

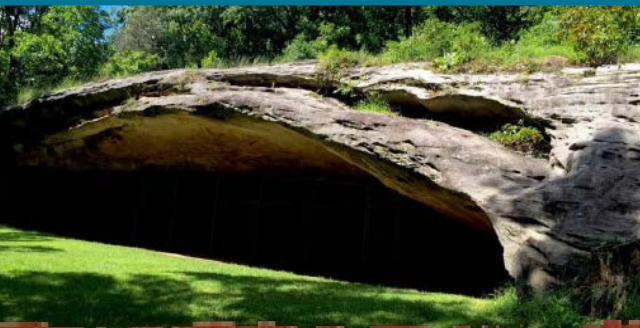


**Kathryn M. Buder Center
for American Indian Studies**

Brown School

Indigenous Land, Peoples and History of Missouri Brief

2021



Washington University in St. Louis

ON THE COVER:

Graham Cave photo by Eric Pinto

Stockade Wall photo by Eric Pinto

Woodhenge at Cahokia Mounds photo by Eric Pinto



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Brown School

FALL 2021

By the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies

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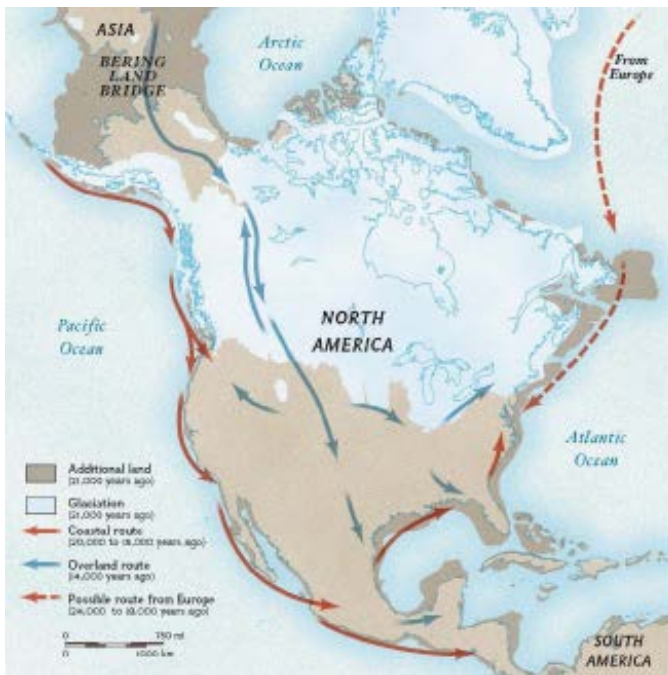
INTRODUCTION

The Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies invites you to research and learn more about Indigenous people and the land that we live on. We first acknowledge that there are multiple perspectives when telling this story. One is a Euro-American or Western perspective, which is what most are familiar with when learning within United States schools and institutions. Others include the hundreds of Indigenous tribes that each have unique traditional knowledge, history, and culture. Often, the Euro-American perspective is viewed as more acceptable or shields us from the Indigenous perspective. When learning about the history and culture of a group of people, there is no better way to learn than from the people themselves. Please create space and listen to Indigenous stories, wisdom, and knowledge. They possess science and research from a unique lens that has been shared by generations of knowledge keepers and individuals and has been passed on since time immemorial. Please also note that Indigenous tribes and people are very diverse and may not share the same beliefs, knowledge, history, and culture. Much information is sacred and meant to stay within the community and tribe. If reaching out to Indigenous communities and individuals for information, please do so in a respectful manner; ask for permission and offer a gift in exchange for their time and the knowledge that they are sharing with you. This document will assist you to bridge Euro-American and Indigenous knowledges in the hope of increasing your understanding of our local Indigenous land, people and histories in a respectful way.



Pre-Clovis People (*Paleo-Indian*) 20,000 - 12,000 BC

Western knowledge and evidence about this group of people is limited due to rare sites and findings. Some theorize that this group arrived by boat from Asia and Europe, but others strongly believe they crossed the land bridge that tied Asia to North America. Research and findings comparing bones, DNA, tools, and weapons from this group of people points their origins to be from Asia. Waves of migrations journeyed across the Bering Strait, what was known as Beringia, and entered into present-day Alaska. Low sea levels during this Ice Age Period exposed the land of Beringia, making it accessible for these people to travel across (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Their migrations continued through numerous routes that stretched along the eastern coast of North America and as far south into portions of South America.



Bering Land Bridge (National Geographic Society, 2002)

Sites and artifacts are rare. One site is located at the Big Eddy site in Cedar County, Missouri. In 1997, The Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at Missouri State University headed archaeological digs that discovered artifacts dating more than 13,000 years old (Missouri State University, 2021).



Possible pre-Clovis anvil stone (Missouri State University, 2021)



Possible pre-Clovis large flake (Missouri State University, 2021)

Additional findings by archaeologists and researchers show that the Pre-Clovis people lived along the west coast at the Paisley Caves in Oregon. Researchers reexamined ancient fecal matter (coprolites) to confirm that the samples indeed came from the Pre-Clovis people. Their analysis found that three of six coprolites came from human descendants. Radiocarbon dating found the samples to be more than 14,000 years old. In addition, researchers radiocarbon dated a bulrush fiber artifact, from a basket or mat, and was found to be approximately 14,000 years old (Shillito, Whelton, Blong, Jenkins, Connolly, Bull, 2020).



A pre-Clovis Coprolite, approximately 14,000 years old (Cheng, 2012)

Clovis People (*Paleo-Indian*)

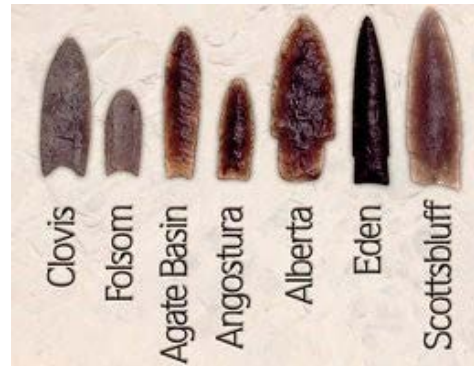
12,000 - 10,500 BC

Evidence of this group of people was first found in the 1930's by archaeologist Edgar B. Howard while uncovering bones of a mammoth. Among the bones that were excavated were stone spear points that would become known as Clovis points, named after the location of Clovis, New Mexico (Mann, 2013). Clovis points have been found in over 1,500 locations throughout North America and as far south as Venezuela (Mann, 2013). These hand-crafted Clovis points measure around four inches long and a third of an inch thick. The types of stones used to make the points include chert, obsidian, jasper, and other fine, brittle stones (Mann, 2013). They've even been found locally here in Missouri such as the Martens Site near Faust Park in St. Louis County, MO where over 38 Clovis points and other tools were discovered. (Martens, 2007) Clovis points get their sharp edges by a method called flaking and have a unique concave flute made at the base of the point to lock into the end of a wooden or bone foreshaft (Harl & Machiran, 2013). The Clovis people were hunter-gatherers who used these tools to help hunt large, mega-fauna animals such as mammoths, mastodons, bison, and other game (University of Washington, 2003). Clovis people didn't attack these animals head-on, but evidence reveals that they most likely used look out points on bluffs and high terraces overlooking watering holes to analyze animal behavior and to pick a weaker target. An example of this is found at Mastodon State Park in Imperial, MO where two Clovis points were found with a female mastodon and calf. Researchers have two theories behind what event occurred at this site: 1) the mastodons were killed by the hunting party who initially went after the calf and the mother stayed behind trying to defend the calf or 2) the female mastodon was sick or injured and the calf stayed with the mother (Harl & Machiran, 2013).



Clovis Points (Clark, n.d.)

Archaeologists believe the Clovis culture changed over time as the people adapted to climate and ecological changes. These changes and adaptations were identified through tools found in various parts of the mid-west and plains areas, such as the Clovis point flute indentation, which became elongated and is known as Folsom points (Green, 2021). Additional points and weapons, such as the atlatl, have also been found indicating other related cultures existed other than the Folsom culture (Nebraska Studies, 2021a).



Paleo-Indian points found in Nebraska, ranging in age from 8,000 to 11,500 years old (Nebraska Studies, 2021a)

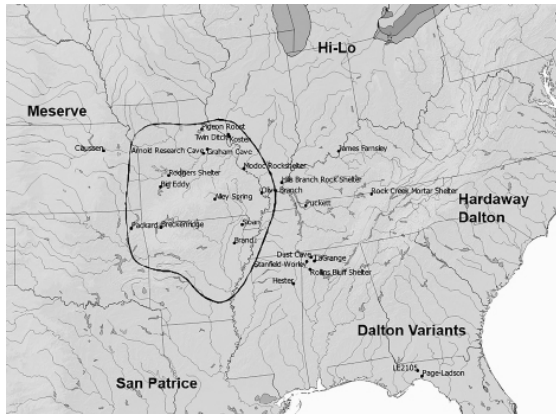
Listen to the [Clovis Enigma podcast](#).

Dalton People (*Paleo-Indian*)

10,500 - 8,000 BC

It's a well-known fact that with time comes change. When examining Paleo-Indian people and cultures, groups of people would branch away and carry the culture and knowledge that they learned. But even those cultures and knowledge systems would change to better fit the people and the environment in which they lived in. A possible explanation for this was climate change, which affected the land, plants, and animal life within the environment. It is believed that Dalton people lived from the Midwest down to Southeast United States and as far north as the Great Lakes region. According to the discovered points found in 1948 from Cole County, Missouri by Judge S.P. Dalton, the Dalton people are thought to be the next emerging group after the Clovis people. This particular group of the Dalton people that lived in Missouri and surrounding states (as seen in the map below) were known as the Dalton Heartland. Their settlement sites include areas such as the Big Eddy site, Graham Cave State Park (Link below), and others were found throughout the entire state. In 1969, Richard E. Martens discovered Dalton artifacts along river bluffs near Creve Coeur Lake in St. Louis County. Throughout

various discoveries from the Dalton culture were the findings of cemeteries, caves and rock shelters, and large tools such as ceremonial blades and adzes. Researchers believed that the projectile points and other blades were made by a new technique or possibly adopted from other groups. The hafts (base) of the points were made smaller and indented to increase the utilization of the blade and to improve attachment to the shaft or handle (Martens, 2010; Thulman, 2019).



Map of the Dalton Heartland range (Thulman, 2019)

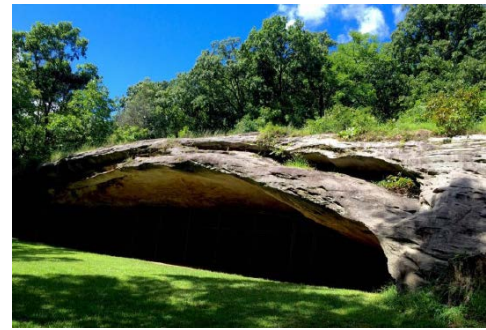


Representative Early Archaic artifacts (Martens, 2010)



Heartland points (a–e): Early (a) and late (b–c) Daltons from Big Eddy, (d) point from Breckenridge site, (e) Graham Cave from the Graham Cave site. Eastern Periphery points (f–l): (f) Dalton variant from Dust Cave, (g–j) Dalton variants from Stanfield-Worley, (k–l) ESNs from Dust Cave. (Thulman, 2019)

For more information about Graham State Park, please visit their [website](#)



Graham Cave (Pinto, 2016)

Archaic Period 8,000 - 500 BC

8,000-6,500 B.C. Early Archaic

This group of people existed in smaller, hunter-gatherer groups that sought out foods that we recognize today. Plant food sources included hickory nuts, acorns, berries, etc. A stone Mano and Metate was utilized to grind the seeds and nuts into a meal. Animal food sources included: fish, deer, turkey, waterfowl, rabbits, passenger pigeons, etc. Hunting technology would transition from an Atlatl to the bow and arrow. This was identifiable through the smaller arrowheads that would be found of this time. Pottery that found from this time period also indicated that the people were incorporating farming practices into their culture (Ohio History Central, n.d.; National parks Service, 2016).



Images of a Mano and Metate from:
[Peoples of the Mesa Verde Region](#) & [Desert Archaeology, Inc.](#)

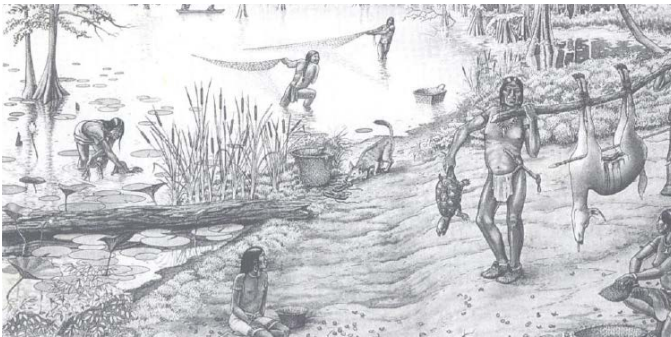
6,500-3,500 B.C. Middle Archaic

The population during this time period grew as the size of these groups increased. They still practiced the hunter-gather ways and utilized their various stone tools, but their craftsmanship was not as efficient compared to earlier peoples. Remnants indicate a large consumption of nuts and aquatic food sources. Fishing grew as bone fish hooks were found along with stone plummets and net sinkers to help catch hundreds of fish by net. In

addition to catching fish, other aquatic animals such as turtles, frogs, snakes, etc., may have been caught and eaten. Smoking these food items over a fire was the preferred cooking method to help preserve them for a longer period of time. These people would also eat the starchy seeds from plants such as lambsquarters and knotweed that grew along these water sources. During this time period, they utilized Mano and Metate to grind seeds into a meal (Harl & Machiran, 2013; Morrow, 1996; Ohio History Central, n.d.).



Hematite Plummets Used As Net Sinkers
(Ohio History Central, n.d.)



Depiction of Middle Archaic Life (Harl & Machiran, 2013)

3,500-500 B.C. Late Archaic

During the Late Archaic period, Missouri had two differing ecosystems that affected how the Indigenous people lived in the region. Prairies grew in northern portions of the state, while the southern Ozark region was primarily forested. Missouri's inhabitants of the northern prairies lived in larger, complex-social groups where they turned towards gathering and cultivating the local plant life (e.g., roots, prairie potatoes, tree cambium, etc.) for sustenance. Whereas in the south (Ozark region), groups remained small and evidence of stone-chipped dart points and plant collecting tools reveal that people still practiced hunting-gathering. These peoples also thrived in the Current River valley, and later, the Woodland and Mississippian groups would settle in the terraces above the flood plain of nearby streams in this area (National Park Service, 2005).

There are different theories as to whether or not these groups of people during this time were facing a population decline due to limited resources, or an increase in population because of new food technologies. In eastern Missouri, heavier reliance on riverine resources, experimentation of plant cultivation, utilization of food pits for food processing, and earth ovens are thought to contribute to population growth. Earth ovens (see Fig. 1) are thought to be a new cooking method of this time due to limited evidence of its range which would later in time be widely used. These people created the Earth oven by digging a pit two to three feet into the ground, then placed heated limestone cobbles at the bottom of the pit. Food items would be stacked on the heated limestone, then more heated limestone would be placed on top of the food. Lastly, the uncovered soil would be placed back on top of the Earth oven to seal it and would cook the food, similar to a conventional oven (Harl & Machiran, 2013).



Fig. 1 Earth oven with Limestone slabs
(Harl & Machiran, 2013)

Limestone was a versatile material used during this time. Not only was it utilized to make Earth ovens, but also to make graves. There have been numerous findings of burial sites and mounds that indicate ceremonies for the afterlife. These ceremonies suggest the importance of spirituality and ceremonial beliefs. One of these sites was found near Troy, Missouri that overlooked the Cuivre River known as the Cuivre River Ceremonial Complex. At this particular site, archaeologists found bundles of bones (rather than a laid out body) with tools such as knives, spearheads, and axes. Just north of the Cuivre River Ceremonial Complex, a burial mound known as Hatton Mound held a variety of remains that were flexed, bundled, scattered, and piled that also contained offerings and specially made tools (Chapman & Chapman, 1983; Harl & Machiran, 2013).



Remains of a Permanent Late Archaic House
 Note: The house would be placed in a partially subterranean basin. Holes at the edge of basin were not for posts, but various storage pits excavated at different times. Remains of four other homes are in background (Harl & Machiran, 2013)

Woodland Period 500 BC - AD 900

500-100 B.C. Early Woodland

At the beginning of the Woodland period, groups became more established in one territory, living a more sedentary lifestyle within their settlements, and practiced crop cultivation with foods such as lambsquarter's, sunflowers, and gourds (e.g., pumpkins, cucumbers, squash, luffa, melons). Archaeologists indicate the first creations of pottery food vessels in Missouri were produced during this time. Sand, crushed rock, shells, and plant fiber were used to temper the clay to prevent any cracks from occurring during the firing process. Pottery that utilized the crushed rock were known as Marion Thick while pottery produced with sand was called Black Sand (Alex, 2002; Harl & Machiran, 2013). Designs and methods to producing the pots would also evolve over time. It is believed that the first designs were based off of the shapes of baskets and leather containers and used either a coil or paddle method to form the piece. The coil method required the maker to roll-up several pieces of clay that would be stacked on each other, joined by hand-pinching, and smoothed by a wooden paddle. With the paddling method, the maker would take a chunk of clay and pound it into shape against an anvil stone with a wooden paddle. The paddle may have had a cordage or fabric covering which created a pattern on the clay as it was pounded into shape (Alex, 2002).

100 B.C. - A.D. 300 Middle Woodland

During this period, settlements in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys grew larger in population and first became known as the Hopewell culture. The name was derived from Mordecai Hopewell of Ohio, who encountered mounds of this time period located on his property (Archaeological Institute, 2009). The Hopewell cultures utilized the major river systems not only as a food source but for networking and trading with other communities. Large settlements were found along trade routes of the Mississippi River valley and the Missouri River of western Missouri. Here, communities collected goods from the smaller, nearby communities that had access to valued local resources. These smaller communities were found near smaller waterways (e.g., streams, small rivers, etc.) that fed into the larger rivers. Mounds were also found with these trading settlements or found on nearby bluffs. Highly prized items such as copper from the Great Lakes, mica from the Carolinas, shells from the Gulf of Mexico, obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, and fossilized shark's teeth from the east coast indicate the range of trading. These items were found among individuals who were believed to be leaders within the community. These leaders were also buried with objects that represented what appeared to be falcons, hawks, vultures, and owls. In eastern Missouri, Indigenous peoples built conical and elliptical shaped mounds on high terraces near communities for ceremonial and burial purposes, serving to also identify who they were as people. (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Other intricate mounds found in southern Indiana and Ohio had other defined geometric shapes (i.e., octagon, square, rectangular, etc.) that were based off mathematical Indigenous knowledge (Archaeological Institute, 2009).



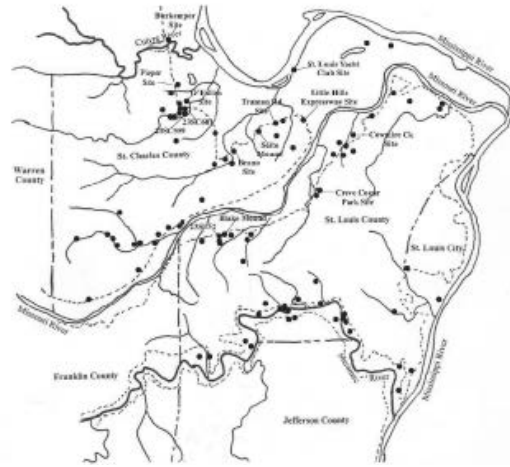
Hopewell Interaction Sphere (National Geographic Society, 2011)



In eastern Missouri, Indigenous peoples built conical and elliptical shaped mounds on high terraces near communities for ceremonial and burial purpose, serving to also identify who they were as people.

Evidence of feasts at burial mounds were also found, which leads historians to believe were created to allow others to make an offering or pay tribute to a deceased leader. All of these examples provide some insight into the evolution of their political and economic systems, and spirituality (Harl & Machiran, 2013).

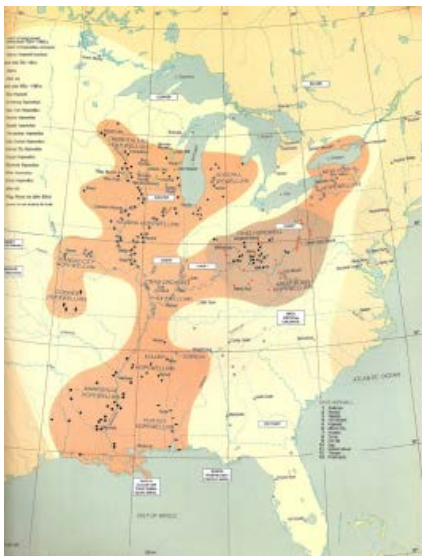
As settlements grew and relationships expanded with other communities, there was no indication of conflict or warring with one another. Remnants of settlements showed no signs of protective walls or barriers, and burial remains showed no signs of traumatic death (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Pottery making also grew and became more intricate with decoration and designs. A Spoonbill duck design was a noticeable design found on some of the discovered pottery pieces (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Methods to pottery making changed as pottery became more refined and thinner; new shapes of pottery also emerged in the form of jars and bowls (Archaeological Institute, 2009).



Middle Woodland sites within the St. Louis, MO region (Martin, 2009)

A.D. 300-900 Late Woodland

Subcultures of Hopewell began to grow during this time period. The complex trading systems began to decline, and the large trading settlements became unoccupied. Mound construction was found to be less complex and smaller; burial mounds didn't reveal offerings or goods left behind (Harl & Machiran, 2013). There was greater reliance on agriculture within communities and the bow and arrow emerged as new hunting technology. Communities in the Ozarks region practiced both agriculture and hunting-gathering practices for food. Along the Current and Jacks Fork rivers, communities were primarily located on higher ground above flood plains (National Parks Service, 2005).



Map of the Hopewell and other groups. (Native American Science Curriculum, n.d.)



Dame's Mound (Pinto, 2021)

Dames Mound was identified to be home of Native Americans of the Late Woodland Period and possibly earlier. Dame's Mound is accessible to the public at Dame's Park, located in O'Fallon, MO, but please respect and help preserve this sacred site.

Learn more about [Dame's Mound](#)
Ancient Mound | O'Fallon, Missouri (O'FallonTV, 2014)

The Emergent Mississippian Period 900 - 1050 AD

Changes occurred along the entire Mississippi River valley because of the ability to network, which enabled cultural knowledge to be shared and adopted. During this period, people lived in both small and large, complex communities. At the beginning of the period, settlements appeared to be less unified; later, these communities would develop stronger relationships and create a larger networking system. At the center of the larger, complex communities would be a plaza that was distinguished by a post or a building reserved for the leader or for social and ceremonial purposes. Houses and cooking pits surrounded the plaza in a circular shape, which is thought to be connected to spiritual beliefs. Cooking pits were found near each home, suggesting subdivision within the community and dependency within their family groups (Hanks, 2021; Harl & Machiran, 2013).

Methods to make pottery changed throughout this period as new shapes, designs, and materials emerged. In the beginning of the period, pottery resembled that of the late Woodland, but there were some noticeable differences. The cordage markings (cord-markings) made on the pottery were marked differently. Z-twist versus S-twist, which indicated that the cordage was made through a different method. Previously, people would use a hand-and-thigh rolled method to make cordage, but later pottery discs with holes were used in a spindle and whorl method to bundle the strings of twine together (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Tempering material to help hold the pottery together would change from crushed rock and sand to crushed limestone and eventually mussel shell. Using crushed limestone and mussel shell allowed the pottery makers to construct thinner pieces of pottery. The mussel shell temper method originated from the southeastern Missouri region and eventually spread northward to other communities (Harl & Machiran, 2013). Shapes and designs changed as there was more variety in bowls, jars, and other small vessels produced. Loop handles, various

shaped knobs, and angled jar lips added variety to the pottery designs.

Chunkey became a popular game during this time. It involved one person rolling a chunkey stone along the ground while two players tossed spears at the discoidal. The spears had to be thrown upon the stone falling on its side and coming to a stop. The player with the spear that landed closest to chunkey stone wins.



Discoidal or Chunkey Stone (Illinois State Museum, 2018)
Check out this video that covers the game of Chunkey: [The Game of Chunkey with Toya Wapskineh](#) (Cherokee Nation, 2020)

Mississippian Period 1050 - 1400 AD



(Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, n.d.a)

This time period is well-known and studied due to the artifacts found and mounds that were created by these people. The Mississippian culture ranged from the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys into southeastern portions of the United States. Throughout this range the Mississippian culture can be broken down by regions and recognized as the Middle Mississippian, South Appalachian Mississippian, Caddoan Mississippian, and Plaquemine Mississippian (refer to map on next page). The Middle Mississippian culture stretched over present-day Missouri and Illinois. Cahokia, located in present day Collinsville, Illinois, is labeled as the epicenter of the Mississippian culture for the high concentration of mounds in the area and their complex socio-political system. Mississippian conical and ridged-elliptical mounds were primarily associated with burials and

ceremonies. Whereas the platform, flat top mounds had significant important structures such as temples and housing for leaders that were constructed on the tops of these mounds (Harl & Machiran, 2013).



Mississippian and Related Cultures (Roe, 2010)

At the Cahokia site, Monk's Mound (Fig. 2 below) was one the largest man-made Earth works constructed in North America. It stands approximately 100 feet tall, 800 feet wide, and 1000 feet in length that faces toward where a central plaza once stood. Monk's Mound, along with other Mississippian mounds, were all constructed by the people who carried baskets of dirt to the mound from borrow pits. The home of the community leader was built on this mound along with other significant buildings (Harl & Machiran, 2013; Illinois State Museum, 2000c).



Fig.2 Monk's Mound at Cahokia (Explore St. Louis, 2021)
Get a preview of the [Cahokia Mounds Historic Site](#) (Cahokia Mounds Museum Society, 2020)

As the Mississippian population increased during this time, especially in the larger settlements, the people heavily relied on corn, squash, and beans. Mississippians who lived in higher populated communities were more susceptible to infectious diseases (Illinois State Museum, 2000c). Cahokia's population increased from within their own people, but archaeological findings revealed that 1/3 of the population came from other regions as well. By 1100 A.D., Cahokia had reached its peak, and

had approximately 20,000 people living there. Cahokia was extremely diverse. People came from many other regions, it's thought that knowledge, spirituality, and other practices were shared between Cahokians and other Mississippian people. An example of this is the engineering of mounds, which is thought arrived to Cahokia from the Hopewell of the Ohio River valley (Hanks, 2021).



Hopewell Mounds [of the Woodland Period] in Ohio (World Heritage Ohio, n.d.)



Overlooking a replica of the protective wall that surrounded the inner Cahokia city from Monks Mound (Pinto, 2019d)

The photo's above and below, show that Cahokia had a protective stockade wall that stretched nearly 2 miles that surrounded the inner city. The wall was also built with towers or bastions that were placed 85 feet of each other. It was found that the wall has been reconstructed four time throughout Cahokia's history (Cahokia Mounds Historic Site, n.d.b; Hank's, 2021).

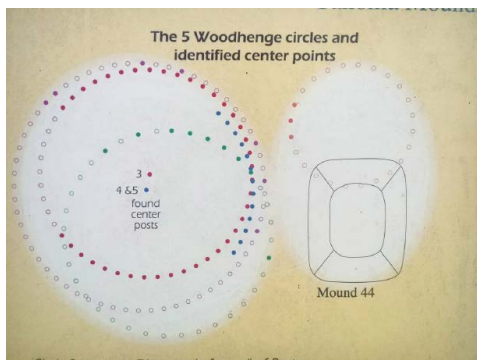


Stockade Wall (Pinto, 2019)



Section of Woodhenge at Cahokia Mounds facing towards Monks Mound and smaller mounds (Pinto, 2019b)

Woodhenge was constructed entirely by hand and the posts were made from trees from the surrounding area. Remnants of these posts revealed that they were made from cedar trees, which is considered a sacred tree in many Native American cultures. Archaeologists also uncovered that Woodhenge was built five times throughout Cahokia's existence and was expanded by 12 additional posts with each re-construction. The first Woodhenge started with 24 posts, the second with 36, the third with 48, the fourth with 60, but the fifth was found to be incomplete with only 12-13 posts. Many questions surround why this practice occurred among the people. Woodhenge was believed to serve as a type of calendar to indicate the summer and winter solstices, and spring and fall equinoxes. The sun would be used in accordance with specific posts of the circle to tell when solstices and equinoxes occurred. The other posts that formed the circle are thought to indicate other ceremonial or other culturally significant days throughout the year (Cahokia State Historic Site, n.d.c; Hanks, 2021). Like the origins of mound building, some speculate that the concept of Woodhenge arrived in Cahokia from the Hopewell group in Ohio who built similar structures such as Moorehead Circle (Hanks, 2021).



A blueprint of multiple Woodhenge structures constructed during the Mississippian Period. Photo of Informational panel at the Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (Pinto, 2019a)

Another well-known Mississippian mound is Sugar Loaf Mound (Fig. 3 below) located across the Mississippi River in South St. Louis City. This mound was saved and reclaimed by the Osage Nation in 2009. Dr. Andrea Hunter (Osage Nation), the Director and Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, shared that the mound has significance to the Osage Nation as tribal oral history identifies the Osage as descendants of the Mississippians (Moffitt, 2016). To understand more about Sugar Loaf Mound, check out this [article](#) and listen to the interview.



Fig. 3 Sugar Loaf Mound (Pinto, 2019)



Osage Nation tribal members examining Sugar Loaf Mound (Carson, 2013)

Many other mounds were also found within the St. Louis area but nearly all of them were destroyed in the 19th century due to development and the limited knowledge of the importance of these mounds to Indigenous people. Before the destruction of these mounds, St. Louis was called Mound City. Historic maps revealed that there were 24 mounds along Interstate 44, between Carr Street and Cass Avenue. Further north of that area stood one of the largest mounds in St. Louis known as Big Mound (Fig. 4 below). Big Mound was 34 feet high, 319 feet long, and 158 feet wide. Big Mound was eventually destroyed in 1869 as the dirt was used as fill for a railroad line. At the time when the mound was being excavated, reports of numerous artifacts (e.g., copper earrings, pottery shards) and some remains were found buried inside the mound. These items were then stored at a local science museum that eventually suffered a fire hazard; destroying nearly all the artifacts and remains. Today a granite stone was placed on the north side of the Stan Musial Bridge to commemorate where Big Mound stood. Indigenous peoples and the Osage Nation recognize this site to be sacred and request that visitors be respectful to honor their people and our ancestors (O'Neil, 2015, O'Neil 2020).



Fig. 4 Big Mound in 1852- photo provided by the Missouri History Museum (O'Neil, 2020)



Big Mound site north of the Stan Musial Bridge (Forbes, n.d.)

Washington State Park



Petroglyphs at Washington State Park (Pinto, 2017)

These photos are petroglyphs made from a group of Mississippian people who inhabited the De Soto, Missouri area. Archaeologists believe that some of the petroglyphs and artifacts were also created by people of the Woodland period (Fuller & Fuller, 2020). One of the main depictions made in the rock was the Thunderbird, which is still seen in some tribal cultures today. Washington State Park and these petroglyphs are open to the public for viewing. Please respect and take care of these remnants and the land that these people lived on. For more information about Washington State Park, please visit their [website](#).

The decline of Cahokia began around 1250 A.D., and by about 1350 A.D. many of the people deserted the epicenter and moved on to other areas to establish smaller settlements. The reason for the fall of Cahokia is unknown, but numerous theories have been proposed as to what actually happened. Some of these theories include the idea that resource depletion, climate change, flooding, and disease contributed to the decline. In addition, some researchers attempted to get clues from traditional oral stories of Native American descendants, but these provided no additional insight as to what may have happened (Hanks, 2021).

View additional videos about Cahokia:

- ➔ [The Archaeology Channel: Uncovering Ancient St. Louis](#) (Leach, 2009)
- ➔ [History Channel: Ancient Mysteries- Inside the Secret Mounds of Pre-Historic America](#) (HISTORY, 2020)
- ➔ [Studies Weekly: Virtual Field Trip- Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site](#) (Studies Weekly, 2018)

Listen to the [Collapse of Cahokia](#) podcast.

Protohistoric Period

1400 - 1700 AD

As the Mississippian period came to an end, people of eastern Missouri and western Illinois began to move away from the larger settlements like Cahokia. They would follow a similar lifestyle like their Woodland ancestors where they lived in smaller communities. They would continue agricultural or hunting-gathering practices depending on what the environment provided. It is believed that people from the Great Lakes region, the Oneota culture, made their way into portions of western Missouri and western Illinois, leaving behind remnants of pottery known as Oneota pottery. However, this pottery was not found in eastern Missouri, which could mean less settlements in this part of the state. Oral stories and documents indicate that the land in eastern Missouri held temporary settlements and would be used to hunt and gather food items (Harl & Machiran, 2013).

Many modern day Indigenous and tribal histories of the region share that during this time frame their people either emerged from or migrated to Missouri. These tribes may have different origin stories and historical information from one another that connect their people to Missouri. These tribes included the Osage, Missouria, Otoe, Illini, Quapaw, Ponca, Omaha, Kaw and Ioway. The Santee Sioux tribe also claim to have hunting grounds in northern parts Missouri (University of Missouri, 2018). Later in time, other tribes would temporarily live in Missouri such as the Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Delaware (University of Missouri, 2018). The Missouria had a settlement near the confluence of the Missouri River and Mississippi but later were pushed westward due to threats of attack. In addition, the Kickapoo claim to have had a settlement near Portage Des Sioux. The Osage became well established in western and southern Missouri. The Illini was a group of twelve tribes comprised: Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, Tamaora, Chepoussa, Chinkoa, Coiracoentanon, Espeminkia, Maroa, and Tapouaro (Harl

& Machiran, 2013; Illinois State Museum, 2000b). The Illini had settlements established in western Illinois and would utilize eastern Missouri for resources. The Illini did have a settlement in northern Missouri near the Iowa border. This would be near the location of the Sac and Fox territory who inhabited the southern portion of Iowa at the Missouri border; they utilized the eastern portions of Missouri along the Mississippi down to the confluence (Harl & Machiran, 2013; Illinois State Museum, 2000b).

As these tribes became established in and around Missouri their people would leave behind much history. This history often receives little attention, leaving pieces of Missouri's Native American history untold. More information about each of these tribes who had ties to Missouri is provided below.

The Dhegiha Sioux Tribes

According to the Osage and Dhegiha oral tradition, the Dhegiha Sioux was a tribe whose origins began in the Ohio River Valley (Hunter, 2021). Over time the Dhegiha would branch into tribes known today as the Osage, Quapaw, Omaha, Ponca, and Kaw (Vehik, 1993). During the Middle Woodland Period the Dhegiha tribes migrated along the Ohio River towards the Mississippi and Ohio River confluence (Hunter, 2021). It's speculated that their migration was due to searching for better hunting grounds and food sources, growing tensions with neighboring tribes (Southern Plains Tribal Health Board, 2021). By the Late Woodland Period (400-500 A.D.), all the tribes but the Quapaw would migrate north along the Mississippi River towards the St. Louis region and the Quapaw would travel south (Hunter, 2021). From this point on the tribes would begin to establish territories in lands of Missouri and surrounding states.

First Contact

Western research of Indigenous people living in eastern Missouri is limited and was not recorded in history until contact made by European explorers (Harl & Machiran, 2013). The first Western account of Indigenous people meeting colonizers was from the written journal of Jesuit missionary Father Jacques Marquette in 1673. Father Marquette, French explorer Louis Jolliet, and five other members traveled down the Mississippi River from Lake Michigan (in Ottawa, Canada) by canoe and documented their journey of the land and people they encountered. One of the first tribes encountered in the Missouri-Illinois region was the Peoria of the Illini. As Father Marquette and Jolliet continued down the Mississippi towards the Missouri and Arkansas border, they would come across the Michigamea of the Illini. Soon after, they arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas River where they met the Quapaw and stayed with them for a few days (Missouri State Parks, n.d.; Soodalter, 2018).

Others believe that first contact would've been made in 1541 when Hernando de Soto and his 700 conquistadors were on an expedition to acquire lands and treasures. Their exploration route indicates that they may have encountered Missouri tribes such as the Quapaw, as they crossed the Mississippi River in northern Arkansas and had a division explore a section of southeastern Missouri (Ritter, 2002). Not long after Father Marquette and Jolliet came through Missouri, a French explorer and fur trader by the name of René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, would lead an expedition in 1679 through the river systems from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1682 de La Salle would reach the Mississippi River from the Illinois River, then travel south to the Gulf of Mexico. De La Salle's travels would give claim to France and would name it "La Louisane" or "Louisiana" after King Louis XIV (Illinois State Museum, 2000a; Illinois State Museum, 2000c; Soodalter, 2018).



Map of the Mississippi River created by Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet in 1673 (World Digital Library, 2018)

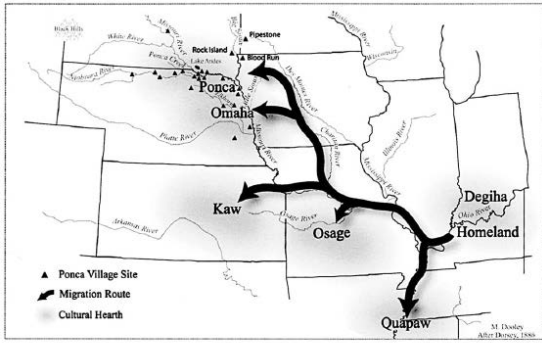


FIG. 3. Map of Degiha migration routes and Ponca village or occupation sites. [Adapted from James Owen Dorsey (note 6), Plate X, and James H. Howard (note 42), p. 111.]

Map of possible migration routes of the Dhegiha and branching tribes (Dooley, 2002)

Quapaw/Okáxpá, Ogaxpa



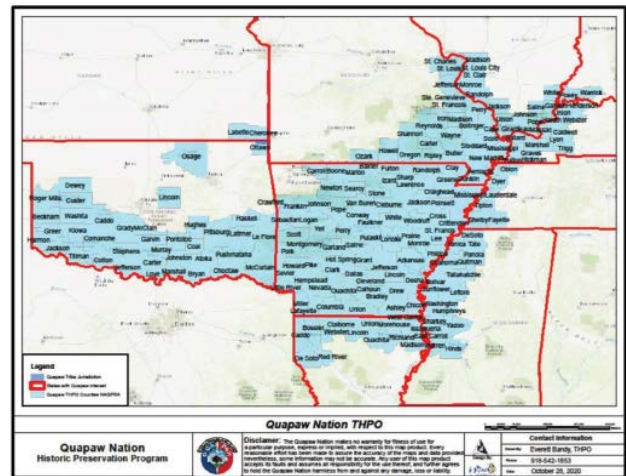
The Quapaw Nation (n.d.) is also connected to the Dhegiha Sioux group, but eventually branched away from the other tribes. They would migrate south, following the Mississippi River, until reaching the region of southeastern Missouri and Arkansas. According to the Quapaw, their people arrived in that region when the Dhegiha group was moving along the Mississippi River and became separated. The Dhegiha came upon the river with dense fog, so the people braided grapevine to create a rope to assist them in crossing the river. As they were crossing, the grapevine rope broke and disconnected the Quapaw from the rest of the group. The river would carry their people southward which is how the Quapaw would get their name as Okáxpá/Ogaxpa means “downstream people” (Quapaw Nation, n.d.).

Osage/Wahzhazhe

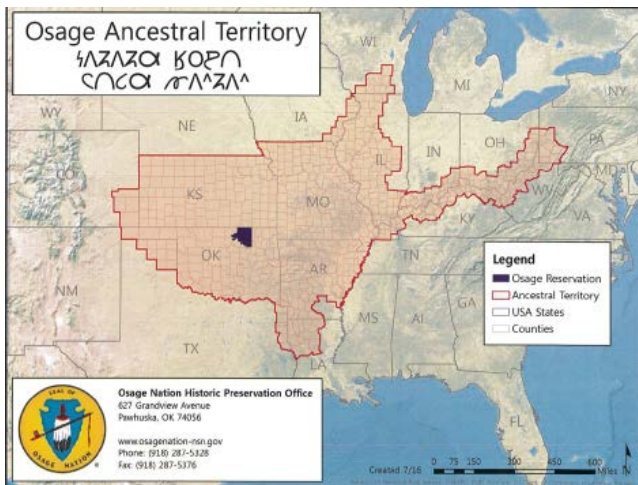


According to Dr. Andrea Hunter, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (2021), the Osage people are connected to the Dhegiha Siouan language and emerged in the Ohio River Valley region. The Dhegiha would migrate from that region down to the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio and further into Missouri and Illinois. Between 900 A.D. (Late Woodland) and 1000 A.D. (Emergent Mississippian) these groups would begin to establish settlements in the Cahokia and St. Louis area. The last remaining people of the Dhegiha, who inhabited the Cahokia and St. Louis region, became known as the Osage. The Osage would leave this area around 1300 A.D. and migrate west until settling in central and western Missouri (Hunter, 2021).

Learn more on the [Osage origins](#).



Quapaw Territory (Bandy, n.d.c)



(Duty, 2016)

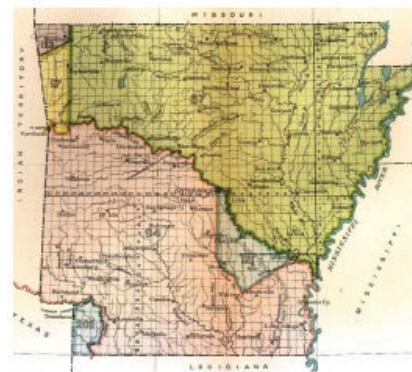
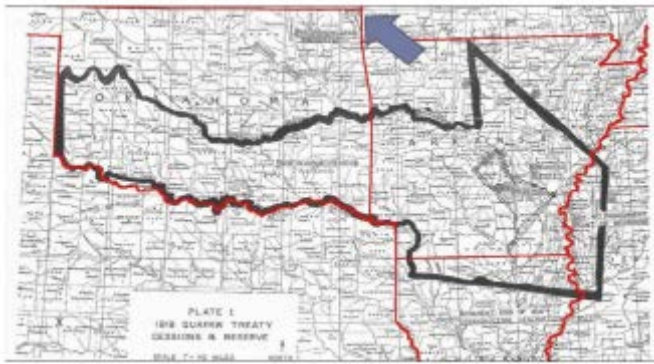


Figure 5 Royce Map, first Quapaw reservation established in

First Quapaw reservation located in Arkansas in 1818 (Bandy, n.d.a)



Map of land cession of the Quapaw in 1818, the Quapaw reservation in Arkansas, and the current reservation in northeastern Oklahoma (Bandy, n.d.b)

For more information about their history and culture visit the [Quapaw Nation website](#).

Omaha/Umo^{ho}

The Omaha were part of the Dhegiha Sioux group who migrated from the Ohio and Wabash river region (near present-day Cincinnati, OH). They would travel west with the Quapaw until reaching the Mississippi river, where they would then follow the Mississippi River northward. This is how the Omaha got their name which means “upstream” or “going against the current” (Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, 2018). The Omaha would travel north until reaching the Mississippi-Missouri River confluence where they would temporarily settle. Later, they followed the Missouri River north to the mouth of the Big Sioux River (near present-day Sioux City, IA). During their journey along the Missouri River (within Missouri), the Osage and Kaw would split away to establish their territory. As the Omaha pushed on, they followed the Big Sioux River to Rock River where they temporarily settled in Pipestone, Minnesota. In time, they would migrate southward on the west side of the Missouri River until finally settling in Nebraska. Their territory would extend from South Dakota to Rulo, Nebraska (Nebraska Indian Community College, 2021). Visit the [Omaha Tribe’s website](#).



Ponca/Pa^{ka}

According to the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, their people were connected to the group of Dhegiha tribes (i.e., Omaha, Osage, and



Kaw) that traveled north along the Mississippi River (Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, 2018). These tribes travelled north along the Mississippi River until reaching the St. Louis region. In the 1600’s, the tribe would follow the Missouri River westward where they would temporarily settle near Osage and Gasconade countries in Missouri (Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, 2018). During this time, the Osage and Kaw would branch away from the Omaha and Ponca to form their settlements. The Omaha and Ponca continued with their migration and were accompanied by the loway as they moved northward through Missouri into Iowa. The three tribes would then take the Des Moines River into Minnesota. Further migrations and settlements would take place for the Ponca until finally settling near the Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River area in North-central Nebraska (Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, 2018). In the mid-late 1800’s, many of the Ponca would be moved to Oklahoma for new settlement and this was recognized as their Trail of Tears (Nebraska Studies, 2021b).

For more information about the Ponca tribes please visit their websites, [Ponca Tribe of Nebraska](#) and [Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma](#).

Kaw/Kanzu, Kansa

The Kaw tribe, also known as the Kanzu or Kansa, are a part of the Dhegiha-Siouan group who eventually followed their own path and settled in northwest Missouri and northeast Kansas. The word Kaw is thought to mean “wind people” or “people of the south wind” (Fry, 2018) The Kaw Nation (2021) tells how their people were part of the “upstream people”, as the Dhegiha tribes entered Missouri and migrated north to the Missouri River of the St. Louis area. From there, the tribes would follow the Missouri River to the Osage River, marking the beginning separation for the Kaw people. The Osage would settle south of the Missouri River; the Omaha and Ponca would migrate north together; and the Kaw would move west, settling throughout the Kansas River Valley and the Kansas City region (Kaw Nation, 2021).



Their nation was comprised of thousands of Kaw who thrived and established dominance in this region until the early 1800’s after the Lewis and Clark expedition. From this point on, the Kaw’s way of life would change though a series of treaties made with the U.S. government. Other tragedies and events such as epidemics and starvation would take the lives of hundreds of Kaw as their numbers dropped to 1,500 people in 1800, then to 553 in 1872. (Kaw Nation, 2021).



Map of tribal territories (Nebraska Studies, 2021c)

In 1872 the Kaw were removed from their ancestral lands and relocated to northern Kay County, Oklahoma; within 16 years of this relocation, the Kaw population was reported at 194 members (Kaw Nation, 2021). Today, the Kaw thrive in Kaw City, Oklahoma with 3,667 members (Kaw Nation, 2021). For more information about the Kaw Nation, please visit their [website](#).

Ioway/Báxoje/Bah-Kho-Je

According to the Iowas of Oklahoma (n.d.), the Ioway or Ioway are known as Báxoje (Bah-Kho-Je), meaning “people of the grey snow.” Their language is of the Chiwere dialect of the Sioux Nation. The Ioway name is thought to come from the grey appearance from ash (grey snow) that covered their dwellings as their warriors returned home to witness their village facing a fire disaster; whereas the name Ioway came from the French (Iowas of Oklahoma, n.d.).



The Ioway Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska (2020) and the Iowas of Oklahoma (n.d.) indicate that their people are descendants of the Oneota culture (believed to be one people) and emerged as Woodland people of the Great Lakes region with connections to the Winnebago Nation. In time, the Ioway eventually branched away to migrate south to settlement in present-day Ioway (Ioway Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, 2020; Iowas of Oklahoma, n.d.). The group would split again and become the Ioway, Otoe, and Missouria (Fishel, 1996; Iowas of Oklahoma, n.d.). The Iowas of Oklahoma (n.d.) pin point that their people were established around the Red Pipestone Quarry area of southwestern Minnesota around the 1600’s, but eventually migrated south to settle in the

Lake Okoboji and Spirit Lake region of northwest Iowa. They continued to migrate south into the Council Bluffs area of Iowa and by the mid-1700’s a branch of their people migrated along the Des Moines River as the others settled along the Grand and Platte rivers of Missouri. Due to treaties signed with the U.S. such as the Platte Purchase Treaty of 1836, the Ioway ceded their ancestral lands (in Iowa, Missouri, and Minnesota) and were moved to a reservation along the Great Nemaha River in Nebraska and Kansas. Once again, the U.S. would force a group of the Ioway from these reservation lands to be relocated in Oklahoma.

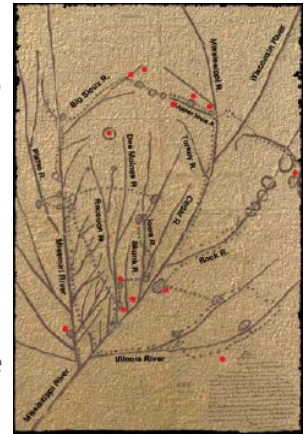


Fig. 1 The 1837 Ioway Map (Office of the State Archaeologist, n.d.)

Currently there are two federally-recognized Ioway tribes: 1) The Ioway Tribe of Oklahoma and 2) The Ioway Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska (Iowas of Oklahoma, n.d.).

The Office of the State Archaeologist (n.d.) of the University of Iowa share an image of a map (Fig. 1) that was brought forth to a U.S. government council, which shows the Ioway, Sac (Sauk), Fox (Meskwaki), Sioux, and government official sites of the U.S. Indian Commission. This map was presented by Ioway Chief Notchimine or Nacheninga, meaning No Heart or No Heart of Fear, to provide evidence of the Ioway’s claim to their territory as the Sac (Sauk) attempted to claim lands in that same region. Chief Notchimine or Nacheninga stated, “This is the route of my forefathers. It is the lands that we have always claimed from old times. We have the history. We have always owned this land. It is what bears our name.” The Ioway Chief and fellow tribal member Niyu Mañi or Neo-Man-Ni (Moving Rain or Walking Rain or Raining) pointed out to the council where Ioway villages were located throughout their migrations from 1600 to 1837. Despite this strong evidence, the U.S. would side with the Sac (Sauk) since their people had settlements established at that time (Office of the State Archaeologist). Overall, the map displays the story of the migrations and settlements of the Ioway from the Great Lakes region down to Ioway and northern Missouri.



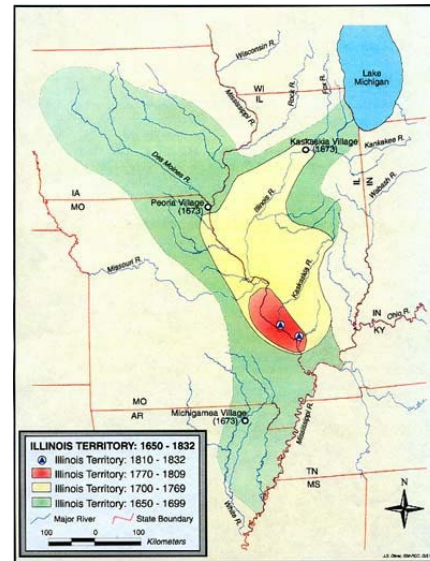
Fig. 5 Ioway Chief Notchimine or Nacheninga (Ioway Cultural Institute, n.d.)

Learn more about the [The Ioway Tribe of Oklahoma](#)

Illini, Illinois, Illiniwek/Inoca



According to the Illinois State Museum (2000b), the Illini, Illinois, or Illiniwek Nation was comprised of many independent tribes and referred to themselves as the Inoca. Tribes include Chepoussa, Chinkoa, Coiracoentanon, Espeminikia, Maroa, Moingwena, Tapouaro, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Peroria, and Tamaroa. All of these tribes were the descendants of the great Mississippian mound builders (Illinois State Museum, 2000b). It's believed that French missionaries and explorers were the ones who referred to them as the Illinois. One of the missionaries was Father Jacques Marquette who reported that the term Illinois meant "the men." The Illinois State Museum (2000b) found in more recent findings that the name "Illinois" is related to the Illinois word "irenweew," meaning "he speaks in the ordinary way." Descendants of the Inoca people continue to use the name Illini: The Illinois State Museum indicates that there's no historical or linguistic validity with this name (Illinois State Museum). The map below indicates the Illini's territory stretched from the Great Lakes region and throughout the Illinois and central Mississippi River valley. Over 10,000 Illini thrived in this massive territory until European expansion, warfare, and disease reduced their numbers to 300 people of a single village in Illinois by 1832 (Illinois State Museum, 2000). The Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (n.d.) share that in 1818, the Treaty of Edwardsville caused the forced removal of the Peoria from their ancestral lands in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri. They were relocated to Missouri, then later to Kansas, and finally to northeastern Oklahoma. While in Kansas, the Treaty of May 30, 1854 allowed the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Piankashaw, and Wea tribes to officially form as a union and were then recognized as the Confederated Peroria. What led to their final move to Oklahoma was the Omnibus Treaty of February 23, 1867; while many of the Confederated Peoria tribal members agreed to its terms, some members stayed behind in Kansas to become citizens of the U.S. The Peoria, Piankeshaw, Wea, and Kaskaskia are now known as the federally-recognized tribe Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, n.d.), which is the only recognized Illini tribe remaining today.



Territory of the Illini (Illinois State Museum, 2000c)

Otoe/Jiwere & Missouri/Nutachi



The Otoe-Missouria Tribe (n.d.) of today were once two separate tribes that had ancestral connections through the Oneota cultures of the Great Lakes Region. They also share connections with other tribes such as the loway and Winnebago. It was during the 1500's when these tribes branched away from the Oneota and migrated southward and westward to the Missouri River valley. The Otoes and Missouriias were primarily hunter-gatherers who hunted bison and other game in their territory but also cultivated corn, beans, and squash. With lands that provided rich sources of food, these tribes established territories throughout Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas. The Otoe and Missouri had settlements established throughout the Missouri River valley. This led to contact with Europeans who navigated the river systems, and eventually, led to trade opportunities with the French, Spanish, and U.S. This contact would also bring about new diseases such as smallpox, which killed many of their people. Losses from disease and warfare led Missouriia to band with the Otoe. Over time, and with European settlement and westward expansion, their rich lands were sought by settlers, creating tensions with the Otoe and Missouriia. This led the U.S. government to remove the Otoe and Missouriia from their ancestral lands and relocated both tribes to a reservation along the Big Blue River in southeast Nebraska in 1855. Then in 1881, they were relocated to what is now their current home in Red Rock, Oklahoma (Otoe-Missouria Tribe).

Learn more about the [Otoe-Missouria Tribe](#).

19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

As described, Indigenous tribes and people have lived on this land since time immemorial. The **Osage, Quapaw, Omaha, Ponca, Kaw, Ioway, Illini, Otoe, and Missouri** tribal nations recognize various areas throughout Missouri as part of their tribal homelands. More specifically, the St. Louis region falls within the ancestral lands of the **Osage, Illini, and Missouri** tribal nations. Additionally, many other tribal nations have historical ties to Missouri or St. Louis. As described, this is due to historical policies and practices that have forced these eastern nations to move west, away from their ancestral homelands. These tribal nations traveled through the state and temporarily settled here until reaching their new homelands. Some of these tribal nations include the **Cherokee Nation, Absentee Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, Sac (Sauk) & Fox (Meskwaki) Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa, Delaware Tribe of Indians and Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation.**

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act. This law granted settlers the right to claim lands west of the Mississippi River with no protections for the Indigenous people who already lived on the land (Indian Removal Act of 1830, 2017). All tribes that were settled within the state at that time were removed during the 19th century. Indigenous people were prohibited from living in Missouri and were forcibly removed to Indian Territory, which is why Missouri has no federally recognized tribal nations today (Jefferson College, 2021).

In 1904, the World's Fair was held in St. Louis as part of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition. There were 62 countries present and the fair was a grand exhibit to market trade, culture, and technology to symbolize "prosperity and progress" (Missouri Secretary of State, n.d.). Although the World's Fair symbolized prosperity and progress, it negatively showcased Indigenous people. The St. Louis World's Fair put Indigenous peoples (from outside of and within the United States) on display to live in villages and engage in athletic competitions for white scientists to monitor (Eisen, 2019). The human exhibits within the fair sought to confirm racist theories of inferiority and confirm beliefs of Indigenous savagery (Eisen, 2019). Little

evidence of Indigenous accounts to document the dehumanization that occurred at the St. Louis World's Fair exist. This untold story contributes to the eradication and erasure of Indigenous people and their experiences at the beginning of and throughout a new century in Missouri.

In the 1950s, the United States sought to end governmental support to tribal reservations. The Urban Indian Relocation Act of 1956 incentivized Native Americans between the ages of 18 and 35 years old living on or near reservations to move to urban areas with the promise of better education and employment opportunities (Urban Indian Relocation Act of 1956, 1956). Although this public law was perceived as an opportunity for a better life, in reality, it was a tactic to further assimilate Native Americans into white, mainstream society and away from their traditional ways of life and eradicate tribal commitment and governments. Once the Native population moved into urban settings, "they struggled to adjust to life in a metropolis and faced unemployment, low-end jobs, discrimination, homesickness and the loss the traditional cultural supports" (National Archive, 2016). Within these urban environments, Natives people would come together to form new communities and create Urban Indian Centers to help combat the cultural, social, political and economic losses from years of policy and traumas. The first Urban Indian Center created in Missouri was the Kansas City Indian Center, which opened in 1971. The center provided holistic support to meet the needs of their Native community through traditional and cultural values and services. The Kansas City Indian Center continues to operate to this day and serves as a support system for Urban Natives in health, education, culture, and social welfare. In 1974 another Urban Indian Center would emerge in St. Louis, which was known as The American Indian Center of Mid-America. It served as a resource for regional St. Louis Natives to obtain social, cultural, or healthcare needs. Unfortunately, the center closed its doors in 2007. The last Urban Indian Center to be created Missouri was the American Indian Center of Springfield in 1977, but the center would temporarily close its doors in the 1990's. In 2020, the center reopened and continued to provide resources to the Springfield Native community. In 1990 the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies was founded

to provide support and leadership development opportunities for Native students at the Brown School at Washington University in St. Louis. The Buder Center creates opportunities for the St. Louis Native community to attend cultural and educational programs and gatherings, such as the annual Washington University in St. Louis Pow Wow.

Missouri continues to take strides to recognize its Indigenous residents. In 2017, the Kansas City city council declared October 9, 2017, to be Indigenous Peoples Day. In 2018, the City of St.

Louis Board of Alderman renamed Columbus Day to Indigenous People's Day in perpetuity. Although these are examples of steps in the right direction, advocacy and social justice to support urban Natives in Missouri should not end here. Over 183,400 Native Americans live in the state (National Congress of American Indians Policy Research Center, 2021). It is vital to share histories and stories of the land and people of the this land to further our understanding and honor our ancestors and our Indigenous residents.

Buder Gathering Circle



The Buder Gathering Circle is named after Kathryn M. Buder, the founder of the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies at the Brown School at Washington University in St. Louis. It was made possible by a gift from her daughter, Sr. Madonna Dorothy Buder and designed in collaboration with the Buder Center. The space was designed to be welcoming for Indigenous students, staff and faculty. It incorporates four trees, representing north, south, east and west. The entrance is to the east and it was intentionally designed as a circle. It is surrounded by sage and sweet grass, two important Indigenous ceremonial plants, and red cedar, which holds special spiritual significance. Blue vervain, a medicinal Indigenous plant, can also be found around the circle. The Gathering Circle provides a space for all community members to reflect, but special events like the annual Candlelight Vigil on Indigenous People's Day are also held in this sacred space. The Buder Center and Native students use this space regularly to smudge and for other ceremonies. Circles are an important component of Native American culture. For example, the talking circle is a traditional way to problem-solve as a community because of what the circular shape encourages. In the circle, no person is more prominent than another and people can feel empowered to speak freely and honestly, thus the shape encourages balanced power amongst the people in it.

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**Kathryn M. Buder Center
for American Indian Studies**

Brown School

Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies
Washington University in St. Louis
MSC 1196-251-46, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130
bcais@wustl.edu | **buder.wustl.edu**