where tons of salmon could be speared at the river rapids.

Techniques of food preparation have varied according to the type of food and the culture area. In maize-growing regions, tortillas remain common, as does a similar flat bread of manioc flour in the Tropical Forest. Techniques of drying foods, including meats, have always been important. In pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica and the Andes, nobles indulged in elaborate feasts of richly prepared dishes.

Clothing and Adornment

In their traditional clothing, Native Americans differed from Europeans, in that, they placed less importance on completely covering the body. The peoples of warm climates, in California and the Tropical Forest, for example, often did not bother with much clothing, except at festivals; then they adorned themselves with flowers and paint, and often, with intricate feather headdresses. In Mesoamerica and Peru, men wore a breechcloth and a cloak knotted over one shoulder, and women wore a skirt and a loose blouse; these garments were woven of cotton or, in Peru, sometimes of fine *vicuna*, (a relative of the llama) wool. North American hunting peoples made garments of well-tanned deer, elk, or caribou skin; a common style was a tunic, longer for women than for men, with detachable sleeves and leggings. Northwest Pacific Coast peoples wore rain cloaks of woven cedar fiber. In the Arctic, the Inuit, and Aleuts wore parkas, pants, and boots of caribou or, when needed, of waterproof fish skin. Except in Canada and

Alaska, where parkas and coats were worn, Native Americans in cold weather, usually wrapped themselves in robes, cloaks, or ponchos.

Housing and Construction

Modes of shelter, like food, show adaptation to environment. Some houses that appear simple, such as the Inuit, *iglu*, or the Florida Seminole *chikee*, are quite sophisticated: The *iglu* (Inuit for “house”), usually made of hide or sod over a wood or whale-bone frame, is a dome with a sunken entrance that traps heat indoors, but allows ventilation; the *chikee*, naturally air-conditioned, consists of a thatch roof over an open platform. The tepee of the Plains peoples constitutes efficient housing for people who must move camp to hunt; tepees are easily portable and quickly erected or taken down, and an inner liner hung, from midway up the tepee, allows ventilation without drafts, so that the enclosed space is comfortable, even in winter.

Some peoples in cold climates that were well supplied with wood, such as the peoples of Tierra del Fuego and the Sub-arctic Athabascan-language peoples, relied on windbreaks with good fires in front, rather than on tents. Many other peoples, including some Athabascan tribes, as well as Inuit, Californians, Intermountain peoples, and early South-westerne’s, spent cold weather in dome-shaped houses that were sunk well into the ground for insulation. Plains farming peoples, including the Pawnee and Mandan, built aboveground dome houses insulated with earth applied over pole frames.

The Navajo *hogan*, a round log-house banked with earth, is similar.

Mesoamerican and Andean peoples constructed buildings of stone and cement, as well as, of wood, and adobe. Public buildings and the houses of the upper class were usually built on raised-earth platforms, with a larger number of rooms arranged around atria and courtyards. In cities and in the Pueblo towns of the Southwest, multi-storied apartment blocks were built.

Trade and Transportation

To all Native Americans, trade was an important economic activity. The early empire of Teotihuacan in Mexico was founded on the manufacture and export of blades of

obsidian, a natural volcanic glass, that made the best stone knives. Several centuries later, the Aztecs organized their conquests by sending merchants into other kingdoms to develop trade, act as spies, and help plan conquest, if the foreign ruler failed to give favorable terms to Aztec trade. In the Inca Empire, excellent highways were built over difficult mountain terrain in order to move quantities of local specialty products in pack trains of llamas. Trade was also conducted, by sea, along South America and around Mexico and the Caribbean. Much sea trade was carried in large sailing rafts or, in the Caribbean, in canoes made from huge logs. Trade goods in Mesoamerica and the Andes included foodstuffs, manufactured items such as cloth, knives, and pottery, and luxuries such as jewelry, brilliant tropical bird feathers, and chocolate. Both medicinal and hallucinogenic drugs were widely traded. Goods were bought and sold in large open markets in towns and cities.

Outside the kingdoms of Mesoamerica and the Andes, trade was often carried on by traveling parties, who were received in each village by its chief, who supervised business, as the people gathered around the trader. In many areas, including California and the Eastern Woodlands, small shells or shell beads -- called wampum in the Eastern Woodlands -- were used as money. Because traders carried their goods on their backs or in canoes, trade goods were usually relatively light, small items. Furs and bright-colored feathers were valued in trade nearly everywhere. In western North America, dried salmon, fish oil, and fine baskets were major trade products, and in eastern North America, expertly tanned deer hides, copper, catlinite pipe-bowl stone, pearls, and conch shells were widely traded.

Recreation and Entertainment

The games and other recreational activities of Native Americans have had much in common with those of peoples elsewhere. Children traditionally played with dolls and with miniature figures and implements, imitating adult activities; in groups, they played tag, the one who was "it" often pretending to be a jaguar or similar animal. Youths and adults played games with balls -- rubber balls in Meso-america and northern South America, hide or fiber balls, elsewhere. The Mesoamerican ballgame called, *tlatctli*, was somewhat similar to basketball, in that, it was played in a rectangular court and had the goal of knocking a hard ball through a stone hoop high on the court wall; players, however, were not allowed to use their hands, but only body parts, such as the hips and knees. In Mesoamerica, these ballgames often were seen, as rituals of cosmic significance. Lacrosse was popular in the eastern region of North America, and eventually, was adopted by European settlers. In southern South America, a game was

played that resembled field hockey. *Chunkey*, a kind of bowling with a stone disk instead of a ball, was a favorite in the Midwest. *Hoop-and-pole*, in which players throw sticks at a rolling hoop, was played throughout most of the Americas.

Guessing games, with the players trying to guess where a token piece is hidden, continue to be popular among the Native Americans of North America, but are not common in South America; players usually sing and beat a rhythm, trying to confuse their opponents. In both, North and South America, games of chance, using dice are still played, and the Aztecs of earlier times, had a board game, similar to the modern game of Parcheesi.

Competitions -- in foot racing, wrestling, archery, and, after the Spanish invasions, horse racing -- were generally popular, as were variants of *snow snake*, in which a symbolic string figure is constructed on the player's fingers, and the use of tops and swings.

Religion and Folklore

Native American religious beliefs and practices display great diversity. As among other peoples, educated and philosophical persons may hold beliefs that differ from those of most people, living in the same community; this was also true in the past.

The Mexican and Andean nations, the peoples of the North American Southwest and Southeast, and some Northwest Pacific Coast peoples, had full-time religious leaders, as well as, shrines or temple buildings. Peoples of other areas, had part-time priests and generally, lacked permanent temples. Part-time priests and shamans (faith healers, who often also used medicinal plants to cure) learned to conduct ceremonies by apprenticing themselves to older practitioners; in the larger nations, priests were trained in schools attached to the temples. In some regions, religious leaders formed fraternal orders to train initiates and share knowledge; examples include the Ojibwa of the Eastern Woodlands and the Pawnee of the Plains.

Most Native Americans believe, that in the universe, there exists an Almighty -- a spiritual force, that, is the source of all life. The Almighty of Native American belief is not pictured as a man in the sky; rather, it is believed to be formless and to exist throughout

the universe. The sun is viewed as a manifestation of the power of the Almighty, and Europeans, often thought Native Americans, were worshipping the sun, when, in fact, they were addressing prayers to the Almighty, of which, the sun was a sign and symbol.

In many areas of the Americas, the Almighty was recognized in several aspects: as light and life-power, focused in the sun; as fertility and strength, centered in the earth; as wisdom and the power of earthly rulers, observed in creatures such as the jaguar, the bear, or snakes. In most places in the Americas, religious devotees, enhanced their ability to perceive aspects of the Almighty, sometimes by using hallucinogenic plants, or sometimes by fasting and singing prayers, until they achieved a spiritual vision. In northern and western North America, most boys and many girls were sent out alone to fast and pray until they thought they saw a spirit that promised to help them achieve the power to succeed in adult life. Shamans among the Inuit, along the Northwest Coast, in South America, and in some other areas, went into trances, believing that their souls could then battle evil spirits or search the earth for the wandering souls of sick patients.

Most Native American peoples have myths, in which a time is described, when the earth was not as it now appears, and during which, it became transformed by the actions of legendary persons, or animals, who spoke with humans. Unlike many Europeans, Native Americans, tend not to consider humans entirely different from animals and plants; instead, they often believe that other beings are like humans and that all are dependent on the life-giving power of the Almighty. Some Native American myths, such as the myth of Lone Man (of the Plains people known as the Mandan), describe a wise leader, who teaches the arts of life to the people; others, such as the California-Intermountain myths about Coyote, describe foolishly clever antics.

Native Americans, generally, have shown less interest in an afterlife than have Christians. Native Americans have traditionally tended to assume that the souls of the dead go to another part of the universe, where they have a pleasant existence carrying on everyday activities. Souls of unhappy or evil persons might stay around their former homes, causing misfortunes. Many Native American peoples have celebrated an annual memorial service for deceased relatives; in Latin America, this observance later became fused with the Christian All Souls' Day.

Both private prayer and public rituals are common among Native Americans. Individuals regularly give thanks to the Almighty; communities gather for symbolic dances, processions, and feasts. The Sun Dance of the Plains peoples, is an annual summer assembly, at which, a thousand or more people meet to fast and pray together, praising and beseeching the blessings of the Almighty. The Pueblos of the Southwest, like the Iroquois of the Eastern Woodlands, continue to observe a yearly cycle of festivals: In spring, they pray for good crops; in autumn, they celebrate the harvests. Various tribes used certain ritual objects (such as the long-stemmed pipe used by priests in North America, to blow tobacco-smoke incense) to symbolize the power of the Almighty; when displayed, these objects reminded people to cease quarrels and remember moral obligations.

The folktales of Native Americans, as well as their myths, frequently express ideas about the nature of humans, other creatures, and the universe. Among the Mexican nations, detailed historical records are maintained; elsewhere, in general, no sharp distinction was drawn between history and legend. Many Native American folktales are fables, pointing out a moral; others are simply exciting or amusing stories. Translations of Native American stories and myths -- like descriptions of native religious beliefs and ceremonies -- seldom capture the full Native American meaning; a non-native reader is rarely aware of the background of ideas that native listeners bring to a story or ceremony.

Warfare

The common stereotype that Native Americans were extremely war-like, arose because, when Europeans first came into contact with them, the Native Americans were usually defending their homelands, either against European invaders or against other native peoples supported by European invaders. Archaeological evidence of fortifications, destroyed towns, and people killed in battle indicates, however, that wars between Native American groups, did take place before the European invasions.

Most Native Americans fought in small groups, relying on surprise to give them victory. The large nations of Mexico and Peru sometimes relied on surprise attacks by armies, but their soldiers also fought in disciplined ranks. The Aztecs fought formal battles called, "flower wars" with neighboring peoples; the purpose was to capture men for sacrifice (the Aztecs believed that the sun would weaken if it were not fed with human blood). Other native peoples, including many in present United States territory,

conducted war raids to obtain captives, but these captives were used as slaves, rather than as victims for sacrifice. Some Native American battles were fought for revenge. The most common cause of war between Native American groups was probably to defend or enlarge tribal territory.

Before the Spanish colonizations, warfare was conducted on foot or from canoes. Both the Mexican and the Andean nations, as well as smaller Native American groups, employed hand-to-hand combat with clubs, battle-axes, and daggers, as well as close-range combat with javelins hurled with great force from spear-thrower boards (known as *atlatls*). Bows and arrows were used in attacks, and fire arrows were used against thatched-house villages. When the Spanish brought riding horses to the New World, native peoples, in both, North and South America, developed techniques of raiding from horseback.

Languages

About a thousand distinct languages are presently spoken by native peoples in North and South America, and hundreds more have become extinct since first European contact. In many areas, among them the Intermountain and Plateau regions of North America, people often spoke, not only, their native language, but also the languages of groups with whom they had frequent contact. In various cases, one language served as a common language for a multi-lingual region; examples include Tucano (western Amazon area) and Quechua (Andean region). Some regions had a traders' language or pidgin, a simplified language or mixture of several languages, helpful to traders of different native languages; among these were Chinook Jargon (Pacific Coast, North America), Mobilian (United States, Southeast), and *lingua geral* (Brazil). Linguists have grouped many of the Native American languages into roughly 180 families, but many other languages have no known relatives; scholars differ in proposing more distant relationships among families. Grammatical traits, sound systems, and word formation often vary from family to family, but families in a given region often influence one another.

Crafts and the Arts

Distinctive craft needs and artistic styles characterize each culture area of the Americas. Nearly all the major technologies known in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the 16th century were known also to Na-

tive Americans before European contact, but these technologies were not always used in the same way. For example, although the Andean nations had superb metallurgists, they made few metal tools (people used stone tools for most tasks); instead they applied their skills to creating magnificent ornaments. In architecture, the Maya, built a few true (known as keystone) arches, but for roofing their buildings, Mayan architects preferred not the true arch, but the narrow corbelled vault.

Stonework

The earliest American art known to archaeologists is *flint knapping*, or the chipping of stone. Between about 9,000 and 6,000 B.C., stone spear and dart points of sharp beauty, such as the Folsom and Eden points, were produced with great skill. Although flint knapping eventually declined somewhat in other culture areas, in Mesoamerica, the art of chipping flint and, especially, obsidian, continued to be highly prized. In the Late Archaic period, after 3,000 B.C., the pecking and grinding (rather than chipping) of stone developed into art. In the region that is now the eastern United States, lovely small

sculptures, particularly of birds, were made as weights for spear-thrower boards. Between about 1500 and 400 B.C., in Mesoamerica, the Olmec, made small ornaments of semi-precious stones, as well as fine naturalistic and in-the-round stone sculptures that were close to or larger than life size. Jade was a favorite stone of the Olmec, and it continued to be carved throughout Mesoamerican pre-history.

Northwest Coast Haida carvings in argillite and recent Inuit soapstone carvings are examples of the continuing expression of Native American art through stone.

In architecture, the pre-Hispanic Andean nations developed stone masonry to a high degree, fitting smoothed stone blocks together so expertly that no mortar was needed for walls that have stood for more than a thousand years. The Mesoamerican peoples also built in stone, and they preferred to cover their buildings in Stucco plaster and adorn them with murals.

Pottery

The earliest pottery in the Americas was made about 3500 B.C. By 2,000 B.C., several known styles of ceramics had emerged, and in the wares of the following centuries, everyday, cooking pottery can be distinguished from fine serving pieces. Among

outstanding styles are the Mayan vessels painted with scenes of royalty and mythology; the molded vessels of the Moche culture of Peru, reproducing objects and scenes from daily life, as well as images from mythology; and the pottery of the Pueblos of the Southwest culture area, painted in geometric or stylized naturalistic designs.

Basketry

Ever since its beginnings as an Archaic-period, art form in the Americas (by about 8,000 B.C., or perhaps, earlier), basketry continued to develop, reaching its finest levels of achievement in western North America. There, baskets became a true art form, prized as objects of wealth, when of highest quality. In most parts of the Americas, several basketry techniques were known, among them, weaving, twining, and coiling; decorative techniques included embroidery and the use of bright feathers, shells, and beads.

Weaving

Throughout the Americas, weaving of one kind or another was practiced, but the craft reached its highest development in the Andean nations. In ancient South America, twining seems to have been in use earlier than true weaving, and this early technique continued in use, in both, North and South America for bags, belts, and other items. Almost as widespread as twining, was the use of the *backstrap* loom, in which the tension on the threads is maintained as the weaver leans against a strap attached to the lower ends of the warp threads (the upper ends are attached to a hanging bar). On this simple loom, a skilled weaver can make extremely fine, although narrow, textiles. *Heddle* looms appeared in Peru after about 2,000 B.C., allowing wider cloth to be woven (a heddle is a mechanism that raises and lowers the warp threads in the pattern required). Peruvian weavers, using cotton, as well as, llama and vicuna wool produced some of the finest textiles known, from filmy gauzes to double-faced brocades. Into their fabrics, Native American weavers, sometimes wove feathers or ornaments of precious metal, shell, or beads. The Aztec emperor and the Inca, wore cloaks completely covered by brilliant feathers of rare birds, or by gold.

Metalworking

In North America, in the upper Midwest, copper had been beaten into knives, awls, and other tools, in the Late Archaic period (around 2,000 B.C.), and since that time, it had been used for small tools and ornaments. The use of copper in this region, however,

was not true metallurgy, because the metal was hammered from pure deposits, rather than smelted from ore. The earliest metallurgy in the Americas, was practiced in Peru about 900 B.C., and this technology spread into Mesoamerica, probably from South America, after about A.D., 900. Over the intervening centuries, a variety of techniques developed, among them, alloying, gilding, casting, the lost-wax process, soldering, and filigree work. Iron was never smelted, but bronze came into use after about A.D., 1,000. Thus, copper and, much later, bronze were the metals used when metal tools were made; more effort, however, was put into developing the working of precious metals -- gold and silver -- than into making tools.

The best-known recent Native American metalwork, is that of Navajo and Hopi silversmiths; their craft began when they adopted Mexican silver-working techniques in the mid-19th century.

Work in Other Materials

Among hunting peoples leather was used extensively for clothing, tents, shields, and containers (quivers, baby carriers, food storage, sheaths, ritual paraphernalia). In North America, leather clothing was often, embroidered with dyed porcupine quills. After European trade began, quill embroidery gave way to decoration with glass beads. Native Americans in eastern North America, copied embroidery designs of the French, and they substituted, silk threads for quills and moose hair.

Wood carving was a widespread craft among Native Americans. The peoples of the Northwest Pacific Coast, developed a truly distinctive art style in their wood carvings, with variations, from tribe to tribe; the most famous examples of this style are its *totem poles*, tall logs carved and painted to represent the noted ancestors of a clan and figures from mythology.

Bark was employed in several Native American crafts. In northeastern North America, it was used for roofing, canoes, and containers; along the Northwest Coast, shredded cedar bark was woven into rain capes and ornaments; in South America, bark was beaten in a felting process into a kind of cloth; and in Mexico, bark pulp was made into paper.

Among Southwestern peoples such as the Navajo, Pueblo, and Yumans, pollen, pulverized charcoal, and sandstone, and other colored powdery materials are distributed over a ground of sand to create symbolic sand paintings that are used in healing rites and then destroyed. In the 20th century, a number of Native American artists in Canada and the United States have adopted tempera, watercolor, and oil painting, using both traditional imagery and modern Western styles. The peoples of the Northwest Coast and the Inuit, have also adapted traditional pictorial styles to printmaking.

Music and Dance

In North America, six distinctive musical styles or regions have been recognized: Inuit and Northwest Coast; California and nearby Arizona; the Great Basin; Athabascan; Plains, and Pueblo; and Eastern Woodland. The music of northern Mexico has much in common with that of western Arizona; farther south, however, in the regions of the Mesoamerican and Andean civilizations, complex musical cultures existed. Little information has been preserved about the music of these civilizations, and whatever remains of the original styles survived the Spanish conquest principally in the form of highly complex and varied blends of native and assimilated Spanish elements. Elsewhere in South America, the music of the native peoples, like that of North America, was relatively insulated from non-native influence; the South American music, however, has been less extensively studied than that of North America.

Instruments and Vocal Styles

Among the persisting native musical styles of the Americas, singing is the dominant form of musical expression, with instrumental music, serving primarily, as rhythmic accompaniment. Exceptions occur, notably the North American love songs played by men on flutes. The native peoples of South America tend to use a softer singing voice than those of North America, whereas, a tense vocal production is characteristic east of the Rocky Mountains.

Throughout the Americas, the principal instruments have been drums and rattles (shaken in the hand or worn on the body), as well as flutes and whistles. In Mesoamerica and the Andes, greater variety exists. Besides rattles and drums, the pre-Hispanic ensembles of the Aztecs are known to have included double and triple flutes; trumpets played in harmony in pairs; rasps; and the slit-drum (known as the *teponaztli*, a resonant, carved hollowed log struck with a stick). In Panama and the Andes,

panpipes continue to be played in harmony. Instruments have often had ritual or religious significance; among some Brazilian tribes, for example, women must not view the men's flutes. In North America, the tambourine like frame drum, and in South America, the maraca rattle, were frequently played by shamans.

Inuit and Northwest Pacific Coast

The Inuit and the peoples of the Northwest Pacific Coast use more complex rhythms than are common elsewhere in North America, and on the Northwest Pacific Coast, songs may have more complex musical forms and may use exceptionally small melodic intervals (a semi-tone or smaller). Northwest Pacific Coast dance dramas are lengthy, elaborate productions with magnificent costumes and tricky props, and the songs for these dramas are carefully taught and rehearsed. Inuit dance and costumes are simpler, possibly because their communities are smaller, and the dances often feature men using the forceful movements of harpooning while women sing accompaniment.

California and the Great Basin

The singing of the Native Americans of California and the Great Basin is produced by a more relaxed throat than that of other North American musical areas. The melodies and texts, however, are like those found elsewhere in North America, in that, the songs are short (although they may be repeated or combined into series) and the texts, are often, brief sentences. Such texts tend to refer to myths, events, or emotions, rather than telling stories, and sections of text may alternate with song sections sung to meaningless syllables. Listeners must know the background to appreciate the poetry and meaning of a song. Both social dances and costumed ritual dances are found in the Great Basin and in California, where they are more elaborate. Some California (and western Arizona, particularly Yuman) music is characterized by a rise in pitch in the middle section of a song. Songs of the Great Basin often have structure consisting of paired phrases.

Athabascan Music

The music of the Athabascan peoples -- those of northwestern Canada and Alaska, as well as, the Navajo and Apache of the Southwest -- is characterized by melodies that have a wide range and an arc-shaped contour, and by frequent changes in meter; falsetto singing is prized. Costumed ritual dances are unusual, except among the Apache, who, like the Navajo, have been influenced by the Pueblos. Much Navajo

music belongs to healing rituals designed to restore patients to harmony by seating them in beautiful sand paintings while they listen to poetic songs.

Plains and Pueblo Music

The music of the Great Plains is the best known of the Native American styles of North America and is the source of the musical styles heard at present-day *powwows* (social gatherings, often inter-tribal, featuring Native American dancing). Singing, is in a tense, pulsating, forceful style; men's voices are preferred, although a high range and falsetto are valued. Melodic ranges are wide, and the typical melodic contour is terrace-shaped -- beginning high, and descending, as the song progresses. Plains music is often produced by a group of men sitting around a large double-headed drum, singing in unison and drumming with drumsticks (at powwows, the group itself is called a drum). In Plains dancing, men usually dance solo with bent body (several may dance at once, independently), but there are also ritual dances with symbolic steps and social round dances for couples. The Pueblos add some lower-voiced music; they make more use of chorus, and they perform elaborate costumed ritual dances (often with clowns that entertain between serious dances).

Eastern Woodland Styles

Eastern Woodland music resembles Plains music, but it tends to have narrower melodic ranges, and Eastern singing makes use of *polyphony* (multi-part music) as well as, forms that are *antiphonal* (with alternating choruses) and *responsorial* (with alternating solo and chorus). Dances include men's solos, as well as, ritual dances and social round dances. In the Stomp Dance of the Southeast, a snake-like line of dancers follows a leader, who calls out in song, and is answered by the followers.

Mexico and the Andes

Almost no archaeological evidence exists for prehistoric music in the Americas; all that is known from pre-Hispanic civilizations is a few preserved instruments (such as panpipes and ocarinas in Peru) and painted or carved scenes of musicians and dancers. In Mexico and Peru, at the point of European contact, the nobles and the temples personnel, maintained professional performers. In Mexico, officials organized rituals for each month, with hundreds of richly costumed, carefully rehearsed dancers and musicians. Responsorial singing was practiced; sophisticated scales and chords were apparently used, and compositions seem to have been formally structured, with

variety in melody and in combinations of meters. Secular dramas, with professional actors, were also produced, and bards, composed epics. The harps, fiddles, and guitars found in the Native American music of present-day Mexico and Peru, were adopted from the Spanish.

Other South American Areas

Elsewhere in South America, indigenous music was relatively unaffected by European music. The *pentatonic* (five-note) scale of the Incas, spread to some other regions, but earlier scales of three or four notes, also survived. Polyphonic singing, characterized by various voices and melodies, developed in some areas, notably in Patagonia. Flutes are still sometimes played in harmony, and the music of some Tropical Forest peoples is often a complex combination of voices, percussion, and flutes.

European Contact and Impact

As early Europeans first stepped ashore, in what they considered, the “New World” -- whether in San Salvador (West Indies), Roanoke Island (North Carolina), or Chaleur Bay (New Brunswick) -- they usually were welcomed by the peoples indigenous to the Americas. Native Americans seemed to regard their lighter-complexioned visitors as something of a marvel, not only for their dress, beards, and winged ships, but even more for their technology -- steel knives and swords, fire-belching *arquebus* (a portable firearm of the 15th and 16th centuries) and cannon, mirrors, hawkbells and earrings, copper and brass kettles, and other items unusual to the way of life of Native Americans.

Initial Reaction to Europeans

Nonetheless, Native Americans soon recognized that the Europeans themselves were very human. Indeed, early records show that 16th- and 17th- century Native Americans, very often, regarded Europeans as rather despicable specimens. White Europeans, for instance, were frequently accused of being stingy with their wealth and avaricious in the insatiable desire for beaver furs and deer hides. Likewise, Native Americans were surprised at European intolerance for native religious beliefs, sexual and marital arrangements, eating habits, and other customs. At the same time, Native Americans became perplexed, when Europeans built permanent structures of wood and stone, thus, precluding movement. Even village-and town-dwelling native Americans were used to relocating when local game, fish, and especially, firewood gave out.

To many Native Americans, the Europeans appeared to be oblivious to the rhythms and spirit of nature. Nature to the Europeans seemed to be an obstacle, even an enemy. It was also a commodity: A forest was so many board feet of timber, a beaver colony so many pelts, a herd of buffalo so many robes and tongues. Some Europeans perceived the Native Americans themselves as a resource -- souls ripe for religious conversion, or a plentiful supply of labor. Europeans, in sum, were regarded as somewhat mechanical -- soulless creatures, who wielded ingenious tools and weapons to accomplish their ends.

Relations with the Colonial Powers

“We came here to serve God, and also to get rich,” announced a member of the entourage of Spanish explorer and conqueror, Hernan Cortes. Both agendas of 16th-century Spaniards, the commercial and the religious, needed the Native Americans, themselves, in order to be successful. The Spanish conquistadors and other adventurers wanted the land and labor of the Native Americans; the priests and friars laid claim to their souls. Ultimately, both programs were destructive to many indigenous peoples of the Americas. The first robbed them of their freedom and, in many cases, their lives; the second deprived them of their culture.

Contrary to many stereotypes, however many 16th-century Spaniards agonized over the ethics of conquest. Important Spanish jurists and humanists argued, at length, over the legality of depriving the Native Americans of their land and coercing them to submit to Spanish authority. For the Native Americans, however, these ethical debates did little good.

The situation for Native Americans was considerably less destructive in Canada, where French commercial interests centered on the fur trade. Many of the indigenous peoples were vital suppliers of beaver, otter, muskrat, mink, and other valuable pelts. It would have been ruinous for the French to have mistreated such useful business partners. It was also unnecessary, as the lure of trade goods was sufficient incentive for the native hunters, to transport the pelts to Montreal, Trois-Rivieres, and Quebec.

Another factor, favoring the relative independence of the indigenous peoples of Canada, was the French need for allies in their wars with the British -- both to the south, in the

thirteen colonies, and to the north, on the shores of Hudson Bay. Both the French and British employed Native Americans as auxiliaries in their wars.

While the French tended to regard the indigenous peoples as equals and intermarriage as acceptable, the English were not so inclined. English scorn for Native Americans, no doubt, derived in large measure from the tensions and friction generated by the English desire to acquire more and more land. Unlike the French in Canada, the English settled the Atlantic seaboard of the present-day United States, on a relatively massive scale, and in the process, displaced many more Native Americans. Moreover, Native Americans were not considered nearly as important to the English economy as they were to the French. The result was, that the English generally viewed them as an obstacle to progress, and a nuisance -- except when war with France threatened; at such times, the English attempted to purchase the support or neutrality of the indigenous peoples with outlays of gifts.

The Ravages of Disease

In 1492, the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and Andean South America were among the most densely populated regions of the hemisphere. Yet, within a span of several generations, each experienced a cataclysmic population decline. The culprit, to a large extent, was microbial infection: European-brought diseases such as smallpox, pulmonary ailments, and gastrointestinal disorders, all of which, had been unknown in the Americas during the pre-Columbian period. Native Americans were immunologically vulnerable to this invisible conqueror.

The destruction was especially visible in Latin America, where great masses of susceptible individuals were congregated in cities such as Tenochtitlan and Cuzco, not to mention the innumerable towns and villages dotting the countryside. More than anything else, it was the appalling magnitude of these deaths, from disease, that prompted the vigorous Spanish debate over the morality of conquest.

As the indigenous population in the Caribbean plummeted, Spaniards resorted to slave raids on the mainland, of what is now, Florida, to bolster the work force. When the time came that this, too, proved insufficient, they took to importing West Africans to work the cane fields and silver mines.

Those Native Americans, who did survive, were often assigned, as an entire village or community, to a planter or mine operator, to whom, they would owe all their services. The *encomienda* system, as it came to be known, amounted to virtual slavery. This, too, broke the spirit and health of the indigenous peoples, making them all the more vulnerable to the diseases brought by the Europeans.

Death from microbial infection was probably not as extensive in the Canadian forest, where most of the indigenous peoples lived as migratory hunter-gatherers. Village farmers, such as the Huron, north of Lake Ontario, did, however, suffer serious depopulation in waves of epidemics that may have been triggered by Jesuit priests and their lay assistants, who had established missions in the area.

Wars and Enforced Migrations

Without a doubt, the indigenous peoples of Canada suffered fewer dislocations than did the indigenous peoples of Latin or English America. This can be partly explained by the nature of the fur trade, which militated against settlement; the idea was to maintain the wilderness so that fur-bearing animals would continue to flourish. Furthermore, French settlement in Canada was restricted to a thin line of *seigneuries* (large tracts of land) and villages along the banks of the Saint Lawrence and lower Ottawa rivers. This demographic and commercial legacy continues to be felt in present-day Canada, where numerous indigenous groups may be found living in a more or less traditional manner, at least for part of the year.

In contrast, English-Native American relations in the 17th and 18th centuries were marked by a series of particularly vicious wars won by the English. The English exercised the mandate of victory to insist that the Native Americans submit to English sovereignty and either confine their activities to strictly delimited tracts of land near areas of English settlement or move out beyond the frontier.

Disease was also a grim factor in the American colonies, where the majority of the Eastern Woodlands people lived as village farmers. Severely affected by smallpox and war and harassed by settlers, many of the peoples indigenous to the eastern coastal areas gathered together their remnants and sought refuge west of the Appalachians.

Relations with the United States

One of the problems confronting the young United States, was what to do with Native American peoples, particularly those in the Old Northwest (today called the Midwest) and South. The Treaty of Paris (1783), which formally ended the American Revolution, had made no mention of the country's indigenous peoples, reflecting Great Britain's ambiguous jurisdiction over them. The United States would have to chart its own course, which it did, in Article I, Section 8, of its Constitution: "The Congress shall have Power... To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." This was the law, from which, more than 200 years of federal legislation and programs would derive.

In the closing years of the 18th century, many of these "new" Americans, were migrating in search of land across the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge into the Ohio Valley, Kentucky, and Tennessee -- areas where various Native American nations were still intact and strong. Once there, many of these migrants squatted on Native American land, with the predictable result: war. A series of battles culminated in 1794, in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northwestern Ohio, won by the forces of American General, Anthony Wayne, it was followed, a year later, by the forced Treaty of Greenville, establishing a definite boundary between what was designated, "Indian Territory" and white settlement.

The Trade and Intercourse Acts

There were difficult years for the fledgling government of the United States. Dominated by easterners, who were far removed from the brutality and anxieties of the trans-Appalachian frontier, the Congress of the United States, was interested in pursuing a just and humane policy toward Native Americans. This was the rationale behind the passage of the Trade and Intercourse Acts, a series of programs, at the turn of the century, aimed at reducing fraud and other abuses in commerce with Native Americans. In practice, Congress sought to extinguish Native American titles to lands through peaceful negotiation before white settlement.

However, Washington policymakers and eastern humanitarians could not control the frontier. To many frontier dwellers in Kentucky or Ohio, the indigenous peoples needed to be exterminated. Providence, they believed, had ordained, that Anglo-Saxon stock should push west until it could go no farther. It was "progress" to dispossess the Native

Americans of their land, which in the eyes of these new settlers, had lain idle, for millennia. The settlers would break the soil and use it.

Native Americans, were thus regarded, as an anachronism -- irreclaimable “children of the forest,” by some, particularly those west of the Appalachians, and redeemable “savages,” by many eastern philanthropists and humanitarians. It was the latter group, which included President, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), that sought to incorporate the indigenous peoples into the mainstream of U.S., society, by means of an ambitious, largely Church-operated, educational program. The goal was to convey the virtues of the independent yeoman farmer to the tribes people, in the hope that they would emulate them. By the 1820’s, however, even the staunchest defenders of this program, were admitting defeat.

The Removal Act

The Indian Removal Act was passed in May 1830; it empowered the President of the United States, to move eastern Native Americans, west of the Mississippi, to what was then “Indian Territory” (now, essentially, Oklahoma). Although it was supposed to be voluntary, removal became mandatory whenever the federal government felt it necessary. The memory of these brutal forced marches of Native Americans, sometimes in the dead of winter, remained vivid for years to come in the minds of those who survived. To many in the North, where support for the removal idea was, at best, tepid, the Indian Removal Act, represented another outrage, committed by slaveholding southerners. Removal would be another wedge, separating the North from the South.

By mid-century, as it became clear, that U.S., expansion was going to claim the trans-Mississippi West as well, the removal concept was further refined into the concept of “reservations.” As wagon trains clattered west along the Oregon, Santa Fe, Mormon, and California trails, entering the American Great Plains, United States government officials concluded that the vast, unspecified tracts of “Indian Territory,” would have to be more sharply defined as reservations. And when resident peoples sought to thwart that westward expansion, the same Washington officials decided that these peoples were to be rounded up by the U.S. Army, and restricted to these reservations, by force. That, in essence, was the point of the Plains Indian Wars, which raged during the last half of the 19th century, ending with the slaughter of Sioux men, women, and children, as well as the soldiers of the U.S. 7th Cavalry, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, shortly after December 25, 1890.

The Allotment Act

By 1890, Americans had migrated all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The frontier era had ended. Well before that date, however, it had become clear to many, that a new policy had to be adopted toward Native Americans, whose dwindling numbers seemed to threaten extinction. Congress began moving in this direction in 1871, when it unilaterally decided to abandon the treaty process and legislate on the behalf of Native Americans. Whereas, a century before, they had functioned as sovereign nations, Native Americans were now wards of the United States government.

The new plan, to rescue Native Americans from extinction, called for an aggressive assault on tribalism, by parceling out, communally owned reservation land on a *severalty* (individual) basis. The plan, called the Dawes Act (or General Allotment Act), went into effect in 1887. Hundreds of thousands of acres, remaining after the individual 160-acre allotments had been made, were then sold, at bargain prices to land-hungry or land-speculating whites.

This allotment, designed to absorb the Native Americans into the society of the United States, turned out to be a monumental disaster. In addition to losing their “surplus” tribal land, many Native American families lost their allotted land as well, despite the government’s 25-year period of trusteeship. The poorest of the nation’s poor -- many of them, now landless, and the majority still resisting assimilation -- Native Americans reached their lowest population numbers, shortly after the turn of the 20th century. In June, 1924, the U.S., Congress granted these original Americans, United States citizenship.

Stereotypes of Native Americans

Many other cultures, such many people of the United States, have failed to grasp the complexity of Native American culture and society, and as a result, Native Americans, were often, dismissed as juvenile and superstitious -- in other words, as “primitive.” The “primitive Indian,” supposedly equipped with a rudimentary technology and a child’s mind, is surely the most fundamental and ancient of stereotypes of Native Americans. Those Native Americans, who were perceived to be courageous, wise, and selfless, were dubbed noble “savages.” By the early 19th century, however, these “noble savages” seemed to have disappeared, as James Fenimore Cooper, reminded readers

in, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). All that was left, or so it seemed to many white settlers, was the stereotype of the disheveled, snake-eyed, beggarly survivor, who hung around the frontier outpost -- the “drunken Indian.” By the end of the century, even the “drunken Indian,” seemed on the verge of extinction. Far from vanishing, however, the “Indian,” eventually turned up in movies, as a breech-clothed Plains warrior. Finally, in the 1960’s, as the Hollywood cliché faded, the Indian emerged as the model ecologist, hero of the ecology and counterculture movement. Flattering or unflattering, the images are all caricatures, which fail to acknowledge the depth and diversity of Native American cultures.

Native Americans in Contemporary Society

The Native American population in the United States has increased steadily in the 20th century; by 1990, the number of Native Americans, including the Aleuts and Inuits, was almost two million, or 0.8 percent of the total U.S. population. Slightly, more than one-third of these people live on reservations; about half, live in urban areas, often near the reservations. The U.S. government holds about 23 million hectares (56 million acres) in trust for 314 federally recognized tribes and groups in the form of reservations, pueblos, rancherias, and trust lands. There are 278 reservations in 35 states. The largest reservation is the Navajo (mostly in Arizona), with nearly 6.4 million hectares (16 million acres) and over 140,000 people; the smallest, is the state reservation of Golden Hill in Connecticut, with 0.1 hectare (0.25 acre) and 6 people. In Alaska, there are 48 additional tribal groups and the situation is different.

Tribal Sovereignty

The basic distinction that sets Native Americans apart from other groups of people in the United States is their historic existence as self-governing peoples, whose nationhood preceded that of the United States. As nations, they signed treaties with colonial authorities and later with the U.S., government, and today, on what remains of their former lands, they continue to function as separate governments within the federal framework.

The United States has long acknowledged a special “government-to-government” relationship with the recognized Native American groups and with the Alaskan Native Villages. Also, the United States government is deemed to have a trust relationship with Native American people, which means that the United States, in return for vast tracts of Native American lands, assumed contractual and statutory responsibilities to protect

remaining Native American lands and to promote the health, welfare, and education of Native Americans.

20th-Century U.S. Policies

In practice, the United States government, as trustee, has subjected Native Americans to bewildering policy switches, often without their consent, as new theories have gained the support of the federal government.

The Indian Reorganization Act

The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (1934) signaled the end of the “Allotment Era,” which started with the Dawes Act of 1887 and during which it had been hoped that Native Americans could be coaxed or coerced to abandon their traditional tribal ways and to assimilate into the society of the United States. Great emphasis was placed on the need to “civilize” and to teach Christianity to Native Americans. To this end, young Native American children were sent to distant government-or-Church-run boarding schools, often thousands of miles from the “detrimental” influences of their home reservations.

With the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, United States policy took a dramatic swing and acknowledged the continuing force and value of Native American tribal existence. The “Indian New Deal,” ushered in by the reform-minded Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, put an end to further allotment of lands. Native American tribes were encouraged to organize governments under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act and to adopt constitutions and by-laws, subject to the approval of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

The act, further provided, for the reacquisition of tribal lands and established preferential hiring of Native Americans within the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Native American tribes were authorized to set up business corporations for economic development, and a credit program was established to back tribal and individual enterprises.

The Termination Period

Implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act slowed considerably after the United States entered World War II in 1941, and after the war ended in 1945, a new policy was formulated -- that of terminating federal trust responsibility to Native American tribes. Whereas, earlier, the assimilationists had envisioned a time when tribal entities and reservations would disappear because of assimilation, the proponents of termination, decided the time had come to legislate them out of existence. Arguing that Native Americans should be treated exactly as all other citizens, the United States Congress resolved in 1953, to work toward the withdrawal of all federal support and responsibility for Native American affairs.

In the next two decades -- the termination period -- United States federal services were withdrawn from about 11,500 Native Americans, and federal trust protection removed from 600,000 hectares (1.5 million acres). The land was often sold and the proceeds divided among tribal members. A few years after their termination in 1961, the Menominees of Wisconsin, the largest tribe so treated, were almost totally dependent on welfare.

In 1970, United States President, Richard M. Nixon, officially repudiated termination as a policy. The need to re-evaluate United States government policy toward Native Americans, once again, became evident, as Native American activists staged public protests -- first with the occupation in 1970 of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, then with the occupation in 1972 of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and subsequently with the 71-day armed siege at Wounded Knee in 1973.

Self-determination

In the 1970's, Native American demands for greater authority over their own lives and reservations led to a new federal policy encouraging self-determination. Still in effect, this policy, in many ways, reflects the earlier goals of the Indian Reorganization Act; its most significant feature is the emphasis on tribal administration of federal programs for Native Americans, including health, education, and welfare, law enforcement, and housing. Native American tribes have increasingly resorted to federal court actions to test the extent of their jurisdiction on reservations and to assert long-ignored treaty rights to land, water, and off-reservation hunting and fishing. Congressional efforts have

also led to the return of many Native American religious sites to tribal possession, including the sacred Blue Lake of the Taos Pueblo.

The Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971, resolved long unsettled claims of that state's Inuit and Aleut population, with a cash settlement of \$962 million and 16 million hectares (40 million acres) of land. The act established 12 Native Regional Corporations and more than 200 Native Village Corporations to manage the land and money. Many observers fear that this act, might eventually result, in the loss of much land to non-natives, as did the Allotment Act of 1887. In 1988, The United States Congress passed amendments to correct flaws in the act, thus, diminishing the risk that most corporations and their land will be controlled by non-natives. The amendments do not address native sovereignty or subsistence rights. Sections of the native community continue to be concerned as to whether the amendments adequately protect long-term control of the land.

Many tribes in the eastern United States initiated land claims in the 1970's, based on an obscure law from 1790, and in 1980, the United States Congress agreed to a settlement providing three Maine tribes with 120,000 hectares (300,000 acres) and a \$27 million trust fund. The U.S., government also established a procedure, whereby tribes not recognized as such, could petition for review of their non-tribal status.

Native North Americans Today

Statistics of health, education, unemployment rates, and income levels continue to show Native Americans, as disadvantaged, compared to the general population of North America. In the 1980's, U.S., government policies have led to budget cuts for social and welfare services on the reservations. However, according to the United States Census Bureau, the Native American population in the United States, rose more than 20 percent between 1980 and 1990. Pride in Native American heritage has survived as well. On many reservations, tribal languages and religious ceremonies are enjoying renewed vigor. Traditional arts and crafts, such as Pueblo pottery and Navajo weaving, continue to be practiced, and some contemporary Native American artists of North America, such as, Fritz Scholder and R.C. Gorman, have successfully adapted European styles to their paintings and prints of Native American subjects. The strength of the Native American narrative tradition can be felt in the poetry and novels of the Native American writer, N. Scott Momaday, who won a Pulitzer Prize in fiction for his *House Made of Dawn* (1969). Other prestigious contemporary Native American writers

of North America include, Vine Deloria, best known for his indictment of U.S., policy toward Native Americans in *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) and *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974); novelists, James Welch and Leslie Marmon Silko; and William Least Heat-Moon, author of the widely, popular, *Blue Highways: A Journey into America* (1983), an account of his travels in the United States.

Native Americans of Latin America

The Native American population of Latin America is estimated at 26.3 million, of whom, 24 million live in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. Generally classified as *campesinos* (peasants), by the governments of the countries in which they live, the vast majority live in extreme poverty in remote rural areas, where they eke out a living from the land. Native American campesinos make up 55 percent of the total population of Bolivia and Guatemala. In all of Latin America, only Uruguay, has no remaining indigenous population.

Only 1.5 percent of the total Native American population of Latin America is designated as tribal, mainly in Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Many of the tribal groups live in the remote jungle environment of the Amazon Basin, where they subsist by hunting, fishing, and gathering manioc and other roots. Current Brazillian expansion, into the Amazon, however, threatens the physical and cultural survival of the Amazon tribes, as diseases brought by outsiders decimate the indigenous populations, and mineral exploration and highway construction destroy tribal hunting grounds. The largest un-aculturated Brazillian tribe today, is the Yanomamo, numbering more than 16,000 people, for whom, the Brazillian government plans to create a special park, where they may be protected. Anthropologists estimate, however, that the Yanomamo would need at least 6.4 million hectares (16 million acres) in order to continue their traditional life-style.

The total indigenous population of Latin America includes slightly more than 400 different Native American groups, with their own languages or dialects. Like the Native Americans of North America, they live in vast extremes of climate and conditions, ranging from the Amazon jungle to the heights of the Andes, where one group, on Lake Titicaca, subsists on artificial islands of floating reeds.

Navajo (people)

Native American tribe of the Athabascan language family and of the Southwest culture area. The tribe lives on reservations in northeastern Arizona and contiguous parts of New Mexico and Utah. They are closely related to the Apache and originally emigrated from areas to the north. It is thought that they settled in the southwest, during the 16th century. By the 17th century, the Navajo had become a pastoral people, with an economy based largely on herding and hunting.

History

The Navajo came into conflict with the Spanish colonists and the Mexicans in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Their contact with the Spanish was limited, but important; the Spanish introduced horses, sheep, and goats, which became a vital part of the Navajo economy.

In 1846, the Navajo made their first treaty with the U.S., government, but disagreements with American troops, led to hostilities by 1849. The tribe engaged in chronic warfare with the Americans until 1863. In that year, U.S., forces under, Kit Carson, waged an extended campaign against the Navajo, eventually capturing some 8,000 of them. These Native Americans were sent, on foot, to a reservation at Fort Sumner in New Mexico. This forcible deportation is known, in Navajo history, as the “Long Walk.” On the reservation, the tribe suffered severe hardships from disease and crop failures, and they were attacked by other Native Americans. A new treaty was signed in 1868, and the surviving Navajo were allowed to go back to a reservation, set aside in their former territory, and were provided with sheep and cattle. In return, the tribe agreed to live in peace with the American settlers. In 1884, the reservation was extended to accommodate their increasing herds.

During the late 19th century, the tribe prospered, the population doubled, and additional land was added. Since this was generally poor farming land, few attempts were made by outsiders to encroach on the reservation. Greatly increased livestock holdings presented serious problems of soil erosion and overgrazing. Eventually, a livestock-reduction plan was forced on the tribe by the U.S. government. During World War II, many Navajo left the reservation to serve in the armed forces or work in cities in war-related jobs.

Customs and Religion

The tribe is divided into more than 50 clans, and descent is traced through the female line. The Navajo must marry outside their clan. An extended family unit is still the norm, with a whole range of responsibilities among relatives. Although modern housing is available on the reservation, many Navajo still build and live in traditional hogans. These are conical houses of logs, covered with earth, which have a smoke hole at the top and are entered through a short, covered passage.

Traditional Navajo religion includes the worship of the winds and watercourses and of a number of gods, who are believed to intervene occasionally, in human affairs. These gods, are frequently invoked; offerings are made to them, and ceremonial dances are performed, in which they are represented, by painted and masked men. Songs, chants, prayers, and sand paintings also form part of the complicated religious rituals, and a large body of mythology exists.

Contemporary Life

Navajo economy is based on the sustenance provided by herds of sheep and goats, some cattle and horses, and employment in various jobs. The Navajo also make pottery and baskets and are well-known for their silver jewelry and fine, durable blankets. By the mid-20th century, oil production and the discovery of rich mineral deposits on reservation lands had greatly enhanced their economy.

According to the 1990 census, 219,198 people claimed Navajo ancestry, making the tribe, the second largest in the U.S. The Navajo population is growing at a great rate; this growth is likely to put pressure on their traditional economy. Their reservation lands total more than 6 million hectares (15 million acres), the largest in the U.S. The Navajo also have the greatest tribal income in the U.S. It is estimated at about \$50 million from oil and gas leases, as well as, income from mineral and forest resources.

Negro

Spanish and Portuguese word for “black,” adopted into English in the 16th century to refer to the black race indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa.

In Europe and North America, the descendants of African slaves have been referred to as Negroes; many now, however, consider it a pejorative term and prefer the words *black* or *African-American*. Whichever term is used, the designation is more social than biological, because many individuals, placed in this category, have more European and Native American genetic heredity than they have African ancestry.

In earlier decades, some anthropologists used the term, Negroid for the Papuan peoples of New Guinea and for some scattered groups of Pygmy peoples in Southeast Asia (called Negritos) and the Andaman Islands of India. These peoples are generally believed to be small sub-populations that do not fit neatly into any of the larger racial groups.

Patrilineage

In sociology and anthropology, system of social organization, in which, descent is traced through the male line and all children bear the name of the father or belong to his clan. The system is often associated with inheritance in the male line of material goods and social prerogatives, as in primogeniture, in which, the eldest son is the sole heir. The social organization of the ancient Hebrews, as described in the Old Testament, was strongly patrilineal; patrilineage still exists among nomadic peoples today, particularly in the Arabian Desert and the steppes of Central Asia. The family and clan organization of the ancient Greeks and Romans were also patrilineal, as was the family and social organization of Europe, during the Middle Ages. Many forms of this earlier patrilineage, such as the inheritance of the family name through the male line, still persist in modern Western society, but exclusive male inheritance of property and other patrilineal features are gradually disappearing.

Pawnee

Native American tribe of the Caddoan language family and of the Plains culture area. At the time of the early European explorations, the Pawnee inhabited the region that is now, Nebraska. They engaged in frequent warfare with neighboring tribes, especially their hereditary enemies, the Sioux. The Pawnee were never at war with the U.S., government and, in fact, were allied with the whites in efforts to control raids by other Native Americans.

The Pawnee lived in earth lodges clustered in small villages. Their economy was based on intensive farming. The native religion involved visions and ceremonial rituals, including the sacrifice of a young woman, each year, to the morning-star deity. Pawnee myths and folklore were imaginative and richly symbolic. Tribal organization was characterized by four distinct bands, each with its own chief.

In various treaties made in the 19th century, the Pawnee ceded most of their land, south of the Platte River in Nebraska to the United States. Meanwhile, severe smallpox epidemics and, attacks by the Sioux and other tribes, constantly diminished their numbers. In the late 19th century, they gave up their remaining lands in Nebraska, in return for a reservation in Oklahoma. At that time, the Pawnee population numbered fewer than 1,000, and the tribe was in danger of extinction.

Today, most tribe members live on individual allotments of land on their reservation. Most earn a subsistence living by raising stock or cultivating small farms. In 1990, Pawnee descendants numbered 2,892.

Phallicism

In anthropology and comparative religion, the worship of the generative power as expressed by the adoration of the phallus, or male organ of procreation. It is a characteristic element of many religions. In ancient times, it was practiced by the early Semites and Greeks, among many other peoples, and became an important part of the rites attending the worship of the Greek god, Dionysus. Phallicism and its counterpart, the adoration of symbols of female fertility (as typified in the worship of the ancient goddess Cybele, a deification of the female generative or mother principle), are both manifestations of nature worship. In present-day India, a female symbol, the yoni, and a phallic symbol, the linga, are employed in the worship of the Hindu god, Shiva.

Pima

North Native American tribe of the Uto-Aztecan language family and of the Southwest culture area, living in the Salt and Gila river valleys in southern Arizona. Traditionally, the Pima lived near the riverbanks and practiced intensive agriculture. Their farming methods differed sharply from those of other southwestern U.S., Native Americans. The

Pima, for example, dug irrigation canals using wooden tools. They lived in villages governed by an elected tribal chief and a council. Their homes were single-family domed huts made of mud and brush.

The first contact with the tribe was made by a European, the Jesuit missionary, Eusebio Francisco Kino, in 1697; at that time, they numbered some 4,000. In 1990, Pima descendants numbered 14,431, and most lived on the Salt River and Gila River reservations.

Polynesians

People inhabiting a widely scattered group of islands, collectively known as Polynesia, in the South Pacific Ocean. They speak Polynesian languages. The Polynesians are not indigenous to Polynesia; ethnologists differ as to their origin, but the most accepted view is that they were established in the Malay Archipelago about the 2nd century B.C., when they were driven eastward by Malayan invaders. By the 13th and 14th centuries A.D., they occupied the territory, they now inhabit.

Early Polynesian economy was based on cultivating taro and yams, gathering fruit and coconuts, fishing, and raising pigs. Polynesians were expert in canoe building and navigation. They used wood and plant fibers to make fishing nets, ropes, and cloth for clothing. Their houses, built of hardwood posts, were walled with lengths of bamboo and plaited palm leaves and roofed with reed thatch. Metal was unknown, but, in New Zealand especially, stone was used for utensils and carved into axes, lance points, and religious figures. Wood carving, in intricate geometrical patterns, was highly developed on many of the islands.

The religion of the Polynesians, still practiced, is a form of animism -- worship of animals and natural objects believed to possess supernatural powers. A supreme deity, Iō, is also revered. The practice of religion as a moral code is largely conditioned by the system of taboo. Cannibalism, was once, almost universal as a ceremonial rite. In areas, where the original social structure is maintained, organization is on the basis of the family, with an active head chosen by the elders through a system of mixed heredity and adoption. The family is patriarchal and polygamous.

Pueblo (people)

(Spanish *pueblo*, “village”), Native Americans living in compact, apartment-like villages of stone or adobe in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. They belong to four distinct linguistic groups, but the cultures of the different villages are closely related.

The eastern villages, located along the upper Rio Grande near Santa Fe and Albuquerque, include Isleta, Jemez, Nambe, Picuris, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Taos, whose inhabitants speak Tanoan languages; and Cochiti, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Zia, where Keresan languages are spoken. Two slightly westward Keresan pueblos, Acoma and Laguna, along with the Zuni and Hopi pueblos, make up the western villages. Since about 1,700, the Zuni have been concentrated in one large village in westernmost New Mexico. Their language shows no certain relation to any other language. The Hopi live on or near three mesas in northeastern Arizona. Their language is part of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Hopi pueblos include Mishongnovi, Shongopovi, Shupapulovi, Sichomavi, Oraibi, and the Tewa-Hopi village of Hano, founded about 1,700, by Tewa-speaking refugees.

Archaeology and Pre-history

Archaeologists relate the Pueblo to an older Southwest culture, known by the term, Basket Maker. The entire cultural sequence is called the Anasazi (Navajo for “ancient ones”) culture. During the early Basket Maker phase (100? B.C.,-A.D., 500?), prehistoric settlements were established in the northern part of the Southwest. The inhabitants practiced weaving. They lived in caves or built shelters of poles and adobe mud. Pumpkins and corn were grown as a supplement to hunting and the gathering of wild plants. Food was stored in underground pits, often lined with stone slabs. With the addition of a bean crop and the domestication of the turkey, agriculture became more important than hunting and gathering during the Modified Basket Maker period (A.D. 500-700). Pottery was introduced. The food storage pits developed into semi-subterranean houses and ceremonial chambers, and buildings began to take their present connected form.

The transition from the Basket Maker to the Pueblo culture occurred about A.D. 700. Stone construction was adopted, and the connected, now-aboveground houses became larger. The ceremonial chamber developed into the kiva, an underground chamber,

used for rituals and as a male lodge. Several kinds of corn were grown, and the cultivation of cotton may have been introduced. Pottery was produced in a diversity of shapes and styles. During this period, the Anasazi made their greatest territorial expansion, reaching as far as central Utah, southern Colorado, and a large part of northern Mexico.

During the Classic Pueblo period (1050-1300), the northernmost regions were no longer occupied, and the population became concentrated in large multistoried, terraced pueblos, and in similar villages built in recesses in cliffs. Notable advances occurred in pottery and weaving. At the end of this period, many large centers of Pueblo life were abandoned, possibly because of drought or because of invading bands of Navajo and Apache. During the Regressive Pueblo period (1300-1700), many villages inhabited today, were founded. Houses became less elaborate, but pottery and weaving continued to develop.

Historic Period

During the Modern Pueblo period (1700-present), cattle, goats, horses, and sheep were introduced by the Spanish, and wool replaced cotton as the principal textile.

The Pueblos, probably the Zuni, were first encountered by the Spanish in 1539, by the Spanish Franciscan missionary, Marcos de Niza. A year later, the Spanish explorer, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, searching for the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola, led an expedition among the Hopi; failing to find any treasure, he withdrew. In 1598, the Spanish occupied the Pueblo country, and by 1630, Spanish missions were established in almost every village. A mass Pueblo revolt in 1680, drove the Spanish from the territory. No other indigenous group had succeeded in doing this, and the Pueblo were not reconquered until 1692. Few of the missions were re-established, and most of the villages continued their ancient religion. The number of villages, during this time, was reduced from about 80 to about 30. The Pueblo remained under Spanish, and then Mexican, domination until the close of the Mexican War in 1848, when they came under United State jurisdiction. Throughout this time, they preserved their traditional culture to an unusually high degree, often adopting superficial religious or governmental changes, but maintaining the old ways in secrecy. The western villages, in particular, resisted Spanish influence; in the eastern villages, some Spanish elements were assimilated into the underlying indigenous ways.

Present-Day Life

The communal building of a present-day pueblo is a solid structure of adobe bricks or stone set in clay and mortar. The rooms are square, with thick flat roofs. They are built in terraced stories, and the roof of one level is reached by a movable ladder from the level below. Traditionally, access to the interiors is by ladders to trapdoors in the roofs, and the outer walls have neither windows nor doors (originally, a precaution against attackers). Modern buildings, however, often have glass windows and hinged doors. Rooms are added to the original structure as needed, and a whole village often lives in a single complex building. Each village has at least two, and usually, several kivas.

Social organization is in clans and lineages. Descent is matrilineal, and women own the houses. Marriage is monogamous and must be to someone outside the clan or group of related clans; divorce can occur at will. Although nominally Christianized, all Pueblo maintain -- some to a great extent -- their ancient beliefs. The principal ceremonies, arranged by the secret societies that use the kivas, are held between crop seasons and consist of prayers and thanksgivings for rain and good crops. Particularly among the western Pueblo, ancestral and other benevolent spirits called, *kachinas* are revered as bringers of rain and social good. Their spirits, are believed to possess the masked dancers, who impersonate them in rituals, and dolls depicting them are given to children. Some of the eastern Pueblos divide their villages into Summer and Winter People, who alternate responsibility for rituals.

The Pueblo economy is based on agriculture, supplemented by raising livestock and, often, by the sale of handicrafts. Each village cultivates fields, in common. The crops include corn, beans, cotton, melon, squash, and chili peppers. Men generally work the fields, weave, build houses, and conduct ceremonies; women prepare food, care for children, make baskets and pottery, and transport water. They often help with gardening (as they did, in ancient times, when hunting was important) and in building the houses.

Each community has an individual style and technique of basketry. Pueblo pottery is characterized by a beauty of decoration and shape that is unique among modern Native Americans; the work of Pueblo potters, such as Maria Martinez, is prized by art collectors. Pueblo men continue to be skilled weavers, producing cotton and woolen clothing and fine woolen blankets.

In the 20th century, low incomes, poor health care, poor schooling, and in some pueblos, unemployment, together with a clash of values with the dominant white culture, have led to significant anger and social distress. Most Pueblo, who have left their villages, return from time to time, to regain contact with the social and religious values of their tradition.

Pygmy

Human sub-population, in which an average stature of less than 152 cm (60 in.) is an inherited trait. Pygmy people were described by ancient Greek writers such as Homer and Herodotus. Today Pygmies are found in the tropical forests in central Africa and also in the Malay Peninsula (the Senang people), the Philippine Islands (the Aeta and other tribes), central New Guinea (several tribes), and the Andaman Islands of India. Some groups maintain their traditional way of life, based on hunting and gathering, while others have abandoned this way of life to follow a settled agricultural existence. Most often, Pygmies speak the language of their neighbors.

African Pygmies -- the most numerous Pygmy population, estimated variously at 150,000 to 300,000 -- are believed to have lived in the Congo Valley before the arrival of other peoples. The best-known tribe, the Mbuti or Bambuti, are the shortest of all human groups, averaging about 130 cm (about 51 in.) in height. Non-African Pygmy populations, often called Negritos, may also represent archaic populations. Blood typing and other studies indicate that the African, Asian, Oceanian, and Indian groups are genetically distinct from one another and have independent origins.

Seminole

Native American tribe of the Muskogean language family and of the Southeast culture area. Most now live in Oklahoma and southern Florida. The Seminole tribe developed in the 18th century from members of the Creek Confederacy, mostly Creeks and Hitchiti, who raided and eventually settled in Florida, which was then Spanish territory. Joined by other refugee Native Americans and escaped black slaves, they were cut-off from the Creek Confederacy when the United States-Florida border was settled. Most spoke Muskogee, or Creek; those speaking Hitchiti, a related Muskogean language, are known as the Hitchiti-Mikasuki Seminole. Historical Seminole culture resembled that of the Creek people.

After the United States acquired Florida in 1819, the territorial governor (and later U.S., President), Andrew Jackson, initiated a vigorous policy of tribal removal, to open the land for white settlers. Seminole resistance was fierce, and the Seminole wars, were among the most costly of the U.S., Indian wars. After the capture of their leader, Osceola, in 1837, and the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842, several thousand Seminole were forcibly moved west to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). At the end of the Third Seminole War in 1858, about 250 more were sent west. The rest were allowed to remain, and their descendants signed a peace treaty with the United States in 1935. In 1962, the Mikasuki acquired title to their lands in the Everglades.

The Florida Seminole have five reservations. They farm, hunt, and fish, and some run tourist-related businesses. Many still live in thatch-roofed, open-sided houses on stilts (chickees) and wear patchwork and applique clothing. The Seminole in Oklahoma, were given a smaller reservation, after the American Civil War. In the late 19th century, they yielded to pressure, to divide their tribal land into individual allotments and cede the surplus to the United States; this land was opened to settlers in 1889. In 1990, Seminole descendants numbered 13,797. Many were Baptists, but both the Florida and Oklahoma groups retained traditional Muskogean observances.

Shawnee (people)

Native American tribe of the Algonquian language family and of the Eastern Woodlands culture area. In about 1700, they lived in present-day Ohio, but were driven out by the Iroquois. Some migrated to Florida and by 1800, reached Texas. Most, however went to what is now, Georgia and South Carolina. Part of this group, known as the Eastern Shawnee, then moved to Pennsylvania with the Delaware tribe. The other part settled in Tennessee. Both were pushed back to Ohio by other tribes in 1730-1750; American expansion forced some into Indiana by 1795. The Shawnee, first supported the French against the British, and later the British, against the Americans. After 1805, the Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, organized a multi-tribal movement, to resist white expansion. In the 1830's, pressured by the Iroquois and the whites, they moved again. The Eastern Shawnee settled in Oklahoma. The other Ohio group moved, first to a Kansas reservation, and later to Oklahoma; where they live among the Cherokee. The Texas group, known as the Absentee Shawnee, was pushed north into Oklahoma in the mid-19th century. Today, people claiming Absentee Shawnee ancestry, dwell mostly in central Oklahoma and have a separate tribal government from that of the Eastern and Cherokee Shawnee.

The early Shawnee had an Eastern Woodland culture. In summer, they lived in bark-covered houses in villages, while the women farmed and the men hunted, and in winter, they split into small hunting camps. The Shawnee belonged to patrilineal clans and lineages. Today, they farm, ranch, and do various other work. Some are Protestants, but many adhere to traditional religions.

In 1990, 750 people, claimed to be of Eastern Shawnee descent; Cherokee Shawnee descendants numbered 947; Absentee Shawnee numbered 1,279. The total number of people in 1990, who claimed to be of Shawnee descent was 6,179.

Sioux

Important confederacy of Native American tribes of the Siouan language family and of the Plains culture area. The Ojibwa word for the group, rendered into French by early explorers and traders as Nadoues-sioux, was shortened to Sioux and passed into English. The Sioux, generally call themselves, Lakota or Dakota, meaning “allies.” The seven tribes fall into three major divisions: the sedentary and agricultural Santee; the Nakota; and the warrior and buffalo-hunter, Teton.

In the early 17th century, the Sioux comprised small bands of Woodland peoples in the Mille Lacs region, of present-day Minnesota. They lived on small game, deer, and wild rice, and were surrounded by large rival tribes. Conflict with their enemy, the Ojibwa people, forced the Sioux, to move to the buffalo ranges of the Great Plains. As they became adept buffalo hunters, the tribes grew and prospered. By 1750, the Sioux comprised some 30,000 people, firmly established in the heartland of the northern Great Plains. They dominated this region for the next century.

The Struggle Against U.S., Encroachment

The Sioux fought on the side of the British during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. In 1815, however, the eastern groups made treaties of friendship with the United States, and in 1825, another treaty confirmed Sioux possession of an immense territory that included much of present-day Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and Wyoming. In 1837, the Sioux sold all their territory, east of the Mississippi River to the United States; additional territory was sold in 1851.

At the time, a pattern of assault and counter-assault developed, as settlers pushed forward onto Sioux lands. The first clash was in 1854, near Fort Laramie, Wyoming, when 19 U.S. soldiers were killed. In retaliation, in 1855, U.S. troops killed about 100 Sioux, at their encampment in Nebraska and imprisoned their chief. Red Cloud's War (1866-1867), named after a Sioux chief, ended in a treaty, granting the Black Hills, in perpetuity, to the Sioux. The treaty, however, was not honored by the United States; gold prospectors and miners flooded the region in the 1870's. In the ensuing conflict, General George Armstrong Custer and 300 troops were killed at Little Bighorn on June 25, 1876, by the Sioux chief, Sitting Bull and his warriors. The massacre by U.S. troops of over 200 Sioux men, women, and children at Wounded Knee in December 1890, marked the end of Sioux resistance until modern times.

Way of Life

The basic social unit of the Sioux was the *tiyospe*, an extended family group that traveled together in search of game. The Sioux nature leaned toward extremes. For example, infidelity in marriage was punished by disfigurement; an infraction of hunting regulations led to destruction of tepee and property; mourners inflicted slashes on themselves during burial ceremonies. The Sioux believed in one all-pervasive omnipotent god. *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Mystery. Religious visions were cultivated, as in the frenzied ceremony of the ghost dance.

Of the 103,255 Sioux in the United States and Canada in 1990, most lived on reservations in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Nebraska. They retain their language and its three principle dialects.

The Sioux have been active in the modern Native American civil rights movement, seeking restoration of their land base and the institution of a modernized form of traditional life. They have been particularly involved in the American Indian Movement (AIM), a civil rights group, that has actively protested government treatment of Native Americans, since the late 1960's. In 1973, AIM, in concert with a group of Oglala Sioux, who were angered by reservation abuses, seized the town of Wounded Knee for 70 days and demanded a United States Senate investigation into Native American living conditions.

Slavic Peoples

Most numerous of European peoples, with a population of more than 250 million, distributed principally in Eastern and Central Europe, most of the Balkan Peninsula, and beyond the Ural Mountains in Asia. The Slavic language group, with its many dialects, is part of the Indo-European language family. Linguistically, the group can be divided into the East Slavic branch, consisting of Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian; the West Slavic branch, comprising Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Sorbian (a small Slavic enclave in the eastern part of Germany); and the South Slavic branch, including Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian.

Origins

The early Slavs were an obscure group of farmers and herders living in the marshes and woodlands of what is now eastern Poland and western Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. From about A.D., 150, the Slavic tribes began to expand in all directions. To the north, they followed the rivers through the forests of Russia, occupying territory populated by Finnic and Baltic peoples, many of whom they absorbed. To the west, they encountered Germanic and Celtic tribes, as they occupied much of Central Europe. By the 7th century, the Slavs had reached as far south as the Adriatic and Aegean seas. During the next two centuries, they settled in most of the Balkan Peninsula, then part of the Byzantine empire, dislocating native populations or slavizing newcomers, such as the Bulgarians. To the east, by the end of the 16th century, the Russians had already secured a permanent foothold beyond the Ural Mountains in Asia, and by the 19th century, Slavic culture had reached the Pacific Ocean.

Religion and Culture

Whereas the ancient Slavs probably exhibited considerable racial and cultural homogeneity, the modern Slavic peoples are united mainly by their linguistic affinity and a sense of common origins. Extensive contact, with a variety of peoples, has profoundly influenced the racial and cultural development of the Slavs. Today, the Slavic groups evidence a far greater range of diversity in both physical type and culture than is shown by any other Europeans.

Christianity was initially introduced to the Slavs by Greek missionaries during the 9th and 10th centuries. Their religious development, however, was altered by the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054. The Slavs quickly became

the focus of intense rivalry between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. Catholicism and Western culture triumphed among the Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs; later, however, the Czechs were significantly affected by the Reformation, and today, they are the only Slavic people with a large Protestant minority. In the Balkans, the Slovenes and Croats, also gave their allegiance to Roman Catholicism and fell into the sphere of Central European civilization. The Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, and a majority of the Eastern Slavs (Belarussians, Russians, Ukrainians), joined the Orthodox Church, adopting many aspects of Byzantine culture, including an adaptation of the Greek alphabet.

In much of southeastern Europe; parts of what are now, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro, and Slovenia, remained under Ottoman rule until 1912. Centuries of Turkish domination had a profound effect on the Balkan Slavs, many of whom were forcibly converted to Islam. Today the majority of Slavic Muslims are in Bosnia and southern Bulgaria.

Although the Slavs created a number of medieval kingdoms between the 9th and 11th centuries, much of their subsequent history was characterized by subjugation within foreign states. The present Slavic nations are, to a great extent, the result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires following World War I. With the exception of the Czechs, the Slavs remained a predominantly agrarian people until the mid-20th century. After World War II, most of the Slavic nations came under the Soviet sphere of influence, and their Marxist governments embarked on ambitious programs of industrialization and urbanization. In the late 1980's and early 1990's, with the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the various East European nations, moved toward independent democratic governments. In some areas, particularly the former Yugoslavia, this transition ignited conflict among Slavs of different national and religious groups.

Totemism

A complex system of ideas, symbols, and practices based on an assumed relationship between an individual or a social group and a natural object known as a totem. The totem may be a particular species of bird, animal, or plant, a natural phenomenon, or a feature of the landscape with which a group believes itself linked in some way. The term, *totem* is derived from the language of the Ojibwa, a Native North American tribe.

The totemic relationship is widespread and has been observed in Malaysia, Africa, and Guinea. It is especially strong among some Native Americans and the Australian aborigines. In these societies, the totem, is often regarded, as a companion and helper with supernatural powers and, as such, is respected and occasionally, venerated. The individuals of a totemic group, see themselves, as partially identified with or assimilated to the totem, which may be referred to, by special names or symbols. Descent may be traced to an original totemic ancestor, which becomes the symbol of the group. With the exception of some totemic rituals, killing, eating, or touching the totem is prohibited. Individual shamans have been known to cultivate a personal friendship with a particular totemic animal or plant.

Few anthropological concepts have undergone such radical change as that of totemism. Most of the theories about this phenomenon, propounded in the 19th and early 20th centuries, have been discarded. Totemism is no longer regarded as a religion, much less as an early stage in the religious and cultural history, of the human race. It is admitted, however, that a totemic relationship may involve some religious elements, such as the cult of ancestors and the belief in spirits. The current skepticism about totemism in anthropological literature is exemplified by the French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss's theory, that totemism is an anthropological concept, having no objective reality.

The basis of totemism seems to lie in the world view of some societies that assume a specific relationship between human beings and the powers of nature, a relationship that serves as the foundation for a classificatory scheme. Totemism, may thus, be interpreted as a conceptual device for sorting out social groups by means of natural emblems. Furthermore, some scholars point out that when different social groups, within the same society, draw their names and identities from plants or animals, these totems serve as symbolic devices showing that society, although divided into many groups, still remains a whole. Totems identify and symbolize a group that shares common interests - particularly an interest in the protection of kin members - in societies that have no other agency or mechanism for performing this function. Recently, some anthropologists have argued that Australian totemism, because of its taboos against killing and eating one's totem, has acted as a conservation device, helping people adapt to their natural environment. Totemism would, in this interpretation, have an ecological significance and would thus, have played an important role in the development and survival of those societies in which it flourished.

Tribe

Group of people sharing customs, language, and territory, such as the Apache people of North America. Anthropologists stress the importance of kinship in tribes. Usually, a tribe has a leader, a religion, teaching that all its people are descended from a common ancestor, and a common language and culture. A tribe, is often small in size, is fairly limited in its contacts with other societies, and is correspondingly ethnocentric in its view of the world. Experts disagree about the relative importance of linguistic, political, and geographical boundaries for defining tribal groups. Whatever definition of tribe is chosen, however, exceptions to it, abound. The most important criteria for a tribe continue to be linguistic and cultural resemblances.

The word, *tribe* has long been used by both anthropologists and laypersons, but recently it has come under attack as a derogatory term, implying an inferior way of life. Moreover, its use is inconsistent; it is not, for instance, applied to modern European groups that meet the criteria of the definition. The designations, *people* or *ethnic group*, are generally preferred today.

Ute

Native North American tribe of the Uto-Aztecan language family of the California-Intermountain culture area. The Ute were spread through central and western Colorado, eastern Utah, and northwestern New Mexico. The tribe was subdivided into bands, of which, the principal were the Tabeguache, Muache, Capote, Wiminuche, Yampa, and Uinta. They lived entirely by hunting and on wild fruits and roots. Trading with the Navajo and Paiute, they obtained blankets and baskets. From the Mexicans, and by raids on other tribes, they were able to procure herds of horses, sheep, and cattle. Their usual type of dwelling was a brush shelter, later supplanted by a small tepee.

The Ute made their first treaty with the United States government in 1850, and by subsequent treaties, were limited in range, until all bands, except the southern Ute, were removed to the present reservation in Utah. In 1902, claiming that they could not live on their reserve, the southern Ute, moved up to the headwaters of the South Fork of the Platte River. They were subsequently moved by the government to Fort Mead, South Dakota, and within a year, returned voluntarily, to their reservation.

The Ute are believed to have numbered fewer than 10,000. In 1990, 7,273 people claimed Ute ancestry in Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, whose name is derived from the name of the tribe.

Zulu

Bantu-speaking people of southern Africa. Numbering more than 2 million, they live mainly in KwaZulu/Natal Province, South Africa. In the past, their economy was based on cultivating millet and raising cattle. They also made millet beer, tanned hides, smelted iron, and wove baskets. Traditionally, the Zulu lived in beehive-shaped huts, grouped in a circular compound, or *kraal*, with the cattle in the center. Today, many Zulu have become urbanized, or are dependent on wage labor from farms and mines owned by white South Africans.

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