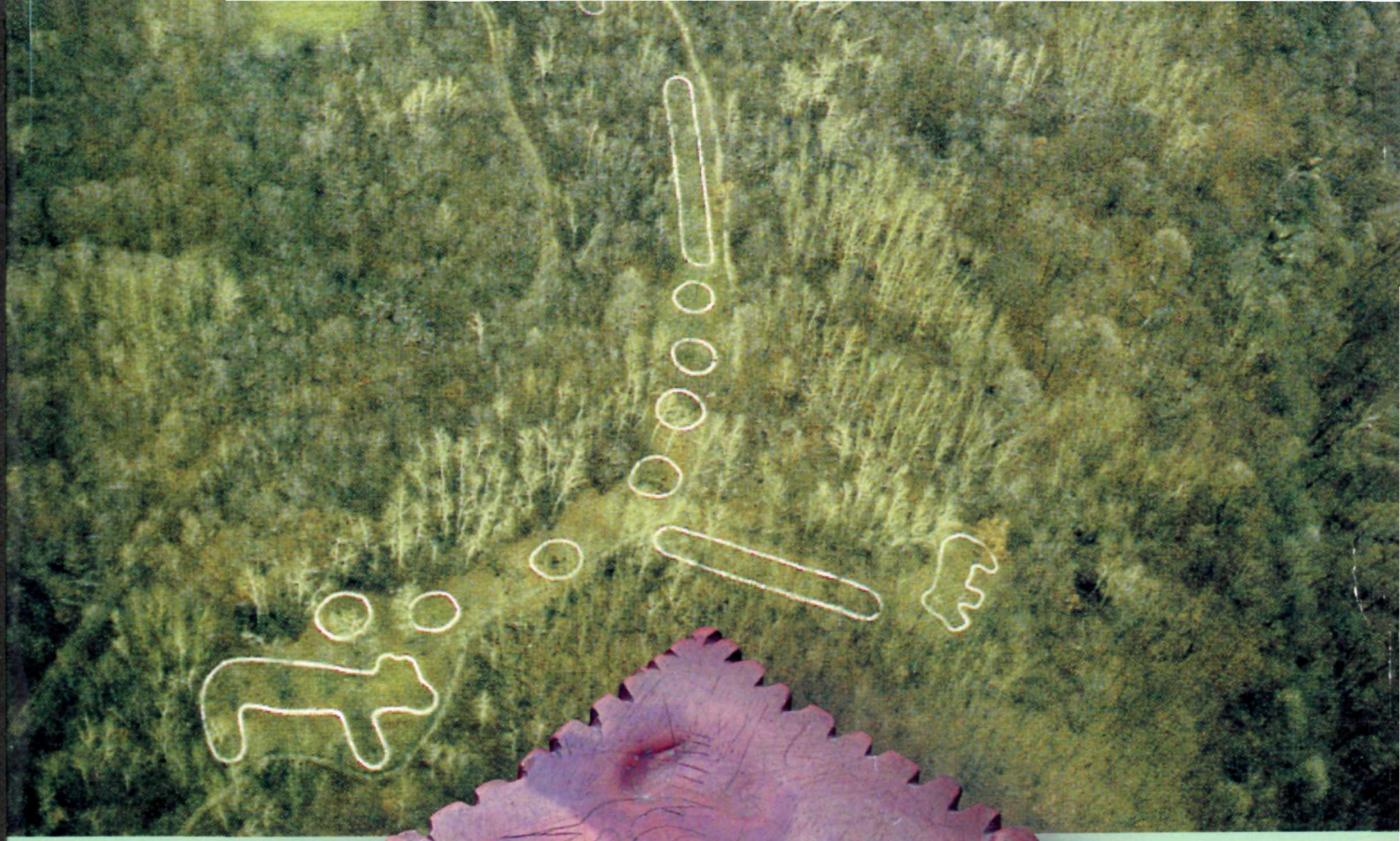

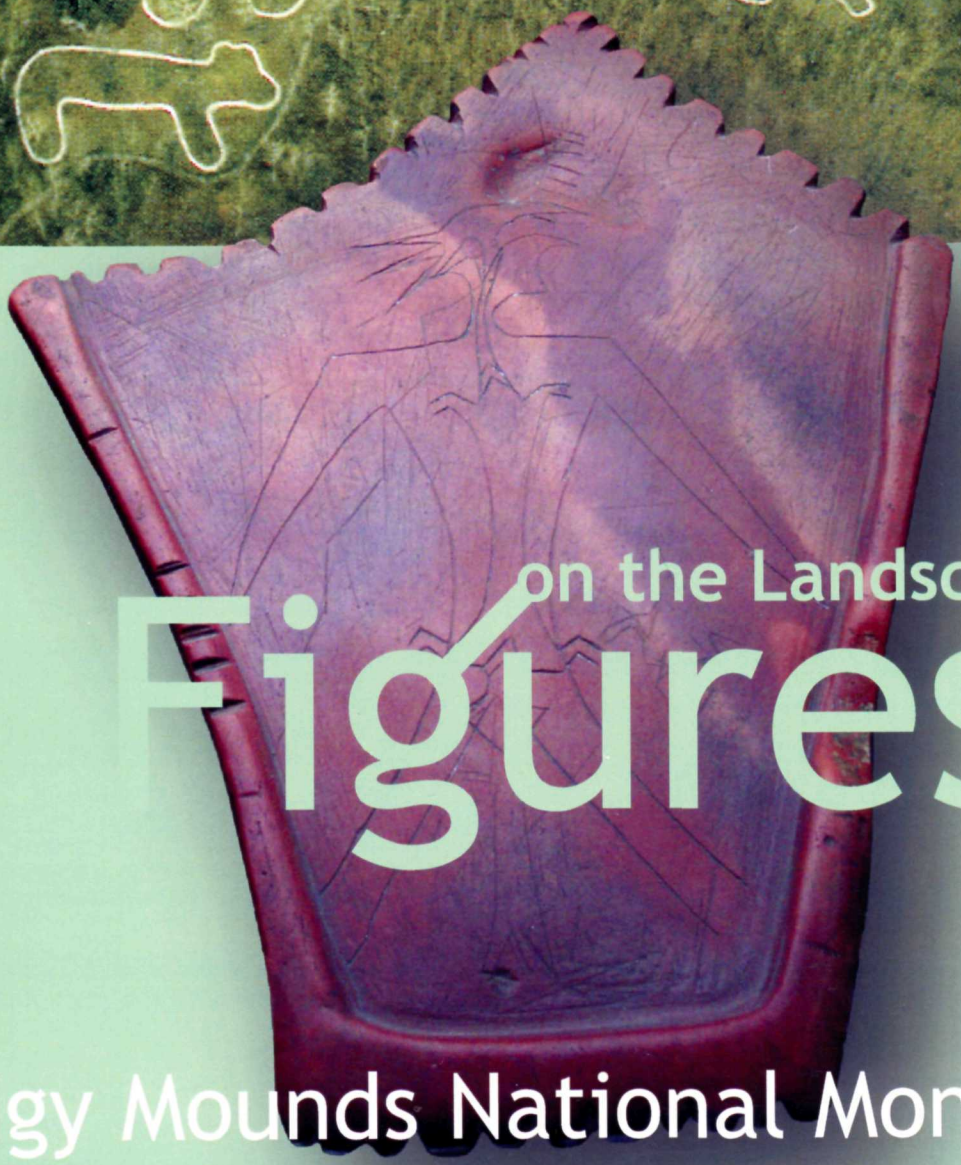

Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

FIGURES ON THE LANDSCAPE: EFFIGY MOUNDS NATIONAL MONUMENT HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

Prepared for
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1 August 2003

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7 August 2003

Concurred: Chief, Cultural Resources, Midwest Region

08/11/03

Concurred: Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources and Stewardship Partnerships, Midwest Region

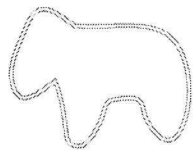
8-13-03

Approved: Regional Director, Midwest Region

Table of Context

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Introduction

In November 2000, HRA Gray & Pape, LLC, (HRAG&P) contracted with the National Park Service (NPS), Midwest Regional Office, to prepare a Historic Resource Study (HRS) for Effigy Mounds National Monument in Clayton and Allamakee Counties, Iowa. Effigy Mounds National Monument

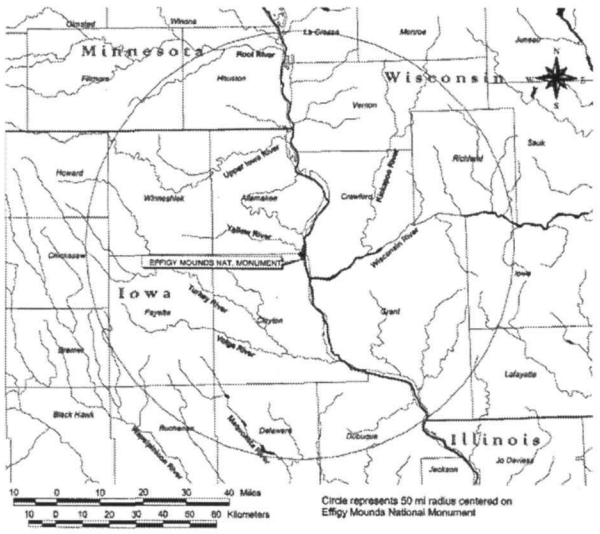


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Regional Location Map

was created by President Harry S Truman's proclamation on October 25, 1949. Since that date, several land acquisitions have increased the size of the monument. Most recently, in December 2000, the Heritage Addition added 1,045 acres to the monument, increasing it to 2,526 acres. There are more than 200 known prehistoric mounds, constructed between 2,500 and 700 years ago, within Effigy Mounds National Monument. The monument consists of the North, South, Heritage Addition, and Sny Magill Units, with the largest concentration of mounds at Sny Magill. Farming and other activities have destroyed the surface manifestation of a number of mounds, including

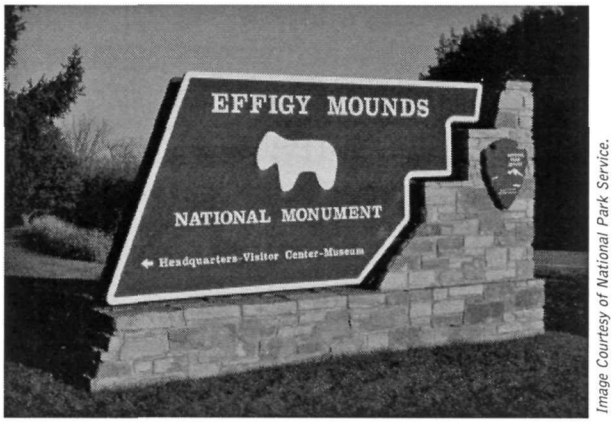


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Entrance to the Monument.

those formerly situated in the Yellow River floodplain and in several open fields. However, subsurface features at some of these mounds may still survive.[1] In addition to the mounds, there are 18 rock shelters in the North and South units of the monument. Historic period resources include a remnant section of a military road constructed in 1840 and archeological remains associated with various historic period activities. The monument curates an extensive collection of more than 8,000 prehistoric artifacts and more than 12,000 manuscripts that are displayed in an interpretive museum and stored in the archives. The archives also contain a number of biological, geological, and paleontological samples. Park administrative offices are housed in the visitor center. Upon passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the monument, along with many other National Park Service sites and properties, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

As a management tool, the HRS synthesizes cultural resource information from all cultural resource disciplines in a narrative designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and the interested public as a reference for

[1] Recent geophysical studies, such as Antone Mathys' "A Geophysical Survey at the Turkey River Mound Group Site, Clayton County, Iowa, for the Iowa State Archaeology Office State Burial Program, Iowa City, Iowa", *Reports of Investigation* 422 (Institute for Minnesota Archaeology, 1997), and work by Grant Goltz have successfully identified surviving subsurface mound remnants.

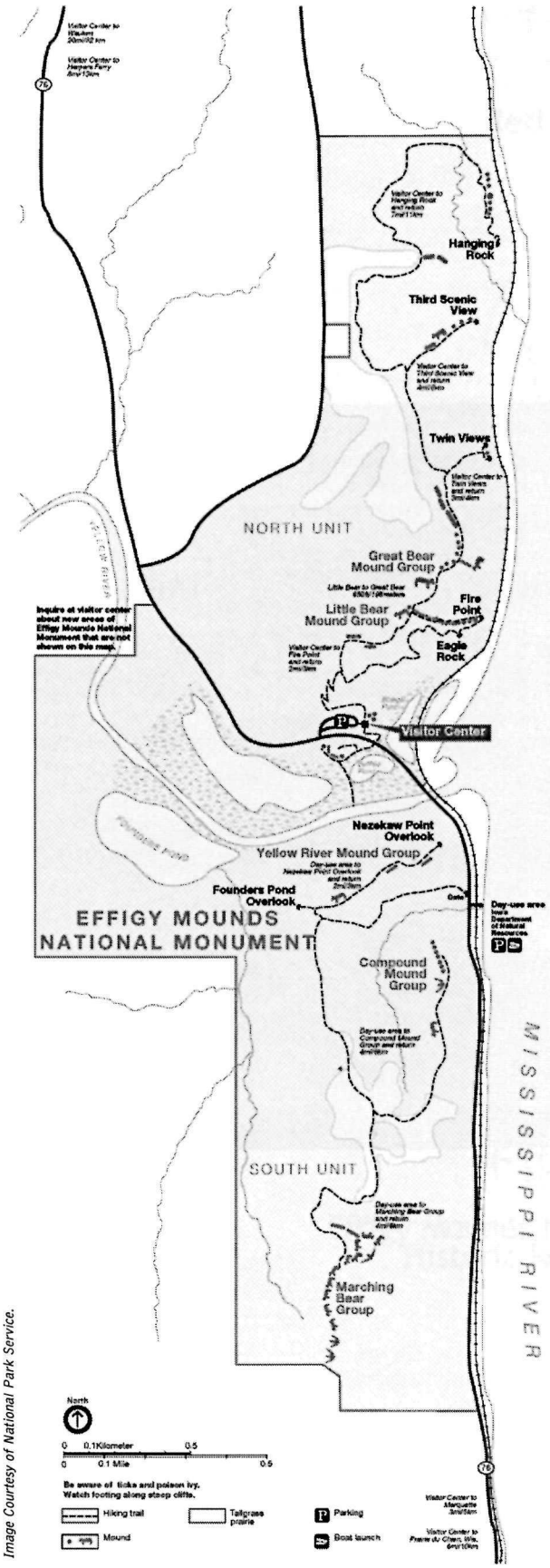


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Effigy Mounds National Monument Site Plan.

the history of the region and the resources within the park. The HRS is derived from research in primary and secondary records related to environmental history, prehistoric and American Indian use and occupation, exploration, land use, settlement patterns, and the development of archeology as a discipline. It utilizes both documentary research and field observations to determine and describe the integrity, authenticity, associative values, and significance of cultural resources within the monument, as well to highlight areas for future interpretive development. The HRS will serve as the foundation for future cultural resource assessments and management plans. It defines themes of area history; establishes a relationship between events and the built environment; identifies time frames and periods of significance for historic contexts; and identifies links between national, regional, and local events.

The HRS also is designed to review previously completed Effigy Mounds National Monument cultural resource studies of varying nature. This variability stems from the limited scope of some studies, the addition of new property to the monument, changes over time in cultural resource management theories, and changing management needs associated with site usage and the targeting of a broader audience. Furthermore, in recent years, cultural resource managers have placed increased emphasis upon cultural landscapes that encompass the totality of resources that constitute a system of land use or that now form a multiple-layer depiction of use over time. Natural features, vegetation, land use patterns, and circulation systems are a few of the important elements of cultural landscapes. Effigy Mounds National Monument is located in an area with a rich prehistoric and historic period history, the interwoven evidence of which is visible on the landscape. To interpret and manage the primary cultural resources for which the monument was established, it is critical to understand the evolution of this landscape.

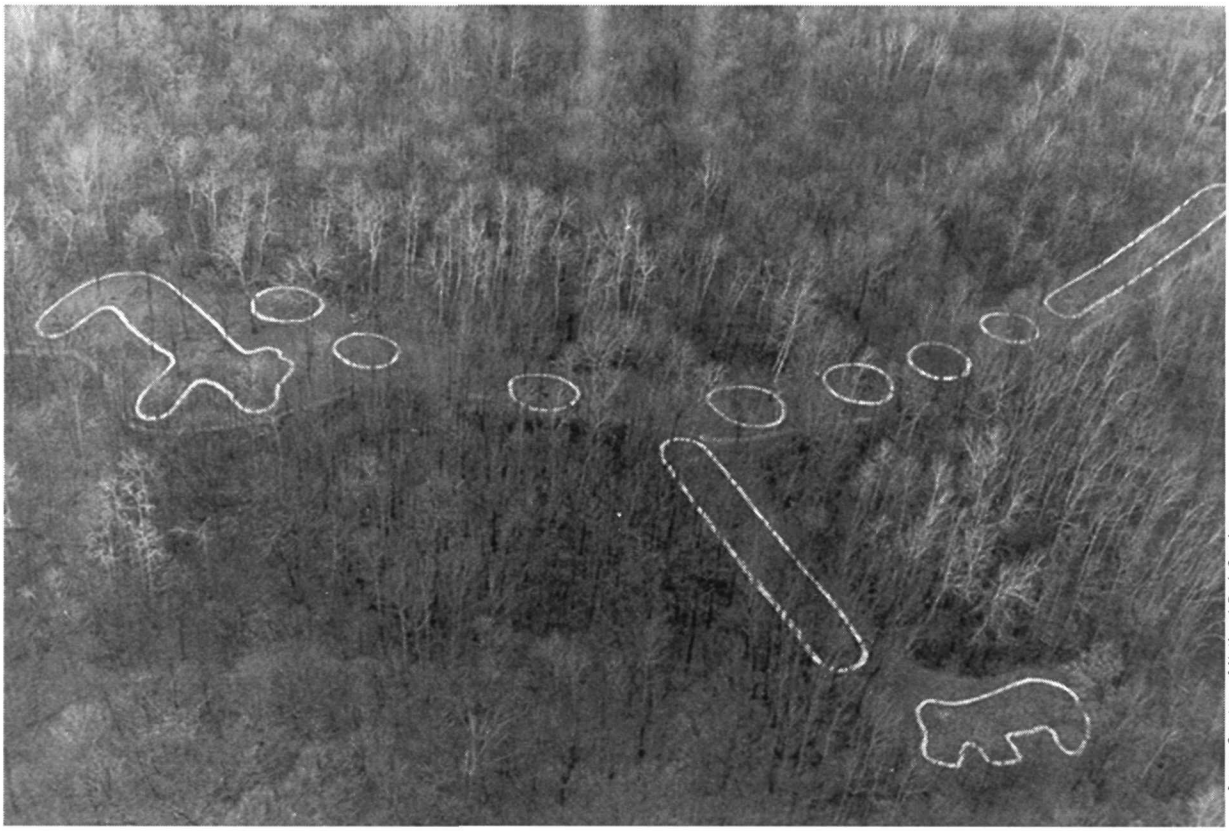
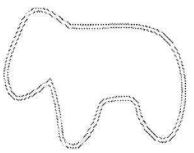


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Aerial View of Great Bear Mound Group

C H A P T E R T W O

Methodology



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Methodology

Historical Research

HRAG&P undertook a comprehensive literature search for this project in late 2000. This effort resulted in preparation of a chapter outline for the HRS and an annotated bibliography of major primary and secondary sources to be used in preparation of the document. The research effort began with initial consultation with park and regional NPS office staff and other local informants. It continued with a review of secondary resources and gray literature, followed by primary-source materials at various Iowa repositories. HRAG&P's research focused on four efforts: 1) compilation and mastery of the published literature; 2) familiarity with the primary sources on which the published literature is based; 3) original research in primary sources on issues that pertained specifically to cultural resources within the monument; and 4) review of existing cultural resource documentation. Repositories consulted during the course of these investigations included Effigy Mounds National Monument, the Iowa State Historic Preservation Office, the University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist, the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center, local historical societies, and University of Washington libraries. HRAG&P consulted with NPS Midwest Regional Office Senior Historian Ron Cockrell, NPS Midwest Archeological Center Archeologists Thomas Thiessen and Douglas Scott, and Cultural Landscape Inventory Coordinator Roberta Young.

Field Visits

Information derived from previously completed cultural resource studies, inventories, and surveys of resources guided HRAG&P's field visits to the monument, completed in 2001 and 2003. Research conducted during the field visits focused on the extensive manuscripts housed in the archives at the monument. No subsurface or surface archeological investigations were conducted as part of this project. The following National Park Service personnel at Effigy Mounds National Monument were consulted: Superintendent Phyllis Ewing, Chief Ranger Ken Block, Administrative Assistant/Archives Specialist Sharon Greener, Natural Resource Specialist Rodney Rovang, and Park Ranger/local historian Dennis Lenzendorf.

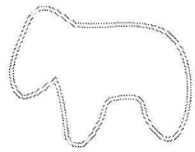
In addition, HRA Gray & Pape, LLC. consulted the following staff members at the University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist: Site Records Manager Colleen Eck, Documents Curator Julianne Hoyer, and Project Archaeologist William Whittaker.

Project Personnel

HRAG&P's Senior Historian, Patrick O'Bannon, served as Principal Investigator for the project. He acted as the primary point of contact with the National Park Service, directed the field visits, undertook preliminary historical research, prepared the chapter outline and annotated bibliography, and edited the final report. Research historians Jill Schnaiberg and Matt Ashba conducted additional historical research, prepared the historic context, identified areas in need of further research, and developed recommendations for additional interpretive programs. Project Archaeologist Trent DeBoer edited and revised the geological and prehistoric contexts, consulted with individuals at the Midwest Archeological Center, and conducted research at the University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist and at Effigy Mounds National Monument. Graphic Artist Casey Fagin created the graphic layout and design of the final report.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

Environment



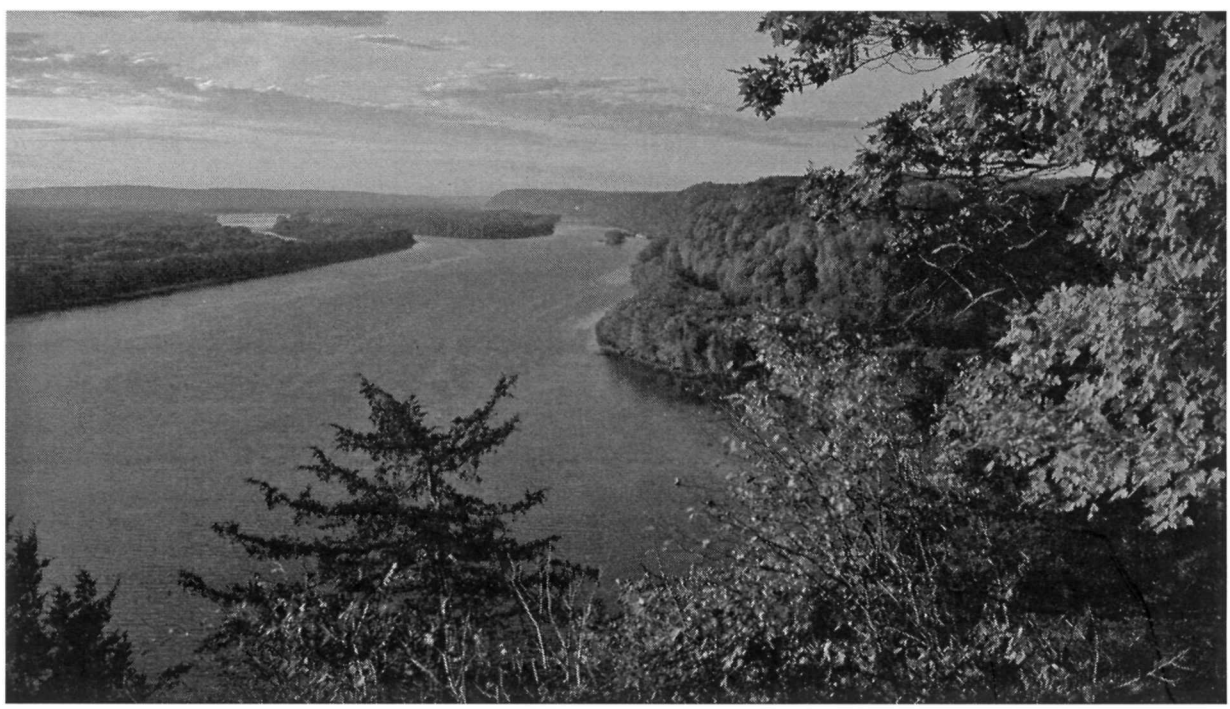
Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Environment

Effigy Mounds National Monument is located in Allamakee and Clayton counties in the northeastern corner of Iowa, along the west bank of the Mississippi River. Steep bluffs, floodplain terraces, and swift cutting streams channeling deep into the bedrock terrain characterize the 2,526-acre monument. In the 1890s, Iowa State Geologist Samuel Calvin described the landscape as "gashed and furrowed in every direction by an intricate system of ramifying channels."[2] The area features a unique topography, where western prairies merge with eastern woodlands. This ecological transition zone provides one of the most biologically and topographically diverse regions in the state—a crucial factor in the success of prehistoric settlement and the development of a distinctive Effigy Mounds culture. Many of the more than 200 mounds within the monument are located on low-lying floodplains, at an elevation of 600 feet above sea level. Some mounds are situated atop the steep bluffs and open fields of the upland areas that reach, in their highest places, 1,000 feet or more above sea level.

Effigy Mounds National Monument is located on the southwestern fringe of the rugged physiographic region called the Paleozoic Plateau, which extends along the steep bluffline of the Mississippi River in Iowa and continues into Wisconsin and Minnesota. Formerly called the Driftless Area, patchy remnants of Pre-Illinoian glacial drift more than 500,000 years old recently have been discovered in the area. Unlike the rest of Iowa, the Paleozoic Plateau was bypassed by the last of the Pleistocene glaciers (the Wisconsin), allowing the region's fast cutting streams to expose and carve out deep channels in the bedrock-dominated terrain. The area is characterized by thin loess soil cover, isolated patches of glacial drift, deeply entrenched river valleys, and karst (sinkholes, caves, and springs) topography.[3]



View from Fire Point.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

[2] Samuel Calvin quoted in R. Clark Mallam, *The Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation: An Interpretive Model,* Office of the State Archeologist Report No. 9 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1976), 16.

[3] Jean C. Prior, *Landforms of Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 31, 93; United States Department of Agriculture, *Soil Survey of Allamakee County, Iowa, Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: Natural Resources Conservation Service, 1998), 3.

The erosion and weakening of the shallow sedimentary bedrock of the region—primarily limestone, dolomite, sandstone, and shale—has had the greatest effect on landscape formation. Vertical cracks extending through bedrock weaken the fracture planes and create blocky rock features called joints, and the lime-rich strata slowly dissolves and enlarges cracks, crevices, and other zones of weakness to create caves and sinkholes. The catastrophic floods resulting from the melting of the last of the Pleistocene glaciers significantly altered the landscape. Alluvial flood deposits along the Mississippi River also have played a prominent role in landscape formation, creating elevated alluvial terraces such as the landform at Prairie du Chien.[4]

Recent pollen analysis studies in northeast Iowa show that spruce forests were replaced by deciduous forests before 9,100 years ago, which, in turn, were replaced by tallgrass prairie between 5,400 and 3,500 years ago and burr oak savanna about 3,500 years ago. The transition from gently rolling western prairies to the rugged, erosional terrain of the eastern woodlands that characterizes the Paleozoic Plateau creates a mosaic of micro-environmental zones in the region. Small remnant tallgrass prairies (also called goat prairies), burr oak savanna, steep-sided timber-covered valleys, towering bluffs, wetlands, swamps, and backwaters allow a wide variety of wildlife and vegetation to flourish.[5]

In August 1956, Wayne Scholtes, a soil scientist from Iowa State University, conducted soil tests on six mounds in northeast Iowa. By analyzing pollen grains found in the soil samples, Scholtes gathered information on past climate and vegetation patterns. Roger Parsons continued the soil studies in 1960 for Iowa State University, collecting seven soil profiles from mounds in and around the monument. Scholtes and Parsons' soil studies indicated that a forest environment existed on the bluffs throughout the mound- building period. Most ecologists today believe oak savanna has occupied the bluffs for the past 2,000 years.[6]

Since the first European settlers arrived in Iowa about 160 years ago, Iowa's native habitats have been greatly reduced by domestic farming, transportation-related construction projects (including railroad logging), damming of rivers for barge navigation, and draining of wetlands (especially after the Federal Swamp Land Act of 1850). James Dinsmore estimates that about 0.12 percent of Iowa's original tallgrass prairie, 4 percent of its forests, and less than 10 percent of its wetlands survived in the mid-1990s.[7] This rapid alteration of the region's environment has had drastic effects on the state's wildlife, greatly reducing the numbers of many species and extirpating others.

In their early exploration of the region, Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet noted the proliferation of bison and deer along the Mississippi. Other mammals of pre-settlement Iowa included wolves, bobcats, mountain lions, and black bear. In the nineteenth century, historian W.E. Alexander described the abundance of wildlife in the region, including opossum, fox, owls, rabbits, eagles, woodpeckers, and cuckoos. Ellison Orr observed a passenger pigeon nesting area in Allamakee County in the 1860s measuring 20 miles long by 2 miles wide, with nests in almost every tree.[8] Habitat loss since the early settlement period has resulted in the elimination of bison, elk, black bear, gray wolf, mountain lion, whooping crane, and passenger pigeon, in addition to the severe reduction of ruffled grouse, American woodcock, river otter, quail, and bobcat.[9]

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[4] Prior, *Landforms of Iowa*, 85-91.

[5] Chumbley, C.A., R.G. Baker, and E.A. Bettis III, "Midwestern Holocene Paleoenvironments Revealed by Floodplain Deposits in Northeastern Iowa," *Science* 249 (1990): 272-274.

[6] Ibid., 272-274.

[7] James J. Dinsmore, *A Country So Full of Game: The Story of Wildlife in Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994), 179-183.

[8] Ibid., 90-99.

[9] Ibid., 182.

Today, there is evidence for at least 188 species of birds in Iowa, including Canada geese, bald eagles, turkeys, and turkey vultures. Some species have been successfully introduced or reintroduced, such as the turkey, ring-necked pheasant, and beaver, while other introduced species have fared less well, such as the chukar, Reeves' pheasant, and common quail. The marshes and stream banks provide habitat for beavers, muskrats, turtles, and frogs, while the rivers contain numerous fish and mussel species; however, since their introduction in the early 1990s, zebra mussel infestations have severely affected local mussel populations.[10]

Sugar maple and basswood trees typically are found along the cooler north-facing hillsides, and burr, white, and red oak, shagbark and bitternut hickory, and birch dominate south-facing slopes. Exotic species present within the monument include reed canary grass, buckthorn, and garlic mustard, among others. Herbs and wildflowers, including various ferns, buttercups, anemones, bellwort, wild ginger, mayapple, violets, waterlillies, sunflowers, puccoon, yarrow, and milkweed are common. In the marshes and stream banks are green dragon, sedges, blue flag irises, cardinal flower, sensitive fern, swamp white oak, silver maple, bladder nut, poison ivy, bulrush, and willow.[11]

By providing conditions in which a range of plant and animal communities flourished, the region's varied topography enabled prehistoric societies and cultures to develop and prosper. "Within its perimeters, the stable environment provided protection for the native vegetation and wildlife," stated archeologist R. Clark Mallam in his 1976 dissertation on Iowa's Effigy Mounds, "and offered, through the predictability of its natural resources, shelter and sustenance for hunting and gathering societies."[12] Many of the plant species present within the monument also provided medicinal uses to the inhabitants of the area.[13]

The historical landscape was both a product of natural forces and human endeavor. Prairie fires resulting from both natural and human causes were a common, if not annual, occurrence on the plains, providing rich nutrients to the soil and stimulating the growth of native vegetation. An early description (1871) of prairie fires comes from Charles White's harrowing tale of escape from a tallgrass prairie fire in northwest Iowa.[14] Plains Indians deliberately used prairie fires in their hunting and plant gathering practices to help control the seasonal movement of bison, to promote specific vegetation growth by increasing the "edge effect" and to foster the diversity of habitats.[15]

In much the same way, the extant landscape displays the interconnected influences of cultural and natural components in a continuously evolving relationship. Human societies are linked to the physical environment through the use and adaptation of available natural resources, as environmental constraints help define settlement and subsistence options avail-

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10 Ibid., 168-177; James J. Dinsmore, Thomas H. Kent, Darwin Koenig, Peter C. Petersen, and Dean M. Roosa, *Iowa Birds* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1984), 21; United States Geological Survey, *Zebra Mussel Information*, accessed at http://nas.er.usgs.gov/zebra.mussel, on February 19, 2003.

11 Dennis Lenzendorf, *Ecology of Effigy Mounds National Monument* (Report on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, n.d.); Rodney Rovang, "Effigy Mounds National Monument Plant List" (Report on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, n.d.).

12 Mallam, *The Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 19.

13 Fred J. Fagergren, *Wild Plants: Their Uses By Early Man* (Unpublished manuscript on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, n.d.).

14 C.A. White, "Prairie Fires," *American Naturalist* (1871).

15 Kenneth F. Higgins, *Interpretation and Compendium of Historical Fire Accounts in the Northern Great Plains*, U.S. Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, Resource Publication 161 (1986), 7-8; Gerard W. Williams, "References on the American Indian Use of Fire in Ecosystems" (2000), http://fs.jorge.com/archives/Reference/Biblio_IndianUseofFire.htm, accessed on June 6, 2003.

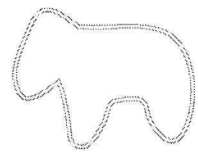
able to a particular social group. These constraints include proximity to water, climatic patterns, access to lithic resources, and the presence of game and edible plants. Parameters such as these affect site selection for settlements and influence the likelihood of the site's subsequent preservation. Only sites preserved through a combination of environmental and geographic factors remain sufficiently intact to yield information concerning prehistoric peoples. Consequently, the information available about patterns of human occupation in a given area is shaped both by the type of societies that occupied the area and the subsequent and contemporary environmental conditions present at the site.

Aerial view of the Fire Point Mounds.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

C H A P T E R F O U R

American Indian History



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

American Indian History

Paleo-Indian Period (12,000-9,000 years BP)

The earliest reliable evidence of people in North America comes from the Paleo-Indian Period, which dates to about 12,000 to 9,000 years before present (BP). People likely entered what is now Iowa about the time the last Wisconsin ice sheets began to retreat from the mid-continent. As warmer climates developed and the glaciers receded, pockets of lush and habitable land emerged. Early Iowans who settled in these pockets survived as migratory hunters, initially pursuing large megafauna, such as mammoth and wooly mastodon. Gradually then adopted a more diverse hunter-gatherer economy, including smaller game such as bison, elk, and deer, and supplemented by plant foraging.[16]

Diagnostic archeological remnants of the Paleo-Indians include the fluted Clovis and Folsom flaked stone spear points. Other common tools of the period include chipped stone adzes and scrapers. Isolated finds of these stone tools have been discovered in Allamakee County and other Iowa locations, but few other cultural remains have been associated with these early peoples. The nomadic bands of Paleo-Indians likely lived in small, scattered groups, using transportable shelters made from brush or animal skins.[17]

Archaic Period (9,000-2,500 BP)

The warmer and drier climate that characterized the Archaic Period initiated important shifts in the lives of early American Indians. As the climate became arid and prairies expanded, humans gravitated to the wetter river valleys, where pockets of relatively dense populations developed in some places. Rock shelters were used when groups congregated for the winter after spending much of the year traveling from seasonal camps distributed across the landscape. In their examination of the various tools used by humans from this period, archeologists have shown that the Archaic hunter-gatherers added stemmed and notched projectile points, atlatls or spearthrowers, stone axes, pecked and ground stone tools, specialized fishing gear, gouges, milling stones, and awls to their tool kits. The use of copper tools—including "rat tail" projectile points, celts, and ornaments—in the middle to late Archaic period became common in the region. Copper was obtained through trade with groups of the Old Copper complex to the north, who had been accessing the extensive Lake Superior copper deposits since at least 7,000 BP.[18]

As the climate ameliorated towards the end of the late Archaic Period (4,500-2,500 BP), populations in the region that now includes Iowa grew, and a semi-sedentary, communal culture gradually emerged, replacing the highly mobile, nomadic lifestyle. The late Archaic residents continued to hunt elk, bear, bison, deer, and a variety of small animals that thrived in the area, but they complemented their hunting with products from the forests and rivers, such as berries, nuts, fish, and mussels.[19]

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16 Douglas B. Bamforth, "High-Tech Foragers? Folsom and Later Paleoindian Technology on the Great Plains," *Journal of World Prehistory* 16:1 (2002): 55-98

17 Lynn M. Alex, *Iowa's Archaeological Past* (Iowa City: Iowa Press, 2000), 37-45; Joe B. Thompson, "Prehistoric Archeology in Northeastern Iowa," *Journal of the Iowa Archeological Society* 49 (2002): 32.

18 Elizabeth D. Benchley, Blane Nansel, Clark A. Dobbs, Susan M. Thurston Myster, and Barbara H. O'Connell, *Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Northern Woodlands: A Volume in the Central and Northern Plains Archeological Overview*, Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 52 (1997), 72; Ellison Orr, "Laurentian or 'Old Red Copper'," (Unpublished manuscript on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument), 1-2; John C. Whittaker and Anthony D. Romano, "Some Prehistoric Copper Flaking Tools in Minnesota," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 77:1 (1966): 3-10; Jack Steinbring and Ron Sanders, "Comments on Some Archaic Copper Artifacts From Wapaca County," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 77:2 (1996): 83-86; Susan R. Martin, *Wonderful Power: The Story of Ancient Copper Working in the Lake Superior Basin* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999).

19 James B. Stoltman, "The Archaic Tradition," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 78:1-2 (1997): 112-139; James B. Griffin, "The Midlands," in *Ancient North Americans*, ed. J.D. Jennings (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1978), 242-299.

Towards the end of the Archaic Period, sometimes referred to as the Terminal Archaic, mound building appeared in the area as an accompanying mortuary practice to the Red Ochre burial ceremonies. The use of communal cemeteries became increasingly common and various religious and ceremonial burial practices developed. These practices established a cultural and spiritual foundation that, according to James Stoltman, represents a complex "on the fence" between the Archaic and Woodland traditions.[20] Bright red hematite was sprinkled in gravesites of the Red Ochre Culture—a practice that reflected an important cultural shift in the region's early human history, highlighting changes associated with communal living. The mounds of the Red Ochre Culture typically were large, dome-shaped conicals and often contained multiple burials with red hematite-stained artifacts fashioned from exotic materials such as Lake Superior copper and non-local lithics, including Wyandotte Chert. Unfortunately, little else is known of this culture, as reliable radiocarbon dates are scarce and few human physical remains have been studied to date.[21] The occurrence of a Red Ochre Culture component at Effigy Mounds National Monument is uncertain. During excavations at the Sny Magill Unit (1952), Paul Beaubien noted extensive red hematite layers below or adjacent to four burials within Mound 43, however, Beaubien conceded that:

> The occurrence of at least some red ochre has been reported from so many Woodland complexes in adjacent states—Hopewell, effigy mound, red ochre, and Clam River—that the presence of some in a mound cannot be sufficiently diagnostic to identify a culture or time period. Mound 43 is regarded as a Woodland manifestation, however, because of the examples of the typical chipped stone industry it contained and the fact that red ochre does not constitute an unexpected find in a burial mound of that Pattern.[22]

Woodland Period (2,500-750 BP)

The Woodland Period's stable climate fostered significant strides in the social and cultural development of local American Indians. Accompanying an expansion of trade and communication along the Mississippi River, the manufacture of pottery and the development of efficient and specialized tools enhanced the living experience of the increasingly sedentary Woodland Period residents, while the use of both wild and cultivated plants also gained importance. It was during this period that the rituals and burial practices derived from late Archaic religious traditions blossomed into the tradition and culture of the Woodland mound building Indians.[23]

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20 Stoltman, "The Archaic Tradition."

21 Alex, *Iowa's Archaeological Past*, 79; David F. Overstreet, Larry Doebert, Gary W. Henschel, Phil Sander, and David Wasion, "Two Red Ocher Mortuary Contexts From Southeastern Wisconsin—the Henschel Site (47SB29), Sheboygan County and the Barnes Creek Site (47KN41), Kenosha County," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 77:1 (1996): 36-62; Jennifer R. Hass, "Human Skeletal Remains from Two Red Ocher Mortuary Contexts in Southeastern Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 77:1 (1996): 63-72; Benchley et al., *Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Northern Woodlands*, 75.

22 Paul L. Beaubien, "Archaeological Investigation of the Sny-Magill Mound Group, 1952," Memorandum dated March 16, 1953 to the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument.

23 Benchley et al., *Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Northern Woodlands*, 87.

Early Woodland Stage (2,500-2,100 BP)

Accompanying the new traditions of pottery making and the cultivation of plants such as squash and sunflower, mound building became increasingly common and played a vital role in the religious and cultural identity of American Indians in the Early Woodland Period. Mound building was practiced over a period of about three millennia and each culture produced distinctive forms, beginning with the simple conical mounds of the Early Woodland, adding the compound and linear mounds of the Middle Woodland, and culminating with the elaborate effigy mounds of the Late Woodland. Mound building occurred not only in the Mississippi River Valley, but also throughout northeastern Europe, northern Asia, and eastern North America. Woodland burial mounds are found throughout the eastern United States, while effigy mounds are limited to Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, with groups of 20 to 30 common and large groups of 100 occasionally reported, including the Harper's Ferry Mound Group, where 895 mounds were reported.[24] More than 100 years of agricultural activities have destroyed nearly all of the large mound groups and spared only isolated mounds and small mound groups, leading Paul Beaubien to suggest:

> It is believed that the Sny-Magill group is numerically the largest surviving group of prehistoric Indian mounds in the United States. In 1933, Dr. Charles R. Keyes, former State Archaeologist of Iowa, indicated that this was the largest group of mounds remaining in the effigy mound region, and his allegation has not been refuted to my knowledge.[25]

Early Woodland mound builders typically constructed shallow-relief and conical-shaped mounds over burial sites, typically measuring about 30 feet in diameter and 2 to 3 feet in height.[26] Some of the oldest mounds at the monument, such as Mound 43 of the Sny Magill Unit, likely were constructed during this period.[27] Excavation of a large conical mound near Guttenberg, Iowa, considered by some to be the only one in the area created in the Early Woodland, revealed a prepared floor, several small pits, burials, and the continued use of red ochre in the burial ceremony, carried over from the Terminal Archaic. Some archeologists believe the mounds reflect the practical organizational skills of their makers, as well as the communal development of religious and artistic consciousness.[28]

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24 James B. Stoltman and George W. Christiansen, "The Late Woodland Stage in the Driftless Area of the Upper Mississippi Valley," In *Late Woodland Societies: Tradition and Transformation Across the Midcontinent*, ed. Thomas E. Emerson, Dale L. McElrath, and Andrew C. Fortier (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 501.

25 Beaubien, "Archaeological Investigation of the Sny-Magill Mound Group, 1952." A half-century later, Beaubien's assessment of Sny-Magill's significance appears to remain unchallenged by more recent studies.

26 Wilfred D. Logan, *Woodland Complexes in Northeastern Iowa* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976), 11.

27 Beaubien, "Archaeological Investigation of the Sny-Magill Mound Group, 1952."

28 Katherine P. Stevenson, Robert F. Boszhardt, Charles R. Moffat, Philip H. Salkin, Thomas C. Pleger, James L. Theler, and Constance M. Arzigian, "The Woodland Tradition," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 78:1-2 (1997): 140-201; Logan, *Woodland Complexes in Northeastern Iowa*, 145.

Middle Woodland Stage (2,100-1,400 BP)

Expanding trade networks, increasingly complex burial practices, and thinner, finer pottery characterized the Middle Woodland. It was at the beginning of this stage that the mound building traditions in the Mississippi Valley region were influenced by the burial practices of the Hopewell Culture of the Ohio River Valley, through an exchange system commonly referred to as the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (HIS). The HIS was a wide-ranging exchange network centered in eastern North America and extending west into the Plains, involving the trade of exotic materials and artifacts and the shared practice of mound building and funerary rituals. Items such as copper from the Great Lakes region, obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, and other exotic materials including mica, galena, marine shell, and nonlocal chert, occasionally were included as burial objects within the grave sites, reflecting the expanding HIS trade and communication networks. Although the mechanisms of the HIS are poorly understood, it is likely that the trade network functioned without a central control.[29]

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Conical Mound

The monument features numerous conical-shaped Middle Woodland mounds, three of which are adjacent to the visitor center. Typically, mounds of this period were large in size and contained a variety of grave artifacts. Influenced by their dealings with members of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, the mound builders placed extended burials in rectangular tombs, with burial pits dug into the topsoil. Cremation of the deceased also became increasingly common in the Upper Mississippi River Valley during this time. Before burial, local Woodland Period residents often wrapped deceased bodies in animal hide or plant fibers and placed them on a wooden platform or in trees. The bodies were later reburied in mounds. The practice of secondary burial may have been used during the winter months, when mound building was not practical or during food-gathering seasons, when people were camped far away from the major mound groups. Towards the end of the Middle Woodland, compound mounds—conical mounds linked by a chain of linear or stick-shaped mounds—began to be constructed. One such compound mound at the monument measures over 475 feet long.[30]

Late Woodland Stage (1,400-750 BP)

In the Late Woodland, fine, cord-impressed pottery was introduced; small, arrowhead projectile points replaced the larger spear or dart points; and the use of bows for hunting spread throughout the region. A predominance of stone tools made from locally available materials suggests that long distance trade decreased during this period.[31] The Late Woodland also is defined by the regional, cultural phenomenon

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29 Alex, *Iowa's Archaeological Past*, 100; William Green, "Native Peoples in the Study Region: Culture History," in *Effigy Mounds National Monument Cultural Affiliation Report, Volume 1*, Research Papers 26:3, prepared for the National Park Service, Midwest Support Office (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist and American Indian Native Studies Program, 2001), 40.

30 Dennis Lenzendorf, *Effigy Mounds: A Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument* (Fort Washington, Penn.: Eastern National, 2000), 16-21; Jill York O'Bright, *The Perpetual March: An Administrative History of Effigy Mounds National Monument* (Omaha: National Park Service, 1989), 5-6.

31 Stevenson et al., "The Woodland Tradition," 171.

Effigy Mound Region.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Aerial View of Bird Mounds.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

of effigy mound building. Conical mounds continued to be produced, but the construction of mounds in the shape of animals became common. Effigy mounds largely were confined to a region bounded by northern Illinois, southern Wisconsin, southeastern Minnesota, and eastern Iowa, and the mounds typically took the shape of five basic, categorical forms. These basic forms included: birds; animals in plan view (turtles and lizards); tailed animals lying on their side (panthers and wildcats); tailless animals lying on their side (bears or buffalos); and, rarely, humans. Many effigies from the Late Woodland appear to be lying on their right side, with the heads or feet positioned downstream in the direction of the closest major waterway. Within the monument, for example, there are thirty-one effigy mounds—all of which are birds or bears. Effigy mounds—and many shallow conical and linear mounds—rarely were constructed to heights greater than a few feet above the ground surface, leading to Stoltman and Christiansen's adopted rule-of-thumb for finding effigy mounds on survey: "walk until your toes curl up."[32]

While effigy mound building practices shared in the ceremonial burial traditions of the earlier Hopewell and Red Ochre Cultures, effigy mounds typically lacked the inclusion of exotic trade goods characteristic of these earlier mounds. This lack of artifacts within effigy mounds suggests that even though expanded networks of trade and communication infiltrated the Iowan region, the effigy mound builders in northeastern Iowa remained culturally distinct from Hopewell. Some archeologists interpret the variations in effigy mound styles as representing territoriality and increased tensions between regional peoples, perhaps resulting from population pressure.[33]

To build the effigy mounds, the Late Woodland residents typically gathered dirt from the surrounding area and carried it in baskets to the mound site, where shallow excavated pits carved in the shape of animals provided the template for the effigy mound. This construc-

32 Stoltman and Christiansen, "The Late Woodland Stage in the Driftless Area of the Upper Mississippi Valley," 501.

33 R. Clark Mallam, *The Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*; Stevenson et al., "The Woodland Tradition," 171-172.

tion technique recently was confirmed at the monument using ground penetrating radar, which indicated that the mounds are composed of varying levels of "clumpiness"—interpreted by the archeologists as evidence of clusters of basket loads. These studies also have shown that the mounds are highly magnetic, indicating that they are composed of "A" horizon topsoils transported from some distance away from the mounds.[34] Sometimes bodies in flexed or fetal positions where placed in the interior at the base of the mounds, although it appears that many effigy mounds do not contain burials. The size of the mounds varied—one bear-shaped mound at the monument measures more than 137 feet in length, while many measure less than 75 feet in length.

Recent consultation with traditionally associated American Indians provides clues to the meaning of the effigy mounds.[35] In Indian mythology, the mounds are considered sacred space, capable of bridging man, nature, and the spirit world. While sometimes serving a burial function, R. Clark Mallam argued that the mounds "should also be viewed as artistic creations which symbolically integrate prehistoric beliefs and values." The mounds, he continued, "may have been the means by which humans ... sought to define and express their philosophical convictions about the universe, the life force, and the intricate web of natural and cultural relationships into which they were bonded at the hunting and gathering level."[36] Mallam further suggested that the mounds not only demarcated prime hunting and gathering territories, but they also provided sociocultural integration for distinct groups across the region, likely serving as a locus for large regional gatherings.[37]

Over time, a contemporaneous Upper Mississippian manifestation, known as Oneota, replaced the Woodland culture in some locations. The origins of Oneota remain unclear, but it is apparent by the presence of exotic items at several "exchange center" sites, such as those in the densely populated La Crosse region, that Oneota peoples were involved in the Mississippian interaction sphere and exchanged trade goods with Cahokia and other people in the region. Like the Middle Mississippian Culture, Oneota established its foundation on agricultural cultivation, situating their large villages in open areas as opposed to the forests. With population increase came warfare and the intergroup hostilities during this period certainly helped to split groups into various factions. While the tradition of effigy mound building came to an end in the Late Woodland, some scattered, conical mounds were built over the next few hundred years, perhaps as late as the seventeenth century. The scarcity of Oneota archeological sites in the Prairie du Chien region may indicate that the area was a buffer zone between Oneota peoples of the La Crosse area and people further south along the Mississippi River, or it may simply reflect incomplete Oneota archeological survey coverage of the area. Over time, Oneota peoples likely developed into the Ioway, Oto, Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, and other Siouan-speaking tribes that inhabited the Midwest when Europeans arrived in the area.[38]

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34 Kenneth L. Kvamme, "Archeo-Geophysical Survey at Effigy Mounds National Monument," Final report submitted to Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1999, 14-18.

35 Larry J. Zimmerman, Dawn Makes Strong Move, and Dawn Sly-Terpstra, "Appendix B: Consultation with American Indians and Other Members of Traditionally Associated Groups" in *Effigy Mounds National Monument Cultural Affiliation Report, Volume 1*, Research Papers Vol. 26:3, prepared for the National Park Service, Midwest Support Office (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist and American Indian Native Studies Program, 2001), 277-288.

36 R. Clark Mallam, and James E. Mount, "When on High: An Aerial Perspective of Effigy Mounds," *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society* 27 (1980): 129.

37 Mallam, *The Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 39-40.

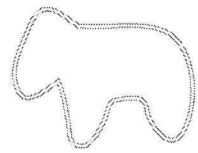
38 Dale R. Henning, "Oneota Evolution and Interactions: A Perspective from the Weaver Terrace, Southeast Iowa," in *Oneota Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future*, Report No. 20, ed. William Green (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist, 1995), 83; David W. Benn, "Woodland People and the Roots of the Oneota," in *Oneota Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future*, Report No. 20, ed. William Green (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist, 1995), 91; Green, "Native Peoples in the Study Region: Culture History," 42.

View from Hanging Rock

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

C H A P T E R F I V E

European Contact



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

European Contact

The Upper Mississippi Valley, including the area encompassed by the monument, was a strategic military and fur-trading zone throughout the period of European contact and American settlement. In fact, what is now the state of Iowa was integrated into the French fur-trading network long before it became part of New France. In 1673, Joliet and Marquette journeyed up the Fox River from Lake Michigan, portaged to the Wisconsin River, and floated downstream to the broad expanse of the Mississippi River. Marquette noted, "The river is narrow at the mouth of the Wisconsin, and the current is slow and gentle; on the right is a considerable chain of very high mountains. It is in many places studded with islands."[39] In this area, just a mile west of the Mississippi River, rested the bluff of what was to become Iowa. Joliet and Marquette did not encounter Indians in present day Iowa until they reached the southern portion of the present state, where they befriended a village of Illinois Indians before returning back to the Great Lakes. Their expedition had mapped out the first feasible route to the Upper Mississippi Valley interior, opening the way for the French advancement into the region. No mention, however, was made of the presence of mounds in the region.[40]

In 1685, Nicholas Perrot, a French trader who in 1684 had been named commandant of the region of La Baye, headquartered in what is now Green Bay, Wisconsin, traveled to the Upper Mississippi Valley to promote peace and trade with the local Ioway Indians. Perrot established a string of forts, or trading posts, along the Mississippi River, including Fort St. Nicholas just above the mouth of the Wisconsin River and a short distance south of Prairie du Chien. Perrot achieved remarkable success in negotiating a series of alliances and treaties, culminating with a 1689 treaty agreed to at Fort St. Antoine on the Upper Mississippi in which tribes acknowledged all of the lands drained by the Upper Mississippi as the possession of France. Perrot engaged in extensive trading with Indians east and west of the Mississippi River, and his fort near Prairie du Chien became a central meeting place for Upper Mississippi Valley Indians and traders. However, by 1700 the fur trade in the region was beginning to decline, Perrot was recalled to Canada, and a long period of instability began.[41]

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, France's control over the Upper Mississippi Valley was tempered by the aggression of Indians in the region. The Ioway Indians, for whom the state is named, were established in the Upper Mississippi River Valley when the first European explorers arrived in the 1600s. Settled mainly near the Upper Iowa River in what is now Allamakee and Winneshiek Counties, the Ioway were the preeminent Indian group in the region west of the Mississippi during the 1700s. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the aggressive Sauk and Fox tribes had replaced the Ioway as the dominant group in the Upper Mississippi River Valley. In 1738, Pierre Paul Marin, constructed Marin Fort at the mouth of Sny Magill Creek in order to secure trade with the Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago Indians, and contain growing Sioux aggression.[42]

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39 Jacques Marquette, quoted in Ellery M. Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County, Iowa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), 12.

40 Bruce E. Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1926), 5; Federal Writers' Project, *Wisconsin: A Guide to the Badger State* (Madison: Wisconsin Library Association, 1941), 186; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 13.

41 Alex, *Iowa's Archaeological Past*, 219; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 13; Mahan, *Fort Crawford*, 6-7; Federal Writers' Project, *Wisconsin*, 186-187; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15, 57; Nicholas Perrot, "Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America," in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes as described by Nicolas Perrot*, 2 vols., ed. Emma Helen Blair (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1912).

42 Blair, The *Indian Tribes*, 2:216fn; "Trade Goods: Biographies and Histories of Traders, Merchants, Chiefs, Officers, Voyageurs," http://www.usinternet.com/users/dfnels/marin-zip.htm.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War, eliminated the French as a colonial power in the Upper Mississippi Valley. The treaty partitioned the mainland of North America between Spain and England along the Mississippi River, with the Spanish acquiring the territory west of the river. The Spanish never successfully extended their authority into the Upper Mississippi. English political authority and economic power flowed into the resulting vacuum largely by means of French Canadian traders, who remained influential in the region.[43] During this period, the small village of Prairie du Chien flourished. Located on a floodplain approximately two miles wide and eight miles long miles, just above the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, Prairie du Chien held a strategic importance in the area, serving as a meeting ground for traders and Indians. As one historian described it:

> It was a focal point in an area where a colorful pageant of the Middle West unfolded—the coming of the French, the supremacy of the English, Spanish influence in the Trans-Mississippi country, the establishment of military posts by the United States, and the founding of American communities.[44]

Just as its proximity to the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers made the area around Prairie du Chien attractive to the region's prehistoric and Indian residents, its strategic location and the abundance of fur-bearing mammals drew fur traders to the site.

An influential, if controversial, figure in the Upper Mississippi River Valley during this period was Jonathan Carver, a Massachusetts surveyor who traveled through the region between 1766 and 1769 and published a purported account of his journeys that became a popular success after its publication in England in 1778. In spite of his borrowings from other writers, and in spite of his incredible and in some cases monstrous stories of Indian life, Carver's account offers an important glimpse of the Upper Mississippi Valley in the middle of the eighteenth century. In October 1766, Carver reached the Mississippi River by way of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and noted, as had Joliet and Marquette nearly one hundred years earlier, the high bluff above Prairie du Chien. He describes an Indian town of approximately 300 families occupying the terrace below the bluffs, and notes that "this town is the great mart, where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May bringing with them furs to dispose of to the traders."[45]

Carver was the first to report the place as "La Prairie les Chien" (Dog Plains), named after its original Fox Indian inhabitants by French traders. Upon leaving Prairie du Chien, he also mentioned that "A little further to the west, on the contrary side, a small river falls into the Mississippi, which the French call le Juan Riviere, or the Yellow River. Here the traders who had accompanied me hitherto, took up their residence for the winter."[46] From here, Carver took passage up river in a canoe, but his account indicates that traders were accustomed to establishing winter quarters at Yellow River, where they established the first temporary settlements in what eventually became Allamakee County.

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43 D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History — Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 267-280; White, *The Middle Ground*, 248-268.

44 Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford,* 1.

45 Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, 3rd ed. (reprint edition, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1956), 50.

46 Ibid., 51.

Carver also provides one of the earliest descriptions of burial mounds near northeastern Iowa. While seventeenth and eighteenth century French explorers and traders made occasional references to mounds, no mention was made of the existence of effigy mounds. This perhaps was due to the fact that the effigies, situated in low relief above the terrain, likely were covered with heavy vegetation and not obvious landscape features.

In 1781, French settlers Pierre Antaya, Augustin Ange, and Basil Giard bought land from the Fox Indians to establish a fort at Prairie du Chien. By this point, French from the Illinois Country and French and English-speaking Canadians had begun to build their homes upon the prairie. Traders, voyageurs, and merchants from Montreal paddled up and down the waterways, bringing goods for the fur trade and forging strong ties with the American Indians. From 1795 on rumors that Spain had secretly agreed to cede Louisiana back to France fueled American desires to acquire the territory west of the Mississippi. Retrocession of Louisiana to France occurred in 1801, and in 1803 Napoleon sold the entire area to the United States through the Louisiana Purchase.[47]

The arrival of Europeans in the region meant a profitable trade for Iowa's American Indians. Initially, both sides gained from the trade: pelts for the Europeans and manufactured goods for the Indians. However, it also led to continuing conflicts over territories and resources. By the late 1700s, the fur trade was a well-established "big business," profiting countries, companies, traders, and Indians alike. As the trade became lucrative, forts and trading posts were established to facilitate, secure, and protect French interests. Conflicts increased as rival foreign companies vied with U.S. companies for their share of the fur trade. The advent of liquor as a trading currency, coupled with increased use of credit, worsened relations between the government, tribes, and traders. As hostilities increased and white settlers pressed farther into the river valley, the United States government began moving the Indians west. As the fur trade shifted westward, Upper Mississippi Valley tribes dependent on the trade lost their most important means of entry into the European and American capitalist economies.

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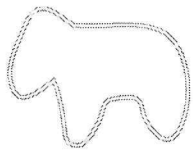
[47] D.W. Meing, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History — Volume 2: Continental America, 1800-1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 4-23; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 189-190; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 33.

C H A P T E R S I X

Early American Presence



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Early American Presence

By the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775, American traders had extended their activities into the Upper Mississippi Valley. The area remained hostile for traders, with the British, Spanish, and Americans aggressively competing to secure command of the fur trade. By the end of the war, America and Spain held control over the Upper Mississippi River.

Permanent settlement on the Prairie du Chien terrace was officially and legally established in the 1780s, when French-Canadians Giard, Ange, and Antaya built their homes. However, it is believed that Europeans resided permanently in the area as early as 1761.[48] In 1800, Spanish authorities granted Basil Giard one of the first Spanish grants to land on the west side of the Mississippi. The grant encompassed 5,760 acres located just south of the monument in modern Clayton County.[49]

When the first European and American settlers filtered into the mound regions, few believed that ancestors of the region's Indians had constructed the features. Throughout the nineteenth century the topic of mound origins proved a subject of considerable research by amateurs and antiquarians. The discipline of archaeology was in its infancy during this period, and few of these early researchers had any formal training as scientists.

While there were only scattered, vague references to mounds in northeastern Iowa prior to 1800, mounds in other areas of the country were documented and described in considerable detail. Reverend T.M. Harris of Massachusetts and Bishop Madison of Virginia, for example, examined mounds in the eastern United States. Harris argued that the mounds were built by a "super race" that disappeared at some distant time in the past, while Madison argued that they had been built by Indian ancestors. This debate over the identity of the mound builders would continue for nearly a century.[50] Early archeological surveys of mound complexes were conducted primarily with the intent of clarifying the debate over the origins of the mounds.

In 1803, when the Louisiana Purchase ceded the land west of the Mississippi River to the United States, the Sauk and Fox tribes claimed possession of the west bank of the Mississippi River south of the Upper Iowa River. They also occupied large villages near the Rock River in Illinois. The Winnebago lived along the east bank of the Mississippi River near Prairie du Chien, while the Dakota controlled the regions to the north.

An 1804 treaty between the United States and the local tribes initiated the process whereby the Indians lost their claims to land in the Upper Mississippi Valley. The treaty forced the tribes to relinquish rights to some 50 million acres; permitting the Indians to occupy the land until it was needed for settlement. The treaty also secured the government the right to establish a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin River.[51]

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48 Federal Writers' Project, *Wisconsin*, 441.

49 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 17; Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County*, 17; A.R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa* (Des Moines: Mills & Company, 1882), 405-407. According to Fulton, Giard occupied his grant throughout the time that the country passed from Spain to France, and from France to the United States. In 1844, in consideration of this occupancy, the United States issued a patent for the land to Giard. His heirs subsequently sold the entire tract for $300. The present city of McGregor is situated on the "Giard Tract."

50 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 39-40.

51 Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 18-19.

In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike explored the headwaters of the Mississippi River, reporting on the Indians and environment of the region and searching for a suitable location for a military post. Pike arrived at Prairie du Chien in September and determined that a high bluff on the west side of the Mississippi offered the best site for a fort. In his journal, Pike wrote that he "made choice of a spot which I thought most eligible, being level on top, having a spring in the rear, and commanding a view of the country around."[52] He planted a flag on the bluff, known today as Pike's Peak, near the site of the modern town of McGregor, Iowa. No fort ever graced Pike's Peak, and Pike did not mention the presence of mounds. He did, however, note that the settlements of Giard, Dubuque, and Tesson represented "the only white people then in Iowa."[53]

In 1812, the northern portion of the Louisiana Territory, including lands that later became Iowa, were organized into the Territory of Missouri. The following year William Clark, governor of the new territory, left St. Louis for Prairie du Chien with the intention of establishing a fort at that location to "strike a blow at British control of the Upper Mississippi...."[54] Clark also wanted to mute hostilities among the Sioux, Winnebago, and other Indians in the area. When Clark headed back to St. Louis, he left behind others to erect a fort. Located on St. Feriole Island, along the east channel of the Mississippi River, Fort Shelby was completed in 1814. That same year, the British captured the post after a three-day siege and renamed it Fort McKay. The British occupied Fort McKay until 1815, when the terms of the Treaty of Ghent required them to abandon their posts in American territory. The British burned Fort McKay to the ground rather than hand it over to the Americans.[55]

Stephen H. Long, of the U.S. Army's Topographical Engineers, explored and described the region in expeditions undertaken in 1817 and 1823. Long was one of the first to document the presence of mounds in the Upper Mississippi River Valley. On his first expedition, Long examined the Upper Mississippi and the Fox-Wisconsin portage, documenting the presence of various mounds. Long, like many adherents of the "vanished race" theory, thought the mounds were old military fortifications. On his second expedition, in 1823, Long sought to find the source of the Minnesota River and study the United States and Canadian boundary west of the Great Lakes. This expedition also passed through the mound region. By this date, Long had seen many earthen mounds along the Ohio and middle Mississippi River Valleys, and had come to support the theory that the mounds were remnant burial structures built by an ancient people of Asian ancestry.[56]

U.S.-Indian Relations

Military forts played a significant role in the settlement of northeastern Iowa. The forts were important, strategic means for controlling the region by fostering American trade and tribal relations, promoting exploration, and aiding early settlement in the region. In later years, forts and military presence helped implement the federal government's policy of removal of American Indians and symbolized American control and authority.[57]

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52 Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County,* 18.

53 Zebulon M. Pike, quoted in Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County,* 19.

54 Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 52.

55 O'Bright, *Perpetual March,* 190-191; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 33-34; Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 53-57; William J. Burke, *The Upper Mississippi Valley: How the Landscape Shaped Our Heritage* (Waukon, Iowa: Mississippi Valley Press, 2000), 121.

56 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 40.

57 Meinig, *Continental America*, 92-103.

On July 3, 1816, soldiers and workmen, supervised by Colonel William Southerland Hamilton, began construction of a new fort on the site of the former Fort Shelby/Fort McKay. Named Fort Crawford, after the U.S. Secretary of War, it was one of a series of forts along the Mississippi River. Sometime between 1816 and 1826, the Fort Crawford reservation was extended across the river into part of the land now occupied by the monument. Timber and stone for the new fort were secured from Prairie du Chien, approximately two miles away, and shipped to the site by boat.[58]

Fort Crawford was abandoned in 1826 because periodic flooding of the low-lying island upon which it was located had so damaged the post as to render it uninhabitable. Serious flooding occurred in 1822 and 1824, and the repeated inundation of the fort was among the reasons that the garrison was reassigned to Fort Snelling (Minnesota) in 1826. Troops returned to Fort Crawford when the Winnebago uprising broke out the following year.[59]

The federal government sought to reduce hostilities between the region's Indian tribes in order to make the area safer for traders and settlers. In 1825, the federal government called a great council of Indians in an effort to end warfare among the tribes. The government drew a boundary line separating the Sioux on the north from the Sauk and Fox on the south. This effort failed, and in 1827 the Army was forced to reopen Fort Crawford, where troops continued to experience unhealthy conditions as a result of periodic flooding.

In 1827 Major General Gaines, commander of the Western Department of the Army, inspected the fort and found it largely uninhabitable. Gaines concluded that the post should be moved to Pike's Peak, on the west side of the Mississippi River. Upon further consideration, this site was considered too far removed to offer effective protection for Prairie du Chien, and its position some 400 feet above the river represented a serious obstacle for transportation of goods and supplies to the site. As a result, it was decided, that new quarters would be established at Prairie du Chien, and construction of a new stone and timber fort began in 1829.[60]

In 1829 Captain T. F. Smith and soldiers from Fort Crawford built a water-powered sawmill on the Yellow River approximately 3.5 miles upstream from the stream's confluence with the Mississippi and approximately 6 to 8 miles from Prairie du Chien to produce lumber for construction of the new fort. Limestone for the fort, which was finally completed in 1834, came from the vicinity of modern Marquette, Iowa.[61]

In the summer of 1831 Lieutenant Jefferson Davis—later Secretary of War and President of the Confederate States of America—superintended work at the sawmill. Davis' subsequent fame has led the sawmill to be often referred to as the "Jeff Davis sawmill." In 1873 Davis described his assignment in a letter:

> "[I] was ordered to Prairie Du Chien and subsequently up the Yellow river [sic], where we had a sawmill to cut lumber [for] Fort Crawford. Pine logs were obtained on the Chippewa and rafted to the mill on Yellow river; oak logs were cut around the mill and lumber of both kinds rafted and boated to the landing at Prairie du Chien."[62]

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58 Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 71.

59 Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 121-122.

60 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 190; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 34-35; W. E. Alexander, *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee County, Iowa, 1882* (Sioux City, Iowa: Western Publishing Co., 1882), 362; Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 121-122.

61 Jacob A. Swisher, *Iowa: Land of Many Mills* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1940), 41-42.

62 Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones, quoted in ibid.; Leah D. Rogers and Robert C. Vogel, "Allamakee County, Iowa, Historic Archeology Overview" (Report prepared for the Allamakee Historic Preservation Commission by Bear Creek Archeology, Inc., 1989), 48; Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 122.

During this period, the U.S. government committed to constructing a school and farm for the Winnebago, who were being moved out of Wisconsin. The site selected for the Yellow River Mission School was in Iowa on the north side of the Yellow River, approximately six miles upstream from the Mississippi River and ten miles from Fort Crawford. Wood for the school was provided by the "Davis sawmill," which was located three miles south of the school. After the school's establishment in 1834, attempts were made to teach Indians certain techniques of farming, reading, writing, and sewing.[63] The school was discontinued in 1840 and demolished about 1900.[64]

Following completion of the Yellow River Mission School, Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor, commander of Fort Campbell and later president of the United States, order the machinery removed from the sawmill. The mill burned about 1839 and the government subsequently sold the property to Thomas C. Linton. Ellison Orr, a local archaeologist, visited the site twice in 1929, observing log ends near the water's edge. In 1976, R. Clark Mallam investigated the sawmill site as part of his study of the Ferguson Tract. Mallam noted four upright oak pilings and two shoring timbers, but little else. Rogers and Vogel visited the site in 1989, but were unable to locate Orr's log ends and conceded that they may be underwater. While the site is fairly well known, no systematic archeological testing has been conducted to determine if physical remains exist. In 1840, Jesse Danley built a new sawmill on the Yellow River approximately one and a half miles upstream from the Davis sawmill site and one mile south of the school mission, but floods destroyed the mill dam, and this mill was abandoned.[65]

In 1840, the U.S. Army began work on Fort Atkinson, located forty miles west of the Mississippi River in modern Winneshiek County, Iowa. The new post was established in part to protect the Winnebago from their traditional enemies, the Sioux, as well as from American traders, who were prohibited by treaty from entering the area. To facilitate the construction of Fort Atkinson, soldiers built a military road that eventually extended approximately fifty miles, connecting Fort Atkinson with Fort Crawford. The road—which passed through the monument's South Unit—proved a vital communication link between the two forts. It was also one of the first government-authorized roads within what would become the State of Iowa. In the late 1830s the Wisconsin and Iowa Territorial Assemblies authorized military roads extending from Dubuque to the Missouri border, from Keokuk to Iowa City, and from the Des Moines River to Burlington. Military records associated with the road make no mention of any mounds.[66]

In 1849, following the removal of the Winnebago from the region the previous year, Fort Atkinson and Fort Crawford were decommissioned and abandoned. The troops garrisoned at Fort Crawford were reassigned to Fort Snelling and Fort Leavenworth,

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63 Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, 367.

64 "The Old Mission on Yellow River," Park History Files, Effigy Mounds National Monument, 4.

65 The Danley Mill was located outside the present National Monument boundaries. Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, 360-363; R. Clark Mallam, "A Cultural Resources Survey of the Ferguson Tract, Allamakee County, Iowa, for the Midwest Archeological Center" (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Archaeological Research Center, August 13, 1976), 21; Rogers and Vogel, "Allamakee County, Iowa, Historic Archeology Overview," 48-49.

66 Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 134; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 28, 192.

67 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 28, 192; Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 138.

68 *List of Classified Structures*, Effigy Mounds National Monument, March 13, 1996.

and the last U.S. soldiers left Fort Crawford on June 9, 1856. However, the military road continued to be used until the early 1860s by the steadily increasing numbers of American settlers moving into the region.[67] A section of the military road runs along the monument's Marching Bear Trail in the South Unit.[68] In 1996 the National Park Service submitted a Determination of Eligibility for the military road to the Iowa State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). On June 7, 1996 the SHPO concurred with the NPS, and determined that the road was individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.[69]

Changing Perceptions Regarding the Mounds

Throughout the nineteenth century, while many people continued to refuse to believe that American Indians had built the mounds, a growing number of scholars came to accept this notion. Albert Gallatin, founder of the American Ethnological Society of New York, and Wisconsin naturalist Increase A. Lapham both adopted this unpopular position. Lapham's *Antiquities of Wisconsin* (1836) is perhaps the earliest published account of effigy mounds. Joining Lapham and Gallatin was Dr. James H. McColloh, who argued in an 1829 paper that American Indian ancestors built the mounds.[70]

Caleb Atwater, an Ohio postmaster, published *Description of the Antiquities in the State of Ohio and other Western States* in 1820, advancing the idea that the mounds were built by a culture much more advanced than the American Indians. He believed the ancient mound builders had been pushed out of the Ohio Valley and forced to migrate to Mexico a thousand years earlier. In 1829, General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, named Atwater as a treaty commissioner dealing with the Winnebago. During his stay in the Prairie du Chien area, Atwater failed to note the presence of mounds along the Upper Mississippi.[71]

The myth of a vanished race dominated popular and scientific discussions of the origins of the mounds throughout the mid-nineteenth century. In his popular *Antiquities and Discoveries in the West*, published in 1833, Josiah Priest argued that the Ohio and Mississippi River mounds were built by the Lost Tribes of Israel, wandering Egyptians, Greeks, and other groups unassociated with the ancestors of American Indians. William Pidgeon's *Traditions of De-Coo-Dah* (1858), added to the mythology surrounding the mounds. According to Pidgeon, De-Coo-Dah told him of an ancient race of mound building people who were much more numerous than the present Indians. Though some of Pidgeon's descriptions of the mounds contain a hint of scientific evidence, most of his observations appear to have been invented.[72]

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69 Brenda W. Williams and Dena L. Sanford, "Old Military Road," Determination of Eligibility, February 12, 1996; Lowell J. Soike to Dena L. Sanford (7 June 1996), letter on file at State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

70 William Green, "History of Effigy Mounds Research: A Regional Overview," in *Effigy Mounds National Monument Cultural Affiliation Report, Volume 1,* Research Papers 26:3, prepared for the National Park Service, Midwest Support Office (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist and American Indian Native Studies Program, 2001), 68; Robert A. Birmingham and Leslie E. Eisenberg, *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 15; Increase A. Lapham, *The antiquities of Wisconsin: as surveyed and described*, Smithsonian Institution Publication 70, *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* vol. 7, art. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1855).

71 Caleb Atwater, *Description of antiquities discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States*, reprint ed. (Cambridge: AMS Press for Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1973); Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 40-41.

72 Josiah Priest, *American Antiquities, and Discoveries in the West: being an exhibition of the evidence that an ancient population of partially civilized nations, differing entirely from those of the present Indians, peopled America many centuries before its discovery by Columbus. And inquiries into their origin, with a copious description of many of their stupendous works, now in ruins. With conjectures concerning what may have become of them. Comp. from travels, authentic sources, and the researches of antiquarian societies* (Albany: Hoffman & White, 1834); William Pidgeon, *Traditions of De-Coo-Dah And antiquarian researches: comprising extensive explorations, surveys, and excavations of the wonderful and mysterious earthen remains of the mound-builders in America; the traditions of the last prophet of the Elk nation relative to their origin and use; and the evidences of an ancient population more numerous than the present aborigines* (New York: H. Thayer, 1858); Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 22.

Perhaps the first accurate descriptions and illustrations of effigy mounds were published by Richard C. Taylor in the April 1838 issue of the *American Journal of Science and Arts*.[73] Taylor, unlike many of his contemporaries, believed that ancestors of American Indians built the mounds. In his paper, he mapped out a group of six effigy mounds that he believed were made in the shape of buffalo. During this period, Professor John Locke and another Taylor—Stephen—continued mapping effigy mounds in the region.[74]

Between 1845 and 1848, E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis used the Taylor and Locke reports to map more than one hundred mounds, enclosures, and artifacts throughout the Midwest, including northeastern Iowa. The American Ethnological Society chose Squier, a newspaper editor, and Davis, a physician, to resolve the question regarding the origins of the mounds. The Smithsonian Institution published Squier and Davis' findings in 1848—the first volume in a series called *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. Their book, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, was the most comprehensive and reliable source of research on mounds published to that date. The report provided detailed maps of existing effigy and non-effigy mounds in the Upper Mississippi Valley and was the first to delineate the extent of the effigies, which "extended from Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin and Rock rivers, eastward toward Fond du Lac on Lake Winnebago, and Milwaukee on Lake Michigan." Squier and Davis make only a cursory reference to Iowa's effigy mounds, noting:

> In the region bordering the upper lakes, to a certain extent in Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri, but particularly in Wisconsin, we find a succession of remains, entirely singular in their form, and presenting but slight analogy to any other of which we have an account, in any portion of the globe. The larger proportion of these are structures of earth, and bearing the forms of beasts, birds, reptiles, and even of men; they are frequently of gigantic dimensions, constituting huge bassorelievos upon the face of the country.[75]

Between 1858 and 1860, the Bureau of American Ethnology examined prehistoric artifacts from Ohio to Missouri, but failed to describe effigy mounds. The Bureau's 1876-1877 report, however, described Wisconsin mounds, including some effigy-shaped "symbolic earthworks." The first known map of an Iowan effigy mound was included in an 1878 article in the *American Journal of Science* by W.J. McGee.[76]

Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis offered the first solid framework for understanding and documenting Iowa's mound culture. In 1880, Lewis, who had developed an interest in the mounds of his home state of Ohio, headed north to explore the mounds of the Upper Mississippi Valley. There he met Hill, an engineer from St. Paul. Concerned by the rapid destruction of mounds along the Mississippi River

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73 Richard Taylor, "Notes Respecting Certain Indian Mounds and Earthworks, in the Form of Animal Effigies, Chiefly in the Wisconsin Terr., United States," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 34:1 (July 1838): 88-104.

74 Taylor, "Notes Respecting;" Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 44.

75 Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Hamilton Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Series "Contributions to Knowledge," 1848); Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 42-44.

76 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 40-41.

near St. Paul, Hill joined the Minnesota Historical Society and organized the Committee on Archeology to map the mounds before they were destroyed. When the committee disbanded, he continued to map the mounds in Minnesota and adjacent areas. Appreciating the urgency of this endeavor, Hill recognized that to complete the mapping work he needed someone who could conduct field studies throughout the Midwest he found that person in Lewis.

In 1880, Hill and Lewis formed the Northwestern Archeological Survey for the purpose of surveying mounds in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Field studies began in 1880 and continued until Hill's death in 1895. Lewis spent eleven field seasons in Iowa, principally in the northeast, and was the first to map mounds in the present Effigy Mounds National Monument. He eventually published some 35 articles on various mound complexes, though only three refer to Iowa. Although never completed (Lewis did not compile all of his field data, and the bulk of his research remains unpublished), Hill and Lewis' work in Iowa was the first attempt to seriously survey and study the mounds. Lewis' work was compiled in 40 notebooks and contained plats of 31 Iowa effigy mound complexes, many of which were destroyed soon after being recorded. Lewis reported the Harper's Ferry Great Group, for example, which contained 895 mounds of all varieties. Ellison Orr visited the site in 1930 and found fewer than 20 mounds intact—860 had been completely obliterated. Thus Lewis' record of the Harpers Ferry Great Group in Allamakee County survives as the only documentation of this complex.[77]

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Aerial View of Southern Portion of the Sny Magill Mounds.

[77] Fred A. Finney, "An Introduction to the Northwestern Archaeological Survey by Theodore Lewis," *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 60 (2000): 13-29; Cherie E. Haury, "Theodore Hayes Lewis: The Northwestern Archaeological Survey in Iowa," *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society* 40 (1993): 82-87; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 41-42; Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 24-25; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 52-56. Lewis' original field notes are archived at the Minnesota Historical Society.

During his field seasons, Lewis recorded many mounds within the boundaries of the present monument. In May 1885, he surveyed 95 mounds on the Mississippi floodplain south of McGregor, including bird and bear effigies, as well as linear and conical mounds. These mounds, the Sny Magill group, are now included within the boundaries of the monument. Also in May of 1885, Lewis mapped the Marching Bear Group, consisting of ten bear mounds, three bird effigies, and two linear mounds. In addition, Lewis mapped the Fire Point Mound Group and the mounds on Nezekaw Terrace. Fire Point is located in the monument's North Unit, and the visitor center is located on Nezekaw Terrace. Lewis' map, dated May 7, 1892, shows 63 mounds, including three bears on the Terrace. Today only eight mounds survive from this group.[78]

Near the end of the nineteenth century, several researchers from the University of Iowa and the State Historical Society studied Iowa mounds, without legislative support. In 1881, the federal government began a study of the mounds with a $25,000 Congressional appropriation for a Division of Mound Exploration within the established Bureau of Ethnology—a branch of the Smithsonian Institution. The purpose of this Bureau was to "investigate the language, arts, institutions, and mythologies of extant tribes rather than prehistoric antiquities." Led by Cyrus Thomas, the Division implemented a series of surveys and excavations, dividing eastern North America into eight geographical districts.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Aerial View of Northern Portion of the Sny Magill Mounds.

78 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 54-55.

The Division aimed to resolve the question of the origin of the mounds and their builders, and Thomas' staff conducted surveys to accurately record data regarding the mound sites, excavations, and artifacts. In Iowa, Thomas' field crews centered their excavation work on sites along the Upper Iowa River. Across the Mississippi, in Wisconsin, Thomas' crews surveyed and mapped 35 conical and other mounds in the Courtois Group (just east of Grenmore Lake), some of which contained burials. Through the study of sites like these, it became clear that people buried in the mounds were the ancestors of American Indians who practiced some of the same burial rituals. In the 1880s, the Division examined earthworks in Allamakee and Clayton counties, and in reports issued in 1891 and 1894, effigy mounds were specifically mentioned:

> This small belt is directly opposite that portion of Wisconsin which seems to have been the chief home of the effigy mound builders, where, as well as in this small portion of Iowa, they have left enduring evidences of a dense population or long occupancy, as the bluffs, the terraces, and even higher bottoms of the river subject to occasional overflow are alike dotted over with effigies and the usual accompanying small circular mounds and lines of earthworks.[79]

In 1894, Thomas released his overall findings, "Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology" in the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*.[80] While Thomas had initially leaned toward vanished race theories, his report "methodically destroyed" the mound builder myth, demonstrating that the ancestors of American Indians were indeed the creators of the mounds. "Mound builders," the report stated, "consisted of a number of tribes of peoples bearing about the same traditions and relations to one another and occupying about the same culture and status as Indian tribes found on the continent at the time of European contact."[81] Thomas' research indicated that the period of mound building was not discrete, but spanned a long period of time and involved multiple prehistoric cultures. Thomas' study, however, perpetuated the other major roadblock to proper archeological investigations—the view that Iowa was simply an extension of Wisconsin's effigy center. The study failed to provide substantive data specifically on Iowa's effigies.[82]

This shortcoming, however, was partially remedied when Dr. Frederick Starr of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences published the first comprehensive report of archeological surveys and studies in the state. The "Summary of the Archaeology of Iowa" described the Marching Bear Group as 10 bear effigies, three bird effigies, and two embankments. Starr also included 92 mounds at Sny Magill, described in Lewis' surveys.[83]

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79 Cyrus Thomas, quoted in Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 58-59.

80 Cyrus Thomas, "Report on Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology," in *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1890-1891*, ed. John W. Powell (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894).

81 Cyrus Thomas, quoted in Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 22-23.

82 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 57-58.

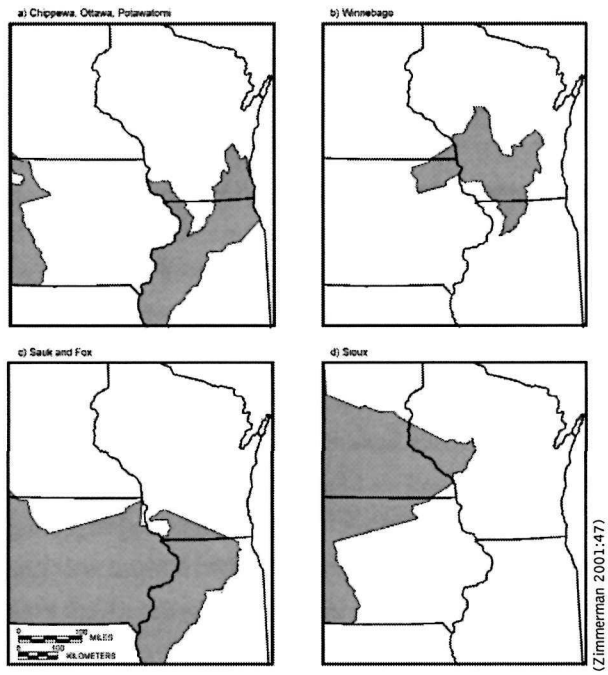
83 Frederick Starr, "Summary of the Archeology of Iowa," *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, 6 (1897): 53-124.

Indian Conflict and U.S. Treaties

> You ask me, Brother, where the Indians are gone who crossed the Mississippi a few years ago. You know and we know where they are gone. They are gone to the country where the white man can no more interfere with them. Wait, Brother, but a few years longer, and this little remnant will be gone too—gone to the Indian's home beyond the clouds, and then you can have our country without buying it.[84]

Effigy Mounds National Monument is located in territory that was hotly contested by individual Indian tribes and the American government. Initially, the federal government's presence in the region was closely tied to establishing white settlement. Later, resource extraction—particularly lumber—became a primary interest. In an attempt to secure control over the area and ease tensions between tribes in the Upper Mississippi River Valley, the government utilized new political approaches to dealing with American Indians, involving the establishment of reservations or outright removal.

At the time of initial European contact, the Winnebago and Ioway were the most prominent American Indian groups in the Upper Mississippi region. However, by the end of the 1700s, the Ioways were supplanted throughout the eastern portion of their territory



(Zimmerman 2001:47)

Lands Ceded by Indian Tribes

by other tribes, and eventually were forced beyond the Missouri River. The Sauk and Fox tribes (historically known as the Sac), originally two separate tribes of the Algonquin family, were united and forced to move to portions of Illinois and the eastern part of Iowa, south of the Upper Iowa River, where they were continually at war with the Sioux.[85] Here they supplanted the Ioway and Illini, soon occupying the entire eastern portion of the state up to the Upper Iowa River. Of the various tribes that occupied the Allamakee County region, the Santee Sioux, or Dakotas, became the dominant tribe. Various branches of this powerful tribe existed over a broad territory. By 1817, the Sioux, Sauk and Fox, and Winnebago tribes occupied the upper portion of Iowa.[86]

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84 Chief Waukon, 1844, quoted in Hancock, *Past and Present of Allamakee County, Iowa*.

85 Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, 355-356; Larry J. Zimmerman, "Tribal Culture Histories," in *Effigy Mounds National Monument Cultural Affiliation Report. Volume 1*, Research Papers 26:3, prepared for the National Park Service, Midwest Support Office (Iowa City: University of Iowa Office of the State Archaeologist and American Indian Native Studies Program, 2001), 49.

86 Hancock, *Allamakee County*, 27-28. Enthnohistorical data on the various tribes occupying the region may be found in studies submitted as expert testimony to the Indians Claims Commission. These have been compiled and published by Garland Publishing Company under the editorial supervision of David Agee Horr. Relevant volumes include: David Agee Horr, *Sac, Fox, and Iowa Indians*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974); David Agee Horr, *Winnebago Indians* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974); David Agee Horr, *Sioux Indians*, 4 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974); and David Agee Horr, *Indians of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Southern Michigan, and Southern Wisconsin*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974).

The conglomeration of tribes, along with the increasing presence of Euroamericans, produced a long-standing period of conflict within the region. By 1825, friction had become so intense that the U.S. government convened a "Great Council" in an attempt to resolve the tensions, especially those between the Sioux and the united Sauk and Fox. The 1825 treaty negotiated at Prairie du Chien resulted in creation of a boundary line that separated the Sioux, to the north, from the Sauk and Fox, to the south, along the Upper Iowa River to the Mississippi River and west to the Des Moines River. Hostilities continued unabated, culminating in the Winnebago uprising of 1827, led by the Prophet White Cloud and War Chief Red Bird, which resulted in the deaths of three Euroamericans near Prairie du Chien. Because of such hostilities, the United States government called for a second council at Fort Crawford in 1830.[87]

The second council created a neutral ground in northern Iowa from the Mississippi River to the upper valley of the Des Moines River between the Sioux and the Sauk and Fox tribes that extended for twenty miles on each side of the 1825 boundary line. The Sioux, Sauk, and Fox were all permitted to hunt freely within this forty-mile wide strip, which included portions of what is now Allamakee County, known as the Neutral Ground. However, the Neutral Ground proved to be no more effective at securing peace in the region than earlier efforts.[88]

Starting in 1829, the Winnebago were forced to cede much of their territory, beginning with the lead-mining region south of the Wisconsin River. In 1832, the Winnebago lands east of Rock River were ceded, and, in 1837, all the land north of the Wisconsin River was sold to the United States.[89]

In 1832, Sauk and Fox Indians under the leadership of Black Hawk left the Iowa territory and returned to their homes across the Mississippi River in northern Illinois. These Indians had lost their Illinois lands in a disputed treaty signed in St. Louis in 1805. Their return to northern Illinois sparked widespread panic among white settlers, and Illinois Governor Reynolds quickly called up the militia, which included a young Abraham Lincoln.[90]

Both the militia and regular army troops proved unable to locate the elusive Indians at first, but by July they had begun to pursue Black Hawk's band across northern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin, engaging them in a major conflict at Wisconsin Heights before finally routing the Indians at Bad Axe on the Mississippi River.

Black Hawk surrendered at Fort Crawford a month later. In the same year, the U.S. government forced the Sauk and Fox to cede land south of the Neutral Ground along the Mississippi River, which included the lands of the present Effigy Mounds National Monument.[91]

At the close of the Black Hawk War, a treaty forced the Winnebago to surrender their lands in Wisconsin and move into the eastern portion of the Neutral Ground. The government hoped their relocation would act as a buffer zone between the feuding Sioux and Sauk and Fox. Each tribe was to remain twenty miles to the north or south of the line drawn along the

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[87] John K. Mahon, "Indian-United States Military Situation, 1775-1848", In *History of Indian-White Relations, Handbook of North American Indians,* Vol. 4, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 158.

[88] Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, 356; Hancock, *Allamakee County,* 30; Zimmerman, "Tribal Culture Histories," 55.

[89] Zimmerman, "Tribal Culture Histories," 54.

[90] Lincoln was elected captain of the New Salem militia company, but saw no action during the conflict.

[91] Mahon, "Indian-United States Military Situation, 1775-1848", 159; Ellen M. Whitney, ed., *The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832*, 3 vols. (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1970); Roger L. Nichols, *Black Hawk and the Warrior's Path* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1992).

river. Meanwhile, the government purchased the fifty-mile wide area extending from the Missouri state border to the Neutral Ground, forcing the Sauk and Fox tribes to move further westward. This "Black Hawk Purchase" became the core of the state of Iowa.[92]

Hoping to ease tribal hostilities, the government established the 800,000-acre Long Prairie Winnebago reserve along the Crow Wing River in Minnesota. This proved unsuccessful, as poor soil and a short growing season hampered the Winnebago's efforts to farm. Ultimately another treaty forced the Winnebago Indians to cede most of their lands east of the Mississippi River and relinquish their right to occupy, except for hunting, the eastern twenty miles of the Neutral Ground.[93] Within eight months, the Winnebago were removed farther west. In 1842 the Sauk and Fox ceded the remainder of their lands in Iowa and moved to Kansas.[94] In 1847 the Winnebago ceded all rights to the Neutral Ground. In this treaty, the United States agreed to give the Winnebago $190,000, of which $85,000 was retained in trust. In June 1848, the Winnebago were removed to the upper Mississippi, north of the Minnesota River.[95]

Euroamerican Settlement in Northeast Iowa

Except for the land granted to Giard and Fort Crawford, the area that became Iowa belonged entirely to various Indian tribes until 1832, and was not surveyed until 1848. As early as 1836, however, the future states of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were separated from Michigan and organized as the Wisconsin Territory. In 1838 all of Iowa and parts of Minnesota and the Dakotas, an area roughly twice the size of the present state of Iowa, were organized into the Territory of Iowa.[96]

Just as it shaped the lives and cultures of Indian residents, the natural environment profoundly influenced Euroamerican settlement patterns in the region. Early settlers bypassed the rugged topography and poor soils of northeastern Iowa for more immediately suitable prairie lands further to the west. Before 1850, farming in the area was virtually nonexistent. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, farms, fields, and homesteads dotted the landscape. In terms of the size and location of their farms and the types of crops they produced, settlers in northeastern Iowa followed patterns typical of the rest of the state. Nineteenth century farms were generally forty to one hundred acres in size. Early settlers tended to select sites on the edge of forests, which offered some protection from the natural elements, as well as providing wood for building materials and fuel.[97] Most of the first wave of settlers came from the eastern United States, although foreign-born settlement—in particular Germans and Norwegians—dramatically increased following the Civil War.

In December 1846, Iowa was admitted as the 29th state of the United States, and in 1849 the state legislature established the county of Allamakee. By the end of 1849, however, there were only three dwelling houses in the valley of the Yellow River: the Old Mission, then known as the Linton House; John S. Clark's house in Section 14, in Franklin Township; and Reuben Smith's house in Section 11, in Post Township. Nevertheless, northeastern Iowa's many rivers, diverse prairies and woods, and abundant wildlife slowly attracted settlers, and by the mid-1850s, when Nathan H. Parker passed through Allamakee County, he described the landscape as "...checkered with prairies and groves; and on every

92 Zimmerman, "Tribal Culture Histories," 54; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 191; Alexander, *History of Allamakee County,* 362.

93 Zimmerman, "Tribal Culture Histories," 55.

94 Hancock, *Allamakee County,* 33; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 37.

95 Alexander, *History of Allamakee County,* 356; Hancock, *Allamakee County,* 34. Note that the Minnesota River was historically referred to as the St. Peter's River.

96 Alexander, *History of Allamakee County,* 362-368; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 30.

97 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 32-36.

side the smoke from the humble dwelling of the settler, marking the spots where the wanderers from almost every state, and every country in Europe, are making new homes...."[98]

Local interest in the mounds surfaced around this time, but continued to rest heavily on the vanished race theory. Reverend Alfred Brunson from Wisconsin surveyed and excavated Wisconsin and Iowa effigy mounds on the bluffs along the Mississippi River in the early 1850s. During this same period, the American Antiquarian Society hired Increase A. Lapham to survey mounds in Wisconsin and report on mounds that were being destroyed.[99]

Farmers in the region concentrated their tilling along the tops of bluffs and river terraces, plowing under many of the low relief mound groups. The main crops included corn and potatoes, with wheat produced as a cash crop. By 1851, a gristmill operated along the Yellow River.[100]

Within a few years of initial settlement, a variety of water-powered mills were constructed to meet the needs local residents. The Yellow River offered considerable waterpower to millwrights, with portions of the river west of the monument boundaries falling as much as 27 feet per mile. Indeed, by 1859 seven mills were operating in Franklin Township, in Allamakee County, west of the monument. The Davis sawmill, described above, appears to have been the only mill located within the present boundaries of the National Monument. By 1878, Allamakee County boasted approximately twenty-five to thirty mills. However, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century local wheat farmers found themselves unable to compete with farmers in other regions of the country and local millers likewise could not compete with cheaper flour produced by efficient centralized mills and brought to the region by railroad. The number of grist mills declined sharply, as did the number of sawmills, which shut down as the region was logged over. By the end of the century only two mills still operated along the Yellow River.[101]

Transportation

Steamboats were a vital component of the emerging economy of northeastern Iowa. Communities prospered because of this new, efficient method of transportation. West bank stops for steamboats were established in the area as early as 1837, at the village of Johnsons Port. York's Landing, located one mile north of the confluence of the Yellow River and the Mississippi, served as a steamboat landing for a number of years and by the 1890s had become an important fishing and clamming center. Mussels from the Mississippi were collected for the pearl button industry, which thrived along the river during this period. Observers reported that the clammers from York's Landing threw all shells back, with the exception of the highly sought after ebony shell. According to Dennis Lenzendorf, clam boats were supposedly so numerous during this period that a person could cross the river by stepping from one boat to another. Another important steamboat site in the region was Red House Landing, located about three miles north of Marquette, Iowa and about one-half mile north of the confluence of the Yellow and Mississippi rivers.[102] This small settlement was a clamming town before the turn of the century. In 1853, a ferry license was issued to W.C. Thompson at Red House Landing. To supply firewood for the steamboats at York's Landing

98 Parker quoted in Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 199; Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, 360-363; Mallam, "Survey of the Ferguson Tract," 21. None of the three 1849 houses were located within the boundaries of the Monument.

99 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 47-48.

100 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 48-49; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 36-37.

101 Swisher, *Land of Mills*, 88-89; Burke, *Upper Mississippi Valley*, 124; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 38.

102 Colin Betts, "Red House Landing: An Historical Overview," report on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, n.d., 4.

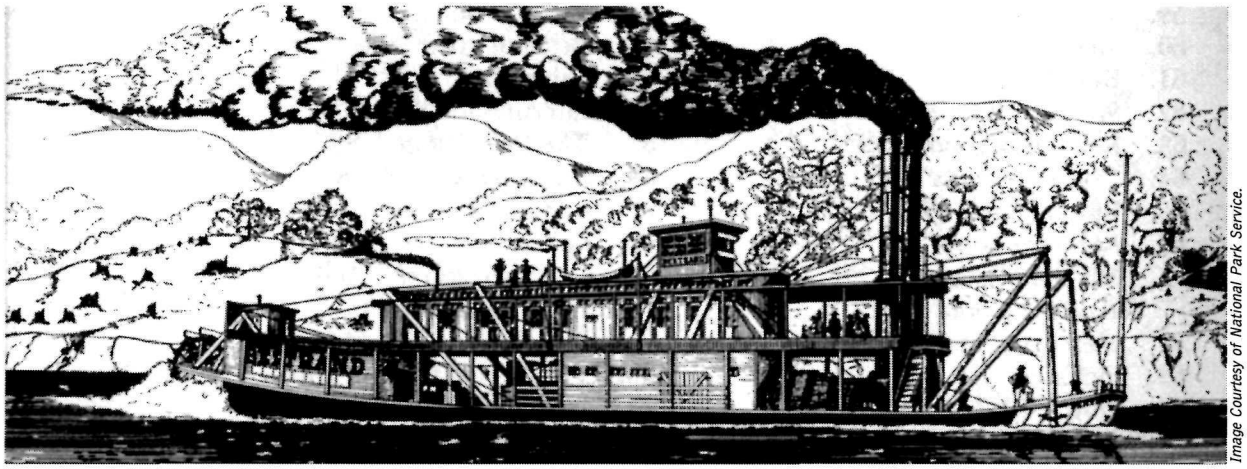

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Jerome E. Petsche "The Steamboat Betrand: History, Excavation, and Architecture." Publications in Archeology 11, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington 1974.

and Red House Landing, settlers cut down trees on the ridgetops overlooking the river.[103] The wood was sent down chutes to the riverbank below.[104]

The emergence of a regional rail system reduced settlers' reliance on the river and signaled the end of the steamboat era. The Milwaukee Road Railroad arrived in Prairie du Chien on April 15, 1857. Shortly thereafter, the Prairie du Chien & Mankato Railroad Company was organized to extend rail service on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, with depots at Johnsons Port and Allamakee between the mouths of the Yellow River and Paint Creek. In 1872, the Chicago, Dubuque & Minnesota Railway opened the section of main line track between McGregor and Harpers Ferry that eventually connected to St. Paul, Minnesota. Construction and improvement of the main line, which lies along the river at the eastern edge of Effigy Mounds National Monument, required fill excavated from borrow pits along the right-of-way. These pits destroyed mounds located on the Nazekaw Terrace, where a large Woodland village site once existed.[105]

In December 1856, in anticipation of a rumored railroad, speculators platted the town of Nazekaw (also spelled Nezekaw) at the south side of the mouth of the Yellow River. On the north side of the Yellow River, the town of Lockwood was platted in 1857. The railroad failed to materialize, and historical records are mixed as to whether the town of Nezekaw ever existed. Multiple sources claim that between 1858-1862, a post office, stockyard, and a steam gristmill were built at the site. Others, however, argue that this "mythical" town existed only on paper.[106]

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103 In 1996, Brenda Williams completed a Determination of Eligibility for York's Landing, a steamboat landing located in the North Unit of the monument. In her investigations, Williams identified the ruins of two structures at York's Landing: a stone foundation and a stone cellar built into the hill. According to the Determination of Eligibility, the foundation for York's house was gone by 1925 or 1926, and the area was used for a stone quarry. Williams determined the site to be ineligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Later that year, the State Historical Society of Iowa concurred with this finding. See Brenda W. Williams, "York's Landing," Determination of Eligibility, February 12, 1996; *List of Classified Structures*, Effigy Mounds National Monument, August 28, 1996).

104 Betts, *Red House Landing*, 23; National Park Service, *General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment: Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1990), 9; Hancock, *Allamakee County*, 237; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 111; Curtis Peebles, "Red House Landing," Park History Files, Effigy Mounds National Monument, 1993.

105 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 50-51; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 108; David W. Benn and Dean M. Thompson, "Preliminary Investigation of the FTD Site" (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Archeological Research Lab, January 16, 1976), 1, on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument.

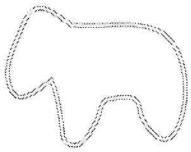
106 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 51; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 36; Allamakee County, "The Yellow River Valley," Allamakee County Iowa Economic Development, accessed at http://www.allamakeecounty.com/Miss_Allamakee.asp, on October 14, 2002; W.E. Alexander, *History of Allamakee County*, accessed at http://www.rootsweb.com/~iaallama/History/chapter6.htm, on October 14, 2002.

Aerial View of Southern Portion of Marching Bear Mound Group

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

C H A P T E R S E V E N

Ellison Orr & Modern Archeological Studies at Effigy Mounds National Monument



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Ellison Orr & Modern Archeological Studies at Effigy Mounds National Monument

One of the most important figures in the documentation of Iowa's effigy mounds was Ellison Orr. Born in 1857 near McGregor, Iowa, Orr worked as a schoolteacher, surveyor, and telephone systems manager while pursuing research in archeology, geology, botany, and ornithology. After retiring at the age of 73, Orr began a new career as an archeologist and spent the next 20 years conducting site surveys and excavations, and reporting his findings. In 1902, he completed his first surveys of mounds within the present boundaries of the monument. With help from his brother Harry, he mapped the Hanging Rock mounds at the north end of the present monument. Harry Orr measured and mapped the 19 conical mounds that Ellison named the Yellow River Mound Group Number 2, and the brothers surveyed and mapped the Waukon Junction Mound Group on the Paint Rock bluff top. In 1910, Ellison Orr mapped the Fish Farm Mound Group between Lansing and New Albin and began his first survey of the Pleasant Ridge Mound Group (Marching Bear Group) in what is now the monument's South Unit.[107]

During the 1920s, local archeology received a boost with the establishment of the Iowa Archeological Survey. In 1922, concerned over the increasing number of Iowa's mounds being destroyed, Dr. Charles Reuben Keyes, Professor of German literature at Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa, met with Benjamin Shambaugh, Director of the Iowa State Historical Society. Keyes proposed a survey of mounds and archeological sites in Iowa. As a result of this meeting, the Archeological Survey of the State of Iowa was formed, with Keyes serving as Iowa's first State Archaeologist. Due to a lack of funding, Keyes was unable to launch a concerted statewide survey until the 1930s, when he obtained funding through the Federal Emergency Relief Act and hired Ellison Orr as chief field supervisor.[108]

Beginning in 1934, Orr assisted Keyes as supervisor for the Iowa Archeological Survey. Orr conducted most of the survey work, while Keyes coordinated information submitted by the general public. Between 1934 and 1936, the two conducted extensive surveys and excavations along the Mississippi River in Allamakee and Clayton counties, funded by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Orr re-surveyed many of the mound sites discovered by Lewis and excavated numerous uninvestigated mounds, including one effigy. In 1935, Orr mapped the Pleasant Ridge Mound Group. That same year he compiled his findings into a list of all the mound forms he knew of in the two counties. His summary, which combined many of Lewis' findings, was the first attempt to treat Iowa mounds as a distinct entity, listing 21 complexes. Even after the Iowa Archeological Survey dissolved at the beginning of World War II, Orr remained active in archeology and the preservation of the existing mounds.[109]

Ellison Orr was 92 years old when Effigy Mounds National Monument was dedicated. The monument owes much to his scientific emphasis, accurate maps, and careful cataloguing of hundreds of sites and artifacts. Orr died in 1951, leaving most of his personal collection of manuscripts, artifacts, and samples to the monument. His large collection of manuscripts, including his correspondences with Dr. Charles Keyes, composes roughly 75 percent of the monument's archived literature.[110]

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107 William Green, "Ellison Orr, Effigy Mounds, and The Archaeology of Northeast Iowa," Paper presented at Effigy Mounds National Monument, 50th anniversary celebration, August 14, 1999, on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, 5; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 63-66.

108 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 46; Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 25; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 70; William Green, "Charles Reuben Keyes and the History of Iowa Archaeology," *Journal of the Iowa Academy of Science* 99:4 (1992): 80-85.

109 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 46; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 70, 74-75; Duane C. Anderson, "The Development of Archeology in Iowa: An Overview," *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1, Part 1 (1975), 71-86.

110 Green, "Ellison Orr, Effigy Mounds, and The Archaeology of Northeast Iowa," 6.

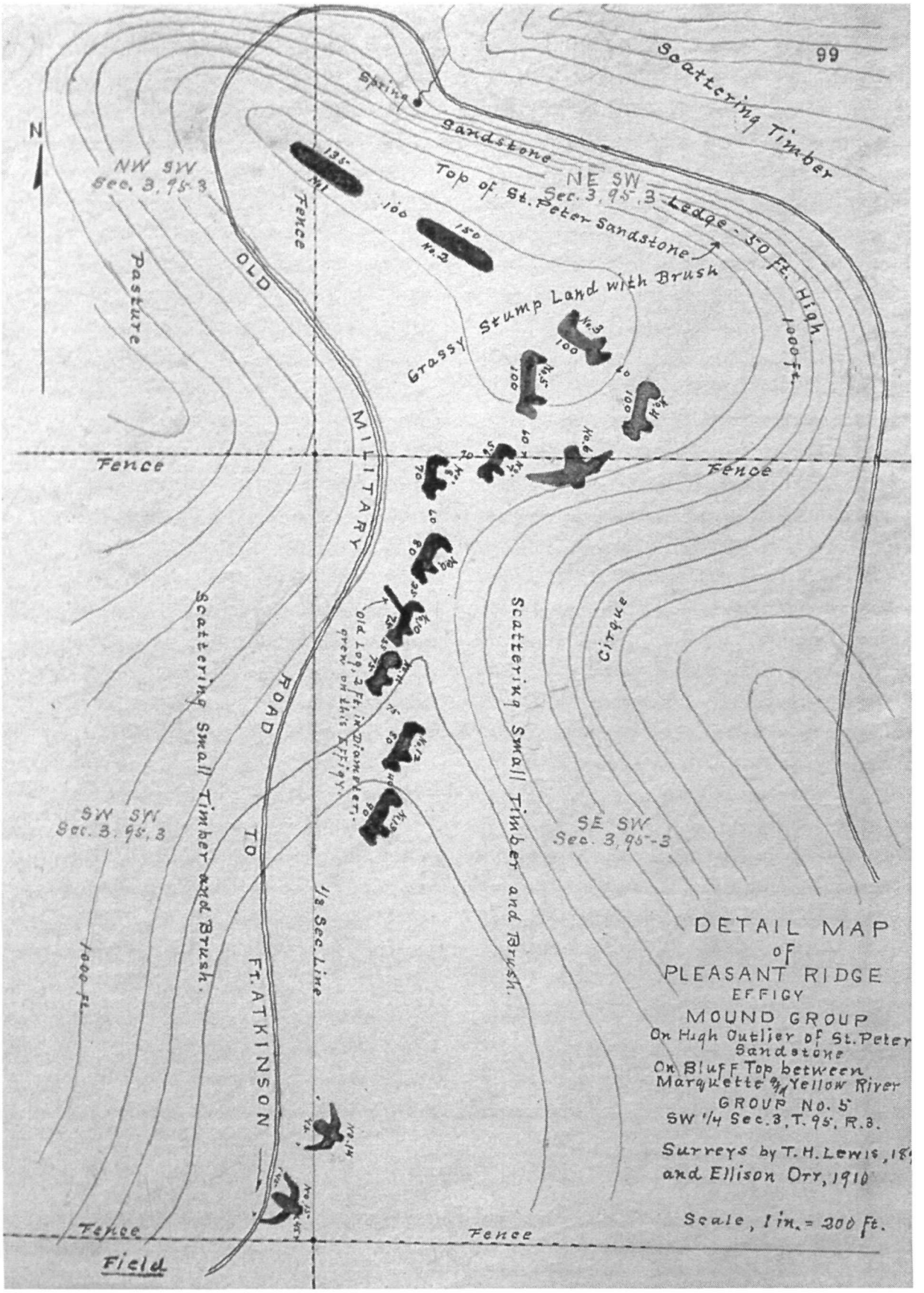

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Ellison Orr Map of Pleasant Ridge (Marching Bear) Mound Group

In 1947, prior to establishment of Effigy Mounds National Monument, Jesse Jennings, Regional Archeologist for NPS Region II, summarized the extent of effigy mound knowledge for the NPS. Jennings confirmed the boundaries of the Effigy Mound Culture defined earlier by Thomas, Keyes, and others. He stressed the connection between the mounds and burial practices and speculated on the similarities between Hopewell and Effigy Mound cultures.[111]

Jennings synthesized previous effigy mound studies and proposed a specific Effigy Mound research program, including documentary research in unpublished materials, such as the Hill-Lewis studies; laboratory research of excavated materials from mounds curated in regional collections; and rigidly controlled excavation of each specific mound style (conical, linear, and effigy). Jennings' proposal was never implemented, however, and effigy mound studies in Iowa have been largely confined to those conducted within the monument.[112]

In the early 1950s, NPS archeologist Paul Beaubien conducted excavations in the North Unit and at the Sny Magill complex. In the Great Bear Mound, he recovered a rock altar and large amounts of charcoal—approximately 1,000 years old—and rock. Beaubien also investigated two mounds along the ridge leading to Fire Point and found no artifacts or burial evidence. In 1952, in his summary report, he explained that northeast Iowa was a peripheral area for both Hopewell and later Effigy Mound cultures and disclosed the existence of Effigy Mound and Hopewell artifacts within the same complex. Beaubien interpreted this as representing a fusion of cultures. "Northeastern Iowa," he wrote, "is clearly marginal to the primary growth of both cultures and it is not evident that a 'pure' complex of either has been strongly developed in this region."[113] Beaubien's excavations were the most extensive since the monument's establishment. Further contributing to the archeological record of northeast Iowa, Beaubien was able to secure Ellison Orr's manuscripts, which are now housed in the monument's archives.[114]

In 1958, Wilfred Logan, Beaubien's successor and the first archeologist stationed at Effigy Mounds National Monument, undertook an intensive analysis of northeastern Woodland cultures. From 1951 to 1956, he completed several excavations outside the monument. One major project was his excavation of Mound 33, the last conical mound in the chain of mounds leading to Fire Point—a site Orr had excavated in 1931 after a vandal dug there. Orr found evidence of a single extended burial and a bundle of bone awls, and also recorded evidence of a layer of charred clay deposited on the mound. Logan conducted additional excavations, and determined that the mound contained at least six and possibly eight burials. These burials represented a variety of practices, including extended burials, bundle burials, and cremations, and contained both adults and children.[115]

Recovered artifacts found with the burials dated from the Middle Woodland and included a copper breastplate, copper beads, clamshells, a mica sheet, and a pearl bead, as well as a vandal's shovel. Most important, perhaps, was the charred red-colored clay. Logan noted that Orr had excavated a mound near Waukon Junction in 1932 that contained similar charred clay. Orr believed that both the human remains and the charred clay had been carried to the top of the bluff and deposited on the mound. After

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111 Jesse D. Jennings, "A Summary of the Culture of the Effigy Mound Builders," M.S. on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument (1947).

112 Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 26; Jennings, *Summary of the Culture of Effigy Mound Builders*, 19-21.

113 Paul Beaubien, quoted in Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 26.

114 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 82-84.

115 Logan, *Woodland Complexes in Northeastern Iowa*, 37-39; Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 27.

finding little evidence of charcoal in Mound 33, Logan surmised that the cremations were not carried out at the mound site. Logan's research expanded on Orr's work by providing technical ceramic classifications that linked pottery found in northeast Iowa with types found east of the Mississippi River. By conducting a detailed examination and classification of pottery and other artifacts, he developed a comparative analysis of cultures. Logan's studies were important in preparing a foundation for more integrated cultural studies in the area, including the monument. In 1956, Logan transferred to Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia. In his guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument, Lenzendorf discusses Logan's contribution to the monument. "His legacy at Effigy Mounds National Monument was the development of an interpretive program for this archeological site and appreciation of the chronology and rich heritage of the prehistoric cultures that occupied the site for almost 2,000 years."[116]

Logan also excavated several rockshelter sites both inside and outside the monument in the 1950s, including the Highway 76 Rockshelter (called Highway 13 Rockshelter at the time), where he recovered human bone, faunal remains, projectile points, fire-cracked rock, shell, and cord-impressed pottery sherds, including one restored pot.[117] National Park Service archaeologist Robert Petersen revisited this and several other rockshelter sites within the monument and conducted limited excavations, noting similar artifacts as recovered by Logan.[118]

Additional research efforts during this period included a joint project between the State Archaeologist of Iowa and the NPS to study the mounds in the South Unit. Through this project, organized in 1960, James P. Anderson of Iowa State University received a contract to map, survey, and report on the condition of the mounds as part of a program to rehabilitate them and eventually open the area to the public. Anderson's survey of the Marching Bear mounds found them in good condition.[119]

Meanwhile, a growing debate over mound excavations and their effects on the integrity of mounds and burials developed at Effigy Mounds National Monument and within the NPS. National Park Service personnel expressed concern about the long-term preservation of the mounds. Some mounds damaged in the past by the collection of artifacts and removal of burials required rehabilitation. In 1957, Regional Chief of Interpretation H. Raymond Gregg wrote to Superintendent Walter Barrett, questioning the practice of mound excavations within the monument. Gregg advised Regional Director Howard Baker that the excavations should be stopped, explaining that sufficient artifacts were already available for display. In 1959, Baker established a policy against further destructive investigations of the mounds in the future only non-destructive testing would be allowed.[120]

In the 1960s, an important archeological site was discovered adjacent to the monument and investigations of this site continued through the 1980s. Located between the monument's headquarters and the Mississippi River, on land owned by the state of Iowa, the FTD site is a village site dating from the contact period back perhaps to the late Archaic. It is one of only two known effigy mound villages in the

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116 Logan, *Woodland Complexes in Northeastern Iowa*, 146-148; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 84-87; Mallam, *Iowa Effigy Mound Manifestation*, 27.

117 Logan, *Woodland Complexes in Northeastern Iowa,* 70-71.

118 Robert W. Petersen, "Summary of the Mounds in Effigy Mounds National Monument," Manuscript on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, 1983.

119 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 88-89.

120 Ibid., 88.

United States. Effigy Mounds archeologist Garland Gordon discovered and tested the FTD site in 1963. The site extends for more than 1,500 feet along the river. Borrow pits used in the construction of the elevated Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad significantly impinged upon the site. These borrow pits are now ponds.[121]

In 1975, archeologists David Benn and Dean Thompson of Luther College investigated the FTD site, which was exposed due to unusually low river levels. Benn and Thompson submitted a copy of their preliminary report to the State Historic Preservation Office and the St. Paul District of the Corps of Engineers. In 1980, low water levels exposed additional parts of the site enabling surface collections to occur. The following year, the Corps of Engineers constructed a rock dike offshore to slow erosion of the site.[122]

During this period, increasing attention was placed on mound preservation, building on the mound rehabilitation efforts that began in the 1960s. Mound preservation became a top priority within the monument, and National Park Service personnel investigated various ground covers in an attempt to control erosion, especially for mounds with depressions. Gordon, who discovered the FTD site, supervised mound rehabilitation in the South Unit in 1961, and in the North Unit in 1965. In both units, particularly the South, oak wilt had killed many of the red oaks around the mounds. Workers cut down trees and removed stumps, using a mechanical stump remover to minimize impact to the mounds. They then filled and reshaped the areas. Grass seed was spread on the mounds to prevent erosion and facilitate mowing.[123]

Mound restoration efforts continued in the 1970s. In 1971, Paul Schumacher, chief of archeological investigations for the Western Service Center in Denver, met with Wilfred Husted of the Midwest Archeological Center and Thomas Munson, superintendent of the monument, to discuss these efforts. The meeting resulted in two important decisions. First, it was decided that only leaves and debris would be removed from the vandal pits that existed on some mounds. These pits would be then lined with plastic and, if possible, backfilled with the dirt removed from the mound. This approach would allow researchers to examine the dirt for artifacts and remains before it was replaced. Second, it was determined that small trees and brush should be removed from the mounds since their roots endangered both the structural integrity of the mounds and threatened any burials within the mounds. Over the next decade workers removed many trees.[124]

In 1978, James Mount, a park ranger and archeologist at Effigy Mounds National Monument, summarized the status of mounds research up to that date. Of the 191 known mounds, archeologists had investigated 55, of which they had cleaned and rehabilitated 20. A total of 17 mounds had been formally excavated. Unfortunately, more than half the mounds had suffered various degrees of damage from pothunters and agricultural activities. Mount found that as many as 60 mounds had possibly been destroyed on the Nazekaw Terrace, and at least three more had been obliterated in a North Unit field.[125]

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121 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 107-108, 200.

122 Benn and Thompson, "Preliminary Investigation of the FTD Site (13AM210);" O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 107-108, 202.

123 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 89-91.

124 Wilfred Husted, "Mound Rehabilitation Activities at Effigy Mounds National Monument," unpublished manuscript on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, 1971; Garland Gordon, "The Rehabilitation and Preservation of Indian Burial Mounds by the National Park Service," *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science* 73 (1968): 118-125.

125 James E. Mount, "Mounds and Research: A General Guide for Effigy Mounds National Monument," Manuscript on file at Effigy Mounds National Monument, 1978.

In addition to restoration work, the 1970s also marked the start of Luther College's project to photograph mounds in the area. In 1974, Associate Professor of Anthropology, R. Clark Mallam, and staff from the Luther College Archaeological Research Center initiated an aerial survey of regional effigy mounds in an effort to visually document remaining mounds in plats and photographs. The aerial survey was seen as an important objective of a broader series of mound research begun by Luther College five years earlier. Early photographic efforts, with photographs taken from ground level, had proved disappointing. Because of their low relief, the mounds could not consistently be distinguished from the surrounding landscape or conveyed with full integrity. Mallam came up with the idea of using agricultural lime to outline the mounds for aerial photography. The inexpensive white lime outlined the mounds so that they stood in stark contrast to the surrounding vegetation.[126]

The Luther College Archaeological Research Center tested their system on a dozen mounds at Capoli Bluff near Lansing, Iowa, in 1974. The survey crew carted a total of 1,250 pounds of lime to the sites, depositing the material along the mound edges in six-inch-wide bands, which proved not wide enough to adequately outline the mounds for photography.[127]

In November 1974, the Archaeological Research Center conducted a second aerial experiment. They targeted the Marching Bear Group, consisting of fifteen various effigy mounds, in the South Unit of the monument. The crew outlined the mounds with 16-inch wide bands of limestone, using over 5,000 pounds of lime, in a process that required nearly four hours. Two photographers captured the Marching Bear effigies on film from altitudes that varied from 300 to 2,000 feet. The results of the experiment, in terms of both procedural efficiency and photographic results, exceeded expectations.[128]

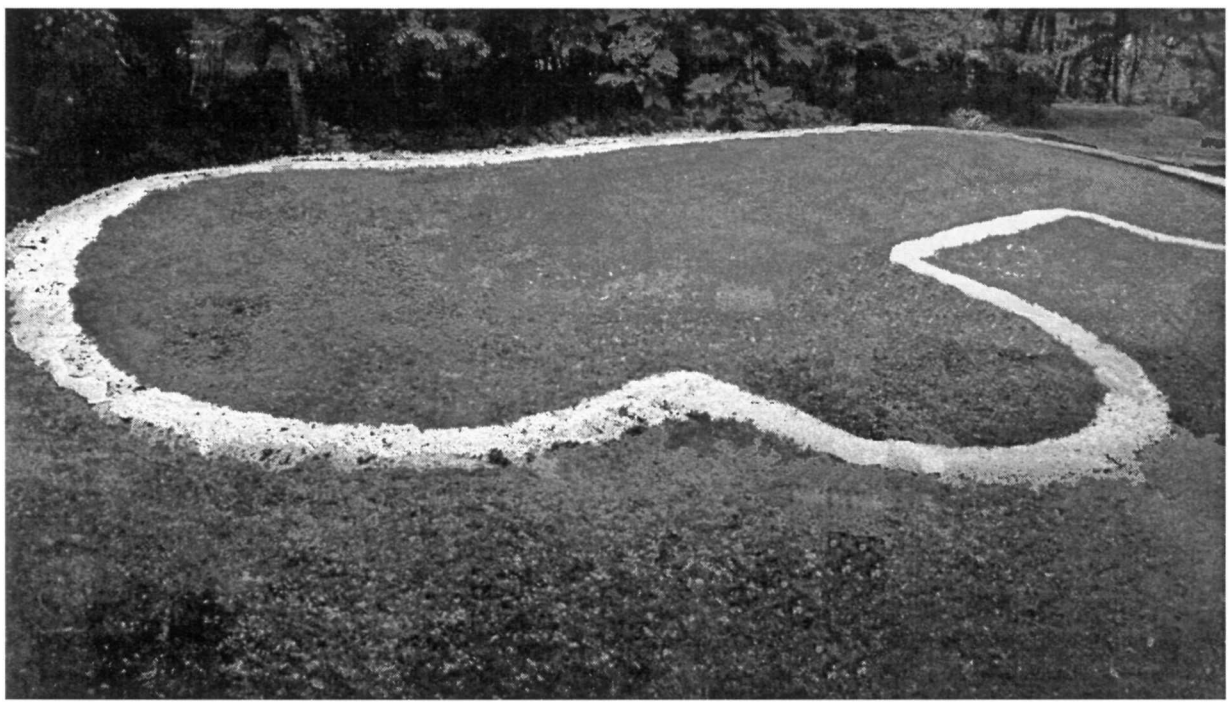

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Outlined Little Bear Effigy Mound.

126 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 91; Mallam and Mount, "When on High," 112-114.

127 Mallam and Mount, "When on High," 112-114.

128 Ibid., 115-114.

In November 1978, the Archaeological Research Center conducted another aerial photographic survey at the monument, this time capturing the 91 mounds located within the North and South Units. Due to the size of the project, the survey was carried out in two distinct phases—one day for preparing the mounds with lime and another for the aerial photography. The results of the survey were as successful as the 1974 experiment.[129] In 1980, students led by Mallam worked with monument staff to produce the first aerial photographs of the Sny Magill mounds. Mallam's photos revealed 97 mounds, more than had been reported by earlier researchers.[130]

Recently, monument staff have experimented with new techniques for photographing the low-relief mounds without using lime. One technique involves allowing the vegetation on the mounds to grow throughout the summer, and then mowing the vegetation very short in autumn. The mounds stand out in vibrant green against the leaf-covered forest floor. Leaves are mulched and scattered around the mounds to accentuate the color contrast. A new series of aerial photos of the mounds using this technique is currently in process.[131]

Non-destructive studies at the monument continued with Bruce Bevan's 1982 ground penetrating radar survey of the Little Bear effigy (Mound 52). In addition to noting varying levels of soil complexity within the mound, Bevan observed an interesting planar feature measuring 4 by 8 feet within the head of the Little Bear. Bevan did not attempt to interpret the purpose or meaning of the oval-shaped feature.[132]

In 1987 and 1988 the National Park Service's Midwest Archaeological Center conducted fieldwork at the Sny Magill Unit. Janice Dial led the project and focused on gathering baseline data on the condition of the mounds, with the goal of long-term preservation of the site. Early site maps were compared to recent photogrammetric and transit maps to resolve inconsistencies in the geographical arrangement of the mounds. In addition, several mound-like features were recorded between known mounds. One of these features is believed to represent a burial mound and was designated Mound 97.[133]

Luther College conducted an archeological field school at the Sny Magill Unit in 1988. One of the goals of the field school was to examine the area around Mound 43, where Paul Beaubien encountered extensive red hematite layers during his 1952 excavations.[134] Dale Henning directed the students' exploratory excavations and established a testing grid east and west of Mound 43, which yielded only a few stone flakes and clam shell fragments. In addition, the students excavated a single test unit in each of four nearby Late Woodland rockshelter sites (sites 13AM263, 13AM267, 13CT230, and 13CT226). Artifacts recovered from the rockshelters were limited to stone flakes, split bone fragments, and a few pottery sherds.[135]

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129 Ibid., 115-114.

130 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 202; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 92.

131 Rodney Rovang, personal communication, 2003.

132 Bruce Bevan, "Ground-penetrating Radar Surveys at the Second Hoover House and at Effigy Mounds, Iowa," Report prepared for Midwest Archeological Center by Geosight (Pitman, New Jersey: 1982), 1-7.

133 Janis L. Dial, Base Line Issues at the Sny Magill Mound Group: Mound Disturbance and Historical Cartography, Technical Report No. 41, Lincoln, NE: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1999; Janis L. Dial, Mound Condition Forms, Sny Magill Mound Group, Effigy Mounds National Monument, Harpers Ferry, Iowa, Technical Report No. 41 Supplement, Lincoln, NE: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1999.

134 Beaubien, "Archaeological Investigation of the Sny-Magill Mound Group, 1952."

135 Dale R. Henning, "Archeological Survey of the Sny Magill Unit and Testing of Four Rock Shelters, Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa," Report submitted to Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1989.

In 1993, John Staeck directed a Luther College archaeological field school at the Red House Landing site. The students conducted surface and subsurface testing at the predominantly historic-period site; however, little evidence of occupation remains beyond a limestone house foundation, a root cellar, and another depression. A complete report synthesizing the findings from the archaeological field school has not been written to date.[136]

Picking up where Bruce Bevan left off, the National Park Service conducted a five-day geophysical workshop at the monument in May 1999, entitled "Recent Advances in Archeological Prospection Techniques." The forty attendees included archeologists from various state and government agencies, universities, and cultural resource management firms. Instruction was provided in the use of geophysical and electronic survey equipment, such as ground penetrating radar, global positioning system units, magnetometers, and other specialized, non-destructive tools. Geophysical investigations were conducted on the Little Bear effigy mound (Mound 52), the Great Bear Mound (Mound 31), a bird effigy mound (Mound 82), a conical mound (Mound 45), and a linear mound group (Mounds 19 and 20).[137] Results of the geophysical surveys showed that the mounds are highly magnetic and often "clumpy." Ken Kvamme suggests that the clumpiness represents clusters of basket loads of soil and may also indicate multiple building episodes.[138]

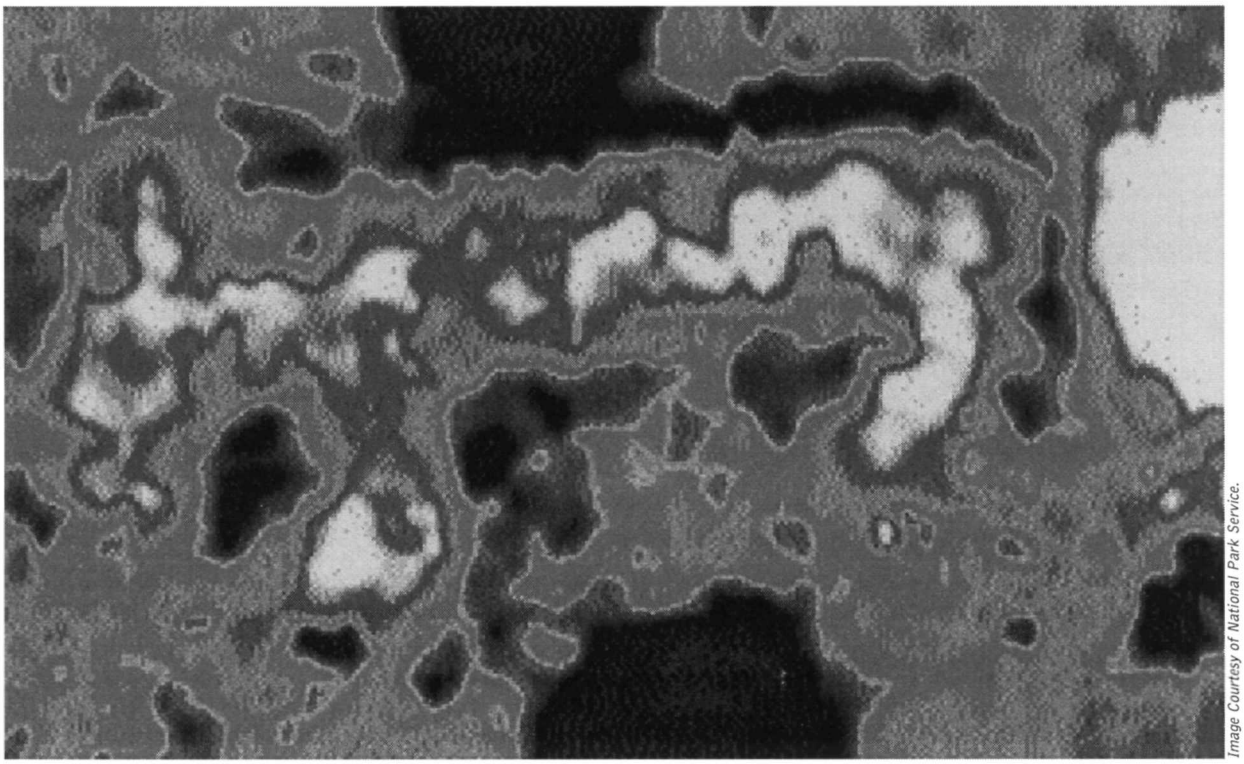


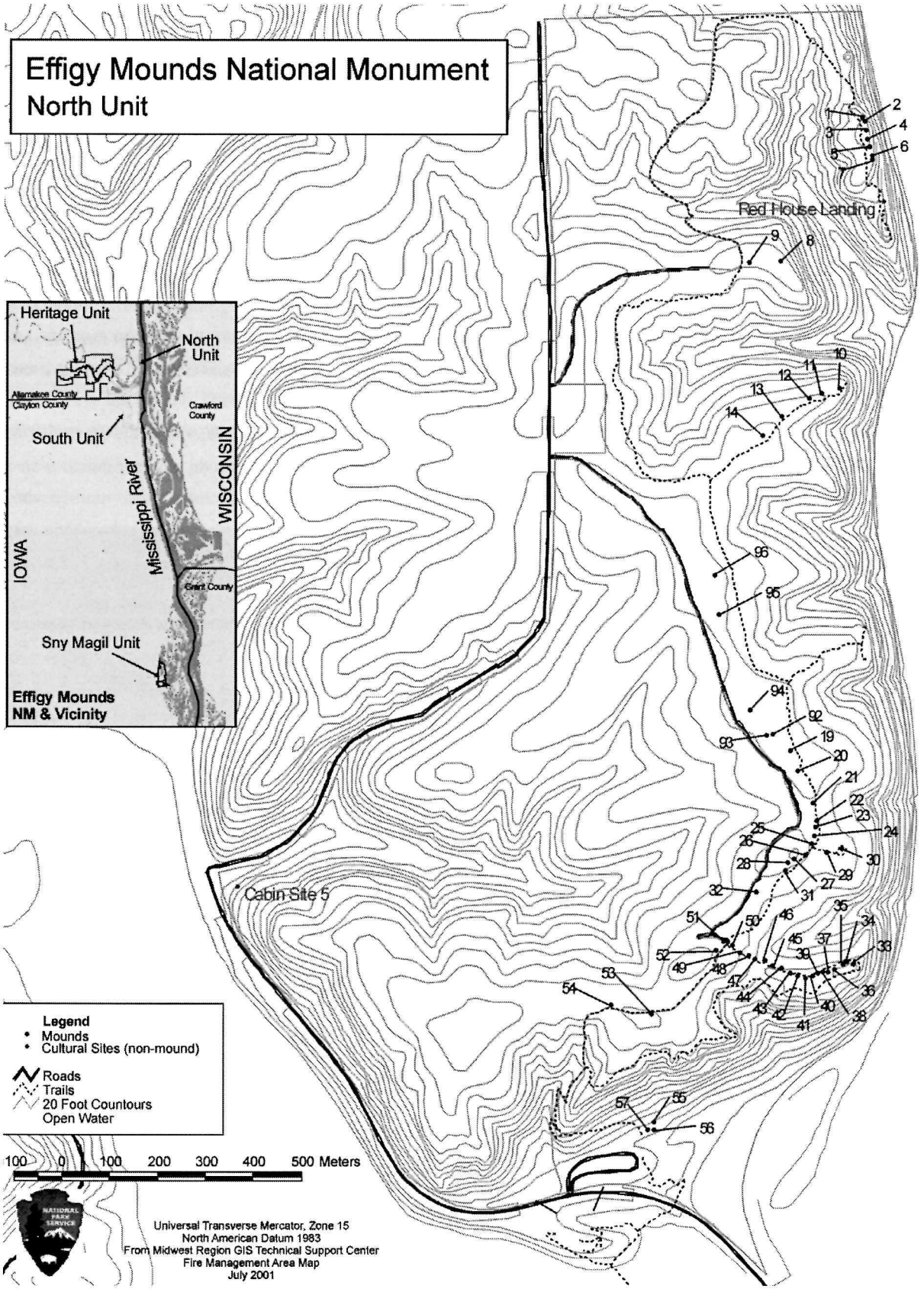
Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Magnetic Image of Bear Effigy Mound.

136 Betts, *Red House Landing*, 4-5. The National Park Service possesses a draft report by John P. Staeck (n.d.) entitled "Archaeological Investigations at Red House Landing (13AM228), Allamakee County, Iowa." John Staeck has since left Luther College and Colin Betts (Luther College) is not aware that Staeck ever completed a final report for the 1993 work at Red House Landing.

137 Steven L. De Vore, "Investigations at Effigy Mounds National Monument During the 1999 'Recent Advances in Archeological Prospection Techniques' Workshop, May 10-14, 1999," Report prepared for Effigy Mounds National Monument by Cultural Resources and National Register Program Services, 1999.

138 Kvamme, "Archeo-Geophysical Survey at Effigy Mounds National Monument," 14-18.



Effigy Mounds National Monument: Cultural Resource Base Map, North Unit.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

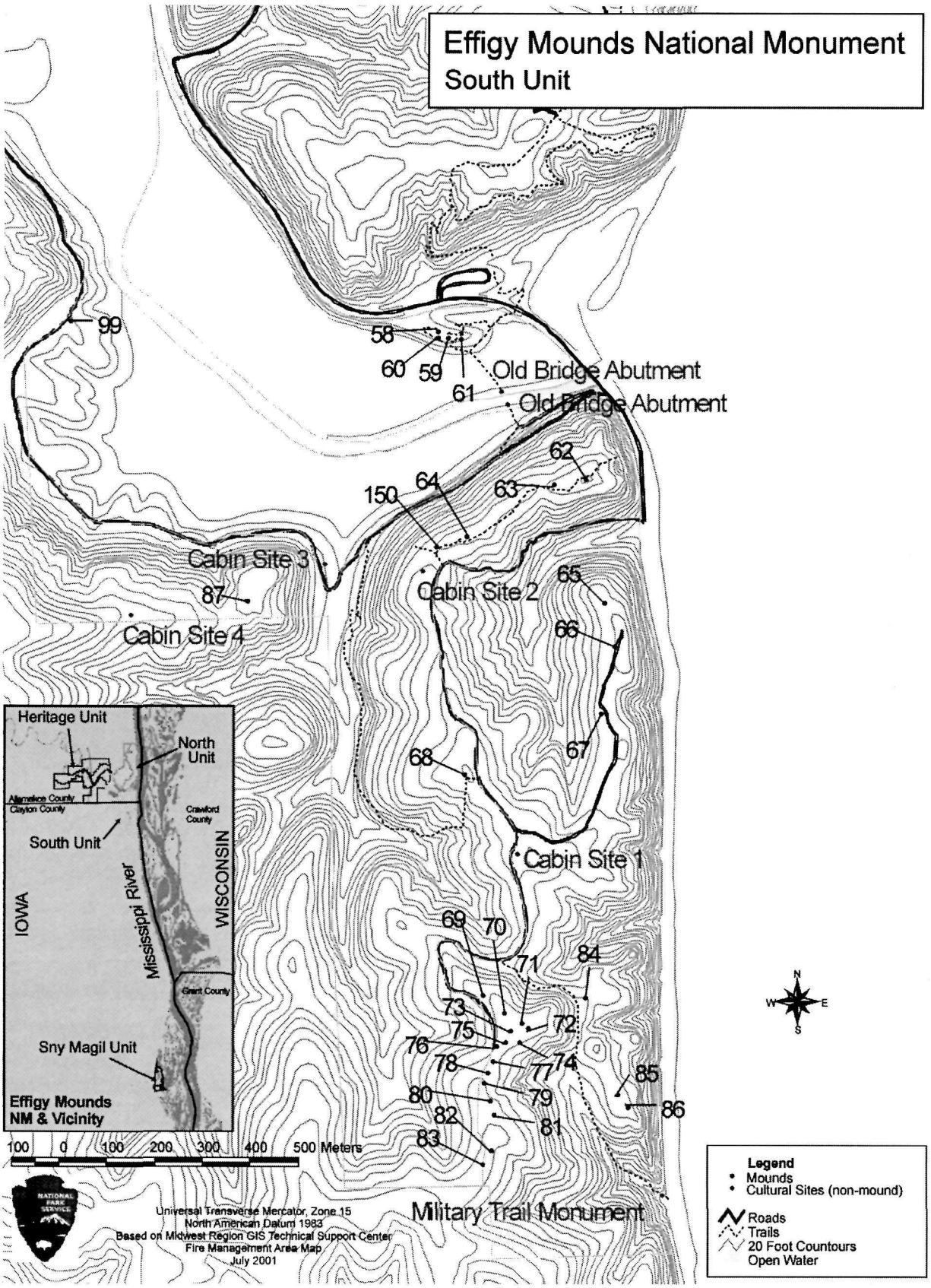


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Effigy Mounds National Monument: Cultural Resource Base Map, South Unit.

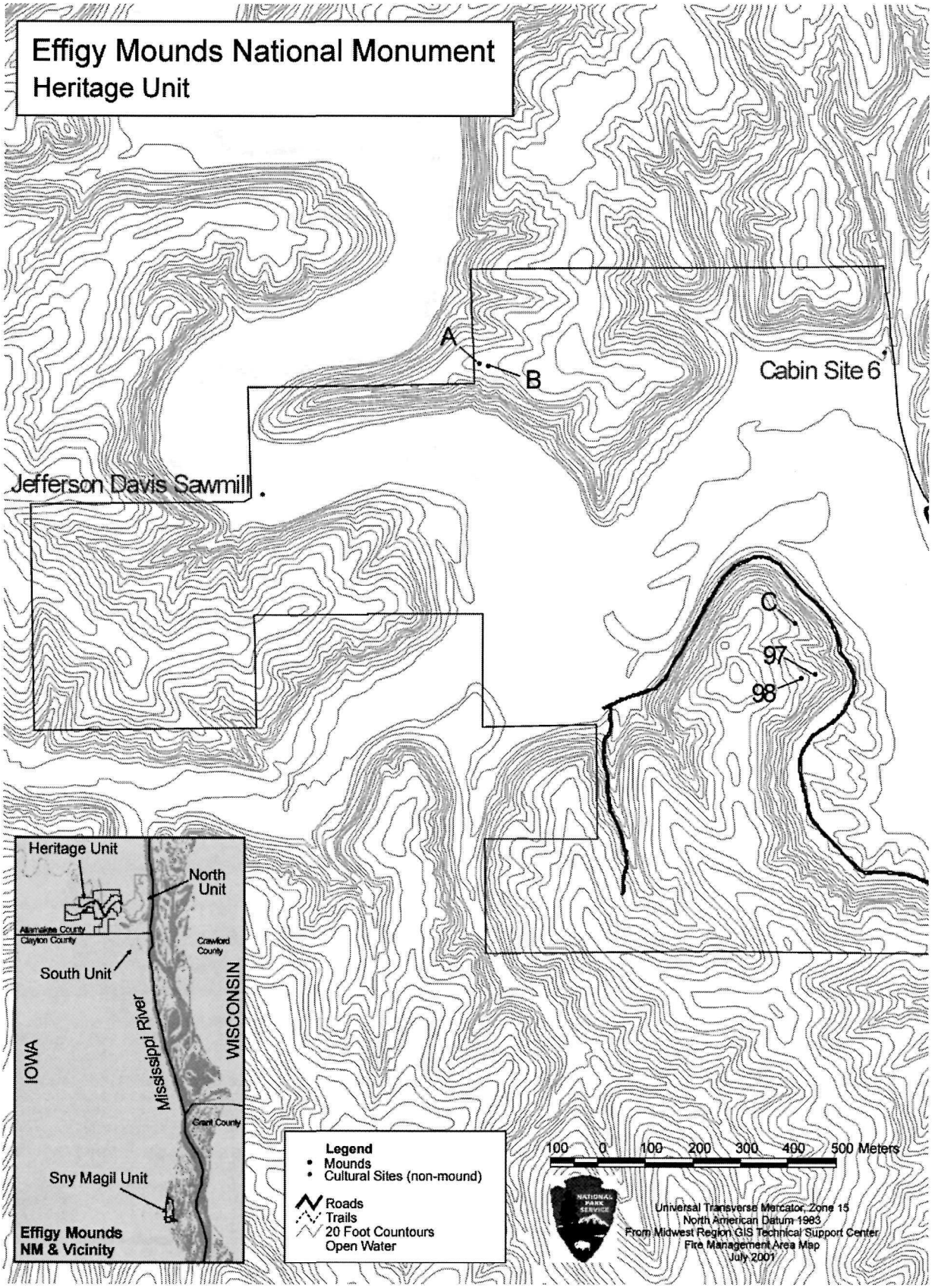


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Effigy Mounds National Monument: Cultural Resource Base Map, Heritage Unit.

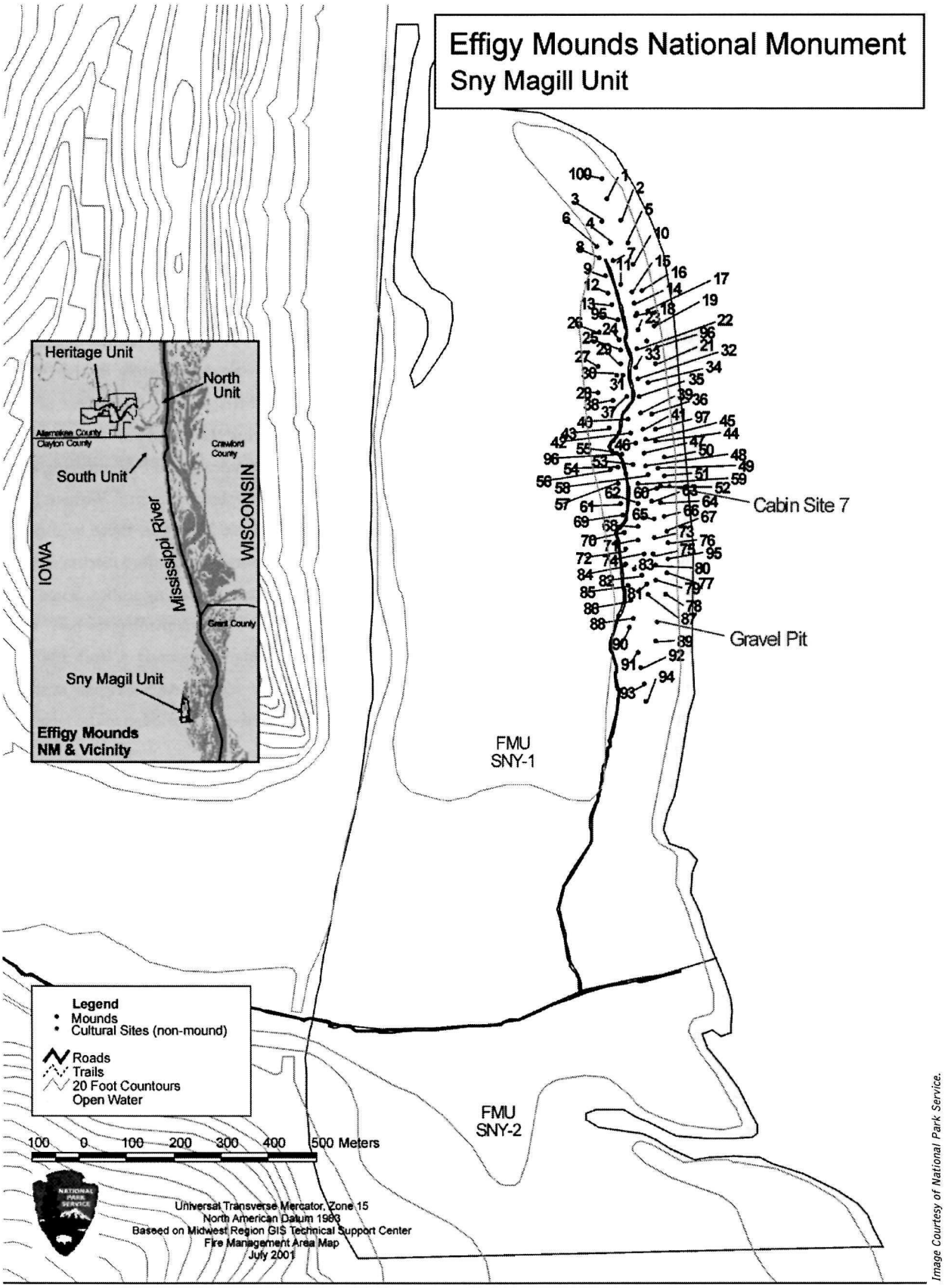


Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Effigy Mounds National Monument: Cultural Resource Base Map, Sny Magill Unit.

Ongoing Research at Effigy Mounds National Monument

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) requires federal agencies and museums that have received federal funding to repatriate American Indian ancestral remains and cultural items to tribes that can show genetic or cultural affiliation with such remains and items. In addition, NAGPRA regulates excavation of such remains and items on federal and Indian land.[139] In advance of NAGPRA consultation, a collections management plan was produced for the monument to formally examine the archived collections.[140] Effigy Mounds National Monument Superintendent Karin Gustin met with a representative of the Nebraska Winnebagoes for NAGPRA-related consultation during the early to mid-1990s.[141] Since 2000, the National Park Service has been involved in NAGPRA-related consultation with American Indian tribes. An initial NAGPRA report with recommendations was completed for the monument in 1998 by Dale Henning, followed in 2001 by Green and others' comprehensive cultural affiliation study, in which the authors concluded that a definitive cultural affiliation with regional and contact-period American Indian tribes is extremely difficult to extend back to the period when the mounds were constructed. At present, NAGPRA consultation is ongoing at Effigy Mounds National Monument.[142]

The National Park Service is planning to conduct a Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) at the monument in 2004. The CLI is a comprehensive inventory of cultural landscapes that ultimately will aid park managers in planning, programming, and recording treatment and management decisions. In advance of the CLI at Effigy Mounds National Monument, Roberta Young, Inventory Coordinator for the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office, prepared an updated List of Classified Structures (LCS). The current LCS includes the mounds and the Old Military Road with related cistern. Additional features that likely will be included in the CLI are lumber roads, rock shelters, the Jefferson Davis Sawmill, Red House Landing, agricultural era remnants, and the York's Landing site.[143]

Effigy Mounds National Monument preserves an important part of our nation's prehistory. By the 1990s, one archeologist reported that at least 80 percent of the mounds documented during the late-nineteenth century in northeast Iowa had been destroyed by vandalism, erosion, timber operations, and development.[144] Without federal protection, there is little hope that these landscape features will continue to survive and afford researchers an opportunity to uncover their fascinating stories. Since the first studies in the early 1800s, archeologists have surveyed, mapped, and catalogued mounds in Iowa and the entire Mississippi Valley region. Archeological studies have significantly increased our knowledge of the location and extent of the mounds, as well as chronicling the loss of these resources over time. Many questions, however, remain unanswered. Why did the mound builders create these effigies? Who was meant to see them, since they are seen most clearly when viewed from above? These questions persist, sparking our imagination and compelling further archeological research. Fortunately, places such as Effigy Mounds National Monument promise to protect these objects, allowing us the opportunity to continue our quest for answers and appreciate the mysteries of an ancient culture.

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139 Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice: An Introductory Guide* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 1998), 273.

140 Brian Ramer, "Effigy Mounds National Monument Collection Management Plan," Report prepared for the National Park Service, Midwest Region, 1997.

141 Karin Gustin, National Park Service, personal communication, 2003.

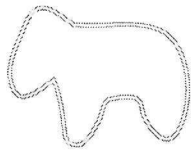
142 Dale R. Henning, *Recommendations to NAGPRA Summary and NAGPRA Inventory, Effigy Mounds National Monument*, report prepared by the Quaternary Studies Program, Illinois State Museum, 1998; Green et al., *Effigy Mounds National Monument Cultural Affiliation Report.*

143 Roberta Young, personal communication, 2003.

144 David G. Stanley, "Survey of Selected Mound Sites in Allamakee County, Iowa," produced for the Allamakee County Historical Press Commission by the Highland Cultural Research Center, August 1993.

C H A P T E R E I G H T

Movement For A Park



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Movement For A Park

A growing national movement for parks surfaced after the Civil War, when a few states created parks to preserve areas of outstanding natural beauty or important historical associations. Battlegrounds, forts, and other places of military importance were primarily targeted. By the 1890s, a broader, national base of public support began to develop. The nation's increasing prosperity meant that more people had time for travel and recreation, and Americans wanted to visit places of scenic beauty. In Iowa, the movement initially took shape under botanist Thomas Macbride of the State University of Iowa, who raised support for parks among the state's conservationists and preservationists. In 1901, Macbride was named the first president of the Iowa Park and Forestry Association, an organization that actively pressed for a state park movement and lobbied for the establishment of a national park in northeast Iowa.[145]

Official support for a park in northeastern Iowa dates from April 6, 1909, when State Representative George H. Schulte of Clayton County addressed the Iowa General Assembly in support of establishing a national site near McGregor. Schulte emphasized the need for "pleasuring grounds" along the Mississippi River for future generations.[146] Schulte's proposal was supported by Ellison Orr, then president of the Iowa Forestry and Conservation Association (IFCA), and by Bohumil Shimek, Louis H. Pammel, and Thomas H. MacBride (professors of natural science and members of the IFCA). Various business leaders and academics also supported the movement, but, interest remained local until just before Word War I. Then, in 1915, Senator William S. Kenyon of Fort Dodge, Iowa, promised to work for a national park and introduced a bill to establish a 1,700 to 2,000-acre park to preserve the mounds.[147]

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Marching Bear Mound Group From Ground Level

145 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 66.

146 Ibid., 67.

147 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 67; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 47-48.

Representative Gilbert Haugen of Iowa submitted a similar bill, but the Secretary of the Interior decided that action should be halted until a comprehensive study of the area could be conducted. A total of $1,000 was provided to fund the study. In 1917, M.L. Dorr of the National Park Service conducted an inspection of the Upper Mississippi River Valley, but no proposals or actions resulted from this inspection.[148] During this period, the park movement was put on hold while the nation turned its attention to World War I. Despite a slowdown of official attention from Washington, D.C., local park supporters continued to gain force. In 1917, Orr pressed the park issue in a speech at the IFCA (later called the Iowa Park and Forestry Association). He suggested that 10,000 acres along the Mississippi River from McGregor to Sny Magill Creek, the main channel islands, and the bluffs along the Wisconsin side of the river be set aside and preserved. Orr stressed the importance of preserving the balsam firs on the Yellow River bluffs, historic Fort Atkinson, and the mound groups and earthworks along the Mississippi and Upper Iowa rivers. During this same period, Iowan conservationist C. H. McNider wrote an essay titled "What the Mississippi Valley National Park Would Mean to Iowa," that reflected the region's growing awareness of and support for a park.[149]

Between 1917 and 1923, Senator Kenyon and Congressman Haugen introduced a series of bills in Congress for establishment of a Mississippi National Park in northeast Iowa, all of which died in committee. In 1919, Iowa dedicated a handful of sites, and the state soon emerged as a leader in developing parkland. By 1925, Iowa ranked fourth in the nation in number of parks, and by 1931 had established forty state parks.[150]

Another major force for parks in Iowa emerged in 1919. In July of that year, 1,000 people attended a three-day meeting held at McGregor Heights, overlooking McGregor and the Mississippi River, and formed the American School of Wildlife Protection. The school, later renamed the American Institute of Nature Studies, was the first of its kind in the United States. It provided lessons on flora and fauna, often held in the field, and featured evening programs led by distinguished guest speakers who gave presentations on a variety of natural history topics. The wildlife school at McGregor was a significant force in the national park movement in Iowa during the 1920s. By bringing together naturalists, educators, and local citizens, the field school raised public awareness of the region's natural resources and turned McGregor into a center of wildlife conservation activity.[151]

In 1919, a state park report called for designation of state parks at three American Indian mound sites: Toolesboro Mounds near the mouth of the Iowa River in Louisa County, Fish Farm Mounds near Lansing in Allamakee County, and an unnamed mound group near Eddyville in Wapello County. Presumably, the report excluded the effigy mounds along the Mississippi River because conservation and park advocates were optimistic that this area would be included in the proposed Mississippi River National Park.[152]

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148 O'Bright *Perpetual March*, 48-49.

149 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 67-68.

150 Rebecca Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), xiii, 7-8; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 68-69.

151 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 69-70. The school held its last summer program in 1941. World War II and gas rationing ended the program. According to Lenzendorf, even after the school's closure, "the interest it generated in protecting the bluffs along the river endured."

152 Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty*, 89-90.

Plans for a Mississippi Valley park remained on hold in the early 1920s. During this period the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers developed a plan to drain a large wetland between Lansing, Iowa and Lynxville, Wisconsin, called the Winneshiek Bottoms. The plan upset local duck hunters, fishermen, and wildlife enthusiasts. In response, the Izaak Walton League led an effort to preserve the wildlife habitat along the Upper Mississippi River, and other conservation groups joined the battle.[153]

This conservation effort led to passage of the Upper Mississippi River National Wildlife and Fish Refuge Act of 1924, which established a refuge that eventually encompassed more than 200,000 acres of wildlife habitat, including portions of the river adjacent to what would eventually become Effigy Mounds National Monument. The creation of the refuge renewed interest in a national park along the Upper Mississippi, and in 1929 Senator Haugen submitted a new proposal to Congress. The new plan called for a significant increase in acreage from the original plan's 1,700-2,000-acres. Haugen's proposal encompassed the bluffs of four states and 220 miles of river frontage from south of Minneapolis-St. Paul to 45 miles north of Dubuque. It included parts of four counties in Iowa, one in Illinois, eight in Wisconsin, and four in Minnesota.[154]

In 1930, Congress authorized a five-day investigative survey of the park proposal led by Roger Toll, the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park. In his 1932 final report Toll rejected the need for a national park in the area. He reported that the proposed park's "typical rather than extraordinary" scenery was not of national interest. Toll also believed that the proposed site, which included rivers, flood plains, and towns, would be too difficult to administer as a national park because of complicated ownership and management issues. As an alternative, Toll suggested a portion of the remaining Indian mounds along the Mississippi River bluffs be protected as a National Monument.[155] In his report to National Park Service Director Horace M. Albright, Toll wrote:

> It is believed that a national park in the valley of the upper Mississippi River is not desirable, but that a national monument, comprising some of the best Indian mounds, would be desirable. I would recommend that a national monument be authorized, whenever suitable land is available for presentation to the United States, for the purpose of protecting and preserving the best examples of prehistoric mounds that are to be found in this region.[156]

Albright agreed with Toll's suggestion, stating, "preservation of the mounds (the effigies), while there is still time to save them, will be of infinite value to posterity. Any mound of this type would add to the completeness of the prehistoric remains that are being protected in our existing national monuments."[157] Local interests quickly abandoned the notion of a national park and began to campaign to secure a national monument for the region. The Board of Conservation in particular, which later merged with the Fish and Game Commission to become the State Conservation Commission, turned its efforts toward setting monument boundaries and acquiring the necessary land. It was during this period that Pike's Peak State Park was established. In the 1930s, the Munn

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153 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 71.

154 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 71-72.

155 Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty*, 27; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 72; O'Bright *Perpetual March*, 51-52.

156 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 73.

157 Ibid., 73.

family of New York donated several acres for preservation of Pike's Peak to the U.S. Biological Survey, hoping it would further the cause of establishing a national park along the Upper Mississippi. When plans for the national park fell through, the federal government deeded the land to the state of Iowa. These acres formed the nucleus of what became, in 1937, Pike's Peak State Park.[158]

In 1936, The Iowa Conservation Commission, based on the work of Charles Keyes and Ellison Orr of the Iowa Archeological Survey, submitted a proposal to the National Park Service for creation of a national monument. The report recommended inclusion of the Yellow River Mound Group north of the Yellow River, the Jennings-Leibhardt group consisting of Marching Bears, and selected mounds at Pike's Peak. The report also acknowledged the importance of the Sny Magill and Turkey River mound groups further south.[159] In 1937, National Park Service representatives visited the proposed sites, and later that year dispatched a team to suggest boundaries for the monument. In October 1937, the team's report recommended three mound groups to be included in the proposed monument: Yellow River, Jennings-Liebhardt, and Sny Magill.[160]

Acquisition of lands that ultimately became part of the monument began as early as 1936, with establishment of the Yellow River State Forest. By 1937, the state owned approximately 400 acres in the area. Two years later, through the aid of state Conservation Commissioners Margo Frankel and Louise Parker, the Commission acquired the additional land needed to meet the National Park Service's 1,000-acre requirement for a national monument. The state secured 700 acres of land for the monument, including the Jennings-Liebhardt tract containing the Marching Bear Mound Group.[161]

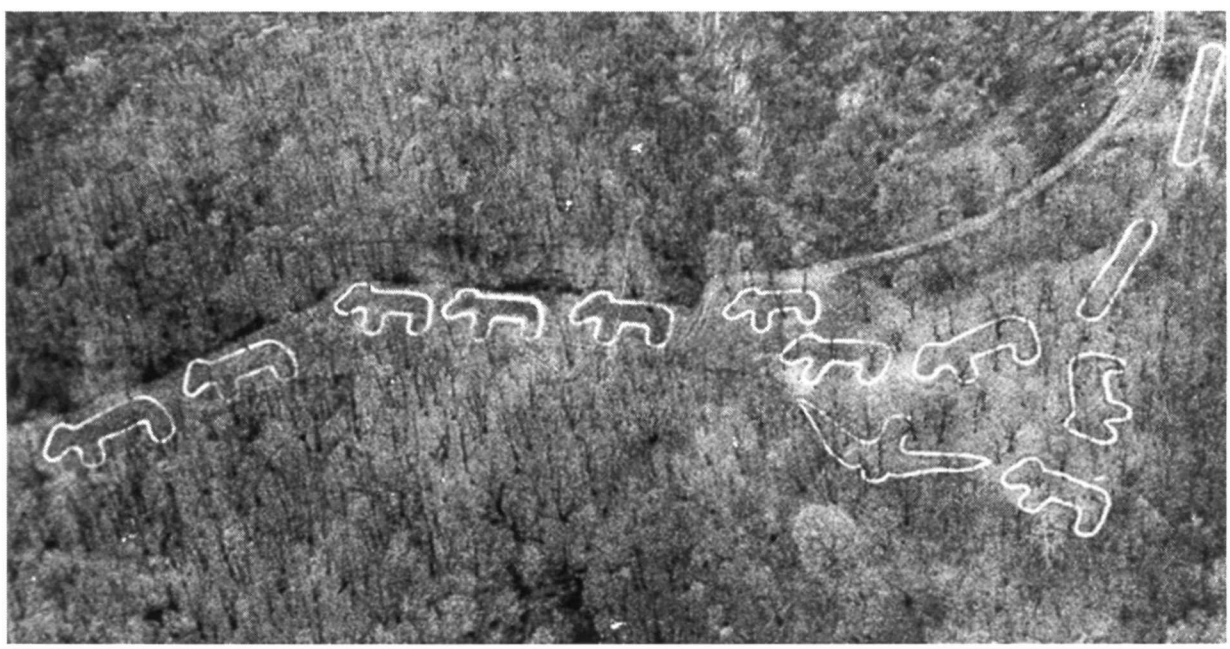

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Marching Bear Mound Group.

158 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 73-74; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 195.

159 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 77.

160 Ibid., 78.

161 Ibid., 78.

By 1942, the Commission had secured more than enough land to meet National Park Service requirements, but the outbreak of World War II put the monument project on hold.[162] When the war ended, both the proposed monument and a proposed Mississippi River parkway were revived. The Conservation Commission favored both projects, but the State Legislature and the State Highway Commission hesitated over the parkway proposal because the initial cost to the state was estimated at $625,000, and the highway commission would be responsible for ongoing maintenance. As a result, the parkway idea languished. The monument plan, however, went forward. By 1946, the state of Iowa had transferred all land within the boundaries of the proposed monument to the Department of Interior, and officials had agreed upon the name Effigy Mounds National Monument. That same year, the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments certified the mounds as nationally significant and worthy of protection under the Antiquities Act.[163]

The monument was originally conceived as three separate units: North, South, and Sny Magill. In 1946, NPS Regional Historian Olaf T. Hagen and Iowa Conservation Commission Officer V.W. Flickinger agreed that the Sny Magill unit should be included in the monument to protect the mounds from erosion and nearby logging operations. However conflicts over the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' insistence on retaining the right to flood Sny Magill and confusion over land ownership resulted in a recommendation to proclaim the Jennings-Liebhardt and Yellow River units as Effigy Mounds National Monument, and to pursue addition of the Sny Magill unit at a later date. In 1947, Howard Baker of the NPS recommended that 1,000 acres be transferred from the state of Iowa to the National Park Service by presidential proclamation. During this period, officials decided that the monument headquarters would be established at Yellow River, near the proposed South Unit, and in 1947, the state of Iowa acquired 68 acres in this area. After boundaries were established and the monument plans finalized in 1949, the NPS accepted title to the 1,000 acres in Clayton and Allamakee counties for establishment of Effigy Mounds National Monument.[164]

Creating A National Monument

On October 25, 1949, President Harry Truman signed a proclamation establishing Effigy Mounds National Monument. The monument consisted of two areas: the Jennings-Liebhardt tract (South Unit) and the Yellow River Unit (North Unit). As discussed above, Sny Magill was not initially included in the monument due to land title problems. This site, however, was federally owned and thereby afforded a degree of protection. Following the presidential proclamation, the NPS assumed management of an additional 204 acres, transferred by the state of Iowa to the federal government in 1951-1952. In 1955, the Des Moines Garden Club donated an additional 40 acres, containing Founder's Pond, to the monument.[165]

In 1956, the NPS began implementation of Mission 66, a ten-year developmental program designed to address park infrastructure needs. The concept for Mission 66 emerged in the early 1950s, when increased visitation highlighted the neglected condition of many parks, their resources, and visitor services. Mission 66 construction included roads, camping and picnic areas, sanitary facilities, housing, and visitor centers. Museum exhibits, informational pamphlets, and audio-visual pro-

162 Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty*, 177-78.

163 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 78-79.

164 Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty*, 178; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 80, 196.

165 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 80, 90, 196-198.

grams also were developed. Mission 66 greatly increased the number of personnel working at the parks.[166] At Effigy Mounds National Monument, several Mission 66 projects were undertaken. In 1959, workers installed water and sewer systems, rebuilt the entrance road and parking lot, and began constructing residences. These housing units were based on designs used at Glacier National Park. The following year, the monument's visitor center was completed using Mission 66 funds, and the former farmhouse that had served as a residence was torn down, and a shop and two residences constructed on the site.[167]

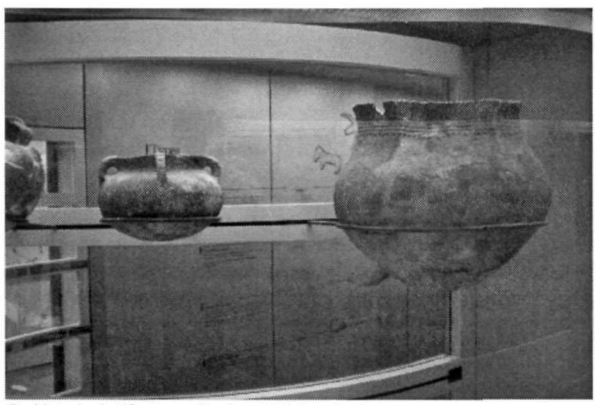

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Prehistoric Artifacts on Display at Visitor Center

Changes to the monument continued throughout the 1960s. In 1961, the 100-acre Ferguson tract was added to the monument. A new trail, known today as Fire Point Loop Trail, was constructed from the visitor center to the top of the ridge. In 1962, the South Unit opened, and the new visitor center began full operations. That same year, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers transferred the Sny Magill property to the NPS, doubling the number of mounds within the monument. With the addition of Sny Magill, the monument encompassed a total of 1,476 acres and contained 191 known prehistoric Indian mounds, including 31 bird and bear effigies. In 1986, the National Park Service began preparing a general management plan for Effigy Mounds National Monument, and conducted a major study of the Sny Magill unit. In 1999, the Iowa Natural Heritage Foundation purchased an additional 1,045 acres, known as the Kistler-Ferguson Tract. The tract, with its wetlands, forests, and bluffs along the Yellow River, contained two well-preserved bear mounds.[168] On December 15, 2000, the Kistler-Ferguson property (known as the Heritage Addition) was transferred to the NPS, increasing the total size of the monument by sixty percent. Although the Heritage Addition has not been systematically surveyed, thirteen archeological sites have been identified within the new acreage, including two well-preserved bear effigies, several linear mounds, and Indian habitation sites.[169]

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166 Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000), 1-35.

167 O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 142-143, 199; Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 89.

168 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 39, 80-81; Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty*, 178-179; O'Bright, *Perpetual March*, 106, 203. According to O'Bright, one of the reasons that Sny Magill was not included in 1949 was because the funds to run the national monument had already been appropriated. Park officials were anxious about pressing for additional acreage and worried they would appear foolish if they sought to amend the boundaries too quickly.

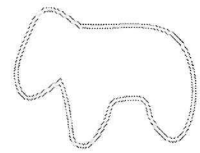
169 Michael Maddox, "Lands Added to Effigy Mounds National Monument," January 2001, viewed at http://www.amrivers.org/therivermonitor/effigymounds.htm, on October 16, 2002.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Prehistoric Artifacts on Display at Visitor Center

C H A P T E R N I N E

Recommendations



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

Recommendations

Additional Research Needs

Some details of the historical development of Effigy Mounds National Monument and the surrounding area have yet to be clarified. A number of the questions will be difficult to answer, and care should therefore be taken to present an unbiased accounting during interpretive efforts. Other questions represent gaps in current research that may be addressed through additional documentary efforts.

Homesteading and Agricultural History

One area of concern relates to the homesteading period and the agricultural practices of early settlers in northeastern Iowa. A systematic review of land ownership records, including deeds, tax records, General Land Office plats, survey field notes, and land patent records, should be conducted for the entire monument property. This research will provide vital information regarding pre-monument property boundaries, land use, and the location of nineteenth and twentieth century buildings and structures.

Initial research suggests that the use of the natural environment during the pioneer period is not well recorded in historic documents. Furthermore, some resources in the monument are identified by multiple names and at various locations. While there is some data available on the location of early farms, as well as the types of crops grown, information on early settlers' use of the natural landscape would provide a more complete picture. Some of the questions include the following: How did early settlers select their sites and choose which crops to plant? What was the impact on existing vegetation? Did they supplement their diet with native plants? Did they harvest fish and other aquatic life from the Mississippi or other local rivers? How did settlers utilize local forests? In addition to understanding their interactions with the natural environment, more information should be obtained on how early settlers were connected to a larger, regional economy. How was the Mississippi used to transport goods and people? Was there an informal trade network among area farmers and Indians? What towns or villages in the region served as marketplaces for early settlers? If such information were obtained, it could be incorporated into interpretive materials.

The Town of Nazekaw

Another area of interest is the town of Nazekaw, or Nezekaw. In 1856, following a proposal to launch a major railroad starting at the Yellow River and continuing to Minnesota and Nebraska, land buyers laid out the town of Nazekaw at the mouth of the Yellow River. The proposed railroad failed to materialize, and historical records are mixed as to whether the town of Nazekaw ever existed. Multiple sources claim that between 1858-1862, a post office, stockyard, and a steam gristmill were built at the site. Others, however, argue that this "mythical" town existed only on paper. Very little primary data exists relating to this settlement, making it both difficult to determine whether such a town existed and challenging to provide accurate interpretation.

Steamboat Landings

The historical record offers little information on early steamboat landings located in or near the present-day monument. Steamboats served as an early form of transportation for goods and people up and down the Mississippi River. There were supposedly several steamboat landings in the monument or its vicinity including York's Landing, Worth's Landing, Red House Landing, and Johnsons Port. There is limited information on York's Landing, but very little on the other sites. It would be useful to determine, if possible, the exact location of these sites, how and when they operated, some of the buildings that once might have existed at these sites, and the sites' impact on the natural environment. If more information could be identified, interpretive materials could address these steamboat landings.

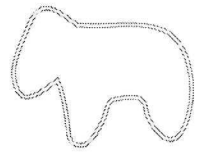
National Register Nomination Form Addendum

As part of this project, the existing National Register of Historic Places nomination form for Effigy Mounds National Monument, prepared in 1976, has been amended and updated (Appendix A). However, the current revisions were prepared prior to completion of the 2004 Cultural Landscape Inventory and List of Classified Structures and do not incorporate the results of this work or the results of systematic survey within the Heritage Addition. As a result, the current revision may best be viewed as a draft amendment to the original nomination. A final amended nomination should be prepared following completion of the CLI and the revised LCS.

Image Courtesy of National Park Service.

Prehistoric Artifacts on Display at Visitor Center

Bibliography



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

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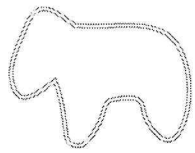

Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

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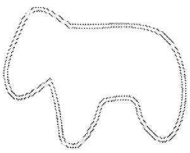
Appendix A



Figures on the Landscape

Effigy Mounds National Monument
Historic Resource Study

8. Statement of Significance The 1976 National Register nomination was largely based upon the Monument's 1975 List of Classified Structures. The only historic resources identified in the nomination are the 192 mounds then known to have existed within the 1476.5 acres of the Monument (96 mounds in the Sny Magill Unit, 67 mounds in the North Unit, and 29 mounds in the South Unit. The nomination specifically identifies the Visitors Center (1962), Superintendent's Residence (1960), Archeologist's Residence (1960), Utility Building (1960), Pit Toilets (1950), and a Shed (1938) as non-historic structures.

Since completion of the 1976 nomination new surveying techniques have resulted in the identification of additional mounds within the Monument's 1975 boundaries. Historic-period resources within the Monument have also been identified. The expansion of the Monument, particularly the acquisition of the 1,045-acre Heritage Addition in 2001, increased the total acreage of the Monument by 71 percent, to a total of 2,521 acres. This land has not been subjected to a systematic cultural resources survey, though at least thirteen historic resources have been identified within the addition. None of these resources have yet been added to the Monuments LCS.

As the Historic Resource Study demonstrates, Effigy Mounds National Monument is historically significant for its association with prehistoric Indian Mounds. The Sny Magill Unit of Effigy Mounds National Monument contains what is likely the largest extant concentration of Indian mounds in the country.1 Situated 11 miles south of the Monument's headquarters, the mounds at Sny Magill lack trail facilities, signs, and dense vegetation discourage visitor use in the Sny Magill mounds area. Sny Magill's remote location and lack of trail development makes the site difficult to examine.2 While the 1975 National Register Nomination included the mounds at Sny Magill, since then additional mounds have been identified. The most current count identified 112 mounds at the site.3 On December 15, 2000, the

1 Beaubien, "Archaeological Investigation of the Sny-Magill Mound Group, 1952," 3.
2 National Park Service, *General Management Plan*, 1,4.
3 List of Classified Structures, Effigy Mounds National Monument, August 28, 1996.

National Park Service acquired the deed to 1,045 acres known as the Heritage Addition. The Heritage Addition contains wetlands, forests, and bluffs along the Yellow River. Thirteen archeological sites have been located scattered throughout the property. These include two well-preserved bear effigies, linear mounds, and habitation sites.4 Additional archeological investigations of the Heritage Addition still need to be conducted.

Effigy Mounds National Monument also is historically significant for its association with the early settlement and development of the Upper Mississippi Valley region. Two sites in the Monument serve as important links to the United States' effort to settle northeastern Iowa. The portion of the 1840 military road in Effigy Mounds National Monument is historically significant for its association with the United States Army's effort to resettle and remove local Indian populations in the Upper Mississippi Valley and open the region to white settlement. The second historic resource in the Monument eligible for the National Register of Historic Places is the site of a former sawmill. The site is historically significant for its association with the early settlement and development of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Constructed in 1829, the sawmill was built on the first rapid above the mouth of the Yellow River to saw logs for Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Both the description (Section 7) and the statement of significance (Section 8) were revised with continuation sheets to provide a fuller narrative of the property's appearance and historical significance. Major bibliographical references (Section 9) were also provided. All of these sections will be included as an addendum to the final report.

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4 Lenzendorf, *Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument*, 81; Michael Maddox, "Lands Added to Effigy Mounds National Monument," January 2001, viewed at http://www.amrivers.org/therivermonitor/ effigymounds.htm, on October 16, 2002.

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