

Ancient Voices, Modern Ears: Effigy Mounds and the Social Reproduction of Landscape Narratives on the UW-Madison Campus

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Abstract:

Effigy mounds have a very long history on the University of Wisconsin – Madison campus. The record of Native American influence spans from 19th century traditions to contemporary buildings and events that take place today. However, the cultural heritage surrounding these mounds currently garners a low level of awareness among campus community members. Recent efforts to foster an attachment for these sites amongst the student body are promising, but have not matured enough to fully understand their effectiveness. With this in mind, a more comprehensive Cultural Resource Management Plan would be the most successful mode of increasing awareness while simultaneously respecting the presence of the effigy mounds on campus. According to subjects of this research, the University of Wisconsin – Madison is moving in the right direction, but there is still much work to be done.

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Introduction

Native Americans have had a major impact on the landscape currently used as the University of Wisconsin – Madison campus. The cultural heritage still runs strong here in both those with Native American tribal ties and those without. Although few physical remnants of their civilization remain, the effigy mounds located here provide us with a direct link to the legacy situated around the four lakes of Madison. The objective of this research is to assess University of Wisconsin—Madison interactions and outreach with the Native American community, as well as the potential of students to embrace the significance of the mounds and develop an attachment to them. Situating these mounds in a historical context will first allow for their known story and relationship to Native American culture to be put to light. Then, analysis of the University's past and current approach to these sites will show an uneven history. And lastly, the desires of Native American members of the campus community provide future recommendations for cultural resource management as it applies to the effigy mounds.

Background Information

Approximately 9,000 years ago the Native Americans living in Wisconsin began to bury their dead (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). Although the first sites were just simple graves for cremated remains, it illustrates the incredibly long history of their impact on this area. The effigy mound custom ended in Wisconsin in 1200 A.D. and since then we have seen the destruction and disregard of many of these sacred sites throughout our state (Birmingham, 2010). However, as of late there has been a significant push back by the Native community to protect and restore these sites in order to preserve their legacy. To

fully comprehend the situation that our research takes place in, each of these background details will be explained in full in this section.

Pre-European Discovery

The earliest Native Americans in Wisconsin were the Archaic and Paleo Indians. One of the first purposes of graves in this area was to mark a tribe’s territory. As it is explained in Birmingham and Eisenberg’s book, if one’s ancestors were buried on the land it gave their offspring a much more legitimate claim to that area (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). The progression was from individual gravesites, and then moved to mass graves where members of the same family would all be buried. Finally around 500 B.C. the first raised mounds began to appear (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). It is important to understand that although our research is only concerned with the mounds contained within the University of Wisconsin—Madison campus we must approach the history of all early inhabitants in the greater Southern Wisconsin area in order to understand the influences behind their decisions to alter the landscape (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000).

Southern Wisconsin American Indian Mound Builders Timeline

	ERA	MOUND TYPES	MOUND LEGEND
2000 A.D.	Historic		
1000 A.D.	Oneota Mississippian	Conical Mounds Raised Platforms	
	Late Woodland	Animal Mounds Linear Mounds Conical Mounds	
B.C./A.D.	Middle Woodland	Burial Features with Prepared Earth Conical Mounds	
	Early Woodland	Burial Features with Prepared Earth Conical Mounds	
1000 B.C.	Late Archaic	Burial Features with Prepared Earth	

Figure # 1
Southern Wisconsin American Indian Mound Builders Timeline. Created by Greta Slack. 2012

Through our research with these pieces of literature we have found a couple influences which surround the mounds contained within Wisconsin. First off, there was a great Mississippian city called Cahokia, ca 600-1400 AD, built in southern Illinois that played a role in the early mound building tradition (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). Based upon evidence of pottery shards contained within excavated mounds in Wisconsin it has been concluded that there was a large trade network throughout North America during the Woodland and Mississippian period. Besides a few stray pottery shards this theory has been backed by the fact that a rare stone from Wisconsin (Hixton Silicified Sandstone) has been found in burial sites in Mound 72 of Cahokia (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). The Mississippian culture was known for their raised mounds. These people also celebrated a very vibrant spirituality involving burial traditions that were quickly adopted by the people within their sphere of influence. The Mississippians are even thought to have built a major settlement in Wisconsin, Aztalan. This site lies between Madison and Milwaukee and contains many of the raised mounds so typical of Mississippian culture. The dominance of Mississippian culture ended shortly before the effigy mound tradition did; therefore it is possible to find mounds lacking the grandeur of those previously built (Gibbon, 1970).

The mounds of Mississippian influence were more intricate compared to what is found before and after their time. In the Late Woodland stage that then enveloped Wisconsin, linear and conical mounds were the primary types created by Native Americans. Mound types such as water spirits or animal depictions hadn't begun being created. One aspect of this study is that both before and after the Mississippian cultural dominance the mounds were of a more simplistic form in terms of mound size, adding to the difficulty in dating them from solely eyesight, that is where the carbon dating technology came in for

archeologists (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). By the time the burial mound tradition was slowing down, most likely because of the creation of year round camps, Europeans had reached these areas of the country, and in time Native Americans would be pushed off of the lands in which their ancestors are buried (Birmingham, 2010). The process of moving Native Americans to reservations was not extensively covered in the pieces of literature used for this review, however the impact of their vacancy is noted.

Post-European Discovery

Quite rapidly European settlers began to claim rights to the land that once housed Indian settlements and is still home to their mounds. Sadly, this period of history all throughout North America is marked with details of excavations of many of these sacred sites. The acts committed here are very regrettable, but the information gathered from them was extracted in the only way possible. Many tribes had forgotten who or what remained in the mounds and new tribes moved into lands formerly inhabited by mound builders including places such as Aztalan. The knowledge gained from digging up effigy mounds has led to researchers drawing the conclusion of Mississippian influence in this area. Also, there was a trade network that affected Wisconsin, and this information immensely expanded our knowledge, but at the cost of many sacred sites (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000).

It is estimated that over 80% of effigy mounds that once existed in North America have been destroyed or severely damaged. Charles E. Brown laments this as he recalls over 150 mounds around Lake Wingra and in 1960 only 19 remained (Sachse, 1960). In 1966 the federal government passed a law establishing a review process for projects using federal funds from damaging archeological sites including effigy mounds. This is a bold call to

action and one that has not been flawlessly upheld through time. Refocusing on campus mounds allows us to recall the sidewalk that cuts through the Two Tailed Water Spirit mound (formerly thought to be a turtle) on the top of Observatory Hill. This sidewalk has been moved in the post-1966 era to a location on the other side, yet in this position it is also damaging the mound. As you can see, exceptions have been made to the 1966 law, some of which may not hold much justification (YoungBear-Tibbetts, 2009).

Today awareness of effigy mounds and their meaning to Native Americans is still lagging behind. We hope to see just what disparity there is in public opinion through surveys and interviews as a part of our research. Although many do not realize the treasure that we pass by everyday, there are special interest groups fighting for rights for the mounds and Native Americans alike.

Campus Resources and Efforts

As a group we developed a few key areas that we were interested in expanding our knowledge as it relates to the effigy mounds on campus. The first of these issues is public awareness; many members of the university community do not recognize what a treasure we have in our backyards and informing them of this fact is of high importance. The second area of interest deals with the protection and regulation of these mounds that currently exists within the United States legal system. It was important to have an understanding of how poorly the mounds were treated to appreciate the forward movement of rights guaranteed to these sites. The last focus of our research was the meaning of the mounds to the Native Americans who are present on our campus. Aspects of this research included the legacy of the mounds, and the spiritual connection that the mound represents.

Public Awareness

One of the mounds' first advocates was Charles E. Brown. As curator of the State Historical Society Museum he made sure that the mounds in the Madison area received as much attention as possible. He also played a large part in establishing the UW-Arboretum (Sachse, 1960). This large reserve area of the city houses many mounds that would have been destroyed without a second thought had the land been sold off to developers. On top of this he also wrote many articles for the *Wisconsin Archeologist Journal* that was published monthly by the State Historical Society. Uniquely, we are able to use his archives for our research as well as draw upon his tireless effort to preserve Native American sites that have appeared in our literature.

Although Charles E. Brown was perhaps the first major figure to champion the effigy mounds on campus we currently have many groups that are working toward drawing public interest to preserve/restore the burials. A group with vested interests in these mounds is obviously the Wisconsin Archaeology Society. Because so many mounds throughout the state have been decimated by excavation and poor preservation practices, it is of great importance that the remaining sites be treated carefully so that their legacy may be extended many more years.

The last group is sort of the all-purpose go-to for indigenous issues on campus and that is the Department of American Indian Studies. While their main mission is to educate students about contemporary Native American issues, they are a good resource for information regarding the history and legacy of indigenous people on or near the University of Wisconsin—Madison campus. Housing many professors and other instructors with indigenous ties, this department has a plethora of information relating to the struggles

of American Indians under the United States Government, but also is quite knowledgeable when it comes to the effigy mounds and their presence in this geographic area.

Protection/Regulation of Burial Mounds

As we have covered before, until the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act preserving archeological sites, there was some regulation in relation to effigy mounds and the necessity to preserve them but it was limited. There was the 1906 Antiquities Act that protects Native American sites, and the 1935 Historic Sites Act that preserves historic sites for public use. Also, after these laws were passed in some special cases they were even overruled (for example the sidewalk cutting through the Observatory Two Tailed Water Spirit effigy mound). Luckily for the City of Madison Charles E. Brown had prefaced this change during his lifetime, and when he passed away in 1946 we were generally well prepared to look after the mounds that graced our landscape.

During the mid 1900's there was also a psychological change regarding how we associated with mounds (Gibbon, 1970). They turned from being buried treasure pits to archeological sites. With science behind their study it was wise to keep civilian hands off and let the scientists do their work on the mounds. The Wisconsin Archeological Society printed many pamphlets alerting residents to the presence of effigy mounds and requesting assistance locating mounds on private property (Brock, 1995). This was highly successful and many more mounds in the Madison area were discovered and dated. When it came to the few burial sites remaining on campus it was determine that the best course of action was to install markers on the side of each mound so that the public knew where the mounds were. Perhaps clearing the sites of the brush that had accumulated would have served the same purpose, but authorities decided to stick these hunks of metal into the

mounds to designate their shape and date (Birmingham, 2010). Towards the end of the 1900s there were a few more regulations put into affect regarding effigy mounds, the 1985 Wisconsin Act 316 Burial Site Law that requires people in Wisconsin to treat Native American burial sites as cemeteries and the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) that protects Native American graves.

In 2006 an even more extensive proposal was accepted titled “Protocols for Cultural Resources Protection and Preservation on Public and Private Lands in the Lower Wisconsin State Riverway” this detailed specific instructions for respecting mounds in the Lower Wisconsin Riverway. Within this document it advises that Ash trees within 15 feet of the mounds should be removed and material taken off the mound should be piled a minimum of 25 feet away. Among the most important pieces of advice in this document is that all trails must maintain a distance of at least 5 feet from the mounds. Because the sidewalks on Observatory Hill were built before 2006 they did not abide by these rules, but in the future it is imperative that a minimum distance is kept in order to preserve the shape of these mounds. Through concentrated effort and continued upkeep the university community has the power to preserve these mounds for generations yet to come (Brock, pg. 37-44).

Effigy Mound Laws and Regulations Timeline

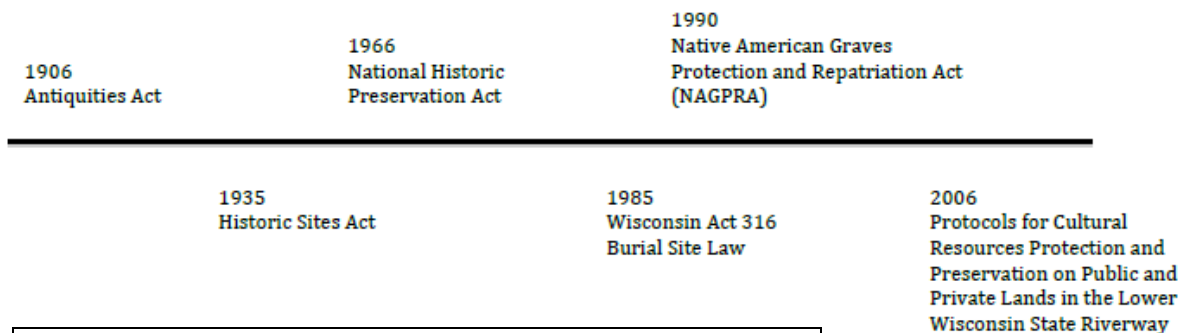


Figure #2
Effigy Mound Laws and Regulations Timeline. Created by Greta Slack. 2012

Meaning of the Mounds to Native Americans

Mound builders show aspects of their religious views in these mounds. One of the main tenets of mound building spirituality was the belief in an upperworld and a lowerworld. These were the places in which an afterlife was spent. The sun resided in the upperworld and was the giver of life. While alive on Earth, Indians were parts of the conscious middleworld. Lastly, the lowerworld was the source of fertility in this early culture (Birmingham and Eisenberg, 2000). We can see that there was not really a “hell” in the sense that it was undesirable to die and go there; instead Native Americans celebrated death as an opportunity to reach a new world.

This description of mound builder’s religious culture is very basic, however it tells us enough so that we can get some insight into the different meaning of mounds with animal or other such shapes. There is debate about whether the shape of a mound signifies a particular tie to that animal that the tribe has, or if they are used to indicate the world in which the buried person is being sent. If we choose the latter theory then flying animals

represent the upperworld, those that walk the earth are associated with the middleworld, and the mounds shaped like water spirits or aquatic animals are connected with the lowerworld (Birmingham, 2010).

On top of Observatory Hill we find a Two Tailed Water Spirit (formerly interpreted as a turtle) and Bird effigy mounds. From what we have learned this mound has spiritual connection to the lower and upperworld. To the Native Americans living in this area in the Woodland and Mississippian era these mounds were very meaningful to them.

It is unclear as to what these effigy mounds mean and the significance to the Native Americans because information is not shared with the outside world. The Ho Chunk claim to be descendants of the effigy mound builders. Our research suggests that there has been little call to action through Indian interest groups when it comes to mounds, instead most of the preservation and protection laws have arose through white man's desire to save these sites (Sachse, 1960). We believe that this is a combination of remorse for destroying so many mounds through excavation many years ago as well as a drive to conserve some untouched sites for archeological reasons. The cultural value that such mounds bring to a diverse place like a university campus is reason enough to pursue their preservation.

Tools for Gathering Results

Our collection of data has allowed us to conceptualize our conclusions and solidify them. A couple methods involved were distributing surveys to students on campus and conducting personal interviews with campus community members. The final method that we used concerns the cultural landscapes that we are encountering. Exploring the archives has been a great aid to our research, however it was important that we were keen to pick up on how cultural shifts affect the documents that we handle. These basic methods make

up a large part of the methods contained in our literature pieces in addition to the methods we will use in our study.

Surveys

Surveys are useful because the data retrieved from these surveys is easily analyzed (Gomez, 2010). The surveys had answer options listed as to decrease the open-endedness of responses. A pretest was given before testing the survey in the field to get feedback and to avoid any mistakes or length issues (Gomez, 2010). This project had that step built into it, as we needed to show Professor Gartner our survey questions ahead of time. Surveys can form a summary of statistically analyzed characteristics of the research subjects and population. (Gomez, 2010). A couple details about our survey that made the extremely effective vehicles for collecting data was the multiple avenues of distributions and the shortness of the survey.

We chose to go with a survey that fit on a half sheet of paper and only encompassed five questions. Although this survey was very short we found that people responded well to the quickness of it and it allowed us to gather more responses. The surveys were sent out in both paper and electronic form. This allowed our respondents to give us their answers at their leisure if they were not able to do so on the spot. Because of efforts on our part to go out and solicit paper responses we ended up with around a 50/50 divided between paper and electronic responses. After collecting a total of 77 responses we finished distributing the survey. It is important to note that 77 out of over 40,000 possible students will not encompass all opinions, and this survey was used solely to understand a sample level of knowledge regarding the effigy mounds on campus. Other sources of potential error

include the ability to fill out the online version of our survey more than once. Overall this proved to be a good method of supporting our ideas with data.

Interviews

The use of interviews was very important in this research to garner support for our conclusions from knowledgeable members of the campus community. Interviews allow subjects to explain things in different contexts and work well as supplementary information to surveys and archival research (Gomez, 2010). The ability for our interview subjects to tell personal stories was absolutely essential in proving that these effigy mounds contain strong cultural links with people today. Interviews usually call upon experts to answer more in-depth questions. It is very important that the interview subject is comfortable and never feels threatened (Gomez, 2010). To put the interviewees at ease we met with them in their offices and used only notebooks to record them.

The two individuals that we had the pleasure of speaking to are Aaron Bird Bear and Patty Loew. Both of these people are faculty members with ancestral ties to the Native American community. It was important to gain a perspective of Native Americans and their thoughts surrounding the mounds to compare to our view as descendants of White Europeans. With more time it would have been great to interview Daniel Einstein. Mr. Einstein is a Landscape Architect at UW-Madison and has an incredible amount of knowledge on the physical aspect of the effigy mounds.

In summary, the interviews conducted were particularly important because of the insight into the Native American community that they provided us. Subjects that we interviewed were invited to see our final presentation in order to make sure they were

represented correctly. We will also be sending this paper out to our interviewees along with a thank you note for their contributions.

Archival & Cultural Study

The methods that we must utilize when it comes to research within the archives and between cultures fall within this category. When going through data in the archives it is quite apparent that the documents were made with a different understanding of the cultures in this area. First of all, the majority of data collected in this fashion is from the perspective of European settlers, who for the most part do not care about the traditions of the Native Americans. This is where we see records of mound destruction and many excavations took place and, although the information gathered from the excavations are valuable, the motive is sadly in self-interest. A second topic we must consider is the cultural differences between our objects of study and ourselves in both interviews and surveys. Because our ancestors did not create these mounds we lack the inherent ties to this land. Respectfulness of their perspectives and positions regarding the usage, preservation, and protection of these sites is of utmost importance.

University's Relationship with Mounds

Even before its founding in 1848 the University of Wisconsin – Madison had a relationship with the Native American culture and effigy mounds located on campus. Although it was quite extensive, the only records of these early interactions are the mounds themselves and the limited countenances of Charles E. Brown. Since those early years the histories have become ever more detailed. Recounting the University's history with indigenous cultures will be necessary in order to tell how much progress has been made to

date. Also, the years within this interval encapsulates many unique traditions and events that give the campus community its eclectic feel.

Charles E. Brown and Years Preceding

Before Charles E. Brown founded the Wisconsin Archaeological Society in 1903 and became the first State Historical Society curator in 1908, the University relied primarily upon colloquial knowledge of mounds and Native American culture they gathered from their dealing with tribal members and those familiar with them (Birmingham, 1996). Apparently there was not much support from effigy mound protection in the late nineteenth century based upon the continued excavation and destruction of mounds. Some amateur archaeologists would spend afternoons on campus digging up mounds in hopes of finding rare artifacts contained within. What they didn't realize is that it was not mound building custom to bury valuables with the deceased (Birmingham, 1996). Despite these shortcomings in the preservation of these mounds there were culturally significant traditions that persisted.



Figure 3 "Excavation of Goose Effigy on University of Wisconsin-Madison Campus." Date Unknown. Photographer Grace Martner.
www.Wisconsinhistory.org.

Perhaps the most notable of these traditions was the Pipe of Peace Ceremony also known as a calumet ceremony. At the University the earliest record of this tradition is from 1884, with the last one being in 1933 (See Appendix 1). In Native American culture the pipe was smoked, then passed on to another person in order to seal a covenant or treaty. Within the campus ceremony however, the Pipe was not smoked. Instead it was passed from the officers of the senior class to those of the junior class to symbolize the end of conflict between the two classes. When Pipe of Peace Ceremony began, there were many rivalries between the grades and this was used as a method to peacefully settle them. As a part of this tradition the graduating class would tie a ribbon onto the Pipe representing their class colors, (See Appendix 1) as you can see below the ribbons were not removed. By accepting the Pipe, the younger class agreed to honor, protect and preserve the traditions of the University. Although the ceremony itself has ended, the legacy of the Pipe of Peace Ceremony lives on. It was included as a part of the Memorial Union seal in 1928 (Bird Bear Interview, 2012).



Figure 4 Historic campus "Peace Pipe", part of an early UW tradition. February 6, 2012. Photographer Vicki Tobias. <http://www.libraryasincubatorproject.org/?p=2477>



Figure 5 The Class of 1932 ribbon on historic campus "Peace Pipe", part of an early UW tradition. February 6, 2012. Photographer Vicki Tobias. <http://www.libraryasincubatorproject.org/?p=2477>

These positive traditions on campus show some awareness of indigenous culture, but this was greatly expanded when Charles E. Brown became the State Historical Society Curator in 1908. As an avid student of Native American culture, he was concerned with the statewide destruction of effigy mounds and made mound preservation his first priority. In order to locate many unrecorded mounds he solicited information from any source. Many of his correspondences have been saved and are kept in the archives of the State Historical Society. One letter in particular details his exchange with an architect who plans to build dorms at the site of an effigy mound on campus (See Appendix 2). Urging the man to alter his plans Brown says, "These Indian mounds are the most ancient works of man on the University campus. They are visited each year by thousands of people." Although this effort eventually proves futile, it is obvious that even 30 years after his appointment as curator Mr. Brown had not lost his vigor and passion for these mounds.



Figure 6 "Charles E. Brown." Date Unknown.
Photographer Unknown.
www.wisconsinhistory.org

Besides actively petitioning for them, Charles E. Brown also worked on the mounds as a surveyor and restorer (Birmingham, 1996). Among his archival data are many aerial views of mounds that he measured and recorded on the University of Wisconsin – Madison campus (See Appendix 3). These proved useful for members of the community because they were able to accurately locate the mounds with this information. Unfortunately, some of the surveys he took were during excavation. It was his practice to excavate a site if its destruction was imminent. In this way the information of mound type, size, location of remains, etc. would be recorded. In his early career, Brown restored damaged mounds using University employee’s manpower, and during the Great Depression this was accomplished using WPA (Works Progress Administration) laborers (Birmingham, 1996).

It was also in the early 20th century that photo records were taken of many mounds on campus depicting their shape and (based on photo context) location. Featured below is a picture from 1910 showing a water spirit effigy mound from the Observatory Mound Group with Agricultural Hall in the background. As evidenced by the sidewalk running through the mound, this site was damaged, but through campaigns by Mr. Brown and eventual laws it avoided further destruction. Some of the promotion involved with mounds on campus on Brown’s part included explanatory plaques (pictured below) on campus mounds to describe to the unknowing public what they were looking at. Even though these markers had inaccuracies and were disrespectfully set into the mounds they served the purpose of alerting people to the fact that campus is on a culturally rich site.

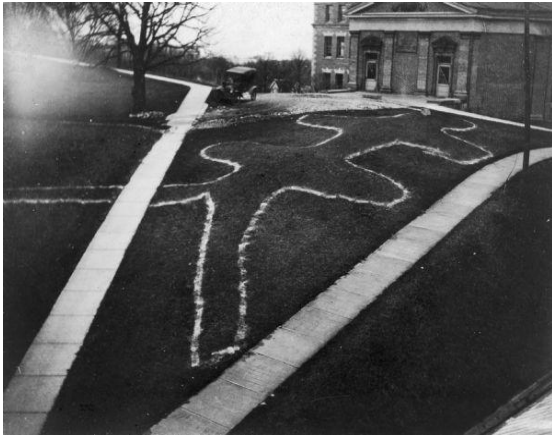


Figure 7 Turtle Mound on Observatory Hill. 1910 ca. Photographer unknown. www.wisconsinhistory.org



Figure 8 Effigy Marker. 1930 ca. Photographer unknown. www.wisconsinhistory.org

Until his death in 1946 Charles E. Brown worked tirelessly for the preservation of these sites on UW's campus and throughout Madison. Some of his techniques for generating attention and support may have not been the most respectful of the mounds, but they were effective in saving many sites. Without Mr. Brown there would be much fewer effigy mounds in this area and our community would be at a large cultural deficit.

Post-Charles E. Brown Stagnation Period

With the passing of Charles E. Brown, the State Historical Society lost a great curator and the University lost its driving force behind mound preservation. In the years after, many mounds were destroyed via construction projects and the effigy mounds took a backseat to other campus initiatives (Bird Bear Interview, 2012). This era also coincides with the relocation of many Native Americans from their homelands, such as the Ho-Chunk from the Dejope (meaning four lakes in Ho-Chunk language) area.

Many pro-Indigenous culture movements lost their luster during this period as well. It is suspected that among many reasons, the Great Depression and World War II diverted

much of the support. With fewer resources for heritage projects effigy mounds are not deemed a priority. There is not a strong rebound from this until the end of the 20th century.

Deprived of a strong force on campus, the effigy mounds were left as-is. During the 1960's the building of the George L. Mosse Humanities Building marked the last time an effigy mound was destroyed by a University construction project (Bird Bear Interview, 2012). This era can claim to be the end of mound demolition on campus, but there was not much work done in favor of promoting the cultural heritage of these sites.

Not all is lost; much progress was made in the courtroom during this time. As was previously covered, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 secured historical sites from destruction at the hands of the federal government. In the decade after this Act many University mounds were listed on the National Register and became Madison Landmarks (Birmingham and Rankin, 1996). The comprehensive state law in 1985 ensured oversight in construction when effigy mounds are present. The turn of the century has brought about much effort and insight into the mounds and their heritage. Surveying current attitudes toward those on the University of Wisconsin – Madison's campus will make it clear that there is still work to be done.

Campus Mindset Now

All of the information preceding this point must be taken into account when approaching campus' attitude towards effigy mounds in today's environment. We are many years removed from direct contact with the mound builders or their offspring and we must rely primarily on secondary sources for information. Even though these struggles are present, the longing to know more is very keen within the campus community. This desire to learn is evidenced by a 2004 archaeological survey of campus, interview data from a

cultural leader on campus, and survey results from students that attend the University of Wisconsin—Madison. Gauging the interest in effigy mounds on today's campus gives cause for much optimism in their future.

After receiving a Getty Campus Heritage Initiative grant to create a Cultural Landscape Report the University began an intensive Archaeological Investigation in 2004. Approximately 100 acres of campus were surveyed to take inventory of known sites and any unknown sites that were discovered in the process. As a result of this project and older tools used to landmark sites UW-Madison now accepts its location at the geographic center of the Effigy Mound Culture from 700-1000 A.D. in North America (Christiansen, 2005). It also asserts that it is one of few campuses heavily endowed with Native American cemeteries and habitation areas.

This paper cites an 1876 speech as one of the earliest references to Archaeological Investigations done in this area. James D. Butler says in reference to Beloit College's successful mound preservation efforts (Christiansen, 2005), "Had there been more of this spirit in our State University Regents, they would never have let the mammoth lizard perish which they found stretched out along the very sky-line of its ridge by the lake, the nearest mound to this capitol, and one of the noblest anywhere." The 2004 survey shared many of the same ideals, but with far fewer sites to take note of. As the start of fieldwork in 2004 there were 20 previously known sites on campus (9 mound groups, 10 habitation sites, and one Euro-American cemetery). Based upon literature from early campus history the percentage of mound preserved on the UW-Madison campus is just 48%. Through review of mound documentation and fieldwork 19 more sites were revealed during the

2004 investigation (Christiansen, 2005). This archaeological investigation really sets the tone for the present period of interest in the effigy mounds and their cultural significance.

To gather more data concerning the cultural significance of these mounds as well as the work being done to create awareness an interview with Aaron Bird Bear was conducted. Hired in 2000, Aaron arrived on campus prior to the archaeological investigation and was in a perfect position to help move cultural awareness forward. Although Native American, Mr. Bird Bear is not a member of the Great Lakes Nations who constructed the effigy mounds on UW-Madison's campus. His primary role on campus is as an Academic Advisor, but he is also considered the Campus Leader in the Native American Community. He is perhaps most well-known for his Cultural Landscape Tour of campus that highlights the evolving relationships between American Indians and non-Indians in which the effigy mounds are featured. Aaron Bird Bear also works to create awareness of the cultural heritage on campus as a speaker at the Freshman Convocation (beginning in 2011) and as a Design Consultant for UW Housing with the most recent project being Dejope Hall (Bird Bear Interview, 2012).

During his college career, Aaron Bird Bear studied at Seattle University, another campus with many ties to indigenous people. He says that although UW-Madison's relations to tribal leaders lag about 20 years behind those of Seattle University's, we are on the right track. He uses the Pipe of Peace Ceremony as an example of how our proximity to Native American's homeland used to be celebrated through tradition (Bird Bear Interview, 2012). He also cites the book dedication ceremony of *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* by Birmingham and Eisenberg in 2000 as a step forward. For this ceremony the Ho-Chunk Big

Drum was brought to the State Historical Society, this drum is used rarely and only for very important events. Dejope Hall is another aspect of campus designed to increase awareness.

The naming of Dejope Hall was done with the approval of the Ho-Chunk Nation. It was an arduous process according to Bird Bear, but the dormitory's proximity to the Willow Creek Mound Group makes the name that much more appropriate. Outside the main entrance to the Hall is a large fire pit encircled with plaques commemorating all eleven Indian Nations of Wisconsin. Mr. Bird Bear says that when he brings prospective students to this location there is always an excitement when they realize that their heritage is respected and represented here on campus (Bird Bear Interview, 2012). Inside of the complex are bronze inserts in the floors in the shape of effigy mounds on campus. Overall, certain features of this building are meant to link to UW-Madison cultural legacy.



Figure 9 Observatory Hill Mound Group, terrazzo floor inlay. 2012. Photographer unknown.
www.housing.wisc.edu/masterplan/dejope.



Figure 10 UW Res Hall. September 26, 2012
Photograph by M.P. King, State Journal.
http://host.madison.com/uwreshall-mpke-jpg/image_c60afbd4-075f-11e2-91cf-001a4bcf887a.html

Current tools used to relate to the effigy mounds on campus are outdated according to Bird Bear. The inaccurate signage of the mounds still stood until a couple of years ago, now they will be replaced by updated and correct markers in order to relate the

University's objective of improving relations with tribes. Another improvement made was to fence off all recognized mounds on campus. Albeit a small gesture, these enclosures are effective at preventing the general public from treading on sacred space. Aaron wanted to make sure that it is recognized that we may never solve the mystery behind the mounds and their meanings. Indian Nations have protocols within tribes against sharing this type of information to outsiders (Bird Bear Interview, 2012). Whether or not we are working with full knowledge of the effigy mounds, these are cultural heritage sites and must be held in the highest regard.

Community Interest Moving Forward

To analyze the feelings of the campus student body toward improved cultural awareness about the mounds we distributed a survey. With 77 responses we understand that this survey was not all encompassing, but it did allow some insight into the current feelings on campus. Primarily we were interested in learning about the level of knowledge in the student body concerning effigy mounds. Above is an image of our survey that was distributed both electronically and in paper form.

Effigy Mound Survey

1. Are you aware that there are effigy mounds on campus?
 Yes No

2. If so, how much do you believe you know about these mounds?
 I know quite a bit I know a little I've heard of them I don't know about them Not Applicable

3. Where have you gained this knowledge from? (Check all that apply)
 UW Course High School Course Student Organization Personal Experience Elementary/Middle School Not Applicable
 Other (please specify)

4. Would you like to know more about these effigy mounds on campus?
 Yes No Indifferent

5. Do you think the campus does a good job at promoting these mounds?
 Yes No

Figure 11 Effigy Mound Survey. 2012. Created by Calvin Weber, Greta Slack, and Niko Magallon.

Our first question is widest in scope and is used to ascertain the baseline knowledge held by UW students regarding the mounds. Because this question is integral to our group’s research question the answer to this survey question is especially telling of the campus community’s overall understanding of Native mounds, while the rest of the survey questions buttress the data revealed in the initial question.

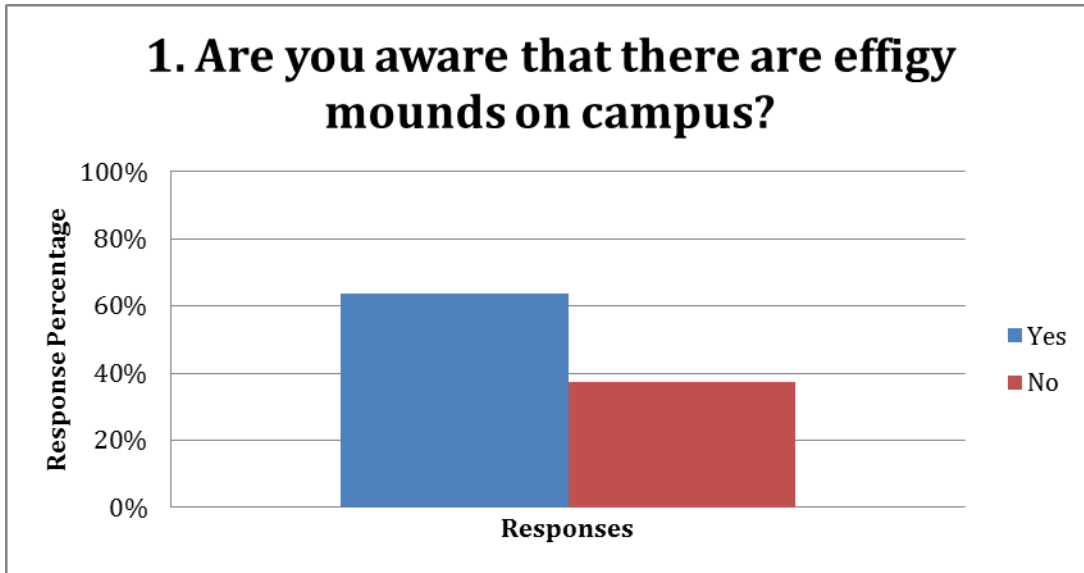


Figure 12 “Are you aware that there are effigy mounds on campus?” 2012. Created by Greta Slack.

Our survey data showed that nearly two-thirds of respondents know of the campus mounds. With regards to this question--as with all of the survey questions--it will be both necessary and informative to gather even more campus respondent data in order to gain a greater vantage point from which to extrapolate data collection that can be used to formulate a general statement of the campus community’s knowledge of mounds located within the community itself.

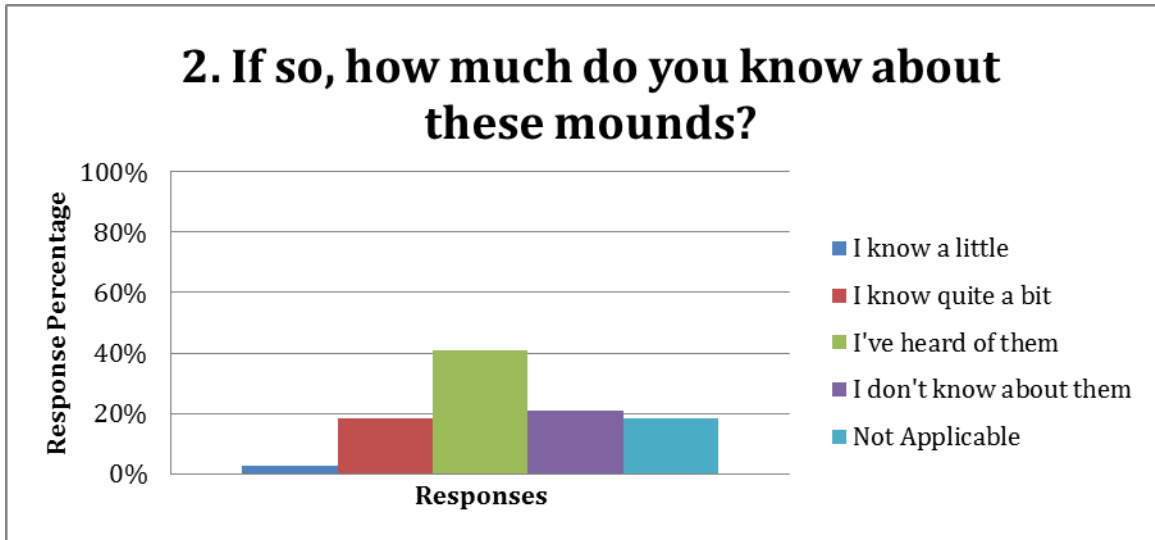


Figure 13 “If so, how much do you know about these mounds?” 2012. Created by Greta Slack.

A central focus of our research question aims to gain understanding of where the campus derives its knowledge of mounds and from that data gauge how much of a role the UW-Madison educational community is fostering such knowledge. The results taken in consideration with the sizable portion of the American Indian Studies course students may skew the data higher for the response of “UW Course”. A wider number of respondents from all course and major backgrounds may lend greater authenticity to final results of this particular response. That nearly half of the respondents to this question responded “Not Applicable” or skipped the question altogether demonstrates that either many belonging to this group know nothing about the mounds on campus (which, as previously explained, presents the answer option for those who answered that they did not know of them) or do not remember from where they gained knowledge of them.

Respondents who specified answers to “Other” provided added complexity to the survey and helped to root answers into a greater understanding in detail of where campus community members gain their knowledge of the landscape’s presence of mounds. Notable

responses include seeing signs in the new DeJope student dormitory, denoting the presence of information found on the floors and in other spaces within the building; hearing about the mounds during the 2011 Chancellor’s Convocation delivered by UW-Madison administrator and Native person Aaron Bird Bear; gaining knowledge from their parents; an academic event held in Bradley dormitory; as well as people in the campus community talking about the mounds.

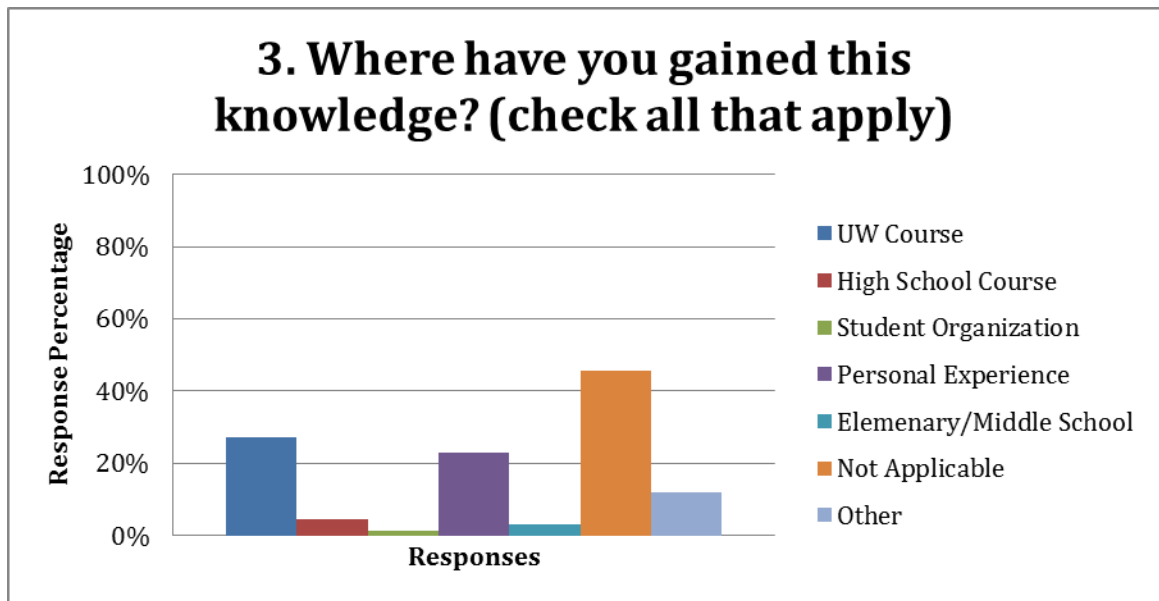


Figure 14 “Where have you gained this knowledge?” 2012. Created by Greta Slack.

Simply put, three-fifths of respondents wish to know more about the effigy mounds on the UW campus while the rest of the respondents would prefer to remain static or indifferent towards gaining such understanding. That three-fifths of respondents wish to gain competency about an element of the UW campus landscape lays the foundation points to the forward-looking element of our research of looking for ways for campus community members to gain such competencies. The other two-fifths of respondents who wish to remain static in their competencies shows how complex the issue of the campus

community learning more about landscape vestiges of pre-euroamerican settlement really is, as the proportion of these answers defy simple explanation.

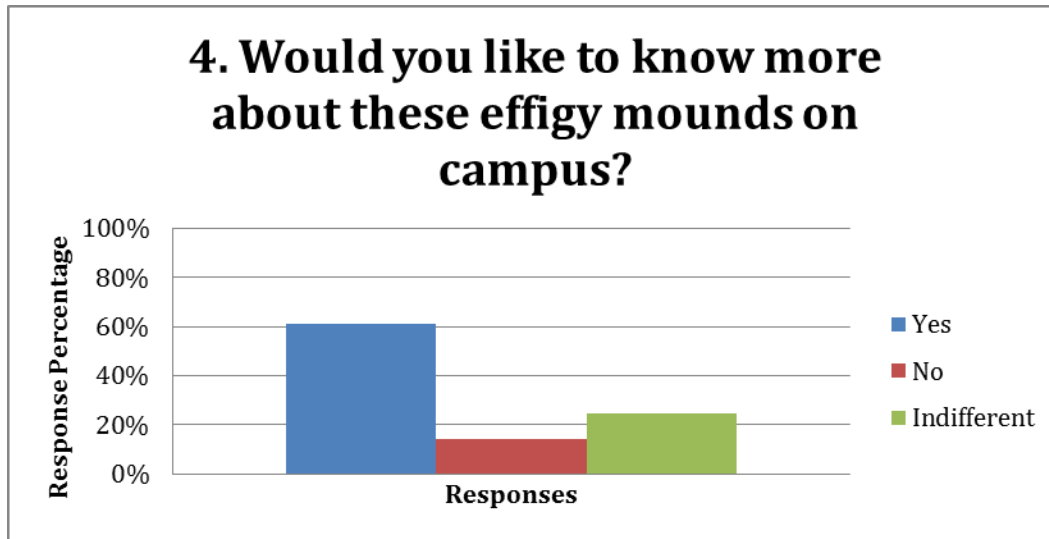


Figure 15 "Would you like to know more about these effigy mounds on campus?" 2012. Created by Greta Slack.

This question asks if the UW campus educational community should take accountability for current awareness competencies or deficits therein vis-à-vis Native mounds. With nine-tenths of respondents indicating their dissatisfaction with the UW scholarly community's role in fostering greater understanding of the campus landscape's contemporarily visible heritage, this data is a flashpoint for our group's comprehension of which direction stakeholders in information dissemination within the campus community should steer. Accordingly the three-fifths of respondents who wish to know more about the effigy mounds on campus lend credence to what could possibly be a new mandate for the UW community towards understanding the Native heritage of the physical and cultural landscape of UW-Madison campus.

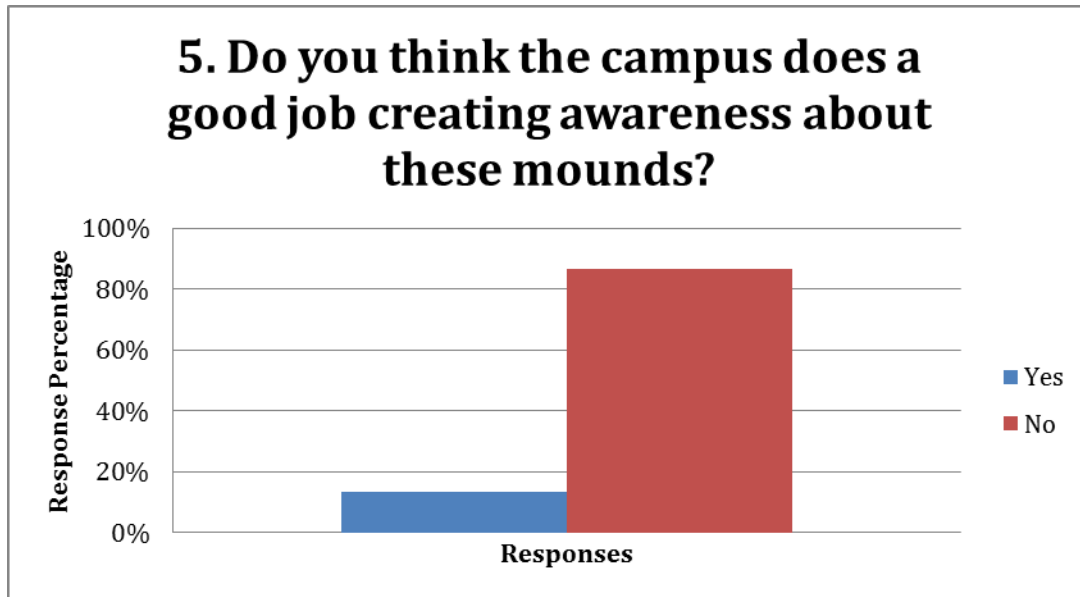


Figure 16 “Do you think the campus does a good job creating awareness about these mounds?” 2012. Created by Greta Slack.

The campus does not have a good reputation when it comes to respecting the spirituality of these sites, but over the course of the next few decades we have the opportunity to reverse this trend and ensure future generations the opportunity to behold these effigy mounds.

Cultural Resource Management

CRM is a vocation and practice of preserving landscape spaces that are deemed to have cultural significance to members of the societal community. It typically has a historic bent to it—as it does in relation to the Native burial and effigy mounds located on UW-Madison’s campus, our current object of study—but it can lend relevancy to contemporary landscape spaces or objects. It ties in aspects of public education regarding cultural resources—those deemed as such—as well as the ethos and operation of multiculturalism, and the promotion of access to these resources. All three of these themes of CRM tie closely with our object of study. CRM as a consciousness was borne out of the environmental/conservation movement during the period of the 1960’s and 1970’s,

paralleling the success and influence of various Native Wisconsin community leaders who rooted themselves in positive community changes in the reservations from which they hailed, and in working on such issues as Native treaty rights, and subsequently, spearfishing laws and cultural practices to name just a few that had reverberations and flashpoints on the UW-Madison campus. Lessons learned through time point to CRM as essential in mitigating the adverse impacts created by more developed nations so that they are not prejudicial to the interests of local people or result in the extinction of cultural resources. Native mounds on UW-Madison's campus absolutely fall upon such an intersection of historic adverse impacts (such as accounts discussed at length earlier) created by more developed communities and institutions that were indeed prejudicial to the interests of the local Ho-Chunk peoples which largely resulted in a decimation and near extinction of cultural resources. As a result of time and various narratives of oppression in the name of posterity, equity and equitable outcomes must be the impetus towards cultural resource management of Native mounds. This can best be practiced by, on one hand, holding the line by staving off developmental pressures, preserving effigy and burial mounds to their fullest extent, and to better understand the various physical and cultural landscapes that encompass UW-Madison; and on the other hand improving the mound spaces and the physical and cultural landscapes within campus through the contemporary actualization of equity via knowledge sharing and cross-generational transfer.

Holding the line—not to be confused with perpetuating the status quo—is relevant towards the idea of preservation, which is paramount to cultural resource management, in which from the point of view of the archaeologist and the resource itself, it is not desirable for archaeological resources to be destroyed. This effort could be construed as damage

control for the existing Native mounds on campus, but such effort must have an outward and friction component specifically with regards to the staving off of developmental pressures, chiefly those instigated by the UW-Madison itself. A concerted community effort is required in order to engage in productive dialogue with development interests.

Wisconsin State Statute Chapter 36 codifies parity in decision making powers for students, faculty and staff members of UW-Madison, all subject to the final approval of the Chancellor. Accordingly, the Chancellor is a locus of power upon whom pressure and communication must be applied and delivered so as to equitably represent the interests of the cultural resources themselves and the Native communities from which they were borne in addition to many other constituencies (which can be said to be everyone in the campus community, as all stakeholders derive indirect and direct benefits from the richness that the Native mounds provide). However the aforementioned statements neglect to mention the potential impact of non-campus, greater Madison—and even state and region-wide—community pressures that can enter the fold to make the Chancellor create the equitable outcomes sought for cultural resources.

Holding the line also stresses the preservation of Native mounds to the fullest extent. The 2004 Archaeological Investigations on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus conducted by the Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center provides excellent insight and recommendations towards preserving the landscape in large and small ways, which point to the varying scales of cultural resource management framed within the context of cultural resources needing not be destroyed. Such recommendations on a grander scale—to use the Observatory Hill mound group as an example—include relocation of the two burial mounds “using a combination of archival sources, non-invasive

geophysical remote sensing methods (ground penetrating radar, electric sensitivity, magnetometry), and ground truthing”. On a smaller, more frequent scale it is recommended that push mowers be used for landscape maintenance and that large snow trucks be eliminated from use during the winter months for their contribution to overall depreciation of the mounds. It is evident, then, that there exist myriad avenues for cultural resource management that preserve and thereby strengthen the Native mounds located on the UW-Madison campus.

How then can constituencies and stakeholders in the campus community further strengthen the visibility and impact of these cultural resources? The answer may lie in the ushering in of a spirit and praxis of equity and the steadfast seeking of equitable outcomes for physical and human purveyors of the cultural and physical landscape spaces that are the burial and effigy mounds. In the 2012-2013 Academic Year there exists an enormous opportunity for a potential sea change in diversity, campus climate improvement, and inclusion paradigms at the campus level via the promulgation of a new strategic diversity plan, headed up by the Office for Equity, Diversity and Academic Achievement (Vice Provost Dr. Damon Williams) upon the charge of the University Committee (governance body of faculty and staff). One area of interest that could see improvement in a new diversity plan—one that could intersect neatly with the sharing and passing down of knowledge regarding Native burial and effigy mounds and other cultural resources—is a revamping and strengthening of the ethnic studies requirement to better incorporate topics such as power, oppression, and privilege, as each tie directly towards the narratives of oppression and power dynamics between decision-makers at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the Ho-Chunk communities historically and even today on a

smaller, but still relevant, scale. Incorporating the Native burial and effigy mounds into curricula that emphasize the existence of everyday frameworks of power, oppression, and privilege will serve dual purposes of fostering both knowledge and understanding of these cultural resources (augmented from simple awareness) and their important and rightful place among the campus's physical and cultural landscape, as well as fostering the multicultural competency needed to achieve personal transformation as well as enjoy both career and (inter)personal success—all of which significantly enhances the value of a degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

In efforts towards fomenting equitable outcomes for cultural resources and the constituencies most affected by their existence and impacts should be an emphasis on the latter, specifically the Native communities folded into the greater educational community that is UW-Madison. This can manifest itself in intentional efforts towards seeking and augmenting on and off campus resources for, but not limited to: the American Indian Studies program, specifically the resource allocation needed to bring the program to 'Department' status in order to better promulgate knowledge of American Indian peoples from the local to national scales and provide a larger network of support for Native American students. In the same vein as the latter, more intentional organizing and framework creation is needed to support Native American student organizations, such as Wunk Sheek. Currently this student organization has encountered massive difficulties—including defunding in 2009—due to the volatile nature of student segregated university fee allocation by student shared governance entities (as encompassed by the aforementioned Wisconsin State Statute Chapter 36) such as the Student Services Finance Committee of the Associated Students of Madison. Lacking a coordinated presence of a

cohort of Native American students and their allies limits the greater campus communities' ability to engage in cultural practices including but not limited to culturally appropriate and significant celebrations of the burial and effigy mounds, as well as an annual Pow Wow that brings together the sensibilities of all 11 Wisconsin Native tribes.

Finally, greater efforts towards recruitment and retention of Native students could lead to equitable outcomes in known and unforeseen areas. According to the 2011-2012 Data Digest promulgated by Academic Planning & Analysis, Office of the Provost and the Vice Chancellor for Administration, Native students comprised of 1% of all enrolled students, while this same identity group (incorporated into other identity groups known as 'targeted minorities') graduated after 4 years at a rate of 31.1% and were retained at a rate of 41%. Is this an equitable environment for all Native students to thrive, especially given the historical and continuing legacy of the physical and cultural landscape borne from Ho-Chunk cultural resources?

Appendix 1.

C. P.
Box 8
University of Wisconsin

w.c.

CLASS COLORS - 1884 to 1933
Compiled from Badger and Ribbons on Pipe of Peace)

1884	-- Dregs of Wine	[1884-94 from Badger
1885	-- Silver	1894-1914 from Badger and
1886	-- Cardinal	ribbon. 1914 - date from
1887	-- Old gold and electric blue	ribbons, Badger,]
1888	-- Olive green and shell pink	
1889	-- Red and blue	
1890	-- Black and orange	
1891	-- Old gold and navy blue	
1892	-- Old gold and white	
1893	-- Goblin blue and white	
1894	-- Bordeaux and silver gray	
1895	-- Pearl gray and light pink	
1896	-- Corn and heliotrope	
	Red and white, ..Ribbon	
1897	-- Gold and white	
1898	-- Light blue and golden brown	
1899	-- Silver and blue	
1900	-- Green and white	
1901	-- Purple and gold	
1902	-- Purple and silver	
1903	-- Yellow and white	
1904	-- Royal blue and white	
1905	-- Green	
1906	-- Orange and black	
1907	-- Lavender and white	
1908	-- Brown and red	
1909	-- Purple and gold	
1910	-- Green	
1911	-- Cardinal	
1912	-- Orange and black	
1913	-- 1911 Badger says Sorrel	
	1913 Badger says Yale blue and white	
	Ribbon on Pipe of Peace is red	
1914	-- Purple and white	
1915	-- Green and white (1913B)	
1916	--	
1917	--	
1918	-- Red, white and blue	
1919	-- Blue and yellow	
1920	-- White	
1921	-- Red, or (from ribbons) rose and silver	
1922	-- Purple and old gold	
1923	-- Red	
1924	-- Magenta (?)	
1925	-- Green	
1926	-- Orange	
1927	-- Old gold and purple	
1928	-- Maroon and white	
1929	-- Green	
1930	-- Red and white	
1931	-- Eleanor blue	
1932	-- white	
1933	-- Cardinal	

September 7, 1938

Mr. Roger C. Kirchoff,
State Architect,
Division of Architecture,
Bureau of Engineering,
State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Kirchoff:

I am in receipt of your letter of September 2 warning of the threatened destruction of several of the greatly treasured ancient Indian earthworks located on the University of Wisconsin campus through the erection of additional mens dormitories.

I know that the destruction of additional Indian mounds will be greatly deplored by the members of The Wisconsin Archeological Society and its co-working organizations throughout Wisconsin and by many University alumni and others who are interested in their preservation.

Of an original total number of seventeen mounds (effigy, linear and conical) on the campus (5 distinct groups), only seven still remain. If the two fine linear mounds located in the old Picnic Grove are obliterated only five mounds will be left, two small groups. The erection of North Hall, Bascom Hall, Agricultural Hall all destroyed fine mounds. The building of the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory destroyed an entire group. Others were destroyed in the Agricultural College farm field adjoining the Grove. We know that the demolition of some of these ancient monuments could and should have been avoided.

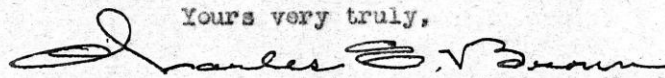
Last year a WPA crew working under my supervision repaired and restored the few mounds still existing on the University campus. This work occupied our attention from spring until autumn.

These Indian mounds are the most ancient works of man on the University campus. They are visited each year by thousands of people. We have long made use of them as an object lesson in the encouraging of the preservation of similar ancient remains of the Redmans sculpture throughout Wisconsin. They have been in existence for a thousand years or more.

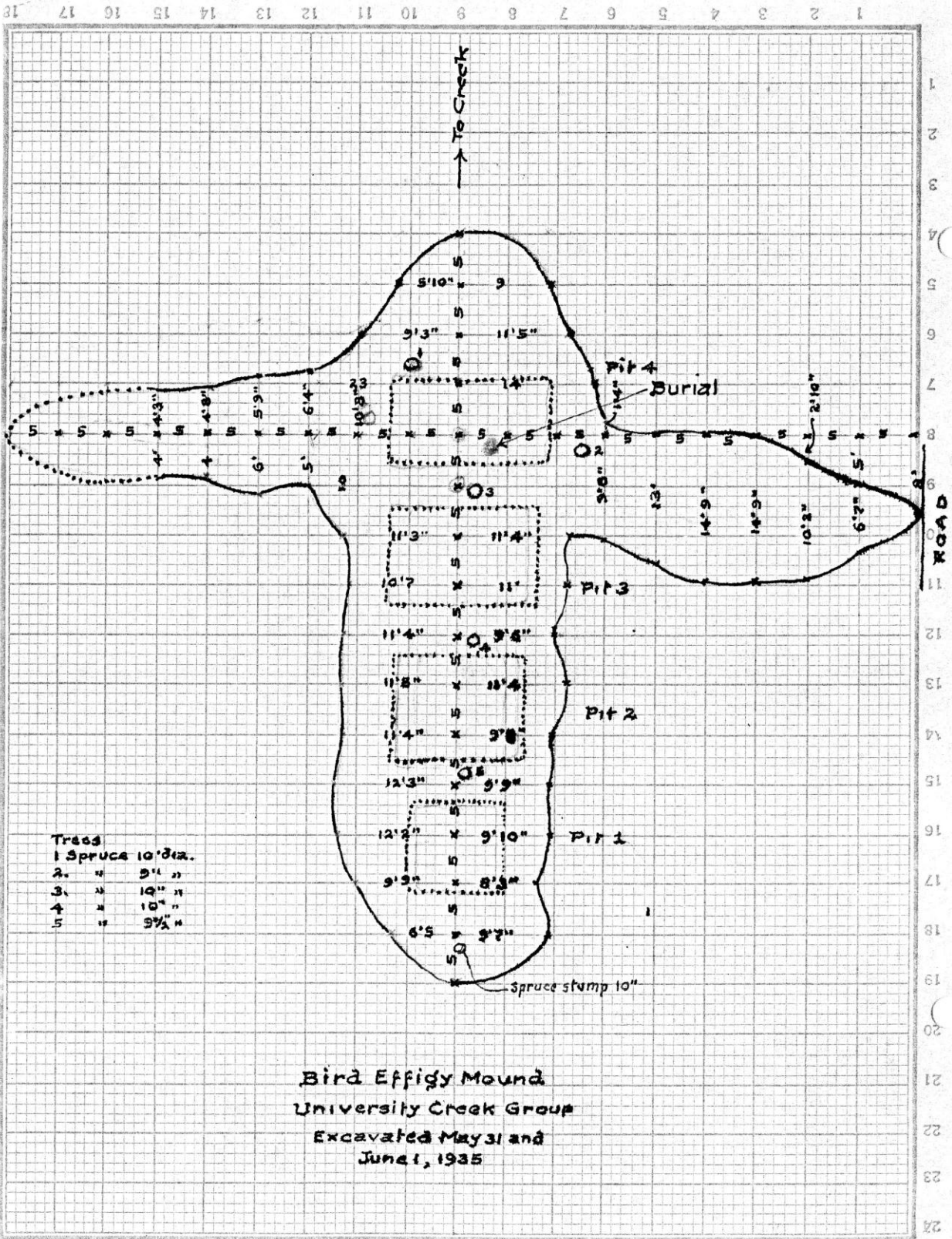
We trust therefore that every effort will be made by your office and the officers of the University of Wisconsin to spare these mounds in the building of these proposed dormitories. It appears to us that the dormitories can be built without injuring these two linear mounds. Their presence will add to the interest of these buildings.

We shall be pleased to have your personal interest in encouraging their preservation.

Yours very truly,


Secretary, The Wisconsin Archeological Society

Appendix 3



HUNTER PRESS BUREAU
Fond du Lac Com'wlth-Reporter

CB
Box 20

Sane Country

JUL 14 1927

INDIAN LEGEND CENTERS ABOUT LAKES REGIONS

Many Camps and Villages Were Located About Lake Mendota Shores

Madison, July 14.—(P)—Quaint legends of the Winnebago Indians, handed down through centuries, center about historic spots near Madison and the Four Lake region.

Obtained from the Indians whose camps and villages were located at different places, principally about Lake Mendota shores up to 1840 and later, the legends extoll the spirit beliefs of the tribes.

The Winnebago numbered the Madison lakes differently from the whites, beginning at the north and calling the present Fourth lake, first. The Indian names for the lakes are long and involved, but the meanings are not so intricate. Lake Mendota, to them, meant "the lake where the Indian lies."

Lake Monona meant "tepee lake"; Waubesa, "rushes lake" and Kegonsa, "hard-maple grove lake."

Long ago, legend has it, a young Winnebago who had fasted long, was blessed with a vision of a spirit maiden who dwelt in a large lake. With a friend he set out on the fulfillment of his dream. Coming upon a great catfish in the hollow of a tree, the fish is killed and the dreaming Indian cast it, later being changed into a catfish. Leaping from one lake to another until he finally reached what is now Lake Mendota the Indian "found his Indian maiden and there he remained."

Legends Compiled

Many other legends have been compiled by Charles E. Brown of the State Historical museum, and distributed among the summer session students at the University of Wisconsin.

"Water spirits live in the deep water off the shore of Governor's island," printed account of the legends reads.

"Only a few old men have ever seen them. These long tailed water monsters were feared by the local red men. When they are angry they cause the waters to become very rough and at such times they overturn the Indian canoes and people are drowned. At night they crawl out on the bank. They are regarded as "bad" spirits and were frequently at war with the powerful Thunderbirds. Tobacco offerings were formerly made on the waters of the lake to retain their good will. When Earthmaker created the earth he put four water spirits under it to keep it from turning. Then he scattered stones over its surface and the earth became quiet. The large panther effigy (with a long curved tail) on the State hospital lawn is said to represent one of these water spirits. The bird mounds located there are probably effigies of Thunderbirds.

Inaccurate?

"Fox Bluff, on the north shore of Lake Mendota, was the place where the Thunderbirds sometimes roosted. Old Indians claim to have seen these huge birds deities roosting here in early days. Their nests are said to be on the tops of mountains in the far North. When the weather is stormy, one or a number of Thunderers can be seen flying high up in the sky. Lightning is caused by the flashing of their eyes and peals of thunder by the flapping of their wings. When their wings strike the clouds it rains. When they are angry they drop their eggs on wigwams and villages and then people are killed. They set fire to forests and shatter the rocks. They sometimes carry away people who are never heard of again. The Indians regard the Thunderbird as a very powerful deity. He is the ancestor of the most important Winnebago clan. The Thunderers made the first fire with their fire-sticks. They thus gave fire to the Indian.

"Springs are the openings through which the animals enter the spirit world. The Winnebago in former times made offerings of tobacco, food, and stone and bone implements to the animals at these places to obtain their 'blessings'.

"One of the springs at Merrill Springs was a 'medicine spring and its waters were believed to possess special healing properties. Wishes made while drinking its waters might be fulfilled.

"The Winnebago name for Eagle Heights was Sho-Heta-ka, or horse hill. They believed that this highest hill on the shore of Lake Mendota was inhabited by a spirit horse. It could be heard neighing and stamping its feet at times. On cloudy or misty days its form could sometimes be seen on top of the hill. Being a sacred place some of the Indians went to this hill to fast and dream and to gain inspiration and power from this spirit horse.

"At Blackhawk on the shore of

Lake Mendota is a cave in which the Sauk chief Black Hawk is claimed to have hid during his retreat to the Wisconsin river, in July, 1832. There is no foundations for this legend. Black Hawk was retreating too rapidly before the pursuing United States troops and militia to have an opportunity to hide in any cave."

Appendix 5

CB
Box 20

Madison Four Lakes Place Names

From "The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi" Indians"
Bull. Milw. Pub. Museum

Mendota	Māntóka, "Snake-maker"
Monona	Manóman, "Wild Rice"
Waubesa	Wapishkā, "White Foam"
Kegonsa	Kigónsās, "A Little Fish"

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