

INUIT & IROQUOIS & INCA, OH MY: SOCIETAL FORMATION IN THE  
AMERICAS

by

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After flipping through a number of books that have collected on my yet-to-read shelf over the semester, I found that there is seldom a routine opening for acknowledgments. In the hopes that this section will be read if left relatively short, I will be saving my full list of life-shapers for my doctoral dissertation and instead keep this section dedicated to a smaller list of people who helped me create what you are about to read.

As I am morally obligated to do, I first need to thank my mom for teaching me that learning should be fun and also for continuing to take my calls, even though she knows to expect a 30-minute rant about a structural-functionalist perspective on 16<sup>th</sup> century Inca metallurgy, or something of equal obscurity.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
CHAPTERS	
I. THE INTRODUCTION .....	1
Inspiration & Question.....	1
Methodology & Organization.....	3
Anthropological Theory & History.....	5
II. THE INUIT (THE TARLIRPINGMIUT).....	11
What Was.....	11
What Happened.....	17
What If .....	21
Most Likely.....	24
III. THE IROQUOIS (THE HAUDENOSAUNEE).....	29
What Was.....	29
What Happened.....	34
What If .....	38
Most Likely.....	42
IV. THE INCA.....	46
What Was.....	46
What Happened.....	54
What If .....	57
Most Likely.....	59
V. DISCUSSION .....	64
Recap of Conclusions .....	64
Further Research .....	67
REFERENCES .....	69

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Page</b>
1. Figure 2.1 Map showing Location of Baffin Island.....	11
2. Figure 2.2 Map of Baffin Island showing Cumberland Sound.....	12
3. Figure 2.3 K'exerten Harbor, Cumberland Sound 1888 by Frans Boas .....	18
4. Figure 3.1 Exterior View of Traditional Iroquois Longhouse .....	30
5. Figure 3.2 Crawford Lake Longhouse .....	30
6. Figure 3.3 Les Cinq Nations Iroquoises .....	31
7. Figure 4.1 Inca Expansion .....	46
8. Figure 4.2 Inca Empire South America .....	48

## **ABSTRACT**

European forces completely altered the course of history with their introduction into, and alteration of, the political evolution and societal development in the Americas. This study examines the most probable ways in which the Inuit, Iroquois, and Inca societies might have developed without European influence. By applying anthropological political evolutionary theory to the three case studies, probable likelihoods are considered and analyzed. The Inuit were a stable society that would have continued as they were without the introduction of a European-level influencer. The Iroquois were unstable and would have become more hierarchical if they continued to grow. The Inca were unstable and would have fractured into smaller parts. Societies continue as they are until pressured to change, whether internally or externally.

## I. THE INTRODUCTION

### Inspiration & Question

While the world experienced the worst pandemic since 1918, I road tripped with my family across the country. We went north to Mount Rushmore in South Dakota, where we learned of the Sioux Tribe and we went East to Hannibal, Missouri, where we heard more stories of Native Americans and the world before settlers came. Then we went West to camp in Colorado and stayed overnight at Mesa Verde, the old home of The Cliff Dwellers. Our road trip of America quickly became a road trip of Native America.

Later that summer, I read a book that changed how I saw culture. *60 Million Frenchmen Can't Be Wrong* suggested that if Americans want to understand France, then they must look at France as an ancient civilization that has continued to grow into the modern day. An example was provided, giving a comparison of France to the Aztec Empire if it had remained and continued to develop. That statement caught my attention. What might the world look like today if other cultures had not been irrevocably altered by Europeans as the Aztecs had been?

Originally, my thoughts were to simply learn about the dominant societies of a region and to then write an imaginary ethnography of what that area might look like today, region by region, until the world had been rewritten. I would record world history as if each region was within its own petri dish and allowed to grow without being colonized, industrialized, or invaded by other regions. I began researching regional histories and crafting a methodology that would guarantee a quality product but quickly realized that results would be nothing more than low-budget fan fiction.

Besides nation/states being a moderately recent European idea that does not apply



to the majority of human history, influences have never been limited to larger, foreign powers attacking smaller powers. The trade of goods and ideas has also influenced history. History would be completely changed without the Chinese invention of gunpowder, which would lead to firearms and modern warfare. History would be equally changed if tradesmen had not started markets in the city-states of Italy, eventually resulting in what would become a globalized economy and Capitalism. At that point, my research went from a proposed study of nation/states to a study of trade, movements, and economic geography.

To write a history of each world region not being influenced by the others, each region would need different dates from which to begin. After a certain marked date was considered the functional “untampered” region, I would imagine its history from that point as if it were a petri dish.

For instance, what if Europe’s feudal system of the medieval period had continued and not been influenced by outside forces? Was the Europe that set out to discover new trade routes in the 1400s and eventually dominated the global even possible without the Renaissance starting in the 1300s? And the Crusades began in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, before even the Renaissance, but brought back influences from The Holy Land. These events would require a date far enough back to be firmly planted in the medieval period and the height of the Feudal System. Each region became its own study of influences, movements, power, cultural norms, and economy, all of which could never be separated from the influence of their neighbors, or their neighbors, or their neighbors.

As I continued trying to make progress in my history book, I realized that if I concentrated instead on a single region, then I could possibly do a thesis on the research

question and receive the guidance needed to produce a quality work, which I could then use as my model for continuing with the rest of the world. I shared my aspirations with Texas State University's Dr. Richard Warms, who agreed to be my thesis advisor and also helped me further clarify my exact research so that the thesis could be doable. What resulted was the decision to examine three societies (resembling a simple-egalitarian society, a chiefdom society, and a state society) from the Americas, with the general magic petri dish number being 1492. This became clarified as "What are the most probable ways in which the Inuit, Iroquois, and Inca societies might have developed without European influence?"

### **Methodology & Organization**

To answer that question, I would need to identify a method with which I could measure the change in each society. How could I compare a society before influence, add the effect of influencing factors (colonialism) to that understanding, and then have a general measure of what a society without that influence would be? I decided to emphasize vulgar materialism (as defined by Engels) and prioritize an understanding of what physically existed, followed by general forms of administration, gender relation, and technology. As I continued, my list of sought data for each society became the size of each society relative to their environments, method of subsistence, method of social organization, gender roles, technology, domestication of animals, significant religious worldview, and a brief history of their names.

Each society was, and/or is, a living, changing group of people(s) who had lives and lived every day. Just as we think of our way of living as the natural and right way, so

too did the Talirpingmiut Inuit, each nation of the Haudenosaunee, and all the many peoples within the Inca Empire think of themselves. Each individual had their own hopes and fears, conceived in languages we will never hear, and largely lost to history. It is with this perspective that I have conducted my research, recognizing that no culture has ever been fixed in time and that my words do not only represent societal development theories, but real people, who have also lived on this earth. Each report has been conducted with the intent to accurately represent each society as it was and to fully consider what could have been without European influence.

Each chapter about a society will be divided into four parts: What Was, What Happened, What If..., and Most Likely.... The What Was section will be a brief ethnography based on the previously mentioned points of comparison. What Happened will be an account of the actual history of European influence that took place, affecting the society of What Was. The What If... section will consider theoretical situations or possibilities without European influence. Most Likely... will be the most grounded and theory-based What If... scenario, explaining what could most likely be considered to have happened to each society without European influence.

To prevent my thesis from becoming mere well-researched fan fiction, I needed to do more than report on data from each society and understand each unique history. I needed to learn how societies have actually developed throughout history. By working on the shoulders of those who came before me, I could turn my project from creative writing into a well-grounded research product. Rather than being limited only by my imagination, my project is based on the historical record, the kinds of social transformations that have been recorded in other societies, and the constraints of anthropological theory. I spent a

year studying anthropological theory on political evolution and societal formation, the history of that field, the modern perception of political evolution, and the wide varieties of theories as to how societies change and evolve.

### **Anthropological Theory & History**

My analysis of the Inuit, Iroquois, and Inca is done in the context of today's conception of political evolutionary theory and societal formation. If every prominent influencer were included, my list would reach Aristotle, and then explain his influences from Plato, and him from Socrates. Instead, I will merely identify those who directly influenced my work and how this field is understood today. In each short biography, I will not seek to give a full review of the academic contributions of each person, but the significant contributions relating to this essay. We must identify the sources of our current ideas to understand our own assumptions, avoid age-old pitfalls, and continue to develop worthwhile ideas.

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) held the first position as an anthropologist in a museum and is credited for writing the first definitions of culture. He observed similar structures around the globe, such as large pyramids, and concluded that the parallel inventions were the result of a psychic unity, connecting all humans. From this basis, he developed his perspective that history was unilineal, with all cultures following the same general evolutionary trajectory. Based on that conclusion, Tylor understood all civilizations as different rungs on a ladder, with each having the same necessary path to continue upward. One had simply to study "savage" societies to see the past of "civilized" societies.

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) was a lawyer, naturalist, ethnographic fieldworker, politician, and philanthropist. Like Tylor, he attempted to trace the evolution of societies. He created a system that put societies into three categories: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Of these three stages, savagery and barbarism were further divided into three sub-categories, lower, middle, and upper, with key material features such as access to fire or domestication of animals, determining where each society fell. The material features Morgan focused on were related to subsistence technologies, kinship, and technology.

Franz Boas (1858-1942) championed against the idea of “cultural evolution.” While Morgan and Tylor were both relatively enlightened for their era, both of their theories are implicitly racist. Boas firmly rejected the racist elements of Morgan and Tylor as well as rejected a single pathway of evolution. Instead, Boas thought that each society developed in its own fashion, which has become modern anthropology's perspective. The subsequent thinkers who brought evolutionary and adaptationist thinking back into anthropology accepted Boasian anti-racism and cultural relativism.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was responsible for many of the given ideas of social sciences today. He suggested that there is a thesis that will inevitably be opposed by an anti-thesis, conflicting and resulting in a synthesis, which will become the new thesis, which will also be opposed by an antithesis, resulting in a synthesis, and so on. This was history to Marx, inevitable class struggles, which he thought would one day synthesize into a final and equal society with a lack of conflict.

A key part of Marx's contribution is his focus on human production. To produce anything from food to furniture, raw materials and supplies (forces of production) are

needed as well as the necessary knowledge and organization (relations of production) to produce. Marx understood combinations of forces of production and relations of production as modes of production. Modes of production were critical in determining how people in a society think and perceive the world. He also said that if there are modes of production (base), then the ideology and institutions reinforcing the base were the superstructure. That superstructure also served as the key mechanism of societal reproduction. The ideology/infrastructure reinforcing the modes of production would always be a potential source of conflict.

Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) was determined to create a science of sociology and to demonstrate that the study of society was different from the psychology of individuals. He thought there were two forms of social solidarity that unite people: mechanical (such as when everyone must live the same way to survive) and organic (interdependence based on variety). Mechanical was what united the smallest most primitive societies while advanced cultures were united through specialization and interdependence. He attempted to explain the rules by which societies operate.

Leslie White (1900-1975) spent his career reacting to Franz Boas before him, and himself would directly influence many of the other names in this essay, such as Morton Fried, Elman Service, Robert Carneiro, and Jared Diamond. He viewed culture as an adaptation that functioned to make life secure for people. He believed that the key way in which people increased their security was by extending control over their environment. This required energy. White proposed that there was a relationship between the amount of energy that a society captured and its complexity. He proposed a formula known as White's Law that states that society evolves as the energy it captures increases. In other

words, culture evolves as the productivity of human labor increases (White, 1943, p. 346). He believed that this could happen in two ways: by changing the subsistence practices of the society or by increasing the efficiency of the existing practices.

Julian Steward (1902-1972) proposed the theory of multilineal evolution, that each unique society could only develop depending on their surrounding environment. He proposed that parallel cultural characteristics were the result of the technology available to people in specific environmental circumstances, with culture functioning as adaptation. People in similar environments with similar technologies would have other social and cultural similarities. Core features, such as subsistence, were identified as the backbone of societies.

Elman Service (1915-1996) was the author of *Evolution And Culture*. Service understood the state as a tool created through cooperation for problem-solving. He recognized the significance of conflict and scarcity, and saw cooperative action and organization as the logical response, resulting in state formation. He developed the four-part political organization model of Bands, Tribes, Chiefdoms, and States that is still taught in universities today.

Morton Fried (1923-1986) attempted to explain the origin of the state by using Service's model of bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states and to demonstrate how it applied to primary/pristine and secondary states. He theorized that the six primary states on Earth, states that developed where no state had previously existed, each developed according to Service's model, while secondary states, those states that developed after the primary states, could then develop quickly and with a greater opportunity for diversity by taking their basic form from the existant pristine states.

Ronald Cohen (1930-2018) identified that no theory on state formation has fully explained universal state development. He highlighted cases where secondary states did not copy a pristine state and identified state foundation not as individuals reaching a certain level of organization, but by the systematic denial of equal access of resources, creating classes. As a pattern, states formed when one party was victimized by another, resulting in the victims either becoming the oppressed or the oppressors.

Robert Carneiro (1927-2020) was a student of White's and developed the Circumscription Theory, based on environmental constraints, population pressure, and conflict. With a heavy emphasis on the Inca, he explained that the absence of a way for conquered populations to flee to new territories combined with the need for labor by the victor changes the defeat of an enemy into the subjugation of an enemy. Circumscription Theory depicts state formation depending on the environment, population pressures, and social interactions.

Jared Diamond (1937-present) is best known for *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, where he asks why some parts of the world developed and conquered others. Diamond concludes that human history is the product of luck based on geographic resources. Every society is assumed to utilize all available resources to the best of their ability, but is ultimately limited by their physical environment. Diamond thus claims that history is determined by access to resources.

Seth Abrutyn (b. 1978) and Kirk Lawrence (b. 1970) co-wrote *From Chieftdom to State: Toward An Integrative Theory of the Evolution of Polity*, in which they suggest that change happens in one of two ways. First, punctuated equilibrium, the sudden new development of technology, emergency, or other instantaneous forms of causation, which



results in change in kind, such as Chiefdom to State. Second, gradualism, the process of slow changes such as population numbers or increases in pressure, which result in changes in degree once a critical threshold point is exceeded. Every change brings the potential for societal collapse. Survival means success, and as a pattern, societies are understood not to make the best decisions for their well beings, but the easiest that will suffice given the present predicament. Service's model is used, but without the assumption that societies are limited to follow the progression step by step.

Of these thinkers, White probably had the greatest influence on my research, due to his influence on other anthropologists, especially his students. In large part thanks to Steward, my approach has been multilineal evolution, with emphasis on each society's methods of subsistence, social organization, and technology. I specifically explored the size of each society relative to their environments, social organization and gender roles, and the domestication of animals as a technology. I present each society's dominant religious worldview and a brief history of their name. While my primary theoretical focus is material, I also discuss the influence of ideology and history in each case.

In the following three chapters, I will answer my research question, "What are the most probable ways in which the Inuit, Iroquois, and Inca societies might have developed without European influence?". This will be completed through the use of the four parts of each case study, Was Was, What Happened, What If..., and Most Likely.... I will conclude in the fifth chapter by recapping the conclusions of the previous three chapters and suggesting further inquiries to be researched.

## II. THE INUIT (THE TALIRPINGMIUT)

### What Was

(Brief ethnography including size/location, name history, subsistence methods, social organization, gender roles, technology, domestication of animals)

Today, the Talirpingmiut no longer exist as a tribe. They are now simply part of the Oqomiut. But before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were their own tribe with multiple settlements and hundreds of people (Boas, 1964, p. 13-18). In the 1700s, Dutch whalers began commercial operations and traded with the Inuit of Greenland and the Hudson Strait (Figure 2.1). While the Davis Strait became a common whaling route, the area known today as Cumberland Sound (Figure 2.2) remained undiscovered by the Europeans until 1840 when William Penny, a Scottish whaler, sailed into it and changed Baffin Island's history forever. (McElroy, 2008, p. 29).

Figure 2.1 Map showing Location of Baffin Island<sup>1</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> (Connormah - File:Alberta, Canada.svg, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7000645>)

Figure 2.2 Map of Baffin Island showing Cumberland Sound<sup>2</sup>



Baffin Island is located in modern-day Nunavut, Canada, with more than half of the island inside the Arctic Circle. Measuring 195,9280 square miles, it is the fifth-largest island on Earth (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2021).

The earliest use of the name Eskimo to refer to the northernmost Native Americans has been dated back to a report from 1584, in which they are called “the Esquimawes” (Benveniste, 1953, p. 242-244). There have been stories that Eskimo originated from an Algonquian translation of “eaters of raw fish” but there is far greater evidence to suggest that it actually came from the Latin used by the French Jesuits. Eskimo has also been translated as “netter of snowshoes.” Whatever the origin, today, the

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.pittarak.com/route.html>

name Eskimo is being replaced by the name Inuit, meaning “people” (Alaska Native Language Center, 2021).

To the Baffin Islanders, the island comprised three parts: Aggo (the weather side, populated by the Aggomiut, literally people of the weather side), Akudnirn (the center, populated by the people of the center, the Akudnirmiut), and Oqo (the lee side, populated by the people of the lee side, the Oqomiut). Thus, the name Oqomiut did not originate from the name of a family or shared identity, but rather their geographical position with respect to one another. On Baffin Island, referring to the Oqomiut (meaning the lee-side people) referred to the people on the East side of the island, although the determination of the line between Akudnirmiut and Oqomiut remained arbitrary. Oqo would typically refer to the south-east side of Baffin Island according to the northern region, but both the term and the perception of its referred geography remained pliable. The Oqomiut of Cumberland Sound ranged along the coast of the Davis Strait, reaching the northern shore of Cumberland Sound, as far south as the Hudson Strait, and as far west as Nettilling Lake/Fjord.

The people around Cumberland Sound imagined their geography by placing themselves at the head of the sound looking east to the entry of the sound. “Talirpia” referred to the right from that standpoint, so it was used to refer to the south-western land of Cumberland Sound. Consequently, the people that lived on the south-western coasts of Cumberland Sound were called the Talirpingmiut.

The Talirpingmiut shared many cultural similarities with the rest of what would later be called, Oqomiut, but like the other three tribes of their time, the Talirpingmiut considered themselves separate. They had multiple settlements, which operated

independently from each other. Settlements were collections of people living together, often at a routine location during migration. Migrations and hunting parties would venture out as individual operations, not as tribal-wide, coordinated events. Just as the shared name of “Talirpia” came from a location rather than shared lineage or mythology, the settlements of the Talirpingmiut were connected more as coincidental neighbors rather than as units of a larger, central power.

All inhabitants of Baffin Island were limited to the seashore, save for the single exception of the Talirpingmiut of Nettilling Fjord, which connects directly to the open waters of the Northwestern Passages. The primary food source for all inhabitants of Baffin Island were seals. Whales were also a common source of food, although not as prevalent as seals. Deer could be a source of food, but did not have the crucial importance to livelihood and everyday life that seals had.

There were many different methods of hunting seals depending on the region and degree of ice (Boas, 1964, p. 63-70). Light harpoons and long-poled hooks made of wood with an ivory point on one end and an ivory knob on the other were used when waiting at a seal’s breathing hole. Later, due to trading, the ivory pieces of the tools would often be replaced by iron. Some light harpoons also had a string of deer sinews tied to their ends so that they could be thrown and retrieved easily. What was most notable was that even after the introduction of iron, the Inuit would either adapt it as a new material preference for making the same tools or merely use an iron harpoon head to sharpen wood and ivory rather than use the iron on the tools themselves. Despite the introduction of iron as a new material, their methods of tool design and use barely shifted.

Sealing was typically a two-man job that started early in the morning. On a good day, an expert could kill between 10-15 seals (Boas, 1964, p. 76-78). Even though guns became a part of hunting after contact with Europeans, some hunters still preferred harpoons. One method of hunting was to surround a seal with eight men, distract the seal from the front, then have three hunters strike from behind. In summer, sometimes the women and children would participate by guarding multiple breathing holes and scaring away any seals with sticks and shouts. The breathless seals would go from hole to hole in search of air while being harassed by the waiting women and children until they finally went to the only hole without excessive noise; exactly where multiple hunters were lying in wait. This method was particularly successful.

Whaling was a favorite hunt for the Inuit. A whale would be pursued by men in either kayaks or skin boats, and the hunters would use harpoons and floats to harass the animal until it tired out from the pursuit and blood loss. Then, the Inuit would lance it to death (Boas, 1964, p. 91). Sometimes, the women would paddle while the men threw harpoons. The harpoons and lances used for these sea chases also continued to integrate iron as it became available.

Boats and dog sledges were the primary forms of transportation. Boats were useful because the vast majority of the native population lived along coasts. These were propelled and steered with two large oars, with three or four women working each oar. Sails would sometimes be used, but were only an advantage in particular wind conditions. Eventually, rudders were added to the design of boats in an imitation of foreign whaling vessels. Through most of the year, the only available roads were those of

ice and snow, so dog sledges had large importance in Inuit life and there were many varieties of sledges to best meet the given conditions (Boas, 1964, p. 121-125).

Annually, tribes would migrate to follow their food sources, typically following a routine trek to specific areas to hunt seals. Sometimes a tribe's hunting parties would move inland to follow deer, and even come into contact with hunting parties of other tribes, but the migrations stayed primarily along the coasts to continue pursuing seals.

While hunting was a male-dominated aspect of life, women often participated beyond cooking. From rowing the boats that pursued the bowhead whales to scaring helpless seals towards their doom, women participated in the acquisition of food for the family.

Winters were more difficult than the rest of the year, and the seals' breathing holes in the ice could easily freeze over. In such times where seals were inaccessible, tribes would be hit by famine. These famines were never from a lack of seals, but from a lack of access to the seals. People could easily die during the colder, often food-deprived winters. The only recorded acts of cannibalism on Baffin Island come from desperate individuals during winter famines who were determined to survive (Boas, 1964, p. 20).

No wars or even battles were known to have ever happened between settlements on Baffin Island. There was a single story told in the late 1800s of an event from the 1810s when an individual from a tribe had killed multiple members of other tribes. Men from the affected tribes joined together in a sledge journey, ambushed the serial murderer, and killed him. Besides that event, it is understood that most, if not all, violence or conflicts have stayed within families and not become larger issues. Even

when different hunting parties from uncontacted tribes would encounter each other, there were no records of violence.

In Cumberland Sound and the surrounding area, it was believed that there was a good spirit, Sanaq/Sana, whose name could be invoked and would deliver seals, deer, or other needs (Boas, 1964, p. 175). The Oqomiut believe that after a person dies, they would either go up to a happy place or would go down to a miserable place (Boas, 1964, p. 181). All Inuit who had been good, killed by accidents, or by suicide went Qudliparmiut, the good place, which had no ice, was always bright, had no trouble or work, and was full of fun and play without end. All Inuit who had been bad, violent, or unhappy while on Earth went to Adliparmiut, the bad place, which was dark and always freezing, with constant troubles and no escape<sup>3</sup>.

### **What Happened**

Cumberland Sound was likely home to 1,600 Oqomiut in 1840. The population was typically along the coast, scattering to multiple areas for fishing, whaling, and inland hunting. In 1840, European whalers made contact with the native Baffin Islanders, resulting in the Baffin Islanders being ravaged by syphilis and diphtheria. In 1853, William Penny began his own whaling and mining colony, and by 1857, the native population of Cumberland Sound had dropped to around 300 (McElroy, 2008, p. 28). By December 1883, the Cumberland Sound had exactly 245 inhabitants divided among eight

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<sup>3</sup> While each of these concepts has its own uniqueness, there exists a clear parallel between these religious perspectives and the ideas that Christian missionaries would have been introducing to Cumberland Sound since 1840 and to the Baffin Island area since the 1700s. The Inuit of Baffin Island had always had many feasts, but the degree to which these belief systems predated the missionaries is questionable at best. How might have Christianity had made its way to Cumberland Sound before the whalers? Could it have spread by word of mouth from the Great Lakes area? Could earlier explorers from Europe such as Leif Erikson have left a larger impact than has been recognized?



settlements (Figure 2.3). By then, only 86 were Talirpingmiut, their largest settlement having 29 members and their smallest having 11. In the 43 years following first contact with European whalers, the entire population of the whole of Baffin Island (1,000-1,100 inhabitants) had dropped below what had been the regional population of only Cumberland Sound in 1840 (1,600) (Boas, 1964, p. 17).

Figure 2.3 K'exerten Harbor, Cumberland Sound 1888 by Frans Boas<sup>4</sup>



There were an estimated 1,500 bowhead whales in Cumberland Sound in the early 1800s, before the introduction of commercial hunting from European whalers (McElroy, 2008, p. 19-21). About 10 to 12 bowheads each year would be hunted by the Baffin Islanders. Commercial whaling peaked in 1860 and steadily declined with the whale population. Starting in 1840, commercial whalers began trading with the Inuit for blubber and oil, quickly affecting every aspect of their lives from migration patterns to religion.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://diglib.amphilsoc.org/islandora/object/graphics:5384>

By 1888, multiple tribes that had rarely interacted prior resettled together on the western shore of Cumberland Sound so that they could follow the European whalers. Tribes outside the Oqomiut, such as the Nugumiut, joined the declining Talirpingmiut. Formerly, regular interactions between tribes along entire basins and shores were unheard of. Marriages and relationships between individuals in separate tribes were common, sometimes making distinctions between tribes difficult to outsiders, but the marriages were still based on individual exceptions and distance tended to be the ultimate force determining the closeness of the relationship between tribes (Boas, 1964, p. 55). It became more profitable for many Inuit to dedicate their lives to trading with European whalers rather than continuing to live as they had before. The European whalers had found that it was easier to trade with the Baffin Islanders to acquire blubber and skins than actually whaling constantly. The natives gained guns, tobacco, coffee, and other goods in these deals from the commercial whalers turned commercial traders.

The dominant force behind the trade between the Baffin Islanders and the commercial whalers was profit for the whaling companies, and this meant that the supply, demand, and degree of trading done could suddenly change depending on the perceived needs of those running the whaling companies across the Atlantic. By the early 1900s, the whale trading process was no longer profitable due to over-whaling, the commercial whalers encouraged the Inuit to focus on animal skins and ivory, again changing the way their entire society operated.

As natural resources grew more scarce with the trading pressure from the Europeans, the newer generations had not known life before the traders, and could only tell their children through secondhand stories. Each family had a choice, to continue

trying to maintain tradition or relocating to a possibly more secure and advantageous European settlement (McElroy, 2008, p. 36).

The lifestyle of the natives of Cumberland Sound was freshly derailed by outside influences every 20 years. 1840 brought the first interactions and new diseases, wiping out roughly 81% of the Cumberland Sound population in less than 20 years. 1860 saw the peak of commercial whaling, devastating the whale population and creating an alternative lifestyle for many natives by outsourcing their labor, typically interfering with their nomadic lifestyle. Many Inuit were temporarily employed by the whalers for short periods of time (McElroy, 2008, p. 34). 1880 saw multiple tribes begin relocating permanently with other tribes in order to pursue the whalers and continue trading with them. By 1905, the bowhead whales were almost extinct (McElroy, 2008, p. 35), which led to traders increasing their demand for other items. The Inuit began hunting other animals for skins and ivory, which again affected the natural supply of Cumberland Sound and Baffin Island. As their relationship continued, the Inuit became increasingly dependent on traders for materials such as metal pots and cloth, as well as foreign foodstuffs and tobacco (McElroy, 2008, p. 35).

Comparing the Baffin Island Inuit of the 1840s to the Baffin Island Inuit of the 1880s, Franz Boas noted that while the Inuit form of substance had drastically changed, the other aspects of the lives such as religion and social structure had remained mostly the same (McElroy, 2008, p. 46).

There was no violence between people, only cooperation and the seizing of opportunity. This dynamic benefited the commercial whalers and traders much more than the Baffin Islanders. Both groups became interdependent upon each other (McElroy,

2008, p. 32). However, if the circumstances became unprofitable, such as happened after the near extinction of the bowhead whales, the commercial whalers could simply leave or find a new market, while the Inuit had lost a vital resource that was a critical part of their new livelihood and lifestyle. If the party got too out of hand, the commercial whalers could walk out, while the Inuit still had to live in the house.

### **What If..**

Imagine that no commercial whalers ever came to Arctic North America. For our purposes, it does not matter if William Penny ever ventured out into the sea in 1840 so long as he never approached North America nor the Arctic Circle. Imagine no foreign missionaries ever crossed the Atlantic. Imagine Baffin Island with only the influences of Native North America.

The Inuit had lived their lives on Baffin Island for thousands of years before any European influence, with little to no evidence to suggest that their methods of living had or would change for hundreds of years without an outside influence forcing their lives in a specific direction.

The world that existed on Baffin Island had no major conflicts nor organized violence, no complex social organization, and tended to take only the resources that they needed to live comfortably. There was no powder keg ready to explode and even if there had been one, it was in a world perfect for dampening its effects.

### **What If One Tribe Did Unite And Attack Another Tribe?**

First, tribes did not function as larger systems of power, they were casual settlements, where the largest military coalition known to have ever formed on Baffin Island was a few individuals from different tribes working together to ambush a serial killer (Boas, 1964, p. 57). Besides being unprecedented, there would also be no reasonable gain from attacking what could hardly be thought of as other tribes as units of a whole, but settlements of people. There was not a demand for forced human labor, much less a precedent, and little to gain other than possibly pillaging houses for additional supplies. Still, if a group of settlements did unite into a recognized tribe and attacked other settlements, then Carneiro's circumscription theory applies perfectly. If possible, the rest of the settlements would move away from the attacking tribe could simply move away from the attacking tribe. Baffin Island was not crowded and almost every group had both sledges and boats for transportation across land that was not owned by any party. The tribes of Baffin Island were migratory, thus relocating away from the aggressors would not be a significant challenge. If a large, aggressive, fighting force did suddenly materialize on Baffin Island, they could easily be avoided without much change to the typical migratory patterns of the Inuit. The biggest problem with this idea would be the formation of multiple families into an organized unit with a unifying objective of violence due to the unstructured nature of the Inuit lifestyle.

#### What if Cumberland Sound's Population Grew So That They Overhunted The Whales?

This imaginary scenario has been proposed for centuries and is explicitly addressed by Franz Boas in *The Central Eskimo* (Boas, 1964, p. 18-19). The Inuit were not nearly a large enough force to single-handedly harm the bowhead whale population,

especially divided up as tribes, settlements, and families. It was the efforts of the commercial whalers, aided by their influence on mobilizing the Inuit to target whales, that resulted in the near-extinction of the bowheads. However, to put this idea to rest, let us consider for a moment longer.

There were an estimated 1,500 bowhead whales in Cumberland Sound in the early 1800s, despite the whaling that had already been happening since the late 1700s in nearby areas. Our closest headcount of Cumberland Sound is the presumed 1,600 inhabitants of 1840, 40 years later than the whale data. Assuming that the whale population and human population of Cumberland Sound had both existed for hundreds of years without known interruption, suggest that the population counts would continue to increase in a somewhat similar manner, seeing as the human or whale population had not found homeostasis at a differing population ratio. One could imagine that due to birthing rates, the human population would eventually overtake and threaten the whale population, but that inevitability would be closer to an impossibility for Cumberland Sound. Considering potential natural population barriers, such as the availability of food for humans during the winter, there is little reason to suspect that the whale population of Cumberland Sound would have been at any real threat from human whaling so long as their populations remained somewhat relative, as they evidently had been.

#### What If A Terrible Winter Occurred?

The biggest threat to the Inuit was the extreme winters they faced. Winters made traveling more difficult and people had to contend with extremely cold temperatures. However, the most critical danger was that frigid temperatures could prevent seals from

creating breathing holes. Without breathing holes, the Inuit would not have access to hunt most seals, and it had been reported that a lack of access to food could easily be the end for traveling parties (Boas, 1964, p. 20).

If an outside force such as a season-long blizzard interrupted the lives of the Inuit on Baffin Island, it is likely that the result would be starvation. Famines were routine and houses were specifically designed to be able to store enough food for the winter. But if a winter continued to last and deprived the natives of their primary form of sustenance, the Inuit would have little chance of survival. Extreme cases of desperation have shown that key individuals were willing to resort to eating their dogs and then their families in order to survive. Hunting deer or hare might sound like an option, but it is incredibly unlikely, and unprecedented, that such choices would result in anything but frostbite or freezing to death. Each settlement would have to deal with its ever-increasing starvation individually, and it is not expected that any would be able to survive longer than a continuous year of winter.

### **Most Likely...**

If Europeans have never crossed the Atlantic nor influenced Native America, it is most likely that little notable difference would exist between the inhabitants of Baffin Island in 1840 and 2040. The Baffin Islanders' way of life had proven itself to be self-sustaining and, like an object set into motion, would not cease unless acted upon by an outside force.

The Talirpingmiut were incredibly stable as a society. From a Marxist perspective, there is no class exploitation or alienation, and conflicts rarely expand beyond

the interpersonal level. The only conflicts between thesis and antithesis would result in personal changes rather than erupt into violence.

With an emphasis on the environment, echoing Julian Steward, culture is adaptation. Migrations are an adaptation to follow the food sources in a generally inhospitable climate. What was available determined how the Talirpingmiut lived, such as their local familial-based unity. There never was a demand to kill animals to a greater degree than was needed for survival, so it was never done.

Steward, White, and Marx all argued for the importance of technological changes. The Inuit had developed a highly efficient technology for their types of hunting. It is unlikely that using local materials from Baffin Island could have made improvements to their technology. Following White's Law, their technology had already reached its maximal efficiency given the materials present at their situation. Even with the introduction of metal for their hunting weapons, the Talirpingmiut preferred to continue using ivory. There was little space for technology to evolve.

From the Punctuated Equilibrium/Gradualism perspective, the European whalers served as a punctuated equilibrium, but there is no other source that we can anticipate on Baffin Island besides the chance of prolonged poor weather conditions. Gradualism would suggest thresholds that would be reached, but the Talirpingmiut's environment combined with their population numbers suggests that maintenance of population numbers is in question rather than growth in numbers. With the environment largely capping the issue of overpopulation, there are few reasons to expect that the Talirpingmiut would have considerably changed as a society without the punctuated equilibrium of European influence.



The population would not have dropped so far in the 1840s and onward, allowing tribes like the Talirpingmiut and the other three tribes of the Oqomuit to continue as tribes rather than all losing their populations and eventually lumping together. The whale population would also have been benefited because it would have never been pushed to the brink of extinction. Even if the number of Baffin Islanders had been doubled and never harmed by European disease, they would not have even begun to impact the total population of the bowhead whales.

Iron was utilized once it was acquired by trading, but the general Inuit hunting methods, give or take a gun, remained the same. In general, the goods traded with Europeans resulted in a higher quality of life for those who received them (such as iron to sharpen objects or metal cooking pots), but like the proverbial Monkey's Paw, they came with dire strings attached. The Inuit were more than surviving before those 'gifts' from a foreign world and would have continued to live just as easily without them.

What happened to the Tarlirpingmiut is typical of capitalism. A new corporation offers goods and job opportunities to a local population, who built a dependency on the new goods and opportunities provided by the corporation. While the locals are dependant, the corporation gains from the relationship and leaves once it is no longer profitable.

The Inuit had hunted for sustenance, with little trade to be done. There was no motivation to kill more than was needed for survival. Once food needs and material needs were met, the only practical purpose of using time and energy for further killing would be to store up for the winter. The greatest change between the Inuit before and after European influence was a limited demand to kill animals vs an endless demand that resulted in hunting with no breaks nor limits.

Migrations would have continued as they had ever, with the only changes being the yearly questions of which pathways were available and what waterways had already frozen, both of which had already existed every year prior. New houses would continue to be built every year and the clothes would remain the same, save for the inclusion of cotton as a material.

Without the pressure to follow traders, not only would migrations have continued, but the social lives of the tribes and settlements would have as well. Again, they rarely interacted prior to the arrival of European inference and they likely would have continued that until/unless some force intervened.

While it is probable that the religious and secular feasts would have remained due to their likely existence before the Europeans, the religious beliefs of the Baffin Islanders and their neighbors would likely be far different. Religious ideas tend to reflect their societies, and the societies of Baffin Island were subsistence-based hunters who operated in groups of families (Bowen, 2005, p. 14). Ideas of eternal salvation or damnation in an afterlife, such as the beliefs of the Nugumiut, would have no reason to have been conceived. However, the idea of a great spirit that delivered could possibly be a glimpse into the belief system that was in place before European influences.

To directly apply a Marxist perspective, religion was part of the superstructure and related to maintaining the reproduction of the existing form of production. Without changes in the form of production, there would likely be no major changes in religion. This further emphasizes how oddly the Talirpingmiut's religion matched their society. It could be expected that a society suddenly experiencing changes in production would also experience changes in their religion, but the changes would work to support the new

modes of production. A quick look at the Talirpingmiut's modes of production makes it highly suspect that they would have practiced any organized religion that resembled Christianity.

It is possible that certain thresholds would have been reached without outside influence, such as the population eventually becoming too great for the natural resources without some form of agriculture or pastoralism. If changes were to take place, they would much more likely be cosmetic than systematic. Changes in clothing styles would be more probable to change than a change from a hunting-based lifestyle to a pastoral-based lifestyle. The population of Baffin Island when compared to Baffin Island's size and resource count makes crossing such thresholds unlikely.

In regards to the major factors of population size, subsistence methods, social organization, and technology, if Baffin Island had never been influenced by European forces, their lives would have continued as they had for hundreds of years before. Theoretically, a lack of external interference would have allowed them to continue their way of living indefinitely.

### III. THE IROQUOIS (THE HAUDENOSAUNEE)

#### What Was

(Brief ethnography including size/location, name history, subsistence methods, social organization, gender roles, technology, domestication of animals)

When European Colonists crossed the Atlantic, there was a union of five indigenous nations that the French called The Iroquois (Colden, 1964, p. 3). Since then, they have also been referred to as The Iroquois League, The Iroquois Confederacy, The Five Nations, The Five Native Lands, Wi:s Nihwenjiada:ge:, and the Rodinunchsiouni (Colden, 1964, p. XXVII, 3; Fenton, 1998, p. 3). The name Iroquois (with an “oy” sound) is a mispronunciation of the original French name Iroquois (with an “ah” sound) which was written down by the first governor of New France, Samuel de Champlain, when he misheard Algonquian-speaking peoples calling their enemies, the Five Nations, “ela qua,” which translates roughly as “real snakes.” While the name Iroquois remained popular in English and French-speaking circles, the people of the Five Nations never referred to themselves as snakes, nor as any butchered pronunciations of it. They had always called themselves and continued to call themselves, the Haudenosaunee, meaning, People Building the Longhouse (WMHT, 2018).

Longhouses were exactly that, long, insulated houses that could accommodate many families at a time, keeping them all inside with a fire and protecting them from the cold outside (Figure 3.1, 3.2). The Haudenosaunee viewed their collective territory as one giant longhouse in which they all lived together (Fenton, 1988, p. 24; *Iroquois or Haudenosaunee*).

Figure 3.1 Exterior View of Traditional Iroquois Longhouse<sup>5</sup>



Figure 3.2 Crawford Lake Longhouse<sup>6</sup>



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<sup>5</sup> Eden, Janine and Jim from New York City, CC BY 2.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Exterior\\_view\\_of\\_traditional\\_Iroquois\\_longhouse.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Exterior_view_of_traditional_Iroquois_longhouse.jpg)

<sup>6</sup> Alex Laney, CC BY-SA 4.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons  
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crawford-lake-longhouse.jpg>

The Haudenosaunee referred to their land as “This Old Island” because they imagined their world as resting on the back of a turtle swimming through a primal sea (Fenton, 1998, p. 3). Their creation myth of the Earth Grasper, also called The World on the Turtle’s Back, was widespread. The Iroquoian telling of it also included dream guessing, gratefulness to the sky from the earth, and beliefs that whenever humankind was faced with dilemmas, a prophet would appear (Fenton, 1998, p. 4).

Figure 3.3 Les Cinq Nations Iroquoises<sup>7</sup>



The Haudenosaunee were composed of five nations, the Mohawk, the Onondaga,

<sup>7</sup> R. A. Nonenmacher, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Les\\_Cinq\\_Nations\\_iroquoises\\_\(1650\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Les_Cinq_Nations_iroquoises_(1650).svg)

the Oneida, the Cayuga, and Seneca, who lived South of Lake Ontario (Brandao, 2003, p. 5) (Figure 3.3). They were connected by similar languages and by culture. Their oral history has preserved the story of their origin, and outside sources have dated it back to between 1090-1050 AD (Mann, 2005, p. 380-384). According to their oral history, five nations were in constant states of war with each other until one day, key individuals (Dekanawidah the peacemaker and Hiawatha/Ayenwatha the spokesman) united the nations one by one into the Haudenosaunee. In joining the union of five nations, each nation gave up some of its independence, but became part of a larger system with many institutions to prevent war and preserve peace, dictated in the Great Law Of Peace, which looked at how the next seven generations would be affected by any law passed (Iroquois Constitution, 2017). The leader of the alliance would summon the 50 sachems, local leaders, to represent the five nations. Different nations had a different number of sachems, but any decisions that they made had to be unanimous. The leaders of each clan, the clan mothers, chose the all-male sachems. Sachems and their successors only fulfilled their positions if allowed by the clan mothers. The fact that major decisions had to be sent back to each nation to be decided created a check on authority, and each nation could decide its own relationship with the other nations individually. Foreign affairs were preserved as an issue for all five nations to share and agree upon together.

Male and female societies functioned somewhat separately, but neither group was superior to the other. Only women could lead a clan and only men could be war chiefs. The men could make decisions as sachems, but they could only decide on the matters sent to them by the women. Besides possibly being removed if a sachem did not do as the clan mothers said, the Great Law of Peace also encouraged the sachems to heed the warnings

of their female relatives. Further, women, who were technically given ownership of everything produced from the Earth, also could demand that an issue be reconsidered if they disagreed with the conclusion of the male leaders of the Haudenosaunee.

After the Great Law of Peace united the five separate nations into the Haudenosaunee, the quality of life was improved and raids and local conflicts could easily be solved by the council. Later in the mid-1600s, the Haudenosaunee's emphasis on personal liberty would fascinate European explorers, who described them as "all free by nature, and will not bear any domineering or lording over them" (Mann, 2005, p. 283). The Great Law Of Peace has been credited as an inspiration for the Constitution of the United States of America, and recognized by the United States Congress, although some primary differences between the Great Law and the Constitution are that the Haudenosaunee had communal ownership rather than emphasizing private property, and the Haudenosaunee did not make exceptions to liberty for women, enslaved people, and those without private property (Mann, 2005, P. 384, H.R. Rep. No. 100-1031, 1988).

Historically, Native Americans sometimes ate squash and seeds, but focused much more on wild foods such as mammals, birds, and fish for sustenance until 500-200 BCE Foreign plants from Mexico, such as corn and beans, made their way to the East Coast by CE 1 and had begun being farmed by 1100 CE North Americans domesticated what could be domesticated as it was made available to them. Thus, as Native Americans were exposed to foreign plants, their diets expanded and became increasingly agricultural (Diamond, 2017, p. 127-150 ).

Festivals would often be held, and sometimes, such as during pigeon hunting, everyone could participate. The men would knock the pigeons down, with the children



wringing their necks, and the women stewing them (Mann, 2005, p. 365). It was normal that every Haudenosaunee village would be expected to be encircled by about six square miles of maize (Mann, 2005, p. 301). It is understood that four villages closely located together would be surrounded by 8-16 square miles of maize fields<sup>8</sup>.

Every fall, the Haudenosaunee set fire to “the woods, plain, and meadows” to clean out the dead materials and have a better crop in the spring (Mann, 2005, p. 283-284). The Haudenosaunee cared for the animals that were a portion of their food source, but not by raising them in the traditional European sense. Instead of domesticating animals for meat, the Haudenosaunee retooled ecosystems to encourage the growth and health of wildlife for ample hunting (Mann, 2005, p. 285-288).

Using fires with careful maintenance as cleansing tools for ecosystems and care of the wildlife’s habitat resulted in an increased number of herbivores and carnivores. The Europeans that would later arrive thought of Haudenosaunee territory as forest primeval, but they were not wandering through mysterious woods, but well-kept gardens. Even the types of trees and how spaciouly they were located were purposefully planned by the Native Americans (Mann, 2005, p. 287, 301-302).

## **What Happened**

The earliest date for direct European/Haudenosaunee interactions was in 1603, when Samuel de Champlain was made the first Governor of New France and his men

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<sup>8</sup> This is huge. Even if the Haudenosaunee agricultural methods that were 1/3 of modern methods, that would result in a yield of a quarter million bushels of grain, able to feed thousands of people. What’s more, the governor of New France, Marquis de Denonville, once reported attacking four adjacent Haudenosaunee villages and burning 1.2 million bushels of maize (42,000 tons). Where were these calories going normally? Where was the demand for the supply? Abrutyn and Lawrence clarify that societies rarely expend effort and resources to solve issues that are not present, so what was causing such a massive demand in maize?

discovered the Wyandot Nation at war with the Five Nations (Colden, 1964, p. 3). The French quickly found themselves involved with the Iroquois' opponents of leading to many accounts of violence. This series of violent encounters and the subsequent Haudenosaunee expansion became known as both The Beaver Wars and The Iroquois Wars, and lasted through most of the 1600s (Schlesier, 1976; Mann, 2005, p. 126).

It must be considered that the first French base of operations in North American was in 1535-1536. When the Haudenosaunee were warring with their neighbors in 1603, there was not yet a direct demand from them for beaver fur (which would be instigated in 1608 by Champlain) (Schlesier, 1976, p. 131). Some historians have suggested that the Haudenosaunee sought outward expansion or monetary gain in beaver furs from their warring, but a more likely possibility is that the Haudenosaunee were participating in warfare to claim and integrate captives into their society as a means of balancing back their population numbers that had dropped from European brought epidemics (Schlesier, 1976, p. 129). By 1630, fur had started running out as a resource and the Haudenosaunee continued outward expansion, warring with other nations. Although this era is sometimes called the Beaver Wars, it was most likely not entirely about the pursuit of beaver pelts. Beaver had been hunted to near extinction by the 1630s but the wars continued throughout the remainder of the 17th century. (Schlesier, 1976; Mann, 2005, p. 126).

Life changed for the Iroquois in the 100 years following 1603. The neighboring Hurons were brought down to a mere 10,000 in population by 1640, less than one-fifth of their population eight years before (Schlesier, 1976, p. 141). As native populations declined, groups may have combined. As early as 1656, it was recorded that the Onondaga was composed of seven different nations and that the Seneca had as many as

11 (Schlesier, 1976, p. 134). Diseases had already hurt the Haudenosaunee and other nations to such an extent that the nations had begun adopting abductees and prisoners of war to make up for their extreme population losses. Between 1680 and 1700, the Haudenosaunee had captured 2,384-2, (Brandao, 2003, p. 7). By the time of the 1701 Great Peace of Montreal, in which 40 native nations and the French met to negotiate a peace, over a quarter of the Haudenosaunee were former captives from other nations (Mann, 2005, pg. 126).

Due to the introduction of European firearms and metal arrowheads that could pierce traditional wooden armor, the relatively bloodless confrontations between large groups of Native Americans were replaced by mass slaughters, pushing Native Americans battle tactics and warfare closer to raids and away from large-scale open confrontations (Richter, 1983, p. 538). Beyond population drops and forced integration, their daily lifestyle began reflecting that of their new, European neighbors. The historian Cadwallader Colden wrote in 1750 that “this Nation indeed has laid aside many of its ancient Customs, and so likewise have the other Nations ... and have adopted many of ours; so that it is not easy now to distinguish their original and genuine Manners, from those which they have lately acquired” (Fenton, 1988, p. 147, 153-154).

Up until the 1750s, the Haudenosaunee continued fighting in The Mourning Wars, working to increase their population (Parmenter, 2007, p. 39). The events following the Mourning Wars became what is now known as both the French and Indian War and the Seven Years War of 1754-1763. The Seven Years War happened in large part due to the worldwide War of Austrian Succession, which pitted the French against the British on almost every continent on Earth (Anderson, 2014). While often thought of

as the Haudenosaunee and British against the French, Huron, and other Indian nations, The Haudenosaunee's role in this war is best summarized as follows,

“As allies in the French and Indian War, the Iroquois refused to make a public, consensual declaration for either the French or the English, preferring to maximize their political flexibility by maintaining, as much as possible, an independent position...they upheld to a remarkable degree an ethic of mutual nonaggression among ethnic Iroquoians, avoiding or defusing situations that had the potential for Iroquois warriors to face one another in battle. Finally, by carefully balancing the flow of military intelligence to their colonial allies, they influenced the course of several campaigns and protected their homelands from the potentially devastating consequences of an invading European” (Parmenter, 2007, p. 76)

A decade after the French and Indian War, the American Revolutionary War began between the American Colonies and the British Empire. The Haudenosaunee sought to join the side of the expected winner of the conflict. This decision splintered the Five (six at this time with the inclusion of the Tuscarora in 1722) Nations, with the Tuscarora and Oneida allied with the colonies and the Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Seneca joined with the British (Colden, 1964, p. XX).

This period has been called the Iroquois Civil War, but more recent evidence suggests the opposite (Tiro, 2000, p. 148-165). Just as in the French and Indian War, the Haudenosaunee worked at a societal level to prevent violence between the nations, and at

the individual level to either mitigate violence between nations or avoid it outright if possible. There was the rare battle in which the Haudenosaunee warred against each other in the same way that they warred against the white armies, but after the Battle of Oriskany in 1777, no similar conflict took place between the Haudenosaunee until the War of 1812.

What did cause strife were the results after the war. When the colonists won, the Oneidas were allowed to keep their land, but the United States treated the other nations as defeated foes. The preferential treatment of the Oneidas divided the nations, resulting in two different council fires, and splitting the Iroquois Confederacy (Tiro, 2000, p. 165). After two divisive wars, separated by the smallpox epidemic of 1774, what further dwindled the confederacy's military strength was the treatment of those who had sided against the colonies and the unequal treatment of the Oneidas (Mann, 2005, p. 122). Later, the United States would begin to expand Westward, requiring more and more of the Haudenosaunee's land. As is common knowledge, each new deal favored the United States and further weakened the once powerful Iroquois Confederacy.

### **What If...**

Imagine that no European settlers came to North America. For our purposes, it does not matter if France and Britain ever ventured out to the Americas so long as they never approached North America. Imagine no armed forces crossed the Atlantic. Imagine the East Coast with only the influences of Native North America.

If the Haudenosaunee lived together as five nations since 1150AD, then their society had maintained itself as three nations and gained the additional two all in the span

of 450 years. Because of the shared culture of the northeastern Native American tribes to cultivate the land, the massive garden that was the Eastcoast in 1600 can be understood as the product of hundreds of years of labor, not limited to the age of the united Haudenosaunee. Each nation had its own way of living, and the Haudenosaunee had their five nations and representative social structure to maintain peace between peoples.

### What If The Haudenosaunee Had Decided To Take Over The Continent?

The first greatest issue with this question would be motivation. As for capability, if done at the start of the 1600s, the Haudenosaunee were easily one of the most powerful unified Native fighting forces, able to terrorize their neighbors and the French for a century during and after the Iroquois Wars. It could be questioned why the Haudenosaunee would attack others or what they might do after attacking, but there is little question, at least in the immediate events of a conquest, that the Haudenosaunee had the capability of suddenly expanding by use of force. They were hemmed in by other large nations, such as the Wyandot and the Huron, but the events from the early 1600s suggest that the Haudenosaunee would have initially been successful in outward expansion at the turn of the century.

If the Haudenosaunee did decide to take over their surrounding tribes, they likely would have purposefully decided between the options of running off their competitors, setting up a tribute system, or fully integrating their defeated enemies into the Haudenosaunee. Carneiro's Circumscription Theory would be best applied here to understand the potential outcomes. It is probable that many other tribes would have fought with and run from the Haudenosaunee, while the Haudenosaunee set up tribute

systems with the tribes that they defeated and integrated the new populations to maintain homeostasis in the Haudenosaunee population. The fates of the escaping tribes would be determined equally by what they were fleeing from and fleeing to.

The Haudenosaunee had a precedent for receiving tributes from other nations and for integrating captives into their nations, but they did not routinely integrate entire nations at once into their society. The change from five to six nations happened peacefully, and each of the five nations tended to have members from multiple outside nations within their own, due to their captive taking. The captive system of integration would not work on an entire nation, meaning that either the Haudenosaunee would need to quickly create a system to rule over enemy nations, a system to turn enemy nations into something else, or not rule over enemy nations.

Population density and land availability become issues when imagining how far the Haudenosaunee could conquer. The further the conquest, the more likely the metaphorical longhouse would fracture and break. While it is not hard to imagine the Haudenosaunee expanding to possess their surrounding area, once they ran out of either tribes to easily subjugate or a Haudenosaunee population to reign, they would only weaken. The Haudenosaunee specialized in self-governing rule and egalitarianism, but not empire building. Anything beyond aggressive tribute systems and integration of captives would have likely fractured soon.

### What If The Haudenosaunee Had Domesticated Large Animals?

While appearing trivial at first glance, the domestication of animals has been thought to shape entire civilizations and determined the amount of labor that could be

produced in a day, as well as who died from what diseases when people from different parts of the world would meet (Diamond, 2017, p. 187-205). While taming happens only on an individual level to a wild animal and changes its behavior, domestication happens over generations and changes the genetics of captive animals, often through selective breeding, to become more useful to humans. The permanently altered products of the process are the domesticated forms of the wild species. (Diamond, 2017, p.154-155). To domesticate a wild species, the Haudenosaunee would need to acquire the animals, contain them together in captivity successfully, keep them fed, breed them, and continue doing so for enough generations that the species begins to change.

Smaller animals, such as the wolf and the deer, and carnivorous mammals, such as the bear or large cats, are not worth considering as realistically domesticable large animals. The most prime candidates for domestication would have been the American bison, elk, and moose. Each of these animals posed its own combination of issues that prevented their domestication by any Native American groups, further explaining the common method of ecological care to promote animal populations, but we will imagine that the Haudenosaunee were able to (Diamond, 2017, p. 162-168). Applying White's Law, we see that a new form of product, animal husbandry, would be practiced. With this new form of production would come new resources, such as regular access to meat, labor, and dung, which could all be used to contribute to their society. It is realistic to assume that the Haudenosaunee would have gained in efficiency as they continued their animal husbandry, learning to use every part of the animal and the product of its labor. IF the Haudenosaunee were able to domesticate a large animal species, or even contain and utilize some as tamed specimens, it would have been eventually used for in the most



productive way available to the Haudenosaunee, from meat to labor, from war to gifts, from transportation to fertilizer (Diamond, 2017, p. 157-158).

### **Most Likely...**

If Europeans have never crossed the Atlantic nor influenced Native America, smallpox would have never led to the Mourning Wars. European forces would have not warred with the Haudenosaunee, nor would they have separated them by nation both during and after their warring.

The Haudenosaunee were unstable as a society. From a Marxist perspective, while the Haudenosaunee were incredibly egalitarian, the entire multi-national society was only organized in an agreement of peace and the customs listed in the Great Law of Peace. If conflict were to arise, it could be addressed by the sachems, but there would always remain the potential for conflict to fall along national lines. Violence would likewise be prevented and mitigated by the sachems, but there would always remain a potential for violence in a society so focused on warfare and divided in identities, with new members joining as the product of raids. There was the constant threat of outside tribes warring against the Haudenosaunee, but given the Haudenosaunee's record during the Mourning Wars, in 1600 the other tribes would have probably functioned more as a unifying threat to all Haudenosaunee so long as the nations on the edges of the metaphorical longhouse remained content with the foreign affairs decisions of their government.

The Haudenosaunee worked to maintain their population despite warring European forces, but what about population growth? If a system, society, works, then the result is population growth. As the society grew, they would need to feed more mouths.

Following the pattern of sufficiency in societal problem solving and the Haudenosaunee's history of tributes rather than elimination, an increase in agriculture would be far more likely than any other form of sustenance. The Haudenosaunee were far more egalitarian than most agricultural societies but were also relatively new to agriculture. As is shown by the history of Central American indigenous societies, increases in agriculture typically meant increases in hierarchy (Mann, 2005, p. 384). Agriculture also commodifies land as a resource, leading to the problem of who owns the land. If there were any single factor that could be expected to turn the Haudenosaunee into a state society, it would be an increase in agriculture and the commodification of possessing land.

Possibly the greatest threat of punctuated equilibrium to the Haudenosaunee would not be material, but their belief system. The Haudenosaunee were to expect prophets and listen to them, providing any individual the ability to potentially disrupt their entire society. With the expectation that prophets could come at any time to solve a dilemma, all it would take for any individual to claim the identity of a prophet would be to identify a problem and demand a specific solution. What would prevent a random Mohawk from claiming that the Oneida or any other nation was a threat to the confederacy and must be treated poorer? This belief could allow for an event of punctuated equilibrium at any moment.

If Europeans have never crossed the Atlantic nor influenced Native America, the Haudenosaunee would not have suddenly been met by the demand of expansion (whether from beavers or lost population), would not have fought the French, nor allied with the British, and would have continued their warring with the Wyandot and Huron in the early 1600s (Colden, 1964, p. 3). While the Haudenosaunee were the joint forces of the

Mohawk, the Onondaga, the Oneida, the Cayuga, and the Seneca, they were originally a union of the Mohawk, the Onondaga, and the Seneca, without the Oneida and the Cayugas (Colden, 1964, p. XVII). This means that since the original formation of the Haudenosaunee, around 1100, the Haudenosaunee have added tribes, but not removed any.

The Europeans are the perfect example of the Haudenosaunee when put under pressure. Instead of watching them fall apart when faced with European trade, disease, and military, the Haudenosaunee remained united and fought against the French and their preexisting enemies, never splintering into smaller components. While the Haudenosaunee did splinter during the Revolutionary War, that was only after over 150 years of pressure and after having become the Six Nations after 1722 (Colden, 1964, p. XX).

Thus, when faced with the question of what would have happened to the Haudenosaunee without European influence, and regarding that they could only grow, maintain, or decrease in size, the Haudenosaunee would have likely only continued to grow as they fought against the Wyandot and Huron in conflicts that they continued to dominate in, even when the French were part of the opposition (Colden, 1964, p. 3-15).

Given the expectation that the Haudenosaunee would have at least continued, if not grown in size, the only external influencing powers that could appear in their culture would be those brought in by any enemies turned into members of the community. It is a possibility that the Haudenosaunee could have begun placing greater emphasis on male society than female if their warring efforts continued indefinitely and continued to grow, but we did not observe this during their great expansion during the Beaver Wars and thus

have no reason that it would happen in even more minor conflicts that lack the European incentives to intensify warring.

After about 500 years of union as the Haudenosaunee, with the change from three nations to five (six due to European pressure), and considering that the Haudenosaunee were the largest fighting force in their region at the time, being considered a peak until the influence of the Europeans, it is reasonable to suggest that they would have continued to slowly grow, maintaining about the same way of life as time went by, and possibly integrating more tribes into people building the longhouse.

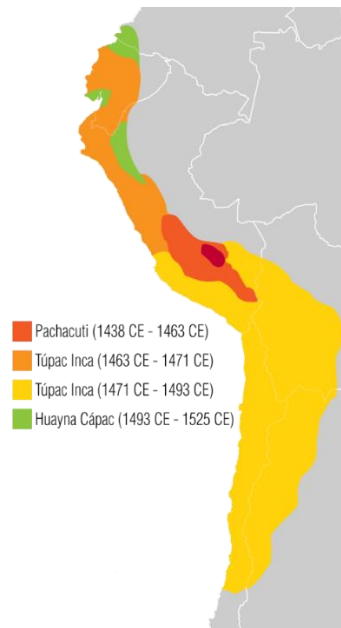
## IV. THE INCA

### What Was

(Brief ethnography including size/location, name history, subsistence methods, social organization, gender roles, significant religious worldview, technology, domestication of animals)

The Inca Empire was the largest political unit that existed in the Pre-Columbian Western Hemisphere (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 1). Ranging from modern-day Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, to Chile, and Argentina, this state-society dominated the Western side of South America from 1450 to 1532 (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Inca Expansion<sup>9</sup>



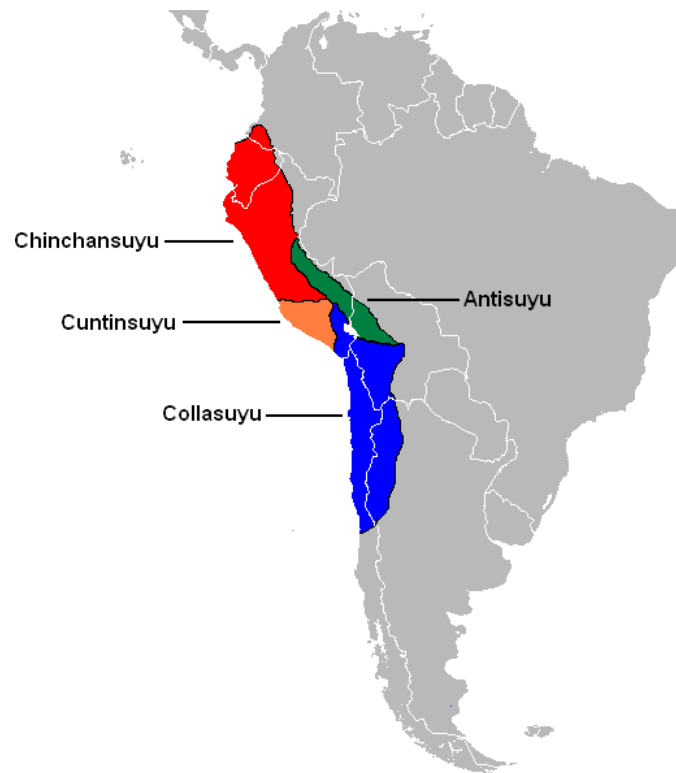
<sup>9</sup> QQuantum, CC BY-SA 4.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inca\\_Expansion.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inca_Expansion.svg)

According to the Inca stories, the creator, Viracocha, made the Inca's ancestors on the shores of Lake Titicaca. They founded the capital city of Cuzco and their ancestor-king, Manco Capac, founded a dynasty of kings, typically numbered at 11 by historians, until the coming of the Spaniards and Pizarro in 1532. The Inca myth becomes traceable with the 9th king, Pachacuti, who extended the Inca beyond Cuzco into an empire employing both conquest and alliances. He is credited with the creation of many institutions at an estimated date of the 1470s. Before Pachacuti, pre-Incan society in Cuzco was subjugated under another, likely state-level, society called the Huari. The Huari would have influenced the soon-to-become Incas' and are considered the Incas' historic precedent with forced labor from subjugated peoples (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 3).

The only written record left by the Inca are quipus, a system of knotted strings that were used for administrative tasks such as the census and tribute records. Today, we have no written record of what the Inca called themselves, only that their land was referred to by them as Tahuantinsuyu, "the four parts bound together" (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 2-3).

The Temple of the Sun in Cuzco (the Coricancha) was understood as the center of the empire with 41 or 42 imaginary lines (*ceques*) going in each direction towards three to fifteen sacred places (*huacas*) located in the Cuzco's valley (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 68). This radial system of orientation divided the Empire into four quadrants (Antisuyu, Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu, and Cuntisuyu) (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Inca Empire South America <sup>10</sup>



A decimal administration was also used by the empire to quantify their resources (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 20-21). Groups of 10 workers (*chunca*) joined in a larger group of 50. Two such groups could be added to form a group of 100 (*pachaca*). This system could be continued to create additional multiples of ten. Groups numbering in the 1000s were called *huaranga* and those in the 10,000s *hunu*. Regional administrators would verify and manage their numbers within their province, aided by an array of knot-keepers. While fully integrated into some regions, the Inca Empire also had areas in which there were active attempts to oppose and resist the decimal organization system

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<sup>10</sup> English Wikipedia user EuroHistoryTeacher, CC BY-SA 3.0 <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inca\\_Empire\\_South\\_America.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inca_Empire_South_America.png)

(Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 21).

The Inca generally preferred using allies to expand rather than direct conquest, and they often used indirect rule. This method typically was rebelled against once the Inca occupying force left, resulting in conflict and direct Inca rule (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 16). The Inca ruler, the always male Sapa Inca, and his wife held dominion over the other rulers. Administrators were typically family members. Marriage alliances took place and political factions could sometimes be formed (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 17). The kin-based rule combined with the decimal system required many specialists in administrative duties including tribute inspectors, census counters, resource records, and those charged with the maintenance of roads and bridges (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p.19).

The Inca thought of their land as divided into unequal thirds, a third of the land was to be used locally for crops and herds to support state projects, a third belonged to the gods and was used for religious ceremonies and rituals, and a third was reserved for use by the commoners for local use (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 6). Reciprocity was a key component of Inca culture, often shown during feasts, which demonstrated reciprocity between the state, the people, and the gods (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 7).

One of the things the Inca empire is most well-known for is its vast road system, rivaling that of the Roman Empire (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 242-245). The 25,000-mile road system was mostly composed of two highly traveled roads that reached down the coast, one as a coastal road, the other spanning the highlands. Around a dozen smaller roads crossed east to west, connecting these two major traffic ways. While building upon some preexisting roads, the Inca Empire was responsible for the creation of its vast road



network, ranging from deserts to cloud forests, beaches to 16,400 feet above sea level. The roads varied in width from 10 feet to 30 feet depending on the terrain. The vast road system included the use of complexly built bridges to continue the roads regardless of most obstacles. Roads and bridges needed to be able to carry groups of pack llamas and their handlers. Those who lived near the roads and bridges were responsible for the maintenance of the communal pathways as part of their labor obligation to the state.

The Inca minimized the need for food distribution from one end of the empire to another by supporting local food production (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 264-266). Hunting was practiced by the elite but forbidden to the average citizen of the Inca empire. The backbone of the economy was farming. In addition to local farms to feed each region, state farms also produced food and stored it in state warehouses. Herding produced animal labor, material for textiles, and a food source. Llamas were primarily pack-animals, while alpacas were herded for their wool. Fields could be divided by state and local uses, but herds were less fluid, with the state typically maintaining its own herds as well as acquiring local herds when they wished. Llamas and alpacas would be eaten once they became old, although the elite could afford to eat younger, tenderer meat. Fishing was limited by region, but the coast could have its products sent to the Sapa Inca in Cuzco in only three days. Fishing was of vital importance to the coastal and lake-adjacent areas and the Inca used sailboats to assist in their fishing. Guinea pigs were eaten, but never at the imperial level, remaining a staple food of local people. When a region could not provide for themselves, the Inca would provide them with food and necessities from their state storehouses, which would later be paid back once conditions improved.

Wealth was understood by the Inca in terms of labor (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 295). Thus, wives were primarily married not for their beauty or material possessions, but for their kin-group, following, and the labor that could be produced by utilizing them (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 254). Gender parallelism, where women are thought of as descending from women and men from men, was the norm for most people within the Inca empire. This understanding contributed to divisions of labor, but also the parallel transmission of rights of resources, including land, herds, and water (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 301). The women's labor, including planting, harvesting, weeding, weaving, cooking, and childcare, was not thought of as private labor completed for the benefit of a husband. Both women and men produced labor for the community in general (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 302). Like Inca kings, Inca queens were worshipped even after death (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 303). There was plenty of cross-over with gendered labor, but the perception remained that textiles were women's work and weapons were men's (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 303).

Conquest hierarchy was a hierarchical result of the dynamic of conquerors and the conquered in the Inca empire. Kin-groups were ranked by prestige, but with the expansion of the empire, ranking based on domination became more prevalent with every conquest. Conquerors had control over the conquered, including the women as prizes, and there was a need for additional administrative positions with each conquest. Only males filled the newly needed roles as additional census takers, judges, and those charged with the management of imperial storehouses. However, change still came for women too. The Sapa Inca, emperor of the Inca Empire, was understood as husband to all conquered women and could claim any woman that he ruled. This resulted in

the *acllacuna*, the chosen women (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 304). Conquered territories would be visited by male Inca representatives, who would rank women based on their kin-group, beauty, and social standing. The chosen would be sent away to learn feminine tasks and possibly be given to noblemen as secondary wives, to the Sapa Inca if good enough, or ritually sacrificed in a ceremony if found to be of the highest quality (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 13).

Increased conquest was detrimental to the rights of women and outside kin-groups around the empire. *Ayllus* were one of the principal units of social organization in the Andean communities (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 45-49). *Ayllus* was a general term used to classify groups, typically based around a kindred ethnic group with common ancestry, and other times based on a team needed to build an irrigation canal or work project. Each *ayllu* would be dispersed into multiple scattered settlements, giving the collective *ayllu* access to a greater variety of resources to the dispersal of its members. The formed *ayllus* remained a unit even as members were dispersed, with each member able to share their gains with the rest of their *ayllu*.

The Incas used slings, clubs, and lances as their primary tools of warfare (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 4). Alpaca wool was used for clothing (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 265). The Inca mined metallic ores and smelted them, producing solid metal objects (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 188-191). Inca metallurgy served the purposes of the state. Gold, silver, copper, and a gold/silver alloy called electrum were all used. Metalsmiths would heat the metal until it became a malleable solid, then hammer it into different shapes. Upper-class Inca used metal to show social status, while copper and bronze alloy were used in the production of small tools, such as needles, spindle

whorls, tweezers, chisels, and axes. Copper alloyed with tin made bronze commonplace between 540 CE and 900 CE, centuries before the Inca Empire of the 1400s and 1500s. Bronze was also used to make a variety of weapons, but only as markers of imperial presence and as the result of imperial production.

All the native domesticated South American animals of today were present in the Inca Empire (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 26). Muscovy ducks and guinea pigs were both domesticated primarily for food. The only large animals to be domesticated in the Americas were the llamas and alpacas. Dogs had been domesticated, but with little social importance beyond companionship and scavenging.

The Inca's primary institutions were,

“dualism, hierarchy, ancestor worship, reverence for the divinity of the Inca lineage, the recognition of kin-groups known as *ayllus*, and the worship of weather and creator gods, as well as *huacas*, sacred places, that united related groups of people spread out over the Andean landscape... This complementarity of institutions and practices, from the capital down to the smallest villages in the hinterlands, formed the basis for the convergence of values and practices between the Inca state and its subject populations. This helped forge a collective identity that was the bedrock of Inca power in Tahuantinsuyu” (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 5).

Inca expansion is understood to have been for wealth, but as the Inca measured wealth. That was not through owning private rights to land, but to labor (Urton & Von

Hagen, 2015, p. 254).

### **What Happened**

Around 1526, an epidemic of smallpox traveled from Spanish settlers in Panama and Columbia across the Inca empire, killing Sapa Inca Huayna Capac, most of his court, and his heir, Ninan Cuyuchi (Diamond, 2017, p. 75). The Inca had no universal system of succession, typically solving each succession with negotiations, assassinations, and schemes (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 255). If schemes did not work, wars would often be fought instead, with the belief that they proved who was stronger and had more favor with the gods. Atahualpa and his half-brother, Huascar, fought in a civil war for the throne. Atahualpa and his army of 40,000-80,000 were in Cajamarca (Northwestern Peru) in 1532 having just won decisive battles against Huayna. It was at this time that Pizarro and 167 men with 27 horses arrived in Cajamarca (Diamond, 2017, p. 72) (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 163).

Francisco Pizarro arrived in Peru in 1526 and interrogated Inca subjects in 1527 and 1531, following the successful methods Cortes had used before him with the Aztecs (Diamond, 2017, p. 77). The Spanish managed to kidnap emperor Atahualpa and hold him hostage for eight months. Inca institutions were determined by their divine ruler, so Atahualpa continued ruling during that time, and the Spanish ultimately determined the Incas choices by detaining their principal decision-maker. The Spanish used their eight months to gather allies against the Inca until history's largest ransom was paid by the Inca for their emperor. Once paid, the Spanish killed Atahualpa and began their assault against the Inca Empire (Diamond, 2017, p. 66-75).

Besides the drop in population from European disease, the Spanish had the advantage of superior weaponry, horses, the use of weaponry and horses to have well-armed cavalry ambushes, and the support of those natives who resented the Inca Empire (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 163). They also took advantage of the local belief system, that gods might come to settle the civil war between brothers.

Taking advantage of the Incas monarchical system, Pizarro appointed Túpac Hualpa, the brother of Huascar, as a puppet ruler. While the Spanish experienced conflict on their travel to Cuzco, they also were supported by those living in the Inca Empire who were discontent with the Inca rule. Some cities opposed the Spanish and were burnt to the ground, while others, such as those who had supported Huascar, celebrated in the streets that Túpac Hualpa was their new ruler (D'Altroy, 2014, p. 460-465). About 50% of the Andes people were willing to cooperate with the Spanish as an alternative to the violent reputation Atahualpa had gained for himself. After defeating Atahualpa's forces in battle with assistance from native rebels, Pizarro ransacked Cuzco. With Cuzco captured, Spaniards quickly began infighting. The 1540s were plagued by Spanish insurrections and warring Spaniards, with the last major rebellion ending in 1554.

After Hualpa's death from illness, Manco Inca was the next Sapa Inca, also a puppet ruler. He knew that he would never be the true ruler of the Inca while the Spanish ruled, so he began assembling a secret Inca army to oppose the Spanish, which tried and failed in 1536 to take back Cuzco. For the next 36 years, the Inca tried to continue their empire in the eastern forests and away from the eyes of the Spaniards. The remaining Inca Empire, led by Manco Inca and his successors, operated through guerilla warfare

against the Eastern Spanish forces and their Andean allies in a series of raids and massacres. One of these successors, Titu Kusi argued in a letter to the Spanish King that the remaining Inca and Spanish co-exist, but without success. The new Inca Capital, Vilcabamba, fell in 1572.

With the Spanish warring with each other and the Inca Empire shrinking into the jungle, there was a power vacuum. The Spanish Crown tried to incorporate its new subjects, but with difficulty, as they learned how much existed in South America. In the earliest years of Spanish rule, native peoples were awarded to Spanish soldiers as grants. Eighty-eight of the original conquistadores stayed in their new land to enjoy their riches and produce wealth from their new expendable resources of land, mines, and people to tax and receive labor from. The Andean population dropped by 50% in the 40 years following the Spanish invasion and some coastal areas saw their population drop as far as 95% of their size in 1532 (D'Altroy, 2014, p. 468). Overall, the Inca had designed each region to be close to self-sufficient, but now the Inca State support system was gone, civil wars and forced labor were common and random, and pestilence followed the general devastation brought by warfare.

As the Spanish claimed land, many local peoples reclaimed their lands that the Inca had taken. So many claims between local groups were disputed that the Spanish established a native court system to assist in local disputes. By the 1550s, multiple viceroys had been sent to South America, including Juan Polo Ondegardo. When he learned in 1558 that the Inca ancestors were still being worshipped by their descendants, he successfully found and destroyed the Inca mummies and ruler icons (D'Altroy, 2014, p. 469). In the 1570s, Spanish settlements had been

established and the process of *reducción*, relocation, began. Native Peoples were relocated outside of Spanish settlements and local leaders were incorporated into the Spanish system by giving them minor roles. This process allowed the Spanish to control the local leaders, while also keeping firmer control over their peoples. The Spanish's ultimate goal for the natives was to have them live as Spanish citizens and practice Catholicism, both of which would increase Spanish stability.

It should be noted that the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire is the largest straight-out plunder operation in the history of the world. (Wolf, 2010). The Inca Empire was not reigned over by the Spanish, it was raped. The Spanish plundered cities and sent the Inca riches back to Spain, South Americans for labor to produce more wealth to send back to Spain. The Inca Empire had what Spain wanted, wealth, and they took it.

### **What If...**

#### **What If Huayna Capac, His Heir, And The Inca Court Had Not Been Killed Off By Smallpox?**

The Spanish settlements north of the Inca resulted in the spread of smallpox to South America, resulting in mass death, which included the Sapa Inca, his heir, and most of his court. The civil war that followed the death of Huayna Capac was a disagreement of who should follow his reign, but the claim of his heir, Ninan Cuyuchi, would have been the strongest. There could have still been power struggles and potential assassinations, but Cuyuchi had the strongest claim to become the Sapa Inca and would have had the endorsement of Huayna Capac. The lack of smallpox does not guarantee his survival nor the absence of a civil war, but it is most likely that Ninan Cuyuchi would



have become the next Sapa Inca with relative ease compared to normal Inca politics.

As for Huayna Capac, his responses to the Spanish may have been the same, or entirely different from Atahualpa's. Individual psychology is difficult to map in theoretical scenarios, but his position would have been vastly different from Atahualpa's. He would have much more likely been found in Cuzco than on an escapade in Cajamarca. Pizarro would have had half an Empire to cross before meeting the Sapa Inca. Also, Huayna Capac would not have been the recently victorious leader in a civil war, but an established Sapa Inca ruling over a united Empire. Pizarro could not have kidnapped Atahualpa without his advanced technologies of horses, steel weapons, guns, and plated armor, but he also relied on ambush tactics in the square of Cajamarca and an assault on an elevated litter (Diamond, 2017, p. 66-71). A cavalry charge would have been of far more limited use in the Andes than Cajamarca, but Pizarro may have responded with some other successful abduction. It must also be wondered where Pizarro could fall back to if he did abduct the Sapa Inca from Cuzco. It cannot be definitely said that the end results would have been the same nor different between Huayna Capac's and Atahualpa's rules due to the significance of individual decisions within each scenario, but the two different interactions could be considered entirely different beasts, a traveling victor of a civil war vs a ruling Sapa Inca over an entire Empire.

#### What If The Inca Found Iron Ore And Attempted To Create Steel Weapons?

The Inca had state-operated gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead mines, but not iron (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 191-193). As a cultural norm, metal was not viewed

from a utilitarian perspective for warfare or use in production, but as a symbol of prestige. It is worth investigating why the Inca did not have iron mines like their gold or silver mines. The purpose of metalworks remained the same from gold to bronze, even when shaped into weaponry: status symbols. Before any shift in the use of metal, there would need to be a shift in ideology. White's Law allows us to conclude that the longer the Inca had access to metal as a resource, the more potential for its efficiency to be maximized<sup>11</sup>.

If the Inca did smelt iron, then it is likely that they would have relatively quickly manipulated it into some form of steel based on their manipulation of copper and tin to make bronze. Their steel tools would have likely been used in the same way as the bronze tools they already had: status symbols. Even if the Inca had steel tools to oppose the Spanish forces, the greatest shift would not have been in their craftsmanship, but in their ideology of the use of metal.

### **Most Likely...**

If Europeans had never crossed the Atlantic nor influenced Native America, the remnants of the Inca would have likely continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As the dominant culture on their continent in the 1500s, any future societies, whether as continuations of the Inca Empire, historic divisions of the Inca Empire, or as competitors of the Inca Empire would have been shaped in the shadow of the Inca Empire, much like Western

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<sup>11</sup> Which begs the question, how long would it take for the Inca to begin using their metal for more utilitarian purposes? If bronze alloy had become commonplace between 540 CE and 900 CE, then why had it not become used for other purposes than status by 1500? White would suggest that the Inca would continue to increase the efficiency of their existing technology. The question then could become, would metal weapons have been a significant improvement to the Inca warfare technology at the time? Was the Inca agricultural technology already efficient to the extent that metal would not have greatly improved the efficiency?

Civilization and the Roman Empire.

The Inca had a society that reinforced itself. However, there were key elements that made the empire unstable. While every element of Inca society reinforced the others and maintained the superiority of the Sapa Inca, the succession of the Sapa Inca was a routine issue, sparking conflict and occasionally civil war. Until the stability of succession could be established, the empire would risk civil war with almost every new leader. Conflict existed between the different coalitions in the ruling class, as demonstrated by the routine political intrigue during times of political succession, as well as between the ruling and the ruled. The Inca ruled over the other ethnic groups and stayed separated from them. Considering that conquered women could be pillaged from defeated territories, class exploitation was a routine issue in the empire. With a clear distinction between ruler and ruled, and the lifestyle differences between these ruling administrators and the ruled workers, conflict was only avoided by the threat of greater force on the side of the Inca. As proven by Pizarro, many in the Inca Empire welcomed the defeat of their rulers. Civil war threatened to divide the Empire with each succession and tense class relations meant that conflict could arise at any time.

To echo Julian Steward, culture is adaptation. Every part of the empire, specifically the rural areas, functioned in their own way, with the empire not largely affecting their daily lives. While the Inca worked to relocate populations and keep people moving, every area had its own culture. The Inca did not entirely control their empire, they merely ruled over it.

From the Punctuated Equilibrium/Gradualism perspective, any large-scale event happening to a single region of the empire could be the punctuated equilibrium event to

ignite violence. New technology such as sailing or the production of metal tools for use rather than ornament could function as a punctuated equilibrium event. The sheer size of the empire and all of its specializations meant that a sudden technological change could come from anywhere.

Likewise, gradualism and critical thresholds can be reached in a plethora of ways due to the size and nature of the Inca Empire. Population increase would be a constant while the maintenance of food production would also go hand in hand with meeting the current and increasing population. Resources and their differing scarcity would provide a point. Land area too would be limited to the Inca in mostly mountainous and desert terrain, unless that pressure then forced them to resort to jungle terrain and change in substance (like the Inca in Vilcabamba). The production of and reliance on roads results also provides a point at which the system could gradually fail. Any system that manages to work and grow then faces the consequences of maintenance and continued growth, and in the case of the Inca Empire, managing that growth in a variety of different climates and regions, all while facing environmental and social changes.

If Europeans have never crossed the Atlantic nor influenced Native America, the South American smallpox epidemic of 1526 would have never killed the Sapa Inca or his heir, which led to the Inca civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar. Each Sapa Inca had to renegotiate and establish his relationships with the different ethnic groups of each generation after every transition of power (Urton & Von Hagen, 2015, p. 255). Because of this, it cannot be confidently concluded that Ninan Cuyuchi, Huayna Capac's heir, would have become the next Sapa Inca. However, it is far less likely for Huayna Capac's succession that civil war would have ensued. If civil war were to break out, it

was understood by most Inca as a way in which the potential future Sapa Inca proved their worth. Civil wars were not seen as the end of an empire, but the testing of strength to become the next Sapa Inca.

Just as women's roles in the Inca Empire began to worsen with the increase of conquest culture (such as the *acllacuna*), their roles would likely continue to worsen with the continuation of such practices as increased conquest.

Although Inca administration was perpetually unstable, and led to political intrigue and sometimes civil war, Inca society was remarkably stable. Each region was largely able to provide for its own needs while maintaining the need of a relationship with the state for all their goods. Food supplies and social stability were great enough that multiple specialty jobs were able to exist (including administration, census counters, and metallurgists). With multiple sources of sustenance, and a state supply for the inevitability of poor situations, Inca society's existence as a whole would never be threatened by any single bad harvest or famine.

Without the Europeans, the greatest threat to Inca society would not be from an outside influence, but from within. The Inca society had made many enemies, as evidenced by the Spanish ability to recruit many allies, but the Inca's ability to mobilize military units and transport them quickly allowed for quick response to exterior threats, making the threat posed by an outside tribe, or even a union of outside tribes, not a serious problem for Inca security.

Without an obvious source for potential punctuated equilibrium, the most likely source of massive Inca unrest would likely come from a gradual approach of thresholds in changing times. Every so often, a civil war would be fought, and each region was

capable of providing most of its essential needs and food supply without state assistance. The independent production of each region also meant the greater ability it would have to produce for itself without the state. As populations shifted and climate changed over time, it is probable that the Inca Empire would have eventually crumbled due to smaller causes than a Spanish invasion. Once broken, the remains would likely utilize what existing Inca institutions they favored and begin a new rule from the Inca institutions before.

The Empire may have well continued to increase northward or even eastward into the Amazon rainforest. However, eventually, especially if the line of succession and regional self-production remained, the Empire would come to an end, possibly even in parallel to the Roman Empire with a great divide followed by the continuation of half the empire while the other crumbled.

## V. DISCUSSION

### Recap of Conclusions

In answering the question, “What are the most probable ways in which the Inuit, Iroquois, and Inca societies might have developed without European influence?”, we have reviewed each society before European influence, the effect of European influence, explored theoretical forms of change, and concluded the most probable way in which each society might have developed. In this chapter, at the end of multiple sentences, within parenthesis, you will find the names of theorists who provided the general inspiration for points that I will be making in each society.

The Tarlirpingmuit were a stable society. There was no likely punctuated equilibrium event that would disrupt their lives, and the critical thresholds from gradualism would be unlikely to have been met within the subsequent decades and centuries (Abrutyn & Lawrence.) Conflict remained at the individual level with close to no opportunity to grow and threaten their functionally classless society (Marx.) Of their superstructure, only their religion did not appear to match their base, with the consideration that it had regional variations to better fit each group of practitioners. The changes in their belief system did not reflect an obvious change in their systems of production (Marx.) The Tarlirpingmuit as a society had adapted to take few natural resources because they had little need for anything unuseful (Steward.) Their technology had little room for improvement of efficiency without a change in subsistence, which would be nearly impossible given the conditions of Baffin Island (White.) With no foreseeable sources of change and a considerable amount of distance mitigating ripples of influence, it is unlikely that the Talirpingmuit would have changed anytime soon.

The Haudenosaunee were an unstable society. There were many potential sources for punctuated equilibrium from the surrounding nations in the form of sudden violence or gained technology such as the farming of maize. Gradualism would have been one of the greatest inevitabilities to face the Haudenosaunee due to their need to continue feeding their growing population (Abrutyn & Lawrence.) While their governance system worked to mitigate the conflict that could arise from their union, the Haudenosaunee remained a ranked, multinational confederation. Conflict could arise from any international relations between the five nations, between their captives and themselves, or even between the governed population and their governors (Marx.) The superstructure of the Haudenosaunee would be the second greatest threat to their society due to the instability brought by the influential role that potentially anyone could have in claiming to be a prophet. Thanks to their exposure to maize, the Haudenosaunee began practicing and quickly became dependant on agriculture (Steward.) As their relatively recent exposure to maize and agriculture would grow, so too would the efficiency of the technology as well as the dependency on agriculture to feed a growing society. With the increase in agriculture would come an increase in the need for hierarchy and organization, as well as the necessity to attribute ownership over land that could be farmed (White.) If the Haudenosaunee did not dissolve from infighting or become overrun by an outside source, it is most likely that they would have become increasingly hierarchical as they continued to benefit from exposure to their neighbors' technology.

The Inca were an unstable society. Their society was in constant threat from potential sources of punctuated equilibrium in the form of threats from enemies and new technologies. Sources of punctuated equilibrium could come from exposure to other



peoples or be created through the specialization within the empire. Even the likelihood of a natural disaster taking place somewhere in the empire given its size and location along the western coast of South America puts the entire empire at risk. Gradualism could hardly be viewed as thresholds for the entire society, but as thresholds for each region of the empire. If any region experienced a drought, an extreme population shift, or a lull in labor, the reaching of that threshold could be a source of change for the entire empire (Abrutyn & Lawrence.) The stark division and difference in access to resources between the ruling Inca ethnic group and their subjects kept the potential for conflict to arise at any time due to the class-based strife that would be ever-present (Marx.) The superstructure of the Inca reinforced the modes of production, but the succession of the Sapa Inca was not standardized, with the population thinking that civil war between potential Sapa Incas proved who would be the stronger leader. This practice and the ideology had worked for the Inca, but was a source of instability in their society (Marx.)

Wealth could be measured in labor, which developed into a tribute taxation system, where labor is paid to the state (Steward.) As the productivity of human labor increased through specialization and technological improvements, culture was further able to become more complex in the Inca Empire (White.) It is likely that the Inca Empire would have fractured within the next few hundred years, given the routine civil wars and lack of a system to mitigate their occurrence or wide-ranging effects. There is no reason to suggest that the Inca Empire formed differently than the empires of the Eastern Hemisphere, which suggests that how empires fell in the Eastern Hemisphere would likely remain similar for the Inca. As schisms would take place, the Inca Empire would collapse in some areas, only to form into smaller, ununified powers, which could

potentially rise again. Much like the Roman Empire, it could be expected that the Inca Empire would eventually fracture, with each part then continuing to develop as a separate power, but sharing the same history as the product of what was the Inca Empire.

### **Further Research**

There are two main directions in which I would encourage further research. In this thesis, guns, horses, and steel have made little impact on the Americas. Each of these technologies could be taken and quickly used by the very people they were being waged against. Disease was the principal factor in determining the fates of those exposed to the other side of the Atlantic.

There is little reason to suggest that the societies of the Americas were much different from other societies around the world, such as the Mughal Empire of India. Yet, European forces were able to obliterate populations in the Americas, but not India. When Europeans explored across the Atlantic in search of routes to India, they also explored the coast of Africa and into the Indian Ocean, reaching India. Yet, the Americas were pillaged while India maintained control over the entire subcontinent. While Europeans were acting as vanquishers in the Americas in the 1500s-1600s, Europeans were merely mercenaries and beggars in the Indian ocean. Not until after hundreds of years of profit brought in from the Americas, added to the profits made as traders in the Indian Ocean, did the European powers have the power to begin dominating India in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, followed by China in the 19<sup>th</sup>.

My first suggestion is, “what if diseases had had no influence when Europeans crossed the Atlantic?” If 85-95% of the population of the Americas had not died out from

exposure to European diseases, would the Europeans have still conquered the two continents? Would the same history as India have play out, where the Europeans are limited to the roles of coastal traders and harassers? The Inca Empire would not have fallen into civil war from the effects of smallpox, and each society would have its original population when coming into contact with Europeans.

As a further implication within this scenario, would the European powers have been able to gain footholds in India and later China without the wealth they had gained from the Americas? Could the absence of American riches have resulted in no Spanish, French, or British Empire anywhere in the world?

My second scenario is, “what if diseases had worked the other way around between Native Americans and Europeans?” Europeans would have still crossed the Atlantic, been exposed to disease, and 85-95% would have died from illness. The Europeans would return to Europe, wiping out 85-95% of their population and the Americans would have knowledge of Europe and that the Europeans were vulnerable. The Inca had only a small usage of boats, but not so the Aztec or the Creek. Would any Native Americans have been interested in exploring Europe? They could have used captive European navigators to cross the ocean. Is it possible that the Americas could have colonized Europe in this scenario, or would another power from Africa or Asia have beaten the Americas to conquering a Europe disrupted by the loss of 85-95% of its population? Might the Aztec Empire have extended from Gibraltar to St. Petersburg by the mid-1800s?

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