Chapter 1
Stories versus Science

Beginnings
We Were Always Here
The Scientific Evidence
Clovis and Folsom Cultures

Changes in the West
California Indians
The Northwest
The Great Basin and the Plains

Agriculture-Based Societies in the Southwest
Cultural Diversity and the Arrival of Maize
The “Chaco Phenomenon”
Hohokam and Mesa Verde Cultures

Eastern Woodlands
Early Eastern Woodlands Traditions
Adena and Hopewell Cultures
Mississippian Chiefdoms
The Iroquois

Pawnees explain their beginnings this way: Long ago, ancestors migrated south. Migrant Pawnees, the first man and woman, received life from Tirawa, a male spiritual representation of the upper cosmos who possessed the powers of thunder and lighting. Because of Tirawa’s generosity, Pawnee man and woman, first represented in the man as the Morning Star to the east and the woman the Evening Star to the west, found the Plains, their new homeland. Pawnee origin stories vividly tell of a universe divided into male and female components. The Pawnee farmed and hunted along the Platte, Republican, and Loup rivers that interlocked parts.
of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado, along the outer reaches of the northern plains. Their settlement patterns and gendered division of labor complemented the Pawnee bond with the stars and earth. This relationship was most apparent in a rich Pawnee ceremonial, wherein Pawnees set corn medicine bundles next to posts at the center of villages and used the stars and an understanding of four sacred cardinal directions to target fertile lands. Broken into four village divisions that represented the four cardinal points, each village had corn and medicine bundles of different types to sustain balance between Tirawa and Mother Earth, a female cosmic being who represented fertility. Mother Maize was the most powerful of the corns. Pawnee gave thanks to Mother Maize through elaborate rituals that included gifts of bison meat. Pawnee men and women and their subsistence activities followed the patterns established in their origin story, where men’s and women’s activities replicated a cosmic balance between the Morning Star to the east and the Evening Star to the west—the original Pawnee man and woman.

Origin stories, like the one above, explain how a people came to be. Each Native American tribal group has an origin story, which is the root of the group’s cultural traditions. Yet these stories do not line up with native North America’s archaeological record. The stories talk of places such as upper worlds and under worlds. They do not follow linear time as scientists do, and they are often vague about tribal peoples’ patterns of settlement and places of origin. A seeming incompatibility of origin stories and science has led to an intense and ongoing debate about the beginnings of Native American societies.

At the center of this debate is the question of history itself. Scientists postulate that an ice-free corridor, the Bering land bridge, opened in successive periods roughly between 30,000 and 13,000 years ago, connecting Alaska and Siberia and allowing for human migration. Scientists’ efforts to determine the exact timing and scale of each wave of migration are ongoing. Native Americans believe, however, the Bering land bridge argument has less to do with science and more to do with justifying native land dispossession. If native peoples did not originate in North America, but only migrated there, then they were just one of many waves of colonizers of the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, many Native Americans see scientific arguments as unnecessary because they believe their stories tell them everything they need to know about their own beginnings.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

1. How and when did people migrate to North America?
2. How did Indian life change in the West after the Clovis and Folsom cultures died out?
3. Describe and analyze the different phases of social and cultural development in the Southwest.
4. What kinds of societies and cultures developed in the Eastern Woodlands?
Many Native Americans insist that their people populated North America long before the dates postulated by the Bering land bridge theory. They may be right. Most Pacific coast peoples have oral traditions of great floods. In the Bella Coola story, “When the water rose to the top of the mountain, they tied up and put the masks on top. The masks are there and still turned to stone.” The Bella Coola, like their neighbors, may have experienced flooding when the glaciers receded at the end of last Ice Age, during a period known as the Wisconsin Glaciation, when the land bridge opened between 30,000 BCE to 11,000 BCE (before the common era). If coastal peoples witnessed the rising tides of glacial warming, then they could have been in North America long before the supposed Bering corridor ever opened (see Map 1-1).

**We Were Always Here**

Prominent Native American scholar and activist Vine Deloria Jr. argues that native stories are “geomythology.” If geologists who study the earth can use sophisticated core samples of soil to date sediment activity and the expansion of topographical features over time, such geological data should not disqualify native stories as having similar, if not more important, value as a dating technique. In fact, native stories might be as far as people need to look. There are stories that tell of receding glaciers pouring water over the landscape. Hopis and other peoples in the Southwest talk of vast fires, perhaps because of volcanic eruptions dating back hundreds of thousands of years. A few Indian stories contain precise descriptions of existing mountains and craters. And Pacific Northwest peoples talk about houses that were once on stilts to ward off mammoths. Students and scholars cannot dismiss all these stories as fiction. If Native Americans were here before the theoretical opening of the Bering land bridge, then the scientific argument that people crossed an open bridge either collapses entirely or needs much more investigation.
The Scientific Evidence

Scientists do not know the precise details of the first population movements to the Western Hemisphere. Many paleoanthropologists (scientists who study the origins of human beings) believe that people from northeastern Asia crossed the Bering Strait using a land bridge that connected Asia to what is now Alaska. Samples of soil drilled from the seabed between Alaska and present-day Siberia confirm that the Bering land bridge once existed. There is general agreement that hunter-gatherers crossed the bridge migrating through a narrow ice-free corridor. Still, questions linger. When, how, and in what numbers did these people, known as Paleo-Indians, migrate?

Several significant archaeological finds illustrate some of the uncertainties surrounding the Bering Strait argument. Meadowcroft Rockshelter, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, gives archaeologists a glimpse into the lives of the earliest people of the Eastern Woodlands, a commonly used designation for the territories east of the Mississippi River, running from present-day Canada to the Gulf Coast. Skeptics have claimed that the site’s bifaces, meaning stone-worked tools, were not manmade artifacts. Others use radiocarbon dating (a method that tests for a steady measurable amount of carbon from archaeological site remains) to date the handmade tools to 13,000 BCE or even as early as 30,000 BCE. If these people used the Bering land bridge, their eastward migration following big game on foot to the Eastern Woodlands would have taken just one or two thousand years. Moreover, the stone tools at Meadowcroft were from a unique culture, unlike findings from the present-day plains and Southwest dated to the same period, and once considered the earliest tools used by people in North America.

A recent coastal find on the southern coast of Chile at Monte Verde that includes mastodon bones with human-worked stone tools raises more questions about the Bering-Strait crossing. Radiocarbon dating suggests that people may have occupied Monte Verde as early as 12,500 BCE or perhaps even much earlier. If the dating is correct, how did Paleo-Indians migrate so far south so fast? With other coastal sites in North and South America predating 20,000 BCE, some scholars have offered a new hypothesis; peopling of the Western Hemisphere might have followed water routes as well as an ice-free corridor from Siberia. Geological evidence might support this
The Kwakiutl Story of the Deluge

The Kwakiutl of British Columbia are one of many Pacific coast peoples who have a story of a massive flood that took over the earth. Christians also have a story of a flood in the Old Testament in the Book of Genesis. In that story, Noah built his Ark to save the animals and people from certain doom. The same story appears in the Islamic Qur’an, the holy book of the Muslim world that also contains the teachings of the prophet Muhammed, the founder of Islam. The Quatsino people that lived below the inlet knew the Flood was coming a long time before it happened. In those days they seemed to know some things ahead of time. Some of the people decided to go underground to a place where the water could not reach, but most of the people built strong canoes.

One of these canoes was larger than the others. It was the lead canoe. Using a long cedar [for the canoe] with rope made from twisted cedar bark, they attached a big rock anchor to the lead canoe. All the canoes were lashed together with poles between them. Lots of fresh water in wooden containers, and dried meat and fish, clams, and berries were stored on board.

One day when all the canoes were prepared, it started to rain hard. The people noticed that the water of the sound was rising above the high tide mark. Some families started getting into canoes; others went underground.

“I see a big wave coming,” someone shouted, and they all looked and could see, in the distance, a mountain of water racing toward them. They moved fast then! The flood hit, and the canoes rose level with the mountain tops across from their village. It was really rough up there. They tried to avoid huge trees that were rooted up. Pieces of their former homes dashed against the sides of their canoes. Some of the canoes broke away and were lost in the raging storm. The canoes that broke away later ended up in other places and started other tribes.


Questions

1. What might the Story of the Deluge tells us about Kwakiutl origins?
2. What are the differences between the Kwakiutl deluge account and the story of Noah and his Ark?
Clovis and Folsom Cultures

Clovis peoples flourishing from 13,500 BCE to 12,900 BCE created an important technological innovation. Clovis culture gets its name from a town in northeast New Mexico, where archaeologists first uncovered the distinctive Clovis projectile points, stone tips fixed to projectile weapons. Clovis hunters fluted their points. They flaked off the bottoms and created grooves on either side of the tip so hunters could haft the arrowheads to spears. Fluting and the distinctive chipping along the sides that made the edges of the points jagged and sharp, also made tips more durable. Clovis points lasted longer and could be reused, and were sharper and harder and thus more piercing. Clovis points made hunters better armed against large animals. Clovis tools also included bifaces, stone-worked tools used to cut meat and hides. Clovis men were excellent stoneworkers. They fashioned stones into sharp tools for cutting animal hide, meat, and bone.

The archaeological record shows Clovis hunters particularly interested in mammoths and large bison. The remains of these animals are often found at Clovis sites, along with the distinctive fluted points and other hand-worked materials. At Murray Springs, Arizona, archaeologists unearthed the remains of eleven bison and one mammoth, along with many hand-worked stones. Modern-day elephant movements give scientists some sense of the potential migratory patterns of bison and mammoths and thus the hunting patterns of Clovis men. Elephants travel in herds, returning generation after generation to the same places to feed and drink. In small bands, Clovis people tracked mammoth and bison herds. Archaeologists have uncovered Clovis sites on low-lying ground, usually near rivers, ponds, or springs. The Lehrner site in southeast Arizona yielded thirteen mammoth remains. Clovis hunters returned to sites like Lehrner time and time again.

Clovis people pursued large game in many parts of North America until 12,900 BCE. Then Clovis culture disappears from the archaeological record, succeeded by a host of new hunter-gatherer cultures. Paleoanthropologists offer multiple explanations for why Clovis hunters vanished. As the Clovis population grew, they may simply have hunted the large game animals into extinction. Another argument focuses on climate change. As the Ice Age ended, food and water sources for Clovis prey animals diminished. Without food and water, the large animals died out, leading to a tremendous decrease in the Clovis population, which was also forced to adapt to the arid landscape. In either case, native North America changed dramatically by 9000 BCE, and new cultures replaced Clovis.

Around this time, buffalo herds became the primary target of large-game hunters. The buffalo had survived the climate changes that may have doomed other large animals by adapting to low-grassland grazing. Folsom people emerged as the new buffalo-hunting culture. The Folsom cultural tradition earned its name from the town in northeast New Mexico where archaeologists first discovered the distinct Folsom fluted spear points. Folsom peoples, like Clovis bands, were excellent trackers and hunters. But Folsom peoples hunted buffalo with a more diverse set of strategies. Archaeologists have uncovered significant Folsom kill sites at Casper, Wyoming; Lindenmeier and Olson-Chubbock, in Colorado; and Cooper, Oklahoma.

All of these Great Plains sites reveal the variety and complexity of the Folsom hunting culture. At the Casper site, dated to roughly between 7,000 BCE and 8,000 BCE, Folsom hunters trapped one hundred bison. Hunters often led a herd toward a cliff or steep ridge,
probably dressing themselves in bison hides and making noises to scare the animals. Once the bison plummeted over the cliff, Folsom hunters butchered them. Folsom hunters also returned to places were herds habitually grazed and drank water. At the Lindenmeier sited, dated to about 8000 bce, archaeologists have discovered layers of encampments, suggesting that generations of hunters returned to the same spot. Many of these kill sites, like the one at Casper, produced more meat than one nomadic group could have consumed. Excess meat was probably traded or shared with other bands. Archaeological data also indicate that many Folsom hunters engaged in a long-distance trade in the stone materials used in tool and weapon making. Although bands were nomadic, social and economic exchanges like this were essential to settlement patterns, marriage practices, and community networks. At the Olson-Chubbock site, hunters forced 157 buffalo into a ravine, and the remains reveal that the hunters only killed 75 percent of the catch. The meat could have fed more than one hundred people for approximately a month and was probably shared or traded through community networks of Folsom hunters. At the Cooper site, a buffalo skull was painted with a red pigment in the shape of a lightning bolt. One of the earliest examples of Great Plains art, the lightning bolt indicates both increasing cultural diversity and the emergence of a ritual and spiritual life surrounding the taking of animal life.

Like the Folsom hunters, later generations of Great Plains hunters recognized buffalo as a source of food, pride, and spiritual power. The Assiniboine, a Siouan-speaking people once of the Northern Plains, crossing as hunters in the United States and Canada, later related their origins to the spiritual power of the buffalo. The first Assiniboine asked a spiritual guide, Inktomi, about food. Inktomi wanted the Assiniboine to avoid cannibalism, and so he created buffalo. Under Inktomi’s guidance, Assiniboine men learned to hunt the large beasts and make stone scrapers to remove hides. With his spiritual powers, Inktomi also taught Assiniboine women to skin a buffalo and about which sections of the animals were best to eat.

Changes in the West

California Indians

By about 5000 BCE–4000 BCE, large-scale regional diversity in western North America replaced the Clovis and Folsom hunter-gatherer cultures. New lifestyles and patterns of social organization emerged alongside the hunter-gatherers. For example, between 3000 BCE and 2000 BCE, California Indians established semi-permanent villages to replace nomadic foraging communities, exploiting an array of coastal and inland resources. California Indians gathered shellfish, used the bow and arrow and harpoons to hunt large animals and seals, and caught fish. They also gathered seeds, especially those found in acorns. To facilitate the gathering and processing of acorns, villages were situated near oak forests. Women were responsible for acorn processing, grinding them with stone mortars and pestles, leeching the tannic acid out of them, and then cooking or storing them. As California villages grew in size and became more dependent on processed acorns, women developed more efficient mortars and pestles and lightweight basket designs to replace cumbersome stone or ceramic storage pots. Around 3000 BCE, climate change contributed to a dramatic increase in the population of the Pacific Coast. To meet this...
challenge, California Indians developed new forms of subsistence, adding small-scale agriculture to acorn gathering and hunting. The organization and planning demanded by agriculture gave rise to ranked societies led by chiefs who allocated and controlled the distribution of resources and land. Long-distance trade in goods such as shell beads suggests increased social complexity in California and the beginning of extensive tribal networks.

The Northwest

Prestigious burial goods such as fine woodcarvings and shell indicate the beginnings of hierarchical societies on the Northwest coast, present-day Alaska, British Columbia, and the coastal islands, by about 1000 BCE. The demands of ocean fishing and hunting drove Northwest peoples toward hierarchy and social specialization. Hunters needed sophisticated boats, harpoons, knives, and other blades to hunt and then remove the skins and cut the carcasses of seals and whales. Hunting such animals also required a hierarchical labor system, one in which hunters accepted the leadership roles of trackers and harpooners. Skilled wood carvers made canoes that could carry the necessary hunting implements and the weight of the crew. Craftsmen also used red and yellow cedar, fur, and spruce to build elaborate homes. The decoration of such homes marked families as members of specific clans, groups that associated descent within one or two specific lines and that adopted an animal as a totem, or spiritual symbol, to represent them. Wood carvers built gigantic totem poles decorated with depictions of their clan’s mythical birds and animals, as well as mythical human spirits. An archaeological site at Ozette, Washington, that was buried and preserved virtually intact by a sixteenth-century mudslide provides a glimpse into Pacific Northwest social and cultural diversity. Archaeologists there discovered wooden boxes with artistic symbols, whale teeth, hunting tools, baskets, and carved planks and poles. Nootkan-speaking groups along Puget Sound like the Makah shared these cultural patterns with people such as the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island and the coastal Salish peoples.

A variety of factors, including population growth, food surplus, and perhaps competition and warfare over hunting and settlement territories, contributed to the development of complex systems of social ranking among Northwest coast peoples after 1000 BCE. Such systems divided elites from nonelites and established each individual’s social status and responsibilities. Households remained the central unit of work and consumption but were, themselves, incorporated into the ranking system. To display status and power, families with surplus food and prestige goods such as finely carved boxes, canoes, and beads and stone gathered for potlatch ceremonies. During these ceremonies, wealthy families recounted their oral histories as represented in mythical accounts, and then redistributed goods to families of lesser wealth and importance to strengthen kin and community ties.

East of the coast is a vast region known as the Interior Plateau. Two main rivers bisect it: the Columbia River of the southern plateau and the Fraser River located in the more wooded north. Salish-speakers from the same linguistic stock as peoples of the coast lived along the Fraser River. Penutian-speakers who lived close to the Columbia River were famous salmon fishers. They moved their villages to follow salmon migratory patterns. After 3000 BCE, salmon fishing plateau people established long-distance trade networks with their linguistic cousins of the Northwest coast, and farther to the south into the Great Basin, a region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coastal range of the Sierra Nevada. Turquoise and shells from the South and West were exchanged for fish grease and animal hides. Wooden-painted masks of mythical creatures traveled from the Northwest coast to the Interior Plateau.

The Dalles, natural rock platforms along the Columbia River, were places not only of trade but also where Indians from Plateau, Northwest coast, and Great Basin villages met to exchange prestige goods. Plateau peoples saw these meeting places as sacred and honored them with painted artwork called pictographs and carved artwork called petroglyphs that featured faces, stick people, circles of the sun, heads, eagles and other birds, sheep, deer, and images of hunters in ritual postures.
Places like The Dalles were the also the site of vision quests, or spiritual journeys. To honor the guardian spirits who lived near sacred points of The Dalles, people made offerings, but also used different pigments of color to paint their visions as they looked for spiritual guidance in song and other rites. A present-day elder among the Flathead Lake Kutenai in Montana told one observer of how vision quests to special rock formations were part of his peoples’ long tradition of a sacred landscape. His people traveled “on top of Chief Rock, near Dayton…up there is a little circle of stones where we would lay. All kinds of spirits dwell up there.” Among these spirits were birds and particularly the coyote, which spoke directly to people. “Coyote gave me a song,” the elder recalled. “Deer gave me the power to hunt successfully.” For the ancestors of people who traded at The Dalles, sacred powers to hunt, fish, trade, and maintain community balance and harmony came from visiting rock formations.

**The Great Basin and the Plains**

Great Basin peoples lived between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coastal range. Archaeological finds, such as Lovelock Cave in Nevada, suggest that Great Basin peoples used caves as gathering places for burials and storing food. Great Basin people located their campsites near water sources were it was possible to gather piñon nuts from small pine trees and hunt small animals such as rabbits, birds, and freshwater fish. In the Western Basin region, where agricultural techniques flourished because of better rainfall, a more intensive process of planting and harvesting began around 2000 BCE. Between 400 CE and 1300 CE (the common era), cultural diversity appears in the Great Basin archaeological record. Stone figures, ceramics, and textiles all seem to be the work of different peoples. Uto-Aztecan speakers, the ancestors of the Shoshones and Utes, had most likely moved into the Great Basin. By about 500 CE, people in Utah started planting
Native North America Before European Contact

Diversity in the West, 5000 BCE to 1300 CE

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5000 BCE–4000 BCE</td>
<td>Expansion of food production and cultures in California</td>
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<tr>
<td>3000 BCE</td>
<td>Plains dispersal into tribal bands</td>
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<tr>
<td>1000 BCE</td>
<td>Cultural complexity emerges in the Northwest</td>
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<tr>
<td>400 CE–1300 CE</td>
<td>Cultural diversity in the Great Basin, including agricultural production</td>
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maize near pit houses, building on the maize planting traditions of the peoples of the Southwest. Pit houses were semi-subterranean dwellings, offering protection from both heat and cold as well as storage space for food and belongings. Farming in this region of pit houses was short lived, however, as climatic change dried up arable soil.

After 3000 BCE, the Plains Indians dispersed into various bands, increasing their hunting ranges and diversifying their use of arrow and spearheads inherited from the Clovis and Folsom cultures. They used grinding tools in mountain areas to grind nuts and developed basketwork. Around 720 CE, after a volcano eruption destroyed most of the habitable areas around the present-day Yukon Territory near Alaska, descendents of the Caddoan-speaking Arikaras and the Siouan-speaking Mandan and Hidatsa had already formed village settlements and farmed near rivers of the Missouri River Valley in the upper plains. Around the same time, in the northern plains, near the Black Hills of South Dakota, Athabaskan-speakers established villages and hunted bison, but they were not the mounted horseback plains people of which most people think. The plains farmers and the Northern Plains hunters engaged in far-flung networks of trade. The plains cave art from this period depicts a life of hunting small game infused with ritual. Wyoming cave rock art portrays deer and other animals with hunters and mythical figures. People in different postures, wearing masks depicting animals, indicate that the native peoples of the plains had created a rich spiritual life. Red pictographs of circles, lines, and other geometric shapes are perhaps signs that spiritual leaders used art to create a ritual and ceremonial life for Plains Indians.

Agriculture-Based Societies in the Southwest

Cultural Diversity and the Arrival of Maize

Stretching from Nevada across Arizona into New Mexico, then south into Sonora in Mexico, the Southwest had deserts and forests, mountainous territories, and regions of low and moderate rainfall. The Southwest's geographic and climatic variety in turn created diversity among the peoples who inhabited the region. Before the arrival of the nomadic Plains Indian hunters, four cultural groups, distinguished among other things by language, occupied the Southwest. Yuman-speakers dominated the Colorado River Valley and Baja California in what is today Mexico. These people were warriors and hunters, but they also relied on floodplain agriculture, growing their crops close to riverbanks to take advantage of the ready supply of water and rich riverbank soil. The O'odham and other related groups lived in southern Arizona and northern Mexico. Oodham peoples spoke a Uto-Aztecan dialect and lived in a rugged region noted for its geographical and climatic variation. Oodham peoples lived in remote highlands, arid deserts, and in lush river valleys. Arizona and New Mexico were home to the Pueblo peoples. They spoke many different
Native North America Before European Contact

Dialects but shared cultural traits. In Black Mesa, Arizona, the Hopi occupied uplands. When the Spanish encountered the Zuni in the sixteenth century, the Zuni occupied six large adobe pueblos, which were multistory houses made of adobe (clay and straw baked into hard bricks). To the east were the Acoma, Laguna, and other Keresan and Tanoan-speaking native peoples. All pueblos were villages made up of adobe, sometimes circular, multistoried houses connected by ladders. Some pueblos had a central plaza, and all had circular ceremonial pits known as kivas.

Indigenous peoples of the highlands of Mexico domesticated corn, beans, and squash approximately nine thousand years ago. Between 2500 BCE and 100 BCE, agriculture began to spread into the Sonoran region of northwest Mexico. The earliest variety of cultivated maize (Zea mays), often called Indian corn, arrived slowly in the Southwest. In time, maize cultivation and harvest came to be well-organized, labor-intensive activities. Maize would come to be grown with protein-producing crops such as beans and squash. However, the arrival of the earliest variety of maize did not change life in the Southwest overnight. At first, people probably traded for maize seeds and sprinkled them on the ground, using whatever maize grew to supplement a diet of wild plants and animals that complemented their semi-sedentary ways of life.

Variations of Zea mays proved more adaptable to the arid climates of the Southwest. The exact timing of the arrival in the Southwest of Chapalote, a later variation of maize, remains in dispute. Some archaeologists contend that people of the Southwest first grew Chapalote in the second millennium BCE. Others believed that it arrived much later. The introduction of Chapalote followed the same pattern as the earlier introduction of Zea mays. Native peoples scattered Chapalote seedlings among weeds and other plants, but they did not grow the crop intensively. People in the Southwest eventually replaced Chapalote maize with a more hardy and productive form, Maiz de Ocho. Requiring shorter growing seasons than Chapalote, easy to grind and cook, and adaptable to climatic changes and a variety of environments, Maiz de Ocho was the staple corn of the Southwest by the first millennium BCE, but could not support populations on its own because it lacked necessary vitamins and protein. If eaten alone, corn caused a disease known to science as pellagra. Early agriculturalists thus grew maize with beans and squash. Native peoples have referred to this combination of a nutrient and protein-packed diet as the “three sisters.” In northwest Mexico, at the Cerro Juanaqueña site, archaeologists have uncovered a 135-room pit house village along with maize cobs. Pit house villages, which replaced semi-sedentary village life, are found throughout northwest Mexico. They were the earliest examples of sedentary living based on maize production in the area.

Seasonal maize cultivation eventually changed Native American patterns of living in the Southwest. Permanent large settlements began to emerge there between 250 CE–1450 CE. Known as the Mogollon cultural tradition, pit house dwellings appear around that time throughout the Southwest. At many of these villages, certain rooms resembled storage houses. These villages were not autonomous, as luxury trade goods such as copper bells, etched shells, obsidian (volcanic glass), mica, and turquoise came from networks of long-distance trade. New ceramic styles appear on pots and other items used to store and cook maize, suggesting cultural variations and complexity. There are also signs of a ritual and ceremonial life surrounding crop production in the earliest kiva-like structures.

Exchange and adaptability were essential to sedentary life in the Southwest. Climatic variations and territorial diversity meant that some regions would have better growing seasons than others. Facing crop failures and droughts, groups came together to exchange goods, hold rituals and ceremonies, and intermarry. Maize production and the shift to pit house villages meant that people in the Southwest became connected to each other through long-distance exchanges of people, goods, and ritual and ceremonial practices.

Until about 700 CE, pit houses were the most common social unit in a vast region that stretched from Arizona and New Mexico south to Chihuahua and Sonora in Mexico. From 700 CE to 1000 CE, a rapid transition from pit house villages to adobe-clay, multistoried buildings commonly known as pueblos took place in parts of the Southwest. Agriculture may have led to
a population boom, demanding more complex forms of settlement to house and feed more people. Moreover, to store maize and improve their living conditions, people had to move to larger, above-ground settlements, leaving pit houses for use as storage chambers or kivas. Change was gradual in some places, more rapid in others.

The “Chaco Phenomenon”

From 900 CE to 1150 CE, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, became the center of a large series of adobe settlements. Climates changed by the tenth century, with temperatures rising a few degrees in most parts of North America, and extended growing seasons during a time scientists call the Warm Period. Maize, beans, and squash became the staple crops during this period of warmer climates and longer growing periods. In New Mexico populations grew as a result. The so-called “Chaco Phenomenon” was astonishing in its size and scope. Pueblo Bonito, a large semicircular settlement of adobe apartments stacked five stories high, each apartment with its own kiva, was the centerpiece of the “Chaco Phenomenon.” This settlement marked the flourishing of what archaeologists describe as Anasazi culture (a Navajo word for “ancient enemies”), ancestors to the Pueblo peoples. From Chaco Canyon, a network of Chaco-like settlements stretched over hundreds of square miles. Within this area, Anasazi people built at least seventy other large adobe structures known as outliers. A series of intricate roads that led back to Chaco Canyon connected each outlier community to the others. At night, fires from kivas ceremonially linked many Chaco Canyon outliers to Pueblo Bonito. Along with roads, Anasazi peoples carved out extensive irrigation routes in the canyon walls and on the ground. This irrigation system was crucial to successful large-scale crop cultivation in the arid climate of New Mexico. Two other “great houses,” Peñasco Blanco and Una Vida, helped support the immense population of Chaco Canyon. All three great houses were located near central drainage systems to optimize water access. The three communities shared architectural features. Each settlement consisted of rectangular rooms, built one on top of another. Large kivas stood outside the main settlement, suggesting that each great house had a community-oriented ritual and ceremonial life led by spiritual specialists and leaders. An established elite may have dominated these communities to muster laborers for construction and crop production and to control the flow of trade. Kin groups probably disputed with each other over leadership.

The discovery of bells, figurines, pottery vessels with human effigies, and macaw parrot skeletons (the colorful feathers of the birds were much prized) at Pueblo Bonito reinforces the idea that, by the tenth century Pueblo Bonito dominated the economic, ceremonial, and ritual life of Chaco Canyon. Archaeologists believe that by about 1050 CE, a few Pueblo Bonito leaders probably controlled the roads that connected Pueblo Bonito with outlier communities. The “Great North Road,” which extended forty miles, brought many people and goods to Chaco Canyon. Among Kersan-speaking Pueblos, the cardinal point of north was a symbol of their travels to their origins, where their ancestors once dwelled. Thus, in addition to its economic and other material functions, the Great North Road may have served as a cosmological guiding path toward Pueblo Bonito. Kersan-speakers, like Puebloans, also believed that four cardinal points converge at a midpoint.
In a sacred-geographical layout, Pueblo Bonito appears as this midplace, which might also help explain Pueblo Bonito’s power and authority in trade relations.

Despite its grandeur and prosperity, Chaco Canyon could not withstand the dramatic climatic changes that began in 1130 CE, as the Warm Period started to end. Fifty years of unrelenting drought hit the Colorado Plateau. In the face of crop failure and famine, the great houses could not sustain their large populations. At the same time, outliers stopped trading with Pueblo Bonito and the other great houses. Within a few generations, the great houses became ghost towns. The Chaco system collapsed, succeeded by other centralized but smaller societies in the Southwest.

**Hohokam and Mesa Verde Cultures**

O’odham peoples describe the Hohokam people as “those who have gone,” a tribute to another grand community of pueblos in the Southwest. One of the most famous Hohokam sites is Snaketown, on the Gila River in Arizona. It earns its name from the O’odham name Skoaquick “place of snakes.” Archaeologists have excavated the 167 houses at Snaketown, along with additional dwellings at other Hohokam sites. By 300 CE to 775 CE, most Hohokam peoples used irrigation, and by 775 CE to 975 CE the Hohokam began to group houses together in a way that is reminiscent of Pueblo Bonito, except Hohokam houses opened onto a grand courtyard. Archaeologists are unsure whether the Hohokam people were migrants or indigenous to Arizona. There are, however, some clues. At Snaketown there was a ball court, suggesting a connection to Mexico, where Indians used ball courts for ritual games. In addition, some of the trade goods and cultural artifacts found at Hohokam sites and dated to between 1150 CE and 1350 CE appear to have Mexican origins. Platform mounds, clay figurines, and several types of vessels are similar to Mexican forms. The consensus among archaeologists now is that Hohokam was its own distinct cultural tradition, even if it derived practices such as the ball games and some goods from Mexico. Hohokam peoples, in fact, stood at a trading crossroads—central to California, Mexico, and other parts of Southwest—which helps explains its rich cultural diversity.

For over one thousand years, Hohokam settlements grew ever more sophisticated and complex. Ceremonial and ritual exchange systems centered on the ball courts and pueblo courtyards, interconnected villages, and kin and community, and gave rise to large extended clans and paramount leaders. However, between 1350 CE and 1450 CE, as archaeologists have discovered in the Salt-Gila Basin in Arizona, flooding destroyed the intricate network of Hohokam irrigation ditches. The emergence of fortified villages around the same period indicates that factionalism and warfare broke out over control of resources. By the fifteenth century, the Hohokam tradition vanished. Many scholars contend that the O’odham of the Sonora region whom the Spanish encountered in the 1500s were the descendants of the Hohokam.

The Mesa Verde cultural tradition was distinct from both the Chaco and Hohokam traditions. Mesa Verde peoples lived mostly in the San Juan Basin of southwest Colorado. Although started by Anasazi peoples accustomed to arid regions, the Mesa Verde tradition flourished in a wetter and more fertile climate. By the twelfth century, the Mesa Verde tradition arose along the banks of rivers, particularly in cliff dwellings and deep canyons. By about the thirteenth century, Mesa Verde peoples abandoned their settlements were abandoned as once-fertile regions turned arid under severe climatic changes.

In fact, most Anasazi peoples left the “Four Corners Territory”—where Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico meet—and migrated south and southeast to lands that became home to the Hopi, Zuni, and Rio Grande Pueblos. The adobe pueblo dwellings remained the primary social unit, and kivas were at the center of their rich spiritual life. These cultures were still in place when the Spanish arrived in the 1500s, but by this time only smaller agricultural pueblo communities remained—vestiges of a long tradition of large societies started by the arrival of agriculture thousands of years earlier.
Anasazi Sites Compared

The remains of archaeological structures, when linked as part of the same cultural tradition, reveal much about how Native Americans changed to meet shifting environmental circumstances. The two Anasazi cultural traditions, Pueblo Bonito and Mesa Verde, differ in architectural design and layout.

Questions

1. How did the layouts of Pueblo Bonito and Mesa Verde differ?
2. What sort of conclusions can be drawn from these differences as shown in the two images?

Cave site of Mesa Verde.

Artist's rendition of Pueblo Bonito.
Eastern Woodlands

Early Eastern Woodlands Traditions

Far from the sacred landscapes of the Columbia Plateau and the Great Plains lived the peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, occupying the vast lands east of the Mississippi from Canada to the Gulf Coast. Exchange networks in seashells, jasper, and copper extended into the Eastern Woodlands after 3000 BCE. In time, possession of such goods came to denote rank and status. Each tribe or band lived in its own area, but they were connected to each other by trade. Trade flowed in multiple directions. Copper came from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River areas. Shells from the Atlantic coast and soapstone from the Appalachians also appeared in burial sites. Massive numbers of shell-mound deposits also indicate a steady diet of coastal and freshwater mussels, contributing to the diversified economy and resource base necessary to support the region’s increasing population. Indian Knoll, a site in Kentucky, dated to about 3000 BCE–2000 BCE, is one of the best-preserved shell-deposit sites. Indians of the Eastern Woodlands had a spiritual life that developed from far-flung networks of esoteric knowledge and spiritually charged trade goods. Special burials based on kinship, age, and leadership indicate the presence of elite groups. Indian Knoll, for example, had more than one thousand burials. The dead were buried in a fetal position, and some were sprinkled with ochre dust and adorned with shell ornaments such as beads.

Between 2200 BCE and 700 BCE, a unique cultural tradition emerged at a central point of the vast exchange networks among the eastern Indians. Located in the lower Mississippi Valley near the Gulf Coast, the Poverty Point culture (named after a site in Louisiana) provides evidence of dramatic cultural change among the Eastern Woodland peoples. There are more than one hundred Poverty Point sites, the largest of which stands on the Macon Ridge that overlooks the Mississippi floodplain, near the confluence of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red, Ohio, and Tennessee rivers. Strategically positioned to control trade moving in all directions, Poverty Point was comprised of large earthen mounds. The center of the Poverty Point site ranges over 490 acres, with six concentric semicircular mounds established about 131 feet from each other.

Archaeologists know next to nothing about the social organization of Poverty Point. Relying on data from later mound building cultures, they speculate that chiefs and spiritual leaders oversaw the construction of the vast mounds that acted as centers of trade. Outlying villages produced squash and gourds, while within the mounds archaeologists have discovered immense amounts of prestige goods such as copper, galena (lead ore that often contains silver), jasper, and quartz. They think Poverty Point served as a trade nexus, with sufficient wealth to permit social stratification and the emergence of leaders with the authority to organize and command the labor necessary to build the mounds. Poverty Point remains a puzzle, but it foreshadowed the rise of other complex societies in the Eastern Woodlands.
Adena and Hopewell Cultures

The mound building tradition that began in the Eastern Woodlands continued in the Adena and Hopewell cultures. From about 1000 BCE to 100 BCE, the Adena complex in the central Ohio River valley was an engine for social and cultural change in the region. Adena was a vast mound building center comprised of ceremonial mound burials (see Map 1-2). By about 200 BCE, Adena burial mounds became more complex. Larger mounds were built and more bodies were buried—painted with red and yellow ocher—in each mound. Alongside the mound burials were circular enclosed areas where it is likely families of the deceased along with people of high status gathered to worship their ancestors. The graves included sophisticated handcrafted effigies and pipe stems in the form of both humans and animals.

A new mound building culture emerged out of the Adena complex known as the Hopewell tradition, flourishing from 200 BCE to 500 CE. The Hopewell tradition encompassed more people and was socially and culturally more complex than the traditions that preceded it. It was a focal point of trade networks that ranged across most of North America, bringing shell, obsidian, mica, and turquoise to the craftspeople of Hopewell. Built over centuries, Hopewell mounds were shaped like circles, octagons, and squares. The mounds had ritual and ceremonial importance, and served as burial sites. Archaeologists believe that many of these earthen mounds were aligned to reflect astronomical events, particularly sunrise and moonrise patterns. The mound building culture of Hopewell was most likely the work of “bigmen,” elites who gained power and authority from spiritual and mythological knowledge and the control of trade. Masks and effigies of animals and mythical spirits were used in the performance of rites that enhanced these leaders’ position as the directors of Hopewell spiritual life. The internment of bodies with high prestige items suggests that “bigman” status and privilege extended into the afterlife.

Roads connected outlying villages to the center of Hopewell mounds. These villages, which traded with Hopewell and shared its culture, might have functioned as ritual political centers with their own burial mounds, but they certainly acknowledged the larger mounds as the main centers of Hopewell life. Hopewell depended on intensive production of corn, beans, and squash for subsistence, with many villages located near floodplains to facilitate growing.

Hopewell culture went into rapid decline around 400 CE. Archaeologists believe that the introduction of maize contributed to the fall of Hopewell. With the spread of maize, many families may have become self-sufficient and thus no longer dependent on the Hopewell networks for survival. Clan and kinship networks became focused on the intensive cultivation of maize and not their connections to the larger Hopewell networks, to the detriment of the “bigmen” whose prestige and power was derived from those networks. Because the Hopewell networks facilitated cultural connections between the peoples who made up the Hopewell tradition, their decline brought with it the decline of the tradition as a whole.
**Mississippian Chiefdoms**

Between 800 CE and 1200 CE, during the Warm Period, agriculture spread rapidly throughout the Eastern Woodlands, giving rise to a new age of chiefdoms in the Southeast and Midwest, known collectively as the Mississippian tradition. The most organized chiefdoms were Cahokia, across from St. Louis, Missouri, along the Mississippi River, and Moundville in northwest Alabama. Cahokia and Moundville oversaw vast territories and featured elaborate social and political structures.

At both Cahokia and Moundville, cults played key roles in spiritual and political life. A warrior cult honored elite men who had proven themselves in battle. A fertility cult honored the year for the harvests. The periodic rebuilding of the mounds and platforms on their top symbolized the fertility of the crops and population expansion, and created opportunities for the chiefdoms' elaborate displays of prestige.

Built along a floodplain, Cahokia was well situated for maize cultivation. With expansive territories and a large food surplus, beginning in around 700 CE, Cahokia supported a large population spread across many villages. Cahokia served almost as a city-state, with the large mound occupied by the chiefdom at the center of a network of supporting villages. Among pre-Columbian Indian societies, only those in Mexico had more people. At the center of Cahokia was a magnificent mound built between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Its size rivaled the large stone structures in Mexico and Yucatan. At Cahokia’s central plaza, and atop its main mound, called Monk’s Mound, priests and chiefs used myth, cosmology, and trade to cement their rule over Cahokia’s population. Monk’s Mound was built in four stages from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. In a meticulously organized layout, Cahokia laborers built numerous other mounds of different sizes and shapes. Many of the mounds at Cahokia served as burial sites for the most elite of its residents. After the twelfth century, however, Cahokia began to decline as populations dispersed from the main ceremonial center, breaking up the surrounding villages that serviced the large city-state.

Lesser “Mississippian” chiefdoms existed throughout the Southeast up until the sixteenth century. Like Cahokia, these chiefdoms had also developed complex social, cultural, and political structures. There was a clear hierarchy of chiefs; one paramount chief oversaw chiefs of surrounding villages. The capital town was home to the paramount chief who lived there with his family, petty officials, and spiritual specialists. Subchiefs who owed loyalties to the paramount chief and managed the day-to-day agricultural production of village life lived in smaller centers. In general, chiefdoms occupied extensive lands and controlled the labor and surplus produce of villagers. The cosmology of these chiefdoms was built around dualities: an upper world versus an underworld; a fertility cult of women versus a warrior cult of men. When French and Spanish explorers came to the Southeast in the sixteenth century, they would encounter the Natchez...
along the Mississippi and the Coosa in Georgia, the remnants of the larger remaining Mississippian chiefdoms.

The inhabitants of these Mississippian chiefdoms led a complex spiritual life. Atop many of the numerous mounds, chiefs and priests worshipped the most important god, the sun. Craftsmen carved images of men playing a sacred bowl game known as “chunkey.” Their descendants, the Muskogean speakers of the Deep South, still played chunkey when Europeans arrived in the area in the sixteenth century. By playing chunkey, men practiced a ritual bound by the four sacred cardinal directions that gave them the necessary sacred power for hunting and warfare. Fertility cults involving the worship of statues and figures of women tied communities to the land and the mystical potency of women. One figurine depicts a woman “cultivating” the land on the back of a serpent with the head of the panther. According to Muskogean stories, serpent-panthers from the underworld transformed themselves into food to sustain the population and only women, known for their fertility, could cultivate the back of the serpent-panther to turn the spirit into corns, beans, and squash.

Mississippian chiefs affirmed their sacred power through carvings on vessels and pendants and by controlling the production and distribution of engraved prestige goods. Geometric shapes carved on pendants, vessels, and ornaments worn around the throat all linked chiefs to the sacred powers of the sun and prized birds such as the falcon. By controlling the production and distribution of prestige goods, chiefs claimed power over the human realm. Carried on specially designed and adorned litters, the chiefs oversaw life in surrounding villages. The designs on one litter depict a chief rising from the ground to decapitate two Indians with his bare hands as he moves into the sky. The image of the decapitated heads and levitation indicates that chiefs in the Mississippian tradition also orchestrated their warriors’ attacks on neighboring competitors.

The Iroquois

Iroquoian speakers lived in the portion of the Eastern Woodlands that is now northern New York State and southeast Canada. Iroquois people lived in rectangular longhouses made of bark and wood that could hold numerous families. The Iroquois harvested corns, beans, and squash, the “three sisters,” with women tilling the soil. The Iroquois were matrilineal, tracing descent through the lines of their mothers, so women had tremendous power in the appointment of clan leaders and decisions regarding warfare. At the time of European contact in the early sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, the major Iroquoian tribes were the Huron, Erie, and Neutral in Canada, and the Five Nations Iroquois in New York State: the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk.

### Eastern Woodlands, 3000 BCE–Sixteenth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3000 BCE</td>
<td>Expansion of cultures and trade networks in the Eastern Woodlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2200 BCE–700 BCE</td>
<td>Poverty Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 BCE–100 CE</td>
<td>Adena Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 BCE–500 CE</td>
<td>Hopewell Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 CE–1200 CE</td>
<td>Cahokia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200–Sixteenth Century</td>
<td>Mississippian Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1600</td>
<td>Iroquois League Founded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chiefdoms Maintaining Power through Images

Pendants, carved pottery, and other luxury items, from the period of the Mississippian chiefdoms, are well-preserved artifacts with images of gods and cosmic animals, appearing somewhere near a carved or etched image of a leader. Artifacts such as these are as useful as archaeological settlement sites in understanding the nature and structure of chiefdoms.

Questions

1. How do you think this artifact asserted chiefly power and authority?
2. Which image or motif is most striking?

Gorget showing a falcon-man marine shell, Mississippian Period, 1200–1450 CE.
The Iroquois Origin Story

Origin stories, like the one below, can tell us a lot about Native peoples. In the Iroquois origin story, their world existed on a turtle’s back. In fact, Iroquoian-speakers, when first encountering Europeans, talked about living on the back of a turtle. What might sound strange or peculiar to readers, had its own cultural logic.

Long before the world was created there was an island, floating in the sky, upon which the Sky People lived. They lived quietly and happily. No one ever died or was born or experienced sadness. However one day one of the Sky Women realized she was going to give birth to twins. She told her husband, who flew into a rage. In the center of the island there was a tree which gave light to the entire island since the sun hadn’t been created yet. He tore up this tree, creating a huge hole in the middle of the island. Curiously, the woman peered into the hole. Far below she could see the waters that covered the earth. At that moment her husband pushed her. She fell through the hole, tumbling towards the waters below.

Water animals already existed on the earth, so far below the floating island two birds saw the Sky Woman fall. Just before she reached the waters they caught her on their backs and brought her to the other animals. Determined to help the woman they dove into the water to get mud from the bottom of the seas. One after another the animals tried and failed. Finally, Little Toad tried and when he reappeared his mouth was full of mud. The animals took it and spread it on the back of Big Turtle. The mud began to grow and grow and grow until it became the size of North America.

Then the woman stepped onto the land. She sprinkled dust into the air and created stars. Then she created the moon and sun.

The Sky Woman gave birth to twin sons. She named one Sapling. He grew to be kind and gentle. She named the other Flint and his heart was as cold as his name. They grew quickly and began filling the earth with their creations.

Sapling created what is good. He made animals that are useful to humans. He made rivers that went two ways and into these he put fish without bones. He made plants that people could eat easily. If he was able to do all the work himself there would be no suffering.

Flint destroyed much of Sapling’s work and created all that is bad. He made the rivers flow only in one direction. He put bones in fish and thorns on berry bushes. He created winter, but Sapling gave it life so that it could move to give way to Spring. He created monsters which his brother drove beneath the Earth.

Eventually Sapling and Flint decided to fight till one conquered the other. Neither was able to win at first, but finally Flint was beaten. Because he was a god Flint could not die, so he was forced to live on Big Turtle’s back. Occasionally his anger is felt in the form of a volcano.


Questions

1. What does the Iroquois Origin Story tell us about how they lived?
2. What is the cultural significance that in this story animals behaved like humans?

Archaeological remains of protective fences around villages indicate that warfare was common among the Iroquois. Sometime before 1600, several Iroquois tribes decided to put an end to the factionalism and feuding that had devastated them and formed the Iroquois League. According to the Iroquois, a grandmother and mother recognized that a young boy, Deganawida,
was a potential peacemaker. When he grew older, he traveled through Iroquoia, from west to east, and was dismayed by the constant warfare. He told young warriors to tell their chiefs to carry his message of peace. Once he reached the Onondaga people, Deganawida converted a warrior named Hiawatha from cannibalism to the ways of peace. Deganawida taught Hiawatha the Condolence Ceremony, a ritual designed to facilitate the reconciliation of former enemies. The two carried this message of condolence to the Mohawks, who adopted the ceremony. Soon, the Iroquois nations made peace and the Iroquois League was formed. The Onondaga, Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida joined symbolically into one longhouse, a sacred unity overseen by sachems elected from specific clans by clan mothers. The “Keepers of the Eastern Door” of the League's longhouse were the Mohawks, the most eastern tribe in New York. The “Keepers of the Western Door” were the Senecas who resided far to the west. At the center was Onondaga, in whose territory the Iroquois League would meet and light the council fires.

**CONCLUSION**

The first Europeans to reach North America did not discover a “Garden of Eden” occupied by peoples who lived in a state of harmony and balance with nature. Native North America had its own history before Europeans arrived. Scientists use archaeological dating techniques and evidence from excavated sites to investigate this history. Native peoples look to their stories to understand their past. Although seemingly incompatible, when considered together science and native traditions shed light on the beginnings of Indian life in North America. When Europeans arrived in the Americas in 1500, they encountered societies that had been changing and developing for 15,000 years. In this chapter, we focused on the societies of North America. In the next, we will turn to the societies of South America, giving particular attention to the Maya, the Aztecs, and the Inca.

**Review Questions**

1. Why do native peoples rely on origin stories and not archaeological evidence to explain their history in North America?
2. Is the Bering land bridge a convincing scientific model for explaining the origins of human society in the Americas?
3. How did maize cultivation contribute to the rise and fall of societies in the Southwest and Mississippi Valley?

**Recommended Readings**


Keyser, James D. *Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992). Beautifully illustrated and well organized chronologically. It also explains all the different traditions of art.

Wallas, James, and Pamela Whitaker. *Kwakiutl Legends* (North Vancouver, BC: Hancock House, 2002). Stories recorded over several years in the early twentieth century that shed light on Pacific coastal traditions.


### Native American History Online

**General Sites**

- **Rock Art Pages.** [http://www.jqjacobs.net/rock_art/](http://www.jqjacobs.net/rock_art/). A fantastic webpage where students can explore the diversity of rock art.


- **Mississippi Valley Archaeological Center at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse.** [http://www.uwlax.edu/mvac/PointGuide/PointGuide.htm](http://www.uwlax.edu/mvac/PointGuide/PointGuide.htm). This site provides information about North American projectile points.

**Archaeological Sites**

- **Cahokia Mound Historical Site, Collinsville, Illinois.** [http://www.cahokiamounds.com/](http://www.cahokiamounds.com/). This site includes information about the historic preservation site for Cahokia.

- **Chaco Culture National Historical Park, Nageezi, New Mexico.** [http://www.nps.gov/chcu/](http://www.nps.gov/chcu/). This website provides access to numerous resources for Chaco Canyon.


### MySearchLab Connections: Sources OnLine

**www.mysearchlab.com**

### Read and Review

Review this chapter by using the study aids and these related documents available on MySearchLab.

#### Study Plan
- Chapter Test
- Essay Test

#### Documents
- **Pima Creation Story**
  *This story takes us to a people who favored stability, settlement, and peace and whose artistic traditions were long and rich.*

- **Ottawa Origins Story (recorded ca. 1720)**
  *Nicolas Perrot was a French fur trader who retold the origin stories of native peoples as part of his memoirs.*

- **Dekanawida Myth and the Achievement of Iroquois Unity (c. 1500s)**
  *The story of Dekanawida, the great leader who founded the Iroquois Confederacy, or the Five Nations.*

- **Two Nineteenth-Century Archaeologists Provide the First Scientific Description of the Indian Mounds of the Mississippi Valley in 1848**
  *Archaeologists offer their concluding observations on the mystery of the mounds.*
Research and Explore

Use the databases available within MySearchLab to find additional primary and secondary sources on the topics within this chapter.

Ethnography
America’s First Immigrants
Evan Hadingham

Interactive Maps
Pre-Columbian Societies of the Americas